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A Grammar of River Warihío


by


Rolando Gpe. Félix Armendáriz


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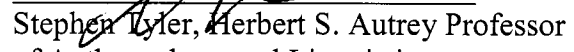
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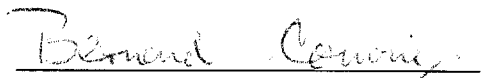
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ABSTRACT

A Grammar of River Warihío

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Rolando Gpe. Félix Armendáriz

The Warihío language is a member of the Uto-Aztecan family. The language consists of two dialects: the Upland Warihío in the mountains of Chihuahua and the River Warihío along the Mayo River in Sonora, Mexico. With the various Tarahumara dialects, and Yaqui and Mayo languages, it makes up the Taracahitic sub-group of the Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages. All of the field and supporting data for this work comes from the River dialect.

This work deals with all of the major linguistic aspects of the River Warihío language, including a brief description of its phonology, major and minor word classes, noun phrase, relative clauses, simple sentence structure, negation, voice, and complex sentences structure. Likewise, a short comparative section within Uto-Aztecan languages of some relevant aspects of the Warihío grammar. Also included is a basic Warihío-English-Spanish dictionary and several analyzed texts. These appendixes provide natural language data for study of areas not covered in detail here.

Chapter one provides information regarding ethnographical aspects of the Warihío people; it also establish the phonemic inventory of the language and the notational system used through the dissertation. In chapter one I also propose a stress

pattern based in the information about possible combination of roots and affixes allowed in the language.

The main theoretical-typological contributions that the study of Warihío might provide are contained in the following chapters:

Chapter 5: Simple sentence. Flexibility in order constituent displayed by Warihío texts and its relation with the focus phenomena are described in this chapter. Coding and control properties as well as participants behaviour are also described here.

Chapter 7: Voice. I have integrated different voice phenomena such as passive, causative, reflexive, applicative, external possession, and ethical dative in a general semantic frame of voice. I describe typologically interesting findings in the passive and causative constructions.

River Warihío has some interesting contrasting aspects within Uto-Aztecan family and morpho-syntactic features that are relevant theoretico-typologically. Its flexible pragmatically motivated constituent order altogether with the lack of coding properties for grammatical relations make Warihío an unusual language within Uto-Aztecan family and cross-linguistically as well.

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Sebastian, Andrei; classmates and friends, thanks for your friendship all these years.

To life:

Because with its convergences (God, my family, my friends, and myself) and its divergences (myself) drove me in the right time to the right place. Thanks for the life you have given me, life.

To my mother:

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, who formed herself out of nothing at all and she still IS.

Amá, thanks for being there for me always. I love you.

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Abbreviations

1SG.S	First singular subject
1SG.NS	First singular non-subject
1PL.S	First plural subject
1PL.NS	First plural non-subject
2SG.S	Second singular subject
2SG.NS	Second singular non-subject
3SG.S	Third singular subject
3SG.NS	Third singular non-subject
3PL.S	Third plural subject
3PL.NS	Third plural non-subject
A	Agent
BEN	Benefactive
APPL	Applicative
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COP	Copula
D.C	Dependent clause
DES	Desiderative
D.D	Demonstrative distal
D.P	Demonstrative proximal

EMPH	Emphatic
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
ID	Identification
IO	Indirect Object
IPFV	Imperfective
INCH	Inchoative
INS	Instrumental
INT	Intensifier
ITER	Iterative
LOC	Locative
MOV	Movement
NS	Non-subject
NMLZ	Nominalizer
O	Object
opl	Object plural
osg	Object singular
P	Patient
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PFV	Perfective
PFV.EV	Perfective evidential
PL	Plural

POT	Potential
PURP	Purpose
PTCP	PARTICIPIALIZER
QUANT	Quantifier
QUOT	Quotative
R	Recipient
REL	Relational
RD	Reduplication
S	Subject
SUB	Subordinator
S/T O	Spatio-temporal overlapping
spl	Subject plural
ssg	Subject singular
T	Theme
TRZ	Transitivizer

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

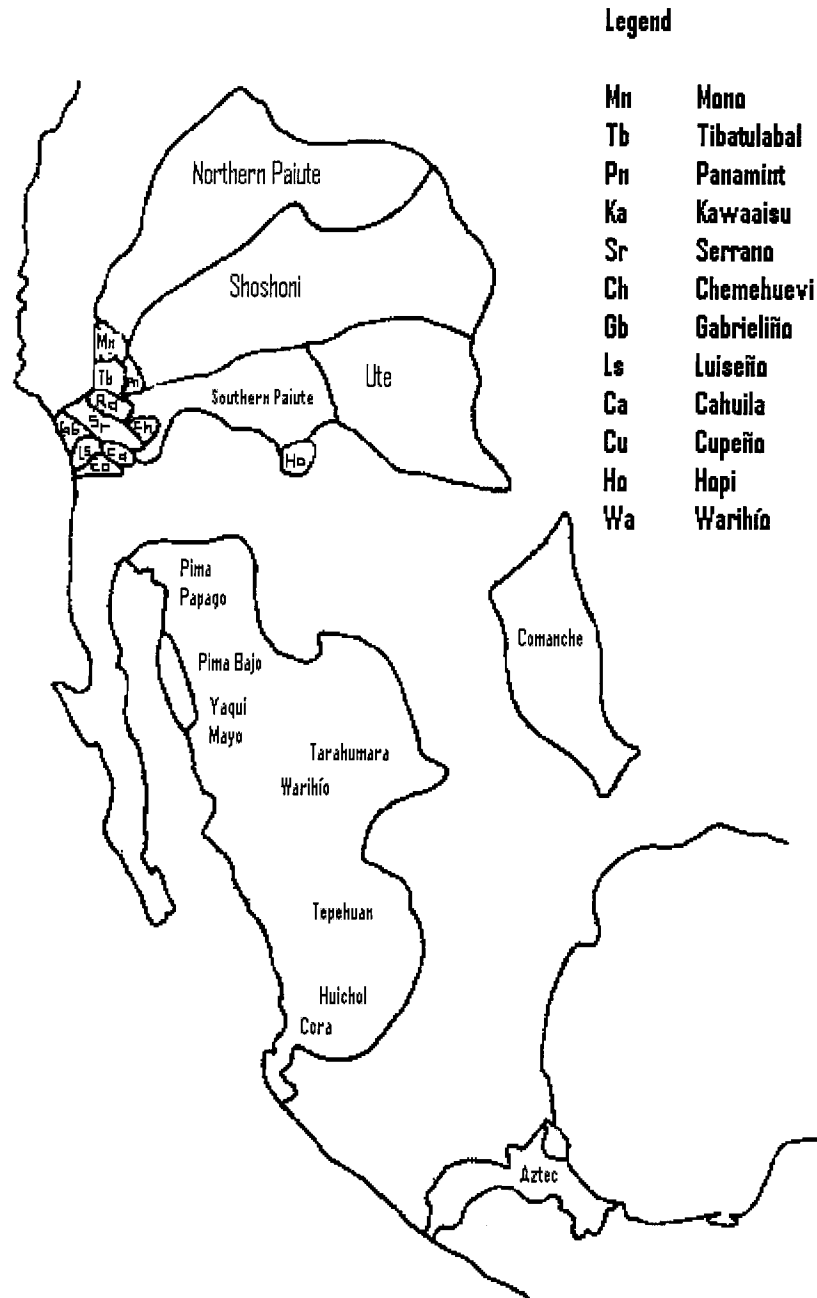
1.0. Introduction

Warihío is a Uto-Aztecan language belonging to the Sonoran branch and Taracahitic subbranch (map 1). The River Warihío people live along the Mayo River in the mountains of eastern Sonora, Mexico (map 2). The linguistically related Tarahumaras and Warihíos of Chihuahua are located further to the east in Chihuahua, and the Mayos reside to the west of the River Warihíos in the Mayo Valley in Sonora, Mexico.

1.1. Some Ethnographic Aspects of the Warihío People

The River Warihío people call themselves *mukuráwe* ‘those that walk over the land’. In the 1630’s, all the Warihío people lived together with the Chínipas in Chihuahua valley. During Jesuit evangelization, the Warihío killed two missionaries. After this, the Warihío people were persecuted and fled into the mountains. They divided into two groups, one of which, now the River Warihío people, crossed into the mountain range of Sonora, Mexico and dispersed into smaller groups consisting of 3 to 4 families each. They settled along the upper Mayo River and other small rivers, and today, they still live typically in very small communities along the Mayo River in the southeast of Sonora. They inhabit very rough land in the mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental which divides Sonora and Chihuahua. They used to live from agriculture, mainly planting corn

crops. In recent decades, they have been seasonally migrating to the Mayo and Yaqui Valleys for work.

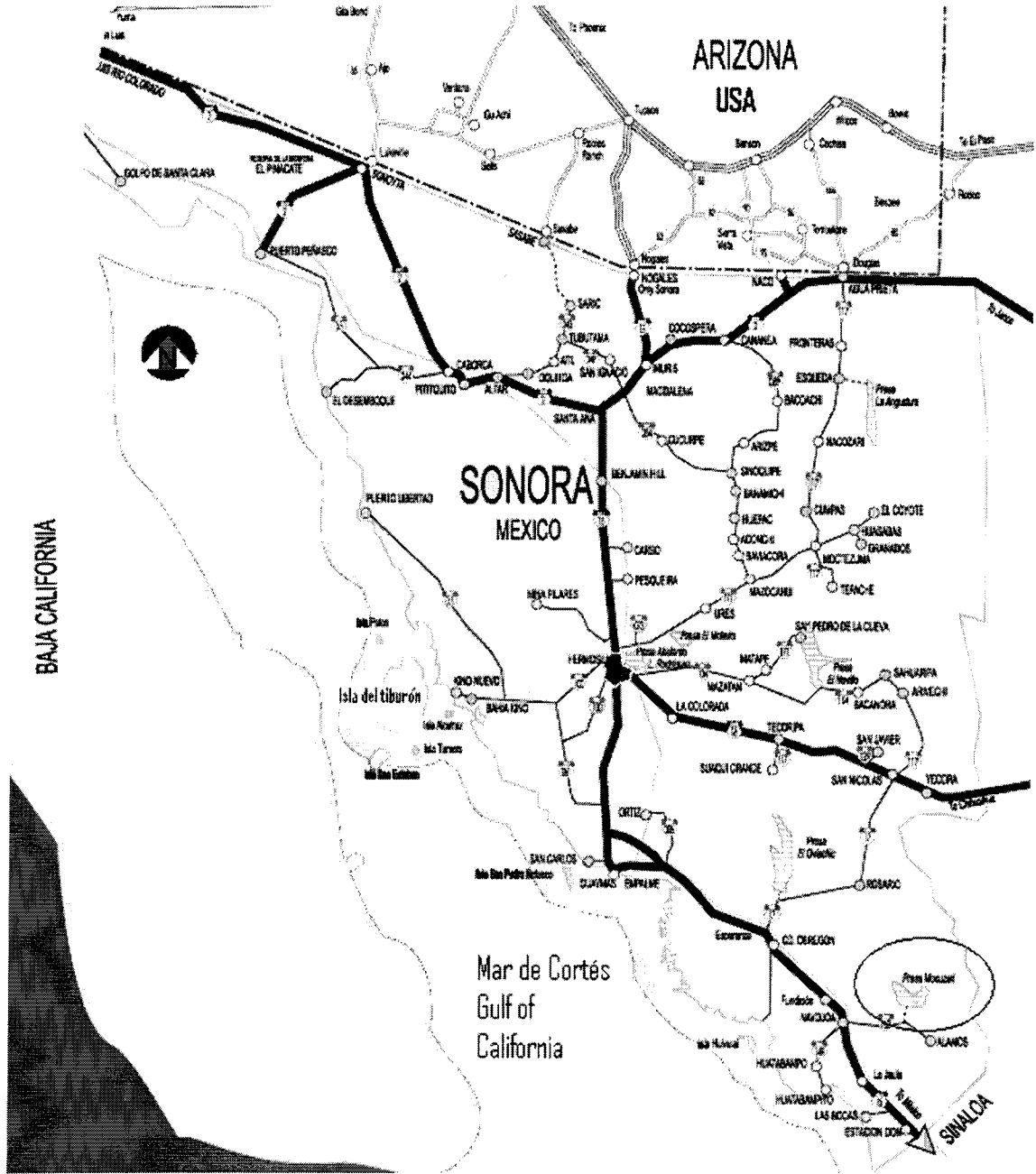


Map 1. Uto-Aztec languages. Warihío belongs to the Sonoran Branch.

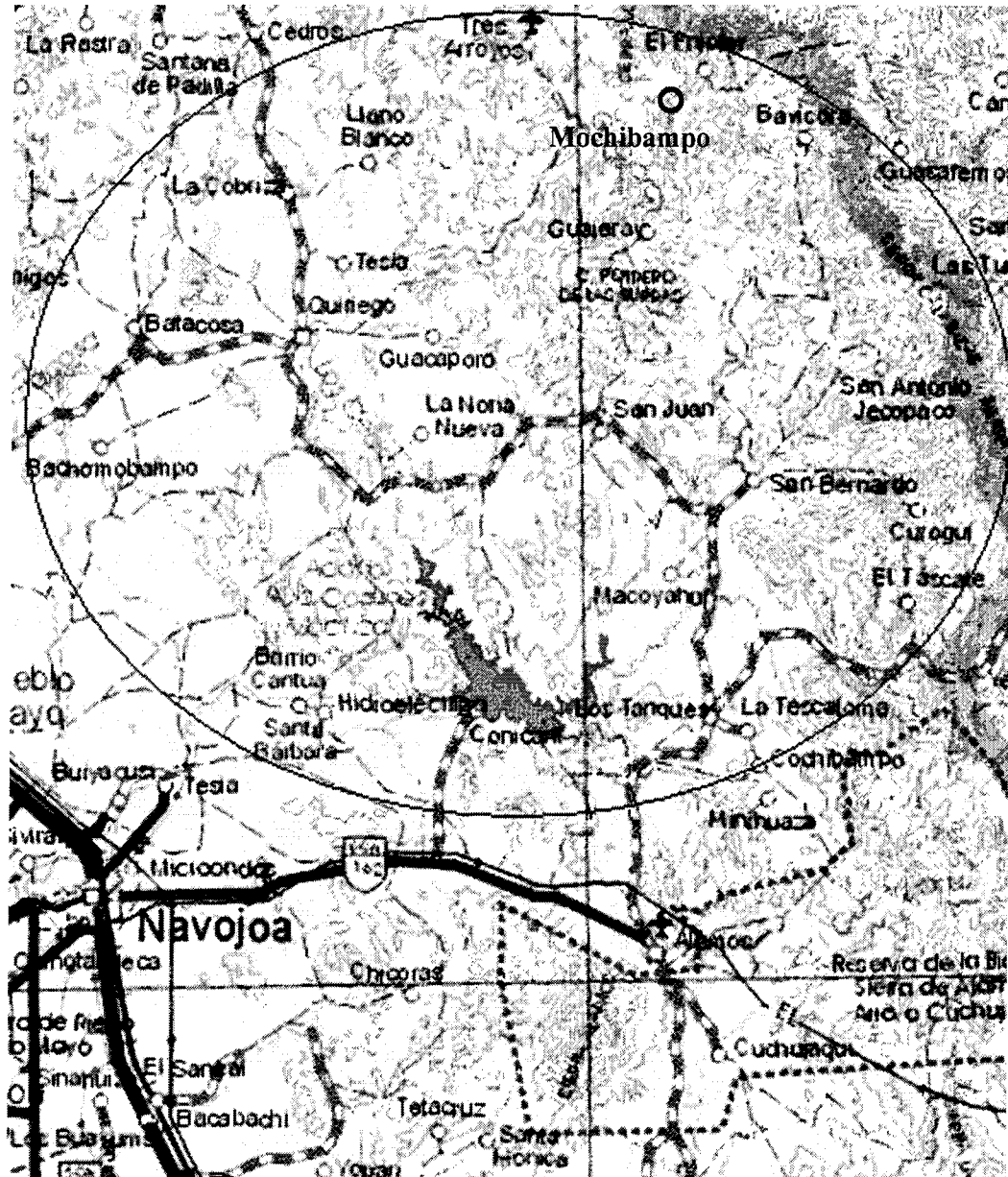
The River Warihío people co-habit with mestizos in their main communities, such as La Mesa Colorada, Bavícora, and Guajaray. The River Warihíos recognize themselves as ‘relatives’ of the Mayos and the Warihíos of Chihuahua. Although recognizing the connection, the River Warihíos conceive of the Tarahumaras as more distantly related. Linguistically, the relation between Upland and River Warihío is not fully clear (but cf. Escalante, 1968, 1994), and the River Warihíos report that they have difficulty understanding the speech of the other dialect.

It was only in the 1970’s, when the larger Warihío communities were in their prime, that the Mexican government recognized them as an ethnic group with their own language, culture, and history (Aguilar, Zéleny, 1995). Mochibampo¹, one very small community with only four Warihío families, is the geographical source of the data for the present project (map 3).

¹ I was introduced to the Zayla Leyva family first and all of them live in Mochibampo.



Map 2. Map of Sonora, Mexico, where River Warihío is spoken.



Map 3. River Warihío area. The data source of the present dissertation is Mochibampo.

1.2. Prior Work on Warihío

The description of the River dialect is the focus of this project. However, with the exception of Miller's grammar (1996) and two or three articles (written by the same author) there is little linguistic material published on Upland Warihio. There is an unpublished grammatical sketch of the River dialect by Barreras (1990). And very few publications: 'Relaciones del varojío con el mayo y el tarahumara' (Lionnet, 1977), 'Orden de Palabras en guarijío' (Barreras, 2000) discussing constituent order in River Warihío; 'vocabulario varohío' and 'Palabras y frases de la lengua tarahumara y guarijío' (Johnson and Johnson, 1947); a very brief phonemic study: 'Fonémica del guarijío'; and a study on the dialects of Warihío, 'Los dialectos del guarijío' (Escalante, 1968, 1994).

1.3. The Need for a Grammar

I think that the best justification for describing a language like Warihío has been expressed by Ken Hale: "The loss of local languages and of the cultural systems which they express, has meant irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth. Only with diversity can it be guaranteed that all avenues of human intellectual progress will be traveled. When you lose a language, a large part of the culture goes, too, because much of that culture is encoded in the language."

The linguistic diversity that shows multiple forms to conceive, transform, explain, and socially communicate knowledge has been confronted in many ways by the expansion of a communicative style sustained by nationalist traditions and economic globalization that encourage linguistic and cultural homogenization.

By one count (Ethnologue, www.ethnologue.com), over six thousand five hundred languages are now spoken in the world, but hundreds of these are no longer living languages used by speakers and speech communities in their day-to-day activities and lives. Their disappearance continues today, and has greatly accelerated during the last two hundred years. Hundreds of indigenous languages on several continents, particularly North and South America and Australia, have died during this period, and hundreds more are destined to meet the same fate. Krauss (1992) divides oral languages into the **moribund**, the **endangered**, and the **safe** groups on the basis of three criteria: intergenerational transfer from parents to children, number of speakers, and official status. The main criterion is whether or not children are learning the language, and the second is the number of speakers. Only languages with over 1 million speakers are considered to be 'safe'. **Moribund** languages, which are no longer being learned by children, comprise between 20 and 50 percent of the world's oral languages. Warihío children are learning the language less frequently as a first language, and they are learning Spanish as their first language. With less than five hundred fluent speakers of both dialects (Garza Cuarón and Yolanda Lastra, 1991) and with a strong influence of Spanish as official language, Warihío is a moribund language: Warihío is dying.

Some Warihío communities are interested in trying to encourage all their children to learn Warihío. They have petitioned the author to provide them information about the language, with the goal of creating pedagogical material for use in the first and second grades. The main product of this present project will constitute a database for future creation of educational materials to assist in revitalizing their language.

1.4. Collaborators

My main collaborators who generously shared their knowledge on Warihío are:

Agustina Zayla Leyva			33 years old
Isidro Zayla Zazueta	<i>hustína taatára</i>	Agustina's father	60 years old
Manuela Leyva Zazueta	<i>hustína ye'yéra</i>	Agustina's mother	58 years old
Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta	<i>hustína kuumúra</i>	Agustina's uncle	62 years old
Lucía Zazueta Witimea	<i>hustína neesára</i>	Agustina's aunt	78 years old (deceased)

Fieldwork was done in Mochibampo, Sonora during the summers and Christmases of 2001-2004 for a total of 12 months. The methodology consisted of recording elicited sentences and narratives. The transcription of all material was done in collaboration with my informants and part of the analysis was accomplished with the help of a very intuitive linguist: Agustina Zayla Leyva.

1.5. The Warihío sound system

The Warihío sound system has a total of 12 consonants and five vowels.

1.5.1. Consonants

Table (1) illustrates the consonants of Warihío arranged according to their articulation. This is the notational system I will use throughout the whole description of the language.

Voiceless stops	p	t	k
Flap		r	
Fricative		s	
Affricate			č
Nasal	m	n	
Semivowel	w		y
Aspiration and glottal			h, '

Table 1. Warihío phonological elements: Consonants.

Consonant clusters in Warihío are limited to contact between syllables; that is, the sequence of a coda and the onset of the next syllable. There are no word final consonants, and medially, the consonants allowed in coda position are mainly the glottals /ʔ/ and /h/, and to a small degree the nasals /m/ and /n/.

Glottals have a more limited distribution than the rest of the consonants in the Warihío phonological system since they never appear word initially or word finally. Next, I exemplify the consonant distribution found in Warihío:

Consonant distribution

Stops

/p/ Bilabial voiceless stop

#_V	[pah.kó]	‘feast’
	[pu.sá.ni]	‘six’
V_V	[ta.pa.ná]	‘yesterday’
	[si.pi.čá]	‘dress’
C_V	[te.kih.pá.na.ni]	‘working’
	[pe.neh.pá.ni]	‘learning’

/t/ Alveolar voiceless stop

#_V	[teh.kí]	‘work’
	[te.ma.rí]	‘boy’
V_V	[i.tih.pí.na]	‘lacking’
	[to.to.rí]	‘hen’
C_V	[teh.té]	‘rock’
	[in.tú.na]	‘there is’

/k/	Velar voiceless stop	
#_V	[ka.pó.so.ri]	‘bowl’
	[ka.wí]	‘hill’
V_V	[ya.sa.ká]	‘be seated’
	[su.ka.ní]	‘to sew’
C_V	[ka'.ké.na]	‘swimming’
	[kah.ká.me]	‘sweet’

//	Voiceless glottal	
V_V	[no.'ó]	‘I’
	[mo.'ó]	‘head’
V_C	[ka'.ké.na]	‘swimming’
	[ka'.mó.ri]	‘sweet potato’

/h/	Aspiration	
V_V	[te.te.hí.ma]	‘relatives’
	[kawihámpa]	‘clift’
V_C	[teh.čí]	‘uncle’
	[peh.tó.ri]	‘plate’

Fricative

/s/	Alveolar voiceless fricative	
#_V	[sa.wá]	‘leave’

	[sa.ki.rá]	‘griddle’
V_V	[pu.se.ré.na]	‘To like’
	[a.su.sú]	‘garlic’
C_V	[wi'.sú.na.ni]	‘To throw away’
	[mí'.si]	‘cat’

/č/ Palatoalveolar voiceless affricate

#_V	[čo.'ó.ri]	‘chicken’
	[čo.poh.kó.ri]	‘knee’
V_V	[se'.mú.či]	‘hummingbird’
	[ko.či.ná]	‘To sleep’
C_V	[čuh.čú.ri]	‘dog’
	[pah.čí]	‘seed’

Sonorants

/m/ Bilabial nasal

#_V	[ma.či.ná]	‘To know’
	[mu.ku.ná]	‘To die’
V_V	[ka.wé.ru.ma]	‘good’
	[te.peh.kú.ma]	‘long’
V_C	[sim.pá.ni]	‘To leave (pl)’
C_V	[se'.mú.či]	‘humming bird’

/n/ Alveolar nasal

#_V	[nah.ká]	‘handle’
	[nah.kí]	‘To want’
V_V	[na.né.na]	‘To know’
	[na.na.rá.ki]	‘moss’
C_V	[i'.na.tú.ke.na]	‘asking’
V_C	[in.tú.na]	‘there is’

/r/ Alveolar rhotic (flap)

#_V	[re.si.pú.na]	‘To rest’
	[rih.tá.tia.me]	‘smooth’
V_V	[ta.ha.ró]	‘bucket’
	[ma.ri.kí]	‘five’
C_V	[sa'.rú.či]	‘verdolaga’ a type of edible plant

/w/ Bilabial semivowel

#_	[wi.tá.ri]	‘rope’
	[wa.hó.na]	‘To mix’
V_V	[u.te.wá.či]	‘forced’
	[se.wá]	‘flower’
C_V	[ču'.wá]	‘mouth’

/y/	Palatal semivowel	
#_	[yah.čá]	‘To pour’
	[ye.ro.wá]	‘poison’
V_V	[ka.wi.yá.me]	‘watery’
	[ye.yé.ra]	‘weevil’
C_V	[ye'.yé]	‘mother’

1.5.2. Vowels

The vowels (Table 2) maintain five contrasts. Warihío exhibits free variation in some syllables with long vowels, for example, *saawaéme* ~ *sawaéme* ‘yellow’. There is no evidence that long vowels are phonemes of the language, since there are no minimal pairs with this contrast: a single vowel vs. long vowel. A sequence of two like vowels might form a syllable as in *suu.nú* ‘corn’, or might belong to two different syllables, as in *ku.ú* ‘stick’. The membership of the second like vowel to a different syllable is recognizable auditorily, with an increasing in the intensity of the sound. Therefore, when the second vowel of a sequence of two like vowels is stressed, the vowels belong to different syllables.

	Front	Back
High	i	u
	e	o
Low	a	

Table 2: Warihío phonological elements: Vowels.

Next, I exemplify the vowel distribution found in Warihío:

Vowel distribution

/i/ High front vowel

#_C [ih.pí.či.ra] 'broom'

[ih.čo.ré.wa] 'dirty'

C_C [te.te.hí.ma] 'relatives'

[i.hí.kú.ri] 'bad witchcraft'

_# [i.ka.ná.ti] 'fast'

[i.ku.rí] 'thread'

/u/ High back vowel

#_C [u.pá.ni] 'To bathe'

[u.yá.ni] 'To sprout'

C_C [tu.na.ká.me] 'thick'

[u.hú.ya] 'To smell'

_#	[puh.kú]	‘pet’
	[aa.rú]	‘watermelon’
/e/	Middle front vowel	
#_	[eh.čá]	‘sore’
	[e.kah.tá]	‘shadow’
C_C	[e.peh.tá]	‘sleeping mat’
	[pu'.se.ré.na]	‘To like’
_#	[eh.pé]	‘now’
	[eh.té]	‘louse’
/o/	Middle back vowel	
#_	[oh.čó.na.me]	‘black’
	[oh.kó]	‘pine’
C_C	[o.'o.nó.ri]	‘buzzard’
	[yo.má]	‘everything’
_#	[no'.nó]	‘father’
	[too.nó]	‘foot’
/a/	Low central vowel	
#_	[a.ča.ká.ri]	‘horn’
	[a.há.me]	‘alive’
C_C	[a.há.ma]	‘with’

	[a.tah.pó.ri]	‘bow’
_#	[o'.ké.wa]	‘tears’
	[too.né.wa]	‘foam’

Diphthongs

Nine diphthongs are found in Warihío: /ai/, /au/, /ia/, /ua/, and /oi/. One of the two high vowels of the language, i.e. /i/ and /u/, must be part of the diphthong. Diphthongs can be either stressed or unstressed. Stress can appear both on the initial or final vowel of the diphthong, and the stressed vowel must be the non-high vowel. Next I present one example of each diphthong:

/ai/	[pai.ká]	‘tree’
/oi/	[i.yói]	‘remedy’
/ei/	[nei.pá]	‘last’
/ui/	[kui.tá]	‘child’
/ia/	[o.wí.tia.me]	‘woman’
/ie/	[i.hí.ku.rie]	‘with a witchcraft’
/au/	[yau.ná]	‘To dance’
/ua/	[i.či.kuá.me]	‘thief’
/ue/	[a.ki.sué.pa]	‘along the river’

Some vowels change the presence of others, forming thus one of the diphthongs described above:

e --> i/_a
 o --> u/_á

This is evidence that diphthongs of the language must be formed of at least one high vowel, since the low vowel /a/ makes the presence of another non-high vowel non acceptable as a diphthong, therefore, the non-high vowels /e/ and /o/ must change their height in order to form an acceptable diphthong in the language.

The next chart sums up the possible diphthongal combinations:

Initial	Final				
	a	e	i	o	u
a			√		√
e			√		
i	√	√			
o			√		
u	√	√	√		

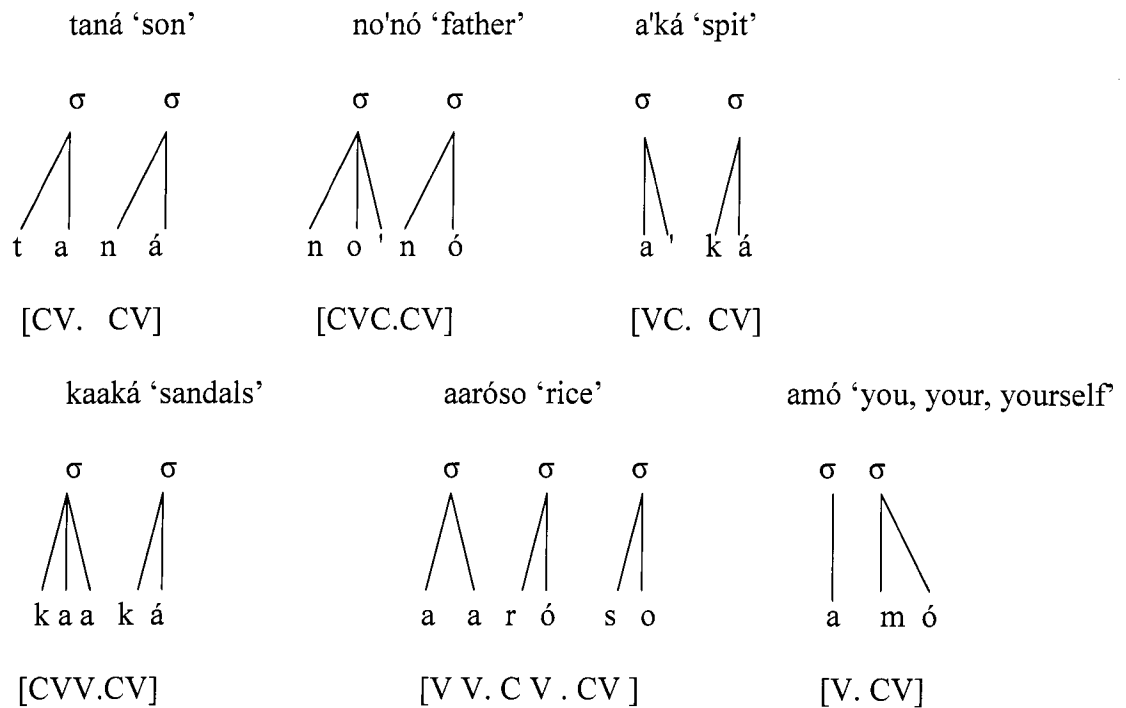
Table 3. Diphthongal combinations.

1.5.3. Syllable structure

Example (1) illustrates all the possible types of syllables found in Warihío words. Warihío does not exhibit monosyllabic words. Also absent in Warihío are CVVC syllables, which seems to be too heavy. The heaviest syllables found in the language are CVC and CVV. Syllable boundary is here signaled with a period mark. Syllable boundaries are not completely predictable. Even though most syllables will have the form CV, some cases are found when a sequence of two like elements, for example CVV has

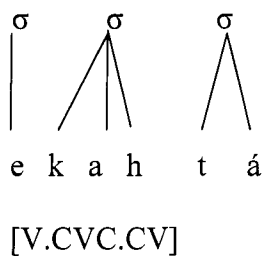
two different options for syllabification, for instance *ku.ú* ‘stick’, and *suu.nú* ‘corn’, depending on the audible syllabification performed by the speaker.

(1) CV, CVC, VC, CVV, VV, and V are all possible word initially:



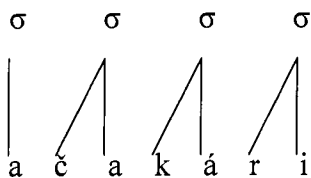
As can be seen in the preceding examples, CV is the most common syllable in second position, even though we can also find CVC, as in the following example:

ekahtá ‘shadow’



Most words consisting of three syllables or more will have as the third (or following) syllable a CV one, as in the next example:

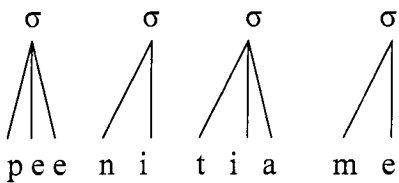
ačakári ‘crab’



[V.CV.CV.CV]

An unusual combination of syllables was found in at least one word of the language:

peenitiáme ‘pretty’



[CVV.CV.CVV.CV.]

As have been seen, the most common type of syllable found in Warihío is CV, with a less common VV. None of the native Warihío words exhibit complex onsets or codas; furthermore, the distribution of codas is rather limited: only nasals (/m/ and /n/) and glottals (/ʔ/ and /h/) can fill this position. CVC syllables can never appear word finally. The heaviest syllables found in the language are CVC and CVV. All these facts may be an indicator that the coda position in Warihío is an endangered one. The size of

words in Warihío ranges from monosyllable to words formed by 7 syllables. Usually words with more than two syllables are the result of some further word process, such as suffixation, reduplication, derivation or compounding. The most common word is formed by three syllables.

1.5.4. Stress

Stress distribution is not predictable counting by types of words. In a random counting of 150 words the stress was found in the following places:

(a) Nouns		stress
1 syllable	0	there are no monosyllabic words in the language
2 syllables	24	last
3 syllables	18	last
	17	penultimate
4 syllables	16	penultimate
	6	antepenultimate
5 syllables	2	penultimate
	1	antepenultimate
7 syllables	1	antepenultimate

(b) Verbs

2 syllables	2	last
3 syllables	14	last

	8	penultimate
4 syllables	12	penultimate
	6	antepenultimate
5 syllables	2	penultimate
	3	antepenultimate
6 syllables	1	antepenultimate

(c) Adjectives

3 syllables	2	penultimate
4 syllables	2	penultimate
	1	antepenultimate

(d) Others

2 syllables	8	last
3 syllables	3	last
	5	penult
4 syllables	4	penult

Some patterns were found: (i) all two-syllable words are stressed on the last syllable, (ii) none of the non-derived words with more than three syllables have the stress in the fourth or subsequent syllable from the beginning, and (iii) in compound words the stress falls over the third syllable.

Compound and suffixed words are relevant to explain most of the stress placement.² A first division to be made is that between roots with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress. A second division is needed to account for stress placement: that between strong and weak affixes. Regarding the first division, i.e. division of root between those with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress, the explanation for the division follows from the fact that in Warihío there are some roots which will not change their stress as new elements, such as affixes, are added to them. Other roots, the ones with no inherent stress, may change their stress as new strong affixes are added:

Roots with no inherent stress, and therefore undergoing a stress change with some suffixes are:

akí	+	-čí	akičí
‘river’		‘LOC’	‘in the river’
akí	+	-suépa	akisuépa
‘river’		‘LOC’	‘in the bank of the river’
biené-	+	-čí	bienečí
‘Friday’		‘LOC’	‘Friday’

Some of the roots with inherent stress are:

čapahká	+	-čí	čapahkáči
‘leg’		‘LOC’	‘in the leg’

The second major division, i.e. that of suffixes into strong and weak ones, can be illustrated with the following examples:

²There is still some variation unaccounted by the patterns signaled before.

kuú	+	-e	kuúe
‘tree’		‘INS’	‘with the tree’
kuú	+	-tere	kuútere
‘tree’		‘under’	‘under the tree’

Despite these examples one cannot state that *kuú* ‘tree’ is a root with inherent stress, given that one can also find:

kuú	+	-čí	kuučí
‘tree’		‘LOC’	‘in the tree’

These examples show that *kuú* ‘tree’ cannot be said to have inherent stress, rather, that some roots will move their stress depending on whether the suffix added to them is strong or weak. One strong suffix is the causative suffix *-te*, which will move the stress from roots without inherent stress, such as:

čuhpá	+	-te	čupahténa
‘sharp end’			‘to sharpen’
čihpúna	+	-te	čipuhténa
‘to be sour’			‘to make feel sour’
kahká	+	-te	kakahténa
‘sweet’			‘to make feel sweet’
penipáni	+	-te	penipáténa
‘to learn’			‘to teach’

The predictable part of stress assignment in Warihío is which suffix can move the stress of the root. The unpredictable part is the roots in which stress can be moved, only

in the roots with no inherent stress. To find this, one has to test all the roots of the grammar.

In compound nouns, the stress falls over the third syllable from the beginning:

arí	+	so'póri	arisópori
'evening'		'star'	'evening star'
moké	+	warí	mokewári
'palm'		'basket'	'palm basket'
teté	+	ko're	tetehkóre
'stone'		'fence'	'fence of stone'

1.5.5. Morphophonemics

There is a phonological disharmony between the last vowel of the verbal root and the vowel of the habitual/present tense/aspect suffixes *-na* ~ *-ni* (see 2.1.2.1). If the root ends in a non-low vowel, the suffix will show a low vowel, that is *-na*. If the root ends in a low vowel, the suffix will be *-ni*:

(2a) *-na* --> *-ni/a-*

(2b) četé-na	'to play an instrument'	eča-ní	'to sow'
ičikó-na	'to steal'	kiyá-ni	'to give'
ičipú-na	'to be hidden'	nawésa-ni	'to speak'
komi-ná	'to hug'	pusá-ní	'to wake up'

1.5.6. Reduplication

The reduplicative base is the first syllable of the stem and the reduplicant is a light syllable:

- | | | | |
|------|--------|----------|------------|
| (2a) | kočina | kokočina | ‘to sleep’ |
| (2b) | taná | tatána | ‘son’ |
| (2c) | weká | weweká | ‘a lot’ |

In reduplication, as in affixation, one needs to propose the existence of roots with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress. My claim is that *kočina* and *taná* have no inherent stress, whereas *weká* has it. This explains why in (2a)-(2b) the stress is moved when the word is reduplicated and why in (2c) the stress remains in the same place.

The reduplication process is used with various constituents: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The reduplication expresses plurality of the participants, iteration, duration or intensification of the event.

CHAPTER 2

WORD CLASSES

2.0. Introduction

The words of a language can be divided into lexical and non-lexical morphemes. The latter, known also as function words, are subdivided into grammatical morphemes and derivational morphemes. Lexical or content morphemes express our shared culture, and they tend to have the following characteristics: a free morphemic status, relatively large phonological size, stressed, complex and specific semantic size, large class size, i.e. nouns and verbs, they belong to an open class, and they function to express a world-view (Givón, 2001).

2.1. Major lexical word-classes

Warhío distinguishes three major lexical word classes: (i) the class of lexical words that can take a possession or relational classifier suffix, i.e., the Noun class; (ii) the class of lexical words that takes a tense/aspect suffix, this is the Verb class; and (iii) the class of lexical words that can modify a noun, this is the Adjective class.

Linguists have had problems in categorizing the lexical items that occur in languages. Most generative theories only assume classes such as Noun, Verb, Adjective

and Preposition. Lexical items are categorized in terms of two binary features [$\pm N$, $\pm V$], which are conceptualized in a circular way. The traditional notional analysis as the only criterion for lexical categorization has been rejected, and instead morphosyntactic criteria have been proposed (Schachter, 1985) for distinguishing lexical categories.

2.1.1. Nouns

Of all word classes, prototypical nouns are the most time-stable and complex: that is, multi-featured, concrete, and compact. Hence, they tend to be countable. Generally, *nouns* constitute the class of words in which the names of most persons, places, and things occur. The most common grammar function for nouns is to serve as arguments.

2.1.1.1. Grammatical morphology

The morphological criteria that signal a morpheme as a noun are not always very clear (Anderson, 1985). Nouns may have number, gender, case, definiteness, or agreement marked in some way. None of these are marked in Warihío. Nevertheless, the words treated in this section show some morphology that allows us to classify them as nouns in most instances.

2.1.1.1.1. Noun classifiers

Not all languages have obligatory formal means for the linguistic categorization of nouns, but all languages have ways of categorizing nouns and their referents in terms of their semantic and syntactic properties. Allan (1977:285) defines classifiers as

“morphemes which occur in surface structures under specifiable conditions and denote some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers.” In a typological study of about 500 languages with overt classifier markers, Aikhenvald (2000) found the following types of classifiers: NOUN CLASSES or GENDERS, NOUN CLASSIFIER, POSSESSED CLASSIFIER, RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER, VERBAL CLASSIFIER, DEICTIC CLASSIFIER. This typology is based mainly on Craig (1992) and it is a semantically based categorization; however, categorization based on the morphological or phonological aspect has been reported as occurring in some languages (Foley, 1986).

Warihío nouns are not marked for gender, number, or case for the agent, patient/theme and recipient. Noun classifiers appear only in possessive constructions. Aikhenvald (2000:17) establishes three kinds of categorization devices which operate in a possessive NP:

- (i) The scope of the categorization is the possessive relation itself, i.e. the way a noun can be possessed, or treated. These markers are called RELATIONAL CLASSIFIERS; they refer to the function of the noun, and not to inherent properties.
- (ii) The scope of the categorization is the possessed noun itself. Classifiers which categorize the possessed noun are called POSSESSED CLASSIFIERS. The noun is categorized in terms of its inherent properties.

(iii) The scope of the categorization is the possessor, and its inherent properties. These are POSSESSOR CLASSIFIERS.

2.1.1.1.1. Relational classifiers

One semantic parameter found regularly in relational classifiers is the alienability nature of the relation between the possessor and the possessed entity. Commonly in languages that present this type of classifier, the alienable possessive construction is marked and the inalienable one is unmarked.

The set of pronouns that can function as possessive pronouns is the non-S form pronouns¹:

(1)	no'ó	Singular first person	tamó	Plural first person
	amó	Singular second person	amó	Plural second person
	ahpó	Singular third person	ahpó	Plural third person

The relational classifier in River Warihío is the possessed noun suffix *-wa*. The inalienable possessive construction is constrained to kinship terms and body parts; that is, all relatives and body parts are unmarked. Otherwise, the possessed entity has the suffix *-wa*:

¹ Warihío has two sets of personal pronouns: (i) one set with the form S for the S/A function of independent clauses, and (ii) one set with the form non-S (illustrated in (1)) for the P, Th, R, possessor, reflexive functions and for any core participant in dependent clauses.

- (2a) no'ó tehté-wa 'my stone'
 no'ó sikorí-wa 'my pots'
 no'ó weé-wa 'my land'
 no'ó karí-wa 'my house'
 no'ó ihpíči-wa 'my broom'
- (2b) no'ó no'nó 'my father'
 no'ó yeyé 'my mother'
 no'ó taná 'my son'
 no'ó pa'čí 'my elder brother'
 no'ó kuuná 'my husband'
 no'ó uupí 'my wife'
 no'ó mo'ó 'my head'
 no'ó nahká 'my ear'

The following pairs of sentences show the contrast between alienable and inalienable possession. Examples (3a) and (3b) are not ungrammatical constructions but describe impossible situations since the head and leg are the speaker's body parts, whereas (3a') and (3b') are not impossible when the body parts are marked with the suffix *-wa*.

- (3a) ??? no'ó mo'ó mesa-čí pói
 1SG.NS head table-LOC lay.down.sg
 'My head is on the table.'

- (3b) ??? no'ó čapaká mesa-čí pói
 1SG.NS leg table-LOC lay.down.sg
 'My leg is on the table.'
- (3a') no'ó mo'ó-wa mesa-čí pói
 1SG.NS head-CLF table-LOC lay.down.sg
 'My head (pig's head) is on the table.'
- (3b') no'ó čapaká-wa mesa-čí pói
 1SG.NS leg-CLF table-LOC lay.down.sg
 'My leg (pig's leg) is on the table.'

Given the right context (3a) and (3b) can be grammatical and acceptable:

- (4a) mesa-čí poi-pá=ne no'ó mo'o resipú-mia
 table-LOC lay.down-INCH=1SG.S 1SG.NS head rest-FUT
 'I put my head on the table to rest.'
- (4b) mesa-čí teká-ru=ne no'ó čapahká resipú-mia
 table-LOC to.place.laying.down-PFV.EV=1SG.S 1SG.NS leg rest-FUT
 'I put my leg on the table to rest.'

When the possessed entity is a noun phrase, the suffix can be attached to the head noun (5), to the adjective (6), or to both (7) with no apparent change of meaning:

- (5a) no'ó kari-wá werumá
 1SG.NS house-CLF big
 'my big house'

- (5b) no'ó kawái-wa oćóname
 1SG.NS horse-CLF black
 'my black horse'
- (6a) no'ó karí werumá-wa
 1SG.NS house big-CLF
 'my big house'
- (6b) no'ó kawái oćonamé-wa
 1SG.NS horse black-CLF
 'my black horse'
- (7a) no'ó karí-wa werumá-wa
 1SG.NS house-CLF big-CLF
 'my big house'
- (7b) no'ó kawái-wa oćonamé-wa
 1SG.NS horse-CLF black-CLF
 'my black horse'

In the case of a conjoined possessive construction sharing the same possessor, the classifier suffix may be shown in one of the two head nouns; or in the adjective as well:

- (8a) no'ó kari-wá werumá no'ó kawái oćóname
 1SG.NS house-CLF big 1SG.NS horse black
 'my big house and my black horse'
- (8b) no'ó kari-wá werumá no'ó kawái oćóname-wa
 1SG.NS house-CLF big 1SG.NS horse black-CLF
 'my big house and my black horse'

All of the following permutations are possible with no apparent change of meaning:

- (8c) no'ó kari-wá werumá no'ó kawái očóname
 no'ó kari-wá werumá-wa no'ó kawái očóname
 no'ó kari-wá werumá-wa no'ó kawái-wa očóname
 no'ó kari-wá werumá-wa no'ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
 no'ó karí werumá-wa no'ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
 no'ó karí werumá no'ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
 no'ó karí werumá no'ó kawái-wa očóname
 no'ó kari werumá-wa no'ó kawái očóname
 no'ó kari-wá werumá no'ó kawái-wa očóname-wa

2.1.1.1.1.2. Possessed classifiers

River Warihío shows a marginal and variable use of the possessed classifier²

puhkú for domestic animals:

- (9a) no'ó puhku-wá čuhčúri
 1SG.NS CLF-CLF dog
 'my dog'

- (9b) no'ó čuhčúri-wa
 1SG.NS dog-CLF
 'my dog'

² Upland Warihío uses *puhkú* and *nati* for domestic animals and objects, respectively (Miller, 1996), while Tarahumara uses *puhkú* and *niwá* (Brambila, 1953). Chemehuevi, a language of the Southern Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan family, has also two possessed classifiers: *-punkú* for 'pets' and *igapi* for 'domesticated plants' (Press, 1979).

2.1.1.1.1.3. The suffix *-ra*

The suffix *-ra* and its cognates in Uto-Aztecan languages are called ‘absolute’ with a relational function between two third person entities. This suffix attached to the possessed noun occurs in Warihío with third person possessors (10) or in part-whole constructions (11):

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------------|
| (10) | no'o taná | ‘my son’ |
| | amó taná | ‘your son’ |
| | apoé taná-ra | ‘her/his son’ |
| | hustína taná-ra | ‘Agustina’s son’ |
| | tamó taná | ‘our son’ |
| | amó taná | ‘your (pl.) son’ |
| | aapóe taná-ra | ‘their son’ |
-
- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| (11a) | ko'oré tehté-ra | |
| | fence stone-REL | |
| | ‘the stone of the fence’ | |
-
- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|--|
| (11a') | werumá ko'oré tehté-ra | |
| | big fence stone-REL | |
| | ‘the stone of the big fence’ | |
-
- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| (11a'') | ko'oré werumá tehté-ra | |
| | fence big stone-REL | |
| | ‘the big stone of the fence’/‘the stone of the big fence’/‘the big stone of the big fence’ | |
-
- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| (11b) | wakasí aawá-ra | |
| | cow horn-REL | |
| | ‘the horns of the cow’ | |

Another class of relation, something like ‘producer-product’, is also marked by *-ra*:

- (12a) wakasí wihtá-ra
 cow excrement-REL
 ‘the excrement of the cow’

A part-whole relation:

- (12b) pawé seté-ra
 beach sand- REL
 ‘the sand of the beach’

Or locative-proximity relation:

- (12c) sirá nanaráki-ra
 chair moss-REL
 ‘the moss of the chair’

In (10), which expresses an inalienable possession, the constructions are not marked by *-wa*. However, the noun possessed by a third person possessor shows the suffix *-ra*. This distinction is made also in alienable possessive constructions:

- (13) no’ó ka’aká-wa ‘my sandals.’
 amó ka’aká-wa ‘your sandals.’
 apoé ka’aká-ra ‘her/his sandals.’

rolando ka'aká-ra	‘Rolando’s sandals.’
tamó ka'aká-wa	‘our sandals.’
amó ka'aká-wa	‘your (pl) sandals.’
aapóe ka'aká-ra	‘their sandals.’

In (10) with third person possessors, *-wa* is absent, instead the suffix *-ra* occurs. The occurrence of the suffix *-wa* for a third person possessor is optional, but the *-ra* is obligatory:

(14) no'ó karí-wa	‘my house’
amó karí-wa	‘your (sg.) house’
apoé karí(-wa)-ra	‘his/her house’
tamó karí-wa	‘our house’
amó karí-wa	‘your (pl.) house’
aapoé karí(-wa)-ra	‘their house’

There is a contrast between the first and third person possessor in the following possessive constructions:

- (15a) no'ó čuhčúri-wa
 1SG.NS dog-CLF
 ‘my dog’
- (15b) apoé čuhčúri-ra
 3SG.S dog-REL
 ‘his/her dog’

The following examples are crucial in trying to explain the difference between suffixes *-wa* and *-ra*, since in ((16b)-(16c)) there are alienable and inalienable possession between two third entities in the same construction:

- (16a) *čuhčúri mo'ó-ra*
 dog head-REL
 'the dog's head'
- (16b) *hustína čuhčúri-wa mo'ó-ra*
 Agustina dog-CLF head-REL
 'Agustina's dog's head'
- (16c) *hustína taná-ra mo'o-rá*
 Agustina son-REL head-REL
 'Agustina's son's head'

In (16a), the possessor *čuhčúri* 'dog' is a third person and the inalienably possessed noun *mo'ó* 'head' is marked with *-ra*. Now notice the contrast between (16b) and (16c) where there are three third persons involved. In both (16a) and (16b), the inalienably possessed noun *mo'ó* (the dog's head) is marked with *-ra*. In (16b), the alienably possessed noun, in this case *čuhčúri* 'dog' (Agustina's dog), is marked with *-wa*, which is the mark usually denoting alienable possession. Furthermore, the very similar construction in (16c) lacks *-wa* in the inalienable possession parts of the construction; *hustina taná-ra* 'Agustina's son' and *tanára mo'óra* 'son's head'. Instead, the relation between the two third persons *hustína* 'Agustina'/*taná* 'son' and *taná* 'son'/*mo'ó* 'head' are marked with *-ra*.

In the case of (17), there is no *-ra* mark in the inalienable possessed noun *taná* ‘son’ since it co-occurs with a first person possessor pronoun:

- (17) *no'ó taná mo'ó-ra*
 1SG.NS son head-REL
 ‘my son’s head’

Contrast (16b) repeated below with (18):

- (16b) *hustína čuhčúri-wa mo'ó-ra*
 Agustina dog-CLF head-REL
 ‘Agustina’s dog’s head’
- (18) *no'ó taná puhkú-ra mo'ó-ra čuhčúri*
 1SG.NS son CLF-REL head-REL dog
 ‘the head of my son’s dog’

What is evident is the variation in the use of the possessed classifier *puhkú*, as we saw before. There is also a variation in the order of possessor-possessed nouns. In (16b), there is a possessor-possessed noun order and in (18), a possessed-possessor noun order. Likewise, in (18) we observe three possessive relations: (i) one between a first person possessor pronoun in an inalienable possession construction *no'ó taná* which is non-marked; (ii) another between two third persons in an alienable possession construction *no'ó taná puhkúra čuhčúri* ‘my son’s dog’, which is marked with the suffix *-ra*, in this case on the possessed classifier *puhkú*; and (iii) a third possessive relation between two

third persons in an inalienable possession construction *mo'orá čuhčúri* 'dog's head' marked with *-ra* on the possessed noun. Therefore, there is no *-wa* suffix in any of these possessive sub-relations in the construction in (18); there is either an inalienable possession or a possession between third persons.

Table 3 summarizes the morphological markers and patterns found in Warihío possession.

Person	Inalienable	Alienable
1	-∅	- <i>wa</i>
2	-∅	- <i>wa</i>
3	-∅- <i>ra</i>	-(<i>wa</i>)- <i>ra</i>

Table 3. Possession-relational classifiers.

2.1.1.1.2. Number

Nouns in Warihío are not usually marked for number. That is, we can have grammatically acceptable sentences in which the nouns may have a singular or a plural translation without a mark for number in the Warihío:

- (19a) pedró čikó-re kawái
 Peter steal-PFV horse
 ‘Peter stole a/the horses/horses.’
- (19b) waní wewe-ré tihoé
 John hit-PFV man
 ‘John hit a man/the men.’
- (19c) tihoé wewe-ré waní
 man hit-PFV John
 ‘A man/the men/men hit John.’

When number is marked, it can occur as reduplication to the left of the first syllable of the noun marked, but only in nouns for relatives (20):

- (20a) no'ó po~póni
 1SG.NS PL~brother
 ‘my brothers’
- (20b) paiká ta~taná-e=ne
 three PL~son-INS=1SG.S
 ‘I have three sons.’

I found one example of a noun with plural or collective meaning:

- (21a) owéru ‘women’
 (21b) owítíame ‘woman’

2.1.1.1.3. Case-role markers

Noun core participants are not case marked³:

(22a) tihoé wewe-ré pedró

man hit-PFV Peter

‘A/the man hit Peter.’

(22b) pedró wewe-ré tihoé

Peter hit-PFV man

‘Peter hit a/the man.’

(22c) pedró itočé-re muni tihoé

Peter send-PFV beans man

‘Peter sent the man beans.’

Only non-core oblique nouns are case marked. Warihío has two different ways of marking case relations: one unstressed and suffixed, and another stressed and phonologically longer:

(i) Short, mostly unstressed : *-či, -e, -ma*

(ii) Long, mostly stressed : *-tere, aháma, -ičío, -hámpa*

³ The division of core vs. non-core participants in Warihío is relatively simple; only non-core participants are marked by a postposition.

2.1.1.1.3.1. The locative *-čĩ*⁴

This postposition has a basic general locative sense:

- (23a) maní nerói sikorí-čĩ
 exist water pot-LOC
 ‘There is water in the pot.’
- (23b) kahtí=ne amó sirá-čĩ
 be.seated.sg=1SG.S 2SG.NS chair-LOC
 ‘I am seated in your chair.’
- (23c) apoé simi-ré tiendá-čĩ
 3SG.S go-PFV store-LOC
 ‘He went to the store.’
- (23d) werú mačéna-re eerá no’ó tehpuria-čĩ
 QUANT appear-PFV blood 1SG.NS wound-LOC
 ‘A lot of blood sprang from my wound.’
- (23e) inasú-ru=ne nawáso trooké-čĩ
 hide-PFV.EV=1SG.S clasp knife car-LOC
 ‘I hid the clasp knife in the car.’

It is used to specify a body part, for example, in sentences such as ‘I hurt X’, ‘I have a X-ache’:

⁴ It seems that the locative *-čĩ* excludes the alienable possessive suffix *-wa*. I don’t know why.

- (24) ko'koré-na=ne mo'o-čí / seka-čí / pui-čí
hurt-PRS=1SG.S head-LOC / hand-LOC / eye-LOC
'I have a headache / I hurt my hand / I hurt my eye.'

The sense of 'location' is given not only in space but also in time. All days of the week and the months, actually borrowed from Spanish, have this postposition:

- (25) ruuné-čí 'Monday'
maaté-čí 'Tuesday'
meekóra-čí 'Wednesday'
suewé-čí 'Thursday'
biené-čí 'Friday'
sawará-čí 'Saturday'
toomíko-čí 'Sunday'
risiém-bre-čí 'December'

2.1.1.1.3.2. The instrument *-e*

This postposition occurs mainly when some entity is utilized as an instrument:

- (26a) če'čé kuú-e
prick stick -INS
'Prick him with a stick!'
- (26b) wanita suka-ré sipičá seka-é
Juanita sew-PFV dress hand-INS
'Juanita made the dress with her hands.'

- (26c) no'ó wewe-rú seka-é
 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV hand-INS
 'He hit me with his hand.'
- (26d) waníta tasipána-re sipiča ko'oré-e
 Juanita tear-PFV dress fence-INS
 'Juanita's dress tore on the fence.'

It also occurs with the agent of a passive construction:

- (27a) rolando čapi-ré-tu poresía-e
 Rolando hold-PFV-PASS police-INS
 'Rolando was detained by the police officer.'
- (27b) wewe-ré-tu=ne pedró-e
 hit-PFV-PASS=1SG.S Peter-INS
 'I was hit by Peter.'

It is central to the predicative possessive constructions:

- (28a) ooká maará-e=ne
 two daughter-INS=1SG.S
 'I have two daughters.'
- (28b) tepekúma ku'pá-e=ne
 long hair-INS=1SG.S
 'I have long hair.'

2.1.1.1.3.3. The comitative *-ma / aháma*

This postposition varies between a suffixed form and a free form⁵:

- (29a) *hustína ená-ru ahpó poní-ma*
 Agustina come-PFV.EV 3SG.NS brother-COM
 ‘Agustina came with his brother.’
- (29b) *ini-náre=ne amó-ma*
 be-DES=1SG.S 2SG.NS-COM
 ‘I want to be with you.’
- (29c) *maniwíri nasua-ré pedró aháma*
 Manuel fight-PFV Peter COM
 ‘Manuel fought with Peter.’
- (29d) *pií owítíame asi-rú ahpó ye'yé aháma*
 one woman arrive-PFV.EV 3SG.NS mother COM
 ‘A woman arrived with her mother.’

2.1.1.1.3.4. The postposition *-tere* : ‘through’, ‘between’, ‘under’

- (30a) *čuhčúri pó'i mesá-tere*
 dog be.laying.down.sg table-under
 ‘The dog is under the table.’
- (30b) *rolando u'má-re kusí-tere*
 Rolando run-PFV woods-through
 ‘Rolando ran through the woods.’

⁵ This alternation between the free form and the postposition may be due to an intermediate stage of grammaticalization. I found no semantic differences in these two uses.

2.1.1.1.3.5. The benefactive *-ičiό*

- (31) kari-tá-ru=ne maría ičió
 house-make-PFV.EV=1SG.S Mary BEN
 ‘I built the house for Mary.’

2.1.1.1.3.6. The postposition *-hámpa*: ‘over’

Usually *-hámpa* has the sense of location in space:

- (32) kuitá moená-re kari-hámpa
 child climb-PFV house-over
 ‘The child climbed on top of the house’

But a metaphorical sense is used in the numerical system:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|----------|
| (33) | piípi | ‘one’ |
| | osá | ‘twice’ |
| | marikí | ‘five’ |
| | osá marikí | ‘ten’ |
| | osá marikí ampá piípi | ‘eleven’ |

2.1.1.1.3.7. The postposition *pehána*: ‘instead’

(34a) neé naiwá-ma waní pehána
 1SG.S speak-FUT John instead
 ‘I will speak instead of John.’

(34b) neé wikahtá-ma maría pehána
 1SG.S sing-FUT Mary instead
 ‘I will sing instead of Mary.’

(34c) muú te'e-má pedró pehána
 2SG.S play-FUT Peter instead
 ‘You will play instead of Peter.’

2.1.1.1.3.8. The postpositions *-pukamína* ‘behind’, *-yoremína* ‘inside’, *-pewaná* ‘in front of’

(35a) kuú werí kari-pukamína
 tree be.standing house-behind
 ‘The tree is behind the house.’

(35b) čučúri werí kari-yoremína
 dog be.standing house-inside
 ‘The dog is inside the house.’

(35c) maniwíri werí pedro-pewaná
 Manuel be.standing Peter-in front of
 ‘Manuel is seated in front of Peter.’

2.1.1.1.3.9. The postpositions -*suwérači* ‘along the border of’, -*suwékapo* ‘up to’,

-*suwétetu* ‘down to’, -*téturi* ‘toward’

- (36a) *simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwérači*
 go-PFV walk-PTCP river-along.the border.of
 ‘He left walking along the border of the river.’
- (36b) *simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwékapo*
 go-PFV walk-PTCP river-up.to
 ‘He left walking upstream.’
- (36c) *simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwétetu*
 go-PFV walk-PTCP river-down.to
 ‘He left walking downstream.’
- (36d) *simi-ré poi-ká sawananto-téturi*
 go-PFV walk-PTCP San.Bernardo-toward
 ‘He we left walking toward San Bernardo.’

2.1.1.1.3.10. The postpositions *poté* ‘up’, *potepá* ‘down’

- (37a) *hustína moená-re mangóči poté*
 Agustina climb-PFV mango.tree up
 ‘Agustina climbed the mango tree.’
- (37b) *hustína teki-ré mangóči potepá*
 Agustina climb-PFV wmango.tree down
 ‘Agustina got down from the mango tree.’

2.1.1.1.4. The suffixes *-ri* / *-ra*

There are two groups of words that share their last syllable. This common syllable has been postulated as an absolutive suffix for Upland Warihío (Miller, 1996). The non-exhaustive lists of noun-*ri* in (38a) and noun-*ra* in (38b) are very semantically heterogeneous sets and they do not behave in a specific syntactic way.

(38a)		(38b)	
nawésari	‘word’	čowíra	‘resin’
tohsári	‘white corn’	isawíra	‘little bell’
ohčóri	‘blue corn’	kasará	‘garbage’
ko'kóri	‘pepper’	erápóra	‘veins’
tomári	‘cloud’	kenorá	‘rainbow’
tehtúri	‘ice’ (man-made)	makahpúra	‘snake’ (a type of)
tehémuri	‘ice’ (nature)	mokorá	‘scarf’
ikúri	‘thread’	mo'čókora	‘brain’
motočíwari	‘dandruff’	tahéra	‘pupil’
si'ári	‘bladder’	neóra	‘soup’
akátori	‘butterfly’	wakirá	‘shirt’
aóri	‘sabino’ (plant)	poáčura	‘fish hook’
čahpóri	‘corn tortilla’	u'pará	‘mezquite’ (tree)
čikúri	‘mouse’	yeekókora	‘chameleon’
čo'óri	‘chicken’	suwéra	‘border’
čuhčúri	‘dog’		
čunurí	‘torote’ (plant)		
e'múri	‘louse’		
ikusúri	‘grilled corn’		
ka'móri	‘jícama’ (fruit)		

koharí ‘toad’

The suffixes *-ri/-ra* in all items in (39) seem to be old absolutes already grammaticalized since they accept an additional suffix *-ra*:

- (39a) no'nó nawésari-ra
 father word-REL
 ‘my father’s word’
- (39b) makiná ikurí-ra
 Machine thread-REL
 ‘the thread of the machine’
- (39c) karína koharí-wa-ra
 Karina toad-CLF-REL
 ‘the toad of Karina’
- (39d) wani wakirá-ra
 John shirt-REL
 ‘the shirt of John’
- (39e) markó poéčura-ra
 Marcos fish.hook-REL
 ‘the fish hook of Marcos’
- (39f) hustína mokorá-ra
 Agustina scarf-REL
 ‘The scarf of Agustina’

2.1.1.2. Derivational morphology: the suffix *-(a)me*

The main productive suffix that converts some stems to nouns is *-(a)me*. This suffix can derive nouns from verbs with an agentive meaning. These can be seen as a type of headless relative clause. Most translational equivalents of Spanish adjectives are nominalizations from some basic stem that does not occur by itself. Here are some examples of each type:

(40)	kahpórame	‘short’	ni’óame	‘prayer’
	tohsáname	‘white’	yauyáame	‘dancer’
	ohčóname	‘black’	wikahtáame	‘singer’
			ičikuáame	‘thief’

2.1.2. Verbs

Warihío lexical items that take aspect/tense suffixes are the verbs. The prototypical verbs, whose main function is predication, belong to the class of words that expresses events: actions, processes, states. They show typically low temporal stability and compactness (Givón 2001); that is, they code fast changes of state, condition or spatial location of some concrete noun entity.

2.1.2.1. Morphological characterization

There are five groups of verbs identified by the various habitual/present aspect / tense suffixes they take. From these five possibilities, four occur with the suffixes *-na*,

-ni, *-wa*, *-wi*, and the fifth occurs with no mark. All these suffixes are allomorphs of the habitual/present aspect/tense. Here is a partial list of these verbs:

(41)	<i>-na</i>		<i>-ni</i>	
	ači-ná	‘to laugh’	čo'á-ni	‘to turn off the fire’
	asi-ná	‘to arrive’	čorowá-ni	‘to be hungry’
	četé-na	‘to play an instrument’	eča-ní	‘to sow’
	ičikó-na	‘to steal’	kiyá-ni	‘to give’
	ičipú-na	‘to be hidden’	nawésa-ni	‘to speak’
	kahu-ná	‘to finish’	noka-ní	‘to move’
	komi-ná	‘to hug’	pusa-ní	‘to wake up’
	napo-ná	‘to seed’	si'ná-ni	‘to shout’
	yeni-ná	‘to be smoggy’	tara-ní	‘to buy’
	yuku-ná	‘to rain’	tekih pána-ni	‘to work’

	<i>-wa</i>		<i>-wi</i>	
	pesu-wá	‘to peel off’	čuču-wí	‘to be hung:pl’
			aha-wí	‘to be standing:pl’
			moči-wí	‘to be seated:pl’

non-marked:

nahkí	‘to want’
mačí	‘to know’
kahtí	‘to be seated.sg’
po'í	‘to be lying down.sg’
werí	‘to be standing.sg’

The verbs taking the tense/aspect habitual suffix *-na* are the most frequent. The alternations seem to follow a phonological disharmony. If the root ends in a non-low vowel, the suffix will be a low vowel, that is *-na*. If the root ends in a low vowel, the suffix will be *-ni*.

2.1.2.1.1. Grammatical morphology

The three major grammatical categories by which verbs can be specified are: (i) tense, aspect and modality, (ii) negation, and (iii) pronouns and agreement. I will now describe how these three systems work in Warihío. I will discuss elsewhere other minor morphological systems found in Warihío.

2.1.2.1.1.1. Tense, aspect, modality

Tense-aspect-modality appears as suffixes right after the verb stem in Warihío. Usually tense and aspect are conflated into one suffix. Leaving aside the small group of verbs for which present/habitual is zero, all verbs in Warihío occur with one tense/aspect suffix. This means there is no ‘infinitive.’ A more detailed discussion of TAM is presented in 5.2.

- (42a) waní akačúpa-re (past/perfective/progressive)
 John spit-PFV
 ‘John spit/was spitting.’

- (42b) waní akačúpa-i (past/imperfective)
 John spit-IPFV
 ‘John spit.’
- (42c) waní akačupa-ké-pa-re (past/habitual)
 John spit-APPL-INCH-PFV
 ‘John used to spit.’
- (42d) waní akačúpa-ni (present/progressive)
 John spit-PRS
 ‘John is spitting.’
- (42e) waní yomá tawé akačúpa-ni (habitual)
 John all day spit-PRS
 ‘John always spits.’
- (42f) ehpé tukaó e'~ena-méra no'ó no'nó (potential)
 now night PL~arrive-POT 1SG.NS father
 ‘Tonight my parents are going to come.’
- (42g) ehpé tukaó koči-má=ne mehká pete-čí (future)
 now night sleep-FUT=1SG.S far away house-LOC
 ‘Tonight I will sleep outside the house.’

2.1.2.1.1.2. Negation

The negative morpheme *ki=* procliticizes to the verb or the patient/recipient pronoun in Warihío and this usually occurs in sentence initial position. Negation is developed in Chapter 6.

- (43a) tara-rú=ne muuní
 buy-PFV=1SG.S beans
 ‘I bought beans.’
- (43b) ki=tara-rú=ne muuní
 NEG=buy-PFV.EV=1SG.S beans
 ‘I didn’t buy beans.’
- (43c) no’ó poní kuú kai-ná
 1SG.NS brother stick cut-PRS
 ‘My brother is cutting the sticks.’
- (43d) no’ó poní ki=kai-ná kuú
 1SG.NS brother NEG=cut-PRS stick
 ‘My brother is not cutting the sticks.’

2.1.2.1.1.3. Two sets of personal pronouns

The S/A pronouns generally occur sentence initially, but they may also occur post-verbally as a clitic or suffix:

	Subject pronouns		Non-subject pronouns	
	Free and Emphatic	Cliticized and Non-Emphatic	Non-cliticized	cliticized ⁶
1sg.	neé	=ne	no’ó	no’=
2sg.	muú	=mu	amó	—
3sg.	apoé/puú	-ø	ø, ahpó	—
1pl.	temé	-teme	tamó	—
2pl.	emé	-eme	amó	—
3pl.	a’póe	- ø	ø, ahpó	—

⁶ I haven’t found non-subject pronouns cliticized other than 1sg pronoun.

(45a)	neé u'má-re 1SG.S run-PFV 'I ran.'	u'má-re=ne run-PFV=1SG.S 'I ran.'
(45b)	muú u'má-re 2SG.S run-PFV 'You ran.'	u'má-re=mu run-PFV=2SG.S 'You ran.'
(45c)	apoé u'má-re 3SG.S run-PFV 'S/he ran.'	u'má-re run-PFV 'S/he ran.'
(45d)	temé u'má-re 1PL.S run-PFV 'We ran.'	u'má-re-teme run-PFV-1PL:S 'We ran.'
(45e)	emé u'má-re 2PL.S run-PFV 'You [pl] ran.'	u'má-re-emé run-PFV-2PL.S 'You [pl] ran.'
(45f)	aapóe u'má-re 3PL.S run-PFV 'They ran.'	u'má-re run-PFV 'They ran.'

The non-S/A pronouns almost always occur pre-verbally. First singular non-S can occasionally occur prefixed to the verb.

(46)	waní no'ó wewe-rú / waní no'=wewe-rú John 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV 'John hit me.'
------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------

2.1.2.1.1.4. Transitivity and de-transitive morphology

Morphemes that change the transitivity of verbs in Warihío appear as verbal suffixes:

Transitivizer

- (47a) sipičá si'pá-ni
 dress tear-PRS
 'The dress is torn.'
- (47b) hustína si'pa-ná-re sipičá
 Agustina tear-TRZ-PFV dress
 'Agustina tore the dress.'

Causative

- (48a) waní yau-ré
 John dance-PFV
 'John danced.'
- (48b) neé yau-té-ru waní
 1SG:S dance-CAUS-PFV.EV John
 'I made John dance.'

Applicative

- (49a) neé nehá-ru kawái
 1SG.S sell-PFV.EV horse
 'I sold a horse.'

- (49b) neé amó nehá-ke-ru kawái
 1SG.S 2SG.NS sell-APPL-PFV.EV horse
 ‘I sold you a horse.’

Passive

- (50a) maniwíri tehpúna-re kuú tapaná
 Manuel cut-PFV tree yesterday
 ‘Manuel cut the tree yesterday.’
- (50b) kuú tehpuna-ré-tu tapaná (maniwíri-e)
 tree cut-PFV-PASS yesterday Manuel-INS
 ‘The tree was cut yesterday (by Manuel).’

2.1.2.1.1.5. Speech act markers

There are in Warihío some suffixes that may be attached to Verbs with a range of functions such as emphatic (51), assertion (52), and quotative (53b):

- (51) wa'á nawa-kái=ni=**a** weikaóba
 there born-PTCP=1SG.S=EMPH then
 ‘I was born there...’
- (52) no'nó nane-ré=**pu** no'nó eikó wa'á ohóe-re-**pu**
 father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV=D.D
 ‘...my father knew because my father lived there.’
- (53a) kusí-tere nawá-ka=ne čía yeyé-**a**
 woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
 ‘I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me

- (53b) kuú werí-**ata** wa'á naáti
 tree stand up-QUOT there thing
 where there was a tree.'

The term 'assertion' is only a label covering the function of the distal demonstrative *puú* when this is cliticized to different elements in a construction. This morpheme seems to function to assert chunks of information in a way not very clear to me and that needs further investigation.

2.1.2.1.2. Other verbal suffixes

Another group of verbal suffixes that occur in Warihío is the group of dependent verbal suffixes.

2.1.2.1.2.1. Adverbial subordinators

There is a group of different subordinators that occur in adverbial clauses, signaled in bold face in the following examples. These constructions will be further developed in the chapter on complex sentences:

- (54) hustína en-**ó**-i kečewéka oíniai
 Agustina come-SUB-IPFV Quechehueca from
 i'wá kahti=a=ni=apá
 here be.seated.sg=EMPH=1 SG.S=INCH
 'When Agustina was coming from Quechehueca I was here.'

- (55) yačah-pá-**sa** muú=pu si-má=mu=pu tekihpaña-mia
 set-INCH-SUB 2SG.S=D.D go-FUT=2SG.S=D.D work-FUT
 ‘If you have recovered, you will go to work.’
- (56) ko'~kó-**sa**=pa kočí-rú=ne
 ITER~eat-SUB-INCH sleep-PFV.EV=1SG:S
 ‘I ate, then I slept.’

2.1.2.1.2.2. Other dependent clause suffixes

The group of dependent verbal suffixes is: *-ka* (57), *-mičio* (58), *-mea* (59), and *-o*

(60). These constructions will be described in the chapter on complex sentences.

- (57) oíne-ru=ne u'má-**ka** senepí piarí
 start-PFV.EV=1SG.S run-PTCP every morning
 ‘I started to run every morning.’
- (58) pedró čané-re tekihpaña-**mičio** obregón
 Peter tell-PFV work-PURP Obregón
 ‘Peter suggested to him that he work in Obregón.’
- (59) lupíta natahképa-re čoa-**méa** ehtúfa
 Lupe forget-PFV turn.off-FUT stove
 ‘Lupe forgot to turn off the stove.’
- (60) aapóe nané-na peniátíame wikaht-**ó** maría
 3PL.S know-PRS pretty sing-SUB Mary
 ‘They know that Mary sings pretty.’

2.1.2.1.2.3. The relative clause suffixes *-me*, *-a*, *-ači*

Relative clauses are marked with different suffixes (see Chapter 4): *-me* for subject (61)-(62), *-a* for patient (63), and *-ači* for location (64):

(61) tihoé u'má-ka-**me** kusí-tere
 man run-PTCP-REL woods-through
 'the man that ran away into the woods'

(62) tihoé waní me'yá-ka-**me**
 man John kill.sg-PTCP-REL
 'the man that killed John'

(63) tihoé nó'ó wewe-ri-**á**
 man 1SG.NS hit-PFV-REL
 'the man that I hit'

(64) puebló tehkí-intu-**áči**
 town work-exist-REL
 'the town where work is.'

2.1.2.1.3. Derivational morphology: the suffix *-ta*

The suffix *-ta* transforms some nouns to verbs. The general meaning is that of 'make, build N'. But the meaning of the verb is sometimes conventional:

(65a) wukah-**tá**-ni 'to sing'
 song-make-PRS

(65b) karí-**ta**-ni 'to build a house'
 house-make-PRS

- (65c) ko're-**ta**-ni 'to build a fence'
fence-make-PRS
- (65d) tomarí-**ta**-ni 'to become cloudy'
cloud-make-PRS
- (65e) sipičá-**ta**-ni 'to put on a dress'
dress-make-PRS
- (65f) wakirá-**ta**-ni 'to put on a shirt'
shirt-make-PRS
- (65g) puusí-**ta**-ni 'to open one's eyes'
eyes-make-PRS
- (65h) pahkó-**ta**-ni 'to make a feast'
feast-make-PRS
- (65i) eerá-**ta**-ni 'to bleed'
blood-make-PRES
- (65j) ohoará-**ta**-ni 'to make a hole'
hole-make-PRS

Or to some verbs as in the following example:

- (65k) nekayá-ta 'to pretend to be angry'
get.mad-make

2.1.3. Adjectives

Dixon (1999) claims that there is always a morpho-syntactic way to identify a class of adjectives language internally in all languages. Traditionally, the notion of

adjectives takes them to be the class of words denoting qualities or attributes. The lexical category *adjective* tends to express the most durable physical properties of prototypical nouns: size, shape, color, consistency, texture, weight, smell, taste. Less prototypical adjectives may codify inherent non-physical states such as ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘brave’, ‘helpful’ or temporary states such as temperature (‘hot’, ‘cold’), feelings (‘happy’, ‘sad’, ‘angry’), and health (‘well’, ‘sick’).

In Warihío, there are few basic non-derived adjectives. The majority are formally nouns in a headless relative clause type or stative verbs modifying the participant. Morphologically we can distinguish adjectives from true nouns because adjectives can not be part of a possessive construction by themselves receiving the suffixes *-wa* ~ *-ra*, but they have to be the attribute in a possessed noun phrase. On the other hand, we can distinguish them from verbs because given the form in the examples below, they can not accept any TAM suffix. The above characteristics and their functional role as words describing properties of participants are enough criteria to postulate the following listed words as adjectives:

(i) Size

a. general size

werumá	‘big’
nu'úti	‘small’

b. horizontal extension

weré	‘wide’
ku'íči	‘narrow’

c. thickness

tunakáme	‘thick’
waritiáme	‘thin’
wiyáme	‘fat’
wirokó	‘thin’
wakiténa	‘skinny’

d. vertical extension

tepehkúma	‘tall’
čaapó	‘short’

e. vertical elevation

te'paweriáme	‘high’
wičipáweriáme	‘low’

f. length

tepehkúma	‘long’
kahpórame	‘short’

(ii) color**a. brightness**

ohčóname	‘dark’
kaiyáme	‘light’

b. color

tohsáname	‘white’
ohčóname	‘black’
sehtáname	‘red’
si'óname	‘green’
sawaéme	‘yellow’

(iii) auditory qualities**a. loudness**

u'tewaéme	'loud'
-----------	--------

(iv) shape**a. two-dimensional**

riisáme	'straight'
---------	------------

tu'minatiáme	'bent'
--------------	--------

nohkórame	'curved'
-----------	----------

pi'rinatiáme	'twisted'
--------------	-----------

(v) taste/odor

kahkáme	'sweet'
---------	---------

hoonáeme	'salty'
----------	---------

čihpuáme	'bitter'
----------	----------

čo'kuáme	'acid'
----------	--------

ko'kuáme	'spicy'
----------	---------

pikahkáme	'rotten'
-----------	----------

peeniáhuame	'fragrant'
-------------	------------

inyáhuame	'stinky'
-----------	----------

(vi) tactile**a. texture**

temočáme	'rough'
----------	---------

piwiyáme	'smooth'
----------	----------

b. resistance

u'tewaéme	'strong'
-----------	----------

wiroréame	'weak'
-----------	--------

pewahtiáme	'hard'
------------	--------

rahtátíame 'soft'

(vii) Less prototypical adjectives

a. evaluative

kawéruma 'good'

na'érame 'bad'

peniátíame 'pretty'

inyántíame 'ugly'

b. transitory states

mental-internal

nekahérame 'angry'

nekahtiáme 'furious'

reesipáme 'tired'

kawérame 'happy'

yuwésuame 'sad'

external activity

eeríname 'busy'

kienásiame 'idle'

external condition

čipuhtiáme 'dirty'

temperature

tahtáme 'hot'

tatahposóriame 'warm'

tu'ráme 'cold'

tehému'kame 'frozen'

c. states of living**age**

očetíame 'old'

live

ahákame 'alive'

mukuhkáme 'dead'

health

yačahpákame 'healthy'

kokoriáme 'sick'

2.1.4. Adverbs

Here is a list of adverbs used as adjuncts in Warihío sentences:

(66)	aarí	'late'
	ehpé	'now'
	ehépa	'right now'
	e'é	'yes!'
	kawé	'well'
	ki'yá	'before'
	ku'wé	'later'
	mehká	'far'
	towá	'just'
	pahčá	'first'
	pá	'already'
	iwéta	'still'
	pahí	'yet'
	pienáči	'in another place'

wa'ápi	'in the same place'
piená	'together'
pipinéri	'alone'
meeré	'tomorrow'
piarí	'early'
wa'átia	'this way'
enčí	'again'
senépi	'once'
senékači	'next time'
sesenéko	'sometimes'
ikanáti	'fast'
muináti	'slow'

2.2. Minor word classes

In this section, I describe several types of grammatical operators whose morphemic status is sometimes uncertain.

2.2.1. Interclausal connectives: conjunctors

Interclausal relations are not marked in Warihío by a word class of conjunctors, but speakers have started to use some Spanish borrowings, such as *y* 'and', *o* 'or', *ni* 'neither'.

- (67) maría ená-ru waní=a simi-ré
 Mary come-PFV.EV John=EMPH go-PFV
 'Mary came and John left.'

- (68) waní maría simpá-re
John Mary go.pl-PFV
'Mary and John left.'
- (69a) maría ená-re waní=a ki=simi-ré
Mary come-PFV John=EMPH NEG=go-PFV
'Mary came, but John didn't leave.'
- (69b) maría ená-re waní ki=simi-ré
Mary come-PFV John NEG=go-PFV
'Mary came, and John didn't leave.'
- (70) ki=ko'-naré=ne ki=koči-náre=ne
NEG=eat-DES=1SG.S NEG=sleep-DES=1SG.S
'I don't want to eat nor to sleep.'
- (71) ko'~ko-náre=ne o koči-má=ne
ITER~eat-DES=1SG.S or sleep-FUT=1SG.S
'I want to eat or to sleep.'
- (72) no'ó kuí-heráni=ne waní o hustína
1SG.NS help-ORDER=1SG.S John or Agustina
'I want John or Agustina to help me.'
- (73) ki=nó'=kui-heráni=ne waní ni hustina
NEG=1SG.NS=help-ORDER=1SG.S John nor Agustina
'I don't want John nor Agustina to help me.'
- (74) itihpi-nari-ai **wa'apí** noá-re
stay-DES-IPFV same.place leave-PFV
'He wanted to stay, however he left.'
- (75) kečeweka si-na=ne **wa'apí** itihpí-na=ne
Quechewueca go-PRS=1SG.S same.place stay-PRS=1SG.S
'I am going to Quechewueca, even more, I am going to stay there.'

2.2.2. Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals

From this group, quantifiers are the most productive items.

2.2.2.1 Partitive definite quantifiers

- (76) **hustina werupí** aarína i'tané-ru maría
 Agustina some flour ask-PFV.EV Mary
 'Agustina asked for some of the flour for Mary.'
- (77) **waní tekih pána-re yomá** tawé
 John work-PFV all day
 'John worked all day.'
- (78) **yomá** temé **ki=simpá-nare**
 all 1PL.S NEG=go.pl-DES
 'None of us wants to go.'
- (79) **awéta piiré** simpá-ma-emé tekih pána-mia
 at.least one go.pl-FUT-2PL.S work-FUT
 'One of you is going to work.'
- (80) **nasípasi** oowérú tekih pána-ni wasa-čí
 half women work-PRS field-LOC
 'Most of the women work in the field.'
- (81) **na'pá piípi** ehturiawa-má=pu
 both one study-FUT=D.D
 'One of the two of us is going to study.'
- (82) **paiká piípi** ehturiawa-má=pu
 three one study-FUT=D.D
 'One of the three is going to study.'

- (83) **ooká teh~témari** sa wananto o'~hóe
 two PL~boys San Bernardo PL~walk
 'Two of the boys live in San Bernardo.'

2.2.2.2 Indefinite quantifiers/determiners

- (84) **paikápi** teh~témari asi-ré=pa
 few PL~people arrive-PFV=INCH
 'Some people have already arrived.'
- (85) **pií** tihoé me'yá-re kawái
 one man kill.sg-PFV horse
 'One man killed the horse.'
- (86) **ooká** kawái uh~umá-re
 two horse PL~ran-PFV
 'Two horses ran away.'
- (87) no'ó kiá **piréči** takári
 1SG.NS give another tortilla
 'Give me another tortilla.'
- (88) ooká takarí **wa'ápi** maní
 two tortilla same.place exist
 'There are only two tortillas.'
- (89a) **yomá** nahkí **piréči** takári
 everybody want another tortilla'
 'Everybody wants another tortilla.'
- (89b) **yomá** tihoé simpa-náre ečitiá-či
 all man go.pl-DES field-LOC
 'All men want to go to the field.'

- (90) **senepí** piarí simi-ná-ne tekihpaña-mia hustina kahti-áči
 each morning go-PRS=1SG.S work-FUT Agustina be.seated.sg-LOC
 ‘Each morning I am going to work where Agustina lives.’
- (91) **werú** nerói nahkí=ne toománte ečitiáme ičió
 a lot water need=1SG.S tomatoes sowing BEN
 ‘I need a lot of water for sowing tomatoes.’
- (92) **kuitá** nerói nahkí=ne toomante ečitiáme ičió
 little water need=1SG.S tomatoes sowing BEN
 ‘I need little water for sowing tomatoes.’
- (93) tara-rú=ne trooké ki=puetá-e-me
 buy-PFV.EV=1SG.S car NEG=door-INS-NMLZ
 ‘I bought a car with no doors.’

2.2.2.3. Numerals

The numeral system in Warihío seems to be a mixture quinary and vigesimal (based on adding fives and twenties). The numbers one through nine, except number eight, are the basic ones. Number ‘eight’ is ‘twice four’.

- (94) piípi ‘one’
 ooká ‘two’
 paiká ‘three’
 naó ‘four’
 marikí ‘five’
 pusáni ‘six’
 owísani ‘seven’
 osanáro ‘eight’
 lit. osa-náro ‘twice-four’
 wataní ‘nine’

The number 'ten' is 'twice five':

(95) osá marikí 'ten' lit. 'twice five'

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are built adding the numer 'ten' plus *ampá* plus the numbers 'one' through 'nine':

(96)	osá marikí ampá piípi	'eleven' lit. 'twice five over one'
	osá marikí ampá ooká	'twelve' lit. 'twice five over two'
	osá marikí ampá paiká	'thirteen' lit. 'twice five over three'
	osá marikí ampá naó	'fourteen' lit. 'twice five over four'
	osá marikí ampá marikí	'fifteen' lit. 'twice five over five'
	osá marikí ampá pusáni	'sixteen' lit. 'twice five over six'
	osá marikí ampá owísani	'seventeen' lit. 'twice five over seven'
	osá marikí ampá osanáro	'eighteen' lit. 'twice five over twice four'
	osá marikí ampá wataní	'nineteen' lit. 'twice five over nine'

Number 'twenty' is basic too:

(97) (pií) weréwa 'twenty' lit. '(one) body'

The rest of the numbers up to 99 are a mix of twenties, fives and basic numbers:

(98)	paiká osá marikí	'thirty' lit. 'three twice five'
	ooká weréwa	'forty' lit. 'two bodies'
	naósa marikí ampá osá marikí	'fifty' lit. 'four twice five over twice five'
	paiká werewa / pusáni osá marikí	'sixty' lit. 'three bodies' or 'six twice five'
	owísani osá marikí	'seventy' lit. 'seven twice five'
	naó werewa / osanáro osá marikí	'eighty' lit. 'four bodies' or 'eight twice five'
	watání osá marikí	'ninety' lit. 'nine twice five'

Number ‘one hundred’ is:

(99) marikí weréwa ‘one hundred’ lit. ‘five body’

However, more regularly is *siendó* from the Spanish word ‘ciento’. Actually, all numbers over ten are commonly from Spanish borrowings.

2.2.2.4 Ordinals

It seems that Warihío has only two items for ordinals:

(100) pahčá ‘first’
 neipá ‘second’, ‘next’, ‘last’, ‘after’

For example, in a sequence of three participants in an event, they say something like: *pedró pahčá, waní neipá, maniwiri neipá* ‘Peter first, John second, and Manuel third’.

CHAPTER 3

NOUN PHRASE

3.0. Introduction

Noun phrases take a lexical noun as their *head* and some *modifier*. Modification, being dispensable in the case of pronouns and names, illustrates the major function of noun modifiers. They are used to further specify or narrow down the domain of reference of their head nouns. The most common type of modifiers are:

- (1) Noun modifiers (Givón, 2001:2, vol II.)

Type of modifier	Functional scope
a. Bound morphemes:	
- classifiers	lexical semantic
- number	phrasal semantic
- case-markers	clausal semantic, pragmatic
- determiners/articles	
b. Lexical words:	
- demonstratives	pragmatic
- adjectives	phrasal semantic, pragmatic
- compounding nouns	lexical and phrasal semantic
- numerals	phrasal semantic, pragmatic
- quantifiers	phrasal semantic, pragmatic
c. Phrases:	
- adpositional phrases	clausal semantic, pragmatic
- relational phrases	clausal semantic, pragmatic
d. clauses:	
- noun complements	clausal semantic, pragmatic
- relative clauses	pragmatic

3.1. Warihío full noun phrase

A full noun phrase in Warihío may have the following constituents:

(2)	Dem	Num	N	Adj	Rel
	Poss	Quant			PP
					N-Comp

However, only the demonstrative possessor shows a fixed position to the left end; the rest of the constituents can have alternative orders among them.

An example of all the constituents that can co-occur is:

(3)	no'ó	ooká	karí	we~wéruma	rančó-či
	1SG.NS	two	house	PL~big	ranch-LOC
	'my two big houses in the ranch'				

In the following subsections, I will describe all possible constituents of the Warihío noun phrase.

3.1.1. Determiners

The noun participants in the sentence can occur without marks of (in)definiteness:

(4)	waní	čikó-re	kawái
	John	steal-PFV	horse
	'John stole a horse/horses/the horse/the horses.'		

3.1.1.1. Indefinite

However, they may accept the numeral *pií* ‘one’ as an indefinite article, restricted to S/P¹ noun:

- (5a) *pií tihoé asi-rú pete-čí*
 one man arrive-PFV.EV house-LOC
 ‘A man arrived home.’
- (5b) *waní nehí-ke-re pií kawái merikó*
 John sell-APL-PFV one horse medical.doctor
 ‘John sold a horse to a medical doctor.’

Using the numeral in the recipient sounds anomalous:

- (5c) ??*waní nehí-ke-re kawái pií merikó*
 John sell-APPL-PFV horse one medical.doctor
 ?? ‘John sold a medical doctor a horse.’

3.1.1.2. Deictic

A demonstrative can function as a definite marker. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Warihío: the proximal demonstrative *ihí* ‘this/these’ and the distal demonstrative *puú* ‘that/those’:

¹ I will be using S for the participant in an intransitive event, A for the most agent-like participant and P for the most patient-like in a transitive event.

- (6a) ihí čučúri ki'kí-ru pu'-ká kuitá
 D.P dog bite-PFV.EV D.D-ID child
 'This dog bit that child.'
- (6b) puú kuitá te~temó-ru i'-ká čučúri
 D.D child ITE~kick-PFV.EV D.P-ID dog
 'That child kicked this dog.'

The suffix *-ka* in (6) attached to the demonstratives is taken to be an object case mark by Barreras (1990) and Miller (1996). However, in discourse, when a demonstrative accompanies a noun previously mentioned or identified-inferred², it takes the suffix *-ká* occurring with nouns in S, A or P function or even in oblique (locative and instrumental) function:

Don Alejandro Ruelas – Life story

- (7a) kusí-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
 woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
 'I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me
- (7b) kuú werí-ata wa'á naáti
 tree standing-QUOT there thing
 where there was a tree
- (7c) pu'-ká čintewaniá kí=mači-ní-a pu'-ká kuú
 D.D-ID name NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID tree
 I didn't know how it's called, that tree.'

² It seems that in discourse, the mark *-ka* is functioning more as an identificational mark than a patienthood mark.

- (8a) eikó asi-ré=pu pu'-ká pete-čí
 then arrive=D.D D.D-ID house-loc
 '...then he arrived to the house
- (8b) weikáoba ki=iyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'ó no'nó
 then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor D.D-ID 1SG.NS father
 he didn't cure him, the doctor didn't cure my dad
- (8c) weikáo pu'-ká i'yoi i'yoe-so pu'-ká tamó
 then D.D-ID remedy cure-SUB D.D-ID 1PL.NS
 when he cured him for us, with that remedy
- (8d) eikaóba i'tó-ka=ne enčí pu'-ká rootóre ahpó ahpó pete-čí
 then take-PTCP=1SG.S again D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS 3SG.NS house-LOC
 I took the doctor back to his house.'
- (9) bwéna mehká i'to-ká=ni-a
 very far.away take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH
 poké kí=tari-mí kí=tari-héra=ne pu'-ká no'ó poní-a
 because NEG=buy-FUT NEG=buy-DES=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother-EMPH
 pu'-ká pete-čí
 D.D-ID house-LOC
 '...I took him far away because I didn't want them to buy my brother in that house.'
- (10) kuu-é wepa-ká
 stick-INS hit-PTCP
 pu'-ká-e pu'-ká-e napawi-ré pu'-ká aaroso
 D.D-ID-INS D.D-ID-INSTR gather-PFV D.D-ID rice
 they hit it with a stick and got the rice.'

3.1.1.3. Possessive

A possessive noun phrase consists of a possessor realized as a pronoun in the non-S form or a noun plus the head noun:

(11a) no'ó karí-wa
 1SG.NS house-CLAS
 'my house'

(11b) amó no'nó
 2SG.NS father
 'your father'

We observe that the noun in (11a) has the suffix *-wa*, this is a classifier that signals an alienable possession vs. \emptyset in (11b) for inalienable possession.

3.1.2. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers share the same slot in the noun phrase.

3.1.2.1. Numerals

Numerals between two to ten are the most used in Warihío. For numbers above ten they tend to use Spanish borrowings:

(12a) no'ó ooká ta~taná
 1SG.NS two PL~son
 'my two sons'

(12b) marikí kawái
 five horse
 ‘five horses’

(12c) siendó kuú
 one.hundred stick
 ‘one hundred sticks’

3.1.2.2. Quantifiers

Warihío has the following quantifiers:

(13)	weeká	many
	werú	much
	paikápi	a few
	werupí	some of
	yomá	all, all of
	nasipási	most of
	awéta piiré	any of
	naapá piípi	one of the two
	paiká piípi	one of the three
	senepí	each
	piréči	other
	yomá + ki=	none of

(14a) hustina **werupí aarína** i'tané-ru maría
 Agustina some flour ask-PFV.EV María
 ‘Agustina asked Maria for some flour.’

- (14b) waní tekihpána-re yomá tawé
 John work-PFV all day
 ‘John worked all day.’
- (14c) werú nerói nahkí=ne toománte ečitiáme ičió
 much water want= 1SG.S tomatoe field BEN
 ‘I need a lot of water for the tomato field.’

3.1.3. Adjectives

Adjectives in Warihío noun phrases tend to occur after the noun:

- | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| (15) | tihoé | ki=kawéruma | ‘bad man’ |
| | man | NEG=good | |
| | owítíame | peeniátíame | ‘pretty woman’ |
| | čuhčúri | očóname | ‘black dog’ |
| | o'owí | wiyáme | ‘fat coyote’ |
| | tehté | werumá | ‘big stone’ |
| | kawí | nu'úti | ‘small hill’ |
| | nerói | sióname | ‘blue water’ |

Adjectives can occur before the noun without an apparent change of meaning.

3.1.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually postnominals in Warihío:

- (16a) tihoé tapaná u'mákame
 man yesterday run-PTCP-NMLZ
 ‘the man that ran away yesterday’

- (16b) owítíame močibámpo no'ó tetewá-ri-a
 woman Mochibampo 1SG.NS see-PFV-NMLZ
 'the woman that I saw in Mochibampo'
- (16c) kuitá wa'amí weri-áme
 child over.there be.satnding.sg-NMLZ
 'the child that was standing over there'
- (16d) tihoé tapaná u'mákame
 man yesterday run-PTCP-NMLZ
 'the man that ran away yesterday'
- (16e) tepurá kuú ahá-e tehpunati-áme
 ax piece.of.wood COM-INS cut-NMLZ
 'the ax they chopped the pieces of wood with'
- (16f) owítíame amó aháma simi-ri-á wairé-či
 woman 2SG.NS COM go-PFV-NMLZ party-LOC
 'the woman you went to the party with'
- (16g) pahkó amó simi-ri-áči owítíame aháma
 feast 2SG.NS go-PFV-LOC woman COM
 'the feast you went to with the woman.'
- (16h) karí amó kari-tá-ri-a waní
 house 2SG.NS house-build-PFV-NMLZ John
 'the house John built for you'
- (16i) sipičá amó ihkóke-ri-a maría
 dress 2SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ Mary
 'the dress Mary gave you'

3.1.5 Postpositional phrases

- (17a) kawái čikéro-či
 horse barnyard-LOC
 ‘the horse in the barnyard’
- (17b) sikorí o'oróna-či
 pot stove-LOC
 ‘the pot on the stove’
- (17c) kuitá sirá-či
 child chair-LOC
 ‘the child in the chair’

3.2. Scattered NPs

In Warihío, as in other Uto-Aztecan languages (Munro, 1982), we can find floated quantifiers. The quantifier is preverbal and the head noun post-verbal:

- (18a) paikápi asi-ré-pa teh~témari
 a.few arrive-PFV-INCH PL~person
 ‘A few persons already arrived.’
- (18b) werú nahkí=ne nerói toomante ečitiáme ičió
 much need=1SG.S water tomatoe field BEN
 ‘I need a lot of water for the tomato field.’

3.3. Noun compound

Two nouns can form a compound noun phrase:

(19)	čiwapúsi	goat beans	čiwá-goat	pusí-eye
	sapo'óri	wolf	sa'pá-meat	o'orí-lion
	kakahóya	sandal laces	ka'aká-sandals	o'yé-laces

3.4. NP conjunctions

NP conjunctions in S/A function can occur in juxtaposition without any connector (20), and NP conjunctions in P function can show the adverbs *piená* ‘together’ (21) or *tiamé* ‘also’(22):

- (20a) maría pedró tetewá-re waní
 Mary Peter see-PFV John
 ‘Mary and Peter saw John.’
- (20b) waní muú no'ó natehté-ka=eme
 John 2SG.S 1SG.NS pay-PFV=2PL.S
 ‘John and you paid to me.’
- (20c) simi-ká=ne waní maría kari-wá-ra-či
 go-PFV=1SG.S John Mary house-CLS-REL-LOC
 ‘I went to John and Mary’s house.’
- (20d) waní pedró maría e'~ena-méra
 John Peter Mary PL ~come-FUT
 ‘John, Peter and Mary are going to come.’
- (20e) waní pedró maría ki=e'~ena-méra
 John Peter Mary NEG=PL~come-FUT
 ‘John, nor Peter, nor Mary are going to come.’

- (20f) waní pedró maría ki=tekihpana-náre
 John Peter Mary NEG=work-DES
 ‘John, nor Peter, nor Mary want to work.’
- (21) tapaná waní tetewá-re piená maría pedró
 yesterday John see-PFV together Mary Peter
 ‘Yesterday John saw Mary and Peter.’
- (22a) tapaná waní tetewá-re maría pedró tiamé
 yesterday John see-PFV Mary Peter also
 ‘Yesterday John saw Mary and Peter.’
- (22b) natehté-ka=ne waní amó tiamé
 pay-PAST=1SG.S John 2SG.NS also
 ‘I paid to John and you.’
- (22c) papahkó-ka=mu pehtóri sikóri tiamé
 wash-PAST=2SG.S plates pots also
 ‘Did you wash the plates and pots?’

CHAPTER 4

RELATIVE CLAUSES

4.0. Introduction

Relative clauses as noun modifiers are embedded in the noun phrase. Their syntax is similar to the syntax of the verbal complements embedded in the verb phrase. Restrictive ((1a),(2a)) and non-restrictive ((1b), (2b)) relative clauses are marked in the same way in Warihío:

- (1a) tihoé aarí ená-ka-me ki=ko'á-re
 man late arrive-PAST-NMLZ NEG=eat-PFV
 ‘The man that arrived late didn’t eat.’
- (1b) pedró aarí ená-ka-me ki=ko'á-re
 Peter late arrive-PAST-NMLZ NEG=eat-PFV
 ‘Peter, who arrived late, didn’t eat.’
- (2a) tihoé karí mete-yáme ko'korépa-re
 man house build-NMLZ get.sick-PFV
 ‘The man who builds houses got sick.’
- (2b) pedró karí mete-yáme ko'korépa-re
 Peter house build-NMLZ get.sick-PFV
 ‘Peter, who builds houses, got sick.’

Warihío relative clauses are mainly post-nominal. All NP positions can be relativized and they are marked in the relative clause by a series of verbal suffixes. There is a comitative-instrumental case fusion in the instrumental relativization. The nominalizer *-me* marks subjects and the nominalizer *-a* marks patients, themes and recipients. The locative *-ači* is used for location. All marks mentioned before occur as verbal suffixes. For the instrumental, there are two marks; the verbal suffix *-a* plus the free element *ahá-e*, which is a conjunction of the comitative postposition *aháma* and the instrumental case *-e*.

4.1. The verbal Suffix *-(a)me*

The verb in S/A relative clauses in Warihío is marked with the suffix *-ame*:

- (3a) čučúri [kokóri-ame]
 dog sick-NMLZ
 ‘the dog that is sick’
- (3b) tíhoé [tetewá-ka-me wačó]
 man see-PAST-NMLZ soldier
 ‘the man who saw the soldier’
- (3c) owítíame [wiči-ká-me]
 woman fall.down-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the woman who fell down’
- (3d) kuú [waki-pá-ka-me]
 plant dry-INCH-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the plant that wilted’

- (3e) wakasí [yačah-pá-ka-me]
 cow set-INCH-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the cow that got well’

Past/perfective events are marked with the verbal suffix *-ka*, while the present tense is unmarked. This contrasts with the main declarative verbal suffixes *-re* and *-ni/-na* for perfective and present/habitual, respectively:

- (4a) tihóé tapaná umá-si-re
 man yesterday run-go-PFV
 ‘The man ran away yesterday.’
- (4a) tihóé [tapaná umá-si-ka-me]
 man yesterday run-go-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the man who ran away yesterday’
- (4b) owítíame umá-ni ehpé
 woman run-PRS now
 ‘The woman is running now.’
- (4b') owítíame [umá-me ehpé]
 woman run-NMLZ now
 ‘the woman who is running now’
- (4c) tihóé meyá-re no'ó no'nó
 man kill-PFV 1SG:NS father
 ‘The man killed my father.’
- (4c') tihóé [no'ó no'nó meyá-ka-me]
 man 1SG:NS father kill-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the man who killed my father’

In Warihío, it is possible for headless relative clauses to occur with the same set of suffixes. These headless relative clauses can function as subject or object dependent clauses:

- (5a) yau-yáme
 dance-NMLZ
 ‘those that are dancing’
- (5b) wiči-ká-me o'owára-či
 fall.down-PAST-NMLZ hole-LOC
 ‘the one who fell down in the hole’
- (5c) tapaná umá-si-ka-me
 yesterday run-go-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘the one who ran yesterday’

4.2. The verbal suffix *-a*

Relative clauses with a head in Patient/Theme or Recipient functions show the verbal suffix *-a*. The perfective suffix *-re* is used in the relative verb instead of the suffix *-ka* in subject relative clauses.

In the examples in (6a)-(6c), the nouns *tihóé* ‘man’, *tihóé* ‘man’, and *kuú* ‘tree’ are the patients of the relative verbs *me'eyáni* ‘to kill’, *me'eyáni* ‘to kill’, and *tehpúnani* ‘to cut’, respectively:

- (6a) tihóé [waní me'eyá-ri-a]
 man John kill-PFV-NMLZ
 'the man who John killed'
- (6b) tihóé [amó me'eyá-ri-a]
 man 2SG.NS kill-PFV-NMLZ
 'the man that you killed'
- (6c) kuú [waní tehpuná-ri-a]
 tree John cut-PFV-NMLZ
 'the tree that John cut'

When the subject of the relative clause is nominal, it is unmarked. When pronominal, it shows up as in its non-S form, as seen in *amó* 'you' in (6b).

The same relative clause marking is used when the head noun functions as the recipient as in (6d); *tihóé* 'man' is the recipient of *neháni* 'sell' and *owítiamé* 'woman' the recipient of *kiyáni* 'give' in (6e):

- (6d) tihóé [no'ó kawái-wa nehí-ke-ri-a]
 man 1SG:NS horse-CLF sell-APPL-PFV-NMLZ
 'the man whom I sold the horse'
- (6e) owítiamé [no'ó kiyá-ri-a anío]
 woman 1SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ ring
 'the woman that I gave the ring to.'

Kawái ‘horse’ is the Theme of *neháni* ‘to sell’ in (6f) and *kari* ‘house’ is the Theme of *nenétena* ‘to show’ in (6g):

- (6f) *kawái* [pedró nehá-ri-a waní]
 horse Peter sell-PFV-NMLZ John
 ‘the horse that Peter sold to John’
- (6g) *kari* [waní nené-te-ri-a maría]
 house John see-CAUS-PFV-NMLZ Mary
 ‘the house that John showed to Mary’

Or with the comitative too:

- (6h) *tihóé* [no'ó ahamá ihi-á-i]
 man 1SG.NS with drink-NMLZ-IPFV
 ‘the man who I drank with’

4.3. Relativization of instrumental

The relativization of instrumentals is coded with the instrumental case suffix *-e* attached to the shortened comitative postposition *ahá-* from *aháma* plus the verbal suffix *-a* as the examples in (7a)-(7c) show:

- (7a) *yawé* [maría ahá-e waho-ná-ri-a]
 key Mary COM-INS open-TZR-PFV-NMLZ
 ‘the key with which Mary opened (the door)’

- (7b) peetúri [ahá-e tehpuná-ri-a hustína sa'pá]
 knife COM-INS cut-PFV-NMLZ Agustina meat
 ‘the knife with which Agustina cut the meat’
- (7c) paaká [waní ahá-e puhá-ri-a makučúni]
 hook John COM-INS get.off-PFV-NMLZ guamúchil
 ‘the hook with which John got off the guamúchil fruit’

Usually the relative clause is post-nominal in Warihío, but occasionally one can find pre-nominal relative clauses as in (8a) or even a post-nominal relative clause separated from its head by a main clause as in (8b). In (8a), the relative clause *ahpó komáre nehiría* ‘...that her comrade sold’ is to the left of its patient head *kawái* ‘horse’:

- (8a) [ahpó komáre nehi-ri-á] kawái
 3SG:NS comrade sell-PFV-NMLZ horse
 ‘the horse that her comrade sold’
- (8a') kawái [ahpó komáre nehi-ri-á]
 horse 3SG:NS comrade sell-PFV-NMLZ
 ‘the horse that her comrade sold’

In (8b), the relative clause *kuú pehaná kahtiáme* ‘...that is seated behind the tree’ is postnominal and it is separated from its head *tihóé* ‘man’ by the main clause *no'ó merinúrani*:

- (8b) N O V-V Rel. C.
 [tihoé] no'ó meri-núra-ni [kuú pehaná kahti-áme]
 man 1SG:NS kill.s-order-PRS tree behind be.seated:sg-NMLZ
 'They are asking me to kill the man that is seated behind the tree.'

Sometimes the suffix *-a* is the only strategy required to have an instrumental relativization:

- (9) tepúra [wani tehpuná-ri-a kuú]
 ax John cut-PFV-NMLZ tree
 'the ax with which John cut the tree'

4.4. The verbal suffix *-ači*

Locatives including allatives and ablatives can be relativized through the verbal suffix *-ači* 'where'¹:

- (10a) yeepó [pahko-ta-po-áči]
 yard feast-make-FUT-LOC
 'the yard where the feast is going to be'
- (10b) meesá [ko'~ko-po-áči]
 table ITER~eat-FUT-LOC
 'the table where the lunch is going to be served'

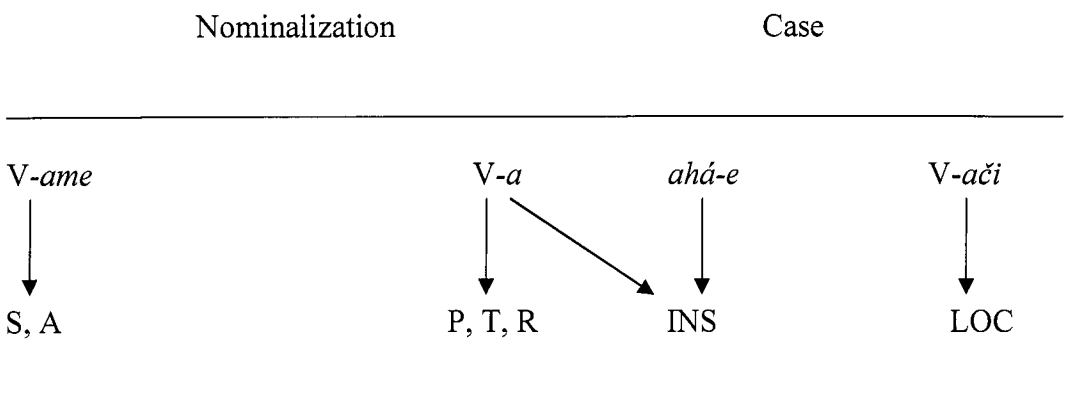
¹ I am taking the gloss of Future for *-po* from Miller (1996). These are the only examples in the data with this suffix.

- (10c) [no'ó simi-yáči] puebló-či
 1SG.NS go-LOC pueblo-LOC
 'the town where I go'
- (10d) kahóni [no'ó katewe-ri-áči anío]
 box 1SG.NS keep-PFV-LOC ring
 'the box where I kept the ring.'
- (10e) kahóni [no'ó mačipa-ri-áči anío]
 box 1SG.NS take.out-PFV-LOC ring
 'the box that I took the ring out of.'

4.5. Summary

The different positions and strategies Warihío uses to relativize are schematized as follows:

(11)



CHAPTER 5

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

5.0. Introduction

The simple sentence or clause in a language, when seen as the expression of a proposition, is a pivotal point in that language's grammar. It is in the clause that events and participants -the two main parts of a communicative intent- interact. The description of these two subparts of a simple sentence and their relations form the core of a language description.

5.1. Sentence types

The focus here is on the different types of sentences as defined by their internal structure, based primarily on different types of predicates.

5.1.1. Non-verbal predicates

The various types of non-verbal predicates, mainly the nominal, adjectival, locative, and existential, along with possession, will be described in the following sections.

Copulas are of two types in Warihío; (i) the suffix *-hu* that occurs at the end of the clause suffixed to the last element, and (ii) the verb *ininá* ‘be’. These different copulas show different distribution with the non-verbal predicates as we will see below.

5.1.1.1. Nominal predicates

In Warihío, it is possible to have a nominal predication by juxtaposition of two nouns/noun phrases or a noun and a pronoun. These predications usually show no tense-aspect suffix with a present/habitual meaning (1), but they may show other tense/aspect suffixes (3f).

(1a) pedró merikó / merikó pedró

Peter doctor

‘Peter is a/the doctor.’

(1b) waní yaučí i'wá / yaučí waní i'wá

John chief here

‘John is the governor here.’

(1c) puú=a no'ó koá'me wa'á=pu=a

D.D=EMPH 1SG.NS food there=D.D=EMPH

‘That is my food.’

In (1a)-(1b), two nouns are juxtaposed; the order of the predicative element may be interchanged. On the other hand can also shift the order, in (1c) we have a demonstrative with a possessive noun phrase as the predication.

There may be a predicative noun with a free pronoun to the right (2), or to the left

(3):

- (2a) wačó neé=a
 soldier 1SG.S=EMPH
 ‘I am a soldier.’
- (2b) wačo muú=a
 soldier 2SG.S=EMPH
 ‘You are a soldier.’
- (2c) wačó apoé=a
 soldier 3SG.S=EMPH
 ‘He is a soldier.’
- (2d) wačó teemé=a
 soldier 1PL.S=EMPH
 ‘We are soldiers.’
- (2e) wačó emé=a
 soldier 2/3PL.S=EMPH
 ‘You/they are soldiers.’
- (3a) neé=a tihoé
 1SG.S=EMPH man
 ‘I am a man.’
- (3b) muú=a tihoé
 2SG.S=EMPH man
 ‘You are a man.’
- (3c) apoé=a tihoé
 3SG.S=EMPH man
 ‘He is a man.’

- (3d) teemé=a tihoé
1PL.S=EMPH man
'We are men.'
- (3e) emé=a tihoé
2/3PL.S=EMPH man
'You/they are men.'
- (3f) neé/muú/apoé yauči-ká-i
1SG.S/2SG.S/3SG.S chief-PTCP-IPFV
'I/you/he was/were governor.'

We can find a predicative noun with a clitic:

- (4) owítíame=mu=a
woman=2SG.S=EMPH
'You are a woman.'

Note that the pronoun shows the clitic =a, which is a type of emphatic. For pragmatic considerations, the pronoun can be in the initial focus position as (5) shows:

- (5) muú(=a) ičikuáme=mu=a
2SG.S(=EMPH) thief=2SG.S=EMPH
'You are a stealer.'

The copula *-hu* may be attached to the second noun of the copula construction, which takes the predicative function:

- (6a) pedró yaučí-hu
 Peter chief-COP
 ‘Peter is the governor.’
- (6b) maría pohesóra-hu
 Mary teacher-COP
 ‘Mary is a teacher.’

It seems that sentences in (6) are true equational sentences, since one can reverse the order, suffixing the copula to the other noun with the same acceptable propositional meaning, as in (7):

- (7a) yaučí i'wá pedró-hu
 chief here Peter-COP
 ‘The governor here is Peter.’
- (7b) yaučí pedró-hu i'wá
 chief Peter-COP here
 ‘The governor here is Peter.’

In (6a) the copula is suffixed to *yaučí* and in (7b) to *pedró*. The copula *-hu* is reserved for NN constructions and juxtaposition for the first and second personal pronouns. However, with the third person pronoun, the copula *-hu* is optionally used:

- (8) aapóe wačó(-hu)
 3PL.S soldier- COP
 ‘They are soldiers.’

In copular clauses, in other tense/aspects other than present/habitual, the verb *ininá* ‘to be’ is preferred:

- (9a) pedró yaučí ini-riái
 Peter chief be-IPFV
 ‘Peter was the governor.’
- (9b) pedró yaučí ini-méra
 Peter chief be-FUT
 ‘Peter is going to be the governor.’

Or with the verb *ininá* ‘to be’ in a relative clause whose head noun is in this case *pedró* ‘Peter’:

- (9c) pedró yaučí ini-ká-me
 Peter chief be-PAST-NMLZ
 ‘Peter the one who was governor.’
- (9b) pedró yaučí ini-mi-áme
 Peter chief be-FUT-NMLZ
 ‘Peter the one who is going to be the governor.’

5.1.1.2. Adjectival predicates

Like nominal predicates, adjectival predicates can occur with no copula:

- (10a) karí nu'úti / werumá
house small / big
'The house is small / big.'
- (10b) nu'úti / werumá karí
small / big house
'The house is small / big.'
- (10c) no'ó čuhčúri očóname
1SG.NS dog black
'My dog is black.'
- (10d) kawái nasíname / uwatiáme
horse slow / fast
'The horse is slow / fast.'

Most of the Warihío adjectives occur in a nominalized form like *očóname* 'the one that is black' in (10c), and *uwatiame* 'the one that is fast' in (10d) as well. The adjectival color predication may occur without or with the *-hu* copula:

- (11a) karí si'óname
house green
'The house is green.'
- (11b) karí si'óname-hu
house green-COP
'The house is green.'

But it seems it does not accept the emphatic =*a*:

(11c) *karí si'óname=a

Predicates that are emotional adjectives can occur in a nominal form (12a) as well as a verbal form (12b):

(12a) pedró kawérame / nekahtiame

Peter happy / angry

'Peter is happy / angry.'

(12b) pedró kawéra-ni / nekahtú-na

Peter good-PRS / angry-PRS

'Peter is happy / angry.'

The semantic contrast between (10a) and (10b) seems to be one of permanent vs. temporary state, respectively. This same contrast is observed in (13)-(14):

(a) Permanent

(13a) puú=a tepéhkúma / mehikáno / inahtáme

D.D=EMPH tall / Mexican / smart

'He is tall / Mexican / smart.'

(13b) kuú=a te'paweriáme / sawáime

tree=EMPH tall / yellow

'The tree is big / yellow.'

(13c) puú=a pohesóre-hu / sipoyáme-hu

D.D=EMPH teacher-COP / witch-COP

'He is a teacher / she is a witch.'

- (13d) i'wá=o tahtáme-hu
 here=EMPH hot-COP
 'It is usually hot here.'

(b) Temporary

- (14a) puú=a nekahtú-na / yuwésu-na
 D.D=EMPH angry-PRS / sad-PRS
 'She is angry / sad.'

- (14b) puú=a ko'kori-ái / na'rá-i
 D.D=EMPH suffer-IPFV / cry-IPFV
 'She was suffering / crying.'

- (14c) puetá yeterae-ká-i / waho-raí
 door close-PTCP-IPFV / open-IPFV
 'The door was closed / open.'

The following construction can have both readings:

- (15) tahtá i'wá=o
 hot here=EMPH
 'It is very hot here.' (Permanent or temporary state).

5.1.1.3. Predicate possession

Predicates of possession in Warihío are associated with the instrumental suffix *-e*, a schema used as a source for possession (Heine, 2001). For inalienable predicative possession, that is, relatives and body parts, the construction is constituted by: (i) a

possessed noun, (ii) the instrumental *-e* suffixed to the possessed noun, and (iii) a possessor that follows the same distribution as the subject of a main clause. This can be a free possessor pronoun ((16a'), (16b')) or a pronoun cliticized to the construction made by (i) and (ii) ((16a)-(16e)), or a noun possessor (16f). The possessed noun can have a modifier to the left:

(16a) piípi se'ka-é=ne
 one arm-INS=1SG.S
 'I have only one arm.' lit. 'I with one arm'

(16a') puú=a piípi seká-e
 D.D=EMPH one arm-INS
 'That (person) has only one arm.'

(16b) tepekúma ku'pá-e=mu
 long hair-INS=2SG.S
 'You have long hair.' lit. 'You with long hair'

(16b') puú-a tepekúma ku'pá-e
 D.D=EMPH long hair-INS
 'That (person) has long hair.'

(16c) werumá čuwá-e=ne
 big mouth-INS=1SG.S
 'I have a big mouth.' lit. 'I with big mouth'

(16d) paiká ta~taná-e=ne
 three PL~son-INS=1SG.S
 'I have three sons.' lit. 'I with three sons'

- (16e) piípi o'očikí-e
 one grandfather-INS=1SG.S
 'I have one grandfather.' lit. 'I with one grandfather'
- (16f) hustína paiká ta~taná-e
 Agustína three PL~son-INS
 'Agustina has three sons.' lit. 'Agustina with three sons'

For alienable predicative possession the construction shows the classifier *-wa* that signals the possessed entity as alienable. This classifier is placed between the possessed noun and the instrumental suffix *-e*:

- (17) ete-wa-é=ne
 louse-CLF-INS=1SG.S
 'I have lice.' lit. 'I with lice'

The classifier suffix *-wa* can be attached to the copula 'to be':

- (18a) inu-wá-e=ne piípi sipičá sehtáname
 be-CLF-INS=1SG.S one dress red
 'I have a red dress.' lit. 'I am with a red dress'
- (18b) paiká totori kiliwáme inu-wá-e=mu
 three hen speckled be-CLF-INS=2SG.S
 'You have three speckled hens.' lit. 'You are with three speckled hens'

5.1.2. Verbal predicates

The most frequent predicates in Warihío are verbs, words that occur with tense/aspect suffixes. These verbs can occur alone and constitute a simple clause, since third person participants may be omitted and ambient clauses show no participant but the verb itself.

5.1.2.1. Intransitive clauses

The main distinction among verbal predicates is that between intransitive and transitive predicates, the former taking a single core participant, the latter at least two. But as Hopper and Thompson (1980) claim, transitivity is a matter of degree given by the nature of the event itself and by the properties of the participants. In Warihío, for many clauses there are no grammatical criteria for distinguishing intransitive from transitive clauses except the number of participants occurring in the clause:

(19a) yuku-ré
rain-PFV
'It rained.'

(19b) upá-ru=ne tapaná
bath-PFV.EV=1SG.S yesterday
'I bathed yesterday.'

(19b') upá-ru=ne kuitá tapaná
bath-PFV.EV=1SG.S child yesterday
'I bathed the child yesterday.'

- (19c) *hustína itóče-re muuní pedró*
 Agustina send-PFV beans Peter
 ‘Agustina sent beans to Peter.’

In (19a), there is no participant but the event itself. These types of clauses have been called (ambient clauses) a-transitive or zero transitive clauses (Dryer, in preparation). The crucial contrast is between (19b) and (19c) since the two clauses look exactly the same but for the number of participants occurring in those clauses: one in (19b) the intransitive clause, and two in (19c) the transitive clause. Now, let’s remember that Warihío does not mark case in core noun participants, there is no verbal agreement, and its constituent order is flexible; therefore, transitivity in Warihío is shown in many instances not lexically but by the number of obligatory participants in a given event.

Sometimes there is a morphological device appearing as a transitivizing verbal suffix in the transitive verb in opposition to the unmarked intransitive. In a few other instances, the verbal suffix occurs in the intransitive verb in opposition to the unmarked transitive verb, or with a change from a non-marked inactive intransitive verb to a marked active intransitive verb. Therefore, the exemplification in this section will be given mainly by pairs of clauses, where one or both are marked in some way. This mark occurs as a verbal suffix such as the following alternation pairs:

(20)	Intransitive		transitive
	∅	vs.	-te
	∅	vs.	-pu
	-pa	vs.	-te
	∅	vs.	-na / -ča

5.1.2.1.1. Inactive vs. active intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are not completely homogenous in their semantics. We can make a further distinction between an active intransitive event with an agentive-like participant and an inactive intransitive event with a patient-like participant. This distinction may be marked in some specific groups of verbs.

All adjectival (21) states and positionals (22a-d) are given formally as verbs in Warihío:

- (21a) kahpé kahká-ni / čihpú-ni
 coffee sweet-PRS / bitter-PRS
 ‘The coffee is sweet / bitter.’
- (21b) reečú čo'kó-ni / ko'kó-ni
 milk sour-PRS / spicy-PRS
 ‘The milk is sour / spicy.’
- (21c) nerói turá-ni
 water cold-PRS
 ‘The water is cold.’

- (21d) akí to'kó-ni
 river deep-PRS
 'The river is deep.'
- (21e) wakirá waki-ná / sami-ná
 shirt dry-PRS / wet-PRS
 'The shirt is dry / wet.'

In Warihío, the positional verbs considered as statives or inactive intransitive verbs, show an active intransitive counterpart marked with the verbal suffix *-pa*. These are the change in body position verbs. Some examples are given in (22):

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (22a) werí-na=ne
be.standing.sg-PRS=1SG.S
'I am standing up.' | (22a') weri-pá-ni=ne
be.standing.sg-INCH-PRS=1SG.S
'I stood up.' |
| (22b) yesí-na=ne
be.seated.sg-PRS=1SG.S
'I am seated.' | (22b') yesi-pá-ni=ne
be.seated.sg-INCH-PRS=1SG.S
'I am sitting up.' |
| (22c) po'i=né
be.lying.down=1SG.S
'I am lying down.' | (22c') po'i-pá=ne
be.lying.down- INCH=1SG.S
'I lay down.' |
| (22d) ko'omora-ni=ne
be.bent-PRS=1SG.S
'I am bent.' | (22d') ko'omora-pá-ni=ne
be.bent-INCH-PRES=1SG.S
'I am bending.' |

We observe that all the events in the right column are events describing a change of body position. The verbs expressing these events have the suffix *-pa*. The stative events in the

left column lack this suffix. The suffix *-pa* can be considered as a morpheme that signals a change of state. In the specific events above, and given the high animacy of the participants, the contrast unmarked vs. *-pa* marked verbs shows an inactive vs. active intransitive event contrast.

5.1.2.1.2. Intransitive clauses with no participants

There is a type of intransitive clause that can show no participants at all. Most of these events are the so-called ambient events, expressed in Warihío by a verb alone:

- (23a) tuurá-re tapaná
cold-PVE yesterday
'It was cold yesterday.'
- (23b) tapaná yuku-ré kečewéka-či
yesterday rain-PFV Quechehueca-LOC
'It rained in Quechehueca yesterday.'
- (23c) semana pahčá-či kepa-rú mesa-čí
week last-LOC freeze-PFV.EV Mesa-LOC
'Last week, there was frost in La Mesa.'
- (23d) kuhuí-pa-ni í'-ka tukaó
flash-INCH-PRS DP-ID night
'It's lightning tonight.'

The qualification of an event can be given without any participant at all:

- (23e) inyanteé-ru
 horrible-PFV.EV
 ‘It was horrible.’

5.1.2.1.3. Locative intransitive clauses

Verbs used as locatives in Warihío refer to the actual position of the participant. Some of the verbs are *kahtí* ‘to be seated’, *werí* ‘to be standing’, *čuhkú* ‘to be on four legs’, *po’í* ‘be lying down’. This way, we can have locative predications as follows:

- (24a) maría kari-čí kahtí
 Mary house-LOC be.seated
 ‘Mary is in the house.’
- (24b) čuhčúri po’í mesá-tere
 dog be.lying.down table-LOC
 ‘The dog is under the table.’
- (24c) čuhčúri čuhkú mesá-tere
 dog be.on.four.legs table-LOC
 ‘The dog is under the table.’

5.1.2.1.4. Existential intransitive clauses

One type of clause associated with a locative expression is the existential clause. This clause predicates the existence itself of some participant. The verb *maní* asserts the existence of an entity. The existential verb can be inflected by aspect/tense suffixes; zero marked for present in (25a), *-re* for perfective in (25b) and *-mera* for future potential in (25c) or the negative proclitic *ki=* as in (25d):

- (25a) maní nerói sikorí-či
 exist water pot-LOC
 ‘There is water in the pot.’
- (25b) maní-re nerói sikorí-či
 exist-PFV water pot-LOC
 ‘There was water in the pot.’
- (25c) mani-méra nerói
 exist-FUT water
 ‘There is going to be water.’
- (25d) ki=maní-re nerói
 NEG=exist-PFV water
 ‘There was no water.’

The existential *maní* does not indicate number or quantification of the entity in question:

- (26) weeká maní newéri kusí-tere
 many exist pitahaya woods-through
 ‘There are many pitahayas in the woods.’

5.1.2.1.5. Active intransitive clauses

The canonical active intransitive clause has verbs such as *siminá* ‘to go’, *umáni* ‘to run’, and *ninína* ‘to fly’ and a participant, if a pronoun is in the S form:

- (27a) waní simi-ré tiendá-či
 John go-PFV store-LOC
 ‘John went to the store.’

(27b) neé umá-re tapaná
 1SG.S run-PFV yesterday
 ‘I ran yesterday.’

(27c) tučíkí niní-re mehká
 bird fly-PFV far.away
 ‘A bird flew far away.’

5.1.2.2. Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses take two participants.

5.1.2.2.1. Inactive intransitive vs. transitive clauses

Almost all positional inactive intransitive verbs in Warihío have transitive counterparts. The grammatical device is change a vowel in the base from *-i* (intr.) to *-a* (tr.)¹ as in (28). Besides, there are suppletive forms for the singular and plural participants in the case of inactive intransitive events and suppletive forms for the singular and plural patientive-like participants in the case of transitive events.

(28a) ihpíčira werí ehkína-či
 broom be.standing.sg corner-LOC
 ‘The broom is in the corner.’

(28a') ihpíčira ahawí ehkína-či
 brooms be.standing.pl corner-LOC
 ‘The brooms are in the corner.’

¹ This vowel alternation also occurs in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, but in this case the alternation is from *-e* to *-a*.

- (28b) *hustína werá-re ihpíčira ehkína-či*
 Agustina place.s.standing.sg broom corner-LOC
 ‘Agustina put the broom in the corner.’
- (28b') *hustína ahawá-re ihpíčira ehkína-či*
 Agustina place.s.standing.pl broom corner-LOC
 ‘Agustina put the brooms in the corner.’

Other verbs that use the *-i/ -a* vowel change are:

- (29) *čo'iná* ‘there is no fire’
čo'áni ‘turn off the fire’
čewiná ‘be hit’ (intr.)
čewaní ‘hit’ (tr.)

5.1.2.2.2. Active intransitive vs. transitive clauses

The change of active intransitive clauses to transitive clauses can be accomplished by one of these suffixes: *-pu*, *-te*, *-ča*, *-na*².

5.1.2.2.2.1. The verbal suffix *-pu*

- (30a) *te'kí-na=ne kawái-či*
 get.off-PRS=1SG.S horse-LOC
 ‘I am getting off the horse.’

² These suffixes will be treated in the Voice Chapter.

- (30a) te'ki-pú-na=ne kuitá kawái-či
 get.off-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S child horse-LOC
 'I am getting the child off the horse.'
- (30b) mo'tewá-ní=ne kawái-či
 get on-PRS=1SG.S horse-LOC
 'I am getting on the horse.'
- (30b') mo'te-pú-na=ne kuitá kawái-či
 get on-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S child horse-LOC
 'I am putting the child on the horse.'
- (30c) napawí-na weeká tihóé puebló-či
 reunite-PRS QUANT man town-LOC
 'A lot of people are gathering in town.'
- (30c') napa-pú-na=ne weeká tihóé puebló-či
 gather-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S QUANT man town-LOC
 'I am gathering a lot of people in town.'
- (30d) ne'néo kohtári natawí-re
 look.at bag pierce-PFV
 'Look! The bag broke.'
- (30d') nata-pú-ru=ne kohtári
 pierce-TRZ-PFV.EV-1SG.S bag
 'I broke the bag.'

5.1.2.2.2.2. The verbal suffix *-te*

Some verbs have the transitive counterpart marked with the causative suffix *-te*.

Some of these verb pairs are given in (31a) and exemplified in (31b)-(31d):

- (31a) *su'rúni* / *su'rútena* 'to scrape intr. / tr.'
pu'saní / *pu'sátena* 'to wake up intr. / tr.'
moropína / *moropítena* 'to sink intr. / tr.'
wekaní / *wekaténa* 'to get lost/lose.'
- (31b) *su'rú-re=ne* *tono-čí* / *tehté no'ó* *su'rú-te-re* *tono-čí*
 scrape-PFV=1SG:S feet-LOC / stone 1SG:NS scrape-CAUS-PFV feet-LOC
 'My feet scraped' / 'The stones scraped my feet.'
- (31c) *waní pu'sa-ré* / *pedró pu'sa-te-re* *waní*
 John wake.up-PFV / Peter wake.up-CAUS-PFV John
 'John woke up' / 'Peter woke John up.'
- (31d) *peturi weka-ré tapaná* / *weka-té-ru=ne* *petúri tapaná*
 knife lose-PFV yesterday / lose-CAUS-PFV=1SG:S knife yesterday
 'The knife got lost yesterday' / 'I lost the knife yesterday'

In (31b)-(31d), the pairs of sentences show two differences: one participant and an unmarked verb in the sentences to the left, and two participants and a *-te* suffixed verb in the sentences to the right.

5.1.2.2.2.3. The verbal suffixes *-na* / *-ča*

The verbal suffixes *-na/-ča* are restricted to a group of stative verbs with an adjectival meaning³. This group contains verbs like *kasína* 'to be broken', *si'páni* 'to be torn', *či'wáni* 'to be cut', *wi'lóna* 'to be flexible', *pi'rína* 'to be twisted'. All these verbs accept the causative suffix *-te* also, but with a different meaning. In the construction with *-na/-ča*, the subject is the causer (32a)-(33a) whereas in the construction with *-te*, the

³ The verbal suffix *-na*, a transitivizer and the present/habitual tense-aspect *-na* are homophonous.

subject is a kind of malefactive and the causer is unspecified (32a)-(33a'). None of these constructions with these verbs accept the suffix *-pu* (34):

(32a) pehtóri kasi-ré / kasi-ná-ru=ne pehtóri
 plate break-PFV / break-CAUS-PFV.EV=1SG.S plate
 'The plate broke' / 'I broke the plate.'

(32a') kasi-té-ru=ne pehtóri
 break-CAUS-PFV.EV=1SG.S plate
 '(somebody) broke the plate (on me).'

(33a) si'pá-re sipičá / hustína si'pá-na-re sipičá
 tear.apart-PFV dress / Agustina tear.apart-CAUS-PFV dress
 'The dress got torn' / 'Agustina tore apart the dress.'

(33a') hustína si'pá-te-re sipičá
 Agustina tear.apart-CAUS-PFV dress
 '(Something) tore apart the dress (of Agustina).' (For example, by accident working in the field.)

(34) * kasi-pú-ru=ne pehtóri
 * hustína si'pa-pú-re sipičá

Again, as in (31) these pairs of sentences show a marked change of transitivity, from a non-marked intransitive to a *-na* marked transitive, from one to two participants.

Transitivity in Warihío is a phenomenon difficult to formally demonstrate. Besides, the suffixes *-pu*, *-te*, *-na* that occur only in a group of verbs, the only indication in many instances is lexical, that is the type of event, and the number of participants.

Sometimes only the latter aspect can give us a clue about the transitivity of some event. This poses a problem in signaling semantic relations, as we will see in the next section.

5.2. Tense, Aspect, Mood

The Tense, Aspect and Mood marking system is not rich in Warihío. It consists of a few verbal suffixes plus some free elements that most of the time integrate tense and aspect or tense and mood.

The elements involved in the TAM marking are the following:

- (a) *-ni ~ -na, -wi ~ -wa, - ∅*
- (b) *-re ~ ri, -ru, -ka*
- (c) *-i ~ -yai ~ -riai*
- (d) *-ma, -mera, -puapu(a)*
- (e) *-pa*
- (f) *-nare, -hera, -moti*
- (g) *senépi* ‘always’
kawé ‘good’, ‘well’

The elements above will be described in that order.

5.2.1. The present/habitual suffixes *-ni ~ -na*, *-wi ~ -wa*, *-Ø*

Verbs in Warihío must have a tense/aspect suffix with the exception of a list of five verbs which have *-Ø* for present/habitual. There is no infinitive form and the cited verb forms are given with one of these suffixes *-ni ~ -na* or *-wi ~ -wa*. The most frequent suffixes are the allomorphs *-ni ~ -na*, whereas *-wi ~ -wa* was found only in 4 verbs; *pesu-wá* ‘to peel off’, *čuču-wí* ‘to be hung.pl’, *aha-wí* ‘to be standing.pl’, *moči-wí* ‘to be seated.pl’. The unmarked verbs for present/habitual are *nahkí* ‘to want’, *mačí* ‘to know’, *kahtí* ‘to be seated.sg’, *po’í* ‘to be lying down.sg’, *werí* ‘to be standing.sg’.

These suffixes give the sense of present continuous (35) or present/habitual (36):

- (35) waní tehpuča-ni kuú
 John chop-PRS piece.of.wood
 ‘John is chopping pieces of wood.’
- (36) waní senépi tehpuča-ni kuú
 John always chop-PRS piece.of.wood
 ‘John always chops pieces of wood.’

We observe in (36) that in order to express a habitual activity, it may be used additional free elements such as the adverbial *senépi* ‘always’. Other examples with *-na/-ni* are:

- (37a) pedró kahu-ná tehkí
 Peter finish-PRS work
 ‘Peter is finishing the work.’

- (37b) pedró senépi kahu-ná tehkí
 Peter always finish-PRS work
 ‘Peter always finishes the work.’
- (38a) hustína nawésa-ni makuráwe
 Agustina speak-PRS Warihío.language
 ‘Agustina speaks Warihío.’
- (38b) pedró koa-ní takári
 Peter eat-PRS tortillas
 ‘Peter eats tortillas.’

5.2.2. The perfective suffixes *-re ~ -ri, -ru*

The verbal suffix *-re* functions as a perfective (39):

- (39) waní tetemú-re čuhčúri
 John kick-PFV dog
 ‘John kicked the dog.’
- (40) waní muku-ré
 John die-PFV
 ‘John died.’

The verbal suffix *-ru* functions as a perfective/evidential. It occurs when the first person is involved in the event or the speaker is a witness of the event and for question for the hearer:

- (41a) paápiarí tetewá-ru hustína waní
 early.morning see-PFV.EV Agustina John
 ‘Agustina saw John this morning.’
- (41b) *paápiarí tetewá-ru-ata hustína waní
 early.morning see-PFV.EV-QUOT Agustina John
 ‘Agustina saw John this morning.’
- (42a) muú wahoná-re wentána
 2SG.S close-PFV window
 ‘Did you close the window?’
- (42b) eheé, wahoná-ru=ne wentána
 yes, close-PFV.EV=1SG.S window
 ‘Yes, I closed the window.’
- (42c) *eheé, wahoná-re=ne wentána
 yes, close-PFV=1SG.S window
 ‘Yes, I closed the window.’

The speaker has just seen the governor arrive (no one had expected this event)

Have you heard the news?

- (43) yaučí ená-ru
 governor arrive-PFV.EV
 ‘The governor arrived.’

The speaker has just heard the news that the governor arrived (no one had expected this event) Have you heard the news?

- (44) *yaučí ená-ri-ata*
 governor arrive-PFV-QUOT
 ‘The governor arrived.’

The perfect aspect sense given by *-re* has the *anteriority* feature with present perfect (45a), past perfect (45b), and future perfect (45c) interpretations:

- (45a) (*no'ó nawe-sói-pa*) *waní tehpúna-re kuú*
 1SG.NS speak-SUB-INCH John chop-PFV piece.of.wood
 ‘(As I am speaking now,) John has (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’
- (45b) (*no'ó asi-yó-pa*) *waní tehpúna-re kuú*
 1SG.NS arrive-SUB-INCH John chop-PFV piece.of.wood
 ‘(When I arrived,) John had (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’
- (45c) (*amó asi-yó-pa*) *waní yomá tehpúna-re kuú*
 2SG.NS arrive-SUB-INCH John all chop-PFV piece.of.wood
 ‘(When you arrive,) John will have (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’

Completion and terminal boundary are given by a combination of *-ru* and *-pa*:

- (46a) *ačiniá ki=papakonačá=mu seeká*
 why NEG=wash=2SG.S hands
 ‘Why don’t you wash your hands?’
- (46b) *papahko-ru-ni-apa*
 wash-PFV.EV=1SG.S-INCH
 ‘I have already washed them.’

- (47a) čorowá-ni=mu
 be.hungry-PRS=2SG.S
 ‘Are you hungry?’
- (47b) ka'i, ko'ka-rú=ne-pa
 no, eat- PFV.EV=1SG.S-INCH
 ‘No, I have already eaten.’

The verbal suffix *-ka* generally occurs in one of the verbs of complex sentences giving the sense of simultaneity of events:

- (48a) weri=né wikahtá-ka
 be.standing.sg= 1SG.S sing-PTCP

 yau-ká
 dance-PTCP

 nené-ka wa'ápi amó
 see-PTCP same.place 2SG.NS
 ‘I am singing, dancing, and watching you at the same time.’
- (48b) waní penipá-re tehpuča-ka kuú
 John learn-PFV cut-PTCP wood
 ‘John learned to cut wood.’
- (48c) neé penipá-re yasé-ka kawái
 1SG.S learn-PFV be.seated-PTCP horse
 ‘I learned to ride a horse.’

Occasionally, *-ka* can be found in simple sentences with the sense of ‘continuous’. Given the tense of the question the tense of the answer is interpreted:

What are you doing?

- (49a) nehá-ka pií kuú
 sell-PTCP one piece.of.wood
 ‘(I am) selling a piece of wood.’

What were you doing?

- (49b) nehá-ka pií kuú
 sell-PTCP one piece.of.wood
 ‘(I was) selling a piece of wood.’

5.2.3. The past imperfective suffix *-i* ~ *-yai* ~ *-riai*

The verbal suffixes *-i* ~ *-yai* ~ *-riai* give different aspect senses depending on the class of verb it is attached to. With compact short-duration verbs, it gives an iterative sense:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (50) | waní akačúpa-i | ‘John was spitting.’ |
| | waní sewečá-i | ‘John was blinking.’ |
| | waní tasiá-i | ‘John was coughing.’ |
| | waní temu-yái čuhčúri | ‘John was kicking the dog.’ |
| | waní simi-yái | ‘John was leaving.’ |
| | waní čočo-yái pedró | ‘John was punching Peter.’ |
| | maría wewe-riái waní | ‘Mary was slapping John.’ |

These verbal suffixes in combination with the adverbial *senepí* ‘always’ gives the sense of past-habitual:

- (51) waní senepí tasi-ái ‘John used to spit.’
 waní senepí temu-yái čuhčúri ‘John used to kick the dog.’
 waní senepí čona-yái pedró ‘John used to punch Peter.’

When the past imperfective verbal suffixes attach to accomplishment-completion verbs, the aspect applies to the precedent process leading to the terminal boundary:

- (52) waní asi-ái petečí ‘John was arriving home.’
 waní kahu-yái tehkí ‘John was finishing the work.’
 waní muku-yái ‘John was dying.’
 kuitá nawá-i ‘The child was being born.’
 wiči-yai=ne ‘I was falling down.’
 yesipái=ne ‘I was standing up.’

With activity-process verbs, the suffix *-i* produces an ongoing past progressive sense:

- (53) waní čona-yái suunú ‘John was crushing corn.’
 waní tekhipána-i ‘John was working.’
 waní pi'yo-yái tosá kusíwara ‘John was twisting the cotton branch.’

Or in combination with *senepí* ‘always’ a habitual-repetitive sense:

- (54) waní senepí čona-yái suunú ‘John used to crush corn.’
 waní senepí tekhipána-i paá piarí ‘John used to work early in the morning.’

With stative verbs, a sense of past state:

- (55) *hustína nahki-yái pií naráso* ‘John used to want an orange.’
yuwesu-ái=ne ‘I was sad.’
turamu-ai=ne ‘I was cold.’
wiyá-i=ne ‘I was fat.’
čuhčúri po'asiki-ái ‘The dog was hairy.’

5.2.5. The irrealis suffixes *-ma*, *-mera*, *-puapu(a)*

These three suffixes give the sense of irrealis-future. The use of *-ma* for singular first person participant and *-puapu(a)* for plural first person participants express a higher degree of certainty about the event to occur:

- (56a) *i'ká tukaó koči-má=ne mehká pete-čí*
 D.P. night sleep-FUT=1SG.S away house-LOC
 ‘Tonight, I will sleep away from home.’
- (56b) *i'ká tukaó ko~koči-puápu mehká petečí*
 D.P. night PL~sleep-FUT away house-LOC
 ‘Tonight, we will sleep away from home.’
- (57a) *meeré=o ki=tekih pána-ma=ne wasa-čí*
 tomorrow= EMPH NEG=work-FUT=1SG.S land-LOC
 ‘Tomorrow, I won’t work in the field.’
- (57b) *meeré=o ki=tekih pána-puapu wasa-čí*
 tomorrow= EMPH NEG=work-FUT.PL land-LOC
 ‘Tomorrow, we won’t work in the field.’
- (58a) *enčí merehámi si-ma=né močibámpo*
 next year go-FUT=1SG.S Mochibampo
 ‘Next year, I will go to Mochibampo.’

- (58b) enči merehámi simpá-puapu močibampo
 next year go.pl-FUT.PL Mochibampo
 ‘Next year, we will go to Mochibampo.’
- (58c) čeeпа-má=ne yesi-pá-sa waapí waní
 cold-FUT=1SG.S be.seated-INCH-SUB onext John
 ‘I will get cold (if I sit next to John.)’

The suffix *-mera* is used with third person with a sense of lower degree of certainty about the event to occur. The use of this suffix indicates that the event is less likely to occur than with the use of the suffix *-ma* and at the same time the successful realization of an event realized by a third person participant is less certain for the speaker than those realized by the speech act participants (SPA):

- (59a) weikáčo arí ena-méra no'ó ye'čí
 a.while afternoon come-POT 1SG.NS aunt
 ‘This afternoon, my aunt is going to come.’
- (59b) weikáčo arí e'~ena-méra no'o no'nó
 a.while afternoon PL~come-POT 1SG.NS father
 ‘This afternoon, my parents are going to come.’
- (59c) enči osá marikí paamúni no'ó mará kohčíra simi-méra unibersidá-či
 next twice five year 1SG.NS daughter elder go-POT University-LOC
 ‘In ten years, my elder daughter is going to go to the University.’
- (59d) enči osá marikí paamúni no'ó ooká ma~mará simpá-mera unibersidáči
 next twice five year 1SG.NS two PL~daughter go.pl-POT University-LOC
 ‘In ten years, my two daughters are going to go to the University.’

- (59e) yoi-merá=ne rotería
 earn-POT=1SG.S lottery
 ‘I am going to win the lottery.’

Modality and mood make use of the irrealis verbal future suffix *-ma*, the desiderative verbal suffixes *-nare* and *-hera*, the intensitive verbal suffix *-moti*, as well as the free element *kawé* ‘good/well’:

- (60a) neé kawé tekihpaña-ma weeká tawé
 1SG.S well work-FUT many day
 ‘I can work many days.’
- (60b) muú kawé itihpí-ma pete-čí
 2SG.S well stay-FUT house-LOC
 ‘You could stay at home.’
- (60c) muú itihpí-ma pete-čí
 2SG.S stay-FUT house-LOC
 ‘You must stay at home.’
- (60d) muú=a ki=itihpí-ma pete-čí
 2SG.S=EMPH NEG=stay-FUT house-LOC
 ‘You must not stay at home.’
- (60e) ariwatópi kočípá-ma=ne
 early sleep-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘I must sleep early.’

There seems to be a contrast of ‘certainty’ associated with *-ma* and *-mera*. The suffix *-ma* is ‘most certain/irrealis’ and so is appropriate to SPA. The suffix *-mera* by

other hand is ‘less certain/irrealis’ and so is appropriate to non-SPA. When the choice of person and suffix cross, the result is not an incorrect utterance, it is modality:

(61a) itihpí-mera=mu
 stay-POT=2SG.S
 ‘It’s possible you will stay.’

(61b) itihpí-ma=mu
 stay-FUT=2SG.S
 ‘You must stay.’

(62a) itihpí-mera=ne
 stay-POT=1SG.S
 ‘I may stay.’

(62b) itihpí-ma=ne
 stay-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘I will stay.’

However *-ma* can occur with third person participants if the speaker has a higher certainty of the event about to occur:

(62c) waní itihpí-ma pete-čí
 John stay-FUT house -LOC
 ‘John must stay in the house.’

The potential *-mera* (63) may also be involved in constructions with a modal meaning of intent/possibility:

- (63a) pedró umá-mera-ni meeré piarí
 Peter run-POT-PRS tomorrow morning
 ‘Peter wants to run tomorrow morning.’
- (63b) pu'-ká tu'mí-na-merá-re kuú kaya-me-á=pu
 D.D-ID blend-TZR-POT-PFV tree bring-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
 ‘...he wanted to chop down the big tree, the wood-gatherer.’

In (63) it is evident that *-mera* is functioning as a modal suffix since there is already the present tense/aspect suffix *-ni* in (63a) and the perfective *-re* in (63b).

5.2.5. The desiderative suffixes *-nare*, *-hera*, *-moti*, *-ora*

The desiderative construction par excellence is the construction involving the verbal suffix *-nare*, whose subject is coreferential with the subject of the dependent unit. This construction contrasts with the desiderative construction coded by *-hera* because the subjects of the main and the dependent unit are obligatorily non-coreferential in the latter. The verbal root can be intransitive (64a) or transitive (64b):

- (64a) tawé ko'-naré-temé
 day eat-DES-1PL.S
 ‘We want to eat early.’
- (64b) aapóe wewe-náre waní
 3PL.S hit-DES John
 ‘They want to hit John.’

The negative clitic *ki=* attached to the verb with the desiderative suffix *-nare* has the meaning of ‘refuse’ to do V. With the suffix *-hera*, the meaning is to deny permission to some other to do V:

(65a) *pedró ki=tekihpaná-nare tomíko-čí-o*
 Peter NEG=work-DES Sunday-LOC-EMPH
 ‘Peter refuses to work on Sundays.’

(65b) *waní ki=ena-náre mesa-čí*
 John NEG=come-DES Mesa-LOC
 ‘John refuses to return to La mesa’

(65c) *ki=naiwá-nare=ni=a waní aháma*
 NEG=talk-DES=1SG.S=EMPH John COM
 ‘I refuse to talk to John.’

(65d) *lupita ki=ináte-náre kukučí*
 Lupita NEG=take.care-DES children
 ‘Lupe refuses to take care of the children.’

(65e) *ki=nehí-náre-temé=a we'é*
 NEG=sell-DES-1PL.S=EMPH land
 ‘We refuse to sell the land.’

(65f) *ki=amó yau-herá-ni=ne*
 NEG=2SG.NS dancel-DES-PRS=1SG.S
 ‘I don’t want you to dance.’

There are other verbal suffixes with the meaning of ‘try’, ‘decide’, ‘plan’, *-moti* and *-orá*:

- (66a) pedró amó tuye-móti=pu=a
 Pedró 2SG.NS say-moti=D.D=EMPH
 ‘Peter tried to say it to you.’
- (66b) lupita no'wá-moti enčí kú'we
 Lupita move-moti again soon
 ‘Lupe decided to return soon.’
- (66c) waní ehturiawa-orá-ni obregoni
 John study-plan-PRS Obregón
 ‘John plans to study in Obregón.’

We observe that *-moti*, as *-nare*, does not show a tense/aspect suffix.

The element *kawé* ‘good/well’ is involved in constructions with a modal meaning of ability/capacity:

- (67a) Waní kawé umató-re aki-čí
 John well cross-PFV river-LOC
 ‘John succeeded in crossing the river.’
- (67b) puú kawé yau-ré huaníta aháma
 D.D well dance-PFV Joanna with
 ‘He succeeded in dancing with Joanna.’

The element *kawé* plus the suffixes *-ma* and *-mera* ‘FUTURE’ shows the meaning of ‘to be able’ to do V:

- (68a) neé kawé wewe-má=ne=pu
 1SG.S well hit-FUT=1SG.S=D.D
 ‘I am able to hit him.’
- (68b) Wanita kawé isi-má kahu-méra ehturiawa-ka
 Joanna well be-FUT finish-FUT.POT study-FUT
 ‘Joanna is going to be able to finish her studies’

5.3. The participants

The participants or arguments in an event, coded by a noun phrase⁴, are divided in core participants and non-core participants. The distinction between core and non-core participants is relatively simple; the core participants are unmarked and the non-core participants are marked with some postposition. This distinction is illustrated in subsection 5.3.1, whereas the morphosyntax of the core participants is described in 5.3.2.

5.3.1. Core vs. non-core participants in Warihío

Core participants are not marked in Warihío:

- (69a) wikahtá-ru=ne
 sing-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I sang.’
- (69b) waní wikahtá-re
 John sing-PFV
 ‘John sang.’

⁴ The term Noun Phrase here includes noun phrase, noun and pronoun.

- (70a) amó tetewá-ru=ne
 2SG.NS see-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I saw you.’
- (70b) waní tetewá-re pedró
 John see-PFV Peter
 ‘John saw Peter.’
- (71a) amó itoče-rú=ne owítíame tapaná
 2SG.NS send-PRF.EV=1SG.S little.girl yesterday
 ‘I sent you the little girl yesterday.’
- (71b) waní itočé-re owítíame maría tapaná
 John send-PFV.EV=1SG.S little.girl Mary yesterday
 ‘I sent Mary the little girl yesterday.’

Non-core participants are marked:

- (72a) u'má-ru=ne **kusí-tere**
 run-PFV.EV=1SG.S woods-through
 ‘I ran into the woods.’
- (72b) waní simi-ré **pahkó-či**
 John go-PFV feast-LOC
 ‘John went to the feast.’
- (72c) no'ó wewe-rú=mu **kuú-e**
 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=2SG.S stick-INS
 ‘You hit me with a stick.’

Certain verbal suffixes make a non-core marked argument into a core non-marked argument. This change in the construction, now with an additional core argument maintains the same propositional meaning; however, it involves a change in the semantics, such change is not always very clear and systematic.

- (73a) *hustína pasu-ré muní kukučí ičíó*
 Agustina cook-PFV beans children BEN
 ‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’ (But they didn’t eat them)
- (73b) *hustína pasú-ke-re muní kukučí*
 Agustina cook-BEN-PFV beans children
 ‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’ (?? But they didn’t eat them)
- (74a) *waní wera-ré sikorí mesa-čí*
 John set-PFV pot table-LOC
 ‘John put the pot on the table.’
- (74b) *wera-ri-áči sikorí mesá*
 set-PFV-LOC pot table
 ‘Did he put the pot on the table?’ (surprising information)
- (75a) *no'o te'čí simi-ré awasó-či*
 1SG.NS uncle go-PFV Alamos-LOC
 ‘My uncle went to Alamos.’
- (75b) *no'o te'čí simi-ri-áči awasó*
 1SG.NS uncle go-PFV-LOC Alamos
 ‘My uncle went to Alamos (and returned).’/ ‘Did my uncle go to Alamos?’
- (76a) *maría simi-ré obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma*
 Mary go-PFV Obregon 3.NS mother-COM
 ‘Mary went to Obregon with her mother.’

- (76b) *maría simi-ré-ma obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma*
 Mary go-PFV-COM Obregón 3.NS mother
 ‘Did Mary go to Obregon with her mother?’ (surprising/unexpected information)

5.3.2. The morphosyntax of the core participants

The distinction of the roles of the core participants in an event in terms of the morphosyntax has been crucial in describing a language.

Keenan (1976) postulates two types of properties for distinguish among the core participants: coding properties and control and behavioral properties.

5.3.2.1. Coding properties

The coding properties that could help to identify in some way the roles of the participants in Warihío are: case marking and word order. Verbal agreement that helps in the identification of the roles of the participants in some stative-active languages (Mithun, 1991) is absent in Warihío.

5.3.2.1.1. Case marking

In Warihío, there is no case marking in core nominals:

- (77) *waníta itočé-re muuní pedró*
 Johana send-PFV beans Peter
 ‘John sent Peter beans.’

In the case of pronouns, Warihío has only two sets of personal pronouns that assist in distinguishing the participants: one set for S and Agent and another set for Patient, Theme, Recipient, Possessors, Reflexives and also for Subjects of subordinate clauses. The emphatic S/A pronouns occur sentence initially, but the non-emphatic S/A pronouns occur as verbal clitics or suffixes.

(78)	Subject pronouns		Non-subject pronouns	
	Free and Emphatic	Bound and Non-Emphatic	Free	bound
1sg.	neé	=ne	no'ó	no'= no'
2sg.	muú	=mu	amó	-
3sg.	apoé/puú	-ø	ø, ahpó	-
1pl.	temé	-teme	tamó	-
2pl.	emé	-eme	amó	-
3pl.	aapóe	- ø	ø, ahpó	-

(79a) neé u'má-ru
1SG.S run-PFV.EV
'I ran.'

(79b) neé wewé-ru waní
1SG.S hit-PFV.EV John
'I hit John.'

(79c) waní no'ó wewé-ru
John 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV
'John hit me.'

(79d) waní no'ó itočá-re muní
John 1SG.NS send-PFV beans
'John sent me beans.'

- (79e) no'ó no'nó no'ó wewé-ru
 1SG.NS father 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV
 'My father hit me.'
- (79f) no'ó nené-na=ne ehpeho-či
 1SG.NS see-PRS=1SG.S mirror-LOC
 'I see myself in the mirror.'
- (79g) pedró no'ó tuyé-ru wewe-mičio waní
 Peter 1SG.NS tell-PFV.EV hit-PURP John
 'Peter told me to hit John.'

The Patient/Theme pronouns tend to occur pre-verbally (79c)-(79f), but can also occur post-verbally (80):

- (80) waní wewé-ru no'ó
 John hit-PFV.EV 1SG.NS
 'John hit me.'

Third person pronoun agentive, patientive or theme is zero:

- (81a) neé wewe-rú
 1SG.S hit-PFV.EV
 'I hit him/them.'
- (81b) neé amó nehá-ke-ru
 1SG.S 2SG.NS sell-APPL-PFV.EV
 'I sold it/him/her/them to you.' / 'I sold you to them/him/her.'

Warihío shows the same form in the pronouns (bound in this case) participants of four different types of events⁵:

- (82a) werí=**ne** ehkína-či STATIVE
 be.standing.sg=1SG.S corner-LOC
 ‘I am standing in the corner.’
- (82b) wiči-rú=**ne** ohóra-či INACTIVE INTRANSITIVE
 slide-PFV.EV=1SG.S hole-LOC
 ‘I slid in the hole.’
- (82c) yau-rú=**ne** tapaná ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE
 dance-PFV.EV=1SG.S yesterday
 ‘I danced yesterday.’
- (82d) kahpó-ru=**ne** kuú TRANSITIVE
 break-PFV.EV=1SG.S stick
 ‘I broke the stick.’

In each of the examples in (82), the form =*ne* ‘first person singular’ the participant S, this form contrasts with the participant non-S with the form *no’ó* in the following examples:

- (83a) amó wewe-rú=**ne** S
 2SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I hit you.’
- (83b) **no’ó** wewe-rú=**mu** Non-s
 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=2SG:S
 ‘You hit me.’

- (83c) **no'ó** ihtóče-re=mu muuní Non-S
 1SG.NS send-PFV.=2SG.S beans
 'You sent me beans.'

Only for the 1st and 2nd pronouns in Warihío can we find a morphological distinction between the two core participants of a transitive event. However, when the context is clear enough or the event is intransitive, the non-S form may be used in place of the S function, thus blurring the morphological distinction between the participants in these cases:

- (84a) ...**kí**=weká **tamó** močí-ré wa'á ói=pu...
 NEG=QUANT **1PL:NS** be.seated.pl-PFV there walk=DD
 '...but we didn't stay there for a long time.'

- (84b) ...ki=**amó**-e kokó-ri=a
 NEG=2SG.NS-INS be.sick.-PFV=EMPH
 '...since you didn't get sick.'

Indeed, the pronoun with non-S form is used for S/A participants⁶ of subordinate clauses whether intransitive (85a) or transitive with another non-S form pronoun (85b)-(85c):

- (85a) [mačiribámpo **tamó** oh~óe-ko-i]
 Machiribampo 1PL.NS PL~walk-SUB-IPFV

⁵ Assuming that *werí*, *wičiná*, *yauná*, *kahpóna* are the equivalent events of 'be standing', 'to slide', 'to dance', and 'to break' respectively.

⁶ Viceversa is impossible, that is, S form pronouns cannot be used for P, Th, R or S/A of dependent clauses.

wa'ámi tekihpaña=ne=a weikaóba paamúni
 through.there work=1SG.S=EMPH then summer
 '...when we lived in Machiribampo, I worked there in the summer.'

(85b) [amó no'ó tetewí-so] u'má-ka=ne
 2SG.NS 1SG.NS see-SUB run-PTCP=1SG.S
 'When you saw me, I ran.'

(85c) [no'ó amó tetewí-so] u'má-ka=mu
 1SG.NS 2SG.NS see-SUB run-PTCP=2SG.S
 'When I saw you, you ran.'

In the dependent clause in brackets in (85b)-(85c) both A and P participants are in the non-S form pronouns. Therefore, it is not the form that is helping us to distinguish between the two participants, but the order. The first participant to appear is the agentive-like participant and the second the patientive-like in the dependent clause in (85).

5.3.2.1.2. Word order

We saw above that when the two participants in the transitive event are equally marked, the order is important in identifying the roles of the participants. In the case of ambiguous non-marked participants, the order is relevant too:

(86a) pedró wewe-ré waní
 Peter break- John
 'Peter hit John.'

The first participant to appear is in the A function:

(86b)	waní pedró weweré	A: <i>waní</i>
	pedró waní weweré	A: <i>pedró</i>
	weweré waní pedró	A: <i>waní</i>
	weweré pedró wani	A: <i>pedró</i>

Order is not relevant for non-ambiguous non-marked participants:

- (87a) pedró kuú kahpó-re
 Peter stick break-
 ‘Peter broke the stick.’
- (87b) kuú pedró kahpóre
 kuú kahpóre pedró
 kahpóre kuú pedró
 ‘Peter broke the stick.’

5.3.2.2. Behavioral properties

Behavioral properties of arguments are looked for in complex constructions such as coordinate clauses, desiderative constructions like English ‘I want’ type, relative clauses, purpose constructions. It is possible to group participants according to their syntactic behavior, for example, being the omitted argument in the linked or dependent clause.

5.3.2.2.1. Clause coordination

In the case of coordinate clauses with third person participants, all personal pronouns, agent or patient of main and coordinate clauses can be omitted in Warihío:

- (88a) maniwíri nene-ré pedró wewe-ré
 Manuel see-PFV Peter hit-PFV
 ‘Manuel saw Peter and hit him.’ / ‘Manuel saw Peter and Peter hit him.’
- (88b) maniwíri wewe-ré pedró umá-re
 Manuel hit-PFV Peter run-PFV
 ‘Manuel hit Peter and (Manuel) run away.’ /
 ‘Manuel hit Peter and Peter ran away.’
- (88c) maniwíri nene-ré wewe-ré
 Manuel see-PFV hit-PFV
 ‘Manuel saw him and hit him.’
- (88d) nene-ré wewe-ré
 see-PFV hit-PFV
 ‘He saw him and hit him.’
 ‘He saw them and hit them.’
 ‘They saw him and hit him.’
 ‘They saw them and hit them.’
 ‘They saw them and hehit them.’
- (88e) kuitá me'yá-re totóri wewe-ré-tu
 child kill.sg-PFV chicken hit- PFV-PASS
 ‘The child killed the chicken and was hit.’
- (88f) kuitá ko'yá-re totóri peterá wewe-ré
 child kill.pl-PFV chicken Petra hit-PFV
 ‘The child killed the chickens and Petra hit him.’

Coordinate clauses with first and second person participants are not useful either because they are never omitted whether in the S, A, or P function:

- (89a) amó wewe-rú=ne umá-ru=ne
 2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S run away-PFV:EV=1SG:NS
 ‘I hit you and ran away.’
- (89b) amó nene-rú=ne amó wewe-rú=ne
 2SG:NS see-PFV:EV=1SG:S 2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:NS
 ‘I saw you and hit you.’
- (89c) amó wewe-rú=ne umá-re=mu
 2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S run away-PFV=2SG:S
 ‘I hit you and you ran away.’
- (89d) no’ó wewe-rú=mu umá-ru=ne
 1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=2SG:S run away-PFV:EV=1SG:S
 ‘You hit me and I ran away.’
- (89f) no’ó wewe-rú=mu umá-re=mu
 1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=2SG:S run away-PFV=2SG:S
 ‘You hit me and you ran away.’
- (89g) no’ó wewe-rú=mu amó wewe-rú=ne
 1SG:NS hit-PRF:EV=2SG:S 2SG:NS hit-PRF:EV=1SG:S
 ‘You hit me and I hit you.’

Since there are no restrictions on the type of omitted argument, this is not a good test to distinguish the core participants of an event.

5.3.2.2.2. Purpose constructions

The S (90a) and A (90b) of the dependent clause which are coreferent with the S of the main clause in a purposive construction are omitted:

- (90a) asi-rú=mu u'má-mia
 arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S run-PURP
 'You came to run.'
- (90b) asi-rú=mu no'ó wewé-mia
 arrive-1PRF:EV-2SG:S 1SG:NS hit-PURP
 'You came to hit me.'

However, it is impossible to form a purposive construction with the coreferential participant in the P function of a transitive dependent clause or in the P function of a passive dependent clause:

- (91a) asi-rú=mu wewé-mia
 arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PURP
 *'You came to hit (you).' (Intended meaning.)
 'You came to hit him.'
- (91b) *asi-rú=mu wewé-mia-tu
 arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PURP-PASS
 'You came to be hit.'

In order to have a coreferential participant in the P function in the dependent clause, a coordinate clause is necessary, even though 1st and 2nd pronouns are not omitted:

- (92a) asi-rú=mu amó wewe-rú=ne
 arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S 1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S
 'You came and I hit you.'

- (92b) asi-rú=mu wewe-ré-tu=mu
 arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PFV-PASS=2SG:S
 ‘You came and you were hit.’

5.3.2.2.3. Desiderative constructions

Desiderative constructions of the English type ‘I want’ are morphologically expressed in Warihío with a modal suffix on the verb. We can observe that participants functioning as S (93a)-(93b) and A (93c) are omitted:

- (93a) Wikahta-náre=ne pahkó-či
 sing-DES=1SG:S feast-LOC
 ‘I want to sing in the feast.’
- (93b) i'wá yasi-náre=ne
 here be.seated.sg-DES=1SG:S
 ‘I want to be here.’
- (93c) Ko'ko-náre=ne sa'pá
 eat-DES=1SG:S meat
 ‘I want to eat meat.’

In the case of desiderative constructions with a participant in the S/A function that is non-coreferential with the participant who ‘wants’, like *peterá* in (94a) and *poresía* in (94b), Warihío has a different suffix form *-heráni*:

- (94a) *peterá no'ó nene-herá-ni=ne*
 Petra 1SG:NS see-DES-PRS=SG:S
 'I want Petra to see me.'
- (94b) *Ki=no'ó čapike-herá-ni=ne poresía-e*
 NEG=1SG:NS detain-DES-PRS=1SG:S police-INS
 'I don't want the police to arrest me.'
- (94c) *waní ahpó čapi-héra-ni poresía*
 John 3SG:NS detain-DES=3SG:S police
 'John_i wants the police to arrest him_i.'
- (94d) *waní ahpó kontratoa-ke-héra-ni no'ó teekó-e*
 John 3SG:NS hire-APPL-DES-PRS 1SG:NS boss-INS
 'John_i wants my boss to hire him_i.'

However, we observe that the participants coreferential in the P function, *no'ó* '1SG:NS' in (94a)-(94b) and *ahpó* '3SG:NS' in (94c)-(94d), are not omitted.

5.3.2.2.4. Relative clauses

In relative clauses in Warihío the function of the nucleus is signaled by the verbal suffixes : *-me* for S (95a) and A (95b) function and *-a* for P (95c) and R (95d) function :

- (95a) *i'yá-ni=ne tihoé [wikahtá-ka-me pahkó-či]*
 look for-PRS=1SG:NS man sing-PTCR-NZR feast-LOC
 'I am looking for the man that sang in the feast.'
- (95b) *i'yá-ni=ne tihoé [no'ó no'nó meyá-ka-me]*
 look for-PRS-1SG:NS man 1SG:NS father kill-PTCR-NZR
 'I am looking for the man who killed my father.'

- (95c) *hustína nawése-re owítame [čuhčúri kí'ki-ri-a]*
 Agustina talk-PFV woman dog bite-PFV-NZR
 ‘Agustina talked to the woman whom the dog bit.’
- (95d) *i'yáni=ne tihoé [no'ó kawái-wa nehí-ke-ri-a]*
 look for-PRS=1SG:NS man 1SG:NS horse-POS sell-APPL-PFV-NZR
 ‘I am looking for the man whom I sold the horse to.’

We could say that the suffix *-me* in the relative clauses signals the participant in S/A function and the suffix *-a* to the participants in P/R function. However, we can find relative clauses whose head, the omitted argument, is in P function and the relative suffix is not *-a*, but *-me*:

- (96) *i'yá-ni=ne tihoé [no'ó kawái-wa tetemú-ka-me]*
 look.for-PRS=1SG:NS man 1SG:NS horse-POS kick-PTCR-NZR
 ‘I am looking for the man whom my horse kicked.’

Probably in normal circumstances there is not too much problem in identifying in (96) *tihoé* ‘the man’ as the patient of the event ‘to be kicked by my horse’ in. This makes the use of the form *-me* not very systematic to distinguish the role of the participants when the context is clear enough.

5.3.3. The core participants in Warihío

We have seen in this subsection that in order to distinguish among the core participants in a clause, morphology and syntax are initially useful in identifying the most

agente-like participant. The distinction between the non-agentive participants is not always possible in morphosyntactic terms. However, narrative has shown that in most cases of events with two or three core participants, these are coded by a mix of pronouns in S form, pronouns in non-S form, and a nominal. The little morphology shown by this type of clauses is enough to distinguish the participants. Only clear evidence of grammatical relations were found in the case of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, labelling as the Subject in Warihío. However, as Dryer (1997) points out, this could be only a matter of terminology.

5.4. Pragmatic characterization

The pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC play a very important role in grammar. These controversial notions have been debated for the last eight decades, in great part by the Prague school (Firbas, 1966). However, there is no consensus yet among linguists about what exactly these notions involve and the way these grammatical phenomena interact with the rest of the language.

5.4.1. Participant behavior in Warihío texts

In this subsection I will describe the behavior of the core participants in a continuous segment of a text⁷. The excerpt of the text ‘Don Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta: life story’ contains 139 sentences with more than 150 clauses. Even though the data come from narrative the analysis is made up the sentence level. The analysis is directed to two main points: (i) the order of the major clause constituents, that is participants and

predicates, and (ii) how these participants are introduced for the first time, reintroduced, emphasized, etc. The participants in this text can be coded as lexical (N)⁸: free pronoun, bound pronoun, or not coded: \emptyset . The functions coded by these participants are Agent (A), Subject of intransitive (S), Patient (P), Recipient (R), and Oblique (OBL) The core participants are signaled in bold face:

Don Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta : life story

(1)	In the middle of the woods _{OBL}	V=1sg _S	
	V	mother _S	
(2)	Trees	V	
(3)	That name _P	V=1sg _A	That tree _P
(4)	[N _S V] _{OBL}	V=1sg _S	
	V	my mother	
(5)	there	V=1sg _S	
(6)	V-pass=1sg _S	river _{OBL}	
(7)	everywhere	V=1pl _S	
(8)	V= \emptyset _S (I)	mother _{OBL}	
(9)	there _{OBL}	V=1sg _S	her _{OBL}
(10)	long time-there	V= \emptyset _S (we)	
(11)	after-everywhere	V	mother _S
(12)	1pl _P	V= \emptyset _A (mother)	
(13)	river _{OBL}	V=1pl _S	
(14)	V= \emptyset _S (we)		
(15)	V=1pl _S		
(16)	V=1pl _S		
(17)	highway _{OBL}	V= \emptyset _S	
(18)	quoted		
(19)	Toward.here	V=1pl _S	
(20)	all.the.way.to Campo Nuevo	V= \emptyset _S	
(21)	1sg _A	\emptyset _P	V
(22)	father _A	\emptyset _P	V
	father _S V		
(23)	there	V	uncle _S
	\emptyset _O	V= \emptyset _A	V
(24)	then	V= \emptyset _A	thing _P

⁷ The whole text appears in appendix I, the excerpt and the complete text share the numbering. The numbering of the examples in this subsection follows those of the text.

⁸ The notation N includes nominals and full noun phrases.

(25)	V= \emptyset_S	rice.field (loc)		
(26)	\emptyset_P (rice)	V= \emptyset_A		
(27)	there	V= \emptyset_S		
(28)	there	V= \emptyset_S		
	V= \emptyset_A	Quetchehuecap		
(29)	there	V= \emptyset_S (we)		
(30)	long.time	1pl_S	V	
(31)	V= \emptyset_S (we)			
(32)	V= \emptyset_S (we)	V= \emptyset_S (we)		
(33)	quoted			
(34)	1pl_S	V		
(35)	father_S	V	V	
(36)	far.away	\emptyset_P V= \emptyset_A		
(37)	everywhere	V	father_S	
(38)	V= \emptyset_S	V= \emptyset_A	food_P	V= \emptyset_S
(39)	everywhere	V	work_S	
(40)	quoted			
(41)	V	work_S		
(42)	everywhere	1pl_P	V= \emptyset_A	
	our father_A	\emptyset_P	[V]	
(43)	because	1pl_S	V= 1pl_S	
	young	V= 1pl_S		
(44)	that's.why	1pl_S	V= 1pl_S	
(45)	again	1pl_P	V= \emptyset_A	
(46)	V	1pl_P	mother_A	
(47)	there	V= 1pl_S		
(48)	my brother_S	V		
(49)	1sg_S	V= 1sg_S		
(50)	nothing	V	V= 1sg_S	
	V= \emptyset_A	my brother and my sister_P		
(51)	that's.why	V= 1sg_S		
(52)	since-not.much	V= 1sg_S		
	everymorning	V= 1sg_S	V= \emptyset_S (I)	
	V= \emptyset_S (I)	[trinchera]		
(53)	those_P	V= \emptyset_A (I)		
	V	my father_S		
(54)	contract_P	V= \emptyset_A (father)		
	V= \emptyset_S (father)			
(55)	then	our foremen_A	five liters_P V	
(56)	contract _{OBL}	V= \emptyset_A (foremen)	five liters of corn_P	
(57)	that's.why - whole.week	\emptyset_P (us)	V= \emptyset_A (they)	
(58)	our father_S	(did it)	sometimes	
(59)	however	corn_S	V	
(60)	corn_S V			
(61)	again	V= \emptyset_S (father)	V= \emptyset_S (father)	

(62)	V= \emptyset_A (father) works_S since	our foremen_P V works_S V= 1pl_S	a.lot neg=V	V= 1pl_S
(63)	because neg=V= 1pl_S			
(64)	until then	our foremen_S V V= 1sg_S V	V 3sg_S (our foremen)	
(65)	how.much how.much works_S V			
(66)	neg- 1pl_R V our foremen_A	V= \emptyset_A foremen_S neg - 1pl_R V V 1pl_R	V corn_P V= \emptyset_A (foremen)	corn_{TH} big work_{TH}
(67)	1pl_S 1pl_A . that's.why		corn_P	
(68)	until - other			
(69)	neg=V= 1pl_S			
(70)	sometimes	neg=V= \emptyset_S (we)		
(71)	when 1pl_S little	V-sub V V= \emptyset_S (we)		
(72)	V (there is not) V	our foremen_S neg=V= 1sg_S V		
(73)	that's.why			
(74)	afterwards neg - 1pl_R	V= \emptyset_A (foremen)	our foremen_S our jobs_{TH}	
(75)	since - a.lot that's.why	V= 1sg_S neg 1pl_R	V= \emptyset (foremen)	job_{TH}
(76)	when - Navoja V- \emptyset_S (we) - all.day	1pl_S V- 1pl_S 1pl_S	V-sub toward.here	
(77)	then	V= 1pl_S Pueblo May	May_{OBL}	
(78)	toward.here shoulder _{OBL}	V= \emptyset_A (I)	my brother_P	
(79)	then 1pl_S V= \emptyset_S (we)	V= \emptyset_S (I) V	land _{OBL} hand _{OBL}	
(80)	then-there in.the.distance	V= \emptyset_S (train) V	train_S	
(81)	however V	snake_S my brother_S	V	
(82)	V- \emptyset_S (brother) \emptyset_P (brother)	the woods_{OBL} V= 1sg_A		
(83)	until	\emptyset_P (brother)	V= 1sg_A	
(84)	\emptyset_P (brother)	V= 1sg_A		
(85)	V	train_S		

(86)	then		V	my brother_S
(87)	quoted			
(88)	near		Puerto_S	V
(89)	there		V	ranch_S
(90)	there		V=1pl _S	
(91)	food_P		V=Ø _A (mother)	mother_S
	V			
(92)	there		V	cowboy[relC]_S
(93)	V=Ø _A (cowboy)			my brother_P
(94)	V=1sg _S			my brother_P
	V=1sg _A			Ø _P (brother) V=1sg _A
(95)	far.away		neg=V=1sg _A	my brother_P house _{OBL}
	because	Ø _P (cowboy)		
(96)	1sg_A	Ø _P (brother)	V=1sg _A	
(97)	farther		V=1pl _S	Quetchehueca _{OBL} Campo nuevo _{OBL}
(98)	V			mother and father_S
(99)	there		V=Ø _A (mother and father)	rice_P
(100)	sickle _{OBL}	Ø _P (rice)	V=Ø _A (mother-father)	
(101)	V		machine_S	[that- _{INS} V-rel the rice _P] _{RELC}
(102)	stick _{OBL}	Ø _P (rice)	V= Ø _A (mother and father)	
	that(stick) _{OBL}		V=Ø _A (mother and father)	rice_P
(103)	stick _{OBL}	Ø _P (rice)	V=Ø _A (mother and father)	
(104)	since-not difficult		job_P	V=Ø _A (we)
(105)	very.hard		stick_A	Ø _P (rice) V
(106)	neg=V		the rice_S	
(107)	V=Ø _S (rice) now		V=Ø _S (rice)	
(108)	that's.why		V=Ø _S (we)	toward.here
(109)	This _S Mejiquio(loc)		V this	
(110)	When		mother_S	V
	then		father_S	V
(111)	in.the.middle hotcoal(loc)			
(112)	V – there		father_S	
(113)	then		V=1sg _S	night
(114)	there		V=1sg _S	
(115)	in.the middle hotcoal(loc)		V	father_S
(116)	that's.why	Ø _P (father)	V=1sg _A	aside
(117)	father_S . then		neg=V	
(118)	then		V=1sg _S	
	doctor _P		V=Ø _A (I)	faraway downstream
(119)	V=Ø _S (I)		V=Ø _S (I)	
	horse_{TH}		V-pass=1sg _S	
	that's.why		V=Ø _A (I)	doctor_P
(120)	when - 1sg _A		V	the doctor_P

(121)	\emptyset_P (doctor)		V=1sg _A	
(122)	V= \emptyset_S		the house (loc)	
(123)	neg=V		the doctor _A	the father _P
(124)	the medicine (ins)		V-sub	him _P for.us
	then - V=1sg _A again		the doctor _P	his house _{LOC}
(125)	\emptyset_P (doctor)		V=1sg _A	
(126)	V=1sg _S		land _{LOC}	
	V=1sg _S		V= \emptyset_A (I)	doctor _P
(127)	until		V= \emptyset_S (doctor)	house- _{LOC}
(128)	everything	\emptyset_P (doctor)	V=1sg _A	horse _{COM}
(129)	V=1sg _A		the doctor _P	house _{LOC}
(130)	then -V=1sg _S		V	
	V		V=1sg _S	toward house _{LOC}
(131)	V=1sg _S		V=1sg _S	
(132)	1sg _S =V		V= \emptyset_S (I)	
	V= \emptyset_S (I)		there	
(133)	Macoyagüi (loc)		a huge white-stick trunk _S	
(134)	V		V	goat-like _S
(135)	huge trunk =pu _S		V= \emptyset_A (I)	that _P V= \emptyset_A (I)
(136)	there		V	goat just.given.birth _S
(137)	V=1sg _S			
(138)	far.away		V= \emptyset_S (I)	
	quot		nothings _S	
(139)	V=1sg _S			
	V			

Three observations about the excerpt above are important:

(i) Certain non-participant non-verb elements tend to appear toward the beginning of the sentence: *there* (5), *everywhere* (7), *after that* (11), *nothing* (50), *that's why* (51), *again* (61), *toward here* (78), *until* (127). These elements occur at the beginning of the sentence when they provide important information, that is they are functioning as orientational material (Mithun, 1992).

(ii) The life story of Don Alejandro since the very beginning is mainly about living in one place for a period of time working, after the work had finished, the whole family used to go to other towns looking for work. Therefore, events as ‘living’, ‘going’, ‘coming’, and ‘working’ -all of them coded by intransitive verbs- were very important in Don Alejandro’s life. The clauses containing these verbs have the VS order with the first person (‘I’ or ‘we’) for S.

(iii) Pronouns in P function, ‘me’ and ‘us’, show the most fixed position in Warihío grammar, immediately preverbal.

The way the narrative begins is interesting:

- (1) kusí-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
 woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
 ‘I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me.’

The first constituent mentioned in (1) is a locative ‘in the middle of the woods’ like the most notable thing about his birth is the unusual. At the time of the speaker, Warihíos used to have their babies in their houses. After this beginning, the speaker continues to develop the locative in (2):

- (2) kuú werí-ata wa’á naáti
 tree standing.up-QUOT there thing
 ‘Where there was a tree.’

Settling the scene (sentences (1)-(5) in this way starts to show the pragmatic importance of first position. Given the type of narrative -life story- the main participant will be first person, even though he mentioned himself in clause (1), it is coded by a bound pronoun⁹. The first clause (6) after the introduction still codes the main participant by a bound pronoun:

- (6) *weikaóba* u'pa-re-tú=ni-a wa'á aki-čí-o
 then bring-PFV-PASS=1SG.S-EMPH here river-LOC-EMPH
 'Then I was brought along the river bank.'

Elements such as *weikaóba*, *weikó*, *eikó*, translated as 'then' are taken as discursive coherence elements that by being in first position do not provide 'important' information, unless the contrary is indicated. Therefore, the real first constituent in (6) is the verb that constitutes a passive clause. We have two possibilities for a passive clause in Warihío in terms of the affected participant position. The contrast is clearly evident with pronoun participants: (i) as verbal enclitic, or (ii) as a preverbal free pronoun. The example in (6) is of the type (ii). This could be explained by two observations: (a) the event is more important than the participant himself, and (b) the fact that when that happened the speaker was a boy, that is less likely to be more important than the event 'to be brought'.

⁹ Let's remember that in Warihío there are no obligatory bound pronouns, mainly for subjects. They are bound or free pronouns with different positions in the clause.

Even though ‘mother’ was mentioned in the introduction in (1) and (4), her introduction as participant is by a nominal in oblique function postverbally in (8):

- (8) ohóe-re=pu ye'yé-ma eikáo
 live-PFV=D.D mother-COM then
 ‘I lived with my mother then.’

We observe in (8) that first singular person is coded by \emptyset , something not very common for 1st and 2nd person in Warihío narrative. In (9), ‘mother’ is still in oblique function in postverbal position, but now coded by a pronoun (demonstrative):

- (9) wa'á oi-ré=ne pu'-ká aháma eikaóba
 there walk-PFV=1SG.S D.D-ID with then
 ‘I was with her there then.’

After this, ‘mother’ occurs still postverbally, however now as an emphasized nominal form in S function in (11), to be \emptyset coded in A function in (12):

- (10) tehpeí wa'á ohóe
 long.time there live
 ‘We lived there for a long time.’
- (11) neipá wahká moči-ré=pu ye'ye-á=pu weikaóba
 last everywhere be.seated-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then
 ‘After that my mother lived everywhere.’

- (12) tamó weikaóba upá-re wa'á-tepa
 1PL.NS then bring-PFV here -up
 'Then she brought us here.'

The pronoun *tamó* 'us' in P function in example (12) is preverbal; the pronoun in non- S/A function, as I said, tends to have the most fixed position for a constituent in Warihío, immediately preverbal.

All the examples from (13) to (20) –with orientative material in the half of the examples- are a sequence of displacement verbs. The only participant is the first plural person, coded as a bound pronoun or Ø coded.

Agents occur in initial position in (21)-(22). First singular free pronoun in (21) is also emphasized with the suffix *-a*:

- (21) ní-a kí=nané-ri-a
 1SG.S-EMPH NEG=know-PFV-EMPH
 'I did not know (that place).'

The apparent first introduction of the nominal *no'nó* 'father' in A function in (22) could contradict the 'avoid new lexical A' discourse rule given by Du Bois (1987):

- (22) no'nó nane-ré=pu no'nó eikó wa'á ohóe-re=pu
 father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV-D.D
 '(But) my father knew it (because) my father used to live there.'

However, *no'nó* 'father' can be part of the previous *-temé* 'we' (family). 'Father' in (22) contrasts with the speaker in (21) in that the father did know that place, 'father' is sentence initial also.

After the orientative deictic *wa'á* alluding to 'Campo Nuevo' appears in (23), there is a clause coordination:

- (23) *wa'á yasa-ré no'nó poní-ra*
 there be.seated-PFV father brother-REL
- weiká=pu yetó-re=pu-a tekihpaná-mia*
 then=D.D invite-PFV=D.D-EMPH work-FUT
- 'My father's brother was there and invited me to work.'

The first clause in (23) has a VS order. The S participant 'my father's brother' is lexical and it is mentioned by the first time, however, it can be 'part' of 'my father' mentioned in (22). I consider that for the speaker at that moment the event 'there (Campo Nuevo) living' was a little more important than the participant itself, hence the order VS.

Another example of contrast between two participants involved in the same event is given in the sequence (48)-(49):

- (48) *no'ó po-poni-á=pu*
 1SG.NS PL~brother-EMPH=D.D

ihkwéra-či moči-ré=pu-a=pu
 school-LOC be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 ‘My brothers were (going) to school.’

- (49) ni-á ki ki=asa-ré=ni-a ihkwéra=ni-a=pu
 1 SG.S-EMPH NEG NEG=arrive-PFV=1 SG.S-EMPH school=1 SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 ‘I didn’t attend school.’

In (48) the speaker brothers did attend school, while in (49), the speaker didn’t; both participants are sentence initial and morphologically emphasized.

For events such as ‘being hungry’ and ‘asking for corn’, it is reasonable that the person suffering from hunger and the person asking for food are more relevant than the event itself. This is shown in the following clause coordination:

- (67) teme-á=pu corowá-ni
 1 PL.S-EMPH=D.D be.hungry-PRS

 teme-á=pu pukaépa itá-ni sunú
 1 PL.S-EMPH=D.D that’s.wh why ask-PRS corn
 ‘We were hungry; that’s why we asked for corn.’

However, in this continuing story, ‘food’ becomes very relevant:

- (91) ko'áme tarí-mia wa'á asi-ré=pu ye'yé-a eikábo
 food buy-FUT there arrive-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH then
 'My mom went there to buy food.'

Contrasting the event 'suffering from hunger' in (67), where obviously the person suffering from hunger is more important, the 'buying' event in (91) is less relevant than what is bought: food.

In an anecdote inside the story that begins in sentence (109), 'mother' and 'father' are reintroduced lexically and sentence initially in (110):

- (110) kuándo ye'yé weikaóba ko'kó-ri-a
 when mother then sick-PFV-EMPH

 eikó no'nó=pu taha-ré=pu-a=pu
 then father=D.D burn-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 'When my mom was sick my dad burned himself.'

Right afterwards the speaker develops what happened to his father in this way:

- (111) naásipa naásipa isáwi-či
 in.the.meedle in.the.meedle hot.coal-LOC
 'He was in the meedle of the hot coals.'
- (112) poí-ri-a eikó pu'-ká-e no'nó
 lay-PFV-EMPH then D.D-ID-INS father
 'My dad, he was lying on them.'

With a very important locative in (111) given the event ‘burning’ in (110) and the position of his father in (112). After having brought a doctor to cure his father, the speaker makes this comment:

- (123) weikáoba ki=iyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'ó no'nó
 then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor ND.D-ID 1SG.NS father
 ‘He didn’t cure him, the doctor didn’t cure my dad.’

In (123), a rare text case of a clause with two core participants coded by noun phrases, the speaker talks about the unexpected event ‘not having cured’ with a clause like this:
 neg=V A P .

After the speaker left the doctor in his house, he was going back home when something happened to him. He refers to this passage in this way:

- (132) no'=aká ini-siá=ne
 1SG.NS=come.back be-go=1SG.NS
 eikó simi-yái simi-yái
 then go-IPFV go-IPFV
 ‘I was going back, walking and walking.’

- (133) weikaóba makoyáwi tewaniá wa'á wanámi wa'á
 then Macoyagüi called there by.there there
 ‘(I passed by) there in Macoyagüi.’

- (134) wa'á weri-á piípi kuú temóri werumá pálo blánko tewaniá
 there stand.up-EMPH one trunk temóri big stick white called
 ‘There was a huge white-stick trunk.’

- (135) kuú temóri=pu-a wa'á eikó
trunk temóri=D.D-EMPH there then
'It was a huge trunk.'
- (136) wa'á nará čiwá katiáme weikáo weikaóba
there cry goat like then then
'Then something like a goat was crying there.'

Again, all relevant information tends to come first, like *makoyáwi* in (133), the town where this anecdote happened. After describing the exact place in (134)-(135), the speaker tells us in (136) that he heard a sound from a source not completely identified. He establishes first the type of sound: 'a cry', then he went there trying to identify the sound. He refers to this event with the sentence in (138):

- (137) simi-ká=ne eikó nené-mia pu'-ká wa'á nené-mia
go-PTCP=1SG.S then see-FUT D.D-ID there see-FUT
'I went to see it.'
- (138) wahká poi=pú čiwá tanayáme
over.there lay=D.D goat just.given.birth
čia=né eikó
say=1SG.S then
'A goat that has just given birth is there, I said (thought) then.'

The constituents in (138) seem to follow in order of declining importance (certainty), with the deictic as the place of originating of the sound as the most certain; then that was an animal giving birth, and finally maybe the animal was a goat.

What was shown in this text is that initial sentence position in Warihío is sensitive to signaling important, new, contrasting information. Warihío narrative shows that even for elements such as quantifiers, elements that can have referential status, the initial position is sensitive to signaling certain information. In the following excerpts of texts¹⁰ I found three different orders of occurrence of NPs with quantifiers: QN preverbal (97), QN post-verbal (98), and QVN (99),(100):

‘The iguana and the churea’:

- (97a) ...pu'í=a muenáti weri-to-ata S V
 chorea=EMPH slowly be.standing.sg-MOV-QUOT
 ‘...Churea was getting up slowly,
- (97b) na'íru uká-ta makoká O V
 burning.piece.of.wood hold-QUOT with.the.hand
 held a burning piece of wood,
- (97c) akipá-ka-ta=pu=a V
 leave-PTCP-QUOT=D.D=EMPH
 and left.’
- (97d) ...pu'í=a kawé inari-ari puarí=pu S V
 chorea=EMPH well think-IPFV too=D.D
 ‘...Churea was thinking carefully too,
- (97e) **yomá ku-či-ami** wewe-si-ka-ta na'íru-e QUANT-O V INS
 QUANT stick-LOC-LOC hit-go-PTCP-QUOT burning.piece.of.wood-INS
 and he was beating ALL THE STICKS with the burning piece of wood.’

¹⁰ These texts are from Barreras (1990). The translation, glossing, and analysis are mine. From now on I retake the numbering from the previous subsection.

Here the whole NP with the quantifier has not been previously mentioned, and it is sentence initial in the event ‘beating with the burning piece of wood’.

‘The corua and the coyote’:

- (98a) ...na'ya-ri-ata kuú-tere V LOC
 stoke-PFV-QUOT stick-between
 ‘...they stoked the sticks,
- (98b) to'é-ri-ata **weká tehté** V O
 put-PFV-QUOT QUANT stone
 they placed many stones.’

In (98), the whole predicate VQNP is emphasized and the QNP occurs post-verbally.

‘The coyote and his fox buddy’:

- (99a) wehká čuku-ri-ata keóči=a mewéri-či V S LOC
 far away be.hanging-PFV-QUOT fox=EMPH pitahaya-LOC
 ‘Far away a fox was in a pitahaya,
- (99b) **mewéri** koa-ká O V
 pitahaya eat-PTCP
 eating PITAHAYA FRUIT...’
- (99c) ...ki=nahkí=mu **pirípi mewéri weča-pu-ti-ame** V O
 NEG=want=2SG.S one pitahaya thorn-take.off-CAUS-NMLZ
 ‘...Don’t you want a pitahaya fruit without thorns?’
- (99d) **yomá** popó-sa-pa **pu'-ká mewéri wehčá-ra** QUANT V O
 QUANT pull.up-SUB-INCH D.D-ID pitahaya thorn-REL

- (99e) na'nári-to-ri-ata ahpó kompáe
 follow-MOV-PFV-QUOT 3SG.NS buddy
 ‘...When he pulled out ALL all the thorns from the pitahaya, he followed his
 buddy...’

‘The dove and the woodpecker’:

- (100a) owétawe asistó-i-pa wehká ADV V
 noon arrive-IPFV-INCH far away
 ‘...At noon he was going far away,
- (100b) asistó-i-pa **čahará-ka** V S
 arrive-IPFV-INCH woodpecker=EMPH
 the woodpecker was going far away,
- (100c) **we~werú** wiči-si-áta **ma'sá-ra** QUANT V S
 INT~QUANT fall.off-go-QUOT feather-REL
 MANY feathers falling off him,
- (100d) kutahúi neipá na'nári-ka S V
 bad.people later follow-PTCP
 bad people followed him later.’

Sentences (99) and (100) are interesting, where only the referent (N) *pitahaya* has been mentioned before (99), or the referent is inferrable from the context (100), since a bird has feathers. My claim is that in these cases it is not exactly the nominal that is the most important information but the ‘quantity’ of that nominal. That is why only the quantifier occurs in initial position, a position in Warihío grammar reserved to provide special information.

5.4.2. Focus and Topic

In describing these relations in Warihío, I will use them broadly in the sense given to the concepts by Lambrecht (1994):

(I) FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:213).

(II) TOPIC: The topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT (Lambrecht, 1994:118).

5.4.2.1. Focus

Elicitation seems to confirm the relevance of initial position in narrative. The classification of focus in Dik (1980, 1997) was useful to understand Focus and its relation with constituent order in Warihío. Dik (1997) mentions that cross-linguistically, Focus function may manifest itself through one or more of the following focalizing devices: *prosodic prominence*, *special constituent order*, *special Focus markers*, *special Focus constructions*.

According to the classification of Focus in Dik (1997), we found in Warihío the following: Completive Focus, Selective Focus, and Replacing Focus.

5.4.2.1.1. Completive focus

In completive focus, the element in focus relation provides the information requested; that is, it is giving new information. It is necessary to be clear that the element in a focus relation is not necessarily new in the sense that it is not known or not previously mentioned, or that it cannot be inferred from the context, but what is new is the relation it now has with the rest of the elements of the clause. What I want to show here is that the element in the focus relation has a special constituent order, initial position, contrasting with many Indo-European languages, in which Focus is usually at the end of the sentence. The focused element in Warihío questions can be any constituent in any semantic relation.

Using questions and their answers is a good strategy to find the element in focus relation. The response to the question in (101a) gives us the new information *neé*. This pronoun is established as the focus domain of the focus relation. This is an initial position participant of the inactive intransitive event *kočíná*:

(101a) ataná kočí-ré tukaó iwá
 who sleep-PFV night here
 ‘Who slept here last night?’

(101b) neé koci-rú iwá Focus domain: pronoun- Participant of an
 1SG:S sleep-PFV.EV here inactive intransitive event
 ‘I slept here.’

The examples in (101c)-(101d) do not answer the question of (101a):

(101c) *koci-rú=ne iwá*
 sleep-PFV.EV=1SG:S here
 ‘I slept here.’

(101d) *koci-rú neé iwá*
 sleep-PFV.EV 1SG:S here
 ‘I slept here.’

The same happens with the participants *če'é* and *waní* of an active intransitive event (102b) and the A of a transitive event (102b), respectively, when they are in focus relation, they are in initial position.

(102a) *ataná u'má-re kusí-tere tapaná*
 who run-PFV woods-through yesterday
 ‘Who ran in the woods yesterday?’

(102b) *če'é u'má-re kusí-tere* Focus domain:noun-Participant of an
José run-PFV mountain-through active intransitive event
 ‘JOSÉ ran in the woods.’

Again, alternative orders do not answer the question in (102a):

(102c) *u'má-re če'é kusí-tere*
 run-PFV José mountain-through
 ‘José ran in the woods.’

(102d) *kusí-tere u'má-re če'é*
 run-PFV mountain-through José
 ‘José ran in the woods.’

(103a) *ataná čikó-re kawái*
 who steal-PFV horse
 ‘Who stole the horse?’

(103b) *waní čikó-re kawái*
 John steal-PFV horse
 ‘JOHN stole the horse.’

Focus domain: noun- DOER
 of a transitive event

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (103a):

(103c) *čikó-re kawái waní*
 steal-PFV horse John
 ‘John stole the horse.’

(103d) *kawái waní čikó-re*
 horse John steal-PFV
 ‘John stole the horse.’

Somebody could say that initial position is reserved for S/A, giving to the language an SVO order, but the next two examples show otherwise. In (104b), the RECEIVER *kawái* and in (105b), the predicate *neharé*, both in focus relation, are in initial position.

(104a) *ihtaná tara-ré waní*
 what buy-PFV John
 ‘What did John buy?’

(104b) *kawái tara-ré waní*
 horse buy-PFV John
 ‘John bought A HORSE.’

Focus domain: noun- PATIENT
 of a transitive event

As expected, alternative orders do not answer the question in (104a):

(104c) tara-ré kawái waní
 buy-PFV horse John
 ‘John bought a horse.’

(104d) waní kawái tara-ré
 John horse buy-PFV
 ‘John bought a horse.’

(105a) ihtaná yowa-ré pedró kawái aháma
 what do-PFV Peter horse COMMIT
 ‘What did Peter do to the horse?’

(105b) neha-ré pedró kawái aháma Focus domain: V- Predicate
 sell-PFV Peter horse COMMIT
 ‘Peter SOLD the horse.’

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (105a):

(105c) kawái neha-ré waní aháma
 horse sell-PFV John COMMIT
 ‘John sold the horse.’

The RECIPIENT of (106b) is in initial position:

(106a) ataná rewe-rú=mu ihpíčira
 who lend-PFV.EV=2SG:S broom
 ‘Whom did you lend the broom to?’

- (106b) *maría rewe-rú=ne ihpíčira* Focus domain: noun- RECIPIENT
 Mary lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S broom of a ditransitive event
 ‘I lent the broom to MARY.’

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (106a):

- (106c) *ihpíčira maría rewe-rú=ne*
 broom Mary lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S
 ‘I lent the broom to Mary.’

- (106d) *rewe-rú=ne ihpíčira maría*
 lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S broom Mary
 ‘I lent the broom to Mary.’

This special constituent order device works not only for major constituents but for adverbials also. This is shown in (107)-(108) where locative and time adverbials such as *alamó*, *o'oránačí*, and *tapaná* can be in a focus relation in initial position:

- (107a) *akaná oi-ré waní sawára-či*
 where walk-PFV John Saturday-LOC
 ‘Where did John go Saturday?’

- (107b) *alamó-či oi-ré=pu=a* Focus domain: NP- Goal
 Alamos- LOC walk-PFV=D.D=EMPH
 ‘He went to ALAMOS.’

- (108a) *akaná wera-ré sikorí maría*
 where set.sg-PFV pot Mary
 ‘Where did Mary put the pot?’

- (108b) o'orána-či wera-ré sikorí Focus domain: NP-loc -Place
 stove-LOC set.sg-PFV pot
 'She put the pot OVER THE STOVE.'

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (108a):

- (108c) wera-ré sikorí o'orána-či
 set.sg-PFV pot stove-LOC
 'She put the pot over the stove.'

- (108d) sikorí wera-ré o'orána-či
 pot set.sg-PFV stove-LOC
 'She put the pot over the stove.'

- (109a) ačintió simi-ré pedró sawanánto
 when go-PFV Peter San Bernardo
 'When did Peter leave for San Bernardo?'

- (109b) tapaná simi-ré=pu=a sawanánto Focus domain: ADV - Time
 yesterday go-PFV=D.D=EMPH San Bernardo
 'He left for San Bernardo YESTERDAY.'

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (109a):

- (109c) simi-ré=pu=a sawanánto tapaná
 go-PFV=D.D=EMPH San Bernardo yesterday
 'He left for San Bernardo yesterday.'

- (109d) sawanánto simi-ré=pu=a tapaná
 San.Bernardo go-PFV=D.D=EMPH yesterday
 'He left for San Bernardo yesterday.'

Given that in Warihío most adjectives are formally nouns and quantifiers may function as participants, these same elements, indeed, can be in focus relation independently of the noun they modify. If we observe the response in (110b) to the question in (110a), the adjective *tahtáme* is far from the modified noun *re'ečú*. Otherwise, this adjective occurs after the noun (110c):

(110a) ačítiamé nahki=mú re'ečú
 how want=2SG.S milk
 'How do you want the milk?'

(110b) tahtáme nahkí=ne re'ečú Focus domain: ADJ
 hot want=SG.S milk
 'I want the milk HOT.'

The example in (110c) do not answer the question in (110a):

(110c) nahkíne re'ečú tahtáme
 'I want the hot milk.'

It is the same with the colors *ohčóname* and *sióname* in (111) and (112), respectively:

(111a) číntiame pu'-ká pu'seré-na=mu kawái
 which D.D-DEF like-PRS=2SG.S horse
 'Which horse do you like?'

- (111b) ohčóname pu'seré-na=ne kawái Focus domain: ADJ
 black like- PRES=1SG:S horse
 'I like the BLACK horse.'

The example in (111c) does not answer the question in (111a):

- (111c) pu'serénane kawái ohčóname
 'I like the black horse.'

- (112a) číntiame pu'seré-na sipičá peterá
 which like-PRS dress Petra
 'Which dress does Petra like?'

- (112b) si'óname pu'seré-na sipičá peterá Focus domain: ADJ
 green like-PRS dress Petra
 'Petra likes the GREEN dress.'

The example in (112c) does not answer the question in (112a):

- (112c) peterá pu'seréna sipičá si'óname
 'Petra likes the green dress.'

Even the elements constituting a relative clause may be sensitive to this initial position (where in Warihío the head and the relative clause are normally contiguous with the latter to the right). We observe in (113) that the head of the relative clause is in initial position, then the main clause, and at the end the relative clause:

- (113) N O V-V Rel. C.
 tíhoé no'ó meri-núra-ni kuú pehaná kahti-áme
 man 1SG.NS kill.sg-order-PRS tree behind be.seated.sg-NMLZ
 'They are asking me to kill THE MAN that is seated behind the tree.'

5.4.2.1.2. Selective focus

Another type of focus relation is one that chooses between two or more options. In this case the element in focus relation has been previously mentioned and it is known. What is new, again, is the relation established in the sentence. The element selected from the options in (114a) is going to be in focus relation in (114b) by occurring in initial position:

- (114a) ihtánata tara-ré waní píipi kawái píipi u'urú
 what buy-PFV John one horse one donkey
 'Did John buy a horse or a donkey?'

- (114b) píipi kawái tararé
 'He bought A HORSE.'

5.4.2.1.3. Replacing focus

The replacing focus type invalidates any information already given by placing the non-expected information in initial position, as is shown in (115b):

- (115a) waní simi-ré sawanánto
 John go-PFV San Bernardo
 'John left for San Bernardo.'

- (115b) kaí simi-ré sawananto
 NEG go-PFV San Bernardo
 obregoni kipa-ré
 Obregón leave-PFV
 ‘No, he didn’t go to San Bernardo, he went to OBREGÓN.’

The construction in (115c) is not a replacing focus for (115a):

- (115c) kaí simi-ré sawananto
 NEG go-PFV San Bernardo
 kipa-ré obregoni
 leave-PFV Obregón
 ‘No, he didn’t go to San Bernardo, he went to Obregón.’

5.4.2.2 Topic

It seems that what happens in natural discourse in Warihío is as follows. The Topic, in the sense of ‘aboutness’ (Lambrecht, 1994), is generally first introduced as a Focus relation in initial position. In subsequent clauses, though, this element appears in post-verbal position. All this can be seen in the following excerpt from ‘The Coyote and his Fox buddy’:

- (116a) ...simi-ká-ta puarí
 go-PTCP-QUOT too
 ‘...he went too,

(116b) wahká **kawí**-tere werí-ri-ata
 far away hill-between be standing-PFV-QUOT
 far away he was standing between the hills,

(116c) **kawí** komí-ka
 hill hold-PTCP
 propping up a hill,

(116d) wa'á tewa-ri-áta=pu o'wí=a
 there find-PFV-QUOT=D.D coyote=EMPH
 the coyote found him (the fox) there.'

(116e) kompáe či-ata keóči=a
 buddy say-QUOT fox=EMPH
 'Hey buddy!' the fox said:

(116f) wiči-ná ihí **kawí**
 fall down-PRS D.P hill
 that hill is falling down,

(116g) amó-či ru'mí-ma=pu
 2SG.NS-LOC fall.down-FUT=D.D
 it is going to fall down on you.'

(116h) či-ata keóči=a
 say-QUOT fox=EMPH
 'The fox said.'

(116i) na'pá-ka komi-ri-áta pu'-ká **kawí**
 both-between hold-PFV-QUOT D.D-DEF hill
 'Both of them held the hill up.'

(116j) weikáo kawé čapimitia
 then well hold
 Then, 'Hold it up well!'

(116k) tamó-či ru'mí-ma=pu **kawí** kompáe=pu
 1PL.NS-LOC fall.down-FUT=D.D hill buddy=D.D
 ‘The hill is going to fall down on us, buddy.’

(116l) či-atá keóči=a
 say-QUOT fox=EMPH
 ‘The fox said.’

We see that, Topic in the sense of ‘aboutness’ has a strong relation with a specific order in the sentence, that of post-verbal position. We could say that this position marks the continuity of the Topic (Givón, 1983).

5. Conclusion

With all this evidence, we can assure ourselves that initial position is reserved for the FOCUS relation independently of the type of constituent or the semantic relation in question. Thus, focus relation is a pragmatic relation signaled by a specific constituent order. This relation plays a very important role in terms of constituent order, as we will see in the subsection on constituent order.

We can conclude that the pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC give a systematic structure to the clause in terms of relative order among the elements. This is a very important role in the grammar of a language, such as Warihío, that has little morphology to indicate the transitivity and the relations among the constituents of the sentence.

5.5. Constituent order

According to Greenberg (1963:76) “The vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single dominant one”. Since not all languages show a dominant order in a clear fashion, a basic order may be absent (Mithun, 1992:15). This could be the case for Warihío.

Payne (1992:1) claims that the first typological division should be made between those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and those in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors. We will see later that Warihío fits into the former type of language.

There is an SOV order proposed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker, 1977), and Miller (1984) proposes that Warihío is in the process of changing from an SOV to an SVO language; and Barreras (2000), from SOV to VSO. There is, then, some controversy about the nature of constituent order in general and for Warihío, in particular.

I rather describe Warihío as a language with a pragmatically based flexible order with some strongly grammaticalized features of an SOV language such as verbal suffixes, postpositions, and a final copula. As we said in the preceding section, Warihío has no case marking for core nominals and only two sets of personal pronouns, one form for S/A and another form for P/T/R/ Possessors/Reflexives, and S/A of subordinate clauses. This language is similar to Cayuga, Ngandi, and Coos, described as pragmatically based languages (Mithun, 1992), in the sense that all ordering reflects pragmatic considerations

and they are Focus initial. What is most interesting is that languages of this type often have full sets of obligatory bound pronouns, a feature absent in Warihío. Since these pronouns actually bear the primary grammatical relations in these languages, their absence in a pragmatically based language like Warihío challenges the identification of grammatical relations for constructions with nominal participants.

Sentence (117) is a possible expression with a ditransitive verb¹¹:

(117a) waní ihkó-ke-ru píipi sipičá tapaná obregón hustína
 John give-APPL-PFV.EV one dress yesterday Obregón Agustina
 ‘John gave Agustina a dress yesterday in Obregón.’

The AVTR sentence of (117a) may occur in all possible alternative orders with semantic/pragmatic contrasts. Some of these possible orders are shown in (117b):

(117b) <u>waní píipi sipičá ihkókeru hustína tapaná obregón</u>	ATVR
<u>ihkókeru waní píipi sipičá hustína tapaná obregón</u>	VATR
<u>ihkókeru píipi sipičá waní hustína tapaná obregón</u>	VTAR
<u>obregón waní hustína ihkókeru píipi sipičá tapaná</u>	ARVT
<u>hustína ihkókeru píipi sipičá tapaná obregón waní</u>	RVTA
<u>píipi sipičá hustína ihkókeru tapaná obregón waní</u>	TRVA
<u>píipi sipičá hustína waní ihkókeru tapaná obregón</u>	TRAV

¹¹ In discussing ditransitive sentences, I will be using A for the agent, T for theme, V for verb, and R for recipient.

Alternative orders are allowed in noun phrases too:

(118a)	kaaká weméra	N Adj	tepérume paúmpari	Adj N
	‘new sandals.’		‘long years.’	

(118b)	waní kawáira	G N	nawésarira riosí	N G
	‘John’s horse.’		‘God’s word.’	

(118c)	N	Rel. C.		
	tihoé no’ó	kompáe me’yá-ka-me		
	man	1SG.NS buddy	kill.sg-PTCP-NMLZ	
	‘...the man that killed my buddy.’			

(118d)	Rel. C.		N	
	ahpó	kompáe mahi-ri-á	sa’pá	
	3SG.NS buddy	grill-PFV-NMLZ	meat	
	‘...the meat that his buddy grilled.’			

The head of a relative clause can be separated from the rest by a complete clause:

(119)	N	O	V-V	Rel. C.	
	tihoé	no’ó	meri-núra-ni	kuú pehaná	kahti-áme
	man	1SG.NS	kill.sg-order-PRS	tree behind	be.seated.sg- NMLZ
	‘They are asking me to kill the man that is seated behind the tree.’				

Even for a pronoun in P/R function that shows the most fixed position in Warihío, that of preverbal, this can occur postverbal:

- (120) waní no'ó wewe-rú **Opro V** waní wewe-rú no'ó **V Opro**
 John 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV John hit-PFV.EV 1SG.NS
 'John hit me.' 'John hit me.'

The following comparative construction features do not correlate with any major constituent order fixed type:

- | | | adj | standard | | mark |
|-------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| (121) | no'ó | puhkú | miísi epeché | werumá ki=amó | puhkú čitiá |
| | 1SG.NS | CLF | cat | more big | NEG=2SG.NS CLF like |
| | 'My cat is bigger than your cat.' | | | | |

The subordinate verb occurs before the matrix verb, but the rest of the subordinate clause occurs after the verb:

- (122a) owítiamé yau-ká-meka erá-re pedró-ma
 woman dance-PTCP-like imagine-PFV Peter-COM
 'The woman imagined herself dancing with Peter.'
- (122b) hustína eči-m-ó o'óra-ri suunú ahpó pete-čí
 Agustina plant-FUT-SUB try-IPFV corn 3SG.NS house-LOC
 'Agustina tried to plant corn in her yard.'
- (122c) lupita nehi-m-ó o'orá-ni ku-ó ahpó pete-čí
 Lupita sell-FUT-SUB plan-PRS wood-EMPH 3SG.NS house-LOC
 'Lupita plans to sell wood in her house.'

When searching for the basic word order in a language, the main three criteria have been: statistical textual frequency, order with the least morphological marking, and the least pragmatically marked order. However, we do not find any extra marking in alternative different constituent orders in Warihío. Hawkins (1983) claims that statistical frequency by itself is enough to identify the basic order of a language. In Warihío though, nearly all logically possible orders appear with some regularity in main clauses. The possible major constituent orders found in a selection of Warihío texts are shown in (123):

(123)	V			
	V	S		
	S	V		
	O	V		
	V	O		
	V	O	S	
	V	S	O	
	S	V	O	
	QUANT	V	O	

Life stories: 389 clauses

Folk tales: 250 clauses

	N	%
Vi	188	48%
Vt	28	7%
VS	59	15%
SV	53	14%
VO	19	5%
OV	27	7%

	N	%
Vi	83	33%
Vt	6	3%
VS	59	24%
SV	31	13%
VO	29	12%
OV	28	11%

SVO = 6	SVO = 9	Total : 4% out of 639 clauses
SOV = 3	SOV = 1	SVO = 15
OVS = 2	OVS = 1	SOV = 4
VSO = 1	VSO = 3	OVS = 3
VOS = 1		VSO = 4
		VOS = 1

There is a high preference of occurrence of V as the only constituent in a clause in texts. The association between S and O noted in Warihío narrative coincides with Du Bois' findings (1987). It is impossible to use text frequency in determining the basic word order in Warihío, and therefore very difficult to postulate a basic order. The only relations that seem to have a more reserved position in discourse are the pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC, as we saw in the previous section. Initial position for the former and post-verbal position for the latter. That is why it is not appropriate to talk in terms of S, V, O order in Warihío.

I am going to try to integrate constituent order flexibility, the grammar of focus, and the shared extra-linguistic knowledge in order to explain the following patterns:

(124a)	<u>waní piípi sipičá</u> <u>ihkó-ke-ru</u>	<u>hustína tapaná</u> <u>obregón</u>	ATVR
	John one dress give-APL-PFV.EV	Agustina yesterday Obregón	
	<u>ihkókeru</u> <u>waní piípi sipičá</u> <u>hustína tapaná obregón</u>		VATR
	<u>ihkókeru piípi sipičá</u> <u>waní hustína tapaná obregón</u>		VTAR
	<u>obregón</u> <u>waní hustína</u> <u>ihkókeru piípi sipičá tapaná</u>		ARVT
	<u>hustína</u> <u>ihkókeru piípi sipičá tapaná obregón</u> <u>waní</u>		RVTA
	<u>piípi sipičá</u> <u>hustína</u> <u>ihkókeru tapaná obregón</u> <u>waní</u>		TRVA

piípi sipičá hustína waní ihkókeru tapaná obregón

TRAV

(124b) <u>peterá</u> ihkókere piípi sipičá <u>hustína</u> tapaná obregón	peterá is the A
<u>hustína</u> ihkókere piípi sipičá <u>peterá</u> tapaná obregón	hustína is the A
ihkókere <u>peterá</u> piípi sipičá <u>hustína</u> tapaná obregón	peterá is the A
ihkókere <u>hustína</u> piípi sipičá <u>peterá</u> tapaná obregón	hustína is the A
ihkókere piípi sipičá tapaná obregón <u>hustína</u> <u>peterá</u>	hustína is the A
ihkókere piípi sipičá tapaná obregón <u>peterá</u> <u>hustína</u>	peterá is the A

The problem in (124a) is how to signal the nominal ‘giver’, since the word order is not coding this content, and the coding properties of case marking and verbal agreement (that Keenan (1976) postulated as important for signaling the role of the participants) are absent in Warihío. The disambiguation in (124a) is semantically based. Because it is more likely for a woman than a man to be the recipient of a gift such as a dress, *waní* ‘John’ is identified as the ‘giver’, and the resolution is semantic, not grammatical. In (124b) both the ‘giver’ and the ‘recipient’ are women, and the problem then is how do we know who is the ‘giver’?

In order to have an initial human participant with a role other than A, Warihío uses a marked construction such as the construction in (125) with a copula and a relative clause which head, the Recipient in this case, is in initial position:

- (125) [hustína] ini-ré [waní ihkó-ke-ri-a sipičá tapaná obregóni]
 Agustina be-PFV John give-APPL-PFV-REL dress yesterday Obregón
 ‘It was Agustina that John gave a dress yesterday in Obregón.’

It is here that constituent order reappears as crucial. Not absolute, but relative order is employed to distinguish A from R. The first human to appear in non-marked constructions will be A.

5.6. Summary

We have shown that, in some instances, the means for signaling the roles of participants in the Warihío language are not grammatical, but rather pragmatic-semantic. This would suggest that pragmatics (Focus, Topic) rather than grammatical relations may be key in the grammatical phenomena of constituent order in this language. Furthermore, we could postulate Warihío as a Focus initial and post-verbal Topic discourse configurational language. This, together with this language’s lack of coding properties for identifying grammatical relations in constructions with nominal participants, makes Warihío speakers rely almost entirely on semantic-pragmatic-cultural factors in order to understand the communicative intent of ‘who did what to whom’.

CHAPTER 6

NEGATION

6.0. Introduction

Sentence negation in Warihío is coded mainly by the clitic *ki=*, but other elements of negation, may be involved in different types of clauses.

List of negation elements

- (1) *ki=* Negative
ki'te Negative existential
kái Negative answer
katé Negative imperative

6.1. Negative constructions

One of the elements of negation is the negative existential *ki'te*. The example in (2b) with *ki'te* contrasts with the positive existential *maní* in (2a), where both forms are sentence initial:

- (2a) *maní muuní*
 exist beans
 'There are beans.'

- (2b) *ki'té muuní*
 neg.exist beans
 'There are not beans.'

The negative clitic *ki=* is the most productive expression of negation in Warihío. It attaches to the following element, most of the time to the verb or a non-S pronoun if this precedes the verb. The negation element *ki=* stays constant with different tense/aspect suffixes or in copulative constructions and with constructions in the perfective evidential, present continuous, and future in (3), (4), and (5), respectively:

- (3) *ki=tara-rú=ne muuní*
 NEG=buy-PFV.EV=1 SG.S beans
 'I didn't buy beans.'
- (4) *ki=tara-ní=ne muuní=o*
 NEG=buy- PRS=1 SG.S beans=EMPH
 'I am not buying beans.'
- (5) *no'ó poní ki=kai-má=pu kuú*
 1 SG.NS brother NEG=cut-FUT=D.D stick
 'My brother won't cut the sticks.'

In the example in (6a), the negation *ki=* attaches to the Patient pronoun *no'ó*; in (6b) it attaches to the Subject pronoun *neé*:

(6a) waní ki=no'ó wewe-rú
 John NEG=1SG.NS hit- PFV.EV
 'John didn't hit me.'

(6b) ki=neé u'má-ru
 NEG=1SG.S run-PFV.EV
 'I didn't run.'

In the following example, *ki=* attaches to the Recipient pronoun *amó*:

(7) ki=amó tara-ké-ru=ne muuní
 NEG=2SG.NS buy-APPL-PFV.EV=1SG.S beans
 'I didn't buy beans for you.'

In (8)-(9), *ki=* is involved in copulative constructions:

(8) aapóe ki=kukučí-hu wa'ási
 3PL.S NEG=children-COP like.that
 'They are not children anymore.'

(9) no'o no'nó ki=nawahuá-me-hu
 1SG.NS father NEG=drink-NMLZ-COP
 'My father is not a drunk.'

The form *ki=* can also be found attached to an adjective, as is the case in (10):

- (10) *ki=tahtá*
 NEG=hot
 ‘It is not hot.’

The imperative negation construction makes use of the element *ka'té*, as is the following examples:

- (11a) *ka'té te'é*
 NEG.IMP play
 ‘Don’t play!’

- (11b) *ka'té meyá*
 NEG.IMP kill
 ‘Don’t kill him.’

There is a group of lexical items that occur with the clitic *ki=* to create the opposite meaning of the lexical item without the negation element. Some examples (of these items) are: *kawérani/kikawérani* ‘to be glad’/‘to regret’, *kawéruma/kikawéruma* ‘good’/‘bad’, *toaní/kitoaní* ‘to let’/‘to prohibit’, *pehtiáme/kipehtiáme* ‘heavy’/‘light’.

6.2. Scope

The element *ki=* preverbally in a simple sentence can express the negation of the agent participant. This is shown in (12a)-(12b):

- (12a) piipi tihoé ki=nahkí kawái
 one man NEG=want horse
 ‘No man wants that horse.’
- (12b) piipi owítame ki=sáwa-re ehpéo
 one woman NEG=cook-PFV now
 ‘No woman cooked today.’

But placing the negative element before the agent participant changes the meaning in the quantification of the participant:

- (13a) ki=piipi tihoé nahkí kawái
 NEG=one man want horse
 ‘All men want that horse’
- (13b) ki=piipi owítame sáwa-re ehpéo
 NEG=one woman cook-PFV now
 ‘All women cooked today.’

This effect is similar to the change of meaning observed in constructions with compound predicates by changing the negative clitic from preverbal to prepatient (see example (27)).

However, placing the negative element in the patient participant results in an ungrammatical clause:

(13c) *maniwíri nahkí ki=piipi kawái

Another strategy to negate a participant is with a left dislocation construction with the participant to be negated. Such a strategy is related to the Focus relation described in Chapter 5. The negation element *ki=* occurs in this construction attached to the verb (14) or to the participant to be negated (15):

(14) waní=a ki=intó-re amó wewé-ka
 John=EMPH NEG=come-PFV 2SG.NS hit-PTCP
 ‘It wasn’t John who hit you.’

(15a) ki=waní=a intó-re amó wewé-ka
 NEG=John=EMPH come-PFV 2SG.NS hit-PTCP
 ‘It wasn’t John who hit you.’

(15b) ki=čiwá ini-ré waní meyá-ri-a
 NEG=goat be-PFV John kill-PFV-REL
 ‘It was not a goat that John killed.’

(15c) ki=čiwá ini-ré no’ó meyá-ri-a
 NEG=goat be-PFV 1SG.NS kill-PFV-REL
 ‘It was not a goat that I killed.’

(15d) waní ini-ré ki=čiwá meyá-ri-a
 John be-PFV NEG=goat kill-PFV-REL
 ‘It was not a goat that John killed.’

In complex sentences, the negation element *ki=* precedes the verb of the clause to be negated:

- (16a) owítíame ki=yau-ká e'rá-re pedró-ma
 woman NEG=dance-PTCP try-PFV Peter -COMIT
 'The woman tried not to dance with Peter.'
- (16b) owítíame yau-ká ki=e'rá-re pedró-ma
 woman dance-PTCP NEG=try-PFV Peter -COMIT
 'The woman did not try to dance with Peter.'
- (17a) amó tuyé-na=ne ki=meri-míćío
 2SG.NS say-PRS=1SG.S NEG=kill-PURP
 'I ask you not to kill him.'
- (17b) ki=amó tuyé-na=ne meri-míćío
 NEG=2SG.NS say-PRS=1SG.S kill-PURP
 'I don't ask you to kill him.' i.e. 'I asked someone else'
- (18a) waní no'o tuyé-ka ki=ena-ká-ta maría
 John 1SG.NS say-PTCP NEG=come-PTCP-QUOT María
 'John told me that Mary didn't come.'
- (18b) waní ki=no'ó tuya maría ená-k-o
 John NEG=1SG.NS say Maríaycome-PTCP-SUB
 'John didn't tell me that Mary came.' i.e. 'Someone else told me'
- (19a) pedró nané-re no'ó ki=i'wá kahti-ó
 Peter know-IPFV 1SG.NS NEG=here be.seated-SUB
 'Peter knew that I was not here.'

- (19b) pedró ki=nané-re no'ó i'wá kahti-ó-i
 Peter NEG=know-PFV 1SG.NS here be.seated.-SUB-IPFV
 'Peter didn't know that I was here.'
- (20a) maría no'ó tuyé-ka ki=no'ó simi-míčio
 María 1SG.NS say-PTCP NEG=1SG.NS go-PURP
 'Mary told me not to leave.'
- (20b) maria ki=nó'ó tuyé-ka no'ó simi-mičio
 María NEG=1SG.NS say-PTCP 1SG.NS go-PURP
 'Mary didn't tell me to leave.'
- (21a) rolando ki=nahkí ena-míčio pedró
 Rolando NEG=want come-PURP Peter
 'Rolando does not want Peter to come.'
- (21b) rolando nahkí ki=ena-míčio pedró
 Rolando want NEG=come-PURP Peter
 'Rolando wants Peter not to come.'
- (22a) ki=no'ó puyé-ri-a no'ó ena-mi-ó
 NEG=1SG.NS expect-PFV=EMPH 1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB
 'She didn't expect that I come.'
- (22a) no'ó puyé-ri-a ki=no'ó ena-mi-ó
 1SG.NS expect-PFV=EMPH NEG=1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB
 'She expected that I wouldn't come.'

We can have both readings placing the negative element before the main verb:

- (23a) ki=maé-na=ne ena-mi-ó waní
 NEG=believe-PRS=1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB John
 ‘I don’t believe that John is coming.’ / ‘I believe that John is not coming.’
- (24a) ki=amó nuréna=ne tekihpana-míčio
 NEG=2SG.NS order=1SG.S work-PURP
 ‘I order you not to work.’
- (25a) rolando na'nára-me ki=e'rá-re
 Rolando cry-NMLZ NEG=try-PFV
 ‘Rolando tried not to cry.’ / ‘Rolando didn’t try to cry.’

But placing the negation element in the subordinate verb we can have only one reading:

- (23b) maé-na=ne ki=ena-mi-ó waní
 believe-PRS=1SG.NS NEG=come-FUT-SUB John
 ‘I believe that John is not coming.’ / ??‘I don’t believe that John is coming.’
- (24b) amó nuréna=ne ki=tekihpana-míčio
 2SG.NS order=1SG.S NEG=work-PURP
 ‘I order you not to work.’ / ??‘I don’t order you to work.’
- (25b) rolando ki=na'nára-me e'rá-re
 Rolando NEG=cry-NMLZ try-PFV
 ‘Rolando tried not to cry.’ / ??‘Rolando didn’t try to cry.’

The negation element can be in both verbs:

- (26) rolando ki=na'nára-me ki=e'rá-re
 Rolando NEG=cry-NMLZ NEG=try-PFV
 'Rolando did not try not to cry.'

Constructions with compound predicates have only one place for the negation element, preverbally. However, the constructions with nominal participants may have two senses as is exemplified in the following constructions:

- (27a) rolándo ki=ena-héra-ni-a pedró
 Rolando NEG=come-want-PRS-EMPH Peter
 'Rolando wants Peter not to come.'/ 'Rolando does not want Peter to come.'
- (27b) rolándo ki= pedró ena-héra-ni-a
 Rolando NEG= Peter come-want-PRS-EMPH
 'Rolando wants Peter not to come.'/ 'Rolando does not want Peter to come.'
- (27c) apoé ki=no'ó ena-héra-ni
 3SG.S NEG=1SG.NS come-want-PRS
 'She wanted me not to come.'
- (27d) ki=amó tekipána-hera-ní=ne
 NEG=2SG.NS work-want -PRS=1SG.S
 'I don't want you to work.'

The negation within a compound predicate is ungrammatical:

- (28) *rolándo ena-ki=héra-ni-a pedró

In coordinated clauses, each clause can be negated with the element *ki=*. Since in Warihío there are no connectors, the position of *ki=* is preverbal too:

- (29a) *ki=ko'á-ni=ne* *ki=koči-ná=ne*
 NEG=eat-PRS=1 SG.S NEG=sleep-PRS=1 SG.S
 'I don't eat nor sleep.'
- (29b) *mariá ki=ko'a-ni* *ki=koči-ná*
 Mariá NEG=eat-PRS NEG=sleep-PRS
 'Mary does not eat nor sleep.'
- (29c) *ki=ko'á-ni-ni-a* *koči-ná-ni-a*
 NEG=eat-PRS=1 SG.S=EMPH sleep-PRS=1 SG.S=EMPH
 'I don't eat but I sleep.'
- (29d) *ko'á-ní-ni-a* *ki=koči-ná-ni-a*
 eat-PRS=1 SG.S=EMPH NEG=sleep-PRS=1 SG.S=EMPH
 'I eat but I don't sleep.'

CHAPTER 7

VOICE

7.0. Introduction

Voice is a grammatical phenomenon difficult to explain and describe. Even currently, many researchers disagree on which phenomena we should include in the description of voice of some language. What makes voice difficult, and interesting, independently of how many grammatical phenomena are identified as exemplifying it, is that voice is one of those parts of a grammar where there is a considerable interrelation among many levels and subfields of a language, such as lexical semantics, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and knowledge of the world. Warihío is a clear example of this. Shibatani (in preparation) considers Voice to be a grammatical phenomenon concerned with the different developmental phases of the action.

Voice and grammatical aspect both refer to the evolution of the action. However, while aspectual categories are concerned with “different ways of viewing internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976), Voice refers more to the nature of the evolution of an action itself. Shibatani (in preparation) schematizes the voice parameters in the following way:

Voice parameters

1) Origin of an action

- (a) How is the action brought about e.g. Active-spontaneous.
- (b) Where does the action originate e.g. Active-passive; Direct-inverse; Split-ergativity; Causatives.

2) Development of an action

How does the action develop –beyond the agent or confined to personal sphere of the agent? E.g. Active-middle.

3) Termination of an action

- (a) Does the action develop to its full extent and affect the patient; or does it fail to do so? e.g. Ergative-antipassive; conatives; Partitive constructions.
- (b) Does the action develop further than its normal course such that the effect is registered in an entity beyond the direct participants of the event?
(Benefactive/applicatives; External possession; Ethical datives; Adversative passives).

Since there is no definitive account of Voice in general, I have decided to follow Shibatani in his conceptualization of Voice according to the three parameters already mentioned: the origin, the development, and the termination of the action. What is happening in Warihío will be described in that order in the following subsections.

7.1. Origin of an action

As was noticed above, passives and causatives are involved in the origin of the action. In the first case, the agent is not one of the core participants of the clause, and in the latter, the causer is expressed as an additional core participant of the clause.

7.1.1. The passive

The main voice parameter relevant to the passive is the origin of the action (Shibatani, in preparation), that is, where the action originates; in the case of passive the locus of the origin of the action is other than the subject of the clause.

One main problem regarding the description and definition of passive is the fact that cross-linguistically there is no specifically passive morphology, there is no passive Grammar (Bybee and Dahl, 1989). This means that passive morphology is always used for other functions also. It is known that there is no passive morphology for some Uto-Aztecan languages such as Serrano, Pochutla (Langacker, 1976), Low Pima, Papago (Estrada p.c). On the other hand, the constructions used for the periphrastic passive in a given language cover other domains than passive; likewise, constructions from other domains are used to encode passives (Andersen, 1991). Keenan (1985:245) says that what is distinctive about passives is their verbal morphology, while Klaiman (1991) conceives of a passive clause as an alternation in a subject's participant status in terms of role-remapping. Within this concept, the passive is understood as a derived voice (marked) while the active is a basic voice (unmarked.)

Haspelmath (1990:27) claims that a construction is called passive if:

- (i) the active subject corresponds either to a non-obligatory oblique phrase or to nothing in the passive; and,
- (ii) the active direct object (if any) corresponds to the subject of the passive; and,
- (iii) the construction is somehow restricted vis-a-vis another unrestricted construction (the active), e.g. less frequent, functionally specialized, not fully productive.

Similar criteria for passive are given by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000):

- (a) Passive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive.
- (b) The underlying O becomes S of the passive.
- (c) The underlying A argument goes into peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it.
- (d) There is some explicit formal marking of a passive construction – generally, by a verbal affix or by a periphrastic verbal construction.

The differences between Haspelmath (1990) and Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) are:

- (i) Haspelmath establishes that the counterpart of a passive construction must be an active construction, while Dixon and Aikhenvald's criteria require this construction be a transitive,
- (ii) For Dixon and Aikhenvald there is always the option of including the agent, and (iii) Haspelmath says nothing about the way the passive construction is formally marked, but

Dixon and Aikhenvald explicitly talk about a verbal affix or a periphrastic verbal construction on marking the passive construction.

Some other researchers (Shibatani 1985, Andersen 1991, Givón 2001, Comrie 1988) take a more prototypical approach, allowing the inclusion in the passive domain of non-prototypical constructions. Shibatani (1985:833) gives primary importance to the defocusing¹ of the agent: “the defocusing of an agent in the passive is not merely a consequence of an object promotion or of topicalization, but rather is the basic and primary function of the passive construction.” Shibatani lists three facts that support this claim: (i) passives generally do not express agents overtly, (ii) some languages avoid the presence of an agent in a passive (e.g. Finnish, Cheremis, Turkish)², and (iii) passivization does not generally apply to non-agentive intransitives. He claims that a clause without an agent or agent-like participant is impossible to passivize since there is no agent to defocus. The passive prototype properties given by Shibatani (1985:837) are:

a. Primary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent.

b. Semantic properties:

(i) Semantic valence: Predicate (agent, patient).

(ii) Subject is affected.

¹ Shibatani uses the term ‘agent defocusing’ in an attempt to cover different but related phenomena such as the absence of the mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-prominent syntactic slot, the blurring of the identity of an agent by the use of plural forms, and the indirect reference to an agent by the use of an oblique case.

² Yaqui, a Uto-Aztecan language, is one of those languages that obligatorily excludes the agent in the passive.

c. Syntactic properties:

(i) Syntactic encoding: agent → \emptyset (not encoded).

patient → subject.

(ii) Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n;

Passive = P/n-1.

c. Morphological properties:

Active = P;

Passive = P[+passive].

Givón (2001:126 vol. II), agreeing with Shibatani in the defocalization of the agent as the main function of the passive, adds "the typological diversity of passive voice constructions...what unites these constructions –what makes them sub-types of the same super-type- is the fact that they all code *roughly* the same functional domain. Their structural diversity is then due primarily to the fact that they arise from different diachronic source constructions that were used earlier to code different functional domains."(Givón 2001:127 vol. II).

Comrie (1988:9), concerned with the definitional criteria of passive, establishes that: "A major unclarity in current grammatical terminology surrounds the delimitation of passive and ergative from one another...It remains true that the definitions proposed are in terms of prototypes rather than in terms of necessary-and-sufficient conditions, so that

inevitably there will be borderline cases that are not assignable unequivocally to one construction or the other”

Andersen (1991:111-112) establishes that:

- (a) The passive exhibits a valence of one. This feature can be taken to mean that the ‘core’ of the construction is composed of only a single participant of the verbal action.
- (b) The single ‘core’ constituent of the passive construction is the participant which is affected by the action of the verb.
- (c) An ‘external’ initiator –prototypically an agent- of the action or event is expressed by the verb. This is an optional argument in the periphery of the clause.

The necessity of a functional definition of the passive is evident in investigating languages such as Warihío given that in this language one can find clauses that fulfill the passive definition given by Givón (2004), who defines the passive clause functionally as “the clause-type whereby the agent of the corresponding active is radically de-topicalized and its patient becomes, by default, the only topical argument”, then the following typology of the cross-linguistically most common major clause-types that perform this function may be obtained. This definition has the characteristic that a passive is obligatorily derived. A more neutral definition is given by Andersen (1991:111-112): “The passive is a transitive construction containing two participants, i.e. an initiator

(prototypically an agent) and another (i.e. a ‘patient’) exhibiting the feature [+ affected], whereby only the ‘patient’ is specified in the ‘core’ of the clause”.

What I want to illustrate with all these different accounts is the diversity of criteria invoked in stipulating a passive. Even those approaches that include non-prototypical instances show differences on how they use terms such as ‘transitivity’, ‘valency’. Following Shibatani (1985) in his approach to passive, I emphasize that all its features have equal importance, and a construction lacking even one of the features is a non-prototypical instance of a passive.

7.1.1.1. Warihío passive

Warihío presents three passive constructions: (i) morphological, (ii) functional-notional, and (iii) periphrastic. These will be described in the following subsections.

7.1.1.1.1. Morphological passive

Warihío presents two passive suffixes attested for Uto-Aztecan languages: the verbal suffix *-tu* and the verbal suffix *-tia*.

7.1.1.1.1.1. The verbal suffix *-tu*

Let’s begin with a basic example:

- (1a) kahpona-ré=mu kuú
 break-PFV=2SG.S stick
 ‘You broke the stick.’

- (1b) kahpona-ré-tu kuú (no'ó-e, amó-e, waní-e, tihóé-e)
 break-PRF-PASS stick 1SG.NS-INS 2SG.NS-INS John-INS men-INS
 'The stick was broken (by me, by you, by John, by the men).'

These constructions fit very well with the main properties given in Shibatani (1985); (i) the agent *-mu* 'you' (1a) is defocalized and is optionally expressed in oblique form *amóe* (1b); (ii) the only obligatorily expressed participant *kuú* 'stick' is the entity affected (1b); and (iii) the verb shows an additional morpheme *-tu*. What the construction in (1) shows, too, is that there is no restriction on the occurrence of the participants in terms of the animacy hierarchy, since many directions are possible Non-SAP ---> SAP (1p, 2p), Non-SAP as it is shown in (1b). Usually, passives have a non-marked direction from a 1p, 2p, or 3p entity affected by a 3p.

Passives of intransitive verbs (2)-(3) are allowed in Warihío with the oblique optional expression of the only participant (the agent) as well (3):

- (2a) owéru yau-ré yomá tukawári
 women dance-PFV QUANT night
 'The women danced all night.'
- (2b) yau-ré-tu (yomá tukawári)
 dance-PFV-PASS QUANT night
 'There was dancing (all night).'
- (3a) pedró umá-re yomá-či kusítere
 Peter run-PFV QUANT-LOC woods
 'Peter ran all over the woods.'

- (3b) *uma-ré-tu (yomá kusítere) (pedró-e)*
 run-PFV-PASS QUANT woods Peter-INS
 ‘There was running (all over the woods) (by Peter).’

I am going to address two main points about the morphological passive constructions in (1)-(3):

- (i) Morphological passives given by the verbal suffix *-tu* are restricted to the perfective aspect.
- (ii) The causative *-te / -na* and applicative *-ke* suffixes occur before the tense/aspect suffix; while the *-tu* suffix occurs after.

Tarahumara has a similar construction with the same cognate suffix *-tu / -ru* (Burgess 1984) analyzed as a passive clause. Langacker (1976) glosses this *-tu* suffix as ‘become’.

In Warihío, we can have personal and impersonal morphological passive versions of the same event as is shown in (4b) and (4c), respectively:

- (4a) *pedró no'ó wewe-rú tapaná*
 Peter 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV yesterday
 ‘Peter hit me yesterday.’
- (4b) *wewe-ré-tu=ne tapaná (pedró-e)*
 hit-PFV-PASS=1SG.S yesterday Peter-INS
 ‘I was hit yesterday (by Peter).’

- (4c) no'ó wewe-re-tu tapaná (*pedró-e)
 1SG.NS hit-PFV-PASS yesterday
 'They hit me yesterday.'

This can be related to Focus, since in Warihío the constituent in Focus is the constituent in initial position. Whence (4b) could be the response to what happened yesterday? And (4c) the response to who was hit yesterday?

7.1.1.1.1.2 The verbal suffix *-tia*

The constructions showing the suffix *-tia* have no tense/aspect suffix:

- (5a) wiiká inamú-**tia**-me
 song listen-PASS-NMLZ
 'The song was listened to.'
- (5b) awési ihkéta wikí-ri-a=ne-o ihkéta soorandóna=pu
 how.much owe- PFV-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH how.much left-D.D

 tehkí yoí-**tia**-me
 work earn-PASS-NMLZ
 '...I went to see how much I owed and how much was left with the work done.'
- (5c) kawé to'weré-**tia** kuú wa'á-pote pueta-čí-pote
 good put-PASS stick there-up door-LOC-up

 ki=moi-míčio henté-o wa'á yoré-muna ičikuá-me
 NEG=enter-PURP people-EMPH there inside-toward steal-NMLZ
 '...they had put the sticks above on the door very well, so people, thieves, couldn't get in.'

- (5d) wewé-tia=ne
hit-PASS=1SG.S
'I was hit.'

The suffix *-tia* in (5a)-(5b) seems to function as participles do, that is, as verbal adjectives. Actually many of the adjectives in Warihío have this same ending *-tia-me* giving the following glosses: 'the listened song' in (5a), 'the earned work' in (5b). For (5c)-(5d), the 'passive' reading obtains; 'the stick was put' (5c) and 'I was hit' (5d). This same suffix *-tia* occurs with intransitive verbs (5e):

- (5e) wikahtá-tia yomá aarí
sing-PASS QUANT afternoon
'There was singing all afternoon.'

In the examples in (5f)-(5h), the subjects =ne 'I', *puú tehtémari* 'those boys', =pu 'he' in the passive clauses are the benefactives of ditransitive active sentences :

- (5f) simi-yái simi-ká kawái rewé-tia=ne
go-IPFV go-PTCP horse lend-PASS=1SG.S

pukaépa pu'-ká-če i'nó-mia pu'-ká rootóre
that's.why D.D-ID-ITER bring-FUT D.D-ID doctor
'...I walked and walked, and they lent me a horse just to bring the doctor.'
- (5g) wa'á ihto-aí-čia eikó tihoé-a-pa
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then man-EMPH-INCH
'...then when the man was leaving,

puú teh~témari puú kiya-**tiá**-me wa'á u'má-to-ka wa'á
 D.D PL~boy D.D give-PASS-NMLZ there run-MOV-PTCP there
 those boys, those who were given (the pears) passed by there.'

- (5h) wa'á ihto-ái-čia eikó
 there leave-IPFV-QUOT then
 'when he was leaving,
- kia-**tiá**=pu-a pu'-ká mókori
 give-PASS=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID hat
 they gave him the hat
- eikó kiyá-ka paiká pu'-ká
 then give-PTCP three D.D-ID
 then he gave them three (pears).'

The suffix *-tia* as a passive participle (Haspelmath, 1994) is involved in the periphrastic passives (7.1.1.1.3).

7.1.1.1.2 Functional-notional passive

I am taking a functional or notional passive (Givón, 2001) to be a non-prototypical instance of a passive. The verb has no a specific 'passive' meaning, however the characteristics of these constructions with a passive meaning in Warihío are: (i) The verb is inflected only for non-perfective tense/aspect; (ii) the verb has no passive suffix; and, (iii) the agent can be included with the instrumental suffix *-e*. The whole construction fills all the criteria but the morphological one given in Shibatani (1985).

- (6a) wiiká inamú=mu
 song listen=2SG.S
 ‘You are listening to the song.’
- (6b) wiiká inamú-mera (amó-e)
 song listen-POT 2SG.NS-INS
 ‘The song is going to be listened (by you).’
- (6c) wikahtá-mera yomá aarí (owéru-e)
 sing-POT QUANT afternoon women-INS
 ‘There is going to be singing all afternoon (by women).’
- (7a) waní kahponá-ni kuú
 John break-PRS stick
 ‘John is breaking the stick.’
- (7b) kuú kahpóna-ni=a (waní-e)
 stick break-PRS=EMPH John-INS
 ‘The stick is being broken (by John).’
- (8a) wewé-nia=ni-a
 hit-PRS=1SG.S-EMPH
 ‘I am being hit.’
- (8b) wewé-na=ne
 hit-PRS=1SG.S
 ‘I am hitting it/him/them.’

Note that all the constructions above have the option of including the agent. If the construction does not include the agent, this can have two readings depending on the animacy of the participant and the class of the verb, as can be seen in (9):

- (9) neé inamú-mera
 1SG.S listen-POT
 ‘I am going to listen.’/‘I am going to be listened to.’

Another possibility for a construction to be considered a notional passive in Warihío is a nominalized copulative construction. In Warihío, there are two copulas: the auxiliary verb *ininá* ‘to be’ and the verbal suffix *-hu*. This latter is used usually for conditions that are not complete:

- (10) kuú kahpona-pu-áme-hu (pedró-e)
 stick break-D.D-NMLZ-COP Peter-INS
 ‘The stick will be broken (by Peter).’
- (11) wiiká inamú-ni-ame-hu (hustína-e)
 song listen-PRS-NMLZ-COP Agustína-INS
 ‘The song is being listened to (by Agustina).’
- (12) tihoé natahképa-ni-ame-hu (yomá tihoé-e)
 man forget-PRS-NMLZ-COP QUANT man-INS
 ‘The man is being forgotten (by everybody).’
- (13) kuitá uhurá-ni-ame-hu ahpó no'nó-ma (maniwíri-e)
 child send-PRS-NMLZ-COP 3SG.NS parents-COM Manuel-INS
 ‘The child is being sent to his parents (by Manuel).’

7.1.1.1.3 Periphrastic passive

The verb *ininá* ‘be’ can be used periphrastically with all tense/aspects:

- (14a) *meeré-o tihóe natahkepa-ni-áme ini-méra yomá-e*
 tomorrow=EMPH man forget-PRS-NMLZ be-POT QUANT-INS
 ‘By tomorrow the man is going to be forgotten by everybody.’
- (14b) *wiiká inamú-tia-me ini-ré yomá puebló-či*
 song listen-PASS-NMLZ be-PFV QUANT town-LOC
 ‘The song was listened to by (in) the whole town.’

Ditransitive verbs are passivized also using a nominalized copula construction.

With the copula *ininá* for non-present tense/aspect ((15a)-(15b)):

- (15a) *kuitá uhurá-tia-me ini-ré ahpó no'nó-ma*
 child send-PASS-NMLZ be-PFV 3SG.NS parents-COM
 ‘The child was sent to his parents.’
- (15b) *kuitá uhurá-pu-ame ini-méra meeré ahpó no'nó-ma*
 child send-D.D-NMLZ be-POT tomorrow 3SG.NS parents-COM
 ‘The child will be sent to his parents tomorrow.’

7.1.1.1.4 Conclusion

Warihío shows a heterogeneous group of constructions that show the functional properties of a prototypical passive construction. Not all of them show a specific passive morphology. However, I have decided to include them in this section alluding to the diachronic stage of Warihío, a stage with no fully grammaticalized construction for passive. Given the appropriate conditions, diverse constructions may fulfill the functional domains of a passive.

7.1.2. Causatives

Warihío presents the three formal ways described in the literature in which causation is expressed: lexical causatives, morphological causatives, and periphrastic causatives. In addition, Warihío presents a fourth type, between the morphological and the periphrastic types, that I am calling a morpho-periphrastic causative. Following the binding hierarchy proposed in Givón (1980, 2001), constructions containing a caused event plus a causing event are ranked from the most to the least syntactically integrated type in a way that parallels their semantic binding. In Warihío, this corresponds to the lexical-morphological-periphrastic continuum (Comrie, 1989), and overlaps the functional domains of the causative continuum proposed in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001).

One important aspect of Warihío grammar pertaining to causative constructions is that Warihío does not use verbal agreement or case marking in signaling the role of the noun participants. Moreover, the different sets of personal pronouns help us to differentiate only between subjects (of main clause) and the remaining participants in a causative construction, so that morphological encoding of the causee hierarchy (Comrie, 1985, 1989) is not available to signal differing kinds of causee in Warihío. Instead, the degree of control retained by the causee and the distinction between a patientive causee and an agentive causee (i.e. the degree of directness) (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001) are expressed by the semantics of the base verb and the causative ‘verb’. This includes the degree of implicativeness in correlation with the degree of syntactic integration of the causative construction.

Following Haspelmath (1993:90), the inchoative/causative verb pair is defined semantically: “it is a pair of verbs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on) and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously”. Of 27 causative verb pairs³ reviewed in Warihío, 19 were causative alternations, 4 labile, and 4 suppletives. Anticausative verbs were not found. This shows a greater percentage of directed alternation.

The transitive counterpart of an inactive intransitive verb (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001) constitutes a lexical causative.

7.1.2.1. Lexical causatives

In Warihío, the causative verb counterparts show these different types: suppletion, labile, vowel and consonant alternation, equipollent alternation, and suffixation. Suppletive forms have two different forms for the inchoative-causative pair; labile has the same form for both, the inchoative and causative verb; equipollent alternations share the same stem from which the inchoative and causative derive.

7.1.2.1.1. Suppletion

Most languages have suppletive forms for some verbs. Clauses (16) and (17) show some examples in Warihío:

³ These verb pairs were taken from Haspelmath (1993).

- (16a) karí taha-ré
house burn-PFV
'The house burned.'
- (16b) aapóe kosó-re karí
3PL.S burn-PFV house
'They burned the house.'
- (17a) peterá muku-ré
Petra die.sg-PFV
'Petra died.'
- (17b) maniwíri me'á-re peterá
Manuel kill.sg-PFV Petra
'Manuel killed Petra.'

7.1.2.1.2. Labile

I found some labile verb pairs: *yetépani* 'close', *oičani* 'start', *sawéna* 'rock', *wa'káni* 'chip', that is, verbs for which the inchoative and causative forms are the same:

- (18a) puetá yetépa-re
door close-PFV
'The door closed.'
- (18b) waní yetépa-re puetá
John close-PFV door
'John closed the door.'
- (19a) oiča-re pahkó
start-PFV feast
'The feast started.'

- (19b) oíča-ru=ne pahkó
 start-PFV.EV=1SG.S feast
 ‘I started the feast.’
- (20a) puú maká muináti sawé-na
 D.D swing slow rock-HAB
 ‘That swing rocks slowly.’
- (20b) karína muináti sawé-na maká
 Karina slow rock-HAB swing
 ‘Karina rocks the swing slowly.’
- (21a) sikorí wa'ká-re
 pot chip off-PFV
 ‘The pot is chipped.’
- (21b) kuitá wa'ká-re sikorí
 child chip off-PFV pot
 ‘The child chipped the pot.’

All the (a) examples in (18)-(21) accept an extra oblique argument with the instrumental postposition *-e* with an indirect involvement in the event:

- (18a') puetá yetépa-re, (wani-e)
 door close-PFV John-INS
 ‘The door closed (John ordered it).’
- (19a') oíča-re pahkó, (pedró-e)
 start-PFV feast Peter-INS
 ‘The feast started (Peter order it).’

(20a) puú maká muináti sawé-na, (kariná-e)
 D.D swing slow rock-PRS kariná-INS
 ‘That swing rocks slowly (Karina ordered it).’

(21a) sikorí wa'ká-re (kuitá-e)
 pot chip off-PFV child-INS
 ‘The pot is chipped (the child ordered it).’

These constructions are similar to those constructions labeled as notional-functional passive in 7.1.1.1.2. There is an important difference; the optional oblique agent in the notional-functional passive is the agent directly involved in the action, whereas the optional oblique agents in these inchoative constructions are agents involved indirectly. These agents ordered the event should start in such a way the event is still conceived as an inchoative-spontaneous event.

7.1.2.1.3. Equipollent verbs

Equipollent verbs are intransitive/transitive verb pairs that share the root and they differ in the suffix.

7.1.2.1.3.1. V-*i* vs. V-*a*

All the position verbs and some displacement verbs in Warihío present intransitive/transitive pairing. Some of them present suppletive forms, *kahtí/yahčí* ‘be seated.sg.’/ ‘set.sg.’; some others present a vowel alternation in the base from *-i* (intr.) to

–*a* (tr.)⁴ as in (22), or with an additional change in the preceding consonant as (23) shows:

- (22a) ihpíčira werí ehkína-či
 broom be.standing.sg corner-LOC
 ‘The broom is in the corner.’
- (22b) hustína werá-re ihpíčira ehkína-či
 Agustina place.s.standing.sg-PFV broom corner-LOC
 ‘Justina put the broom in the corner.’
- (23a) waní paki-ná kari-čí
 John enter.sg-PRS house-LOC
 ‘John is entering the house.’
- (23b) waní pahča-ní kuitá kari-čí
 John put.in.sg-PRS child house- LOC
 ‘John is putting the child inside the house.’

Like many Uto-Aztecan languages, Warihío presents, in some of its positional-movement verbs, different forms that agree in number with the subject in the case of intransitive verbs and with the object for the counterpart transitive (lexical causatives) verb:

- (24a) ihpíčira ahawí ehkína-či
 brooms be.standing.pl.PRES corner-LOC
 ‘The brooms are in the corner.’

⁴ This vowel alternation also occurs in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, but in this case the alternation is from –*e* to –*a*.

- (24b) *hustína ahawá-re ihpíčira ehkína-čí*
 Agustina place.s.standing.pl-PFV brooms corner-LOC
 ‘Justina put the brooms in the corner.’
- (25a) *kukučí mo'i-ná kari-čí*
 children enter.pl-PRS house-LOC
 ‘The children are entering the house.’
- (25b) *waní mo'a-ré kukučí kari-čí*
 John put.in.pl-PFV children house-LOC
 ‘John put the children inside the house.’

7.1.2.1.3.2. *V-pa* vs. *V-na/-ča*

There is a group of stative verbs, which comprehend the equipollent inchoative/causative pair, since the inchoative verb is derived using the inchoative suffix *-pa* and the causative form with the suffix *-na/-ča* from the same verb root. These verbs make a semantic group: *kasí-na* ‘be broken’, *si'pá-ni* ‘be torn’, *čí'wá-ni* ‘be cut’, *wi'ló-na* ‘be flexible’, *pi'rí-na* ‘be twisted’ labelled as the semantic ‘break’ group in Cora⁵:

- (26a) *sipičá si'pá-ni*
 dress torn-PRS
 ‘The dress is torn.’
- (26b) *sipiča si'pá-re*
 dress torn-PFV
 ‘The dress was in a torn state.’

⁵ This semantic verb group is very similar to the labile ‘break’ group that occurs in Cora (Vázquez, 2001).

- (26c) sipičá si'pá-pa-re
 dress torn-INCH-PFV
 'The dress got torn.' (Because the dress was old.)
- (26d) hustína si'pa-ná-re sipičá
 Agustina torn-CAUS-PFV dress
 'Agustina tore the dress.'
- (27a) rolándo či'wá-re
 Rolando cut- PFV
 'Rolando had a cut.'
- (27b) rolándo či'wá-pa-re
 Rolando cut-INCH-PFV
 'Rolando got a cut.' (By accident)
- (27c) waní či'wá-na-re rolándo petúri-e
 John cut-CAUS-PFV Rolando knife-INS
 'John cut Rolando with a knife.'

It seems that only events that can be conceived as happening 'spontaneously', more precisely without the involvement of an external volitional participant, can take the inchoative suffix *-pa*. This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (28a) in contrast with the acceptability of (28b):

- (28a) *kuú ta'pá-pa-re
 wood cut.down.the.middle-INCH-PFV
- (28b) kuú ta'pá-re (pedró-e)
 wood cut.down.the.middle-PFV Peter-INS
 'The wood is cut down the middle (by Peter).'

The *ta'páni* 'cut down in the middle' shown in (28) is very telling with respect to this restriction since this event requires a volitional, intentional and careful subject participant.

The occurrence of the causative suffix *-ča* in contrast with *-na* shows an event conceived as iterative (29a) more than an event with multiple objects⁶, something not uncommon in Uto-Aztecan languages.

(29a) *waní ta'pá-ča-re* *pií weréwa ampá marikí kuú ehpé*
 John cut.d.the.m-CAUS-PFV one twenty over five stick today
 'John cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.'
 lit. 'John cut and cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.'

(29b) *waní ta'pá-na-re* *pií weréwa ampá marikí kuú ehpé*
 John cut.d.the.m-CAUS-PFV one twenty over five stick today
 'John cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.'

In (29b) with the suffix *-na*, the action is conceived as one action even though the objects are the same in number as in (29a).

Even though the causative suffixes *-na* and *-ča* in this group show a very direct involvement of the causer, there may exist a specific context (and depending upon the nature of the causee) where the causer involvement is only in indirect terms. There is a type of plant called *panéwa* that twists itself around another tree or around a stick. If

⁶ Miller (1996:152) says that in the case of the Upland dialect the suffix *-ča* shows either a stronger action or an action over a plural object.

someone plants a *panéwa* alone, one must put a stick near it so the *panéwa* can twist, otherwise it grows on the ground without twisting. The following examples show this:

- (30a) *panéwa pi'rí-na*
 Panéwa twist-PRS
 'The *panéwa* is twisted.'
- (30b) *panéwa pi'rí-pa-re*
 Panéwa twist-INCH-PFV
 'The *panéwa* grew twisted.'
- (30c) *waní pi'rí-na-re panéwa*
 John twist-CAUS-PFV *panéwa*
 'John twisted the *panéwa*.'

In (30b) the *panéwa* twisted by itself and in (30c) it did so with John's indirect help, since he put the stick near to the *panéwa*.

Almost all of the remaining adjectival series, which occur as stative verbs in Warihío, undergo equipollent alternations. But in this case the causative verb shows an additional causative suffix *-te* plus the inchoative *-pa*. Some of these stative verbs include *waki-ná* 'be dry', *sami-ná* 'be wet', *tu'na-ní* 'be thick', *resipá-ni* 'be tired', *sawái-na* 'be yellow', *tohsána-ni* 'be white':

- (31a) *sipičá waki-ná*
 dress dry-PRS
 'The dress is dry.'

- (31b) sipičá waki-pá-re
 dress dry-INCH-PFV
 ‘The dress got dry.’
- (31c) ta'á waki-pá-te-re sipičá
 sun dry-INCH-CAUS-PFV dress
 ‘The sun dried the dress.’
- (32a) ečitiáme tu'na-ní
 sowing thick-PRS
 ‘The sowing is dense.’
- (32b) ečitiáme tu'na-pá-re
 crops thick-INCH-PFV
 ‘The crops got dense.’
- (32c) yu'kí tuna-pá-te-re ečitiáme
 rain thick-INCH-CAUS-PFV crops
 ‘The rain made the crops thick.’
- (33a) ečitiáme sawái-na
 crops yellow-PRS
 ‘The crops are yellow.’
- (33b) ečitiáme sawái-pa-re
 crops yellow-INCH-PFV
 ‘The crops turned yellow.’
- (33c) ta'á sawai-pa-té-re ečitiáme
 sun yellow-INCH-CAUS-PFV crops
 ‘The sun made the crops yellow.’

7.1.2.1.4. Suffixation: *-na*

This suffix is not productive, occurring only in nine verbs; five in the ‘break’ group mentioned in section 7.1.2.1.4 plus the following four verb pairs:

- (34) *kahpóna/kahpónani* ‘to break intr./tr.’
wahóna/wahónani ‘to open intr./tr.’
apečúna/apečunani ‘to rise/raise’
ku'rína/ku'rinani ‘to turn intr./tr.’

- (35a) *puetá wahó-re*
 door open-PFV
 ‘The door opened.’

- (35b) *waní wahó-na-re puetá*
 John open-CAUS-PFV door
 ‘John opened the door.’

In Warihío, only a few verbs are pure (atomic) lexical causative verbs –suppletive or labile- in their form, i.e. not morphologically analyzable. Following Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001:88,92), I have classified all the verbs seen in this section as functional lexical causative verbs. Since all the devices shown here: (i) are of low productivity, that is constrained to these root verbs, (ii) are paired with inactive intransitive verbs, and (iii) most of the situations expressed by them involve direct causation.

7.1.2.2 Morphological causatives

The morphological causative construction in Warihío has a verb with the prototypical causative suffix found in Uto-Aztec languages.

7.1.2.2.1 The causative suffix *-te*

This suffix has cognates in other Uto-Aztecan languages; *-te* (Tarahumara), *-tua* (Yaqui), *-te* (Cora), *-ti* (Ute), etc. This suffix participates in the formation of lexical causatives, as we saw above. It is also part of the typical morphological causative found in Uto-Aztecan languages. Moreover, the causative suffix *-te* together with the causing verbs *yowáni* ‘to make’, *isiná/nokaní* ‘to move’ or *intóna* ‘to come’ constitute a mixed type found in Warihio, the morpho-periphrastic type.

There is a group of verbs affixed by *-te* in Warihío which seem to have been co-lexicalized, because the meanings of (36b) tend to be idiomatic and not predicted from the components:

(36a)	<i>peni-ná</i>	‘to learn’	(36b)	<i>peni-té-na</i>	‘to teach’
	<i>epe-ná</i>	‘to spread’		<i>epeh-té-na</i>	‘to cover’
	<i>naté-na</i>	‘to cost’		<i>nateh-té-na</i>	‘to pay’
	<i>noka-ní</i>	‘to move’		<i>noki-té-na</i>	‘to touch’

There is a special adjectival/stative group of verbs on which the suffix *-te* produces the meaning of ‘perceiving V’. Among these adjectival stems are *čihpú* ‘bitter’, *kahká* ‘sweet’, *ta'yá* ‘tasty’, *ma'čía* ‘clear/light’, *pewá* ‘hard’, *tahtá* ‘hot’, *tu'rá* ‘cold’:

(37a)	<i>tapaná</i>	<i>kahpé</i>	<i>čipú-re</i>
	yesterday	coffee	bitter-PFV
	‘Yesterday the coffee was bitter.’		

- (37b) *tapaná kahpé no'ó čipu-té-re*
 yesterday coffee 1SG.NS bitter-CAUS-PFV
 'Yesterday the coffee tasted bitter to me.'
 lit. 'Yesterday the coffee made me taste-perceive bitter.'
- (38a) *weré ma'čía i'wá*
 much clear/light here
 'There is too much light here.'
- (38b) *weré no'ó ma'či-ré-te-na i'wá*
 much 1SG.NS light-APPL-CAUS-PRS here
 'I see very well/clear here.'
 lit. 'The light makes me perceive very clearly here.'
- (39a) *tehkí wasa-čí pewá*
 work field-LOC hard
 'The work in the field is hard.'
- (39b) *tehkí wasa-čí tamó pewa-pá-te-na*
 work field-LOC 1PL.NS hard/strong-INCH-CAUS-HAB
 'The work in the field makes us strong.'
 lit. 'The work in the field makes us feel hard.'

In the case above, the causer that in many instances is inanimate shows the quality of 'V' produced on the causee, that is animate, the perception of 'V'. It could be what Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001:39) explain like a case of "realignment of the causer and the causee vis-à-vis grammatical relations" in the case of the causative forms of verbs like *laugh* and *cry*. Davis (ms.) talks about a very similar causative-transitive semantics in Telugu (Dravidian) for a similar verbal group.

Other inactive intransitive verbs than adjectival/stative accept the *-te* suffixation in the causative form. Some of these verbs are *kočina* ‘sleep’, *wičiná* ‘fall down’, *werípani* ‘grow up’, *mukuná* ‘die.sg’:

- (40a) kukucí ko~kočí-pa-re
 children PL~sleep-INCH-PFV
 ‘The children fell asleep.’
- (40b) waní ko~kočí-pa-te-re kukučí
 John PL~sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children
 ‘John put the children to sleep.’
- (41a) toománte weri-pá-re peniátíame
 tomato be.standing.sg-INCH-PFV nice
 ‘The tomatoes grew up nice.’
- (41b) hustína weri-pá-te-re toománte peniátíame
 Agustina be.standing.sg-INCH-CAUS-PFV tomatoe nice
 ‘Agustina made the tomatoes grow up nice.’
- (42a) waní muku-ré
 John die.sg-PFV
 ‘John died.’
- (42b) pedró mukuh-té-re waní
 Peter die.sg-CAUS-PFV John
 ‘Peter made John die.’

The difference between the examples shown in (40)-(42) and the adjectival base causative forms given in section 7.1.2.1.4 above is that the involvement of the causer is more indirect in the former than in the latter. For example in (40), John could have put

the children to bed so they got to sleep; in (41), Agustina made the tomatoes grow up by irrigating them, and Peter in (42) made John die by not taking him to the doctor. Even more, all verbs in (40)-(42) accept alternative causative construction(s) which show(s) a difference in the semantics concerning the directness degree of the two sub-events, these constructions will be illustrated in section 8.1.2.6.

Most of the base verbs that can constitute morphological causatives are active intransitives:

(43a) waní yau-ré

John dance-PFV

‘John danced.’

(43b) neé yau-té-ru waní

1SG.S dance-CAUS-PFV John

‘I made John dance.’

(44a) maría wikahtá-re

Mary sing-PFV

‘Mary sang.’

(44b) neé wikahtá-te-ru maría

1SG.S sing-CAUS-PFV.EV Mary

‘I made Mary sing.’

For the meaning of ‘succeed’ in making the causee do something, Warihío uses the adjective *kawé* ‘good, well’ plus *-te* suffixed to the base verb:

- (45a) neé yau-rú waníta aháma
 1SG.S dance-PFV.EV Johanna COM
 ‘I danced with Johanna.’
- (45b) puú kawé no’ó yau-té-ru waníta ahama
 D.D well 1SG.NS dance-CAUS-PFV.EV Johanna COM
 ‘He succeeded in having me dance with Johanna.’

In general, transitive and ditransitive base verbs occur in morpho-periphrastic and periphrastic causative constructions. However, we can find morphological causatives from transitive bases, but only with the causative meaning of ‘force’, which for Warihio requires the free element *utewáči* ‘forced’ in addition to the causative suffix:

- (46a) kukucí ihpíči-re pete-čí
 children clean-PFV house-LOC
 ‘The children cleaned the house.’
- (46b) hustína utewáči ihpíči-te-re kukučí pete-čí
 Agustina forced clean-CAUS-PFV children house-LOC
 ‘Agustina forced the children to clean the house.’

7.1.2.3. Morpho-periphrastic causatives

The morpho-periphrastic type of causative construction shows characteristics of the morphological type, e.g. the causative suffix *-te*, and at the same time the presence of periphrastic-type features, the use of auxiliary verbs with a general causative meaning. These verbs are represented in Warihío by verbs of general movement, *isiná/nokaní*

‘move ssg/spl’, *intóna* ‘come’. In (47b), we have a causative construction from an inactive intransitive verb, and in (48b) from an active intransitive verb:

(47a) kukucí ko~kočí-pa-re
 children PL~sleep-INCH-PFV
 ‘The children slept.’

(47b) hustína **isi-ré** kukučí ko~kočí-**te-ka**
 Agustina move.sg-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
 ‘Agustina made the children go to sleep.’

(48a) neé u'má-ru
 1SG.S run-PFV.EV
 ‘I ran.’

(48b) muú **isi-ré** no'ó u'má-**te-ka**
 2SG.S move.sg-PFV 1SG.NS run-CAUS-PTCP
 ‘You made me run.’

Another characteristic of periphrastic causatives in this type of morpho-periphrastic causative construction is that the causing event is qualified by the tense/aspect marker *-re/-ru*, and the caused event shows a less-finite marking, signaled by the participializer *-ka*, which is the case in (47b) and (48b). The suffix *-ka* gives a sense of some degree of simultaneity of events. Note that in the morphological type of (43b) and (44b), the tense suffix *-re/-ru* occurs right after the causative suffix *-te*.

In (49b), we can observe that the causing event is the suppletive form for ‘move subject pl.’ which is in agreement with a plural causer:

- (49a) *maría yau-ré*
 Mary dance-PFV
 ‘Mary danced.’
- (49b) *teemé noká-ru yau-te-ka maría*
 1PL.S move.pl-PFV.EV dance-CAUS-PTCP Mary
 ‘We made Mary dance.’

It is possible to find causative constructions of this type from transitive verbs, as is shown in (50):

- (50a) *neé tapaná inaté-ru kukučí*
 1SG.S yesterday take.care-PFV.EV children
 ‘Yesterday I took care of the children.’
- (50b) *tapaná muú isi-ré no’ó inaté-te-ka kukučí*
 yesterday 2SG.S move.sg-PFV 1SG.NS take.care-CAUS-PTCP children
 ‘Yesterday, you had/made me take care of the children.’

An example with *intó-na* ‘come’ is in (51):

- (51a) *waní nasuá-re pedró aháma*
 John fight-PFV Peter COM
 ‘John fought with Peter.’
- (51b) *neé intó-ru nasua-té-ka waní pedró aháma*
 1SG.S come-PFV.EV fight-CAUS-PTCP John Peter COM
 ‘I made John fight with Peter.’

We noticed above that some verbs in Warihío co-lexicalize with the causative suffix *-te*. A verb that is frequently co-lexicalized across languages is the verb ‘to see’, as the causativized version ‘to show’. For example in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, *bíča* ‘see’ plus the causative suffix *-tua* lexicalize (through a phonological change of the base in *bíttua* ‘to show’), but to ‘make show’ is *bittuá-tua*. Therefore, the range of morphological causatives in Yaqui includes ditransitive verbs, which is not the case in Warihío. For these reasons, even though (52) looks like a mixed causative construction, it is of the periphrastic type:

- (52a) waní ne'né-te-re kawái pedró
 John see-CAUS-PRF horse Peter
 ‘John showed the horse to Peter.’
- (52b) neé intó-ru ne'né-te-míči-o kawái waní pedró
 1SG:S come-PRF:EVID see-CAUS-PURP-SUB horse John Peter
 ‘I made John show the horse to Peter.’

We observed in previous sections that the most productive mechanism in the formation of causative constructions is *-te* suffixation, which covers all types of base verbs: inactive and active intransitives and transitives.

7.1.2.4. Periphrastic causatives

The periphrastic causatives in Warihío are formed with the purposive suffix *-míčio* in the caused event verb plus a causing ‘auxiliary’ verb⁷. These ‘auxiliary’ verbs

⁷ These same constructions but with verbs of comand such as *inaténa* ‘ask’, *nu'réna* ‘to order’, *yetóna* ‘to invite’ or the permissive *toaní* ‘to allow’ plus a verb with suffix *-míčio* are described in Chapter 8.

are represented by a general causer verb like *yowá-ni* ‘to make’ or by general movement verbs like *isiná/nokáni*, ‘move’ ssg./ spl., *intó-na* ‘come’. The causing ‘auxiliary’ verb generally shows agreement in number with the causer and has the tense marker like the morpho-periphrastic causatives. The periphrastic causatives can be formed from inactive intransitive verbs (53), active intransitive verbs with the sense of permissive causative (54), transitive (55), and di-transitive verbs (56):

(53a) *neé wiči-rú*

1SG.S fall-PFV.EV

‘I fell down.’

(53b) *aapóe noka-ré no’ó wiči-míčio*

3PL.S move.pl-PFV 1SG.NS fall-PURP

‘They made me fall down.’

(54a) *waníta yau-ré*

Juanita dance-PFV

‘Juanita danced.’

(54b) *no'nó isi-ré yau-míčio wanita*

father move.sg-PFV dance-PURP Juanita

‘My father made Juanita dance.’

(55a) *muú katewé-re ko're*

2SG.NS fix-PFV fence

‘You fixed the fence.’

(55b) *neé amó yowá-ru katewe-míčio kó're*

1SG.S 2SG.NS make-PFV.EV fix-PURP fence

‘I made you fix the fence.’

- (56a) waní i'tóče-re muuní pedró
 John send-PFV beans Peter
 'John sent beans to Peter.'
- (56b) neé intó-ru i'tóče-míčio muuní waní pedró
 1SG.S come-PFV.EV send-PURP beans John Peter
 'I made John send beans to Peter.'

Even though the purposive suffix is not an implicative one, it has been reported in general to be one of the major origins of syntactic causatives that can become a real causative suffix (Song 1996:49-68, 95-96). It seems that the degree of implicativeness of (53) and (56) is greater than in (54) and (55), given the use of a more general/manipulative causal verb, as in (57). That is why I place them together at the top of the periphrastic causatives in Schema 1.

- (57a) neé ki=simi-rú tekíhpána-mia
 1SG.S NEG=go-PFV.EV work-FUT
 'I didn't go to work.'
- (57b) Pedró kawé yowá-re ki=no'ó simi-míčio tekípána-mia
 Peter well make-PFV NEG=1SG.NS go-PURP work-FUT
 'Peter got me not to leave for work.'
- (57c) muú yasi-ré ihkwéra-čí
 2SG.S be.seated.sg-PFV school-LOC
 'You were in school.'
- (57d) neé kawé yowá-ru=ne amó yasi-míčio ihkwéra-čí
 1SG.S well do-PFV.EV=1SG.S 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PURP school-LOC
 'I succeeded in getting you into school.'

There is another construction with a strong sense of negative implication that seems to fit in very well with the periphrastic causatives, with the verb *kitoaní* ‘stop’, even though the causing event is covert:

- (58a) muú wičí-ré owára-či
 2SG.S fall-PFV hole-LOC
 ‘You fell down in the hole.’
- (58b) neé ki=toa-rú amó wičí-míčio owára-či
 1SG.S NEG=let-PFV.EV 2SG.NS fall-PURP hole-LOC
 ‘I stopped you from falling in the hole.’
- (59a) waní simi-ré
 John go-PFV
 ‘John left.’
- (59b) rupita ki=toa-ré simi-míčio waní
 Lupita NEG=let-PFV go-PURP John
 ‘Lupe stopped John from leaving.’
- (60a) kowí me’ri-ré kuitá
 pig kill.sg-PFV child
 ‘The pig killed the child.’
- (60b) waní ki=toa-ré kowí me’ri-míčio kuitá
 John NEG=let-PFV pig kill.sg-PURP child
 ‘John stopped the pig from killing the child.’

7.1.2.5. Pronoun causee vs. noun causee

It seems that when there is a pronoun-noun causee contrast, as in (61b) and (62b), there is a preference to construe the causative construction containing the pronoun causee in a more bound way:

- (61a) neé tekihpaña-ru iráριο aháma
 1SG.S work-PFV.EV Hilario COM
 ‘I worked with Hilario.’
- (61b) Waní no'ó toi-té-re tekihpana-ka irario aháma
 John 1SG.NS stop-CAUS-PFV work-PTCP Hilario COM
 ‘John made me stop working with Hilario.’
- (62a) waní tekihpaña-re iráριο aháma
 John work-PFV Hilario COM
 ‘John worked with Hilario.’
- (62b) neé isí-ru toi-té-ka waní tekihpaña-ka irario ahama
 1SG.S move.sg-PFV.EV stop-CAUS-PTCP John work-PTCP Hilario COM
 ‘I made John stop working with Don Hilario.’

The example (61b) is a morphological causative with a pronoun causee and (62b) a morpho-syntactic causative with a noun causee. The same contrast is shown in (63a) and (63b):

- (63a) wanita newí-mera disiémbre-či
 Johanna marry-POT December-LOC
 ‘Johanna is going to get married in December.’

- (63a) *disiέmbre-čí newi-te-m-ó ó'rai=ne wanita*
 December-LOC marry-CAUS-FUT-SUB plan=1SG.S Johanna
 'I plan to have Johanna get married in December.'
- (63b) *puú newí-ma=pu disiέmbre-čí*
 D.D marry-FUT=D.D December-LOC
 'She is going to get married in December.'
- (63b') *no'ó yeyé newí-te-nare disiέmbre-čí*
 1SG.NS mother marry-CAUS-DES December-LOC
 'My mom wants to make her get married in December'

Here, there is a finer difference than that shown in (61)-(62). Both examples in (63) present a morphological causative functioning as subordinate clause, but in the case of (63b') with a pronoun causee which is omitted, the verb of the main clause occurs as a desiderative suffix of the whole causative construction. This is not the case in (63a') where they occur as two separate verbs.

It seems that the size of the causee and the degree of grammaticalization, that is pronoun vs. noun causee, influence its position in the causative construction. In the case of the pronoun causee, this is placed to the left of the caused event and for the noun causee is placed to the right. This differentiated order correlates the pronoun causee more with the lexical or morphological causative constructions and the noun causee with morpho-periphrastic or periphrastic causative constructions. Therefore, there is a relation of pronoun causees with more formally integrated causative constructions and a relation of noun causees with less formally integrated ones. Of course, this whole point requires further investigation.

7.1.2.6. The correlation of three causative continua

The sentences in (40)-(42), repeated here for convenience, are very good examples of the high degree of correlation between syntactic integration and spatio-temporal overlapping that exists in Warihío.

- (40a) kukucí ko~kočí-pa-re
 children PL~sleep-INCH-PFV
 ‘The children went to sleep.’
- (40b) waní ko~kočí-pa-te-re kukučí
 John PL~sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children
 ‘John put the children to sleep.’
- (40c) waní **isi-ré** kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
 John move.sg-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
 ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By telling stories).
- (40d) waní **nu'ré-re** kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
 John order-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
 ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By giving an order, he can't be far away from the sleeping place).
- (41a) toománte weri-pá-re peniátíame
 tomato be.standing.sg-INCH-PFV nice
 ‘The tomatoes grew up nice.’
- (41b) hustína weri-pá-te-re toománte peniátíame
 Agustina be.standing.sg-INCH-CAUS-PFV tomato nice
 ‘Agustina made the tomatoes grew up nice.’

- (41c) *hustína isi-ré weri-pa-mičío toománte peniátíame*
 Agustina move.sg-PFV be.standing.sg-INCH-PURP tomato nice
 ‘Agustina made the tomatoes grow up nice.’ (By throwing some seeds in a very fertile place.)
- (42a) *waní muku-ré*
 John die.sg-PFV
 ‘John died.’
- (42b) *pedró mukuh-té-re waní*
 Peter die.sg-CAUS-PFV John
 ‘Peter made John die.’
- (42c) *pedró isi-ré muku-mičío waní*
 Peter move.sg-PFV die:ssg-PURP John
 ‘Peter made John die.’ (By giving him accidentally some poisonous food.)

For instance for the caused sub-events *mukuná* ‘die.sg’ and *kočíná* ‘sleep’, there are several causative constructions from the more to the less syntactically integrated/spatio-temporal overlapping type:

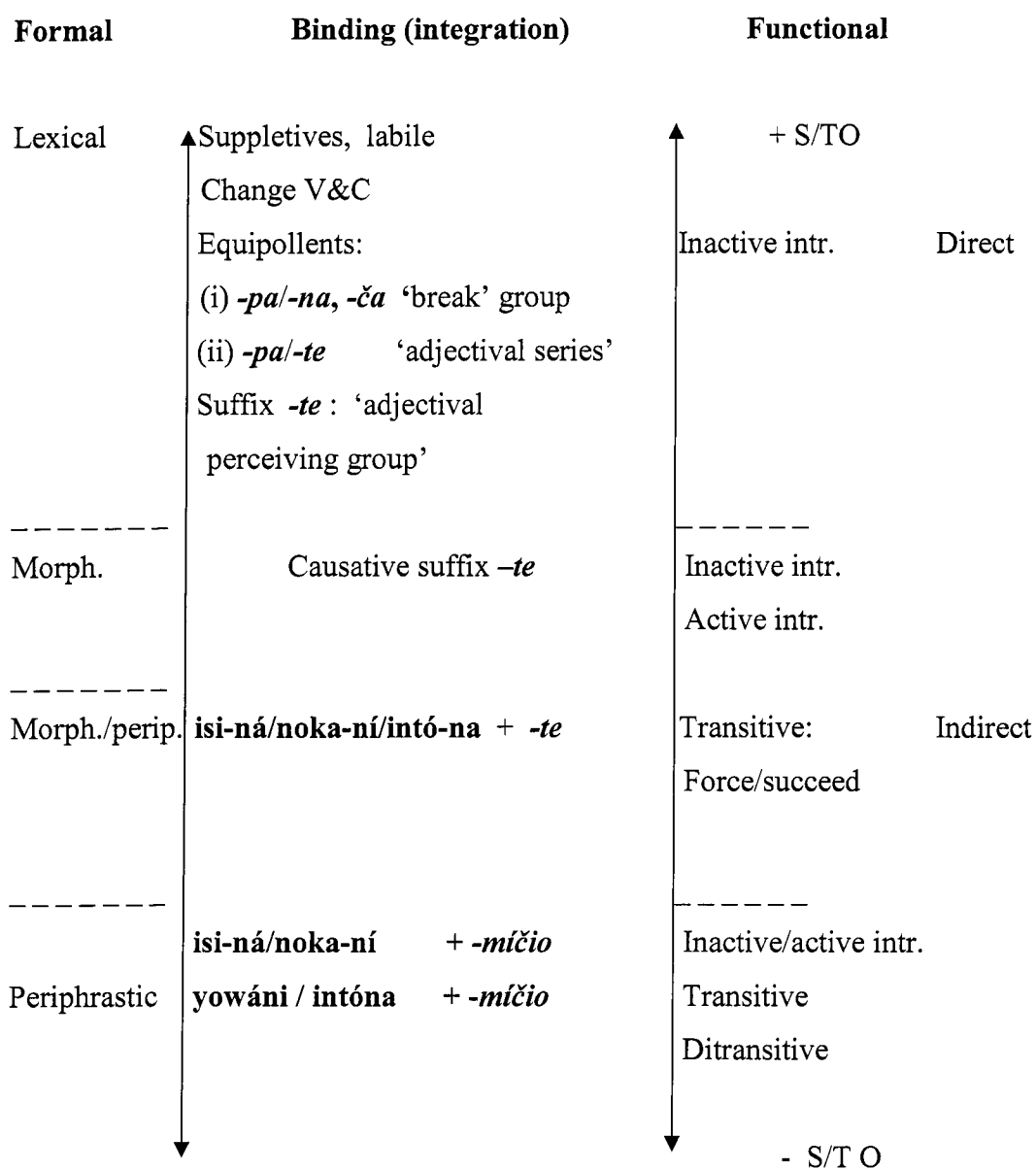
+ syntactic integration/spatio-temporal overlapping -

<i>me'yáni</i>		<i>mukuhténa</i>	<i>isiná + mukumíčio</i>
‘kill’		‘make die’	‘make die’
<i>kočipáténa</i>	<i>isiná + kočitéka</i>	<i>nu'réna + kočitéka</i>	<i>isiná + kočimíčio</i>
‘make sleep’	‘make sleep’	‘make sleep’	‘make sleep’

Even though '*isiná + kočitéka*' and '*nu'réna + kočiteka*' are formally very similar, there is a subtle difference between the degree of implicativeness of the auxiliary causing verbs. The verb *isiná* 'to move' shows a greater implicativity than the causing verb *nu'réna* 'to order'; that is why I place the latter to the right of this continuum. The same is happening with '*nu'réna + kočiteka*' in contrast with *isiná + kočimíčio*. The former is a morpho-periphrastic causative construction type with the causative suffix *-te* while the latter is the typical syntactic type with the less implicative purposive suffix *-mičio*.

Next, I try to schematize the three continua proposed in the literature. To the left, the lexical-morphological-syntactic continuum (Comrie 1985, 1989), in the center the binding hierarchy (Givón 1980, 2001), and to the right the directness continuum (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001). In Warihio, the three continua correlate to a considerable degree, as can be seen in the next schema:

Schema 1. Correlation of the causative continua in Warihio



7.1.2.7. Conclusion

We have shown that in Warihío causative constructions there is a high correlation between form and function. In general terms, the more formally integrated the causative construction, the more the spatio/temporal overlapping of events, and the less formally integrated the causative construction, the less the spatio/temporal overlapping of events. The causative suffix *-te* has proven to be highly productive in the sense that it can occur with all different semantic classes of verbs; inactive intransitive, active intransitive, and transitive. This causative suffix has cognates in other genetically related languages, such as Cora and Yaqui. But in the case of Cora *-te* (Vazquez, 2001), the suffix is restricted to inactive intransitive base verbs, whereas Yaqui *-tua* covers the whole range of base verbs; inactive and active intransitives, transitives and, inclusive ditransitives. Even though this total coverage is made in Warihío by periphrastic causative constructions, the morpho-syntactic causative construction type found in Warihío is very interesting since it could show, in some instances, an intermediate degree in the spatio/temporal functional domain between the morphological and the syntactic types, which is exactly its place according to its form. Concerning productivity in causative constructions in Warihío, we observed that the causative suffix *-na* has a low degree of productivity covering only a limited number of verbs. This suffix is involved in direct causation in the way lexical causatives are. This point is not very well illustrated in the ‘compactness’ scale described by Dixon (2000) where he establishes that the size of the form is the most important criterion on following this scale. The bigger size, the more indirect causation; the shorter size, the more direct

causation. However, there is no difference in size between *-na* and *-te*, the former being involved only in direct causation and the latter in direct and indirect causation. The main distinction in this specific case is not the size of the form but the degree of productivity of these suffixes; less productive is toward the lexical –direct causation end, whereas more productive is toward the morphological – periphrastic – indirect causation end.

The direction of the coverage of the base verb semantics is from the most inclusive syntactic type to the least inclusive lexical type through the morpho-syntactic and the morphological types with overlapping points in the directness domain between them. This follows the direction of clause integration proposed by Givón (1980, 2001), and more clearly Shibatani and Pardeshi's claim about the degree of morphological transparency of the causative element (2001:115): "A higher degree of morphological transparency correlates with higher degree of separability of elements corresponding to the two event segments constituting a causative situation."

7.2. Development of an action: active-middle

According to Shibatani (In preparation), the semantics of the middle voice has to do with the development of an action, that is, wherein the action itself develops beyond the agent (active) or is confined to the agent (middle)⁸. This distinction corresponds, basically, to the distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses, resulting formally in the active-middle opposition, which seems to be the basic opposition in voice attested in the literature (Andersen, 1991).

This section on the middle will contain the description of reflexives and reciprocals as well.

7.2.1. Reflexive

There have been two main senses of the term reflexive: (i) one referring to the function of marking two arguments of a verb as coreferential, and (ii) referring to morphological markers of coreferentiality. Kemmer (1993:44) defines a reflexive marker as: “a productive grammatical device that is used obligatorily to mark direct reflexive situations in at least the third person.” Warihío marks coreferentiality for third person with *ahpó* which means ‘be.swollen’:

- (64) ahpo-na=né panáta
 be.swollen-PRS=1SG.S cheek
 ‘My cheek is swollen.’

⁸ This main distinction concerning the development of an action is taken, in part, from Benveniste 1971’s concept of voice.

Otherwise the third person patient is not overtly expressed. However *ahpó* has other functions as a third person possessor or subject of subordinate clauses. Therefore, there is no distinct reflexive marker in Warihío.

7.2.1.1. Direct reflexives

The direct reflexive event is a situation where the roles of agent/experiencer and patient are portrayed by the same participant. In Warihío, there is no specific mark for a reflexive situation since all the patient pronoun forms for the three persons are used in other functions than coreferentiality with the agent.

(64a) *neé amó wewe-rú / tetemú-ru=ne*
 1SG.S 2SG.NS hit-PFV.EV / kick-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I hit you / kicked you.’

(64b) *no'ó tetemu-ru=ne /wewe-ru=ne*
 1SG.NS kick-PFV.EV=1SG.S / hit-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I kicked / hit myself.’

(64c) *waní ahpó me'yá-re*
 John 3.NS kill.sg-PFV
 ‘John killed himself.’

7.2.1.2. Indirect reflexives

The indirect reflexive situations comprise three roles; agent, patient, and recipient/beneficiary. The agent and the recipient are coreferential. As we said before, Warihío lacks a specific form that obligatory marks coreferentiality, even for third person. This is shown in the contrasts between (65a) and (65b), (66a) and (66b), and

between (67a) and (67b) where the same forms *no'ó* and *ahpó* are used as a possessor (65a)-(66a)-(67a) or as beneficiary/recipient (65b)-(66b)-(67b), respectively:

- (65a) *neé kari-tá-ru no'ó yeyé ičíó*
 1SG.S house-make-PFV.EV 1SG.NS mother BEN
 'I built a house for my mother.'
- (65b) *neé kari-tá-ru no'ó ičíó*
 1SG.S house-make-PFV.EV 1SG.NS BEN
 'I built a house for myself.'
- (66a) *markó kari-tá-re ahpó taná ičíó*
 Marcos house-make-PFV 3.NS son BEN
 'Marcos built a house for his son.'
- (66b) *markó kari-tá-re ahpó ičíó*
 Marcos house-make-PFV 3.NS BEN
 'Marcos built a house for himself.'
- (67a) *hustina ihkó-ke-re pií sipičá ahpó komáre*
 Agustina give-APPL-PFV one dress 3.NS comrade
 'Agustina gave her comrade a dress.'
- (67b) *hustina ahpó ihkó-ke-re pií sipičá*
 Agustina 3.NS give-APPL-PFV one dress
 'Agustina gave herself a dress.'

7.2.2. Reciprocals

The pronoun in the non-S form is used in the different types of reciprocal situations: prototypical, chaining, and natural reciprocals.

7.2.2.1. Prototypical reciprocal

(68a) teh~témari ahpó tetewá-re kečewéka
 PL~boy 3.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
 ‘The boys saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68b) aapóe ahpó tetewá-re kečewéka
 3PL.S 3.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
 ‘They saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68c) teemé=a tamó tetewá-re kečewéka
 1PL.S=EMPH 1PL.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
 ‘We saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68d) amóe tetewá-re-emé kečewéka
 2PL.NS see-PFV-2PL.S Quechehueca
 ‘You saw each other in Quechehueca.’

7.2.2.2. Chaining reciprocal

(69) yau-yáme mui-ré pipíi-pi=a ahpó pukamína
 dance-NMLZ enter.pl-PFV one-one=EMPH 3.NS behind
 ‘The dancers entered one after the other.’

7.2.2.3. Naturally reciprocal events

Naturally reciprocal events in Warihío can be coded as periphrastic constructions with the same pronoun for reflexives (70), or lexically coded (71):

- (70a) pedró waní ahpó komípa-re
 Peter John 3.NS struggle-PFV
 ‘Peter and John struggle with each other.’
- (70b) rolándo hustína ahpó natepá-ru močibámpo
 Rolando Agustina 3.NS meet-PFV.EV Mochibampo
 ‘Rolando and Agustina met each other in Mochibampo.’
- (71a) pedró maniwíri nasuá-re
 Peter Manuel fight-PFV
 ‘Peter and John fought.’
- (71b) pedró maniwíri nawésa-re
 Peter Manuel converse-PFV
 ‘Peter and Manuel conversed.’
- (71c) rupíta pedró pienátupa-re
 Lupita Peter reunite-PFV
 ‘Lupita and Peter reunited.’

7.2.2.4. Collective, group actions

For collective or group actions, the item *piená* ‘together’ is used:

- (72a) the~témari piená simpá-re
 PL~boy together go.pl-PFV
 ‘The boys left together.’
- (72b) tučíkí piená ní'ní-re owéte
 bird together fly-PFV toward.south
 ‘The birds flew to the south.’

- (72c) čuré simpá-re kawí-čí
 cholohuis go.pl-PFV hill-LOC
 ‘The cholohuis left for the hills.’

The use of the non-S form pronoun in the reflexive and reciprocal domain, and for the possessor and non-coreferential patient/recipient/beneficiary, shows that Warihío lacks a dedicated reflexive-marking system as it lacks a middle-marking system.

7.3. Termination of an action

Applicative constructions are seen as a valence increasing phenomenon by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:13), and they are described in morphosyntactic terms depending on whether the applicative derivation applies to an intransitive or to a transitive clause:

- (i) (a) Applicative applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a derived transitive.
- (b) The argument in underlying S function goes into A function in the applicative.
- (c) A peripheral argument (which could be stated in the underlying intransitive) is taken into the core, in O function.
- (d) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.
- (ii) (a) Applicative applies to an underlying transitive clause and maintains transitivity, but with an argument in a different semantic role filling the O

function.

- (b) The underlying A argument stays as is.
- (c) A peripheral argument (which could be explicitly stated in the underlying transitive) is taken into the core, in O function.
- (d) The argument which was in O function is moved out of the core into the periphery of the clause (and may be omissible).
- (e) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.

One example of (i) is given in (73b) and one example of (ii) is given in (74b):

- (73a) waní simi-ré tiendá-či
 John go-PFV store-LOC
 ‘John went to the store.’
- (73b) waní simi-ri-áči tiendá
 John go-PFV-LOC store
 ‘John went-to the store.’
- (74a) hustína pasu-ré muní no’ó ičíó
 Agustina cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
 ‘Agustina cooked beans for me.’
- (74b) hustína no’ó pasú-ke-re muní
 Agustina 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
 ‘Agustina cooked beans for me.’

The example in (73a) shows the intransitive non-applied version with the oblique argument *tiendáči* expressed, and (73b) the applied version where now the peripheral

argument is the core argument *tiendá* in O function and the verbal suffix *-áči* has been added. The same occurs in (74), while (74a) is the non-applied transitive version with the adjunct *no'ó ičió*, and (74b) the applied version with *no'ó* in O function and the verbal suffix *-ke*. Even though Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:16) insist on an integrated approach, that is, an approach covering the semantics, syntax, and discourse/pragmatic aspects of the valence changing constructions, such as applicative constructions, the criteria given in (i) and (ii) do not allow us to show the differences -besides their transitive feature- between (73b) and (74b), nor the functional similarities that applicative constructions may have with, for instance, benefactive, external possession, ethical dative, and adversative passive constructions (Shibatani 1994, 1996).

Shibatani (1996) considers (73b) and (74b) to be two different constructions; the former is a true applicative construction and the latter is a benefactive construction. Shibatani claims that these two constructions are built based on two different schemas; the true applicative is based in the transitive prototype schema and the benefactive on the 'give' construction schema. Applicative constructions, cross-linguistically, take mainly intransitive verbs and the benefactive constructions mainly transitive verbs.

On other hand, Shibatani (In preparation) in his functional conceptualization of voice as grammatical reflections of the different evolutionary phases of an action, considers the parameter for the termination of the action. He says that "the action may develop further than its normal course such that the effect is registered in an entity other than the direct participants of the event." This functional parameter allows us to reunite in

one and the same functional domain the related but different constructions signaled before. In Warihío, we can reunite the benefactive, possessor raising, ethical dative, and applicative constructions under this domain of Voice, with the first three phenomena sharing, interestingly, the same construction with the verbal suffix *-ke*. I will proceed to describe these constructions in Warihío in the following subsections.

7.3.1. The *V-ke* construction

The construction with the verbal suffix *-ke* can cover different but related phenomena such as the benefactive, external possessor, and ethical dative.

7.3.1.1. Benefactives

Shibatani (1996:173-74) proposes for the ‘give’ schema the following properties:

(75) *The ‘give’ schema*

Structure: [NP₁ NP₂ NP₃ GIVE]

NP₁ = coded as subject

NP₂ = coded either as a primary object or as a dative indirect object

NP₃ = coded either as a secondary object or as a direct object

Semantics: NP₁ CAUSES NP₂ TO HAVE NP₃; i.e.

NP₁ = human agent, NP₂ = human goal, NP₃ = object theme

NP₂ exercises potential possessive control over NP₃

NP₁ creates the possessive situation on behalf of NP₂

Let's examine the following example:

- (76a) *hustína pasu-ré muni*
 Agustina cook-PFV beans
 'Agustina cooked beans.'
- (76b) *hustína pasu-ré muni kukučí ičíó*
 Agustina cook-PFV beans children BEN
 'Agustina cooked beans for the children.'
- (76c) *hustína pasú-ke-re muni kukučí*
 Agustina cook-BEN-PFV beans children
 'Agustina cooked beans for the children.'

While (76a) is a prototypical transitive event, and (76b) a transitive event with a benefactive oblique nominal, (76c) is a construction that follows completely Dixon and Aikhenvald's criteria for transitive applicative constructions, but what matters is that (76c) is a benefactive construction easily construed according to the 'give' schema.

Since Warihío is a language whose core nominal participants are not case marked, the constituent order is flexible, and there is no verbal agreement, it is difficult to establish the grammatical status of NP₂. Passivization of a benefactive construction where the human goal, that is NP₂, is in pronominal form could help us on this issue. Warihío has two sets of personal pronouns: one form for subject of main clause, and another form for patient/theme, recipient, possessor, reflexive, and subject of subordinate clauses. Example (77) shows the subject/non-subject distinction:

- (77a) *hustína pasu-ré muni no'ó ičió*
 Agustina cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
 'Agustina cooked beans for me.'
- (77b) *hustína no'ó pasú-ke-re muni*
 Agustina 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
 'Agustina cooked beans for me.'
- (77c) *pasu-ke-ré-tu=ne muni (hustína-e)*
 cook-BEN-PFV-PASS=1SG.S beans Agustina-INS
 Lit. 'I was cooked beans (by Agustina).'
- (77d) *muni no'ó pasu-ke-ré-tu (hustína-e)*
 beans 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV-PASS Agustina-INS
 'Beans were cooked for me (by Agustina).'

In (77a), the human pronominal goal codified obliquely with the benefactive postposition *ičió* is in the non-subject pronominal form *no'ó*; in (77b), it is a core argument still in the non-subject pronominal form *no'ó*. But in the passivized constructions, the human benefactive can occur as the subject in the bound form *=ne* '1SG.S' (77c), as well as the inanimate patient *muni* 'beans' (77d).

It is important to note that in Warihío all third person participants can be omitted with a perfectly grammatical benefactive construction (78a) or its passivized version (78b):

- (78a) *pasú-ke-re*
 cook-BEN-PFV
 'She/he cooked it/them for him/her/them.'

- (78b) pasu-ké-re-tu
 cook-BEN-PFV-PASS
 Lit. ‘She/he was cooked something (by someone).’

Shibatani (1996:169-70), trying to account for the cross-linguistic variations in benefactive constructions, proposes a scale arranged according to the degrees of ease of benefactive formation exemplified with the following English sentences:

- (79a) I bought Mary a book
 (79b)*I opened Mary the door
 (79c)*I closed Mary the door
 (79d)*I swept Mary the garden
 (79e)*I killed Mary a centipede (a-e: transitives)
 (79f)*I danced Mary
 (79g)*I sang Mary (f-g: intransitive cognate object verbs)
 (79h)*I went Mary to the market (true intransitive)

Languages vary where they place the cut off points. What has been observed is that there is much variation and inconsistency in benefactive formation based on intransitive verbs. In Warihío, even some true intransitive based benefactive constructions are easy to construe given the appropriate context:

- (80a) markó kore-tá-ke-re hustína
 Marcos fence-make-BEN-PFV Agustina
 ‘Marcos built Agustina a fence.’

- (80b) waho-na-ké-ru=ne puetá maniwíri
 open-TZR-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S door Manuel
 ‘I opened the door for Manuel.’
- (80c) yetepa-ké-ru=ne puetá maniwíri
 close-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S door Manuel
 ‘I closed the door for Manuel.’
- (80d) ihpiči-ké-ru=ne hustína pete-čí
 clean-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S Agustina house-LOC
 ‘I cleaned the house for Agustina.’
- (80e) ko'ye-ké-ru=ne ehté yomá rolándo
 kill .opl-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S lice QUANT Rolando
 ‘I killed all the lice for Rolando.’ / ‘I killed all Rolando’s lice.’
- (80f) yau-ké-ru=ne yomá tukawári maría
 dance-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S QUANT night Mary
 ‘I danced all night long for Mary.’
- (80g) maniwíri no'ó wikahtá-ke-ru yomá aarí
 Manuel 1SG.NS sing-BEN-PFV.EV QUANT afternoon
 ‘Manuel sang all afternoon for me.’
- (80h) kuitá no'ó koči-pa-ké-pa-re
 child 1SG.NS sleep-INCH-BEN-INCH-PFV
 ‘The child felt asleep on me.’ (Thanks God! He was crying a lot.)
- (80i) no'ó newí-ke-re maría maará
 1SG.NS marry-BEN-PFV Mary daughter
 ‘Mary’s daughter got married to me.’ (I wanted her to marry me.)

One benefactive construction impossible to form is that based in the intransitive verb *siminá* ‘go’:

- (81a) simi-rú=ne pahkó-či
 go-PFV.EV=1SG.S feast-LOC
 ‘I went to the feast.’
- (81b) simi-rú=ne pahkó-či maría ičíó
 go-PFV.EV=1SG.S feast-LOC Mary BEN
 ‘I went to the feast for Mary.’
- (81c) *simi-ké-ru-ne pahkó-či maría

What is very interesting is that in Warihío you can have benefactive constructions based on a semantico-syntactic ‘a-transitive’ verb like *yukuná* ‘rain’:

- (82a) tapaná yuku-ré
 yesterday rain-PFV
 ‘Yesterday it rained.’
- (82b) tapaná no'ó yukú-ke-ru
 yesterday 1SG.NS rain-BEN-PFV
 ‘Yesterday it rained for me.’

I think that all languages that allow benefactive constructions based on some true intransitive verbs such as Chichewa ‘die’ and ‘run’ and Spanish ‘sleep’, ‘die’, and ‘run away’ show more specific semantics, contrasting with the more ‘general’ semantics of the verb ‘go’. The semantics of the verbs signaled for Chichewa and Spanish allow a benefactive construction with benefactive/malefactive reading given the social relationships of the participants in the event.

Nevertheless, Warihío confirms Shibatani's claim (1996:191) that "benefactive constructions obtain more easily for the situation closer to what is described by the 'give' constructions than for ones that are remote from the schema." Actually, the very same verb *ihkókena* 'give' seems to have the benefactive verbal suffix *-ke* grammaticalized to some degree, since it never occurs without it:

(83a) waní ihkó-ke-re píí sipičá maría
 John give-BEN-PFV one dress Mary
 'John gave Mary a dress.'

(83b) ?? waní ihkó-re píí sipičá maría

(84a) waní ihkó-ke-re píí karí ahpó no'nó
 John give-BEN-PFV one house 3SG.NS father
 'John gave a house to his parents.'

(84b) ?? waní ihkó-re píí karí ahpó no'nó

This contrasts with other ditransitive verbs with no 'give' semantics such as *itočéna* 'send':

(85a) itočé-ru=ne kawái waní
 send-PFV.EV=1SG.S horse John
 'I sent a horse to John.'

(85b) ?? itočé-ké-ru=ne kawái waní

This could suggest that effectively, all benefactive constructions, which in Warihío are formally marked, mainly by the verbal suffix *-ke*, are construed according to the 'give'

schema where the actual verb *ihkókēna* ‘give’ seems to have integrated the ‘give’ meaning of *-ke* into the verb.

7.3.1.2. External possessor

External possession constructions are those “in which a semantic possessor-possessum relation is expressed by coding the possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum” (Payne and Barshi, 1999:1). For external possessor constructions, the same verbal suffix *-ke* is used. Where the possessor noun becomes the core argument, it can be passivized ((86c), (87d)-(87f)).

- (86a) *maniwíri ihčorewapáte-re waní pantaóni-ra*
 Manuel get.dirty-PFV John jeans-POS
 ‘Manuel got dirty John’s jeans.’ (John’s jeans were over the chair.)
- (86b) *maniwíri ihčorewapaté-ke-re pantaóni waní*
 Manuel get.dirty-BEN-PFV jeans John
 ‘Manuel got dirty John’s jeans.’ (John was wearing his jeans)
- (86c) *waní ihčorewapate-ke-ré-tu pantaóni*
 John dirt-BEN-PFV-PASS jeans
 Lit. ‘John was get dirty his jeans.’
- (87a) *maniwíri me’yá-re waní kuitá-ra*
 Manuel kill.sg-PFV John child-POS
 ‘Manuel killed John’s son.’
- (87b) *maniwíri me’yá-ke-re kuitá waní*
 Manuel kill.sg-BEN-PFV child John
 ‘Manuel killed John’s son.’

function.

- (b) The underlying A argument stays as is.
- (c) A peripheral argument (which could be explicitly stated in the underlying transitive) is taken into the core, in O function.
- (d) The argument which was in O function is moved out of the core into the periphery of the clause (and may be omissible).
- (e) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.

One example of (i) is given in (73b) and one example of (ii) is given in (74b):

- (73a) waní simi-ré tiendá-či
John go-PFV store-LOC
'John went to the store.'
- (73b) waní simi-ri-áči tiendá
John go-PFV-LOC store
'John went-to the store.'
- (74a) hustína pasu-ré muní no'ó ičíó
Agustina cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
'Agustina cooked beans for me.'
- (74b) hustína no'ó pasú-ke-re muní
Agustina 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
'Agustina cooked beans for me.'

The example in (73a) shows the intransitive non-applied version with the oblique argument *tiendáči* expressed, and (73b) the applied version where now the peripheral

- (89a) *kuitá čiwá-re*
 child hit-PFV
 ‘The child hit himself.’
- (89b) *kuitá no'ó čiwá-ke-re*
 child 1SG.NS hit-BEN-PFV
 ‘The child hit himself on me.’
- (90a) *newí-re maría taná-ra*
 marry-PFV Mary son-CLF
 ‘Mary’s son got married.’
- (90b) *no'ó newí-ke-re maría taná*
 1SG.NS marry-BEN-PFV Mary son
 ‘Mary’s son got married to someone else on me.’ (I wanted him to marry me.)

7.3.2. Other applicatives

The postpositions *-či* ‘locative’, *-e* ‘instrumental’ and *-ma* ‘comitative’ can occur as applicative verbal suffixes. There is a semantic contrast (not always very clear) between the applied and the non-applied version of the construction.

7.3.2.1. The locative applicative *-ači*

- (91a) *waní simi-ré tiendá-či*
 John go-PFV store-LOC
 ‘John went to the store.’
- (91b) *waní simi-ri-ači tiendá*
 John go-PFV-LOC store
 ‘John went-to the store.’ (He stayed there for period longer than normal.)

- (91c) *waní simi-ré tiendá
- (92a) waní wera-ré sikorí mesa-čí
John set-PFV pot table-LOC
'John put the pot on the table.'
- (92b) wera-ri-áči sikorí mesá
set-PFV-LOC pot table
'Did he put the pot on the table?'
- (92c) *waní wera-ré sikorí mesá
- (93a) no'o te'čí simi-ré awasó-čí
1SG.NS uncle go-PFV Alamos-LOC
'My uncle went to Alamos.'
- (93b) no'o te'čí simi-ri-áči awasó
1SG.NS uncle go-PFV-LOC Alamos
'My uncle went to Alamos (and returned).'/ 'Did my uncle go to Alamos?'
- (93c) *no'o te'čí simi-ré awasó
- (94a) no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyé-ma
1SG.NS daughter walk 1SG.NS mother-COM
'My daughter lives with my mother.' (Permanently.)
- (94b) no'ó maará ohoék-ači no'ó yeyé
1SG:NS daughter walk-APPL 1SG:NS mother
'My daughter lives at my mother.' (Temporarily.)
- (94c) *no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyé
- (94d) *no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyéči

7.3.2.2. The instrumental applicative *-e*

- (95a) *hustína wičo-na wakirá haóni-e/ooná-e*
 Agustina wash-PRS shirt soap-INS/ salt-INS
 ‘Agustina washes the shirts with soap/salt.’
- (95b) *hustína wičo-ná-e wakirá haóni/ooná*
 Agustina wash-PRS-APPL shirt soap/salt
 ‘Does Agustina wash the shirts with soap/salt?’ (unexpected instrument)
- (95c) ??*hustína wičo-na wakirá haóni/ooná*
- (96a) *rolándo ko'á-ni seeká-e/hirówa-e*
 Rolando eat-PRS hand-INS/ spoon-INS
 ‘Rolando eats by hand/spoon.’
- (96b) ??*rolándo ko'a-ní-e seeká/hirówa*
 Rolando eat-PRS-APPL hand/spoon
 ??‘Rolando eats his hands/spoon.’
- (96c) ??*rolándo ko'a-ní-e aaróso seeká/hirówa*
 Rolando eat-PRS-APPL rice hand/spoon
 ??‘Rolando eats his rice and hands/spoon.’
- (96c) ??*rolándo ko'á-ni seeká/hirówa*
- (97a) ??*rolándo ko'á-ni suhtú-e*
 Rolando eat-PRS nails-INS
 ??‘Rolando eats with his nails.’
- (97b) *rolándo ko'a-ní-e suhtú*
 Rolando eat-PRS-APPL hand
 ‘Rolando eats his nails.’

7.3.2.3. The comitative applicative *-ma*

- (98a) *maría simi-ré obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma*
 Mary go-PFV Obregón 3.NS mother-COM
 ‘Mary went to Obregon with her mother.’
- (98b) *maría simi-ré-ma obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma*
 Mary go-PFV-COM Obregón 3.NS mother
 ‘Did Mary go to Obregon with her mother?’

7.3.3. Conclusion

Warihío data has shown in this subsection that talk about applicatives mainly as a valency increasing device (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000:13) is not enough. We have to determine in which way the new core participant is affected. Since this participant is not directly involved in the event, saying that the valency increased by one is incomplete. We need a more semantic based approach in talking of applicative constructions.

7.4. Summary

Next, I schematize the voice phenomena in Warihío in their prototypical constructions.

Schema 2. Warihío voice parameters: developmental phases of the action

	Origin	Development	Termination	
MID	P _a	V		
ACT	P _a	V	P _b	
CAUS	P _a ←	V- <i>te</i>	(P _c)	
PASS (P _a - <i>e</i>)		V- <i>tu</i>	P _b	
BEN, EP, ED	P _a	V- <i>ke</i>	(P _b)	→ P _{obl}
APPL:LOC	P _a	V- <i>ači</i>		→ P _{obl}
APPL:INS	P _a	V- <i>e</i>	P _b	→ P _{obl}

Following Shibatani (In preparation) in his conceptualization of voice as the different phases of the action, I locate the core constituents of the clause in the middle of the schema. The arrows to the left and to the right are extensions of the origin and termination of the action respectively. The participants P_a and P_b are labeled not with the intention of being interpreted as Subject and Object, but they are telling us that they are the two different core participants in an event, let's say the origin and the termination of

the action. On other hand P_{obl} is a participant expressed obliquely. The participants in parenthesis are optional.

Schema 2 is not as precise and complete as I would like it, but it gives us a general idea of how Warihío voice in its most frequent and prototypical instances is expressed . For example:

- (i) It is not shown in the schema what was said through the text, that Warihío may have lexical causatives, passives, middles, and benefactives: that is, constructions with a verb and participants with no extra mark. The middle is represented with a Participant and a Verb showing with this that the origin and termination of the action are the same participant that is playing two roles. This representation of the middle is identical to that of an intransitive clause; in fact, we could consider all active intransitive events in Warihío as instances of middle.
- (ii) In the case of causatives, the extension of the origin of the action (it should) illustrates that this external origin is now a core participant of the clause, something not very explicit.
- (iii) The same occurs with BEN, EP, ED, and APPL with the extension of the action to a P_{obl} . When the verbal suffix occurs, the original P_{obl} is now expressed as a P, which is not self-explained in the schema.

7.5. Voice in Warihío

It seems that all constructions described throughout this chapter, whether they show special verbal suffixes or not, are signaling a greater or lesser involvement of a (some) participant(s) more than others in the different phases of the event.

The degree of participation of lexical semantics, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and knowledge of the world varies in the different grammatical phenomena that were included in this chapter on Voice. What is clear is that in many instances of Voice, Warihío speakers tend to rest their communicative intent more in the lexical semantics-pragmatics-knowledge of the world than in the forms. This is very consistent with other facts of the grammar such as the lacking of determiners in nouns, only two sets of pronouns, no case marking in core nouns, no verbal agreement, and a flexible constituent order. All this tends to give Warihío a more pragmatically shaped structure.

CHAPTER 8

COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with complex sentences. A complex sentence is a construction that contains at least two distinct predicative units. Grammatically, Warihío complex sentences are divided into three main classes: (a) class 1 involves two juxtaposed clauses with finite verbs and person/number morphemes; (b) class 2 involve: a main finite clause and a dependent clause with a less finite verb and a subject, if a pronoun, is in the non-S form; and, (c) class 3 formed by a main clause and a dependent clause with a less finite verb and a coreferential, necessarily omitted subject. These three classes of complex sentences will be described in the following subsections.

8.1. Class 1 complex sentences

Warihío lacks conjunctors such as the English *and*, *or*, *but*.¹ Instead, all clauses coding a coordinate relation are expressed by a sequence of clauses and the verbs show a subject, if a pronoun for first and second person, is in the S-form. Two clauses with

¹ However, in narratives some words like *weikáo*, *weikaóba*, *eikó*, are translated as ‘then’ and *napé* as ‘however’ functioning as elements of interclausal coherence. Besides, Warihío people start to use some Spanish borrowings such as *o* ‘or’, *y* ‘and’, *ni* ‘nor’, *poke* ‘because’.

same/different participants, same/different events and same/different time can be in juxtaposition, with only an intermediate pause:

- (1a) [muú yau-ná] [neé wikahtá-ma]
 2SG.S dance-PRS 1SG.S sing-FUT
 ‘You are dancing and I am going to sing.’
- (1b) [muú yau-ná] [neé wikahtá-ni]
 2SG.S dance-PRS 1SG.S sing-PRS
 ‘You dance and I sing.’
- (1c) [neé ko'kó-ma] [muú neroínoa-ma]
 1SG.S eat-FUT 2SG.S drink-FUT
 ‘I will eat and you will drink.’
- (1d) [neé ko'kó-re] [muú neroínoa-ma]
 1SG.S eat-PFV 2SG.S drink-FUT
 ‘I ate and you will drink.’
- (1e) [ko'kó-ma=ne] [neroinoa-ma=ne]
 eat-FUT=1SG.S drink-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘I will eat and drink.’
- (1f) [ko'kó-ma=ne][neroínoa-ru=ne]
 1SG.S eat-FUT drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S
 ‘I will eat and I drank already.’

There is a group of coordinate sentences in which, although formed by two grammatically independent sentences, the second sentence shows a certain degree of semantic dependency:

- (2a) [ariwátopi poi-pá-ni=ne] [ki=koči-ná=ne kuwé]
 early lay.down-INCH-PRS=1SG.S NEG=sleep-PRS=1SG.S soon
 ‘(Although) I go to bed early, I don’t fall asleep right away.’
- (2b) [aari asi-rú=ne] [iwéta pahí ase-pá=ne siirá]
 late arrive-PFV.EV=1SG.S still yet arrive-INCH=1SG.S chair
 ‘(Although) I arrived late, there were still chairs.’
- (2c) [nanéto=ne] [ki=amó kupáwa-ni=ne]
 remember=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS need-PRS=1SG.S
 ‘I remembered (that) I don’t need you.’
- (2d) [temé nané-na kawé][puú tamó nasuá-teme]
 1PL.S know-PRS well D.D 1PL.NS fight-1PL.S
 ‘We are aware (that) there is going to be a problem.’
- (2e) [nané-ru=ne] [meeré inuwé-mera=mu eksámen]
 know-PFV.EV=1SG.S tomorrow have-FUT=2SG.S test
 ‘I remembered (that) you have a test tomorrow.’
- (2f) [waní čaní] [yau-nari-ata=ne]
 John say dance-DES-QUOT=1SG.S
 ‘John said (that) I wanted to dance.’
- (2g) [apoé čaní][temé noka-ri-áta wewe-ká]
 3SG.S say 1PL.S move-PFV-QUOT hit-PTCP
 ‘He said (that) we hit him.’

The semantic dependency of the second clause is probably derived from the semantic type of the main verb ((2c)-(2g)) or because the second clause is providing some kind of unexpected information ((2a)-(2b)).

Two full-clauses in apposition can produce a syntactic construction with a clause to the left being the main unit and the clause to the right, the semantically dependent unit. The subject pronoun in the second clause can be omitted when coreferential (3):

- (3a) [waní kawéra-ni] [i'wéta pahí kawé tekih pána-ni]
 John be.glad-PRS energy still well work
 'John is glad that he can still work.'
- (3b) [waní yuwésu-na] [ki=tekih pána-ni]
 John be.sad-PRS NEG=work
 'John is sad that he is not able to work.'

In a sequence of more than two clauses, the continuity or discontinuity of participants and/or events are marked in different ways. For example in (4) the ordinal *neipá* 'second', 'last' is used after the finite initial clause to demonstrate continuity in participant and thematic event, even though the following clause explicitly marks the participant with a bound pronoun:

- (4) ehpé pusa-rú=ne
 today wake.up-PFV.EV=1SG.S

 neipá uhpu-rú=ne
 last bathe-PFV.EV=1SG.S

 wakirá-ta=ne
 clothes-make=1SG.S

tekihpaña-ru=ne

work-PFV.EV=1SG.S

‘Today I woke up, bathed, I got dressed and I worked.’

In (5) the sequencing of the events is marked with a set of tense/aspect suffixes ordered according to the sequence of the real time events:

(5) ehpé pusa-rú=ne

today wake.up-PFV.EV=1SG.S

uhpu-rú=ne

bathe-PFV.EV=1SG.S

ehpé-o ko’á-ni=ne

now-EMPH eat-PRS=1SG.S

weikačo-a aarí tekihpana-má=ne

a.while-EMPH late work-FUT=1SG.S

‘Today I woke up, bathed, I am eating in this moment and later, I will work.’

The use of the negative clitic *ki=* is important in switching the event. Example (6) shows a sequence of desiderative constructions with all the events oriented to the future sharing the same participant, where initial, medial and final clauses are marked in the same way:

(6) umá-nare=ne

run-DES=1SG.S

wikahtá-nare=ne

sing-DES=1SG.S

yau-náre=ne

dance-DES=1SG.S

koči-naré=ne

sleep-DES=1SG.S

‘I want to run, sing, dance and sleep.’

In contrast, (7) shows a shift of the last event with the negative mark *ki=* in the final clause:

(7) umá-nare=ne

run-DES=1SG.S

wikahtá-nare=ne

sing-DES=1SG.S

yau-náre=ne

dance-DES=1SG.S

ki=koči-naré=ne

NEG=sleep-DES=1SG.S

‘I want to run, sing, and dance, but not sleep.’

The shift can be marked, actually non-marked, by the absence of the negative clitic where all the preceding clauses are negative:

- (8) ki=umá-nare=ne
 NEG=run-DES=1SG.S
 ki=wikahtá-nare=ne
 NEG=sing-DES=1SG.S
 ki=yau-náre=ne
 NEG=dance-DES=1SG.S
 kočí-naré=ne
 sleep-DES=1SG.S
 ‘I don’t want to run, to sing, or to dance, but to sleep.’

The presence vs. absence of the negative element *ki=* seems to give an adversative coordination reading.

Coordinate nouns show no conjunctive in Warihío as illustrated in (9):

- (9) pedró maría e'~ená-re pahkó-či
 Peter Mary PL~come-PFV party-LOC
 yau-ré
 dance-PFV
 pa'á piarí no~nowá-re
 already early PL~move.pl-PFV
 ‘Peter and Mary came to the party, they danced and left early.’

All clauses in (9) are finite with zero anaphora in the medial and final clauses. Initial and final clause verbs are reduplicated signaling with this the plurality of the participant *pedró maría* ‘John and Mary’.

There is a group of juxtaposed constructions where one sentence conveys the ‘reason’ or the ‘consequence’ of the event coded in the other sentence. The typical construction is usually a habitual event. In (10a)-(10c), we observe routine activities about which there is an evaluative predication:

- (10a) [me'eri-ni=a] [kí=kawéruma]
 kill-HAB=EMPH NEG=good
 ‘Killing is bad.’
- (10b) [u'má-ni=a seenepí piarí] [kawé-hu tamó ičio]
 run-HAB=EMPH every day good-COP 1PL.NS BEN
 ‘Running everyday is good for the health.’
- (10c) [i'wá oh~oé-ni=a] [kí=kawé-hu katisá tehkí-hu]
 here ITER~walk-HAB=EMPH NEG=good-COP many work-COP
 ‘Living here causes many problems.’
- (10d) [meeri-ni=á kowí amó puhkú] [ki=tehkí ini-ré]
 kill-PRS=EMPH pig 2SG.NS CLF NEG=work be-PFV
 ‘Killing your pig just now was easy.’

The main clause in (10a) contains an adjective predicative element, in (10b)-(10c) a copulative phrase marked by the suffix *-hu* ‘be’, and in (10d) the copulative verb *ininá* ‘be’. We can find constructions like the following:

- (11) [werumá kuú tehpéna-ni] [tamó intápa-ni tiempó]
 big tree cut-HAB 1PL.NS take-HAB time
 ‘To cut a big tree takes us a long time.’

In (11), the verb of the second sentence is transitive and has *tamó* ‘us’ as P. The first sentence *werumá kuú tehpénani* ‘to cut a big tree’ functioning as the omitted A of the second sentence *tamó intápani tiempó* ‘(it) takes us long time’.

8.2. Class 2 complex sentences

This class of complex sentences involves: (i) two clauses; one main and independent and the other dependent, (ii) the subject of the dependent clause may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main clause, if it is not coreferential and a pronoun, this is coded by the non-S form pronoun, (iii) the dependent verb is less finite than the main verb showing one of these suffixes: *-i ~ -ai, -o, -sa, -pa, -ači, -a, -ame, -míčio* and, (iv) some free elements such as *neipá* ‘last’, *ke'ečo* ‘before’, *pahčá* ‘first’, *čítia* ‘like’, *wa'apí* ‘same place’ occur in some of these constructions.

In general, the subordinate adverbial clauses described in Thompson and Longacre (1985) belong to the class 2 complex sentences in Warihío.

8.2.1. Time

For temporal sequence constructions, Warihío uses independent morphemes such as *neipá* ‘last’, *ke'ečó* ‘before’ with three structural choices: (i) an imperfective suffix in the adverbial verb *-oi* ~ *-ai* (12a), (ii) a special suffix *-so* (12b), or (iii) the suffix *-so* plus the inchoative suffix *-pa* (12c)-(12d):

(12a) *temé neipá simpá-ma [waníta wa'á kahtí-oi mesa-čí]*
 1PL.S last go.pl-FUT Juanita there be.seated.sg-IPFV Mesa-LOC
 ‘We will go there after Juanita is in La Mesa Colorada.’

(12b) *temé neipá asi-má [asi-só wanita]*
 1PL.S last arrive-FUT arrive-SUB Juanita
 ‘We will arrive after Juanita have arrived.’

(12c) *neipá yau-má=ni-a [amó yau-só-pa]*
 last dance-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH 2SG.NS dance-SUB-INCH
 ‘I will dance after you dance.’

(12d) *neipá yau-má=ni-a [amó wikahtá-so-pa]*
 last dance-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH 2SG.NS sing-SUB-INCH
 ‘I will dance after you sing.’

In the examples in (12a)-(12d), we observe that the independent morpheme *neipá* ‘last’ occurs toward the left of the verb of the main clause. The non-coreferential pronoun in

the dependent clauses in (12c)-(12d) is in the non-S form. The order of the constituents in the dependent clause containing nominal participants (12a)-(12b) is not fixed (cf. sections 5.1.2.5.2 and 5.1.2.5.4.1.1).

For the temporal sequence involving *ke'ečó* 'before', this element tends to occur between the main clause and the dependent clause:

- (13a) *temé simpá-ma [ke'ečó en-óí waníta mesa-čí]*
 1PL.S go.pl-FUT before come-IPFV Juanita Mesa-loc
 'We will go before Juanita is in La Mesa Colorada.'
- (13b) *waní penihpá-re ringó naiwá-ka [ke'ečó kahu-yái sekundária]*
 John learn-PFV English speak-PTCP before finish-IPFV high.school
 'John learnt English before finishing high school.'
- (13c) *pedró simi-ré [ke'ečó maría asi-yóí]*
 Peter go-PFV before Mary arrive-IPFV
 'Peter left before Mary arrived.'
- (13d) *maría simi-ré [ke'ečó pedró asi-yóí]*
 Mary go-PFV before Peter arrive-IPFV
 'Mary left before Peter arrived.'

Actually, *neipá* 'last' and *ke'ečó* 'before' occur before their respective verbs.

Sometimes an emphasis in the order of the events can be added with the morpheme *pahčá* 'first' in the main clause:

- (13e) waní pahčá naki-ré sa'pá ke'ečó [koa-yái muní]
 John first want-PFV meat before eat-IPFV beans
 'John first wanted the meat before eating beans.'

To signal an overlapping of the main event and the adverbial event, *amurí* 'soon' is used:

- (14) maría asi-ré [amurí pedró simi-yói]
 Mary arrive- PFV soon Peter go-IPFV
 'Mary arrived when Peter was leaving.'

8.2.2. Location

Locative dependent clauses in Warihío have the same construction as (headless) relative clauses:

- (15a) amó teté-ma=ne [kantína yasa-ri-áči]
 2SG.NS see-FUT=1SG.S bar be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC
 'I will see you where the bar was.'
- (15b) rúpe nahawí-na kantína-či [amó yasa-ri-áči]
 Lupe drink-PRS bar-LOC 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC
 'Lupe is drinking in the bar where you were.'
- (15c) amó teté-ma=ne [kantína yasi-mi-áči]
 2SG.NS see-FUT=1SG.S bar be.seated.sg-FUT-LOC
 'I will see you where the bar will be.'

- (15d) waní oi-ná ihkwéra-či [no'ó yasa-ri-áči]
 John walk-PRS school-LOC 1SG.NS be.seated.sg.-PFV-LOC
 'John goes to the school where I studied.'
- (15e) kuitá te'é-na [kowí oyé-ri-ači]
 child play-PRS pig tie-PFV-LOC
 'The child is playing where the pig was tied.'
- (15f) waní yasi-náre [amó yasa-ri-áči]
 John be.seated.sg-DES 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC
 'John wants to sit where you were sitting.'
- (15g) neé koči-náre [amó koči-yači]
 1SG.S sleep-DES 2SG.NS sleep-LOC
 'I want to sleep where you sleep.'
- (15h) rupe nawahí-na [pedró meri-ré-tu-ači]
 Lupe drink-PRS Peter kill-PFV-PASS-LOC
 'Lupe is drinking where Pedro was killed.'

8.2.3. Manner

The manner dependent clause is signaled by the morpheme *čitiá* 'like'. This is the same marker that occurs in comparative constructions. The element *čitiá* appears inside the dependent clause:

- (16a) apoé naiwá-ni [čopekiáme čitiá]
 3SG.S speak-PRS cold like
 'She speaks as if she were cold.'

- (16b) takihúpa karéta [amó čitiá tuyé-tia]
 push cart 2SG.NS like say-QUOT
 ‘Push the cart like I told you.’
- (16c) no'ó yeyé pasu-ná muní [ahpó ye'yé čitiá penihpáte-ri-a]
 1SG.NS mother cook-HAB beans 3SG.NS mother like teach-PFV-EMPH
 ‘My mother cooks beans like her mother taught her.’

8.2.4. Conditional

In the case of conditional clauses in Warihío, these precede the main clause. The verb in the dependent clause bears the suffix *-so*, and the pronouns have the non-S form:

- (17a) [ihpiči-só amó karí] ihto-má=ne bwaire-či
 clean-SUB 2SG.NS house take-FUT=1SG.S party-LOC
 ‘If you clean the house, I will take you to the party.’
- (17b) [amó wikahtá-so] yau-má=ne
 2SG.NS sing-SUB dance-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘If you sing, I will dance.’
- (17c) [amó muní tetehpú-so] neé pasu-má
 2SG.NS beans clean-SUB 1SG.S cook-FUT
 ‘If you clean the beans, I will cook them.’
- (17d) [yuki-só] simi-má=ne kusí-tere
 rain-SUB go-FUT=1SG.S woods-between
 ‘If it’s raining, I will go to the woods.’

The subject in the conditional clause is omitted when it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause:

- (18) [simi-só wairé-či] tetei-má=mu pedró
 go-SUB party-loc see-fut=2sg:s Peter
 ‘If you go to the party you will see Peter.’

The dependent verb can have attached the negative clitic *ki=* plus the suffix *-so*:

- (19a) [ki=yuki-só] pahko-ta-puápu
 NEG=rain-SUB feast-make-FUT.PL
 ‘Only if it does not rain, we will have the feast.’
- (19b) [ki=amó kahu-só taréa] amó kahtiwá-ma=ne
 NEG=2SG.NS finish-SUB homework 2SG.NS punish-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘Only if you don’t finish your homework, I will punish you.’

Concessive conditional clauses make use of an extra mark *wa'apí* ‘same place’, appearing after the dependent verb:

- (20a) [yuki-só wa'apí] si-má=ne
 rain-SUB same.place go-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘Even if it rains, I will go out.’
- (20b) [tatá-e-so wa'apí] wakirá-ta-ma=ne
 hot-INS-SUB same.place shirt-make-FUT=1SG.S
 ‘Even if it is hot, I will wear the shirt.’

8.2.5. V-*sa* + V

The sequence in (21) shows an adverbial initial clause, and *neipá* ‘last’ precedes the final finite clause:

- (21) *waní ko'ko-sá muní*
 John eat-SUB beans

ihí-re serewésa
 drink-PFV beer

neipá wa'ási koči-pá-re
 last there sleep-INCH-PFV
 ‘After eating beans, John drank beer and then fell asleep.’

We observe in (21) that there is a zero anaphora for third person *waní* ‘John’ in the last two clauses.

There is a construction, very similar to the conditional constructions above, that make use of the suffix *-sa*. In this construction, the main verb shows the aspect/tense - *mera* ‘POTENTIAL’ or *-ma* ‘FUTURE’, producing a hypothetical-contrafactual sense:

- (22a) [*tetewí-sa pedró*] *wewe-méra=mu*
 see-SUB Peter hit-POT=2SG.S
 ‘If you were to see Peter, you would hit him.’ (But you didn’t)

- (22b) [riikó iní-sa] amó tari-ké-ma=ne karí
 rich be-SUB 2SG.NS buy-APPL-FUT=1SG.S house
 ‘If I were rich, I would buy a house for you.’ (But, I am not)
- (26c) [simi-sá pahkó-či] yau-mí=mu waní aháma
 go-SUB feast-LOC dance-FUT=2SG.S John with
 ‘If you had gone to the party, you would have danced with John.’ (But you didn’t)
- (26d) [tari-sá sipičá] čuča-mí=ne ehpé
 buy-SUB dress put.on-FUT=1SG.S now
 ‘If I had bought the dress, I would have put it on.’ (But I hadn’t)

8.2.6. Nominalized dependent clauses: the verbal suffixes *-(a)me*, *-a*

The nominalized dependent constructions show a main finite verb and a nominalized dependent verb. The nominalizer suffixes are *-ame* and *-a*.

The examples in (27) show a dependent clause with a verb marked by the nominalizer suffix *-ame*. The subject may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the dependent verb usually is inflected with a tense/aspect suffix:

- (27a) simi-náre=ne [ehturiawa-ni-áme kečewéka]
 go-DES=1SG.S study-PRS-NMLZ Quetchehueca
 ‘I want to study in Quetchehueca.’
- (27b) hustína nahkí [ki=ko'ko-ri-áme ini-mičio kuitá]
 Agustina want NEG=get.sick-PFV-NMLZ be-PURP child
 ‘Agustina wants her child to be healthy.’

- (27c) *peterá kawé yowa-méra* [yačah-pá-te-me wanita]
 Petra well do-POT be.seated-INCH-CAUS-NMLZ Joanna
 ‘Petra will succeed in achieving Joanna’s recovery.’

The examples in (27d)-(27e) seem to show a second predication inside the dependent clause. With the predicative element *pehtë* ‘heavy’ for *tekihpanániame wasačí* in (27d) and with the element *kawé* ‘good’ for *ehturiáwaniamea* in (27e):

- (27d) *waní maé-na* [tekihpaná-ni-ame wasa-čí [kátia pehtë]]
 John believe-PRS work-PRS-NMLZ growing-LOC very heavy
 ‘John considers that working in farming is very hard.’
- (27e) *neé maé-na-ni-a* [ehturiáwa-ní-ame=a [kawé=pu]]
 1SG.S believe-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH study-PRS-NMLZ=EMPH good=D.D
 ‘I believe that studying is good.’

In (27f) greater complexity is shown:

- (27f) *kawé nané-na=ne* [nawesá-ni-ame [nahkí] tamó tekó aháma]
 well know-PRS=1SG.S talk- PRS-NMLZ want 1PL.NS boss with
 ‘I agree that I want to talk with our boss.’

There are two dependent clauses in the construction in (27f): first, *nawesániame nahkí tamó tekó aháma* ‘wanting to talk with our boss’ is the dependent clause of the main clause *kawé nanénane* ‘I agree’, since the subject =*ne* ‘I’ is coreferential and is omitted in

the dependent clause. Second, *nahkí* is functioning as the main predicate of the nominalized dependent clause *nawesániame... tamó tekó aháma* ‘to talk ... with our boss’ with the nominalized verb to the left of the main verb *nahkí* and the rest of the nominalized clause to the right.

The following set of constructions has a relative clause as part of the dependent clause. In (28a)-(28b) with a subject head and the verbal suffix *-me*, and (28c)-(28e) with a headless relative clause in P function and the verbal suffix *-a*:

- (28a) rupíta nané-na [yomá pasa-wáme i'wá]
 Lupita know-PRS all happen-NMLZ here
 ‘Lupita knows about everything that happens here.’
- (28b) waní tetewá-re [pedró simi-yáme kečewéka]
 John see-PFV Peter go-NMLZ Quetchehueca
 ‘John saw Peter’s going to Quetchehueca.’
- (28c) ki=kawé intá-ni-ni-a [tapaná amó yowá-ri-a]
 NEG=well agree-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH yesterday 2SG.NS make-PFV-NMLZ
 ‘I frown upon what you did yesterday.’
- (28d) waní ki=kawéra-ni [ahpó yowá-ri-a tapaná]
 John NEG=be.glad-PRS 3SG.NS make-PFV=EMPH yesterday
 ‘John regrets what he did yesterday.’
- (28e) temé nané-na [waní me'eyá-ri-a pedró]
 1PL.S know-PRS John kill.sg-PFV-NMLZ Peter
 ‘We know that John killed Peter.’
 Lit. ‘We know John’s killing Peter.’

8.2.7 The subordinator *-o*

The dependent verbs showing the suffix *-o* take the most semantically homogeneous group of main predicates in Warihío complex sentences. The group of main verbs which dependent verbs show the suffix *-o* corresponds to cognition-perception verbs. These verbs with some of the dependent verbs are shown in (29):

(29)	Main verb	dependent verb	
	V	V-o	
	<i>o'oráni</i> 'to plan'	<i>eči-</i>	'to plant'
		<i>meri-</i>	'to kill'
		<i>nehi-</i>	'to kill'
		<i>tekihpana-</i>	'to work'
		<i>noka-</i>	'to return'
		<i>kui-</i>	'to help'
	<i>nanéna</i> 'to know'	<i>simi-</i>	'to go'
		<i>wikaht-</i>	'to sing'
		<i>me'ya-</i>	'to kill'
		<i>yau-</i>	'to dance'
		<i>mači-</i>	'to know'
		<i>u'm-</i>	'to run'
		<i>nate-</i>	'to cost'
		<i>ičiko-</i>	'to steal'
		<i>naki-</i>	'to love'
	<i>nanétona</i> 'to remember'	<i>ko'ko-</i>	'to get sick'
		<i>ini-</i>	'to be'
		<i>muku-</i>	'to die'
		<i>yau-</i>	'to dance'
	<i>tewaní</i> 'to find out'	<i>koči-</i>	'to sleep'
		<i>neh-</i>	'to sell'

	<i>mači-</i>	‘to know’
	<i>tekihpana-</i>	‘to work’
<i>tetewáni</i> ‘to see’	<i>ihčipu-</i>	‘to hide’
	<i>wewe-</i>	‘to hit’
	<i>yoyo-</i>	‘to vomit’
	<i>ko’-</i>	‘to kill’
	<i>ičiko-</i>	‘to steal’
<i>maéna</i> ‘to believe’	<i>ko’a-</i>	‘to eat’
	<i>wewe-</i>	‘to hit’
	<i>kahtí-</i>	‘to sit’
<i>kawérani</i> ‘to be glad’	<i>asi-</i>	‘to arrive’
	<i>yačahpa-</i>	‘to recover’
<i>yuwésuna</i> ‘to be sad’	<i>wakihti-</i>	‘to loose weight’
	<i>yuku-</i>	‘to rain’

In all these constructions the subject of the dependent clause is non-coreferential with the subject of the main clause, hence, if a pronoun, this is coded by a non-S form pronoun.

8.2.7.1. *nanéna*: ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’, ‘to be aware’, ‘to understand’

There is in Warihío a very productive verb: *nanéna*. This verb is used with different meanings translatable to the English as: ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’, ‘to be aware’, ‘to understand’. In the constructions with *nanéna* as main verb, the subjects of the main and the dependent clause are not coreferential. The dependent verb can have different aspect/tense suffixes plus the suffix *-o*:

- (30a) Waní nané-na [simi-ri-ó maría obregoni]
 John know-PRS go-PFV-SUB Mary Obregón
 ‘John knows that Mary left to Obregón.’
- (30b) aapóe nané-na [peniátame wikaht-ó maría]
 3PL.S know-PRS pretty sing-SUB Mary
 ‘They know that Mary sings pretty.’
- (30c) pedró nané-na [tamó me'éya-k-o kawái]
 Peter know-PRS 1PL.NS kill:sg-PTCP-SUB horse
 ‘Peter knows that we killed the horse.’

We talked before in the section of constituent order in Chapter 5 about the flexibility of the constituents in main clause in terms of word order. It was said that the order in main clauses is pragmatically motivated. It is well known that dependent clauses are more conservative in terms of word order than main clauses, but the constituents of the dependent clauses² in Warihío may show different orders:

- (31a) nané-na=ne [peniási-ka amó yau-yó]
 know-PRS=1SG.S pretty-PTCP 2SG.NS dance-SUB
 ‘I know that you dance pretty.’
- (31b) nané-na=ne [amó peniási-ka yau-yó]
 know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.NS pretty-PTCP dance-SUB
 ‘I know that you dance pretty.’

² At this point of the research, these alternative orders of the constituents of dependent clauses are not well understood. I leave this issue for future investigation.

(31c) *neé nané-na [amo yau-yó peniási-ka]*
 1SG.S know-PRS 2SG.NS dance-SUB nice-PTCP
 ‘I know that you dance pretty.’

(31d) [*amó*] *nané-na=ne [peniási-ka yau-yó]*
 2SG.NS know-PRS=1SG.S nice-PTCP dance-SUB
 ‘I know that you dance pretty.’

Probably this flexibility in the order of the constituents of the dependent clauses reflects a transition stage from a postulated SOV order for Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker, 1976) to an alternative order (Miller 1983, Barreras 2000).

Two points should be addressed concerning the morphology of the elements in the dependent clauses in (31a)-(31c): (i) the subordinator suffix for the verb *nanéna* is *-o* and this is suffixed to the dependent verb, (ii) the stem *peniá-* ‘pretty’ may be inflected as a verb, as many adjectival meaning stems behave in Warihío. We observe the contrast between (31c) and (32):

(32) *muú nané-na [no'ó peniási-o yau-ká]*
 2SG.S know-PRS 1SG.NS nice-SUB dance-PTCP
 ‘You know I dance nicely.’
 Lit. ‘You know that I am nice dancing.’

The following examples illustrate the difference between *mačí* ‘to have the knowledge or ability to do something’ or ‘to know how’ and *nanéna* ‘to know’, the cognition/perception verb:

(33a) rolando nané-na [no'ó mačí-ó nawésa-ka kuentó]
 Rolando know-PRS 1SG.NS know-SUB tell-PTCP stories
 ‘Rolando knows that I know how to tell stories.’

(33b) nané-ru=ne [ki=amó mačí-ó napo-ká]
 know-PFV.EV=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS know-SUB weed-PTCP
 ‘I realized that you don’t know how to weed.’

We observe that the dependent clause in (33) has another dependent clause within, one transitive *nawésaka kuentó* in (33a) and one intransitive *napoká* in (33b).

The verb *nanéna* is the prototypical COGNITION verb in Warihío. The subtle difference of sense in the use of *nanéna* is perceived only in the translation:

(34a) nané-ru=mu [iwatiáme no'ó u'm-ó]
 know-PFV.EV=2SG.S fast 1SG.NS run-SUB
 ‘You realized that I run fast.’

(34b) waní nané-ru [weri-pá-k-o maría]
 John know-PFV.EV be.standing-INCH-PTCP-SUB Mary
 ‘John realized that Mary grew up.’

- (34c) neé nané-na [weká nate-yó pu'-ká kawái]
 1SG.S know-PRS a.lot cost-SUB D.D-ID horse
 'I am aware that that horse costs a lot.'
- (34d) waní nané-na [kawé ki=ahpó mači-ó leyéndo-ka kawé]
 John know-PRS well NEG=3SG.NS know-SUB read-PTCP well
 'John is aware that he doesn't know to read very well.'
- (34e) nané-na-ne [ki=amó tekihpá-nari-o wasa-čí]
 know-PRS=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS work-DES-SUB growing-LOC
 'I understand that you don't want to work in the fields.'
- (34f) kawé nané-na=ne [enčí amó ičíkó-k-o]
 well know-PRS=1SG.S again 2SG.NS steal-PTCP-SUB
 'I heard that you stole again.'

8.2.7.2. *kinanéna* 'to be uncertain'

kinanéna, the negative form of *nanéna* 'to know' expresses the meaning of 'to be uncertain', and this can take a dependent clause:

- (35a) ki=nané-na=ne [simi-ó kechéweka]
 NEG=know-PRS=1SG.S go-SUB Quetchehueca
 'I don't know if I'm going to Quetchehueca.'
- (35b) ki=nané-na=ne [muú no'ó naki-yó]
 NEG=know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.S 1SG.NS love-SUB
 'I don't know if you love me.'

- (35c) muú ki=nané-na=mu [neé amó naki-yó]
 2SG.S NEG=know- PRS=2SG.S 1SG.S 2SG.NS love-SUB
 ‘You don’t know if I love you.’

8.2.7.3. *nanétona* ‘to remember’ and *natahképani* ‘to forget’

The verbs *nanétona* ‘to remember’ and *natahképani* ‘to forget’ are illustrated in the class 3 complex sentences section as modality main verbs. They are illustrated here, too, as perception-cognition main verbs with dependent clauses. The morpho-syntax of the main clause in both uses, that is modality and perception-cognition, is exactly the same. What makes them different is the marking in the dependent clause. In the former the subject of the main and dependent clauses must be coreferential and the dependent verb is marked only by *-méa* ~ *-mia* (see subsection 8.3.3). In the latter, the subjects are not coreferential and the dependent verb is marked by TAM plus the subordinator *-o*.

The verb *nanétona* ‘to remember’ seems to be a derivation of the verb stem *nané-* ‘know’ plus the suffix *-to*. This suffix bears the sense of movement, acceleration, for example, with the verb *umáni* ‘to run’, it produces the verb *umátona* ‘to run away’. Thus, *nanétona* could mean something like ‘move, accelerate the cognition’. The following are examples with these two main verbs with the perception-cognition use:

- (36a) waní nanéto-na [ko'ko-ri-ó lupita]
 John remember-PRS get sick-PFV-SUB Lupe
 ‘John remembered that Lupe got sick.’

- (36b) nanéto-na-temé [enči semána-čí ini-mi-ó pahkó]
 remember-PRS-1PL.S again week-loc be-FUT-SUB feast
 ‘We remember that the feast will be next week.’
- (37a) natahképa=ne [lupita mukuh-k-ó]
 forget=1SG.S lupe die-PTCP-SUB
 ‘I forgot that Mrs. Lupe died.’
- (37b) pedró natahképa-re [amó yau-yó pahkóra]
 Peter forget-PFV 2SG.NS dance-SUB pahkora
 ‘Peter forgot that you dance pascola.’
- (37c) natahképa-ne [piarí ini-mi-ó pahkó]
 forget=P1SG.S morning be-FUT-SUB feast
 ‘I forgot that the feast will be tomorrow.’

8.2.7.4. *tewaní* ‘to find out’, ‘to realize’ and *tetewáni* ‘to see’

There are two perception-cognition verbs related in form and meaning : *tewaní* ‘to find out’, ‘to realize’, and *tetewáni* ‘to see’. The latter is a reduplicated form of the former. The difference in meaning could be a matter of aspect, that is, of ‘duration’ of the event, with *tewaní* being momentaneous for states and *tetewáni* with a little longer perception for activities:

- (38a) waní tewa-ré [čuré ko~koči-ó tawé]
 John find-PFV Cholohui PL~-sleep-SUB day
 ‘John found out that the cholohuis sleep during the day.’

- (38b) *tewa-rú=ne* [waní neh-ó pa'tári]
 find-PFV.EV=1SG.S John sell-SUB wine
 'I found out that John sells wine.'
- (38c) *waní no'ó* *tewa-rú* [neh-ó pi'pá]
 John 1SG.NS find-PFV.EV sell-SUB marihuana
 'John found out that I sell marihuana.'
- (38d) *maría ahpó* *tewa-ré* [mači-ó ahpó peniátame yau-yó]
 Mary 3SG.NS find-PFV know-DC 3SG.NS nice dance-SUB
 'Mary found out that she dances nicely.'
- (38e) *tewa-rú=ne* [kawé tekhipana-mi-ó no'o wasa-čí]
 find-PFV.EV=1SG.S well work-FUT-SUB 1SG.NS growing-LOC
 'I found out that I can work in the fields.'
- (38f) *pedró* *tewa-ré* [ahpó mači-ó četé-ka kiintára]
 Peter find-PFV 3SG.NS know-SUB play-PTCP guitar
 'Peter found out that he knows how to play the guitar.'

The constructions in (38) share important morpho-syntactic features with those in (39):

- (i) the subjects in the main and the dependent clauses may but do not need to be coreferential, (ii) the suffix *-o* occurs in the dependent verb of both constructions, and (iii) the main verb in (39) is the reduplicated form of the main verb in (38):

- (39a) *neé amó* *tetewá-ru* [ihčipú-k-o]
 1SG.S 2SG.NS see-PFV.EV hide-PTCP-SUB
 'I saw when you hid.'

- (39b) *waní no'ó tetewá-ru* [no'o we-pa-ní-o]
 John 1SG.NS see-PFV.EV 1SG.NS hit-INCH-PRS-SUB
 'John saw when I was being hit.'
- (39c) *maría tetewá-ru* [kuitá yo~yó-k-o]
 Mary see-PFV.EV child ITER~vomit-PTCP-SUB
 'Mary saw the child vomiting.'
- (39d) *pedró tetewá-re* [aapóe kó'-yo kawái]
 Peter see-PFV 3PL.S kill.pl-SUB horse
 'Peter saw when they were killing the horses.'
- (39e) *muú no'ó tetewá-ru* [ki=no'ó ičikó-k-o]
 2SG.S 1SG.S see-PFV.EV NEG=1SG.NS steal-PTCP-SUB
 'You saw that I didn't steal it.'
- (39f) *muú tetewá-ru* [*waní ičikó-k-o*]
 2SG.S see-PFV.EV John steal-PTCP-SUB
 'You saw when John stole it.'

One important difference between the constructions with *tewaní* and *tetewáni* is that the dependent verb in the former usually lacks a tense/aspect suffix, whereas this may be found in the latter. The explanation could be that with *tewaní* there is a sudden discovering of a habitual event. With *tetewáni* one should have the time to observe the event, hence the tense/aspect marker.

8.2.7.5. *maéna* 'to think', 'to believe'

The verb *maéna* 'to think', 'to believe' can take a dependent clause:

- (40a) *hustína maé-na* [kuitá werú ko'a-yó]
 Agustina believe-PRS child much eat-SUB
 ‘Agustina believes that the child eats a lot.’
- (40b) *apoé mae-na* [amó we-pa-k-ó]
 3SG.S believe-PRS 2SG.NS hit-INCH-PTCP-SUB
 ‘He believes that you hit him.’

Sometimes *maéna* can combine with *kawé* ‘well’ with the meaning of ‘consider’ that is ‘think well’ and take a dependent clause:

- (41) *neé kawé maé-na=ne* [kahti-ó sekundária kečewéka kawé=pu]
 1SG.S well believe-PRS=1SG.S be.seated.s-SUB high.school Quetchehueca well=D.D
 ‘I consider the high school in Quetchehueca to be good.’

8.2.7.6. *kawérani* ‘to be glad’ and *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’

- (42a) *kawera-ní=ne* [kawé amó asi-k-ó]
 be.glad-PRS=1SG.S well 2SG.NS arrive-PTCP-SUB
 ‘I am glad that you arrived well.’
- (42b) *kawera-ní-temé* [amó yačah-pá-k-o]
 be.glad-PRS-1PL.S 2SG.NS set-INCH-PTCP-SUB
 ‘We are glad that you have gotten better.’
- (42c) *waní kawéra-ni* [ki=yúko-yo-pa wa’ási]
 John be.glad-PRS NEG=rain-SUB-INCH up.there
 ‘John is glad that the rains stopped.’

(43a) *hustína yuwésu-na [wakih-ti-ó-pa kuitá]*
 Agustina be.sad-PRS dry-CAUS-SUB-INCH child
 ‘Agustina is sad that the child is skinny’

(43b) *waní yuwésu-na [ki=yuku-yo-pa]*
 John be.sad-PRS neg=rain-SUB-INCH
 ‘John is sad that it stopped raining.’

There is a special complex sentence involving the verb *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’:

(43c) *no’ó yuwesu-té-na [na’né-ri-o ki=inuwé-k-o ko’á-me]*
 1SG.NS be.sad-CAUS-PRS know-PFV-SUB NEG=have-PTCP-SUB eat-NMLZ
 ‘I am sad to know that they don’t have food.’
 Lit. ‘It makes me feel sad that they don’t have food.’

(43d) *no’ó yuwesu-té-na [mehká no’ó ohoé-k-o no’ó nonó moči-ká-čí]*
 1SG.NS be.sad-CAUS-PRS far.away 1SG.NS walk-PTCP-SUB 1SG.NS father sit-PTCP-LOC
 ‘It’s sad for me to live far away from my parents.’
 Lit. ‘It makes me feel sad that my parents live far away.’

The constructions in brackets in (43c)-(43d) have some morphological characteristics of a dependent clause, the verb has the suffix *-o*. They explain the ‘cause’ of the sadness of the participant of the main clause functioning as the causer of *yuwesuténa* ‘to make feel sad’, the causativized version of *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad.’ There is no pronoun in S-form in these complex constructions.

8.2.7.7. *o'oráni* 'to plan'

The verb *o'oráni* 'to plan'/'to try' is another verb that can take a dependent clause. The complex sentences with *o'oráni* as a main verb contrast with the use of *o'oráni* as a compound verb³ in certain peculiar characteristics: (i) usually there is a main-dependent verb order; however this is the only case of dependent-main verb order (ii) the participants are on the other side of their respective verbs; and (iii) the dependent verb bears the suffixes *-m* 'FUTURE' and *-o*, a verbal suffix restricted to cognition-perception main verbs. All of these characteristics make it difficult to characterize the following constructions, even more, they challenge the known complex sentence constituent order:

- (44a) *hustína [eči-m-ó] o'óra-ri [suunú ahpó pete-čí]*
 Agustina plant-FUT-SUB try-IPFV corn 3SG.NS house-LOC
 'Agustina tried to plant corn in her yard.'
- (44b) *waní [meri-m-ó] o'óra-re [pedró]*
 John kill.sg-FUT-SUB try-PFV Peter
 'John tried to kill Peter.'
- (44c) *lupita [nehi-m-ó] o'orá-ni [ku-ó ahpó pete-čí]*
 Lupita sell-FUT-SUB plan-PRS wood-EMPH 3SG.NS house-LOC
 'Lupita plans to sell wood in her house.'
- (44d) *[tekihpana-m-o] orá-ni-temé [yomá tawé]*
 work-FUT-SUB plan-PRS-1PL.S all day
 'We plan to work all day.'

³ This type of construction involving *-orá* as a modal suffix was described in Chapter 5, section 5.2.6.

- (44e) [no~noka-m-ó] orá-ni-temé [mesa-či]
 PL~move-FUT-SUB plan- PRS-1PL.S Mesa Colorado-LOC
 ‘We plan to return to La Mesa Colorado.’
- (44f) [no'ó kui-m-ó] o'orá-ri-mu
 1SG.NS help-FUT-SUB try-IPFV=2SG.S
 ‘You tried to help me.’

8.2.7.8. The manipulative type

Manipulative events can be expressed by a construction type that seems to be between the morphological causative construction and a coordinate clause construction.

8.2.7.8.1. V + V-*te-ka*

This construction shows a free verb marked by tense/aspect with a general meaning of ‘come’ (45), ‘move’ (46), while the dependent verb still has the causative suffix *-te* with a less finite suffix *-ka*, contrasting with the finite suffix shown in the morphological causative constructions exemplified in Chapter 7:

- (45) neé intó-re [nasua-té-ka waní pedró ahama]
 1SG:S come.sg-PRF fight-CAUS-PTCP John Peter COM
 ‘I made John fight with Peter.’
- (46) yukí isi-ré [wičí-te-ka karí]
 rain move.sg-PFV fall-CAUS-PTCP house
 ‘The rain caused the house to fall down.’

8.2.7.8.2. V + V-*mičio*

Subordinate verbs that take the purpose suffix *-mičio* can occur with the main verbs listed in (47):

(47)	Main predicate	dependent predicate
	V	V- <i>mičio</i>
	<i>intóna</i> ‘to come’	<i>toče-</i> ‘to send’
	<i>nokáni</i> ‘to move’	<i>wiči-</i> ‘to fall’
	<i>yowáni</i> ‘to make’	<i>yasi-</i> ‘to sit’
	<i>toaní</i> ‘to allow’	<i>itihpi-</i> ‘to stay’
	<i>yetóna</i> ‘to invite’	<i>kui-</i> ‘to help’
	<i>čanéna</i> ‘to tell’	<i>tekihpana-</i> ‘to work’
	<i>tuyéna</i> ‘to say’	<i>i'yá-</i> ‘to look for’
	<i>itanéna</i> ‘to ask’	<i>wasite-</i> ‘to cook’
	<i>nu'rena</i> ‘to order’	<i>tekihpana-</i> ‘to work’
	<i>kitoaní</i> ‘to forbid’	<i>simi-</i> ‘to go’
	<i>puyéna</i> ‘to expect’	<i>yačapa-</i> ‘to recover’
	<i>puyéna</i> ‘to expect’	<i>yaupa-</i> ‘to sprout’
	<i>nanéna</i> ‘to agree’	<i>nawesa-</i> ‘to talk’
	<i>intáni</i> ‘to agree’	<i>te'é-</i> ‘to play’

It seems that the purposive suffix *-mičio* makes the whole construction an intended manipulative event or an expected event, independently of the semantic class of the main verb. Some examples of verbs that can take a dependent verb marked by *-mičio* are: *nokani* ‘move.pl’ (48), *yowani* ‘make’ (49), *toani* ‘let’ (50), *yetóna* ‘invite’ (51):

- (48) aapóe noka-ré [no'ó wiči-míčio]
 3PL.S move.pl-PFV 1SG.NS fall-PURP
 ‘They made me fall down.’
 Lit. ‘They made something in order I fall down.’
- (49) neé kawé yowá-ru=ne [amó yasi-míčio ihkwéra-čí]
 1SG.S well do-PFV.EV=1SG.S 2SG:NS sit-PURP school-LOC
 ‘I succeeded in getting you into school.’
 Lit. ‘I made something in order you get in the school.’
- (50) neé toa-rú [itihpi-míčio waní no'ó pete-čí]
 1SG.S allow-PFV.EV stay-PURP John 1SG.NS house-LOC
 ‘I allowed John to stay in my house.’
- (51) Pedró no'ó yetó-ru [ahpó no'ó kui-míčio]
 Peter 1SG.NS invite-PFV.EV 3SG.NS 1SG.NS help-PURP
 ‘Peter persuaded me to help him’

Another group of verbs that can take a dependent verb with the suffix *-míčio* are the command verbs: *čanéna* ‘tell’ (52), *tuyéna* ‘say’ (53), *itanéna* ‘ask’ (54), *nu'réna* ‘order’ (55):

- (52) pedró čané-re [tekihpana-míčio obregóni]
 Peter tell-PFV work-PURP Obregón
 ‘Peter suggested to him to work in Obregón.’
- (53) Waní tuyé-re maría [i'ya-míčio ahpó yeyé]
 John say-PFV Mary look for-PURP 3SG:NS mother
 ‘John told Mary to look for her mother.’

- (54) waní itané-re [wasite-ke-míčio maría]
 John ask- PFV make.tortillas-APPL-PURP Mary
 ‘John asked Mary to make tortillas.’
- (55) maría nu're-re [waní tekihpana-míčio]
 Mary order-PFV John work-PURP
 ‘Mary ordered John to work.’

The verb *toaní* ‘let’, ‘allow’ has a negative version *kitoaní* with the meaning of ‘stop from’:

- (56) lupita ki=toa-ré [simi-míčio waní]
 Lupita NEG=let-PFV go-PURP John
 ‘Lupe forbid John leaving.’ (But he left.)

The dependent verb with the suffix *-míčio* also co-occurs with the main verb *puyéna* ‘to expect’:

- (57a) puyé-na=ne [ku'wé ya'ča-pa-míčio lupita]
 expect-PRS=1SG.S soon set-INCH-PURP Lupita
 ‘I hope Lupe recovers soon.’
- (57b) waní puyé-na [yau-pa-míčio suunú meeré]
 John expect-PRS sprout-INCH-PURP corn tomorrow
 ‘John expects the corn sprouts tomorrow.’

The element *kawé* may be involved in other constructions giving the meaning of ‘to agree’ when it is used together with the verb *nanena* ‘to know’, and this can take a dependent verb with the suffix *-mičio*, as in (58):

- (58a) *kawé nané-na=ne* [amó nawesa-mičio tamó tekó aháma]
 well know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.NS talk-PURP 1PL.NS boss with
 ‘I agree that you should talk with our boss.’
- (58b) *hustína ki=kawé inta-ni* [yomá tawé te'é-mičio kukučí]
 Agustina 1NEG=well agree-PRS all day play-PURP children
 ‘Agustina frowns upon the children playing all day.’
- (59c) *María ki=kawéra-ni* [amó toa-ka-pa si-mičio bwairé-či]
 Mary NEG=be.glad-PRS 2SG.NS let-PTCP-INCH go-PURP party-PLOC
 ‘Mary regrets letting you go to the party.’

At this point, a reminder on constituent order in Warihío is pertinent. Patient pronouns tend to occur preverbally in transitive main clauses, but they may also occur postverbally. Otherwise, the lexical constituents in a simple sentence show a pragmatically motivated flexible order. In the case of subordinates clauses and dependent clauses in general, the participants tend to cluster around the dependent verb, but the constituents of the dependent clause show a certain flexibility in their position inside the dependent clause (60a)-(60c):

- (60a) *neé intó-re [toče-míčio muní waní pedró]*
 1SG.S move-PFV send-PURP beans John Peter
 ‘I made John send beans to Peter.’
- (60b) *neé intó-re [waní toče-míčio muní pedró]*
 1SG.S move-PFV John send-PURP beans Peter
 ‘I made John send beans to Peter.’
- (60c) *neé intó-re [muní toče-míčio waní pedró]*
 1SG.S move-PFV beans send-PURP John Peter
 ‘I made John send beans to Peter.’

8.2.7.9. The juxtaposed construction

In this type of construction the only difference between this construction and a class 1 complex sentence construction is that the subject pronoun in the second clause is in the non-S form, *tamó* ‘1PL.NS’ in (61a) and *no’ó* ‘1SG.NS’ in (61b):

- (61a) *waní natahképa-re [tamó simpá-meri ini-ré obregóni]*
 John forget-PFV 1PL.NS go.pl-FUT be-PFV Obregón
 ‘John forgot that we were going to go to Obregón.’
- (61b) *hustína inamú-na [yomá no’ó číá]*
 Agustina listen-PRS everything 1SG.NS say
 ‘Agustina understands everything I say.’

8.3. Class 3 complex sentences

This class of complex sentences involves: (i) two clauses; one main and independent and the other dependent, (ii) the subject of the dependent is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, (iii) the dependent verb is less finite than the main verb showing one of these suffixes: *-ka*, *-nare=a*, *-méa ~ -mia*.

8.3.1. The V + V-*ka* construction

When the verbal suffix *-ka* occurs in a dependent clause⁴, the main verb accompanying it is finite. This suffix gives the sense of simultaneity of eventhood. There is coreferentiality of main and dependent subjects.

The dependent verbs taking *-ka* and some of the main verbs with which they co-occur are listed in (62):

(62)	Main verb	Dependent verb
	V	V- <i>ka</i>
	<i>kuiná</i> ‘to help’	<i>ehturiawa-</i> ‘to study’
	<i>penipáni</i> ‘to learn’	<i>wasíte-</i> ‘to cook’
		<i>napo-</i> ‘to weed’
		<i>tehpúča-</i> ‘to cut’
		<i>leyéndo-</i> ‘to read’
		<i>i’yóte-</i> ‘to write’
	<i>oinéna</i> ‘to start’	<i>umá-</i> ‘to run’

⁴ However, occasionally this suffix occurs in simple sentences with an ‘ongoing’ tense meaning (see Chapter 5 section 5.2.2.) or in both main and dependent verbs.

	<i>ehturiawa-</i>	‘to study’
	<i>peesu-</i>	‘to peel’
	<i>eča-</i>	‘to plant’
	<i>tekihpana-</i>	‘to work’
<i>simiténa</i> ‘to continue’	<i>tekihpana-</i>	‘to work’
	<i>ehturiawa-</i>	‘to study’
	<i>peesú-</i>	‘to peel’
<i>simina</i> ‘to go’	<i>yuku-</i>	‘to rain’
<i>kahuná</i> ‘to finish’	<i>tehpúča-</i>	‘to cut’
	<i>tekihpana-</i>	‘to work’
	<i>ehturiáwa-</i>	‘to study’
	<i>koa-</i>	‘to eat’
	<i>peesú-</i>	‘to peel’
<i>mačí</i> ‘to know how’	<i>wikahtá-</i>	‘to sing’
	<i>karitá-</i>	‘to build houses’
	<i>nawésa-</i>	‘to tell’
<i>penéna</i> ‘to know how’	<i>wikahtá-</i>	‘to sing’
	<i>simi-</i>	‘to go’
<i>kawérani</i> ‘to be glad’	<i>kahu-</i>	‘to finish’
<i>kikawérani</i> ‘to regret’	<i>wewe-</i>	‘to hit’
	<i>ehturiáwa-</i>	‘to study’
	<i>ečá-</i>	‘to plant’
<i>yuwésuna</i> ‘to be sad’	<i>kahu-</i>	‘to finish’
<i>pu'seréna</i> ‘to like’	<i>koa-</i>	‘to eat’
	<i>te'é-</i>	‘to play’
<i>wisitúna</i> ‘to lie’	<i>nawésa-</i>	‘to tell’

The main verbs in the column on the left in (62) are modality verbs (Givón, 2001).

8.3.2. The modality main verbs plus a *V-ka*

According to Givón (2001: 55, vol. II): “Modality verbs code the aspectual (inception, termination, continuation, success, failure) or modal (attempt, intent, obligation, ability, possibility) action, state or attitude of its subject vis-a-vis the event/state coded in the dependent clause”.

8.3.2.1. *oínená* ‘to start’, *simiténa* ‘to continue’, *kahuná* ‘to finish’

The inception, continuation, and termination aspectual meaning are expressed by the free verbs *oínená* ‘to start’, *simiténa* ‘to continue’, and *kahuná* ‘to finish’, respectively. These verbs occur in the main clause and take a dependent clause in which the dependent verb is marked by the participializer suffix *-ka* and the subject is coreferential (omitted) with the subject of the main clause. The verb *oínená* can take any class of dependent verb, active intransitive (63a)-(63b), transitive (63c)-(63d):

(63a) *oíne-ru=ne* [umá-ka senepí piarí]
 start-PFV.EV=1SG.S run-PTCP every morning
 ‘I started running every morning.’

(63b) *maría oíne-re* [ehturiówa-ka seekundária]
 Mary start-PFV study-PTCP high.scool
 ‘Mary started studying high school.’

- (63c) puú oíne-re [peesu-ká pahpá oosá marikí miinuto]
 D.D start-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes twice five minutes
 ‘She started peeling the potatoes ten minutes ago.’
- (63d) puú oíne-re [eča-ká suunú ké'čua sepói]
 D.D start-PFV plant-PTCP corn too much early
 ‘He started planting the corn very early.’

Also possible is the occurrence of a sequence of two class 3 constructions with the dependent verbs in each one, sharing the same subject:

- (63e) waní oíne-re [ariwátopi kočí-ká] oíne-re [tekih pána-ka piarí]
 John start-PFV early sleep-PTCP start-PFV work-PTCP morning
 ‘John started going to sleep early since he started working in the mornings.’

The verb *simiténa* ‘to continue’ (lit. ‘make it going’) is a causativization with the suffix *-te* of the verb *siminá* ‘to go’:

- (64a) pedró simi-té-re [tekih pána-ka yomá tawé]
 Peter go-CAUS-PFV work-PTCP whole day
 ‘Peter continued working the whole day.’
- (64b) maría simi-té-mera [ehturiáwa-ka seekundária ahta meré wíče]
 Mary go-CAUS-FUT.POT study-PTCP high school until next year
 ‘Mary is going to continue studying high school until next year.’

- (64c) puú=a simi-té-re [peesú-ka pahpá]
 D.D=EMPH go-CAUS-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes
 ‘She continued peeling the potatoes.’

Weather verbs such as *yukuná* ‘raining’, *eekani* ‘blowing’, *tanačáni* ‘thundering’ are atransitives in Warihío, since they require no participants at all. The verb alone is a predication. In this case, the construction taking *yukuná* as the dependent verb, will show no causative suffix, but only the plain verb *siminá* (64d) or *simiméra* (64e):

- (64d) simi-ná [yuku-ká mesa-čí]
 go-PRS rain-PTCP Mesa-LOC
 ‘It continues raining in The Mesa.’
- (64e) simi-méra [yuku-ká mesa-čí]
 go-FUT.POT rain-PTCP Mesa-LOC
 ‘It is going to continue raining in The Mesa.’

The constructions in (65) involving the verb *kahuná* ‘finishing’ are of the same type as the verb *oímena* ‘starting’ exemplified before:

- (65a) kahu-rú=ne [tehpúča-ka kuú tapaná]
 finish-PFV=1SG.S cut-PTCP wood yesterday
 ‘I finished cutting the wood yesterday.’

(65b) *pedró kahu-ré* [tekih pána-ka wasa-čí]
 Peter finish-PFV work-PTCP growing-LOC
 ‘Peter finished working in farming.’

(65c) *maría kahu-ré* [ehturiawa-ka seekundária]
 Mary finish-PFV study-PTCP high school
 ‘Mary finished studying high school.’

(65d) *waní kahu-ré* [koa-ká koá-me]
 John finish-PFV eat-PTCP eat-NMLZ
 ‘John finished eating food.’

(65e) *puú=a kahu-ré* [peesú-ka pahpá]
 D.D.=EMPH finish-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes
 ‘She finished peeling the potatoes.’

8.3.2.2. *mačí*⁵, *penéna* ‘to know how to’

There are two verbs in Warihío meaning ‘to know how to’: *mačí* and *penéna*. These verbs convey the sense of having the knowledge of how to do the event coded in the dependent verb. I could find no differences in the use of one instead of the other. The subjects of the main and the dependent clauses are coreferential, and the dependent verb takes the participializer suffix *-ka*. In the examples with *mačí*, (66a) shows an intransitive verb in the dependent clause, (66b) a noun incorporated verb, and (66c) a transitive one:

⁵ *mačí* ‘to know how’ is one of the few verbs that has $-\emptyset$ for present/habitual tense/aspect.

- (66a) waní mačí [wikahtá-ka]
 John know sing-PTCP
 ‘John knows how to sing.’
- (66b) muú mačí [kari-tá-ka]
 2SG.S know house-make-PTCP
 ‘You know how to build houses.’
- (66c) rolando mačí [nawésa-ka kuentó]
 Rolando know tell-PTCP stories
 ‘Rolando knows how to tell stories’

In the case of *penéna*, we have two intransitive verbs in the dependent clauses exemplifying it:

- (67a) aapóe pe-péne-na [wikahtá-ka kawé]
 3PL.S PL~know-PRS sing-PTCP well
 ‘They know how to sing well.’
- (67b) neé pené-na=ne [simi-ká kečewéka]
 1SG.S know-PRS=1SG.S go-PTCP Quetchehueca
 ‘I know how to get to Quetchehueca.’

The verb *penipáni* ‘to learn’ in (68) is actually a derivation from the stem *pene-* ‘know’ plus the inchoative suffix *-pa*. The constructions with *penipáni* have the same morpho-syntactic characteristics as those shown with *mačí* and *penéna*:

- (68a) waní penipá-re [tehpúča-ka kuú]
 John learn-PFV cut-PTCP wood
 ‘John learned to cut wood.’
- (68b) neé penipá-re [yasé-ka kawái]
 1SG.S learn-PFV be.seated-PTCP horse
 ‘I learned to ride a horse.’
- (68c) hustína penipá-re [leyéndo-ka]
 Agustina learn-PFV read-PTCP
 ‘Agustina learned to read.’
- (68d) Inkwéra-či penipá-ma=mu [i'yoté-ka]
 school-LOC learn-FUT=2SG.S write-PTCP
 ‘In school you are going to learn to write.’

8.3.2.3. *kawérani* ‘to be glad’ and *kikawérani* ‘to regret’

The verb *kawérani* ‘to be glad’, a derivation from *kawé* ‘well’, ‘good’, can take a dependent clause:

- (69) maría kawéra-pa-re [kahu-ká-pa ahpó taréa]
 Mary be.glad- PINCH-PFV finish-PTCP-INCH 3SG.NS homework
 ‘Mary is glad that she finished her homework.’

The negative form of *kawérani*, the verb *kikawérani* ‘to regret’ can also take a dependent clause:

- (70a) ki=kawérai=ni=a ehpéo [wewe-ká-pa kukučí tapaná]
 NEG=be.glad=1SG.S=EMPH now hit-PTCP-INCH children yesterday
 ‘Now, I regret hitting the children yesterday.’
- (70b) rolando ki=kawéra-ni [ki=ehturiawa-ká-pa]
 Rolando NEG=be.glad-PRS NEG=study-PTCP-INCH
 ‘Rolando regrets not having studied.’
- (70c) waní ki=kawéra-ni [ki=ečah-ká-pa pahčá]
 John NEG=be.glad-PRS NEG=plant-PTCP-INCH first
 ‘John regrets not having planted before.’

The dependent verbs in (69) and (70) take the participializer suffix *-ka*.

8.3.2.4. *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’

The verb *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’ (lit. ‘to wilt’) can be involved in two types of constructions taking a dependent clause. One with the causative suffix *-te*, was shown in the class 2 complex sentences in subsection 8.2.7.6.; the other in (71) shows the possibility of having coreferential subjects:

- (71) María yuwésu-na [ki=kahu-ká-pa ahpó taréa]
 Mary be.sad-PRS NEG=finish-PTCP-INCH 3SG.NS homework
 ‘Mary is sad that she didn’t finish her homework.’

8.3.2.5. *pu'seréna* ‘to like’

The verb *pu'seréna* ‘to like’ takes a dependent clause with a coreferential subject and a dependent verb with the suffix *-ka*:

- (72a) waní pu'sére-na [ko'a-ka sa'pa]
 John like-PRS eat-PTCP meat
 ‘John likes to eat meat.’
- (72b) maría pu'sére-na [te'e-ká peeróta]
 Mary like-PRS play-PTCP ball
 ‘Mary likes to play soccer.’

8.3.2.6. *wisitúna* ‘to lie’

The verb *wisitúna* ‘to lie’, necessarily takes a coreferential subject in its dependent clause (hence omitted), and the dependent verb, a ‘speech’ verb, takes the suffix *-ka*:

- (73a) waní wisitú-re [nawésa-ka yomá]
 John lie-PFV tell-PTCP everything
 ‘John lied saying all of that.’
- (73b) wisitú-re=ne [amó nawésa-ka tapaná]
 lie-PFV=1SG.S 2SG.NS talk-PTCP yesterday
 ‘I lied talking to you yesterday.’

8.3.3. Simultaneous events with no modal verbs

In case of simultaneous subjects/events, the initial clause is finite, the subsequent clauses have the participializer suffix *-ka*:

- (74) *weri=né* *wikahtá-ka*
 be.standing.sg= 1SG.S sing-PTCP

yau-ká
 dance-PTCP

nené-ka wa'ápi amó
 see-PTCP same.place 2SG.NS
 'I am here singing, dancing, and watching you at the same time.'

8.3.4. Purpose

There are two types of class 3 complex sentence constructions with a meaning of purpose: (i) the dependent-purpose verb is marked by the desiderative suffix *-náre* plus the emphatic *=a*, and (ii) the dependent-purpose verb is marked by the suffix *-méa ~ -mia*. In both types of construction the main and dependent subjects are necessarily coreferential.

8.3.4.1. V + V-*nari=a*

- (75a) *wanita werumá puusi-ta-re* [*kawé nene-nári=a*]
 Juana big eye-make-PFV well see-DES=EMPH
 'Juana opened her eyes very much to see better.'

- (75b) neé ehturiáwa-ni [merikó ini-nári=a]
 1SG.S study-PRS doctor be-DES=EMPH
 ‘I am studying to become a doctor.’
- (75c) waníta nehá-ni totóri [yoi-nári=a tomí]
 Juana sell-HAB chicken earn-DES=EMPH money
 ‘Juana sells chickens to earn some money.’
- (175d) ihi-rú=ne mansanía [kawé koči-nári=a]
 drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S camomile well sleep-DES=EMPH
 ‘I drank camomile tea to sleep better.’
- (75e) tekíhpána-ni=ne [yoi-nári=a toomí]
 work-PRS=1SG.S earn-DES=EMPH money
 ‘I’m working to earn money.’
- (75f) moená-re kawí-či [tehpú-nari=a kuú]
 climb-PFV hill-LOC cut-DES=EMPH tree
 ‘He went up to the hill to cut trees.’

8.3.4.2. V + V-*mia* ~-*méa*

The main verb in this type of construction may be one of the displacement verbs such as *siminá* ‘to go’ (76) or *enáni* ‘to come’ (77). A verb like *moenáni* ‘to climb’ can be the main verb of both types of purpose constructions (78). In these cases, the suffix in the dependent verb is *-mia* ~ *-méa*. These two allomorphs are conditioned by the stress of the preceding vowel. If the vowel is stressed, the suffix is *-mia*; if not it is *-méa*:

- (76a) lupé simi-ré [ye'é-mia piipi kowí]
 Lupita go-PFV tie-FUT one pig
 'Lupita went to tie up the pig.'
- (76b) maría simi-ré [nehkí-mia muní pétera]
 Mary go-PFV sell-FUT beans Petra
 'Mary went to sell beans to Petra.'
- (76c) pedró simi-ré [nawahí-mia waní aháma]
 Peter go-PFV drink-FUT John COM
 'Peter went to get drunk with John.'
- (76d) maría simi-ré [yau-méa kečeweka]
 Mary go-PFV dance-FUT Quetchehueca
 'Mary went to Quetchehueca to dance.'
- (76e) maría simi-ré [yau-méa wikahtá-mea kečeweka]
 Mary go-PFV dance-FUT sing-FUT Quetchehueca
 'Mary went to dance and to sing to Quetchehueca.'
- (77a) waní ená-ru [no'ó kuyí-mia eča-ká]
 John come-PFV.EV 1SG.NS help-FUT sow-PTCP
 'John came to help me with the sowing.'
- (77b) aapóe e'-ená-ru [me'eri-méa pedró]
 3PL.S PL~come-PFV kill.sg-PFV Peter
 'They came to kill Peter.'
- (78a) pedró moená-re [potačé-mia karí howará-či]
 Peter climb-PFV cover-FUT house hole-LOC
 'Peter climbed up to cover the hole in the roof of the house.'

- (78b) pedró moená-re mangó-či [puhi-méa taakára fruta]
 Peter climb-PFV mango.tree-LOC cut-FUT fruit
 ‘Peter climbed the mango tree to cut fruits.’

Again, as in the other classes of complex sentences (1 and 2) we can find class 3 complex sentences with alternative orders which I am unable to explain:

- (79a) waníta [siipiča-ta-méa] simi-ré
 Juanita dress-make-FUT go-PFV
 ‘Juanita went to change the dress.’
- (79b) maría [ihipiči-méa] ená-re [pete-čí]
 Mary sweep-FUT come-PFV house-LOC
 ‘Mary came to sweep the house.’

If the whole thematic of the chaining clauses is a purpose event, the initial clause is finite with one of the displacement verb such as *siminá* ‘to go’, whereas the rest of the clauses show the suffix *-méa ~-mia*. As usual in class 3 complex sentence constructions, the dependent subject is omitted:

- (80) meeré si-má=ne oregóni
 tomorrow go-FUT=1SG.S Obregón
 tari-méa piipi sipičá
 buy-FUT one dress

ihko-ké-mia maría

give-APPL-FUT Mary

‘Tomorrow I will go to Obregón and, buy a dress in order to give it to Mary.’

8.3.5. Expectation constructions

This type of construction takes certain modal verbs as main verbs and the dependent verb has the suffix *-méa* ~ *-mia*. The main verbs and some of the dependent verbs are shown in (81):

(81)	Main verb	dependent verb
	V	V- <i>mia</i>
	<i>nanétona</i> ‘to remember’	<i>simi-</i> ‘to go’
	<i>natahképani</i> ‘to forget’	<i>neotoe-</i> ‘to water’
		<i>natehte-</i> ‘to pay’
		<i>čoa-</i> ‘to turn off’
		<i>kiya-</i> ‘to give’
	<i>puyéna</i> ‘to expect’	<i>tekihpana-</i> ‘to work’
		<i>yačahpa-</i> ‘to recover’

The verbs *nanétona* ‘to remember’, *natahképani* ‘to forget’, and *puyéna* ‘to expect’ seem to express an attitude of ‘expectation’ from the subject of the main clause toward the event expressed by the dependent verb. This is suggested by the semantics of the main verbs and by the type of suffix in the dependent verb, the future *-méa* ~ *-mia* and by the fact the subjects are obligatorily coreferential. Given these characteristics, these constructions seem to portray a feature of volitionality on the part of the same participant. The constructions discussed here have the possibility of ‘remembering’,

‘forgetting’, or ‘expecting’ to do the event coded in the dependent verb. The verbs *nanétona* ‘to remember’ (82) and *natahképani* ‘to forget’ (83) share the same construction with a dependent verb with the suffix *-méa ~ -mia*:

- (82) pedró nanéto-re [mesa-čí simi-méa meré]
 Peter remember-PFV Mesa-LOC go-FUT tomorrow
 ‘Peter remembered that he is going to La Mesa tomorrow.’
- (83a) Markó natahképa-re [neotoé-mia ečitiame tapaná]
 Mark forget-PFV water-FUT plants yesterday
 ‘Yesterday Mark forgot to water the plants’
- (83b) waní natahképa-re [natehté-mia tiendá-či]
 John forget-PFV pay-FUT store-LOC
 ‘John forgot to pay in the store’
- (83c) lupita natahképa-re [čoa-méa ehtufa]
 Lupe forget-PFV turn.off-FUT stove
 ‘Lupe forgot to turn off the stove.’
- (83d) natahképa=ne [kia-méa koáme kowí]
 forget=1SG.S give-FUT food pigs
 ‘I forgot to feed the pigs.’

The above uses of *nanétona* ‘to remember’ and *natahképani* ‘to forget’ contrast with their occurrence as main verbs in class 2 complex sentence constructions with a dependent verb suffixed by *-o* (see 8.2.7.3.).

The verb *puyéna* ‘to expect’, ‘to hope’ may take a dependent verb suffixed with *-mia*:

(84a) *puyé-na-temé* [tekih pána-mia enčí semána-či]
 expect-PRS-1PL.S work-FUT again week-LOC
 ‘We expect to work next week.’

(84b) *puyé-na=ne* [ku'wé ya'čah-pá-mia]
 expect-PRS=1SG.S soon set-INCH-FUT
 ‘I hope to recover soon.’

8.3.6. The reason V + V-*pa* construction

It is known that some languages use the same morphology for purpose and reason adverbial clauses. Another device used for reason clauses is the suffixation of the inchoative *-pa* to the dependent verb:

(85a) *werú ko'ka-rú=ne* [čorowá-pa kawé]
 much eat-PFV.EV=1SG.S be.hungry-INCH well
 ‘I ate a lot because I was very hungry.’
 Lit. ‘Getting very hungry, I ate a lot.’

(85b) *nero-hí-ru=ne* [paramoá-pa kawé]
 water-drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S be.thirsty-INCH well
 ‘I drank water because I was thirsty
 Lit. ‘I drank water, already very thirsty.’

- (85c) waníta waki-té-pa-re [ko'ko-ri-ápa tapaná semana-či]
 Juana dry-CAUS-INCH-PFV be.sick-PFV-INCH last week-LOC
 ‘Juana lost weight because she got sick last week.’
 Lit. ‘Juana become skinny, already sick last week.’

The above constructions could look like class 1 complex sentence constructions, but they differ in that in this case the subject of the dependent clause is coreferential and omitted and the dependent verb has the inchoative suffix *-pa*.

8.4 The syntactico-semantic integration scale

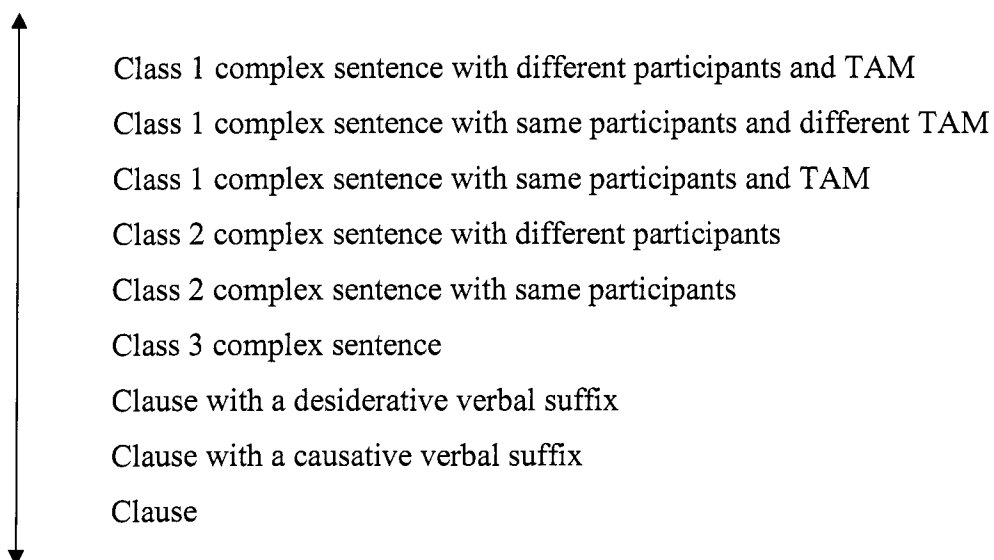
Givón (2001: 40 vol.II) establishes the event integration and clause union principle as follows: “The strongest is the *semantic bond* between the two events, the more extensive will be the *syntactic integration* of the two clauses into a single though complex clause.”

According to Givón, the manipulative and the modality verbs that take dependent clauses share the same segment at the top of the morpho-syntactic and semantic integration scales. It means that the whole scale will show overlapping of these two classes of verbs that take dependent verbs in terms of the degree of morpho-syntactic integration of the two units, as well as the semantic continuum. The main predicate expresses aspectual or modal modification of the action/state of the dependent verb or attitude of its subject toward the event/state expressed by the dependent clause involving the same participant. The aspectual meaning given by the main verb is that of inception,

termination, continuation, success or failure. Whereas the modal meaning covers the attempt, intent, obligation, ability, and possibility toward the event/state code by the dependent verb.

The scale in Warihío is represented as follows:

Less morpho-syntactic-semantic integration



More morpho-syntactic-semantic integration

Schema 3. The syntactico-semantic integration scale in Warihío.

The last three types of clauses do not belong to complex sentences but to simple sentences. In general terms, the scale follows Givón's predictions. However, there is a very important counterexample; one of the types of class 2 complex sentences is that construction with a modal free verb as a main verb. This verb gives aspectual information

about the inception, continuation, and termination of the whole event. This less morpho-syntactically integrated construction shows a greater spatio-temporal overlapping semantics than the more morpho-syntactic integrated clause with a desiderative verbal suffix. According to Givón (p.c.), this constitutes a real counterexample to the scale explainable, perhaps only in terms of grammaticalization.

CHAPTER 9

WARIHÍO TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

9.0. Introduction

Warihío is an interesting language for many reasons. First, Warihío is a moribund language (Krauss, 1992) with less than five hundred active speakers (Garza and Lastra, 1991); hence its documentation is necessary and urgent. Second, as part of the Uto-Aztecan family, which has been more or less well described, Warihío shows some morphosyntactic characteristics with interesting contrasts with many of the other family members (even with its closest relative Tarahumara). Third, it is difficult to place Warihío in typological perspective without taking in account its culture, social and geographic organization.

The rest of this chapter will be dedicated to placing Warihío first, within the Uto-Aztecan family, to which Warihío belongs, and second, in a more universal typological perspective. This will be done with reference to the Warihío morphosyntactic features described in previous chapters that seem to have typological and/or theoretical relevance.

9.1. Morphosyntactic characteristics of Warihío of typological and/or theoretical relevance

Among the morphosyntactic features of Warihío that seem interesting in a Uto-Aztecan (or wider) typology and which may challenge (confirm or deny) the theoretical status of some grammatical phenomena are the following: constituent order, focus, case marking-verbal agreement, some complex sentences, causative constructions, passives.

The grammatical phenomena listed above are related to each other in different degrees and in different ways. At the end of this chapter, I will attempt to bring these together. For the moment, in the subsequent subsections I will review each individual grammatical phenomenon inside the Uto-Aztecan family whenever appropriate data are available, as well as in a wider typological frame. The intent is not to make cross-linguistic generalizations (given the small sample) but to illustrate the place of Warihío in a typology of the Uto-Aztecan family.

	MCO	CM	P	C
Sh	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M ^m : +	M ^{c+a} : +
Mo	S ^f OV	N: + Pr: +	M ^m : +	M ^{c+a} : +
NP	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M ^m : +	M ^{c+a} : +
Ka	F	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Che	F	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Ute	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Tu	SVO	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Pa	VSO	N: - Pr: S/nS	M ^m : +	M: +
Y	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Warihío	F	N: - Pr: S/nS	M: + Per: +	M: + M-P: + Per: +
Ta	SOV	N: - Pr: S/nS ^{1s}	M: +	M: +
Pi	VSO ^f	N: - Pr: S/nS	M ^m : +	M: +
Te	VSO ^f	N: - Pr: S/nS	M ^m : +	M: +
C	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
Hu	SOV	N: + Pr: +	M: +	M: +
N	SVO	N: Pr: +	M ^m : +	M: +

Table 5. Some morphosyntactic features of Uto-Aztecan languages. Sh – Shoshoni, Mo – Eastern Mono, NP – Northern Paiute, Ka – Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi, Ute, Tu – Tubatulabal, Pa – Papago, Y – Yaqui, Warihío, Ta – Tarahumara, Pi – Low Pima, Te – Tepehuan, C – Cora, Hu – Huichol, N – Nahuatl, MCO – major constituent order, F, ^f – flexible, CM – Case marking, N – nominal, Pr – pronominal, S – Subject, nS – non-subject, P – Passive, M – Morphological, M^m – Morphological middle, Per – Periphrastic, C – Causative.

9.1.1. Major constituent order

In a text count of constituent order in 639 clauses, the results were the following:

Life stories: 389 clauses	Folk tales: 250 clauses	
$V_i = 188 = 48\%$	$V_i = 83 = 33\%$	
$V_t = 28 = 7\%$	$V_t = 6 = 3\%$	
$VS = 59 = 15\%$	$VS = 59 = 24\%$	
$SV = 53 = 14\%$	$SV = 31 = 13\%$	
$VO = 19 = 5\%$	$VO = 29 = 12\%$	
$OV = 27 = 7\%$	$OV = 28 = 11\%$	
		Total : 27 out of 639 clauses (4%)
$SVO = 6$	$SVO = 9$	$SVO = 15$
$SOV = 3$	$SOV = 1$	$SOV = 4$
$OVS = 2$	– $OVS = 1$	$OVS = 3$
$VSO = 1$	$VSO = 3$	$VSO = 4$
$VOS = 1$		$VOS = 1$

These results are very similar in percentage and distribution to the findings in Papago narrative (Payne, 1987). In making these counts, I counted the free subject pronoun as a major constituent since its presence or absence has to do with information structure and the variability of constituent order in Warihío. The most common clause type in discourse has zero direct argument (47%), followed by clauses with one overt argument, that of subject (31%). As is typical in narrative, the number of clauses with all three major constituents overtly expressed is very low, 27 clauses (4%). At this point I am not sure if with this small number of clauses we are in a position to determine a basic word order or to place Warihío with the very few languages with no basic order at all, such as Achenese, Alawa, Hanis Coos, Ngandi, Southern Sierra Miwok (Siewierska, 1998:489). If we follow the frequency criterion to determine a basic order we will have to say that the SVO order is statistically more frequent (55%) against the four alternative orders, SOV, OVS, VSO, VOS with 45% for all of them together. Nevertheless, these alternative orders need to be explained.

In a major paper in variation in major constituent order, Siewierska (1998) using a genetically and areally diverse sample of 171 languages found that for North American languages a basic SVO order is present in 9% only, with 5% having SVO basic order with four order variants. Warihío seems to show SVO as its preferred order with four order variants. Therefore, these findings would place Warihío (for the moment) in an exceptional typological group.

There are different ways to explain the variant orders in a flexible constituent order language. Two opposite explanations are: (i) in terms of Information Structure and pragmatic motivations (Mithun 1992, Payne 1987, Givon 1983, 1988), (ii) by the principle of Early Immediate Constituents in the Performance Theory of Order and Constituency (Hawkins 1994, 1998).

The pragmatic explanation for flexible constituent order proposes a ‘newsworthiness’ principle (Mithun, 1992) or a ‘task urgency’ principle (Givón, 1988) that in a certain way places the constituent in Focus in sentence initial position. Most of the languages explained by these principles have no written tradition, therefore the data came from spoken texts. This is the case of Warihío.

It was stipulated in 5.3.2 that the Focus relation involves “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:213).” The constituent in Focus relation in Warihío is sentence initial. All the examples below are from different texts, but the initial major constituent –analyzing the whole texts- is in contrast in (1)-(2):

Or unexpected information is initial:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| | S | V | O |
| (6) | [ta~taná-ra] | [mahi-ri-áata] | [ahpó no'nó] |
| | PL~son-REL | grill-PFV-QUOT | 3.NS father |
| | ‘The children grilled their father.’ | | |
-
- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | V | S | O |
| (7) | weikáoba | [ki=iyoé-ka] | [pu'-ká rootóre] [pu'-ká no'ó no'nó] |
| | then | NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor | D.D-ID 1SG.NS father |
| | ‘...the doctor didn’t cure my dad.’ | | |

since one does not expect sons to hurt their father (6) or doctors not to cure their patients (7).

Quotation events seem to have a VS(O) fixed order:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | V | S | O |
| (8) | [či-ata] | [o'wí-a] | [ahpó kompáe] |
| | say-QUOT | coyote-EMPH | 3SG.NS comrade |
| | ‘Coyote said to his comrade.’ | | |

On other hand, Hawkins’ processing theory claims that “linear orderings in free word order languages and linear orderings in fixed word order languages are regulated by the same principle. Where there are no grammaticalized ordering conventions defined on the immediate constituents of a given phrase, early immediate constituents predict orderings based on the syntactic weight that each immediate constituent happens to have in each performance instance.” (Hawkins 1998:751). This means that alternative orders

in these languages are conditioned by syntactic processing not by pragmatic motivations. Actually, all the examples in (1)-(8) except (3) follow both principles, the more pragmatically prominent on one side and the syntactic weight on the other side. The more syntactic weight a constituent has, the more to the right it is positioned. There is an example with a relative clause in O function that supports Hawkin's claim. In the examples (9)-(11), what happens to be in Focus position in the text is a specific cheese that is under the water in a river. This is coded by a relative clause whose head *kesú* 'cheese' is in initial sentence position (11) and the rest of the relative clause *witipó neroí nasípa kahtiáme* '...that is down under the water' -the heaviest constituent in the sentence- at the end of the sentence.

O V

- (9) kawé=pu kompáe kawé [no'ó] [ko'ko-ma=mu]
 well=D.D comrade well 1SG.NS eat-FUT=2SG.S
 'Ok. comrade, you are going to eat me,

V S

- (10) napé ihpí i'wá [ena-ká] [pirípi tihoé]
 but just here come-PTCP one man
 but , a man just came,

O O V - V

- (11) ...[kesú] no'ó mačihípa-nurá-ka
 cheese 1SG.NS pull.out-order- PTCP
 [witipó neroí nasípa kahtiáme]
 down water between be.seated-NMLZ
 (he) ordered me to pull out some cheese that is down in the water.'

What seems to be happening in Warihío is that the basic S, V, and O order is irrelevant in most instances; instead, pragmatic motivations and syntactic weight processing order interact to determine the constituent to be in initial position. This element in Warihío could be playing any role in discourse.

9.1.2. Focus

The focus relation in Warihio is strongly related to constituent order since the constituent in Focus is positioned in initial position of the sentence. Given the high flexibility of constituent order in Warihío, almost any constituent, even only a part of a phrase such as a quantifier or an adjective, can stand in initial position.

9.1.3. Case marking and verbal agreement

These two features, which are absent in Warihío, are interesting in relation to two other phenomena: (i) major constituent order, and (ii) grammatical relations. As regards major constituent order, according to Siewierska (1998) there is a tendency for a language lacking verbal agreement and/or case marking to lack word-order flexibility. Such is not the case for Warihío, whose word order is very flexible. Actually, most of the Uto-Aztec languages shown in table 6 as having case marking or verbal agreement are mentioned by the authors as having a more fixed order, exactly contrary to the tendency suggested by Siewierska. As regards grammatical relations, all the nominal coding properties (Keenan 1976) that signal a grammatical relation are absent in Warihío, which makes it difficult to establish a grammatical relation in constructions with two nominal

arguments, even with control properties. In constructions with pronominal arguments, the only grammatical relation that is possible to demonstrate is the Subject.

9.1.4. Causative constructions

With causative constructions in Uto-Aztecan languages and in languages of the world it is very common to find either a morphological or a periphrastic construction. Co-occurrence of both types within a language is not so frequent. However, in most of the languages that have both types, the use of one type vs. the other is also based on transitivity and agentivity parameters. Warihío is special in the sense that besides showing the morphological and the periphrastic causative constructions, it shows a third type of causative construction in between these two, one that I have called the morpho-periphrastic causative.

- (12a) waní ko~kočí-pa-te-re kukučí
 John PL~sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children
 ‘John put the children to sleep.’
- (12b) waní isi-ré kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
 John move.sg-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
 ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By telling stories).
- (12c) waní yowá-re ko~kočí-míčio kukučí
 John make-PFV PL~sleep-PURP children
 ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By giving an order, he can be far away from the sleeping place, even in other house.)

The example in (12a) is the morphological causative with the causative suffix *-te*. The example in (12c) is the periphrastic causative with an auxiliary verb *yowáni* ‘make’ and the causing verb *kočíná* ‘sleep’ with the purposive suffix *-mičío*. The construction in (12b) shows the verb *isiná* ‘move’ as the auxiliary, but the causing verb *kočíná* still presents the causative suffix *-te* plus the participializer *-ka*, that in some way gives the sense of simultaneity of events. The construction in (12b) not only is morpho-syntactically placed in the middle between the morphological and the periphrastic types, but also fits in the middle of the causative continuum proposed by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001).

9.1.5. Passives

Of the different passive constructions; notional-functional, morphological and periphrastic, that Warihío shows, the morphological passive with the suffix *-tu* is typologically interesting. This morphological passive is restricted to the perfective aspect:

- (13) kahpona-ré-tu kuú (no'ó-e, amó-e, waní-e, tihoé-e)
 break-PRF-PASS stick 1SG.NS-INS 2SG.NS-INS John-INS men-INS
 ‘The stick was broken (by me, by you, by John, by the men.)’

We observe that the position of the passive suffix *-tu* is away from the slot for valency changing suffixes that cross-linguistically tend to be closer to the verbal root (Bybee, 1985). The place of the suffix contrasts with the cognate construction in Tarahumara where the suffix *-tu~ -ru* is placed before the tense/aspect suffix:

- (14) *igú ripuná-ru-re, (rió si-lé)* (Valdez-Jara, 2005)
 wood chop-PASS-PFV man be-PFV
 ‘The wood was chopped, the man did it.’

This morphological passive in Warihío is alluded to (Haspelmath, 1990) as a passive with an extra-inflectional affix, something very rare in the passives of the world.

9.1.6. Complex sentence with a modality main verb

The complex sentences with a modality main verb such as *oínena* ‘to start’, *simiténa* ‘to continue’, *kahuná* ‘to finish’ developed in Chapter 8 are interesting since they constitute a real counterexample to the binding hierarchy scale (Givón 1980, 2001, p.c.). This of course could have a diachronic explanation. However, since grammaticalization and diachronic explanations are not dealt with in this dissertation, the Warihío data remain a counterexample to such a scale.

9.2. A relation between Warihío cultural-geographic-social organization and its grammar for the identification of the participant’s roles

This subsection has by necessity a great amount of speculation. At the end, I will attempt to establish a relation more than a correlation between the social organization of the speakers of Warihío and its grammar for the identification of the participant’s roles. We need first to review a bit more of Warihío history. Around 1630, the Warihíos lived together with the Chínipas (now extinct), the Tarahumaras and the Tepehuanos in Chínipas, Chihuahua. Chínipas is located in the eastern foothill of the Sierra Madre Occidental in México. The Warihíos killed two Jesuit missionaries and they had to run away from the Spanish army. One part of the Warihíos stayed in the up-land sierra and

the other part crossed to the low-land sierra in Sonora. They settled down along the Mayo River and its tributaries in very small communities of three or four families. This land is very rough, with many cliffs and no formal roads, and a consequent low degree of interaction among the communities. Warihío thus belongs to the so-called low-scale society languages (speech communities of low density) (Miller, 1997). The people stayed like that for more than three hundred years. Only recently, when in the 1970's, they were recognized by the Mexican government as an ethnically differentiated group, did they start to live in larger communities (see maps 1 and 3) with greater interaction among them and with the mestizos.

It is impossible to deny some correlation between a language and its culture/social organization. At the same time, it is almost impossible to prove a direct relation between a cultural feature and a structural feature of the language in question. Some researchers (Copeland 1994, Everett 2005) establish the necessity of explaining a language always taking in account its culture. However, talking of cultural constraints in the structure of the language is not a stance much in fashion among linguists. There are no forms to rely on in capturing the meaning of an utterance (sentence).

Everett (2005) correlates some morphosyntactic features of the language Pirahã (Amazonian) with the Pirahã cultural trait of communicating based only in the concrete

and immediate experience¹ of the interlocutors. He goes on to explain the strong correlation of the cultural behaviour stated above and the following language features:

- (i) “Pirahã is the only language known without number, numerals, or a concept of counting.
- (ii) Pirahã is the only language known without color terms.
- (iii) Pirahã is the only language known without embedding.
- (iv) Pirahã has the simplest pronoun inventory known.
- (v) Pirahã has no perfect tense.
- (vi) Pirahã has perhaps the simplest kinship system ever documented. Etc.,”

Even if we accept these correlations, they still prove no causal relation between the cultural constraint and the morphosyntactic features of Pirahã alluded to before. However, observing such characteristics they fit to a great extent with a concrete and immediate experience of the interlocutors. If we adopt this posture, Pirahã would be an extreme clear case of a language-culture intertwined unit, at least for this part of Pirahã grammar. Logically, we could think of other languages such as Pirahã or at least languages with a less clear culture/social-language structure pairings.

¹ According to Everett immediate experience for Pirahã people means something seen or recounted as seen by a person alive at the time of telling.

Warihío, with all the morphosyntactic characteristics described throughout this dissertation and emphasized in this chapter (9.1.), seems to conform to a language type with part of its grammar –that concerned with the role and identification of the participants- related to its social organization and geographic situation. Of course, the genetic affiliation and the grammaticalization stage of the language play very important roles in the actual structure of the language, but in some instances this is not the whole story. We need to take account of the social interaction and cultural behavior of the speakers in order to have a complete picture, even sometimes over parts of the structure of the language.

The following explanation of the Warihío facts in question contains as I said before, a great amount of speculation. Given the type of Warihío communities described at the beginning of this subsection, that of a low-scale society, Warihío had for long time a great interaction inside the community and low interaction with other communities. Warihío communities used to consist of few families with no more than 20 members maximum. This organization should have had, based on daily activities, very very well known participants in very well known daily events. Hence, almost everybody probably had an antecedent of a particular participant-event unit.

There are no old records of the Warihío language. The oldest (1947) is a vocabulary with no comments on the structure, and the most complete is a grammar started in the 1970's by Wick Miller. Therefore, it's not certain whether the language had the present-day structure at the time this type of social/cultural organization began.

All the grammar pertinent to the identification of the type or role of the participants such as the coding properties case marking, fixed order, and verbal agreement are absent or marginally codified in Warihío. Neither are the control and behavior properties for identifying the roles of the participants (i.e. grammatical relations) very systematically expressed. This leaves the task principally to lexical semantics and extralinguistic context. All this is very consistent with the ease of the identification of the participants and/or the events occurring in the community by the speakers. Surely all these characteristics existed before the type of social web related to it, but it was this same web of social interaction that preserved and stimulated such structure.

One important feature in striking contrast with Warihío neighboring languages is the flexibility in its main constituents. The rest of the languages around it (Low Pima, Tarahumara) show certain fixed order -when it's necessary- to help to identify the roles of the participants, but not Warihío. Even noun modifiers such as quantifiers and adjectives show a flexibility reflecting all this awareness of the environment. As we said in previous sections, flexible order languages usually have other forms for signaling the roles of the participants, i.e. case marking or verbal agreement. This is not the case in Warihío. Siewierska (1998) postulates a series of word order hierarchies, one of them is that given information tends to be placed in initial position in order to guide the hearer on the easy-fast understanding of the communication. However, if the hearer (that I am assuming was the case of the Warihío hearer) most of the time had an antecedent of the

participant or of the event of certain success, it is understandable to use first position for the new information (Focus relation) which subsequently the participant or the event may be added.

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APENDIX I
WARIHÍO TEXTS

Don Alejandro Ruelas
Life story

- (1) kusí-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me
- (2) kuú werí-ata wa'á naáti
tree standing.up-QUOT there thing
where there was a tree
- (3) pu'-ká čintewaniá ki=mači-ní-a pu'-ká kuú
D.D-ID name NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID tree
I don't know what it is called, that tree
- (4) burapakító tewánia-či nawa-re=ni-á=pu
Burapaquito name-LOC born-PFV=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D

weikáo čía no'ó ye'yé
then say 1SG.NS mother
Burapaquito is the name of the place where I was born, my mother says
- (5) wa'á nawa-kái=ni-a weikaóba
there born-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH then
I was born there
- (6) weikaóba u'pa-re-tú=ni-a wa'á akí-čí-o
then bring-PFV-PASS=1SG.S-EMPH here river-LOC-EMPH
then I was brought along the river bank
- (7) wahká ohóe-ka-teme
everywhere live-PTCP-1PL.S
we lived everywhere (along the river bank)
- (8) ohóe-re=pu ye'yé-ma eikáo
live-PFV=D.D mother-COM then
I lived with my mother then
- (9) wa'á oi-ré=ne pu'-ká aháma eikaóba
there walk-PFV=1SG.S D.D-ID with then
I was with her there then
- (10) tehpei wa'á ohóe
long.time there live
we lived there for a long time

- (11) neipá wahká moči-ré=pu ye'ye-á=pu weikaóba
 last everywhere be.seated-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then
 after that my mother lived everywhere
- (12) tamó weikaóba upá-re wa'á-tepa
 1PL.NS then bring-PFV here -up
 then she brought us here
- (13) wa'á aki-čí weh-čí simi-ká-teme-o
 there river-LOC land-LOC go-PTCP-1PL.S-EMPH

 wa'á akí-a aki-číkia aki-číkia
 there river-EMPH river-LOC river-LOC
 we walked along the river bank, along the river bank
- (14) ahtá weikaóba simpá-re wa'á ahtá naohóa
 until then go.pl- PFV there as.far.as Navojoa
 then we went all the way to Navojoa
- (15) u'má-to-ka-teme-a=pu
 run-MOV-PTCP-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
 we passed by there
- (16) weikaóba ená-re-teme ahtá wa'á
 then come-PFV-1PL.S as.far.as here
 then we came all the way here
- (17) karetéra-či simi-ká wa'á-kapu
 highway-LOC go-PTCP here-up
 walking up on the highway
- (18) kahéme tewaniá eikó obregóni-a
 Cajeme name then Obregón-EMPH
 At that time Obregón was called Cajeme
- (19) weikaóba wa'á-tepa ená-teme undisióni
 then here-up come-1PL.S Fundición
 then we came all the way here, to Fundición
- (20) owétepa eikába ahtá kámpo nuébo simpá-ka
 there.up then as.far.as Campo Nuevo go.pl-PTCP
 then we went all the way to Campo Nuevo

- (21) ní-a kí=nané-ri-a
1SG.S-EMPH NEG=know-PFV-EMPH
I did not know (that place)
- (22) no'nó nane-ré=pu no'nó eikó wa'á ohóe-re=pu
father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV-D.D
(but) my father knew it (because) my father used to live there
- (23) wa'á yasa-ré no'nó poní-ra
there be.seated-PFV father brother-REL

weiká=pu yetó-re=pu-a tekihpaná-mia
then=D.D invite-PFV=D.D-EMPH work-FUT
My father's brother was there and invited me to work
- (24) weikaó=pu-a tehpúna-re wa'á naáti
then=D.D-EMPH cut-PFV there thing
then we cut it
- (25) tekihpana-re wa'á naáti aarós
work-PFV there thing rice
we worked in the rice field there
- (26) tehpúna-re
cut-PFV
we cut it
- (27) wa'á moči-ré eikóba weikáo
there be.seated.pl-PFV then then
we were there at that time
- (28) weikaóba wa'á ená-re eikó owétuka
then there come-PFV then from.there.to.here

i'yá-ka kečewéka tewaniá-či
look.for-PTCP Quetchehueca name-LOC
then we came toward here looking for a place named Quetchehueca
- (29) wa'á moči-ré=pu
there be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D
we stayed there
- (30) kí=weká tamó moči-ré wa'á ói=pu
NEG=a.lot 1PL.NS be.seated.pl-PFV there walk=D.D
but we didn't stay there for a long time

- (31) wa'á ená-re eikaóba i'wá kolonia sonora progresista
 there come-PFV then here Colonia Sonora Progresista
 then we came here, to Colonia Sonora Progresista
- (32) ená-re eikóba i'wá-o tekihpaña-re i'wá-o
 come-PFV then here-EMPH work-PFV here-EMPH
 we came here, and we worked here too
- (33) kuú wa'ámi kusí-tere eikó i'wá-o eiká-o kusí-tere eikó
 tree everywhere wood-middle then here-EMPH then-EMPH woods-middle then
 there were trees everywhere, only woods here at that time
- (34) te wa'á tekihpaña-re
 1PL.S there work-PFV
 we worked there
- (35) no'nó eikó tekihpana-éči tekihpana-éči ta'a
 father then work-ITER work-ITER
 my father worked and worked
- (36) wahká yetó-re eikó eikó wa'ámi kolónia hekopáko tewaniá-či weikó wa'á
 far.away invite-PFV then then by.there Colonia Jecopaco name-LOC then there
 then he invited me to a place called Colonia Jecopaco
- (37) ahkói oh~ó-re no'nó-a=pu tehkí-intu-ači
 everywhere ITER~walk-PFV father-EMPH=D.D work-there-LOC
 my father went everywhere, wherever there was work
- (38) tekihpaná-ka taráh-ka ko'á-me ko'á-re=pu
 work-PTCP buy-PTCP eat-NMLZ eat-PFV=D.D
 working, buying food to eat
- (39) ahkáoí kómo kí'tia tehkí eikó
 everywhere like there.is.not work then
 there wasn't work anywhere
- (40) kawé kí=ehpé-či tía weikáo
 good NEG=now-LOC say then
 not like now
- (41) ki'teé-re tehkí=pu eikó=pu
 there.is.not-PFV work=D.D then=D.D
 there wasn't work then

- (42) ahkói tamó i'tó-ka oiná=pu
 everywhere 1PL.NS take-PTCP walk=D.D
 he took us everywhere
- tamó no'nó eikó wa'ámi tehkí-intu-ači
 1PL.NS father then by.there work-there is-LOC
 our father took us wherever there was work
- (43) póke teme-á=pu kí=tekihpaná-teme-a=pu
 because P1PL.S-EMPH=D.D NEG=work-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
 nu'-núnti kí=we-werúma iné-re-teme
 PL~little NEG=PL-big be-PFV-1PL.S
 we didn't work because we were very young
- (44) pukaépa=pu teme-á=pu
 that's.why=D.D 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
- nahépa moči-ré-teme-a=pu
 nothing be.seated.pl-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
 that's why we didn't do anything
- (45) weikaóba enčí tamó yetó-re
 then again 1PL.NS invite-PFV
 then they invited us again
- (46) i'tó-re tamó ye'ye-á=pu
 take-PFV 1PL.NS mother-EMPH=D.D
 and my mother took us
- teiwamé tewí mehikío tewaniá-či
 up up Mejiquíó name-LOC
 up there to a place called Mejiquíó
- (47) wa'á oh~óe-ka-teme eikó wa'á
 there PL~walk-PTCP-1PL.S then there
 we lived there at that time
- (48) no'ó po-poni-á=pu
 1SG.NS PL~brother-EMPH=D.D
- ihkwéra-či moči-ré=pu-a=pu
 school-LOC be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 my brothers were (going) to school

(49) ni-á ki ki=asa-ré=ni-a ihkwéra=ni-a=pu
 1SG.S-EMPH NEG NEG=arrive-PFV=1SG.S-EMPH school=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 I didn't attend school

(50) naépa wa'á tekhipána-ka tekhipa=ni-á=pu
 nothing there work-PTCP work=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 I always worked

kuyí-mia pu'-ká no'ó poní no'ó piní
 help-FUT D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother 1SG.NS sister
 to help my brother and my sister

(51) pukaépa tekhipa=ni-á=pu
 that's.why work-1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 that's why I worked

(52) kómo kí=weká yo'i-yái=ne=pu
 as NEG=much earn-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D

senépi piarí simi-yái=ne tekhipána-mia
 every morning go-IPFV=1SG.S work-FUT
 since I didn't earn well, every morning I went to work

naáti ko're-ta-ka wa'ámi naáti trinčéra tewániame
 thing fence-MAKE-PTCP by there thing trench name
 making fences, those called trench

(53) pu'-ká yorá-ka páke yoi-mičio no'ó no'nó
 D.D-ID make-PTCP for earn-PURP 1SG.NS father
 making those so my father could earn some money

(54) kontráto kuwé kontráto u'-ré=pu-a=pu
 contract soon contract bring-FPFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D

wa'á yoi-nari-a=pu
 there earn-DES-EMPH=D.D
 he got a contract soon to earn more

(55) weikaoba tamó teeko-a=pu
 then 1PL.NS foremen-EMPH=D.D

marikí ritoro yoi-re=pu-a=pu
 five liter earn-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 at that time our foremen earned five liters

- (56) kontráto-či kiyá-ni-a marikí ritoro sunú
 contract-NEG give-PRS-EMPH five liter corn
 in the contract that gave five liters of corn
- (57) pukaéče yomá semána tekíhpána-te-ka
 nothing.more.to.do all week work-CAUS-PTCP
 that's why they make me work all week long
- (58) pu'-ká tamó no'nó=pu senékači enčí
 D.D-ID 1PL.NS father=D.D sometimes again
 our father did it sometimes, too
- (59) nahpé sunú-a semaná yomá wahípa
 however corn-EMPH week all finish
 however the corn ran out every week
- (60) sunu-á=pu oká paiká tawé-ka wahípa sunú-a
 corn-EMPH=D.D two three day-EMPH finish corn-EMPH
 the corn always ran out in two or three days
- (61) enčí simi-ré simi-ná=pu itá-mia pu'-ká tamó teekó
 again go-PFV go-PRS=D.D ask-FUT D.D-ID 1PL.NS foremen
 so he used to go to ask our foremen (for more corn)
- (62) kuándo tehkí wahi=pu-i-pa weiká wikí-ri-a-teme
 when work finish=D.D-IPFV-INCH a.lot owe-PFV-EMPH-1PL.S
 kí=kómo téhki-a kí=simi-ré=pu-a
 NEG=how work-EMPH NEG=go-PFV=D.D-EMPH
 when the work finished, we owed a lot,
 because our work didn't produce
- (63) póke čorówa-teme ki=tekih pána-teme=pu
 because be.hungry-1PL.S NEG=work-1PL.S=D.D
 we were hungry because we didn't work
- (64) weikaóba ahtaké tamó teekó kuwepa-só-pa
 then until 1PL.NS foremen finish-SUB-INCH
 until our foremen finished
 weikápa simi-ré=pu-a=pu apoé
 then go-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D 3SG.S
 the he left

- (65) awési ihkéta wikí-ri-a=ne-o ihkéta soorandóna=pu
 how.much owe- PFV-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH how.much left-D.D
- tehkí yoí-tia-me
 work earn-PASS-NMLZ
 I went to see how much I owed and how much was left with the work done
- (66) kí=tamó kiya-nári-a nekayá-ta=pu patroní-a=pu
 NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH get.mad-MAKE=D.D foremen-EMPH=D.D
- tamó tekó-a kí=tamó kiya-nári-a sunú
 1PL.NS foremen-EMPH NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH corn
 The foremen pretended to be mad, so he wouldn't have to give us corn
- (67) teme-á=pu corowá-ni
 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D be.hungry-PRS
- teme-á=pu pukaépa itá-ni sunú
 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D that's.why ask-PRS corn
 we were hungry; that's why we asked for corn
- (68) weikáo ahtaké piréçi tamó kiya-má=pu tehkí werumá
 then until other 1PL.NS give-FUT=D.D work big
 so again he'd give us a bigger job
- (69) kí=kuwépa-ma-teme=pu pií semána ooká semána paiká semána
 NEG=finish-FUT-1PL.S=D.D one week two week three week
 we won't finish in a week, two weeks, or even in three weeks
- (70) senékaçi kí=kuwépa-ma=pu
 sometimes NEG=finish-FUT=D.D
 sometimes we didn't finish
- (71) kuándo wahipá-so tamó kuwepo-í-pa kí=weikápi wiki-ré=pu
 when finish-SUB 1PL.NS finish-IPFV-INCH NEG=a.lot owe-PFV=D.D
 when we finished, when it was almost all done, we owed (him) very little
- (72) ka'ité itihpi-ná=pu tamó teekó weikaóba
 there.is.not stay-FPRS=D.D 1PL.NS foremen then
 it remained in the foremen's possession
- (73) pukaépa kí=nané=ne
 that's.why NEG=know-1SG.S
 that's why I didn't know

- (74) neipámiopa nekáwa tamó patróni
last get.angry 1PL.NS foremen

kí=tamó kiya-nári-a eikó tamó te~tehkí
NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH then 1PL.NS PL~job
afterwards our foremen would get so mad as not to give us our jobs
- (75) poké weiká wiki-riá=ne=pu
because a.lot owe-IPFV=1PSG.S=D.D

pukaépa=pu kí=tamó kiya-nári-a tehkí
that's.why=D.D NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH job
because I owed a lot, that is why he wouldn't give us work
- (76) kuándo naohóa tamó simi-ói owétuka
when Navojoa 1PL.NS go-SUB toward:here
when they brought us here from Navojoa

simi-yái yomá tawé simi-yái-teme
go-IPFV all day go-IPFV-1PL.S
we walked all day long
- (77) weikáo temé ko~kočé-i=te wa'á nati-či puéblo máyo
then 1PL.S PL~sleep-IPFV=1PL.S there thing-LOC Pueblo Mayo
we slept over in the Mayo village
- (78) owétuka weikáo simi-yái-ne
toward.here then go-IPFV=1SG.S

niatoká-či eitó-ka no'ó poní
shoulder-LOC carry-PTCP 1PL.NS brother
when I came here I carried my brother on my shoulders
- (79) weikáo resí-pa-ka-pa wéh-či
then suffer-INCH-PTCP-INCH land-LOC

tamó paná-ka seká-či pahčá simi-yéi-pa
1PL.NS hold-PTCP hand-LOC first go-IPFV-INCH
when I got tired we would hold hands and walk forward
- (80) weikáo weikáo wa'á ená wahká ená=pu treni tewáníame
then then there come far.away come=D.D train called
then a train appeared in the distance

- (81) napé sinói wa'á intúna sinói čía čía=pu no'ó poní eikó
 however snake there there.is snake say say=D.D PL.NS brother then
 here comes the snake, my brother said
- (82) eikó umá-ka eikó kusí-tere weikáoba na'narí-ka=ne
 then run-PTCP then woods-middle then follow-PTCP=1SG.S
 then he took off into the woods and I ran after him
- (83) eikó ahtaké asépa-ka=ne weikápa eikápa
 then until catch.up-PTCP=1SG.S then then
 until I caught him, then
- (84) eikápa u'pá-ka=ne enčí wa'á
 then bring-PTCP=1SG.S again there
 then, I brought him back
- (85) wa'á u'máto-ka eikó tréni-a kahéme kahéme eikó
 there pass.by-PTCP then train-EMPH Cajeme Cajeme then
 then the train was going to Cajeme
- (86) weiká-tia maha-ré=pu no'ó poní-a eikó weikáo
 then-QUOT get.scared-PFV=D.D 1PL.NS brother-EMPH then then
 then my brother got very scared, then
- (87) u'má-re=pu maha-ré=mu=pu pu'káe pu'káe u'má-re=pu
 run-PFV=D.D get.scared-PFV=2SG.S=D.D that's.why tha'ts.why run- NPFV=D.D
 you took off, you got scared that's why you took off
- (88) serkíta wa'á puérto tewaniáme-a
 near there Puerto called-EMPH
 near the place called Puerto
- (89) wa'á kahtí-a raančo
 there be.seated.sg-EMPH ranch
 there was a ranch
- (90) weikaóba wa'á asi-ká-teme weikáo wa'á
 then there arrive-PTCP-1PL.S then there
 we arrived there
- (91) ko'áme tarí-mia wa'á asi-ré=pu ye'yé-a eikábo
 food buy-FUT there arrive-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH then
 my mom went there to buy food

- (92) wa'á kahti-á=pu wakeró wa'á=pu moči-ká-me=pu
 there be.seated.sg-EMPH=D.D cowboy there-D.D be.seated-PTCP-NMLZ=D.D
 there was a cowboy who lived there
- (93) weikaóba tari-nári-a pu'-ká no'ó poní eikáo
 then buy-DES-EMPH D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother then
 then he wanted to buy my brother
- (94) eikáo maha-ká=ni-a i'to-ká=ni-a no'ó poní
 then get.scared-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS brother
 then I got scared and I took my brother away
- (95) bwéna mehká i'to-ká=ni-a
 very far.away take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH
- poké kí=tari-héra=ne pu'-ká no'ó poní-a pu'-ká pete-čí
 because NEG=buy-DES=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother-EMPH D.D-ID house-LOC
 I took him far away because I didn't want him (cowboy) to buy my brother in that house
- (96) ni-á=pu weikaóba u'pá-ka=ne-a
 1SG-EMPH=D.D then bring-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH
 so I took him with me
- (97) eikó weiká simpá-re-teme wa'á=pu weitú kečewéka
 then more go.pl-PFV-1PL.S there=ND.D farther Quetchehueca
- owetú kámpo nuébo tewánia-či wa'á
 toward.there Campo Nuevo name-LOC there
 so we went farther than Quetchehueca, there in Campo Nuevo
- (98) tekhipana-ré=pu ye'ye-á=pu eikó no'nó
 work-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then father
 my mom and dad worked
- (99) wa'á tehpu-na-ré=pu pu'-ká čin tewánia aaróso
 there cut-PFV=D.D D.D-ID how called rice
 there they cut those – What are they called? – rice.
- (100) weikáo=pu o'osá-e tehpu-na-re
 then-D.D sickle-INS cut-PFV
 then they cut it with sickle

- (101) kiteé-re=pu mákina wa'ámi
 there.is.not-PFV=D.D machine there

 pu'-ká-e triyandónia-me pu'-ká aaróso
 D.D-ID-INS thresh-NMLZ D.D-ID rice
 there weren't those machines that they thresh the rice with
- (102) kuu-é wepa-ká
 stick-INS hit-PTCP

 pu'-ká-e napawi-ré pu'-ká aaróso
 D.D-ID-INS gather-PFV D.D-ID rice
 they hit it with a stick and got the rice
- (103) kuu-é wewe-ká pu'kaépa=pu
 stick-INSTR hit-PTCP that's.why=D.D
 that's why they hit it with sticks
- (104) ke kóme ke ki=kawé tehki yoi-ré=pu-a
 since how since NEG=good work earn-PFV=D.D-EMPH
 since it wasn't difficult, we earned the job
- (105) katia pewá=pu kuu-rá we-pá-ka
 very hard=D.D stick-REL hit-INCH-PTCP
 the stick they used to hit it was hard
- (106) weikaóba ki=naté-re=pu puú aaróso
 then NEG=cost-PFV=D.D D.D rice
 so the rice was cheap
- (107) eikó naté-re eikó ehpéo naté-na
 then cost-PFV then now cost-PRS
 it was then, now it's expensive
- (108) pukaépa weikápa ena-ré=pu=pu eikó wa'átuka
 that's.why then come-PFV=D.D=D.D then toward.here
 that's why we came here
- (109) ihí-a=pu mehikío ini-rí-a ihí-a=pu
 D.P-EMPH=D.D Mejiquíó be-PFV-EMPH D.P-EMPH=D.D
 This happened in Mejiquíó

- (110) kuándo ye'yé weikaóba ko'kó-ri-a
 when mother then sick-PFV-EMPH
 eikó no'nó=pu taha-ré=pu-a=pu
 then father=D.D burn-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 when my mom was sick my dad burned himself
- (111) naásipa naásipa isáwi-či
 in.the.meedle in.the.meedle hot.coal-LOC
 He was in the meedle of the hot coals
- (112) poí-ri-a eikó pu'-ká-e no'nó
 lay-PFV-EMPH then D.D-ID-INS father
 my dad, he was lying on them
- (113) weikápa weri-si-ká=ni-a tukaó-a
 then stand.up-go-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH night-EMPH
 so, I got up at night
- (114) weikaóba wa'á nene-ka=né=pu weikaóba
 then there look-PTCP=1SG.S=D.D then
 then I looked there
- (115) naasípa naasípa isáwa-či
 in.the.meedle in.the.meedle hot.coal-LOC
 poi-ri-á=pu no'no-á=pu
 lay-PFV-EMPH=D.D father-EMPH=D.D
 He was in the meedle of the coal, my dad was
- (116) pu'kaépa eikaóba panesu-ká=ne-a oeyáme
 that's.why then pull-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH side
 so that's why I pulled him to the side
- (117) eikaóba no'no-á=pu ki=weikaóba ki=hoyá-i eikó
 then father-EMPH=D.D NEG=then NEG=walk-IPFV then
 my dad couldn't walk then
- (118) weikáo sin-ká=ne eikó rootóre i'yá-mia
 then go-PTCP=1SG.S then doctor look.for-FUT
 mehká mehká aki-čí tetú
 far.away far.away river-LOC toward.down
 so I went to look for a doctor really far away, downstream

- (119) simi-yái simi-ká kawái rewé-tia=ne
 go-IPFV go-PTCP horse lend-PASS=1SG.S
 pukaépa pu'-ká-če i'nó-mia pu'-ká rootóre
 that's.why D.D-ID-ITER bring-FUT D.D-ID doctor
 I walked and walked, and they lent me a horse just to bring the doctor
- (120) eikó kuándo no'ó i'nó-i pu'-ká rootóre
 then when 1SG.NS bring-IPFV D.D-ID doctor
 when I was bringing the doctor
- (121) weikáo u'pá-ka=ne
 then bring-PTCP=1SG.S
 then I brought him
- (122) eikó asi-ré=pu pu'-ká pete-čí
 then arrive- NEG D.D-ID house-loc
 then he arrived to our house
- (123) weikáoba ki=iyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'ó no'nó
 then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor ND.D-ID 1SG.NS father
 he didn't cure him, the doctor didn't cure my dad
- (124) weikáo pu'-ká i'yói i'yoé-so pu'-ká tamó
 then D.D-ID remedy cure-SUB D.D-ID 1PL.NS
 when he cured him for us, with that remedy
 eikaóba i'tó-ka=ne enčí pu'-ká rootóre ahpó pete-čí
 then take-PTCP=1SG.S again D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS house-LOC
 I took the doctor back to his house
- (125) i'tó-ka=ne eikó
 take-PTCP=1SG.S then
 so I took him
- (126) simi-yá-ne weh-čí
 go-IPFV=1SG.S land-LOC
 simi-yá=ne na'naríto-ka rootóre
 go-IPFV=1SG.S follow-PTCP doctor
 I followed the doctor on foot
- (127) áhta ké asi-ká pete-čí
 until that arrive-PTCP house-LOC
 until he arrived at home

- (128) entónses yomá-o toá-ka=ne kawái aháma
 then everything-EMPH leave-PTCP=1SG.S horse with
 then I left him there with the horse and everything
- (129) toá-ka=ne pu'-ká rootóre ahpó pete-čí
 leave-PTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS house-LOC
 I left the doctor in his house
- (130) i'weikáo no'ó aká=ne
 then 1SG.NS go.back=1SG.S

 ariwá-ni ariwá-ni
 afternoon-PRS afternoon-PRS
 so I came back and it was already very late
- (131) eikóba simi-yá=ne simi-yá=ne wa'akápu no'ó pete-čí
 then go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S toward.up 1SG.NS house-LOC
 I kept walking towards my house
- (132) no'=aká ini-siá=ne
 1SG.NS=come.back be-go=1SG.NS

 eikó simi-yái simi-yái
 then go-IPFV go-IPFV
 I was going back, walking and walking
- (133) weikaóba makoyáwi tewaniá wa'á wanámi wa'á
 then Macoyagüi called there by.there there
 (I passed by) there in Macoyagüi
- (134) wa'á weri-á píipi kuú temóri werumá pálo blánko tewaniá
 there stand.up-EMPH one trunk temóri big stick white called
 there was a huge white-stick trunk
- (135) kuú temóri=pu-a wa'á eikó
 trunk temóri=D.D-EMPH there then
 It was a huge trunk
- (136) wa'á nará čiwá katiáme weikáo weikaóba
 there cry goat like then then
 Then something like a goat was crying there
- (137) simi-ká=ne eikó nené-mia pu'-ká wa'á nené-mia
 go-PTCP=1SG.S then see-FUT D.D-ID there see-FUT
 I went to see it

- (138) wahká poi=pú čiwá tanayáme
 over.there lay=D.D goat just.given.birth
 čia=né eikó
 say=1SG.S then
 A goat that has just given birth is there, I said then
- (139) eiká simi-ká=ne nené-mia
 then go-PTCP=1SG.S see-FUT
 tisikí-re nanétia
 nothing-PFV nothing
 So I went to go to see it and I didn't see anything
- (140) wa'ámi yomá i'yá=ne wa'ámi ki=tewá-ka=ne eikáo
 there everything look.for=1SG.S there NEG=find-PTCP=1SG.S then
 I looked all over and I didn't find anything, then
- (141) ihtáoi ki'té
 thing there.is.not
 no'=áka=ne eikó karetéra-či simi-yái=ne simi-yái=ne
 1SG.NS=come.back=1SG.S then highway-LOC go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S
 There was nothing there, I came back then and I walked along the highway
- (142) eikó mehká simi-yéi-pa ki=nané-ri-a=ne
 then far.away go-IPFV-INCH NEG=knowIPFV-EMPH=1SG.S
 then when I'd gone away, I didn't remember
- (143) weikaóba pukeriópa simi-yái=ne kuándo
 then later walk-IPFV=1SG.S when
 then, little later I was walking when,
- (144) tisína nané-ri-a=ne wa'á
 nothing knowIPFV-EMPH=1SG.S there
 I didn't remember anything from there
- (145) čopohkó-či ki=simi-ká-i muináti
 knee-LOC NEG=go-PTCP-IPFV slowly
 because of my knees I didn't walk fast
- (146) simi-yái=ne eikó pete-čí muináti simi-ká
 go-IPFV=1SG.S then house-LOC slowly go-PTCP
 I left then for my house, walking slowly

- (147) weikáo kuándo pete-čí no'-asi-sá
 then when house-LOC 1SG.NS=arrive-SUB
 wa-číá no'ó ye'yé-a wa-číá eikó ye'yé-a
 there-say 1SG.NS mother-EMPH there-say then mother-EMPH
 Then when I arrived at home my mom said like that, my mom said then
- (148) ihtána inué=mu
 what have=2SG.S
 What's wrong?
- (149) maha-ká=mu maha-ka=ni-á=pu
 get.scared-PTCP=2SG.S get.scared-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 You got scared, I got scared
- (150) ki=mahá=ni-a maha-yái
 NEG=get.scared=1SG.S-EMPH get.scared-IPFV
 I wasn't scared
- (151) ki=sihutewa-e=ni-á=pu čopohkó-či čía=ne eikó
 NEG=strenght-have=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D knee-LOC say=1SG.S then
 I don't have any strenght in my knees, I told her then
- (152) eikápa čeePASé=ne eikó mahá-ka pukaépa
 then get.fever=1SG.S then get.scared-PTCP that's.why
 Then I got fever, from the scare
- (153) weikaóba weikaóba ye'ye-á=pu čia no'nó-a yača-pá-re eikó
 then then mother-EMPH=D.D say father-EMPH stand.up-INCH-PFV then
 then my mom said my dad had gotten better
- (144) weikáo i'yoá-ni-o wa'ámi naatí kuú
 then cure-PRS-SUB there thing stick
 pasú-ka pu'-ká pálo kolorádo tewaniá
 boil-PTCP D.D-ID stick red called
 so we cured ourselves by boiling those sticks –those ones called palo colorado
- (155) i'yó-i pu'-ká-e i'yoa-ré=pu weikaóba
 cure-IPFV D.D-ID-INSTR cure-PFV=D.D then
 back then people cured themselves with those
- (156) póke wahi-pá=pu naatí=pu rootóre i'yói-ra
 because run.out-INCH=D.D thing=D.D doctor remedy-POS
 because those doctor's remedies always ran out

- (157) weikáo wahi-pá-so pu'-ká pu'-ká
 then run.out-INCH-SUB D.D-ID D.D-ID
- i'noá-re eikó kusí-tere pálo kolorádo tewaniáme
 bring-PFV then woods-between stick red called
 so when they ran out of that, they brought palo colorado from the woods
- (158) kuú pu'-ká pálo kolorádo pesú-ka ihí-re eikó
 stick D.D-ID stick red boil-PTCP drink-PFV then
 they boiled palo colorado and they drank it
- (159) weikaóba pu'-ká-e yačah-pá-re no'no-á=pu yomá
 then D.D-ID-INSTR stand.up-INCH-PFV father-EMPH=D.D all
 then my dad got completely better with that
- (160) eikó pu'-ká-e yačah-pá-re pu'-ká
 then D.D-ID-INSTR stand.up-INCH-PFV D.D-ID
 so with that, he got better
- (161) kuándo no'nó yačah-pá-so
 when father stand.up-INCH-SUB
- ahkói o~hoá-i-teme tekihpaná-ka
 everywhere PL~walk-IPFV-1PL.S work-PTCP
 when my dad had gotten better, we went around working all over the place
- (162) kuándo teemé i'wá wa'ámi tekihpaná-ka koa-yai-téme eikó ahkói
 when 1PL.S here there work-PTCP eat-IPFV-1PL.S then everywhere
 when we went out working, we ate wherever then
- (163) oh~oá-teme raančó-či wa'amí tehkí-intu-ači wa'ámi weikaóba
 PL~walk-1PL.S ranch-LOC around work-there.is-LOC around then
 we went around the ranches, wherever there was work
- (164) wa'ámi oh~oa-téme-a
 around PL~walk-PL.S-EMPH
- weikaóba no'no-á=pu tekihpan-ó-pa mehikío
 then father-EMPH=D.D work-SUB-INCH Mejiquíó
- kahti-ó-pa ye'yé no'nó tiamé
 be.seated.sg-SUB-INCH mother father also
 we went around there, then my dad was working in Mejiquíó because my mom
 was there, so was my dad

- (165) wa'amí oh~oa-téme=pu
around PL~walk-1PL.S=D.D

kuándo tamó yetó-ka weikaópua owétepa enčí i'wá
when 1PL.NS invite-PTCP then toward.here again here
we were out there when they invited us then to come back here
- (166) i'wá tehkí i'yá-mia i'wá kolónia
here work look.for-FUT here Colonia
to look for work here in the Colonia
- (167) weikáo tekhipaná-iče tekhipaná-iče i'wá weiká
then work-ITER work-ITER here then
so we worked here daily then
- (168) enčí waré=pu-a tamó yetó-ka
again toward.there=D.D-EMPH 1PL.NS invite-PTCP
he went back there again and he invited us
- (169) weikáo póke teemé ečá-ya pamuúni
then because 1PL.S plant-IPFV summer
because then we used to plant in the summer
- (170) wa'á=pu wa'ámi oi-ré=ne ečah-ká wa'ámi tekhipána-ka
there=D.D around walk-PFV=1SG.S plant-PTCP around work-PTCP
I was there planting, working
- (171) weikáo kuándo kikti-ó wa'á tehkí
then when there.is.not-SUB there work
then when there wasn't work there
- (172) kuépa-sa-pa
that's.why-SUB-INCH

enčí eh~ena-téme i'wá i'yá-mia i'wá obregón sonóa
again PL~come-1PL.S here look.for-FUT here Obregón Sonora
when we'd finished again , we came here to Obregón Sonora
- (173) weikaóba neipámioa enčí simi-sá-pa wa'á mehikío
then later again go-SUB-INCH there Mejiquíó
then afterwards , we left again for Mejiquíó
- (174) weikáo weikaó-ba nenéka-re eikó tamó no'nó=pu ye'yé aháma
then then-INCH get.mad-PFV then 1PL.NS father=D.D mother with
then may dad got mad at my mom

- (175) weikaó-ba ye'ye-á=pu wa'á itihpi-ré=pu-a
 then-INCH mother-EMPH=D.D there stay- PFV=D.D-EMPH

 no'ó poní ahama
 1SG.NS brother with
 then my mom stayed there; she stayed there with my brother
- (176) póke neé-a=pu-a korónia kahti-á=ne
 because 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D-EMPH Colonia be.seated.sg-EMPH=1SG.S

 eikó tekihpána-ka
 then work-PTCP
 because I was in La Colonia, working, then
- (177) werumá i'-ká=ne eikó-ba weikáo
 big be-PTCP=1SG.NS then-INCH then
 I was already grown-up at that time
- (178) weikaó-ba i'wá ena-só-pa no'ó no'nó
 then-INCH here come-SUB-INCH 1SG.NS father

 aká=ne eikó-ba weh-čí
 go.back=1SG.S then-INCH ground-LOC
 so when my dad came, I went back on foot
- (179) weeká mete-sá-pa taamári notuká
 many make-SUB-INCH tamales lunch

 weiká-pa no'=aka=né=pu
 then-INCH 1SG.NS=-go.back=1SG.S=D.D
 when I had made a lot of tamales for lunch, then I went back
- (180) mehikío simi-yái=ne=pu
 Mejiquíó go-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D

 ye'yé nené-mia
 mother see-FUT
 I went to Mejiquíó to see my mom
- (181) napé paiká tawé-čí asi-ká=ne mehikío
 however three day-LOC arrive-PTCP=1SG.S Mejiquíó

 weh-čí simi-ká
 ground-LOC go-PTCP
 however, it took me three days to get to Mejiquíó, going on foot (walking)

- (182) weiká wa'á tukaó asi-ka=né=pu pete-čí
 then there night arrive-PTCP=1SG.S=D.D house-LOC
 then I arrived at home at night
- (183) wa'á asi-ká weikáo čia=ne
 there arrive-PTCP then say= 1SG.S
- rios-kúira čia=ne eikó
 God-take care say=1SG.S then
 when I arrived I said “good night”, that’s what I said
- (184) nooo kítia henté wa'á
 INTERJ there.is.not people there
 No, nobody was there
- (185) kawé to'weré-tia kuú wa'á-pote pueta-čí-pote
 good put-PASS stick there-up door-LOC-up
- ki=moi-míčio henté-o wa'á yoré-muna ičikuá-me
 NEG=enter-PURP people-EMPH there inside-toward steal-NMLZ
 they had put the sticks above on the door very well, so people, thieves, couldn’t
 get in,
- (186) kítia no'ó ye'yé-a weikáo wa'á
 there.is.not 1SG.NS mother-EMPH then there
 my mom wasn’t there
- (187) wa'á čerepá-ka=ne eikó
 there pass.the.night-PTCP=1SG.S then
 so I passed the night there
- (188) piarí pa'á wa'ámi henté-o
 morning early around people-EMPH
- tíhoé moči-ka-či-áme inatu-ké-mia
 man be.seated.pl-PTCP-LOC-NMLZ ask-APPL-FUT
 In the morning, (I was) going around asking men where people were,
- (189) akaná simi-ré ye'yé-a
 where go-PFV mother-EMPH
- čia=ne eikó
 say-1SG.S then
 where did my mom go? I ask them then

- (190) áa=pu wa'á oh~oé-me čiá=pu
 INTERJ=D.D there HAB~live-NMLZ say=D.D
 witiáme simi-ré=pu-a=pu ko'kori-ame i'tuá-mia
 valley go-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D get.sick-NMLZ carry-FUT
 aah! the one who lived there said: “they left for the valley, they were taking a sick man
- (191) wahká i'yóa rootóre-či i'toriá-re=pu
 over.there cure doctor-LOC think- PFV=D.D
 so the doctor could cure him, I think”
- (192) ča~čá-pa eikó henté wa'á moči-ká-me
 PL~say-INCH then people there be.seated.pl-PTCP-NMLZ
 said the people who lived there
- (193) weikaó-ba áa=pu meeré-pa si-má=ne=pu wa'átu
 then-INCH INTERJ=D.D tomorrow-INCH go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D there:toward
 i'ya-má=ne no'ó ye'yé
 look.for-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS mother
 aah! so tomorrow I'll go there to look for my mom
- (194) čia=ni-á=ne eikó wa'á oh~óe-me
 say=1SG.S-EMPH=1SG.S then there PL~live-NMLZ
 I told the people that lived there, then
- (195) meeré piarí-a si-má=ne=pu i'ya-má=ne no'ó ye'yé
 tomorrow morning-EMPH go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D look.for-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS mother
 póke no'nó kité i'wá=pu wituáka kahtí
 because father there.is.not here=D.D over.there be.seated.sg
 tomorrow morning I am going to look for my mom because my dad isn't here,
 he's there
- (196) weiká-ba meeré piarí wa'ápi u'má-tu-a-pu kamióni
 then-INCH tomorrow morning by.there run-MOV-EMPH=D.D truck
 then the next morning a truck passed close by
- (197) weikaó-ba pu'-ká-či ená=ni-a wa'ákia
 then-INCH D.D-ID-LOC come=1SG.S-EMPH toward.here
 no'ó ye'yé i'yá-mia
 1SG.NS mother look.for-FUT
 so I came here in that truck to look for my mom

- (198) weikáo asi-ká=ne wa'á kahéme inatuké=ni-a wa'á
 then arrive-PTCP=1SG.S there Cajeme ask=1SG.S-EMPH there
 then I arrived there to Cajeme and I asked
- (199) wararúpe witória tewaniá-či wa'á kahti-áta ye'yé
 Guadalupe Victoria called-LOC there be.seated.sg-QUOT mother
 and they told me that my mom was in a place called Guadalupe Victoria
- (200) weikaó-ba simi-yái=ne i'yá-si-ka no'ó ye'yé
 then-INCH go-IPFV=1SG.S look.for-go-PTCP 1SG.NS mother
 then I went over there looking for my mom
- (201) wa'á oi-yái=pu no'ó poní-a
 there walk-IPFV=D.D 1SG.NS brother-EMPH
- no'ó piní pirečió owitiáme ko'koriáme
 1SG.NS sister other woman sick
 over there were my brother, my sister and another sick woman
- (202) pu'-ká u'pá-ri-a ye'yé-a eikó
 D.D-ID bring-PFV-EMPH mother-EMPH then
- weikaó-ba yačah-pá-so pu'-ká owitiáme weiká-pa
 then-INCH set-INCH-SUB D.D-ID woman then-INCH
 my mom brought her, when the woman got better
- (203) i'wá tekihpana=ni-á=pu weiká-ba
 here work-1SG.S-EMPH=D.D then-INCH
- ye'tó-ka=ne i'wá korónia progresista wa'á
 invite-PTCP=1SG.S here Colonia Progresista there
 I worked here then and I invited her (to live) here in La Colonia Progresista
- (204) wa'á oh~óe-ka tekihpána=ne eikó
 there HAB~walk-PTCP work=1SG.S then
 I lived and worked here then
- (205) póke no'no-á=pu kítia
 because father-EMPH=D.D there.is.not
 because my dad wasn't here
- (206) wahká pienáči pienáči močí-re
 over.there somewhere.else somewhere.else be.seated-PFV
 he was out there somewhere else

- (207) eikó=pu temé oh~ó-re
then-D.D 1PL.S PL~walk-PFV

eikó ye'yé ahamá=pu tekih pána-ka
then mother with=D.D work-PTCP
then we just went around working with my mom
- (208) wa'ámi páke ye'yé ko'~ko-míchio teemé tiamé
by.there so mother PL~eat-PURP 1PL.S too
so my mom could eat, and us too
- (209) weikáo no'no-á=pu pienáci simi-ré=pu-a ye'yé tiamé
then father-EMPH=D.D somewhere.else go-PFV=D.D-EMPH mother too
then my dad left for somewhere else, my mom too
- (210) pukaépa i'wá itihpí-re ye'ye-á=pu
that's.why here stay-PFV mother-EMPH=D.D
that's why my mom stayed here
- (211) weikáo weiká-pa ye'ye-á=pu newi-ré=pu-a piréçi tihóé aháma
then then-INCH mother-emph=D.D marry-IPFV=D.D-EMPH other man with
then my mom married another man
- (212) ki=no'nó parástro i'yá-re eikó weikaó-ba
NEG=father stepfather look.for-PFV then then-inch
not my dad, she looked for a stepfather
- (213) kuándo yeyé-a newi-só piréçi ahamá weiká-pa
when mother-emph marry-SUB other with then-INCH

ahkói oh-oá-teme-a=pu
everywhere PL~walk-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
when my mom married another man, then we went around wherever
- (214) teme-á=pu kí=no'no-é-ka-teme eikó
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D NEG=father-have-PTCP-1PL.S then

ahkói oh-oé-ka-teme-a wa'ámi tehki-intu-açi-ámi
everywhere PL~walk-1PL.S-EMPH by.there work-there.is-LOC-there
we had no dad, and we lived everywhere, wherever there was work
- (215) póke teme-á=pu tamó ye'yé tamó no'nó kuy-ná=pu
because 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D 1PL.NS mother 1PL.NS father help-PRS=D.D
because we helped our mother and our father

- (216) kuy-ái eikó=pu tamó kiyá-ni ko'áme
 help-IPFV then=D.D 1PL.NS give-PRS food
 pu'-ká tekhipana-té-ka weikáo
 D.D-ID work-CAUS-PTCP then
 and he helped us and gave us food and made us work, then
- (217) weikáo neé-a i'wá i'wá entónses
 then 1SG.S-EMPH here here then
 ye'ye-á=pu kuna-é-re eikó
 mother-EMPH=D.D husband-have-PFV then
 then I was here, then my mom had a husband at that time
- (218) weikaó-ba toa-ká=ne eikó ye'yé weikáo sin-ká=ne enčí
 then-INCH leave-PTCP=1SG.S then mother then go-PTCP=1SG.S again
 then I left my mom and I left again
- (219) nápe pienáči puebló-či sin-ká=ne eikó mačiribampo tewaniá-či eikó
 however other town-loc go-PTCP=1SG.S then Machiribampo called-LOC then
 later, I went to another town, Machiribampo, then
- (220) póke wa'á kiya=pu-á-tua=ne we'é
 because there give=D.D-EMPH-QUOT=2SG.S land
 iratário ene-má ene-má ehpé-o
 land.owner be-FUT be-FUT now-EMPH
 because then they told me that they were going to give me land there, I was going
 to be land owner
- (221) čia=pu tihoé ki=poé ini-má=mu eikó čia-čia-pa tihoé
 say=D.D man NEG=poor be-FUT=2SG.S then PL~say-INCH men
 the man said, you won't be poor any more, the men said
- (222) weikaó-ba wa'á tekhipána=ne eikó wa'á mačiribámpo tewaniá-či
 then-INCH there work=1SG.S then there Machiribampo called-LOC
 so I worked there, there in Machiribampo
- (223) wa'áte kuyá=ne tekhipána-mia wa'ámi
 there help=1SG.S work-FUT by.there
 ko'ore-tá-ka wa'ámi eča-ká paamúni
 fence-MAKE-PTCP by.there plant-PTCP summer
 there I helped out working putting up fences here, planting there in summer

- (224) wa'á koa-yái=ni-a wa'á pinéri kahti-á=ne eikó
 there eat-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH there alone be.seated-EMPH=1SG.S then
 ki=inuwé-ka=ne owitiáme
 NEG=have-PTCP=1SG.S woman
 I ate there, I lived alone there, I didn't have a wife then
- (225) eikaó=ni-a pinéri mmm eh~éna-re wa'átepa
 then=1SG.S-EMPH alone INTERJ HAB~come-PFV toward.here
 tekihpaná-mia paamúni-o-pa
 work-FUT summer-EMPH-INCH
 from then on I came here alone to work until the beginning of summer
- (226) tekihpana-ke-ka i'wámi tekihpana-ka i'wá=pu
 work-APPL-PTCP by.here work-PTCP here=D.D
 working over there, working here
- (227) weiká=pu i'tó-ka=ne pu'-ká ko'áme wa'á
 then=D.D take-PTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID food there
 then I used to take food there
- (228) kuándo mačiribámpo tamó oh-óe-k-o-i
 when Machiribampo 1PL.NS PL~walk-PTCP-SUB-IPFV
 wa'ámi tekihpana=ne-a weikaó-ba paamúni
 by.there work=1SG.S-EMPH then-INCH summer
 when we lived in Machiribampo, I worked over there in the summer
- (229) senékači eh~éna=ni-a o'owétepa i'wá
 sometimes HAB~come=1SG.S-EMPH toward.here here
 tekihpaname póke paamúni eča-yái=ne tewí-o pukaépa
 work because summer plant-IPFV=1SG.S above-EMPH that's.why
 sometimes I came here to work, because in the summer I planted there, that's why
- (230) weiká-pa i'wá tekihpana-sa-pa yoi-sá-pa
 then-INCH here work-SUB-INCH earn-SUB-INCH
 so, because I worked and made money
- (231) weeká-o i'to-ái=ne eikáo weeká-o ko'áme
 a.lot-EMPH take-IPFV=1SG.S then a.lot-EMPH food
 so I took a lot of food

- (232) pukaépa tekíhpáname paamúni eča-ká yomá
 that's.why work summer plant-PTCP everything
 wa'ámi eča-yái=ne eikáo
 by.there plant-IPFV=1SG.S then
 that's why I used to work in the summer, planting everything, I planted there
- (233) pinéri kahti-á=ne ki=weeká i'tu-ái ko'áme
 alone be.seated-EMPH=1SG.S NEG=much take-IPFV food
 I was alone, even though I didn't take much food
- (234) pukaépa pasándona=ne=pu paamúni ečah-ká weikaóba
 that's.why spend=1SG.S=D.D summer plant-PTCP then
 I spent the season planting, then
- (235) neipámio weikaóba wa'á čía piípi temári
 later then there say one boy
 then, later, a boy said,
- (236) si-má=ne teiwámi weikaóba i'tó-ma=ne no'ó piní
 go-FUT=1SG.S with.luck then bring.there-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS younger.sister
 no'ó ko'očí čía eikó piirípi temári
 1SG.NS older.sister say then one boy
 I'm going to bring my younger sister, my older sister, the boy said then
- (237) weikaóba u'pá-re eikó ahpó piní ahpó ko'očí
 then bring.here-PFV then 3SG.N younger.sister 3SG.NS older.sister
 then he brought his younger sister and his older sister
- (238) weikaóba neé-a=pu nawése-ka=ne
 then 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D say-PTCP=1SG.S
 eikó pu'-ká o'owitiáme weikáo
 then D.D-ID woman then
 so I told a woman then
- (239) ačínia ki=newi-náre=mu nó'-ma
 why NEG=marry-DES=2SG.S 1SG.NS-COMIT
 why don't you marry me?
- (240) pinéri kahti-ái=ne wa'a čané-ka=ne
 alone be.seated-IPFV=1SG.S there say-PTCP=1SG.S

pu'-ká o'owitiáme weikáo
 D.D-ID woman then
 I live alone, I say the woman like that, then

- (241) o'owitiáme-o ki=kawé-hera
 woman-EMPH NEG=well-want

ki=nawesá=pu
 NEG=speak=D.D
 the woman didn't really want it, she didn't speak

- (242) weikačo-pa meré piarí-a amó tuyé-ma=ne
 a.while-INCH tomorrow morning-EMPH 2SG.NS say-FUT=1SG.S

weikápa senékači si-má=ne=pu
 then maybe go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D
 In a bit, I'll tell you tomorrow morning, then maybe I'll go with you

- (243) weikaóba neé nawése nawése weikáo
 then 1SG.S talk talk then

paránka-či ihtápa=ne eikó nerói
 lever-LOC carry=1SG.S then water
 then I talked and talked carrying water on the lever

- (244) eikápa tiembó i'noe-ka-temé nawésa-mia wa'á noriá-či paiká nerói
 then time have-PTCP-1PL.S talk-FUT there draw.well-LOC three water
 then we had time to talk there at the draw well, getting water

- (245) weikaópa wa'á wa'á namorandó-ka kawé o'owitiáme
 then there there love-PTCP well woman
 then I made the woman fall in love there

- (246) weikápa weikaóba čaniá=ne eikó
 then then say=1SG.S then
 then I told her like this

- (247) napé witiáme tekihpána=pu-a=pu
 however valley work=D.D-EMPH=D.D

pete-čí wa'ámi ye'yé kahti-áči
 house-LOC by.there mother be.seated.sg-LOC
 let's go to work in the valley, to the house where my mom lives

- (248) weikápa u'pá-re=ne eikó u'pá-i=ne wa'á
 then bring.here-PFV=1SG.S then bring.here-IPFV=1SG.S here
 then I brought her, I brought her here
- (249) poé-či simi-ré karetéra-či ičikuáme o'owítiame
 road-LOC go-PFV high.way-LOC thief woman
 the woman's thief came along the high way
- (250) weikaóba wa'á tamó pukamína simi-ré puú o'owítiame pahči-rá
 then there 1PL.NS behind go-PFV D.D woman older.brother-REL
 then, there, behind us came the woman's older brother
- (251) mmm weikaóba puú wa'ámi oi-ré=pu
 INTERJ then D.D by.there walk-PFV=D.D
 yeki-ká poe-či-ámi weikaóba poé-či-a
 track-PTCP road-LOC-by.there then road-LOC-EMPH
 then he was tracking our path out there, our path
- (252) mmm čiá=pu o'owítiame pahci-rá
 PINTERJ say=D.D woman older.brother-REL
 mmm! the woman's older brother said
- (253) ačiniá i'tó-ka=ne pu'-ká temári ki=ase-pa-má=ne
 why follow-PTCP=1SG.S D.DID boy NEG=arrive-INCH-FUT=1SG.S
 why am I following this guy? I'm not going to catch him up
- (254) eikó wa'á toi-sá
 then there stop-SUB
 nowá-re ahpó pete-čí
 leave-PFV 3SG.NS house-LOC
 so he stopped and he went back to his house
- (255) teme-á=pu o'owetépa e'~ena-temé kamióni-či ehpé-o
 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D toward.here PL~come-1PL.S bus-LOC now-EMPH
 we came here, now by bus
- (256) ahtá i'wá korónia e'~ena-ka-temé
 until here Colonia PL~come-PTCP-1PL.S
 we came all the way here to the Colonia
- (257) weikaóba i'wá tekhipána-sa-pa pií semána
 then here work-SUB-INCH one week

enčí simpa-ka-temé močiribámpo enčí
 again go.pl-PTCP-1PL.S Mochiribampo again
 then, when we had worked here for a week we went back again to Mochiribampo

- (258) weikaóba tehpe temé pié semána ooká semána
 then a.lot.of.time 1PL.S one week two week

ki=si-ká siyá tamó siyá=pu
 NEG=go-PFV father.in.law 1PL.NS father.in.law=D.D
 then when we'd been there for one week, two weeks, my father in law didn't
 arrive, our father in law

- (259) o'owitiáme pa'či-rá ki=ene-nári-a tisia neká-re
 woman older.brother-REL NEG=come-DES-EMPH much be.angry-PFV
 my woman's older brother didn't want to come, he got very angry

- (260) weikaóba ahtá neipámi nawahí-re eikó asi-ré
 then until later get.drunk-PFV then arrive-PFV
 later, when he got drunk, he showed up

- (261) o'owitiáme no'nó-ra eikó
 woman father-REL then
 then, my wife's father said

- (262) ačiniá i'tó-ka=mu pu'-ká o'owitiáme
 why take-PTCP=2SG.S D.D-ID woman
 Why did you take that woman?

- (263) ehpé-o wewe-má=ne ehpé-o číá=pu o'owitiáme no'nó-ra eikó
 now-EMPH hit-FUT=1SG.S now-EMPH say=D.D woman father-REL then
 now I'm really going to hit you, said my wife's father

- (264) weikápa no'=téya eikó=pu no'nó-ra=pu
 then 1SG.NS=tell off then=D.D father-REL=D.D
 then the father told me off

- (265) ačiniá ki=no'=tuye-ká=mu číá eikó aaa
 why NEG=1SG.NS-tell-PTCP=2SG.S say then INTERJ
 Why you didn't tell me? he said then

- (266) napé neé-a=pu no'ó pete-čí
 however 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D 1SG.NS house-LOC

i'to-ká=ni-a pu'-ká o'owitiáme
 take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH D.D=ID woman
 however, I didn't take the woman to my house

- (267) weikáo ahtá ké tá'iria kahti-ái=ne
 then until that be.comfortable be.seated.sg-IPFV=1SG.S

eikó o'owitiáme aháma wa'á
 then woman with there
 until then I was happy there with my wife

- (268) neipá-ba asi-ká=pu o'owitiáme pa'či-rá
 later-INCH arrive-PTCP=D.D woman older.brother-REL
 then later, my wife's older brother came

- (269) weikaóba oh~oe-ka-temé eikó ooká-ka-teme
 then PL~walk-PTCP-1PL.S then two-PTCP-1PL.S
 there we lived there, the two of us

- (270) weikáo neka-ré o'owitiáme
 then be.angry-PFV woman
 then the woman got angry

- (271) weikáo puú simi-ré wa'á ahpó ko'očí kahti-áči
 then D.D go-PFV there 3SG.NS older.sister be.seated.sg-LOC
 then, she went to where her older sister lived

- (272) wa'á yasa-ré eikó=pu
 there be.seated.sg-PFV then=D.D
 she was there, then

- (273) póke nee-á o'owitiáme ki=né kaaká simi-ré
 because 1SG.S-EMPH woman NEG=1SG.S angry go-PFV
 because I didn't get angry at the woman

- (274) nahépa simi-ré=pu
 just go-PFV=D.D

ki=póke ní-a ki=čia-ni-a-ni-á=pu
 NEG=because 1SG.S-EMPH NEG=say=1SG.S-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 she just left because I didn't say anything to her

- (275) póke naki-yá=ne-a eikó
 because love-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH then
 because I loved her then

- (276) i'noé-ka=ne eikó=pu ooká teh~temarí i'noé-ka=ne
 have-PTCP=1SG.S then=D.D two PL~boy have-PTCP=1SG.S
 I had two little boys then, I had
- (277) eikó močiwí-pa
 then be.seated.pl-INCH
 they're still living
- (278) i'wá kahtí pirípi
 here be.seated.sg one
 one of them lives here
- (279) piiré-a wahká kahtía-re naohóa
 other-EMPH far.away be.seated.sg-PFV Navojoa
 the other must have been living over there, in Navojoa
- (280) ki=nané=ni-a wa'á pehte-rá pehté-ra-či weiká
 NEG=know= 1SG.S-EMPH there house-REL house-REL-LOC much
 I don't know where his house is
- (281) kuándo teemé-a kuándo i'wá kuándo teemé-a=pu i'wá-o
 when 1PL.S-EMPH when here when 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D here-EMPH
 meanwhile, we are here
- (282) weikaóba u'yé-ka=ne pu'-ká no'ó ta~taná
 then take.from- NPTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS PL~son
 then, I took my children from her
- (283) piípi itané-ka=ne ye'yé-ra
 one ask-PTCP=1SG.S mother-REL
 I asked the mother for one
- (284) weikaóba ye'yé-ra wa'á čía eikó
 then mother-REL there say then
 then the mother said
- (285) i'towá=pu-a eikó piirípi no'ó
 take=D.D-EMPH then one 1SG.NS
 take one, and one for me
- (286) póke neé ne-náre-ni-a nó'o ta-taná weikáo
 because 1SG.S see-DES=1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS PL~son then
 I want to see my children too

- (287) napé no'ó itó-so pu'-ká no'ó temarí
 however 1SG.NS take-SUB D.D-ID 1SG.NS boy
 ki=werumá-ka eikó nu'úti eikó
 NEG=big-PTCP then small then
 when I took my boy he wasn't grown up, he was young
- (288) weikáo teemé-a pu'-ká pa'či-rá
 then 1PL.S-EMPH D.D-ID older.brother-REL
 no'ó kunyaó-a weikáo o'owitiáme pa'či-rá weikó
 1SG.NS brother.in.law-EMPH then woman older.brother-REL then
 so we, my brother in law, my wife's older brother
- (289) pu'-ká u'yé-ka=ne nó'o piirípi
 D.D-ID take.away-PTCP=1SG.S 1SG.NS one
 no'ó taná ki=werumá nu'úti eikó
 1SG.NS son NEG=big small then
 I took mine, my child, he was very young
- (290) ki=kawé nawésa ooká paamú-a eikó
 NEG=well speak two years-EMPH then
 he didn't speak well, he was two years old then
- (291) weikáo u'y-ó-i pu'-ká temarí weikáo wa'á čía=pu
 then take.away-SUB-IPFV D.D-ID boy then there say=D.D
 then when I was taking the child away, then she said
- (292) kómo o'owitiáme simi-ré=pu-a piiré čía
 since woman go-PFV=D.D-EMPH other say
 ahpó ko'očí kahti-áči weikáo
 3SG.NS older.sister be.seated.sg-LOC then
 since the woman was going away to other place, where her older sister lived
- (293) weikáo teeme-á=pu weikaóba ye'yé ye'ye-á=pu
 then 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D then mother mother-EMPH-D.D
 temarí ye'yé ye'ye-á=pu ki=ená-ka=pu pete-čí
 boy mother mother-EMPH-D.D NEG=come-PTCP=D.D house-LOC
 kiá-mia ko'áme pu'-ká temarí
 give-FUT food D.D-ID boy
 then, we, then the child's mother didn't come to the house to give the child food

- (294) weikaóba teemé ko'áme yorá-ka
 then 1PL.S food make-PTCP
 kiá-ka kiá-teme pu'-ká temarí no'ó taná
 give-PTCP give-1PL.S D.D-ID boy 1SG.NS son
 so we made food and gave it to the child, to my son
- (295) kui-ná puú pa'či-rá o'owitiáme kuya-temé
 help-PRS D.D older.brother-REL woman help-1PL.S
 my wife's brother helped, we helped each other
- (296) kuándo no'ó tekihpán-o weikáo
 when 1SG.NS work-SUB then
 puú itihpí-a pete-čí páke kiyá ko'áme
 D.D stay-EMPH house-LOC for give food
 when I worked then, he stayed at home to give (the child) food
- (297) wa'á čía=pu nó'o o'owitiáme pa'či-rá eikó
 there say=D.D 1SG.NS woman older.brother-REL then
 my brother in law said this
- (298) ačínía kuándo nó'o simi-só tekihpáname
 why when 1SG.NS go-SUB work
 muú itihpí-ma pete-čí
 2SG.S stay-FUT house-LOC
 čía eikó
 say then
 because when I go to work you'll stay at home, he said then
- (299) aá pó entónses kawé puú eikó čía=ne eikó
 INTERJ so then well D.D then say=1SG.S then
 aah! well, all right then, I said
- (300) poké kuándo weikáo tekihpána-i
 because when then work-IPFV
 si-simí-ri-a tehki-intu-áči weikáo
 HAB~go-PFV-EMPH work-there.is-LOC then
 because then when working, he used to go to work where there was work, then

- (301) neé itihpí-a eikó ko'áme yoorá-ka pete-čí
 1SG.S stay-EMPH then food make-PTCP house-LOC
 I stayed at home, making food
- (302) poké piie ki=werumá-ka eikó wa'a
 because other NEG=big-EMPH then there
 because the other one (child) was very young then
- (303) neipaóba weikaóba eh~ená-ka
 then then ITER~come-PTCP

 u'pá-ka=ne eikó i'wá raité-či i'wá meetaréro
 bring-PTCP=1SG.S then here lift-LOC here metal.cart
 later I came here and I brought him in a lift on a metal cart
- (304) wa'a u'-ká=ne raité
 there take-PTCP=1SG.S lift
 Someone gave me a lift there
- (305) weikápa u'pá-ka=ne weiká-o wa'a waná obregón
 then take-PTCP=1SG.S then there other.side Obregón

 waáki-a kanár álto tewaniá-či wa'a
 this.way-EMPH Canal Alto called-LOC there
 then I brought him down here from Obregón, to the Canal Alto, there
- (306) poké wa'a čía=pu tróke inó-ame
 because there say-D.D car bring-NMLZ
 because that's what the one who took the car said
- (307) i'wá amó toi-má=ne
 here 2SG.NS leave-FUT=1SG.S

 poké kahéme senékači no'ó weikáo ohó-na tránsito
 because Cajeme maybe 1SG.NS then stop-PRS traffic.officer
 I'm going to leave you here because maybe the traffic officer will stop me in
 Cajeme
- (309) i'wá amó toi-má=ne weikáo
 here 2SG.NS leave-FUT=1SG.S then
 I'm going to leave you here then
- (310) wa'a wa'a ko~kočia-temé eikó
 there there PL~sleep-1PL.S then
 so we slept there

- (311) peniatíame tukaó-a wa'á
 beatiful night-EMPH there
 the night there was beatiful
- (312) weikóa taha-yá eikó mečá wa'á
 then shine-IPFV then moon there
 the moon was shining there
- (313) čere-pa-ka-temé
 day.break-INCH-PTCP-1PL.S
 we woke up there
- (314) weikáo piarí-pa wahká eikaópa mačene-ka-temé
 then morning-INCH there then go.out-PTCP-1PL.S
 then in the morning we went out over there
- (315) eikópa puya-pa-ka-temé karetéra-či weikáo weikáo
 then go.out.pl-INCH-PTCP-1PL.S high.way-LOC then then
 then we went out to the road
- (316) weikápa asi-té-ka asi-ka-temé eikó i'wá so'onóa korónia
 then arrive-CAUS-PTCP arrive-PTCP-1PL.S then here Sonora Colonia
 then I made him arrive, we arrived here to the Colonia Sonora
- (317) nó'o temarí ye'tó-ka weikáo
 1SG.NS boy invite-PTCP then
 I brought my son
- (318) weikáo wa'atépa tamó i'wá asi-sá-ba weikaóba
 then from.there 1PL.NS here arrive-SUB-INCH then
 when we arrived from there
- (319) weikaóba no'ó temarí i'wá weri-pá-re=pu
 then 1SG.NS boy here be.standing.sg-INCH-PFV=D.D
 then my boy grew up here
- (320) mandaó-ka=ne ihkwéra-či
 send-PTCP=1SG.S school-LOC
 I sent him to school
- (321) weikáo i'wá yasa-ré korónia sonóra
 then here be.seated.sg-PFV Colonia Sonora
 so he was here in the Colonia Sonora
- (322) kečewéka yasa-ré neipá-o sekundária-či
 Quetchehueca be.seated.sg-PFV later-EMPH junior.school-LOC

yasa-ré eikó
 be.seated.sg-PFV then
 later in junior school he was in Quetchehueca, he was there

(323) weikáo ahtaké kuwé-pa-re pu'-ká sekundária
 then until last-INCH-PFV D.D-ID junior.school
 until he finished junior school

(324) obregón ki=mandaróa-ka=ne
 Obregón NEG=send-PTCP=1SG.S
 I didn't send him to Obregón

(325) wa'á číá=pu nó'o temarí kaonee-á=pu
 there say=D.D 1SG.NS boy fuck-EMPH=D.D
 my boy said this: fuck!

(326) weikáo neé-a=pu ki=si-ma=né ihkwéra-či
 then 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D NEG=go-FUT=1SG.S school-LOC

tekihpana-ma=né=pu amó kui-ma=né=pu čía eikó
 work-FUT=1SG.S=D.D 2SG.NS help-FUT=1SG.S=D.D say then
 then I'm not going to go to school because I'm going to work and I'm going to
 help you, he said then

(327) poké weiká naté-na=pu ihkwéra-či preparatoria
 because much cost-PRS=D.D school-LOC high.school
 because high school costs a lot

(328) ki=ase-pa-má=pu ki=ase-pa-té-ma=mu
 NEG=arrive-INCH-FUT=D.D NEG=arrive-INCH-CAUS-FUT=2SG.S
 because it won't be enough, you won't have enough

(329) poké muú-a=pu simi-ná=pu
 because 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D go-PRS=D.D

nó'o taatá pu'-ká inate-ma=mú=pu
 1SG.NS grandfather D.D-ID take.care-FUT=2.SG.S=D.D
 because you're going to take care of my grandfather

(330) pu'káe ki=kawé tekihpana-ni=mu-á=pu muu-á=pu
 that's why NEG=well work-PRS=2SG.S-EMPH=D.D 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 that's why you don't work well, you

- (331) kómo ihkwéra-či naté-na=pu
 since school-LOC cost-PRS=D.D
 since school is very expensive
- (332) ki=okápi tamó kooparóá-ni-pu ihkwéra-či=pu preparatória-či
 NEG=little 1PL.NS charge-PRS=D.D school-LOC=D.D high.school-LOC
 they charge us a lot in high school
- (333) ki=ase-pa-té-na toomí muu-á=pu
 NEG=arrive-INCH-CAUS-PRS money 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 you don't have enough money
- (334) ki=kawé tekíhpána-ni
 NEG=well work-PRS
 since you don't work well
- (335) poké nó'o taatá inaté-ka
 because 1SG.NS grandfather take.care-PTCP
 because (I was) taking care of my father
- (336) poké taatá=pu ki=kawé kómo ki=kawé nené-na=pu
 because grandfather=D.D NEG=well since NEG=well see-pres=D.D
 tuká-pa-či kahtí
 night-INCH-LOC be.seated.sg
 and because my grandfather doesn't see well, he is in the dark
- (337) ki=nené-na kawé poi-či
 NEG=see-PRS well road-LOC
 he doesn't see well
- (338) poké sarampióni=pu-a siegandó-re pu'-ká ahamá
 because measles=D.D-EMPH blind-PFV D.D-ID with
 because the measles made him blind
- (339) weikaóba neipaó-pa kuu-é ahpó wewe-ré=pu
 then later-INCH stick-INS 3SG.NS hit-PFV=D.D
 then afterwards he hit himself with a stick
- (340) kuú kay-ái weikáo
 piece.of.wood bring-IPFV then
 when he was bringing firewood

- (341) pu'kaépa ehpé-o=pu ki=mači-té-na
 that's.why now-EMPH=D.D NEG=light-CAUS-PRS
 that's why he doesn't see now
- (342) siémpre ehpé-o wa'á oh~oé=pu wa'ámi
 anyway now-EMPH there HAB~walk=D.D by.there
 and he lives there anyway
- (343) oh~oé-ka wa'ámi karí teniénte huán de la barrera
 HAB~walk-PTCP by.there house Teniente Juan de La Barrera
 he lives there in his house, in Teniente Juan de La Barrera
- (344) oh-oé-a=pu nó'o no'nó-a pehí
 HAB~walk-EMPH=D.D 1SG.NS father-EMPH still
 my father still lives there
- (345) sí tía očétia oi-ná-e pinéri
 yes very old walk-ISTR alone
 he's very old and he walks alone
- (346) wasité-ka koa-ní apoé pinéri
 make.tortillas-PTCP eat-PRS 3SG.S alone
 he makes himself tortillas to eat
- (347) iwé'ta pehí o'očetiáme pehí nooénta sei paamoáme puú-a
 now still old still ninety six years D.D-EMPH
 he's old, ninety six years old, he is
- (348) no'nó-a sewahtí tewáe nó'o no'nó leiba teheida
 father-EMPH Sebastián called 1SG.NS father Leyva Tejeida
 My father's name is Sebastián, my father Leyva Tejeida

Not ever
Nunca jamás
Don Alejandro Ruelas

- (1) ihi-á=pu réi tewania-mé-a=pu
D.P-EMPH=D.D king called-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
This one that was called king
- (2) tihoé=pu kuú i'ya-mé mukia-mé-a
man-D.D firewood look.for-NMLZ carry.in.the.back-NMLZ-EMPH
a wood-gathering man
- (3) senépi piarí si~simi-ré kuú kái-mia
every morning ITER~go-PFV firewood bring-FUT
he went every morning to bring back firewood
- (4) weikaóba weikaóba
then then
- kuú ihtapá-i ihtapá-i ihtapá-i weikaóba
firewood transport-IPFV transport-IPFV transport-IPFV then
so much gathering wood, then
- (5) kai-ká kuú ihtapá-i pete-čí nehí-mia
bring-PTCP firewood transport-IPFV house-LOC sell-FUT
transporting wood to sell it at home
- (6) póke poé-ka ki=inué-ka ko'áme weikaóba
because poor-PTCP NEG=have-PTCP food then
because he was poor and he didn't have anything to eat, then
- (7) tihoé-pa simi-ré=pu-a kuú kai-ká weikaóba wa'á
man-INCH go-PFV=D.D-EMPH firewood bring-PTCP then there
the man went to gather wood, then there
- (8) ahpó natepá-re kuú kay-áči werumá weri-ói maá
3SG.NS meet-PFV firewood bring-LOC big be.standing.sg-IPFV Mauto
they met where he gathered wood, there was a big Mauto tree
- (9) pu'-ká tu'mi-na-merá-re kuú kaya-me-á=pu
D.D-ID blend-TZR-POT-PFV tree bring-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
He wanted to chop down the big tree, the wood-gatherer
- (10) weikaóba ki=weikaóba te'pá inamó-re
then NEG=then above hear-PFV

pu'-ká nawésa-me tihoé
 D.D-ID speak-NMLZ man
 then from above he heard a man that was speaking

- (11) weikaóba tihoé kihči-ká-ta té'pa
 then man iguana-PTCP-QUOT above

čuk-ká-ta=pu-a
 be.on.four.legs-PTCP-QUOT=D.D-EMPH
 then that man was an iguana that was above (the tree)

- (12) o'owéra-či wa'ápo simi-yá-me
 hole-LOC throug.there go-IPFV-NMLZ
 that was going into a hole

- (13) nawesá-ta=pu kihči-a eikáo
 talk-QUOT=D.D iguana-EMPH then
 that the iguana was talking then

- (14) ki=no'=rúmine ki=no'=rúmine-ke=pu-a pu'-ká kuú
 NEG=1 SG.NS=fall.down NEG=1 SG.NS=fall.down-APPL=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID tree
 don't chop down my tree!

- (15) póke i'wá-o oh~óe-ni-a=pu
 because here-EMPH HAB~walk-1 SG.S-EMPH=D.D
 because I live here

- (16) pu'kaépa ki=no'=rúmine eh~éra-ni=ne=pu weikáo
 that's.why NEG=1 SG.NS=fall.down INTS~want-PRS=1 SG.S=D.D then
 that's why I don't want you chop it down then

- (17) weikaóba kuú-kaya-me-a ne'n-i-áta owépote
 then firewood-bring-NMLZ-EMPH see-IPFV-QUOT upward
 then the wood-gatherer looked upward

- (18) wa'á té'pa čuk-ka-ta puú kihči-a weikaóba
 there above be.on.four.legs-PTCP-QUOT D.D iguana-EMPH then
 up above was the iguana, then

- (19) wa'á čiá-ta té'pa kihči-a
 there say-QUOT above iguana-EMPH
 up above the iguana was saying

- (20) weikaóba weikaóba meré piarí ená-ni metia
 then then tomorrow morning come-PRS
 so, come earlier tomorrow
- (21) čiá-ta eikó kihčí-a
 say-QUOT then iguana-EMPH
 the iguana said then
- (22) weikaóba kihčí-a meré ená=pu-a piarí
 then iguana-EMPH tomorrow come=D.D-EMPH morning

 kuú i'wá montoá-ma=ne
 firewood here pile.up-FUT=1SG.S
 then the iguana (said), come earlier tomorrow, I'll pile up the wood here
- (23) neé kai-má=ne kuú meré piarí=pu-a
 1SG.S bring-FUT=1SG.S firewood tomorrow morning=D.D-EMPH
 I'll make the firewood early tomorrow
 yo voy a hacer la leña mañana temprano
- (24) ki=u'pá=pu-a te'púra eikáo
 NEG=bring=D.D-EMPH axe then
 don't bring the axe, then
- (25) čiá-ta kihčí-a
 say-QUOT iguana-EMPH
 the iguana said
- (26) weikaóba kihčí-a i'wá mani-má kuú i'wá piarí-o
 then iguana-EMPH here there.is-FUT firewood here morning-EMPH
 then the iguana (said) the wood will be piled up here in the morning
- (27) ená=pu-a piarí-o pu'-ká ičíó i'nó-mia
 come=D.D-EMPH morning-EMPH D.D-ID for take-FUT
 come in the morning to take these
- (28) páke nehita-ré=mu-a weiká amó
 for sell-PFV=2SG.S-EMPH then 2SG.NS
 so you can sell them

- (30) wéno ni-á no'=amá=ne no'ó pete-čí
ok. 1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS=go.back=1SG.S 1SG.NS house-LOC
- neé-a weikaó=ne-a
1SG.S-EMPH then=1SG.S-EMPH
ok, I'll go back home, then
- (31) meré-o-pa no'ó ama=ni-á=pu-a
mañana-EMPH-INCH 1SG.NS go.back=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D-EMPH
- weikaóba wa'áam=pu
then by.there=D.D
tomorrow I'll go there, then
- (32) wa'á wa'ám puye-má-ni-a
there by.there wait.for-FUT-1SG.S-EMPH
- amó pete-čí núnka hamás tewaniá=pu
2SG.NS house-LOC Never Ever called=D.D
I'll wait for you there in your house that's called Never Ever
- (33) wa'-číá-ta ki=koči-nári-a wa'á pete-čí
there-cay-QUOT NEG=sleep-DES-EMPH there house-LOC
he said that he didn't want to sleep there in that house
- (34) simi-nári-a wa'á
go-DES-EMPH there
- ahpó yetó-ri-ači pu'-ká tihoé puú kihčí
3SG.NS invite-IPFV-LOC D.D-ID man D.D iguana
that he wanted to go there to where the iguana had invited the man
- (35) weikáo pu'-ká temari-á=pu weiká=pu
then D.D-ID guy-EMPH=D.D then= D.D
- wa'á kihčí-a čane-ré=pu-a
there iguana-EMPH say-PFV=D.D-EMPH
then the guy, then, the iguana said there
- (36) sím=pu-a no'ó pete-čí
go=D.D-EMPH 1SG.NS house-LOC
go to my house

- (37) amó amó-a puye-má=ni-a
 2SG.NS 2SG.NS-EMPH wait.for-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH
 I'll wait for you
- (38) weiká amó simi-só amó newi-té-ma=ne no'ó mará aháma
 then 2SG.NS go-SUB 2SG.NS marry-CAUS-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS daughter with
 then, if you go I'll get you to marry my daughter
- (39) čia-ta čia eikó
 say-QUOT say then
 that he said, he said then
- (40) weikáo weikáo tihoé-a=pu ki=taéria
 then then man-EMPH=D.D NEG=comfortable

 kahtí yasa-ré kawé eikó ahpo Pete-čí
 be.seated.sg be.seated.sg-PFV well then 3SG.NS house-LOC
 then, then the man didn't feel comfortable at home any more
- (41) puú simi-nári-a wa'á ahpo yetó-ri-ači
 D.D go-DES-EMPH there 3SG.NS invite-IPFV-LOC
 he wanted to go there, to where he had been invited
- (42) weikaóba weiká simi-ré eikaóba
 then then go-PFV then
 then, then he left, then
- (43) toa-ré eikó Pete-čí kuú yomá páke ahpo ye'yé
 leave-PFV then house-LOC firewood all for 3SG.NS mother
 then he left all the wood at home, for his mother
- (44) ne~nehí-sa tarí-mia ko'áme
 ITER~sell-SUB buy-FUT food
 (for her) to sell it to buy food
- (45) i-weikaóba simi-ré
 and-then go-PFV
 and then he left
- (46) eikó puú temári-a weikaóba simiá simi-ré
 then D.D guy-EMPH then go go-PFV
 then that guy then he walked, he left

- (47) simi-ré simi-ré weikaóba wa'ámi poé-či
 go-PFV go-PFV then by.there road-LOC
 he left, he left then far along the way
- (48) poé-či inatú-ke-ka
 road-LOC ask-APL-PTCP
 póke ki=mači-ré=pu-a=pu ahpó oh-ó-ka-či
 because NEG=know-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D-EMPH 3SG.NS HAB~walk-PTCP-LOC
 on the way he asked because he didn't know where he lived
- (49) weikaóba wa'ámi nateh-pá-re=pu-a naáti a'awáhe
 then by.there find-INCH-PFV=D.D-EMPH thing spring
 then far away he found a spring
- (50) čiwaamó wa'á pe'tiáta kowí-á wa'ami
 around there all.over pig-EMPH by.there
 Around, the boars were lying all over the place
- (51) inatú-kia inatú-kia inatú-kia tuuyá
 ask-APPL ask-APPL ask-APPL say
 he asked and asked and asked, he said
- (52) póke kowí-a wačá-ni mmmm
 because pig-EMPH snore-PRS INTERJ
 but the boar was snoring mmmm!
- (53) čiá-ta kowí-a ki=mačí=ni-a pu'-ká-o wa'á núnka hamás
 say-QUOT pig-EMPH NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID-EMPH there Never Ever
 The boar said I don't know that place called Never Ever
- (54) ki=mačí=ni-a ki=oiná=ni-a ki=inamó=ni-a
 NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH NEG=walk=1SG.S-EMPH NEG=hear=1SG.S-EMPH
 I don't know it, I haven't been there and I haven't heard of it
- (55) weikáo u'ma-tó-ka-ta eikó wa'ámi simi-ká simi-áta simi-áta
 then run-MOV-PTCP-QUOT then by.there go-PTCP go-QUOT go-QUOT
 then he ran then far away he left he left he left
- (56) natehpati-áta parowísi toowí naatí paároma
 find-QUOT hare rabbit thing dove
 he found a hare, a rabbit, that's it, a dove

- (57) ahtaké natépa-ka kohiwé
until find-QUOT buzzard.Aura
until he found a buzzard aura
- (58) kohiwé wači-áta entónses eika=pu-á=pu
buzzard Aura say-QUOT then then- QD.D-EMPH=D.D-EMPH
then the buzzard Aura said
- (59) temarí inatú-ke-re pu'-ká tihóé pu'-ká onóri
guy ask-APPL-PFV D.D-ID man D.D-ID buzzard.black
the young man asks the man, the black buzzard
- (60) ačiniá ki=inamoá=mu tihóé wa'ámi wa'ámi
why NEG=hear=2SG.S man by.there by.there
- simi-yá=ne=pu núnka hamás
go-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D Never Ever
why didn't you hear? (said) the man, when I was walking toward Never Ever
- (61) ki=mači-yá=ne=pu pu'kaépa inatú-kia=ne amó
NEG=know-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D that's.why ask-APPL=1SG.S 2SG.NS
because I don't know it, that's why I am asking you
- (62) či-áta wa'ámi oy-ai=ni-a i'yá-ka=ni-a
say-QUOT by.there walk-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH look.for- QPTCP=1SG.S-EMPH
- ko'amé=ni-a wahká nawésa tihóé wahká
food=1SG.S-EMPH far.away speak man far.away
- siná siná-ka nawésa-ka siná-ka
shout shout-PTCP speak-PTCP shout-PTCP
he said he was going around here looking for something to eat when he heard
someone shouting and talking
- (63) wa'á čiá eikápa senékači=pu wa'á=pu wa'á=pu weikáo
there say then maybe=D.D there=D.D there=D.D then
then it could be there, then it's there
- (64) wa'á=pu=ni-a mehká oiná=ni-a puú kohiwé
there=D.D=1SG.S-EMPH far.away walk=1SG.S-EMPH D.D buzzard.Aura
I was far away, said the buzzard Aura
- (65) weikaóba neé-a simi-yá=ne simi-yá=ne
then 1SG.S-EMPH go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S
then I walked and walked

- (66) weikaóba simi-ré eikó
 then go-PFV then
 wa'ápi wa'ápi wa'ápi ine-ré=pu ine-ré=pu
 same.place same.place same.place be-PFV=D.D be-PFV=D.D
 then I walked and I got closer and closer
- (67) ahtaké wa'á asi-ré eikó
 until there arrive-PFV then
 until I arrived there
- (68) wa'ápi-a asi-ká-me
 same.place-EMPH arrive-PTCP-NMLZ
 wa'á tekhipána-me wa'á puú réi tewánia-me
 there work-NMLZ there D.D king called-NMLZ
 then when I was already there,
 I went up to where the one called King was working
- (69) tihoé kahti-áta wa'á
 man be.seated.sg-QUOT there
 there was a man sitting there
- (70) weiká pu'-ká réi entónse pu'-ká inatú-ke-re pu-áo tihoé-a=pu
 then D.D-ID king then D.D-ID ask-APPL-PFV D-D-EMPH man-EMPH=D.D
 then the man asked the king, he asked him
- (71) neipá simi-ré=pu-a weikápua wa'á tekhipána-me
 later go-PFV=D.D-EMPH then there work-NMLZ
 I kept walking up to where there was a worker
- (72) pu'káe eikó ine-ré=pu senepúrua
 that's.why then be-PFV=D.D
 that's why he was rich, that guy
- (73) weiká pu'-ká réi tewá=pu
 then D.D-ID king name=D.D
 tihoé-a=pu wa'á inahté-na=pu karí
 man-EMPH=D.D there take.care-PRS=D.D house
 he made king the man who took care of the house
- (74) eikó asi-ré eikó Pete-čí=pu yomá wa'ámi pantaóni
 then arrive-PFV then house-LOC=D.D all by.there pants

yomá wa'ámi sukihtiáme wa'ámi pantaoni-rá
 all by.there patched.up by.there pants-REL
 then he arrived at the (king's) house with his pants patched up, his pants sew up

- (75) eló'o yomá wa'ámi ačitiáme pantaóni ki=kawéruma pantaóni
 then all by.there anyway pants NEG=good pants

weiká čia-ta eikó
 then say-QUOT then
 then, he was carrying the pants anyway, the worthless pants, then he said

- (76) naatí puú-a wa'á oh~óe-me-a réi tewánia-me
 thing D.D-EMPH there HAB~walk-NMLZ-EMPH king name-NMLZ
 the guy who lived there, the so-called king

- (77) entónses pú rei-á=pu wa'á čia-ta
 then D.D king-EMPH-D.D there say-QUOT
 čané-ka-ta pu'-ká tekhipána-me
 say-PTCP-QUOT D.D-ID work-NMLZ
 then the king told the workers

- (78) káni móki-a pu'-ká ikanáti simi-ká wa'á puebló-či čia-ta
 fast carry-EMPH D.D-ID fast go-PTCP there town-LOC say-QUOT
 hurry up and carry that so you can go to the town, he said

- (80) ikanáti páke tari-mi-ó píi kaambió pantaóni
 fast for buy-FUT-SUB one cloth pants
 hurry up so you can go buy a pair of pants

- (81) pantaóni-te=pu-á=pu tihóe wa'á ená-ka-me
 pants-CAUS=D.D-EMPH=D.D man there come-PTCP-NMLZ
 we'll change the pants to the guy who came

- (82) ikanáti moké=pu-a tooró wa'áka páke meri=pu-á=pu
 fast carry=D.D-EMPH bull this.time for kill.sg=D.D-EMPH=D.D
 hurry up, bring the bull, to kill it

- (83) pahkó-ta=pu-a ehpeó=pu ená-re=pu réi čia-ta
 feast-make=D.D-EMPH now=D.D come-PFV=D.D king say-QUOT
 to have a feast now, said the king

- (84) puú réi tewánia-me puú meré-pa meeré ari-pá
 D.D king called-NMLZ D.D tomorrow-INCH tomorrow afternoon-INCH

weikápa newi-té=pu-a=pu tihoé=pu
 then marry-CAUS=D.D-EMPH=D.D man=D.D
 the one called king (said), tomorrow afternoon we'll marry the guy

- (85) entónses ki=noa-má=pu-a amó Pete-čí
 then NEG=leave-FUT=D.D-EMPH 2SG.NS house-LOC
 so don't you go home

- (86) i'wá oh-óe-ma=pu ehpéo
 here HAB~walk-FUT=D.D now

mu-á=pu i'wá newi=mú no'ó mára aháma
 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D here marry=2SG.S 1SG.NS daughter with
 here you'll live here now, you married my daughter

- (87) ki=noa-má=mu Pete-čí eikó muú čía-ta eikó
 NEG=leave-FUT=2SG.S house-LOC then 2SG.S say-QUOT then
 you're not going home, he told him then

- (88) weikóba newi-ré eikó newi-ré newi-ré
 then marry-PFV then marry-PFV marry-PFV

wa'á itihpí-re eikó weikaóba
 there stay- PFV then then
 so he got married, he got married and he stayed there, then

Agustina Zayla Leyva
Life Story

- (1) hustína tewa-ni-á=ne
Agustina name-PRS-EMPH= 1SG.S
'My name is Agustina,
- (2) wiramári nawá-ka-me
Miramar born-PTCP-NMLZ

wa'a oinéa weri-pá-ka-me
there from be.standing.sg-INCH-PTCP-NMLZ
I was born in Miramar and I grow up there.
- (3) močiwámpo simpá-ka=teme weikáo
Mochibampo go.pl-PTCP=1PL.S then
Then, we left to Mochibampo,
- (4) wa'a oinéa simpá-ka=teme ihkwéra-či
there from go.pl-PTCP=1PL.S school-loc

no'ó piípi=ne aháma pa~páči aháma
1SG.NS sister=1SG.S with PL~brother with
from there we used to go to school with my sisters and brothers.
- (5) uráapo moči-ká=teme eikó ihkwéra-či ooká paamóni
Burapaco be.seated.pl-PTCP=1PL.S then school-LOC two year
we went to school in Burapaco during two years.
- (6) wa'á oinéa mesa-čí mui-ká=teme eikó ihkwéra-či
there from Mesa.Colorada-LOC enter-PFV=1PL.S then school-LOC
Then, we started school in Mesa Colorada,
- (7) wa'á moči-ká-i we'eká-ka moči-ká=teme
there be.seated.pl-PTCP-IPFV many-EMPH be.seated.pl-PTCP=1PL.S

eikáo taamó po~póni aháma
then 1PL.NS PL~brothers with
we were many altogether my brothers
- (8) wa'ápi kia=né-a=pu-a ko'áme wa'ásite-ka
there give= 1SG.NS-EMPH=D.D-EMPH food cook-PTCP
there, they gave me meals

- (9) aapoé wasité-ka
3PL.S cook-PTCP
They cooked
- (10) taamó kiá-ka señoira
1PL.NS give-PTCP mrs.
the cook (mrs.) feed us
- (11) senepí sawára-či eh~éna-pa teemé pete-či ye'yé nené-mia taahtá
every saturday-LOC PL~come-INCH 1PL.S house-LOC mother see-FUT father
every saturday we visited my mother and my father
- (12) enčí mači-ré-pa-so sin~simpa=temé ihkwéra-či
again light-PFV-INCH-SUB ITER~go.pl=1PL.S school-LOC
in the morning we returned to school
- (13) kui-méa eikó tekihpana-méa taahtá
help-FUT then work-FUT father
we went to help my father to work
- (14) ye'yé nerói paiké-ka
mother water bring-PTCP
bringing water to my mother
- (15) neotoé-ka ečihtiáme aki-či
water-PTCP field river-LOC
irrigating the field in the river
- (16) ahtaké we~werí-pa-ka teemé eikó wa'ási
until CON~be.standing-INCH-PTCP 1PL.S then up.to.there
during our development
- (17) narahpé o~hu-áiče tekihpaná-ka
many.times PL~walk-ITER work-PTCP
we were working all the time
- (18) ye'yé kui-ká napoh-ké-ka pa'ámuuní
mother help-PTCP clear-APPL-PTCP summer
we helped my mother to clear (the field) during summer
- (19) eča-ká yomá kuwésare eikó ečah-ká
sow-PTCP all season then sow-PTCP
we sowed too during season

- (20) aki-suépa kui-ká neotoé-ka eikó ye'yé
 river-border help-PTCP water-PTCP then mother
 we helped my mother to water the bank of the river
- (21) ko'oré-ta-ka senékači
 fence-MAKE-PTCP sometimes
 sometimes we fenced
- (22) wisahata-ka yomá ečihpu-áči pa'amuni
 clean-PTCP all field-LOC summer
 we cleaned the land, too, to sow during summer
- (23) we~werí-pa wa'ási
 PL~be.standing-INCH up.to.there
 we grow up there
- (24) neipá wa'ási too-ré-a aiwá wa'ási
 next up.to.there suffer-PFV-EMPH hungry up.to.there
 we were hungry there
- (25) senékači ki=asé-pa ko'áme tamó weiká-k-o-pa
 sometimes NEG=arrive-INCH food 1PL.NS many-PTCP-SUB-INCH
 sometimes there was not enough food because we were many
- (26) neipá=o wa'ási i'wá ena-ká=ne wa'ási
 next=EMPH up.to.there here come-PTCP=1SG.S up.to.there
 then I came here
- (27) i'wá ki= too-ré aiwá-ni teemé tekihpaña-ka yomá tawé
 here NEG=suffer-PFV hungry-PRS 1PL.S work-PTCP all day
 here, we are not hungry because we work all day
- (28) i'wá=o weiká intú-na ko'áme
 here=EMPH much exist-PRS food
 here, there is a lot of food
- (29) i'wá=o kahtí nesá wa'á ohó-ai eikó taamó=ma=pu-a
 here=EMPH be.seated.sg aunt there walk-IPFV then 1PL.S=COM=D.D-EMPH
 My aunt lives here and she is always with us
- (30) sunú pena-ká wa'ámi
 corn gather-PTCP through.there
 we pick up corn somewhere

- (31) kuú kai-ká o'~ohu-ái teemé nesá aháma kusí-tere
stick bring-PTCP PL~walk-IPFV 1PL.S aunt with woods-between
we pick up sticks in the mountain with my aunt
- (32) yomá tawé te~tehipáni-a teemé eikó i'wá
all day ITER~work-EMPH 1PL.S then here
then, we work all day here
- (33) ko'-nári-a kawé ki=tooré-a aiwa-nári-a
eat-DES-EMPH well NEG=suffer-EMPH hungry-DES-EMPH
not to be hungry
- (34) sawanánto o'ínea eh~ena-pa waátepa tekihpana-méa sunú pepe-méa
San.Bernardo from PL~come-INCH toward.here work- FUT corn gather-FUT
we came here from San Bernardo to work and to pick up corn
- (35) ahtá moči-ká-pa ehpé-o ki=mehká ohó-na teemé eikó
since be.seated.pl-PTCP-INCH now-EMPH NEG=far.away walk-PRS 1PL.S then
since we live here we don't travel too far
- (36) i'wá oinéa tekihpana-méa wa'ámi
here from work-FUT through.there
here, we work somewhere
- (37) ko'kóri puha-ká toománte puha-ká
chile gather-PTCP tomato gather-PTCP
we pick up chilis and tomatoes
- (38) napoh-ká ečitiáme wasačiámi yóri ečari-áči
weed-PTCP field in.the.land white.man sowing-LOC
we clean the cultivation, the field with the bosses
- (39) ki=kaéna teté-na yo'ókia paikapi wa'ápi
NEG=much pay-PRS few same.place
they don't pay enough, they pay few money
- (40) pukaépa ki=asé-pa-ni kawé ko'áme taamó ičíó
that's.why NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS well food 1PL.NS BEN
that's why there are not enough food for us
- (41) wa'ási wakirá ičíó ki=asé-pa-ni
up.to.there clothing BEN NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS
we lack clothes

- (42) moči-wí teemé i'wá-o
be.seated.pl-PRS 1PL.S here-EMPH
We live here
- (43) ki=toóre aiwá-ni teemé tekihpána-ka yomá tawé
NEG=suffer hungry-PRS 1PL.S work-PTCP all day
We are not hungry if we work all day
- (44) ooká wa'ápi inuwa-é=ne kukučí wa'ási
two same.place have-INS=1SG.S children up.to.there
I have only two kids
- (45) na'apaká tekihpána-ni teemé ehpéo
both work-PRS 1PL.S now
They both work (with us) now
- (46) ase-pá-me ko'áme ičío wakirá ició ka'aká ició yomá
arrive-INCH-NMLZ food BEN clothes BEN sandals BEN everybody
to have enough (money) for food and clothes and for sandals too
- (47) senékači pii tawé reesípu-ka wa'ápi
sometimes one day rest-PTCP same.place
sometimes we rest one day (a week) only
- (48) paikápi yo'i-yái toomí o'oká teemé tekihpána-ka
little earn-IPFV money two 1SG.S work-PTCP
Even though we earn only little money both of us work anyway
- (49) teiwáme kí'te wa'á-o tehkí kawé tekihpána-me o'owerú
mountains there.is.not there-EMPH work well work-NMLZ women
in the mountains there is no work for women
- (50) tihoé ičío intú-na tekihpá-nare
men BEN there.is-PRS work-DES
there is work only for men
- (51) i'wá weeká o'~hó-na taamó te~tehíme
here many PL~walk-PRS 1PL.NS PL~relative
here live many relatives
- (52) yomá tawé taamó kawé tetewá-ni i'wá-o
every day 1PL.NS well see-PRS here-EMPH
they treat us well everyday

- (53) taamó ihkóke-na wakirá sipičá yomá
1PL.NS give-PRS clothes dress everything
and they give us clothes, dresses
- (54) ki=si'papáme oh~ó-na teemé i'wá=o wakirá wa'átia
NEG=tattered PL~walk-PRS 1PL.S here=emph cloth
we don't dress tattered clothes
- (55) yomá taamó ihkóke-na taamá ma'číáme
everybody 1PL.NS give-PRS
some friends give us things too
- (56) ka'~káruma énte močí-wi i'wá-o
PL~nice people be.seated.pl-PRS here-EMPH
There are good people here
- (57) nahpéo oh~uá-iče wa'ási wa'ási o'h~ói-pa=teme
many.times PL~walk-ITER up.to.there up.to.there PL~walk-INCH=1PL.S
we moved many times, but now we set up here
- (58) kari-wá-e-teme taamó ko~koči-méa wa'ási
house-CLAS-INS-1PL.S 1PL.NS PL~sleep-FUT up.to.there
now, we have a house where to sleep
- (59) ki=asé-pa-ni asé-pa kawé tamó kawé oh~oa-mé
NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS arrive-INCH well 1PL.NS well PL~walk-NMLZ
we don't have enough to live better
- (60) serepií pámuní o'h~o-na-temé waáte mesa-čí-te
each.one year PL~walk-PRS=1PL.S toward.there Mesa. Colorado-LOC-toward
we go to Mesa Colorado every year
- (61) taamó te~tehíma nené-mia waáte
1PL.NS PL~relative see-FUT toward.there
- taamó ye'yé taamó no'nó taamó taatái teiwáme močík-áme
1PL.NS mother 1PL.NS father 1PL.NS uncle mountains be.seated.pl-NMLZ
to see our relatives there, our mother, our father, our uncle that live there
- (62) senékaci eh~ené-pa-re wa'atépa taamó nené-mia
sometimes PL~come-INCH-PFV toward.here 1PL.NS see-FUT
sometimes they have come to see us

- (63) tekihpana-méa i'wá-o taamó močik-áči
 work-FUT here-EMPH 1PL.NS be.seated.pl-LOC
 to work here where we live
- (64) ahpó ye'éme wa'ámi merikó močik-áči
 3SG.NS cure through.there doctor be.seated.pl-LOC
 to be cured here (where we live)
- (65) yačah-pa-sá-pa no'~nóa-pa-re wa'áte enčí
 be.seated-INCH-SUB-INCH PL~leave-INCH-PFV toward.there again
 when they show relief they go back there
- (66) ye'yé ko'kória-e ko'kória-pa eh~ená-pa-re waatépa
 mother sick-INS sick-INCH ITER~come-INCH-PFV toward.here
 when my mother is ill she comes
- (67) ehpé-o yačah-pá-re wa'ási
 now-EMPH be.seated-INCH-PFV up.to.there
 kawé kahti-áta ehpé-o wa'ási
 well be.seated-QUOT now-EMPH up.to.there
 Now she is recovered, she is well
- (68) no'nó e'čá-re wa'ási a'áru pu'káe
 father cultivate-PFV up.to.there watermelon that's.why
 ki=ená-ni wa'atépa wa'ási
 NEG=come-PRS toward.here up.to.there
 My father is cultivating watermelon that's why he does not come here
- (69) ena-ri-ó-tia-ta ená
 come-PFV-SUB-QUOT-QUOT come
 ki=ená-m-ó tuča-ni-átia ehpé-o wa'ási
 NEG=come-FUT-SUB say-PRS-QUOT now-EMPH up.to.there
 he said that he was going to come but he didn't
- (70) yomá i'ipá-re wa'ási tirikó
 all harvest-PFV up.to.there wheat
 he already picked the wheat up
- (71) ahpó ečá-ri-a téwi
 3SG.NS cultivate-PFV-NMLZ there
 that he cultivated there

- (72) no'ó puyé-ka moči-ká-ta=pu-a
1 SG.NS wait.for-PTCP be.seated-PTCP-QUOT=D.D-EMPH
they are waiting for me
- (73) no'ó sin-heriá-ta wa'áte pukaépa
1 SG.NS go-want-QUOT toward.there that's.why
they want me go there
- (74) ki=ena-méra aapóe wa'atépa
NEG=come-POT 3PL.S toward.here
because they cannot come here
- (75) ehpé-o wa'á oé=ne wa'ási
now-EMPH here walk=1 SG.S up.to.there
I live here now
- (76) sonóra tewané-či i'wá
Sonora call-LOC here
it's called Sonora
- (77) ki=si-méra ehpé-o wa'áte ihkwéra-či to'á ičíó kukučí
NEG=go-POT now-EMPH toward.there school-LOC stay BEN children
I can not go there because the children are (attending) school
- (78) ahtá kahu-só-pa simpá-ma=temé wa'áte
until finish-SUB-INCH go.pl-FUT=1PL.S toward.there
when they finish classes we are going to go there
- (79) wa'ási puya-só-pa wa'ási ihkwéra-či kukučí
up.to.there leave-SUB-INCH up.to.there school-LOC children
when children leave school
- (80) neipá wa'ási tekhpána-me temé eikéo
last up.to.there work-NMLZ 1PL.S then
then, we are going to work
- (81) napoh-ká yo'óri aháma yo'óri-či ečariáčame
weed-PTCP mestizo COM mestizo-LOC field
cleaning the field of yori, where yori sow
- (82) kokorí'te tehpuča-ka yomá
peppers cut-PTCP everything
we are going to pick up peppers too

- (83) naapé o~hó-ai o~hó-ka tekhipaná-ka
 however PL~walk-IPFV PL~walk-PTCP work-PTCP
 we have worked a lot
- (84) ki=toore-aiwa-nári-a i'wá móči-ka tamó pete-wá-či
 NEG=suffer-hungry-DES-EMPH here be.seated-PTCP 1PL.NS house-POS-LOC
 so we don't suffer from hunger here in our house
- (85) yo'óri-a ki=kawé tamó natehké-na=pu-a
 mestizo-EMPH NEG=good 1PL.NS pay-PRS=D.D-EMPH
 yori don't pay well
- (86) paikápi wa'ápi paiká siendó wa'ápi natehté-na yo'óri-a
 little same three hundred same pay-PRS mestizo-EMPH
 yori pay few money, they pay three hundred pesos only
- (87) ki=kawé asé-pa-ni yomá ko'áme ičíó
 NEG=good arrive-INCH-PRS everything food BEN
 there is not enough (money) for (buying) food
- (88) naipáme simpá-ma-teme yoomá
 last go.pl-FUT=1PL.S everything
- teiwáme nené-mia wa'áte tamó mačiyá
 luckily see-FUT toward.there 1PL.NS knows
 then, we are going to visit there to see (the people we) know
- (89) so'očí iyá-mia teiwáme
 fish look.for-FUT luckily
 to look for fish
- (90) ihkwéra-či puuya-só kukučí wa'ási eikápa eikápa simpá-ma=teme wa'áte
 school-LOC finish-SUB children up.to.there then then go.pl-FUT=1PL.S there
 after children finish school we are going to go there
- (91) wa'atépa e'~ená-sa-pa
 toward.here PL~come-SUB-INCH
- wa'ási enčí tekhipana-méa simpá-ma=teme eikó
 up.to.there again work-FUT go.pl-FUT=1PL.S then
 then, when we return from there we are going to work again
- (92) yo'osí tari-ké-ma kukučí ihkwéra-či mui-méra eikó
 notebook buy-APPL-FUT children school-LOC enter-POT then
 to buy notebooks for children for their return to school

- (93) yomá itahtápi itá-ni wa'á-o ihkwéra-či
 eveeverything thing ask-PRS there-EMPH school-LOC
 in school, they ask for many things
- (94) ehpé-o ki=tekihpana-ní=ne
 now-EMPH NEG=work-PRS=1 SG.S
 kawé=pu i'wá močik-ó-pa kukučí
 well=D.D here be.seated.pl-SUB-INCH children
 Now, I am not working because I take care of children
- (95) inaté-ka wasité-ke-ka tekihpaná-ka wa'ámi enah-pá-me
 take.care-PTCP cook-APPL-PTCP work-PTCP through.there come-INCH-NMLZ
 taking care of them and cooking for the workers
- (96) ki=to'óre-aiwa-míčio pú'-ka-oi
 NEG=suffer-hungry-PURP D.D-ID-SUB
 so they don't suffer from hunger
- (97) ka'~karóma no'~nowa-míčio teiwáme
 PL~well PL~return-PURP luckily
 so they return well
- (98) ahpó oh~ói-kači
 3SG.NS PL~walk-LOC
 where they live

Pear story
Agustina zayla leyva

- (1) apoé ini-ré yoorí
3SG.S be-PFV mestizo
'There was a mestizo
- (2) e'etiá oíča-ni puú
like.that start-PRS D.D
this way it starts
- (3) pačúri no'ó nené-ri-a
just 1PL.NS see-PFV-REL
what I just saw
- (4) natí-čí wiréo-či
thing-LOC video-LOC
in the video
- (5) pií tihoé očétiame wa'á
one man old there
an old man
- (6) oi-yá tehpuča-ka naatí pu'-ká čintewaniá=pu péra
walk-IPFVcut-PTCP thing D.D-ID name=D.D pear
that was cutting those called pears
- kahti-amé tiá si'~sióname
be.seated-NMLZ say PL~green
those green ones
- (7) pu'-ká puha-ká oi-yá te'pá natí-čí
D.D-ID pick.up-PTCP walk-IPFV up thing-LOC
those he was picking up there
- (8) ehkaréra-či i'móra-čípóte oi-yá wihčipa-ká
ladder-LOC ladder-UP walk-IPFV -PTCP
in the ladder up there
- (9) i'wá čuhčá natí pu'-ká naatí kontésio katiamé
here hang thing D.D-ID thing
here he had a bag

- (10) i'wá čuhčá-ka wa'á waátipo toa-si-á
 here hang-PTCP there there put-go-EMPH
 there he was putting them
- (11) tóa
 put
 putting them
- (12) weeká pui-sá-pa enčí
 a.lot gather-SUB-INCH again
 after he gathered a lot of them, again
- (13) wa'á werumá-o warikátiname werumá e'étia
 there big-EMPH cest big like.that
 he was putting them inside the big cest
- (14) pu'-ká-či toa-sí-a wa'átipo
 D.D-ID-LOC put-go-EMPH there
 he was putting them there
- (15) počiwá-si-a ikanáti ooká počiwá-ri-a wa'así
 fill-go-EMPH quickly two fill-PFV-NMLZ up.to.there
 he was filling them quickly, two of them
- (16) neipá wa'á ená-ka piípi kuitá
 last there come-PTCP one child
 after that a child arrived
- (17) wiskréta-či wa'á e'~ená-ka
 bike-LOC there ITER~come-PTCP
 he was coming in a bike
- (18) i'tó-ka piípi piípi počí-káme pu'-ká wári
 take-PTCP one one fill-NMLZ D.D-ID cest
 he took a cest filled
- (19) mmh wa'átia wari-má wisikréta-či werasá i'tó-ka ekipá
 INTERJ everything cest-COM bike-LOC take-PTCP then
 then he took everything in the bike
- (20) i'wá u'má-to-ka piré natí puú čiwá pani-tu-áme
 here run-MOV-PTCP other thing D.D goat taking.care-MOV-NMLZ
 there was one (man) that was taking care of a goat

- (21) na ki=tóka=pu-a pu'-ká
 but NEG=take=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID
 but he didn't took anything
- (22) natí warí wa'á aha-káme
 thing cest there be.standing.pl-NMLZ
 those cests that were there
- (23) piiré neipá ená-kame
 other last come-NMLZ
 the other that came after
- (24) puú i'tó-ka ekihpá pu'-ká-o
 D.D take-PTCP then D.D-ID-EMPH
 was the one that took those
- (25) e'é naatí warí poči-káme i'tó-ka ekipá wa'ámi
 INTERJ thing cest fill-NMLZ take-PTCP then through.there
 taking a filled cest
- (26) weikó mehká ihtó-ai-pa wa'ási
 then far.away take-IPFV-INCH up.to.there
 then when he was going far away
- (27) natehpá-ri-a o'owítame wa'á wisikréta-či ená-e
 meet-PFV-EMPH woman there bike-LOC come-INS
 he met a woman that came in a bike
- (28) ku'rí-ka nené-mia e'étia
 turn-PTCP see-FUT like.that
 and turned his face like that
- (29) wíči-ka wa'á puú warí
 fall-PTCP there D.D cest
 the cest fell down
- (30) moké-to-ame puú-a wa'á
 carry.in.the.back-MOV-NMLZ D.D-EMPH there
 the one he took with him
- (31) wa'á yasa-ká itihpía eikó
 there be.seated-PTCP stay then
 then he stay seated there

- (32) yomá či'rinásá pú'-ka náti
all spread D.D-ID thing
all those (pears) spread all over the ground
- (33) weikoá wa'á aha-ri-á wa'á paiká teh~temarí nu'~núti-a
then there be.standing.pl-IPFV-EMPH there three PL~boy INT~small-EMPH
- wa'á čikekečúma
there same.size
there were other three little boys, of the same size
- (34) weikó kui'-ká pepe-sá
then help-PTCP pick.up-SUB
then they helped him to pick them up
- (35) počiwá-re enčí
fill-PFV again
they fill (the cest) up again
- (36) wa'á toá-ri-a
there put-PFV-EMPH
they put them there
- (37) eikaóba ki'yá-ka naatí enčí wa'á
then give-PTCP thing again there
then (they) gave him (the cest) again
- (38) te'pá weré-ka eikó enčí wisikréta-či pu'-ká
up put.standing-PTCP then again bike-LOC D.D-ID
and he put it back on the bike
- (39) ihčíkó-ka-me=pu eikó mokóira-me mehká wiči-ré mokoirá
steal-PTCP-NMLZ=D.D then hat-NMLZ far.away fall-PFV hat
the thief, his hat fell down far away
- (40) weikáo wa'á puú wa'á teh~témari weikaóba
then there D.D there PL~boy then
- apečúna-sa-pa kiyá-ka enčí pu'-ká mókori
pick.up-SUB-INCH give-PTCP again D.D-ID hat
then the boys after picking it up gave it back to him
- (41) mokeri-ta-míčio pu'-ká ihčíku-áme
hat-MAKE-PURP D.D-ID steal-NMLZ
in order for him to wear it (again), that thief

- (42) wa'á ihto-ái-čia eikó
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then
when he was leaving
- (43) kia-tiá=pu-a pu'-ká mókori
give-PASS=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID hat
they gave him the hat
- (44) eikó kiyá-ka paiká pu'-ká
then give-PTCP three D.D-ID
then he gave them three (pears)
- (45) ihkóke-re eikó pu'-ká ahpó itó-ai
give-PFV then D.D-ID 3SG.NS take-IPFV
he gave them what he had
- (46) wa'á ihto-ái-čia eikó tihoé-a-ba
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then man-EMPH-INCH
then when the man was leaving
- (47) puú teh~témari puú kiya-tiá-me wa'á u'má-to-ka wa'á
D.D PL~boy D.D give-PASS-NMLZ there run-MOV-PTCP there
those boys, those who were given (the pears) passed by there
- (48) tihoé wa'á-hu očétiamé o'~o-í-ači pu'-ká puha-ká
man there-COP old ITER~walk-IPFV-LOC D.D-ID pick.up-PTCP
- (49) ko'áme wa'átepa čuča-káme
food up.there hang-NMLZ
where the old man was picking up the food that was hung
- (50) weikó nené-ka wa'á kíti-o piipi počí-káme
then see-PTCP there there.is.no-SUB one fill-NMLZ
then he saw that one of (the full cests) was missing
- (51) ooká ahawá-i wa'ási
two put.standing-IPFV up.to.there
he had two of them
- (52) paiká počíwa-méra=pu-a=pu eikó
three fill-POT=D.D-EMPH=D.D then
he was going to fill three

- (53) nené-ka itihpí-ka eikó
 see-PTCP stay-PTCP then
 he kept watching then
- (53) enčí wa'apóte ekihpá moéna-ka enčí wa'ápote i'morá-čipote
 again up.there climb-PTCP again up.there ladder-up.there
 and he climbed up there in the ladder
- (54) počiwá-re eikó piré
 fill-PFV then other
 he fill up another
- (55) neipá-o enčí tekih-k-ó-pa
 last-EMPH again get.down-PTCP-SUB-INCH
 after he got down again
- (56) u'má-to-ka wahá
 run-MOV-PTCP other
 the others passed by
- (57) mako-ká pu'-ká ahpó ihkóke-tia pu'-ká
 hold-PTCP D.D-ID 3SG.NS give-PASS D.D-ID
 holding what they were given
- (58) ihčiku-áme i'tó-ri-a
 steal-NMLZ take-PFV-NMLZ
 what the thief was taking
- (59) ahpó ihkóke-ri-a
 3SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ
 what the thief had given to them
- (60) weikó nené-ka ihtihpí-ka wa'á
 then see-PTCP stay-PTCP there
 then he kept watching
- (61) nené-ka ihtipí-ka wa'ámia ampákopa
 see-PTCP stay-PTCP through.there
 when they passed by there
- (62) wahá mako-ká piipirípi pu'-ká
 other hold-PTCP each.one D.D-ID
 when each one of them were holding one (pear)

- (63) puúčewási wa'á kahu-ká
that's.it there finish-PTCP
that's it, it finished like that
- (64) wa'á no'ó tetewá-ri-a
there 1SG.NS see-PFV-NMLZ
what I saw
- (65) puú-če ini-ré wa'asi
D.D be-PFV up.to.there
that's it

APENDIX II

BASIC TRILINGUAL DICTIONARY
WARIHÍO-ENGLISH-SPANISH
AND REVERSED INDEX
ENGLISH-WARIHÍO

A - a

- aakí *n.* River; *Río*. teeméa akisuépa ohoé We live along the river *Nosotros vivimos a la orilla del río*.
- a'aká *n.* Spit; *Saliva*. kuitá a'akára sawáemehu The child's saliva is yellow *La saliva del niño está amarilla*.
- aakátori, akatóri *n.* Butterfly; *Mariposa*. aakátori paamúni muiyáme The butterflies reproduce in rainy times *Las mariposas se reproducen en tiempo de lluvias*.
- aanío, anío *n.* Ring; *Anillo*. tararúne aanío yomá kukučí ičíó I bought a ring for each one of the little girls *Compré un anillo para cada una de las niñas* [Note: Spanish borrow from anillo 'ring'.]
- aanára *n.* Wing; *ala*. ihí kohkókowi kahpóna pií aanára This dove has her wing broken *Esta paloma tiene una ala rota* [Note: Spanish borrow from ala 'wing' plus the absolute -ra.]
- aapóe *pron.* They; *Ellos, ellas*. aapóe koaní so'čí They are eating fish *Ellos están comiendo pescado*.
- a'apé, aapé *n.* Peel, bark; *Corteza, cáscara*. u'pará a'apéra tunahkámehu / makučúni aapéra kawéruma i'yówi witaísiri ičíó The bark of the mezquite tree is very thick / the guamuchil tree peel is a good remedy for diarrhea. *La corteza del mezquite es muy gruesa / la cáscara de guamuchil es buen remedio para la diarrea*.
- aaritúri *adv.* Late afternoon; *Muy tarde*. aaritúri no'wákane I returned late in the afternoon *Me regresé muy tarde*.
- aarí *adv.* Afternoon; *Tarde*. no'ó ye'čí enáru tapaná aarí My aunt came here yesterday afternoon *Mi tía vino ayer en la tarde*.
- a'arápa, a'rápa *n.* Harp; *Arpa*. riinó kasínare a'rápa pukaé kičačátemera i'ká tukaó Lino broke the harp, that's why he isn't going to play tonight *Lino quebró el arpa y por eso no va a tocar esta noche* [Note: Spanish borrow from arpa 'harp'.]
- aaróso *n.* Rice; *Arroz*. muú kitá'irena aaróso You don't like rice *A ti no te gusta el arroz* [Note: Spanish borrow from arroz 'rice'.]
- aaráwe *n.* Pumpkin; *calabaza*. puú aaráwe pikaré wa'ási That pumpkin got rotten *Esa calabaza ya se pudrió*.
- aarówe *n.* Adobe; *Adobe*. no'ó no'nó karitáre aarówe My father built a house of adobes *Mi padre hizo una casa de adobe* [Note: Spanish borrow from adobe 'adobe'.]
- aasúka *n.* Sugar; *Azúcar*. no'ó kukurí pu'sérena werú yahčéka aasúka kahpé My uncle loves to put a lot of sugar to the coffee *A mi tío le gusta hecharle mucha azúcar al café* [Note: Spanish borrow azúcar 'sugar'.]
- aatá, a'atá *n.* Arrow, bow; *Flecha, jara, arco*. i'ká aatáe ko'imáne paiká mahói / kitewaníne noó a'atáwa With these arrows I'm going to kill three deers / I don't find my bow *Con estas flechas voy a matar tres vendados / no hallo mi arco*.
- aawá *n.* Horn; *Cuerno*. tooró kahpóre aawára The bull got his horn broken *Al toro se le quebró un cuerno*.
- ačakári *n.* Crab; *Cangrejo*. ki'yáme weeká intóai ačakári akičí Long time ago there were many crabs in the river *Antes había muchos cangrejos en el río*.
- ahawí *v.* To be standing (pl.); *Estar*

- parado* (pl.). kukučí ahawí kuútere The children are standing under the tree *Los niños estan parados debajo del árbol*
- ahčárame *n.* Pitchfork; *Horqueta.* ihí ahčárame kawérumahu karitaniame ičió This pitchfork is good to build a house. *Esta horqueta está buena para hacer una casa.*
- ahimáni *v.* To peel off (agave); *Descortezar el ágave.* waní weká ahimáni John is peeling off a lot of agave *Juan está descortezando mucho ágave.*
- ahiyá *n.* Guasima tree.; *Guásima.* no'ó ye'čí petewárači paonámína werí ahiyá In front of my aunt's house there is a guasima tree *Enfrente de la casa de mi tía hay una guásima.*
- ahpó *prn.* Him, her, his, her, himself, herself; *A él (ella), su, él (ella) mismo.* apoé karitáre ahpó kariwá He built his own house *El construyó su casa.*
- ahpóna *v.* To be swollen; *Estar hinchado.* ahponané panáta My cheek is swollen *Tengo hinchado el cachete.*
- ahpópáni *v.* To expand; *Hincharse, expandirse.* paaní ahpópare The bread already expanded *El pan ya se hinchó.*
- aháma *posp.* With; *Con.* owítíame nuúti siminá pedró aháma The little girl was going with Peter *La niña iba con Pedro.*
- aháme *adj.* Alive; *El vivo.* aháme neipá mukurú The alive one died later *El vivo se murió después.*
- aháni *v.* To live; *Vivir.* wakasí iwéta pahí aháni The cow is still living *La vaca todavía está viva.*
- akačúpani, aka'čúpani *v.* To spit; *Escupir.* puúa yomá tawé akačúpani / no'ó kuumú katiá aka'čúpani He uses to spit all day / My uncle is spitting too much *El se la pasa escupiendo todo el día / Mi tío esta escupiendo mucho.*
- akarúsuna *v.* To dribble; *Babear.* kuitá weerú akarúsuna The baby is dribbling too much *El niño está babeando mucho.*
- akičisuwérači *n.* Bank of the river; *Orilla del río.* akičisuwérači posotáme počiré nerói wa'así The deep pool made in the bank of the river is full of water *El pozo que hicieron en la orilla del río ya se lleno de agua.*
- a'ká *n.* Spit; *Saliva.* no'ó a'ká čo'korá My spit is brown *Mi saliva está café.*
- amó *prn.* You, your, yourself; *Te, a tí, tu, a ti mismo.* amó no'nó amó nuréru amó karitamičío amó kariwá Your father told you to build your own house *Tu papá te dijo que hicieras tu propia casa.*
- animári *n.* Animal; *Animal, animales.* kusíttere weeká ohóna animári There are many animals in the wood *En el monte hay muchos animales* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish animal 'animal'.]
- anisi *n.* Anis; *Anís.* ki'yáme no'ó yeyé ečariái anisi Long time ago my mother used to grow anis *Hace mucho mi amá sembraba anís* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish anís 'anis'.]
- apečúna *v.* To rise; *Alzarse, levantarse.* apečúna neróye kuú with the water the stick rises *Con el agua se levanta el palo.*
- apečúnani, apečúčani *v.* To lift; *Levantar.* hustína apečúnaru pu'ká kostári pinéri / kukučí apečúčani epehtá ahpó kokočíríachi Agustina lifted that sac by herself / The children are lifting the potatoes where they slept *Agustina levantó ese costal ella sola / Los niños están levantando los papas donde durmieron.*
- apočí *adj.* Against (him); *Contra él.* yomá apočí simpánare Everybody was against him *Todos estaban en contra de él.*
- apoé *pron.* He, She; *El, ella.* apoé tekíhpánare yomá tawé He worked all day *El trabajó todo el*

- día.*
 arisópori *n.* Evening star; *Lucero de la tarde.* ehpéo kitetewárune arisópori Today, I didn't see the evening star *Hoy no vi el lucero de la tarde* [Note: Compound word from arí 'afternoon' and sopóri 'star'.]
 a'rupahčíra *n.* Watermelon seed; *Semilla de sandía.* no'ó yeyé sakiré a'rupahčíra paarósi metémia My mom browned watermelon seeds to prepare a drink *Mi mamá tostó semillas de sandía para hacer agua fresca* [Note: Compound word from a'rú 'watermelon' and pahchíra 'seed'.]
 a'rú *n.* Watermelon; *Sandía.* ihí a'rú kátia kahká These watermelons are very sweet *Estas sandías están muy dulces.*
 asaróni *n.* Mattock; *Azadón.* tapaná naporúne i'ká asarónie Yesterday, I weeded out with this mattock *Ayer desyerbé con este azadón* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'azadón'.]
 asusú *n.* Garlic; *Ajo.* koáme weeká asusú inuwáe The food has a lot of garlic *La comida tiene mucho ajo.*
 atahpóri *n.* Bow; *Arco.* atahpóri kahpóre The bow got broken *El arco ya se quebró.*
 aóni *n.* Soap; *Jabón.* weerú aóni nahkíne wičómia I need more soap to wash the clothes *Necesito mas jabón para lavar la ropa* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'jabón'.]
 aóri *n.* Juniper; *Táscate.* yeyé petewárači ma'čiáči akičí werí aóri Between my mother's house and the river there is a juniper tree *Entre la casa de mi amá y el río hay un táscate.*
 a'áro *n.* Plow; *Arado.* a'aróe yomósa ečipuápua suunú The corn field will be prepared with the plow *Se va a barbechar la siembra de maíz con el arado* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'arado'.]

B - b

- bienéči *adv.* Friday; *Viernes.* bienéči simáne I am leaving friday *Me voy a ir el viernes* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'viernes']

Č - č

- čaaró *n.* Jaw; *Quijada, mandíbula.* čaitérene čaaró My jaw is dislocated *se me trabó la quijada.*
 čaatúra *n.* Scissors; *Tijeras.* čaatúrae tehpúnamane sipičá With this scissors I am going to cut the fabric *Con las tijeras voy a cortar la tela.*
 čačahkí *n.* Mojarra (a type of fish); *Mojarra.* no'ó yeyé pasuméra čačahkí My mom is going to cook mojarras *Mi mamá va a cocinar mojarras.*
 čahará *n.* Woodpecker; *Pájaro carpintero.* čahará owarátame čiičí The woodpeckers make holes in the hechos (kind of cactus) *Los pajaros carpinteros hacen hoyos en los hechos* [Note: čiičí 'hecho' is a kind of cactus.]
 čahpáči *n.* Hill; *Colina.* wa'á čahpáči ku'rípua You turn by the hill *Ahí das vuelta en la colina.*
 čahpóri *n.* Corn tortilla; *Tortilla de maíz.* čahpóri wetemá hítiame isawitére onapesótere The corn

- tortillas are grilled under the hot coal and the ashes *Las tortillas de maíz se tatemán enterradas debajo de las brasas y cenizas* [Note: čahpóri is an special type of corn tortilla cooked in the way described in the sentence.]
- čainá v. To stick; *Atorarse*. čairúne seekára kuúe My hand stuck among the branches *Se me atoró la mano entre las ramas*.
- ča'ká n. Raven (female); *Chanate (hembra)*. ča'ká tasótame The raven is making her nest *El chanate hembra hace su nido*.
- čaminá v. To taste; *Probar*. čamirúne tuusí kawéruma maéka I tasted the cournflour to know if it was good *Probé el pinole para ver si servía*.
- čanawíro n. Raven (male); *Chanate (macho)*. neé mahawá čanawíro I am scared of ravens *a mi me dan miedo los chanates*.
- čankarítáni v. To grow crests; *Crestear, salir crestas*. aaráwe čankarítáni Crests are growing in the pumpkins *A las calabazas le están saliendo crestas*.
- čankárira n. Crest; *Cresta*. aaráwe wewéruma čankárie The crests of the pumpkins are big *Las crestas de las calabazas estan grandes*.
- čaní v. To say, to tell; *Decir*. puú no'ó čanéru He told me that *El me dijo eso*.
- čapahká n. Leg, tibia; *Pierna, espinilla*. tapaná kahpórune čapahká Yesterday I broke my leg *Ayer me quebré la pierna*.
- čapiná v. To hold something with the hand; *Agarrar con la mano*. hustína čapiré nakahpúra Agustina held the coral snake with the hand *Agustina agarró la coralillo con la mano*.
- ča'pí n. Bird (yellow breast); *Pájaro de pecho amarillo*. kuitá čapiré piipí ča'pí The child caught a yellow breast bird *El niño atrapó un pájaro* [Note: This bird lives in hanged nests.]
- čharewá n. Wood (small pieces); *Leña (palitos que se juntan)*. weeká peperúne čarewá I gathered enough pieces of wood *ya junté mucha leña* [Note: 'čarewá' are small sticks that you can pick up in the woods.]
- čarí'čani v. To chop up; *Partir, rajar (varios objetos)*. hustína čarí'čare kuú paá piarí Agustina chopped up the woods this morning *Agustina partió los leños esta mañana* [Note: 'charí'chani' is used when someone chops up many sticks.]
- čarí'nani v. To chop up; *Rajar, partir a lo largo (un solo objeto)*. hustína čarí'nare kuú paá piarí Agustina chopped up the wood this morning *Agustina partió el leño está mañana* [Note: 'charí'nani' is used when someone chops up only one wood.]
- čawarí n. Carp; *Carpa (pez)*. no'ó yeyé kariwaráči ma'číáčitipo akičí ohóna čawarí In front of my mom's house down the river there are carps *Enfrente de la casa de mi mamá hacia abajo en el río hay Carpas*.
- če'erépani v. To get fever; *Enfiibrarse*. kuitá utewáeme če'répani The child has a high fever *El niño tiene la fiebre muy alta*.
- čehaní v. To prick, to stab; *Picar, apuñalear*. tapaná piarí čečeká ko'yákane weeká roowína Yesterday I fished many lobinas (by prickying them) *Ayer en la mañana pezqué muchas lobinas*.
- čeriwéma interj. Thanks; *Gracias*. čeriwéma kinahkíne Thanks, but I don't want it *Gracias, pero no quiero*.
- čewaní v. To hit; *Golpear*. kuitá čewaré ahpó ye'yé The child hit his mother *El niño golpió a su mamá*.
- čewiná v. To get (by exposure); *Pegar*. čewiréne chopéye I got cold *Me dio gripa*.

- če'éri *n.* Fever; *Fiebre, calentura.* paakánawa kawéruma iyóí če'éri kó'koame ičíó The pacanagua is a good remedy to cure fever *El yerbalmanso es un buen remedio para la fiebre.*
- čičíó *n.* Potato (wild); *Papa de monte.* čičíóáremu paanáta čičíó yo'wí koaká You stained your face eating raw wild potatoe *Te manchaste la cara comiendo papa de monte cruda* [Note: 'čičíó' is a kind of potatoe of the wood.]
- čihpuáme *adj.* Bitter; *Amargo.* neé wi'súnaru kahpé čihpuáme I threw the bitter coffee away *Tiré el café amargo.*
- čihtúrame *adj.* Round; *Redondo.* no'ó kiyá aaráwe čičihtúrame Give me the rounded pumpkins *Dame las calabazas redondas.*
- čikakári, čikahkári *n.* Bird; *Pájaro.* ehpe e'enamapu tihoé piari tapaná arí u'urápaka čikahkári Today we will have visitors because the chikajkari (bird) song yesterday *hoy van a venir visitas porque ayer cantaron los chólowis* [Note: 'čikakári' is a type of bird that according to warihíos sings when someone is coming to visit.]
- čikihpúni *n.* Riñón; *kidney.* ruupíta ma'čikipéretu pií čikihpúni A kidney was removed from Doña Lupe *a doña lupe le sacaron un riñón.*
- či'kúri, čikúri *n.* Mouse; *Ratón.* mí'si nanániru či'kúri / čikúri imoári ičikuáme The cat ran after the mouse / Mice use to steal the grains *El gato correteó al ratón / Los ratones se roban los granos.*
- či'kéro, čikéro *n.* Barnyard; *Corral.* pedró yetépare kawái či'kérochi Peter shuted the horses in the barnyard *Pedro encerró los caballos en el corral.*
- činčí *n.* Bug; *Chinche.* čuhčúri weeká inuwáe činčí The dog has many bugs *El perro tiene muchas chinches* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'chinche'.]
- čipuhténa *v.* To taste bitter (something); *Sentirse amargo.* kahpé no'ó chipuhténa I taste the coffee bitter *Me sabe amargo el café.*
- čiputiáme *adj.* Dirty; *Sucio.* kuitá čiputiáme oiná The child is dirty *El niño está sucio.*
- či'rína *v.* To be spilled over, to be scattered; *Estar desparramado.* muuní yomá či'rína The beans are scattered all over *Los frijoles están todos desparramados.*
- čitoká *n.* Elbow; *Codo.* waní čitoká temočáme John has his elbows rough *Juan tiene los codos muy roñosos.*
- čiwahtóro *n.* Billy goat; *Chivo.* čiwahtóro chiwá no'nóra The billy goat is the father of the nanny goat *El chivo es papá de la chiva* [Note: 'čiwahtóro' is a compound word from two Spanish borrows; chiva 'nanny goat' and toro 'bull'.]
- čiwá *n.* Nanny goat; *Chiva.* neé inuwáe pií čiwá pintó I have a stained nanny goat *Yo tengo una chiva pinta.*
- čiwí *n.* Turkey; *Guijolo.* meeré me'rimáne pií čiwí I am going to kill the turkey tomorrow to cook it *Mañana voy a matar el guijolo para guisarlo.*
- či'wáni *v.* To be torn; *Estar roto (un pedacito).* taakári yomá či'wáne All the tortillas torn apart *Todas las tortillas se rompieron.*
- čo'aní *v.* To turn off; *Apagar.* tawetúri čo'ánine ná'i I turn off the fire early *Apagué la lumbre temprano.*
- čo'iná *v.* To be off (of fire); *Apagado, no haber lumbre.* čo'iná ná'i There is no fire *No hay lumbre*
- cho'koténa *v.* To taste acid something; *Sentir ácido algo.* muuní no'ó cho'koténa na'itúre I taste the beans acid, they are rotten *Los frijoles me saben ácido, están perdidos.*
- čo'koáme *adj.* Sour; *Agrio.* kuitá ihíre

- reečú čo'koáme The child drank the sour milk *El niño se tomó la leche agria.*
- čo'kóni v. To be acid; *Estar ácido.*
muuní čo'kóni The beans are acid *Los frijoles están ácidos.*
- čo'má n. Mucus; *Mocos.* pi'wé čo'mára kuitá Blow the čild's nose! *Límpiale los mocos al niño.*
- čonaní v. To smash, to punch; *Machacar, dar un puñetazo.*
markó čonaní maahí paatári metémía Marcos is smashing mescal to make wine *Marcos está machacando mezcales para hacer vino.*
- čonipóro n. Turtledove; *Tórtola.*
wa'amí weriáme uparáči ahawí paiká čonipóro In that mesquite there are three turtledoves *En aquel mezquite están tres tórtolas* [Note: Las tórtolas son de Dios por eso no las matan para comérselas.]
- čoopéi n. Cold; *catarro.* ma'čirépane čoopéiwame I woke up having a cold *Amanecí con catarro.*
- čopohkorítuna v. To kneel; *Arrodillarse.*
hustína čopohkorítuna ni'ómia Agustina is kneeling to pray *Agustina se está arrodillando para rezar.*
- čopohkóri n. Knee; *Rodilla.* hustína ahpóna čopohkóira Agustina has her knee inflamed *Agustina tiene la rodilla hinchada.*
- čo'wí n. Sap; *Savia.* toró čo'wíra kawéruma iyói tamé ko'koáme ičió The sap of the toro is a good remedy for the toothache *La savia de torote es buen remedio para el dolor de muelas* [Note: 'toró' is a kind of tree: *bursera penicillata* (identification by Dodd and Gentry).]
- čo'óri n. Chicken; *Pollo.* me'rimánepu ooká čo'óri koáme yoámia I have to kill two chicken to make food *Tengo que matar dos pollos para hacer comida.*
- čučahpáni v. To hang up; *Colgar.*
waní wa'amí moári čučahpáni John is hanging the haversack up there *Juan está colgando el morral allí.*
- čučuwí v. To be hang, to be in four legs; *Estar colgado, en cuatro patas (pl.).* mo'arí čučuwí ehkínači The bags are hang in the corner *Los morrales están colgados en la esquina.*
- čuhčáni v. To hang up, to insert; *Colgarse, Encajar.* tapaná no'ó čuhčáre kuučí Yesterday I hanged up from the branč *Ayer me colgué del palo.*
- čuhčúri n. Dog; *perro.* čuhčúri kí'kire kuitá The dog bite the čild *el perro mordió al niño.*
- čuhkú v. To be hang; *Estar colgado.*
moári kuučí čuhkú The haversack is hanged in the tree *El morral está colgado en el árbol.*
- čuhaéme adj. Sharp; *Puntiagudo, filoso.* i'yánine peetúri čuhaéme I am looking for the sharp knife *Estoy buscando el cuchillo filoso.*
- čuhpá n. Sharp end; *Punta, filo.* petúri čuhpára kikawéruma The sharp end of the knife is not good *La punta del cuçillo ya no sirve.*
- čunurí n. čunuri tree; *Torote verde (tipo de torote que hace espuma, lo usan para lavar ropa).* karí ma'čiači werí čunurí In front of the house there is a small čunuri *Enfrente de la casa hay un torote čiquito* [Note: 'čunurí' is a type of plant: *fouquieria macdougalii* (identification by Bye) and is used as a soap to wash clothes.]
- čupahténa v. To sharpen; *Afilar.*
tapaná čupahtérune maačéta maómia Yesterday I sharpened the machetes to clear *Ayer afilé los maçetes para desmontar.*
- čupahúmi n. Pinacate tree; *Pinacate.*
i'ká paamúni weeká intúna čupahúmi There are many pinacate trees this season *En esta temporada hay muchos pinacates.*
- ču'wá n. Mouth; *Boca.* kuitá nu'úti

ču'waé The child has a little mouth *El niño tiene la boca chiquita.*

ču'wára *n.* Lips; *Labios.* kuitá sehtáname ču'wáe The child has

very red lips *El niño tiene los labios muy rojos.*

E - e

- ečahpóa *n.* Beard; *Barba.* puúa kátia ečahpóa yoritupakámehu That (man) has thick beard, he must be a mestizo *Ese tiene mucha barba ha de ser mestizo.*
- ečitiáme *n.* Crops, plant; *Siembra, planta.* suunú ečitiáme kikawéruma The corn crops are very bad *La siembra de maíz está muy mala.*
- eekani *v.* To blow; *soplar, hacer viento.* werú eekáru paá piarí It was so windy this morning *sopló mucho viento esta mañana.*
- eeká *n.* Air; *Aire.* eeká nahkíne I need some air *necesito aire.*
- eemé *pron.* You (pl.); *Ustedes.* eemé itihpíma peteči teeméa simpáma mesačí You are going to stay in the house and we are going to La Mesa *Ustedes se van a quedar en la casa y nosotros vamos a ir a La Mesa Colorada.*
- eepená *v.* To spread; *Extender.* hustína eeperé epehtá Agustina spreaded the petates *Agustina ya tendió los petates.*
- eerá *n.* Blood; *Sangre.* werú mačihenaréne eerá I bleded a lot *me salió mucha sangre.*
- e'eré *n.* Ant (red); *Hormiga roja.* e'eré no'ó kí'kíru čapahkáči A red ant bite my leg *Me picó una hormiga roja en la pierna.*
- eerátani *v.* To bleed; *Sangrar.* pedró tehjúre werú eerátani Peter got wounded and is bleeding a lot *Pedro se cortó y esta sangrando mucho* [Note: 'eerátani' is a derived word from 'eerá' 'blood' plus the verbalizer *-ta.*]
- ehčá *n.* Sore; *Llaga.* ehčá inuwaéne čapahkáči I have a sore in my foot *Tengo una llaga en el pie.*
- ehpé *adv.* Now; *Ahora.* ehpé ohoetemé močibámpo kí'yámio ohoekatemé wiramári Now we live in Močibampo, before we lived in Miramar *Ahora vivimos en Mochibampo, antes vivíamos en Miramar.*
- ehpého *n.* Mirror; *Espejo.* kuitá ahpó ne'néna ehpéhoči The child is looking at himself in the mirror *El niño se está viendo en el espejo* [Note: 'ehpého' is a borrow from the Spanish 'espejo'.]
- ehté *n.* Louse; *Piojo.* owítiamé nu'úti kiehtéwani wa'así The little girl does not have lice anymore *La niña ya no tiene piojos.*
- ehté ka'wára *n.* Nit; *Liendre.* yomá ko'yárune ehté ka'wára kuitá / rolándo ehté ka'wára mo'očí I killed all the child's nits / Rolando has nits *Ya le maté todas las liendres al niño / Rolando tiene liendres.*
- ehépa *adv.* Right now; *Ahora mismo.* ehépa u'pámáne akičí I am going to bath in the river right now *Ahorita mismo me voy a bañar en el río.*
- ekahtá *n.* Shadow; *Sombra.* reesipúrune wa'atosí ekahtáči I rested in the shadow of the willow *Descansé en la sombra del sauce.*
- e'múri *n.* Crabs; *Baiburín.* ma'čípasekamu e'múri yomá kuitá Did you already take the crabs of the child? *Ya le sacaste todos los baiburines a la niña?*
- enaní *v.* To hiccup, to belch; *Hipar, eructar.* enaní neéa ko'korí ko'káka I am hiccuping because I ate chili pepper *Tengo hipo porque comí chile.*
- enčí *adv.* Again; *Otra vez.* enčí enaní

- neéa I have hiccups again *Otra vez tengo hipo.*
- enáni *v.* To come; *Venir.* peterá tukaó enáre Petra came last night *Petra vino anoche.*
- epehtá *n.* Sleeping mat; *Petate.* kiyá epehtá epemíčio Give him the sleeping mat to spread it *Dale el petate para que tienda!* [Note: 'epehtá' is a sleeping mat made of palm leaves.]
- erína *adv.* Difficult; *Difícil.* erína eránine kuita inatéka tekíhpánaka yomá It is difficult to take care of the child working at the same time *Es difícil cuidar al niño y trabajar al mismo tiempo.*
- erápóra *n.* Vein; *Vena.* no'ó erápóra wewerumáhu My veins are too big *Mis venas son muy grandes.*
- e'túsani *v.* To sneeze; *Estornudar.* kuitá e'túsani čoopemerápu The child is sneezing, he is going to get a cold *El niño está estornudando, le va a dar gripa*
- e'é *interj.* Yes!; *¡Sí!* simamá kečeweka? e'é Do you want to go to Quetčehueca? Yes! I do *¿Quieres ir a Quetčehueca? ¡Sí!*
- e'óna *n.* Steam; *Vapor.* tapaná taharúne e'ónae Yesterday I burned with the steam *Ayer me quemé con el vapor.*

H - h

- ha'arí *n.* Gourd; *Bule.* ha'aričí nerohinaréne I want to drink water with the gourd *Quiero tomar agua con el bule.*
- hamomína *adv.* Right; *Derecho.* ko'korénane sekačí hamomína My right arm hurts *Me duele el brazo derecho.*
- heminá *v.* To be humid; *Estar humedo.* wakirá heminá The shirts are humid *Las camisas están húmedas.*
- howená *adv.* Left; *Izquierdo.* tehpurúne tonočí howéna I got a wound in my left foot *Me corté el pie izquierdo.*
- ho'wá *n.* Bones; *Huesos.* ko'korénane howačí senékačí inuwáene dengé My bones hurts so much, I think I have dengue *Me duelen mucho los huesos, creo que tengo dengue.*
- ho'wí *n.* Coyote; *Coyote.* i'ká kuwésari tetekína weeka ho'wí In this season many coyotes come down *En esta temporada bajan muchos coyotes.*
- huumí *n.* Buttocks; *Nalgas.* kainuutí huumiéne I have big buttocks *Tengo las nalgas grandes.*

I - i

- ičikuáme *n.* Thief; *Ladrón.* teirétu sunú ičikuáme tihóé The man that robbed the corn was discovered *Descubrieron al hombre ladrón de maíz.*
- ičikóna *v.* To steal; *Robar.* maniwíri senepí ičikóna ipahčí Manuel uses to steal sweetcorns *Manuel siempre roba elotes.*
- ičuhpáni *v.* To drip; *Gotear.* ičuhpáni karí The house is dripping *La casa se está goteando.*
- ihčoréwa *n.* Dirty; *Mugre.* ihčoréwae wakíra The shirt is dirty *La camisa tiene mugre.*
- ihčórewaeme *n.* Dirty; *Sucio.* o'owítíame ihčórewaeme oiná tekíhpánaka wasačí The woman is dirty because she worked in the field *La mujer está sucia porque trabajó en las tierras.*
- ihkoketiáme *n.* Gift; *Regalo.* weeká ihkoketiáme inuwáene I have got many gifts *Tengo muchos*

- regalos.*
 ihkókena v. To give; *Regalar.* no'ó mačía no'ó ihkókeru piípi naapó My neighbor gave me a cactus
Mi vecina me regaló un nopal.
 ihláči n. Island; *Isla.* no'ó kariwá akičikapo poí ihlá werumá There is an island from my house up to the river
De mi casa río arriba hay una isla grande [Note: 'ihláči' is a Spanish borrow from 'isla'.]
 ihpíčira n. Broom; *Escoba.* wa'amí werí ihpíčira There is the broom
Allá está la escoba.
 ihpáni, ipaní v. To throw; *Tirar, aventar.* waní ihpápani tehté akičí / kuitá iparé te'ečániame John is throwing stones into the river / The child threw away the toy
Juan está tirando piedras en el río / El niño tiró el juguete.
 ihtátani, ihtátani v. To size, to count; *Medir, contar.* ihtatarúmu suunú / isíkito ihtátani ahpó we'éwa Did you count the corn? / Isidro is measuring his land
Ya contaste el maíz? / Isidro está midiendo su tierra.
 ihtépuna v. To harvest; *Pepenar.* ihtepunatéme muuní We are harvesting beans
Estamos pepenando frijol [Note: 'ihtépani' is used for the harvest of the remains of the cultivate.]
 ihí dem. This, these; *Este, esta, estos, estas.* ihí čuhčuri ki'kíre kuitá This dog bite the child
Este perro mordió al niño.
 ihíkuri n. Bad witchcraft; *Mal puesto.* yahčekerétu ko'koáme ihíkurie They made him sick with a bad witchcraft
A él lo enfermaron con un mal puesto.
 i'iká n. Heart, spirit, soul; *Corazón, espíritu, alma.* waní i'ikáči kokoréna John is sick from the heart
Juan está enfermo del Corazon.
 ikanáti adv. Fast; *Rápido.* ikanáti yowáne ko'áme I prepare meal fast
Yo hago la comida rápido.
 ikurí n. Thread; *Hilo.* ikurí nahkíne maaká purímia I need thread to tie the hammock up
Necesito hilo para amarrar la hamaca.
 ikusúri n. Roast sweetcorn; *Elote asado.* tairénane ikusúri wasétieme I love roast sweetcorn
Me encantan los elotes asados
 i'móra n. Ladder; *Escalera.* no'ó iyéto i'móra moenamané karihámpa Bring me the ladder to climb over the house
Tráeme la escalera para subirme a la casa.
 inamúna v. To listen, to understand; *Oír, entender.* inamúrumu pu'ká siináme Did you hear that scream?
Oíste ese grito?
 i'natukéna v. To ask; *Preguntar.* i'natukemané akaná ohóe hustína I am going to ask where Agustina lives
Voy a preguntar donde vive Agustina.
 inaténa v. To take care; *Cuidar.* no'ó mará werumá no'ó kuiká inaténa kuitá My older daughter helps me to take care of the child
Mi hija mayor me ayuda a cuidar al niño.
 inuwáe v. To have; *Tener.* inuwáene piípi sipičá sehtáname I have a red dress
Tengo un vestido rojo
 inyantiáme adj. Ugly; *Feo.* inyántieme kuú ni'niáme The jumping sticks are ugly
Los palos brincadores son feos.
 ipačipasutiame, ipačiposori n. Boiled sweetcorn; *Elote cocido.* konaréne pií ipačipasutiame I want to eat boiled sweetcorn
Quiero comer un elote cocido.
 i'pahčí, ipahčí n. Sweetcorn; *Elote.* paiká i'pahčí nahkíne we'pásuni towémia / kawé no'ó kiápua osá marikí ampá ooká ipahčí I need three sweetcorns to cook a soup / Please give me twelve sweetcorns!
Necesito tres elotes para el cocido / Por favor déme doce elotes.
 irówa n. Stick; *Palo.* i'ká irówae roroámene ná'iporosi With this stick I am going to shake the cornflour drink
Con este palo voy a revolver el atole [Note:

- 'irówa' is a special type of stick to shake some kind of food.]
 isawíra *n.* Little bell; *Sonaja.* karína metekére piípi isawíra kuitá Karina made a little bell for the child *Karina le hizo una sonaja al niño.*
- isáwi *n.* Hot coal; *Brasa.* ne'né osá weeká itihpíre isáwi tukaó na'étiame A lot of hot coal remained from last night's fire *Quedaron muchas brasas de la lumbre de anoche.*
- ita'píti *n.* Thing; *Cosa.* ke'čó to'peniúi aakí mukúsari weeká intoái kaukí so'či yomá ita'píti Before they blocked the river with the Mucusari dam there were many lobsters, fishes, many things *Antes de que taparan el río con la Presa El Mukúsari había muchos cauques, pescado, muchas cosas.*
- itičíra, itihčíra *n.* Comb; *Peine.* kinanénane akaná no'ó toariáci itičíra / i'yánine itihčíra ohčóname I don't know where I left the comb / I am looking for the black comb *No sé donde dejó el peine / estoy buscando el peine negro.*
- i'tóna *v.* To take; *Llevar.* i'tókane rolándo močibámpo I took Rolando to Mochibampo *LLevé a Rolando a Mochibampo.*
- iwaní *v.* To be ripe; *Estar maduro.*
- aarú iwaní The watermelons are ripe *Las sandías están maduras*
- iwatiáme *adv.* Fast; *Rápido.* iwatiáme siinká tekihpánamia Hurry up to go to work! *Apúrate para que vayas a trabajar.*
- iwéta *adv.* Still; *Todavía.* iwéta wa'á oiná pahí He is still there *Todavía anda allí.*
- iyosí *n.* Sheet, letter; *Papel, carta, hoja de hule.* iyosí no'ó i'tóčeru no'ó yeyé My mom sent me a letter *Mi mamá mandó una carta.*
- iyoténa *v.* To write; *Escribir.* no'ó tatái kawé iyoténa My uncle writes very well *Mi tío (menor materno) escribe muy bien* [Note: 'tatái' is the mother's youngest brother.]
- i'yóame *n.* Quack; *Curandero.* simánepu i'yóame háma I have to go to the quack *Tengo que ir con el curandero.*
- i'yói, i'yówi *n.* Remedy; *Remedio.* i'yói amó nó'kiyaria kawéruma iniré The remedy that you gave me was good *El remedio que me diste fue muy bueno.*
- i'íkia *n.* Needle; *Aguja.* i'íkia nahkíne sukímia kohtári I need a needle to sew the bag *Necesito una aguja para coser el costal*

K - k

- kaahéte *n.* Plate; *Cajete.* kaaheteči yačasá muuní The cajetes are used to serve beans *En el cajete se sirven frijoles.*
- kaaká *n.* Sandals; *Huaraches.* rolándo nahkí kaaká wačikóá wíčira Rolando wants sandals made of leather of scorpion *Rolando quiere unos huaraches de piel de escorpión.*
- ka'aká *n.* Grandmother; *Abuela paterna, bisabuelo.* no'ó ka'aká peniátame My grandmother is very pretty *Mi abuela paterna es muy bonita* [Note: 'ka'aká' is the mother of the father.]
- kaamá *n.* Squash (kind of); *Sehualca.* kaamá pahčíra kawéruma iyói kimuiyáme ičió oowéru The squash seeds are a good remedy for women that can't produce milk *Las semillas de sehualca son un remedio para las mujeres que no dan leche* [Note: 'kaamá' is the curcubita moschata (identification by Dodd).]
- kaaní *n.* Duck (black); *Pato (negro).* kaaní ka'kéna akiči kapó That

- duck is swimming up river *Aquel pato se fue nadando río arriba*
- kahkáme *adj.* Sweet; *Dulce.* ihí newéri katisá kahká wewéruma These pitahayas fruit are very sweet *Estas pitahayas están muy dulces.*
- kahpé *n.* Coffee; *Café.* kahuré kahpé I ran out of coffee *Ya se me acabó el café.*
- kahpóčani *v.* To break; *Quebrar.* markó kahpóčani kuú Marcos is breaking the sticks *Marcos está quebrando los palos.*
- kahpóna *v.* To be broken; *Estar quebrado.* ihí kuú kahpóna These sticks are broken *Estos palos están quebrados.*
- kahpópáni *v.* To get broken; *Quebrarse.* ihí waankó kahpópáre This bench got broken *Este banco ya se quebró completamente.*
- kahpóráme *n.* Short, small, round, rounded; *Chaparro, corto, bola, boludo, redondo.* kuitá kikapóráme iniméra The child is not going to be short *El niño no va a ser chaparro.*
- kahsí *n.* Hips, leg; *Caderas, muslo.* kuitá werumá kahsí The child has very fat legs *El niño tiene los muslos muy gordos.*
- kahtí, yacaká *v.* To be seated (sg.); *Estar sentado (sg.).* rolando kahtí no'ó amomína Rolando is seated in front of me *Rolando está sentado enfrente de mí.*
- kahé *n.* Tempisque (type of plant); *Tempisque.* akisuépa ahawí ooká kahé o'očetiáme In the bank of the river there are two old tempisques *En la orilla del río hay dos tempisques muy viejos* [Note: 'kahé' is the name for sideroxylon angustifolium (identification by Dodd and Gentry).]
- kahéna *n.* Foothill; *Falda del cerro.* ohoetemé kawí kahénapote We live up the foothill *Vivimos en la falda del cerro hacia arriba.*
- kakahténa *v.* To taste sweet or salty; *Sentirse dulce o salado.* naaráso noó kakahténa The oranges taste sweet *las naranjas me saben dulce.*
- kakahóya *n.* Leather strap; *Correa de huarache.* piréči kakahóya temané kaaká I am going to change the leather straps to the sandals *Voy a cambiarle las correas a los huaraches.*
- kakáhsti *n.* Box; *Huacal.* no'ó yeyé čičiío tó'are kakáhstiči My mother put the potatoes of the wood in the box *Mi mamá puso las papas de monte en el huacal* [Note: 'kakáhsti' is a box made from small sticks to storage food.]
- ka'kéna *v.* To swim; *Nadar.* ihpí tapaná e'enasá močibampo oínia ka'kéka papahtéka teeméa akiči The last time we came from Mochibampo we had to cross the river swimming *La última vez que nos vinimos de Mochibampo tuvimos que atravesar nadando el río.*
- ka'móri *n.* Jicama, sweet potato; *Jicama, camote.* owítíame ko'áre ka'móri rimóni aháma The little girl ate jicama with lemon *La niña comió jicama con limón.*
- kaomísi *n.* Wild cat; *Gato montés.* kaomísi kusítère oiná The wild cat lives in the wood *El gato montés anda en el monte.*
- kałosánto *n.* Cemetery; *Camposanto.* i'ká kałosántoči pé'ti yomá no'ó tetehíma All my relatives are in this cemetery *En este campo santo están todos mis familiares* [Note: 'kałosánto' is a borrow from the Spanish 'camposanto'.]
- kałosori, ka'pósori *n.* Bowl (small); *Lečuzá (čica).* tukaó tetewárune naó kałosori niniáme eekáči / ka'pósori amó peteči wikatáso ko'kóame intúmera Last night I saw four bowls flying / When the owl sings in front of your house there will be sickness in your family *Anoche vi cuatro lechuzas volando / Cuando la lechuzá canta en tu casa va a haber*

- enfermedad.*
- kariči *n.* Jail; *Cárcel.* no'ó tehči ka'čiyowáretu pačamiá kariči They couldn't put my uncle Chuy in jail *A mi tío Chuy no lo pudieron meter a la cárcel*
- karihámpa *n.* Roof; *Techo.* karihámpa isú aaráwe pahčíra Spread the pumpkin seeds in the roof of the house! *Tiende las semillas de calabaza en el techo!* [Note: 'karihámpa' is a compound word from 'karí' house and 'hámpa' above.]
- karí *n.* house; *casa.* pu'serénane karí si'óname I like that green house very much *Me gusta aquella casa verde.*
- karáči *n.* Raven; *Cuervo.* kuitá karáči uhumuápuame suunú koayáme The child that frighten off the ravens that eat the corn *El niño que espanta a los cuervos que se comen el maíz.*
- karítani *v.* To build houses; *Hacer casas.* no'ó taná no'ó karítákere My son built a house for me *Mi hijo me hizo una casa.*
- kasará *n.* Garbage; *Basura.* montóare kasará He gathered the garbage *Amontonó la basura.*
- kasaráči *n.* Rubbish dump; *Basurero.* kasaráči ihpápare no'ó kaaká yeyé My mother threw my sandals away into the rubbish dump *Mi mamá tiró mis huaraches al basurero.*
- kasetíni *n.* Socks; *Calcetines.* rolándo kasetínira kakahpórame The socks of Rolando are short *Los calcetines de Rolando son cortitos* [Note: 'kasetíni' is a borrow from the Spanish 'calcetines'.]
- kasína *v.* To be broken (a plate); *Estar quebrado (plato).* yomá pehtóri kasípare All the plates broke *Todos los platos se quebraron.*
- kaukí *n.* Lobster; *Cauque.* ke'čo to'peniúi aakí mokúsari weeká intoái kaukí so'čí yomá ita'píti Before they blocked the river with the Mocusari dam there were many lobsters, fishes, all sorts of fishes *Antes de que taparan el río con la presa mokúsari había cauques, pezcados, de todo* [Note: 'kaukí' is a borrow from the Spanish 'cauque' that is a kind of lobster from sweetwaters.]
- ka'waní To put eggs; *Ovar.* totóri ka'waré paiká ka'wá The chicken gave three eggs *La gallina puso tres huevos.*
- kawerápani *v.* To cheer up; *Alegrarse.* kawerápane no'ó ye'yé enákopa I began to cheer up when my mom arrived *Me alegré cuando llegó mi mamá*
- kawihámpa *n.* Clift; *Voladero.* no'ó poní te'pá wéri kawihámpa My brother is up there in the clift *Mi hermano está arriba en el voladero* [Note: 'kawihámpa' is a compound word from 'kawí' mountain and 'hámpa' above.]
- kawí *n.* Mountain, hill; *cerro.* kawí kuwárači werí tooró Over the top of that mountain there is a torote *En la punta de aquel cerro esta un torote.*
- kawé *adv.* Good, well; *Bueno, bien.* kawé na'pó i'wá weed off well here! *Desyerben bien aquí!*
- kawái *n.* horse; *caballo.* kawái ohčóname kahpóre čapahkára The black horse broke his leg *El caballo negro se quebró una pata* [Note: 'kawái' is a borrow from the Spanish 'caballo'.]
- kawérame *n.* Happy; *Alegre.* no'ó pa'čí warénsia ke'čo mukuyá kawérame ohoyái My brother Valentin was very happy *Mi hermano Valentín era muy alegre.*
- kawéruma *adj.* Good; *Bueno.* kawéruma yoosí to'péniamé karí The plastic sheets are good to cover the house *El hule es bueno para tapar la casa.*
- ka'wá, ka'awá *n.* Egg; *Huevos.* totóri ka'waré paiká ka'wá / čočohká ka'awára katisatá'ya The chicken gave three eggs / The quail eggs

- are delicious *La gallina puso tres huevos / Los huevos de Codorniz son muy Buenos.*
- ka'óča *n.* Testicles; *Testículos.* no'ó wewerúne ka'óčači paaráe I hurt my testicles with the shovel *me golpié en los testículos con la pala.*
- keemá *n.* Blanket; *Cobija.* hustína wičoré yomá keemá akičí Agustina washed all the blankets in the river *Agustina lavó todas las cobijas en el río.*
- keenorá *n.* Rainbow; *Arcoiris.* keenorá yukí keripátíame The rainbow blocks the rain *El arcoiris tapa la lluvia.*
- keepá *n.* Snow; *Nieve.* sekaé čapírúne keepá I grasped snow *Agarré nieve con la mano.*
- keepúna *v.* To understand; *Entender.* kuitá yomá keepúna The child understands everything *El niño entiende todo.*
- kehsó *n.* Cheese; *Queso.* no'ó yeyé ta'yáme kehsó meteré My mom made a very good cheese *Mi mamá hizo un queso muy bueno* [Note: 'kehsó' is a borrow from the Spanish 'queso'.]
- kepaní *v.* To snow; *Nevar.* kepaní tepaniámi It is snowing up the mountains *Está nevando para arriba.*
- keóči *n.* Vixen; *Zorra.* keóči wikoáre tukaó The vixen whistled last night *La zorra silbó anoche.*
- ki *adv.* No, without; *No, sin.* tararúne trooké kipuetáeme I bought a car without doors *Compré un carro sin puertas.*
- kihčí *n.* Iguana; *Iguana.* kihčí no'ó paéna The iguana is calling me *La iguana me está llamando.*
- kiičí *n.* Puppy; *Cachorro.* peniásina te'éka kiičí The puppy is playing nice *El cachorro está jugando muy bontio.*
- kiintaéro *n.* Guitar player; *Guitarrero.* nakimatemé pií kiintaéro čačatemíčio i'ká tukaó We need a guitar player to play tonight *Necesitamos un guitarrero para que toque esta noche* [Note: 'kiintaéro' is a borrow from the Spanish 'guitarrero'.]
- kiintára *n.* Guitar; *Guitarra.* kiintára čačáte Play the guitar! *Toca la guitarra!* [Note: 'kiintára' is a borrow from the Spanish 'guitarra'.]
- kikawéruma *adj.* Bad, useless; *Malo, inservible.* no'ó kakahóya kikawéruma The leather straps of my snadals are useless *Las correas de mis huaraches no sirven.*
- kimačiriáme *n.* Blind; *Ciego.* kimačiriáme tihoé metená kuú The blind man is cutting wood *El hombre ciego está partiendo la leña.*
- kino'nóeme *n.* Orphan; *Huérfano.* puú kino'nóeme pinéri ohóe That orfand lives alone *Ese huérfano vive solo* [Note: 'kino'nóeme' is a relative clause meaning 'the one who has no father' compound from 'ki-' negation 'no'nó' father '-e-' to have and '-me' a nominalizer.].
- kipehtiáme *adj.* Lightweighted; *Ligero, liviano.* apečúna wapósi kipehtiáme Lift that light chilicote! *Levanta el čilicote liviano!* [Note: 'kipehtiáme' is relative clause meaning 'the one that is not heavy' compound from 'ki-' negation, 'pehtí-' heavy and '-ame' a nominalizer.].
- kisiká *n.* Pimple; *Barro.* ruupíta weeká yahčáni kisiká o'pá Lupita has many pimples on her back *Lupe tiene mučos barros en la espalda.*
- kitoaní *v.* To forbid; *Prohibir.* no'ó no'nó kitamá toaní simpamičio wairéči mesačí My father forbid us to go to parties in La Mesa *Mi papá nos prohíbe ir a los bailes de La Mesa.*
- kiutewaéme *n.* Weak; *Débil.* tihoé kiutewaéme kinapo'mé érare The weak man could not work *El hombre débil no pudo trabajar.*
- kiyeyéme *n.* Orphan (from mother);

- Huérfano (de madre)*. kuitá kiyeyéeme ahpó no'nó aháma ohóe The orphan kid live with his father *El niño huérfano vive con su papa*.
- kiyoiná *v.* To lose; *Perder*. kiyoináne tomí I am losing money *Estoy perdiendo dinero*.
- kiyá yomá *quant.* Majority; *La mayoría (casi todos)*. kiyá yomá simpáre tihoé Most of the people left *La mayoría de la gente se fue*.
- ki'yámi *adv.* Ago; *Antes*. ki'yámi paiká uurú inuwáekaine Some time ago I had three donkeys *Antes tenía tres burros* [Note: 'ki'yámi' refers to a an event that happened more than one year ago.]
- koačéna *v.* To patch; *Remendar*. hustína koačénare wakirá Agustina wants to patch the shirts *Agustina quiere remendar las camisas*.
- koatá *n.* Forehead; *Frente*. rolando kisiká yahčáni koatá Rolando has a pimple in his forehead *Rolando tiene un grano en la frente*.
- kočíná *v.* To sleep; *Dormir*. kuitá kočiré yomá arí The child slept all afternoon *El niño durmió toda la tarde*.
- ko'čí *n.* Sister (elder); *Hermana mayor*. no'ó ko'čípua nu'úti tanaemé My elder sister has a baby *Mi hermana mayor tiene un bebé*.
- koharí *n.* Toad; *Sapo*. koharí neróči niníru The toad jumped into the water *El sapo brinco en el agua*.
- kohčí *n.* Shrimp; *Camarón*. kohčí po'ačúmane I am going to fish shrimps *Voy a anzuelear camarones*.
- kohsó *n.* Stream; *Arroyo*. paá piarí pairúne neroi kohsočí / yeyé kariwárači mačéči poí kohsó nu'úti This morning I carried water from the stream / In front of my mother's house there is a small stream *Esta mañana acarrié agua del arroyo /*
- Enfrente de la casa de mi madre hay un arroyo chiquito*.
- kohtári *n.* Sack; *Costal*. mookéka kohtári suunú aháči toatái Take the sack to put corn inside *LLévate el costal para que heches el maíz* [Note: 'kohtári' is a borrow from the Spanish 'costal'.]
- kohá *n.* Baby, newborn; *Bebé, recién nacido*. kawé inaté kohá Take good care of the baby! *Cuida bien al bebé!*
- kohá owitiáme *n.* Baby girl; *Bebé mujer*. kohá owitiáme yaupátana tamé The baby girl is showing her baby theet *A la bebé le están saliendo los dientes*
- kohá temarí *n.* Baby boy; *Bebé hombre (un año)*. kohá temarí oisínapa The baby boy can walk already *El bebé ya camina*.
- ko'koténa *v.* To taste spicy; *Sentirse enchiloso*. muuní katiá no'ó ko'koténa The beans are too spicy for me *Los frijoles me saben muy enchilosos*.
- ko'koáme *adj.* Spicy; *Enchiloso*. ta'irénane ko'áme ko'koáme I love spicy food *Me encanta la comida enchilosa*.
- ko'kóni *v.* To be spicy; *Estar enchiloso*. nerói ko'kóni The water is spicy *El agua está enchilosa*.
- ko'kóri, kokorí *n.* Chili pepper; *Chiltepín*. ko'kóri ko'kómane / kokorí huparépua I want to eat chili pepper / He gathered chili peppers *Quiero comer chiltepines / El juntó chiltepines*.
- komóra *adj.* Hunchbacked; *Jorobado*. komóratona kiahpó teteipóičío He is walking hunchbacked not to be seen *Va jorobado para que no lo miren*.
- končóikina, končónyowa *v.* To stain; *Manchar*. no'ó sipičá končóikiré to'iwé / kuita končónyowáre yomá sarawéra My dress stained with the plants / The child stained all the cloth diapers *Mi vestido se manchó con las ramas*

- / *El niño manchó todas las zapetas.*
- koniwári *n.* Chia (a type of plant); *Conívara (planta).* koniwári pahčira kawéruma i'yóí witaísiri ičió The seeds of the chia are a good remedy for the diarrhea *La semilla de la conívara es buen remedio para la diarrea.*
- ko'omorasípani *v.* To bend down; *Agacharse.* kawé ko'morosípamane na'pomiá I am going to bend down a lot to weed off *Me voy a agachar mucho para desyerbar.*
- koomípani *v.* To hug; *Abrazar.* no'ó kuitá no'ó koomípare My child hugged me *Mi niño me abrazó*
- koomórame *n.* Hunchbacked; *Jorobado.* pu'ká kariči ohoé piipi koomórame A hunchbacked lives in that house *En esa casa vive un jorobado.*
- ko'omórani *v.* To be hunched with the head bowed; *Estar agachado.* yomá tawé ko'omórakane tekíhpánaka I was working all morning hunched with the head bowed *Estuve agachado toda la mañana trabajando*
- kooró *n.* Dove (big, gray with white neck); *Paloma grande azul gris de cuello blanco.* kooró peniátetiame tatanáe The dove has pretty sons *La paloma tiene muy bonitos hijos.*
- ko'oré *n.* Fence; *Cerco.* no'ó kumó werumá ko'oréwae ahpó petečí My uncle has a big fence in his house *Mi tío tiene un cerco muy grande en su casa.*
- kooráči, koráči *n.* Squash; *Calabacita.* kuitá pu'seréna kooráči / moképare koráči no'ó poní pasupuá ičió The child loves squash / My brother brought squashes to cook *Al niño le gustan las calabacitas / Mi hermano trajo calabacitas para cocerlas.*
- ko'osí *n.* Anus; *Ano.* kuitá chihkokoréna ko'oičí sukuná si'kwáka The kid is scratching his anus because has tapeworms *El niño se esta rascando el ano porque tiene lombrices.*
- kopéči *n.* Glow-worm; *Luciérnaga.* kopéchi tukaó ohoáme Glow-worms fly during the night *Las luciérnagas andan de noche.*
- korohká *n.* Necklace, rosary; *Collar, rosario.* mookéka korohká amó petečí Take the necklace to your home! *Llévate el collar para tu casa!*
- koronía *n.* Coronilla (a type of plant); *Coronilla (planta).* koronía kawéruma čopé ičió The coronilla is a good remedy for cold *La coronilla es buena para el catarro* [Note: 'koronía' is a borrow from the Spanish 'coronilla'.]
- kowí *n.* Pig; *Cerdo.* poončo iyahtóre kowí i'yakótemia wasačíte Poncho carried the pigs to shepherd in the landscape *Poncho arreó los cerdos a pastorear a las tierras.*
- koyačéna *v.* To patch; *Remendar.* koyachénane sipičá simiá pahkóči I am patching the dress to go to the feast *Estoy remendando el vestido para ir a la fiesta.*
- ko'yáni *v.* To kill (several entities); *Matar (objeto plural).* hustína ko'yáre ooká totóri ahpó yečí ičió Agustina killed two hens for her aunt *Agustina mató dos gallinas para su tía.*
- ko'áme *n.* Food; *Comida.* ko'áme onačípu The food is too salty *La comida está salada.*
- kuaté *n.* Twins; *Gemelos.* no'ó ko'máre sauré kuate ki'yá My comrade had twins last year *Mi comadre tuvo gemelos el ano pasado* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'cuate'.]
- kuhtá *n.* Throat; *Garganta, pescuezo.* kikawé tehpnúre kuhtára čiwa pukaé kikanáti mukuré You didn't cut the throat to the goat properly and it died slowly *Le cortaste mal el pezcuezo al*

- cabrito y no se murió rápido.*
kuhuwá *n.* Snake (a type of); *Culebra chicotera.* kuhuwá chorí koayáme The snakes eat chickens *Las culebras chicoteras se comen a los pollos.*
- kuhuípani *v.* To flash; *Relámpaguear.* tukaó we'esá kuhuípare kiyukurú There was too much lightning last night but it didn't rain *Anoche relampagueó mucho pero no llovió.*
- kuitá *n.* child; *niño.* kuitá tetemúre čuhčuri The child kicked the dog *El niño pateó al perro.*
- kukurí *n.* Uncle maternal (elder); *Tío materno mayor, esposo de tía materna mayor.* no'ó kukurí mukuré i'ká kuwésari My uncle died this summer *Mi tío murió este verano*
- ku'ká *n.* Binorama (a type of plant); *Binorama.* ku'ká pehténari ičió kawéruma i'yói The binorama is a good remedy for the body weakness *La binorama es un remedio muy bueno para las pesadillas (cuerpo pesado).*
- kumú *n.* Devil, uncle; *Diablo, tío paterno mayor (porque el diablo es el hermano mayor de Dios).* močibámpo wa'apí mamachénata kumú remónio The devil appears nearby *Mochibampo se aparece el diablo.*
- kupisái *n.* Glow-worm; *Luciérnaga.* kupisái paamúni puiyápame Glow-worms go out during summer *Las luciérnagas salen en el verano.*
- ku'riáchi *n.* Curve; *Curva.* wa'amí ku'riáchi no'ó puyépua Wait for me in the curve of the road *Espérame allá en la curva.*
- kuruná *v.* To be thick; *Estar espeso.* wanotáni kuruná The cornflower soup is thick *El atole está muy espeso.*
- kurusá *n.* Hawk; *Gavilán, águila.* kurusá yomá a'čitetiáme koaní tuchikí Hawks eat all kinds of birds *Los gavilanes comen toda clase de pájaros.*
- kurusí *n.* Cross; *Cruz.* no'ó no'nó meteré kurusí eeká ičió kiwatiáme u'matomíčio My father made a cross to deviate the windy air *Mi papá hizo una cruz para que el viento no pase muy fuerte.*
- ku'rína *v.* To turn; *Voltear, dar vuelta.* ku'rína só'chi paisá / wa'á tankí ku'rípua owená sekačí You turn the fish three times / Turn to the left in the tanques *Volteas el pescado tres veces / En los tanques das vuelta a la izquierda.*
- kusikowí *n.* Porcupine; *Puerco espín.* kusikowí sa'para kusí huyá The meat of porcupine smells like woods *La carne de puerco espín huele a monte [Note: 'kusikowí' is a compound noun from 'kusí' 'wood' and 'kowí' 'pig'.]*
- kusí *n.* Woods, branch; *Monte, rama.* rolándo ča'rinaré tosa kusíwara Rolando cracked the cotton branch *Rolando rajó la rama del algodón.*
- kusímuni *n.* Beans (from the woods); *Frijol de monte.* konaréne kusímuni I feel like eating beans *Tengo ganas de comer frijol de monte [Note: Compound word from muni 'beans' and kusí 'woods'.]*
- kusítère *n.* Woods; *Monte.* čanó yomá kuwésari oiná kusítère Chano is always walking into the woods *Chano siempre camina entre el monte.*
- kutamóri *n.* Back of the neck; *Nuca.* pedró kutamóči ahpó weweré pukaé mukuré Peter hurt the back of his neck and died *Pedro se golpió en la nuca y murió.*
- kutemóri *n.* Trunk; *Tronco.* wakahpí kutemóra wewéruma wewerípani The pochote's trunks grow up very big *Los troncos de pochote crecen muy grandes.*
- ku'umú *n.* Uncle paternal (elder); *Tío paterno mayor.* hustína ku'umúra enaméra meeré The paternal

- uncle of Agustina is coming tomorrow *El tío paterno mayor de Agustina va a venir mañana.*
- kuuná *n.* Husband; *Esposo.* no'ó kuuná naohóa simiré tekíhpánamia My husband left to Navojoa to work *Mi esposo se fue a Navojoa a trabajar.*
- kuupá *n.* Hair; *Cabello.* hustina peniátíame kuupáe Agustina has very pretty hair *Agustina tiene un cabello muy bonito.*
- ku'wé *adv.* Soon; *Luego.* ku'wé enapuápua Come back soon! *Venga luego!*
- kuwésari, kuwé *adv.* Spring; *Primavera.* ki'yá kuwésari mawekáne weinté meteró ma'apí Last spring I cleared twenty meters of land *La primavera pasada desmonté veinte metros de tierra.*
- kuwéte *n.* Fireworks; *Cohete.* ču'wiči taénari tatahtekemáne marikí kuwéte no'ó o'óčiki The day of deads I am going to burn five fireworks in my grandparents honor *El día de muertos le voy a tronar cinco cohetes a mis abuelos* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'cohete'.]
- kuyawí *n.* Gourd plant; *Planta de bule.* kuyawí ečarúne wanaté karipúka I planted a gourd plant behind the house *Sembré una planta de bule detrás de la casa.*
- kuú *n.* stick, wood, tree; *palo, leña, árbol.* waní weweré čuhčúri kuué John hit the dog with the stick *Juan le pegó al perro con el palo.*
- kuú sióname *n.* Green stick (a type of oak); *Palo verde.* kuú sióname kawéruma i'yóí kisianiáme ičió The green stick is a good remedy for urinary problems *El palo verde es buen remedio para el mal de orín.*

L - l

- leyendóna *v.* To read; *Leer.* no'ó mará penéna leyéndoka My daughter knows how to read already *Mi hija ya sabe leer* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'leyendo' 'he is reading'.]

M - m

- maačéta *n.* Machete; *Machete.* tihóé simpáre maačéta makohká The men left with the machetes in their hands *Los hombres se fueron con los machetes en las manos* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'machete'.]
- maahí *n.* Mescal (plant and drink); *Mezcal (planta o vino).* mahirúne maahí ko'kómia watónari I grilled mescal to eat with atole *Tatemé mezcal para comer con atole.*
- maaká *n.* Cradle; *Cuna.* maakáčite teeká kuitá Put the child in the cradle *Acuesta al niño en la cuna.*
- maangó *n.* Mango; *Mango.* kuitá weeká maangó koaní The child eats many mangoes *El niño come mucho mango* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'mango'.]
- maansána *n.* Apple; *Manzana.* intuná maansána činipáte There are apples toward Chinipas *Hay manzanas rumbo a Chinipas* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'manzana'.]
- maapí *n.* Cornfield; *Milpa.* maapíči ki'yámi ečitiáci suunú ehpéo ečiwá piipá Im the fields where they used to grow up corn, now they grow up marijuana *Donde antes sembraban maíz, ahora*

- siembran mariguana.*
maará *n.* daughter; *hija.* no'ó maará kipapahkónare pehtóri My daughter does not want to do the dishes *mi hija no quiere lavar los platos.*
- ma'aré** *n.* Balk; *Viga de madera.* ihí ma'aré kakahpóramehu kiasepamápu kariči Those balks are too short for the roof *Estas vigas están muy cortas para el techo.*
- maaskará** *n.* Mask; *Máscara.* maaskará pahkóra čuhčá yaumía sooní The masks used by the pascolas are for dancing songs *Las máscaras que usan los pascolas son para bailar sonos* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'máscara'.]
- ma'asáeme** *n.* Plane; *Avión.* tapaná u'mátore ma'asáeme i'wá Yesterday a plane flew over here *Ayer pasó un avión por aquí* [Note: 'ma'asáeme' is a nominalization: "the one that has wings".]
- maatára** *n.* Palm (of the hand); *Palma de la mano.* no'ó yehči maatárači mačihenáre pií tepurá My aunt got a wart in the palm of her hand *A mi tía le salió un mezquino en la palma de la mano.*
- maatéči** *adv.* Tuesday; *Martes.* maatéči simáne kečewéka Next tuesday I am going to Quetchehueca *El martes voy a ir a Quetchehueca* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'martes'.]
- maayó** *n.* Mayo (name of other close indigenous group); *Mayo (nombre de otro grupo indígena cercano).* maayó hámane newírune I married a Mayo man *Me casé con un mayo.*
- mačiná** *v.* To know; *Saber.* no'ó kukurí mači karitáka kawé My uncle knows how to build houses very well *Mi tío sabe hacer casas muy bien.*
- mačipáni** *v.* To learn; *Aprender.* hustína mačipáre naiwáka yorí osanáo paamúka Agustina learned Spanish when she was eight years old *Agustina aprendió español a los ocho años.*
- ma'čipáni, ma'čipani** *v.* To take out; *Sacar.* waní ma'čipáre kawái čikeróči/ ma'čiparúne suunú paiká riteró kostáriči John took out the horses of the corral/ I took out three kilos of corn from the sack *Juan sacó los caballos del corral/ Sacé tres litros de maíz del costal.*
- mačirí** *n.* Scorpion; *Alacrán.* mačirí me'yáre weető A scorpion killed Beto *A Beto lo mató un alacrán.*
- ma'čirépani** *v.* To dawn (5 a.m.); *Aclarar (5 a.m.).* ehpe ma'čirépare paá piarí Today it dawned very early *Hoy aclaró muy temprano.*
- ma'čirétoi** *v.* To dawn (3 a.m.); *Amanecer (3 a.m.).* no'ó kompáre ma'čirétoi iwetá pahí wikahtáčania It was dawning already and my buddy was still singing *Ya estaba amaneciendo y mi compadre todavía estaba cantando.*
- ma'čiténa** *v.* To be able to see; *Poder ver bien.* na'í no'ó ma'čiténa One can see well with the fire on *Con la lumbre se puede ver bien.*
- mačiyá** *n.* Person I know; *Conocido.* pií tihoé mačiwáme tetewáne wa'á sonórači I saw someone I know in La Sonora *Vi a un conocido en La Sonora* [Note: If *macyá* appears with a possessive pronoun the sense is 'friend'.]
- mačéta, maačéta** *n.* Machete; *Machete.* čupaté maačéta Sharp the machete! *Afila el machete!*
- ma'čiwa** *v.* To be visible; *Visible, aparecer.* i'wá oínia ma'čiwa kahé kawí kuači weriáme The tempizque tree that is in the foothill is visible from here *Desde aquí se ve bien el tempizque que está en la orilla del cerro.*
- mahtá** *n.* Metate (flat stone for grinding); *Metate.* no'ó yeyé

- tusuná naipásuni matačí My mother grinds nixtamal in the metate *Mi mamá muele nixtamal en el metate.*
- mahói *n.* Deer; *Venado.* mahói mahayáme kusítere ohoéme The wild deer lives in the woods *El venado bronco vive en el monte.*
- makučúni, ma'kučúni *n.* Guamuchil (a type of plant); *Guamuchil.* makučúni apéra kawéruma i'yói witaísiri tohsáname ichió / ma'kučúni soonára kahká The cortex of the guamuchil is a good remedy for the white diarrhea / The guamuchiles are sweet *La cáscara de guamuchil es buen remedio para la diarrea blanca (pujo) / Los guamuchiles están dulces.*
- makuráwi *n.* Warihío (the way they call themselves); *Guarijío de Sonora.* teemé makuráwi maayó akičikapo ohoé We, the makuráwi live along the mayo river *Los Guarijíos vivimos a lo largo del río mayo.*
- manirá *n.* Huacal (a tramp for fishing); *Huacal (trampa para atrapar pecados).* no'ó no'nó meteré manirá naó meteró tepehkúma My father made a huacal of four meters long *Mi papá hizo un huacal de cuatro metros de largo.*
- maniróči *n.* Chichiquelite (a type of plant); *Chichiquelite.* hustína kisáware maniróči tapaná / maniróči kawéruma i'yói če'éri ko'koáme ičió Agustina cooked chichiquelites yesterday / The chichiquelites are a good remedy for the kidney sickness *Agustina guisó chichiquelites ayer / Los chichiquelites son un buen remedio para la enfermedad de los riñones.*
- mansanía *n.* Camomile; *Manzanilla.* mansanía kawéruma i'yói turapatiáme ičió The camomile is a good remedy for the cold *La manzanilla es buena para el resfriado* [Note: Spanish borrow from 'manzanilla'.]
- maoná *v.* To clear (an area of trees); *Desmontar.* no'ó tehčí maoná tepuráe My uncle is clearing the area of trees with the ax *Mi tío está desmontando con el hacha.*
- marikí *num.* Five; *Cinco.* marikí kohtári nakimáne suunú ečimiá I need five sacks of corn to plant *Necesito cinco costales de maíz para sembrar.*
- ma'sá *n.* Feather, wing; *Pluma, ala.* tučikí ma'sára peniáte'te The feathers of birds are very pretty *Las plumas de los pájaros son muy bonitas.*
- matasúra *n.* Pestle; *Mano de metate.* matasúra wekaré The pestle got lost *Se perdió la mano del metate.*
- matohká *n.* Shoulder; *Hombro.* kuitá mačenáre matokára The child got his shoulder dislocated *Al niño se le safó el hombro.*
- mayaká *n.* Centipede; *Cienpiés* (type of centipede, golden, that bites and is larger than *tečuní*, other type of centipede); paá piarí noó kirú mayaká This morning a centipede bit me *Esta mañana me picó un cienpiés.*
- ma'í *n.* Nephew; *Sobrino.* amó ma'í tekíhpánani rupeháma Your nephew works with Lupe *Tu sobrino está trabajando con Lupe.*
- maéna *v.* To think, to believe; *Creer.* maénane yukumió i'ká tukaó I think/believe it is going to rain tonight *Creo que va a llover esta noche.*
- meečá *n.* Moon; *Luna.* tukaó mačanáre meečá pukaé kiyukumá ehpéo Last night the moon appeared, so it will no longer rain *Anoche salió la luna, por eso ya no va a llover.*
- meekováči *adv.* Wednesday; *Miércoles.* meekováči enamá no'ó ye'yé močibámpo oínia Next wednesday my mother is coming from Mochibampo *El miércoles va a venir mi mamá de*

- Mochibampo* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'miércoles'.]
 meeré *adv.* Tomorrow; *Mañana*.
 meeré tiamé tekihpanápapu
 Tomorrow, we will work too
Mañana también vamos a trabajar.
- me'ería *n.* Socks; *Calcetines*.
 rolando kičuhčáni me'ería /
 si'páre no'ó meería Rolando does
 not wear socks / My socks tore
Rolando no usa calcetines / Se me rompieron las medias [Note:
 Borrow from the Spanish
 'media'.]
- meesá *n.* Table; *Mesa*. ihí meesá
 kahpóre píí čapahkára This table
 has a broken leg *Esta mesa tiene una pata quebrada* [Note:
 Borrow from the Spanish
 'mesa'.]
- mehká *adv.* Far away; *Lejos*. howéwi
 mehká itihpína no'nó kariwárači
 oínia Howewi is located far
 away from my parents' house
Howéwi está muy lejos de la casa de mis padres.
- merikó *n.* Quack; *Curandero*. merikó
 no'ó kiyáru i'yóí no'ó kočimičio
 The quack gave me a remedy to
 sleep *El curandero me dió un remedio para dormir* [Note:
 Borrow from the Spanish
 'médico'.]
- mesuná *v.* To be squash; *Estar aplastado (piedra)*. toomanté
 yomá mesúre all the tomatoes
 got squashed *Todos los tomates se aplastaron.*
- metačičáni *v.* To squash, to crush;
Aplastar. waní metačínare kuú A
 tree fell down over John *A Juan lo aplastó un árbol.*
- metená *v.* To make; *Hacer, construir*.
 tapaná meterúne paiká sikorí
 Yesterday I made three pots *Ayer hice tres ollas.*
- me'yáni *v.* To kill (one entity); *Matar (objeto singular)*. rupe me'yáni
 maniwíri Lupe is killing Manuel
Lupe está matando a Manuel.
- miisí *n.* Cat; *Gato*. miisí su'runáre
 kuitá The cat scratched the child
- El gato rasguñó al niño.*
- misi'tanára, misi'nu'úti *n.* Little cat;
Gatito. misi'tanára te'éna ni'níka
 kuučí The little cat is playing and
 jumping over the sticks *El gatito anda jugando y brincando en los palos.*
- močiwá *v.* To set; *Sentar (pl)*. močiwá
 kukučí nerói suwépa Set the
 children close to the water *Sienta a los niños en la orilla del agua.*
- močiwí *v.* To be seated (pl.); *Estar sentado (pl)*. kukuchí močiwí
 nerói suwépa The children are
 seated close to the water *Los niños estan sentados a la orilla del agua.*
- mo'čóko, mo'očóko *n.* Brains; *Sesos*.
 mačenáre mo'čókora puú tihóé/
 mahói mo'ochókora katia tá'ya
 the man's brains are visible/ The
 deer's brains are delicious *Se le salieron los sesos al hombre/ Los sesos de venado son muy sabrosos.*
- mohté *n.* Twin; *Gemelo*. no'ó yehči
 tatanára mohté mukurépa wa'así
 pirípi One of the twins of the
 aunt already died *Uno de los gemelos de mi tía ya se murió.*
- mokewári *n.* Palm case; *Petaca de palma*. puyaná ikurí mokewáriči
 Take out the threads from the
 palm case! *saca los hilos de la petaca de palma!*
- mokorá *n.* Scarf; *Pañoleta, pañuelo*.
 tatá yomá tamó tatarékia mokorá
 tamó mokorátamičio My father
 used to buy scarfs for us to wear
Mi papá nos compraba pañoletas a todas para que nos las pusiéramos.
- momohá *n.* Honey comb; *Panal*. werú
 čo'wíe momohá The honey comb
 has a lot of honey *El panal tiene mucha miel.*
- mo'okóri *n.* Hat; *Sombrero*. rolándo
 nataképare mo'okóri močibámpo
 Rolando forgot the hat in
 Mochibampo *Rolando olvidó el sombrero en Mochibampo.*
- mookétona *v.* To carry in the back;
Traer en el lomo. mesači

- simikáne mookétoka píi kostári muuní I went The Mesa (Colorada) carrying in the back a sack of beans *Fuí a la Mesa (Colorada) cargando un costal de frijoles*
- mo'oné *n.* Son in law; *Yerno.* markó kawéruma mo'oné Marcos is a good son in law *Marcos es un buen yerno.*
- mooró, moorá *n.* Blackberry; *Mora.* weeká čuhčáni iwakáme mooró The blackberry tree has a lot of ripe fruit *La mora tiene mucha fruta madura* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'mora'.]
- mo'otókoči *n.* Dandruff; *Caspa.* mo'otókoči wanímu matohkáči You have dandruff over the shoulders *Traes caspa en los hombros.*
- moréwa *n.* Smoke, fumes; *Humo.* nené osá teitú ma'píči mačenáni mo'réwa Look at down there in the ground! There is smoke *mira allá abajo en las tierras, esta saliendo humo.*
- mo'tewáni *v.* To climb; *Subirse.* mo'tewárune kuučípote I climbed to the top of the tree *Me subí a lo alto del árbol.*
- mo'tewátena *v.* To get on; *Subir.* mo'tewaterúne kuitá kuuchípote I got the child to the top of the tree *Subí al niño a lo alto del árbol.*
- motočina *v.* To stumble; *Chocar, tropezar.* peterá motochírete teteé tehpuré tonoči Petra stumbled with a stone and she hurt her foot *Petra se tropezó con una piedra y se cortó el pie.*
- motosá *n.* Gray hair; *Canas.* ruupita weeká motosáwani mo'očí Lupita has many gray hairs *Lupita tiene muchas canas.*
- mo'ó *n.* Head; *cabeza.* kuitá maénane werumá mo'óeko I think the child has a very big head *creo que el niño tiene la cabeza muy grande.*
- mo'áni *v.* To put in; *meter (objeto plural).* mo'á kukučí noremúna yukuméra Get the children inside (the house), its going to rain *Mete los niños adentro porque va a llover* [Note: 'mo'áni' is used when several entities are put inside.]
- mo'óri *n.* Daughter in law; *Nuera.* neé inuwaénare píi mo'óri kawéruma I would like to have a nice daughter in law *Yo quisiera llegar a tener una nuera Buena.*
- moári *n.* Sack; *morrál.* moáriči toá muuní Put the beans in the sack *Hecha los frijoles en el morral!*
- mučimáira *n.* Sister in law, brother in law; *Cuñada, cuñado.* no'ó mučimáira paiká tataná My sister in law has three sons *Mi cuñada tiene tres hijos.*
- muhuná *v.* To shoot; *Disparar.* ponchó muhuré oorí Poncho shot at the lion *Poncho le disparó al león.*
- muináti *adj.* Slow; *Lento.* muurí muináti u'maní The turtles run slowly *Las totugas corren lento.*
- mukukáme *n.* Corpse; *Cadáver.* no'ó ko'máre kahtiáči tahékenia píi mukukáme The viewing of the body is in my comrade's house *En la casa de mi comadre están velando un muerto.*
- mukuná *v.* To die (sg.); *Morir (sg).* no'ó kumú mukuré kitótiapa merikóči My uncle died because they didn't take him to the doctor *Mi tío se murió porque no lo llevaron al doctor* [Note: 'mukuná' is used when one entity dies.]
- murára *n.* Ear (of some plant); *Espiga.* taasáwi murára pačítáni The ears of cane are producing seeds *Las espigas de la caña están dando semilla.*
- muučíra *n.* Vagina; *Vagina.* kukučí mučiráči nawápani The children are born through the vagina *Los niños nacen por la vagina.*
- muuní *n.* Beans; *Frijol.* ta'irénane muuní kesúma I love beans with cheese *Me encantan los frijoles con queso.*
- muurí *n.* Turtle; *Tortuga.* muurí kusíttere oiyáme The turtles live

- in the woods *Las tortugas andan en el monte.*
- muurá *n.* Mule; *Mula.* muurá no'ó teteméru tapaná The mule kicked me yesterday *La mula me pateó ayer* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'mula'.]
- muusikó *n.* Musician; *Músico.* toiná pií muusikó pahkó i'chió meeré They are lacking a musician for tomorrow's feast *Falta un músico para la fiesta de mañana* [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'músico'.]
- muú *pron.* You (sg.); *Tú.* muú asiré arí ehpé You arrived late today *Tu llegaste tarde hoy.*
- muépuna *v.* To harvest; *Recolectar, juntar.* i'ká paamúni muepupuápu weká suunú We are going to harvest a lot of corn this year *Este año vamos a recolectar mucho maíz*
- mu'épuna, muépuna *v.* To create, to produce, to gather, to breed; *Criar, reproducirse, recolectar.* no'ó ye'yé mu'épuna či'wá / i'ká paamúni muepupuápu weká suunú My mother breeds goats / This year we are going to gather a lot of corn *Mi mamá está criando chivas / Este año vamos a recolectar mucho maíz.*
- má'are *n.* Wood; *Madera.* kuú sehtáname kawéruma má'are kari i'chió The wood of red stick is good to build houses *La madera de palo colorado es buena para hacer casas.*

N - n

- naapó *n.* Nopal; *Nopal.* mookéme naapó nahkára / naapó no'ó komáre no'ó ihkókeria weripáre werumá Go get some nopales! / The nopal tree that my comrade gave me grew up very much *Ve a traer nopales! / El nopal que me regaló mi comadre creció mucho.*
- naapó nahkára *n.* Leaves of nopal; *Penca de nopal.* ta'irénane naapó nahkára wasétíame I love grilled nopal leaves *Me encantan los nopales tatemados.*
- naapó takára *n.* Prickly pear; *Tuna.* naapó takára iwahpáni agóstoči The prickly pears ripen in August *Las tunas maduran en agosto.*
- naaráni, na'aráni *v.* To cry; *Llorar.* kuitá naaráru yomá tukaó / inamúkane kuitá na'arói The child cried all night long / I heard the child crying *El niño lloró toda la noche / Oí que el niño estaba llorando.*
- naarásó *n.* Orange fruit; *Naranja.* kuitá puharé osá marikí naarásó tapaná The child cut ten orange fruits yesterday *El niño apeó diez naranjas ayer.*
- naasíname *adj.* Lazy; *Flojo.* Maniwíri naasíname kitekihpananáre Lazy Manuel does not want to work *El flojo de Manuel no quiere trabajar.*
- na'čuná *v.* To be sticky; *Estar pegajoso.* na'čupánine seekára se'orie My hands are sticky due to the honey (I took) *Me quedaron las manos pegajosas con la miel.*
- načupáme *n.* Glue; *Pegamento.* no'ó yetó ehpéče načupáme kahumiá yawéra načupáteka Bring me more glue to finish sticking the violin *Tráeme más pegamento para terminar de pegar el violín.*
- načupáni *v.* To adhere, to stick; *Adherirse, pegarse.* saawára načupáre The sleeves got stuck *Las hojas se pegaron.*
- načupáteni *v.* To stick; *Adherir, pegar.* načupaterúne čapahkára meesá I stuck the leg to the table *Le pegué la pata a la mesa.*
- nahká *n.* Handle, ear; *Oreja, asa.* tahró kinahká The bucket has no

- handle *El balde no tiene asa.*
 nahkí v. To want, to love, to need; *Querer, amar, necesitar.* nahkíne piípi karí I want a house *Quiero una casa.*
- nahpúči n. Divide, mountain pass; *Mirador, divisadero.* tetewánine no'ó poní nahpúči weriáme I am observing my brother in the divide up there *Estoy viendo a mi hermano alla arriba en el divisadero.*
- naipásuni n. Nixtamal; *Nixtamal.* ihí naipásuni kiwasipáre This nixtamal is raw *Este nixtamal quedó crudo.*
- nairó n. Oilcloth; *Hule.* nairó čučé karí yukumápu Put the oilcloth over the house because is going to rain *Ponle el hule a la casa porque va a llover.*
- naiwáčani v. To gossip; *Murmurar.* tehtémari naiwáčani amó eepé oiyópa People gossip because you go out too much *La gente está murmurando porque tu sales mucho.*
- naiwáni v. To speak; *Hablar.* maniwíri kátia naiwáni Manuel speaks too much *Manuel habla mucho.*
- nakačí n. Ear; *Oído.* čihkokorénane nakačí My ear is itchy *Tengo comezón en el oído.*
- nakahpúra n. Coralillo (a type of snake); *Coralillo.* pií nakahpúra me'yáre peterá tanára A coralillo killed Petra's son *Una coralillo mató al hijo de Petra.*
- nanaráki n. Moss; *Musgo, moho.* ihí sisiyóki werú nananrákie These iron tools have a lot of moss *Estos fierros tienen mucho moho.*
- nanéna v. To know; *Saber.* puúa nanena ahpó yorá He knows what he does *El sabe lo que hace.*
- nanétona v. To remember; *Recordar.* nanétone kahumiá i'ká tehkí i'ká semana I remembered that I have to finish this work by the end of the week *Recordé que tengo que terminar este trabajo esta semana.*
- napapúna v. To pile up; *Juntar, amonontonar.* napapúruna weeká aaráwe I piled up many pumpkins *Ya junté muchas calabazas.*
- napawína v. To join; *Juntarse.* napawína waakasi yeepó The cows join in the field *Las vacas se juntan en el llano.*
- napesó n. Ash; *Ceniza.* tukaó naétiame napesó kaí kuitá itihpíre Last night's fire produced a lot of ash *La lumbre de anoche dejó mucha ceniza.*
- na'poritiáme n. Danger; *Peligro.* ehpé tioí na'poritiáme simiyáta teiwámi Nowadays, there is a lot of danger over there *En estos días hay mucho peligro para allá.*
- na'poáni v. To gather; *Recolectar, amontonar.* na'poáruna weeká aráwe pahkóci ko'kópuame I gathered many pumpkins for the feast's food *Junté muchas calabazas para la comida de la fiesta.*
- na'pá pirípi quant. One of the two; *Uno de los dos.* na'pá pirípi itihpimera takihpánamia One of the two is going to stay working *Uno de los dos se va a quedar a trabajar.*
- narakái n. Seashell; *Caracol.* tenahári wa'apí kosóci tetewákane narakái I found a seashell in a stream near Tenahári *En un arroyo cerca del Tenahári encontré un caracol.*
- nasuwáni v. To fight; *Pelear.* nasuwárune no'ó poní háma owítame i'čio I fought with my brother because of a woman *Me peleé con mi hermano por culpa de una mujer.*
- na'sóčani v. To untie (pl.); *Desatar, soltar (opl).* pedró na'sóčani kawái Peter unties the horses *Pedro está soltando los caballos.*
- na'sónani v. To untie (sg.); *Desatar, soltar (osg).* pedró na'sónare kawái Peter untied the horse *Pedro soltó el caballo.*

- nasípasi *quant.* Half; *La mitad.*
nasípasi simpáre tihóé Half
(most) of the people already left
Ya se fué la mitad (la mayoría).
- natahképani *v.* To forget; *Olvidar.*
natahkeparúne simiái obregóni
ehpé I forgot that I had to go to
Obregon today *Olvidé que tenía
que ir a Obregón hoy.*
- natapúna *v.* To pierce; *Atravesar.*
natapúrune kuúe karí I pierced
the house with a stick *Atravezé
la casa con el palo.*
- natawína *v.* To go through;
Atravezarse. natawíre icherá
so'číči The spear went through
the fish *La lanza atravezó el
pescado.*
- natehténa *v.* To pay; *Pagar.*
natehtérune no'ó wikiriá tiendáči
I payed what I owed in the store
*Ya pagué lo que debía en la
tienda.*
- nawá *n.* Root; *Raíz.* okočópi nawára
kawéruma i'yówi čoopé ičió The
okochopi (type of plant) root is a
good remedy for cold *La raíz de
corcionera es buen remedio para
la gripa.*
- nawésani *v.* To talk; *Hablar, platicar,
contar.* nawesaníne amó ye'číma
I am talking with your aunt *Estoy
platicando con tu tía.*
- nawésari *n.* Word, advice; *Palabra,
consejos.* no'ó no'nó nawesaríra
kawéruma iniré My father's
advices were good advices *Los
consejos de mi padre eran
buenos.*
- nawáso, na'wáso *n.* Pocketknife;
Navaja. maniwíri merirétu
nawásoe / na'wásoe ta'pána so'čí
Manuel was killed with a
pocketknife / One can cut a fish
with a pocketknife *A Manuel lo
mataron con una navaja / Con la
navaja se parte (en dos) el
pescado.*
- na'í *n.* Fire; *Lumbre.* werú tahaní na'í
The fire is too strong *La lumbre
está ardiendo mucho.*
- naó *num.* Four; *Cuatro.*
tatanaénarene naó I want to have
four children *Quiero tener
cuatro hijos.*
- na'áporosi *n.* Atole (a type of soup);
Atole. na'áporosi meterépua
ko'kómia He cooked atole to eat
El hizo atole para comer.
- neesá *n.* Aunt maternal (elder); *Tía
materna mayor, esposa de tío
materno mayor.* waní neesára
enáre tapaná petečí John's aunt
came home yesterday *La tía
materna mayor de Juan vino
ayer a la casa.*
- nehjáni *v.* To answer; *Contestar.*
ruupé no'ó nehjáru yomá no'ó
inatukéria Lupe answer me
everything I asked her *Lupe me
contesto todo lo que le pregunté.*
- neháni *v.* To sell; *Vender.* nehárune
uurú kiyá no'ó inuwéka I sold the
donkey that I had last year *Vendí
el burro que tenía el año pasado.*
- neipá *ord.* Second; *Segundo.* neipá
nawákame kuitá epeché werumá
The second of my sons is the
taller one *El segundo de mis
hijos es el más alto.*
- nekahtíame *adj.* Angry; *Enojado.*
tihóé nenekátíame kikawé yoáni
Angry men do not make things
properly *Los hombres enojados
no hacen bien las cosas.*
- nekawá *v.* To get angry; *Enojarse.*
kátia nekarúne no'ó poníma
ihíópa enčí I got very angry with
my brother because he is
drinking again *Me enojé mucho
con mi hermano porque está
tomando de Nuevo.*
- nekúri *n.* Leech; *Sanguijuela.* peterá
tanára pakihtére nekurí Petra's
son got leeches *Al hijo de Petra
se le metieron sanguijuelas.*
- nenekáni *v.* To argue; *Discutir, pelear
hablando.* waní pedró nenekáni
ahpó wikiriá ičió John and Peter
are arguing about the wage *Juan
y Pedro están discutiendo por el
salario.*
- ne'néna *v.* To see; *Ver.* ehpéo kawé
ne'nénane Now, I can see very
well *Ahora puedo ver muy bien*
- nerói *n.* Water; *agua.* ki'té nerói

- sikoríči There is no water in the pot *no hay agua en la olla.*
- newéri *n.* Pitahaya fruit; *Pitahaya.*
newéri wehčáe aapérači The pitahaya fruits have thorns on the skin *Las pitahayas tienen espinas en la cascara.*
- neé *pron.* I; *Yo.* neé simináre moosíyo enčí semánači I want to go to Hermosillo next week *Yo quiero ir a Hermosillo la siguiente semana.*
- neóra *n.* Soup; *Caldo.* ehpé ihinariéine o'wá neóra Today, I want to eat a bone soup *Hoy quiero comer caldo de hueso.*
- niinó *n.* Godfather; *Padrino.* no'ó kuitá ninóra peteči mačiáči ohoé My son's godfather lives across the street *El padrino de mi hijo vive enfrente de mi casa.*
- niiná *n.* Godmother; *Madrina.* no'ó mará ninára čorihóa ohoé My daughter's godmother lives in Chorijoa *La madrina de mi hija vive en Chorijóa.*
- ninína *v.* To fly, to jump; *Volar, saltar.* kohkówi peeniá nokaká ninína Doves fly very nice *Las palomas vuelan muy bonito.*
- ni'wáme *n.* Prayer; *Rezador.* ki'té ni'wáme piré yawí ičió There is no prayer for the feast *No hay rezador para el siguiente yawí (fiesta especial de los Warihíos)* [Note: yawí is a special feast for Warihíos.]
- ni'óniame *n.* Prayer; *Rezo, misa.* pahčá ni'óniame kipeeniátame mačená The last prayer was ugly *El rezo final estuvo feo.*
- nohkórame *adj.* Curved; *Chueco.* meesá píi inuwáe apahká nohkórame The table has a curved leg *La mesa tiene una*
- pata chueca.*
- nohpí *n.* Coal; *Carbón.* nakimánepu nohpí na'émia I need coal to set the fire *Necesito carbón para atizar.*
- noiáwa, noowía *n.* Fiancee; *Novia.* pedró noiáwara newímera piréči tihoé aháma Peter's fiancee is going to marry other man *La novia de Pedro se va a casar con otro hombre.*
- nokiténa *v.* To touch; *Tocar.* waníta kinokiténare čikurí Juana didn't want to touch the rat *Juana no quiso tocar la rata.*
- no'nó *n.* Father (of a man); *Papá (de hombre).* no'ó no'nó enanáre i'wá My father wants to come here *Mi papá quiere venir aquí.*
- noonóna *v.* To move; *Moverse.* noonórune wa'así weesá wa'ámi I moved over there too much *Ya me moví mucho para allá.*
- noowió *n.* Fiance; *Novio.* peterá noowíora newímera piréči owítame aháma Petra's fiance is going to marry other woman *El novio de Petra se va a casar con otra mujer.*
- noowí *n.* Worm; *gusano.* peeniátame noowí The worm is pretty *Es bonito el gusano!*
- no'ó *prn.* My, me, to me, myself; *Mi, me, a mi, yo mismo.* no'ó no'nó u'máre kusíttere My father ran into the woods *Mi padre corrió al monte* [Note: first sg. non-subject pronoun.]
- nu'úti *adj.* Small, little; *Chico, pequeño, angosto, poco.* neé pu'seréna nunúti karí I like small houses *A mi me gustan las casas chicas.*

O - o

očetúna *v.* To be old; *Estar viejo.*
očetúnane wa'así yauméa I am too old to dance *Yo ya estoy viejo para bailar.*

o'čétíame, oočétíame *n.* Old man;

Viejito. puú o'čétíame pinéri ohoé/ puú oočétíame paamúna u'mátoame That old man lives alone/ That old man is more than one hundred years old *Ese viejito*

- vive solo/ Ese viejo tiene más de cien años.*
- ohčí *n.* Grasshopper; *Chapulín.* ohčí kawérumahu so'čí ičíó / ohčí sunú rahtátíame koayáame Grasshoppers are a very good bait / grasshoppers eat sweetcorn *Los chapulines son muy buena carnada / Los chapulines comen maíz tiernito.*
- ohčóname *adj.* Black; *Negro.* uwári ohčóname / neé inuwáekai paiká kawái ohčóname Uvalamas (type of plant) are black / I had three black horses *Las igualamas son negras / Yo tenía tres caballos negros.*
- ohčóri *n.* Blue corn; *Maíz azul.* ehpeó ko'kárune yomá ohčóri Today, I ate blue corn only *Hoy comí puro maíz azul.*
- ohkó *n.* Pine; *Pino.* wawíčora poté intúna weeká ohkó There are many pines on the way to Bavicora *Rumbo a Bavicora hay muchos pinos.*
- ohtóna *v.* To stretch; *Estirar.* ihí nairó weeré ohtóre These oilcloths stretched too much *Estos hules se estiraron mucho.*
- ohtóri *n.* Tescalama (a type of plant); *Tescalama (planta).* wa'amí ahakáame ohtóri tetehpéruma nawáe Those tescalamas have very long roots *Aquellas tescalamas tienen las raíces muy largas.*
- o'kéwa *n.* Tears; *Lágrimas.* o'kéwa o'onáe Tears are salty *Las lágrimas son saladas.*
- omatére *n.* Armit; *Axila.* čuwí weweripatére po'wá omatére John already has hair in the armits *A Jesus ya le salieron pelos en la axila.*
- o'ná *n.* Corncob; *Olote.* wakasí koaní o'ná The cows are eating corncobs *Las vacas están comiendo olotos.*
- onáeme *adj.* Salty; *Salado.* tairénane muuní onáeme I like salty beans *A mi me gustan los frijoles salados.*
- o'náeme *n.* Large corn; *Mazorca.* kowí koaní o'náeme The pigs are eating large corns *Los cochis comen mazorcas.*
- o'očíkí *n.* Grandfather (paternal); *Abuelo paterno.* kuitá o'očíkíra sawanantó ohoéri The child's grandfather lived in San Bernardo *El abuelo paterno del niño vivía en San Bernardo.*
- o'očíkírira *n.* Grandson, granddaughter; *Nieto, nieta, bisnieto, bisnieta.* neé inuwáenára naó o'očíkíriri I want to have four grandsons *Quiero tener cuatro nietos.*
- o'očá *n.* Small lizard; *Lagartija.* i'wáo intúna weeká o'očá There are many small lizards around here *Por aquí hay muchas lagartijas.*
- o'ohkómuni *n.* Wild beans; *Frijol de la sierra.* wawikoráte intúna o'ohkómuni There are wild beans toward Bavicora *Hacia Bavicora hay frijoles de la sierra.*
- oohí, o'ohí *n.* Bear; *Oso.* tapaná no'nanárito pií oohí tohsáname / tapaná tetewárune pií o'ohí tohsáname A white bear followed me yesterday / I saw a white bear yesterday *Ayer me persiguió un oso blanco / Ayer vi un oso blanco.*
- ooká *num.* Two; *Dos.* nahkíne ooká kiró muuní I need two kilos of beans *Quiero dos kilos de frijoles.*
- ooká siendó *num.* Two hundred; *Doscientos.* no'ó kukúri inuwáekai ooká siendó waakasí My uncle had two hundred cows *Mi tío tenía docientas vacas.*
- ooká weréwa *num.* Forty; *Cuarenta.* paamúnane u'mátoame ooká weréwa I am more than forty years old *Tengo más de cuarenta años.*
- o'omatére *n.* Armit; *Axila.* rolando hupáame o'omatére Rolando's armits stink *A Rolando le apestan las axilas.*
- ooná *n.* Salt; *Sal.* weerú ooná yahčénane koáme I use a lot of salt in preparing food. *Yo uso*

- mucho la sal en la comida.*
- o'onóri *n.* Buzzard; *Zopilote.* yomá poéči kečewéka no'ó na'naritóna o'onóri A buzzard followed me all the way to Quechhueca *En todo el camino a Quechhueca me siguió un zopilote.*
- ooróna *n.* Burner; *Fogón.* ooróna choipáre The burner turned off already *El fogón ya se apagó.*
- oorí, o'orí *n.* Lion; *León.* píí oorí yomá ko'yáre čiwá tukaó A lion killed all the goats last night *Un león mató todas las chivas anoche.*
- oosá *num.* Twice; *Dos veces.* oosá kahpórune wa'ápi no'ó kahpóriači I broke the same bone twice *Me quebré dos veces el mismo hueso.*
- ootóni *n.* Button; *Botón.* wakirá toiténa píí ootóni The shirt is missing a button *A la camisa le falta un botón [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'botón'.]*
- oowarátani *v.* To pierce; *Agujerear.* čikúri oowarátare kohtári The rats pierced the bags *Las ratas agujerearon los costales.*
- o'owárame *n.* Hole; *Hoyo.* i'wá weeká intúna o'owárame tohpókaira Here, there are many holes because there are moles *Aquí hay muchos hoyos porque hay topos.*
- o'pá *n.* Back; *Espalda, lomo.* yawéra o'pará kahpóre The back of the violin broke *El lomo del violín se quebró.*
- oriwéča *n.* Oriwecha (Kind of cactus); *Choya.* oriwéča kawéruma i'yói sawíchio The oriwecha is a good remedy for curing rash *La choya es un buen remedio para el sarpuído.*
- osanáro *num.* Eight; *Ocho.* ruupíta osanáro tatanáe Mrs. Lupe has eight children *Doña Lupe tiene ocho hijos.*
- osanáro osá marikí *num.* Eighty; *Ochenta.* tapaná paamúre no'ó kuumú osanáro oosá marikí Yesterday my uncle turned eighty (years old) *Ayer mi tío cumplió ochenta años.*
- osohkóra *n.* Papache (kind of fruit); *Papache.* ihí kuú ka'káruma osohkóra takena / kuitá ta'iréna osohkóra This tree produces very good papache fruits / the child loves papache fruit *Este árbol da buenos papaches / Al niño le gustan mucho los papaches.*
- osá marikí *num.* Ten; *Diez.* po'áchusa inimáne osá marikí so'čí ehpé I need to fish ten fishes today *Necesito pezcarr diez pezcados hoy.*
- osá marikí ampá marikí *num.* Fifteen; *Quince.* paá u'mátore osá marikí ampá marikí čuré wa'amí Fifteen squirrels passed by here a while ago *Hace rato pasaron quince cholowis por aquí.*
- owitiáme *n.* Woman; *Mujer.* čorihóa oiná pié owítame pechiyáme In Chorijoa, there is a woman that gives massages *En Chorijóa hay una mujer que soba.*
- o'wí *n.* coyote; *coyote.* o'wí mahatére kawái A coyote scared the horse *El coyote asustó al caballo.*
- owíra *n.* Male; *Macho.* inuwaenarene čuhčúri owíra I want to have a male dog *Quiero tener un perro macho.*
- owísani *num.* Siete; *Siete.* maniwíri inuwáe owísani čuhčúri inatiáme karí Mr. Manuel has seven dogs that look after the house *Don Manuel tiene siete perros que le cuidan la casa.*
- owísani osá marikí *num.* Seventy; *Setenta.* owísani osá marikí paamúpari e'enáre no'ó no'nó močiwámpo Seventy years ago, my parents came to Mochibampo *Hace setenta años que mis papas vinieron a Mochibampo.*
- o'yerátana *n.* To tie knots; *Hacer nudos.* paiká o'yerátane witári utewamíčio I tied three knots to the thread in order (for it) to be strong *Le hice tres nudos al mecate para que resista bien.*
- o'yéna *v.* To tie; *Atar, amarrar.* kawé o'yé kuú kiwičimíčio karí Tie the

sticks carefully so the roof won't fall down *Amarra bien los palos para que no se caiga el techo.*
 o'yéračí *n.* Knot; *Nudo.* witári o'yéračí pewahténa The knots in the thread are too big *Los nudos del mecate están muy grandes.*
 o'óčiki *n.* Grandfather (paternal);

Abuelo paterno. no'ó o'óčiki mesači ohoé My (paternal) grandfather lives in La Mesa Colorada *Mi abuelo paterno vive en la Mesa Colorada.*

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- paakánawa *n.* Paakanawa (kind of herb); *Yerbalmanso.* we'é nokáyame suwéračí intúna paakánawa There are paakanawa in the bank of the marshs *En la orilla de los pantanos hay yerbalmanso*
- paakári *n.* Jacal (house made of a kind of grass); *Jacal (Casa de zacate, tasol).* no'ó poní ohoé paakáriči My brother lives in a Jacal *Mi hermano menor vive en un jacal*
- paaká, pa'aká *n.* Hook; *gancho (para apear fruta), carrizo.* no'ó puhéke marikí kahé paakáe / weeká pa'aká inuwáene ko'retaméa Get me five tempizque fruits (using) the hook / I already have many carrizo sticks to build a fence *Bájame 5 tempizques con el gancho / Ya tengo muchos carrizos para cercar.*
- paamúna *v.* Birthday; *Cumplir años.* ehpe kuitá paamúna ooká Today is the child's second birthday *Hoy el niño cumple dos años.*
- paamúni *adv.* Summer; *Verano.* i'ká paamúni ksimpamatemé močiwámpo We are not going to Mochibampo this summer *Este verano no vamos a ir a Mochibampo.*
- paamúpari *adv.* Year; *Año.* i'ká paamúpari kikawéruma iniré ečitiáme ičió The harvest was very bad this year *Este año estuvieron muy malas las cosechas.*
- paanáta *n.* Face, cheek, jaw; *Cara, mejilla, quijada.* waní wewerétu paanátači John was hit in the face *A Juan le dieron un golpe en la cara.*
- pa'apá *n.* Grandfather (maternal); *Abuelo materno.* amó pa'apá amigowaráhu no'ó pa'apá Your (maternal) grandfather is friend of my (maternal) grandfather *Tu abuelo materno es amigo de mi abuelo materno.*
- paará *n.* Shovel; *Pala.* kitewanine paará I cannot find the shovel *No encuentro la pala [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pala'.]*
- paaré *n.* Priest; *Sacerdote.* paaré weméra tapaná e'náre The new priest arrived yesterday *El sacerdote nuevo llegó ayer [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'padre'.]*
- paató *n.* Duck; *Pato.* kiintúna wa'así paató akičí There are almost no ducks in the river anymore *Ya casi no hay patos en el río [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pato'.]*
- paatári *n.* Mezcal (a type of wine); *Tesguino.* paatári mokéme Bring me mezcal! *Traime tesguino! [Note: Wine made of mezcal.]*
- paatótana *n.* Godchild; *Ahijado, ahijada.* no'ó paatótana newiméra meeré My goddaughter is going to get married tomorrow *Mi ahijada se va a casar mañana.*
- pa'čí *n.* Brother (elder); *Hermano mayor.* meeré enaména no'ó pa'čí močiwámpo My elder brother is coming tomorrow from Mochibampo *Mañana va a venir mi hermano mayor de*

- Mochibampo.*
 pahčí *n.* Seed; *Semilla.* hu'yé pahčira yomá haarú ko'kotai táiria Take all the seeds out from the watermelon, so you can eat it with pleasure *Quítale todas las semillas a la sandía para que te la comas agosto.*
- pahčá *adv.* First; *Primero.* neé pahčá asirú kiamó čitiá I arrived before you *Llegué primero que tu.*
- pahčáni *v.* To put inside (sg); *Meter (objeto sg).* pahčá kuitá noremúna yukuméra Get the child inside (the house)because is going to rain *Mete al niño porque va a llover.*
- pahkó *n.* Feast; *Fiesta.* pahkó simiméra paiká tawé The feast is going to last three days *La fiesta va a durar tres días.*
- pahkóra *n.* Feast dancer; *Pascola.* kiasiná pahkóra pahí pahkóapao iniméra The feast dancers haven't arrived and the feast is about to begin *No han llegado los pascolas y la fiesta ya va a empezar.*
- pahkótame *n.* Feast host (person that organize the feast); *Fiestero.* pahkótame kahurépa raamára meeré ičió The feast host already built the jacal for tomorrow *El fiestero ya hizo la enramada para mañana.*
- pahpá *n.* Potato; *Papa.* kuitá tairéna pahpá The child loves potatoes *Al niño le gustan las papas.*
- pahúči *n.* Brook (in the foothill); *Arroyo en la falda de un cerro.* kukučí u'upáni pahúči The children are bathing in the brook of the foothill *Los niños se estan bañando en el arroyo de la falda del cerro.*
- pa'húri *n.* Otter; *Nutria (perro del agua).* akičikapó weeká intóna pa'húri There are many otters up to the river *Río arriba hay muchas nutrias.*
- paičí *n.* Spring; *Aguaje, manantial, pozo.* kohočíko kaapó paičí There is a spring toward the crossroads *Rumbo a la quebrada hay un aguaje.*
- paiká *num.* Three; *Tres.* kuitá kočiré paiká oorá The child slept during three hours *El niño durmió tres horas.*
- paiká osá marikí ampá paiká *num.* Thirty three; *Treinta y tres.* paiká osá marikí ampá paiká paamúnane I am thirty three years old *Tengo treinta y tres años.*
- paiká weréwa *num.* Sixty; *Sesenta.* no'ó nehíke paiká weréwa suunú riteró Sell me sixty (liters) of corn *Véndeme 60 litros de maíz [Note: They used to weigh the corn with a recipient of 1 liter.]*
- paikápi *cuant.* Some; *Algunas, algunos, varios, varias.* paikápi tehtémari asirépa Some people arrived already *Algunas personas ya llegaron.*
- paisá *num.* Three times; *Tres veces.* kuitá pu'saré paisá yomá tukawári The child woke up three times last night *El niño se despetó tres veces durante la noche.*
- paisóri *n.* Snake (a kind of); *Culebras míticas en los manantiales.* simiré paisóri wakipáre paičí The paisori left and the spring dried up *Ya se fue la culebra y se secó el manantial [Note: These are myttical snakes that appear in springs.]*
- pakiná *v.* To come in; *Entrar sg.* pakirúne i'yámia no'ó yeyé karičí I came into the house to look for my mother *Entré a la casa a buscar a mi mamá.*
- pakoná *v.* To wash dishes; *lavar trastes.* hustína papahkóre weeká pehtóri tapaná Agustina washed many dishes yesterday *Agustina lavó muchos trastes ayer.*
- panisúna *v.* To pull; *Jalar.* utewáeme panisúrune witári no'ó tehpúnare seekára I pulled the rope so strong that I cut my hand *Jalé muy fuerte el mecate y me corté la mano.*

- papói *n.* Aunt paternal (younger); *Tía paterna menor.* amó papói no'ó komárehu Your (paternal younger) aunt is my comrade *Tu tía paterna menor es mi comadre.*
- parekókori *n.* Pepper (a kind of); *CHile verde.* weerú yahcé parekókori koáme Put a lot of pepper in the meal *Ponle mucho chile verde a la comida.*
- pa'rowisi *n.* Hare; *Liebre.* i'wáo weeká intúna pa'rowisi kitowí čítia There are more hares than rabbits around here *Por aquí hay mas liebres que conejos.*
- paré *n.* Tarantula; *Tarántula.* kuitá ki'kiré paré seekací A tarantula bit the child in his arm *Al niño le picó una tarántula en el brazo.*
- patóniame *n.* Children ready to baptize; *Niños listos para bautizar.* osá marikí patóniame ohóna pueblóci There are ten children ready to be baptized in the pueblo *Ya hay diez niños listos para bautizar en el pueblo.*
- patúsi *n.* Mase; *Masa.* no'ó tusuké ooká kiró patúsi Prepare two kilos of mase (for me) *Hazme dos kilos de masa [Note: A mixture made of cornflour.]*
- pa'wičúri *n.* Dew; *Rocío.* piarí mačirépari peepíno pa'wičurieme The cucumbers have a lot of dew this morning *En la mañana los pepinos amanecieron con mucho rocío.*
- pa'wí *n.* Mist, mog; *Neblina.* sawaráči tukapói weerú wičiré pa'wí There was a lot of mog on saturday daybreak *El sábado en la madrugada cayó mucha neblina.*
- pa'wé *n.* Sea; *Mar.* pa'wéme mehká itihpína i'wáo The sea is too far away from here *El mar esta muy lejos de aquí.*
- pa'wéčawi *n.* Aloe vera; *Sávila.* pa'wéčawi kawéruma i'yói tahitiáme ičió The aloe vera is a good remedy for burnings *La sávila es un buen remedio para las quemaduras.*
- paéna *v.* To call; *Lllamar.* karína u'mási amó paéna ye'yé Karina come here! Mom is calling you *Karina ven, mi mamá te está llamando.*
- pa'á, paá *n.* Grass; *Zacate.* puú pa'á kawéruma aarowe meteniáme ičió / ihí paá kawerumáhu kariči čučanía That grass is good to make adobes / This grass is good for (building) the ceiling *Aquel zacate esta bueno para hacer los adobes / este zacate está bueno para el techo.*
- peeniátame *adj.* Pretty; *Bonito.* peeniátame sipičá inuwaéne sipičátamea meeré I have a pretty dress to wear tomorrow *Tengo un vestido bonito para ponérmelo mañana.*
- peerá *n.* Pear; *Pera.* ki'yáme weeká intuái peerá i'wá Long time ago, there were many pears by here *Antes había muchas peras por aquí [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pera'.]*
- peesó *n.* Peso (mexican current); *Peso.* pié kiró muuní osaná peesó natená The kilo of beans cost eight pesos *El kilo de frijoles cuesta 8 pesos [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'peso'.]*
- peesúna *v.* To peel; *Pelar.* peesúnane waakasí I am peeling the cows *Estoy pelando las vacas.*
- pehteténa *v.* To turn heavy; *Ponerse pesado.* kohtári sampáre petehtépare The bags wet and they turned heavy *Los costales se mojaron y se pusieron pesados.*
- pehtiáme *adj.* Heavy; *Pesado.* no'ó ki'yá kohtária pehtiáme Give me the heavy bag *A mi dame el costal pesado.*
- pehténa *v.* To be heavy; *Estar pesado.* yomá kohtári pepehténa All bags are heavy *Todos los costales están pesados.*
- pehtóri *n.* Plate; *Plato.* akaná ahawí pehtóri Where are the plates? *¿Dónde están los platos?*

- pehí *adv.* Still, yet; *Todavía.* no'ó yeyé kiasiná pehí My mom hasn't arrived yet *Mi mamá no ha llegado todavía.*
- penehpáni *v.* To learn; *Aprender.* penehpánine teesá naiwáka makuráwe I am learning a little of Warihío *Estoy aprendiendo poco warihío.*
- penitiáme *n.* Teacher; *Maestro.* hustína no'ó penitiáme naiwáka makuráwi Agustina, my teacher, teaches me Warihío *Agustina mi maestra me enseña warihío.*
- pe'sóni *n.* Pus; *Pus.* čuhčúri weerú pe'sóni tehpúriači The dog has a lot of pus in its wound *El perro tiene mucha pus en la cortada.*
- pe'tí *v.* To be lying down (pl.); *Estar acostado (pl.).* kukučí pe'tí maačí karičí Children are lying down aoutside the house *Los niños están acostados afuera de la casa.*
- pewatiáme *adj.* Hard; *Duro.* nahkíne wehčí pewatiáme karitámea I need a hard ground to build a house *Necesito un suelo duro para construir la casa.*
- pewaténa *v.* To feel something hard; *Sentirse duro.* kuú katísa pewaténa The stick feels very hard *El palo se siente muy duro.*
- pewá *adj.* Hard; *Duro, fuerte.* mewéri pewá The pitahaya fruits are hard *Las pitahayas están duras.*
- peyóri *n.* Peyote (hallucinogenic drug); *Peyote.* susukítíame nokiténa peyóri Witches use peyote *Los brujos usan el peyote* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'perote'.]
- piarí *adv.* Early morning; *En la mañana.* piarí simikáne tekihpanamia napohká weikáčo aarí tekihpananíne rolandó hamá I went to weed off early in the morning and by the afternoon I am going to work with Rolando *En la mañana fui a desyerbar y en la tarde voy a trabajar con Rolando.*
- pičiwá *n.* Truth; *Verdad, afirmar.* pičiwápua no'ó tuyé no'ó no'nó That is true, my father said it to me *Esos es verdad, me lo dijo mi papá.*
- piená *adv.* Together; *Juntos.* tapaná waní tetewáre piená maría pedró John saw Mary and Peter together yesterday *Ayer Juan vio a María y Pedro.*
- pienáči *adv.* In other place; *En otro lugar.* kiohoénarene pienáči I don't want to live in other place *No quiero vivir en otro lugar.*
- pihtóra *n.* Gun; *Pistola.* no'ó teečí inuwáe pihtóra katewésa petečí My uncle has a gun he keeps in the house *Mi tío tiene una pistola guardada en la casa* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pistola'.]
- piintáwani *v.* To paint; *Teñir, pintar.* piintawaníne no'ó yeyyé kariwára ihkárie I am painting my mother's house with quicklime *Estoy pintando la casa de mi mamá con cal.*
- pi'iní *n.* Sister (younger); *Hermana menor.* no'ó pi'iní ohoé čorihoá paiká tatanáe My younger sister lives in Chorijoa and she has three sons *Mi hermana menor vive en Chorijóa y tiene tres hijos.*
- piisá *n.* Penis; *Pene.* kuitá piisára pintóhu The child's penis has dots *el piquito del niño está pinto.*
- piisí *n.* Husband of paternal younger sister; *Esposo de tía paterna menor.* markó piisíra enáre tapaná tukaó The husband of Marco's (paternal younger) aunt arrived last night *El esposo de la tía paterna menor de Marcos llegó ayer en la noche.*
- pikahkáme *adj.* Rotten; *Podrido, pasado.* ihpápa aaráwe yomá pikahkáme Throw away those pumpkins! They are rotten *Tira esas calabazas podridas.*
- pikaní *v.* To be rotten; *Podrirse.* aarú yomá pikaní The watermelons are rotten *Todas las sandías*

- están podridas.*
- pinéri *adv.* Alone; *Solo.* no'ó teečí wani ohóe pinéri kawíçipote My uncle John lives alone up hill *Mi tío Juan vive solo cerro arriba.*
- pipá *n.* Tobbaco, mariguana; *Tabaco, mariguana.* kinahkíne no'ó tataná yenimíçio pipá I don't want my children to smoke mariguana *No quiero que mis hijos fumen mariguana.*
- piréçi *cuant.* Other; *Otro, otra.* no'ó kiá piréçi takári Give me other tortilla! *Dame otra tortilla.*
- pi'rína *v.* To be twisted; *Estar torcido.* nairó pi'rína The oilcloth is twisted *El hule está torcido.*
- pi'rínani *v.* To twist; *Torcer.* kawé pi'rinarúne witári I twisted the rope very well *Ya torcí bien el mecate.*
- pi'wapúna *v.* To clean; *Limpiar.* hustína pi'wapúna yomá meesá Agustina is cleaning the tables *Agustina está limpiando todas las mesas.*
- pi'wá *n.* Breast; *Seno.* çiwá pi'wára sehtáname The breasts of the goat are red *Las chichis de la chiva estan rojas.*
- pi'wéna *v.* To clean; *limpiar.* kawé pi'wérune meesá I cleaned the table very well *Limpié la mesa muy bien* [Note: limpiar superficies, mesa, niños.]
- pi'wáni *v.* To clean; *Limpiarse.* pi'waníne seekačí I am cleaning my hands *Me estoy limpiando las manos.*
- piyetésia *n.* Bunch; *Manojo, tercio.* muú mokétuma piyetésia kuú peteçisi You are going to carry that bunch of woods to the house *Tu vas a cargar ese tercio de leña hasta la casa.*
- pií *quant.* One; *Un, una.* pií tihóe me'yáre kawái A man killed the horse *Un hombre mató al caballo.*
- pií siendó *num.* One hundred; *Cien.* i'iparúne suunú pié siendó ritoró I harvested one hundred liters of corn *Coseché cien litros de maíz.*
- pié weréwa *num.* Twenty; *Veinte.* wiitú eçitiáçi pepehkáne pié weréwa aarú That summer, I harvested twenty watermelons *En aquel verano pepené veinte sandías.*
- piípi *num.* One; *Uno.* tapaná meyárune piípi totóri koamé yoaméa I killed a hen yesterday to cook it *Ayer maté una gallina para hacerla comida.*
- po'açúra *n.* Hook; *Anzuelo.* inuwáene paiká po'açúra piípi werumá piré nuúti piréçi nuútira I have three hooks, one big, one medium and other small *Tengo tres anzuelos, uno grande, uno mediano y otro chico.*
- poçiná *v.* To be full; *Estar lleno.* yomá kohtári poçiná suunú All bags are full of corn *Todos los costales estan llenos de maíz.*
- poçiwáni *v.* To fill; *Llenar.* poçiwárune yomá kohtári suunú I filled all the bags with corn *Llené todos los costales de maíz.*
- poesimiáme *n.* Stranger; *Forastero.* tapaná asirú peosimiáme moçiwámpo A stranger arrived to Mochibampo yesterday *Ayer llegó un forastero a Mochibampo.*
- pohtaroáni *v.* To bet; *Apostar.* pohtaroárune kawái no'ó kompáe yumatonaría neé I bet for my comrade's horse that I was going to win the race *Le aposté el caballo a mi compadre a que yo ganaba la carrera* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'apostar'.]
- pohté *n.* Post; *Madera, horcón.* no'ó kuná ko'rétare pohté apoçé My husband built a fence with posts only *Mi esposo hizo un cerco de pura madera* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'poste'.]
- po'ipáni *v.* To lie down; *Acostarse.* po'ipárune wehçi reesipápa I lay down in the ground because I was exhausted *Me acosté en el suelo porque estaba cansado.*
- poitóna *v.* To drag oneself;

- Arrastrarse*. poitóka u'matókane ko'reći I had to drag myself to cross the fence *Me tuve que arrastrar para cruzar el cerco*.
- poní *n.* Brother (younger); *Hermano menor*. no'ó po'oní kinéwina pehí na inuwáe ooká tataná ooká owerúe My younger brother hasn't got married but he has two children with (two) different women *Mi hermano menor no se ha casado pero tiene dos hijos con diferentes mujeres*.
- pooré *adj.* Poor; *Pobre*. pooré temé kinuwáe koámetemé We are very poor that's why we don't have any food *Somos muy pobres no tenemos comida* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pobre'.]
- posaní *v.* To be satisfied; *Estar lleno*. kinahkíne muuní posarúne I don't want more beans, I am satisfied *Ya no quiero más frijoles, estoy lleno*.
- posóri *n.* Pozole (a type of plate); *menudo*. no'ó yeyé pasuré posóri nawirá ičíó My mother cooked pozole for christmas *Mi mamá hizo menudo para la navidad* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pozole'.]
- potačéna *v.* To cover; *Tapar, cubrir*. potačérune takarí kiso'óripamičío I covered the tortillas to keep them from the flies *Tapé las tortillas para que no se mosqueen*.
- potačépuna *v.* To uncover; *Destapar*. potačepúrune sikorí saenária koáme I uncovered the pot to smell the food *Destapé la olla para oler la comida*.
- potačéra *n.* Lid; *Tapadera*. wekahtérune potačéra sikorí sióname I lost the lid of the blue pot *Perdí la tapadera de la olla azul*.
- po'táni *v.* To uproot; *Estar arrancado (matas)*. pohté po'táre Those posts are uprooted *Esos horcones están arrancados*.
- po'wá *n.* Lamb; *Borrego, lana*. kipu'serénane po'wá sa'para I don't like lamb's meat *A mi no me gusta la carne de borrego*.
- po'í *v.* To be lying down (sg); *Estar acostado (sg)*. kuitá po'í yehpó taminá The child is lying down in the yard under the sun *El niño está acostado en el patio bajo el sol*.
- poé *n.* Road; *Camino*. ihí poé siminá močiwámpo This road takes you to Mochibampo *Este camino va a Mochibampo*.
- pueblóči *n.* Town; *Pueblo*. pu'ká pueblóči paikápi eenté ohoé Very few people live in that pueblo *En ese pueblo vive muy poca gente* [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pueblo'.]
- puhé *v.* To bring down; *Bajar*. tapaná puharúne marikí kahé paakáe I brought down five tempizque fruit with the hook yesterday *ayer bajé 5 tempizques con el gancho*.
- purirá *n.* Girdle; *Faja*. inuwáene purirá moenáname ichió kawičí I have a girdle to climb mountains *Tengo una faja para poder subir a los cerros*.
- purirára *n.* Mooring rope; *Amarradizo*. ne'néo kawéruma purirára Look at that! That is a good mooring rope *Mira, que buen amarradizo*.
- pu'seréna *v.* To like; *Gustar*. kuitá pu'seréna teéka wehčí The child likes to play in the ground *Al niño le gusta jugar en la tierra*.
- pusáni *num.* Six; *Seis*. peterá kuitá nawáre pusáni suhtuéka Petra's child was born with six fingers *El niño de doña Petra nació con seis dedos*.
- puusí *n.* Eye; *Ojo*. kiné'nemo oráine puusí hamomina I can't see with my right eye *No puedo ver con el ojo derecho*.
- pu'í *n.* Roadrunner; *Correcaminos*. tapaná na'náritórune pií pu'í I chased a roadrunner yesterday *Ayer perseguí a un correcaminos*.
- puú *dem.* That, those; *Ese, esa, esos*,

esas. puú totóri oowíra kiriwáme
katía wikahtáni That dappled hen
sings very often *Ese gallo pinto*
canta mucho.

pyuwésuri adj. Sadness; *Tristeza.*
katiá yuwésuri kihtá kitió i'wá
He is very sad here because there
is nothing (for him) here *Esta*
muy triste aqui porque no hay

nada.

póe natepáči *n.* Cross-road; *Crucero.*
nenémane no'ó komáre poé
natepáči I will see my comrade
in the cross-road *Voy a ver a mi*
comadre en el crucero.

R - r

raagúna n. Small lake; *Laguna.*
raagúna kičikapo po'yáme
wakipáre The small lake up river
dried up *La laguna que esta río*
arriba se secó [Note: Borrowing
from the Spanish 'laguna'.]

raampará n. Lamp; *Lámpara.* tahé
raampará tukahpásiparé Turn on
the lamp since it got dark *Prende*
la lámpara que ya se hizo noche
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'lámpara'.]

raančó n. Ranch; *Rancho.* raniéri
raančówara werumáhu Danile's
ranch is very big *El rancho de*
Daniel es muy gande [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'rancho'.]

raantánasi n. Banana; *Plátano.* yaá
kokosá raantánasi / iwámi
kiečanía rantánasi Eat bananas! /
Bananas are not sowed here
Coma plátanos! / Por aqui no
siembran plátanos.

raanára n. Pomegranate; *Granada.*
kuitá koinčóinkire čuwára
raanárae The child stained his
mouth with pomegranates *El*
niño se manchó la boca con
granadas.

rahtátíame adj. Soft; *Blando.* no'ó
ki'yá osokóra rahtátíame Give
me the soft papache fruit! *Dame*
el papache blandito!

reečú n. Milk; *Leche.* kimačinánine
reečú I don't have any more milk
(in my breasts) *Ya no me sale*
leche [Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'leche'.]

reemónio n. Devil; *Demonio.* ya'píti
kokočipasa enamápu reemónio

Sleep now! If you don't do it the
devil will come *Ya duérmense si*
no va a venir el demonio [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'demonio'.]

resipúna v. To rest; *Descansar.*
resipúrune kuitápi simitémane
tekihpanaka I rested for a while,
now I am goign to continue
working *Ya descansé un rato,*
voy a seguir trabajando.

ribiró n. Book; *Libro.* pu'ká ehkuérači
paikápi ribiró intúna There are
few books in that school *En esa*
escuela hay pocos libros [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'libro'.]

rihtátíame n. Smooth; *Liso.* nahkíne
pií kuú rihtátíame iwá tekimiá I
need a smooth stick to place it
here *Necesito un palo liso para*
poner aqui.

ri'ikó adj. Wealthy; *Rico.* iwámi
kiintúna ri'ikó apočé po'oére
There are not wealthy people
here, only poor people *Por aqui*
no hay ricos, solo pobres [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'rico'.]

riimá n. Lime; *Lima.* riimá naaráso
kawéruma čopéi ičió Limes and
oranges are good for (curing)
cold *Las limas y las naranjas son*
buenas para la gripa [Note:
Borrowing from Spanish 'lima'.]

riimóni n. Lemon; *Limón.* puser'enane
yahčéka riimóni koáme I like to
pour lemon on the food *Me gusta*
hecharle limon a la comida
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'limón'.]

- riisáme *adj.* Straight; *Derecho*.
napoákane osá marikí kuú
riisáme korétamia I gathered ten
straight sticks to build a fence
*Junté diez palos derechos para
hacer el cerco.*
- riitóro *n.* Liter (bottle of mezcal);
Botella para mezcal. kiyá paiká
riitóro Give me three liters
(bottles) of mezcal *Dame tres
botellas de mezcal.*
- riosí *n.* God; *Dios*. itanerune riosí no'ó
kuitá yačapamičio I ask God for
my child to recover *Le pedí a
Dios que el niño se me aliviara*
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'Dios'.]
- roowína *n.* Lobina (a type of fish);
- Lobina*. inuwáene paiká roowína
naó kiró pehtiáme I have three
lobina fish of 4 kilos each *Tengo
tres lobinas de cuatro kilos*
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'lobina'.]
- rusakái *n.* Glow-worm; *Luciérnaga*.
mu'árune paiká rusakái ootiáci I
put three glow-worm into the
bottle *Puse tres luciérnagas en el
frasco.*
- ruunéči *adv.* Monday; *Lunes*. ruunéči
enamera no'ó yeyé My mother is
coming next Monday *El lunes va
a venir mi mamá.*

S - s

- saapáto *n.* Shoes; *Zapatos*. kuitá
wekahtére pií saapáto The child
lost a shoe *El niño perdió un
zapato.*
- saawaéme *n.* Yellow; *Amarillo*.
i'yánine taharó saawaéme I am
looking for the yellow bucket
*Ando buscando el balde
amarillo.*
- saikásuri *n.* Potsherd; *Tepalcate*.
yahčé isáwi saikásuri Put red-hot
coal to the potsherd *Ponle brasas
al tepalcate.*
- saisépori *n.* Morning star; *Lucero*.
nenéo mačenáre saisépori
naochipa look! the morning star
appeared, it is four o'clock
already *Mira ya salio el lucero,
son las cuatro.*
- sakirá *n.* Pan, frying pan; *Comal*. ikačí
sakirá werumáchi wasipátana
takarí They cook the tortillas on
this big pan *En este comal
grande cocen las tortillas.*
- saminá *v.* To be wet; *Estar mojado*.
kitahenánare kuú samiyá The
firewood won't burn because is
wet *La leña no quiere prender
porque está mojada.*
- samiyáme *adj.* wet; *Mojado*. no'ó
kiyá pu'ká kuú samiyáme Give
me that wet stick *Dame ese palo*
- mojado.*
- saparí *n.* Lechugilla (kind of agave);
Lechuguilla. karipúka werí
saparí werumá There is a very
big lechugilla behind the house
*Detrás de la casa hay una
lechuguilla muy grande.*
- sapo'óri *n.* Wolf; *Lobo*. sapo'óri
koyarépa paiká čiwá The wolves
killed three swines already *Los
lobos ya mataron tres cabritos.*
- sa'pá *n.* Meat; *Carne*. nawiráči
pasu'rúteme kowí sa'pára We
cook pork meat for Christmas
*En la navidad cocinamos carne
de cerdo.*
- sarawéra *n.* Underwear; *Zapeta,*
calzones. ooká sarawéra
inuwáene I have two underwears
Tengo dos zapetas.
- sa'rúči *n.* Verdolaga (type of
vegetable); *Verdolaga*.
puserénane sa'rúči kowi
sá'paraeme I like verdolagas with
porkmeat *Me gustan las
verdolagas con carne de cerdo.*
- sauná *v.* to get better (from an
illness), to give birth; *Curarse,*
parir. saurúne I got better *Ya me
cure.*
- sawaná *n.* Sheet; *Sábana*. končoinkiré
sawaná The sheet got dirty *Ya se*

- ensució la sábana*
 sawaráči *adv.* Saturday; *Sábado.*
 sawaráči simané awasoékači I
 will travel to Alamos next
 saturday *El sábado voy a ir a*
Alamos.
- sawá *n.* leave; *Hoja.* nahkíne naaráso
 sawára pasumiá I want some
 orange (three) leaves to prepare a
 tea *Quiero unas hojas de*
naranja para hacer te.
- sawáime *n.* yellow corn; *Maíz*
amarillo. nahkíne sawáime
 koamičio I need yellow corn to
 prepare meal *Necesito maíz*
amarillo para la comida.
- sayawé *n.* rattlesnake; *Cascabel.* no'ó
 pahči kikiré sayawé kiyá mukuré
 my brother got bitten by a
 rattlesnake and he almost died *A*
mi hermano le pico una cascabel
y casi se murio.
- saéna *v.* to smell, to sense; *Sentir,*
oler. ki kawé saénane ehpeó /
 kawé saénane kuitá tahtáme I
 can't smell well today/ I feel the
 child is very hot (with fever) *No*
 puedo oler bien hoy / Siento al
niño muy caliente.
- seeká *n.* arm, hand; *Brazo, mano.*
 kahporúne seeká ahámuna I
 broke my left arm *Me quebré el*
brazo derecho.
- seekúi *n.* black ant; *Hormiga negra.*
 ko'yarúne weeká seekúi I killed a
 lot of black ants *Mate muchas*
hormigas negras.
- seepúra *n.* enemy; *Enemigo.* pedró
 me'áre no'ó poní ehpeó no'ó
 seepúra Pedro killed my brother,
 now he is my enemy *Pedro mató*
a mi hermano, ahora es mi
enemigo.
- seeté *n.* sand; *arena.* nerói werumá
 i'tóre yomá seeté the river's flood
 took the sand away *la creciente*
se llevó la arena.
- seewá *n.* flower; *Flor.* owéru
 pu'seréna seewá sesehtáname
 Girls fancy red flowers *A las*
niñas les gusta mucho las flores
rojas.
- sehtáčuruki *n.* Cardinal (type of
 bird); *Cardenal.* pu'ká kuuči
 senepí aarí ehenáni wikahtámia
 sehtáčurúki A cardinal sings on
 that three every evening *En ese*
árbol se para a cantar un
cardenal todas las tardes.
- sehtáname *n.* red; *Rojo.* no'ó si'pakére
 sipičá sehtáname My red dress
 tore *Se me rompió el vestido*
rojo.
- seisépori *n.* Morning star; *Lucero de*
la mañana. no'ó ye'yé tetéwani
 seisépori Mi mother is watching
 the morning star *Mi mamá esta*
observando el lucero de la
mañana.
- se'múči *n.* hummingbird; *Chuparrosa.*
 kuitá e'epé aséna se'múči the
 hummingbirds surprise the boy
Al niño lo sorprenden las
chuparrosas.
- senepí *cuant.* each, every; *Cada.*
 senepí piarí simináne
 tekihpanamia hustína kastiači I
 go to work with agustina every
 morning *Cada mañana voy a*
trabajar con Agustina.
- se'nowí *n.* earthworm; *Lombriz de*
tierra. a'pučuná kuitá wa'á ohóna
 se'nowí take the child away from
 there because there are a lot of
 earthworms *Quita al niño de allí*
porque hay muchas lombrices.
- senékači *adv.* next time; *La próxima*
vez. senékači amó enasó amó
 metekémane pií čahpóri next
 time you come I will cook some
 (grilled) tortillas for you *La*
proxima vez que vengas te voy a
cocinar una tortilla a las brasas.
- senépi *adv.* once, one time; *Una vez.*
 senépi no'ó asisó peteči
 pahkótatai one time you came
 home, they made a party *Una vez*
que viniste a la casa, hicieron
fiesta.
- seré *n.* Sotole; *Sotol.* i'ká seré
 metemáne marikí warí I will
 make five guaris with this sotole
Con este sotol voy a hacer cinco
guaris.
- sesenéko *adv.* once in a while, every
 now and then; *De vez en cuando.*

- sesenéko ehenánumu i'wami you come here every now and then
De vez en cuando vienes por aquí.
- sewapóro *n.* acorn; *Bellota.* ko'naréne sewerí sewapóro I want to eat acorns from sibirí *Quiero comer bellotas de sibirí.*
- sewekómori *n.* eyebrow; *Ceja.* kuitá tunakáme sewekómori that child has thick eyebrows *El niño tiene las cejas muy tupidas.*
- sewerá *n.* eyelash; *Pestaña.* o'owéru tetehpéruma sewerá o'ochóname girls have long, black eyelashes *Las niñas tienen las pestañas largas y negras.*
- seú *n.* bull; *Toro.* pedró na'nárire pií seú tapaná Pedro was chased by a bull yesterday *A pedró lo corretió un toro ayer.*
- seóra *n.* onion; *Cebolla.* ko'aíne pií takarí seórae I am eating a tortilla with onion *me estoy comiendo una tortilla con cebolla.*
- se'emá *n.* Beehive; *Enjambre, colmena.* tewarúne ooká se'emá wa'amí kawíči I found two beehives in that hill *Encontré dos enjambres en el cerro de allá.*
- se'óri *n.* bee, honey; *Abeja, miel.* no'ó ki'kirú paiká se'óri paanátači three bees bit me in the face *Me picaron tres abejas en la cara.*
- si'aní *v.* to urinate; *Orinar.* kuitá werú si'aní the boy is urinating too often *El niño está orinando mucho.*
- siikú *n.* navel; *Ombliigo.* kuitá ahpóna siikúra the child's navel is swollen *El niño tiene el ombliigo hinchado.*
- siiwá *n.* intestine; *Intestinos.* pu'sérenane kowí siiwára I like (to eat) pig's intestines *A mi me gustan las tripas de cochí.*
- sikóri *n.* pot, jar; *Olla, jarro.* iyánine sikóri muuníachi pasuniáme I am looking for the pot where I cook beans *Ando buscando la olla donde cozo los frijoles.*
- siminá *v.* to go; *Ir.* simirúne pahkóči kečewéka I went to Quetchehueca's fests *Fuí a las fiestas de Quetchehueca.*
- sinói *n.* snake (type of); *Culebra.* kuitá pu'seréna teeka sinóihama the child likes to play with the snakes *Al niño le gusta jugar con las culebras.*
- sináni *v.* to scream, to yell; *Gritar.* no'ó yehčí rupita pu'seréna sináka my aunt lupe likes to yell *A mi tía lupe le gusta gritar.*
- sipičá *n.* dress, skirt; *Vestido, nagua, falda.* no'ó kuná no'ó ihkókeru pií sipičá pahčá semánači my husband gave me a dress last week *Mi esposo me regaló un vestido la semana pasada.*
- sipoyáme *n.* wizard, quack; *Hechicero, curandero.* siminárene sipoyáme kahtiáči iyoámia topači ko'koáme I want to go to the quack because my stomach hurts *Quiero ir con el curandero porque me duele el estómago.*
- si'pánani *v.* to tear; *Romper.* ko'oré no'ó si'panakeré pantaóni the fence tore my jeans *El cerco me rompió el pantalón.*
- si'páni *v.* to be torn (fabrics); *Estar roto (tela).* inuwáene piípi wakirá si'páni I have a shirt and it is torn *Tengo una camisa y está rota.*
- si'rúna *v.* *Estar arrugado.* no'ó kukurí alehandro siríruna paaná tara my uncle Alejandro has a very wrinkled face *Mi tío Alejandro tiene la cara muy arrugada.*
- sisína *v.* to shave, to scrape; *Raspar, rasurar.* kawé si'sí wehčí epehpúapu scrape the ground well, so we can *Raspa bien el suelo para tender allí.*
- siuráči *n.* city; *Ciudad.* teeméa kiohóna kawé siuráči we don't go to the city often *Nosotros casi no vamos a la ciudad.*
- si'yá *n.* Father in law; *Suegro.* no'ó si'yá ohoé pié tawé poésiniame my father in law lives a day away from here *Mi suegro vive a*

- un dia de camino.*
- si'óname *adj.* Green. wayábasi
 si'óname witapočeténa Green
 (unripe) guavas cause
 constipation *Las guayabas
 verdes tapan.*
- si'ári *n.* bladder; *Vejiga.* wakasí si'árika
 kawérume iyóí tamé ičíó cow's
 bladder is a good remedy for
 teeth *La vejiga de vaca es buen
 remedio para los dientes.*
- so'čí *n.* fish; *Pezcado.* kiweká intúna
 so'čí akičí there are almost no
 fishes left in the river *Ya casi no
 hay pezcados en el río.*
- so'čí ohčóname *n.* *Bagre (pez).* so'čí
 ohčóname inyántiame are ugly
Los bagres son feos.
- so'oró *n.* elder aunt; *Tía paterna
 mayor, esposa de tío paterno
 mayor.* markó so'oróra ohóe no'ó
 siyáma Marco's aunt lives with
 my father in law *La tia paterna
 de marcos vive con mi suegro.*
- soowí *n.* fat, grease; *Manteca,
 gordura.* no'ó yeyé werí yahčére
 soowí sikoríči mi mother put
 grease in the pot *Mi mamá le
 puso mucha manteca a la olla.*
- so'péči *n.* bat; *Murciélagos.* pu'ká
 teesóči muuáe so'peči There are
 a lot of bats in that cave *En esa
 cueva hay muchos murciélagos.*
- so'póri *n.* star; *Estrella.* so'póri kawé
 tahaní tukaó The stars are
 shining bright tonight *Las
 estrellas brillan mucho esta
 noche.*
- so'wí *n.* fat, grease; *Manteca, gordura.*
 ihí sa'pá so'winá This meat has a
 lot of fat *Esta carne tiene mucha
 manteca.*
- so'óri *n.* fly; *Mosca.* uhumápuke
 so'óri kuitá Take that fly away
 from the child *Espántale la
 mosca al niño.*
- suewéči *adv.* thursday; *Jueves.*
 suewéči newína rupíta maará
 Lupe's daughter is getting
- married next thursday *El jueves
 se casa la hija de doña lupe.*
- suhtú *n.* finger, nail; *Dedo, uña.* no'ó
 čočorúne suhtučí martiyóe I
 smashed my finger with the
 hammer *Me machuqué el dedo
 con el martillo.*
- sukaní *v.* to sew; *Coser.* maniwéra
 peniátame sukaní ahpó kukučí
 ičíó Manuela sews (makes
 clothes) very nicely for her
 family *Manuela cose muy bonito
 para su familia.*
- su'kí *n.* wizard; *Brujo.* su'kí wa'á
 ohoeme pu'ká karičí kawéruma
 The wizard that lives in that
 house is very good *El brujo que
 vive en esa casa es muy bueno.*
- sunuečapóa *n.* Corn hair; *Barbas del
 maíz.* sunuečapóa pasutiáme
 kawérume iyóí kisiénaniame ičíó
 The tea of corn's hair is a good
 remedy for urination problems *El
 té de barbas de maíz es buen
 remedio para el mal de orín.*
- su'rína *v.* to be scratched; *Estar
 raspado, arañado.* owéru su'rína
 senékači mi'sisire The girls are
 scratched, I think the cat did it
*Las niñas estan arañadas, creo
 que fue el gato.*
- su'sú *n.* Grandmother (maternal);
Abuela materna. kuitá su'surá
 katiá nahkí The child's maternal
 grandmother loves him very
 much *La abuela materna del
 niño lo quiere mucho.*
- suunú *n.* corn; *Maíz.* i'ká suunúe
 táyame takarí mačénani You can
 make very tasty tortillas with this
 corn *Con este maíz se hacen muy
 buenas tortillas.*
- suunú murára *n.* Wheatear; *Espiga de
 maíz.* suunú murára
 wewerumáhu The wheatears are
 very big already *Las espigas de
 maíz ya están bien grandes.*

- Drum's noise did not let me sleep last night *Anoche no me dejó dormir e ruido de los tambores.*
- taamé *n.* Teeth; *Dientes.* kuitá yomá puiyáre taméra The child already has all his teeth *Al niño ya le salieron todos los dientes.*
- taamári *n.* Tamal; *Tamal.* año nuevo pohkóči taamári metenátemé we are going to prepare tamales for new year's eve *En la fiesta de año nuevo vamos a hacer tamales.*
- taaraní *v.* To buy; *Comprar.* taarimáne kowí sa'para taamári metemiá I am going to buy pork meet to make tamales *Voy a comprar carne de cochí para hacer tamales.*
- taatá *n.* Father (of a woman); *Papá (de mujer).* hustína taatára no'ó nawése keemerá kuentó Agustina's father is going to tell me some Guarijio stories *El papá de Agustina me va a contar cuentos guarijíos.*
- ta'atái *n.* Uncle maternal (younger); *Tío materno menor, esposo de tía materna menor.* no'ó ta'atái mukunáre ahpó wehčí My (maternal, younger) uncle wants to die in his land *Mi tío materno menor quiere morirse en su tierra.*
- ta'ayáme *n.* Tasty; *Sabroso.* ta'ayá takári aarína Is that flour tortilla tasty? *Está sabrosa la tortilla de harina?*
- tahčínáni, tahčínani *v.* To tighten; *Apretar.* kikawé tahčínarému kuú na'suméra/kawé tahčínarúne kuú ehkínachi weriáme You tightened very bad the sticks, they are going to get loose/ I tightened the stick of the corner very well *Apretaste muy mal los palos, se va a desbaratar/ Apreté muy bien el palo de la esquina.*
- tahčíčaní *v.* To tighten; *Apretar.* kawé tahčíčarúne yomá kuú karihámpa I tightened very well all the sticks of the roof *Apreté muy bien todos los palos del techo.*
- tahčípani *v.* To tighten; *Apretarse.* panéwa tahčípani kuú The wirotes are tighten already *Los wirotes ya se están apretando.*
- tahiwára *n.* Tajiguari (type of plant that burns); *Tajiguari (planta que quema).* ka'té no'nóte tahiwára tahimáeme Do not touch the tajiguari, you are going to get burned *No toquen el tajiguari, se van a quemar.*
- tahkú *n.* Palm; *Palma.* ru'hína kari tahkúra The roof's (leaves of) palms are falling down *Se están cayendo las palmas del techo.*
- tahtaténa *v.* To be hot; *Tener calor.* ooróna tamó tahtaténa yomá piarí the grill keep us warm during the mornings *La hornilla nos da calor todas las mañanas.*
- tahtá *v.* to be hot (weather); *Hacer calor.* tahtaeharánine I want the weather to be hot *Quiero que haga calor.*
- tahtáme *n.* hot; *Caliente.* ka'té čapí sikorí tahtáme Do not grab the pot, it is hot *No agarres la olla, está caliente.*
- tahéna *v.* To light up; *Encender.* tahénane kačímbe tukapásipare I am lighting the pipe up, because it is dark already *Estoy encendiendo la cachimba porque ya oscureció.*
- tahéra *n.* Pupil; *Pupila.* kuitá werumá inipáru tahéra maharépuapu The child has the pupils big, I think he got scared *El niño tiene las pupilas grandes creo que se asustó.*
- taipóčani *v.* To sweat; *Sudar.* no'ó yeyé werí taipóčare tukaó če'épáre My mother sweated too much last night because she had fever *Mi mamá sudó mucho anoche porque tuvo fiebre.*
- ta'iténa *v.* To feel tasty; *Sentirse sabroso.* wepásuni no'ó ta'iténa I feel the cocido (soup) tasty *Siento sabroso el cocido.*
- takahpáči *n.* Tabachin (type of plant); *Tabachín.* takahpáči nawára

- kawéruma iyói ehčá ičió
Tabachin roots are a good
remedy for wounds *Las raíces
del tabachín son buen remedio
para las llagas.*
- takihpúna v. To push; *Empujar.* kawé
takihpú kohtári kawé
manipamíčio Push the stacks so
they remain together *Empuja
bien los costales para que
queden juntos.*
- takuepehtá n. Petate; *Petate de palma.*
no'ó poní no'ó yepáru paiká
takuepehtá močibampo oínia My
brother brought three petates
from Mochibampo *Mi hermano
me trajo tres petates de palma de
Mochibampo.*
- ta'kékeri n. Swallow; *Golondrina.*
ta'kékeri tasotáni wa'apí neósepa
kawíč The swallow make nests
in the bank of the river up in the
mountains *Las golondrinas hacen
los nidos en la orilla del río en
los cerros.*
- takéna v. To give fruit; *dar fruto.* ihí
kuú ki kahkáruma osohkóra
takéna This three gives
disgusting papaches (type of
fruit) *este árbol da papaches
muy malos.*
- tamkí n. Tank, puddle; *Tanque,
charco.* tamkí kiinuwáe nerói
The tanks do not have water
anymore *Los tanques ya no
tienen agua.*
- tamó prn. Us, to us, our, ourselves;
*Nos, A nosotros, nuestro,
nosotros mismos.* no'ó yeyé tamó
parú poesímika naohóa My
mother brought us walking to
Navojoa *Mi mamá nos trajo
caminando hasta Navojoa.*
- tanačáni v. To thunder (the sky);
Tronar el cielo. tapaná yukurú ki
tanaká Yesterday it rained, but
the sky did not thunder *Ayer
llovió sin tronar el cielo.*
- taná n. Son; *Hijo.* no'ó taná katiá
kičiwásiame My son is restless
Mi hijo es muy inquieto.
- tapaná adv. Yesterday; *ayer.* tapaná
kátia ko'koríainia mo'očí I had
headache yesterday *ayer me
dolía mucho la cabeza.*
- ta'páni v. To be cracked (firewood);
Estar rajado (leña). yomá i'ká
kuú ta'panarétu This fire wood is
all cracked *Toda esta leña ya
está rajada.*
- ta'rána v. To spread; *Extender.* ta'rána
epetá kokočípuapu Spread the
potatoes because we are going to
sleep now *Extiende los potates
porque ya vamos a dormir.*
- ta'rání v. To be spread; *Estar tendido,
extendido.* ha'rú paníra weré
ta'rání Watermelon plants are
well spread *Las matas de sandía
están bien extendidas.*
- tasiná v. To cough; *Toser.* owéru katiá
tasiná kokorepamuápu The girls
are coughing too much, they are
getting sick *Las niñas están
tosiendo mucho se van a
enfermar.*
- tasiréwa n. cough; *Tos.* yačahpárune
kitasiréwanine I am better, I
don't cough anymore *Ya me
alivié ya no tengo tos.*
- tasukiwitári n. Rope made out of
ixtle; *Mecate de ixtle.* nahkíne
osanáo meteró tasukiwitári I
need eight meters of rope
*Necesito ocho metros de mecate
de ixtle.*
- ta'só n. Nest; *Nido.* totorí kawaré naó
ka'wá ta'sóči The hen layed four
eggs in the nest *La gallina puso
cuatro huevos en el nido.*
- tasáwi n. Sugar cane; *Caña.* kiečiwá
tasáwi i'wamí They do not sow
sugar cane around here anymore
Ya no siembran caña por aquí.
- tataní v. To explode; *Explotar.* riméta
tataré turaé The jars exploded due
to the coldness *Los frascos
explotaron con el frío.*
- tataréna v. To be hot; *Tener calor.*
kuitá tataréna The child is hot *El
nino tiene calor.*
- tawé adv. Day; *Día.* ooká tawé
itihpína tamó simpamíčio
močibampo We still have to days
until we go to Mochibampo
Faltan dos días para ir a

- Mochibampo.*
- tayá *adj.* Tasty; *sabroso.* katiá sa'pá
tayá The meat is tasty *La carne
está muy sabrosa.*
- ta'á *n.* Sun; *Sol.* ta'á utewaéme
mačiheránine ehpé I want the
sun to shine bright today *Quiero
que salga fuerte el sol hoy.*
- ta'ára *n.* Footprint; *Huella.* i'wámi oiré
waní takaó wa'a maní ta'ára Juan
was here last night, his footprints
are everywhere *Por aquí anduvo
Juan anoche, aquí están las
huellas.*
- ta'íwa *v.* To be tasty; *Tener sabor.* ihí
neóra kita'íwa This soup is not
tasty *Este caldo tiene poco
sabor.*
- tečuní *n.* Snare to fish (frog, crickets,
flour); *Sebo para pezcara (de
rana, chapulín, harina).* iyánine
tečuní tapaná no'ó tewariá I am
looking for the snare I found
yesterday *Ando buscando el sebo
que encontré ayer.*
- tečí *n.* Uncle (paternal); *Tío paterno
menor.* amó tečí simináre
awasuékači meeré My paternal
(younger) uncle wants to go to
Alamos tomorrow *Tu tío paterno
quiere ir a Alamos mañana.*
- teehóni *n.* Badger; *Tejón.* meyárune
teehóni wepásunia I killed a
badger to prepare food *Maté un
tejón para hacer comida.*
- teekurí *n.* Squirrel; *ardilla.* wa'amí
weriáme ohkóči ihčípuna pií
teekurí A squirrel is hidden in
that pine *en aquel pino se
esconde una ardilla.*
- teekó *n.* Landlord; *patrón.* no'ó teekó
katiá nekahtena The landlord
gets furious very often *mi patrón
es muy corajudo.*
- teekáni *v.* To lay something down;
poner algo acostado. teekánine
kuitá/wičačako otoná tekáruna
te'pá karihámpa teekárune The
child is /I lay the brazil wood on
the house's roof *Tengo al niño
acostado en los brazos/Puse el
tronco de brazil en el techo de la
casa.*
- teemé *pron.* We; *Nosotros.* teeméa
simpánaria pahkóči yauméa
kitamó toáru We wanted to go to
the party to dance, but they do
not allow us *Nosotras queremos
ir a bailar a la fiesta pero no nos
dejaron.*
- teemó *n.* Frog; *Rana.* tapaná kohóči
mo'óči ninika teemó Yesterday
in the brook, a frog jumped up to
my head *Ayer en el arroyo me
brincó una rana a la cabeza*
- teesó *n.* Cave; *Cueva.* teemé ohoéka
teesóči kiýáme We lived in a
cave for a while *Vivimos en una
cueva un tiempo.*
- te'eyáni *v.* To scold; *Regañar.*
utewáeme teéyárune kukuči
kitasá resisiniame simpáre Scold
the children because they went
away without asking for
permission *Regane fuerte a los
niños porque se fueron sin pedir
permiso.*
- tehiwé *n.* Biznaga (kind of barrel
cactus); *Biznaga.* wičírune
tehiwé ampá soírune humíči/
kuitá soiré tehiwée wehčára I fell
over the biznaga and I got thorns
all over my buttocks/ The child
got hurt with the biznaga thorns
*Me caí sobre la biznaga y me
espine las nalgas/ El niño se
espino con las espinas de la
biznaga.*
- tehkí *n.* Work, difficult; *Trabajo,
difícil.* yapísika tekihpaname
Hurry up to work! *Apúrate a
trabajar!*
- tehpúna *v.* To get hurt; *herirse.*
čuhčúri werumá weré tehpúre
The dog got hurt badly *El perro
tiene una herida muy grande.*
- tehpúnani *v.* To cut; *Cortar.*
tehpúnamane weeká aarú meeré
piarí I am going to cut a lot of
watermelons tomorrow early *Voy
a cortar muchas sandías mañana
temprano.*
- tehpúriači *n.* Wound; *herida.* čuhčúri
pe'sóna ahpó tehpúriači The dog
has pus in the wound *El perro
tiene pus en la herida.*

- tehté *n.* rock; *piedra*. no'kiá tehté werumá Give me the big rock *dáme la piedra grande*.
- tehté wičoniáči *n.* Stone for washing (in the river); *Piedra para lavar (lavadero en el río)*. nerói no'ó yetókere tehté wičoniáči The water took away my washing stone *el agua se llevó mi piedra para lavar*.
- tehtémari *n.* People; *gente*. yomá tehtémari simpáre sawanánto All the people went to San Bernardo *Toda la gente se fue a San Bernardo*.
- tehtúri *n.* Ice; *Hielo*. i'ka kuwésari intúma weerú tehtúri kawíči This winter we will have a lot of ice in the mountains *Este invierno va a haber mucho hielo en las montañas*.
- tehé *n.* Hail; *Granizo*. tukaó yukurú tehé It hailed yesterday *Ayer llovió granizo*.
- tehémuri *n.* Snow; *Nieve*. tehémuri kawíčipote peniáte The snow up there on the mountains looks beautiful *La nieve en las montañas se ve bonita*.
- tekači *n.* Possum; *Tlacuache*. tekači no'ó kokonéru ka'wá The possum ate my eggs *El tlacuache me comió los huevos*.
- tekihpaña *v.* To put down; *Bajar*. tekihpurune kuitá komíka kawíčipotepa I took the child on my arms when we went down the mountain *baje al niño en los brazos del cerro*.
- tekihpaname *n.* Worker; *Trabajador*. tekihpaname e'enarépa tehkiči ko'kómia The workers returned from work already to have lunch *Los trabajadores ya regresaron del trabajo para comer*.
- tekihpanani *v.* To work; *Trabajar*. tekihpananine kokorí puhaká I am working harvesting chile *Estoy trabajando juntando chile*.
- tekiná *v.* To go down; *Bajarse*. kukuči tetehkiré kawíčipotepa kuwé The children went down the hill very soon *Los niños se bajaron del cerro muy pronto*.
- tekúri *n.* Squirrel; *Ardilla*. tekúri yomá ko'káre suunú ečitiáme The squirrels already ate all the corn of the sowing *Las ardillas ya se comieron todo el maíz de la siembra*.
- temari *adj.* Young; *Joven*. puú temari ečaré suunú tekurí ko'kária That young boy sowed the corn that the squirrels ate *Ese muchacho sembró el maíz que las ardillas se comieron*.
- temuná *v.* To kick; *Patear*. no'ó kuná koayáre kawái kuitá tetemúkame My husband killed the horse that kicked the child *Mi esposo mató al caballo que pateó al niño*.
- tepurá *n.* Wart; *Mezquino*. maria ihíre i'yói ohkó pasutiáme nuhimíčio tepurá Maria took ocote remedy to take off her warts *Maria tomo remedio de ocote para quitarse los mezquinos*.
- terokí *n.* Heel; *Talón*. soirúne terokíči kikakaéka oiká A thorn hurt my heel because I was barefoot *Me espiné en el talón porque andaba descalzo*.
- tesiwá *adv.* Poorly, with sadness; *Pobre*. tesiwá koáme katiá čorowánine The food is scarce and I am very hungry *No hay comida y tengo mucha hambre*.
- tetehkóre *n.* Trench; *Trinchera*. tetehkóre poyačité poí poé The way is near the trench *Dónde está la trinchera está el camino*.
- tetehíma *n.* Relatives; *Parientes*. no'ó tetehíma e'enáre pahkóči my relatives are here for the fests *Ya llegaron mis parientes para las fiestas*.
- tewaní *v.* To find; *Hallar*. tewarúne hustína I found Agustina *Hallé a Agustina*.
- teweká *n.* Sky; *Cielo*. teweká si'ónani katawéči The sky is blue today *El cielo está azul hoy*.
- tewáni *v.* To be named; *LLamarse*. no'ó nesá tewaéru rusía My aunt was named Lucía *Mi tía se llamaba Lucía*.

- te'éna *v.* To play; *Jugar*. kukuči te'éna te'pákawíči The children are playing up in the mountain *Los niños están jugando arriba en el cerro.*
- teóna *v.* To thunder (the sky); *Tronar el cielo*. teóčani toomári yukihpámera tukaó The sky is thundering, it is going to rain tonight *Está tronando el cielo esta noche va a llover.*
- tiamé Too, also; *También*. tapaná waní tetewáre maría pedró tiamé Yesterday Juan saw Maria and Pedro, too *Ayer Juan vió a María y a Pedro (también).*
- tiendá *n.* Store; *tienda*. puú tiendá inuwáe tihoé That man owns a store *Ese hombre tiene una tienda.*
- tihoé *n.* Man, person; *Hombre, persona*. tapaná enáru pií tihoé iyáka owítiamé A man came yesterday looking for (a) woman *Ayer vino un hombre buscando mujer.*
- toaní *v.* To allow, to let; *Dejar, permitir*. no'ó no'nó toarú simíčio pahkóči yaúmíá/ amó toarúne tekilhpánamíá no'óma My father let me go to the party to dance/ I let you work with me *Mi papá me dejó ir a la fiesta a bailar/ Te dejé trabajar conmigo.*
- točió *n.* Palo santo (type of tree); *Palo santo*. točió aapéra kawéruma i'yói ta'mé kokoame ičió The cortex of palo santo is a good remedy (for curing) the toothache *La corteza de palo santo es buen remedio para el dolor de muelas.*
- tohpá *n.* Stomach; *Panza, estómago*. no'ó tohpá wičná My stomach is flabby *Tengo la panza caída.*
- tohsánamé *n.* White; *Blanco*. no'ó trokéwa tohsánamé ná'ítire tapaná My white truck broke down yesterday *Mi troca blanca se descompuso ayer.*
- tohsánani *v.* To be white; *Estar blanco*. nenéo kuú tohsanasiparé Look, the three got white *Mira,*
- el árbol se blanqueó.*
- toiwé *n.* Pasture; *Pastura*. ihí wakasi weerú toiwé nahkí wawátena This cows need a lot of pasture, they are too thin *Estas vacas necesitan mucha pastura estan muy flacas.*
- tomarítani *v.* To get cloudy; *Nublarse*. tomarítani yukihpámera It got cloudy, it looks like it is going to rain *Ya se nublo parece que va a llover.*
- tomorí *n.* Green bean; *Ejote*. weeká tomorí towé we'pásuni Put a lot of green beans into the cocido (soup) *ponle muchos ejotes al cocido.*
- tomí *n.* Money; *Dinero*. nahkíne tomí močibampo simiá I need money to go to Mochibampo *Necesito dinero para ir a mochibampo.*
- toomíkoči *adv.* Sunday; *Domingo*. toomíkoči enaméra no'ó pini čorijó ónía My sister is coming next Sunday from čorijoa *El domingo va a venir mi hermana desde čorijoa.*
- toománte *n.* Tomatoe; *Tomate*. ki'yá inuwáekane tomaante ečitiáme karipú'ka Last year I had a tomatoes sowing behind my house *El año pasado tenia una siembra de tomates detrás de la casa.*
- toomári *n.* lighting, cloud; *Rayo, nube*. tapaná muhipúre toomári kuú A lighting fell in that three yesterday *Ayer cayó un rayo en ese árbol.*
- toonó *n.* Foot; *Pie*. soirúne toonoči raosí I nailed a nail in my foot *Me clave un clavo en el pie.*
- toonéwa *n.* Foam; *Espuma*. pu'serénane wičoká toonéwateka I like to produce a lot of foam when I wash the clothes *Me gusta hacer mucha espuma cuando lavo.*
- to'osá *n.* Cotton; *Algodón*. ki'yáme i'ípaíne to'ósá I used to harvest cotton *Antes yo pizcaba algodón.*
- topawári *n.* Stomach; *Estómago*. hutína kiarétu i'yowi topawári

- ičió Agustina was given a remedy for stomach ache *A Agustina le dieron un remedio para el estómago.*
- topohká *n.* Torote prieto (type of tree); *Torote prieto.* topohká i'yói kawéruma čopéi ičió The torote prieto (leaves) is a good remedy (for curing) cold *El remedio de torote prieto es bueno para la gripa.*
- topésani *v.* To cover, to wrap; *Tapar, envolver.* topésa kuitá Cover the child properly *Tapa al niño bien*
- torowáči *n.* Toloachi (type of plant); *Toloachi.* torowáči sawára kawéruma i'yó ahpóniame ičió The toloache leaves are a good remedy for (curing) inflammation *La hoja de toloache es buen remedio para la inflamación.*
- tosarí *n.* White corn; *Maíz blanco.* koiaréne tosarí I feel like eating white corn *Tengo ganas de comer maíz blanco.*
- totóri *n.* Hen; *Gallina.* totóri kičiwá čáčápani kinoinamútena The hens are making a lot of noise and they won't let me hear *Las gallinas estan haciendo mucho ruido y no me dejan oír.*
- to'tóri *n.* Hen; *gallina.* čo'óri ohóna ahpó yeyemá ahkáoi Chicken are around hens everywhere *Los pollos andan con las gallinas para todas partes.*
- totóri owíra *n.* Chicken; *Gallo.* inuwáene totóri owíra kawé nasuáme I have a chicken that is good for fights (it is a good fighter) *Tengo un gallo bueno para las peleas.*
- towí *n.* Rabbit; *Conejo.* ehpe ko'kopuápu towí sa'pára Today we are eating rabbit meat *Hoy vamos a comer carne de conejo.*
- tučikí *n.* Bird; *Pájaro.* píi tučikí tasohtáre pu'ká kuučí A bird built a nest on that three *Un pájaro hizo un nido en ese árbol.*
- tukahpásipani *v.* To get dark; *Oscurerse.* tukahpasipáru kokočípuapu It got dark, we must sleep *Ya oscureció debemos dormir.*
- tukapáni *v.* To get dark; *Anochecer.* tukapáni so'póri peniáte maní It got dark already and there are very beautiful stars (up there in the sky) *Ya anocheció y hay estrellas muy bonitas.*
- tukaó *adv.* night; *noche.* tukaó enaru yeyé My mother came last night *anoche vino mi mamá.*
- tunakáme *n.* Thick; *Grueso.* tunahkáme wasitérene I made thick tortillas *Hice las tortillas muy gruesas.*
- tu'nani *v.* To be thick; *Estar grueso.* iyosí tu'nani kiotohpúna i'íkia This rubber is thick, the needle cannot go though it *El hule está grueso la aguja no puede atravesar.*
- tu'rámuna *v.* To be cold; *Tener frío.* tu'ramúnane no'kia piréči keemá I am cold, give me another blanket *Tengo frío dame otra cobija.*
- turáni *v.* To be cold (weather); *Hacer frío.* turáni kawíči It is cold up there in the mountains *Hace frío en las montañas.*
- tu'ráwa *v.* To be cold (weather); *Hacer frío.* katiá tu'ráwa suunú sekóma It is very cold, the corn is going to freeze *Está haciendo mucho frío, el maíz se va a congelar.*
- tusuná *v.* To chop; *Moler.* tusunáne suunú wasitémia They are chopping corn to make tortillas *Estoy moliendo maíz para hacer tortillas.*
- tu'umína *v.* To bend, to fold; *Doblar, enrollar.* pu'sarúne tu'uminarúne epehtá I woke up and bent the potatoes *Me desperté y enrollé los petates.*
- tuurási *n.* Peach; *durazno.* oosá marikí tuurasí metenáme píi ruusé werumá You can make a big (peach)candy with ten peaches *con diez duraznos haces un dulce grande.*

- tu'urúsi *n.* Spider; *Araña.* katiá mahawáne tu'urúsi I am very afraid of spiders *Las arañas me dan mucho miedo.*
- tuusí *n.* Pinole (kind of flour used to prepare a beverage with the same name); *Pinole.* peterá ehpéče nahkí tuusí Petra wants more pinole *Petra quiere más pinole.*
- tuusí *n.* Flour; *Harina.* no'ó yeyé tusuré tiríko tuusí metemiá wasitémia My mother chopped a lot of wheat to make flour and prepare tortillas *Mi mamá molió*
- trigo para hacer harina y hacer tortillas.*
- tuyé *v.* To say, to tell; *decir.* waní no'ó tuyéna simotuká močibampo Juan told me: I want to go to mochibampo *Juan me dijo quiero irme a Mochibampo.*
- tá'ame *n.* Molar; *Muela.* tapaná kátia ko'korékane tá'améči Yesterday I had molar ache *Ayer me dolió mucho la muela.*

U - u

- u'aténa *v.* To feel (that something is) strong; *Sentirse fuerte.* ihí witári u'aténa hoyé wakasí i'káe This rope is (feels) strong, tie the cow up with it *Este mecate está fuerte amarra la vaca con el.*
- uhéna *v.* To fart; *Peyerse.* kuitá kátia u'uháni The child is farting too often *El niño se está peyendo mucho.*
- uhúya *v.* To smell; *Oler.* peeniá uhúya sewá The flower smells good *Huele bonito la flor.*
- u'máni *v.* To run, to scape; *Correr, escapar.* maniwíri senepi u'mani piarí kečewékasi Manuel runs everyday to Quetchehueca *Manuel corre todos los dias hasta quechehueca.*
- u'máwe *n.* Woods; *Bosque.* no'ó komáre wekahtére kuitá u'máwetere Mi comrade lost her child in the woods *A mi comadre se le perdió el niño en el bosque.*
- upará *n.* Mezquite (type of tree); *mezquite.* wanatékari pú'ka werí upará očétiamé There is a very old mezquite behind the house *Detrás de la casa está un mezquite muy viejo.*
- upáni *v.* To bathe; *Bañarse.* neé upáni senepí piarí I bathe everyday *Yo me baño todos los días.*
- u'páni *v.* To bring; *Traer.* u'párune kuú naéniamé I brought fire wood to poke the fire *Ya traje*
- lena para atizar.*
- utewaéme *n.* Strong; *Fuerte.* pu'serénane u'urú utewaéme I like strong donkeys *Me gustan los burros fuertes.*
- utewáči *adj.* To be forced (to do something); *Forzado.* apoé utewáči tekíhpánare He was forced to work *El trabajo obligado.*
- u'uná *v.* To grab; *Coger.* u'uná paiká takári ko'kómia Grab tree tortillas to eat *Agarra tres tortillas para comer.*
- uupí *n.* Wife; *Esposa.* waní uupíra sewináči ohóe John's wife lives in other town *La esposa de Juan vive en otra parte.*
- uurú *n.* Donkey; *Burro.* no'ó teečí tararé uurú suunú mokemia aháči kuú aháma My uncle bought a donkey to bring corn and fire wood *Mi tío compró un burro para acarrear maíz y lena.*
- u'urá *n.* Skunk; *Zorrillo.* ikanáti upása u'urá huyamú Take a shower soon, you smell like a skunk *Ya banate rapido hueles a zorrillo.*
- u'urápani *v.* To warn; *Avisar.* čuhčúri u'urápani akičí suwéračituka e'enaméra tihoé The dog is warning that some people is coming up by the bank of the river (the dog shows the direction with the tail laying with the snout up) *El perro está*

avisando que va a subir gente por la orilla del río (el perro señala la dirección con la cola acostándose boca arriba).

uyáni v. To sprout; *Brotar.* uyáre muuní no'ó ečariá naó tawéči

The beans I sowed four days ago already sprouted *Ya brotó el frijol que sembré hace cuatro días.*

W - w

- waačó n. Soldier; *Soldado.* amurí e'enaméra waačó weré ačarétu piipá i'wá wapí Soldiers are going to come soon because (someone) sowed a lot of marihuana near here *Pronto van a venir los soldados porque sembraron mucha mariguana cerca de aquí.*
- waakeró n. Cowboy; *Vaquero.* pií waakéro no'ó tarikénari no'ó poní nu'útiko A cowboy wanted to buy my brother when he was a child *Un vaquero quizo comprar a mi hermano cuando estaba chico.*
- waasíra n. handle of the frying pan; *mango del sartén.* saarténi kiwasié The frying pan does not have a handle anymore *el sartén no tiene mango.*
- wa'atosí n. Willow; *sauce.* teitú watetú akičtetú weeká ahawí wa'atosí There are a lot of willows on the way to the river *Rumbo al río hacia abajo hay muchos sauces.*
- wačamó n. Batamote (type of plant); *Batamote.* wačamó i'yói kawéruma witaísiri ičió The batamote is a good remedy for (curing) diarrhea *El batamote es buen remedio para la diarrea.*
- wačikári n. Rib; *Costilla.* tapaná wičipárune kahpórene wačikáira Yesterday I fell and I broke a rib *Ayer me caí y me quebré una costilla.*
- wahčina v. To be straight; *Estar derecho.* wahčínane ko'koriápa o'pá I am stretching (getting straight) because my back hurts *Me estoy estirando porque me duele la espalda.*
- wahkókora n. Tapacaminos (kind of bird); *Tapacaminos (pájaro de noche).* natehpárune wahkókora poé simiaí I ran into a tapacaminos all the way down here *Me encontré un tapacaminos por todo el camino.*
- wahsí n. Tail; *Cola, rabo.* tekerúne miisí wahsirá I stepped on the cat's tail *Le pise la cola al gato.*
- wahói n. Mosquito; *Zancudo.* e'etíoi muáe wahói There are a lot of mosquitos this time of the year *En este tiempo hay muchos zancudos.*
- wahóna v. To whip; *Batir.* wahónasa tuusí Whip the pinole *Bate el pinol.*
- wahónani v. To open; *Abrir.* wahonarúne pií kohtári itihpiáme suunú I opened the last corn stack *Abri el último costal de maíz.*
- wakasí n. Cow; *Vaca.* wa'á ihtóna wakasí Here comes the cow *ahí viene la vaca.*
- wakasí yaníra n. lengua de buey (kind of plant); *Lengua de Buey (planta).* no'ó no'nó wasawárači weré werí wakasí yaníra In my father's land, there grows a lot of lengua de buey *En las tierras de mi papá hay mucha lengua de buey.*
- wakihpáni v. To get dry; *Secarse.* wakihpáre wakirápa katiá utewáe ta'á The clothes are dry already because the sun is shining bright *La ropa ya se secó porque el sol está muy fuerte.*
- wakihtiáme n. Thin; *Delgado, flaco.* puú čuhčúri wakihtiáme katia nekahtúna That thin dog is very furious *Ese perro flaco es muy bravo.*

- wakiná *v.* To be dry; *Estar seco*. puú wakirá wakiná wakirátasa This shirt is dry, put it on *Esa camisa está seca, pòntela*.
- wakirá *n.* Shirt; *Camisa*. no'ó piipi wakirá si'páre The only shirt I have is already torn *Mi única camisa ya se rompió*.
- wakiténa *v.* To dry; *Secar*. eeká ta'á aháma wakihpátère suunú The wind and the sun dried the corn *El viento y el sol ya secaron el maíz*.
- wa'káni *v.* To be chipped off; *Estar mochado*. sikóri ohčóname wa'káni The black pot is chipped off *La olla negra está de mochada*.
- wasí *n.* Mother in law; *Suegra*. no'ó wasíru kechó mukuyái kawéruma iniriái My mother in law was a good person (before she passed away) *Mi suegra era muy buena antes de morirse*.
- wataní *num.* Nine; *Nueve*. kuitá paamúpare wataní The boy turned nine years old *El niño cumplió nueve años*.
- waurí *n.* Chalate (type of plant); *Chalate*. waurí kátia tá'yame The chalates taste good *Los chalates saben muy buenos*.
- wayáwasi *n.* Guava; *Guayaba*. ehpeó iwapáni wayáwasi It is guava season *Hoy es temporada de guayabas*.
- wa'ápi *cuant.* Only, in the same place; *Solamente, en el mismo lugar*. ooká takarí wa'ápi maní There are only two tortillas *Solamente hay dos tortillas*.
- wa'átia *adv.* So, that way, like that; *Así*. wa'átia no'ó yehčí wa'átia tuyére ahpó taná So did my uncle said to his son *Así le dijo mi tía a su hijo*.
- weeká *adv.* A lot; *Mucho*. weeká wikiriaene toomí I owe a lot of money *Debo mucho dinero*.
- weeméra *adj.* New; *Nuevo*. inuwáene kawái weeméra mahayáme I have a new horse that is wild *Tengo un caballo nuevo que es salvaje*.
- weeséro *n.* Calf; *Becerro*. ehpe nawéru weeséro tohsáname A white calf was born today *Hoy nació un becerro blanco*.
- weetčá *n.* Thorn; *Espina*. ihí oriwécha paikápi weetčá This siville has only a few thorns *Esta choya tiene pocas espinas*.
- wehčóri *n.* Mud; *Barro*. ihí wehčóri kawéruma sikóri meteniáme This mud is very good to make pots *Este barro está muy bueno para hacer ollas*.
- weikó, eikó, e'ekó *adv.* Then; *Entonces*. weikó asirú no'ó no'nó ...then my father arrived *...entonces llegó mi papá*.
- wekahténa *v.* To lose; *Perder (objetos)*. wewekaterúne ooká muurá tenahári I lost two mules in the Tenahari *Perdí dos mulas en el Tenahari*.
- we'káni *v.* To get lost; *Perderse*. tapaná we'karúne poéči Yesterday I got lost in the way *Ayer me perdí en el camino*.
- wepáni *v.* To beat, to hit; *Golpear*. no'ó weparúne sekačí paá piarí I hit my arm this morning *Me golpeé en el brazo esta mañana*.
- we'pásuni *n.* Cocido (Kind of soup); *cocido*. we'pásuni kátia onačpu The cocido is very salty *El cocido está muy salado [Note: palabra compuesta de we'pá y sunu.]*
- we'rakí *n.* Palo colorado (type of plant); *Palo colorado (planta)*. we'rakí kawéruma iyóí i'káči kó'koame ičíó Palo colorado is a good remedy for heart diseases *El palo colorado es buen remedio para la enfermedad del corazón*.
- werekahtiáme *adj.* Wide; *Ancho*. werekahtiáme sipičá epehtáci The wide dress is on the petate *El vestido ancho está sobre el petate*.
- weripáni *v.* To stand up, to grow up; *Pararse, crecer*. weripárune ikanáti te'ékúrune I stood up very

- quickly and I got dizzy *Me paré muy rápido y me mareé.*
- werisína, mochisína *v.* To stand up; *Levantarse.* werisí / močisí Stand up! (Sg.) / Stand up! (Pl.) *Levántate! / levántense!*
- werumá *adj.* Big; *Grande.* amó puyémame werumá kuú weriáči kawí pu'kamína I am going to wait for you in the big three that is behind the hill *Te voy a esperar en el árbol grande que está detrás del cerro.*
- werupí *quant.* some; *Algo de.* no'ó komári kahtiáči simané werupí aarína itámia I am going to my comrade's (house) to ask her for some flour *Voy con mi comadre a pedirle un poco de harina.*
- werú *cuant.* A lot; *Mucho, mucha.* werú nahkíne nerói toománte ečtiáme ičo I need a lot of water for the tomatoes sowing *Necesito mucha agua para la siembra de los tomates.*
- werí *v.* To be standing; *Estar parado.* ihpíčira werí ehkínači The broom is (standing) in the corner *La escoba está en la esquina.*
- werí *v.* To be standing; *Estar parado (sg.).* kuitá werí kuútere The child is standing under the three *El niño está parado debajo de árbol.*
- we'rá *n.* Earrings; *Aretes.* no'ó yehčí no'ó towé we'rá peniátiamé My aunt left me a pair of beautiful earrings *Mi tía me dejó unos aretes muy bonitos.*
- weráni *v.* To stand something; *Poner parado.* weráruné ihpíčira ehkínači I put the broom (standing) in the corner *Puse la escoba en la esquina.*
- wetemáhina *n.* to bury; *Sepultar, enterrar.* wetemahirúne sewá huyáwira no'ó kiyária komáre I buried the flowers that my comrade gave me *Ya enterré los brotes de flores que me dio mi comadre.*
- wewé *n.* Bledo (type of plant); *Bledo (planta).* nahkímu wewé tuusi
- Do you fancy some bledo pinole (type of beverage)? *Quieres pinole de bledo?*
- we'é *n.* Soil; *Tierra.* puú we'é katiá pewá kiwehimé'raine This soil is too hard, I cannot dig it *Esa tierra está muy dura no puedo escarbar.*
- we'é moréwa *n.* Dust; *Polvo.* no'ó puičí wičiré we'é moréwa kinenemareine Some dust fell into my eyes, I cannot see *Me cayó polvo en los ojos y no puedo ver.*
- we'é nokáyame *n.* Marsh; *Pantano.* wa'apí karičí pói we'é nokáyame There is a marsh near my house *Cerca de la casa hay un pantano.*
- wičaránki *n.* Sling; *honda.* i'ká wičaránkíe meyárune marikí tučikí I killed five birds with this sling *Con esta honda maté cinco pájaros.*
- wičiná *v.* To fall; *Caer.* troké wičirú owárači kačíka mačipanáre The truck fell into a hole, and I cannot take it out of there *La troca cayó en el hoyo y no se pudo sacar.*
- wičotiáme *n.* Clean; *Limpio.* ihí wakirá wičotiáme wakiratamáne This shirt is clean, I am going to put it on *Esta camisa está limpia me la voy a poner.*
- wihtá *n.* Faeces; *Excremento.* kuitá wihtára siónani The child's faeces is green *El excremento del niño está verde.*
- wiiká *n.* Song; *Canción.* inamumerane wiiká I am going to listen to a song *Voy a oír una canción.*
- wi'iná *v.* To be fat; *Estar gordo.* rolando wi'iná wakitepamapu Rolando is fat, he has to lose some weight *Rolando está gordo, tiene que adelgazar.*
- wi'isúna *v.* To spill; *Derramar, chorrear.* natehkeparúne na'í čoamia yomá wiisúre neóra I forgot to turned the fire off, and the soup spilled *Se me olvidó*

apagar la lumbre y se derramo todo el caldo.

wiiyáme *n.* Fat; *Gordo.* tapaná eénáru pií tihóé wiiyáme inatukeka rolando A fat man came yesterday, he was asking for Rolando *Ayer vino un hombre gordo preguntando por Rolando.*

wikahtáni *v.* To sing; *Cantar.* maría wikahtáni pií wiiká nakeniáme María is singing a love song *María etsá cantando una canción de amor.*

wikatáme *n.* Singer; *Cantador.* pahkó iniméra kiasiná wikatáme pahí The party is going to start and the singers have not arrived yet *La fiesta ya va empezar y no han llegado los cantadores.*

wi'róna *v.* To be weak, to be bend; *Estar debil, Estar doblado, lacio.* wi'rónane kitekihpaname eraine I feel weak, I cannot go to work *Estoy debil, no puedo ir a trabajar.*

wisasóri *n.* Cloth, fabric; *trapo, tela.* ihí wisasóri papahkokuáme hu pehtóri I use this cloth to wash the dishes *Este trapo es para lavar los platos.*

wisikuéna *v.* To lie; *Mentir.* pedró wisikuéna kipičiwáhu yomá ahpó turia Pedro is lying, what he said is not true *Pedro está mintiendo no es cierto todo lo que dijo.*

witačóri *n.* Rotten corn; *Maíz podrido.* tapaná ko'ká temé witačóri kiinuweka koáme We ate rotten corn yesterday because we did not have any food *Ayer comimos maíz podrido porque no teníamos comida.*

witahkómori *n.* Mayate (kind of beetle that makes balls of excrement and drag them on its rear legs); *Mayate (el que hace bolitas de excremento y las arrastra con las patas de atras).* kuitá ko'yáre paiká witahkómori The child killed three mayates *El niño mató tres mayates.*

witaní *v.* To defecate; *Defecar.* kuitá kitaré kawiyáme The child defecated is watered down *El niño defecó muy aguado.*

wi'tsí *n.* Skin; *Piel.* no'ó wi'tsíči puyápani oóčóname no'ó sekači I have spots in my arm's skin *Me estan saliendo manchas en la piel de los brazos.*

witári *n.* Rope; *Mecate.* oyé totóri ikaé witárie Tie up the hens with this rope *Amarra las gallinas con este mecate.*

wiwinó *n.* Sage; *Salvia.* wiwinó kawéruma iyówi če'éri ičió Sage is a good remedy for (curing) fever *La salvia es buen remedio para la calentura.*

Y - y

ya'aweró *n.* Violinist; *Violinero.* pahkó kahuré kiená ya'aweró The party ended and the violinist did not arrive *La fiesta ya terminó y el violinero no llegó.*

yahčá *v.* To pour, to lay, to put; *Verter, hechar.* yahčá kuitá wančóči resipútai Put (sit) the child on the trunk, so he can rest *Sienta al niño en el tronco a descansar.*

yahká *n.* Nose; *Nariz.* rolandó werumá yahkái Rolando has a big nose *Rolando tiene la nariz*

grande.

yasaká *v.* To be seated; *Estar sentado.* yasaká simpatai tekihpanamia You are sitting there, you have to go to work *Están sentados, tienen que ir a trabajar.*

yaučí *n.* Chief, governor; *Jefe, gobernador.* no'ó tatái rinó yaučí iniré mesachí My uncle Lino was governor of Mesa Colorada *Mi tío Lino fue gobernador de la Mesa Colorada.*

yauná *v.* To dance; *Bailar.* yaunáne pií tonoé I am dancing on one

- foot *Estoy bailando con un pie.*
- yawéra *n.* Violin; *Violín.* yawe'eró kienáru kasíkopa yawéra The violinist did not come because his violin is broken *El violinista no vino porque se quebró el violín.*
- ya'wátíame *n.* Adult; *Adulta.* yayawátíame itihpína petečí Adult (people) stay home *Las adultas se quedan en la casa.*
- ya'yáni *v.* to be melted; *Estar derretido.* azúka yayáre kiapučunamete The sugar melted, it cannot be picked up *La azucar se derritió no se puede recoger.*
- ye'čí *n.* Aunt maternal (younger); *Tía materna menor, esposa de tío paterno menor, esposa de tío materno menor.* no'ó ye'čí ohoé čorijóa My maternal aunt lives in Chorijóa *Mi tía vive en Chorijóa.*
- yeení *n.* Tongue; *Lengua.* no'ó ki'kirúne yeeníra koayái I bit my tongue when I was chewing (chewgum) *Me mordí la lengua cuando estaba masticando.*
- yeepó *n.* Woods; *Llano.* kukučí simpáre te'émia yeepó The children went to play to the woods *Los niños se fueron a jugar al llano.*
- yeetépani *v.* To shut in, to lock in; *Encerrar.* hustína yetépare kukučí wa'á oiyópa oorí Agustina sut the children in because there is a lion in the woods *Agustina encerró a los niños porque anda un león en el monte.*
- yenaní *v.* To try; *Probar.* yeení muuní wasipáriae Try the beans to see if they are ready *Prueba los frijoles para ver si ya están listos.*
- yepotú, poiná *n.* Valley; *Valle.* tihóé tetekína yepotú Men are coming down the valley *Los hombres están bajando al valle.*
- yerowá *n.* Poison; *Veneno.* sayawí yerowá katia na'porite Rattlesnake's posion is very dangerous *El veneno de la cascabel es muy peligroso.*
- yesipáni *v.* To sit down; *Sentarse.* yesiparúne ikanáti te'ekúrune I sat down very quickly and I got dizzy *Me senté muy rápido y me mareé.*
- ye'yé *n.* Mother; *madre.* simikáne nenémia no'ó ye'yé močibampo I went to Mochibampo to see my mother *Fui a ver a mi mamá a Mochibampo.*
- yeyéra *n.* Weevil; *Gorgojo.* ihí muuní muúae yeyéra These beans have a lot of weevils *Estos frijoles tienen muchos gorgojos.*
- ye'íra *n.* Female; *Hembra.* yeyéira epehčé utewáe ki o'óira čitiá females are stronger than males *Las hembras son mas fuertes que los machos.*
- yo'aní *v.* To vomit; *Vomitir.* kuitá yoyóru yomá tukaó The child vomited all night long *El niño vomitó toda la noche.*
- yoiná *v.* To earn (money); *Ganar (dinero).* paikápi yoiná temé tomí kiasépani koáme We earned some money, but it is not enough for food *Ganamos poco dinero y no alcanza para la comida.*
- yomá *cuant.* All, everything, everyone; *Todo, todos.* yomá nahkí piréči takári Everyone wants another tortilla *Todos quieren otra tortilla.*
- yoorí *n.* Mestizo (of a mixed race); *mestizo.* yoorí katiámemu You look like a mestizo! *Pareces mestizo.!*
- yo'owí *adj.* Raw; *Crudo.* muuní yo'owí itihpíre pukaé peewá Beans are raw, that is why they are hard *Los frijoles quedaron crudos por eso están duros.*
- yoráni *v.* To be sharp; *Estar filoso.* pehtúri no'ó aháe meyá kowí yoráni The knife with which I kill pigs is sharp *El cuchillo con el que mato cochis está filoso.*
- yorátena *v.* To sharpen; *Afilar.* neé kawé yorátena petúri I am sharpening the knife *Yo estoy afilando bien el cuchillo.*

yo'wáni v. To make; *Hacer*. hustína yowáni koáme ahpó tetehima e'enamiópa Agustina is making food because her relatives are coming *Agustina está haciendo comida porque van a llegar sus parientes*.

yukuná v. To rain; *Llover*. yukuheráne teiwáme kawičite I would like it to be rainy on the way to the mountains *Quiero que llueva rumbo a la sierra*.

yu'kí n. Rain; *Lluvia*. yu'kí rarahótíame yukuná This rain is one of thick drops *La lluvia es de gotas gruesas*.

yuwésuna v. To be sad; *Estar triste*. čuhčúri petečí ohoéme yuwésuna ahpó upí mukukó The dog (that lives in our house) is sad because its male died *El perro de la casa está triste porque se murió su hembra*.

yóri n. Mestizo (of mixed race); *Mestizo*. tekihpanarúne kuitápi píi yorí kečeweka ename I worked for a while with a meztizo that came from Quetchehueca *Trabaje un tiempo con un yori que venia de Quechehueca*.

Reversed Index English-Warhió

A - a

A lot	<i>adv.</i> weeká; <i>cuant.</i> werú.	Animal	<i>n.</i> animári.
acorn	<i>n.</i> sewapóro.	Anis	<i>n.</i> anísi.
Adobe	<i>n.</i> aarówe.	Ant (red)	<i>n.</i> e'eré.
Adult	<i>n.</i> ya'wátiamé.	Anus	<i>n.</i> ko'osí.
Afternoon	<i>adv.</i> aarí.	Apple	<i>n.</i> maansána.
Again	<i>adv.</i> enčí.	arm, hand	<i>n.</i> seeká.
Against (him)	<i>adj.</i> apočí.	Armit	<i>n.</i> omatére; <i>n.</i> o'omatére.
Ago	<i>adv.</i> ki'yámi.	Arrow, bow	<i>n.</i> aatá, a'atá.
Air	<i>n.</i> eeká.	Ash	<i>n.</i> napesó.
Alive	<i>adj.</i> aháme.	Atole (a type of soup)	<i>n.</i> na'áiporosi.
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Aloe vera	<i>n.</i> pa'wéčawi.	Aunt maternal (younger)	<i>n.</i> ye'čí.
Alone	<i>adv.</i> pinéri.	Aunt paternal (younger)	<i>n.</i> papói.
Angry	<i>adj.</i> nekahtiáme.		

B - b

Baby boy	<i>n.</i> kohá temarí.	Birthday	<i>v.</i> paamúna.
Baby girl	<i>n.</i> kohá owitiáme.	Bitter	<i>adj.</i> čihpuáme.
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Back	<i>n.</i> o'pá.	Black	<i>adj.</i> ohčóname.
Back of the neck	<i>n.</i> kutamóri.	black ant	<i>n.</i> seekúí.
Bad, useless	<i>adj.</i> kikawéruma.	Blackberry	<i>n.</i> mooró, moorá.
Bad witchcraft	<i>n.</i> ihíkuri.	bladder	<i>n.</i> si'ári.
Badger	<i>n.</i> teehóni.	Blanket	<i>n.</i> keemá.
Balk	<i>n.</i> ma'aré.	Bledo (type of plant)	<i>n.</i> wewé.
Banana	<i>n.</i> raantánasi.	Blind	<i>n.</i> kimačiriáme.
Bank of the river	<i>n.</i> akičisuwérači.	Blood	<i>n.</i> eerá.
Barnyard	<i>n.</i> čikéro, čikéro.	Blue corn	<i>n.</i> ohčóri.
bat	<i>n.</i> so'péči.	Boiled sweetcorn	<i>n.</i> ipačípasutiame, ipačíposori.
Batamote (type of plant)	<i>n.</i> wačamó.	Bones	<i>n.</i> ho'wá.
Beans	<i>n.</i> muuní.	Book	<i>n.</i> ribiró.
Beans (from the woods)	<i>n.</i> kusímuni.	Bow	<i>n.</i> atahpóri.
Bear	<i>n.</i> oohí, o'ohí.	Bowl (small)	<i>n.</i> kapósori, ka'pósori.
Beard	<i>n.</i> ečahpóa.	Box	<i>n.</i> kakáhsti.
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Bird	<i>n.</i> čikakári, čikahkári; <i>n.</i> tučíkí.		
Bird (yellow breast)	<i>n.</i> ča'pí.		

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Bunch	<i>n.</i> piyetésia.		
Burner	<i>n.</i> ooróna.		

C - c

Calf	<i>n.</i> weeséro.	Cocido (Kind of soup)	<i>n.</i> we'pásuni.
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Carp	<i>n.</i> čawarí.	Comb	<i>n.</i> itičíra, itihčíra.
Cat	<i>n.</i> miisí.	Coralillo (a type of snake)	<i>n.</i> nakahpúra.
Cave	<i>n.</i> teesó.	corn	<i>n.</i> suunú.
Cemetery	<i>n.</i> kaposáto.	Corn hair	<i>n.</i> sunuečapóa.
Centipede (type of centipede, golden, that bites and is larger than techuni, other type of centipede)	<i>n.</i> mayaká.	Corn tortilla	<i>n.</i> čahpóri.
Chalate (type of plant)	<i>n.</i> waurí.	Corn cob	<i>n.</i> o'ná.
Cheese	<i>n.</i> kehsó.	Cornfield	<i>n.</i> maapí.
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Chief, governor	<i>n.</i> yaučí.	cough	<i>n.</i> tasiréwa.
Child	<i>n.</i> kuitá.	Cow	<i>n.</i> wakasí.
Children ready to baptize	<i>n.</i> patóniame.	Cowboy	<i>n.</i> waakeró.
Chili pepper	<i>n.</i> ko'kóri, kokorí.	Coyote	<i>n.</i> ho'wí; <i>n.</i> o'wí.
Chunurí tree	<i>n.</i> čunurí.	Crab	<i>n.</i> ačakári.
city	<i>n.</i> siuráči.	Crabs	<i>n.</i> e'múri.
Clean	<i>n.</i> wičotíame.	Cradle	<i>n.</i> maaká.
Clift	<i>n.</i> kawihámpa.	Crest	<i>n.</i> čankárira.
Cloth, fabric	<i>n.</i> wisasóri.	Cross	<i>n.</i> kurusí.
Coal	<i>n.</i> nohpí.	Cross-road	<i>n.</i> póe natepáči.
		Curve	<i>n.</i> ku'riáči.
		Curved	<i>adj.</i> nohkórame.

D - d

Dandruff	<i>n.</i> mo'otókoči.		<i>adj.</i> ihčoréwa; <i>n.</i> ihčórewaeme.
Danger	<i>n.</i> na'poritiáme.	Divide, mountain pass	<i>n.</i> nahpúči.
daughter	<i>n.</i> maará.	Dog	<i>n.</i> čuhčúri.
Daughter in law	<i>n.</i> mo'óri.	Donkey	<i>n.</i> uurú.
Day	<i>adv.</i> tawé.	Dove (big, gray with white neck)	<i>n.</i> kooró.
Deer	<i>n.</i> mahói.	dress, skirt	<i>n.</i> sipičá.
Devil	<i>n.</i> reemónio.	drum	<i>n.</i> taambóra.
Devil, uncle	<i>n.</i> kumú.	Duck	<i>n.</i> paató.
Dew	<i>n.</i> pa'wičúri.	Duck (black)	<i>n.</i> kaaní.
Difficult	<i>adv.</i> erína.		
Dirty	<i>adj.</i> čiputiáme;		

Dust *n.* we'é moréwa.

E - e

each, every	<i>cuant.</i> senepí.	Elbow	<i>n.</i> čitoká.
Ear	<i>n.</i> nakačí.	elder aunt,	<i>n.</i> so'oró.
Ear (of some plant)	<i>n.</i> murára.	enemy	<i>n.</i> seepúra.
Earrings	<i>n.</i> we'rá.	Evening star	<i>n.</i> arisópori.
Early morning	<i>adv.</i> piarí.	Eye	<i>n.</i> puusí.
earthworm	<i>n.</i> se'nowí.	eyebrow	<i>n.</i> sewekómori.
Egg	<i>n.</i> ka'wá, ka'awá.	eyelash	<i>n.</i> sewerá.
Eight	<i>num.</i> osanáro.		
Eighty	<i>num.</i> osanáro osá marikí.		

F - f

Face, cheek, jaw	<i>n.</i> paanáta.	Fifteen	<i>num.</i> osá marikí ampá marikí.
Faeces	<i>n.</i> wihtá.	finger, nail	<i>n.</i> suhtú.
Far away	<i>adv.</i> mehká.	Fire	<i>n.</i> na'í.
Fast	<i>adv.</i> ikanáti; <i>adv.</i> iwatiáme.	Fireworks	<i>n.</i> kuwéte.
Fat	<i>n.</i> wiiyáme.	First	<i>adv.</i> pahčá.
fat, grease	<i>n.</i> soowí; <i>n.</i> so'wí.	fish	<i>n.</i> so'čí.
Father in law	<i>n.</i> si'yá.	Five	<i>num.</i> marikí.
Father (of a man)	<i>n.</i> no'nó.	Flour	<i>n.</i> tuusí.
Father (of a woman)	<i>n.</i> taatá.	flower	<i>n.</i> seewá.
Feast	<i>n.</i> pahkó.	fly	<i>n.</i> so'óri.
Feast dancer	<i>n.</i> pahkóra.	Foam	<i>n.</i> toonéwa.
Feast host (person that organize the feast)	<i>n.</i> pahkótame.	Food	<i>n.</i> ko'áme.
Feather, wing	<i>n.</i> ma'sá.	Foot	<i>n.</i> toonó.
Female	<i>n.</i> ye'íra.	Foothill	<i>n.</i> kahéna.
Fence	<i>n.</i> ko'oré.	Footprint	<i>n.</i> ta'ára.
Fever	<i>n.</i> če'éri.	Forehead	<i>n.</i> koatá.
Fiance	<i>n.</i> noowió.	Forty	<i>num.</i> ooká weréwa.
Fiancee	<i>n.</i> noiáwa, noowía.	Four	<i>num.</i> naó.
		Friday	<i>adv.</i> bienéči.
		Frog	<i>n.</i> teemó.

G - g

Garbage	<i>n.</i> kasará.	Godfather	<i>n.</i> niinó.
Garlic	<i>n.</i> asusú.	Godmother	<i>n.</i> niiná.
Gift	<i>n.</i> ihkoketiáme.	Good	<i>adj.</i> kawéruma.
Girdle	<i>n.</i> purirá.	Good, well	<i>adv.</i> kawé.
Glow-worm	<i>n.</i> kopéi; <i>n.</i> kupisái; <i>n.</i> rusakái.	Gourd	<i>n.</i> ha'arí.
Glue	<i>n.</i> načupáme.	Gourd plant	<i>n.</i> kuyawí.
God	<i>n.</i> riosí.	Grandfather (maternal)	<i>n.</i> pa'apá.
Godchild	<i>n.</i> paatótana.	Grandfather (paternal)	<i>n.</i> o'očikí; <i>n.</i> o'óčiki.
		Grandmother	<i>n.</i> ka'aká.

Grandmother (maternal)	<i>n.</i> su'sú.	Guamuchil (a type of plant)	<i>n.</i> makučúni, ma'kučúni.
Grandson, granddaughter	<i>n.</i> o'očikírira.	Guasima tree	<i>n.</i> ahiyá.
Grass	<i>n.</i> pa'á, paá.	Guava	<i>n.</i> wayáwasi.
Grasshopper	<i>n.</i> ohčí.	Guitar	<i>n.</i> kiintára.
Gray hair	<i>n.</i> motosá.	Guitar player	<i>n.</i> kiintaéro.
Green	<i>adj.</i> si'óname.	Gun	<i>n.</i> pihtóra.
Green bean	<i>n.</i> tomorí.		
Green stick (a type of oak)	<i>n.</i> kuú si'óname.		

H - h

Hail	<i>n.</i> tehé.	Him, her, his, her, himself, herself	<i>pron.</i> ahpó.
Hair	<i>n.</i> kuupá.	Hips, leg	<i>n.</i> kahsí.
Half	<i>quant.</i> nasípasi.	Hole	<i>n.</i> o'owárame.
Handle, ear	<i>n.</i> nahká.	Honey comb	<i>n.</i> momohá.
handle of the frying pan	<i>n.</i> waasíra.	Hook	<i>n.</i> paaká, pa'aká; <i>n.</i> po'ačúra.
Happy	<i>n.</i> kawérame.	Horn	<i>n.</i> aawá.
Hard	<i>adj.</i> pewatiáme; <i>adj.</i> pewá.	Horse	<i>n.</i> kawái.
Hare	<i>n.</i> pa'rowísi.	hot	<i>n.</i> tahtáme.
Harp	<i>n.</i> a'arápa, a'rápa.	Hot coal	<i>n.</i> isáwi.
Hat	<i>n.</i> mo'okóri.	House	<i>n.</i> karí.
Hawk	<i>n.</i> kurusá.	Huacal (a tramp for fishing)	<i>n.</i> manirá.
He, She	<i>pron.</i> apoé.	hummingbird	<i>n.</i> se'múči.
Head	<i>n.</i> mo'ó.	Hunchbacked	<i>adj.</i> komóra; <i>n.</i> koomórame.
Heart, spirit, soul	<i>n.</i> i'iká.	Husband	<i>n.</i> kuuná.
Heavy	<i>adj.</i> pehtiáme.	Husband of paternal younger sister	<i>n.</i> piisí.
Heel	<i>n.</i> terokí.		
Hen	<i>n.</i> totóri; <i>n.</i> to'tóri.		
Hill	<i>n.</i> čahpáči.		

I - i

I	<i>pron.</i> neé.	intestine	<i>n.</i> siiwá.
Ice	<i>n.</i> tehtúri.	Island	<i>n.</i> ihláči.
Iguana	<i>n.</i> kihčí.		
In other place	<i>adv.</i> pienáči.		

J - j

Jacal (house made of a kind of grass)	<i>n.</i> paakári.	Jicama, sweet potato	<i>n.</i> ka'móri.
Jail	<i>n.</i> karičí.	Juniper	<i>n.</i> aóri.
Jaw	<i>n.</i> čaaró.		

K - k

Kidney	<i>n.</i> čikihpúni.
Knee	<i>n.</i> čopohkóri.
Knot	<i>n.</i> o'yérachi.

L - l

Ladder	<i>n.</i> i'móra.	lengua de buey (kind of plant)	<i>n.</i>
Lamb	<i>n.</i> po'wá.	wakasí yaníra.	
Lamp	<i>n.</i> raampará.	Lid	<i>n.</i> potačéra.
Landlord	<i>n.</i> teekó.	lighting, cloud	<i>n.</i> toomári.
Large corn	<i>n.</i> o'náeme.	Lightweighted	<i>adj.</i> kipehtiáme.
Late afternoon	<i>adv.</i> aaritúri.	Lime	<i>n.</i> riimá.
Lazy	<i>adj.</i> naasíname.	Lion	<i>n.</i> oorí, o'orí.
Leather strap	<i>n.</i> kakahóya.	Lips	<i>n.</i> ču'wára.
leave	<i>n.</i> sawá.	Liter (bottle of mezcal)	<i>n.</i> riitóro.
Leaves of nopal	<i>n.</i> naapó nahkára.	Little bell	<i>n.</i> isawíra.
Lechugilla (kind of agave)	<i>n.</i> saparí.	Little cat	<i>n.</i> misi'tanára, misi'nu'úti.
Leech	<i>n.</i> nekúri.	Lobina (a type of fish)	<i>n.</i> roowína.
Left	<i>adv.</i> howená.	Lobster	<i>n.</i> kaukí.
Leg, tibia	<i>n.</i> čapahká.	Lose	<i>n.</i> ehté.
Lemon	<i>n.</i> riimóni.		

M - m

Machete	<i>n.</i> maačéta; <i>n.</i> mačéta.	Mirror	<i>n.</i> ehpého.
Majority	<i>quant.</i> kiyá yomá.	Mist, mog	<i>n.</i> pa'wí.
Male	<i>n.</i> owíra.	Mojarra (a type of fish)	<i>n.</i> čačahkí.
Man, person	<i>n.</i> tihoé.	Molar	<i>n.</i> tá'ame.
Mango	<i>n.</i> maangó.	Monday	<i>adv.</i> ruunéči.
Marsh	<i>n.</i> we'é nokáyame.	Money	<i>n.</i> tomí.
Mask	<i>n.</i> maaskará.	Moon	<i>n.</i> meečá.
Masse	<i>n.</i> patúsi.	Mooring rope	<i>n.</i> purirára.
Mattock	<i>n.</i> asaróni.	Morning star	<i>n.</i> saisépori; <i>n.</i> seisépori.
Mayate (kind of beetle that makes balls of excrement and drag them on its rear legs)	<i>n.</i> witahkómori.	Mosquito	<i>n.</i> wahóí.
Mayo (name of other close indigenous group)	<i>n.</i> maayó.	Moss	<i>n.</i> nanaráki.
Meat	<i>n.</i> sa'pá.	Mother	<i>n.</i> ye'yé.
Mescal (plant and drink)	<i>n.</i> maahí.	Mother in law	<i>n.</i> wasí.
Mestizo (of a mixed race)	<i>n.</i> yoorí.	Mountain, hill	<i>n.</i> kawí.
Mestizo (of mixed race)	<i>n.</i> yóri.	Mouse	<i>n.</i> či'kúri, čikúri.
Metate (flat stone for grinding)	<i>n.</i> mahtá.	Mouth	<i>n.</i> ču'wá.
Mezcal (a type of wine)	<i>n.</i> paatári.	Mucus	<i>n.</i> čo'má.
Mezquite (type of tree)	<i>n.</i> upará.	Mud	<i>n.</i> wehčóri.
Milk	<i>n.</i> reečú.	Mule	<i>n.</i> muurá.
		Musician	<i>n.</i> muusikó.
		My, me, to me, myself	<i>prn.</i> no'ó.

N - n

Nanny goat	<i>n.</i> čiwá.	Nine	<i>num.</i> wataní.
navel	<i>n.</i> siikú.	Nit	<i>n.</i> ehté ka'wára.
Necklace, rosary	<i>n.</i> korohká.	Nixtamal	<i>n.</i> naipásuni.
Needle	<i>n.</i> i'íkia.	No, without	<i>adv.</i> ki.
Nephew	<i>n.</i> ma'í.	Nopal	<i>n.</i> naapó.
Nest	<i>n.</i> ta'só.	Nose	<i>n.</i> yahká.
New	<i>adj.</i> weeméra.	Now	<i>adv.</i> ehpé.
Next time	<i>adv.</i> senékači.		
Night	<i>adv.</i> tukaó.		

O - o

Oilcloth	<i>n.</i> nairó.	Only, in the same place	<i>cuant.</i> wa'ápi.
Old man	<i>n.</i> o'čétiame; <i>n.</i> oočétiame.	Orange fruit	<i>n.</i> naaráso.
Once in a while, every now and then	<i>adv.</i> sesenéko.	Oriwecha (Kind of cactus)	<i>n.</i> oriwécha.
Once, one time	<i>adv.</i> senépi.	Orphan	<i>n.</i> kino'nóeme; <i>n.</i> kiyeyéeme.
Onion	<i>n.</i> seóra.	Other	<i>cuant.</i> piréči.
One	<i>cuant.</i> pií; <i>num.</i> piípi.	Otter	<i>n.</i> pa'húri.
One hundred	<i>num.</i> pií siendó.		
One of the two	<i>quant.</i> na'pá pirípi.		

P - p

Paakanawa (kind of herb)	<i>n.</i> paakánawa.	Pig	<i>n.</i> kowí.
Palm	<i>n.</i> tahkú.	Pimple	<i>n.</i> kisiká.
Palm case	<i>n.</i> mokewári.	Pinacate tree	<i>n.</i> čupahúmi.
Palm (of the hand)	<i>n.</i> flewmaatára.	Pine	<i>n.</i> ohkó.
Palo colorado (type of plant)	<i>n.</i> we'rakí.	Pinole (kind of flour used to prepare a beverage with the same name)	<i>n.</i> tuusí.
Palo santo (type of tree)	<i>n.</i> točió.	Pitahaya fruit	<i>n.</i> newéri.
Pan, frying pan	<i>n.</i> sakirá.	Pitchfork	<i>n.</i> ahčárame.
Papache (kind of fruit)	<i>n.</i> osohkóra.	Plane	<i>n.</i> ma'asáeme.
Pasture	<i>n.</i> toiwé.	Plate	<i>n.</i> kaahéte; <i>n.</i> pehtóri.
Peach	<i>n.</i> tuurási.	Plow	<i>n.</i> a'áro.
Pear	<i>n.</i> peerá.	Pocketknife	<i>n.</i> nawáso, na'wáso.
Peel, bark	<i>n.</i> a'apé, aapé.	Poison	<i>n.</i> yerowá.
Penis	<i>n.</i> piisá.	Pomegranate	<i>n.</i> raanára.
People	<i>n.</i> tehtémari.	Poor	<i>adj.</i> pooré.
Pepper (a kind of)	<i>n.</i> parekókori.	Poorly, with sadness	<i>adv.</i> tesiwá.
Person I know	<i>n.</i> mačiyá.	Porcupine	<i>n.</i> kusikowí.
Peso (mexican current)	<i>n.</i> peesó.	Possum	<i>n.</i> tekači.
Pestle	<i>n.</i> matasúra.	Post	<i>n.</i> pohté.
Petate	<i>n.</i> takuepehtá.	pot, jar	<i>n.</i> sikóri.
Peyote (hallucinogenic drug)	<i>n.</i> peyóri.		

Potato	<i>n.</i> pahpá.	Priest	<i>n.</i> paaré.
Potato (wild)	<i>n.</i> čičió.	Pumpkin	<i>n.</i> aaráwe.
Potsherd	<i>n.</i> saikásuri.	Pupil	<i>n.</i> tahéra.
Pozole (a type of plate)	<i>n.</i> posóri.	Puppy	<i>n.</i> kiičí.
Prayer	<i>n.</i> ni'wáme; <i>n.</i> ni'óniame.	Pus	<i>n.</i> pe'sóni.
Pretty	<i>adj.</i> peeniátame.		
Prickly pear	<i>n.</i> naapó takára.		

 Q - q

Quack	<i>n.</i> i'yóame; <i>n.</i> merikó.
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 R - r

Rabbit	<i>n.</i> towí.	Ring	<i>n.</i> aanío, anío.
Rain	<i>n.</i> yu'kí.	River	<i>n.</i> aakí.
Rainbow	<i>n.</i> keenorá.	Road	<i>n.</i> poé.
Ranch	<i>n.</i> raanchó.	Roadrunner	<i>n.</i> pu'í.
rattlesnake	<i>n.</i> sayawé.	Roast sweetcorn	<i>n.</i> ikusúri.
Raven	<i>n.</i> karáči.	rock	<i>n.</i> tehté.
Raven (female)	<i>n.</i> ča'ká.	Roof	<i>n.</i> karihámpa.
Raven (male)	<i>n.</i> čanawíro.	Root	<i>n.</i> nawá.
Raw	<i>adj.</i> yo'owí.	Rope	<i>n.</i> witári.
red	<i>n.</i> sehtáname.	Rope made out of ixtle	<i>n.</i> tasukiwitári.
Relatives	<i>n.</i> tetehíma.	Rotten	<i>adj.</i> pikahkáme.
Remedy	<i>n.</i> i'yói, i'yówi.	Rotten corn	<i>n.</i> witačóri.
Rib	<i>n.</i> wačikári.	Round	<i>adj.</i> čihtúrame.
Rice	<i>n.</i> aaróso.	Rubbish dump	<i>n.</i> kasaráči.
Right	<i>adv.</i> hamomína.		
Right now	<i>adv.</i> ehépa.		

 S - s

Sack	<i>n.</i> kohtári; <i>n.</i> moári.	Seed	<i>n.</i> pahčí.
Sadness	<i>adj.</i> pyuwésuri.	Seventy	<i>num.</i> owísani osá marikí.
Sage	<i>n.</i> wiwinó.	Shadow	<i>n.</i> ekahtá.
Salt	<i>n.</i> ooná.	Sharp	<i>adj.</i> chuhpaéme.
Salty	<i>adj.</i> onáeme.	Sharp end	<i>n.</i> čuhpá.
sand	<i>n.</i> seeté.	Sheet	<i>n.</i> sawaná.
Sandals	<i>n.</i> kaaká.	Sheet, letter	<i>n.</i> iyosí.
Sap	<i>n.</i> čo'wí.	Shirt	<i>n.</i> wakirá.
Saturday	<i>adv.</i> sawaráči.	Shoes	<i>n.</i> saapáto.
Scarf	<i>n.</i> mokorá.	Short, small, round, rounded	<i>n.</i> kahpórame.
Scissors	<i>n.</i> čaatúra.	Shoulder	<i>n.</i> matohká.
Scorpion	<i>n.</i> mačirí.	Shovel	<i>n.</i> paará.
Sea	<i>n.</i> pa'wé.	Shrimp	<i>n.</i> kohčí.
Seashell	<i>n.</i> narakái.	Siete	<i>num.</i> owísani.
Second	<i>ord.</i> neipá.	Singer	<i>n.</i> wikatáme.

Sister (elder) <i>n.</i> ko'čí.	Soup <i>n.</i> neóra.
Sister in law, brother in law <i>n.</i> muchimáira.	Sour <i>adj.</i> čo'koáme.
Sister (younger) <i>n.</i> pi'íní.	Sowing, plant <i>n.</i> ečitiáme.
Six <i>num.</i> pusáni.	Spicy <i>adj.</i> ko'koáme.
Sixty <i>num.</i> paiká weréwa.	Spider <i>n.</i> tu'urúsi.
Skin <i>n.</i> wi'tsí.	Spit <i>n.</i> a'aká; <i>n.</i> a'ká.
Skunk <i>n.</i> u'urá.	Spring <i>adv.</i> kuwésari, kuwé; <i>n.</i> paičí.
Sky <i>n.</i> teweká.	Squah (kind of) <i>n.</i> kaamá.
Sleeping mat <i>n.</i> epehtá.	Squash <i>n.</i> kooráči, koráči.
Sling <i>n.</i> wičaránki.	Squirrel <i>n.</i> teekurí; <i>n.</i> tekúri.
Slow <i>adj.</i> muináti.	star <i>n.</i> so'póri.
Small lake <i>n.</i> raagúna.	Steam <i>n.</i> e'óna.
Small, little <i>adj.</i> nu'úti.	Stick <i>n.</i> irówa.
Small lizard <i>n.</i> o'očá.	stick, wood, tree <i>n.</i> kuú.
Smoke, fumes <i>n.</i> moréwa.	Still <i>adv.</i> iwéta.
Smooth <i>n.</i> rihtátíame.	Still, yet <i>adv.</i> pehí.
Snake (a kind of) <i>n.</i> paisóri.	Stomach <i>n.</i> tohpá; <i>n.</i> topawári.
Snake (a type of) <i>n.</i> kuhuwá.	Stone for wasinhg (in the river) <i>n.</i> tehté wichoniáči.
snake (type of) <i>n.</i> sinói.	Store <i>n.</i> tiendá.
Snare to fish (frog, cricket, flour) <i>n.</i> tečuní.	Straight <i>adj.</i> riisáme.
Snow <i>n.</i> keepá; <i>n.</i> tehémuri.	Stranger <i>n.</i> poesimiáme.
So, that way, like that <i>adv.</i> wa'átia.	Stream <i>n.</i> kohsó.
Soap <i>n.</i> aóni.	Strong <i>n.</i> utewaéme.
Socks <i>n.</i> kasetíni; <i>n.</i> me'ería, meería.	Sugar <i>n.</i> aasúka.
Soft <i>adj.</i> rahtátíame.	Sugar cane <i>n.</i> tasáwi.
Soil <i>n.</i> we'é.	Summer <i>adv.</i> paamúni.
Soldier <i>n.</i> waačó.	Sun <i>n.</i> ta'á.
Some <i>quant.</i> paikápi.	Sunday <i>adv.</i> toomíkoči.
some <i>quant.</i> werupí.	Swallow <i>n.</i> ta'kékeri.
Son <i>n.</i> taná.	Sweet <i>adj.</i> kahkáme.
Son in law <i>n.</i> mo'oné.	Sweetcorn <i>n.</i> i'pahčí, ipahčí.
Song <i>n.</i> wiiká.	
Soon <i>adv.</i> ku'wé.	
Sore <i>n.</i> ehčá, esčá.	
Sotole <i>n.</i> seré.	

T - t

Tabachin (type of plant) <i>n.</i> takahpáči.	Tasty <i>adj.</i> tayá; <i>n.</i> ta'ayáme.
Table <i>n.</i> meesá.	Teacher <i>n.</i> penitiáme.
Tail <i>n.</i> wahsí.	Tears <i>n.</i> o'kéwa.
Tajiguari (type of plant that burns) <i>n.</i> tahiwára.	Teeth <i>n.</i> taamé.
Tamal <i>n.</i> taamári.	Tempisque (type of plant) <i>n.</i> kahé.
Tank, puddle <i>n.</i> tamkí.	Ten <i>num.</i> osá marikí.
Tapacaminos (kind of bird) <i>n.</i> wahkókora.	Tescalama (a type of plant) <i>n.</i> ohtóri.
Tarantula <i>n.</i> paré.	Testicles <i>n.</i> ka'ócha.
	Thanks <i>interj.</i> čeriwéma.
	That, those <i>dem.</i> puú.

- Then *adv.* weikó, eikó, e'ekó.
 They *pron.* aapóe.
 Thick *n.* tunakáme.
 Thief *n.* ičikuáme.
 Thin *n.* wakihtiáme.
 Thing *n.* ita'píti.
 Thirty three *num.* paiká osá marikí
 ampá paiká.
 This, these *dem.* ihí.
 Thorn *n.* weesčá.
 Thread *n.* ikurí.
 Three *num.* paiká.
 Three times *num.* paisá.
 Throat *n.* kuhtá.
 thursday *adv.* suewéči.
 To adhere, to stick *v.* načupáni.
 To allow, to let *v.* toaní.
 To answer *v.* nehyáni.
 To argue *v.* nenekáni.
 To ask *v.* i'natukéna.
 To bathe *v.* upáni.
 To be able to see *v.* ma'čiténa.
 To be acid *v.* čo'kóni.
 To be broken *v.* kahpóna.
 To be broken (a plate) *v.* kasína.
 To be chipped off *v.* wa'káni.
 To be cold *v.* tu'rámuná.
 To be cold (weather) *v.* turáni;
v. tu'ráwa.
 To be cracked (firewood) *v.* ta'páni.
 To be dry *v.* wakiná.
 To be fat *v.* wi'iná.
 To be forced (to do something) *adj.*
 utewáči.
 To be full *v.* počiná.
 To be hang *v.* čuhkú.
 To be hang, to be in four legs *v.*
 čučuwí.
 To be heavy *v.* pehténa.
 To be hot *v.* tahtaténa;
v. tataréna.
 to be hot (weather) *v.* tahtá.
 To be humid *v.* heminá.
 To be hunched with the head bowed
v. ko'omórani.
 To be lying down (pl.) *v.* pe'tí.
 To be lying down (sg) *v.* po'í.
 to be melted *v.* ya'yáni.
 To be named *v.* tewáni.
 To be off (of fire) *v.* čo'iná.
 To be old *v.* očetúna.
 To be ripe *v.* iwaní.
 To be rotten *v.* pikaní.
 To be sad *v.* yuwésuna.
 To be satisfied *v.* posaní.
 to be scratched *v.* su'rina.
 To be seated *v.* yasaká.
 To be seated (pl.) *v.* močiwí.
 To be seated (sg.) *v.* kahtí, yasaká.
 To be sharp *v.* yoráni.
 To be spicy *v.* ko'kóni.
 To be spilled over, to be scattered *v.*
 či'rina.
 To be spread *v.* ta'ráni.
 To be squash *v.* mesuná.
 To be standing *v.* werí;
v. werí.
 To be standing (pl.) *v.* ahawí.
 To be sticky *v.* na'čuná.
 To be straight *v.* wahčína.
 To be swollen *v.* ahpóna.
 To be tasty *v.* ta'íwa.
 To be thick *v.* kuruná;
v. tu'nani.
 To be torn *v.* či'wáni.
 to be torn (fabrics) *v.* si'páni.
 To be twisted *v.* pi'rina.
 To be visible *v.* ma'číwa.
 To be weak, to be bend *v.* wi'rona.
 To be wet *v.* saminá.
 To be white *v.* tohsánani.
 to be wrinkled *v.* si'rúna.
 To beat, to hit *v.* wepáni.
 To bend down *v.* ko'omorasípani.
 To bend, to fold *v.* tu'umína.
 To bet *v.* pohtaroáni.
 To bleed *v.* eerátani.
 To blow *v.* eekani.
 To break *v.* kahpóchani.
 To bring *v.* u'páni.
 To bring down *v.* puhé.
 To build houses *v.* karítani.
 to bury *n.* wetemáhina.
 To buy *v.* taaraní.
 To call *v.* paéna.
 To carry in the back *v.* mookétona.
 To cheer up *v.* kawerápani.
 To chop *v.* tusuná.
 To chop up *v.* čarí'čani;
v. čarí'nani.
 To clean *v.* pi'wapúna;
v. pi'wéna;
v. pi'wáni.
 To clear (an area of trees) *v.* maoná.
 To climb *v.* mo'tewáni.
 To come *v.* enáni.

- To come in v. pakiná.
 To cough v. tasiná.
 To cover v. potáčéna.
 To cover, to wrap v. topésani.
 To create, to produce, to gather, to breed v. mu'épuna, muépuna.
 To cry v. naaráni, na'arani.
 To cut v. tehpúnani.
 To dance v. yauná.
 To dawn (3 a.m.) v. ma'čirétoi.
 To dawn (5 a.m.) v. ma'čirépani.
 To defecate v. witaní.
 To die (sg.) v. mukuná.
 To drag oneself v. poitóna.
 To dribble v. akarúsuna.
 To drip v. ičuhpáni.
 To dry v. wakiténa.
 To earn (money) v. yoiná.
 To expand v. ahpópani.
 To explote v. tatani.
 To fall v. wičíná.
 To fart v. uhéna.
 To feel something hard v. pewaténa.
 To feel tasty v. ta'iténa.
 To feel (that something is) strong v. u'aténa.
 To fight v. nasuwáni.
 To fill v. počiwáni.
 To find v. tewani.
 To flash v. kuhuípáni.
 To fly, to jump v. ninína.
 To forbid v. kitoani.
 To forget v. natahképani.
 To gather v. na'poáni.
 To get angry v. nekawá.
 to get better (from an illness), to give birth v. sauná.
 To get broken v. kahpópani.
 To get (by exposure) v. čewiná.
 To get cloudy v. tomarítani.
 To get dark v. tukahpásipani; v. tukapáni.
 To get dry v. wakihpáni.
 To get fever v. če'erépani.
 To get hurt v. tehpúna.
 To get lost v. we'káni.
 To get on v. mo'tewáténa.
 To give v. ihkókéna.
 To give fruit v. takéna.
 to go v. siminá.
 To go down v. tekiná.
 To go through v. natawína.
 To gossip v. naiwáčani.
 To grab v. u'uná.
 To grow crests v. čankarítani.
 To hang up v. čučahpáni.
 To hang up, to insert v. čuhčáni.
 To harvest v. ihtépuna; v. muépuna.
 To have v. inuwáe.
 To hiccup, to belch v. enaní.
 To hit v. čewani.
 To hold something with the hand v. čapíná.
 To hug v. koomípani.
 To join v. napawína.
 To kick v. temuná.
 To kill (one entity) v. me'yáni.
 To kill (several entities) v. ko'yáni.
 To kneel v. čopohkorítuna.
 To know v. mačíná; v. nanéna.
 To lay something down v. teekáni.
 To learn v. mačipáni; v. penehpáni.
 To let, to allow v. toani.
 To lie v. wisikuéna.
 To lie down v. po'ipáni.
 To lift v. apečúnani, apečúčani.
 To light up v. tahéna.
 To like v. pu'seréna.
 To listen, to understand v. inamúna.
 To live v. aháni.
 To lose v. kiyoiná; v. wekahténa.
 To make v. metená; v. yo'wáni.
 To move v. noonóna.
 To open v. wahónani.
 To paint, v. piintáwani.
 To patch v. koáčéna; v. koyačéna.
 To pay v. natehténa.
 To peel v. peesúna.
 To peel off v. ahimáni.
 To pierce v. natapúna; v. oowarátani.
 To pile up v. napapúna.
 To play v. te'éna.
 To pour, to lay, to put v. yahčá.
 To prick, to stab v. čehani.
 To pull v. panisúna.
 To push v. takihpúna.
 To put down v. tekihpúna.
 To put eggs — ka'wani.

Turtle	<i>n.</i> muurí.	Twins	<i>n.</i> kuaaté.
Turtledove	<i>n.</i> čonipóro.	Two	<i>num.</i> ooká.
Twenty	<i>num.</i> pié weréwa.	Two hundred	<i>num.</i> ooká siendó.
Twice	<i>num.</i> oosá.		
Twin	<i>n.</i> mohté.		

 U - u

Ugly	<i>adj.</i> inyantiáme.	Underwear	<i>n.</i> sarawéra.
Uncle maternal (elder)	<i>n.</i> kukurí.	Us, to us, our, ourselves	<i>prn.</i> tamó.
Uncle maternal (younger)	<i>n.</i> ta'atái.		
Uncle (paternal)	<i>n.</i> tečí.		
Uncle paternal (elder)	<i>n.</i> ku'umú.		

 V - v

Vagina	<i>n.</i> muučíra.	Violin	<i>n.</i> yawéra.
Valley	<i>n.</i> yepotú, poiná.	Violinist	<i>n.</i> ya'aweró.
Vein	<i>n.</i> erápora.	Vixen	<i>n.</i> keóči.
Verdolaga (type of vegetable)	<i>n.</i> sa'rúči.		

 W - w

Waremelon	<i>n.</i> a'ró.	Wing	<i>n.</i> aanára.
Waremelon seed	<i>n.</i> a'rupahčíra.	With	<i>posp.</i> aháma.
Warihío (the way they call themselves)	<i>n.</i> makuráwi.	wizard	<i>n.</i> su'kí.
Wart	<i>n.</i> tepurá.	wizard, quack	<i>n.</i> sipoyáme.
Water	<i>n.</i> nerói.	Wolf	<i>n.</i> sapo'óri.
We	<i>pron.</i> teemé.	Woman	<i>n.</i> owitiáme.
Weak	<i>n.</i> kiutewaéme.	Wood	<i>n.</i> má'are.
Wealthy	<i>adj.</i> ri'ikó.	Wood (small pieces)	<i>n.</i> charewá.
Wednesday	<i>adv.</i> meekórači.	Woodpecker	<i>n.</i> chahará.
Weevil	<i>n.</i> yeyéra.	Woods	<i>n.</i> kusítère; <i>n.</i> u'máwe; <i>n.</i> yeepó.
wet	<i>adj.</i> samiyáme.	Woods, branch	<i>n.</i> kusí.
Wheatear	<i>n.</i> suunú murára.	Word, advice	<i>n.</i> nawésari.
White	<i>n.</i> tohsáname.	Work, difficult	<i>n.</i> tehkí.
White corn	<i>n.</i> tosari.	Worker	<i>n.</i> tekihpáname.
Wide	<i>adj.</i> werekahtiáme.	Worm	<i>n.</i> noowí.
Wife	<i>n.</i> uupí.	Wound	<i>n.</i> tehpúriači.
Wild beans	<i>n.</i> o'ohkómuni.		
Wild cat	<i>n.</i> kaomísi.		
Willow	<i>n.</i> wa'atosí.		

 Y - y

Year	<i>adv.</i> paamúpari.	yellow corn	<i>n.</i> sawáime.
Yellow	<i>n.</i> saawaéme.	Yes!	<i>interj.</i> e'é.

Yesterday *adv.* tapaná.
You (pl.) *pron.* eemé.
You (sg.) *pron.* muú.
You, your, yourself *prn.* amó.

Young *adj.* temarí.