

**STUDIES IN  
UTO-AZTECAN  
GRAMMAR**

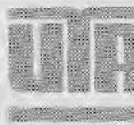
Edited by  
Ronald W. Langacker

**Volume 2  
Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches**



SUMMER  
INSTITUTE OF  
LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY  
OF TEXAS AT  
ARLINGTON



(inside of front cover)

**STUDIES IN UTO-AZTECAN GRAMMAR**

**Volume 2**

**Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches**

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**Studies in  
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

**Volume 2**

**Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches**

**Ronald W. Langacker**

**University of California, San Diego**

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# Foreword

This is the second of a set of three volumes dealing with Uto-Aztecan grammar. The grammatical descriptions in these volumes grew out of a Summer Institute of Linguistics Uto-Aztecan workshop that was held in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, Mexico from January through April 1976. I was invited to be guest director of that workshop and supervised the participants in the preparation of grammatical sketches of the various Uto-Aztecan languages on which they were working. At the end of the workshop it was agreed that the sketches would be revised for publication, resulting in this series. Volume I of the series consists of my own *Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar*, which is based on the lecture material I presented during the workshop and provides fundamental information concerning the Uto-Aztecan language family (including both synchronic structure and diachronic evolution) and relevant grammatical concepts. The present volume contains sketches of four modern Aztec dialects. Volume III, *Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches*, is to consist of sketches of five other Uto-Aztecan languages: Northern Paiute by John and Joy Anderson; Papago by Dean Saxton; Northern Tepehuan by Burton Bascom; Western Tarahumara by Don Burgess; and Cora by Eugene Casad.

The purpose of these sketches is to provide Uto-Aztecan scholars, linguists generally, and other interested people with reasonably comprehensive basic information about a variety of Uto-Aztecan languages. To facilitate understanding and comparison, we have adopted fairly uniform transcriptions, abbreviations, and formats. Most of the notations should be self-explanatory; see Volume I for a complete list. These three volumes are to be considered an integral unit. The *Overview* constituting Volume I provides the background necessary for appreciation of the individual sketches in Volumes II and III, which in turn serve to exemplify the points covered in the *Overview* and to make possible ready comparison of the languages covered.

RWL





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# Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	EXHRT	exhortative
ABSTR	abstract	EXIST	existential
ACT	active	FUT	future
ADJ	adjective	GNP	general noun phrase
ADJR	adjectivalizer	H	human
ADV	adverb	HAB	habitual
AG	agent	HHHN	ultra-honorific
AN	animate	HHN	extra-honorific
ANP	additive noun phrase	HON	honorific
AP	adjective phrase	IMP	imperative
APNP	apposition noun phrase	IMPOT	impotentive
APPLIC	applicative	IMPRF	imperfect(ive)
ART	article	INAL	inalienable
ASP	aspect	INAN	inanimate
ASSOC	association	INCHO	inchoative
AUG	augmentative	INCORP	incorporated
BEN	benefactive	INDF	indefinite
BP	benefactive phrase	INSTR	instrumental
C	consonant	INTNS	intensifier
CAUS	causative	INTR	introducer
CHAR BY	characterized by	INTRNS	intransitive
CNJ	conjunction	INVIS	invisible
CNTRFCT	contrafactual	IOBJ	indirect object
COLL	collective	IRR	irrealis
COMPL	completive	LOC	locative
COND	conditional	LP	locative phrase
CONN	connective	MAN	manner
CP	comparative phrase	MED	medial (intermediate between proximal and distal)
DECL	declarative	MOD	modifier
DEF	definite	N	noun, nominal
DEM	demonstrative	NEG	negative
DESID	desiderative	NH	non-human
DIM	diminutive	NNP	name noun phrase
DIR	direct	NP	noun phrase
DIRL	directional	NR	nominalizer
DIST	distal	NUM	number
DISTR	distributive	NUMR	numeral
DP	demonstrative phrase	OBJ	object
DUB	dubitative	OM	object marker (verbal affix)
DUR	durative	OPTV	optative
EMPH	emphatic		

P	postposition	TRNS	transitive
PEJ	pejorative	TRNSR	transitivizer
PERF	perfect(ive)	UNSPEC	unspecified
PHR	phrase	V	verb, vowel
PL	plural	VIS	visible
PN	proper name	VR	verbalizer
PNCT	punctual	WH	'who', 'where', 'when', etc.
PNP	possessed noun phrase	WHQ	WH question
POS	positive	WHW	WH word
POSSD	possessed	YNQ	yes/no question
POSSR	possessor	1P	first person
POT	potentive, potential	2P	second person
PRED	predicate	3P	third person
PRES	present	-	morpheme boundary
PROG	progressive	=	clitic boundary
PRON	pronoun	#	word boundary
PROX	proximal	[	clause boundary (initial)
PRSNTV	presentative	]	clause boundary (final)
PRT	particle		
PRTC	participle		
PRTV	partitive		
PUR	purpose		
PURP	purpose phrase		
Q	question		
QNT	quantifier		
QUOT	quotative		
RAP	relator axis phrase		
RDP	reduplication		
REFL	reflexive		
REL	relative, relativizer		
REM	remote		
REPET	repetitive		
RSLTV	resultative		
SBJNCT	subjunctive		
SF	suffix		
SG	singular		
SM	subject marker (verbal affix)		
SNP	series noun phrase		
Sp.	Spanish loan		
STAT	stative		
SUBJ	subject		
SUBR	subordinator		
TEMP	temporal		
TNS	tense		

# TETELCINGO NAHUATL

*David H. Tuggy*



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## INTRODUCTION

Tetelcingo Nahuatl is spoken in the town of Tetelcingo and its two colonies, Cuauhtémoc and Lázaro Cárdenas, in the municipality of Cuautla, Morelos, Mexico, about fifty miles southeast of Mexico City. There may be as many as 3,000 speakers. There are very few monolinguals left; many speakers are more proficient in Spanish than Aztec.

Tetelcingo Nahuatl differs from neighboring Aztec dialects in having converted the old vowel length distinction into a distinction of tenseness or phonetic placement, and in its elaborate honorific system. The speakers call their language *moosiewatl*, which doubtless derives from the classical word *maaseewalli*, which meant *plebeian* or *vassal*.

Previous study of Tetelcingo Aztec was done by Richard S. Pittman and Forrest and Jean Brewer, all of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The author of this sketch has been studying Tetelcingo Aztec (between interruptions) for five years.

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Pittman and the Brewers for their personal help and encouragement and for the materials they provided for me to work with. Especially helpful in preparing the present work have been the Brewers' *Vocabulario Mexicano de Tetelcingo* and a concordance of texts collected by them which was produced at the Oklahoma University Computing Center in May 1969. I am also indebted to many inhabitants of Tetelcingo who have taken time to teach me their language, especially Don Martín Méndez Huaxcuatitla, Don José Catonga, and my close friend Trinidad Ramírez, who has spent months with me trying to figure out the best ways to express different concepts in Aztec. Also I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my wife Joy, without whose love, encouragement, help, and cooking I would not have progressed as far as I have in the study of Tetelcingo Aztec, and to my Master, Jesus Christ, without whose motivation I would probably never have begun it.

All the errors, omissions, inaccuracies, overstatements, understatements, oversights, misleading comments, over-hasty generalizations, incorrect analyses, etc. which this sketch doubtless contains are solely my own fault.

I have used the abbreviations (P-G) and (P-NH) for reference respectively to Pittman's *Grammar* and his article *Nahuatl Honorifics* in the few instances where I have cited them.

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## PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tl	c	č	k	k <sup>w</sup>	i	u	ɪ	o
			s	š			ie	ɔ	e	a
		l		r			<u>Tense</u>	<u>Lax</u>		
m	n						The tense-lax distinction corresponds to a historical long-short contrast.			
w				y		h				

Spanish Loan Phonemes

b	d	g
f		
	r	

Phonetic Values of Phonemes

tl is completely voiceless.

r is a flap as in Spanish—it occurs predominantly in Spanish words.

t, d, and n are pronounced as in Spanish.

n is velar before velars and m. It is bilabial before p and b or β (w).

l is voiceless syllable final. For some speakers this does not hold true, especially in Spanish loans.

w is labial (β) before front vowels (alternating with b initially); it is voiceless following voiceless consonants (including l), and devoiced and delabialized (to h) preconsonantly.

ie is a diphthong indistinguishable phonetically from ye. In general I have written ye word initially and ie internally. However, ye and ie contrast in a few words, such as wal-yewa-ta-ya (hither-seated-DUR-IMPRF) *He was coming seated*, where l is voiceless, and tla-paliewt-a (UNSPEC:OBJ-help-PRES) *He helps*, where the l is voiced.

ɔ is also a diphthong, pronounced something like o<sup>a></sup>. In several contexts (e.g., word finally) it tends to neutralize with o; in other contexts (e.g., unstressed after labials) a tends to neutralize with it.

o is somewhat higher than Spanish o. In some contexts it approaches u.

ɪ and e tend to neutralize in certain contexts (e.g., before y); ɪ and i in other contexts (e.g., word finally).

ɪ is pronounced yɪ in stressed initial position; e is ye in initial position.

Stress

Stress is penultimate. The very rare exceptions are marked with an accent (´).

Major Phonological Processes

V → ∅ stem-final in PERF verbs and other constructions calling for the PERF (truncated) stem.

ki-mat*t*            *knows it*  
*it - know*

o-ki-mat            *knew it*  
 PAST-it-know  
 PERF

V → [+tns] in certain morphemes (mostly stems) before certain suffixes.

ni-ya            *I go.*  
*I-go*

ni-yɔ-s            *I will go.*  
*I-go-FUT*

tla-k<sup>W</sup>a-lo        *He HON eats.*  
 UNSPEC-eat-HON  
 OBJ

tla-k<sup>W</sup>a-lu-ta-ya    *He HON was eating*  
 UNSPEC-eat-HON-DUR-IMPRF  
 OBJ

V → ∅ / \_ V with certain systematic exceptions.

[-str]

mo-polowa        *becomes lost*  
 REFL-lose

m-iš-polowa        *becomes lost (to*  
 REFL-eye-lose                            *sight)*

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \iota / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{C} \_ + \text{C} \\ \text{C} \_ + \text{C} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

with a few positive exceptions in some people's speech.

ni-k-neki        *I want it.*  
*I-it-want*

ki-neki            *wants it*  
*it-want*

nen-k-asɪ        *You PL reach it.*  
*you-it-reach*  
 PL

nen-ki-neki        *You PL want it.*  
*you-it-want*  
 PL

k<sup>W</sup>aw-tl        *tree*  
*tree-ABS*

k<sup>W</sup>ah-me        *trees*  
*tree-PL*

ɪ → o in SUBJ prefixes (including IMP šɪ-) in some cases where the following vowel is o. In some cases this rule is optional.

ni-k-wika        *I take it.*  
*I-it-carry*

no-k-om-wika        *I carry it away.*  
*I-it-hence-carry*

ti-mo-wika        *You HON go.*  
*you-REFL-carry*  
 HON

to-mo-wika        *You HON go.*  
*you-REFL-carry*  
 HON

$$y \rightarrow \text{š} / - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ [-\text{vd}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

tla-čiya      *looks around, wakes up*  
 UNSPEC-await  
 OBJ

on-tla-čiš      *woke up*  
 PAST-UNSPEC-await  
 (?) OBJ PERF

ki-čiš-tka      *is awaiting it*  
 it-await-PRES  
 PROG

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / -\#$$

[+nas]

čon-tli      *home, dwelling*  
 home-ABS

no-čɔ      *my home*  
 my-home

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{w} \\ \text{h} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / -\#$$

ki-čiwa      *does it*  
 it-do

o-ki-či      *He did it.*  
 PAST-it-do  
 PERF

p → k syllable final.

mo-k<sup>w</sup>epa      *turns around*  
 REFL-turn

o-mo-k<sup>w</sup>ek      *He turned around.*  
 PAST-REFL-turn  
 PERF

mo-k<sup>w</sup>ek-tka      *is turning around*  
 REFL-turn-PRES  
 PROG

C → h before a homorganic consonant.

[+obs]

mɨc-maka      *hits you*  
 you-hit

mɨh-čiwɨ-lɨ-a      *does it to you*  
 you-do-APPLIC-PRES

o-ki-mat      *found it out*  
 PAST-it-know  
 PERF

ki-mah-ta-ya      *was aware of it*  
 it-know-DUR-IMPRF

mo-k<sup>w</sup>epa      *turns around*  
 REFL-turn

o-mo-k<sup>w</sup>eh-ki      *They turned around.*  
 PAST-REFL-turn-PL (see previous  
 PERF rule)

Insofar as there are necessary orderings among these rules, they are reflected in the order given. Some of the rules mentioned in the description of phonetic values of the phonemes may precede some of these rules.

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

### Word Order

Order of major constituents is relatively fixed, in that changes in order usually signal emphasis or topicalization. The most neutral order seems to be as follows:

SUBJ (ADV) V (ADV) OBJ (ADV, P-PHR)

Introducers, time phrases, or any ADV phrases referring to material in previous sentence normally precede SUBJ.

Intransitive sentences often have the order V SUBJ. Quotative sentences also often have this order, probably as a stylistic variation. When the subject is a pronoun, it is normally there only to reflect some sort of emphasis or topicalization, so pronoun subjects do not follow the verb, except occasionally in quotative sentences.

### Topicalization

Topicalization or emphasis is usually signalled by putting the emphasized or topicalized element first in the sentence, even if this gives an abnormal word order.

nočt i-tlankoč-wa o-kin-tepiewt-łt *He knocked out all his teeth.*  
*all his-tooth-POSSD PAST-them-scatter-APPLIC*  
 PL

naha komo ok n-cı-cıktı-cı nieč-kɔwa-lu-tiewa  
*I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM me-leave-HON-leave*  
*Since I was still little, she would go and leave me.*

ka meyak k<sup>W</sup>erɔɔ o-ktılapɔ powielta *Very carefully he opened*  
*with much care PAST-it-open door the door.*  
 PERF

Particularly the topicalization is clear when the emphasized element precedes a question word.

taha tli-ka tı-k-maka-k *As for you, why did you hit him?*  
*you what-with you-him-hit-PERF*  
 why

yaha tli-ka tı-k-maka-k taha *Why did you hit him?*  
*he why you-him-hit-PERF you*

The presence of a pronominal SUBJ or OBJ is redundant, since these are already marked pronominally on the verb. So their retention usually signals topicalization or emphasis of some sort. Occasionally, however, their function seems to be disambiguation of homophonous or nearly homophonous verb forms. (See the following section on Pronoun Copies.)

Topicalization is often signalled by vocal emphasis without any change in word order.

### Pronoun Copies

Pronoun affixes agreeing in person and number with the subject and object of a clause must be copied onto the verb.\* Thus, any time a noun is used to identify the subject or object, it is also represented pronominally in the verb.

sen-te tlɔka-tl (∅)-ki-pɪya-ya sen-te puro *A man had a*  
*one-NUM man-ABS he-it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro donkey.*

ʃt-k-maka i-saka puro *Give the donkey his fodder.*  
*IMP-him-give his-fodder burro*

Even when a noun is not needed to identify the subject or object, a free pronoun may take its place in certain situations. This mechanism is especially useful for topicalization or emphasis, but also has other uses. Sometimes it is used to disambiguate potentially ambiguous or nearly ambiguous verb constructions.

tehwa tɪ-k-neki *We want it.* taha tɪ-k-neki *You want it.*  
*we we-it-want you you-it-want*

taha to-mo-kal-teč-ow-a *You move over.*  
*you you-REFL-house-next-VR-PRES*  
*to*

tehwa-ci to-mo-kal-teč-dwi-a *You HON move it over.*  
*you-HON you-HON-house-next-APPLIC-PRES*  
*HON to*

Sometimes a free pronoun serves to distinguish a true reflexive sense (SUBJ-OBJ) from a middle sense (SUBJ-IOBJ) or a passive sense.

yehwa-ci ne-maka-lu-k yehwa-ci mismo  
*he-HON REFL-give-HON-PERF he-HON same*  
*HON HON HON*

*He HON gave himself. (not gave something for himself)*

\*There are some exceptions to this: e.g., the verb maka 'give' only marks the indirect object (see second example in this section), and ayt 'do something' has no object marked.

Sometimes it is used in a construction which specifies a reciprocal sense.

nemehwa ne-mo-tlasohtla entre nemehwa      *You love each other.*  
*you      you-REFL-love among you*  
 PL      PL      PL

A possessor pronoun is copied onto all possessed items and postpositions (with the frequent exceptions of *-pa at*, *-ka with*, and *-wa and, with*, and also excepting the cases where the P is affixed to a noun). This copying is done even when the possessor is overtly specified in the same phrase.

i-nomk mali      *Mary's husband*  
*her-husband PN*

yaha in-u no-waška naha      *That's mine.*  
*it DEM-DIST my-own I*

i-htek no-kši      *in my foot*  
*its-inside my-foot*

A subject prefix is copied onto the head or the first constituent of a predicate noun or adjective construction. Sometimes it is copied onto both the head and its modifiers.

nemehwa nen-ka-te nen-k<sup>w</sup>ali nen-tloka      *You are good men.*  
*you you-be-PL you-good you-men*  
 PL PL PL PL

taha ti-tlachki lalwis      *You are very lazy.*  
*you you-lazy very*

taha ti-k<sup>w</sup>ali tloka-tl      *You are a good man.*  
*you you-good man-ABS*

### Resumptive Pronoun Construction

This occurs in a structure resembling English dislocation.

in-u tloka-tl tli o-k-hto yaha o-mo-pačo  
*DEM-DIST man-ABS that PAST-it-say he PAST-REFL-bring near*  
*That man who said it, he approached.*

### Focus

Focus is often signalled by a strongly demonstrative construction such as *yaha in-u* (he DEM-DIST), with the focused element following the verb.

wa o-ki-či yaha in-u fransisko      *And it was Francisco who did it.*  
*and PAST-it-do he that PN*  
 PERF one

Clefting also serves to indicate focus. This construction is likely a result of the influence of Spanish grammar.

o-yeyɪ sen-te lɨnes k<sup>w</sup>ɔk o-tɪ-ya-hkɪ  
 PAST-be one-NUM Monday when PAST-we-go-PERF  
 IMPRF PL

*It was Monday when we went.*

o-yeyɪ yaha in-u pegro ɔkɪ o-k-dhto  
 PAST-be he DEM-DIST PN who PAST-it-say  
 IMPRF

*It was Peter who said it.*

### Stylistic Apposition

Verbs of saying are sometimes placed in tandem before a quote, even when either one can introduce a quote by itself.

o-k-dhto tie-k<sup>w</sup>a-nɪ tli t-aʃ-tɨnemɪ  
 PAST-it-say UNSPEC-eat-AG what you-be:busy-go:around  
 H  
 OBJ

*“What are you doing?” said the mountain lion.*

yul-kɔ-tl o-nɔwat tli-ka tɪ-nieɕ-k<sup>w</sup>a-s  
 live-NR-ABS PAST-reply what-with you-me-eat-FUT  
 animal why

*The animal replied, “Why are you going to eat me?”*

ye-k<sup>w</sup>ɔk-tɨn-u tloka-tl o-nɔwat o-k-dhto k<sup>w</sup>altɪ  
 already-when-DEM-DIST man-ABS PAST-reply PAST-it-say good  
 then

*Then the man replied and said, “Good.”*



## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Introducers

wa	and	pero	but (Sp.)
(o) noso or or	or be it	(used to introduce one of a series of rhetorical questions)	
nuyhki	also	ɔʃɔ	now (often to signal a change in topic)
p <sup>W</sup> es, p(o)s	well, for (Sp.)	wieno p <sup>W</sup> es	well, then (Sp.) good then
hki-u be-DIST permanently	thus (like that)	hki-yi be-PROX	thus (like this)
así ((es de)ke)	so then (Sp.) thus is of that	tos-tlɔ-hk-u	in that case then-if-thus
yaha i-ka it its-with	therefore, because of that	ka in-u	therefore (cf. Sp. por eso) with DEM-DIST
por in-u by DEM-DIST	therefore		
de maneras ke	so then (Sp.) of manners that	intuneses, tu(n)ses, tos(es)	then (Sp.)
ye-k <sup>W</sup> ɔk-in-(uh)-u already-when-DEM-RDP-DIST	then (after that, at that time)		
i-pa in-u its-at DEM-DIST	tiempo at that time time	sɔ-tie-pa just-UNSPEC-on H OBJ	afterwards

Adverbs

(See above for some adverbs which frequently introduce sentences.)

ye miero, ye mierito	in just a minute, almost (Sp. ya mero; ye already)		
sa de repente sa sie trepiente just one suddenly	all of a sudden (Sp.)		
weli-s possible-FUT	perhaps	mač	perhaps (related to mati know)
a-wier-tlɔ to-see-if	perhaps, I wonder if (Sp. a ver)		
ok	yet, still	turabea	still

Intensifiers

wel	very	(used preceding ADJ; negative amo wel is more common)
ka	very	(precedes ADJ or V)
ara ka, arga	very	(from Sp. <i>harto abundante</i> ?)
asta	even	(Sp.)
laltwis	very much	(with ADJ or V; usually precedes, but may follow, especially if that will place it in final position)
tepci	a little bit	(with N, ADJ, or with V in temporal sense)
iš-	sort of, to look at, -ish	(with ADJ, from <i>ištelolo eye</i> )
sa	just	(with N, ADJ, ADV, or V)

Quotatives

ne-lu UNSPEC-say REFL	they say	(disclaimer, used by some older speakers to introduce a direct quote)
matu know	evidently, I guess	

Polarity

kiema	yes	(usually a complete utterance, occasionally used before a verb for emphatic affirmation)
amo	no, NEG	melɔwak true, truly
tiel	true	(less strong than melɔwak; often used in combination with it: tiel melɔwak really truly true)
motiel	isn't it so?	(tag question; from amo + tiel ??)
a-	NEG	
a-welu	impossible	
	NEG-possible	
a-ye-welu	not yet possible	
	NEG-already-possible	
ayehkɔk <sup>w</sup> elu, aihkɔk <sup>w</sup> elu	no longer possible	
ayik	never	
a-ye-mo	not yet	(ye already; a...mo NEG)
a-ye-k-mo	no longer	(k PERF?)
a-ye-k-mo	kiema	never again
		no longer when
ayok	not be present	(irregular; see BE)

nion	<i>not even</i>	(from Sp. ni aún <i>not even</i> )
nion-okt	<i>nobody</i>	(compare with amo okt ( <i>there is</i> ) no one ( <i>who</i> ))

**Modal**

ma	<i>may, SBJNCT, EXHRT</i>	
ma-hk-amo	<i>may (it) not (be that)</i>	ma-hk-ayik <i>may (it) never (be that)</i>
EXHRT-be-NEG		EXHRT-be-never
	<i>permanently(?)</i>	<i>permanently(?)</i>
mač	COND(??) (probably from matl <i>know</i> )	
k <sup>W</sup> alt	POT	kana(h) <i>perhaps, DUB</i>
<i>good</i>		

**BE/HAVE/DO**
**BE**

∅	NP/ADJ	
taha ok	tɨ-plalak-tli	<i>You are still a lad.</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>yet you-lad-ABS</i>	
lalawis wəyɨ	tie-tlasohtɨ-lɨs	<i>His HON love is very great.</i>
<i>very big</i>	<i>his-love-ABSTR</i>	
	HON	
tka	<i>is NP/ADJ/LOC/EXIST</i>	Irregular; paradigms follow.
PRES	nt-(ka)-ka	tɨ-(kah)-ka-te*
	<i>I-RDP-be</i>	<i>we-RDP-be-PL</i>
	<i>I am</i>	<i>we are</i>
	tɨ-(ka)-ka	ne(n)-(kah)-ka-te
	<i>you-RDP-be</i>	<i>you-RDP-be-PL</i>
	<i>you are</i>	<i>PL</i>
		<i>you PL are</i>
	tɨ-mo-wec-tka**	ne-mo-wec-tka-te
	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES</i>	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES-PL</i>
	<i>PROG</i>	<i>PL PROG</i>
	<i>you HON are</i>	<i>you PL HON are</i>

\*This PL is not used anywhere else except with the related aspect marker tka PRES PROG.

\*\*wec-tka is also used in positional compounds: e.g., iš-tlah-pač-wec-tka (*eye-down-approach-fall-PRES:PROG*) is (*tying*) *face downwards*. wec-tka by itself means *is tying*.

	<i>tka-(ka)*</i> <i>is-RDP</i> <i>he is</i>	<i>(kah)-ka-te</i> <i>RDP-be-PL</i> <i>they are</i>
	<i>ilowa-k**</i> <i>is-PRES</i> <i>HON</i> <i>he HON is</i>	<i>ih-ilowa-k</i> <i>RDP-is-PRES</i> <i>HON</i> <i>they HON are</i>
FUT	<i>nt-ye-s</i> <i>I-be-FUT</i> <i>I will be</i>	<i>tt-ye-s-kt</i> <i>we-be-FUT-PL</i> <i>we will be</i>
	<i>tt-ye-s</i> <i>you will be</i>	<i>ne(n)-ye-s-kt</i> <i>you PL will be</i>
	<i>tt-mo-wec-ta-s</i> <i>you-HON-fall-DUR-FUT</i> <i>you HON will be</i>	<i>ne-mo-wec-ta-s-kt</i> <i>you PL HON will be</i>
	<i>t-ye-s</i> <i>he will be</i>	<i>ye-s-kt</i> <i>they will be</i>
	<i>ilowa-s</i> <i>he HON will be</i>	<i>ih-ilowa-s</i> <i>they HON will be</i>
IMPRF	<i>(o)-nt-ye-ya</i> <i>PAST-I-be-IMPRF</i> <i>I was</i>	<i>(o)-tt-yeh-ye-ya</i> <i>PAST-we-RDP-be-IMPRF</i> <i>we were</i>
	<i>(o)-nt-yeyt</i> <i>PAST-I-be</i> <i>IMPRF</i> <i>I was</i>	<i>(o)-tt-yeh-yeyt</i> <i>PAST-we-RDP-be</i> <i>IMPRF</i> <i>we were</i>

(There are similar alternative forms for the other non-HON persons, formed by substituting *yeyt* for *ye-ya*.)

\*It is probably more correct to analyze this as *t-(ka)-ka*, with the *t* not being a morpheme but a vowel epenthesized to keep from having a one-syllable verb. This epenthesis would precede the reduplication. See also *tva goes*, *tve-s he will be*. (Cf. a similar proposal for nouns under BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, *Absolutive*.)

\*\*Normally *-k* is a PERF marker—only here and in the obviously related 3P HON forms of *go* (*w-ilowa-(k)* and *wh-w-ilowa-(k)*) does it appear in the PRES, and in those cases it is retained in the perfect also.

	(o)-tu-ye-ya <i>you were</i>	(o)-ne-yeh-ye-ya <i>you PL were</i>
	(o)-tu-mo-wec-ta-ya <i>you HON were</i>	(o)-ne-mo-wec-ta-ya <i>you PL HON were</i>
	o-ye-ya <i>he was</i>	o-yeh-ye-ya <i>they were</i>
	(o)-ilowa-ya <i>he HON was</i>	(o)-ih-ilowa-ya <i>they HON were</i>
SBJNCT	ni-ye	ti-ye-ko
IMP	I-be	we-be-PL
	I be	SBJNCT
		we be
	ʃi-ye	ʃi-ye-ko
	IMP-be	IMP-be-PL
	Be!/you be	sbjnt
		Be PL!/you PL be
	ʃo-mo-wec-ta	ʃo-mo-wec-ta-ko
	Be HON!/you HON be	Be PL HON!/you PL HON be
	ɣe	ye-ko
	he be	they be
	ilowa	ih-ilowa
	he HON be	they HON be

ika does not occur with any aspect markers except those of contingency and the DUR -ta. In all these cases the suppletive ye stem is used.

taha ok 'ti-ka-ka	ti-pilalak-tli	<i>You are still a lad.</i>
<i>you yet you-RDP-be</i>	<i>you-lad-ABS</i>	(cf. first example)
ika i-pa i-čɔ		<i>He is at his house.</i>
<i>is its-at his-home</i>		
sa ʃi-ye-(ta)		<i>Shut up! / Sit still!</i>
<i>just IMP-be-DUR</i>		
yehwa-ci deus solamiente	yehwa-ci ilowa-k	<i>God, He is the only one/</i>
<i>he-HON God only</i>	<i>he-HON is-PRES</i>	<i>only He exists.</i>
HON	HON HON	
ika dɥi-tl		<i>It is a fiesta.</i>
<i>is fiesta-ABS</i>		

oya, uya	<i>he was / there is</i>	Existential. Possibly from o- PAST and ya go (cf. Sp. fué <i>he went / he was</i> ).	
oye-s, uye-s	<i>FUT</i>		
a-ye-k-mo	oye-s	tie-tun-ie	<i>There will be no more pain.</i>
<i>no longer</i>	<i>be-FUT</i>	<i>UNSPEC-burn-VR</i>	
		<i>H</i>	
		<i>OBJ</i>	
yaha oya rey			<i>He was king.</i>
<i>he be king</i>			
	<i>PERF</i>		
onka	<i>there is</i>	Existential. Probably from om MED + ka <i>be</i> .	
onka-te	<i>PL</i>		
onkoyes	<i>FUT</i>	PRES and FUT only; IMPRF supplied by <i>ka</i> .	
onka dwt-tl			<i>There is a fiesta.</i>
<i>there fiesta-ABS</i>			
<i>is</i>			
sotiepa o-yeyt	wieyt dwt-tl		<i>Afterwards there was a big</i>
<i>afterwards PAST-be</i>	<i>big fiesta-ABS</i>		<i>fiesta.</i>
	<i>IMPRF</i>		
on-kɔn-ka	<i>there is some</i>		
<i>MED-LOC-be (?)</i>			
ok onkonka tlaol-t			<i>There is still some corn.</i>
<i>yet there</i>	<i>shelled-ABS</i>		
<i>is</i>	<i>corn</i>		
ayokok	<i>there isn't any(thing) (anymore)</i>	} These do not permit an overt SUBJ: amo onka (NEG there:is) is used when SUBJ is specified.	
ayokaka	<i>there isn't anyone (ayok + tkaka)</i>		
ayokahkate	<i>PL</i>		
antlei, antleyi	<i>there isn't any (amo NEG + tli what?)</i>		
ayok	<i>isn't / wasn't (there/home/etc.)</i>	Irregular; paradigms follow.	
n-ayok	<i>I am absent.</i>	t-ayok-t*	<i>We are absent.</i>
<i>I-be</i>		<i>we-be-PL</i>	
<i>absent</i>		<i>absent</i>	

\*This PL is used elsewhere only with the irregular verb *wic* *come* and the aspect marker *tawic*, and with the PERF of verbs taking *-k* PERF. Perhaps this *k* should also be analyzed as a PERF marker. Note that these forms do service for PERF meaning as well as PRES.

t-ayok     *You are absent,*  
*you-be*  
*absent*

t-ayok-ci   *You HON are absent,*  
*you-be-HON*  
*absent*

ayok       *He is absent.*

ayok-ci     *He HON is absent.*

nem-ayok-t   *You PL are absent.*  
*you-be-PL*  
*PL absent*

nem-ayok-ci-ci   *You PL HON are*  
*you-be-RDP-HON*       *absent.*  
*PL*       *absent*

ayok-t       *They are absent.*

ayok-ci-ci   *They HON are absent.*

čon-ti       *lives, dwells*  
*home-VR*

ih-tuka      *it stands, it is permanently, it is by moral right*

ihki         *SBJNCT*

ihki-u       ih-tuka        *That's how things are.*  
*be-DIST*    *be-PRES:PROG*  
permanently *permanently*  
*thus*

ma           ihki            *May it be so (without changing).*  
*EXHRT*    *be*  
              *permanently*

ih-tuka            para ma        to-tlasohtla-ko   *We ought to love*  
*be-PRES:PROG*   *for EXHRT*   *we-love-PL*       *each other.*  
*permanently*                            *REFL*   *SBJNCT*

k<sup>w</sup>alc-ka     *it is good, OK*

**Locatives:**

nɔn-ka        *Here (it) is. / It's this one.*    LOC/PRSNTV (also used as DEM)  
*PROX-be*

non-ka-te        *PL*

om-pa-ka        *There (it) is.*  
*MED-at-be*

om-pa (kah)-ka-te   *PL*  
*there*   *RDP-be-PL*

nie-pa-ka        *There (it) is (over there).*  
*DIST-at-be*

nie-pa (kah)-ka-te   *PL*

nie-ka-ka            *It's that one.*  
DIST-be-be  
*that*  
*one*

i-tlan-ka            *It's near him.*  
*his-near-be*

nenk<sup>W</sup>ah-ka        *It is by itself.*  
*apart-be*

tlɔl-tka            *It is on the ground.*  
*ground-PRES*  
*PROG*

wec-tka            *It is lying.*  
*fall-PRES*  
*PROG*

ahkec-te-wec-tka    *is (lying) face upwards*  
*upwards-CONN-fall-PRES*  
*(?)            PROG*

iš-tlah-pač-wec-tka *is (lying) face downwards*  
*eye-down-approach-fall-PRES*  
*PROG*

For some older speakers, ka can affix freely to almost any locative word.

tie-mɔ-tlak-cun-ko-ka    *It is in his HHON hand.*  
*his-hand-near-HON-LOC-be*  
*HON*

**Questions:**

kɔnen-ka            *where is?*  
*where-be*

kɔnt (kah)-ka-te        *PL*

kɔtlime            *Where are (they)?        (tli what, -me PL)*

kɔtleyakɪ            *Which ones (are they)?*

tlin-in-i-hi            *What is this?*  
*what-DEM-PROX-PROX*

tlin-in-u-hu            *What is that?*  
*what-DEM-DIST-DIST*

**HAVE**

kɪ-ptya            *has it*  
*it-have*



sen-te tloka-tl ki-piya-ya sen-te puro *A man had a burro.*  
*one-NUM man-ABS it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro*

With **tlā- UNSPEC OBJ** or an incorporated object, *piya* means *guard, herd, keep, take care of.*

čiboh-piya *herds goats*  
*goat-have*

tutih-piya *keeps (birds out of) rice fields*  
*bird-have*

With **-li APPLIC**, *piya* is used with nouns of attitude or emotion to indicate feeling with reference to someone.

nieč-pi-li-a konfyonsa *He has confidence toward me.*  
*me-have-APPLIC-PRES confidence*

*ki-piya* is often used with **ke SUBR (Sp.)** or **para for (Sp.)** or occasionally alone, followed by a **FUT** verb (or a **PERF** verb with the additional meaning of *realized action*) to denote necessity or obligation. This construction parallels closely the Sp. usage.

ki-piya { ke } tyo-s *He has to go.*  
*it-have para goes-FUT*

o-ki-pič on-ya *He had to go (and did).*  
*PAST-it-have DIRL-go PERF(PAST?)*

**DO**

ki-čiwa *does it, makes it*  
*it-do*

ki-čh-čiwa *makes, constructs it*  
*it-RDP-do*

mo-čiwa *happens* i-pa mo-čiwa *happens to him*  
*REFL-do his-on REFL-do*

pasor-owi *happens*  
*happen-VR*  
*(INTRNS)*

ki-pasor-ow-a *happens to him*  
*him-happen-VR-PRES*  
*(TRNS)*

*produces (of crops)*

ye o-mo-či šitoma-tl  
*already PAST-REFL-do tomato-ABS*  
 PERF

*The tomato crop is ripe.*

tla-mo-čiwa *abounds*  
 UNSPEC-REFL-do

OBJ  
 (COLL?)

tla-mo-čiwa-lis-tl *harvest*  
 abound-ABSTR-ABS

*becomes (with PRED N or ADJ)*

o-mo-či tunto *became, acted*  
 PAST-REFL-do *stupid stupid*  
 PERF

o-mo-k<sup>w</sup>ek tunto *became, acted*  
 PAST-REFL-turn *stupid stupid*  
 PERF

mo-lukoh-k<sup>w</sup>epa *goes crazy*  
 REFL-crazy-turn

ayi *do something, be busy (irregular)*

n-ayi *I am busy.* t-ah-ayi *We are busy.*  
 I-be we-RDP-be  
 busy busy

t-ayi *You are busy.* nem-ah-ayi *You PL are busy.*  
 you-be you-RDP-be  
 busy PL busy

tu-m-ayi-ti-a *You HON are busy.* ne-m-ayi-ti-a *You PL HON are busy.*  
 you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES  
 busy PL busy

ti-moi-li-a *You HON are busy.* ne-moi-li-a *You PL HON are busy.*  
 you-be-APPLIC-PRES you-be-APPLIC-PRES  
 busy PL busy  
 HON HON  
 (mo+ayi)

ayi *He is busy.* ah-ayi *They are busy.*

ayi-wa *He HON is busy.* ah-ayi-wa *They HON are busy.*  
 be-HON RDP-be-HON  
 busy busy

ayt is not precisely a transitive verb; as far as I know it does not ever appear with nominal or pronominal object, yet its most common use is a question *What are you doing?*. It does not appear in any tense but PRES, though it shows up in PRES PROG forms with a truncated stem.

tli t-aš-tika                      *What are you doing?* (usual non-HON greeting)  
*what you-be-PRES*  
*busy PROG*

tli ti-moi-lt-a                      *What are you HON doing?* (usual HON greeting)  
*what you-be-APPLIC-PRES*  
*busy*  
*HON*

ku-yek-tlɔlt-a                      *fixes it*  
*it-well-ground-TRNS*  


---

*VR*  
*put*

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

Passive sense is sometimes expressed by means of a reflexive construction.

amo o-mo-hta-k                      desde in-u                      *He was not seen again after that.*  
*NEG PAST-REFL-see-PERF*                      *since that*

mo-hto-a                                      *it is said*  
*REFL-say-PRES*

o-mo-ih-te-tlapo                      *He had an abdominal operation.*  
*PAST-REFL-belly-open*

Sometimes an ambiguous 3P SG HON/3P PL form is used without contextual identification of the subject to give a quasi-passive sense.

o-ku-tepoc-toka-k-ɪ                      ka nɔwɪyo o-ku-maka-k-ɪ                      problima-s  
*PAST-him-iron-follow-PERF-PL*                      *everywhere*                      *PAST-him-give-PERF-PL*                      *problem-PL*  
*weapon*

*He was persecuted everywhere; (people) gave him troubles.*

Some verbs seem to be inherently more 'transitive' than others and therefore more resistant to the reflexive passivization.

šinoč-tli                      para mo-tuka-s                      wa tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-l-ɪ                      para  
*seed-ABS*                      *for*                      *REFL-bury-FUT*                      *and*                      *UNSPEC-eat-NR-ABS*                      *for*  
*OBJ*

ɔku                      ku-k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-s                      *seed to be planted and food to be eaten*  
*someone it-eat-FUT*

Reflexive

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for a list of reflexive prefixes.)

For emphasis or to disambiguate reflexive from passive or middle (coreference of SUBJ and IOBJ) senses, the personal pronoun is repeated after the verb followed by *mismo the same* (Sp.).

šo-mo-hta-kɔ	k <sup>w</sup> alt nemehwa	mismo(-s)	<i>Take a good look at yourselves.</i>
IMP-REFL-see-PL	good you	same-PL	
	SBJNCT	PL	

There are some verbs (including borrowed reflexive verbs from Spanish) that are always reflexive.

mo-mana	<i>(water) becomes muddy, (people) get in line</i>
REFL-(?)	

mo-kehɔr-ow-a	<i>He gripes. (Sp. quejarse)</i>
REFL-gripe-VR-PRES	

Often the reflexive bears a reciprocal sense:

mo-lwt-a	<i>They tell each other.</i>
REFL-say-PRES	
to	

mo-hta	<i>They are friendly (to each other).</i>
REFL-see	

The reciprocal sense may be specified and/or emphasized by placing *entre among* (Sp.) and the personal pronoun after the verb, or by the phrase *sente ka oksente one with another* (from Spanish *unos con otros?*) in the same position.

o-mo-lwt-hkt	sen-te	ka	ok-sen-te	<i>they said to each other</i>
PAST-REFL-say-PL	one-NUM	with	yet-one-NUM	
	to			

The reflexive approximates the meaning of *-able* in some constructions.

k <sup>w</sup> alt mo-k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-s	<i>It can be eaten. / It's edible.</i>
good REFL-eat-FUT	
(POT)	

The reflexive appears on some nouns that are derived from verbs:

mo-čamɔwa-nt	<i>braggart</i>
REFL-praise-AG	

mo-k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-nt	<i>edible thing</i>
REFL-eat-AG	

There is a morpheme *-yɔhma-* (from *i-ɔhma his soul* ?) used in a couple of verbs to indicate a true reflexive.

mo-yɔhma-nu-nuca            *talks to himself*  
*REFL-himself-RDP-call*

mo-yɔhma-tlah-tlan-a       *asks himself*  
*REFL-himself-RDP-ask-PRES*

### Unspecified Arguments

tla-	UNSPEC (NH) OBJ	} homophonous with (and probably historical source for) 3P HON OBJ, REFL
tie-	UNSPEC H OBJ	
ne-	UNSPEC REFL	

When affixed to a verbal root, these morphemes behave like part of the stem with respect to placement of other verbal elements. In most cases they seem to be fully lexicalized. Apparently at least *tla-* is still productive, however.

kt-tie-mok-ti-a            *gives/hands it over (to someone)*  
*it-UNSPEC-hand-CAUS-PRES*  
*H*  
*OBJ*

Contrast with:

tie-puw-ti-a            *tells it to him HON*  
*him-count-APPLIC-PRES*  
*HON*

kt-tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-lt-a            *feeds him*  
*him-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES*  
*OBJ*

kt-ne-kpa-ɕ-ow-a        *heaps it up*  
*it-UNSPEC-above-CAUS-VR-PRES*  
*REFL*            (?)

These morphemes occur with derived nouns and adjectives and sometimes even postpositions. *tla-* appears with an especially large class.

tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-nu            *glutton*  
*UNSPEC-eat-AG*  
*OBJ*

tie-koko            *pain, sickness*  
*UNSPEC-hurt*  
*H*  
*OBJ*

tie-mah-ti                      *fearsome, scary, dangerous*  
 UNSPEC-fear-CAUS            (ki-mah-ti-a *It scares him.*)

H  
 OBJ

ne-šiku-ls-tli                      *envy (mo-šiko-a (REFL-bear-PRES) envies;*  
 UNSPEC-bear-ABSTR-ABS            *mo-šiko-ɔ-nu (envy-AG) the devil)*  
 REFL

tla-iš-pa                              *up front (išpa in front of)*  
 UNSPEC-face-on  
 OBJ

ɔki                      *one, anyone, who*            (contrast with *yeka someone*)

k<sup>w</sup>ali ɔki ki-k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-s                      *One can eat it. / It's edible.*  
*good one it-eat-FUT*  
 (POT)

Two UNSPEC markers may appear in the same word.

tie-tla-k<sup>w</sup>ientah-ti-a                      *loans (things to people)*  
 UNSPEC-UNSPEC-account-CAUS-PRES  
 H            OBJ  
 OBJ

There are some vestiges of the historical passive/impersonal sense of -lo. Synchronically, it mostly functions as a 3P HON marker.

ne-nɔmk-ti-lu-yo                      *(woman's) marriage, wedding*  
 UNSPEC-husband-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR  
 REFL

ne-sowa-ti-lu-yo                      *(man's) marriage, wedding*  
 UNSPEC-woman-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR  
 REFL

tie-nuca-lo                              *(people) are called (by the church bell, to a*  
 UNSPEC-call-PASS                      *wedding or a town meeting)*  
 H  
 OBJ

k-iš-mati-lo-a                              *won't let anyone see his eye\**  
 him-eye-know-PASS-PRES

yeh-yeka-wi-lo                              *child which is taken by evil spirits*  
 wind-carry-PASS  
 (evil  
 spirit)

\*Neighboring dialects have a NEG ʒ- verbal prefix. Other than this, I have no guess where the NEG might be in this verb.

$k^w$ a-lo-miec-tl <i>eat-PASS-moon-ABS</i>	<i>eclipse of the moon</i>
miec- $k^w$ a-lo <i>moon-eat-PASS</i>	<i>child who is moon-eaten (i.e., with harelip, because his mother failed to take proper precautions during a moon eclipse)</i>

tla- sometimes seems to have an INTNS function:

$k_t$ -tek <sub>i</sub> <i>it-cut</i>	<i>cuts it</i>	tla-tek-tl <i>INTNS-cut-ABS</i>	<i>all cut up, scarred</i>
$k_t$ -mutla <i>it-hurl</i>	<i>hurls it</i>	$k_t$ -tla-mutla <i>it-INTNS-hurl</i>	<i>throws it out</i>
$k_t$ -hnek <sup>w<sub>i</sub></sup> <i>it-smell</i>	<i>smells it</i>	tla-hnek <sup>w<sub>i</sub></sup> <i>INTNS-smell</i>	<i>smells very much</i>

Sometimes it seems to indicate a generalized action or some other semantic shift.

tla-lw <sub>i</sub> -k <sub>i</sub> š-t <sub>i</sub> -a <i>UNSPEC-feast-emerge-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>OBJ</i>		<i>throws (a) fiesta(s)</i>	
petlon <sub>i</sub> <i>it-clang-PRES</i>	<i>shines</i>	tla-petlon <sub>i</sub> <i>UNSPEC-clang</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>(it) lightnings</i>
$k_t$ -c <sub>i</sub> lin <sub>i</sub> -a <i>it-clang-PRES</i>	<i>clashes/clangs it</i>	tla-c <sub>i</sub> lin <sub>i</sub> <i>UNSPEC-clang</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>(bell) rings</i>
nies <sub>i</sub> <i>appear</i>	<i>appears</i>	tla-nies <sub>i</sub> <i>UNSPEC-appear</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>dawns</i>
tla-nieš-t <sub>i</sub> -a <i>UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>OBJ</i>			<i>illuminates/shines on/reveals things</i>

## QUESTIONS

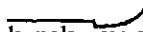
### Yes/No Questions

A YNQ is marked by a somewhat different intonation pattern from that for the corresponding declarative sentence. Higher tone on the last two syllables seems to be the main factor. Often it is difficult to tell from intonation alone whether a sentence is declarative or a YNQ. Some people mark YNQ with a rising final intonation.

  
 kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *He wants to go.*  
*it-want goes-FUT*

  
 kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *Does he want to go?*  
*it-want goes-FUT*

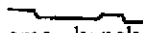
  
 kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *Does he want to go?*  
*it-want goes-FUT*

  
 kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *Does he want to go?*  
*it-want goes-FUT*

*welis perhaps* may be used at the beginning of a YNQ to express surprise at the mildly expected affirmative answer.

*welis*    kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *Does he want to go, then?*  
*perhaps it-want goes-FUT*

YNQ are typically answered by *kiema yes* or *amo no*; by *kiema* or *amo* followed by the whole interrogative sentence (with declarative intonation); or, more usually, by *kiema* or *amo* followed by the main verb of the question sentence.

  
 amo kɪ-nekɪ                              *No, he doesn't want to.* (appropriate response  
 NEG *it-want*                              to *Does he want to go?* above)

YNQ may also be answered by *kien-amo* (how-NEG) *of course* (cf. Spanish ¿cómo no?) or by *tlika amo* (why-NEG) *why not?*.

A YNQ with a NEG usually carries a mild expectation of a NEG answer.




amo kɪ-nekɪ tɔɔ-s                      *Doesn't he want to go, then?*  
 NEG *it-want goes-FUT*

ps amo                                      *No, (he doesn't).* (expected response)  
 well NEG

Another common type of YNQ involves a declarative sentence followed by the tag *mo-tiel* (REFL(?)-truly) *Isn't that so?*, which can carry either declarative or question intonation. When declarative intonation is used, the question seems to be a simple request for confirmation without any doubt of the truth-value of the statement.



Question intonation implies a slight doubt.

kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel	
<i>it-want goes-FUT REFL-truly</i>		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>
kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel	
<i>it-want goes-FUT REFL-truly</i>		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>
kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel	
<i>it-want goes-FUT REFL-truly</i>		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>

### WH Questions

ɔkɪ	<i>who?</i>	Other meanings: <i>one, anyone, someone (who), who</i>
tli	<i>what?</i>	<i>REL that, who</i>
kɔnɪ	<i>where?</i>	<i>the place where, any place where</i>
kiema	<i>when?</i>	(homophonous with <i>yes</i> ; k <sup>w</sup> ɔk <i>when</i> )
kienu	<i>how?</i>	<i>like (with V, ADJ)</i>
kiehkič	<i>how many?</i>	<i>as many as, all those who</i>
tli-ka	<i>why?</i>	<i>amo tlika for no particular reason</i>
<i>what-with</i>		<b>(i-pampa (its-on:account:of) because)</b>
tli para	<i>what for?</i>	
<i>what for</i>		
kɔtl-aha	<i>which one?</i>	
<i>which-he</i>		
kɔtl-ehwa	<i>which ones?</i>	
<i>which-they</i>		
kɔtl-i-me	<i>which ones?, Where are they?</i>	
<i>which-(?)-PL</i>		
kɔtleyaki	<i>which ones?, Where are they?</i>	
ɔkɪ-n-u	<i>which one?, who</i>	<i>anyone who, those who</i>
<i>who-DEM-DIST</i>	<i>is it (that)?</i>	
ɔkɪ-me-hu	<i>PL</i>	
<i>who-PL-DIST</i>		
kɔnen-ka	<i>Where is (it)?</i>	
<i>where-be</i>		

kiehkũ-tu ka wiewi <i>how-DIM with big</i> <i>many</i>	how big?	(kũ-tu-n-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX) ka wiewi <i>about so big</i> )
kiehkũ-pa <i>how-times</i> <i>many</i>	how many times?	
kieski-pa <i>few-times</i>	how many times?	a few times

The intonation of WHQ is like that of YNQ. Sometimes another intonation is used which maintains high pitch throughout the question and drops at the end.

tli-ka t-t-neki t-yɔ-s <i>what-with you-it-want you-go-FUT</i>	Why do you want to go?
---	------------------------

WH words tend to be initial. INTR normally precede them. Accompanying postpositions may also precede them: *ka* with, *pa* at, on, and the Spanish prepositions do so most commonly. *tli* seems to accept second position more readily than *ɔki* (compare their behavior as relatives under Oblique Relatives).

(i)-ka tli <i>its-with what</i>	with what?
ɔki i-ka <i>who his-with</i>	with whom?
de koni <i>from where</i>	from where?
tos kieni t-t-čiwa-s-ki <i>then how we-it-do-FUT-PL</i> (INTR)	What shall we do, then?

Some postpositions always advance to second position.

tli i-pampa o-t-t-k-či <i>what its-on PAST-you-it-do</i> <i>account</i> <i>PERF</i> <i>of</i>	Why did you do it?
--	--------------------

A topicalized element may also precede a WH word.

taha tli-ka o-t-t-wala <i>you what-with PAST-you-come</i>	Why did <u>you</u> come?
--	--------------------------

A WH word may be a constituent of an embedded or even doubly embedded clause.

tli t̥-k-nek̥ [ma n̥-k̥m-d-w̥ [ma k̥-čiwa-k̥]]  
*what you-it-want EXHRT I-them-say-APPLIC EXHRT it-do-PL*  
 SBJNCT

*What do you want me to tell them to do?*

noso *or* often follows a WH word with a meaning something like then or Spanish pues.

tli noso n̥-k-čiwa-s *What shall I do, then?*  
*what or I-it-do-FUT*

kient noso t-as̥-s-ki *How then will we arrive?*  
*how or we-arrive-FUT-PL*

noso precedes the WHW when used as introducer for a rhetorical question. (This usually is done when the question is one of a series.)

wel̥-s k<sup>W</sup>al̥ t̥-tlehu-s-ki kienam̥ komiš̥-t̥  
*possible-FUT good we-ascend-FUT-PL like lizard-ABS*  
*perhaps (POT)*

*Perhaps we can crawl up like a lizard?*

noso wel̥-s kač̥ k<sup>W</sup>al̥ t̥-pat̥oni-s-ki sana tutu-t̥l̥  
*or perhaps more good we-fly-FUT-PL like bird-ABS*  
*Or better, maybe we can fly like a bird?*

noso kient t̥-kisa-s-ki  
*or how we-emerge-FUT-PL*  
*Otherwise, how will we get out?*

## IMPERATIVES

### Positive Imperatives

Positive imperatives are marked by the prefix *št-* on the SBJNCT verb in place of the 2P SUBJ marker.

št-k-č̥lwa *Do it!*  
*IMP-it-do*

šo-mo-wik̥-t̥l̥-t̥iwec̥ *(You HON) take it quickly!*  
*IMP-HON-take-APPLIC-quickly*

sa št-ye-ta-k̥ *(You PL) shut up / sit still!*  
*just IMP-be-DUR-PL*

SBJNCT



ma k<sup>w</sup>alt oh-tl (muc-mo-wikt-lt) *Have a good trip.*  
 EXHRT good road-ABS (you-HON-carry-APPLIC)  
 OBJ

The FUT is sometimes used in an imperative sense, especially with NEG to express a prohibition.

amo ti-yɔ-s *Don't you go!*  
 NEG you-go-FUT

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Forms marked by † are freely productive; other forms are usually non-productive, though some are at least marginally productive.

### N + X = N

#### Affective Suffixes

-cin DIM/HON/endearment

-ci-cin PL

lama-ci (little) old lady  
 female-DIM  
 HON

ku-kušoh-ci\* lame man  
 RDP-lame-DIM

tloka-cin-tl lord (God or the  
 man-HON-ABS President)

to-tɔ-tah-ci-ci our town idols  
 our-RDP-father-RDP-DIM  
 HON

Some nouns always have -cin, others always have it in their ABS forms. All vowel-final monosyllabic nouns seem to be in this class, except a few which reduplicate (e.g., tie-te-tu RDP-stone-ABS). Presumably this is to avoid a one-syllable noun (cf. BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Absolutive).

ye-cin-tl beans  
 bean-DIM-ABS

i-ye-wa his beans  
 his-bean-POSSD  
 PL

korus-ci cross  
 cross-HON

i-korus-ci his cross  
 his-cross-HON

tle-cin-tl fire  
 fire-DIM-ABS

tle-mikt is very hot  
 fire-die

\*Most nouns (particularly borrowed ones) for the lame, deaf, blind, dumb, etc. have the -ci suffix. Compare the Spanish use of the DIM in such words, e.g., coj-ito (lame-DIM) *lame man*.

pd-cin-tlč *child*  
*child-DIM-ABS*

i-pd-wa *his children*  
*his-child-POSSD*  
 PL

pd-an-ci-ci *children*  
*child-(?)-RDP-DIM*

ɔ-cin-tlč *water*  
*water-DIM-ABS*

-tun (-to-tu(n))

This reflex of the historical DIM -toon survives on a large class of nouns, but its DIM force is lost in most cases and it tends to function as an ABS.

šiči-tu *dog*  
*dog-ABS*

šiči-me *dogs*  
*dog-PL*

sowa-tl *woman*  
*woman-ABS*

sowan-to-tu *girls (in some older*  
*woman-RDP-DIM* *speakers' speech)*  
 (?)

si-si-wan-tu *girl*  
 [RDP] DIM  
*woman*

siwan-to-tu *girls*  
*woman-RDP-DIM*  
 (?)

pd-alak-tlč *boy, youth*  
*child-(?)-ABS*

pd-tun-tlč *boy, young lad*  
*child-DIM-ABS*  
 (?)

kiehkič-tu ka wiewi  
*how-DIM with big*  
*much (?)*

*how big?*

kič-tu-n-t ka wiewi *about so big*  
*size-DIM-DEM-PROX with big*  
 (?) (?)

†-kone-ci *DIM*  
 -ku-kone *PL*

čon-kone-ci *little house*  
*home-child-DIM*

šiči-ku-kone *puppies*  
*dog-RDP-child*

dawin-kone-ci *little David*  
*PN-child-DIM*

†-wie-we *AUG* (cf. wiewi *big*, wie-wen-ci (*little*) *old (man)*)  
 -wie-wen-to-tu *PL*

gerra-wie-we *great war*  
*war-RDP-big*

koyu-wie-we *big coyote*  
*coyote-RDP-big*

šok-wie-wen-to-tu  
*olla-RDP-big-RDP-DIM*  
 (?)

*big ollas (pots)*

If the suffix *-ci HON* is used, *wie-we* may be used as a prefix, presumably to avoid confusion with *-wie-wen-ci old*.

<i>koyu-wie-we</i> <i>coyote-RDP-big</i>	<i>big coyote</i>	<i>koyu-wie-wen-ci</i> <i>coyote-RDP-big-DIM</i> <i>HON</i>	<i>old coyote</i>
<i>wie-we-koyu-ci</i> <i>RDP-big-coyote-HON</i>			<i>O honorable big coyote</i> (addressed by the flattering rabbit)

### Place Suffixes

<i>-tla</i>	<i>LOC</i>		
<i>ye-tla</i> <i>bean-LOC</i>	<i>bean patch</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>asowa-tla</i> <i>cazaguete-LOC</i>	<i>place of many</i> <i>cazaguete trees</i>
<i>k<sup>w</sup>ɔh-tlɔ</i> <i>tree-LOC</i>	<i>Cuautla</i>	<i>lalɔwis kulu-tla</i> <i>very scorpion-LOC</i>	<i>place of very many</i> <i>scorpions</i>
<i>-kamak</i>	<i>place full of</i>		
<i>ʃɔl-kamak</i> <i>sand-mouth</i> (?)	<i>sandy place, beach</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ɔh-kamak</i> <i>tree-mouth</i>	<i>forest</i>
<i>k<sup>w</sup>asowa-kamak</i> <i>cazaguete-mouth</i>			<i>place of many cazaguete trees</i>
<i>-ko</i>	<i>LOC</i>		
<i>kal-tien-ko</i> <i>house-rim-LOC</i>	<i>field</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>aw-tl-iʃ-ko</i> <i>tree-ABS-DIM-LOC</i> (?)	<i>Cuautlixco</i>

### Abstract/Collective

<i>-yu/-yo</i>	<i>ABSTR/COLL, system of</i>		
<i>ʃɔw-tl</i> <i>leaf-ABS</i>	<i>leaf</i>	<i>i-ʃh-yo</i> <i>its-leaf-COLL</i>	<i>its leafage, foliage</i>
<i>ʃiɕ-tl</i> <i>witch-ABS</i>	<i>witch doctor</i>	<i>ʃiɕ-yu-tl</i> <i>witch-ABSTR-ABS</i>	<i>sorcery</i>
<i>naka-tl</i> <i>meat-ABS</i>	<i>meat</i>	<i>naka-yu-tl</i> <i>meat-COLL-ABS</i>	<i>(the) flesh</i>
<i>tohm-tl</i> <i>feather-ABS</i>	<i>feather</i>	<i>i-tohme-yo</i> <i>its-feather-COLL</i>	<i>its plumage, fur</i>

ku-konie-tl	<i>doll, mannikin</i>	ku-konie-yo	<i>embroidered hem</i>
RDP-child-ABS		RDP-child-COLL	
tla-	<i>UNSPEC OBJ</i>		
yuloh-tl	<i>heart (of person,</i>	tla-yuloh-tl	<i>center, heart</i>
heart-ABS	<i>animal, etc.)</i>		
<u>Other</u>		<u>Other</u>	
†-mɬ-kɪ	<i>corpse, dead</i>	ʒiʒi-mɬ-kɪ	<i>dead dog</i>
		dog-die-ADJR	
†-lama	<i>female</i>	ʒiʒi-lama	<i>bitch</i>
		dog-female	
		yegwa-lama	<i>mare</i>
		mare-female	
†-karayu	<i>male (PEJ?)</i>	ʒiʒi-karayu	<i>male dog</i>
		dog-male	
†-wie-wen-ci	<i>old (male)</i>	ʒiʒi-wie-wen-ci	<i>old dog</i>
		dog-RDP-big-DIM	
		HON	
†-lama-ci	<i>old female</i>	ʒiʒi-lama-ci	<i>old bitch</i>
		dog-female-DIM	
		HON	
-nu	<i>AG</i>	ʒɔ-nu	<i>householder</i>
		home-AG	
-pɫ	<i>appendage</i>	no-mah-pɫ	<i>my finger</i>
		my-hand-child	
		no-kʂo-pɫ	<i>my toe</i>
		my-foot-child	
		i-k <sup>w</sup> ɪtla-pɫ	<i>its tail</i>
		its-dung-child	
-iero	<i>AG (Sp.)</i>	ɛswɪl-iero	<i>teacher (there is no</i>
		school-AG	<i>parallel Spanish word)</i>
RDP no-konie	<i>my son</i>	ku-konie-tl	<i>doll, mannikin</i>
my-child		RDP-child-ABS	
kukowɪ	<i>ox</i>	k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-k <sup>w</sup> ah-ʒuka	<i>(ox) moos</i>
ox		head-RDP-cry	
		ox	



V + X = N

†-ni	AG	tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-ni-me	gluttons
		UNSPEC-eat-AG-PL	
		OBJ	
		mo-šikow-ɔ-ni	the devil
		REFL-bear-PRES-AG	
		envy	
		čuka-ni	cry baby
		cry-AG	
-ki	characterized by (ADJ ending)		
-kɔ-ci-ci	PL		
tlowɔna	is drunk	tlowɔn-ki	drunkard
be(come)		be(come)-ADJR	
drunk		drunk	
teo-pš-kɔ-ci-ci		priests	(There is a large class of nouns with
god-have-ADJR-RDP-DIM:HON		-pš-ki.)	
tlah-mat-ki		wise man	
UNSPEC-know-ADJR			
OBJ			

## UNSPEC OBJ (sometimes in connection with other things)

tie-koko	pain(ful)	tie-mk-ti	poison(ous)
UNSPEC-hurt		UNSPEC-die-CAUS	
H:OBJ		H:OBJ kill	
ki-picow-a	kisses her	tla-picu-l-t	kiss
her-kiss-PRES		UNSPEC-kiss-NR-ABS	
		OBJ	
ki-mati	knows it	tlah-mat-ki	wise man
it-know		UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ADJR	
mo-mɔ-kiš-ti-a	is rescued	ne-mɔ-kiš-ti-ls-tli	salvation
REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES		UNSPEC:REFL-rescue-ABSTR-ABS	

## -ci DIM/HON

tla-k <sup>W</sup> a	eats	tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-ci	possum
UNSPEC:OBJ-eat		UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-DIM	
k <sup>W</sup> i-k <sup>W</sup> ika-yo-ci-ci	(kind of) crickets		
RDP-sing-ABSTR-RDP-DIM			

ABS	tla-nieš-ti-a	<i>illuminates</i>	tla-nieš-tli	<i>light, splendor</i>
	UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES		UNSPEC-appear-ABS	
	OBJ		OBJ	
	tla-tuk-tli	<i>planted field</i>	sek <sup>W</sup> i-s-tli	<i>volcano (snow-capped)</i>
	UNSPEC-plant-ABS		be-FUT(?)ABS	
	OBJ		cold	
	ki-ckow-a	<i>glues/sticks/</i>	k <sup>W</sup> ah-ck-tli	<i>grafted shoot</i>
	it-stick-PRES	<i>learns it</i>	tree-stick-ABS	
-l	<i>object or result of V</i>			
	tuna	<i>shines, is hot</i>	tuna-l-i	<i>sun, day</i>
	shine		shine-NR-ABS	
	tla-yowa	<i>becomes dark</i>	yowa-l-i	<i>night</i>
	UNSPEC:OBJ-darken		darken-NR-ABS	
	tlaoa	<i>shells corn</i>	tlaui-l-i	<i>shelled corn</i>
	shell:corn		shell:corn-NR-ABS	
	ki-čiwa	<i>does it</i>	tla-čiwa-l-i	<i>deed</i>
	it-do		UNSPEC:OBJ-do-NR-ABS	
	čhča-l-i	<i>spittle</i>	no-tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-l	<i>my food/my eating</i>
	spit-NR-ABS		my-UNSPEC-eat-NR	<i>ground (P-G-60,</i>
			OBJ	<i>10)</i>
†-lis	<i>ABSTR</i>			
	tla-čiwa-l-i	<i>deed</i>	tla-čiwa-lis-tli	<i>doing, deed</i>
	UNSPEC-do-NR-ABS		UNSPEC-do-ABSTR-ABS	
	OBJ		OBJ	
	ki-tieka	<i>pours it out</i>	tieki-lis-tli	<i>diarrhea</i>
	it-pour		pour-ABSTR-ABS	
	mo-yul-siewi-a	<i>feels peaceful</i>	ne-yul-siewi-lis-tli	<i>peace</i>
	REFL-heart-rest-PRES		UNSPEC-heart-rest-ABSTR-ABS	
			REFL	

Some of the odd things that happen before *-li* APPLIC also occasionally happen before *-lis*. An *a* may change to *i* (as in the second example above, but not the first). A *tla* may change to *ti* and apicals may palatalize. (See STEMS, Other Phonological Changes.)

ki-yek-tie-niewa	<i>praises him</i>
him-well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention	
yek-tie-niewa-lis-tli	<i>praise</i>
well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention-ABSTR-ABS	

yek-tie-niewi-lus-tli		<i>praise</i>
ki-tlasohtla		<i>loves him</i>
him-love		
tlasohtli-lus-tli		<i>love</i>
love-ABSTR-ABS		
ki-mati		<i>knows it</i>
it-know		
no-mači-s-ti-lis		<i>my knowledge</i>
my-know-FUT(?) -CONN:(CAUS?) -ABSTR		

## -s ABSTR

tla-tlasi	<i>coughs</i>	tla-tlaši-s-tli	<i>a cough, the grippé</i>
RDP-cough		RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS	

## -yu/-yo ABSTR, COLL

k <sup>w</sup> ika-yu-tli	<i>song</i>	k <sup>w</sup> ika-ti-lis-tli	<i>song</i>
sing-ABSTR-ABS		sing-CONN:(CAUS?) -ABSTR-ABS	
tla-seh-sie-yo	<i>shadow, shade</i>		
UNSPEC-RDP-rest/cool-ABSTR			
OBJ			

## -ti-ero AG (Sp.)

ki-mači-s-ti-a	<i>warns, informs him</i>		
him-know-FUT(?) -CAUS-PRES			
mači-s-ti-ero	<i>teacher</i>	mki-s-ti-ero	<i>murderer</i>
know-FUT-CAUS-AG		die-FUT-CAUS-AG	

## ∅

čtyowa	<i>fat(ness), becomes greasy</i>		
kukowe/	<i>ox (probably from k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-k<sup>w</sup>a-wi (head-RDP-VR) is horned)</i>		
k <sup>w</sup> ɔkowe			

ADJ + X = N

## -yu ABSTR

wie-wen-ci	<i>old</i>	wie-weh-yu-tli	<i>age(dness)</i>
RDP-big-DIM:HON		RDP-big-ABSTR-ABS	
ši-pec-ti-k	<i>naked</i>	ši-pec-yu-tli	<i>misery</i>
peeling-slippery-CONN-ADJR		naked-ABSTR-ABS	

riko	<i>rich</i>	i-rikoh-yu	<i>his wealth</i>
<i>rich</i>		<i>his-rich-ABSTR</i>	

-lu *PASS(?)*

k <sup>w</sup> ečowa-k	<i>humid, wet</i>	k <sup>w</sup> ečowa-lu-tl	<i>humidity, wetness</i>
<i>humid-ADJR</i>		<i>humid-PASS(?) -ABS</i>	

ADJ often function as N without any change in form. Sometimes some sort of nominal affix is added which nominalizes an ADJ which is already functioning as a N.

koh-kul-tu-k	<i>twisted</i>	koh-kul-ci	<i>lame man (with</i>
<i>RDP-twist-CONN-ADJR</i>		<i>RDP-twist-DIM</i>	<i>twisted feet)</i>

### Other

tla-kpak	<i>above, up high</i>	nie-ka	<i>that one</i>
<i>UNSPEC-on: top:of</i>		<i>DIST-be</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>			

<u>tla-kpak-nie-ka-tl</u>	<i>man from the high country</i>
<i>above-DEM-ABS</i>	

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-ti CAUS, become

ki-tlaken-ti-a clothes him  
 him-clothing-CAUS-PRES

čarampeyoh-ti has measles  
 measles-CAUS

ki-pd-wah-ti-a engenders children on her  
 her-child-POSSD.PL-CAUS-PRES

ki-pah-ti-a doctors him, heals him  
 him-medicine-CAUS-PRES

mo-nomik-tua (she) gets married  
 REFL-husband-CAUS-PRES

ki-lukoh-ti-ti-a drives him crazy  
 him-crazy-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

-wi APPLIC

ki-pah-wi-a fumigates it  
 it-medicine-APPLIC-PRES

ki-mačieteh-wi-a hits it with a machete  
 it-machete-APPLIC-PRES

ki-mah-pd-wi-a points at/gestures to it  
 it-hand-child-APPLIC-PRES  
 finger

ki-soh-soki-wi-a muddies it  
 it-RDP-mud-APPLIC-PRES

-ow-a TRNS VR

-twi/-iewti INTRNS VR

mo-šinoč-ow-a multiplies, increases  
 REFL-seed-VR-PRES

puč-iewti becomes smoky,  
 smoke-VR sooty

ki-čil-u-ti-a puts chile on it  
 it-chile-VR(?) -CAUS-PRES:(TRNS)

compil-twi has a cold  
 grippe-VR

ki-puč-iew-a smokes it up  
 it-smoke-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

-a TRNS

-t INTRNS

tiem-t is full  
 rim-INTRNS

ki-tlɔli-a places/puts/seats it  
 it-ground-PRES:(TRNS)

ki-tiem-a pours it out  
 it-rim-PRES:(TRNS)

-yo

koko-lis-yo-hku      *They were sick.*hurt-ABSTR-VR-PL

sickness      PERF

ADJ + X = V-uw/-iew      *become ADJ*čičil-iew-ti      *reddens*

red-VR-INTRNS

pico-nel-uw-ti      *gets dirty*pig(?)-VR-INTRNS

filthy

k-istok-iew-a      *whitens it*

it-white-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

wehkɔ-w-ti      *takes a long time,*far-VR-INTRNS      *has been a long time*-li      *APPLIC*ki-čiči-li-a      *embitters it*

it-bitter-APPLIC-PRES

ki-meyak-ti-li-a      *increases it*

it-much(?)-APPLIC-PRES

ki-sie-ti-li-a      *unites it*

it-one-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

k-dhyɔ-li-li-a      *makes it stink*

it-stinky-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

ki-yek-ti-li-a      *sanctifies him*him-upright-CONN-APPLIC-PRES  
(CAUS?)ki-sen-te-ti-li-a      *joins it*

it-one-NUM-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

V + X = V

These endings are used with verbs taken from Spanish. They are fully productive.

-ow-a      *TRNS VR*-uw-ti      *INTRNS VR*pasɔr-uw-ti      *happens*

happen-VR

ki-pasɔr-ow-a      *happens to him*

him-happen-VR-PRES

## ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

X + Y = ADJ

-(tɨ)-k	ADJR,	-(tɨ)-k-tɨ	PL		
tlil-t		soot		tlil-t-t-k	black
soot-ABS				soot-CONN-ADJR	
kahwien-t-t-k		brown		ʃi-ʃil-t-t-k	red
coffee-CONN-ADJR				RDP-chile-CONN-ADJR	
ʃikole-k-t-t-k		peeled		ye-t-t-k-tɨ	heavy PL
peel-PERF-CONN-ADJR				bean-CONN-ADJR-PL	
(?)				(?)	
tɨasoh-t-t-k		scarce, dear			
love-CONN-ADJR					

ADJ ending in *owa-k* (which are numerous) lose their final *a* before the PL ending. A few other ADJ similarly lose an *tɨ*.

tomowa-k	thick	toh-tomoh-k-tɨ	thick PL
thick-ADJR		RDP-thick-ADJR-PL	
wiel-t-k	delicious	wiel-k-tɨ	delicious PL
delicious-ADJR		delicious-ADJR-PL	

-kɨ PERF PRTC (not freely productive synchronically)

-kɔ when non-final

comuntɨ	breaks	comun-kɨ	broken
break		break-ADJR	
kaʃɔntɨ	becomes soft,	kaʃɔn-kɨ	soft, loose
become:soft	loose	become:soft-ADJR	
k <sup>W</sup> eswtɨ	hurries	k <sup>W</sup> esih-kɨ	intelligent,
hurry		hurry-ADJR	light-footed
mih-kɔ-koyok-tɨ	tomb		
<u>die-ADJR-cave-ABS</u>			
dead man			

Sometimes a PERF verb in an unmarked relative construction is used as an adjective. This form is sometimes offered as an alternative to the *-kɨ* PRTC form, perhaps with an active instead of passive sense.

i-mɔ	o-wɔk	his withered hand
his-hand	PAST-dry:PERF	
i-mɔ	wɔh-kɨ	his withered hand
his-hand	dry-ADJR	

## UNSPEC OBJ

tie-mah-tt          *frightful, scary*  
 UNSPEC-fear-CAUS  
 H:OBJ

tla-tek-tt          *all cut up, scarred*  
 UNSPEC-cut-ABS  
 OBJ

## ABS

tla-ši-pieh-tt      *peeled*  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-peeling-begin-ABS

## -yo          ABSTR

co-co-yo          *hairy, furry, fuzzy*  
 RDP-hair-ABST

ADJ + X = ADJ

## iš-          -ish (productive)

iš-k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-k<sup>w</sup>al-ci      *rather pretty, pretty*  
face-RDP-good-DIM      *of face*  
*pretty*

iš-neš-t-k          *grayish*  
 eye-gray-CONN-ADJR

## -ci          DIM

wieyt              *big*  
*big*

wie-weyth-ci      *rather big, biggish*  
 RDP-big-DIM

wie-wen-ci        *old*  
 RDP-big-DIM:HON

k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-k<sup>w</sup>al-ci        *pretty, beautiful*  
 RDP-good-DIM

yek-        *well, upright*

yeh-k<sup>w</sup>al-tt-k      *very good, perfect*  
 well-good-CONN-ADJR

yek-melak-tt-k    *completely straight,*  
 well-straight-CONN-ADJR    *truthful,*  
    *righteous*

## RDP        (see above examples)

k<sup>w</sup>alt                *good*

k<sup>w</sup>ah-k<sup>w</sup>alt        *very good/good PL*



## COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

	<u>N + N = N</u>	
N <sub>1</sub> characterizes N <sub>2</sub>	k <sup>w</sup> itla-cika-tl <i>dung-ant-ABS</i>	<i>dung ant</i>
	kuska-čapol-ı <i>collar-grasshopper-ABS</i>	<i>collared grasshopper</i>
	mđ-kɔ-tla-tlašɛ-s-tl <i>die-ADJR-RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS</i>	<i>whooping cough</i>
		<i>dead man cough</i>
N <sub>2</sub> characterizes N <sub>1</sub>	i-cocoma-tatapa <i>his-cloth(es)-rag</i>	<i>his ragged clothes</i>
N <sub>2</sub> is made of N <sub>1</sub>	ye-mul-ı <i>bean-mole-ABS</i>	<i>bean mole (soup)</i>
	tle-mul-ı <i>fire-mole-ABS</i>	<i>red mole (very picante)</i>
	tepos-tutu-tl <i>iron-bird-ABS</i>	<i>airplane</i>
N <sub>2</sub> is for N <sub>1</sub>	trenh-oh-tl <i>train-path-ABS</i>	<i>railroad</i>
	tlɔl-piko <i>dirt-pick</i>	<i>pick, mattock</i>
N <sub>2</sub> is in N <sub>1</sub>	k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-teš-tl <i>head-dough-ABS</i>	<i>brains</i>
	k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-teneš-tl <i>head-plaster: of: Paris-ABS</i>	<i>dandruff</i>
	k <sup>w</sup> ah-pıco-tl <i>tree-pig-ABS</i>	<i>wild pig</i>
	cin-tatapah-tl <i>bottom-rag-ABS</i>	<i>diaper</i>
N <sub>1</sub> causes N <sub>2</sub>	šič-koko-ls-tl <i>witch-hurt-ABSTR-ABS</i>	<i>sickness caused by witchcraft</i>
	<i>sickness</i>	

$N_1$ is source of $N_2$	tutol-te-tl <i>bird-stone-ABS</i>	egg
	i-yeka-tol-k <sup>W</sup> atl <i>his-nose-tissue(?) -dung</i>	his snot/mucus
	i-čiči-wal-ɔ-yo <i>her-suck-come(?) -water-ABSTR</i>	her breast milk
	breast	juice
$N_2$ is part of $N_1$	tutol-te-kakawa-tl <i>bird-stone-pod-ABS</i>	egg shell
	egg	
coordinate	toma-čil-t <i>tomato-chile-ABS</i>	tomato and chile sauce
	i-tlɔka-tkɛ <i>his-man-brother</i>	his neighbor/fellow-man

ADJ + N = N

teson-capo-tl <i>raspy-zapote-ABS</i>	<i>mamey (fruit)</i>	čil-tutu-tl <i>red-bird-ABS</i>	<i>a variety of red bird</i>
cohyo-k-šuč-tl <i>stinky-ADJR-flower-ABS</i>	<i>a variety of flower that smells burnt</i>		
kos-tl-k-atul-t <i>yellow-CONN-ADJR-atole-ABS</i>	<i>yellow atole (gruel)</i>	k <sup>W</sup> ieč-pah-tl <i>ground-medicine-ABS</i>	<i>powdered medicine</i>

N + ADJ = N

te-te-wie-wen-ci <i>RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM:HON</i>	<i>boulder</i>	tlɔl-man-kɛ <i>land-flatten-ADJR</i>	<i>(a) plain</i>
old		flat	
tlɔl-neš-tl-k <i>dirt-gray-CONN-ADJR</i>	<i>a type of grayish clay</i>	šulie-pičɔh-k-t <i>mushroom-narrow-ADJR-PL</i>	<i>slender mushrooms</i>

V + N = N

popuka-sitlal-t <i>smoke-star-ABS</i>	<i>comet</i>	popuka-tepie-tl <i>smoke-mountain-ABS</i>	<i>Popocatepetl</i>
tem ɔ-s-kal-t <i>steam-FUT-house-ABS</i>	<i>sauna bath house</i>		
bathe			

N + V = N

k<sup>W</sup>ah-cik-tli *grafted shoot*  
*tree-stick.to-ABS*

ičpuč-kowa-l-i *old maid*  
*daughter-remain-NR-ABS*

N + V = N

šuči-k<sup>W</sup>a-l-i *fruit*  
*flower-eat-NR-ABS*

(PASS?)

Verb CompoundsN + V = V

N = OBJ

ki-keč-pɔc-ow-a *strangles it*  
*it-neck-squeeze-VR-PRES*

ki-pah-k<sup>W</sup>a-lt-a *poisons him*  
*him-medicine-eat-CAUS-PRES*

ki-pɔkt-lus-maka *makes him happy*  
*him-rejoice-ABSTR-give*  
*joy*

ɔ-saka *carts water*  
*water-cart*

with OBJ

ki-sokɪ-nelow-a *mixes it with mud*  
*it-mud-mix-PRES*

N = LOC

ki-kama-pɔya *has it in his mouth*  
*it-mouth-have*

k<sup>W</sup>ah-tlehko *climbs a tree*  
*tree-ascend*

origin

ki-mɔ-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ *snatches it from the hand*  
*it-hand-grab*

ki-puro-tepešɔwt-a *dumps it off a burro*  
*it-burro-dump-PRES*

destination

ki-sokɪ-akɪ-a *puts it into the mud*  
*it-mud-fit-PRES*

ki-kšɪ-mutla *shoots at his feet*  
*him-foot-hurl*

relative  
 position

ki-nakas-ika-tieka *lays it on its side*  
*it-ear-with-lay*

ki-cin-yewal-tɪ-a *places it around the base*  
*it-bottom-surround-CAUS-PRES*

N = INSTR

ki-ihyu-tiema *inflates it*  
*it-breath-fill*

	kt-puk-tiemt-tt-a	<i>fills it with smoke</i> <i>it-smoke-fill-CAUS-PRES</i>
	kt-ihyu-mtk-tt-a	<i>suffocates him</i> <i>him-breath-die-CAUS-PRES</i>
	k-ɔ-ihyu-mtk-tt-a	<i>drowns him</i> <i>him-water-breath-die-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>suffocate</i>
	m-ɔ-kokow-a	<i>(plant) becomes sick from</i> <i>REFL-water-hurt-PRES too much water</i>
	ɔptis-mtki	<i>is very hungry</i> <i>famine-die</i>
N = MAN	k-ɬknu-dhta	<i>has pity on him</i> <i>him-orphan-see</i>
	tu-mɔ-neh-nemɔ	<i>crawls</i> <i>all(?)-hand-RDP-walk</i>
	k <sup>W</sup> ɪtla-kisa	<i>comes gushing out</i> <i>dung-emerge</i>
	bakieroh-kisa	<i>plays the part of a cowboy</i> <i>cowboy-emerge</i>
	bɔka-žuka	<i>(cow) moos, lows</i> <i>cow-cry</i>
	žk <sup>W</sup> a-tla-htow-a	<i>speaks evil, slanders,</i> <i>owl-UNSPEC-say-PRES blasphemes</i> <i>(?) OBJ</i>
N = time	tt-tlahko-tla-k <sup>W</sup> ɔ-s-kt	<i>We will eat at noon.</i> <i>we-half-UNSPEC-eat-FUT-PL</i> <i>OBJ</i>
N = purpose	kt-keč-tekoyɔw-a	<i>cuts a neck-hole in it</i> <i>it-neck-pierce-PRES</i>
N = SUBJ	con-te-ko-tlapɔn-t	<i>has a (splitting) headache</i> <i>hair-CONN(?)-LOC(?)-split-INTRNS</i> <i>head open</i>
	ihte-žuka	<i>his stômiáč grows</i> <i>stomach-cry</i>
	koč-kama-koyɔw-t	<i>yawns</i> <i>sleep-mouth-open-INTRNS</i>

	kuku-posowt <i>throat-swell</i>	<i>has a swollen throat</i>
	miec-tuna <i>moon-shine:brightly</i>	<i>(moon) shines brightly, it's a bright night</i>
	mɔ-k <sup>W</sup> ah-ti <i>hand-wood-VR</i> <i>tire</i>	<i>his hands tire</i>
	<u>V + V = V</u>	
V <sub>1</sub> = OBJ	k-htu-s-nekt <i>it-say-FUT-want</i>	<i>means</i>
	kočt-s-nekt <i>sleep-FUT-want</i>	<i>is sleepy</i>
V <sub>1</sub> = MAN	čukt-s-wie-wecka <i>cry-FUT-RDP-smile</i>	<i>smiles through tears</i>
	kt-mah-kɔ-thta <i>him-fear-MAN-see</i>	<i>looks at him fearfully</i>
	kt-kuku-pɔc-mk-tt-a <i>him-throat-squeeze-die-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>strangle kill</i>	<i>strangles him</i>
	kt-koč-tie-mikt <i>him-sleep-UNSPEC-die</i> <i>H</i> <u><i>OBJ</i></u> <i>dream</i>	<i>dreams of him</i>
	tlasoh-kɔ-matu <i>love-MAN-know</i>	<i>thank you</i>
	<u>MOD + V = V</u>	
adjectival	kt-wieyt-čiwa <i>it-big-make</i>	<i>makes it big</i>
	kt-wehka-pano-a <i>him-high-pass-PRES</i>	<i>elevates it, exalts him</i>
	kt-wel-mat <i>it-delicious-know</i>	<i>likes its taste</i>
	mɔšo-kisa <i>tame-emerge</i>	<i>becomes tame</i>
	kt-k <sup>W</sup> al-thta <i>it-good-see</i>	<i>likes it</i>

adverbial	pucoh-kɔ-sek <sup>W</sup> <sub>t</sub> <i>ugly-MAN-be:cold</i>	<i>has (malarial) chills</i>
	k-ičteka-nu-nuca <i>him-secretly-RDP-call</i>	<i>talks to him/her (lovers) secretly</i>
	ki-meloh-kɔ-powa <i>it-true-MAN-tell</i>	<i>testifies, affirms truthfully</i>

(See also INCORPORATION.)

### Adjective Compounds

#### N + ADJ = ADJ

yul-tepic-ti-k <i>heart-hard-CONN-ADJR</i>	<i>hard-hearted</i>	yul-kašon-ki <i>heart-soften-ADJR</i>	<i>tender-hearted</i>
yul-kapoc-ti-k <i>heart-black-CONN-ADJR</i>	<i>black-hearted, evil</i>		
k <sup>W</sup> ɔ-isto-k <i>head-white-ADJR</i>	<i>white-haired, white hair</i>	k <sup>W</sup> ɔ-pin-ti-k <i>head-pointed-CONN-ADJR</i>	<i>sharp-pointed, oval</i>
nakas-pačun-ti-k <i>ear-approach-CONN-ADJR</i>	<i>long-haired, in need of a haircut</i>		
iš-k <sup>W</sup> ɔ-k <sup>W</sup> al-ci <i>eye/face/sort:of-RDP-good-DIM</i>	<i>pretty of face, handsome, sort of pretty</i>		
	<i>pretty</i>		
iš-isto-k <i>eye/sort:of-white-ADJR</i>	<i>whitish, cataracted eye</i>		

## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-tl/-tlɛ/-t

It is no longer possible to completely predict phonologically which form of the ABS will go on which stem. -t occurs mostly after l but also occasionally after c or č; -tlɛ occurs after all other consonants, and -tl after vowels (and the semivowels w and y, and some cases of m, on one analysis). The ABS is dropped from a noun when the noun is possessed, when it is pluralized, when any other suffix is added to it, when it is the first element in a compound, and (in most cases) when a postposition is added.

kak-tlɛ <i>sandal-ABS</i>	<i>sandal</i>	no-kak <i>my-sandal</i>	<i>my sandal</i>
kak-me <i>sandal-PL</i>	<i>sandals</i>	tlɔl-t <i>earth-ABS</i>	<i>earth, dirt</i>
no-tlɔl <i>my-earth</i>	<i>my land</i>	tlɔl-pa <i>earth-on</i>	<i>on the ground</i>
k <sup>w</sup> eya-tl <i>frog-ABS</i>	<i>frog</i>	k <sup>w</sup> eya-me <i>frog-PL</i>	<i>frogs</i>
kumč-t <i>mouse-ABS</i>	<i>mouse</i>	kt-kumč-te <i>RDP-mouse-PL</i>	<i>mice</i>
čič-tlɛ <i>witch-ABS</i>	<i>witch doctor</i>	či-čič-te <i>RDP-witch-PL</i>	<i>witch doctors</i>

Quite a few nouns, most of which end in wɛ or yɛ, drop their final t along with the ABS. A number of nouns ending in mɛ can be viewed as behaving similarly. One could propose a special ABS -tl for these cases or postulate the use of the -tl ABS and let the t be epenthesized (see Major Phonological Processes). See the next section for a different treatment of the nouns ending in m-tl.

šɔw-tl <i>leaf-ABS</i>	<i>leaf</i>	šɔh-me <i>leaf-PL</i>	<i>leaves</i>
i-šɔh-yo <i>its-leaf-COLL</i>	<i>its foliage</i>	k <sup>w</sup> aw-tl <i>tree-ABS</i>	<i>tree, wood</i>
k <sup>w</sup> ah-me <i>tree-PL</i>	<i>trees</i>	k <sup>w</sup> ah-pico-tl <i>tree-pig-ABS</i>	<i>wild pig</i>
k <sup>w</sup> iey-tl <i>skirt-ABS</i>	<i>skirt, dress</i>	i-k <sup>w</sup> ie <i>her-skirt</i>	<i>her skirt</i>
k <sup>w</sup> em-tl <i>furrow-ABS</i>	<i>furrow</i>	k <sup>w</sup> e-me <i>furrow-PL</i>	<i>furrows</i>

tlakiem-tl <i>clothes-ABS</i>	<i>costume, dress, clothing</i>	i-tlakie <i>his-clothes</i>	<i>his costume, etc.</i>
tekol-u(tl) <i>coal-ABS</i>	<i>coal (of fire)</i>	tekol-me <i>coal-PL</i>	<i>coals</i>

Nouns ending in *tla* similarly lose their final *a* along with the ABS in the possessed forms, but not in the plural or compounding forms.

petla-tl <i>petate-ABS</i>	<i>petate (woven mat)</i>	i-petl <i>his-petate</i>	<i>his petate</i>
petla-me <i>petate-PL</i>	<i>petates</i>	k <sup>W</sup> tlā-tl <i>dung-ABS</i>	<i>dung</i>
i-k <sup>W</sup> tl <i>his-dung</i>	<i>his dung</i>	k <sup>W</sup> tlā-kisa <i>dung-emerge</i>	<i>gushes out</i>

At least one other word also loses a final *a* along with *-tl*:

con-te-koma-tl <i>hair-stone-gourd-ABS</i>	<i>head, skull</i>	to-con-te-ko <i>our-head</i>	<i>the human head, our heads</i>
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*-tu* (historically DIM) sometimes acts as an ABS.

čiči-tu <i>dog-ABS</i>	<i>dog</i>	čiči-me <i>dog-PL</i>	<i>dogs</i>
no-čiči <i>my-dog</i>	<i>my dog</i>		
tie-te-tu <i>RDP-stone-ABS</i>	<i>stone</i>	te-me <i>stone-PL</i>	<i>stones</i>
kaka-tu <i>toad-DIM(?)</i>	<i>toad</i>	kaka-to-tu <i>toad-RDP-DIM</i>	<i>toads</i>

*-ci(n)* DIM/HON also behaves like an ABS in some words.

puro-kone-ci <i>donkey-child-DIM</i>	<i>donkey foal</i>	puro-ku-kone <i>donkey-RDP-child</i>	<i>donkey foals</i>
i-puro-kone <i>his-donkey-child</i>	<i>his donkey foal</i>		

Quite a few nouns (Spanish loans in particular) do not have an ABS.

alɔʃɔʃ	<i>orange</i>	čil-tekpi <i>chile-(?)</i>	<i>(a very hot chile)</i>
peyu	<i>peon</i>	kašu	<i>box</i>



Obligatorily possessed nouns may also exceptionally appear with ABS.

$\iota$ -mɔ-tl	<i>hand</i>	$\iota$ -kni-tl	<i>brother</i>
<i>his(?)</i> -hand-ABS		<i>his(?)</i> -brother-ABS	

The initial  $\iota$  may best be treated as an epenthesis to avoid one-syllable nouns. (Cf. the third footnote under **BE** for a similar proposal for verbs. Note also that most monosyllabic nouns either have RDP in the singular (e.g., tie-te-tu RDP-stone-ABS) or have -cin DIM (see NOUN MORPHOLOGY,  $N + X = N$ ).

Sometimes -tli shows up where -tl is expected, with a slight change of meaning.

tli	tloka-tli	ika-ka	in-i	<i>What sort of man is this?</i>
<i>what</i>	<i>man</i> -ABS	<i>is</i> -RDP	DEM-PROX	

### Plural

-me/-te

It is no longer possible to predict completely which stems will take -me and which will take -te. Some can have either.

sital- $\iota$	<i>star</i>	sital-te	<i>stars</i>
sital-me	<i>stars</i>		

Some speakers are beginning to try to differentiate meanings with different PL markers. For instance, according to one man:

tla-htu-l- $\iota$	<i>word, language</i>	tla-htu-l-me	<i>words</i>
UNSPEC-say-NR-ABS		word-PL	
OBJ			
tla-htu-l-te	<i>languages</i>		
word-PL			

-me seems to have spread historically, yet -te seems presently more productive--it is the usual plural on Spanish loans, for instance. Some ADJ also seem to use this PL.

tuntoh-te	<i>idiots, stupid PL</i>	bokah-te	<i>cows</i>
stupid-PL		cow-PL	

A very few nouns seem to take no PL ending but simply lose their ABS in the PL.

tloka-tl	<i>man</i>	tloka	<i>men</i>
<i>man</i> -ABS			
kumi-tl	<i>water pot</i>	kumi	<i>water pots</i>
<i>water:pot</i> -ABS			

ʒom-tl	<i>adobe</i>	ʒom	<i>adobes</i>
<i>adobe-ABS</i>			

All of the nouns in this category that I know of except *tlɔka* end in *m* like *kum* and *ʒom*. However, for most speakers *ɪ* and *e* tend to neutralize in this context, and some speakers pronounce them as a definite *me*. So for these speakers it is probably best to analyze these cases as examples of the *-tl* ABS (whether or not a result of epenthesis; see under *Absolutive*) and *-me* PL, with *mm* reducing to *m*. Supporting this analysis is the fact that the possessed form of *tlakiem-tl* *clothing* is *i-tlakie* (*his-clothing*), not *i-tlakiem* as one would expect if the stem were really *tlakiem*.\* Note also *i-ku* *his water pot*. Also, compounded forms with these nouns do not have the *ɪ* in them.

ʒom-tl	<i>cornstalk</i>	ʒom-pehpēna	<i>gathers cornstalks</i>
<i>cornstalk-ABS</i>		<i>cornstalk-choose</i>	
ʒon-kal-t	<i>shack made of</i>	ʒon-teki	<i>cuts cornstalks</i>
<i>cornstalk-house-ABS</i>	<i>cornstalks</i>	<i>cornstalk-cut</i>	
ʒom-tl	<i>adobe</i>	ʒon-kotok-tl	<i>piece of adobe</i>
<i>adobe-ABS</i>		<i>adobe-broken-ABS</i>	

-(e)s

A minority of Spanish loan words take this Spanish PL.

peyu	<i>peon</i>	peyun-es	<i>peons</i>
		<i>peon-PL</i>	
peyun-te	<i>peons</i>		
<i>peon-PL</i>			

Some nouns have the Spanish PL in their singular form, and use the *Aztec* PL to form the plural.

kalɔbos	<i>nail</i> (from Sp.	kalɔbos-te	<i>nails</i>
<i>nail</i>	<i>clavos nails</i> )	<i>nail-PL</i>	

-kɪ

A very few nouns use *-kɪ* as their PL. This is probably the same ending as *-k-t* (ADJR-PL), which appears on almost all PL ADJ. (There is also a *-kɪ* PL used on PERF and FUT verbs.) This PL is pronounced *-kɔ* when it is not final.

kukowe	<i>ox</i>	kukoweh-kɪ	<i>oxen</i>
<i>ox</i>		<i>ox-PL</i>	

\*The final *m*, of course, deletes. Interestingly enough, Pochutla had parallel forms ending in *m-t*, where the *-t* was ABS, e.g., Poch. *atom-t* *louse*, Tetel. *atmt-tl* *louse*. This suggests that perhaps these forms arose historically from an epenthesis.

tlá-teki-pano *servant*  
 UNSPEC-work-pass  
 OBJ

tlá-teki-panoh-ki *servants*  
 servant-PL

mo-tlá-teki-panoh-kɔ-ci-ci-wa *your HON servants*  
 your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL

sie *one*  
 one

se-ki *some, several, a few*  
 one-PL

-i *ADJ PL*

weya-k *long*  
 long-ADJR

wie-weya-k-i *long PL*  
 RDP-long-ADJR-PL

čiči-k *bitter*  
 bitter-ADJR

čiči-k-i *bitter PL*  
 bitter-ADJR-PL

ADJ ending in *li-k* lose the *i* in the PL; ADJ ending in *ɔwa-k* lose the *a*. The *i* case could be accounted for by epenthesis of the *i*; the *a* case perhaps by epenthesis feeding a vowel harmony rule.

wiel-k *delicious*  
 delicious-ADJR

wiel-k-i *delicious PL*  
 delicious-ADJR-PL

copiel-k\* *sweet*  
 sweet-ADJR

copiel-k-i *sweet PL*  
 sweet-ADJR-PL

čikɔwa-k *strong*  
 strong-ADJR

čikɔh-k-i *strong PL*  
 strong-ADJR-PL

picɔwa-k *thin*  
 thin-ADJR

picɔh-k-i *thin PL*  
 thin-ADJR-PL

-tie *QNT PL* (from -te PL tensed?)

meyak *much*  
 much

meyak-tie *many*  
 much-PL

noči *all*  
 all

in-noč-tie *all of them*  
 their-all-PL

mɔk<sup>w</sup>il-tie *five of them*  
 five-PL  
 (in some older  
 people's speech)

mɔk<sup>w</sup>il-te *five of them*  
 five-PL

-wa *POSSD PL*

no-mɔ *my hand*  
 my-hand

no-mɔ-wa *my hands*  
 my-hand-POSSD:PL

\*This is probably etymologically related to *wielk*, though there is no *co-* morpheme I know of with an appropriate meaning. Cf. *ɔ-wielk* (water-delicious-ADJR) *watery-tasting, insipid*.

pɔrinoh-tl godfather-ABS	godfather	i-pɔrinoh-wa his-godfather-POSSD:PL	his godparents
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In a few cases a POSSD noun will appear with RDP to indicate PL, and no *-wa*. A distributive or 'respective' meaning may be implied in these cases.

i-kič-tu his-size-DIM(?)	his size	to-kič-to-tu our-size-RDP-DIM	our (respective) sizes
čon-tl home-ABS	home, dwelling	in-čah-čɔ their-RDP-home DISTR(?)	their (respective) homes

## RDP

Reduplication either of the type  $C_1V_1 - C_1V_1 \times$  or  $C_1V_1 - C_1V_1 \times$  or the [ətns] [ətns] (DISTR?) type involving an *h* after the RDP is used to indicate plurality. In a case or two it appears that a backwards (i.e., the RDP is on the right) RDP is used. A few stems are RDP, usually with *-me* or *-te* also used and several suffixes. Some ADJ are also RDP.

komiš-t lizard-ABS	lizard	ku-komiš-te RDP-lizard-PL	lizards
kumič-t mouse-ABS	mouse	ki-kumič-te RDP-mouse-PL	mice
i-nɔmɪk her-husband	her husband	in-nah-nɔmɪk-wa their-RDP-husband-POSSD DISTR(?) PL	their husbands
i-si-si-wan-konie his RDP child woman	his daughter	i-si-si-wan-ku-kone-wa his-girl-RDP-child-POSSD PL	his daughters
kaka-tu toad-DIM(?)	toad	kaka-to-tu toad-RDP-DIM	toads
koruh-ci cross-HON	cross	koruh-ci-ci cross-RDP-HON	crosses
tloka-cin-tl man-HON-ABS	lord	tloka-ci-cin-te man-RDP-HON-PL	lords
uc-tl pregnant-ABS	pregnant (woman)	u-uc-te RDP-pregnant-PL	pregnant PL (women)
weya-k long-ADJR	long	wie-weya-k-t RDP-long-ADJR-PL	long PL
k <sup>w</sup> al good	good	k <sup>w</sup> ah-k <sup>w</sup> al RDP-good	very good, good PL

Several forms seem to involve loss of an initial RDP as part of the pluralization process, usually when another RDP is added towards the end of the word.

tie-te-tu	stone	te-me	stones
<i>RDP-stone-ABS:DIM(?)</i>		<i>stone-PL</i>	
si-si-wan-tu	girl	siwan-to-tu	girls
<u>RDP</u> DIM		<i>woman-RDP-DIM</i>	
<i>woman</i>			
mu-moroh-ci	dumb man	moroh-ci-ci	dumb men
<i>RDP-dumb-DIM</i>		<i>dumb-RDP-DIM</i>	
ci-ciki-ci	little	ciki-ci-ci	little PL
<i>RDP-little-DIM</i>		<i>little-RDP-DIM</i>	
k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-k <sup>w</sup> al-ci	pretty	k <sup>w</sup> al-ci-ci	pretty PL
<i>RDP-good-DIM</i>		<i>good-RDP-DIM</i>	
k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-pi-pi-ca-ci	oval	k <sup>w</sup> ɔ-pica-ci-ci	oval PL
head <u>RDP</u> DIM		<i>head-thin-RDP-PL</i>	
<i>thin</i>			

-ci DIM/HON behaves peculiarly with PL. Sometimes it disappears; usually it reduplicates (see above); sometimes it appears (is added) reduplicated; in at least one case it appears unreduplicated.

ku-kušoh-ci	lame man	ku-kušoh-te	lame men
<i>RDP-lame-DIM</i>		<i>RDP-lame-PL</i>	
puroh-kone-ci	burro foal	puroh-ku-kone	burro foals
<i>burro-child-DIM</i>		<i>burro-RDP-child</i>	
deus	God	deus-ci-ci	gods
		<i>god-RDP-HON</i>	
tlowɔn-ki	drunk (man)	tlowɔn-kɔ-ci-ci	drunks, drunk PL
<i>be:drunk-ADJR</i>		<i>be:drunk-ADJR-RDP-DIM</i>	
mɔnko	mango	mɔ-mɔnko-ci	mangos
		<i>RDP-mango-DIM</i>	

Nouns with the suffix *wie-wen* *big, (old)* may be pluralized by adding the RDP form of the suffix *-tu*.

te-te-wie-wen-ci	boulder	te-wie-wen-to-tu	boulders
<i>RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM/HON</i>		<i>stone-big-RDP-DIM</i>	
<i>old</i>		<i>(?)</i>	
kaswiela-wie-we	big cazuela	kaswiela-wie-wen-to-tu	big cazuelas
<i>cazuela-RDP-big</i>	<i>(serving dish)</i>	<i>cazuela-RDP-big-RDP-DIM</i>	

Suppletion

no-konie	<i>my son/child</i>	no-pl-wa	<i>my children</i>
<i>my-child</i>		<i>my-child-POSSD:PL</i>	

The fact that *pl* always occurs with *-wa* (except in compound and derived forms) is doubtless the explanation for the double occurrence of *-wa* in:

mo-pl-wan-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON children</i>
<i>your-child-POSSD-RDP-HON-POSSD</i>	
<i>PL</i>	<i>PL</i>

## POSSESSIVES

Morphology

## Possessor Affixes:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	mo-	nemo-/namo-
2P HON	mo-...-ci	nemo-/namo-...-ci
3P	i-	in(m)-
3P HON	tie-	tiein(m)-
3P HHON	tie-...-ci	tiein(m)-...-ci

A special PL *-wa* is used on POSSD forms; the *-ci* HON is also reduplicated to *-ci-ci*.

no-kni	<i>my brother</i>	namo-kni-ci-ci-wa	<i>your PL HON brothers</i>
<i>my-sibling</i>		<i>your-sibling-RDP-HON-POSSD</i>	
		PL	PL

A few nouns which are reduplicated in the PL do not take *-wa*. These constructions seem to have a DISTR or 'respective' sense. Other nouns may have both RDP and *-wa*.

in-čah-čɔ	<i>their (respective)</i>	to-kič-to-tu	<i>our (respective) sizes</i>
<i>their-RDP-home</i>	<i>homes</i>	<i>our-size-RDP-DIM</i>	
in-nah-nɔmk-wa	<i>their husbands</i>		
<i>their-RDP-husband-POSSD:PL</i>			

Sometimes a noun is left singular when the 'respective' sense is intended. This parallels a Spanish construction.

in-šomplielo	<i>their (respective) hats</i>
<i>their-hat</i>	

*to-our* is sometimes used with a generalized sense referring to people in general or the people of Tetelcingo.

to-mɔ	<i>the human hand</i>	to-tɔ-ta-ci-ci	<i>the town idols (even</i>
<i>our-hand</i>		<i>our-RDP-father-RDP-HON</i>	<i>when referred</i>
			<i>to by an atheist)</i>

When used with a LOC postposition, the LOC *-ko* is usually added to forms with *-ci* HON.

mo-tlak-cin-ko	<i>near you HON</i>	tie-ka-cin-ko	<i>with him HHON</i>
<i>your-near-HON-LOC</i>		<i>his-with-HON-LOC</i>	
		HON	

The noun *child* behaves oddly with respect to possession. The POSSD SG form is suppletive:

pd-cin-tli	<i>baby, child</i>	no-konie	<i>my son/child</i>
<i>child-DIM-ABS</i>		<i>my-child:POSSD</i>	
no-pil-wa	<i>my children</i>		
<i>my-child-POSSD:PL</i>			

When PL occurs with a *-ci-ci* suffix, the POSSD PL marker *-wa(n)* is repeated twice.

mo-pil-wan-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON children</i>
<i>your-child-POSSD:PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL</i>	

Another form has PL marked twice, once with a non-POSSD and once with a POSSD PL.

mo-tla-teki-panoh-kɔ-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON servants</i>
<i>your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL</i>	

### Syntax

POSSR affixes attach to nouns or to postpositions. When there is an explicit N or PRON POSSR, the POSSR affix remains on the POSSD N or P, and the explicit POSSR follows the POSSD nominal. Sometimes the Spanish preposition *de of* is also used:

i-ʒɔ	mali	<i>Mary's home</i>	tie-konie de ʒowa	<i>John's son</i>
<i>her-home PN</i>			<i>his-child of PN</i>	
			<i>HON</i>	

ɔki *one, someone*, however, always precedes its POSSD nominal, and normally so do all nominal question words, including *ɔki who?*

ɔki i-yulo	<i>one's heart</i>
<i>one his-heart</i>	
ɔki i-yulo (with Q intonation)	<i>whose heart?</i>
<i>who his-heart</i>	

Recursion occurs, usually with Sp. *de of* to help out.

yaha in-u	i-puro	de i-tɔ-ta	pɔnʒo	<i>That's Pancho's daddy's</i>
<i>it DEM-DIST</i>	<i>his-burro of his-RDP-father</i>	<i>PN</i>		<i>burro.</i>

POSS PRON are formed by attaching POSSR affixes to *-wɔʒka*.

mo-wɔʒka-ci	<i>yours HON</i>	no-wɔʒka	<i>mine</i>
<i>your-own-HON</i>		<i>my-own</i>	



## POSTPOSITIONS

P are mostly bound. They occur postposed to the appropriate POSSR PRON, preceding the N (or PRON) to which they refer.\* In some cases they are postposed directly to the noun, but such combinations do not seem to be presently productive.

## Related forms:

-pa	<i>on, at, in</i>	ka panu (with outside) <i>outwardly, on the surface</i>
-wa	<i>with (H)</i>	wa <i>and</i>
-pampa	<i>on account of, for the sake of, in place of</i>	i-pampa <i>because its-on:account:of</i>
-tlak	<i>near, next to</i>	
-teč	<i>up against, touching</i>	
-kpak	<i>on top of</i>	
-ka	<i>with, by, INSTR</i>	
-colɔ	<i>among</i>	
-wik	<i>against (archaic)</i>	

## Complex P:

-iš-tla <i>face-LOC</i>	<i>in front of, before</i>	m-iš-tlan-ci/(ne)-m-iš-tlan-cin-ko <i>(you:PL)-HON-face-LOC-HON-LOC</i> <i>Excuse me, please.</i>
-iš-pa <i>face-at</i>	<i>in front of, before</i>	
-hte-k <i>belly-LOC</i>	<i>inside of, into</i>	
-hte-k-t	PL (archaic)	
-kš-t-tla <i>foot-LOC</i>	<i>at the foot of</i>	
-cin-tla <i>base-LOC</i>	<i>underneath, at the bottom of</i>	
-cin-teč <i>base-touching</i>	<i>at the bottom of</i>	

\*An exception is the phrase yaha i-ka (it its-with) 'because of that, therefore, that's why', where yaha undoubtedly is in focus.

- k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-ti-kpak     *on the top of*  
*head-CONN-on:top:of*
- hte-ko-pa     *inside of, on the inside of*  
*belly-LOC-at*
- tien-ko     *around, at the edge of*  
*lip-LOC*
- tekt-pa     *in place of*  
*work-at*
- ne-tlak     *very close to*  
*UNSPEC:REFL-near*
- ne-wa     *together* (Normally has no noun or pronoun following it.  
 Occasionally you get something like:  
 on-ya-hku in-ne-wa karlos ka šowa  
 DIRL-go-PL *their-together PN with PN*  
*Charles and John went off together.*  
 where it seems more probable that the proper names are  
 SUBJ rather than P-OBJ.)
- tla-ko-pa     *by means of (archaic)*  
*near-LOC-on*

Free P include *wa and, pa on, at, and ka with* from the above list. These are preposed to their head noun. A number of Spanish prepositions have also been borrowed and are freely used.

de	<i>of, from (Sp.)</i>	por	<i>by, for, by means of (Sp.)</i>
para	<i>for (Sp.)</i>	sin	<i>without (Sp.)</i>
sana	<i>like</i>	sawek	<i>similar to</i>
kiemu	<i>like</i>	kienamu	<i>similar to</i>
kiemu ka	<i>about, more or less</i>	ka tie-wa	<i>together with (someone)</i>
like with		with UNSPEC-with	
		H:POSSR	
tla-tlahkɔ	<i>in the middle</i>	asta	<i>until, as far as (Sp.)</i>
RDP-half			
por i-pa	<i>(motion) over, along</i>	para ka	<i>as far as concerns, in the</i>
by its-on		for with	<i>case of (Sp. para con)</i>

There is evidence that *i-pa (its-at)* and perhaps *i-ka (its-with)* are being reanalyzed as unit prepositions:

mo-čiwa ipa to-noč-tie     *It happens to all of us.*  
REFL-do on our-all-PL  
 happen

The expected form would be:

mo-čiwa to-pa to-noč-tie      *It happens to all of us.*  
 REFL-do our-on our-all-PL

Also note:

i-yul-ipa              *in his heart*                      ika te-me              *with stones*  
*his-heart-in*    *with stone-PL*

Some of these forms are phonologically bound to some extent to the noun to which they are preposed. Final *n* does not drop in these cases.

yey-t      ura wan=tlahko      3:30  
*three-ABS hour and=half*

mok<sup>W</sup>il-t wan-sie                      six  
*five-ABS and-one*

kiemt pan=tlahka                      *about noon*  
*like at=half*

i-pan=tlol-ti-kpak-tli                      *on earth*  
*its-on=ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS*

Some P are used with UNSPEC markers in special ways or with (t)ka is postposed to them.

to-ne-wa <i>we (usually two)</i> our-UNSPEC-with      together REFL	in-ne-teč <i>very close to each other</i> their-UNSPEC-touching REFL
in-ne-tlak <i>very close together</i> their-UNSPEC-near REFL	tla-colo <i>in the middle</i> UNSPEC-among OBJ
tla-kpak <i>up high</i> UNSPEC-on:top:of OBJ	i-tlan-ka <i>It is near him.</i> his-LOC-be (This is the only use of -tlan LOC with a PRON.)
tla-cin-tla <i>down low</i> UNSPEC-base-LOC OBJ <i>underneath</i>	i-pan-ka <i>It is on it.</i> its-on-be

Some remnants of the CONN -*ti-* can be found.

tlol-ti-kpak-tli      *the earth, world, universe*  
*ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS*

i-k<sup>W</sup>o-ti-kpak      *on the top of*  
*its-head-CONN-on:top:of*

-pa is used with QNT (incl. NUMR) and a few nouns and ADJ with the meaning *times*:

sah-pa	<i>once</i>	meyak-pa	<i>often, many times</i>
<i>one-times</i>		<i>much-times</i>	
mɔk <sup>w</sup> ɔ-pa	<i>five times</i>	nočɔ-pa	<i>forever</i>
<i>five-times</i>		<i>all-times</i>	
šh-pa	<i>year</i>	weh-ko-pa	<i>long ago, (a little) later,</i>
<i>leaf/-times</i>		<i>big-LOC-times</i>	<i>in a while</i>
<i>year</i>		<i>far</i>	

mo-sie-pa-yewɔ    *are of the same age*  
 REFL-one-times-be:born  
                   *(same)*

-tla LOC seems to bear the meaning *down* in some forms.

wehka-pa	<i>tall</i>	wehka-tla	<i>very deep</i>
<i>far-on</i>		<i>far-down</i>	
ka iš-tlah-pač	<i>facing downwards</i>		
<i>with eye-down-approach</i>			
ka tla-cin-tla	<i>down-hill, down south, southwards</i>	<i>(The slope is from north to south.)</i>	
<i>with UNSPEC-base-down</i>			
<i>OBJ</i>			

Noun-P combinations are no longer productive. Most such combinations involve LOC. (See the listing of place suffixes under NOUN MORPHOLOGY,  $N + X = N$ ). A few more examples are given here.

tlɔl-pa	<i>(on) the gound/floor</i>
<i>ground-on</i>	
i-yul-ipa	<i>in his heart</i>
<i>his-heart-at</i>	
i-cim-pa	<i>his waist</i>
<i>his-bottom-on</i>	
i-mɔ-pa	<i>in his hand</i>
<i>his-hand-on</i>	

## DEMONSTRATIVES

Basic Forms

The basic demonstrative elements seem to be -i PROX and -u DIST. Some adverbial demonstratives have come to be used as regular demonstratives also. Demonstratives function as 3P pronouns and can stand alone as nominals.

PROX	nɔ-nka	<i>this (one) (here)</i>
	<i>here-be</i>	
	nɔ-nka-te	<i>these (ones)</i>
	<i>here-be-PL</i>	
	nɔ-ilowak	<i>this (one) HON</i>
	<i>here-be:HON</i>	
	nɔ-ih-ilowak	<i>these (ones) HON</i>
	<i>here-RDP-be:HON</i>	
	in-i	<i>this, these</i>
	<i>DEM-PROX</i>	
	in-u	<i>that, those</i>
	<i>DEM-DIST</i>	
DIST	nie-ka	<i>that (over there)</i>
	<i>there-be</i>	
	nie-ka-te	<i>those (over there)</i>
	<i>there-be-PL</i>	

nɔ-nka is the usual presentative; it often means *here is*. nie-ka (or nie-ka-ka) often means *there (it) is*. nɔ here is occasionally used alone as a non-adverbial DEM.

nɔ kɪ-mah-tuka kɪyawɪ-s      *This fellow is sure it's going to rain.*  
*here it-know-PRES rain-FUT*  
 PROG

Other Forms

ini nɔnka(te)	These doubled up forms are very common; they are especially
inu nieka(te)	likely to be used when the DEM stands alone.
yehwan-i	} DEM forms of the definite pronoun. Often these form a complete utterance: <i>These are they</i> or <i>Those are they</i> .
<i>they-PROX</i>	
yehwan-u	} <i>those ones</i>
<i>they-DIST</i>	
nočɪ-hi	<i>all these, all this</i>
<i>all-PROX</i>	
nočɪ-hu	<i>all those, all that</i>
<i>all-DIST</i>	

noči-me-hu *all of those ones, all of them*  
*all-PL-DIST*

nie-ka-hu *that (one over there) (alternate form of nie-ka)*  
*there-be-DIST*

yaha in-i            nɔ-nka      *this one here/This is the one.*  
*it DEM-DIST here-be*

yaha in-u            nie-ka      *that one there/That's the one.*  
*it DEM-DIST there-be*

The related question words often show the -i and -u morphemes.

tlin-in-i-hi      *What's this here?*  
*what-DEM-RDP-PROX*

tlin-in-u-hu      *What's that there?*  
*what-DEM-RDP-DIST*

kɔtl-aha          *which one?*  
*which-it*

kɔtl-ehwa          *which ones?*  
*which-they*

kɔtl-a-hu      *which one (of those)?*  
*which-it(?) -DIST*

kɔtl-ehwa-w      *which ones (of those)?\**  
*which-they-DIST*

kɔtl-a-i          *which one (of these)?*  
*which-it(?) -PROX*

ɔki-n-u          *who (is it that)?/Who is that?/whoever (it is that)*  
*who-DEM-DIST*

ɔki-me-hu          *PL*  
*who-PL-DIST*

ɔki-n-u-hu      *who (is it (that))/?/Who is that?*  
*who-DEM-RDP-DIST*

ɔki-n-i-hi      *Who is this?*  
*who-DEM-RDP-PROX*

Perhaps the singular definite pronoun ending -aha could be analyzed as a reduplicated morpheme -a meaning unspecificity as to PROX-DIST, coordinate with -i-hi and -u-hu.

ni-kɔ *here* is sometimes used in a nearly DEM sense.

\*This word is irregular either in not deleting a final w or in having antepenultimate stress (kɔtléhwaw).

ni-kɔ to-knu *our brother here*  
 I(?))-LOC *our-sibling*

in-i and in-u are sometimes attached to the following word loosely; in these cases a final -n shows up.

in-in=tunal-i *this day*                      in-un=k<sup>W</sup>alt tlɔka-tl *that good*  
 DEM-PROX=sun-ABS                      DEM-DIST=good man-ABS *man*

DEM precede the N and its other modifiers.

in-u laltwis k<sup>W</sup>alt tlɔka-tl *that very good man*  
*that very good man-ABS*

## ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

### Location

PROX    nɔ        *here*

DIST     nie        *there*

These are used only with a few words.

nɔ=wic-i        *Here they come.*                      nie-wic        *There he comes.*  
*here=come-PL*                                      *there-come*

nɔ=lɔro         *this side*                                      nie=lɔro        *that side*  
*here=side*    *there=side*

nɔ=ni-ya        *Here I go.*                                      nie-ka         *There it is./that*  
*here=I-go*    *there-be*

PROX    ni-kɔ        *here, in this place, hither*  
 I(?))-LOC

on-kɔ        *around here, towards here*  
 MED-LOC

on-kɔ-nka        *There's some around here some place./*  
 MED-LOC-be     *Here's some.*

MED     om-pa        *there, in that place, thither*  
 MED-on

on-kɔ-n-u        *around there, over there*  
 MED-LOC-DEM-DIST

DIST     nie-pa        *away over there, in Hell*  
 DIST-on

Other forms:

nɔ-nka            *Here it is./this one*  
*here-be*

nɔ-nka-te        *Here they are./these ones*  
*here-be-PL*

nie-ka-(ka)      *There it is./(non-RDP) that one*  
*there-be-RDP*

om-pa-(h)u      *at that place*  
*MED-on-DIST*

WHW      kɔnɪ      *where?, where*

kɔne-nka      *where is?*  
*where-be*

kɔnt-n-u        *over there*  
*where-DEM-DIST*

kɔnt-n-u-hu     *where (REL)*  
*where-DEM-RDP-DIST*

**Manner**

dhkɪ-u            *thus, in that way*  
*be:permanently-DIST*

dhkɪ-i            *thus, in this way*  
*be:permanently-PROX*

kienɪ            *how?*

**Reason, Cause:**

i-pampa-hi      *therefore, because of this*  
*its-on-PROX*  
*account:of*

i-pampa-hu      *therefore, because of that*  
*because-DIST*

**Time**

pa nie-ka      tiempo            *at that time, back then, in the olden days*  
*at DIST-be time*  
*that*

ka ye          nie-pa            *away back when*  
*with already DIST-at*  
*there*



i-pa	<u>nie-ka-te</u>	tunal-te	<i>in olden days, in those days</i>
	<i>its-on that-PL</i>	<i>sun-PL</i>	
ye=k <sup>W</sup> ɔk=ɪn-u			<i>then, after that happened</i>
	<i>already=when=DEM-DIST</i>		
k <sup>W</sup> ɔk=ɪn-u-hu			<i>then, when that happened/happens</i>
	<i>when=DEM-RDP-DIST</i>		
kiema-nɪ-yo			<i>some day, sometime</i>
	<i>when-(?)-ABSTR</i>		
	kiemanɪya	}	(alternate forms)
	kiemanɪ		
	kiemanu		
entuneses		<i>then</i>	
	tuses	}	(alternate forms)
	toses		
	tos		
WHW	kiema		<i>when?</i>

Size

kič-tun-i*	ka	wieyɪ	<i>about this big</i>
<i>size-DIM(?)</i>	<i>PROX</i>	<i>with big</i>	
kieh-kič-tu	ka	wieyɪ	<i>how big?</i>
<i>(?)</i>	<i>size-DIM</i>	<i>with big</i>	
	<i>how many</i>		
i-kič-tu			<i>his size</i>
<i>his-size-DIM</i>			

\*Perhaps this should be divided thus: kič-tu-n-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX).

## QUANTIFIERS

Forms

noči	<i>all</i>	(noči-ki is listed as plural in the Brewers' <i>Vocabulario</i> , but I have never heard it.)
in-noč-tie(n)	<i>all of them</i>	
<i>their-all-PL</i>		
noč-aha	<i>pure, straight (whiskey), heaped up</i>	
<i>all-it</i>		
noči-pa	<i>forever</i>	
<i>all-times</i>		
meyak	<i>much, many</i>	
meyak-tie(n)	<i>many</i>	-tie PL is used only here, on noči, and on some
<i>much-PL</i>		NUMR in some old people's speech.
mie-meyak-ci	<i>a good number/amount of</i>	
<i>RDP-much-DIM</i>		
mie-meyak-ci-ci	<i>a good number of</i>	
<i>RDP-much-RDP-DIM</i>		
meyak-pa	<i>often, many times</i>	
<i>many-times</i>		
se-ki	<i>some, several, a few</i>	
<i>one-PL</i>		
ok-se-ki	<i>others</i>	
<i>yet-one-PL</i>		
kiesku	<i>a little bit (of), a few</i>	
kieski-te	<i>a few</i>	
<i>few-PL</i>		
tepi-ci	<i>a little bit (of), somewhat, a little while</i>	
<i>little:bit-DIM</i>		
nɔh-te	<i>a little bit (of), a few</i>	
<i>4(?) -PL</i>		
ci-ciki-l-ci	<i>a little bit (of)</i> (cf. ci-ciki-ci <i>little</i> )	
<i>RDP-little-NR(?) -DIM</i>		
tlahko	<i>half of</i>	
seme	<i>always</i>	
semɨhak	<i>eternally, forever</i>	
sem-dwi-tl	<i>the livelong day</i>	Usually noči <i>semdwɨl.</i>
<i>always-fiesta(?) -ABS</i>		<i>all all day</i>

The main WHW corresponding to QNT is *kieh-kũ* ((?)-size) *how much?*.

<i>kieh-kũ-te</i> (?)-size-PL <i>how much</i>	<i>how many</i>	<i>kieh-kũ-pa</i> <i>how:much-times</i>
<i>kieh-kũ-tu</i> (?)-size-DIM <i>with big</i>	<i>ka wiewt</i> <i>big</i>	<i>how big?</i>
<i>kieh-kũ</i> <i>how much</i>	<i>tunal-t</i> <i>sun-ABS</i>	<i>how many days?, how long?</i>
<i>kieski-pa</i> <i>a:few-times</i>		<i>how many times?</i>
<i>kieh-kũ-t</i> <i>how:much-PL</i>		<i>how many? (for some speakers)</i>

### Syntax

All the QNT can be used in certain circumstances without a head.

<i>se-ki</i> <i>one-PL</i>	<i>tlah-tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-ya</i> <i>RDP-UNSPEC-eat-IMPRF</i>	<i>se-ki</i> <i>one-PL</i>	<i>koh-koč-ta-ya</i> <i>RDP-sleep-DUR-IMPRF</i>
	<i>OBJ</i>		

*Some were eating; some were sleeping.*

<i>št-nieč-čiya</i> <i>IMP-me-await</i>	<i>tept-ci</i> <i>little:bit-DIM</i>	<i>Wait a minute for me.</i>
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<i>so</i> <i>just</i>	<i>ci-cku-l-ci</i> <i>RDP-little-NR-DIM</i>	<i>št-nieč-maka</i> <i>IMP-me-give</i>	<i>Just give me a little.</i>
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QNT precede the noun they modify. Sometimes they are 'intrinsic' or distinctive properties of the noun; in such cases they may intervene between a noun and its possessor prefix.

<i>meyak hiente</i> <i>much people</i>	<i>lots of people</i>	
<i>tie-meyak</i> <i>his-much</i>	<i>tlasohtl-ls</i> <i>love-ABSTR</i>	<i>his HON great love</i> (Note the N has no ABS because it is possessed.)
<i>HON</i>		

QNT more often than not precede the V in a predicate construction, in contrast to other ADJ, which usually follow. As other ADJ, they are marked with the appropriate (non-HON) subject pronoun ( $\emptyset$  for 3rd person).

<i>tewha</i> <i>we</i>	<i>ti-meyak-tie</i> <i>we-much-PL</i>	<i>ti-ka-te</i> <i>we-be-PL</i>	<i>We are many.</i>
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The partitive construction involves the Spanish preposition *de of, from*. *noč* has its own construction in this sense.

meyak-tie de tehwa	<i>many of us</i>
<i>much-PL of we</i>	
to-noč-tie	<i>all of us</i>
<i>our-all-PL</i>	

## NUMERALS

### Basic Forms

sie/sente	<i>one</i>	mahtlak-tl*	<i>ten</i>
ume/unte	<i>two</i>	<i>ten-ABS</i>	
yeyu/yete	<i>three</i>	mahtlak-tl wan-sie	<i>eleven</i>
nɔwɪ	<i>four</i>	<i>ten-ABS and-one</i>	
mɔk <sup>W</sup> ilɪ*	<i>five</i>	mahtlak-tl wan-ume	<i>twelve</i>
čik-wa-sie	<i>six</i>	mahtlak-tl wa yeyu	<i>thirteen</i>
<i>five-and-one</i>		mahtlak-tl wa nɔwɪ	<i>fourteen</i>
čik-ume	<i>seven</i>	kaštulɪ	<i>fifteen</i>
čik- <sup>W</sup> -ieyɪ	<i>eight</i>	kaštulɪ wan-sie	<i>sixteen</i>
<i>five-and-three</i>		etc.	
čik-nɔwɪ	<i>nine</i>	sem-poa-l-t	<i>twenty</i>
		<i>one-count-NR-ABS</i>	
		etc.	

Above ten, Spanish numerals are more common. A few old people recall forms such as *uh-poa-l-t* (two-count-NR-ABS) *forty*, etc. *Six* is occasionally given as *mɔk<sup>W</sup>ilɪ wan-sie*, *seven* as *mɔk<sup>W</sup>ilɪ wan-ume*, etc.

The *-t* on most of these NUMR is probably well treated as an ABS; it usually disappears when *-pa times* or a PL is suffixed (see below). However, sometimes it doesn't.

čik- <sup>W</sup> -ieh-pa	<i>eight times</i>	čik- <sup>W</sup> -ieyth-pa	<i>eight times</i>
<i>five-and-three-times</i>			

\*Both *mɔk<sup>W</sup>ilɪ* and *mahtlaktlɪ* are probably historically derived from *mɔ* or *mah* 'hand'. *mɔk<sup>W</sup>ilɪ-l-t* (hand-grasp-NR-ABS) and *mah-tlak-tlɪ* (hand-near-ABS) could be somewhat far-fetched synchronic analyses.

The difference in meaning between the two sets of forms listed for 1-3 is hard to describe. Often they seem to be interchangeable. The first set seems to mean something like *one in essence, essentially two*, etc., whereas the second set means *one in number*, etc., or some such thing. This difference comes out most strongly with the use of *sie* as against *sente*.

ok-sie	<i>a different</i>	ok-sen-te	<i>another</i>
yet-one		yet-one-NUM	
sie om-pa	<i>at the same place</i>	sie yaha	<i>the same one,</i>
one MED-at		one he	<i>he himself</i>
mo-sie-ti-lu-a	<i>unite themselves</i>	mo-sen-ti-ti-lu-a	<i>gather together</i>
REFL-one-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES		REFL-one-NUM-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES	
to-noč-tie tu-h-k <sup>W</sup> a sa sie tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-l-t	<i>We all eat the same kind of food.</i>		
our-all-PL we-it-eat just one	UNSPEC-eat-NR-ABS		
	<u>OBJ</u>		
	<i>food</i>		
to-noč-tie tu-h-k <sup>W</sup> a sa sen-te tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-l-t	<i>We all eat the same meal.</i>		
our-all-PL we-it-eat just one-NUM	food-ABS		

### Syntax

NUMR precede the noun they modify and in general behave like other QNT with respect to position, agreement, the partitive construction, etc. (See QUANTIFIERS.)

yeyi aločɔʃ	<i>three oranges</i>	i-sen-te konie	<i>his only son</i>
three orange		his-one-NUM son	(no ABS)
tehwa tu-nɔwi-me		<i>We are four./the four of us</i>	
we we-four-PL			

*-pa on, at* is used with NUMR (as other QNT) in the sense *times*.

sah-pa	<i>once</i>	mɔk <sup>W</sup> il-pa	<i>five times</i>
one-times		čik-wa-sie-pa	<i>six times</i>
ok-sah-pa	<i>again</i>	čik-umeh-pa	<i>seven times</i>
yet-one-times		čik <sup>W</sup> -ieh-pa/	<i>eight times</i>
uh-pa	<i>twice</i>	čik <sup>W</sup> -ieyh-pa	
yeš-pa	<i>thrice</i>	mahtlak-pa	<i>ten times</i>
nɔh-pa	<i>four times</i>		

*-me/-te PL* is used with NUMR to give a sort of partitive sense. This form is the one used in predicate adjective type constructions.

un-te-me	<i>(the) two of them</i>	mɔk <sup>W</sup> il-te/	<i>(the) five of them</i>
two-NUM-PL		mɔk <sup>W</sup> il-te-me	

ye-te-me	(the) three of them	ʔik-ume-me	(the) seven of them
noʔi-me	(the) four of them		
ti-noʔi-me	ti-ka-te	We are four.	
we-four-PL	we-be-PL		
ti-ka-te	ti-noʔi-me	We are four.	

Some older speakers use *-tie* PL (elsewhere used only on *noʔi* *all* and *meyak* *much*) instead of *-te* on the appropriate NUMR.

mok <sup>w</sup> il-tie	(the) five of them
mahtlak-tie	(the) ten of them
kaštul-tie	(the) fifteen of them

### Derived forms

ka sie-sen-te	one by one	ka oh-ume	two by two
with RDP-one-NUM			
sie-sen	each one	(kara) se-sen	each, every single
RDP-one		each RDP-one	
sen-ti-tl	unique, only, complete		
one-NUM-ABS			
(sa) se-k-ni	(completely) alone together, united		
just one-ADJR(?)	-AG(?)		
se-ki	some, several, a few		
one-PL			
ye on-šie-ših-ti	is one year old, has been a year		
already DURL-one-year-VR	(Note sympathetic palatalization of sie.)		
(PAST?)			
uh-kɔ ɪro	both sides	uh-pa-pa	ki-powa repeats it
two-LOC side		two-RDP-times	it-(re)count

## ADJECTIVES

Most ADJ are marked with a final *-k* ADJR; a majority have *-ti*-CONN preceding the *-k*. A large number end in *owa-k*.

ADJ are inflected for PL. The main pluralizer is *-t*. For examples of other PL markings see Plural under BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS.

koh-kul-ti-k	<i>twisted</i>	koh-kul-ti-k-t	<i>twisted PL</i>
RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR		RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR-PL	

Some of the main modifiers of ADJ are:

wel	<i>very</i>	lalwus	<i>very</i>
tept-ci	<i>somewhat (QNT)</i>	amo	<i>NEG</i>
<i>little:bit-DIM</i>			
amo wel	<i>not very, to a very little degree</i>		
lalwus wel/wel lalwus	<i>very</i>		

Predicate ADJ must bear the subject pronoun corresponding to their head; other ADJ usually do. (The 3P SUBJ PRON is of course  $\emptyset$ .) HON forms are not used. In IMP sentences,  $\xi$ -IMP usually acts as the SUBJ PRON.

nemehwan-ci-ci	[tli nen-k <sup>w</sup> al-ti-k-t	ne-mo-wec-tika-te]
<i>you-RDP-HON</i>	<i>that you-good-CONN-ADJR-PL</i>	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES-PL</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>PL</i> <u><i>PROG</i></u>
		<i>you HON are</i>

*you HON who are good men*

<u>a-ye-k-mo</u>	$\xi$ -ye-k $\circ$	$\xi$ -tuntoh-te	<i>Stop being so stupid!</i>
<i>no longer</i>	<i>IMP-be-PL</i>	<i>IMP-stupid-PL</i>	
	<i>SBJNCT</i>		

ADJ (except QNT) follow their head noun unless they are considered to be in some sense 'intrinsic' or distinctive properties of the head noun, in which case they precede the noun and may even intervene between it and its possessor prefix.

sen-te	kal-t	wieyt	<i>a big house</i>
<i>one-NUM</i>	<i>house-ABS</i>	<i>big</i>	
tie-lalwus	wieyt	tlasohtl-lus	<i>his HON very great love</i>
<i>his-very</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>love-ABSTR</i>	(Note that the noun has no ABS because it is possessed.)
<i>HON</i>			

'Restrictive' or distinctive ADJ very often appear as predicates in relative clauses.

no-konie	[tli kačt wieyt]	<i>my biggest son</i>
<i>my-child</i>	<i>that more big</i>	

no-konie kači wiewi *my biggest son (less usual)*  
 my-child more big

lalwis very usually follows the ADJ it modifies in PRED constructions; otherwise it must precede.

in-u tloka-tl wiewi lalwis *That man is very big.*  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS big very

in-u tloka-tl lalwis wiewi *that very big man*  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS very big

### COMPARATIVES

#### Comparisons of Inequality

kači *more*

ke *than (Sp.)*

X kači { ADJ (N) (be) } (ke Y)  
           { QNT (N) (be) }  
           V (OBJ)

yaha kači ki-tlasohtla i-sowa *He loves his wife even more.*  
 he more her-love his-woman

yaha kači wiewi (ka) ke taha *He is bigger than you.*  
 he more big is than you

onka-te kači meyak-tie tloka ke sowa-me *There are more men than*  
 there-PL more much-PL men than woman-PL women.  
 is

X V kači { QNT (N) } ( { ke } lo ke tli V Y )  
           { ADV } { de }

yehwa-ci tieč-tlasohtla-lo kači lalwis meyak de lo ke *he HON us-love-HON more very much of that that*  
 HON (PRON) (SUBR)

tli tieč-tlah-tlasohtla-lo to-tɔ-tah-wa  
 that us-RDP-love-HON our-RDP-father-POSSD  
 (REL) PL

*He HON loves us much more than our parents do.*



kači ADV V

entunses kači lalwıs kt-nekt-ya  
 then more very it-want-IMPRF

*Then he wanted it even more.*

kači mienos less  
 more less

Comparisons of Equality

yaha ũka ig<sup>w</sup>ɔl de wıeyı ka pegro  
 he is equal of big with PN

*He is the same size as Pedro.*

yehwa tieč-nekt ig<sup>w</sup>ɔl ke in-u ok-se-ktı  
 they us-want equal that DEM-DIST yet-one-PL those others do.

Superlatives

yaha kači wıeyı ũka ke to-noč-tie  
 he more big is than our-all-PL  
 all of us

*He is the biggest of us all.*

yaha kači wıeyı ũka de to-noč-tie  
 he more big is of all of us

*He is the biggest of us all.*

yaha kači wıeyı ũka  
 (with emphatic stress and pitch on kači)

*He is the biggest.*

[lo ke tli kači k<sup>w</sup>alt] ũka in-i nɔ-nka  
 that that that more good is DEM-PROX PROX-be  
 (PRON) (SUBR) (REL) this here  
 that which  
 The best thing is this.

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

yeka	someone (I don't know who), some person
ıtla	something
paktı/paktıs	sometimes, once in a while : (perhaps from -pa times + -ktı PL ??)
kiemaneyu	some day (in the future) (kiema when?)
sie tunal-tı one sun-ABS	one day (in the past)
kahna	some place

tli	<i>something(s)</i>	(Use very restricted in this sense. Also means <i>what?, that which.</i> )
tli-mač <i>what-know</i>	<i>all sorts of stuff, what-not</i>	
sen-te <i>one-NUM</i>	<i>one, someone</i>	
yeka <i>someone</i>	o-ki-wika-k <i>PAST-it-carry-PERF</i>	<i>Somebody took it.</i>
paks <i>sometimes</i>	ni-k-eliewt-a <i>I-it-desire-PRES</i>	kanah-utla <i>DUB-something</i>
		<i>Sometimes I crave something or other.</i>

**Negative**

amo ɔki <i>NEG who</i>	<i>no one</i>	
amo=ytla <i>NEG=something</i>	<i>nothing (at all)</i>	
amo kahna <i>NEG somewhere</i>	<i>nowhere (in particular)</i>	
amo tli <i>NEG what</i>	<i>nothing OBJ (preceding the V)</i>	
ayk	<i>never</i>	
<u>a-ye-mo</u>	<i>not yet (ye already)</i>	
<u>a-ye-k-mo</u>	<i>no longer</i>	
<u>a-ye-k-mo</u> kiema <i>no longer when</i>	<i>never again</i>	
niɔn-tli <i>not:even-what</i>	<i>nothing (in particular)</i>	
niɔn-ɔki <i>not:even-who</i>	<i>nobody (at all)</i>	
niɔn sah-pa <i>not:even one-times</i>	<i>not even once, never</i>	
antlei/antleyi	<i>there is no(ne)</i>	(from amo NEG and tli what?)
amo ɔki o-nɔwat <i>NEG who PAST-reply:PERF</i>	<i>Nobody answered.</i>	
amo tli o-nɔwat niɔn-tli <i>NEG what PAST-reply not:even-what</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>He didn't answer anything at all.</i>

NEG INDF PRON sometimes act as QNT, modifying a N. They usually appear in an already NEG sentence in these cases. *yeka* also sometimes functions as a N modifier.

amo *n-k-pya* *nion-tli* *tlau-l-i*  
 NEG I-it-have not:even-something shell:corn-NR-ABS  
 I don't have any corn.

*yeka* *sowa-tl* *o-ki-či* *Some woman did it.*  
 someone woman-ABS PAST-it-do:PERF

### Any

*ɔki* *one, someone (or other), anyone* (also *who?*, *who (REL)*)

*ɔki-m-ehwa* *PL*  
*who-PL-they*

*kanah-yeka* *someone, anyone*  
*DUB-someone*

*kanah-tla* *something, anything*  
*DUB-something*

*kanah-kiema* *at some time or other, whenever*  
*DUB-when*

*ɔki ki-neki* *whoever (wants to), anybody* (cf. Sp. *quienquiera*)  
*who it-want*

*ɔki weli-ti-s* *whoever, anybody at all*  
*who possible-VR-FUT*  
*be able*

*katl-aha weli-ti-s* *whichever one, any one*  
*which-it be:able-FUT*

*tli weli-ti-s* *whatever, anything at all*  
*what be:able-FUT*

*konu weli-ti-s* *wherever, anywhere at all*  
*where be:able-FUT*

*ɔlgo* *anything, something*  
*something*

Sometimes *noso* or *or* *noso tlo* or *if* followed by a question word gives a 'whatever' or 'some other' sense.

*mul-i* *de ayoh-wač-tli* *noso tlo tli* *mole (soup) made of squash-*  
*mole-ABS of squash-seed-ABS or if what seeds or something or other*

*mkt-s* *de ombre* *noso kienl* *He will die of hunger or in*  
*die-FUT of hunger or how some other way.*

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
1P	naha	tehwa	(tehwān-te is an archaic form) we-PL
2P	taha	nemehwa/namehwa*	
HON	tehwa-ci you:HON-HON	nemehwan-ci-ci you:PL-RDP-HON	
3P	yaha	yehwa	
HON	yehwa-ci he:HON-HON	yehwan-ci-ci they-RDP-HON	

nemehwānci you PL HON may be used with godparental relations with the meaning you SG HHON. nemo-mawisoh-ci (your:PL-honor-HON) has been observed on ceremonial occasions, with the meaning you SG HHHON (P-NH-3.2).

wel very is used with 3P PRON to give the INTNS 'self' meaning.

wel-aha very-he	he himself, the genuine article	wel-ehwa/wel yehwa very-they very they	they themselves
wel-ehwa-ci/ wel yehwa-ci	he HON himself	wel-ehwan-ci-ci/ wel yehwan-ci-ci	they HON themselves

DependentPossessor affixes (used also with P):

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	mo-	nemo-
HON	mo-...-ci	nemo-...-ci
3P	i-	in-
HON	tie-	tiēn-
HHON	tie-...-ci	tiēn-...-ci
HHHON	tie-mo-...-ci	

\*Virtually all 2P PL forms have a similar variant with na- instead of ne-. Use depends on speaker preference; older speakers are more likely to prefer the na- forms. For simplicity, I will cite only the ne- forms throughout, except in some examples.

When the POSSD object is PL, the special PL *-wa* is used. The *-ci* in HON forms reduplicates to *-ci-ci* before *-wa*. (See POSSESSIVES.)

Subject prefixes:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
1P	<i>ni-/n-*</i>	<i>ti-/t-</i>	(Except with 2P OBJ; see below. <i>ni-</i> or <i>ti-/ __ C</i> ; <i>n-</i> or <i>t-/ __ V</i> .)
2P	<i>ti-/t-</i>	<i>ne(n)-</i>	(The basic form of <i>nen-</i> may be <i>nenm-</i> or <i>nenm-</i> .)
HON	<i>ti...-mo-</i>	<i>ne(n)...-mo-</i>	(The <i>o</i> in <i>mo-</i> usually drops before a V.)
3P	∅	∅	
HON	∅	∅	
HHON	∅...-mo-	∅...-mo-	

Object prefixes:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
1P	<i>-nieč-</i>	<i>-tieč-</i>	
2P	<i>tumic-</i>	<i>nemieč-</i>	} 1P SUBJ, 2P OBJ forms
HON	<i>tumic-mo-</i>	<i>nemieč-mo-</i>	
	<i>mīc-</i>	<i>nemieč-</i>	} 3P SUBJ, 2P OBJ forms
	<i>mīc-mo-</i>	<i>nemieč-mo-</i>	
3P	<i>-k-/kī-</i>	<i>-kū-</i>	( <i>kī-/</i> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \# \} \\ \{ C \} \end{array} \right.$ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{__ C} \\ \text{__ CC} \end{array} \right.$ ), <i>k-</i> elsewhere)
HON	<i>-tie-</i>	<i>-tieū-</i>	
HHON	<i>-tie-mo-</i>	<i>-tieū-mo-</i>	
UNSPEC H	<i>-tie-</i>		
UNSPEC NH	<i>-tī-</i>		

*-li* APPLIC can be viewed as a kind of 3P secondary object marker.

\*The *ni-* and *ti-* prefixes and *ti-* IMP have harmonious *no-*, *to-*, and *šo-* allomorphs / \_\_ Co. For some speakers this harmony is obligatory; for others it is optional, especially in the frequent *ti-mo-* 2P HON or REFL cases.

Reflexive:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	tu...-mo-	ne(n)...-mo-
HON	tu...-mo...-cinow	ne(n)...-mo...-cinow
3P	mo-	mo-
HON	ne-	ne-
HHON	mo...-cinow	mo...-cinow
HHON	ne...-cinow	ne...-cinow
UNSPEC (H)	ne-	

See SYNTACTIC MARKING for stem changes, PL marking, HON markings, etc. on the verb.

STEMS

Suppletion

A few verbs are suppletive for different tenses, aspects, etc.

- ka** *be* is used in the present non-HON; *ye* is used in FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT, and forms with contingency or DUR aspect for non-HON forms. The only PERF is 3P SG non-HON *oya* or *uya*. *yeyt* is an alternative IMPRF form (instead of *ye-ya be-IMPRF*). (See paradigms under BE.)
- wic** *come* is used in the present; *wala* in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT for non-HON forms. All present tense forms have irregular plurals. *w-ika-c* (take-be-come) *bring* is used (with REFL) for 2P HON and *w-ilowa-c* (take-be:HON-come) for 3P HON in the PRES; *wal-mo-w-ika* (hither-REFL/HON-take-be) for 2P HON and *wal-ilowa* (hither-be:HON) or *wal-w-ilowa* (hither-take-be:HON) for 3P HON in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, and SBJNCT.

wic-t	<i>They come.</i>	št-walɔ-kɔ	<i>(You PL) come!</i>
<i>come:PRES-PL</i>		<i>IMP-come-PL:SBJNCT</i>	

to-mo-w-ika-c	<i>You HON come.</i>
<i>you-HON-take-be-come</i>	
<i>bring</i>	

o-ti-wal-mo-w-ika-k	<i>You HON came.</i>
<i>PAST-you-hither-HON-take-be-PERF</i>	

wah-wal-w-ilowa-ya	<i>They HON were coming.</i>
<i>RDP-hither-take-be:HON-IMPRF</i>	

**ya** *go* has *wɔya* in SG non-HON SBJNCT.

št-wɔya	<i>Go!</i>	ma	nt-wɔya	<i>I'm going now.</i>
<i>IMP-go</i>		<i>EXHRT</i>	<i>I-go</i>	<i>Good-bye.</i>
<i>SBJNCT:SG</i>			<i>SBJNCT:SG</i>	

**hta** *see* has *c* for DUR forms (including PRES PROG). The *c* tenses a preceding *t*.

ki-c-tuka	<i>He is watching it.</i>	nieč-hta	<i>sees me</i>
<i>it-see:DUR-PRES:PROG</i>		<i>me-see</i>	

tt-mo-c-tt-htuka	<i>You HON are watching it.</i>
<i>you-HON-see-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>DUR</i>	<i>PROG</i>

št-ki-c-ta	<i>Look at it!</i>
<i>IMP-it-see:DUR-DUR</i>	

The 3P HON for this verb in PRES PROG is hopelessly irregular:

ki-c-a-ta-lu-tka     *He HON is watching it.*  
*it-see-PRES-DUR-HON-PRES*  
 DUR (TRNS)     PROG

mo-tlo:k-a (REFL-ground-PRES:TRNS:VR) *sit down* is used for non-DUR;  
 yewa for DUR forms.

šo-mo-tlo:k-hcino     *Please HON sit down.*  
 IMP-HON-ground-HON

wal-yewa-ta-ya     *He was coming seated.*  
*hither-sit:DUR-DUR-IMPRF*

kt-lt (him-tell) *told him* occurs only in the PERF and IMP. All other tenses and aspects are filled by its APPLIC form, kt-l-wt-a (him-tell-APPLIC-PRES) *tells it to him*, which can also appear in the PERF and IMP.

š-kt-lt     *Tell him!*     š-kt-l-wt     *Tell him about it!*  
 IMP-him-tell     IMP-him-tell-APPLIC

A few verbs are suppletive or partially suppletive for HON vs. non-HON forms:

ka/ye *be* uses *wec-tka* (fall-PRES:PROG) *be lying* for 2P HON, and *ilowa-(k)* (be:HON-PRES(?)) for 3P HON. See paradigms under **BE**.

wic/wala *come* (see above)

ya *go* uses *w-ika* (take-be) *take* (with REFL/HON) in 2P HON forms, and *w-ilowa-(k)* (take-be:HON-PRES(?)) for 3P HON forms.

to-mo-w-ika-ya     *You HON were going.*     w-ilowa-s     *He HON will go.*  
*you-HON-take-be-IMPRF*     *take-be:HON-FUT*

ayt *do something, be occupied* usually has the related APPLIC form *oi-lt-a* (be:occupied:APPLIC(?)-APPLIC-PRES) *use* in 2P HON forms.

tli     tt-m-oi-lt-a     *What's up? (greeting)*  
*what you-HON-be:occupied-APPLIC-PRES*

tli     t-ayt     *What's up?*     k-oi-lt-a     *uses it*  
*what you-be (non-HON greeting) it-be-APPLIC-PRES*  
*occupied*     *occupied*

k-onu *drink it* has *m-it-a* (REFL/HON-drink-PRES) for 2P HON forms.

š-t-k-onu     *Drink it!*     š-t-m-it     *HON Drink it!*  
 IMP-it-drink     IMP-HON-drink



Reduplication

RDP is usually of one of four types:  $C_1V_1-C_1V_1X$ ,  $C_1V_1-C_1V_1X$ ,  
 [- $\alpha$ tns] [ $\alpha$ tns]  
 or either of the above types with *h* following the reduplicated vowel.

<i>ki-nu-nuca</i> <i>him-RDP-call</i>	<i>talks, chats with him</i>	<i>yɔ-ya</i> <i>RDP-go</i>	<i>always goes, travels</i> <i>*(around)</i>
<i>tlah-tla-htow-a</i> <i>RDP-UNSPEC-say-PRES</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>talks</i>	<i>pah-pɔki</i> <i>RDP-be:happy</i>	<i>is happy, rejoices</i>

A few forms seem to have a backwards RDP (the RDP syllable is to the right of the basic one).

<i>ki-toka</i> <i>him-follow</i>	<i>follows him</i>	<i>to-tu-ka</i> <u>RDP</u> <i>follow</i>	<i>hurries, goes quickly</i>
<i>ki-šielow-a</i> <i>it-spread-PRES</i>	<i>spreads it</i>	<i>ki-šie-še-low-a</i> <u>RDP</u> <i>PRES</i> <i>spread</i>	<i>doles it out, distributes it</i>

Some forms have a double RDP.

<i>ki-tu-tu-toka</i> <i>him-RDP-RDP-follow</i>	<i>chases him</i>	<i>mo-tla-tlo-tla-ht-a</i> <u>REFL-RDP-RDP-UNSPEC-ask-PRES</u> <u>OBJ for</u> <u>beg</u> <i>pray</i>	<i>prays</i>
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RDP often indicates repetitive or intensified action or some similar semantic shift. Sometimes the RDP and non-RDP meanings are only loosely related.

<i>tya</i> <i>goes</i>	<i>goes</i>	<i>yɔ-ya</i> <i>RDP-go</i>	<i>always goes, travels</i>
<i>cahci</i> <i>shout</i>	<i>shouts, makes</i> <i>animal's cry</i>	<i>cɔ-cahci</i> <i>RDP-shout</i>	<i>(hen) cackles</i>
<i>ki-kɔwa</i> <i>it-leave</i>	<i>leaves it</i>	<i>ki-kah-kɔwa</i> <i>it-RDP-leave</i>	<i>abandons it</i>
<i>ki-cak<sup>w</sup>a</i> <i>it-shut</i>	<i>shuts it</i>	<i>ki-cah-cak<sup>w</sup>a</i> <i>him-RDP-shut</i>	<i>jails him</i>
<i>ki-čiwa</i> <i>it-do</i>	<i>does/makes it</i>	<i>ki-čih-čiwa</i> <i>it-RDP-do</i>	<i>makes/builds/fixes it</i> <i>(esp. a complicated thing)</i>
<i>ki-nuca</i> <i>him-call</i>	<i>calls him</i>	<i>ki-noh-nuca</i> <i>him-RDP-call</i>	<i>(bridegroom's grand-</i> <i>mother) asks (bride's</i> <i>father) for the bride</i>

<i>ku-šikow-a</i> <i>it-bear-PRES</i>	<i>bears it</i>	<i>ku-šikow-a</i> <i>him-RDP-bear-PRES</i>	<i>outlasts (and thus beats)/</i> <i>persuades him</i>
<i>nemu</i> <i>live</i>	<i>lives</i>	<i>neh-nemu</i> <i>RDP-live</i>	<i>walks</i>

Often the difference in meaning between RDP and simple forms is almost negligible—they are practically synonymous. This RDP is probably often a result of the tendency to make verbs and nouns have at least two syllables and preferably three, often the RDP form is demanded for PERF (truncated) stems. (See note under **BE**, as well as the last paragraph under **Absolutive**.)

<i>uka/ukaka</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>m-ahwa/m-ah-ahwa</i> <i>REFL-bawl:out</i>	<i>bawl each other out,</i> <i>quarrel loudly</i>
<i>pokū/pah-pokū</i>	<i>is happy</i>	<i>*o-pok/o-pah-pok</i> <i>PAST-RDP-be</i>	<i>was happy, rejoiced</i> <i>happy:PERF</i>

Many verbs are most probably RDP but never appear in their non-RDP form. For the most part, we will treat them as unit stems.

<i>tlatlasi</i> <i>cough</i>	<i>coughs</i>	<i>kekelawī</i> <i>be:ticklish</i>	<i>is ticklish</i>
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Very often, especially with PRES and 3P HON forms where there is no PL suffix, RDP indicates plurality of the SUBJ. Some speakers will not permit this when the RDP form already has another meaning.

<i>ilowa-k</i> <i>be:HON-PRES(?)</i>	<i>is HON</i>	<i>ih-ilowa-k</i> <i>RDP-be:HON-PRES</i>	<i>they are HON</i>
<i>ku-neki</i> <i>it-want</i>	<i>wants it</i>	<i>ku-neh-neki</i> <i>it-RDP-want</i>	<i>They want it.</i>
<i>ku Źih-šīwa</i> <i>it-RDP-do</i>	<i>makes/constructs/fixes it; (for some speakers) They do it/make it.</i>		

Occasionally, in a usage not really distinguishable from repetitive, a RDP might best be viewed as indicating plurality of the object.

<i>tla-muk-ti-a</i> <i>UNSPEC-die-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>kills</i>	<i>tlah-tla-muk-ti-a</i> <i>RDP-UNSPEC-kill-PRES</i> <i>OBJ</i>	<i>kills lots of things</i>
<i>ku-šielow-a</i> <i>it-spread-PRES</i>	<i>spreads it</i>	<i>ku-šie-še-low-a</i> <i>it [RDP] PRES</i> <i>spread</i>	<i>spreads them around,</i> <i>distributes it/</i> <i>them</i>

UNSPEC markers are RDP, whereas other OBJ PRON are not. This seems to indicate that the UNSPEC markers are part of the stem. However, the stem may also be RDP following an UNSPEC marker.

tla-htow-a *speaks*  
 UNSPEC-say-PRES  
 OBJ

tlah-tla-htow-a *talks*  
 RDP-UNSPEC-say-PRES  
 OBJ

kt-tie-l-wi-a *accuses him*  
 him-UNSPEC-tell-APPLIC-PRES  
 H:OBJ

kt-teh-tie-d-wi-a *They accuse him.*  
 him-RDP-UNSPEC-tell-APPLIC-PRES  
 H:OBJ

kt-tla-kih-kiš-t-ti-s *He will (INTNS) take things away from him.*  
 him-UNSPEC-RDP-emerge-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT  
 OBJ

### Other Phonological Changes

Many verbs tense a vowel\* in forms with CAUS or APPLIC or in the PERF.

tla-htow-a *speaks*  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

kt-tla-htu-lt-a *reads it*  
 it-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-CAUS-PRES

kt-kowa *buys it*  
 it-buy

kt-kuwt-lt-a *buys it for him*  
 it-buy-APPLIC-PRES

o-kt-ku *bought it*  
 PAST-it-buy:PERF

ɪ and o always tense before the 3P HON -lo, and ɪ also tenses before -wa 3P HON. a does not tense in these environments.

k-htow-a *says it*  
 it-say-PRES

k-htu-lo *HON says it*  
 it-say-HON

kt-čiw-t-lt-a *does it to him*  
 him-do-APPLIC-PRES

kt-čiw-t-li-lo *HON does it to him*  
 him-do-APPLIC-HON

čwi *is full*  
 be:full

čwi-wa *HON is full*  
 be:full-HON

pano *passes*  
 pass

pano-wa *HON passes*  
 pass-HON

\*Many of the examples here analyzed as an ɪ or an o tensing are probably really a matter of ɛy and ow contracting to i and u in certain environments. However, it is not always clear if the w's and y's in these cases are really there. For instance, the many verbs interpreted here as ending in ow-a are listed in the Brewers' Vocabulario as ending in oa, and they may well be right.

Many verbs tense a vowel before the FUT -s, the PL SBJNCT -kɔ, the IRR marker -nɪ, and the aspect markers -to and -ko. APPLIC and CAUS tense their vowels in these situations; the VR -ti, though probably related to -ti CAUS, does not.

<i>nɪ-ya</i>	<i>I go.</i>	<i>nɪ-yɔ-s</i>	<i>I will go.</i>
<i>I-go</i>		<i>I-go-FUT</i>	
<i>ma</i>	<i>tɪ-yɔ-kɔ</i> <i>Let's go!</i>	<i>kɪ-ʃiwi-li-to</i>	<i>He went to do it to him.</i>
<i>EXHRT</i>	<i>we-go-PL</i>	<i>him-do-APPLIC-went</i>	
	<i>SBJNCT</i>		
<i>kɪ-ʃiwi-li-ɔ-nɪ</i>	<i>(if) he had done it to him</i>		
<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR</i>			

But note:

<i>mki-s</i>	<i>He will die.</i>	<i>kɪ-ʃiwa-to</i>	<i>He went to do it.</i>
<i>die-FUT</i>		<i>it-do-went</i>	
<i>nɪ-k-pah-ti-s</i>	<i>I will cure him.</i>	<i>pah-tɪ-s</i>	<i>He will get well.</i>
<i>I-him-medicine-CAUS-FUT</i>		<i>medicine-VR-FUT</i>	

Forms ending in *o* tense it before the aspect markers -ta DUR, -tka PRES PROG, and -tiewa *leave...ing*, and before the PERF -k.

<i>pano</i>	<i>passes</i>	<i>panu-ta-ya</i>	<i>was passing</i>
<i>pass</i>		<i>pass-DUR-IMPRF</i>	
<i>panu-tika</i>	<i>is passing</i>	<i>o-panu-k</i>	<i>passed</i>
<i>pass-PRES:PROG</i>		<i>PAST-pass-PERF</i>	
<i>tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-lo</i>	<i>HON eats</i>	<i>tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-lu-tie</i>	<i>HON left eating</i>
<i>UNSPEC-eat-HON</i>		<i>UNSPEC-eat-HON-leave</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>		<i>OBJ</i>	<i>PERF</i>

Verbs ending in *tla* change the *tla* to *ti* before APPLIC and, in some cases, before CAUS and before the ABSTR NR -lus.

<i>kɪ-tlasohtla</i>	<i>loves him</i>	<i>to-mo-tlasohti-ti-a</i>	<i>You HON love him.</i>
<i>him-love</i>		<i>you-HON-love-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-patla</i>	<i>changes it</i>	<i>mo-patɪ-ti-a</i>	<i>changes his clothes</i>
<i>it-change</i>		<i>REFL-change-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-pɔtla</i>	<i>stirs it</i>	<i>kɪ-pɔti-ti-a</i>	<i>stirs it for him</i>
<i>it-stir</i>		<i>it-stir-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

Some verbs palatalize *s* to *ʃ*, and *t* or *c* to *ʃ*, before CAUS, APPLIC, TRNSR, or the ABSTR NR -lus. Some occurrences of *ti* that are derived from *tla* (see preceding paragraph) undergo this change. This palatalization is probably related to the fact that there is usually an *ɪ* (often derived from an *a*; see next to last paragraph

in this section) between the consonant in question and the ending. However, the *ɬ* is sometimes deleted, as in the last example here.

<i>ki-matɬ</i> <i>it-know</i>	<i>knows it</i>	<i>mačɬ-a</i> <i>know-TRNSR(?)</i>	<i>is known</i>
<i>ki-tepic-ow-a</i> <i>it-hard-VR-PRES</i>	<i>hardens it</i>	<i>to-mo-tepič-ɬwɬ-a</i> <i>you-HON-hard-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON harden it.</i>
<i>ki-ttɬica</i> <i>it-stretch</i>	<i>stretches it</i>	<i>to-mo-titičɬɬ-lɬ-a</i> <i>you-HON-stretch-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON stretch it.</i>
<i>kisa</i> <i>emerge</i>	<i>emerges</i>	<i>ki-kšɬ-tɬ-a</i> <i>it-emerge-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>brings it out</i>
<i>ki-tesɬ</i> <i>it-grind</i>	<i>grinds it</i>	<i>ki-tešɬ-lɬ-a</i> <i>her-grind-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>grinds it for her</i>
<i>ki-keca</i> <i>it-stand</i>	<i>stands it</i>	<i>to-mo-kečɬ-lɬ-a</i> <i>you-HON-stand-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON stand it.</i>
<i>ki-mutɬa</i> <i>it-hurl</i>	<i>hurls/shoots it</i>	<i>to-mo-mučɬ-lɬ-a</i> <i>you-HON-hurl-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON hurl/shoot it.</i>
<i>ki-matɬ</i> <i>it-know</i>	<i>knows it</i>	<i>ki-mač-tɬ-a</i> <i>him-know-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>teaches him</i>

Verbs ending in *ɬ* palatalize the *s* in the 3P HON forms (as well as the 2P HON, which have CAUS or APPLIC).

<i>ki-tesɬ</i> <i>it-grind</i>	<i>grinds it</i>	<i>ki-tešɬ-wa</i> <i>it-grind-HON</i>	<i>HON grinds it</i>
<i>asɬ</i> <i>arrive</i>	<i>arrives</i>	<i>ašɬ-wa</i> <i>arrive-HON</i>	<i>HON arrives</i>

Most verbs drop their final vowel to form the PERF stem (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Tense ).

For a large portion of the vocabulary, the generalization holds true that verbs ending in *ɬ* are INTRNS or stative and that verbs ending in *a* are TRNS or active. (Verbs ending in any other vowel are extremely rare.) There are a good many pairs where this difference shows up clearly—in some cases *-a* and *-ɬ* might be treated as separate morphemes with these meanings. *-ow-a* is the typical TRNS VR and *-ɬwɬ* or *-iewɬ* is the typical INTRNS VR. Many verbs have these endings, which are no longer clearly derived. Many verbs, especially those with CAUS or APPLIC or the VR *-ow*, have a PRES TRNS marker *-a* which appears in PRES and IMPRF but which drops elsewhere.

<i>ki-pol-ow-a</i> <i>it-lack-VR-PRES</i> (TRNS)	<i>loses it, is lacking</i> <i>to him</i>	<i>pol-ɬwɬ</i> <i>lack-VR</i> INTRNS	<i>is lacking</i>
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kɪ-kombenier-ow-a      *is proper/good for him* (Sp. *le conviene*)  
*him-be:proper-VR-PRES:(TRNS)*

kombenier-ɔwɪ      *is proper*  
*be:proper-VR:INTRNS*

kɪ-tlapɔn-a      *breaks it*  
*it-break-PRES:(TRNS)*

tlapɔn-ɪ      *breaks*  
*break-INTRNS*

kɪ-pɔka      *washes it*  
*it-wash*

pɔkɪ      *rejoices*  
*rejoice*

Exceptions:

k-asɪ      *reaches it,*  
*it-reach*      *grasps it*

k-onɪ      *drinks it*  
*it-drink*

sawana/sawani      *is hoarse*

The fact that a (TRNS) V stem ending in **a** will change to **ɪ** before APPLIC, etc., is undoubtedly related to this **-a TRNS/ɪ INTRNS** contrast. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Applicative.)

At least one verb uses the stative **ɪ** for the non-HON and the active **a** for the HON forms.

k<sup>w</sup>alɔnɪ      *is angry*  
*be*  
*angry:STAT*

k<sup>w</sup>alɔn-owa/k<sup>w</sup>alɔna-lo      *HON is angry*  
*be-HON*      *be-HON*  
*angry*      *angry:ACT*

to-mo-k<sup>w</sup>alɔna-ltu-a      *You HON are angry.*  
*you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES*  
*angry:ACT*

## INCORPORATION

(See also VERB MORPHOLOGY.)

Directionals

on- hence

wal- hither

on- is probably related to the on- MED-DIST used in LOC DEM; wal- is related to the non-PRES form *wala come*.

These prefixes follow the specified SUBJ and OBJ and the REFL prefixes, except that wal- will precede mo- REFL (or HON), and both wal- and on- may precede the -*in*\* PL of *k-in them* or *tie-in them HON*. on- is pronounced om- in this case.

*ni-wal-yewa-ta-ya* I was coming seated.

*I-hither-sit:DUR-DUR-IMPRF*

*št-wal-mo-titlan-tl* (You HON) send him/it hither!

*IMP-hither-HON-send-APPLIC*

*tie-mo-wal-mo-titlan-tl* He HHON (God) sent him HHON (Christ) hither.

*him:HON-HON-hither-HON-send-APPLIC*

*to-k-om-in-hta-ti* We are going (away) to see them.

*we-him-hence-PL-see-go*

*k-wal-in-mo-kš-tl-ht-oya* He HHON went about causing them to come out.

*him-hither-PL-HON-emerge-CAUS-APPLIC-go-IMPRF*

The meaning of -on is hard to pin down. Sometimes it seems to indicate motion away from the speaker; sometimes it indicates location away. Sometimes it implies immediacy of action. Sometimes, when initial, it seems to just mean PAST, perhaps as an alternative form of o- PAST (cf. English *went* and *Ved*, where *went* does not particularly imply movement). Pittman glosses it as *hence, immediately, now, and just* (P-G-42(a), D-1, 13 #1,3).

*ye o-tla-čiš* He already woke up.

*already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at:PERF*

*ye on-tla-čiš* He already woke up.

*already DURL:(PAST?-)UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at:PERF*

\*This seems to be what is happening in most cases with *om-in-* and *wal-in-*; other cases are rather baffling. Some verbs seem to like to have an *in-* preceding the stem in non-PRES tenses even besides the *-in-* of *k-in(m)-* 'them'. At other times *in-* seems to appear without a PL OBJ at all.

*k in-titlan-t* 'He sends them.'

them-send

*k in-in-titla* 'He sent them.'

them-PL(?)=send:PERF

*ni-k-wal-in-ktš-tl* *tlin=amo k<sup>w</sup>alt* 'I came and got a bad thing.'

*I-it-hither-(?)=emerge-CAUS that=NEG good*

ye o-tla-nieš *It already dawned.*  
*already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF*

(?) ye on-tla-nieš *It already dawned.*  
*already DIRL:(PAST?)-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF*

on-as-t-ko *He (just) arrived (here).*  
*DIRL-arrive-came*  
*(PAST?):(just?)* (The *hence* meaning is impossible in this very  
 common case.)

on-wala *He (just) came.*  
*DIRL-come*  
*(PAST?):(just?)* (Again, the *hence* meaning is impossible.)

on-ya *he went* oya *he was*  
*PAST(?)>go* *be:PERF*

In its PAST usage, *on-* may precede an OBJ prefix:

on-k-as-t-k *He grabbed it.* k-on-as-t-k *He went and grabbed it.*  
*DIRL:(PAST?)>it-reach-PERF* *it-DIRL-reach-PERF*

*on-* also seems to have honorific overtones in some cases. (This is a main function in some dialects, e.g., Sierra de Puebla.)

nieč-on-tlasohtla-lo *He HHON loves me.*  
*me-DIRL:(HON?)>love-HON*

*on-* usually causes vowel harmony in a preceding SUBJ PRON *nt-* *I*,  
*tt-* *you SG/we* or *š* *IMP*.

no-k-on-maka-k *I (went and) gave it to him.*  
*I-him-hence-give-PERF*

### Other

There are a number of incorporated elements indicating relative positions of the subject of intransitive verbs or the object of transitive ones.

ka iš-tlah-pač *facing downwards* iš-tlah-pač-weci *falls, lies face downwards*  
*with face-down-approach* *face:downwards-fall*

ka ahk-ec *facing upwards* k-ahk-ec-te-tlah-kalı *throws it down on*  
*with raise-(?)* *it-face-CONN(?)>UNSPEC-throw its back*  
*upwards OBJ*

mo-nakas-i-ka-tieka *lies, sleeps on his side*  
*REFL-ear-its-with-lay*

Postpositions, adjectives, etc., are used in much the same way.

kt-wehka-panow-a *raises it, builds it up, brags about him, praises him*  
*it-far-pass-PRES:(TRNS)*



ki-wehka-tla-tlōl-a            *sinks it down deep*  
*it-far-down-earth-PRES*  
*place*

WHW and DEM may be incorporated, especially with *-ka be* (see BE, QUESTIONS, DEMONSTRATIVES).

yek-            *well*    (yek-ti-k (well-CONN-ADJR) *upright, righteous*)  
nien-            *in vain, for no reason, to no avail*  
čik<sup>W</sup>a-        *angrily, strongly, disrespectfully* (possibly related to čik<sup>W</sup>ah-tli (owl-ABS)  
*owl, or čikōwa-k (strong-ADJR) strong*)  
tla(h)-        INTNS            (UNSPEC OBJ)

ki-yek-wukšti-ta            *cooks it well*  
*it-well-cook:(INTRNS)-CAUS-PRES*

ki-yek-piya                *saves it up*  
*it-well-have*

ki-yek-nuca                *speaks respectfully to him*  
*him-well-call*

ki-nien-čiwa                *does it in vain*  
*it-in:vain-do*

ki-niem-pol-ow-a            *loses it utterly, ruins it, murders him*  
*him-in:vain-lack-VR-PRES*  
*lose*

čik<sup>W</sup>a-kisa                *surpasses, excels*  
*strong-emerge*

čik<sup>W</sup>a-tla-htow-a            *curses, slanders, uses strong language*  
*strong-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES*

tla-hnek<sup>W</sup>t                *smells very strongly*  
*INTNS-smell*

## SYNTACTIC MARKING

### Pronominal Elements

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for listing.)

Pronominal elements on the verb usually come in the order SM-OM-STEM. Normally only one OBJ is marked by a verb prefix; almost always the indirect OBJ is marked if there is one, and the direct OBJ otherwise. The presence of a second object,

if it is 3P non-HON, is signalled by the APPLIC suffix.

<i>kɪ-čiwa</i>	<i>does it</i>	<i>nieč-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>does it to me</i>
<i>it-do</i>		<i>me-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-powa</i>	<i>tells it</i>	<i>tu-nieč-puwt-l-a</i>	<i>You tell it to me.</i>
<i>it-count</i>		<i>you-me-count-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

When neither OBJ is 3P, the indirect OBJ may not be marked on the verb, but may be specified by the preposition *ka* *with* and the appropriate independent pronoun.

<i>nieč-namaka-k-t</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tehwa-ci</i>	<i>They sold me to you HON.</i>
<i>me-sell-PERF-PL</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>you:HON-HON</i>	

Since the HON *mo-* is derived from a REFL, it acts as an OM and causes a 3P OBJ to be expressed only by the APPLIC. However, when the OBJ is 1P or 3P HON, the normal OM is used preceding *mo-*, and APPLIC is added anyway.

<i>to-mo-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>You HON do it.</i>	<i>tu-nieč-mo-ht-l-a</i>	<i>You HON see me.</i>
<i>you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>		<i>you-me-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

UNSPEC OBJ prefixes always remain, even when this means two or more OBJ are marked; they do not prevent a 3P non-HON OBJ from being marked. In other words, they act as if they were part of the stem.

<i>kɪ-tla-maka</i>	<i>feeds him</i>		
<i>him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give</i>			
<i>tɪ-tie-tla-k<sup>w</sup>ientah-tɪ-a</i>	<i>You loan things to people/to him HON.</i>		
<i>you-UNSPEC-UNSPEC-account-CAUS-PRES</i>			
<i>H</i>	<i>OBJ</i>		
<i>OBJ:(him HON)</i>			

In a few cases, a direct OBJ is represented by a verbal prefix, while a 3P non-HON indirect OBJ is represented only by the APPLIC.

<i>nočɪ i-tlankoč-wa</i>	<i>o-kun-tepiewt-li</i>	<i>He knocked all his teeth out of him.</i>	
<i>all his-tooth-POSSD:PL</i>	<i>PAST-them-knock:out-APPLIC</i>		<i>(P-G B 19)</i>

## Honorifics

### Second Person Honorifics

The basic HON marker for 2P forms is *mo-* (REFL). Since *mo-* is a sort of OM, a 3P non-HON OBJ will not be marked by a verbal prefix, but only by the APPLIC. However, a 1P or 3P HON OBJ will be marked by an OBJ prefix preceding the *mo-*, and an APPLIC is added anyway.

<i>tɪ-k-čiwa</i>	<i>You do it.</i>	<i>to-mo-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>You HON do it. /</i>
<i>you-it-do</i>		<i>you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>(You do it to</i>
		<i>(REFL)</i>	<i>yourself.)</i>

tt-nieč-čiwł-lł-a You do it to me.  
you-me-do-APPLIC-PRES

tt-tie-dhta You see him HON.  
you-him:HON-see

to-mo-htł-lł-a You HON see him.  
you-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES

to-mo-tie-mo-htł-lł-a You HON see him HHON. (Note that one of the mo-'s  
you-HON-him:HON-HON-see-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES precedes the OM in this  
case.)

tt-k-htow-a You say it.  
you-it-say-PRES

tt-k-pensɔr-ow-a You think it.  
you-it-think-VR-PRES

tt-nieč-mo-čiwł-lł-lł-a You HON do it to me.  
you-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

tt-tie-mo-htł-lł-a You HON see him HON.  
you-him-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES  
HON

to-mo-ht-awł-a You HON say it.  
you-HON-say-APPLIC-PRES

to-mo-pensɔr-wł-a You HON think it.  
you-HON-think-APPLIC-PRES

Many common verbs use CAUS instead of APPLIC when forming their 2P HON forms. In these cases it is easy to interpret the HON mo- as a REFL. Most INTRNS verbs form their 2P HON in this way.

tt-k-matł You know it.  
you-it-know

to-mo-mačł-tł-a You HON know it. (lit. you cause yourself to know)  
you-HON:(REFL)-know-CAUS-PRES

tt-k-nekł You want it.  
you-it-want

tt-tł-a-htow-a You talk.  
you-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

tt-tł-a-k<sup>W</sup>a You eat.  
you-UNSPEC-eat  
OBJ

šł-pano Pass! (Good-bye non-HON)  
IMP-pass

t-asł You arrive.  
you-reach

to-mo-nekł-tł-a You HON want it.  
you-HON:(REFL)-want-CAUS-PRES

to-mo-tł-a-htł-lł-a You HON talk.  
you-HON -UNSPEC-say-CAUS-PRES  
(REFL) OBJ

to-mo-tł-a-k<sup>W</sup>a-lł-a You HON eat.  
you-HON -UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES  
(REFL) OBJ

šo-mo-panu-lł HON Pass! (Good-bye  
IMP-HON-pass-CAUS HON)  
(REFL)

tt-m-ašł-tł-a You HON arrive.  
you-HON-reach-CAUS-PRES  
(REFL)

PERF, FUT, etc., are formed as in other verbs which have APPLIC, CAUS, etc.

to-mo-čiwł-lł-ɔ-ya You HON were doing it. ((You were doing it to  
you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF yourself.)  
(REFL)

ne-mo-nemt-ti-s-ki                      *You PL HON will live.*  
*you-HON-live-CAUS-FUT-PL*  
*PL (REFL)*

ne-mo-nemt-ti-hki                      *You PL HON lived.*  
*you-HON-live-CAUS-PL*  
*PL (REFL)                      (PERF)*

Some verbs take two APPLIC to form their 2P HON.

tt-h-kulow-a                      *You cut off his return.*  
*you-him-cut:off:return-PRES*

tt-mo-kul-wt-l-a                      *You HON cut off his return.*  
*you-HON-cut:off:return-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*

Some verbs are suppletive for 2P HON forms (see STEMS).

tt-ya                      *You go.*                      tt-mo-wika                      *You HON go.*  
*you-go*                      *you-HON:(REFL)-carry*

The irregular verb *ayok be absent* has -ci (normally a nominal-type HON marker) as its 2P (and 3P) HON marker.

t-ayok-ci                      *You HON are absent.*  
*you-be:absent-HON*

nem-ayok-ci-ci                      *You PL HON are absent.*  
*you:PL-be:absent-RDP-HON*

nem-ayok-ti                      *You PL are absent.*  
*you:PL-be:absent-PL*

Since the REFL *mo-* is already doing service as an HON marker, 2P HON reflexives use a special REFL HON -cinow.

tt-mo-kokow-a                      *You are sick.*  
*you-REFL-hurt-PRES*

tt-mo-kokoh-cinow-a                      *You HON are sick.*  
*you-HON-hurt-REFL:HON-PRES*

mo-mač-tt-a                      *learns*  
*REFL-know-CAUS-PRES*

ne-mo-mač-tt-hcinoh-ki                      *You PL HON learned.*  
*you:PL-HON-know-CAUS-REFL:HON-PL:(PERF)*

For verbs that form their PERF by dropping the last vowel, -cinow almost always suffixes to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem, taking the form -hcinow following vowels (cf. above examples).

mo-ttica                      *stretches himself*                      o-mo-ttic                      *stretched himself*  
*REFL-stretch*                      *PAST-REFL-stretch.PERF*



na-mo-neki-ti-a                      *You SG HHON/PL HON want it.*  
*you:PL-HON-want-CAUS-PRES*

Third Person Honorifics

There are a couple of RDP REFL verbs ending in *kV* that take a 3P HON SUBJ marker *-o\**, replacing the final *V*.

mo-mo-teh-teki    *cuts his (own) hand*            ne-mo-teh-tek-o    *HON cuts his (own) hand*  
*REFL-hand-RDP-cut*                                      *REFL:HON-hand-RDP-cut-HON*

And similarly all REFL compounds with a body part and *teh-teki*, but:

ki-teki-wa            *HON cuts it*                      ki-mo-teh-teki-wa    *HON cuts his (another's)*  
*it-cut-HON*    *him-hand-RDP-cut-HON*                      *hand*

Also:

mo-mo-pah-poka                      *washes his (own) hands*  
*REFL-hand-RDP-wash*  
 ne-mo-pah-pok-o                      *HON washes his (own) hands*  
*REFL-hand-RDP-wash-HON*  
*HON*

but:

ki-poka-lo            *HON washes it*  
*it-wash-HON*

A few other verbs take the 3P HON *-owa*, which replaces the final vowel, i.e., affixes to a PERF or quasi-PERF stem.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
wie-wecka <i>RDP-smile</i>	wie-weck-owa <i>RDP-smile-HON</i>	<i>smiles, laughs</i>
miki <i>die</i>	mik-owa <i>die-HON</i>	<i>dies</i>
čuka <i>cry</i>	čuk-owa <i>cry-HON</i>	<i>cries</i>

Some can use either *-owa* or the more common *-lo* or *-wa* suffixes.

\*It seems probable that all these 3P HON forms (*-o*, *-owa*, *-wa*, *-lo*) derive from a single IMPERS or PASS *\*-lowa*. For instance, the IMPRF form is *-oya* instead of *-ya* following *-lo*, which suggests that there is a final *o* or *a* associated with *-lo*.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
k <sup>w</sup> alɔn become angry (INTRNS)	k <sup>w</sup> alɔn-owa become-HON angry	gets angry
	k <sup>w</sup> alɔna-lo become-HON angry (TRNS)	gets angry
k <sup>w</sup> ah-tie-teki tree-RDP-cut	k <sup>w</sup> ah-tie-tek-owa tree-RDP-cut-HON	cuts down branches
	k <sup>w</sup> ah-tie-teki-wa tree-RDP-cut-HON	cuts down branches

A large number of verbs (mostly ending in *ɪ* or derived by the PRES TRNS marker *-a* from verbs ending in *ɪ*) take *-wa* for 3P HON. Almost all stems ending in *ɪ* take this ending.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
aki fit	aki-wa fit-HON	fits
k-aki-a it-fit-PRES:(TRNS)	k-aki-wa it-fit-HON	fits it in
kɪ-mati it-know	kɪ-mati-wa it-know-HON	knows it
pano pass	pano-wa pass-HON	passes

Other verbs take *-lo* as the 3P HON. *-lo* is pronounced *-ro* following *rV*. All verbs with APPLIC and almost all with CAUS take this ending. Usually *-a* PRES disappears before it, but sometimes not.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
kɪ-čiwa it-do	kɪ-čiwa-lo it-do-HON	does it
kɪ-tlapow-a it-open-PRES	kɪ-tlapow-a-lo it-open-PRES-HON	opens it
kɪ-šikow-a it-bear-PRES	kɪ-šiku-lo it-bear-HON	bears it
kɪ-pensɔr-ow-a it-think-VR-PRES	kɪ-pensɔr-u-ro it-think-VR-HON	thinks it
kɪ-čiwt-li-a him-do-APPLIC-PRES	kɪ-čiwt-li-lo him-do-APPLIC-HON	does it to him

<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-ltɪ-a</i> <i>him-do-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lti-lo</i> <i>him-do-CAUS-HON</i>	<i>makes him do it</i>
<i>k-ɪʃwi-tɪ-a</i> <i>it-be-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>full</i>	<i>k-ɪʃwi-ti-lo</i> <i>it-be-CAUS-HON</i> <i>full</i>	<i>stuffs, overfeeds it</i>

But:

<i>tekt-tɪ</i> <i>cut-CAUS</i>	<i>tekt-ti-wa</i> <i>cut-CAUS-HON</i>	<i>works</i>
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*ɪ* and *o* tense before *-lo*; *ɪ* also tenses before *-wa*. (See STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; see also preceding examples.)

The irregular verb *ayok to be absent* takes *-ci* (normally a nominal HON constituent) as its 3P (as well as 2P) HON.

<i>ayok</i> <i>be:absent</i>	<i>is absent</i>	<i>ayok-ci</i> <i>be:absent-HON</i>	<i>HON is absent</i>
<i>ayok-ci-ci</i> <i>be-RDP-HON</i>	<i>They HON are absent.</i>		

Plural 3P HON forms are usually the RDP forms of the singular.

<i>kɪ-peh-pensɔr-u-ro</i> <i>it-RDP-think-VR-HON</i>	<i>They HON think it.</i>
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PERF and FUT 3P HON forms can be formed by the final suffix *-kɪ/-hkɪ/-ɪ* (usually PL; see Number Agreement for distribution) added to the appropriate stem or affix. All these forms are ambiguous with non-HON PL forms.

<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-s-kɪ</i> <i>it-do-FUT-HON/PL</i>	<i>He HON will do it./They will do it.</i>
<i>o-kɪ-ʒih-kɪ</i> <i>PAST-it-do:PERF-HON/PL</i>	<i>He HON did it./They did it.</i>

Many verbs taking *-lo* as their 3P HON can also form the PERF and/or FUT by adding *-k* PERF or *-s* FUT to *-lo* (which tenses). A few verbs which take *-wa* can do the same, at least in the FUT.

(?) <i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lu-s</i> <i>it-do-HON-FUT</i>	<i>He HON will do it. (Questionable; see alternative form above.)</i>
<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lu-k</i> <i>it-do-HON-PERF</i>	<i>He HON did it. (See alternative form above.)</i>
<i>koʒi-wa-s</i> <i>sleep-HON-FUT</i>	<i>He HON will sleep.</i>
<i>koʒi-s-kɪ</i> <i>sleep-FUT-PL</i>	<i>They will sleep. (not He HON will sleep.)</i>



Even when such forms seem to be questionable or unacceptable for independent use they may be demanded for combining forms.

k-dhtu-s-ki	He HON/They	*k-dhtu-lu-s	He HON will say it.
it-say-FUT-HON/PL	will say it.	it-say-HON-FUT	
k-dhtu-lu-s-neki	he HON means		
it-say-HON-FUT-want			

SBJNCT forms can be either the same as non-HON PL SBJNCT or, in some cases, identical with the PRES HON forms.

ma	ki-čiwa-ko	May he HON/they/they HON do it.
EXHRT	it-do-HON/PL:SBJNCT	
(?) ma	ki-čiwa-lo	May he HON/they HON do it.
EXHRT	it-do-HON	

IMPRF forms have -owɔya for verbs taking -owa, -wa-ya for those taking -wa, and -luɔya for those taking -lo.

čuk-owɔya	He HON was crying.	ki-mati-wa-ya	He HON was aware of it.
cry-HON-IMPRF		it-know-HON-IMPRF	
ki-čiwa-lu-ɔya	He HON was doing it.		
it-do-HON-IMPRF			

Some verbs are suppletive with respect to 3P HON (see STEMS, Suppletion).

ka	is	ilowa-k	is HON
is		be:HON-PRES(?):(PERF?)	
ma	iloa	may he HON be	
EXHRT	be:HON		

Extra-HON forms may be formed by using the 2P HON forms minus the *ti-* or *ne-* SM, plus the 3P OM, if such has been dropped by the 2P HON form. These forms are normally used only for reference to Deity, or sometimes for reference to a godparental relative or the President of the Republic, particularly in the presence of such a person.

ki-neki-wa	HON wants it	to-mo-neki-ti-a	You HON want it.
it-want-HON		you-HON-want-CAUS-PRES	
ki-mo-neki-ti-a	HHON wants it	nem-owa	HON lives
it-HON-want-CAUS-PRES		live-HON	
to-mo-nemi-ti-a	You HON live.	mo-nemi-ti-a	HHON lives
you-HON-live-CAUS-PRES		HON-live-CAUS-PRES	

Sometimes both kinds of HON markers are used to give an ultra-HON sense.

nieh-čiwi-li-lo	HON does it to me
me-do-APPLIC-HON	

tu-nieč-mo-čiwł-lł-a      *You HON do it to me.*  
*you-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*

nieč-mo-čiwł-lł-a      *HHON does it to me*  
*me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*

nieč-mo-čiwł-lł-li-lo      *HHHON does it to me*  
*me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-HON*

The DURL on- sometimes seems to have honorific tendencies.

nieč-on-flasohtla-lo      *HHON loves me*  
*me-DURL-love-HON*

3P HON REFL are marked by the HON REFL OM ne- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC REFL OM). Since the SUBJ is still 3P HON, the normal markings for such a SUBJ are retained.

mo-kak-tł-a      *puts on his (own) sandals*  
*REFL-sandal-CAUS-PRES*

ne-kak-tł-lo      *HON puts on his (own) sandals*  
*REFL:HON-sandal-CAUS-HON*

3P HON OBJ are marked by the HON OM tie- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC H OM) in the singular and tie-in(m) in the plural.

nt-tie-tł-wł-a      *I tell him HON.*  
*I-him-say-APPLIC-PRES*  
*HON*

nt-tie-inm-tł-wł-a      *I tell them HON.*  
*I-him-PL-say-APPLIC-PRES*  
*HON*

### Non-Distinct Argument Markers

(See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

REFL:      See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.

UNSPEC:

tie-      UNSPEC H OBJ (also 3P SG HON OBJ)

ne-      UNSPEC REFL OBJ (also 3P HON REFL)

tł-a      UNSPEC NH OBJ

### Sentence Type

Imperative is marked by šł- IMP with a SBJNCT verb. šł- seems to be in some sense an IMP SM; it replaces the 2P SM and is copied, like other SM, onto PRED N and ADJ.

šł-k-čiwł      *Do it!*  
*IMP-it-do*

šł-mo-čiwł-lł      *(You HON) do it!*  
*IMP-HON-do-APPLIC*

amo ṣ̌t-ye-kɔ                      ṣ̌t-tuntoh-te                      *Don't be such idiots!*  
 NEG IMP-be-PL:SBJNCT IMP-stupid-PL

Subjunctive verbs are usually marked by the exhortative *ma* preceding them. They are formed of the PRES form minus the *-a* PRES (TRNS), if any. The PL marker is *-kɔ*. For most speakers the 2P forms are marked with the IMP *ṣ̌t-* instead of the normal SM.

k-dhtow-a                      *says it*                      *ma*                      k-dhto                      *May he say it.*  
*it-say-PRES*                      *EXHRT it-say*

ḳt-ṣ̌iwa                      *does it/They do it.*                      *ma*                      ḳt-ṣ̌iwa-kɔ                      *May they do it.*  
*it-do*                      *EXHRT it-do-PL:SBJNCT*

nen-ḳt-ṣ̌iwa-ḷt-a                      *You PL do it to him.*  
*you:PL-him-do-APPLIC-PRES*

*ma*                      ṣ̌t-k-ṣ̌iwa-li-kɔ                      *May you PL do it to him.*  
*EXHRT IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL:SBJNCT*

Some vowels tense before the SBJNCT PL *-kɔ*.

ṭt-ya-ẉt                      *We're going.*                      *ma*                      ṭt-yɔ-kɔ                      *Let's go!*  
*we-go-PL*                      *EXHRT we-go-PL:SBJNCT*

ne-nieč-mo-ṣ̌iwa-ḷt-ḷt-a                      *You PL HON do it to me.*  
*you:PL-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*

*ma*                      ṣ̌t-nieč-mo-ṣ̌iwa-ḷt-li-kɔ                      *May you PL HON do it to me.*  
*EXHRT IMP-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL:SBJNCT*

*ya go* has the special SBJNCT form *ẉṭya* for non-HON SG forms.

ṣ̌t-ẉṭya                      *Go!*  
*IMP-go:SBJNCT*

Number Agreement

RDP = PL in PRES, IMPRF, sometimes in SBJNCT(?), IMP, PERF, FUT (though in these latter cases the PL is elsewhere marked). This RDP marking is not obligatory, though it usually occurs if there is any danger of confusion with a SG subject, and it is usually suppressed in cases where RDP has another meaning with that stem.

ḳt-ṣ̌iwa                      *He does it./*                      ḳt-ṣ̌th-ṣ̌iwa                      *He makes/fixes it./*  
*it-do*                      *They do it.*                      *it-RDP-do*                      *They make/fix it.*

n-aṣt                      *I arrive.*                      t-aṣt                      *You arrive./ (We arrive.)*  
*I-reach*                      *you/(we)-reach*

t-ah-aṣt                      *We arrive.*                      ilowa-ya                      *he HON was*  
*we-RDP-reach*                      *be:HON-IMPRF*

ih-ilowa-ya                      *they HON were*  
*RDP-be-IMPRF*

*-kɨ/-ɨ/-hki* in PERF, FUT. *-ɨ* occurs after *-k* PERF; *-kɨ* after other consonants, including stem-final *k* and FUT *-s*; *-hki* after vowels\*.

<i>k-ɬta-k</i> <i>it-see-PERF</i>	<i>He saw it.</i>	<i>o-k-ɬta-k-ɨ</i> <i>PAST-it-see-PERF-PL</i>	<i>They saw it.</i>
<i>k-ɬta-s-kɨ</i> <i>it-see-FUT-PL</i>	<i>They will see it.</i>	<i>on-tla-ɕiʃ-kɨ</i> <i>DIRL-UNSPEC-look-PL</i> <i>(PAST?) OBJ at:PERF</i>	<i>They woke up.</i>
<i>o-pah-pək</i> <i>PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF</i>	<i>He rejoiced.</i>	<i>o-pah-pəh-kɨ</i> <i>PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF-PL</i>	<i>They rejoiced.</i>
<i>kɨ-ɕiwi-ɨ</i> <i>him-do-APPLIC</i>	<i>He did it to him.</i>	<i>kɨ-ɕiwi-ɨ-hki</i> <i>him-do-APPLIC-PL</i>	<i>They did it to him.</i>

*-kɔ* in SBJNCT, IMP.

*-we* with aspect markers *-ti, -ki*; with *ya go* for some speakers.

*-wi* with *ya go* in PRES.

*-ɨ* with *wic come* in PRES, with aspect marker *-ɨwic*, with *ayok be absent*. (Cf. *-ɨ* PERF PL, above, which is probably a different thing.)

*-te* with *ka be* in PRES, and with aspect marker *-tka*.

<i>ma</i> <i>EXHRT IMP-it-do-PL:SBJNCT</i>	<i>ʃt-k-ɕiwa-kɔ</i>	<i>May you PL do it.</i>	
<i>kɨ-ɕiwa-ti-we</i> <i>it-do-go-PL</i>		<i>They are going (away) to do it.</i>	
<i>ti-ya-we</i> <i>we-go-PL</i>	<i>We're going.</i> <i>(some speakers)</i>	<i>ti-ya-wi</i> <i>we-go-PL</i>	<i>We're going.</i> <i>(other speakers)</i>
<i>om-wic-ɨ</i> <i>MED-come-PL</i>	<i>There they come.</i>	<i>kɨ-ɕih-tɨwic-ɨ</i> <i>it-do-come-PL</i>	<i>They come doing it.</i>
<i>t-ayok-ɨ</i> <i>we-be:absent-PL</i>	<i>We are not at home.</i>	<i>tɨ-ka-te</i> <i>we-be-PL</i>	<i>We are.</i>
<i>kɨ-ɕih-tka-te</i> <i>it-do-PRES:PROG-PL</i>	<i>They are doing it.</i>		

\*Most if not all of these cases of *-hki* are probably really *ɣ* and *ɯ* becoming *h* preconsonantly. However, there are some problems for this analysis.

## NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-lti CAUS

-ti CAUS, VR (INCHO)

neh-nemi RDP-walk	walks	ki-neh-nemi-ti-a him-RDP-walk-CAUS-PRES	makes him walk
tla-k <sup>W</sup> a UNSPEC-eat OBJ	eats	ki-tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-lti-a him-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES OBJ	makes him eat
ki-wika it-carry	carries it	ki-wika-lti-a him-carry-CAUS-PRES	entrusts him

-lti affixes to the PRES stem (see above examples), and -ti often does. A final -a becomes -i before -ti (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; also examples below). Often, however, -ti affixes to the (truncated) PERF stem or to a quasi-PERF stem formed by dropping the final vowel even when the verb in question forms its PERF in another way. There are several cases of verbs with two -ti CAUS forms with different stems and different meanings.

čuka cry	cries	čuka-k cry-PERF	cried
ki-čuki-ti-a him-cry-CAUS-PRES (APPLIC?)	mourns him	ki-čuk-ti-a him-cry-CAUS-PRES	makes him cry
ki-pōki-ti-a him-be-CAUS-PRES happy	It makes him happy.	ki-pōk-ti-a him-be-CAUS-PRES happy	He makes him happy/ gives him pleasure.
ki-k <sup>W</sup> alōn-ti-a him-be:angry-CAUS-PRES	angers him		
to-mo-k <sup>W</sup> alōn-a-lti-a you-HON-be:angry-TRNS-CAUS-PRES:(TRNS)	You HON are angry.		

In the case of the verb *mati* know, -ti is affixed to three different forms of the verb, including its FUT form.

ki-mati it-know	knows it	to-mo-mači-ti-a you-HON-know-CAUS-PRES	You HON know it.
ki-mač-ti-a him-know-CAUS-PRES	teaches him		
ki-mači-s-ti-a him-know-FUT-CAUS-PRES	announces to him, informs him		

Most cases of CAUS take -a PRES TRNS in the appropriate forms (see above examples), but some do not. These seem to include those in which the CAUS meaning is not pronounced.

teki-ti	works	weti-ti	is able (to)
cut-CAUS		possible-CAUS	

Some consonants palatalize before -ti or -liti, and some vowels tense (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

ki-mati	knows it	ki-mač-ti-a	teaches him
it-know		it-know-CAUS-PRES	
ki-tolow-a	swallows it	ki-tolu-liti-a	gives him the Host
it-swallow-PRES		him-swallow-CAUS-PRES (in Mass)	

-a      PRES TRNS occasionally functions alone as a sort of CAUS.

aki	fits		
fit			
k-akt-a	makes it fit, packs it in, makes it comfortable in		
it-fit-PRES:TRNS			
tlamı	ends	ki-tlamı-a	finishes it
end		it-end-PRES:TRNS	

-wi      APPLIC(?)

kočti	sleeps	ki-koč-wi-a	rocks him in his arms
sleep		him-sleep-APPLIC-PRES	

The CAUS meaning can also be expressed by the CAUS form of *do* followed by a SBJNCT verb.

tunıč-čiwa-lti-s	ma	ži-wıya	I will make you go.
1P:you-do-CAUS-FUT	EXHRT	IMP-go:SBJNCT	

### Applicative

-lwi, -wi      APPLIC. Occurs as the normal replacement for the VR -ow in APPLIC forms; it also replaces final ow in many verbs which synchronically show no other evidence of the presence of the VR. It also appears in a few other cases. It takes the form -wi after l or r.

ki-markɔr-ow-a	marks it	ki-markɔr-wi-a	marks it for him
it-mark-VR-PRES		it-mark-APPLIC-PRES	
ki-soso	pricks it	tu-mo-soso-lwi-a	You HON prick it.
it-prick		you-HON-prick-APPLIC-PRES	

<i>kɪ-k<sup>w</sup>esa</i>	<i>half-cooks it</i>	<i>tɪ-mo-k<sup>w</sup>esa-lwɪ-a</i>	<i>You HON half cook it.</i>
<i>it-half:cook</i>		<i>you-HON-half:cook-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-lɪ</i>	<i>told him</i>	<i>kɪ-l-wɪ-a</i>	<i>tells it to him</i>
<i>him-tell</i>		<i>him-tell-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

When *-lwɪ* occurs after a consonant other than *l* or *r*, either *a*, *o*, or *ɪ* occurs between them, the latter being more common. It is not possible to completely predict phonologically which vowel will be used.

*kɪ-k<sup>w</sup>ah-pɪc-ow-a* gives him gumption  
*him-wood-thin-VR-PRES*  
*stiff*

*to-mo-k<sup>w</sup>ah-pɪc-alwɪ-a* You HON give him gumption.  
*you-HON-stiff-APPLIC-PRES*

<i>kɪ-tlacow-a</i>	<i>beats it (eggs)</i>	<i>tɪ-mo-tlac-olwɪ-a</i>	<i>You HON beat it (eggs).</i>
<i>it-beat-PRES</i>		<i>you-HON-beat-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

<i>kɪ-ilakacow-a</i>	<i>rolls it up</i>	<i>tɪ-m-ilakac-ɔlwɪ-a</i>	<i>You HON roll it up.</i>
<i>it-roll:up-PRES</i>		<i>you-HON-roll:up-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

*-lɪ* APPLIC. This is the most common APPLIC and is used in all the cases except those mentioned above. Verbs ending in *a* (usually TRNS or ACT) will change the *a* to *ɪ* (INTRNS or STAT) and some verbs palatalize a consonant (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

<i>kɪ-ʃiwa</i>	<i>does it</i>	<i>kɪ-ʃiwi-lɪ-a</i>	<i>does it to him</i>
<i>it-do</i>		<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-wika</i>	<i>carries it, marries him/her</i>	<i>tɪ-mo-wiki-lɪ-a</i>	<i>You HON carry it/marry</i>
<i>it-carry</i>		<i>you-HON-carry-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>him/her.</i>
<i>ast</i>	<i>arrives, reaches (to)</i>	<i>aʃɪ-lɪ-a</i>	<i>is enough (for)</i>
<i>reach</i>		<i>reach-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

As the above examples show, the APPLIC form is usually best derived from the PRES stem. However, in a few cases it appears to affix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem.

<i>kɪ-pɔya</i>	<i>has it</i>	<i>kɪ-pi-lɪ-a*</i>	<i>guards it for him</i>
<i>it-have</i>		<i>it-have-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

A verb may have as many as three successive APPLIC morphemes.

*tɪ-mo-htɪ-lɪ-lɪ-lɪ-a* You HON note it in him.  
*you-HON-see-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*  
note it  
*note it in him*

\*Actually this may be a case of a contraction of peɪl to pi rather than a PERF formation.

tu-nieč-mo-pi-lt-lt-a		respieto	You HON respect me.
<i>you-me-HON-have-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES</i>		<i>respect</i>	
	<i>guard it for (me)</i>		
	<i>have it towards (me)</i>		

The CAUS markers *-tu* and *-ltu* sometimes seem to have a near APPLIC sense.

čuka	<i>cries</i>	ki-čuki-tt-a	<i>mourns him</i>
<i>cry</i>		<i>him-cry-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
k-thta	<i>sees it</i>	k-httu-tt-a	<i>shows it to him</i>
<i>it-see</i>		<i>him-see-CAUS:(APPLIC?)-PRES</i>	
ki-tuka	<i>plants it</i>	ki-tukti-ltu-a*	<i>plants it for him</i>
<i>it-bury</i>		<i>him-bury-APPLIC (?)-PRES</i>	

Sometimes the APPLIC meaning is not exactly obvious.

ki-matu	<i>knows it</i>	ki-mačt-lu-a	<i>feels it</i>
<i>it-know</i>		<i>it-know-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
ast	<i>arrives, reaches (to)</i>	ašt-lt-a	<i>is enough</i>
<i>reach</i>		<i>reach-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

As the above examples demonstrate, the PRES TRNS marker *-a* is used with the appropriate APPLIC forms.

Some of the meanings associated with APPLIC can also be expressed in other ways, e.g., with prepositional or postpositional phrases.

nieč-tlant-lt-a		<i>asks me for something on behalf of him</i>
<i>me-ask-APPLIC-PRES</i>		
nieč-tlant-a	<i>para yaha</i>	<i>asks me for something for him</i>
<i>me-ask-PRES</i>	<i>for him</i>	

Some verbs might be treated as having an intrinsically APPLIC meaning.

nieč-maka	<i>gives me (it), (hits me)</i>
<i>me-give</i>	

### Desiderative

A few verbs have a kind of compounding or affixation with *neku* *want*. The verb being compounded takes the FUT *-s*.

nt-tla-k <sup>W</sup> o-s-nekt	<i>I am hungry./I want to eat.</i>
<i>I-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-want</i>	

\*It is interesting and perhaps significant that *-a* changes to *-u* in this case as it normally does before APPLIC, but elsewhere does not before the CAUS *-ltu*.



k-thtu-s-neki                      means (lit. *wants to say*; cf. Sp. *quiere decir*)  
*it-say-FUT-want*

The first verb usually takes any 3P HON markings; all other suffixal markings go on the *-neki*.

k-thtu-lu-s-neki-skɔ-nɪ              (if) *he HON had meant*  
*it-say-3P:HON-FUT-want-would've-IRR*

For most verbs, desire is expressed by *ki-neki* (*it-want*) *wants it* as an independent verb, followed by the other verb in FUT.

nɪ-k-neki [nɪ-yɔ-s]                      *I want to go.*  
*I-it-want I-go-FUT*

When the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the second verb is SBJNCT.

ki-neki [ma      nɪ-ya]                      *He wants me to go.*  
*it-want EXHRT I-go*

The verbs that compound with *-neki* can also take this kind of periphrastic construction; there is usually a slight change in the meaning, however.

nɪ-k-neki [nɪ-kočɪ-s]                      *I want to go to sleep.*  
*I-it-want I-sleep-FUT*

nɪ-kočɪ-s-neki                              *I am sleepy.*  
*I-sleep-FUT-want*

### Modal

#### Subjunctive

The SBJNCT form of the verb is the same as the PRES minus the *-a* PRES if any. The PL *-kɔ* is not used elsewhere. For many speakers the IMP *šɪ-* functions as the 2P SUBJ PRON even in non-IMP uses of the SBJNCT verb. Except in its IMP use the SBJNCT verb is preceded by the EXHRT/SBJNCT particle *ma* or its negative *ma-hk-amo* (*may-be:permanently(?)*-NEG).

ki-šiwɪ-lɪ-a                                  *does it to him.*  
*him-do-APPLIC-PRES*

ma      ki-šiwɪ-lɪ                              *May he do it to him.*  
*EXHRT him-do-APPLIC*

ma      šɪ-k-šiwɪ-li-kɔ                      *May you PL do it to him.*  
*EXHRT IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL.SBJNCT*

ma-hk-amo      tye                              *May it not be.*  
*NEG EXHRT be*

Sometimes the *ma* is repeated twice: before a pre-verb SUBJ and again before the verb.

*ma yaha ma wya May he go.*  
*EXHRT he EXHRT go: SBJNCT*

The verb *ya go* has a special SBJNCT stem for non-HON SG forms (see above example).

### Potentive

This construction is usually marked by *k<sup>Walt</sup> good* preceding a future verb. Occasionally a different tense is permitted; a PERF tense gives the meaning *managed to*.

*k<sup>Walt</sup> nt-tlehku-s I can climb up.*  
*good I-ascend-FUT*

*k<sup>Walt</sup> tlehkow-a He can climb up (any time he wants to).*  
*good ascend-PRES*

*k<sup>Walt</sup> o-tlehku-k He was able/managed to climb up.*  
*good PAST-ascend-PERF*

### Dubitative

This is marked by *kana(h) perhaps* preceding a FUT or contingent verb (see Contingency below). Usually this construction only occurs in if-clauses (see If-Clauses).

*tlɔ kana kɥawɩ-s if it (happens to) rain*  
*if perhaps rain-FUT*

### Aspect

#### Directionals, Movement:

*-ti	(PL -ti-we)	<i>goes to ...</i>
*-ki	(PL -ki-we)	<i>comes to ...</i>
*-to		<i>went to ...</i>
-t-ɔya	(IMPRF)	<i>was ...ing while going</i>
*-ko		<i>came to ...</i>
†-tiewa		<i>leave...ing (from tlɩ CONN + iewa get up)</i>
-tunemɩ		<i>go around ...ing (from tlɩ CONN + nemɩ walk, live)</i>
-tehko		<i>... upon arrival there (used only in SBJNCT and FUT; tenses to -tehku before -s FUT or -kɔ PL SBJNCT)</i>
-tɩwic	(PL -tɩwic-ɩ)	<i>comes ...ing (from tlɩ + wic come; used only in PRES)</i>

Manner

†-tkisa  
†-tweci

Manner

*suddenly* (from *ti + kisa emerge*)  
*quickly* (from *ti + weci fall*)

Durative

-tika (PL -tika-te)  
-ta

Durative

PRES PROG (from *ti + ka be*)  
non-PRES DUR

(-tinemi *go around ...ing* and -t-ɔya *was ...ing while going* approximate a DUR meaning.)

Contingency

\*-ni  
\*-s-ka

Contingency

IRR  
*would have ...ed, was going to ...*  
(The -s- is the FUT marker; it tenses the same vowels as the FUT -s. However, I don't know what the -ka might come from.)

\*-s-kiɔ-ya IMPRF  
\*-s-kiɔ-ni

*would have ...ed, was/had been going to ...*  
*(if he) had ...ed (but he didn't, even though he had wanted to)*

Forms marked by \* suffix to the present form of the verb, minus the -a PRES if there is any. -ni IRR, however, retains the -a.

ki-čiwa *does it*                      ki-čiwa-to *He went to do it.*  
it-do                                      it-do-went

ki-čiwa-skiɔ-ya *He would have done it/was going to do it.*  
it-do-would've-IMPRF

ki-čiwi-lt-a *does it to him*                      ki-čiwi-li-ki *comes to do it to him*  
him-do-APPLIC-PRES                      him-do-APPLIC-come

ki-čiwi-lt-ɔ-ni *he were to do it to him, (if) he had done it to him*  
him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR

Other aspect markers suffix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem of verbs except for those verbs which take -k to form the PERF; they suffix to the PRES form of such verbs. In the cases where they suffix to the PERF stem, an *h* appears between them and a vowel\* other than the *o* in -lo 3P HON, which tenses to *u*.

o-ki-čih-ki *They did it.*                      ki-čih-tiewa *leaves (here) doing it*  
PAST-it-do:PERF-PL                      it-do-leave

š-k-čih-tweci *Do it quickly!*                      tt-k-čih-tika-te *We are doing it.*  
IMP-it-do-quickly                      we-it-do-PRES:PROG-PL

\*These are probably really cases of a final *w* or *y* becoming *h* preconsonantly.

<i>ku-maka-k</i>	<i>hit him/gave him (it)</i>	<i>nieč-maka-tika</i>	<i>is hitting me/giving me</i>
<i>him-give-PERF</i>		<i>me-give-PRES:PROG</i>	<i>(it)</i>
<i>ku-čiwu-lu-a</i>	<i>does it to him</i>	<i>ni-k-čiwu-lu-htika</i>	<i>I am doing it to him.</i>
<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>		<i>I-him-do-APPLIC-PRES:PROG</i>	
<i>ku-čiwu-lu-tika</i>	<i>HON is doing it</i>		
<i>it-do-HON-PRES:PROG</i>			

Forms marked with † lose their final vowel in their PERF use; other forms have no PERF unless a special one is given. Forms not marked with \* take -s for their FUT unless specified not to occur with FUT. -to went, -ta non-PRES DUR, and -tnem† go around...ing also occur with -ya IMPRF.

<i>o-ku-čih-tie</i>	<i>He went out and did it.</i>
<i>PAST-it-do-leave:PERF</i>	
<i>tu-k-čih-tehku-s-ku</i>	<i>We will do it when we arrive.</i>
<i>we-it-do-upon:arrival-FUT-PL</i>	
<i>ni-k-čih-ta-ya</i>	<i>I was doing it (all along).</i>
<i>I-it-do-DUR-IMPRF</i>	

RDP often functions to give a HAB or REPET aspect (see STEMS, **Reduplication**).

<i>ku-čih-čiwu</i>	<i>does it REPET, makes/fixes it</i>
<i>it-RDP-do</i>	

### Tense

-a	PRES	(on some verbs, esp. those with APPLIC or CAUS or ending in ow. This PRES marker is also retained in IMPRF (see below) and before the IRR marker -ni.)
-s	FUT	
-ya	IMPRF	(The -a PRES stays here, usually as -o.)*

<i>ku-čiwu</i>	<i>does it/they do it</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ku-čiwu</i>	<i>May he do it.</i>
<i>it-do</i>		<i>EXHRT</i>	<i>it-do</i>	
<i>ku-čiwu-lu-a</i>	<i>does it to him/they do</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ku-čiwu-lu</i>	<i>May he do it to him.</i>
<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>it to him</i>	<i>EXHRT</i>	<i>him-do-APPLIC</i>	
<i>ku-čiwu-s</i>	<i>He will do it.</i>	<i>ku-čiwu-li-s-ku</i>	<i>They will do it to him.</i>	
<i>it-do-FUT</i>		<i>him-do-APPLIC-FUT-PL</i>		
<i>ku-čiwu-ya</i>	<i>He was doing it.</i>	<i>ku-čiwu-lu-o-ya</i>	<i>He was doing it to him.</i>	
<i>it-do-IMPRF</i>		<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF</i>		

\*Actually, -oya appears as the IMPRF form after the 3P HON lo and aspect marker to or ti, which do not take -a PRES, so perhaps -oya should be treated as another IMPRF marker, occurring after lo and to and such verbs as take -a in the PRES.

Since the plural markers are somewhat suppletive for tense, they also aid in identifying tense (see SYNTACTIC MARKING).

The prefix *o-* PAST and the particle *ye already*, singly or in combination, are used very often with PERF and IMPRF verbs. *o-* does not seem to be as closely bound phonologically to the verb as other prefixes. *ye* is also used sometimes with other tenses, with the *already* meaning in focus; with PERF and IMPRF verbs this meaning is often negligible—*ye* seems to just mark PAST.

*ye o-ki-žiwa-ya He was (already) doing it.*  
*already PAST-it-do-IMPRF*

*ye tu-y ɔ-s-ki We will already have gone./We are going now.*  
*already we-go-FUT-PL*

In at least one case a *-ti* CAUS (or *-ti-* CONN ??) appears with the FUT *-s* in the 2P HON forms.

*ti-m ɔ-ti-a You HON are doing something.*  
*you-HON-be-APPLIC-PRES*  
*occupied:HON*

*ti-m ɔ-ti-ti-s You HON will be doing something.*  
*you-HON-be-APPLIC-CAUS-FUT*  
*occupied:HON*

PERF is marked in several ways. Some stems do nothing (except perhaps add the *o-* PAST prefix, which is normally optional).

*ki-k<sup>W</sup>a eats it o-ki-k<sup>W</sup>a He ate it.*  
*it-eat PAST-it-eat*

Many of these stems are now beginning to take *-k* PERF.

*o-ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-k He ate it.*  
*PAST-it-eat-PERF*

Many stems take *-k* PERF. All stems ending in CCV take this PERF; also almost all stems ending in *ka*, (*ga*), *tla*, *sV*, or *k<sup>W</sup>V* take *-k*.\*

*k-thta sees it o-k-thta-k He saw it.*  
*it-see PAST-it-see-PERF*

*čuka cries čuka-k He cried.*  
*cry cry-PERF*

*tla-yowa Night comes. tla-yowa-k Night came.*  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-night UNSPEC:OBJ-night-PERF*

*ki-pthpt pulls it apart ki-pthpt-k He pulled it apart.*  
*it-pull:apart it-pull:apart-PERF*

\*One could propose that all verbs take *-k* in the PL as part of the PL *-(h)kt*.

m-dhyu-cak<sup>W</sup>a      *suffocates himself*  
REFL-breath-shut

m-dhyu-cak<sup>W</sup>a-k      *suffocated himself*  
REFL-breath-shut-PERF

But:

ku-cak<sup>W</sup>a      *shuts it*  
*it-shut*

o-ku-cak      *He shut it.*  
PAST-it-shut:PERF

Most verbs drop their final V (including -a PRES) to form the PERF stem. Many final consonants then drop also by regular morphonemic rule (see PHONOLOGY).

ci:k<sup>W</sup>ini      *runs, jumps*  
*run/jump*

o-ci:k<sup>W</sup>i      *He ran/jumped.*  
PAST-run/jump:PERF

mo-keca      *stands up*  
REFL-stand

o-mo-kec-ki      *They stood up.*  
PAST-REFL-stand:PERF-PL

ki-čiwa      *does it*  
*it-do*

o-ki-čih-ki      *They did it.*  
PAST-it-do:PERF-PL

ku-tlapɔna      *opens it up*  
*it-open*

ku-tlap ɔn-ki      *They opened it up.*  
*it-open:PERF-PL*

ku-muk-ti-a      *kills him*  
*him-die-CAUS-PRES*

o-ku-muk-ti      *He killed him.*  
PAST-him-die-CAUS:PERF

Some forms which have already dropped -a PRES will also add -k PERF.

ne-tlɔt-hcinow-a      *He HHON sits down.*  
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PRES

ne-tlɔt-hcinu-k      *He HHON sat down.*  
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PERF

PERF forms which would otherwise consist of only one syllable must take o-PAST; those which would otherwise be only two syllables almost invariably do. In longer forms the o- is usually optional.

miki      *dies*  
*die*

o-mik      *He died.*  
PAST-die:PERF

tlamɪ      *ends*  
*end*

o-tla      *It ended.*  
PAST-end:PERF

kis-tiewa      *goes out (and away)*  
*emerge-leave*

o-kis-tie      *He went out (and away).*  
PAST-emerge-leave:PERF

kis-tieh-ki      *They went out (and away).*  
*emerge-leave:PERF-PL*

Several verbs seem to accept either of two PERF forms.

o-kɨ-k<sup>w</sup>a-(k)      *He ate it.*  
*PAST-it-eat-PERF*

Some verbs which do not drop their final vowel to form the PERF do so when combined with certain affixes. We have termed these quasi-PERF stems.

čuka-k	<i>He cried.</i>	kɨ-čuk-tɨ-a	<i>makes him cry</i>
<i>cry-PERF</i>		<i>him-cry-CAUS-PRES</i>	

Some verbs which drop their final vowel also tense a stem vowel.

kɨ-kowa	<i>buys it</i>	o-kɨ-ku	<i>He bought it.</i>
<i>it-buy</i>		<i>PAST-it-buy:PERF</i>	

o-kɨ-kuh-kɨ      *They bought it.*  
*PAST-it-buy:PERF-PL*

Some speakers will often add a -k PERF to a verb that has already dropped its final vowel. This construction may imply an ultra-PERF 'over and done with' sense.

pasɔɾ-twɨ	<i>happens</i>	o-pasɔɾ-t	<i>happened</i>
<i>happen-VR</i>		<i>PAST-happen-VR:PERF</i>	

o-pasɔɾ-t-k      *happened*  
*PAST-happen-VR:PERF-PERF*

There seems to be an -i PRES vs. -o PERF distinction in the aspect markers -ti and -ki (*go to ... and come to ...*), whose PERF versions are -to and -ko.

kɨ-čiwa-ti	<i>goes to do it</i>	kɨ-čiwa-to	<i>went to do it</i>
<i>it-do-go</i>		<i>it-do-go:PERF</i>	

The verb *kɔna* *grasp, take* has an irregular SG PERF form for some speakers. The tendency not to have two-syllable verbs may be involved.

o-kɔɔ	<i>He grasped it.</i>	o-kɔ	<i>He grasped it.</i>
<i>PAST-grasp</i>	<i>(some speakers)</i>	<i>PAST-grasp</i>	<i>(other speakers)</i>
<i>PERF</i>		<i>PERF</i>	

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The following hopefully covers most of the common cases.

Pre-Stem Elements

PAST - SM - OM -  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DIRL} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right]$  - UNSPEC - STEM  
OM

REFL go in the same slot as the other OM, except that the REFL (or HON) mo- follows the DIRL wal-.

Post-Stem Elements

STEM - CAUS - APPLIC -  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{3P} \\ \text{HON} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{HON} \\ \text{REFL} \end{array} \right]$  - ASP - TNS  
(several)

## COORDINATION

.wa            *and*  
wa nuythki            *and also*  
noso            *or*  
o noso            *or*  
noso koš            *or be it*  
koš...koš            *whether...or*  
pero (poro)    *but (Sp.)*  
sino            *but (Sp.)*    (NEG V sino V)  
kači            *more, but, rather*

[naha ni-tiek-tli] \* wa [tunic-mk-ti-s]            *I am a viper and I will kill you.*  
*I I-viper-ABS and IP:you-die-CAUS-FUT*

amo ni-k-mati [koš ok om-pa-ka] noso [koš ye on-ya]  
*NEG I-it-know whether yet MED-at-be or whether already hence-go*  
*I don't know if he's still there or if he's already gone.*

\*Square brackets are used to mark conjoined clauses in this section.



[amo asi-to pan=tekt-tl] sino [ast-to sa asta kōni oh-tli]  
 NEG arrive-went at=work-ABS but arrive-went just until where path-ABS  
*He never got to work, but he got only as far as the road.*

[ki-nekt-ya kt-picu-skia] poro [nie-ka si-st-wan-tu amo  
 it-want-IMPRF her-kiss-would've but DIST-be RDP DIM NEG  
 woman

o-mo-kō]

PAST-REFL-let:PERF

*He wanted to kiss that girl, but she wouldn't permit it.*

[welis n̄-yō-s miešthko] noso [welis no-kōwa-s n̄kō]  
 perhaps I-go-FUT Mexico or perhaps I:REFL-leave-FUT here  
*Maybe I'll go to Mexico, or maybe I'll stay here.*

[amo n̄-yō-s] kačt [no-kōwa-s n̄kō]  
 NEG I-go-FUT more I:REFL-leave-FUT here  
*I won't go, but rather I'll stay here.*

Often two clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition, with intonation indicating that they are one sentence.

## COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

All complement clauses with the exception of some direct quotes seem to follow the main verb. The main verb is 3P SG SUBJ for SUBJ clauses, 3P SG OBJ for OBJ clauses. Markings of the subordinate clauses are discussed below.

### Subject Complement Clauses

Usually these clauses are not marked; however, they may be marked with the Spanish SUBR *ke that*. Some cases will have EXHRT *ma may* with the SBJNCT.

niesi [(ke) ye on-ya-hkt] *It looks like they already left.*  
 appear that already hence:(PAST?)-go-PL

kombenier-twi [ma t̄-k-š̄iwa-kō] *It is fitting that we do it.*  
 be -VR EXHRT we-it-do-PL  
 fitting (INTRNS) SBJNCT

Some cases show evidence of a subject copy to the main clause; the main verb has no *k-it OBJ*, as it would if the lower clause were an OBJ.

o-n̄-pie [o-n̄-tekt] *I began to work.*  
 PAST-I-begin:PERF PAST-I-work:PERF

Object Complement Clauses

Object complement clauses are marked differently according to what type of main verb they have. The following observations are far from exhaustive. Note that the same verb used in different senses may take different types of subordinate OBJ clauses.

Volitional/Desiderative/Gustative

Marked with FUT for same subject; ma + SBJNCT for different subject.

ye	o-nt-k-desedir-o	[nt-yɔ-s]	<i>I have decided to go.</i>
already	PAST-I-it-decide-VR	I-go-FUT	
nt-k-nekt	[nt-yɔ-s]		<i>I want to go.</i>
I-it-want	I-go-FUT		
kt-nekt	[ma      nt-ya]		<i>He wants me to go.</i>
it-want	EXHRT I-go		
kt-k <sup>W</sup> al-hta	[kt-ɕiwa-s]		<i>He likes to do it.</i>
it-good-see	it-do-FUT		
like			
amo	nt-k-wel-mati	[nt-h-k <sup>W</sup> ɔ-s    tiek-tli]	<i>I do not like the taste of eating</i>
NEG	I-it-delicious-know	I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS	viper. (see TEXT, line (18).)
nt-kum-d-wi	[ma      yɔ-kɔ]		<i>I told (asked) them to go.</i>
I-them-say-APPLIC	EXHRT go-PL:SBJNCT		
tu-k-pensɔr-ow-a	[tu-yɔ-s]		<i>You are thinking to go.</i>
you-it-think-VR-PRES	you-go-FUT		

Quotative/Considerative

Usually marked with the Spanish SUBR ke.

o-k-hto	[ke    ye      o-tla]	<i>He said that it was all over with.</i>
PAST-it-say	that already	PAST-end:PERF
kt-pensɔr-o-htka	[ke    ok    turabea    on-kɔn-ka]	<i>He thinks there still</i>
it-think-VR-PRES:PROG	that yet still	MED-LOC-be    is some.

Some speakers use the QUOT *neli* to introduce an indirect quote; for other speakers *neli* seems to function only as a disclaimer of some sort, *they say* or *I heard that*.

o-nieɕ-d-wi	[neli    ye      o-mk      pɔ-cin-tli]	
PAST-me-say-APPLIC	QUOT already	PAST-die:PERF child-DIM-ABS
<i>He told me the child was already dead. (some speakers)</i>		
<i>He told me he had heard the child was already dead. (other speakers)</i>		

Direct quotes only exceptionally have *ke*; they are usually marked by a pause and also by the switch of person reference; they may precede the main verb.

[kiema] o-k-dto koyu-tl "Yes," said the coyote. (TEXT, line (7))  
*yes PAST-it-say coyote-ABS*

### Sensation

The complement clause may be unmarked or may use *ke*.

o-k-dhta-k [(ke) ye on-ya] *He saw that he had already gone.*  
*PAST-it-see-PERF that already hence:(PAST?)>go*

### Others

Others are left unmarked or are marked in various ways.

št-k-segir-oh-ta [št-tekt-ti] *Stick to your work!*  
*IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS*  
*work*

kt-čiwa-lt-a [ke i-sowa čuka-s] *He makes his wife cry!*  
*her-do-CAUS-PRES SUBR his-woman cry-FUT*  
*force*

### Oblique Complement Clauses

The normal 'because'-clause (see ADVERBIAL CLAUSES) is marked with the postposition *i-pampa its-on:account:of*, and may be viewed as a kind of oblique complement.

o-nl-ya i-pampa [ye nt-teoswt-ya] *I went because I was*  
*PAST-I-go its-on:account:of already I-be:hungry-IMPRF hungry.*

The Spanish *para for, in order to* and *por (ke) because of, for the sake of* can be viewed as the same kind of thing.

o-nemieč-d-wt para [ma št-k-piya-kɔ k<sup>w</sup>eroro]  
*PAST-you:PL-say-APPLIC for EXHRT IMP-it-have-PL:SBJUNCT care*  
*I told you PL so you will/would be careful.*

nɔ kt-mah-tuka [ktyw-t-s] por [ke k-on-d-wt copilu-tl]  
*PROX it-know-PRES rain-FUT by that him-DIRL-say-APPLIC buzzard-ABS*  
*PROG*

*This fellow is sure it will rain because the buzzard told him so.*

Oblique complements appear in some other constructions borrowed from Spanish.

št-h-kowa de [a-ye-k-mo št-k-maka-ta] *Stop beating him! (Note that*  
*IMP-it-leave of no longer IMP-him-hit-DUR the main verb is marked as for a*  
*direct object complement.)*

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Embedded YNQ are marked by *tlo* *if* or *koš* *whether*. They almost always follow the main clause, even in cases where they are embedded subjects of a verb with an explicit object; they even follow the object.

amo nieč-d-wi      [tlo tyo-s]      *He didn't tell me if he's going.*  
 NEG me-say-APPLIC if goes-FUT

solo deus [koš tyo-s]      *God only (knows) whether*  
*only God whether goes-FUT*      *he'll go.*

amo k-importor-ow-a      no-to-ta      [tlo ni-yo-s]      *It doesn't matter to*  
 NEG him-matter-VR-PRES my-RDP-father if I-go-FUT my father if I go.

Especially with *koš* a tag *noso amo* or *not* is often included in the embedded question. The whole negated clause may be repeated after *noso*, or just *amo* and the verb, *tlo* or *koš* and the negative, etc.

amo mačta      [tlo ki-čiwa-s noso (tlo) amo (ki-čiwa-s)]  
 NEG is:known if it-do-FUT or if NEG it-do-FUT  
*Nobody knows if he'll do it or not.*

*tlo* and *koš* with a *noso* construction are also used for embedded alternative questions.

amo mačta      [koš yaha marta noso adelina]  
 NEG is:known whether she PN or PN  
*I don't know whether that's Martha or Adeline.*

amo nieč-d-wi      [tlo tyo-s      mustla      noso wiktla]  
 NEG me-say-APPLIC if goes-FUT tomorrow or day:after:tomorrow  
*He didn't tell me if he's going tomorrow or the day after.*

Sometimes the *tlo* or *koš* is repeated after the *noso*.

amo mačta [koš yaha marta noso koš adelina]  
 NEG is whether she PN or whether PN  
 known  
*I don't know whether that's Martha or whether it's Adeline.*

WH Questions

The construction of embedded WH questions is generally the same as that of independent ones. They usually follow the main clause.

solo deus [kieru ni-temu-s]      *God only (knows) how I'll get down.*  
*only God how I-descend-FUT*

ki-k<sup>W</sup>ienta-čih-ti [kiehkič tunal-ti pol-twi]  
*it-account-make-CAUS how sun-ABS lack-VR*  
*many*

*He made an accounting of how many days were lacking.*

amo mačta [de kōnti on wala] *Nobody knows where he came*  
*NEG is:known of where DIRL-come from.*

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### General

Relative clauses are marked by the relative/question words *tli(n)* *that/what*, *ōki* *who*, and *kiehkič* *as many as/how many*. *tli* may be used with any head; *ōki* only with singular animate (and usually human) heads (even though in its use as a question word, it may refer to a PL noun); and *kiehkič* only with PL heads in restrictive clauses.

o-nieč-tl-wi nočti so-san-tli [tli o-ki-hta-k]  
*PAST-me-say-APPLIC all RDP-just-ABS that PAST-it-see-PERF*  
*things*

*He told me everything that he saw.*

o-k-ah-wi-tli ka in-u o-cin-tli [tli  
*PAST-it-water-VR-APPLIC with DEM-DIST water-DIM-ABS that*  
*k-om-wika-k]*  
*it-hence-carry-PERF*

*He watered it with that water which he had brought (there).*

ayok in-u umbre [ōki i-tlak n-tēk-ti-ya]  
*be:absent DEM-DIST man who his-by I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF*  
*work*

*The man with whom I was working is not home.*

ma walō-kō in-noč-tie [kiehkič ki-neh-neki]  
*EXHRT come-PL:SBJNCT their-all-PL how:many it-RDP-want*  
*May all those come that want to.*

Some speakers rarely use *ōki* as a relative. Some rarely use *kiehkič*. The WHW *ōki-me-hu* (who-PL-DIST) *who are those ones?* is sometimes used by some speakers as an animate or human PL relative; it probably retains a DEM force.

o-ya-hki in-u ombre-s [ōki-me-hu ki-k<sup>W</sup>-to k<sup>W</sup>aw-tli]  
*PAST-go-PL DEM-DIST man-PL who-PL-DIST it-pluck-went tree-ABS*  
*Those men who had gone to get wood went.*

*tlɔ* *if* is sometimes used in an unusual construction that might be treated as a sort of relative; it may have concessive force.

entunes yaha [tlɔ prinsesa] o-ki-pico [tlɔ poruwe]  
 then she if princess PAST-him-kiss if poor  
 Then she, the princess, kissed the poor man.

The Sp. SUBR *ke* may signal a relative; some speakers delete a *ki-* which follows it (at least in fast speech).

nie-ka-te tlɔka [ke (ki-)pya ume in-šoyak]  
 DIST-be-PL men that it-have two their-face  
 those men who are hypocrites

Occasionally an unmarked relative is used.

sen-te [ki-pya-ya pico-yeh-yeka-tl] a man who had a demon  
 one-NUM it-have-IMPRF ugly-RDP-wind-ABS  
 i-mɔ [o-wɔk] his withered hand  
 his-hand PAST-dry:PERF

A noun functioning as head of a relative clause rarely, and probably then only with a restrictive relative, when being introduced for the first time in a discourse, appears without some sort of modifier (DEM or QNT usually) preceding it. Possessed nouns, pronouns, and personal names are ordinarily exceptions to this rule, as they are usually already definite. However, they too may have such a modifier in cases where they are not definite or fully identified.

tlɔka [tli ki-šywa hki-u] people who do that sort of thing  
 men that it-do thus (less common)  
 nočt tlɔka [tli ki-šywa hki-u] all people who do that sort of thing  
 all men that it-do thus (more usual)  
 in-u no-konie [tli kačt wiewt] that son of mine that is the biggest.  
 DEM-DIST my-child that more big

Some speakers use a headless or quasi-headless relative to represent a noun-cum-restrictive relative construction, with the noun overtly functioning in the relative clause.

nočt [tlin=k<sup>W</sup>aw-tl ki-mo-šywa-lt-a [tlin=amo-k<sup>W</sup>alt i-fruto]]  
 all that=tree-ABS it-REFL-do-CAUS-PRES that=NEG-good its-fruit  
grow  
produce  
 any tree that produces bad fruit

Although relative clauses typically follow their head, restrictive relatives (especially when verbless) may precede it, particularly if no other modifier precedes it. This is doubtless a reflex of the fact that adjectives expressing an intrinsic or

restrictive quality will often precede their head. In some of these cases it may be best to analyze the construction as a headless relative (see preceding paragraph).

ʃt-kɪn-nuca [tlin=k<sup>W</sup>al-tɪ-k-t] tloka Call (the) men that are  
 IMP-them-call that=good-CONN-ADJR-PL men good.

Another modifier may intervene between a relative and its head.

in-u tloka weh-weyt [tli on-wala-hki] those big men that came  
 DEM-DIST men RDP-big that DIRL:(PAST?)-come-PL

tie-ɔyɔ de no-tlo-ci [tli kemaʃ o-ki-kuh-ki]  
 his:HON-net of my-uncle-HON that barely PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON  
 my uncle's net that he just bought recently

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate pronominal affix on the relativized verb or the appropriate POSSR on a postposition.

taha [ɔki tɪ-k-matɪ] you who know better  
 you who you-it-know

in-u tloka-tl [ɔki i-ka nt-tekt-tɪ-ya]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF  
 the man I was working with work

If two coreferential nouns are constituents of the main clause and a relative clause respectively, the one in the relative clause is deleted if the one in the main clause is SUBJ. If the main clause constituent is not SUBJ, the relative clause constituent can often be deleted but may be pronominalized or even left overt to avoid confusion. The deleted noun, of course, is still represented by the appropriate verbal or postpositional affix.

no-tɔ-ta o-kt-k<sup>W</sup>a-hki in-u naka-tl [tli  
 my-RDP-father PAST-it-eat-HON DEM-DIST meat-ABS that

k-om-wika-k-tɪ]  
 it-hence-carry-PERF-HON

My father ate the meat that he had brought (there).

yehwa tie-maka-k-t no-tɔ-ta in-u naka-tl [tli  
 they him:HON-give-PERF-PL my-RDP-father DEM-DIST meat-ABS that

yehwa-ci o-ki-kuh-ki]  
 he:HON-HON PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON

They gave my father the meat that he had bought.

(yehwaci he HON serves to disambiguate the verb—otherwise it would mean the meat that they had bought in this case, because they is the SUBJ of the main clause and the lower verb is ambiguous between they SUBJ and he HON SUBJ.)

amo k-importɔr-ow-ɔ-ya                      pɔblo in-u                      sɔ-san-tlɛ [tli  
 NEG him-matter-VR-PRES-IMPRF PN      DEM-DIST things                      that  
 kɛ-pasɔr-ow-ɔ-ya]  
 him-happen-VR-PRES-IMPRF  
 The things that had been happening to Paul didn't matter to him.

Sometimes, however, if the main clause constituent is a POSSR, it may be represented only by a POSSR affix, while the relative clause constituent may be spelled out.

tie-ɔyɔ                      [tli kemač o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ                      no-tlɔ-ci]  
 his:HON-net that barely PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON my-uncle-HON  
 my uncle's net that he just recently bought

Main clause subjects, objects, indirect objects, possessors, and postpositional and prepositional objects can all have relative clauses modifying them—only subjects and objects, however, can consist of a headless relative.

### Subject Relatives

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate SUBJ pronoun prefix on the relativized verb. (See examples above.)

### Object Relatives

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate OBJ pronoun prefix on the verb. Non-pronominalized subjects tend very strongly to follow the verb even in cases when ambiguity results. (Presumably this is because the relativized noun is almost always in focus; in those cases where it is not, the focused element will usually have been pronominalized. Since pronouns appear in this sort of situation only to indicate focus, they normally precede the verb.)

in-u                      ɔyɔ-tl [tli o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ                      no-tlɔ-ci]  
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON my-uncle-HON  
 the net that my uncle bought

in-u                      ɔyɔ-tl [tli no-tlɔ-ci                      o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ]  
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that my-uncle-HON PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON  
 the net that my uncle bought (questionable)

in-u                      ɔyɔ-tl [tli naha o-nɛ-h-ku]  
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that I      PAST-I-it-buy:PERF  
 the net that I bought

in-u                      sowa-tl [tli kɛ-kah-kɔ                      i-nɔmɔk]  
 DEM-DIST woman-ABS that him/her-RDP-leave:PERF her-husband  
 the woman who left her husband/the woman whose husband left her



Oblique Relatives

The relativized noun is represented by the appropriate POSSR prefix on the postposition of which it is object or on the possessed noun it modifies. The definite pronoun is used following prepositions.

in-u k<sup>w</sup>du-tl [i-ka tli kɪ-maka-ta-ya]  
 DEM-DIST stick-ABS its-with that him-hit-DUR-IMPRF  
 the stick that he was beating him with

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɪ i-pa i-ʃɔ tɪ-yeh-yeyɪ]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who its-at his-home we-RDP-were:IMPRF  
 the man at whose house we were

nie-ka hiente [ɔkɪ para yehwa o-ti-k-ʃih-kɪ]  
 DIST-be people who for them PAST-we-it-do-PL  
 that PERF  
 those people that we did it for\*

In general, oblique relatives tend not to use *tli* when *ɔkɪ* can be used. Sometimes *ɔkɪ* is used with a PL animate or human referent in this type of construction, though otherwise it is used only with SG. This strong preference for *ɔkɪ* is especially noticeable in constructions where a POSSR is relativized.

in-u tlɔka [ɔkɪ pah-palɔn-kɪ in-ayoh-wa]  
 DEM-DIST men who RDP-rot:PERF-PL their-squash-POSSD:PL  
 those men whose squashes rotted

in-u tlɔka-tl [tli o-mɪk i-konie]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS that PAST-die:PERF his-child  
 that man that his son died (very questionable)

As in the cases where the OBJ is relativized, a non-pronominal subject tends strongly to follow the verb. However, when the subject is the noun possessed by the relativized noun, it is often preposed to the verb.

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɪ o-mɪk i-konie]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who PAST-die:PERF his-child  
 that man whose son died

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɪ i-konie o-mɪk]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-child PAST-die:PERF  
 that man whose son died

\*The use of *ɔkɪ* here may be an example of the special use of *ɔkɪ* with a PL referent (see next paragraph), or it may be a result of the fact that *hiente* is ambiguous between singular and plural (as in the Spanish of the region). In this example it appears with the SG *nie-ka* instead of the PL *nie-ka-te*, yet the relativized pronoun is PL. Such confusion is common.

Some postpositions tend to precede the relativizer *tli* but not *ɔki*. The Spanish prepositions may precede both. (Compare this with their behavior as WH words under **WH Questions**).

in-u        k<sup>w</sup>ɫu-tl [i-ka    tli    ki-maka puro]  
 DEM-DIST stick-ABS its-with that it-hit donkey  
*the stick he hits the donkey with*

in-u        tɔka-tl [ɔki i-ka    nt-teki-ti-ya]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF  
   work  
*the man with whom I was working*

yehwa-ci    [por ɔki to-mɔ-kiʂ-ti-a]  
 he:HON-HON by who we:REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES  
   escape  
   save  
*he HON by whom we are saved*

Other P (generally the longer and less used ones) follow both relativizers. Often, and always when subordinated by *tli*, these P will have a definite pronoun as their head besides the relativizer.

in-u        tɔka-tl [tli i-pampa                yaha o-k-ɬtoh-ki]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS that his-on:account:of he PAST-it-say:PERF-PL  
*the man for whose sake they said it*

in-u        tɔka-tl [ɔki i-pampa                o-k-ɬtoh-ki]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-on:account:of PAST-it-say:PERF-PL  
*the man for whose sake they said it*

When the Spanish prepositions occur after the relativizer, they must have a definite pronoun OBJ.

in-u        tɔka-tl [ɔki para yaha o-ni-k-walɬa-k]  
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who for him PAST-I-it-bring-PERF  
*the man for whom I brought it*

### **Headless Relatives**

Quasi-headless relatives are very common. Usually a DEM or QNT (often with PRTV *de of* (Sp.)) represents the nominal from which the head has been deleted.

in-i-nɔn-ka                    [tli ti-k-wal-ɬka-k]        *this here that you brought*  
 DEM-PROX-PROX-be        that you-it-hither-carry-PERF  
*this here*

in-u        [ɔki tla-lwi-kiʂ-ti-a]  
 DEM-DIST who UNSPEC:OBJ-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES  
*the one who is giving the fiesta*

in-noč-tie [tli on-wala-hkɪ] *all that came*  
*their-all-PL that DIRL:(PAST?)-come-PL*

A special relative, lo=ke=tli(n) *that (SG)* (from Spanish *lo que that which* and *tli*) is very common in these constructions with QNT, and also is the normal inanimate singular marker for true headless relatives.

meyak de [lo=ke=tli o-k-thta-k] *much of what he saw*  
*much of it=that=that PAST-it-see-PERF*

[lo=ke=tli nɪ-k-nekɪ] tka ma a-ye-k-mo ʃɪ-tlah-tla-htu-kɔ  
*it=that=that I-it-want is EXHRT no longer IMP-RDP- UNSPEC-say-PL*  
 OBJ SBINCT  
*What I want is that you no longer talk.*

Sometimes *tli* marks a headless relative when it functions as OBJ in the main clause.

kɪ-toka [(lo=ke=)tlin=k<sup>w</sup>altɪ] *He follows the good.*  
*it-follow it=that=that=good*

ɔkɪ is common as the relativizer of a headless relative, usually with the 'ever' sense.

ye-s tekɪ-yo para [ɔkɪ kɪ-nekɪ-s tlehku-s]  
*be-FUT work-ABSTR for who it-want-FUT ascend-FUT*  
*difficult*  
*It will be difficult for whoever will want to climb up.*

[ɔkɪ tla-lwɪ-kɪʃ-tɪ-a] lalwɪs porube ka mo-hta  
*who UNSPEC-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES very poor with REFL-see*  
 OBJ INTNS  
*Whoever gives a fiesta winds up very poor.*

Sometimes a headless relative apparently has the head noun functioning in the relative clause. In some cases these could be analyzed as examples of a relative clause preceding its head (see RELATIVE CLAUSES, **General**).

nočɪ [tlin=k<sup>w</sup>aw-tɪ kɪ-wika [tlin=k<sup>w</sup>altɪ] i-fruto]  
*all that=tree-ABS it-carry that=good its-fruit*  
*any tree that bears good fruit*

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Locative

Where-clauses are marked by the question word *kõnɪ* *where* or *kõnɪ-n-u-hu* (where-DEM-RDP-DIST) *at the place where*. They may precede or follow the main clause.

[kõnɪ nɪ-k-asɪ-s]      nɪ-h-k<sup>w</sup>ɔ-s      *Wherever I catch him I will eat him.*  
*where I-him-reach-FUT I-him-eat-FUT*

kalakɪ [kõnɪ mo-wec-tka-te      to-tɔ-tah-cɪ-ci]  
*enter where REFL-fall-PRES-PL our-RDP-father-RDP-DIM*  
HON      PROG      HON  
*HHON are      (our) idols*  
*enters where the town (or family) idols are*

on-yah-kɪ [kõnɪ-n-u-hu      o-mo-tuka-k      in-u      tɔka-tɪ]  
*hence-go-PL where-DEM-RDP-DIST PAST-REFL-bury-PERF DEM-DIST man-ABS*  
*(PAST?)*  
*He went to the place where that man was buried.*

*kõnɪ* is used often in apposition to some other locative expression and even in cases where an oblique relative clause could also be used.

om-pa dɔwɪk [kõnɪ naha nɪ-γɔ-s]      *there in heaven, where I'm going*  
*MED-at heaven where I I-go-FUT*

o-kɪ-ʒi      kal-te      weh-weyt [kõnɪ kɪ-tɔli-s-kɪ      tɔa-l-tɪ]  
*PAST-it-make house-PL RDP-big where it-ground-FUT-PL shell-NR-ABS*  
*PERF      corn*  
*He made big houses in which to put corn.*

*kõnɪ* may be preceded by a locative P indicating an appropriate modification of the 'where' sense.

entunes yehwa-ci wilowak [ka kõnɪ wilowak]  
*then he-HON goes with where goes*  
*HON      HON      around where HON*  
*Then he HON goes wherever he's going.*

on-wala [desde kõnɪ tektɪ-tɪ-ya]      *He came from where he had been working.*  
*DIRL-come from where cut-CAUS-IMPRF*  
*(PAST?)      work*

Some P seem to prefer to prepose to a noun phrase with *lokɔr* *place* (Sp. *lugar*), apposed to the *kõnɪ* clause.

o-mo-k<sup>w</sup>eh-kɪ      i-pa in-u      lokɔr [kõnɪ primiero o-kis-kɪ]  
*PAST-REFL-turn:PERF-PL its-at DEM-DIST place where first PAST-emerge-PL*  
*PERF*  
*They returned to the place where they had first left from.*

The 'until' or 'as far as' meaning is given by the Spanish *asta until* in combination with *kōnɪ*.

on-ya-hkɪ [asta kōnɪ o-yeyɪ sen-te ɔ-m-ieya-l-tɪ]  
*hence-go-PL until where PAST-be one-NUM water-REFL-rise-NR-ABS*  
*(PAST?) IMPRF*

*They went on until (they came to) where there was a spring.*

nɪ-k-segir-oh-ta-s [asta kōnɪ nɪ-welt-ti-s]  
*I-it-follow-VR-DUR-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT*  
*I will keep on as long as I am able.*

### Manner

These are usually marked by *kiemɪ* *like*. They usually follow the main verb.

ʃɪ-k-ʃiwa-kɔ [kiemɪ naha nɪ-k-ʃiwa]  
*IMP-it-do-PL:SBJNCT like I I-it-do*  
*(You PL) do as I do!*

ʃɪ-k-cahɔɪ-lɪ thkɪ-u [kiemɪ nɪ-k-wal-ɬto]  
*IMP-him-shout-APPLIC be-DIST like I-it-hither-say*  
*permanently*  
*thus (like:that)*

*Shout to him like I came and said to!*

o-mo-maɬt-lɪ [kiemɪ tɔ o-ye-nɪ ʃɪkɔwa-k lalɔwɪs]  
*PAST-REFL-know-APPLIC like if PAST-be-IRR strong-ADJR very*  
*He fell as if he were very strong.*

The question word *kiemɪ how?* is sometimes used in this sense (usually with a 'however' emphasis), as are also *san kiemɪ just how*, *san kiemɪ ka just how INTNS*, and *kienamɪ just like*.

[san kiemɪ ka nɪ-k-ɬta-k] thkɪ-u kɪ-ʃiwa-ya  
*just how INTNS I-it-see-PERF thus it-do-IMPRF*  
*He was doing it just as I saw.*

ʃɪ-k-ʃiwa [kienamɪ muc-nawat] *Do just as he advised you.*  
*IMP-it-do just:like you-advise:PERF*

Very often the manner clause is apposed to an ADV DEM *thus*.

o-kɪ-ʃi ihkɪ-yi [kienamɪ nemieɬ-ɬti-tɪ-htka] *He did it just like I'm*  
*PAST-it-do be-PROX just:like you-see-CAUS-PRES showing you PL.*  
*PERF permanently PL PROG*  
*thus (like:this)*

TemporalSimultaneous

Many simultaneous when-clauses are marked with  $k^w\text{ok}$  *when*. These clauses tend to follow the main clause, but may sometimes precede it, especially if the occurrence of the main verb logically depends on the occurrence of the subordinate verb.

[ $k^w\text{ok}$  walɔ-s]      nɪ-tla-cdini-s                      *When he comes, I will ring the bells.*  
*when come-FUT I-UNSPEC:OBJ-clang-FUT*

noči mo-čiwa šošok-t-k                      [ $k^w\text{ok}$  kɛyawɪ]  
*all REFL-do green-CONN-ADJR when rain*  
*become*  
*Everything becomes green when it rains.*

nɪ-k-ɬta-k                      [ $k^w\text{ok}$  on-kis]  
*I-him-see-PERF when hence:(PAST?)-emerge:PERF*  
*I saw him when he came out.*

*mientras* *while* (Spanish) is also used often followed by the Spanish SUBR *ke* *that*. Its clauses tend to precede the main clause. It is often used with its clause deleted and followed by a strong pause, with the meaning *meanwhile*.

[*mientras* *ke* amo nɪ-k-čiwa] amo yɔ-s-ki  
*while that NEG I-it-do NEG go-FUT-PL*  
*They won't go as long as I don't do it.*

[*mientras*] taha šɪ-k-segir-oh-ta                      šɪ-tekt-tu  
*meanwhile you IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS*  
*work*

*Meanwhile, you keep on working.*

The 'until' meaning is given by the Spanish preposition *asta*, often in combination with  $k^w\text{ok}$  *when*. Sometimes *asta* is used with *kɔnu* *where* to give a temporal sense (see above).

neh-nen-ta-ya                      neh-nen-ta-ya                      [*asta*  $k^w\text{ok}$  ah-asɪ-to]  
*RDP-live-DUR-IMPRF walk-DUR-IMPRF until when RDP-reach-went*  
*walk*

kɔnu o-yeyɪ                      sen-te                       $k^w\text{aw}$ -tɪl wiewɪ]  
*where PAST-be:IMPRF one-NUM tree-ABS big*  
*They walked and walked until they arrived where there was a big tree.*

nɪ-k-šɪku-s                      [*asta* kɔnu nɪ-wɛɪ-ti-s]  
*I-it-bear-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT*  
*I will bear it as long as I can.*

Sequence

Subordinate sequential time clauses are usually marked by *k<sup>w</sup>ok* *when*, often with *ye* *already* modifying the subordinate verb. They almost always precede the main verb. At times it is difficult to distinguish between sequential and near-simultaneous usages.

[k<sup>w</sup>ok ye o-tla-nieš] o-mo-kec  
*when already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF PAST-REFL-stand:PERF*  
*When it dawned, he got up.*

[k<sup>w</sup>ok o-tlapɔ] o-kim-dta-k  
*when PAST-open:PERF PAST-them-see-PERF*  
*When it had opened, he saw them.*

*sɔ-tie-pa* (just-UNSPEC:POSSR-at) *afterwards* followed by *de ke* *of that* (Sp.) is also used in this sequential sense; also so is *sɔ-tie-pa de k<sup>w</sup>ok*.

[sɔ-tie-pa de k<sup>w</sup>ok ye o-mik] ye piwa čoh-čuka  
*afterward of when already PAST-die:PERF already begin RDP-cry*  
*After he is dead, they begin to mourn.*

Often a sequential time clause is apposed to *entunes* *then* (Sp.) or some other ADV DEM meaning *then* more or less.

entunes [k<sup>w</sup>ok ye o-mo-či] ti-ya-wi to-čɔ  
*then when already PAST-REFL-do we-go-PL our-home*  
*happen:PERF*  
*Then, when it's already happened, we go home.*

Sometimes a reverse sequential time clause occurs, marked by *kačto* *first, earlier* followed by *de ke*. These clauses can also follow the main verb. Often the subordinate verb will bear an IRR marker or one of the contingency markers.

[kačto de ke on-wala i-tah-ci] yaha o-k-ɫ-wi  
*first of that DIRL:(PAST?)-come his-father-HON he PAST-her-say-APPLIC*  
*i-nɔn-ci*  
*his-mother-HON*  
*Before his father came, he told his mother.*

yaha in-u o-mo-či [kačto de ke o-mo-či-wa-nc  
*it DEM-DIST PAST-REFL-do:PERF first of that PAST-REFL-make-IRR*  
*tɫɔɫ-tu-kpak-tɫɫ*  
*world-ABS*  
*That happened before the world was made.*





*por* *by, for, for the sake of* (Sp.) is used, often with *tlɔ*, sometimes alone, and occasionally with *ke* *that* *SUBR* (Sp.), in the 'in case' sense. (*por*) *tlakaso* (from Spanish *por si acaso* *in case* with *tlɔ* substituted for the Spanish *si* *if*) may sometimes also be used in this way; more often it appears without a clause following it.

o-ki-cah-cak          por [tlɔ kɪyawi-s]          *He closed it in case it would*  
*PAST-it-RDP-close for if rain-FUT*          *rain.*  
 PERF

Verb forms with *IRR*, *FUT*, *IMPRF*, *SBJNCT*, and the forms constructed with *skia* *would've* (see *NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION*, Aspect) often turn up in *if*-clauses with varying semantic effects.

ika-ka sen-te          desperdisio laltwɪs [tlɔ sa to-mo-maka-  
*is-RDP one-NUM waste very if only you-REFL-give*  
 HON

-cinu-skɪɔ-ya          k<sup>w</sup>ienta]  
*REFL:HON-would've-IMPRF account*  
*It is a great waste, if you HON would only realize it.*

[tlɔ sa ki-neki-skɪɔ-nɪ          p<sup>w</sup>ieblo] nieč-consentir-u-s  
*if only it-want-would've-IRR town me-put:up:with-VR-FUT*  
*If the town only wanted to, it would put up with me.*

Sometimes *tlɔ* is used in a quasi-concessive (?), almost relative sense.

yaha [tlɔ prinsesa] o-ki-pico          in-u          pɪalax-tɪ  
*she if princess PAST-him-kiss:PERF DEM-DIST lad-ABS*  
*She, the princess, kissed the lad.*

*tlɔ tli if what* is used in the sense of 'whatever'.

ki-maka-k          atul-t          de kakawa-tɪ          noso [tlɔ tli]  
*him-give-PERF gruel-ABS of cacao-ABS or if what*  
*She gave him gruel of cacao or something or other.*

### Because-Clauses

Because-clauses are marked by the postposition *i-pampa* *its-on:account:of* or by the Spanish *por* (*ke*) *for* (*SUBR*) = *because*. They follow the main clause. *por* clauses may precede the main clause.

o-mo-k<sup>w</sup>ek          i-pampa          [ki-polo i-šomplielo]  
*PAST-REFL-turn:PERF its-on:account:of it-lose his-hat*  
*He turned back because he had lost his hat.*

amo on-wala          por [ke mo-kokow-a-ya]  
*NEG DIRL:(PAST?)-come for that REFL-hurt-PRES-IMPRF*  
*He didn't come because he was sick.*

por [taha ti-wala]    ye      ni-wal-temu-k  
*for you you-come already I-hither-descend-PERF*  
*Because you came, I've managed to get down here.*

*sam-por* just because, for no reason, to no avail, just (from *san just* and *por for* (Sp.)) is occasionally used as a because-clause marker. These clauses usually precede the main clause, perhaps because they are usually in focus.

sam-por [o-ni-k-nek]                  o-ni-kis  
*just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF*  
*Just because I wanted to, I came out.*

sam-por o-ni-k-nek                  o-ni-kis  
*just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF*  
*I wanted to leave for no particular reason.*

Therefore-constructions are usually separate sentences; the second will be introduced by *por in-u* by *DEM-DIST*, *yaha i-ka* (it its-with) *because of that*, *ka in-u* (with *DEM-DIST*) *since that is so*, or *i-pampa-hu* (its-on:account:of-DIST) *because of that*. Occasionally a because-clause is topicalized and preposed to the main clause. In these cases, the main clause is usually marked as in a therefore-construction, and the two clauses are separated by a strong pause.

i-pampa                  [amo nieč-neki wa de porsi      amo k<sup>w</sup>alı  
*its-on:account:of NEG me-want and of naturally NEG good*

por in-u                  nieč-il-wi                  thke-u  
*for DEM-DIST me-say-APPLIC thus*

*Because he doesn't like me and he's just intrinsically bad, that's why he talked to me like that.*

*kienu how?*, *kiemu like*, and *komo how?*, *how* (Sp.) are all used in a sort of 'being that' sense in a construction reminiscent of Spanish usage. Clauses marked by them usually precede the main verb. Often they act almost as relatives.

naha [komo ok ni-ci-ciki-ci]      no-nona      nieč-koh-ki  
*I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM my-mommy me-leave-HON*  
*Since I was still little, my mother left me.*

in-u                  tloka-tl [kiemu amo ki-mati-ya]      on-ya  
*DEM-DIST man-ABS like NEG it-know-IMPRF hence:(PAST?)-go*  
*Being that he didn't know, that man went.*

### Purpose Clauses

These clauses are marked by the Spanish preposition *para for* or *para ke for SUBR*. The subordinated verb is usually *FUT* or *SBJCT* with *EXHRT ma*; occasionally some other inflections occur with varying semantic effects. These clauses usually follow the main clause.

o-kt-ši                      tle-cin-tli                      para [wksɨ-s      naka-tli]  
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-FUT flesh-ABS  
 He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-kt-ši                      tle-cin-tli                      para [ma      wksɨ      naka-tli]  
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for EXHRT cook flesh-ABS  
 He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-kt-ši                      tle-cin-tli                      para [wksɨ-k      naka-tli]  
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-PERF flesh-ABS  
 He made a fire so the meat cooked.

In the case of the verb *ya go*, a subordinated verb in a parallel tense simply juxtaposed to *ya* gives the 'in order to' meaning.

ni-ya [ni-tekt-ti]                      I am going to work.  
 I-go I-cut-CAUS  
 work

*para tlo* for *if* or *para tlakaso* (from *tlo* + *a kaso* perhaps (Sp.)) or either of these with *por* for instead of *para*, is used with the meaning 'in case'. (See If-Clauses.)

o-kt-tloɨ                      tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-l-ti                      para [tlo      walɔ-skɔɔ-ya]  
 PAST-it-ground UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR-ABS for if come-would've-IMPRF  
 She put out food in case they were going to come.

### Other

Although-clauses are marked by *mɔs* *although* (from Spanish *mas* *but*) or some construction thereof (*mɔs=ke* (*mɔs* + *ke* *that* SUBR) or *mɔs* + *tlo* *if* (see also under If-Clauses)). These clauses may precede or follow the main clause.

[mɔs      yaha tekt-ti-ya]                      i-nɔn-ci                      seme      k-ah-ahwa-ya  
 though he cut-CAUS-IMPRF his-mother-HON always him-RDP-scold-IMPRF  
 work

*Though he worked hard, his mother always bawled him out.*

tɨmɨ-čiwi-li-s                      [mɔs      amo      tɨ-k-neki-s]  
 IP:you-do-APPLIC-FUT though NEG you-it-want-FUT  
 I will do it to you even though you will/might not want it.

Sometimes *mɔs* is combined with *wa* *and*. This seems to give an 'even though' sort of twist. (Cf. TEXT, line (15).)

kt-wika-c-ti                      [wa      mɔs      amo      tli      kt-čiwa]  
 him-carry-bring-PL and though NEG what it-do  
 They are bringing him, and (they are doing it) even though he hasn't done anything.

Often the main verb is marked with Sp. *pero but*.

[mɔs-ke amo k-thta-ya] pero ki-matt-ya ke om-pa  
*though-SUBR NEG him-see-IMPRF but it-know-IMPRF SUBR MED-on*  
 o-yeya  
*PAST-be-IMPRF*

*Although he couldn't see him, he knew he was there.*

Until-clauses are marked with the Spanish *asta until*, usually with *ke SUBR*. They usually follow the main clause.

ki-tu-tu-toka-tnem-ya asta [ke o-mo-kšt-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ti]  
*him-RDP-RDP-follow-go-IMPRF until that PAST-REFL-foot-wood-VR*  
*around become:tired*

*He chased him around until his feet were tired out.*

Without-clauses are marked with the Spanish *sin ke without SUBR*. The subordinate clause is almost always negated, especially in past tenses. These clauses almost always follow the verb.

o-ti-kis-ki sin [ke amo o-mo-maka-k k<sup>W</sup>ienta]  
*PAST-we-emerge-PL without that NEG PAST-REFL-give-PERF account*  
*PERF*

*We went out without his realizing it.*

ti-kisa-s-ki sin [ke mo-maka-s k<sup>W</sup>ienta]  
*we-emerge-FUT-PL without that REFL-give-FUT account*  
*We will go out without his realizing it.*

## TEXT

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

koyu-tl wa sh-tli  
*coyote-ABS and jackrabbit-ABS*

1. One day, when a very big coyote was very hungry,  
 ye sie tunal-t k<sup>w</sup>ok lalwus teoswt-ya sen-te koyu-tl  
*already one day-ABS when very be:hungry-IMPRF one-NUM coyote-ABS*
- he was chasing a jackrabbit around  
 lalwus wiewt ki-tu-tu-toka-tnemt-ya sen-te sh-tli  
*very big her-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around-IMPRF one-NUM jackrabbit-ABS*
- in a corn field.  
 i-htek sen-te mil-t  
*its-inside one-NUM corn:field-ABS*
2. The jackrabbit was very frightened, but she knew  
 sh-tli lalwus mah-k<sup>o</sup>-mikt-ya kači yaha ki-mah-ta-ya  
*jackrabbit-ABS very fear-MAN-die-IMPRF more she it-know-DUR-IMPRF*
- that she could no longer keep on running because  
 ke a-welt kači mo-mer<sup>o</sup>-wa-s i-pampa  
*that NEG-possible more REFL-run-FUT its-on:account:of*
- she was already very old, and her feet  
 ye lalwus ye lama-ci wa i-kšt-wa  
*already very already old:female-DIM:HON and her-foot-POSSD:PL*
- were no longer strong.  
 a-ye-k-mo welt-tt-ya  
*no longer possible-VR-IMPRF*
3. So the jackrabbit suddenly stopped  
 wa ka in-u sh-tli sa trepiente o-mo-kec-tukis  
*and with DEM-DIST jackrabbit-ABS just of PAST-REFL-stand-suddenly*  
*a:sudden PERF*
- and looked back sideways to see the coyote.  
 wa o-nakas-tlačiš para k-hta-s koyu-tl  
*and PAST-ear-look:PERF for it-see-FUT coyote-ABS*
4. The jackrabbit said to the coyote, "Stop a minute.  
 sh-tli o-kt-l-wt koyu-tl šo-mo-keca tept-ci  
*jackrabbit-ABS PAST-it-say-APPLIC coyote-ABS IMP-REFL-stand little-DIM*  
*bit*

5. Why are you chasing me around?  
 tli-ka t-nieč-tu-tu-toka-tnemɪ  
*what-with you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around*
6. Do you want to eat me?"  
 ti-k-nekɪ t-nieč-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s  
*you-it-want you-me-eat-FUT*
7. "Yes," said the coyote.  
 kiema o-k-ɬto koyu-tl  
*yes PAST-it-say:PERF coyote-ABS*
8. "I want to eat you."  
 nɪ-k-nekɪ tamɛ-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s  
*I-it-want IP:you-eat-FUT*
9. Replied the jackrabbit, "Don't eat me, because if  
 o-nɔwat sɬ-tl amo š-t-nieč-k<sup>W</sup>a i-pampa tlɔ  
*PAST-reply:PERF jackrabbit-ABS NEG IMP-me-eat its-on:account:of if*  
 you eat me, you will die.  
 ti-nieč-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s taha t-mkt-s  
*you-me-eat-FUT you you-die-FUT*
10. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am  
 taha ti-k-matɪ ke naha nɪ-ka-ka nɪ-sɬ-tl kačɪ naha nɪ-ka-ka  
*you you-it-know that I I-RDP-be I-jackrabbit-ABS more I I-RDP-be*  
 a viper, and when you eat me, my poison-juice  
 nɪ-tiek-tl wa k<sup>W</sup>ɔk taha t-nieč-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s no-tlak-ɔ-yo  
*I-viper-ABS and when you you-me-eat-FUT my-(?)-water-ABSTR*  
*juice*  
 will kill you."  
 mɛ-mk-ti-s  
*you-die-CAUS-FUT*
11. Asked the coyote, "If that's how it is, what shall I eat?"  
 o-tlah-tla koyu-tl tlɔ-hk-u tli k<sup>W</sup>alt nɪ-h-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s  
*PAST-RDP-ask coyote-ABS if-be-DIST what good I-it-eat-FUT*  
*permanently*  
*thus (like that)*
12. "Eat these berries that I picked.  
 š-t-h-k<sup>W</sup>a in-i-nɔn-ka kapol-t tli naha o-nɪ-h-k<sup>W</sup>ɬ-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ-k  
*IMP-it-eat DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS that I PAST-I-it-RDP-pluck:PERF*
13. I was carrying these here berries in  
 naha nɪ-k-wika-ya in-i-nɔn-ka kapol-t i-htek  
*I I-it-carry-IMPRF DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS its-inside*

my basket to my house to eat them there.

no-čiki asta no-čɔ para om-pa nɪ-h-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s  
*my-basket until my-home for MED-on I-it-eat-FUT*

14. Then you started chasing me.”

ye-k<sup>W</sup>ɔk-m-u taha o-ti-pie ti-nieč-tu-tu-toka-(k)  
*already-when-DEM-DIST you PAST-you-begin you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-PERF*  
*PERF*

15. Said the coyote, “Jackrabbits eat berries, but

o-k-ɪhto koyu-tl sie-sih-te kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>a kapol-ɪ pero  
*PAST-it-say coyote-ABS RDP-jackrabbit-PL it-eat berry-ABS but*

vipers can't eat berries, so

kapol-ɪ a-welɪ kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>a tiek-tɪl wa ka in-u  
*berry-ABS NEG-possible it-eat viper-ABS and with DEM-DIST*

you are a jackrabbit, even though you string me a line.

taha tɪ-ka tɪ-sih-tɪl wa mɔs tɪl-mač ti-nieč-ɪ-wi-s  
*you you-be you-jackrabbit-ABS and though what-ever you-me-say-APPLIC-FUT*

16. You fool yourself, but you can't

taha tɪ-m-iš-kah-kayɔwa sie taha pero naha a-welɪ  
*you you-REFL-eye-RDP-deceive one you but I NEG-possible*

fool me.

tɪ-nieč-kah-kayɔwa-s  
*you-me-RDP-deceive-FUT*

17. How nice that you are a jackrabbit.

lalɛwɪs k<sup>W</sup>alɪ ke taha tɪ-ka-ka tɪ-sih-tɪl  
*very good that you you-RDP-be you-jackrabbit-ABS*

18. Jackrabbits are good to eat, but I don't like the taste

sie-sih-me k<sup>W</sup>alɪ mo-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s-kɪ pero amo nɪ-k-wel-matɪ  
*RDP-jackrabbit-PL good REFL-eat-FUT-PL but NEG I-it-delicious-know*

of eating viper.”

nɪ-h-k<sup>W</sup>ɔ-s tiek-tɪl  
*I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS*

19. And with that the coyote up and ate the jackrabbit

wa ka in-u koyu-tl sɔ-sa o-kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>a sɪh-tɪl  
*and with DEM-DIST coyote-ABS RDP-just PAST-her-eat jackrabbit-ABS*

even though she had wanted to deceive him.

wa mɔs yaha kɪ-nekɪ-ya kɪ-kah-kayɔwɔs  
*and though she it-want-IMPRF him-RDP-deceive-FUT*

20. Also he ate the berries that she had had in her basket.

nuyhktɪ o-kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>a kapol-t tli kɪ-pɪya-ya i-htek ʃɪkɪw-tl  
*also PAST-it-eat berry-ABS that it-have-IMPRF its-inside basket-ABS*

21. And when the coyote had eaten the jackrabbit's berries,

wa k<sup>W</sup>ɔk koyu-tl o-kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>a i-kapol sɪh-tlɪ  
*and when coyote-ABS PAST-it-eat her-berry jackrabbit-ABS*

he went and sat down under a tree,

o-mo-tlɔli-to i-cin-tla sen-te k<sup>W</sup>aw-tl  
*PAST-REFL-place-went its-bottom-LOC one-NUM tree-ABS*

and there he died forthwith.

wa om-pa o-mɪk sa nima  
*and MED-on PAST-die:PERF just immediately*

22. Those berries were poisonous.

in-u kapol-t o-ye-ya yaha tie-mɪk-tɪ  
*DEM-DIST berry-ABS PAST-be-IMPRF it UNSPEC:H:OBJ-die-CAUS*



# **NORTH PUEBLA NAHUATL**

*Earl Brockway*



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## INTRODUCTION

This grammatical sketch describes the structure of the Aztec dialect spoken by approximately 50,000 inhabitants of the far northern sector of the state of Puebla that extends as a peninsula between the states of Hidalgo and Vera Cruz. Data were gathered by the author during the years 1953-1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Informants were Santiago Gil, José Peña, Noé Lopez, Leodegario Santos, Agustín and Auséncio Cravioto, and Celerino Juárez, natives of Tlaxpanaloya, Naupan Municipio, Puebla. Extensive use was made of the syllable concordance run by the University of Oklahoma Research Institute under the National Science Foundation Grant GS-934, and of Robinson's *Sierra Nahuatl Word Structure, Aztec Studies II*, SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, Publication No. 22, 1970. The author is indebted to colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for helpful suggestions in organizing the data.

Examples have been elicited from language consultants or excerpted from the corpus of collected texts. Those taken from the text found at the end of the sketch 'How They Teased the Old Man' are indicated by the convention (TOM-#), the number pertaining to the sentence number in the text. Examples taken from 'The Coyote and the Rabbit' are indicated by the convention (CR-#).

## PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tl	c	č	k	k <sup>w</sup>	'	i	o
			s	š				e	a
		l							
m	n								
w				y					

Vowel length is quite erratic, varying among speakers, and no attempt has been made to indicate same in this sketch. (For a full discussion of vowel length, see Brockway, 'The Phonemes of North Puebla Nahuatl', AL Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1963.) Stress is penultimate except when a syllable drops out in contraction.

Major Phonological Processes

mo- (REFL) → m- before V-initial stem.

Stem-final s + lo → šo; s + li → ši; s + ti → ši.

Stem-final t + ili → čili; ca + li → čili;

Stem-final y → š before t or word-finally ta + t → ct.

č + č → šč; t + t → wt; k + ke → hke; k<sup>w</sup> + ke → hke.

yi = (COMPL) + o- (PERF) → yo-. ye' = + pa → yew = pa.

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Order of major constituents is relatively fixed, in that change in their order usually signals focus or topicalization. The most neutral order is as follows:

INTR LOC SUBJ PRT V OBJ/IOBJ

Other possible orders are:

INTR LOC V OBJ SUBJ

INTR LOC V OBJ IOBJ

Only V is obligatory. INTR includes conjunctions, appositives, and interrogatives. PRT includes negatives, demonstratives, locatives (of time and space), quantifiers, directionals, numbers, subordinator, and article. Negation and quantifiers precede V and other particles occur in free distribution.

entonses E. o-ki-kiš-ti in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k  
 INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST  
*Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him. (TOM-22)*

wan entonses i'k<sup>W</sup>ak yi=ki-kama-wi-'tok in sigaro inin A.H.  
 and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN  
*and then when A.H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth... (TOM-23)*

niman ki-maka se mačete ik i-ten-i'yan in ok=seya  
 immediately it-give one machete DIRL its-edge-LOC ART yet=one  
*Immediately he hit the other with the edge of the machete.*

Emphasis

A constituent may be focused upon by co-occurrence of a coreferential pronoun.

wan o-te-awil-ti ye'wa-tl in E.M.  
 and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN  
*'And it was E.M. who teased him.'* (TOM-2)

Pronoun Copies

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by means of pronoun affixes, except in the case of some inherently applicative verbs with which the -li APPLIC occurs optionally. These affixes must agree with the free constituent in person and number, except in special cases of collectivization.

Ø is posited for the third person singular subject prefix.

wan teč-še'-šel-wi-a ye'wa-tl He passes it to us. (TOM-38)  
 and us-RDP-divide-CAUS-PRES he-ABS

pwes kasi sek-pa o-hkonon o-ki-tlakeh-ke in A.H.  
 INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN  
*Well, once they sort of hired A.H. (TOM-3)*

te'wa-tl' san ti-neč-nawati-s ne'wa-tl You just let me know.  
 you-ABS just you-me-notify-FUT I-ABS

mo-mati-s ye'wa-tl in i-k<sup>W</sup>ento You will know his story.  
 you-know-FUT he-ABS ART his-story

## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions and Adverbs

The following are particles which occur clause-initially or second following *wan* and (though not *wan wan*).

wan	<i>and, but (INTR)</i>	pero	<i>but (Spanish loan)</i>
tel	<i>so (INTR)</i>	no=yohke/no=	<i>also</i>
onkan	<i>then (INTR)</i>	yohke	<i>same</i>
no=ihkon	<i>thus also</i>	ka'so	<i>so then</i>
ik inon	<i>therefore</i>	maske	<i>even though (Sp. loan)</i>

Polarity

keme	<i>yes</i>	a'mo	<i>no</i>
ken a'mo	<i>certainly</i>	mač	<i>QUOT</i>
ayamo	<i>not yet</i>	ayakmo	<i>no longer</i>
a'yik	<i>never</i>	a'yak	<i>there is/are none</i>
a'wel	<i>unable</i>	ayakwel	<i>no longer able</i>
nian	<i>not even</i>	ok=	<i>yet</i>
kana	<i>sort of, DUB</i>	kima	<i>more or less</i>
tekin	<i>very (INTNS)</i>	molwi	<i>very (INTNS)</i>
tlawel	<i>too much</i>		

a'wel ni-k-čiwa-s ašan *I can't do it now.*  
*unable I-it-do-FUT now*

a'mo o-k-a'si-k nian seya *He didn't find even one.*  
*NEG PERF-it-find-PAST not:even one*

ni-ya-s ok=se-pa mostla *I will go again tomorrow.*  
*I-go-FUT yet=one-LOC tomorrow*

wan kana ye-s tlen ki-čí-s ompa *Perhaps there will be something for*  
*and DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there him to do there. (TOM-44)*

wan tekin ni-k-tlaso'tla *And I am so very fond of it.*  
*and INTNS I-it-love (TOM-60)*

tlawel weyi in te-tl a'wel ti-k-olini-s-ke  
*too:much big ART stone-ABS unable we-it-move-FUT-PL*  
*The stone is too big; we can't move it.*

molwi teki-yo to-nemi-lis *Our life is very difficult.*  
*INTNS work-ABSTR our-live-ABSTR*

(For other adverbs see ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES.)





ye'=no-aška in čiči  
*it=my-possession ART dog*  
 tel te'=ti-k-neki ti-ya-s  
*so you=you-it-want you-go-FUT*  
 ne'=no-telpoka-w  
*I=my-boy-POSSD*  
 ye'=no-telpoka-w  
*he=my-boy-POSSD*

*That dog is mine.*

*Do you want to go?*

*He is my boy.*

*He (that one) is my boy.*

The third person ye'= also occurs as a demonstrative.

ye'=in ika  
*it=ART INSTR*

*That is why.*

yew=pa  
*it=LOC*

*That's it/right.*

## BE/HAVE/DO

### BE

∅ (with ADJ and N)

(=)ka *be*

ye-s *will be*

*be-FUT*

o-katka *was (at that time)*

*PERF-was*

čikawa-k in kal-i  
*strong-ADJR ART house-ABS*

*The house is strong.*

ni-kan=ka no-čan  
*PROX-LOC=is my-home*

*Here is my home.*

ni-k-a'si-s keski tonal-i ka  
*I-it-find-FUT how:many day-ABS is are.*

*I will find out how many days there*

ompa ti-ye-s-ke  
*there we-be-FUT-PL*

*We will be there.*

o-ni-katka čik<sup>w</sup>eyi no-čan  
*PERF-I-was eight my-home*

*I was home a week ago.*

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The subject pronoun prefixes occur prefixed to N in the predicate nominative construction.

te'wa-tl	ti-kone-tl	<i>You are a child.</i>
<i>you-ABS</i>	<i>you-child-ABS</i>	
ne'wa-tl	ni-weyi tlaka-tl	<i>I am a big man.</i>
<i>I-ABS</i>	<i>I-big man-ABS</i>	

HAVE

piya *have*

This verb is inflected in the regular way. One special construction occurs, which may be a grammatical borrowing. It is the auxiliary usage *have to*.

ni-k-piy-a	tlen	ni-ya-s	mostla	<i>I have to go tomorrow.</i>
<i>I-it-have-PRES</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>I-go-FUT</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>	

DO

The reflexive prefix *mo-* with verb stem *čiwa do* yields *mo-čiwa become*.

akin	mo-čiwa-s	topil-i	<i>Who will become a policeman?</i>
<i>who</i>	<i>REFL-do-FUT</i>	<i>policeman-ABS</i>	

C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> of *čiwa do* is reduplicated to indicate *make*.

ni-k-či'-čiwa-s	se	no-kal	<i>I will build my house.</i>
<i>I-it-RDP-do-FUT</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>my-house</i>	

Object pronoun prefix occurs with *panowa pass* to indicate *happen*.

ma=mo-ta	tlen	o-neč-pano-k	<i>Look what happened to me.</i>
<i>OPTV=you-see</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>PERF-me-pass-PAST</i>	

## NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Unspecified Arguments

The verb prefix *tla-* indicates an unspecified non-human object. *te-* indicates an unspecified human object; it also occurs as postpositional object and possessor.

*te-tla-maka* *He feeds (someone).*  
*UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give*

Passive

There is no formal marker for passive, but two ways of expressing passive voice have been observed. The subject of the active verb is de-specified by adding *te-pampa UNSPEC-BEN* to the construction, or by use of the third person plural with no subject specified.

*o-ki-mik-ti-'ke* *te-pampa* *He was killed by someone.*  
*PERF-him-die-CAUS-PL UNSPEC-BEN*

*neč-ceko-'ke te-pampa* *I was detained by someone.*  
*me-detain-PL UNSPEC-BEN*

*ašan tla mač o-neč-te-lwi-'ke* *Now if, as I heard, I have been accused...*  
*now if QUOT PERF-me-UNSPEC-tell-PL*  
*accuse*

Reflexive

The verb prefix *mo-* occurs to indicate that the action or goal of the verb is reflexive. When occurring with V-initial stems, *o* usually drops out. If it occurs, it retains its syllabification.

*ni-mo-kawa-s* *I will remain.*  
*I-REFL-leave-FUT*

*ni-m-ewa-s* *I will get up.*  
*I-REFL-raise-FUT*

The reflexive prefix *mo-* occurs with subject plural suffix to indicate reciprocity.

*ti-mo-tlaso'tla-'ke* *We love each other.*  
*we-REFL-love-PL*

*mo-lwi-a-'ke* *they say to one another*  
*REFL-tell-PRES-PL*

## QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

tla *if* (for polite request; softens imperative; equivalent to *Will you please?*)

tlen *what (what then)*

tla ši-wala-kan no=yohke ti-mo-terna-s-ke  
*if IMP-come-PL also=same we-REFL-bathe-FUT-PL*  
*If you will please come also, we will bathe.*

tlen ti-ya-s-ke mostla  
*what we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow*  
*Shall we go tomorrow then?*

Yes/no questions with a negative seem to occur much more frequently.

tla-'mo i-hkon ok=kači k<sup>w</sup>ali *As if it isn't better this way?*  
*if-not PROX-thus yet=more good*

tel a'mo mo-neki neč-palewi-s *So then, don't you want to help me?*  
*so NEG you-want me-help-FUT*

Alternative Questions

koš

koš ti-ya-s-ke mostla koš wiptla noso i-k<sup>w</sup>itlapan  
*Q we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow Q day:after:tomorrow or its-behind*  
 wiptla  
*day:after:tomorrow*  
*Shall we go tomorrow, or the day after, or the day after that?*

Tag Questions

ašan ti-tla-k<sup>w</sup>a-s-ke a'mo *Now we will eat, won't we?*  
*now we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-PL NEG*

WH Questions

The WH word occurs clause-initial or following an introducer or conjunction.

kani	<i>where</i>	keman	<i>when</i>
katli	<i>which</i>	tleka	<i>why</i>
kenin	<i>how</i>	akin	<i>who</i>
keski	<i>how many</i>	tlen	<i>what</i>
keč	<i>how much</i>		

kani wi-lowa-s ašan  
*where go-HON-FUT now*

*Where are you, sir, going now?*

keč i-patiw inon komi-tl  
*how:much its-price that pot-ABS*

*How much is that pot?*

keski tlaka-tl o-ya-'ke  
*how:many man-ABS PERF-go-PL*

*How many men went?*

katli in no-ten-con  
*which ART my-edge-hair*  
*beard*

*Where is (what happened to) my beard?*  
*(TOM-60)*

## IMPERATIVES

### Direct Imperatives

Marked by verb prefix *ši-*. Plural marker is suffix *-kan*.

ši-yaw ši-k-ana no-tepos  
*IMP-go IMP-it-bring my-metal*

*Go bring me my machete!*

ši-i'sa-kan sa=animan  
*IMP-rise-PL just=next*

*Get up PL immediately!*

### Modal Imperatives

The clitic *ma=* has optative value.

ma=ye k<sup>w</sup>al-cin tonal-i mostla  
*OPTV=be good-DIM day-ABS tomorrow*

*May tomorrow be a nice day.*

Exhortatives involve a periphrastic locution with future tense.

ti-ya-s-ke ti-k-ita-s-ke mo-mili  
*we-go-FUT-PL we-it-see-FUT-PL your-field*

*Let's go see your field.*

The imperative *ši-* has modal uses:

sikiera a'mo ompa ši-k-iš-namiki itla'tlen se desgrasia  
*at NEG there IMP-it-face-meet whatever one misfortune*  
*least*

*that at least you will not run into any misfortune over there*

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ton DIM

-cin HON

-pan/-kan/-tlan/-tla'/-ko LOC

-yo ABSTR

tlaka-ton-tli                    *little man*  
*man-DIM-ABS*

šiw-tla'-tli                    *place full of weeds*  
*weed-LOC-ABS*

nay-o'-pan                    *crossroad*  
*four-road-LOC*

nelwa-yo-tl                    *root system*  
*root-ABSTR-ABS*

i-mon-ta-cin                    *his father-in-law*  
*his-in:law-father-HON*

V + X = N

-yan LOC

-lis ABSTR

-ki/-ani AG

-loni INSTR

-ka RSLTV

i-tlama-yan                    *his clearing*  
*his-clear-LOC*

i-koko-lis                    *his illness*  
*his-hurt-ABSTR*

te-mik-ti-ani                    *assassin*  
*UNSPEC-die-CAUS-AG*

tla-čteh-ki                    *thief*  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-rob-AG*

tla-teki-loni                    *knife*  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-cut-INSTR*

i-kis-ka                    *his reputation*  
*his-go:out-RSLTV*

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-wi

k-ista-wi-a                      *He salts it.*  
*it-salt-VR-PRES*

ADV + X = V

-wi

ki-čiko-wi-a                      *He sets it aside (for another).*  
*it-ATTEN-VR-PRES*

mo-tla-čiko-wi-a                *He keeps some back for himself.*  
*REFL-UNSPEC.OBJ-ATTEN-VR-PRES*

ki-on-ka-wi-a                    *Two together do it.*  
*it-two-CONN(ADVR)-VR-PRES*

ki-sek-pa-wi-a                  *He does it (hoes corn) the first time.*  
*it-one-LOC-VR-PRES*

## COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

N + N = N

popoč-kaši-tl  
*smoke-bowl-ABS*

*incense burner*

kow-čakal-i  
*tree-crab-ABS*

*tree fork*

pico-naka-tl  
*pig-meat-ABS*

*pork*

i-con-teko  
*his-hair-owner*

*his head*

šoči'-k<sup>w</sup>al-i  
*flower-meal-ABS*

*banana*

V + N = N

tema-s-kal-i                      *bathroom*  
*bathe-FUT-house-ABS*

Verb Compounds

N + V = V

mec-tona  
*moon-shine*

*moon is shining*

kow-maka *beat with stick*  
*tree-give*

kone-weci *miscarry*  
*child-fall*

miki *die* may be joined to a noun base to express urgency.

apis-miki *be very hungry*  
*hunger-die*

### V + V = V

neki *want* can be joined to the future form of another verb, expressing desire.

tlami-s-neki *want to finish*  
*finish-FUT-want*

Connectives *-ka-* and *-ti-* combine verbs in special constructions. *-ka-* followed by *neki want* denotes pretense. *-ti-* connects a closed set of verb stems denoting time/manner to the main verb.

y=o-a'si-ka-čikaw *It is already ripe.*  
*COMPL=PERF-arrive-CONN-mature*

mo-čikaw-ka-neki *He pretends to be strong.*  
*REFL-strengthen-CONN-want*

čoka-ti-nemi *go about crying*  
*cry-CONN-live*

čoka-t-ewa *cries upon leaving/in passing*  
*cry-CONN-arise*

kow-ti-weci *buy quickly*  
*buy-CONN-fall*

onkan ma=čoka-ti-ye *Over there let her cry continually.*  
*there OPTV=cry-CONN-be*

nikan ši-čoka-ti-ye *Keep on crying here.*  
*here IMP-cry-CONN-be*

yi=a'si-ti-wic *He has suddenly arrived.*  
*COMPL=arrive-CONN-come:unexpectedly*

koč-ti-ka *He is sleeping.*  
*sleep-CONN-be*

o-ki-čiw-ti-katka *He was doing it (at that time).*  
*PERF-it-do-CONN-was*



## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

- tli Occurs following consonants except l.  
 -i Occurs following l; also follows š and č in a few words.  
 -tl Occurs following vowels.

ayo'-tli	<i>squash</i>	kal-i	<i>house</i>
<i>squash-ABS</i>		<i>house-ABS</i>	
kone-tl	<i>child</i>	kimič-i	<i>mouse</i>
<i>child-ABS</i>		<i>mouse-ABS</i>	
k <sup>w</sup> iš-i	<i>hawk</i>	teš-tli	<i>corn dough</i>
<i>hawk-ABS</i>		<i>ground:corn-ABS</i>	
pe'peč-tli	<i>nest</i>		
<i>nest-ABS</i>			

Nouns derived from verb stems: absolutive -tli follows nominalizer -lis.

tla-mati-lis-tli *wisdom*  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

The few nouns which do not occur with the absolutive seem to show irregularities in other constructions also. Some are derived from Spanish words, and some are not usually possessed or pluralized.

kalnelo	<i>sheep</i> (Sp. <i>carnero</i> )	kotón	<i>serape</i> (Sp. <i>cotón</i> )
tančaw	<i>fox</i>	kapoš	<i>grub</i>

Plural

Nouns with absolutive -tli or -i are marked for plural by replacing the absolutive with -ten. Absolutive -tl is replaced by -men. A few of the nouns with absolutive -tl (most of those with stem final -i) delete the stem final vowel and take the plural -ten, as is the case with the consonant final stems.

kal-i	<i>house</i>	kal-ten	<i>houses</i>
wik-tli	<i>hoe</i>	wik-ten	<i>hoes</i>
kone-tl	<i>child</i>	kone-men	<i>children</i>
kowi-tl	<i>tree</i>	kow-ten	<i>trees</i>
komi-tl	<i>cook pot</i>	kon-ten	<i>cook pots</i>
soči-tl	<i>flower</i>	soči-men	<i>flowers</i>

Some nouns may be marked for plural by reduplication of the first syllable.

kone-tl *child* ko-kone *children*

Some nouns occur in plural constructions, though not marked for plural.

keski tlaka-tl ki-neki-s inon teki-tl *How many men will be needed*  
*how man-ABS it-want-FUT that work-ABS for that work?*  
*many*

### Possession

Noun possession is marked by affixing a possessive prefix for person and number, and by replacing the absolutive suffix with the correlative possessed singular or plural suffix. (See POSSESSIVES, Morphology.)

## POSSESSIVES

### Morphology

Possessor affixes:

no-	<i>my</i>	to-	<i>our</i>
mo-	<i>your</i>	namo-	<i>your PL</i>
i-	<i>his/hers/its</i>	in-	<i>their</i>
te-	<i>your (HON) or his (HON or UNSPEC POSSR) HON or UNSPEC</i>		

Possessed suffixes:

SG $\emptyset$ /w	PL -wan		
no-kal	<i>my house</i>	to-kal	<i>our house</i>
namo-kal-wan	<i>your PL houses</i>	in-čan	<i>their home</i>
te-siwa-w	<i>someone's wife</i>	te-siwa-w-cin	<i>your HON wife HON</i>
te-nana		tenana	<i>the mother (of someone)</i>

### Syntax

Possessive pronoun

-waška/-yaška *possession*

Occurs with all the possessive prefixes. SG POSSD suffix is  $\emptyset$ , and PL is -wan.

no-waška in weyi kal-i *The big house is mine.*  
*my-possession ART big house-ABS*

ino'ke kow-ten to-waška-wan *Those trees are ours.*  
*that-PL tree-PL our-possession-POSSD:PL*

a'mo ši-k-wika in tlen te-yaška *Don't take that which is another's.*  
*NEG IMP-it-carry SUBR what UNSPEC-possession*

## Pronoun copy

Possessor occurs as free noun or noun phrase.

i-siwaw in pančo *Pancho's wife*  
*his-woman-POSSD ART PN*

i-telpoč inon ok=se tlaka-tl *that other man's boy*  
*his-boy that yet=one man-ABS*

## Recursion

i-wik i-telpoč in pančo *Pancho's boy's hoe*  
*his-hoe his-boy ART PN*

## POSTPOSITIONS

Forms

-i'tek	<i>inside of</i>	-teč	<i>on, contiguous to</i>
-nawak	<i>near to</i>	-k <sup>w</sup> itlapa	<i>behind</i>
-pa	<i>LOC</i>	-pan	<i>LOC</i>
-k <sup>w</sup> ak	<i>above</i>	-tla	<i>at</i>
-ko	<i>to, toward</i>	-calan	<i>between</i>
-kan	<i>LOC</i>	=ik	<i>DIRL</i>
ika	<i>INSTR</i>	-pampa	<i>BEN</i>
-sel	<i>alone</i>	-wan	<i>with</i>

Syntax

These are affixed to a few nouns, to possessor prefixes, and to quantifiers.

With nouns:

mil-ten-ko *border of field* kal-i'tek *in the house*  
*field-edge-to*

tla-kal-teč *against the house*  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-house-on*

ki-piy-a i-čan no-kal-nawak *He has his home near my house.*  
*it-have-PRES his-home my-house-near*

i-nakas-tla *in the corner*  
*its-ear-at*

With possessor prefixes:

i-ten-tla	in	a-tl		<i>at the edge of the water</i>
<i>its-edge-at ART water-ABS</i>				
o-mo-kec		no-k <sup>w</sup> itlapa		<i>He stood behind me.</i>
<i>PERF-REFL-stand my-behind</i>				
ačto-pa		<i>first time</i>	se-pan	<i>one time</i>
<i>first-LOC</i>			<i>one-LOC</i>	
i-calan	in	šiwī-tl		<i>down in the weeds</i>
<i>its-between ART weed-ABS</i>				
ti-ya-s		no-wan		<i>You will go with me.</i>
<i>you-go-FUT my-with</i>				
i-pampa	o-mik	i-kone-w		<i>He died for his child.</i>
<i>its-BEN PERF-die his-child-POSSD</i>				
o-ni-mo-kaw		no-sel		<i>I remained alone.</i>
<i>PERF-I-REFL-leave my-alone</i>				

=ik DIRL is suffixed to locatives but also occurs as a free particle.

ni-ya-s	ne-p=ik			<i>I will go over there.</i>
<i>I-go-FUT DISTR-LOC=DIRL</i>				
o-ya	ik	aten-ko		<i>He went to the river.</i>
<i>PERF-go DIRL river-toward</i>				

ika INSTR occurs only as a free particle.

ši-k-tolo-s		ika	a-tl	<i>Swallow it with water.</i>
<i>IMP-it-swallow-FUT INSTR water-ABS</i>				

## DEMONSTRATIVES

The two demonstratives may be inflected for plural by the verb plural suffix, and they can stand alone as nominals.

PROX	inin	<i>this</i>	ini-'ke	<i>these</i>
DIST	inon	<i>that</i>	ino-'ke	<i>those</i>
WH	katli	<i>which</i>	katle-'ke	<i>which PL</i>

They agree in number with the nouns they modify, and precede them.

ki-neki	inin	libro		<i>He wants this book.</i>
<i>it-want this book</i>				

o-neč-k <sup>Wa</sup> inon čiči	<i>That dog bit me.</i>
<i>PERF-me-eat that dog</i>	
ni-ya-s in-wan ino-'ke tlaka-men	<i>I will go with those men.</i>
<i>I-go-FUT their-with that-PL man-PL</i>	
katle-'ke den ye'wa-n o-ki-čiw-ke	<i>Which ones of them did it?</i>
<i>which-PL of he-PL PERF-it-do-PL</i>	

The abbreviated form of the third person singular pronoun, *ye'*, also occurs as a demonstrative, though it parallels the indefinite pronoun construction.

ye' in tlen o-ni-k-i'to	<i>That's what I said.</i>
<i>that's SUBR what PERF-I-it-say</i>	

The dual demonstrative *-newan* occurs with the possessor plural prefixes.

to-newan	<i>both of us</i>
<i>our-both</i>	

The demonstrative precedes the adjective in a noun phrase.

inon weyi kal-i	<i>that big house</i>
<i>that big house-ABS</i>	
weyi inon kal-i	<i>That house is big.</i>
<i>big that house-ABS</i>	

Without head noun:

ne' a'mo ni-k-čiw-tok inon	<i>I have not done that.</i>
<i>I NEG I-it-do-STAT that</i>	

## ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

### Location

Two adverbial demonstratives denote both time and space, and one modifies abstractions. They are referred to as LOC of time, space, and manner.

PROX	niman	<i>next to, immediately, particularly</i>
DIST	we'ka	<i>far</i> <i>we'kaw</i> <i>long time</i>
niman	ti-ya-s-ke	<i>Let's go immediately.</i>
<i>immediately</i>	<i>we-go-FUT-PL</i>	

sa=niman ki-piya in peine tlen=ik ki-šelwas-wi-a  
*just=reserved it-have ART comb what=DIRL it-brush-VR-PRES*

in i-ten-con  
*ART his-beard*

*He has a comb which he reserves for combing his beard. (TOM-31)*

we'ka om-pa=ka *It is far away.*  
*far DIRL-LOC=be*

inon k<sup>w</sup>ali we'kaw ki-kama-wi'to-s *That one is able to keep it in*  
*that able long:time it-mouth-VR-DIRL-FUT his mouth a long time.*

The bound postpositions -pa and -kan occur with directionals to form locatives. These locatives may be further inflected by =ka *is*, or =ik *DIRL*.

PROX	ni-kan	<i>here</i>	ni-kan=ka	<i>here it is</i>
	ni-k=ik	<i>in this direction</i>		
	nis	<i>here</i>	nis=ik	<i>toward here</i>
DIST	ne-pa	<i>there</i>	ne-pa=ka	<i>there it is</i>
	neš=ka	<i>there it is</i>		
	on-kan	<i>there are</i>	on-kan=ka	<i>there they are</i>
	om-pa	<i>over there</i>	om-pa=ka	<i>it is there</i>
	om-p=ik	<i>in that direction</i>		
	nowiyan	<i>all around</i>		
	seknin	<i>apart</i>		

Distributive ne- plus LOC -pan plus DIRL -ko yields i-ne-pan-ko *in the middle of*.

WH	kani	<i>where</i>	san kani	<i>wherever</i>
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Time

The LOC of time are formed by suffixing locatives to a few quantifiers. They include those of the negative and show less structural similarity than those of place.

keman	<i>when</i>	sank <sup>w</sup> el	<i>early</i>
ašan	<i>now, today</i>	tla'ka	<i>mid-morning</i>
welok	<i>recently</i>	mostli	<i>daily</i>
mostla	<i>tomorrow</i>	semilwitl	<i>all day</i>
inepantla	<i>mid-day</i>	ok=	<i>yet</i>
wiptla	<i>day after tomorrow</i>		
kemanian	<i>sometimes</i>		

se-pan	<i>one time</i>	sek-pa	<i>once</i>
ok=se-pan	<i>again</i>	satepa	<i>later, afterwards</i>
yalwa	<i>yesterday</i>	yi=wiptla	<i>day before yesterday</i>
ayamo	<i>not yet</i>	ayakmo	<i>no longer</i>
a'yik	<i>never</i>		

Combinations with *san just* allow finer delineation.

san čičon	<i>a moment</i>	san welok	<i>just recently</i>
san keman	<i>just now</i>		

Also one occurrence noted:

welok a'čiči	<i>just now (most recent)</i>
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### Manner

Locatives of manner exhibit fewer structural similarities than the others. They combine quite freely with expressions of degree.

WH	kenin	<i>how</i>	(ke'keni	<i>How do they sell?)</i>
PROX	ihkin	<i>this way</i>	ihkinin	<i>continuing so</i>
DIST	ohkon	<i>that way</i>	ohkonon	<i>thus it was</i>
	yol=ik	<i>slowly (as the growing process)</i>	i'siw	<i>quickly</i>
	nonkwa	<i>same</i>	ok=nonkwa	<i>other</i>
	nen=ka	<i>as usual</i>	nen=ok	<i>yet as usual</i>
	sa=hkon	<i>just so (no other way)</i>	ičtaka	<i>secretly</i>

### Degree

san	<i>just</i>	sa=	<i>only</i>
molwi	<i>very</i>	teki	<i>intensely</i>
tlawel	<i>too much</i>	yewpa	<i>that's it (finality)</i>
temowte	<i>too big, too much</i>		

## QUANTIFIERS

se	<i>a, one</i>	sekin	<i>some</i>
kači	<i>more</i>	miak	<i>much, many</i>
tla'ko	<i>half</i>	nočin	<i>all</i>
či'ton	<i>a little</i>	tepicin	<i>small amount</i>

Most of the QNT combine with the augmentative *ok= yet* and the restrictive *san just*. Some may be inflected for plural and for person and number. The plural marker *-ten* is same as that for *-tl* class nouns, and subject pronominal prefixes mark person and number.

ti-noč-ten *all of us*  
we-all-PL

in miak-ten a'mo o-ya'ke *Many did not go.*  
ART much-PL NEG PERF-go-PL

Some combine with LOC *-pa* to denote number of times.

o-ni-k-ilwi miak-pa *I told him often.*  
PERF-I-him-tell much-LOC

o-ni-k-ita-k ok=se-pa *I saw it again.*  
PERF-I-it-see-PAST yet=one-I.LOC

The unmarked position of QNT is before N. It precedes other modifiers. It can occur without a head N.

ni-k-wika-s či'ton ista-tl *I will take a little salt.*  
I-it-carry-FUT little salt-ABS

o-ki-kow nočin in kafen *He bought all of the coffee.*  
PERF-it-buy all ART coffee

ni-k-neki san tla'ko *I want just half of it.*  
I-it-want just half

## WH

keski *how many, some (number)*

keč *how much (the price)*

keski yolka-tl o-ti-k-ita-k *How many animals did you see?*  
how:many animal-ABS PERF-you-it-see-PAST

san keski o-wala'ke *Just a few came.*  
just some PERF-come-PL



keč i-pati-w *How much is it?*  
*how:much its-cost-POSSD*

Other combinations:

i-pan in tla'ko yowal-i *at midnight*  
*its-LOC ART half night-ABS*

te-miak-ka-kow *the wood of many (communal)*  
*UNSPEC-much-CONN-tree*

kači wan ok=kači neč-tla'il-ti-a *It disgusts me more and more.*  
*more and yet=more me-disgust-CAUS-PRES*

### NUMERALS

The system of numerals is formed by compounding and is adequate for any number up to one hundred. Larger numbers are handled by means of Spanish loans: *siento hundred* and *mil thousand*.

seya	<i>one</i>	ma'tlaktli wan seya	<i>eleven</i>
ome	<i>two</i>	ma'tlaktli wan ome	<i>twelve</i>
iyi	<i>three</i>	ma'tlaktli wan iyi	<i>thirteen</i>
nawe	<i>four</i>	ma'tlaktli wan nawe	<i>fourteen</i>
mak <sup>W</sup> ili	<i>five</i>	kaštoli	<i>fifteen</i>
čik <sup>W</sup> asin	<i>six</i>	kaštoli wan seya	<i>sixteen</i>
čikome	<i>seven</i>	kaštoli wan ome	<i>seventeen</i>
čik <sup>W</sup> eyi	<i>eight</i>	kaštoli wan iyi	<i>eighteen</i>
čiknawe	<i>nine</i>	kaštoli wan nawe	<i>nineteen</i>
ma'tlaktli	<i>ten</i>	sempowali	<i>twenty</i>

The basic unit for larger numbers is twenty. It is composed of *se one* plus *powal count* plus *i ABS*.

sempowali wan seya	<i>twenty-one</i>
sempowali wan mak <sup>W</sup> ili	<i>twenty-five</i>
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli	<i>thirty</i>
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli wan iyi	<i>thirty-three</i>
sempowali wan kaštoli wan ome	<i>thirty-seven</i>
ompowali	<i>forty</i>
yepowali	<i>sixty</i>
nawpowali	<i>eighty</i>

Numerals normally precede nouns. Numbers one through four may be suffixed for time or place.

ni-k-piya se weyi kal-i *I have a big house.*  
*I-it-have one big house-ABS*

ni-kim-piya nawe no-pil-wan *I have four children.*  
*I-them-have four my-child-POSSD:PL*

ow-pan o-wala *He came twice.*  
*two-LOC PERF-come*

yeš-kan ka tla-tok-tli in papas *Potatoes are planted*  
*three-LOC be UNSPEC:OBJ-plant-ABS ART potatoes in three places.*

Numerals may be inflected for plural and may stand as substantives. These occur with or without -ton DIM.

o-mo-kaw sa=se-ton *There was only one left.*  
*PERF-REFL-leave only=one-DIM*

nawen-ten *four of them*  
*four-PL*

te`wan-ten ti-nawen-ten *There were the four of us.*  
*we-PL we-four-PL*

A distributive use of numerals is marked by RDP.

se`-seya *each one*  
*RDP-one*

o`-ome *two by two*  
*RDP-two*

ma-mak<sup>w</sup>ili *five each (piles of, or \$.05 each)*  
*RDP-five*

## ADJECTIVES

weyi	<i>big</i>
kicinin	<i>small</i>
k <sup>w</sup> ali	<i>good</i>

Adjectives precede or follow the nouns they modify. They are preceded by NEG to express negation. If either of the first two occur with the third, one of them serves as predicate. Agreement in number with the noun is marked by reduplication or by a plural suffix.

neč-pak-ti-a	inon weyi kal-i	<i>I like that big house.</i>
<i>me-please-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>that big house-ABS</i>	
k <sup>w</sup> ali in	weyi kowi-tl	<i>The big tree is good.</i>
<i>good ART big tree-ABS</i>		
kicini-'to in	k <sup>w</sup> ali tlaka-tl	<i>The good man is small.</i>
<i>small-DIM ART good man-ABS</i>		
in	ki-kicinin mi-mis-ten y=o-mih-ke	<i>The little cats died.</i>
<i>ART RDP-small RDP-cat-PL COMPL=PERF-die-PL</i>		

Most verbs may be inflected to function as adjectives. These are probably stative verbs. Some take the absolutive suffix, making them gerunds. The verbal adjective marker is -k / -ki.

kose-wi	<i>turn yellow, ripen</i>	
kos-ti-k	<i>yellow</i>	
tolon-ti-k	<i>round</i>	
in	tla-wac-tli kafen	<i>the roasted coffee</i>
<i>ART UNSPEC:OBJ-dry-ABS</i>	<i>coffee</i>	
ni-k-noca-s	in cin-ka-pec	kone-tl
<i>I-him-call-FUT ART bottom-CONN-bare child-ABS</i>		
<i>I will call the bare-bottomed child.</i>		
o-wec	i-pan yeman-ki tlal-i	<i>It fell on soft ground.</i>
<i>PERF-fall its-LOC soft-ADJR earth-ABS</i>		
o-ki-paka-k	ika toton-ki a-tl	<i>He washed it with hot water.</i>
<i>PERF-it-wash-PAST INSTR heat-ADJR water-ABS</i>		

The stative verbs denote action completed. They are marked by the suffix -tok.

in	wec-tok kowi-tl	<i>the fallen tree</i>
<i>ART fall-STAT tree-ABS</i>		

Modifiers of ADJ delineate size and quality of the head noun. (See ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES, Degree.)

temowte we'weyi kal-ten ka-te *There are such great houses.*  
astoundingly RDP-big house-PL is-PL

o-ni-k-a'si-k se mango molwi wiksi-k  
PERF-I-it-encounter-PAST one mango very cook-ADJR  
*I found a very ripe mango.*

inon tlaka-tl a'mo tekin čikawa-k *That man is not very strong.*  
that man-ABS NEG very strong-ADJR

### COMPARATIVES

kači *more*

kenin *how, as, than*

yohke *same*

The first of these combines with *ok=* *yet*. All may occur with NEG.

ne'wa-tl kači ni-čikawa-k ken ye'wa-tl  
I-ABS more I-strengthen-ADJR than he-ABS  
*I am stronger than he is.*

ye'wa-tl i-hkon kow-tik ken ne'wa-tl  
he-ABS PROX-thus tree-ADJR than I-ABS  
*He is as tall as I am.*

ašan o-ni-k-tek kači a'mo miak *I didn't pick as much today.*  
today PERF-I-it-cut more NEG much

o-ki-či'čiw wan ayakmo yohke *He fixed it, but it's not the same*  
PERF-it-RDP-do but no:longer same *any more.*

tlen ye'wa ok=kači ki-čiwa-s *What else will he do?*  
what he yet-more it-do-FUT

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

akin	<i>who, one who, someone</i>
tlen	<i>what, something</i>

These combine with some particles to form the range of this construction.

san akin	<i>anyone</i>
se akin	<i>someone</i>
in akin	<i>whoever</i>
nian akin	<i>no one</i>
san tlen	<i>anything</i>
nian tlen	<i>nothing</i>
in tlen	<i>that which</i>
itla'tlen	<i>whatever (i-tla'tlen (its-UNSPEC:OBJ-what))</i>

ni-k-temo-s	se	akin	no-namik	<i>I will look for someone to be my husband.</i>
<i>I-him-hunt-FUT</i>		<i>one</i>	<i>who my-husband</i>	

in	akin	ki-neki-s	k <sup>w</sup> ali	ki-kowa-s	<i>Whoever wants it can buy it.</i>
<i>ART</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>it-want-FUT</i>	<i>able</i>	<i>it-buy-FUT</i>	

in	tlen	mo-tla-ne'newi-lis	ti-k-piya
<i>ART</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>your-UNSPEC:OBJ-think-ABSTR</i>	<i>you-it-have</i>
		<i>the understanding which you have</i>	

san tlen	yolka-tl	k <sup>w</sup> ali	<i>Any kind of animal can do it.</i>
<i>just</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>animal-ABS</i>	<i>able</i>

kana	tla'tlen	o-hkon	k-ilwi-a'ke	<i>Perhaps thus they tell him something.</i>
<i>DUB</i>	<i>whatever</i>	<i>DIST-thus</i>	<i>it-tell-PRES-PL</i>	

se	itla'tlen	o-k-ičtaka-ana-to	te-mila
<i>one</i>	<i>whatever</i>	<i>PERF-it-secretly-take-DIRL</i>	<i>UNSPEC-field</i>
	<i>something (you) took (stole) from someone's field</i>		

in	ne'=a'mo	tlalwis	in	tlen=ik	ni-ya-s
<i>ART</i>	<i>I=NEG</i>	<i>vain</i>	<i>ART</i>	<i>what=DIRL</i>	<i>I-go-FUT</i>
	<i>I am not going just for nothing.</i>				

Negative

Negative forms are derived by combining the pronouns with a NEG. The NEG precedes the pronoun.

a'mo	akin	wala'tok	<i>No one has come.</i>
<i>NEG</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>come-STAT</i>	

nian akin ki-mati kani ya-s  
*not:even who it-know where go-FUT*

*No one knows where he will go.*

a'wel tlen ki-žiwa-s  
*unable what it-do-FUT*

*He can't do anything.*

### WH

katli which

This form is always an interrogative, whereas *akin who* is also declarative. *katli which* refers only to non-person, as does *tlen what*. These two may be inflected for plural with verb plural suffix *-'ke*.

katli ye'wa-tl ni-k-wika-s  
*which it-ABS I-it-carry-FUT*

*Which one shall I take?*

katle-'ke no-yolka-wan  
*which-PL my-animal-POSSD:PL*

*Which are my animals?*

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

### Independent

Occurrence of ABS suffix with singular forms is optional.

Subject/Object:

1P SG	ne'wa-tl	PL	te'wa-n
2P SG	te'wa-tl	PL	name'wa-n
3P SG	ye'wa-tl	PL	ye'wa-n
2P HON-VOC	SG te'wa-cin <i>you-HON</i>	PL	name'wa-n-ci-cin <i>you-PL-RDP-HON</i>
3P HON-REF	SG ye'wa-cin <i>he-HON</i>	PL	ye'wa-n-ci-cin <i>he-PL-RDP-HON</i>

### Dependent

Subject prefix:

	SG	PL
1P	ni-/na-	ti-/ta-
2P	ti-	nan-
	mo- HON	
3P	∅	∅

Object prefix:

	SG	PL
1P	neč-	teč-
2P	mic-	meč-
	te- HON/UNSPEC	
3P	k-/ki-	kin-

1P SG *na-* and PL *ta-* occur with 2P PL OBJ *meč*. HON *mo-* also occurs contiguous to verb stems following object prefix, thus exhibiting similarity to *mo-REFL*.

*mo-neki te-tla-k<sup>w</sup>al* *Do you want your meal?*  
*you-want UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-meal*

*ti-k-mo-neki-l-ti-a* *te-tla-k<sup>w</sup>al*  
*you-it-HON-want-APPLIC-CAUS-PRES UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-meal*  
*Do you want your meal?*

For possessor prefixes (also used with postpositions) see POSSESSIVES.

## STEMS

### Suppletion

A few irregular verbs evidence suppletion.

*wala* *come* (the regular form)  
*wic* *come* (suddenly, unexpectedly)

This suppletive form occurs in the set of stems that are affixed to the main verb and denote time/manner of main verb. (See COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds.)

*o-wala-'ke ašan* *They came today.*  
*PERF-come-PL today*

*o-wica* *He came by.*  
*PERF-come*

*ya/yo* *go*

The regular form is *ya*, and *yo* occurs only with first person plural exhortative or declarative. But *ya* in present tense is suffixed by *-w* SG and *-we* PL.

*ni-ya-w* *I am going.*  
*ya-we niman* *They are going immediately.*  
*ya-s mostla* *He will go tomorrow.*  
*ti-yo-we* *Let's go!*

This exhortative form may be further suffixed by verb PL *-ke* making it a declarative construction.

*ti-yo-we-'ke* *We are going.*

=ka            be

Suppletion is evidenced in the irrealis mode, with *ye* occurring. It also occurs in the suffixal set referred to above (see COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds).

ayakmo    ka kowtla'tli <i>no:longer be woods-ABS</i>	<i>There are no longer any forests.</i>
o-kat-ka            molwi soki-tik <i>PERF-RDP-be very mud-ADJR</i>	<i>It was very muddy.</i>
ye-s        ilwi-tl        mostla <i>be-FUT fiesta-ABS tomorrow</i>	<i>There will be a fiesta tomorrow.</i>

All these stems evidence further suppletion in the honorific constructions.

ma=wal-wi-lo-wa <i>OPTV=come-(?)-HON-HON</i>	<i>Please come here, sir.</i>
kani    wi-lo-wa-s <i>where go-HON-HON-FUT</i>	<i>Where are you going, sir?</i>
ompa    i-lo-wa-k <i>there be-HON-HON-PAST</i>	<i>There he HON is.</i>
ompa    ti-mec-tok <i>there you-be-STAT</i>	<i>Are you there, sir?</i>

### Reduplication

Some stems evidence reduplication to mark plurality of subject or object, or repetitive action. The following patterns have been observed:

$C_1 V_1 X \rightarrow C_1 V_1 'C_1 V_1 X$  Plural actor or diversity of action.  
(Also:  $V_1 X \rightarrow V_1 'V_1 X$ )

$C_1 V_1 X \rightarrow C_1 V_1 C_1 V_1 X$  Repetitive action.

-čiwa        do	-či'-čiwa <i>make, repair</i>
kalaki        enter	ka'-kalak-ti-a <i>offer for sale, peddle</i> <i>RDP-enter-CAUS-PRES</i>
nemi        live	ne'-nemi <i>walk</i>
ki-no-noc-a <i>it-RDP-call-PRES</i>	<i>He relates it.</i>
ki-no'-noc-a <i>him-RDP-call-PRES</i>	<i>He chats with him.</i>



With first stem of compound verbs:

šole-wi	to scrape	+ kopini	fall out →
<i>scrape-TRNSR</i>			
šo-šol-kopini	in	ye-tl	<i>The beans are leaking out (of the sack).</i>
<i>RDP-scrape-fall ART bean-ABS</i>			

Negation by reduplication has been observed with a few verbs.

-neki	want	o-pew	ne'-neki	<i>He began to not want...</i>
<i>PERF-begin RDP-want</i>				
-šikowa	endure	o-mo-ši'-šiko		<i>He reneged.</i>
<i>PERF-REFL-RDP-endure</i>				
-polowa	lose	tla-po'-pol-wi-a		<i>forgive (i.e., not cause loss)</i>
<i>UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-lose-TRNSR-PRES</i>				

Reduplication is used also to mark figurative speech.

tlan-kopini	<i>The tooth falls out.</i>
<i>tooth-fall:out</i>	
tlan-ko'-kopini	<i>bare teeth (in anger)</i>
<i>tooth-RDP-fall:out</i>	

### Stem Classes

Stems divide most readily into two classes: those which drop stem final -V to mark past tense, and those which add -k or -Ø.

čoka	<i>cry</i>	o-čoka-k	<i>He cried.</i>
<i>PERF-cry-PAST</i>			
koči	<i>sleep</i>	o-koč	<i>He slept.</i>
<i>PERF-sleep</i>			
ki-k <sup>W</sup> a	<i>He eats</i>	o-ki-k <sup>W</sup> a-k	<i>He ate it.</i>
<i>it-eat</i>	<i>it.</i>	<i>PERF-it-eat-PAST</i>	
k-ilpi-a	<i>He ties it.</i>	o-k-ilpi	<i>He tied it.</i>
<i>it-tie-PRES PERFORM-it-tie</i>			

## INCORPORATION

Directional/Locative

wal-	<i>toward</i>
iš-	<i>forward, facing</i>
cin-	<i>toward the rear, bottom</i>
pan-	<i>upward, top of</i>
on-	<i>away from, over there</i>

o-neč-wal-ew            in    čiči  
 PERF-me-DIRL-arise ART dog

*The dog came at me.*

ni-k-iš-a'wa-s  
 I-him-DIRL-scold-FUT

*I will scold him to his face.*

o-cin-kis  
 PERF-DIRL-go:out

*He backed out.*

o-ki-pan-tle'ka-wi  
 PERF-it-DIRL-raise-TRNSR

*He raised it up onto... .*

a'mo tlen    ši-k-on-ana  
 NEG what IMP-it-DIRL-bring

*Don't bring anything from there.*

Adverbial

yek-	<i>complete, excellent</i>
čiko-	<i>ATTEN</i>
wel-	<i>forcefully, exceedingly</i>

o-ki-yek-ilwi  
 PERF-it-ADV-tell

*He explained it carefully.*

san keski    čiko-kisa-s-ke            ika    in    teki-tl  
 just how:many ATTEN-go:out-FUT-PL INSTR ART work-ABS  
 Just a few will come out to work.

o-mo-wel-mat  
 PERF-REFL-ADV-know

*He has recovered.*

## SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal Prefixes

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS, Dependent, for basic subject and object prefixes.)

Second or indirect object is marked by *-li* APPLIC, although some verbs are inherently applicative and occurrence of *-li* is optional.

ni-k-žiwi-li-s            mostla            *I will do it for him tomorrow.*  
*I-it-do-APPLIC-FUT tomorrow*

ši-neč-ilwi tlen ti-k-neki            *Tell me what you want.*  
*IMP-me-tell what you-it-want*

(For reflexive/reciprocal and passive/impersonal marking, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

Honorific

*mo-* HON occurs in the object marker slot, but in some cases it may occur with the indirect object marker, always preceding the stem contiguously.

o-ni-mic-mo-maki-li            in ayo'-tli  
*PERF-I-you-HON-give-APPLIC ART squash-ABS*  
*I gave to you, sir, the squash.*

kani ti-mo-mawes-ti-li-s  
*where you-HON-respect-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT*  
*Where will you, sir, worship?*

ši-neč-mo-maki-li-kan            in žikawa-lis-tli  
*IMP-me-HON-give-APPLIC-PL ART strengthen-ABSTR-ABS*  
*Please, sir, give me the strength.*

*-lo* HON occurs as a suffix which may be followed by optional occurrence of *-wa* HON, tense/aspect marker, directional, STAT, or a plural marker. Whereas *mo-* HON makes a polite form of the imperative, *-lo* occurs only with *ma=* OPTV.

ma=ki-tla'tlani-lo            *That you, sir, ask him.*  
*OPTV=him-ask-HON*

tlen ki-maka-lo-s            *What will you, sir, give him?*  
*what it-give-HON-FUT*

mo-siwa-w-ti-lo-tok            *You, sir, are married.*  
*REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-HON-STAT*

Other

tla- UNSPEC OBJ (non-human); te- UNSPEC OBJ (human)

These usually occur with the predicate in place of object marker, but also with object markers in a few cases. They occur preceding nominalized verb stems.

ki-tla-maka *He feeds him/it.*  
 him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give

te-tla-maka *He feeds him (person).*  
 UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give

ni-mic-tla-paki-s *I will wash your clothes.*  
 I-you-UNSPEC:OBJ-wash-FUT

ki-mati *He knows it.*  
 it-know

tla-mati-lis-tli *wisdom*  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

-lis ABSTR NR

Occurs suffixed to verb stem and may be followed by -tli ABS or -ten PL.

in-tla-mo-siwa-w-ti-lis-ten *their weddings*  
 their-UNSPEC:OBJ-REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-ABSTR-PL

yi= COMPL

Occurs preceding all verb prefixes. When followed by o- PERF, the i is lost.

yi=ki-neki *Already he wants it.*  
 COMPL=it-want

y=o-ki-mat *He already knew it.*  
 COMPL=PERF-it-know

ni-ya'-ti-ka ni-koči ok=se welta yi *I was already going to sleep*  
 I-go-CONN-be I-sleep yet=one time COMPL again.

## NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-ti	CAUS
-li	APPLIC
-liti	CAUS:APPLIC
-tok	STAT
-ka/-wi/-ni	INTRNS
-wa/-ca	TRNS

o-ki-mik-ti	in	čiči	<i>He killed the dog.</i>
<i>PERF-it-die-CAUS</i>	<i>ART</i>	<i>dog</i>	
ni-k-wal-iki-lis			<i>I will bring it for him.</i>
<i>I-it-come-with-APPLIC-FUT</i>			
neč-teki-lti-a			<i>He caused me to cut it for him.</i>
<i>me-cut-CAUS:APPLIC-PRES</i>			

A second -li APPLIC occurs in HON constructions with mo- HON.

ši-neč-mo-temo-li-li-kan	se	no-iš-namik	
<i>IMP-me-HON-hunt-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>my-front-likeness</i>	
<i>Please find me one who looks like me.</i>			

a'si-'tok	<i>complete</i>
<i>arrive-STAT</i>	

ompa wec-tok	<i>It is fallen over there.</i>
<i>there fall-STAT</i>	

A few verbs demonstrate the full range of INTRNS/TRNS possibilities.

poli-wi	<i>perish</i>	ki-polo-wa	<i>He loses it.</i>
<i>lose-INTRNS</i>		<i>it-lose-TRNS</i>	
ni-mo-polo	<i>I am lost.</i>	a'mo tlen poli-w-tok	<i>No harm done.</i>
<i>I-REFL-lose</i>		<i>NEG what lose-STAT</i>	

The suffixes -ni INTRNS, -ka INTRNS, and -ca TRNS occur with the set of onomatopoeic verbs:

kala-ni	<i>It bangs.</i>	ka-kala-ka	<i>It rattles.</i>
<i>bang-INTRNS</i>		<i>RDP-bang-INTRNS</i>	
ki-ka-kala-ca	<i>He rattles (raps on) it.</i>		
<i>it-RDP-bang-TRNS</i>			

Adverbial

(See INCORPORATION, Directional/Locative, Adverbial; COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds.)

-neki DESID

-miki INTNS

k<sup>w</sup>ali *be able*

-čiwa *do, try*

ki-mati-s-neki *He wants to know it.*  
*it-know-FUT-want*

mo-kokoš-ka-neki *He pretends to be sick.*  
*REFL-sick:one-CONN-want*

k<sup>w</sup>ali tekiti čikawa-k *He can work hard.*  
*able work strong-ADJR*

k-iš-poliw-ka-čiwa tlen ki-wiki-li-a  
*it-front-lose-CONN-do what it-carry-APPLIC-PRES*  
*He tries to renege on his debt.*

Modal

(See QUESTIONS; IMPERATIVES.)

-s FUT (occurs marking POT)

-ni CNTRFCT

-skia COND

-yaya IMPRF (occurs marking IMPOT)

mo-neki mo-mati-s *You, sir, want to know.*  
*you-want you-know-FUT*

ni-kowa-ni wan tekın pati-yo *I would have bought it, but it is too*  
*I-buy-CNTRFCT but very cost-ABSTR expensive.*

wala-skia-ni yalwa *He should have come yesterday.*  
*come-COND-CNTRFCT yesterday*

o-ki-neki-yaya kin-še'-šeliwi'-ta-ni  
*PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT*  
*He wanted to serve it to them. (TOM-15)*

Tense/Aspect/Number

Principal aspect markers are shown on the following chart. Plural markers are shown in parentheses. Note that PAST may be marked by truncation of a final vowel, and that -a may occur as PRES after certain stems and suffixes.

	<u>Past</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
<u>Simple</u>	∅ / -k (-ke/'ke)	-yaya (-ke)	∅ (-'ke/-ke)	-s (-ke)
<b><u>DIRL</u></b>				
<u>from</u>	-to ('ke)			-tiw (-e)
<u>toward</u>	-ko ('ke)			-kiw (-e)
<u>DUR</u>	-to-k (-e)	-to-ya (-ke)		-to-s (-ke)
<u>PNCT</u>		-ta-ya (-ke)	-ta (-ke)	-ta-s (-ke)

The analysis of *-tok* is questionable. It marks both STAT and DUR PAST. With some verbs it could be either.

koč-to-k *sleeping*  
*sleep-DUR-PAST*

koč-tok *asleep*  
*sleep-STAT*

yi=teč-neš-ti-li-'to-k-e

*We are already being shown.*

*COMPL=us-show-CAUS-APPLIC-DUR-PAST-PL*

o-tla-k<sup>W</sup>a-yaya  
*PERF-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-IMPRF*

*He was eating.*

o-ni-k-kawa-to  
*PERF-I-it-leave-DIRL*

*I left it there.*

o-ki-kowa-ko  
*PERF-it-buy-DIRL*

*He bought it here.*

o-ki-tek-to-ya *kafen*  
*PERF-it-cut-DUR-IMPRF coffee*

*He had been picking coffee.*

ni-k-kak-to-s  
*I-it-hear-DUR-FUT* /

*I will be hearing it.*

o-ki-tek-ta-ya  
*PERF-it-cut-PNCT-IMPRF*

*He had been picking (in passing).*

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Pre-Stem Elements

Order:  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{COMPL=PERF-} \\ \text{OPTV=} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SM-} \\ \text{IMP-} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{OM-} \\ \text{REFL-} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{UNSPEC-} \\ \text{HON-} \end{array} \right] \text{STEM}$

(*yi=o-ni-k-tla-* exemplifies a maximal sequence.)

Restrictions on co-occurrence of these elements are as follows: OPTV may not occur with IMP; REFL may not occur with HON; OM may occur with UNSPEC OBJ in a very few cases.

<i>ma=ni-te-kowi-li</i> <i>OPTV=I-UNSPEC-buy-APPLIC</i>	<i>That I may buy it from you.</i>
<i>ši-neč-nemaki-lti</i> <i>IMP-me-sell-CAUS:APPLIC</i>	<i>Sell it to me!</i>
<i>ti-neč-mo-maki-li-s</i> <i>you-me-HON-give-APPLIC-FUT</i>	<i>You, sir, will give it to me.</i>
<i>ni-mo-kawa-s ok=se tonal-i</i> <i>I-REFL-leave-FUT yet=one day-ABS</i>	<i>I will remain another day.</i>
<i>ki-tla-maka wipila</i> <i>him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give LOC</i>	<i>He feeds him every other day.</i>

Post-Stem Elements

Order: STEM-CAUS-APPLIC-HON-HON-CONN-  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ASP} \\ \text{DIRL} \end{array} \right] \text{-TNS-PL}$   
(-ti) (-li) (-lo) (-wa) (-ti)

HON -*wa* may be reanalyzed as merely -*a* after *o* of -*lo*. It occurs with the HON forms of *go*, *come*, and *be*. A second -*li* APPLIC co-occurs with *mo-* HON prefix. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION for further details.)

## COORDINATION

<i>wan</i>	<i>and, but</i>
<i>pero</i>	<i>but</i> (Spanish loan)
<i>noso</i>	<i>or</i>

*o-ki-kiš-ti in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon*  
*PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART match and PERF-it-strike*  
*He took out a match and struck it. (TOM-23)*



pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan wan ye'wa-n a'mo o-ki-neh-ke  
*same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL and he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL*  
*that they all drink the same, but they didn't want to (TOM-15)*

wan tla k-oni noso a'mo san kiera i-ten-con ki-pal-ti-li-a  
*and if it-drink or NEG just at:least his-beard it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES*  
 i-pan in haro  
*its-LOC ART jar*  
*And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard in the jar. (TOM-51)*

The Spanish loan *pwes well* is sometimes used in the apposition clause.

ki-temow-a in i-ten-con pwes a'yak  
*it-hunt-PRES ART his-beard but none*  
*He hunts for his beard, but it isn't there. (TOM-56)*

## COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Both subject and object complement clauses typically occur at the end of the main clause. Both are marked in a variety of ways.

### Subject Complement Clauses

ok=kači k<sup>W</sup>ali [nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s] *You had better stay here.*  
*yet=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT (TOM-19)*

k<sup>W</sup>ali=ka [tleka te'wa ti-koneho] *It is good you are a rabbit.*  
*good=be because you you-rabbit (CR-16)*

### Object Complement Clauses

o-ki-mači-li [a'wel cek<sup>W</sup>ini we'kaw]  
*PERF-it-know-APPLIC NEG-able run far*  
*It realized it was unable to run far. (CR-2)*

ti-k-mati [kana ni-koneho] *You think that I am a rabbit.*  
*you-it-know DUB I-rabbit (CR-10)*

o-ki-neki-aya [kin-še'-šelwi'-ta-ni]  
*PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT*  
*He wanted to serve it to them. (TOM-15)*

ni-k-neki [ma=neč-maka-s] *I want him to give it to me.*  
*I-it-want OPTV=me-give-FUT*

ayakmo ni-k-neki [ši-wala] *I don't want you to come any*  
*no:longer I-it-want IMP-come more.*

k-i'to-a-'ke [mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka]  
*it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash*  
*They say that he just washes his beard in it. (TOM-11)*

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

### Yes/No Questions

These are marked by occurrence of *tla* if or *koš* whether. (See QUESTIONS, Yes/No Questions.)

ti-k-ita-s-ke [in tla o-ti-k-neš-ti in kone-tl]  
*we-it-see-FUT-PL SUBR if PERF-you-it-appear-CAUS ART child-ABS*  
*We will see if you have had the child.*

wan [tla nele k-oni noso a'mo]  
*and if really it-drink or NEG*  
*and whether he drinks or not... (TOM-51)*

a ber [koš ok ni-k-a'si-tiw noso kana ayakmo]  
*INTR whether yet I-it-arrive-DIRL or DUB no:longer*  
*We'll see whether I will still find it or not.*

### WH Questions

These are marked by occurrence of preposed WH word as subordinator. (See QUESTIONS, WH Questions.)

a'mo o-ki-mati-aya [kan=ik o-ya inon k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>e]  
*NEG PERF-it-know-IMPRF where=DIRL PERF-go that bull*  
*He didn't know where that bull had gone.*

mo-neki mo-mati-s [in kenin o-ki-awil-ti-'ke in tek<sup>w</sup>-tli]  
*you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old-ABS*  
*one*

*You, sir, want to know how they teased the old man. (TOM-1)*

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### General

Relative clauses may precede or follow their heads, or the head may be deleted. Occurrence of *in* SUBR is optional in combination with *akin* *who* and *tlen* *what*, and always introduces the clause.

### Subject Relatives

ye'wa in k<sup>w</sup>a-tl [tlen nemi ši'-šiw-tla]  
*it ART snake-ABS which live RDP-weed-LOC*  
*It is the snake which lives in the weeds.*

o-k-ilwi-k in ič-poč-tli [in akin tla-ne-maka]  
 PERF-it-tell-PAST ART girl-youth-ABS SUBR who UNSPEC:OBJ DISTR-give  
*She told the girl who sells (i.e. waitress).*

in koneho [akin o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s]  
 ART rabbit who PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT  
*the rabbit who tried to fool him (CR-18)*

### Object Relatives

inin kow-wewecok [tlen o-ni-k-tek]  
 this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick  
*these berries which I have picked (CR-12)*

### Oblique Relatives

o-ki-awil-ti'ke in tek<sup>W</sup>-tli [i-toka A. H.]  
 PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS his-name PN  
*They teased the old man named A. H. (TOM-1)*

### Headless Relatives

[akin tekiti] ye' in loko *The one who works, he is the crazy one.*  
 who work he ART crazy

entonses ok=se i-kni-w k<sup>W</sup>ala-ni [in akin a'mo loko]  
 INTR yet=one his-brother-POSSD angry-INTRNS SUBR who NEG crazy  
*So the other brother was angry, the one who was sane.*

neč-mo'-mow-ti-a i-hkon [akin neč-a'si-s]  
 me-RDP-frighten-CAUS-PRES PROX-thus who me-arrive-FUT  
*Whoever meets me thus frightens me.*

a'mo ni-k-neltoka-s [in akin neč-ka'kayawa-s]  
 NEG I-him-believe-FUT SUBR who me-deceive-FUT  
*I will not believe whoever will deceive me.*

ti-k-ita-s [in tlen ne' ni-k-seman-ti-ka]  
 you-it-see-FUT SUBR what I I-it-peddle-CONN-be  
*You will see what I am peddling.*

neč-pak-ti-a [in tlen o-neč-maka-k]  
 me-please-CAUS-PRES SUBR what PERF-me-give-PAST  
*I like what he gave me.*

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

### Adverbial Relative Clauses

#### Locative

[kani tok-tok] tlal-šokoš-tok *The ground where he is buried is sour.*  
 where bury-STAT ground-sour-STAT

ompa i-pan inon [kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti-'ke ya-s-ke  
*there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL go-FUT-PL*  
 tla-co'cona-s-ke]  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL*  
*there in the place where they asked them to go play (TOM-37)*

## Temporal

tlen inon ki-wal-ilwi-s [i'k<sup>w</sup>ak tlami tla-mat-ka-  
*what that it-DIRL-tell-FUT when finish UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-*  
 tla-'to-s]  
*UNSPEC:OBJ-say-FUT*  
*what he will tell him when he finishes chanting*

[i'k<sup>w</sup>ak tla-maw-ti-ye-s] ki-pak-ti-a  
*when UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-be-FUT it-please-CAUS-PRES*  
*When he is sober he likes it. (TOM-30)*

## Manner

Adverbial clause of manner may occur with or without *ken* *how, as*.

[ken o-wal-ew-ke in šiči-men] ki-ti-tilana-'ke  
*as PERF-DIRL-arise-PL ART dog-PL it-RDP-pull-PL*

apurado in naka-tl  
*quickly ART meat-ABS*  
*As the dogs came charging, they quickly pulled off the meat.*

o-ti-k-pa'ti-k [ken ompa o-kat-ka-yaya mih-ki]  
*PERF-you-him-heal-PAST how there PERF-RDP-be-IMPRF die-ADJR*  
*You healed him as he was over there dead.*

molwi teč.tla'il-ti-a [weyak i-ten-con]  
*much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES long his-beard*  
*He disgusts us (since) his beard is (so) long. (TOM-7)*

If-Clauses

*tla if* occurs with various forms of the irrealis mode. If-clauses usually precede the main clause, and occurrence of the subordinator *in* is optional.

[in tla k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>e] pos ompa nele pil-ka-ti-ye-s  
*SUBR if bull INTR there really hang-be-CONN-be-FUT*

miak in naka-tl  
*much ART meat-ABS*  
*If it is beef, there will be a lot of meat hanging there.*

ašan [tla mač o-neč-telwi-'ke] ašan ni-ya-s kiera ni-mo-cak<sup>W</sup>a-tiw  
*now if QUOT PERF-me-accuse-PL now I-go-FUT even:if I-REFL-shut-DIRL*  
*If I have been charged and I were to go now, I would be locking myself up.*

wan [tla kana akin ok=seya]  
*and if DUB who yet=one*  
*and if perhaps there is someone else...*

An if-clause may be used to suggest a possibility.

pero [tla ki-piya se i-g<sup>W</sup>ahito de oro]  
*but if it-have one his-jug of gold*  
*but supposing he has a golden jug...*

An if-clause may be used to express surprise.

wan [tla ka'so sa ye' in ik o-mo-sewi-lo-k]  
*and if so:then just it SUBR INSTR PERF-REFL-rest-HON-PAST*  
*And if it wasn't that by which he died!*

There is a special use of an if-clause for optative mode.

[tla ti-neč-mo-tlokoli-li-skia-ni ye' in tomin]  
*if you-me-HON-give-APPLIC-COND-CNTRFCT it ART money*  
*Please may it be money that you give to me.*

When an if-clause marks contrafactual, the main clause is also contrafactual.

*tla if* may be omitted.

[in tla ken ašan ye-ni] ni-k-kicki-ni ika sinta  
*SUBR if how now be-CNTRFCT I-it-grab-CNTRFCT INSTR belt*  
*If it had been as now, I would have taken a belt to it.*

[a'mo ni-siego ni-ye-skia-ni] ni-čolo-ni  
*NEG I-blind I-be-COND-CNTRFCT I-flee-CNTRFCT*  
*If I were not blind, I would have fled.*

### Other

*tla if* occurs with the negative *a'mo* in positive rhetorical questions.

tla-'mo ni-miki-s ika mow-ka-yo-tl  
*if-not I-die-FUT INSTR fear-CONN-ABSTR-ABS*  
*If I won't die of fright!*

tleka [in tla-'mo ok ti-k-ma-kiš-ti-skia-ni-'ke]  
*why SUBR if-not yet we-it-hand-go -CAUS-COND-CNTRFCT-PL*  
*save out*  
*Why couldn't we have still saved her?*

Because-clauses sometimes occur with *tleka* *why, because*, but most are determined by type and position of adverbs. The combination *ye'* in *ik that is why* occurs frequently.

molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a [san o-hkonon ti-tlayi-'ke ika in pulke]  
*very us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL INSTR ART pulque*  
*He disgusts us so much because of the way we drink pulque. (TOM-10)*

kači k<sup>w</sup>ali nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s [kana weci-wa-tiw ik o'-tli]  
*more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL DIRL road-ABS*  
*You had better stay here because you might fall in the road. (TOM-19)*

miki-s sa=nima [tleka ki-čičina inon wicicili]  
*die-FUT just=next because it-suck that hummingbird*  
*He will die immediately because that hummingbird sucks it (his blood).*

## TEXTS

How They Teased the Old Man

keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke in tek<sup>W</sup>-tli  
*how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS*

1. So, now you want to know how they teased the  
 tel ašan mo-neki mo-mati-s in keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke  
*so now you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART*  
 old man named A. H.  
 tek<sup>W</sup>-tli i-toka A. H.  
*old:one-ABS his-name PN*
2. And it was E. M. who did the teasing.  
 wan o-te-awil-ti ye'wa-tl in E. M.  
*and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN*
3. Well, thus it was that one time they hired A. H.;  
 pwes kasi sek-pa o-hkono o-ki-tlakew-ke in A. H.  
*INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN*  
 he was what you would call teacher of the musicians.  
 ye'wa-tl kasi k-i'to-s-neki maestro ika in musikos  
*he-ABS DUB it-say-FUT-want teacher INSTR ART musicians*
4. And so he was teaching them how to play,  
 wan o-kin-neš-ti-li-aya keni no-mač-ti-s-ke  
*and PERF-them-show-CAUS-APPLIC-IMPRF how REFL-know-CAUS-FUT-PL*  
 and also this E. M. and his brother, named M.  
 wan no=yohke inin E. M. wan in i-kni-w seya i-toka M.  
*and also=same this PN and ART his-brother-POSSD one his-name PN*
5. Well now, well, he is dead; no longer living.  
 bweno ašan bweno yi=mih-ki porke ayakmo nemi  
*INTR now INTR COMPL=die-ADJR because no:longer live*
6. But that day when he was still living, thus he said,  
 pero inon tonal-i i'kwak o-katka wan i-hkonon o-k-ilwi  
*but that day-ABS when PERF-was and PROX-thus PERF-him-tell*  
 well, they said to each other:  
 bweno o-mo-lwi-'ke  
*INTR PERF-REFL-tell-PL*

7. "Now here comes our teacher, but he disgusts  
 ašan wala in to-maestro pero molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a  
*now come ART our-teacher but much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES*  
 us very much with his long beard," they said.  
 weyak in i-ten-con mo-lwi-a-ke  
*long ART his-edge-hair REFL-tell-PRES-PL*  
*beard*
8. So this E. M. and M. and another man named A. said:  
 wan entonses inin E. M. wan in M. wan ok=se tlaka-tl i-toka  
*and INTR this PN and ART PN and yet=one man-ABS his-name*  
 A. no=yohke asta  
*PN also=same till*
9. "Now we will cut off the old man's beard.  
 ašan ti-k-ten-con-teki-s-ke in bieho  
*now we-it-beard-cut-FUT-PL ART old:man*
10. Well, he disgusts us so much just in the way we drink pulque."  
 bweno molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a san o-hkonon ti-tlayi-ke  
*INTR much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL*  
 ika in pulke  
*INSTR ART pulque*
11. And also since that old man's beard was so long they said  
 wan entonses inon tek<sup>W</sup>-tli no=yohke ken weyak in i-ten-con  
*and INTR that old:one-ABS also=same as long ART his-beard*  
 that he just washes his beard in that pulque.  
 k-i'to-a-ke mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka inon pulke  
*it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash that pulque*
12. So one day they held a little party and they invited  
 entonses se tonal-i o-ki-čiw-ke se fiestita wan  
*INTR one day-ABS PERF-it-do-PL one party and*  
 that teacher of the band.  
 o-k-ilwi-ke ma=wala-w inonmaestro ika in banda  
*PERF-him-tell-PL OPTV=come(?) that teacher INSTR ART band*
13. So then they had already given E. and M. and the other companions  
 wan entonses in E. wan in M. wan ok=sekin-ten in kompañeros  
*and INTR ART PN and ART PN and yet=some-PL ART companions*  
 a jar apiece.  
 y=o-kin-maka-ke se'-se in haro pareho  
*COMPL=PERF-them-give-PL RDP-one ART jar same*



14. But that old man, as I will say, was accustomed to having to  
 wan inon tek<sup>W</sup>-tli kasi ken ni-k-i'to-s mo-maw-tok i-hkonon  
*but that old:one-ABS DUB as I-it-say-FUT REFL-know-STAT PROX-thus*  
 stick his nose in a jar to drink.  
 se haro ki-yeka-wi-a-'ke ik ki-oni-'ke  
*one jar it-nose-VR-PRES-PL DIRL it-drink-PL*
15. So he wanted to serve it to them  
 entonses o-ki-neki-aya kin-še'šeliwi'-ta-ni  
*INTR PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT*  
 that they might drink alike, but they didn't want to.  
 pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan wan ye'wa-n a'mo o-ki-neh-ke  
*same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL but he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL*
16. Therefore E. said: "Well, here in this town, we are accustomed  
 entonses o-k-i'to in E. pwes te'wa-n nikan i-pan in  
*INTR PERF-it-say ART PN INTR we-PL here its-LOC ART*  
 to each one having his own jar."  
 altepe-tl pwes ti-tla-mač-ti-l-ten kada seya i-haro  
*town-ABS INTR we-UNSPEC:OBJ-learn-CAUS-ABS-PL each one his-jar*  
 ki-tokaro-s  
*him-pertain-FUT*
17. And thus they gave each one of them his own jar,  
 wan i-hkonon o-kin-maka-ke noč'in i-haro se'se pareho in  
*and PROX-thus PERF-them-give-PL all his-jar RDP-one alike ART*  
 whoever wanted to drink pulque.  
 akin ki-neki ki-oni-s in pulke  
*who it-want it-drink-FUT ART pulque*
18. Then when he was already drunk, they said to  
 entonses inon i'k<sup>W</sup>ak ok=kači y=o-winti-k mač k-ilwi-a-'ke  
*INTR that when yet=more COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL*  
 this old man, A. H.: "Well, now you will no longer go.  
 inin tek<sup>W</sup>-tli A. H. pwes ašan ayakmo ti-mo-wika-s  
*this old:one-ABS PN INTR now no:longer you-REFL-carry-FUT*
19. You had better stay here, because you might fall down  
 ok=kači k<sup>W</sup>ali nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s kana weci-wa-tiw  
*yet=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL*  
 in the road, and here it is better.  
 ik o'tli wan nikan mehor  
*DIRL road-ABS and here better*

20. Here we are in the house," they said.  
 nis ti-ka-te kal-i'tek mač k-ilwi-a-'ke  
*here we-be-PL house-inside QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL*
21. They detained him there and in a little while they said to  
 onkan o-ki-ceko-'ke wan inon rato mač mo-lwi-a-'ke  
*there PERF-him-detain-PL and that time QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL*  
 each other: "Now let's burn our grandfather's  
 ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-ten-con-tlati-s-ke či'ton in to-  
*now we-go-PL we-it-beard-burn-FUT-PL little ART our-*  
 beard a little," they said.  
 kol-cin mač mo-lwi-a-'ke  
*grandfather-HON QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL*
22. Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him.  
 entonses E. o-ki-kiš-ti in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k  
*INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST*
23. And then he also took out a match and struck it  
 wan entonses no=yohke o-ki-kiš-ti in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon  
*and INTR also=same PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART match and PERF-it-strike*  
 to ignite it.  
 para ma=šotla  
*to OPTV=ignite*
24. And then when A. H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth,  
 wan entonses i'k<sup>w</sup>ak yi=ki-kama-wi-'tok in sigaro inin A. H.  
*and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN*  
 (E.) brought it near, as you might say, put the fire into the  
 ki-pačow-a kasi i-nak kasi k-i'to-s-neki ki-pačo-  
*it-cover-PRES almost its-next:to almost it-say-FUT-want it-cover-*  
 beard.  
 't-ewa in tetl i-pan in i-ten-con  
*CONN-arise ART fire its-LOC ART his-beard*
25. And then, well, in a little while he realized that it was  
 wan entonses bweno ik se rato y=o-ki-mač-ili-k  
*and INTR INTR DIRL one while COMPL=PERF-it-feel-APPLIC-PAST*  
 stinking, since his beard was already burnt.  
 y=o-co'ya-š ken y=o-tlatla-k in i-ten-con  
*COMPL=PERF-stink-PAST since COMPL=PERF-burn-PAST ART his-beard*

26. And then A. H. said: "But not like that, E.," he said.  
 wan entonses k-i'ta in A. H. pero a'mo i-hkon E. o-k-i'to  
*and INTR it-say ART PN but NEG PROX-thus PN PERF-it-say*
27. "You have already burnt my beard."  
 y=o-ti-neč-ten-con-tlati-k  
*COMPL=PERF-you-me-beard-burn-PAST*
28. "As if I did it on purpose," said E.  
 tla-'mo san ik ni-k-čiwa o-k-i'to in E.  
*if-not just DIRL I-it-do PERF-it-say ART PN*
29. Then in a little while he burnt the beard again.  
 entonses ik se rato ok=se biahe o-ki-ten-con-tlati  
*INTR DIRL one while yet=one time PERF-him-beard-burn*
30. But then when he is sober, he likes it; he thinks  
 wan entonses kasi i'k<sup>w</sup>ak tla-maw-ti-ye-s  
*but INTR almost when UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-be-FUT*  
 it is beautiful.  
 ki-pak-ti-a mač k<sup>w</sup>alci'to  
*it-please-CAUS-PRES QUOT beautiful*
31. He combs it with a comb; even has a comb  
 ki-še'-šelwas-wi-a ika in peine o bweno sa=niman ki-piya  
*it-RDP-brush-VR-PRES INSTR ART comb or well only=near it-has*  
 just for combing his beard.  
 in peine tlen=ik ki-šelwas-wi-a in i-ten-con  
*ART comb what=DIRL it-brush-VR-PRES ART his-beard*
32. So then he realized that his beard was all burnt,  
 wan entonses pwes o-ki-mač-ili inon o-tlan-ten-con-tlatla  
*and INTR so PERF-it-learn-APPLIC that PERF-finish-beard-burn*  
 a little, but not entirely, just a little.  
 či'ton pero a'mo yek san či'ton  
*little but NEG perfectly just little*
33. Then the second time, one day they took him also.  
 entonses ik ow-pa se tonal-i o-ki-wika-ke no=yohke  
*INTR DIRL two-LOC one day-ABS PERF-him-carry-PL also=same*
34. They went to play in Iksakakowtla.  
 o-ya-'ke tla-co'cona-'ke mač ik-saka-kow-tla  
*PERF-go-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-play-PL QUOT DIRL-grass-wood-LOC*

35. And thus him also as the band.  
 wan i-hkonon no=yohke ken in banda  
*and PROX-thus also=same as ART band*
36. You already know how many come out to play.  
 yi=mo-mati ken miake mo-wal-čiwa-'ke para tla-co'cona-'ke  
*COMPL=you-know how many REFL-DIRL-do-PL to UNSPEC:OBJ-play-PL*
37. And so there in that place where they were invited to go play,  
 wan entonses in ompa i-pan inon kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti-'ke  
*and INTR SUBR there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL*  
 they said to one another:  
 ya-s-ke tla-co'cona-s-ke mač mo-lwi-a-'ke  
*go-FUT-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL*
38. "Well, so now they will give us pulque and he will serve  
 bweno pwes ašan teč-maka-'ke in pulke wan teč-še'-šelwi-a  
*INTR INTR now us-give-PL ART pulque and us-RDP-divide-PRES*  
 it to us, but he drinks first and at least (if nothing else)  
 ye'wa-tl pero ačto ki-oni ye'wa-tl wan i-ten-con si-kiera  
*he-ABS but first it-drink he-ABS and his-beard if-at:least*  
 he washes his beard," they say to one another.  
 i-pan mo-ten-con-paka mač mo-lwi-a-'ke  
*its-LOC REFL-beard-wash QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL*
39. So then these other companions, well, he disgusted them.  
 entonses inin ok=sekin kompañeros pwes kin-tla'il-ti-a  
*INTR this yet=some companions INTR them-disgust-CAUS-PRES*
40. And then, well, that A. H. also drank that time.  
 wan entonses bweno o-tla-tlayi-k no=yohke inon račo inon A. H.  
*and INTR INTR PERF-RDP-drink-PAST also=same that time that PN*
41. But the other companions of the band didn't want it thus.  
 wan in ok=sekin kompañeros den banda pwes a'mo ki-neki-'ke i-hkonon  
*but ART yet=some companions of:the band INTR NEG it-want-PL PROX-thus*
42. Since as one might say, he just put it to his mouth and they  
 kasi ken k-i'to-s-neki san ki-kama-wi-a wan ok=se  
*almost as it-say-FUT-want just it-mouth-VR-PRES and yet=one*  
 also drank again.  
 biahe ki-oni-'ke ye'wa-n no=yohke  
*time it-drink-PL he-PL also=same*

43. So this brother of E.'s, he was sort of a barber.  
 onkan inin i-kni-w in E. ye'wa-tl kasi pelukero  
*there this his-brother-POSSD ART PN he-ABS almost barber*
44. So sometimes he carries the clippers and all in case there  
 kema-nian i-hkonon ki-wika-s in makina wan nočin wan  
*when-neither PROX-thus it-carry-FUT ART clippers and all and*  
 might be something to do there; he cuts hair also.  
 kana ye-s tlen ki-či-s ompa tla-k<sup>W</sup>a-teki no=yohke  
*DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there UNSPEC:OBJ-top:of:head-cut also=same*
45. Then this brother of E.'s says, "Now the old man, now we  
 entonses mač k-i'ta inin i-kni-w in E. ašan in bieho  
*INTR QUOT it-say this his-brother-POSSD ART PN now ART old:man*  
 will cut off his beard," he says.  
 ašan ti-k-tlami-ten-con-teki-s-ke mač k-i'ta  
*now we-it-finish-beard-cut-FUT-PL QUOT it-say*
46. And so, at that time, while they were there, he was already drunk.  
 wan entonses inon rato i'k<sup>W</sup>ak omp=ik ka-te y=o-winti-k  
*and INTR that time when there=DIRL be-PL COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST*
47. Then he fell asleep, being drunk.  
 entonses o-koč-wec ik winti  
*INTR PERF-sleep-fall DIRL drunk*
48. And then he says: "Now he has already fallen asleep.  
 wan onkan mač k-i'ta ašan y=o-koč-wec  
*and there QUOT it-say now COMPL=PERF-sleep-fall*
49. Now let's cut his beard all off," he said.  
 ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-tlami-ten-con-teki mač k-i'ta  
*now we-go-PL we-it-finish-beard-cut QUOT it-say*
50. "He disgusts us so much even if he just puts his lips in the pulque.  
 molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a ik san kiera i-pan ten-kalaki in pulke  
*very us-disgust-CAUS-PRES DIRL just even:if its-LOC lip-enter ART pulque*
51. And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard  
 wan tla nele k-oni noso a'mo san kiera i-ten-con  
*and if really it-drink or NEG just even:if his-beard*  
 in the jar of pulque."  
 ki-pal-ti-li-a i-pan in haro de pulke  
*it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES its-LOC ART jar of pulque*

52. And so, well, this M. takes the scissors and  
 wan onkan inin bweno in M. mač ki-ana tihera wan  
*and there this INTR ART PN QUOT it-take scissors and*  
 he stuck them in, just here, there;  
 o-ki-kalaki-li-k san nis=ik nep=ik  
*PERF-it-enter-APPLIC-PAST just here=DIRL there=DIRL*  
 he snipped at that beard.  
 o-ki-ci-ciki-li inon i-ten-con  
*PERF-it-RDP-hack-APPLIC that his-beard*
53. But they did it for no reason.  
 wan entonses san ik o-ki-čiw-ke  
*but INTR just DIRL PERF-it-do-PL*
54. It seems that since the old man loved  
 kasi in tek<sup>w</sup>-tli ken molwi o-ki-tlaso'tla-yaya inon  
*almost ART old:one-ABS as very PERF-it-love-IMPRF that*  
 his beard so much, just for no good reason they did it.  
 i-ten-con san ik o-ki-čiw-ke  
*his-beard just DIRL PERF-it-do-PL*
55. They cut it all up, just hacked it up.  
 o-ki-tlami-teki-li-ke san o-ki-ci-cikilo.'ke  
*PERF-it-finish-cut-APPLIC-PL just PERF-it-RDP-hack-PL*
56. And then when he came to,  
 wan entonses inon y=o-wal-i'-iš-tla-mat  
*and INTR that COMPL=PERF-DIRL-RDP-face-UNSPEC:OBJ-know*  
 he hunts for his beard, but it isn't there.  
 ki-temow-a in i-ten-con pos a'yak  
*it-hunt-PRES ART his-beard INTR not:any*
57. Then he notifies them, well, he asks them, "Well, who  
 entonses kin-nawa-ti-a bweno kin-ilwi-a bweno akin  
*INTR them-inform-CAUS-PRES INTR them-tell-PRES INTR who*  
 cut my beard?"  
 o-neč-ten-con-tek  
*PERF-me-beard-cut*
58. "Well, we didn't see; we were drunk also," he said.  
 a'mo bweno a'mo ti-k-ic-tok-e te'wa-n no ti-wi'-wint-en mač k-i'ta  
*NEG INTR NEG we-it-see-STAT-PL we-PL also we-RDP-drunk-PL QUOT it-say*

59. "You have really ruined me now," he said.  
 molwi o-nan-neč-i'tlako-'ke ašan mač k-i'ta  
 very PERF-you:PL-me-ruin-PL now QUOT it-say
60. "Now where is my beard, and I love it so much."  
 ašan katli in no-ten-con wan teki ni-k-tlaso'tla  
 now which ART my-beard and so:much I-it-love
61. They hacked it all up; they didn't even finish cutting it off;  
 o-ki-ten-ci-cikilo-'ke nian a'mo o-tlan ki-ten-con-teki-'ke  
 PERF-it-edge-RDP-hack-PL not:even NEG PERF-finish it-beard-cut-PL  
 just here, there, they stuck in the scissors.  
 san nis=ik nep=ik o-ki-kalaki-li-'ke in tiheras  
 just here=DTRL there=DTRL PERF-it-enter-APPLIC-PL ART scissors
62. So they just hacked it all up with the scissors.  
 entonses san o-tlan ki-tlami-ten-ci-cikilow-a ika in tiheras  
 INTR just PERF-finish it-finish-edge-RDP-hack-PRES INSTR ART scissors

### The Coyote and the Rabbit

in koyo-čiči wan in koneho  
 ART outsider-dog and ART rabbit  
 coyote

1. One day when he was hungry,  
 se tonal-i i'k<sup>w</sup>ak o-apis-mik-ti-katka molwi  
 one day-ABS when PERF-hunger-die-CONN-was very  
 a big coyote was chasing a rabbit in the field.  
 se weyi koyo-čiči ki-totoka-a'si se koneho ik mila  
 one big coyote it-chase-find one rabbit DTRL field
2. The rabbit was very frightened, as it realized it was unable  
 teki o-momow-ti in koneho o-ki-mači-li a'wel  
 very PERF-fear-CAUS ART rabbit PERF-it-feel-APPLIC NEG-able  
 to run far because it was already old and tired.  
 cek<sup>w</sup>ini we'kaw tleka yi=čikawa-k wan yi=šo-siawi  
 run far because COMPL=old-ADJR and COMPL=foot-tire
3. It stopped suddenly for a little and faced the coyote.  
 o-mo-keč-ti-wec či'to wan o-k-iš-namik-ti-wec  
 PERF-REFL-stand-CONN-fall little and PERF-him-face-meet-CONN-fall  
 in koyo-čiči  
 ART coyote

4. "Stop!" said the rabbit.  
 ši-mo-keca mač k-i'ta in koneho  
*IMP-REFL-stand QUOT it-say ART rabbit*
5. "Why are you chasing me?  
 tleka ti-neč-totoka-a'si  
*why you-me-chase-find*
6. Will you eat me?"  
 tlen ti-neč-k<sup>W</sup>a-s  
*Q you-me-eat-FUT*
7. "Yes," said the coyote, "I will eat you."  
 keme mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči ni-mic-k<sup>W</sup>a-s  
*yes QUOT it-say ART coyote I-you-eat-FUT*
8. "Don't eat me," said the rabbit.  
 a'mo ši-neč-k<sup>W</sup>a mač k-i'ta in koneho  
*NEG IMP-me-eat QUOT it-say ART rabbit*
9. "If you eat me, you will die.  
 tla ti-neč-k<sup>W</sup>a-s ti-miki-s  
*if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT*
10. You think that I am a rabbit, but really I am a rattlesnake,  
 ti-k-mati kana ni-koneho wan nele ne'wa-tl ni-k<sup>W</sup>a-tl kaskabel  
*you-it-know DUB I-rabbit but really I-ABS I-snake-ABS rattler*  
 and if you eat me, I will poison you."  
 wan i'k<sup>W</sup>ak tla ti-neč-k<sup>W</sup>a-s ni-mic-miko-ti-s  
*and when if you-me-eat-FUT I-you-poison-CAUS-FUT*
11. "What should I eat then?" said the coyote.  
 tlen tel ni-k<sup>W</sup>a-skia-ni mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči  
*what so I-eat-COND-CNTRFCT QUOT it-say ART coyote*
12. "Eat these edible berries which I have picked.  
 ši-k<sup>W</sup>a inin kow-wewecok tlen o-ni-k-tek  
*IMP-eat this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick*  
*berry*
13. I was carrying them in my basket to my house when you  
 o-ni-k-wika-ti-katka i'teč no-kanasta para no-čan i'k<sup>W</sup>ak o-ti-  
*PERF-I-it-carry-CONN-was in my-basket for my-home when PERF-you-*  
 started to chase me."  
 pew ti-neč-totoka-a'si  
*start you-me-chase-find*



14. "Rabbits eat berries," said the coyote,  
 in koneho ki-k<sup>W</sup>a in kow-wewecok mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči  
*ART rabbit it-eat ART berry QUOT it-say ART coyote*  
 "but rattlesnakes never eat berries,  
 wan in kaskabel a'yik ki-k<sup>W</sup>a in kow-wewecok  
*but ART rattler never it-eat ART berry*  
 and therefore you are a rabbit even if you say you aren't.  
 wan ik inon tel ti-koneho nian ti-k-i'to-s a'mo  
*and INSTR that so you-rabbit not:even you-it-say-FUT*
15. You can just fool yourself but you can't fool me.  
 san te'wa ši-mo-ka'kayawa ne'wa a'-wel ti-neč-ka'kayawa-s  
*just you IMP-REFL-deceive I NEG-able you-me-deceive-FUT*
16. It is good you are a rabbit.  
 k<sup>W</sup>ali=ka tleka te'wa ti-koneho  
*good=be because you you-rabbit*
17. Rabbits can be eaten,  
 k<sup>W</sup>ali ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-ke in koneho  
*able it-eat-PL ART rabbit*  
 but I don't like to eat rattlesnakes."  
 wan in kaskabel a'mo neč-pak-ti-a ni-k<sup>W</sup>a-s  
*but ART rattler NEG me-please-CAUS-PRES I-eat-FUT*
18. And so the coyote ate the rabbit who tried to fool him.  
 wan i-hkon in koyo-čiči o-ki-k<sup>W</sup>a in koneho akin  
*and PROX-thus ART coyote PERF-it-eat ART rabbit who*  
 o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s  
*PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT*
19. He also ate the berries which the rabbit had in his basket.  
 no=yohke o-ki-k<sup>W</sup>a in kow-wewecok tlen o-ki-piy-aya  
*also=same PERF-it-eat ART berry what PERF-it-have-IMPRF*  
 i'teč i-kanasta in koneho  
*in his-basket ART rabbit*
20. And thus the coyote finished them and died not long afterwards,  
 wan i-hkon o-ki-tlami in koyo-čiči wan a'mo we'kaw o-mik  
*and PROX-thus PERF-it-finish ART coyote and NEG long:time PERF-die*  
 while resting beneath a tree.  
 i'k<sup>W</sup>ak yewa-ti-ka i-cintla se kowi-tl  
*when rest-CONN-be its-beneath one tree-ABS*

21. The berries weren't really edible, but poisonous.  
in kow-wewecok tlaka'so a'mo ye'wa tlaka'so ye'wa in tamponero  
*ART berry so:then NEG it so:then it ART poison:berry*
22. That's why they poisoned him.  
ye' in ik o-ki-miko-ti  
*that SUBR INSTR PERF-him-poison-CAUS*

# HUASTECA NAHUATL

*Richard and Patricia Beller*



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## INTRODUCTION

Huasteca Nahuatl (HN) is spoken by 350,000 Indians in Mexico in the states of San Luís Potosí, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and a relatively small area in the northern tip of Puebla. It divides itself into two major dialects, with the major dividing line running (from northeast to southwest) from east of Platon Sanchez, Veracruz down to Tianguistengo, Hidalgo. When there is a contrast we will use (W) for the Western dialect and (E) for the Eastern dialect. Most of our time has been spent in the area of Huautla, Hidalgo and Tamazunchale, San Luís Potosí. From 1970 until 1976 we have averaged living about five months a year as the only outsiders in an Aztec village. We speak the language daily with a constant stream of Indian visitors. Most of the other months of these six years have been spent doing intensive study with a native speaker outside of the village.

The principal language consultant for this present work is Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés of Cuatenahuatl, a village near Huautla, Hidalgo. Zacarías Hernández Antonio from Tamazunchale, San Luís Potosí helped as needed for examples from the W dialect.

The W dialect has been described by Kenneth Croft: 'Practical Orthography for Matlapa Nahuatl', *IJAL* 17.32-36, 1951; 'Matlapa Nahuatl II: Affix List and Morphophonemics', *IJAL* 19.274-280, 1953; and 'Matlapa Nahuatl III: Morpheme Arrangements', *IJAL* 20.37-43, 1954.

Two texts are included at the end of these data. The first was translated with the help of Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés. The second is a spontaneous text which was recorded by magnetic tape. The speaker is Aurelio Alvarado Mojica, also from Cuatenahuatl. The text 'The Coyote and the Jackrabbit' is abbreviated COYOTE, and 'I was Horse-Thrown on the Road' is abbreviated HORSE.

## PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

The phonemes of Huasteca Nahuatl are:

p	t	k	k <sup>w</sup>	'	i	ii		
		g			e	ee	o	oo
	c	č				a	aa	
	s	š						
	l							
	tl							
m	n							
w	y							
W			h					

This phonemic inventory includes eighteen consonants, four short vowels, and four long vowels. This does not include phonemes that are only in borrowed words. The stops /p t k/ and affricates /c č/ each have an aspirated and an unaspirated allophone. The aspirated allophone occurs in syllable coda position. Although glottal stop /ʔ/ is a phoneme, most occurrences are predictable. It occurs before all vowel-initial words and between any two vowels that have a morpheme break between them. It also occurs final in a phonological phrase. Only occurrences other than these will be written. The /g/ is rare but is in native words. The /l/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless allophone occurs in syllable coda position. The /tl/ is voiceless. The /m/ is voiced. The /n/ is voiced, and has alveolar and velar allophones; the velar allophone occurs before velar stops. The /y/ is voiced. The /w/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless occurs after /l/. There is also a /W/. The /h/ has allophones [x], [N], [M], [Y], [W], and [h]. The [x] occurs syllable onset between vowels; [N M Y W] occur before their voiced counterpart. The allophone [h] takes the shape of the preceding vowel when occurring in coda position phrase medially, but it is realized as a glottal fricative when occurring in onset position: /nihčiwas/ [niI.či.was] 'I will do it'. Notice in the following example that /h/ is the plural morpheme and occurs final on the verb, but phonologically it becomes onset of the first syllable of the object because the latter is a vowel-initial word: /toWanti tihnekih etl/ [to.Wan.ti ti.Nne.ki. hetl] 'We want beans'.



The short vowels are /i e a o/, and the long vowels are /ii ee aa oo/. Long vowels seem to be disappearing. They are very difficult to hear except in minimal pairs, and we are rarely corrected about them. Because of the difficulties of accurately writing them, length is ignored in writing up data.

Stress is on the penultimate syllable except for a few rare exceptions. In these exceptions stress will be written.

Major Phonological Processes

The major phonological processes are listed below. The final vowel of the present tense stem of the verb drops before a tense marker is suffixed.

w → h before stops	pewa	'He starts.'
	peh-tok	'He has started.'
	start- PRES	
	PERF	

{k k <sup>w</sup> } → h before k	miki	'He is dying.'
	mih-ki die-PAST	'He died.'

{w y} → ' word finally	ki-ilwiya	'He says it.'	ki-ilwi'	'He said it.'
	it-say		it-said	

m → n before stops			
tlami	'He finishes.'	tlan-ki	'He finished.'
		finish-PAST	

h → k before vowels		
ni-h-walika-s		'I will take it.'
I-it-take-FUT		
ni-k-on-walika-s		'I will take it there.'
I-it-there-take-FUT		

l → Ø after l	
no-kal	'my house'
my-house	
kal + li = kal-i	'house'
house + ABS	

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

The normal order of certain parts of the HN clause is debatable because it varies greatly. However, other parts of the clause are relatively fixed. The introducer always occurs initial in a clause and the quotative occurs final. If there is no introducer, the quotative can occur initially. The quotative is manifested by inflections of *ki-ih-towa* and *tletowa* 'he says'. The predicate, subject, indirect object, and object occur most commonly in that order. Other possible orders are SUBJ-PRED-IOBJ-OBJ and PRED-IOBJ-OBJ-SUBJ. Notice that IOBJ comes before OBJ in all orders. It is unusual for SUBJ, OBJ, and IOBJ to all occur simultaneously in a clause. The benefactive, time, manner, and locative constituents are almost completely free in order. The purpose constituent normally occurs as the last constituent before the quotative. Any two of these five peripheral constituents seem to be the natural limit. The normal order for an entire clause is:

INTR PRED SUBJ IOBJ OBJ BEN TIME MAN LOC PUR QUOT

wahka ki-kowi-li' roberto i-siwa seh pico yalwaya nepa tiankis tletowa  
therefore it-buy-APPLIC PN his-wife one pig yesterday there market says  
PAST

'Therefore Robert bought his wife a pig yesterday there at the market, so he says.'

Topic

A constituent may be topicalized by a change of word order. An adverbial clause, verb, pronoun, question word, or other introducer can change order and act as pivot to topicalize the constituent occurring before it.

An adverbial clause occurring as an element of the main clause can occur directly after the subject to topicalize it.

ne tlaka-tl [kema tlan-ki i-teki] yah-ki tiankis  
that man-ABS when finish-PAST his-work go-PAST market  
'That man, when he finished his work, went to market.'

If the verb in a hortative expression comes after the subject, it topicalizes the subject. Notice this causes the noun to be in the middle of the verb phrase.

ma to-teki mic-tio-čiwa 'May God bless you.'  
EXHRT our-boss you-god-do

A subject pronoun occurring immediately after the subject topicalizes it.

nopa siwa-tl yahaya ki-čih-ki  
that woman-ABS she it-do-PAST 'That woman, she did it.'

A question word often topicalizes the constituent before it.

Wan imoWanti tlački in-ki-čiwa-h ama 'And you all, what will you do now?'  
and you:PL what you:PL-it-do-PL now

An introducer of a subordinate clause can topicalize what occurs before it.

Wan toWanti [intla ti-h-čiwa-s-eh tlen k<sup>W</sup>al-i]  
 and we if we-it-do-FUT-PL REL good-ADJR  
 ti-kisa-s-eh k<sup>W</sup>al-i  
 we-leave-FUT-PL good-ADJR  
 'And we, if we do what is good, we will come out well.'

**Pronoun Copies**

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by pronoun affixes. They must agree with the free constituent in person and number with the exception that plural inanimate objects are often copied with a singular object pronoun affix in the verb.

Agreement between free and bound subjects in person and number:

na kena ni-yah-ki nohkia 'I, yes, I went too.'  
 I yes I-go-PAST also

Agreement between free and bound objects in person and number:

kin-ita-k yaWanti nepa tiankis 'He saw them there in town.'  
 them-see-PAST them there town

Agreement between free and bound inanimate objects in person only:

ki-piya miak k<sup>W</sup>a-tinih 'He has many trees.'  
 it-have many wood-INAN:PL

Agreement between free and bound indirect objects in person and number:

kin-kowi-lih-ki i-kone-wa seh pico  
 them-buy-APPLIC-PAST his-child-POSSD:PL one pig  
 'He bought his children a pig.'

A free possessor must be copied onto the possessed object by a pronoun prefix (see NOUN PHRASES, Possessed Noun Phrase). The free possessor is optional and adds emphasis or clarification.

na no-aška nopa ama-tl 'That paper is mine.'  
 I my-possession that paper-ABS

The yaWanti in the following example is redundant and adds emphasis (see also POSTPOSITIONS).

Wan teki-ti-yaya inin-waya yaWanti 'John was working with them.'  
 PN work-VR-PAST:DUR their-with them

The free possessor adds clarification in the following:

i-čiči čučo mih-ki 'Chucho's dog died.'  
 his-dog PN die-PAST

Presumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur preceding the constituent for which they stand:

imoWanti tata-meh nana-meh ši-walah-kah nikani  
 you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL IMP-come-IMP:PL here  
 'You all, fathers, mothers, you all come here.'

The adverbial demonstrative pronoun is often discontinuous with its specifier.

nopano ti-h-pan-ti-to-h seh kowa-tl i-pan no-mila  
 there we-it-pass-CAUS-went-PL one snake-ABS its-place my-field  
 find

'There we went and found a snake in my field.'

For an example of the adverbial demonstrative occurring in the middle of the prepositional phrase, see sentence 21 of HORSE.

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur following the constituent for which they stand:

to-teko yahaya to-te-ma-kiš-tih-ka  
 our-boss he our-UNSPEC-save-leave-CAUS-POSSD  
 take out AG  
 save by taking  
 out

'The Lord, he is our savior.'

i-pan to-kal-ihti-k nikani peh-ki nopa tli-tl  
 its-place our-house-stomach-place here start-PAST that fire-ABS  
 inside

'Inside our house here the fire started.'

Focus

Focus can be indicated by a subordinate clause marked by the relative tlen, making a cleft sentence construction.

kena yahaya [tlen ki-mik-ti' i-ikni]  
 yes he REL it-die-CAUS his-brother  
 PAST  
 killed

'Yes, he is the one that killed his brother.'

A negative can focus what occurs before it.

roberto aš Wan ki-wika-k mo-tomin  
 PN NEG PN it-take-PAST your-money  
 'It was Robert, not John, that took your money.'

**Apposition**

Apposition is very common in HN. Any clause constituent (or non-constituent) can have a second constituent in apposition to it.

kema walah-ki kema ahsi-ko nikani neč-maka-k  
 when come-PAST when arrive-came here me-give-PAST  
 'When he came, when he arrived here, he gave it to me.'

See the HORSE text for other examples of apposition: for temporals, sentences 1 and 28; verbs, sentence 30; and object, sentence 5.

**PARTICLES AND CLITICS**

**Conjunctions**

The following conjunctions are particles and occur clause initial unless otherwise stated. To occur second means to occur after another conjunction, e.g., Wan wahka 'and then'.

- Wan 'and' (See COYOTE title and sentences 2, 3, 8, and HORSE 5, 6, 8, 9 (3), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 (4), 21 (2), 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 (2), 32, 33, 36, 37.)
- wahka 'therefore, then, well' Occurs clause initial, second, or final. (See COYOTE 3, 13, 17.)
- nohkia, no 'also' Occurs clause initial, second, medial, or final. (See COYOTE 18 and HORSE 20 (2), 34, 35, 36.)
- yeka 'for that previously stated reason' Occurs initial or second. (See HORSE 18, 27, 28, 32.)
- teipa 'afterwards' Occurs initial, second, medial, or final in the clause. (See HORSE 14, 15.)
- pero 'but' Spanish loan. (See COYOTE 2, 8, 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4, 11, 18, 24.)
- pampa 'because' Occurs initial or second in clause. (See COYOTE 2, 7 and HORSE 11, 15, 16, 18, 27, 29 (2), 32, 34 (2).)
- yonke 'even though' Occurs initial or second in clause. (See HORSE 24.)
- niyon 'not even' Occurs initial or second in clause.  
 aš neč-maka-k tleno niyon seh točo  
 NEG me-give-PAST anything not:even one stale:tortilla  
 'He didn't give me anything, not even a stale tortilla.'
- ihkino 'so' Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 5, 22, 24, 30, 35, 38.)

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- kehki 'since' Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 11.)  
 maske 'even though' Spanish loan. Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See COYOTE 13.)

### Adverbs

The following adverbs are particles. They occur anywhere in the clause unless otherwise stated.

- isokapa 'quickly' (See COYOTE 3.)  
 tlawel 'really' (See HORSE 1, 27.)  
 nelia 'really' (See COYOTE 1, 2, 8, 13, 20 and HORSE 1, 34.)  
 kana 'anywhere' Occurs only second or medial in a clause that has a negative. (See HORSE 3, 31.)  
 kanaya 'in parts' (See HORSE 11.)  
 k<sup>w</sup>ali 'well' (See HORSE 26.)  
 nika 'here' (See HORSE 21.)  
 ači 'a little' (See HORSE 24.)  
 nima 'right away' (See HORSE 37.)  
 ama 'now' (See HORSE 1, 28.)  
 san 'just, only' Occurs anywhere except final in a clause. (See HORSE 1, 3, 4, 10, 18, 28.)  
 nopano 'over there' (See HORSE 14, 21, 25, 30.)  
 nepa 'there' (See HORSE 7.)  
 sampa 'again' (E) (See HORSE 15, 24, 30, 33, 37.)  
 sempa 'at one time' (E); 'again, at one time' (W)  
 ši-h-tolo ni eyi pastiyas san sempa  
 IMP-it-take these three pills just at:one:time  
 'Take these three pills at one time.'  
 kema 'when' This cannot occur clause final. (See COYOTE 1, 8, 11, 12, 19 and HORSE 35, 36.)  
 weyi 'greatly, well'  
 nopa tlaka-tl tlen weyi koko-tok mih-ki  
 that man-ABS REL well hurt-PRES:PERF die-PAST  
 'That severely injured man died.'  
 waksa 'suddenly'  
 Wan waksa ni-k-ita-k seh kowa-tl  
 and suddenly I-it-see-PAST one snake-ABS  
 'And suddenly I saw a snake.'

Demonstratives

All demonstratives are particles. They occur before the noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASE) or can take the place of the noun. (See also DEMONSTRATIVES.)

- ni 'this, these (visible)' (See COYOTE 10, 11 and HORSE 1, 28.)
- ne 'that (visible)' (See COYOTE 1, 10, 19.)
- nopa 'that (out of sight)' (See COYOTE 2, 3 (2), 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 17 (2), 18 (2), 19 (2), 20 and HORSE 2 (2), 4, 5, 10, 11 (2), 12 (2), 13, 15, 18, 25, 27 (2).)
- ini 'this (emphatic)'
  - ti-h-neki ini
  - you-it-want this
  - 'Do you want this one?'
- ino 'that (emphatic)'
  - kena ino
  - yes that
  - 'Yes, that exact one.'

Relative Markers

Relative markers are particles and occur initial in the subordinate clause they introduce.

- tlen 'who, that' E and W dialects. (See COYOTE 12, 16, 17, 18 and HORSE 2.)
- katli 'who, that' Used only occasionally in the W dialect.
  - ni-h-pan-ti' nopa ama-tl katli ni-h-temo-yaya
  - I-it-pass-CAUS:PAST that paper-ABS that I-it-look:for-PAST:DUR
  - found
  - 'I found that paper that I was looking for.'

Prepositions

Prepositions are particles (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS) and occur initial in the relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES, Relator Axis Phrases.)

- keha 'like, as' (See HORSE 29.)
- asta 'until, to' Spanish loan. (See HORSE 14, 32, 34.)
- para 'for' Spanish loan. (See HORSE 2, 9 (2).)
- kampa 'where' (See HORSE 10, 18, 28.)
- keniki 'as many as'
  - ma ki-čiwa keniki ki-čih-ki ačtowí 'Let him make as many
  - EXHRT it-do as:many it-do-PAST first as he made before.'

Pronouns

The independent singular pronouns are particles. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.)

na	'I' (See COYOTE 8 and HORSE 3, 20, 36 (2).)
ta	'you' (See COYOTE 8, 13, 14, 15.)
ya	'he' (See HORSE 18.)

Polarity Items

The following polarity items are particles.

kena	'yes' (See COYOTE 6.)						
amo	'no' This is both the response to questions and the general negative in the W dialect. It is the hortative and imperative negative in the E dialect. (See COYOTE 7.)						
aštle	'no' This is the response to questions in the E dialect. <table> <tr> <td>ti-ya-s</td> <td>aštle aš ni-ya-s</td> </tr> <tr> <td>you-go-FUT</td> <td>no NEG I-go-FUT</td> </tr> <tr> <td>'Are you going?'</td> <td>'No, I'm not going.'</td> </tr> </table>	ti-ya-s	aštle aš ni-ya-s	you-go-FUT	no NEG I-go-FUT	'Are you going?'	'No, I'm not going.'
ti-ya-s	aštle aš ni-ya-s						
you-go-FUT	no NEG I-go-FUT						
'Are you going?'	'No, I'm not going.'						
aš	'no, not' This is the general negative for the E dialect. (See COYOTE 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4 (2), 8, 11, 13, 15 (2), 16, 18, 27.)						
aš aka	'no one' (E) <table> <tr> <td>aš aka walah-ki</td> <td>'No one came.'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>no:one come-PAST</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	aš aka walah-ki	'No one came.'	no:one come-PAST			
aš aka walah-ki	'No one came.'						
no:one come-PAST							
amo aka	'no one' (W) <table> <tr> <td>amo aka ki-neki</td> <td>'No one wants it.'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>no:one it-want</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	amo aka ki-neki	'No one wants it.'	no:one it-want			
amo aka ki-neki	'No one wants it.'						
no:one it-want							
aš tleno	'nothing' (E) <table> <tr> <td>aš tleno neč-maka-k</td> <td>'He didn't give me anything.'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nothing me-give-PAST</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	aš tleno neč-maka-k	'He didn't give me anything.'	nothing me-give-PAST			
aš tleno neč-maka-k	'He didn't give me anything.'						
nothing me-give-PAST							
amo tleno	'nothing' (W) <table> <tr> <td>amo tleno ki-ilwi</td> <td>'He didn't say anything.'</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nothing it-said</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	amo tleno ki-ilwi	'He didn't say anything.'	nothing it-said			
amo tleno ki-ilwi	'He didn't say anything.'						
nothing it-said							

The following polarity items are a combination of the negative with a clitic. (See Clitics for examples.)

aya	'still not' (E)
ayamo	'still not' (W)
ayok	'no longer' (E) (See COYOTE 2 and HORSE 2, 3, 23, 31.)
ayakmo	'no longer' (W)



### Modals

The following modals are particles:

ma	'let, have, EXHRT'		
	ma	wala-kah	'Let them come.'
	EXHRT	come-IMP:PL	
intla, tla	'if'		
	ni-ya-s	intla ni-weli-s	'I will go if I can.'
	I-go-FUT	if I-able-FUT	

### Clitics

The only two clitics in HN are =ya/a 'already' and =nok/yok/ok 'again'. They count as part of the word for determining penultimate stress. These are found as postclitics on verbs, negatives, time words, and numbers. When they both occur, they occur in the order given. The morpheme =a is found after an s or a k, and the =ya occurs elsewhere. The morpheme =ok occurs after any consonant, the =nok after a, and the =yok after front vowels or h. The two clitics can fuse and show up as =yak (W).

wala-s-eh=ya=nok	'Already they will come again.'
come-FUT-PL=already=again	
walah-ki sampa=ya=nok	'He already came again.'
come-PAST again=already=again	

Compare:

seh	'one'	se=yok	'another one'
sekin	'some'	sekin=ok	'some others'
sekin=ok	walah-ke-h	se=yok	walah-ki
some=again	come-PAST-PL	one=again	come-PAST
'Some others came.'		'Another one came.'	

When clitics occur in the negative, they act differently in each dialect. In the E dialect they are postclitics; the full negative is aš.

a=y=ok	tla-i	'He doesn't drink any more.'
NEG=already=again	UNSPEC-drink	
a=ya	ki-tlaštla-ki	'He hasn't paid him yet.'
NEG=already	him-pay-PAST	

In the W dialect the negative is amo and the clitics go in the middle of the morpheme.

a=ya=k=mo	tla-i	'He doesn't drink any more.'
NEG=already=again=NEG	UNSPEC-drink	
a=ya=mo	ki-tlaštlah-ki	'He hasn't paid him yet.'
NEG=already=NEG	him-pay-PAST	

The morpheme ya 'already' can also occur preceding the verb and other clause constituents. Since it does not change the stress except when it is a postclitic, it is debatable as to whether it is an independent form or a proclitic. There are some verbs that end in -ya (e.g., ilwiya 'to say') that cannot co-occur with postclitic =ya, and the ya= then precedes the verb as a proclitic (see Stem Classes, Class II). The case in the HORSE sentence 8 (ya=tiotlak 'already late') is more debatable but may also be considered a proclitic. This proclitic can occur before any constituent except an introducer. The clitic =ok cannot occur as a proclitic. For other examples of these clitics, see COYOTE 2 (2) and HORSE 2, 3, 8, 16, 20, 23, 30 (2), 31.

### BE/HAVE/DO

The 'be', 'have', and 'do' verbs in HN have very regular stems and tenses. However, they are somewhat irregular as to meaning, limited to certain tenses, and distinguished for animate versus inanimate.

#### BE

The verb eli has two basic meanings. With animate subjects it means 'be' or 'become', but with inanimate subjects it means 'to be located'. The present tense is never used, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (see below) or the stative being preferred.

'Be' or 'become' used of professions:

ki-neki eli-s seh te-pah-tih-ke-tl  
 it-want be-FUT one UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS  
 'He wants to be a doctor.'

noha el-tok seh tla-mač-tih-ke-tl  
 still be-STAT one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS  
 'He is still a teacher.'

'To be located' of an object. The stative, which is the same as present perfect, is always used when you would expect the present.

el-tok e-tl nepa no-mila 'There are beans there in my field.'  
 be-STAT bean-ABS there my-field

el-tok no-tomin i-pan mesah 'My money is on the table.'  
 be-STAT my-money its-place table

The verb tentok 'to be arranged, to be seated' is used with animate and inanimate subjects. The present tense, which should be tento, is never used and is not accepted by native speakers as a possible form. The stative is used as present tense. The same is true of tekpantok 'to be arranged one after the other' and ictok 'to be located'. Observe, however, that the present tense can occur with the imperative prefix.

ten-tok-eh tlaka-meh i-pan saka-tl  
 seated-STAT-PL man-AN:PL its-place grass-ABS  
 'The men are seated on the grass.'

The verb tekpantok 'to be arranged one after the other' is used of objects and people.

tekpān-tok-eh miak ama-tl i-pan biblioteka  
 arranged-STAT-PL many book-ABS its-place library  
 'Many books are in the library in ordered arrangement.'

The verb ictok means 'to be', 'to be located', or 'to be in the state of', and with each meaning it can only occur with an animate subject. The present and past tenses are never used.

With the first meaning of 'to be' or 'to be located' it cannot occur with the general negative aš (E) or amo (W); the verb aš aki (E) or amo aki (W) replaces ictok with this negative meaning (see below).

ic-tok-eh miak tosa-meh i-pan no-mila  
 be-STAT-PL many mole-AN:PL its-place my-field  
 located  
 'There are many moles in my field.'

ic-tok mo-wewe 'Is your husband here?'  
 be:located-STAT your-husband

kena ic-tok 'Yes, he's here.'  
 yes be:located-STAT

When the verb ictok means 'to be in the state of', it may occur with the general negative.

ya=ic-tok k<sup>w</sup>al-i 'He is already all right.'  
 already=be:state-STAT good-ADJR

aš ic-tok k<sup>w</sup>al-i 'He isn't well.'  
 NEG be:state-STAT good-ADJR

With the imperative, the present tense stem icto is used.

š-i-icto i-ka yeh-yek-ci 'Live happily.'  
 IMP-be its-place RDP-pretty-DIM

The verb aš aki (E) or amo aki (W) 'to not be present' are used with animate subjects and only occur with negative sense. aš aki is often used in questions. There is the semantic limitation of first and second persons not being used in present tense, but all persons occur with all other tenses.

aš aki mo-nana aštle aš aki  
 NEG be:here your-mother no NEG be:here  
 'Is your mother here?' 'No, she isn't here.'

ic-tok mo-tata aštle aš aki  
 be:located-STAT your-father no NEG be:here  
 'Is your father here?' 'No, he isn't here.'

The verb *onka* means 'there are in existence' and it is used only with inanimate subjects. There is the semantic limitation of not occurring with imperative, but there are no tense limitations.

*onka pah-tli*  
be medicine-ABS  
'There is medicine.'

*onka miak teki-tl*  
be much work-ABS  
'There is much work.'

The  $\emptyset$  morpheme meaning 'is' is used with animate and inanimate subjects. It always means present tense. The person pronouns can become prefixes on a noun, adjective, or pronoun.

*na ni-tlaka-tl*  
I I-man-ABS  
'I am a man.'

*ya=ti-wey-i*  
already=you-big-ADJR  
'Already you are big.'

*na ni-yahaya*  
I I-he  
'I'm he.'

*weh-ka-pan-ti-k*  
big-place-pass-CAUS-ADJR  
find  
tall  
'He is tall.'

This last is an example of the third person singular  $\emptyset$  occurring on an adjective.

The following have a  $\emptyset$  stative equating the two main constituents.

*Wan seh tlaka-tl*  
PN one man-ABS  
'John is a man.'

*nikani seh k<sup>W</sup>a-wi-tl wey-i*  
here one tree-(?)-ABS big-ADJR  
'Here is a big tree.'

The verb *ewa* 'to originate, be native of' is used only of animate subjects.

*kanke ti-ewa*  
where you-originate

'Where are you from?'

In the verb *mo-\_\_\_\_\_čiwa* 'to become a \_\_\_\_\_', a noun is compounded into the verb stem. It has no tense limitations.

*mo-tata-čih-ki=ya*  
REFL-father-make-PAST=already

'He became a father already.'

*aš weh-ka-wa-s mo-tlaka-čiwa-s*  
NEG big-place-INTRNS-FUT REFL-man-make-FUT  
to be long

'It won't be long before he will become a man.'

## HAVE

The verb *piya* 'to have' is the only verb of this class, and it has not been formed into a derivational suffix.

*ki-piya miak tomin*  
it-have much money

'He has a lot of money.'

ki-piya i-nakas weh-wey-i  
 it-have his-ears RDP:PL-big-ADJR

'He has big ears.'

## DO

The verb čiwa 'to do, to make' can have the initial syllable reduplicated (see STEM, Reduplication) to vary its meaning.

ki-čiwa miak teki-tl  
 it-do much work-ABS  
 'He does a lot of work.'

ki-čih-ki seh tlapeč-tli  
 it-make-PAST one bed-ABS  
 'He made a bed.'

The verb senkawa 'to fix, to make' is often used of a broken object.

ki-sen-kawa-s mo-radio  
 it-one-leave-FUT your-radio  
fix

'He will fix your radio.'

ki-sen-kah-ki seh tla-k<sup>W</sup>a-lis-tli  
 it-one-leave-PAST one UNSPEC-eat-ABSTR-ABS  
 meal

'She fixed a meal.'

The verb k<sup>W</sup>altlali 'to fix up, to put in order' is used to describe the improvement of something.

ti-h-k<sup>W</sup>al-tlali-s to-komun-mili  
 we-it-good-put-FUT our-community-field  
fix

'We will fix up our town's field.'

The verb pano 'to happen to' is identical with 'to happen'.

teč-pano-k miak k<sup>W</sup>esol-i  
 us-happen-PAST much sadness-ABS

'Many sorrows have happened to us.'

## NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Reflexive

The verb prefix mo- can be either reflexive or reciprocal, but we label it reflexive consistently. The following are examples of the reflexive use:

ni-mo-tlati' 'I burned myself.'  
I-REFL-burned

ti-mo-ita-s-eh i-pan teska-tl 'We will see ourselves in the mirror.'  
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL its-place glass-ABS

The following are examples of the reciprocal use:

ti-mo-ita-s-eh mostla 'We will see each other tomorrow.'  
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL tomorrow

mo-maki-li-s-eh 'They will hit each other.'  
REFL-hit-APPLIC-FUT-PL

The reflexive has also been reanalyzed as part of the stem of some verbs (see INCORPORATION). This reanalysis can be clearly seen when such a stem occurs with a reflexive prefix.

aš mo-mok<sup>W</sup>itlawi-s 'He will not take care of himself.'  
NEG REFL-take:care-FUT

'Myself,' 'himself', etc. are expressed by the reflexive.

mo-mik-tih-ki 'He killed himself.'  
REFL-die-CAUS-PAST

'My own', 'his own', etc. are expressed by an independent pronoun with or without the relative pronoun tlen.

i-tlak<sup>W</sup>ilol ya 'his own writing.'  
his-writing he

ki-ita-k yahaya i-čiči 'He saw his own dog.'  
it-see-PAST he his-dog

ki-ita-k tlen yahaya i-čiči 'He saw his own dog.'  
it-see-PAST REL he his-dog

The 'by myself', 'by himself', etc. concepts that speak of a figurative location (i.e., responsibility) are expressed by inflections of selti (from seh 'one') or by an independent pronoun.

ni-h-čih-ki no-selti 'I did it by myself.'  
I-it-do-PAST my-self

na ni-h-čih-ki na 'I did it by myself.'  
I I-it-do-PAST I

The 'by myself', 'by himself', etc. concepts that speak of a literal location are expressed only by inflections of selti.

ic-tok	i-selti	'She lives alone (by herself).'
be-STAT	her-self	

### Passive

There is no true passive in HN, but an indefinite subject 'they' is sometimes used to express a passive idea.

seh	to-tlayi	ki-mik-tih-tok-eh	'They killed a man.'/ 'A man was murdered.'
one	<u>our-uncle</u>	him-die-CAUS-PRES-PL	
	a man	PERF	

A few verbs use the reflexive to express the passive.

ši-mo-k <sup>W</sup>	a-a-lti	'Baptize yourself.'/ 'Be baptized.'
IMP-REFL	head-water-VR	

Neither of these methods of expressing a passive is used very frequently; an indefinite subject usually expresses a passive idea.

### Unspecified Objects

There are two unspecified object prefixes in HN; they cannot co-occur with the direct and indirect object markers except on those verbs (discussed under INCORPORATION) where these unspecified objects have been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, and the verb cannot occur without them. (For order see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

The morpheme tla- 'non-human unspecified object' is used very frequently.

tla-k <sup>W</sup>	ah-ki	'He ate.'
UNSPEC	eat-PAST	

The morpheme te- 'human unspecified object' is used less than tla- and has been reanalyzed less frequently as part of the verb stem.

te-ikneliya	'He loves people.'
UNSPEC	love

### Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -ke 'agent' plus the absolutive -tl.

te-teki-panoh-ke-tl	'servant'
<u>UNSPEC-work-pass-AG-ABS</u>	
serve	

tla-mač-tih-ke-tl	'teacher'
<u>UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS</u>	
teach	

te-pah-ti-ke-tl 'doctor'  
 UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS  
 treat

A very few nouns are formed by a verb plus -loni 'instrument'.

tla-teki-loni 'knife, machete'  
 UNSPEC-work-INSTR  
 cut

tla-tama-čiwa-loni (W) 'balance, scale, measure'  
 UNSPEC-size-make-INSTR  
 measure

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -yo ABSTR plus the absolutive -tl. Many of these have -ka before the -yo. This -ka may be related to the agent suffix -ke or to the verb ka 'be' of classical Nahuatl. Here we somewhat arbitrarily gloss it 'be'.

tlasotla-ka-yo-tl 'love'  
 love-be-ABSTR-ABS

tla-copel-ka-yo-tl 'fruit'  
 UNSPEC-sweet-be-ABSTR-ABS

k<sup>W</sup>al-tla-ka-yo-tl 'favor'  
 good-UNSPEC-be-ABSTR-ABS

te-ikneli-ka-yo-tl 'pity'  
 UNSPEC-love-be-ABSTR-ABS  
 to pity



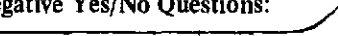
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Positive and negative yes/no questions display two kinds of intonation. When the answer is really unknown and a yes or a no answer is equally probable, a level intonation that rises gradually until it reaches its peak on the last syllable is used. When the conversation has already given a clue as to what the answer will be, the intonation rises sharply and reaches its peak and then lowers rapidly. In such cases a negative yes/no question expects a negative answer, and a positive yes/no question, a positive answer.


Negative Yes/No Questions:

aš ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s  
NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT



'Don't you want to buy it?'  
(Implied: I don't know if you do or not.)

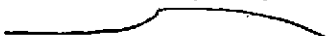
aš ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s  
NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT



'Don't you want to buy it?'  
(Implied: You are saying you don't want to buy it?)

This second type of question is often preceded by wahka 'then, therefore'.


wahka aš ti-h-neki ya-s  
then NEG you-it-want go-FUT



'Then you don't want to go?'  
(Implied: You already implied you don't, but here's another chance to change your mind.)


Positive Yes/No Questions:

ti-ya-s  
you-go-FUT



'Are you going?'  
(Implied: I don't know if you are or not.)

teki-ti  
work-VR



'Is he working?'  
(Implied: You are saying he's working.)

Yes/No Answers:

The answer to a yes/no question is usually followed by a restatement of the question.

aštle aš ni-h-neki ni-h-kowa-s  
no NEG I-it-want I-it-buy-FUT

'No, I don't want to buy it.'

kena teki-ti  
yes work-VR

'Yes, he's working.'

Alternative Questions

Alternative questions have a rising intonation that peaks on the last syllable of the first alternative and then falls rapidly on the second alternative.

yahaya seh tla-mač-tih-ke-tl o seh  
he one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS or one  
teach

te-pah-tih-ke-tl  
UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS  
treat

'Is he a teacher or a doctor?'

Tag Questions

The tag is aške 'isn't that true'. The first part of the question functions as a positive yes/no question and can have either type of intonation. But the tag can only have rising intonation and is always after the main question.

\_\_\_\_\_ k<sup>w</sup>ali aške  
hosé teki-ti

\_\_\_\_\_  
hosé teki-ti k<sup>w</sup>ali aške  
PN work-VR well true

'Joe works well? Isn't that true?'

WH Questions

The question word occurs first in a clause. There may be a rising intonation on the question word but not elsewhere.

ahkeya 'who'

ahkeya ki-koh-ki nopa kal-i  
who it-buy-PAST that house-ABS

'Who bought that house?'

kehaca 'how'

kehaca ti-ic-tok  
how you-be-STAT

'How are you?'

kenikaca 'in what way, how'

kenikaca yah-ki k<sup>w</sup>ah-tla  
what:way go-PAST sparrow:hawk-place

'In what way did he go to Cuajtla?'

tlački 'what'

tlački ti-h-neki  
what you-it-want

'What do you want?'

kanki, kanke 'where'	
kanki ti-yah-ki where you-go-PAST	'Where did you go?'
kema 'when'	
kema kis-ki when leave-PAST	'When did he leave?'
keski 'how many'	
keski ti-h-neki how:many you-it-want	'How many do you want?'
katlia 'which one'	
katlia teki-ti mas k <sup>W</sup> ali which:one work-VR more well	'Which one works the best?'
tlen 'which, what'	
tlen tonal ti-h-toh-ki what day you-it-plant-PAST	'What day did you plant it?'
para tlen 'why'	
para tlen aš yah-ki for what NEG go-PAST	'Why did he not go?'
ahkeyawante 'who are they'	
ahke-yawante nopa israelitas who-they those Israelites	'Who are those Israelites?'
ika tlački 'with what'	
i-ka tlački ki-mik-ti' its-with what it-die-CAUS:PAST	'With what did he kill it?'
ahkeya i- 'whose'	
ahkeya i-ča who his-house	'Whose house is that?'

WH words preposed from subordinate clause:

tlački ki-ihto [ki-čiwa-s] what it-said it-do-FUT	'What did he say he would do?'
tlački ti-mo-ilwiya [ti-h-toka-s] what you-REFL-say you-it-plant-FUT think	'What do you think you will plant?'

## IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

The imperative ši- comes before the verb and substitutes for the second person subject marker. When the command is to plural subjects, the verb has a suffix -kah that is used only with imperative and hortative constructions. (See OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE for order.)

ši-ya	mo-ča	'Go home!'
IMP-go	your-home	
ši-neč-tla-kaki-kah		'You all listen to me.'
IMP-me-UNSPEC-hear-IMP:PL	listen to	

Negative Imperatives

The negative imperative is amo for the E dialect, which is the same as the negative that the W dialect uses exclusively.

amo	ši-neč-istlakati	'Don't lie to me.'
NEG IMP-me-lie		
amo	ši-ya-kah	'Don't you all go.'
NEG IMP-go-IMP:PL		

Modal Imperatives

The modal imperative is ma and it cannot co-occur with the imperative ši-. The particle ma comes before the negative. It carries the meaning of the permissive 'let' or the exhortative 'have'. The subject of modal imperatives is first or third person.

ma	wala	'Have him come.'
EXHRT	come	
ma	ni-h-čiwa	'Let me do it.'
EXHRT	I-it-do	

When the subject is plural, the imperative plural suffix -kah is the marker.

ma	ti-ya-kah	'Let's go.'
EXHRT	we-go-IMP:PL	

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ci 'diminutive', -cici PL:

kone-ci child-DIM	'a little child' (3 or 4 years old)
miak kone-cici many child-DIM:PL	'many little children' (3 or 4 years old)

The morpheme pil 'little' can be affixed as a prefix or a suffix or as both.

pil-kone-ci little-child-DIM	'baby' (less than 6 months old)
siwa-pil woman-little	'girl' (up to 14 years old)
pil-siwa-pil <u>little-woman-little</u> girl	'little girl' (up to 4 years old)

A noun plus an absolutive -tl, -tli, or -li (l → Ø after l) form most nouns.

tlaka-tl man-ABS	'man'
tepos-tli metal-ABS	'a thing of metal'
komal-i griddle-ABS	'griddle' (for cooking tortillas)

Perhaps -mitl is an absolutive in its entirety instead of just the -tl on these words. We cannot identify the -mi and it drops off when the word is possessed as the absolutive does. It represents a large group of words. Note the following examples:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Possessed</u>	
komitl	'water pot'	no-ko	'my water pot'
tlamapamitl	'hall, eve'	no-tlamapa	'my eve, my outside hall'
yoyomitl	'cloth'	no-yoyo	'my cloth, my clothes'
tlaišpamitl	'altar'	no-tlaišpa	'my altar'

Many nouns are formed by a noun plus a postpositional. (See Postpositions for a more complete listing.)

a-pa water-place	'spring, well'
kal-ika house-behind	'behind the house'
mil-teno field-edge:of	'edge of the field'

A noun plus -meh 'person from, inhabitant of' forms a noun.

k <sup>W</sup> atla-meh	'people from Huautla'
Huautla-people:from	
tlaltekpa-meh	'humans, people of the world'
earth-people:from	

In the E dialect a noun plus a plural suffix -meh 'animate plural', -tinih 'inanimate plural', or  $\emptyset$  'inanimate plural' forms a noun.

tlaka-meh (E & W)	'men'
man-AN:PL	
kal-tinih (E)	'houses'
house-INAN:PL	

The absolutive is not dropped when the plural  $\emptyset$  is used.

tlapeč-tli (E & W)	'beds'
bed-ABS	

In the W dialect the plural marker -meh is inanimate or animate. The -tinih is not used and there are very few  $\emptyset$  plurals.

kal-meh (W)	'houses'
house-PL	

### PRED + X = N

Many nouns are formed by a verb or adjective plus -lis 'abstract' plus the absolutive -tli, which always comes after a consonant.

paki-lis-tli	'happiness'
happy-ABSTR-ABS	
čikawa-lis-tli	'power'
strong-ABSTR-ABS	
tla-sewi-lis-tli	'peace'
UNSPEC-rest-ABSTR-ABS	
koko-lis-tli	'sickness'
hurt-ABSTR-ABS	

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus the absolutive -tli, -tl, or -li.

k <sup>W</sup> alan-tli	'anger'
be:angry-ABS	
wika-tl	'song'
sing-ABS	
tla-k <sup>W</sup> a-li	'food'
UNSPEC-eat-ABS	
tla-čiwa-li	'deed, act'
UNSPEC-do-ABS	

Some nouns are formed by an adjective (a noun plus an adjective marker) plus an absolutive. (See ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY.)

k<sup>W</sup>a-titla-mitl 'forest'  
wood-CHAR:BY-ABS  
 woody

saka-titla-mitl 'grass lands'  
grass-CHAR:BY-ABS  
 grassy

For nouns derived by -ke AG, -loni INSTR, and -yo ABSTR, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments.

### VERB MORPHOLOGY

#### N + X = V

Various verbalizing suffixes are used: -ti, -tiya, -wiya, -owa (perhaps to be analyzed further as -ti, -ti(y)a, -wi(y)a, and -o(w)a). Semantically they cluster around the senses 'make, cause, get'. (Cf. NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Causative.)

teki-ti	kama-ti
work-VR	mouth-VR
'to work'	'to talk'
mo-aška-tiya	teki-wiya
your-possession-VR	work-VR
'to cause it to be your own'	'to use'
mo-soki-wiya	tlaškal-owa
REFL-mud-VR	tortilla-VR
'to get dirty'	'to make tortillas'
kamanal-owa	
word-VR	
'to speak'	

## ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

In the language as it is spoken today, the stem of most adjectives cannot be identified. They are adjectives in form and function. All adjectives can function as stative verbs or as modifiers of the head in a noun phrase. (See NOUN PHRASE.)

For a complete treatment, see ADJECTIVES.

N + X = ADJ

Nouns plus an adjective marker (see ADJECTIVES) form an adjective.

kama-wak	te-tik
mouth-ADJR	rock-ADJR
'humid'	'hard'
te-yo	soki-titla
rock-ADJR	mud-CHAR:BY
'rocky'	'muddy'

V + X = ADJ

Verbs plus an adjective marker form an adjective.

tlatekiwiya	tlatekiwi-li
'He uses things.'	use-ADJR
	'used'
tlapani	tlapan-keca
'It breaks.'	break-ADJR
	'breakable'

Adverbs

The following adverbs are derived from adjectives. They do not change in form, but the function changes from that of modifying a noun to modifying a verb.

k <sup>w</sup> al-i	'good' ADJ	'well' ADV	
aš	teki-ti	k <sup>w</sup> ali	'He doesn't work well.'
NEG	work-VR	well	
šika-wak	'strong' ADJ	'fast' ADV	
šikawak	motlallowa		'He runs fast.'
fast	run		
nelia	'true' ADJ	'really' ADV	
nelia	ki-mati	miak	'He really knows a lot.'
really	it-know	much	



There are very few adverbs that aren't derived from adjectives; they include:

iyolik	'slowly'	waksa	'suddenly'
isokapa	'quickly'	tlawel	'very'

## COMPOUNDS

### Noun Compounds

Noun compounds are used so extensively in HN that the following types are likely not exhaustive. All compounds are very closely bound phonologically. The absolutive drops on all except the word-final noun.

#### N + N = N

piyo-pah-tli	'chicken medicine'
chicken-medicine-ABS	

$N_1$  is used for or in place of  $N_2$ . The chicken is used for, or in place of, medicine. The chicken is offered as a sacrifice on the hill to appease the spirit, and the patient is thus cured.

tepos-meka-tl	'wire'
metal-rope-ABS	

$N_2$  is made of  $N_1$ .

tlaškal-yoyo-mitl	'cloth for tortillas'
tortilla-cloth-ABS	

$N_2$  is made for  $N_1$ .

kowa-k <sup>w</sup> ečma	'rattlesnake'
snake-rattle	

$N_2$  describes  $N_1$ .

okič-čiči	'male dog'
male-dog	

$N_1$  describes/modifies  $N_2$ .

tlaltekpā-tlaka-tl	'human'
earth-man-ABS	

$N_2$  is located at  $N_1$ .

tio-pan-kal-i	'church'
god-place-house-ABS	

$N_1$  is located at  $N_2$  or  $N_2$  is for  $N_1$ .

šoči-mili 'garden'  
 flower-milpa  
 N<sub>2</sub> is made up of N<sub>1</sub>.

## N + N + N = N

ma-keč-kos-tli 'bracelet'  
 hand-neck-necklace-ABS

tepos-wic-meka-tl 'barbed wire'  
 metal-thorn-rope-ABS

## N + N + N + N = N

tok-sin-owa-kal-i 'house of corn stalks'  
 plant-corn-cane-house-ABS

## N + N + V = N

tio-čikawal-nešti-li 'miracle'  
 god-power-show-ABS

## ADJ + N = N

to-wei-teko 'our Lord'  
 our-big-boss

## ADJ + N + N = N

oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči 'jackrabbit'  
 grey-wood-rabbit

## NEG + ADJ + N = N

aš-k<sup>W</sup>al-tlaka-tl 'the devil'  
 NEG-good-man-ABS

## NUMR + N = N

čikon-tepe-k 'seven hills'  
 seven-hill-place

There are some nouns that are both compounds and postpositional expressions because the morpheme functioning as a postposition is a complete noun. (See also PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS.)

kal-ihti-k 'inside the house'  
 house-stomach-place

Verb Compounds

Verb compounds are used extensively in HN. They are all closely bound phonologically. The following examples do not likely exhaust the types.

**MOD + V = V**

ki-k <sup>W</sup> al-tlali it-good-put	'He fixes (puts good) it.'
ki-sen-kawa it-one-leave	'He fixes (leaves one) it.'
ki-weyi-čiwa him-big-make	'He praises him.'
ki-iyoka-tlali it-apart-put	'He separates it.'
nel-k <sup>W</sup> alani really-be:mad	'He really gets mad.'

**N + V = V**

a-tla-k <sup>W</sup> i-ti water-UNSPEC-bring-go N is OBJ of V.	'She will go get water.'
mo-yol-k <sup>W</sup> ep-ki REFL-heart-turn:around-PAST N is SUBJ of V.	'He repented.'
piyo-pah-tiya chicken-medicine-VR treat N is instrument of V.	'He treats with a chicken.'
mo-siya-kawa REFL-chair-leave N is location of V.	'to rest'
mil-tekiti field-work N is location of V.	'He does field work.'
es-kisa blood-leave N is SUBJ of V.	'He is bleeding.'
išik-tlašikowa feet-tire N is SUBJ of V.	'The feet are tiring.'

mec-tona  
moon-shine

N is SUBJ of V.

ki-tio-čiwa  
him-god-do

N is model of V.

a-miki  
water-die

(Lack of) N is cause of V.

tlatlakol-eh-ki  
sin-be:born-PAST

V is characterized by N.

'The moon is shining.'

'He blesses him (does like God).'

'He is thirsty.'

'He was born characterized by sin.'

V + V = V

ki-pa-kaki  
it-happy-hear

ki-ma-kištiya  
it-save-take.out

wal-temo  
come-lower

ki-k<sup>w</sup>a-s-neki  
it-eat-FUT-want

ki-noca-ti-wala  
him-call-CONN-come

ni-wala-ti-weci  
I-come-CONN-fall

ni-tlakowa-ti-ya-s  
I-buy-CONN-go-FUT

ni-h-čiwa-ti-nemi  
I-it-do-CONN-walk

'He likes to hear it.'

'He saves by taking out.'

'He comes while lowering (from heaven).'

'He wants to eat it.'

'He calls as he comes.'

'I come for a minute.'

'I buy as I go./'I go and buy.'

'I habitually do it.'

P + V = V

pan-kisa  
on-leave

'It breaks out (as boils, pimples, rash).'

N + N + N = V

ni-k<sup>w</sup>a-ič-yoli  
I-head-cotton-seed  
get white

'I am getting white-headed.'

NOUN PHRASES

There is a great difference between noun phrases (NP) heard in everyday conversation or seen in texts and the length and complexity of NP that can be elicited. In the following NP types comments will be made about those where the expansions are seldom used.

Adjective Phrase

The adjective phrase (AP) occurs in the modifier slot of a general noun phrase (GNP), a possessed noun phrase (PNP), a name noun phrase (NNP), an additive noun phrase (ANP), or a stative sentence. It has a maximum of four positions in its expansion:

NEG	INTNS	DEGREE	ADJ	
aš	nelia	weyi	šok <sup>W</sup> eci	'not really greatly crippled'
NEG	really	big	crippled	

The INTNS and ADJ are the limit of the expansion of the AP when it occurs in a GNP that has other pre-noun constituents.

General Noun Phrase

The general noun phrase (GNP) is characterized by a noun head and its modifiers. It occurs as the subject, object, indirect object, or locative of a clause. It has five subtypes (described below). This formula describes the order of its possible constituents:

INTNS LIMITER QNT DEM NUMR AP<sub>1</sub> N AP<sub>2</sub> RAP<sub>1</sub> CNJ RAP<sub>2</sub> . . .

nelia san sekin nopa mahtlak-tli yank<sup>W</sup>i-k kalendaris  
 really just some those ten-ABS new-ADJR calendars  
 'really just some of those ten new calendars'

ne wey-i tlaka-meh k<sup>W</sup>a-k<sup>W</sup>al-ci tlen walah-ki méhiko  
 that big-ADJR man-AN:PL RDP-good-ADJR REL come-PAST Mexico  
 'those big good men who came from Mexico'

ne čiči yayawi-k tlen šok<sup>W</sup>e-ci Wan tlen k<sup>W</sup>ek<sup>W</sup>e-ci  
 that dog black-ADJR REL crippled-ADJR and REL small-ADJR  
 'that small, black, crippled dog'

In texts the GNP is limited to three constituents before the noun, and only rarely do AP<sub>1</sub> and AP<sub>2</sub> both occur. When two qualities of a noun are being discussed, one occurs as AP<sub>1</sub> or AP<sub>2</sub> and the other in a relator axis phrase (RAP) introduced by the relative subordinator tlen. More than two descriptive constituents can occur. The adjectives that occur in AP<sub>1</sub> are usually k<sup>W</sup>ali 'good' and weyi 'big'. Other adjectives are preferred after the noun.

ne wey-i kal-i tlen čipa-wak 'that big white house'  
 that big-ADJR house-ABS REL white-ADJR

Possessed Noun Phrase

The possessed noun phrase (PNP) is a subtype of the GNP. All pre-noun constituents are the same, but the head is a possessed noun and a possessor nominal may occur after it. If there are no pre-head constituents other than the demonstrative, the possessor NP can occur before the head. If the possessor NP occurs after the head, AP<sub>2</sub> can't occur. Very seldom is there a pre-head element when the possessor NP occurs.

ne	eyi	nelia	yehyek-ci	i-kali-wa	hosé
those	three	really	pretty-ADJR	his-house-POSSD	PN
DEM	NUMR	AP		HEAD	POSSR

'those three really pretty houses of Joe'

Examples found in texts are usually restricted to HEAD + POSSR or HEAD + AP<sub>2</sub>. These occur more frequently than any pre-head constituent except the DEM.

ne	i-kone	Wan		'that child of John'
that	his-child	PN		
i-ča	yehyek-ci			'his pretty house'
his-house	pretty-ADJR			

The possessor is manifested by a GNP; however either the head or the possessor GNP is limited in complexity when they co-occur.

ne	eyi	čiči-meh	ne	wey-i	tlaka-tl
those	three	dog-AN:PL	that	big-ADJR	man-ABS

'those three dogs of that big man'

Pronoun Phrase

The pronoun phrase (PP) is another subtype of the GNP. It is characterized by a pronoun head and the absence of AP.

san	eyi	imoWanti		'just three of you'	
just	three	you:PL			
nelia	miak	yaWanti	tlen	yayawi-k	'really a lot of them that are black'
really	many	they	REL	black-ADJR	

Demonstrative Phrase

The demonstrative phrase (DP) is a subtype of the GNP characterized by a pointer constituent, a head manifested by a DEM, and by the absence of any other demonstrative or modifier constituent.

INTNS	LIMITER	QNT	NUMR	POINT	DEM	RAP
noči	ya	ni	tlen	čičil-tik		
all	POINT	DEM	REL	red-ADJR		

'all this that is red'

Name Noun Phrase

The name noun phrase (NNP) is a subtype of GNP characterized by two obligatory heads that have *itoka* 'named; called' either stated or implied between them. The first head can have SNP, APNP, or any type of GNP manifesting it. The second head is manifested most commonly by a name but can also be manifested by any GNP except DP.

nopa wey-i tla-nawa-tih-ke-tl itoka dabid  
 that big-ADJR UNSPEC-rule-CAUS-AG-ABS called PN  
 'that big ruler named David'

Additive Noun Phrase

The additive noun phrase (ANP) is a GNP characterized by an obligatory additive constituent with *mas* 'more'. The *mas* can occur on either side of the head, replacing an AP.

miak mas kone-meh k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>e-ci 'many more small children'  
 many more child-AN:PL small-ADJR  
 eyi tlaka-meh mas 'three men more'  
 three man-AN:PL more

Series Noun Phrase

The series noun phrase (SNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by three obligatory constituents, a head, a CNJ, and a second head. Either or both heads may be manifested by an AP, APNP, or any type of GNP. These can be preceded by other optional heads; the maximum found in texts is four.

sin-tli žankaka e-tl Wan žil-i  
 corn-ABS panela bean-ABS and pepper-ABS  
 'corn, panela, beans, and peppers'

Apposition Noun Phrase

The apposition noun phrase (APNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by two obligatory heads occurring contiguously that are in apposition one to the other. The heads are manifested by locative expressions, temporal expressions, SNP, or any type of GNP. The second head can be manifested by a relative clause introduced by *tlen*.

imoWanti tata-meh nana-meh telpoka-meh iřpoka-meh  
 you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL fellow-AN:PL young-AN:PL  
 lakiř-pil-meh siwa-pil-meh ři-walah-kah lady  
 male-DIM-AN:PL woman-DIM-AN:PL IMP-come-IMP:PL  
 boy girl  
 'You all—fathers, mothers, fellows, young ladies, boys, girls—come!'

no-wewe tlen imo-teko 'my husband, your PL boss'  
 my-husband REL your:PL-boss

### Relator Axis Phrase

Relator axis phrases (RAP) have as relator the relative marker tlen or katli, a preposition or a postposition on a noun, or possessor pronoun plus postposition functioning as a preposition-type unit (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS). They divide themselves into subtypes on the basis of where they occur in the clause and whether their axis can be a NP, a clause, or either.

### Locative Phrase

The locative phrase (LP) functions as the locative constituent of the clause. Its relators include: i-pan 'in, on', asta 'to', i-tekpak 'above', kampa 'where', kanke 'where', tla-cin-tla 'below', and yawaltik 'around'. The axis can be any GNP, a SNP, an AP, a RAP, or a locative expression. The relator kanke can also take a clause as its axis.

i-pan noči ni to-tlal 'in all this our land'  
 its-place all this our-land

kanke in-ic-toya 'where you all were'  
 where you:PL-be-PAST:PERF

### Temporal Phrase

The temporal phrase (TP) occurs in the time position of a clause. The relators include i-pan 'in, on', para 'for', asta 'til', and keha 'like'. The axis of a TP may be a temporal expression, a GNP, a NP, a SNP, or an APNP with a time word as head. asta 'til' can have a clause as axis.

i-pan eyi tonati (W) 'in three days'  
 its-place three day

### Associative Phrase

The associative phrase (ASP) has a possessor pronominal prefix with the postposition -ka as its relator and has as axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause. It occupies the manner position of the clause.

i-ka ne seki=nok 'with those others'  
its-with those some=again  
 with

i-ka seh wey-i mačete 'with a big machete'  
 with one big-ADJR machete

i-ka tlen ki-maka-k 'with what he gave him'  
 with REL him-give-PAST



**Objective Phrase**

The objective phrase (OP) occupies the subject or object position of a clause or the RAP of a DP. The relators include tlen 'who, that, about', katli 'who, that', and tlački 'what'. The axis is AP, SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause.

ni-h-temiki' tlen žikomeh wakaš-meh  
 I-it-dreamed about seven cow-AN:PL  
 'I dreamed about seven cows.'

neč-pak-ti' tlen ki-žih-ki  
 me-happy-CAUS:PAST REL it-do-PAST  
 pleased  
 'What he did pleased me.'

**Comparative Phrase**

The comparative phrase (CP) has relators that include kenike 'as many as', kenikaca 'like', and keha 'like', and as its axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause. It can occur as object if kenike is the relator. Otherwise it occurs as manner or comparative constituent of the clause.

ši-h-kowa iWikal kenike ti-h-koh-ki žikweyi-ya  
 IMP-it-buy same as:many you-it-buy-PAST eight-ago  
 'Buy the same amount as you bought last week.'

ni-h-walika-k seh keha ti-h-neki  
 I-it-bring-PAST one like you-it-want  
 'I brought one like you want.'

**Benefactive Phrase**

The benefactive phrase (BP) can have para 'for' or a possessor pronoun prefix with the postposition -pampa 'because of' as its relator. The axis is SNP, APNP, or any GNP. The BP occurs as benefactive of the clause.

para no-siwa 'for my wife  
 for my-wife

no-pampa na 'because of me'  
 my-because I

**Purpose Phrase**

The purpose phrase (PURP) has para 'for' as relator and a clause as axis and occurs in the purpose constituent of the clause.

neč-maka-k para ti-h-wika-s 'He gave it to me for you to take.'  
 me-give-PAST for you-it-take-FUT

## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Nouns in HN are not inflected for nominative, accusative, or genitive.

Absolutive

The absolutives are -tl, which occurs after vowel-final stems; -tli, which occurs after consonant-final stems; -li, which occurs after all l-final stems (the l of the absolutive becomes  $\emptyset$  after l), and on nouns derived from verbs; -ci 'diminutive'; and  $\emptyset$ . Many nouns end in -mitl, of which the -tl is clearly an absolutive and the -mi is unidentifiable: yoyo-mi-tl 'cloth'. When a word ending in -mitl is possessed, the entire syllable drops off instead of just the -tl: no-yoyo 'my clothes'. Therefore we are considering -mitl an absolutive. The few nouns that end in -yitl also drop the entire ending when possessed: k<sup>w</sup>eyitl 'skirt', no-k<sup>w</sup>e 'my skirt'. Nouns that end in -witl are numerous; however, only some of them drop the entire ending when possessed: k<sup>w</sup>awitl 'tree', no-k<sup>w</sup>a 'my tree'; šiwitl " 'erb', no-šiw 'my herb'. These require further study.

tlaka-tl	man-ABS	'man'	tla-iš-pa-mitl	UNSPEC-face-place-ABS	'altar'
mec-tli	leg-ABS	'leg'	komal-i	griddle-ABS	'griddle'
tla-k <sup>w</sup> a-li	UNSPEC-eat-ABS	'food'	kone-ci	child-ABS	'child'

The absolutive drops when the noun is inflected. In compounds the absolutive drops on all non-final nouns. Only the -i of the -li absolutive drops for possession and postpositions, but the -li remains when Class I plurals are added.

no-tlaka	'my man'	no-tlaišpa	'my altar'
no-mec	'my leg'	no-komal	'my griddle'
no-tlak <sup>w</sup> al	'my food'	no-kone	'my child'

Plural

In the E dialect the nouns divide themselves into five classes on the basis of their plural. Class I includes all animate nouns (that do not have -ci when singular), and they occur with -meh 'animate plural'. Class II end in -ci 'diminutive absolutive' in the singular and form their plural by reduplication of the absolutive, yielding -cici 'diminutive plural'. Class III are inanimate nouns that are pluralized by suffixing -tinih 'inanimate plural'. Class IV are inanimate nouns that are identical in singular and plural, that is to say, they suffix  $\emptyset$ . Class V consists of animate nouns that are derived from verbs and that end in -ke-tl (AG-ABS). They either form their plural by dropping the entire -ketl and adding -ni (after vowels) or -ani (after consonants),

or they drop only the absolutive and add -meh. Notice in the examples below that Class I, III, and IV do not have any particular absolutive that characterizes them. The absolutive -li does not drop before -meh is added.

Singular

Plural

**Class I** -meh

tlaka-tl	tlaka-meh	'man'
totol-i	totol-i-meh	'turkey'
tekpi-mitl	tekpi-meh	'flea'
pesoh-tli	pesoh-meh	'tejon'
pico	pico-meh	'pig'

**Class II** -cici

ayoh-ci	ayoh-cici	'turtle'
tata-ci	tata-cici	'priest'
pil-k <sup>W</sup> a-ci	pil-k <sup>W</sup> a-cici	'little tree'

**Class III** -tinih

tepe-tl	tepe-tinih	'hill'
kal-i	kal-tinih	'house'
macah-tli	macah-tinih	'pineapple'
k <sup>W</sup> aco-mitl	k <sup>W</sup> aco-n-tinih	'stump'
lalaš	lalaš-tinih	'orange'

**Class IV** -∅

šoči-tl	šoči-tl	'flower'
tlapeč-tli	tlapeč-tli	'bed'
yoyo-mitl	yoyo-mitl	'cloth'
tlak <sup>W</sup> a-li	tlak <sup>W</sup> a-li	'food'

**Class V** -(a)ni / -meh

kokoš-ke-tl	kokoy-ani	'sick person'
	kokoš-ke-meh	
tlamačti-ke-tl	tlamačtiy-ani	'teacher'
	tlamačti-ke-meh	

The W dialect uses -meh for animate and inanimate nouns. They do not have the plural -tinih. They have the plurals that characterize Class I, II, IV, and V, but the members of each class differ some from the members in the E dialect.

kal-tinih	kal-tinih	E	'houses'
	kal-meh	W	'houses'
	ayoh-cici	E	'turtles'
	ayoh-meh	W	'turtles'

The animate plural -meh also occurs on some quantifiers and numerals. (See QUANTIFIERS and NUMERALS.)

noči-meh	čikwase-meh
all-AN:PL	six-AN:PL
'all of them'	'six living things'

### Vocative

The vocative form can occur on a few nouns, changing the final vowel to e, and can optionally change the stress to the final syllable.

nana	'mother'	nané	'woman!'
tata	'father'	taté	'father!'

## POSSESSIVES

### Possessor Markers

	<u>Singular Possessor</u>	<u>Plural Possessor</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	mo-	(E) imo-, (W) amo-
3P	i-	in-, inin-, ini-

The possessor prefixes occur initially on the noun or postposition. The three third person plural forms are identical in meaning. The absolutive always is dropped when the possessive is added.

### Possessed Markers

The vast majority of singular possessed items are unmarked. Singular nouns that are derived from verbs by the agentive -ke-tl are marked with -ka when possessed.

tlamačtiya	'He teaches.'
tlamačtih-ke-tl	'teacher'
no-tlamačtih-ka	'my teacher'

In the E dialect, singular nouns that end in h, and are only one syllable long when the absolutive is dropped, add -wi when possessed.

pah-tli	'medicine'
no-pah-wi	'my medicine'

In the W dialect, singular nouns that end in h when the absolutive is dropped add -wi when possessed regardless of the number of syllables.

macah-tli	'pineapple'
no-macah-wi	'my pineapple'

All plural items that are possessed add -wa after dropping the absolutive.

tlaka-tl	'man'
no-tlaka	'my man'
no-tlaka-wa	'my men'
komal-i	'griddle'
no-komal	'my griddle'
no-komal-wa	'my griddles'

Nouns that end in -ke-tl 'agent' when unpossessed retain the -ka and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

tlamačtiya	'he teaches'
tlamačtih-ke-tl	'teacher'
no-tlamačtih-ka	'my teacher'
no-tlamačtih-ka-wa	'my teachers'

Plural nouns in the E dialect that end in h and are one syllable long after the absolutive is dropped retain the -wi from the singular possessed form and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

oh-tli	'road'
no-oh-wi	'my road'
no-oh-wi-wa	'my roads'

Plural nouns in the W dialect that end in h after the absolutive is dropped add the -wa 'plural possessed object', replacing the -wi 'singular possessed object'.

oh-tli	'road'
no-oh-wi	'my road'
no-oh-wa	'my roads'

Possessed words can be marked for inalienability by -yo/-o, but are not marked for alienability.

naka-tl	'meat'
no-naka-yo	'my flesh'
es-tli	'blood'
no-es-o	'my blood'

The plural -wa is not commonly used when the -yo is used, but if it is, the order is -yo-wa.

no-omi-yo-wa	'my bones'
my-bone-INAL-POSSD:PL	

### Syntax

The possessed noun may be the head of a noun phrase, forming a possessed noun phrase (PNP) (see NOUN PHRASES). The possessor noun may be the head of a general noun phrase (GNP). When these come together, just the heads usually occur, and either order is acceptable.

Wan i-nana 'John's mother'  
 PN his-mother

i-nana Wan 'John's mother'  
 his-mother PN

If the POSSD NP is first and is expanded, the GNP indicating the possessor may not be expanded.

ne yehyek-ci i-kamanal to-teko 'that pretty word of God'  
 that pretty-DIM his-word our-boss

If the POSSD NP is first and is not expanded, the possessor head of the GNP may be modified, causing discontinuity.

ini-čiči-wa ne eyi siwa-meh 'those three women's dogs'  
 their-dog-POSSD:PL those three woman-AN:PL

If the GNP indicating POSSR is first, the POSSD NP can only be expanded after the head.

ne eyi siwa-meh inin-čiči-wa wey-i  
 those three woman-AN:PL their-dog-POSSD:PL big-ADJR  
 'those three women's big dogs'

There is often recursion.

i-čiči i-ikni no-awi 'my aunt's brother's dog'  
 his-dog her-brother my-aunt

Reflexive possessive is marked by a bound possessor and an independent pronoun with an optional tlen REL preceding it.

no-čiči (tlen) na 'my own dog'  
 my-dog REL I

### Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronoun is very common and is always possessed: -aška, aška-wa. It occurs as subject or object or in a stative sentence.

no-aška yah-ki 'Mine went.'  
 my-possession go-PAST

ni-k-ita-k no-aška-wa 'I saw my things.'  
 I-it-see-PAST my-possession-POSSD:PL

ni čiči no-aška 'This dog is mine.'  
 this dog my-possession

It can also be inflected as a verb.

mo-aška-tih-ki 'He took possession of it.'  
 REFL-possession-VR-PAST

Spanish loans are possessed as other nouns.

mesah	'table'
no-mesah	'my table'
no-mesah-wa	'my tables'

### Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

All kinship terms, body parts, and a limited group of other nouns are always possessed.

no-awi	'my aunt'
no-ma	'my hand'
no-ča	'my house'

## PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

### Prepositions

Prepositions are independent words and occur as relator to a relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

asta	'to, until'
para	'for'
kampa	'where'
yawaltik	'around'
keha	'like'
wehka	'far from'
nečka	'near to, close to'
kenike	'as many'

ni-motlaloh-ki asta mo-ča 'I ran to your house.'  
I-run-PAST to your-house

ki-mik-ti' seh piyo para imoWanti 'He killed a chicken for you all.'  
it-die-CAUS:PAST a chicken for you:PL

ši-h-tlali kampa pwerta 'Put it at the door.'  
IMP-it-put where door

el-tok a-tl yawaltik no-ča 'There is water around my house.'  
be-STAT water-ABS around my-house

ni-čiš-ki miak keha yaWanti 'I waited a lot like they (did).'  
I-wait-PAST many like they

yah-ki wehka i-tlal 'He went far from his land.'  
go-PAST far:from his-land

ic-tok-eh tokon-cici nečka no-mila 'There are tejones close to my field.'  
be-STAT-PL tejon-PL close:to my-field

ma ki-čiwa-kah iWikal kenike i-miak-a adobes  
 EXHRT it-make-EXHRT:PL same as:many its-many-POSSD:PL adobes  
 'Have them make the same number of adobes.'

### Postpositions

Postpositions are suffixed to the end of possessor pronoun prefixes or a noun. They may occur with any possessor pronoun prefix, but the third person singular is most frequently used. Postpositions may function as the relator of relator axis phrases, and the possessor prefix is a pronoun copy of the head of the axis and agrees in person and number. (See NOUN PHRASES:)

#### Postpositions that occur with possessor pronoun prefixes:

-waya	'with'
-pa, -pan	'on, in'
-ka	'with'
-pampa	'because of'
-cala	'underneath, among'
-teki	'in place of'
-cin-tla	'below'
-con-pak	'above'
-neč-ka	'beside'
-ika	'behind'
-teno	'beside, against'
-iš-ko	'top of'

yahaya yah-ki inin-waya i-ikni-wa  
 he go-PAST their-with his-brother-POSSD:PL  
 'He went with his brothers.'

ni-h-kah-teh-ki i-pan ne tlapeč-tli  
 I-it-leave-leaving-PAST its-place that bed-ABS  
 'I left it on that bed.'

ki-koh-ki i-ka i-tomi ya  
 it-buy-PAST its-with his-money he  
 'He bought it with his own money.'

yahaya mih-ki no-pampa na  
 he die-PAST my-because I  
 'He died for me.'

ni-h-pintar-o i-cala ne mesah  
 I-it-paint-VR:PAST its-bottom that table  
 'I painted the underneath of the table.'

teki-ti-s i-pan no-teki na  
 work-VR-FUT its-place my-place I  
 'He will work in place of me.'



wec-ki i-cin-tla ne siya  
 fall-PAST its-bottom-place that chair  
 'It fell below that chair.'

ki-temo-wi-k-eh i-con-pak hesós  
 him-lower-TRNS-PAST-PL his-head-place PN  
 'They lowered him above Jesus' head.'

ki-panti' i-neč-ka ne k<sup>w</sup>awi-tl  
 it-found its-near-place that tree-ABS  
 'He found it beside that tree.'

ic-toya seh čiči no-ika  
 be-PAST:PERF one dog my-behind  
 'There was a dog behind me.'

ki-ita-k i-teno nopa altepe-tl  
 it-see-PAST its-beside that town-ABS  
 'He saw it at the edge of that town.'

seh miš-tli ki-cah-ki nopa tepe-tl i-iš-ko  
 one cloud-ABS it-close-PAST that hill-ABS its-face-place  
 'A cloud covered the top of that mountain.'

#### Simple postpositions that can occur with nouns.

-teno	'outside of, edge'
-cala	'among'
-ika	'behind'
-tla	'at, place'
-teč	'corner of'
-ko	'place'
-ka	'place' (on special verbs and adverbs)
-pa	'place'

After the absolutive drops, the postpositions are added to nouns and the entire noun can then be possessed. Possessor prefixes alone indicate possession, but possessed suffixes are never added.

el-tok kal-teno 'It is outside.'  
 be-STAT house-outside

ši-h-tlali no-kal-teno 'Put it outside my house.'  
 IMP-it-put my-house-outside

ki-tlali-to aka-cala a-ten-tli 'She put him among the reeds at the edge  
 him-put-went reed-among water-edge-ABS of the water.'

ni-h-kah-teh-ki kal-ika 'I left it behind the house.'  
 I-it-leave-leaving-PAST house-behind

amo ši-ya ne soki-tla 'Don't go to that muddy place.'  
 NEG IMP-go that mud-place

ši-h-tlali no-kal-teč 'Put it in the corner of my house.'  
 IMP-it-put my-house-corner

ti-mo-panti-k-eh nepa a-mel-ko 'We met at the spring.'  
 we-REFL-find-PAST-PL there water-spring-place

-ka on verbs (not derived from -ketl):

eyi metro i-wehkah-ka 'Its length is three meters.'  
 three meter its-far-place

ši-h-čiwa i-k<sup>W</sup>a-ca-ka 'Make its roof.'  
 IMP-it-do its-head-close-place

**Complex postpositions that can occur with nouns:**

-ihti-k	'inside of'	(stomach-place)
-cin-tla	'below'	(bottom-place)
-ma-pa	'hand of'	(hand-place)
-con-pak	'above'	(head-place)
-iš-pa	'front of'	(face-place)
-iš-ko	'top of'	(face-place)
-tla-teno	'edge of'	(place-side)
-tla-pa	'place'	(place-place)

mo-neki seh piso tio-pan-kal-ihti-k  
 REFL-want a floor god-place-house-stomach-place  
 'A floor is needed inside the church.'

ne médiko ki-tlačilih-ki i-nakas-ihti-k  
 that doctor it-look-PAST his-ear-stomach-place  
 'That doctor looked inside his ear.'

koč-ki k<sup>W</sup>a-cin-tla 'He slept below the tree.'  
 sleep-PAST tree-bottom-place

ni-teki-ti-yaya i-kal-ma-pa 'I was working under the eave of his house.'  
 I-work-VR-PAST:DUR his-house-hand-place

ki-tleko-k kal-con-pak 'He climbed above the house.'  
 it-climb-PAST house-head-place

mo-keca-yaya no-kal-iš-pa 'He was standing in front of my house.'  
 REFL-stand-PAST:DUR my-house-face-place

ne barko neh-nen-ki a-iš-ko 'That boat walked on top of the water.'  
 that boat RDP-walk-PAST water-face-place

ni-yah-ki a-tla-teno 'I went to the edge of the water.'  
 I-go-PAST water-place-side

ki-koko-wa i-k<sup>W</sup>i-tla-pa 'His back hurts.'  
 him-hurt-TRNS his-dung-place-place

Notice that this postposition is attached to a verb, miki 'to die'.

aš	ya-s	mik-tla	'He won't go to hell.'
NEG	go-FUT	die-place	

### DEMONSTRATIVES

ni	'this'	(in sight)
ne	'that'	(in sight, more distant)
nopa	'that'	(out of sight)
ini	'this'	(emphatic, in sight)
ino	'that'	(emphatic, in sight)
ya ni	'this'	(emphatic, in sight)
ya ne	'that'	(emphatic, in sight)
ya nopa	'that'	(emphatic, out of sight)
ahkeya	'who, which'	(question word)
imoWanti	'you all'	

Demonstratives indicate proximal and distal contrasts, visible and invisible, and emphasis. The emphatic form is the third person singular subject pronoun, occurring with the simple demonstratives. Demonstratives precede the head noun, and nothing outside the noun phrase can occur between the demonstrative and the head noun. A numeral and a modifier can optionally occur between the demonstrative and the head noun (see NOUN PHRASES). Demonstratives are not inflected.

ši-h-wika	ni	ama-tl	'Take this paper.'	
IMP-it-take	this	paper-ABS		
ni-h-wika-s	ne	ama-tl	'I will take that paper.'	
I-it-take-FUT	that	paper-ABS		
nopa	wey-i	kal-i	tlatla-k	'That big house burned.'
that	big-ADJR	house-ABS	burn-PAST	
ini	siwa-pil-meh	owi-k-eh	'These little girls are difficult (to these woman-DIM-AN:PL difficult-ADJR-PL handle).'	
kena	ino	tlaka-tl	'Yes, that man.'	
yes	that	man-ABS		
ino	tlaka-tl	tlawilan-ki	' <u>That</u> is the man that fought.'	
that	man-ABS	fight-PAST		

The emphatic demonstratives more commonly stand alone replacing the head of a general noun phrase (GNP).

ni-h-koh-ki	ya ni	'I bought <u>this</u> .'
I-it-buy-PAST	<u>it</u> <u>this</u>	
	<u>this</u> :EMPH	

aš ni-h-neki ya ne 'I don't want that.'  
 NEG I-it-want it that  
                                   that:EMPH:VIS

ni-h-kah-teki ya nopa 'I left that.'  
 I-it-leave-left it that  
                                   that:EMPH:INVIS

They can also modify a noun head.

ni-h-neki ya ni komal-i 'I want this griddle.'  
 I-it-want it this comal-ABS  
                                   this:EMPH

Other things that function like demonstratives:

ahke-ya tlaka-tl yah-ki 'Which man went?'  
 which-he man-ABS go-PAST

imoWanti siwa-meh ši-tlašpana-ti-h tiankis  
 you:PL woman-AN:PL IMP-sweep-go-PL plaza  
 'You all women go sweep the plaza.'

### ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adverbial demonstratives are not inflected or modified.

nikani (E)	'here' (in sight)
nika (W)	'here' (in sight)
nepa	'there'
neka	'over there'
nopano (E)	'there' (emphatic)
nopona (W)	'there' (emphatic)
keha ni	'in this manner' ('like this')
keha ne	'in that manner' ('like that')
keha nopa	'in that manner' ('as discussed')
ama	'now'
amanci	'right now'
wahka	'then'
kanke	'where' (question word)
kehaca	'how' (question word)
kema	'when' (question word)

ši-h-tlali nikani (E) 'Put it here.'  
 IMP-it-put here

ni-walah-ki nika yalowa (W) 'I came here yesterday.'  
 I-come-PAST here yesterday

kena ni-yah-ki nepa yes I-go-PAST there		'Yes, I went there.'
ši-h-kalaki neka kal-ihti-k IMP-it-enter over:there house-stomach-place		'Put it over there inside the house.'
nikani 'Here?' here	kena nopano (E) yes there	'Yes, there.'
nika 'Here?' here	kena nopona (W) yes there	'Yes, there.'
ši-h-čiwa keha ni IMP-it-do like this		'Do it like this.' (visible proximal)
amo ši-h-čiwa keha ne NEG IMP-it-do like that		'Don't do it like that.' (visible distal)
ni-h-senkah-ki keha nopa I-it-fix-PAST like that		'I fixed it like that.' (in the manner discussed but not seen)
walah-ki ama come-PAST now		'He came now (this day).'
aman-ci ši-ya mo-ča now-DIM IMP-go your-home		'Go home right now.'
ki-koh-ki seh ači tlal-i Wan wahka ki-čih-ki i-ča it-buy-PAST a little land-ABS and then it-make-PAST his-home		'He bought land, and then he made his home.'
kanke in-yah-k-eh yalwaya where you:PL-go-PAST-PL yesterday		'Where did you all go yesterday?'
kehaca ti-k-i-k mo-pah-wi how you-it-take-PAST your-medicine-POSSD		'How did you take your medicine?'
kema mih-ki mo-kone when die-PAST your-child		'When did your child die?'

### QUANTIFIERS

#### Morphology

Quantifiers are generally not inflected; however some can occur with a clitic, a possessor pronoun prefix, or a plural suffix.

miak	'many, much, most'
noči	'all'
seh seh	'each'
seh ome	'some' (inanimate)
san	'only'
sekin	'some' (animate)

ači		'a little'
noči-pa		'always' (all-place)
keski		'how many' (question word)
miak wakaš-meh		'many cows'
many cow-AN:PL		
noči yaWanti		'all of them'
all they		
seh seh imoWanti		'each one of you'
one one you:PL		
seh ome lalaš		'some oranges'
one two orange		
san ne ama-tl		'just that paper'
just that paper-ABS		
sekin siwa-pil-meh		'some girls'
some woman-little-AN:PL		
ači tomi		'a little money'
a:little money		
ti-ic-tos-eh	para nočipa	'We will live forever.'
we-be-FUT:DUR-PL	for always	
keski lalaš	ti-h-neki	'How many oranges do you want?'
how:many orange	you-it-want	

All quantifiers can be negated with aš (or amo (W)) occurring before them.

aš miak tlaka-meh	walah-k-eh	'Not many men came.'
NEG many man-AN:PL	come-PAST-PL	

Some quantifiers can occur with the clitic =ok 'again'.

sekin=ok		'others of a different class'
some=again		
ači=yok		'some more'
a:little=again		
keski=yok		'how many others'
how:many=again		

The quantifier noči can occur with the animate plural -meh.

noči-meh	mih-k-eh	'Everyone (living) died.'
all-AN:PL	die-PAST-PL	



sekin ne	mahtlak-tli tlaka-meh	'some of those ten men'
some those ten-ABS	man-AN:PL	
sekin tlen imoWanti		'some of you'
some of you:PL		

## NUMERALS

Elements

se	one
ome	two
eyi	three
nawi	four
mak <sup>w</sup> i-li	five
čik-wa-seh	six (five-and-one)
čik-ome	seven (five-two)
čik-w-eyi	eight (five-and-three)
čik-nawi	nine (five-four)
mahtlak-tli	ten
mahtlak-tli wan seh	eleven (ten and one)
kašto-li	fifteen
kašto-li wan seh	sixteen (fifteen and one)
sempwa-li	twenty

Morphology

The numerals 'five', 'ten', 'fifteen', and 'twenty' have an absolutive that only drops before -meh animate plural. 'Five' mak<sup>w</sup>i-li comes from 'hand' (no-ma 'my hand'); afterward čik means 'five'. 'Twenty' is sem-pwali 'one count'.

Numerals can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes, animate plural -meh, -ya 'ago', the clitic =ya 'already', =ok 'again, more', -pa 'times', -kak 'place', -ci/-cici 'just'.

Any numeral can occur with a subject prefix.

ti-ome-h		'We are two.'	
we-two-PL			
ti-ome-h	ti-yah-k-eh	'We two went.'	
we-two-PL	we-go-PAST-PL		
in-nawi	ši-ya-kah	nepa	'You four go there.'
you:PL-four	IMP-go-IMP:PL	there	



The numerals 'five', 'six', and 'ten' can occur with animate plural suffix *-meh*. These occur when the referent is known, and the numeral becomes the head of the noun phrase.

mak<sup>W</sup>il-meh walah-k-eh 'Five (living things) came.'  
 five-AN:PL come-PAST-PL

ic-tok-eh san čik-wa-seh-meh 'There are just six (living things).'  
 be-STAT-PL just five-and-one-AN:PL

The numerals 'eight' and 'fifteen' can be inflected with *-ya* '(days) ago'. When they occur in the time position of the clause with *-Ø*, they mean 'days from now'.

čik-we-yi-ya ni-yah-ki čikon-tepek  
 five-and-three-ago I-go-PAST seven-hill  
 'Eight days ago (a week ago) I went to Chicontepec.'

kašto-li-ya tlakat-ki no-kone  
 fifteen-ABS-ago be:born-PAST my-child  
 'My child was born two weeks ago.'

ni-ya-s čik-w-eyi 'I will go a week from now.'  
 I-go-FUT five-and-three

ni-h-tlami-s kašto-li 'I will finish it in fifteen days.'  
 I-it-end-FUT fifteen-ABS

Numerals occurring with the clitic *=ya* 'already':

ki-piya ome=ya i-kone-wa 'He already has two children.'  
 it-have two=already his-child-POSSD:PL

Numerals can occur with the clitic *=ok* 'again, more' (see *Clitics*).

se=yok 'another'  
 one=again

mak<sup>W</sup>i-li=yok lalaš 'five more oranges'  
 five-ABS=again orange

Numerals occurring with *-pa* 'times' have various meanings.

ši-h-tolo ni ome san sem-pa 'Swallow these two at the same time.'  
 IMP-it-swallow these two just one-time

sam-pa ši-wala 'Come again.'  
 one-time IMP-come

We are considering *sam* to be 'one' because some speakers use *sampa* to mean 'again' and 'at the same time'. Other speakers divide them as the examples do. The word for 'just' is *san*. The W dialect uses *sempa* to mean 'again' and 'at the same time'.

ši-h-tolo seh pastiya eš-pa 'Take one pill three times a day.'  
 IMP-it-swallow one pill three-time

ya=om-pa ni-walah-ki 'Already I came twice.'  
 already=two-time I-come-PAST

Numerals with -kak 'places':

seh mačete tlen tla-teki on-kak 'a two-edged sword'  
 one machete that UNSPEC-cut two-place

ni-yah-ki eš-kak 'I went three places.'  
 I-go-PAST three-place

Limited numerals:

seh-ci 'just one'  
 one-DIM

omen-ci-ci 'just two'  
 two-RDP-DIM

eyi-ci-ci 'just three'  
 three-RDP-DIM

The initial CV is reduplicated or the initial vowel is reduplicated with an h after it to show distribution.

se-sen-ci-ci 'one by one'  
 RDP-one-RDP-DIM

oh-ome-ci-ci 'two by two'  
 RDP-two-RDP-DIM

eh-eyi-ci-ci 'three by three'  
 RDP-three-RDP-DIM

The suffix -pa on a numeral indicates an ordinal in the numerals 'two' and upward. The numeral 'one' has a completely different ordinal form, ačtowi 'first'.

ačtowi 'first'

i-om-pa-ka=ya 'second time'  
 its-two-time-place=already

i-eš-pa-ka=ya 'third time'  
 its-three-time-place=already

ne tlaka-tl ačtowi 'that first man'  
 that man-ABS first

ne i-om-pa tlaka-tl 'that second man'  
 that its-two-time man-ABS

ne i-eš-pa tlaka-tl 'that third man'  
 that its-three-time man-ABS

The numerals seh 'one' and ome 'two' are often used with special significance.

i-sel-ti		'alone, by himself'
his-one-VR		
ki-maka-k	seh sen yaWanti	'He gave it to each one of them.'
him-give-PAST	one one them	
noči ome yaWanti yah-ki		'Both of them went.'
all two they	go-PAST	
seh-ko		'together'
one-place		
san eyi tlaka-meh		'just three men'
just three man-AN:PL		

Numerals compounded with nouns for place names:

čik-on-tepe-k		'seven hills (Chicontepec)'
five-two-hill-place		

### Syntax

Numerals occur after the demonstrative and before the modifier and noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

ne eyi wey-i tlaka-meh		'those three big men'
those three big-ADJR	man-AN:PL	

Numerals can act as the head of the noun phrase.

noči eyi yah-ki		'All three went.'
all three go-PAST		
eyi tlen imoWanti		'three of you'
three of you:PL		

## ADJECTIVES

### Adjective Markings

Adjectives consist of a stem plus an adjective marker. The adjective markers are -k, -tik, -wak, -ci, -li, -tok, -ka, -wa, -yo, -i (after l and y), -titla, and -keca. Some of these can be inflected for plural.

The suffix -k occurs after vowel-final adjective stems and -tik occurs after consonant-final stems or single-syllable stems. These adjectives add -eh for plural.

seh wupal-i	weweya-k	'a long plank'
one plank-ABS	long-ADJR:(SG)	

miak wapal-i weweya-k-eh 'many long planks'  
 many plank-ABS long-ADJR-PL

Other adjectives with these markers include:

alaš-tik, alaš-tik-eh 'smooth'  
 cilin-tik, cilin-tik-eh 'hard, solid' (as oak)  
 te-tik, te-tik-eh 'hard' (as rock)  
 rock-ADJR rock-ADJR-PL

We are considering -wak a marker in its entirety instead of considering just the -k of these adjectives as the marker. Adjectives marked with -wak suffix -eh for plural. Compare the following with the words that are marked by -k.

tila-wak, tila-wak-eh 'thick'  
 patla-wak, patla-wak-eh 'wide'  
 kama-wak, kama-wak-eh 'humid'

Adjectives marked with -ci are pluralized by reduplicating the -ci to form -cici. These forms are identical to the diminutive that occurs on nouns (see NOUN MORPHOLOGY).

seh ičpoka-tl yehyek-ci 'a pretty girl'  
 one girl-ABS pretty-ADJR  
 miak ičpoka-meh yehyek-ci-ci 'many pretty girls'  
 many girl-AN:PL pretty-RDP:PL-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -ci include:

kokoške-ci, kokoške-ci-ci 'thin'  
 k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>e-ci, k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>e-ci-ci 'small'

Adjectives with -li are identical for singular and plural. They consist of tla + VERB + li (UNSPEC:OBJ + V + ADJR).

ki-namaka yoyo-mitl tla-teki-wi-li 'He sells used clothes.'  
 it-sell cloth-ABS UNSPEC-work-VR-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -li include:

tla-kowi-li 'bought'  
 UNSPEC-buy-ADJR  
 tla-sen-kawi-li 'fixed'  
 UNSPEC-one-leave-ADJR  
 fix

Adjectives marked with -tok add -eh to form -tokeh for plural. This is the present perfect or stative form of the verb, but on many verbs this form functions as an adjective.

wakiya		'It is drying.'
seh tlal-i	wak-tok	'a dry land'
one land-ABS	dry-ADJR	

Other adjectives with the marker -tok, and the verbs they are derived from, include:

tlapani		'It is breaking.'
tlapan-tok		'broken'
šoloni		'It is getting wet.'
šolon-tok		'wet'

Adjectives marked with -ka are identical for singular and plural.

cocotla-ka	ne nek-tli	'That honey is sticky.'
sticky-ADJR	that honey-ABS	

tla-popo-ka	i-kal-ihnik	moh-mostla
UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR	his-house-inside	<u>RDP-tomorrow</u>
		daily

'It's always smoky inside his house.'

Only a few adjectives are marked with -wa. The singular and plural forms are identical.

tla'ala-wa	ni soki-tl	'This mud is slippery.'
slippery-ADJR	this mud-ABS	

Adjectives marked with -yo are identical in singular and plural.

soki-yo	noči ni yoyo-mitl	'All these clothes are dirty.'
mud-ADJR	all these cloth-ABS	

Other adjectives with the marker -yo include:

te-yo		'rocky'
rock-ADJR		
pok-yo		'smoked'
smoke-ADJR		

Only a few adjectives are marked with -i after l and y. The plurals of these are formed by reduplicating the initial CV or by reduplicating the CV and adding h.

ni-h-koh-ki	seh čamaro tlen k <sup>w</sup> al-i	'I bought a good jacket.'
I-it-buy-PAST	one jacket REL good-ADJR	

ya	wey-i mo-kone	'Your child is already big.'
already big-ADJR	your-child	

ne	k <sup>W</sup> ah-k <sup>W</sup> al-i	siwa-meh	'those good women'
those	RDP:PL-good-ADJR	woman-AN:PL	
sekin	weh-wey-i	tlaka-meh	'some big men'
some	RDP:PL-big-ADJR	man-AN:PL	

The suffix *-titla*, which is only locative in other dialects, has predominantly an adjectival function in HN. However, in town names it has retained its older locative function, and occasionally in other occurrences.

yah-ki	k <sup>W</sup> a-titla	'He went to the woods.'	(locative)
go-PAST	wood-place		
nepa	nelia	k <sup>W</sup> a-titla	'There it is really woody.'
there	really	wood-CHAR:BY	(adjectival)

The word *k<sup>W</sup>atitla* is used in either a locative or an adjectival sense. However, the other examples given below only carry the adjectival sense. The locative for these words is expressed by the morpheme *-tla: saka-tla* 'a place of grass', *soki-tla* 'a place of mud', *a-tla* 'a place of water'. Compare these with the examples below.

ti-teki-ti-s-eh	kampa	saka-titla
we-work-VR-FUT-PL	where	grass-CHAR:BY
'We will work there where it is grassy.'		

tlawel	soki-titla	ama
really	mud-CHAR:BY	today
'It is really muddy today.'		

ti-h-toka-h	arós	kampa	a-titla
we-it-plant-PL	rice	where	water-CHAR:BY
'We plant rice where it is watery.' (refers to water in a big area above ground)			

To see how *k<sup>W</sup>atitla* and *sakatitla* function with the absolutive suffix, see NOUN MORPHOLOGY.

The adjective marker *-keca* is identical for singular and plural. It is suffixed to some verb stems and is like our *-able* suffix in English.

tlapan-ki		'It broke.'
ne	komi-tl	tlapan-keca (W)
those	pot-ABS	break-ADJR
'Those pots are breakable.'		
tlan-ki	i-teki	'His work ended.'
finish-PAST	his-work	
tlan-keca	lalaš (W)	'Oranges are seasonal.'
finish-ADJR	orange	

Color Terms

All color terms are marked by either -k or -tik, but some differ as to the animate and inanimate plural with which they occur. Some color words always have reduplication. The adjective marker -k or -tik is the singular form for animate or inanimate, or it is the plural inanimate form. For the plural animate, the suffix -eh is added.

nopa siwa-meh ki-piya inin-yoyo šošowi-k  
 those woman-AN:PL it-have their-clothes green-ADJR  
 'Those women have green dresses.'

nopa šošowi-k-eh siwa-meh  
 those green-ADJR-AN:PL woman-AN:PL  
 'those green ladies' (dressed in green at the hospital)

Other color words that always have reduplication include:

yayawi-k	'black'
čičil-tik	'red'

Some color words have reduplication of their initial CV to form an inanimate plural and also form the animate plural by adding -eh to the marker. The reduplication optionally occurs with this animate plural form.

no-k<sup>W</sup>e žipawa-k 'My skirt is white.'  
 my-skirt white-ADJR

ni či-či pawa-k pastiyas 'these white pills'  
 these RDP:PL-white-ADJR pills

to-kone-meh žipawa-k-eh 'our white children'  
 our-child-AN:PL white-ADJR-AN:PL

miak enfermeras či-žipawa-k-eh 'many white nurses'  
 many nurses RDP:PL-white-ADJR-AN:PL

Other color words that form their plurals in the same way include:

kos-tik	'yellow'
čokoš-tik	'grey'
morado-tik (Spanish loan)	'purple'
kafen-tik (Spanish loan)	'brown'
asul-tik* (Spanish loan)	'blue'

Color words that begin with the morpheme iš- or iša-, which means 'light, pale', reduplicate the first CV of the stem for their inanimate plural form.

ne šoči-tl iša-kos-tik 'that light yellow flower'  
 that flower-ABS light-yellow-ADJR

\*The word asultik 'blue' reduplicates its first vowel and adds h making ahasultik for inanimate plural.

miak	šoči-tl	iša-ko-kos-tik	'many light yellow flowers'
many	flower-ABS	light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR	
miak	tlaka-meh	iša-kos-tik-eh	'many light yellow men' (Orientals)
many	man-AN:PL	light-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL	
miak	tlaka-meh	iša-ko-kos-tik-eh	'many light yellow men'
many	man-AN:PL	light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL	

Other color words that begin with *iš-* or *iša-* include:

<i>iš-macah-tik</i>	'pink'
<i>iša-kili-tik</i>	'light orange'

### Morphology

Some adjectives always have reduplication.

weweyak	'long'
cocotlaka	'sticky'
cocoltik	'soft'
sosoltik	'old'
yehyekci	'pretty'
totonik	'hot'

Most adjectives consist of an adjective stem and an adjective marker. That is to say that the stem cannot be recognized as having been derived from another source. Of the adjectives discussed above in this section, the following roots can be identified:

RDP + ADJ STEM + ADJR = ADJ

we-weya-k	'long'
-----------	--------

N + ADJR = ADJ

te-tik	(rock-ADJR)	'hard'
te-yo	(rock-ADJR)	'rocky'
soki-yo	(mud-ADJR)	'dirty'
soki-titla	(mud-ADJR)	'muddy'
k <sup>W</sup> a-titla	(tree-ADJR)	'woody'
saka-titla	(grass-ADJR)	'grassy'
a-titla	(water-ADJR)	'watery'
kama-wak	(mouth-ADJR)	'humid'
popo-ka	(smoke-ADJR)	'smoky'

N + N + ADJR = ADJ

k <sup>W</sup> a-te-tik	(head-rock-ADJR)	'dumb'
-------------------------	------------------	--------

V + ADJR = ADJ

tlán-keca	(finish-ADJR)	'seasonal'
tlapan-keca	(break-ADJR)	'breakable'
wak-tok	(dry-ADJR)	'dry'



tlapan-tok (break-ADJR)	'broken'
šolon-tok (wet-ADJR)	'wet'
alaš-tik (smooth-ADJR)	'smooth'

UNSPEC + V + ADJR = ADJ

tla-kowi-li (UNSPEC-buy-ADJR)	'bought'
tla-senkawi-li (UNSPEC-fix-ADJR)	'fixed'
tla-popo-ka (UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR)	'smoked'

The adverb nelia 'really' can be compounded into an adjective.

nel-čipawak	'really white'
nel-yehyekci	'really pretty'
nel-k <sup>W</sup> ali	'really good'

Some nouns can be compounded.

k<sup>W</sup>a-čo-čokoš-tik            ne    siwa-tl            'That woman is grey-headed.'  
 head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR    that    woman-ABS

k<sup>W</sup>a-čo-čokoš-tik-eh            ne    tlaka-meh  
 head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR-AN:PL    those    man-AN:PL  
 'Those men are grey-headed.'

### Syntax

Adjectives may occur before and/or after the head noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES) or as the predicate in a stative clause. An adjective can occur as subject or object when it is the axis of the relator tlen 'that which is', which makes the adjective the predicate of a stative clause.

seh k<sup>W</sup>al-i            okič-pil            'a good boy'  
 one good-ADJR    boy-DIM

ne wey-i            tlaka-tl    šok<sup>We</sup>-ci            'that big crippled man'  
 that big-ADJR    man-ABS    crippled-ADJR

neč-pak-tiya\*            tlen    čipawa-k            'The white one pleases me.' / 'I like the  
me-happy-CAUS    REL    white-ADJR            white one.'  
 please

ši-neč-maka    tlen    yehyek-ci            'Give me the pretty one.'  
 IMP-me-give    REL    pretty-ADJR

yehyek-ci            ne    kal-i            'That house is pretty.'  
 pretty-ADJR    that    house-ABS

\*-pak-tiya is the only verb we have found that can have an adjective as subject.

Adjectives can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes.

ni-we-wen-ci		'I am old (with years).'
I-RDP-old-ADJR		
ti-wey-i		'You are big.'
you-big-ADJR		

When the third person  $\emptyset$  morpheme occurs as subject, the form is identical with the adjective that is predicate of a stative clause.

toma-wak		'He is fat.'
tomato-ADJR		
toma-wak	no-kone	'My child is fat.'
tomato-ADJR	my-child	

Adjectives are negated by the occurrence of the general negative aš (E) or amo (W) before them.

aš	tla-tekiwi-li	(E)	'It isn't used.'
NEG	UNSPEC-use-ADJR		
amo	tlapan-keca	(W)	'It isn't breakable.'
NEG	break-ADJR		

Only one adjective can occur before and after the head without a tlen (see NOUN PHRASES). When more adjectives are in sequence, the relator tlen must be used before them.

ni-k-iš-mati	se	tlaka-tl	tlen	nelia	koto-ci	tlen	nelia	toma-wak
I-it-face-know	a	man-ABS	REL	really	short-DIM	REL	really	tomato-ADJR
Wan	tlen	nelia	k <sup>w</sup> al-i					
and	REL	really	good-ADJR					
'I know a man that is very short, very fat, and very good.'								

## COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

The 'more...than' type of comparative is mas, borrowed from Spanish. It is often used in a construction with tlen 'than'. The tlen usually occurs after the dimension compared, but may occur before the mas in a relative construction. It can be negated with the aš (amo W dialect) occurring before the mas.

## Comparison of Adjectives:

Wan mas wey-i (tlen raul) 'John is bigger (than Raul).'  
PN more big-ADJR than PN

Wan tlen mas wey-i 'John is he that is bigger.'  
PN than more big-ADJR

Wan aš mas k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>e-ci tlen raul 'John isn't smaller than Raul.'  
PN NEG more small-ADJR than PN

## Comparison of Quantities:

yahaya ki-piya mas tomi 'He has more money.'  
he it-have more money

ic-tok-eh mas okič-pil-meh tlen siwa-pil-meh  
be-STAT-PL more male-little-AN:PL than woman-little-AN:PL  
'There are more boys than girls.'

yahaya ki-piya mas žikawa-lis-tli 'He has more power.'  
he it-have more strength-ABSTR-ABS

## Comparison of Verbs:

yahaya tekiti mas tlen Wan 'He works more than John.'  
he work more than PN.

(Notice the verb tekiti cannot be repeated after Wan.)

## Comparison of Adverbs:

yahaya ki-čiwa mas aš k<sup>w</sup>ali tlen na 'He does worse than I do.'  
he it-do more NEG well than I

Full comparison need not be given.

yahaya tekiti mas iyolik 'He works slower.'  
he work more slow

The comparison (i.e. item after tlen) can be a noun or an embedded clause if the clause does not contain a repetition of the main verb. If the verb in the subordinate clause is a repetition of the main verb, it is omitted.

yahaya mas wekapan-tik tlen Wan 'He is taller than John.'  
 he more tall-ADJR than PN

yahaya mas wehwey-i tlen i-patla-ka i-tlapeč  
 he more long-ADJR than its-wide-POSSD his-bed  
 'He is longer than his bed's width.'

With two items in mind, you can make a 'more...than' comparison by stating a positive and negative. This may be more Aztec than the mas...tlen borrowed idea.

wey-i Wan aš wey-i raul  
 big-ADJR PN NEG big-ADJR PN  
 'John is big.' 'Raul isn't big.'

The comparative mas may be the head of the noun phrase.

ni-h-neki mas 'I want more.'  
 I-it-want more

The mas can be modified by ači 'a little' or miak 'a lot'.

neč-maka-k miak mas tlen yalwaya 'He gave me a lot more than yesterday.'  
 me-give-PAST lot more than yesterday

ama ači mas tla-seseya 'It is colder today.'  
 today little more UNSPEC-cold

The 'less...than' idea is expressed by kenci tlen.

mic-maka-k kenci tlen yalwaya 'He gave you less than yesterday.'  
 you-give-PAST little than yesterday

kenci also occurs as head of the GNP.

mic-maka-k kenci 'He gave you a little bit.'  
 you-give-PAST little

### Comparisons of Equality

The 'as...as' type construction obligatorily has a form of 'like'. Sometimes iWikal 'the same' is used before it for emphasis. There seems to be little difference in the speaker's mind between the first two examples below.

ši-h-čiwa i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya  
 IMP-it-do its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday  
 'Make as many adobes as yesterday.'

ši-h-čiwa iWikal keniki i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya  
 IMP-it-do same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday  
 'Make as many (the same amount of) adobes as yesterday.'

yahaya wey-i keha na 'He is as big as I am (we are the same).'  
 he big-ADJR like me 'He is big like me (we are similar).'

The two ideas expressed by this third example seem to be the same in Nahuatl.

raul ki-k<sup>W</sup>a nohkia i-miak-a keha i-tata  
 PN it-eat also its-many-POSSD:PL like his-father  
 'Raul eats as much as his father.'

The keha cannot be omitted, although the construction seems complete without it.

### Other

The superlative idea is expressed with a mas construction followed by tlen noči 'than all'. It can also be expressed with a tlen before the mas.

yahaya mas yehyek-ci tlen noči 'She is prettiest of all.'  
 she more pretty-ADJR than all

yahaya mas wey-i 'He is bigger / biggest.' (The context  
 he more big-ADJR determines which is indicated.)

The 'so' concept is expressed by the position of the dependent clause.

onka-yaya miak poh-tli wahka aš ni-weli-yaya  
 be-PAST:DUR lot smoke-ABS therefore NEG I-able-PAST:DUR  
 ni-ihyo-tilana  
 I-breath-pull  
 'There was so much smoke I couldn't breathe.'

'Like', describing state of being, is expressed by kenikaca or a shortened form, kehaca.

kenikaca ic-tok-eh mo-familia 'How is your family?'  
 how be-STAT-PL your-family

'Like', meaning 'as many, as much', is expressed by keniki.

neč-ilwi' keniki i-pati ni kafe  
 me-told how:much its-worth this coffee  
 'He told me how much this coffee cost.'

ma ki-čiwa-h iWikal keniki i-miak-a adobes  
 EXHRT it-make-PL same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes  
 'Have them make the same amount of adobes (as before).'

'Like', describing comparison, is expressed by a noun or a pronoun after keha.

ni-h-čih-ki keha ta 'I did like you.'  
 I-it-do-PAST like you

ni-h-neki seh keha Wan 'I want one like John (has).'  
 I-it-want one like PN

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

When there are two forms, either form can be used unless otherwise indicated.

- se tlake, se tlakia 'something'  
 ki-maka-k seh tlake 'He gave him something.'  
 him-give-PAST a something
- seki, se ahkahya 'someone, somebody'  
 seki neč-kišti-lih-ki no-mačete 'Someone took my  
 someone me-take-APPLIC-PAST my-machete machete'
- sekin 'some'  
 sekin aš yah-k-eh 'Some didn't go.'  
 some NEG go-PAST-PL
- sekin=ok 'some other' (usually of a different kind)  
 sekin=ok ki-ihto' aštle 'Some others said, "No."'  
 some=again it-said no
- sekanok, sekoyok 'somewhere'  
 no-wewe yah-ki se-ka=nok pero aš ni-h-mati kanki  
 my-husband go-PAST one-place=again but NEG I-it-know where  
 'My husband went somewhere, but I don't know where.'
- kenWeli 'anyway'  
 aš ki-čih-ki k<sup>W</sup>ali san ki-čih-ki kenWeli  
 NEG it-do-PAST well just it-do-PAST anyway  
 'He didn't do it well, he just did it any old way.'
- akin weli, ahkeya weli, katlia weli (W) 'anyone, anybody (people)'  
 ahkeya weli tlen ki-piya tomi weli-s tla-kowa i-pan tiankis  
 anyone able that it-have money able-FUT UNSPEC-buy its-place market  
 'Anyone who has money can buy in the market.'
- ahkehya weli 'everybody'  
 ahkeh-ya weli tlen ki-neki ya-s-eh ma ya-kah  
 who-he able that it-want go-FUT-PL EXHRT go-IMP:PL  
 'Everybody who wants to go, let them go.'
- tlen onka, tlen nesi 'anything (objects)'  
 tlački ti-h-k<sup>W</sup>a-s tlen onka  
 what you-it-eat-FUT REL exist  
 'What will you eat?' 'Anything.'
- tlački pan-ci ni-mic-maka-s tlen nesi  
 what bread-DIM I-you-give-FUT REL appear  
 'Which bread shall I give you?' 'Any one.'

noči-meh		'everyone, everybody'
noči-meh misaweh-k-eh	i-pan a-tl	
all-AN:PL drown-PAST-PL	its-place water-ABS	
'Everyone drowned in the water.'		
seh tonal, seh ora		'sometime'
seh tonal ti-ya-s-eh	tamacončale	
a day we-go-FUT-PL	Tamazunchale	
'Some day we will go to Tamazunchale.'		
tlen weli ora, tlen weli tonal		'any time'
tlen weli ora ti-h-neki	ti-ya-s-eh	
REL able hour you-it-want	we-go-FUT-PL	
'Any time you want, we will go.'		
kehaca weli		'somehow, anyway'
san ki-čih-ki	kehaca weli	
just it-do-PAST like	able	
'He just made it anyway.'		
kampa weli		'anywhere, everywhere'
ši-h-tlali	kampa weli i-pan	mesah
IMP-it-put where	able its-place	table
'Put it anywhere on the table.'		
yaWanti yah-k-eh	kampa weli	
they go-PAST-PL	where able	
'They went everywhere.'		
katlia weli, katli weli		'whichever'
ši-neč-maka	katli weli čiči	
IMP-me-give who	able dog	
'Give me whichever dog.'		
noči tlaman-tli		'everything'
yahaya ki-neki	noči tlaman-tli	
he it-want all	thing-ABS	
'He wants everything.'		
tlen weli		'whatever'
ši-neč-maka	tlen weli lapis	
IMP-me-give what	able pencil	
'Give me whatever pencil.'		

Question words (see QUESTIONS for examples) include:

ahkeya	'who'	katlia	'which one'
ahkeyawanti	'who they'	tlen	'what, which'
kehaca	'how'	para tlen	'why'
tlački	'what'	ika tlački	'with what'
kanki	'where'	ahkeya i-	'whose'
kema	'when'	kánika	'to where'
keski	'how many'		

Indefinite pronouns are not inflected for case or number. Most bear some relation to a question word.

### Negative

There can only be one negative in the clause. Sometimes the forms are discontinuous.

aš aka		'no one'
aš aka ki-neki ya-s		'No one wants to go.'
NEG anyone it-want go-FUT		
aš yah-ki i-waya aka		'He didn't go with anyone.'
NEG go-PAST his-with anyone		
aš kema		'never' (only contiguous)
aš kema ki-neki tekiti-s		'He never wants to work.'
NEG when it-want work-FUT		
aš kana		'nowhere' (only contiguous)
aš kana ni-yah-ki yalwaya		'I didn't go anywhere yesterday.'
NEG where I-go-PAST yesterday		
aš tlono		'nothing, none'
aš tlono neč-maka-k		'He didn't give me anything.'
NEG anything me-give-PAST		
aš neč-maka-k tlono		'He didn't give me anything.'
NEG me-give-PAST anything		

### Other

ši-neč-maka seh		'Give me one.'
IMP-me-give one		
ši-neč-maka ya ni		'Give me this one.'
IMP-me-give EMPH this		
ši-neč-maka ya ne		'Give me that one.'
IMP-me-give EMPH that		
ši-neč-maka (ne) čičil-tik		'Give me the red one.' (More common with demonstrative.)
IMP-me-give that red-ADJR		
ši-neč-maka tlen el-tok i-pan mesah		'Give me the one on the table.'
IMP-me-give REL be-STAT its-place table		
aš neč-maka-k niyon seh		'He didn't give me even one.'
NEG me-give-PAST not:even one		



DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns are optional in a clause.

Eastern Dialect:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1P	naha, na	toWanti
2P	taha, ta	imoWanti
2P HON	tawal	
3P	yaha, yahaya, ya	yaWanti

Western Dialect:

1P	naya, na	towanti
2P	taya, ta	amowanti
3P	yaya, ya	ininwanti

Verb Prefixes

Subject pronoun prefixes are first order prefixes.

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	ni-	ti-
2P	ti-	(E) in-, (W) an-
3P	∅	∅

Direct and indirect objects are second order prefixes occurring after subject prefixes:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	neč-	teč-
2P	mic-	(E) inmeč-, -meč- (W) anmeč-,
3P	-h-, ki-, -k-	kin-, kinin-
REFL	mo-	

Co-occurrence of subject and object prefixes is spelled out in the following chart. V stands for a vowel-initial stem, and forms from the W dialect are underscored when they differ from the E dialect.

ši-neč-maka IMP-me-give	'Give it to me.'
ti-neč-ilwih-ki      kena you-me-tell-PAST yes	'You told me yes.'
mic-šiwil-kih you-do-APPLIC-PAST	'He did it for you.'

## PERSON OF OBJECT

		1P-SG	2P-SG	3P-SG	1P-PL	2P-PL	3P-PL
PERSON OF SUBJECT	1P SG	ni-mo- (REFL)	ni-mic-	ni-h- ni-k-V	ni-teč-	ni-meč	ni-kin- ni-kinin-
	2P SG	ti-neč- teč-	ti-mo- (REFL)	ti-h- ti-k-V	ti-teč- teč-	ti-meč- (rare)	ti-kin- ti-kinin-
	IMP	ši-neč- teč-	ši-mo- (REFL)	ši-h- ši-k-V	ši-teč- teč-	ši-meč- (rare)	ši-kin- ši-kinin-
	3P SG	neč-	mic-	ki- mo- (REFL)	teč-	inmeč- anmeč-	kin- kinin-
	1P PL	ti-neč- teč-	ti-mic-	ti-h- ti-k-V	ti-mo- (REFL)	ti-meč-	ti-kin- ti-kinin-
	2P PL	in-neč- an-neč-	(no form)	in-ki- an-ki-	in-teč- an-teč-	in-mo- an-mo- (REFL)	in-kin- an-kin- in-kinin- an-kinin-
	3P PL	neč-	mic-	ki-	teč-	inmeč- anmeč-	kin- kinin- mo- (REFL)

The 3P SG h- occurs after vowels and before a consonant.

ni-h-maka-k 'I gave it to him.'  
I-him-give-PAST

The ki- occurs after 3P  $\emptyset$  subjects and after 2P PL in-.

ki-ita-k 'He saw it.'  
it-see-PAST

ki-neki-h ači tomi 'They want a little money.'  
it-want-PL little money

in-ki-neki-h pan-ci 'Do you all want bread?'  
 you:PL-it-want-PL bread-DIM

The k- occurs intervocalically.

ni-k-ahsi-s 'I will get it.'  
 I-it-arrive-FUT

The (W) anmeč and (E) inmeč occur after 3P  $\emptyset$  subject.

anmeč-ita-k 'He saw you all.'  
 you:PL-see-PAST

The kin- and kinin- are identical in meaning and use.

kin-maka-k miak tomi 'He gave them a lot of money.'  
 them-give-PAST much money

ni-meč-ilwi-s tlen melawak 'I will tell you the truth.'  
 I-you-tell-FUT REL truth

The W dialect has the following fusions (the E dialect has none):

ši + neč → teč

ši + teč → teč

teč-ilwi tlen pano-k 'Tell me/us what happened.'  
 IMP:me/us-tell REL happen-PAST

ti + neč → teč

ti + teč → teč

teč-maka-k san seh 'You gave me/us just one.' (Same form as  
 you:me/us-give-PAST just one for 'He gave us just one'.)

Possessor Prefixes

	<u>SG</u>		<u>PL</u>
1P	no-		to-
2P	mo-	(E)	imo- (W) amo-
3P	i-		in-, inin-, ini-

The usage of in-, inin-, and ini- seems identical, and all occur in both dialects. These forms are also used with postpositions.

## STEMS

Suppletion

Only two stems are suppletive for number. They are both intransitive and depend on the number of the subject.

yawa		'go'	(singular subject)
yawi		'go'	(plural subject)
walawa		'come'	(singular subject)
walawi		'come'	(plural subject)
ni-yawa	no-ča		'I'm going home.'
I-go	my-home		
ti-yawi-h=ya	to-ča		'We are going to our home.'
we-go-PL=already	our-home		

The third person singular for the verb 'go' is an exception in that it can take either stem. The yawi is most common.

yawa	i-ča	or	yawi	i-ča
go	his-home		go	his-home
'He is going home.'			'He is going home.'	

Another kind of suppletion is seen in the verb 'to be located' (see BE/HAVE/DO).

The positive animate stem is ic(to)-.\* It cannot be negated.

ic-tok-eh	miak	tlaka-meh	nepa
be:located-STAT-PL	many	man-AN:PL	there
'There are many men there.'			

The negative animate stem is aki, which is always negated.

aš	aki	no-wewe	'My husband isn't here.'
NEG	be:located	my-husband	

The inanimate stem is el(to)-.

el-tok	eyi	pesos	i-pan	ne	mesah
be:located-STAT	three	pesos	its-place	that	table
'There are three pesos on that table.'					

Reduplication

Reduplication is most commonly used to give the verb a new meaning that is more intense. (See also ADJECTIVES.)

\*The to of icto- and elto- drops before the ending -tok.

Compare 'follow' versus 'pursue'.

neč-toka-yaya  
me-follow-PAST:DUR  
'He was following me.'

neč-toh-toko-yaya  
me-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR  
pursue  
'He was pursuing me.'

Compare 'He made it' versus 'He created it'.

ki-čih-ki se mesah  
it-make-PAST a table

'He made a table.'

to-teko ki-čih-čih-ki tlah-tek-pak-tli  
our-boss it-RDP-make-PAST ground-(?)-place-ABS  
create world  
'God created the world.'

Compare 'call' with 'speak to' (in the sense of communicate with someone).

ši-h-noca mo-wewe  
IMP-him-call your husband

'Call your husband.'

ayok neč-noh-noca  
no:more me-RDP-speak:to

'She does not speak to me any more.'

Reduplication can also indicate a plural object.

ki-čih-čih-ki miak tlaman-tli  
it-RDP-make-PAST many thing-ABS

'He made many things.'

ki-piya tomi  
it-have money

'He has money.'

tla-pi-piya miak tlaman-tli  
UNSPEC-RDP-have many thing-ABS

'He has many things.'

Reduplication also can indicate repeated action on some verbs in which repeated action is inherent.

tla-co-cona i-ka se gitara  
UNSPEC-RDP-play its-with a guitar

'He plays a guitar.'

ši-k<sup>w</sup>e-k<sup>w</sup>elpačo ne yoyo-mitl  
IMP-RDP-fold those cloth-ABS

'Fold those clothes.'

There are two methods of reduplication.

(1)  $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_2$ , as in ki-k<sup>w</sup>elpačo-s (it-fold-FUT) 'She will fold it', ki-k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>elpačo-s 'She will repeatedly fold them'.

(2)  $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1^hC_1V_1C_2V_2$ , as in tlani 'to earn', ki-tlah-tlani 'He asks him'.

Stem Types

HN verb stems are simple, derived (see VERB MORPHOLOGY), or compounded (see Verb Compounds).

A simple stem is piya 'have'.

ki-piya miak tomin	'He has a lot of money.'
it-have much money	

The verb stem tlapal 'to paint' is derived from the noun tlapali 'paint', to which the -owa verbalizer is added.

ki-tlapal-owa i-ča (W)	'He paints his house.'
it-paint-VR his house	

A compounded verb stem is piyopahtiya 'to chicken-cure'.

yahaya noči-pa mo-piyo-pah-tiya	
he <u>all-place</u> REFL-chicken-medicine-VR	
always <u>cure</u>	
	<u>chicken-cure</u>

'He always cures himself by means of a chicken.'

Stem Classes

All verb stems divide themselves into three classes on the basis of how they form their past tense. The present tense form is the basic stem form. All the tenses in HN also divide themselves into three groups on the basis of the initial phoneme in the tense morpheme. Future -s, past durative -yaya, and conditional -skia all begin with continuants. Past -k or -ki begins with -k, and present perfect -tok, past perfect -toya, present durative -tika, future durative -tos, and irrealis -toskia with -t.

Class I verb stems form their past tense by adding -k for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. It is the smallest class of verb stems. In contrast to the other two classes, Class I retains the present tense stem completely when occurring with continuant-initial tenses and both types of stop-initial tenses.

tekiti	'He works.'	čoka	'He cries.'
tekiti-k	'He worked.'	čoka-k	'He cried.'
tekiti-tok	'He has worked.'	čoka-tok	'He has cried.'
tekiti-s	'He will work.'	čoka-s	'He will cry.'
tekiti-yaya	'He was working.'	čoka-yaya	'He was crying.'

Other members of class I are:

ahki	'He swims.'	ki-oni	'He drinks it.'
ahsi	'He arrives.'	ki-maka	'He gives it to him.'
ki-ita*	'He sees it.'	istlakati	'He tells a lie.'
pano	'He passes.'	ki-neltoka	'He believes him.'
ki-aWa	'He scolds him.'	ki-maga	'He hits him.'

\*ita is irregular in that the final vowel of the stem drops and t→ç before all t-initial tenses: ki-iç-tok (it-see-PRES:PERF) 'He has seen it'.

Class II verb stems form their past tense by adding -ki for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. However, before past tense -ki or -keh is added to multisyllable stems, the final vowel of the present tense stem drops and the following changes affect stem-final consonants: w → h, k → h, k<sup>W</sup> → h, m → n, and y → ʃ (compare with Class III). Class II verbs change w → h, k<sup>W</sup> → k, m → n, and y → ʃ before t-initial tense suffixes (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toskia). The present tense stem is retained in its entirety before all continuant-initial tenses.

koči	'He sleeps.'	miki	'He dies.'
koč-ki	'He slept.'	mih-ki	'He died.'
koč-tok	'He has slept.'	mik-tok	'He has died.'
koči-s	'He will sleep.'	miki-s	'He will die.'
koči-yaya	'He was sleeping.'	miki-yaya	'He was dying.'
pewa	'He starts.'	ki-čiya	'He waits for him.'
peh-ki	'He started.'	ki-čiš-ki	'He waited for him.'
peh-tok	'He has started.'	ki-čiš-tok	'He has waited for him.'
pewa-s	'He will start.'	ki-čiya-s	'He will wait for him.'
pewa-yaya	'He was starting.'	ki-čiya-yaya	'He was waiting for him.'

Compare the intransitive tlami 'to finish' with the transitive ki-tlamiya 'He finishes it' in Class III.

tlami	'He finishes.'
tlan-ki	'He finished.'
tlan-tok	'He has finished.'
tlami-s	'He will finish.'
tlami-yaya	'He was finishing.'

Other members of Class II are:

mok <sup>W</sup> epa	'He returns.'	ki-kawa	'He leaves it.'
ki-čiwa	'He does it.'	ki-kowa	'He buys it.'
nehnemi	'He walks'	totoniya	'It is hot (weather).'
tlanokiya	'He has diarrhea.'	ki-neki	'He wants it.'
waki	'It dries.'	kisa	'He leaves.'

Observe that none of Class I and few of Class II end with the -ya in present tense that characterizes Class IIIA. The ones that do not have -ya in the present tense can occur with past clitic =ya 'already', making the forms somewhat homophonous with some members of Class IIIA; however the meaning is different. Compare tlami=ya (finish=already) 'He already finishes' and ki-tlamiya (it-finish) 'He finishes it'. All forms in Class II and IIIA that end in -ya in the present tense can also occur with the clitic =ya, but it becomes a proclitic ya=ki-tlamiya (already=it-finish) 'Already he finishes it'.

Class III verb stems are divided into two parts. Class IIIA is made up only of verbs that end in -iya in the present tense, which include all stems that end in -tiya (CAUS:PRES), -liya (APPLIC:PRES), and -wiya (VR:PRES). Class IIIB is made up only of verbs that end in -owa. Notice that while these classes are exclusively -iya and -owa, they do not represent all the -iya and -owa verbs (see Class II). All Class III verbs have two methods of forming past tense for singular subjects. They drop the final a from the present tense stem and either w → ' and y → ' word-finally or w → h and y → h before past tense -ki. (Compare with y → s before k in Class II.) With plural subjects there is only one method of forming past tense, with w or y becoming h before -keh. Before t-initial tenses (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toskia), the final vowel of Class IIIA and IIIB stems is dropped, and w or y becomes h. Before continuant-initial tenses, the final vowel is dropped, and w or y becomes  $\emptyset$ . This is the largest class of verb stems.

ki-ilwiya	'He tells him.'	ki-mik-tiya	'He kills it.'
ki-ilwi'	'He told him.'	ki-mik-ti'	'He killed it.'
ki-ilwih-ki	'He told him.'	ki-mik-tih-ki	'He killed it.'
ki-ilwih-tok	'He has told him.'	ki-mik-tih-tok	'He has killed it.'
ki-ilwi-s	'He will tell him.'	ki-mik-ti-s	'He will kill it.'
ki-ilwi-yaya	'He was telling him.'	ki-mik-ti-yaya	'He was killing it.'

The morphemes in ki-mik-tiya are (it-die-CAUS:PRES), 'He causes it to die' or 'He kills it'.

Other members of Class IIIA are:

ki-sewiya	'He rests it'/ 'He puts it out (fire).'	mitoniya	'He sweats.'
ki-pantiya	'He finds it.'	ki-tlaštlawiya	'He pays him.'
ki-palewiya	'He helps him.'	ki-copiniya	'He injects him.'
ki-oliniya	'He moves it.'	ki-tlaliya	'He places it.'
ki-neštiliya	'He shows it.'	ki-apičiya*	'He sprays it.'
ki-tlamiya	'He finishes it.'	all verbs with <u>-liya</u> applicative	
		all verbs with <u>-tiya</u> causative**	

Class IIIB verbs end exclusively in -owa and form all tenses the same as Class IIIA except they have two forms for the past durative. In addition to w →  $\emptyset$  before continuants, Class IIIB can keep the entire present tense stem before the past durative -yaya form.

\*Compare with čiya in Class II.

\*\*There are some stems that are derived from nouns and have the causative incorporated into the stem and cannot take -ya in the present tense and do not occur in Class IIIA, e.g., teki-ti (work-VR) 'He works' and kama-tj (mouth-VR) 'He talks'.



ki-ih <sup>h</sup> towa	'He says it.'	ki-temowa	'He looks for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> to'	'He said it.'	ki-temo'	'He looked for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> to <sup>h</sup> -ki	'He said it.'	ki-temoh-ki	'He looked for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> to <sup>h</sup> -tok	'He has said it.'	ki-temoh-tok	'He has looked for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> to-s	'He will say it.'	ki-temo-s	'He will look for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> to-yaya	'He was saying it.'	ki-temo-yaya	'He was looking for it.'
ki-ih <sup>h</sup> towa-yaya	'He was saying it.'	ki-temowa-yaya	'He was looking for it.'

Other members of Class IIIB are:

ki-tolowa	'He swallows it.'	ki-alašowa	'He makes it smooth.'
tlehtowa	'He says.'	ki-tlalpačowa	'He buries it.'
ki-tlapowa	'He opens it.'	ki-ihk <sup>w</sup> ilowa	'He writes it.'
mopolowa	'He gets lost.'	ki-k <sup>w</sup> apilowa	'He hangs it.'
motlalowa	'He runs.'	ki-k <sup>w</sup> eipačowa	'He folds it.'

### Transitive/Intransitive

The only set of contrastive pairs that is really productive is -wa for intransitive and -wiya for transitive. This does not imply, however, that all verbs that end in -wa are intransitive.

pina-wa		'He is embarrassed.'
be:embarrassed-INTRNS		
ki-pina-wiya		'He is ashamed of her.'
it-be:embarrassed-TRNS		
tlāštla-wa	beinte	'He pays twenty (a day).'
pay-INTRNS	twenty	
ki-tlāštla-wiya	beinte	'He pays him twenty (a day).'
it-pay-TRNS	twenty	

However many transitive verbs end in -wa.

ki-čiwa tlen	k <sup>w</sup> al-i	'He does what is good.'
it-do	REL good-ADJR	

The suffix -wiya also transitivizes other intransitive verbs.

kama-ti		'He talks.'
mouth-VR		
ki-kama-wiya		'He talks with her.'
her-talk-TRNS		

## INCORPORATION

There is incorporation of certain morphemes into the verb stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE, Stem). They are pre-stem.

Prefix  $k^w_a$ - 'head':

amo ši-mo- $k^w_a$ -totoni	'Don't worry about it/be bothered/go to
NEG IMP-REFL-head-get:hot	the trouble.'

$m_o$ -REFL has been reanalyzed as part of some stems. These stems can never occur without it, and they can co-occur with object markers, and with the prefix  $tl_a$ .

mok <sup>w</sup> itlawi		'to take care of'	
take:care			
ši-mo-mok <sup>w</sup> itlawi		'Take care of yourself.'	
IMP-REFL-take:care			
tl <sub>a</sub> -mok <sup>w</sup> itlawi	i-pa	i-ša	'She cares for her household.'
UNSPEC-take:care	its-place	her-home	
mo-neč-ka-wih-ki			'He drew near.'
<u>REFL-near-leave-CAUS-PAST</u>			
draw near			
ki-monečkawih-ki			'He drew near to it.'
it-draw:near-PAST			

$tl_a$ -UNSPEC INAN OBJ has been reanalyzed as part of many stems and can then occur with an object, which it can't do otherwise.

tlapowa	ki-tlapowa
open	it-open
'to open'	'He opens it.'
tlapohpolwiya	ši-neč-tlapohpolwi
forgive	IMP-me-forgive
'to forgive'	'Forgive me.'
tlanesi	tlanes-ki
dawn	dawn-PAST
'to dawn'	'It dawned.'

$nen$ - is incorporated into a number of stems, but it is hard to gloss. Sometimes it has the meaning of 'habitually' and is similar to the North Puebla Nahuatl, and other times it has the meaning of 'in vain' and is similar to the Tetelcingo Nahuatl. The habitual idea would be easily seen as a derivative of nemi 'to walk'.

ki-nen-palewiya	'She helps her continually.'
her-habitually-help	
ki-nen-poliwi-ti'	'He caused it to be lost in vain.'
it-in:vain-lose-CAUS:PAST	

(The man plants alfalfa and then when it begins to grow, decides he wants to plant corn, so he has the alfalfa turned under with a plow and plants corn.)

ki-nen-polo-ki      i-tomi      'He lost his money in vain.'  
 it-in:vain-lose-PAST his-money

(A drunk borrows money and goes and spends it on drink and has nothing to show for his money.)

Locatives wal- 'come' and on- 'there':

ni-k-on-ita-s      'I will see him there.'  
 I-him-there-see-FUT

on-mih-ki      'He died there.'  
 there-die-PAST

wal-terno-s      elwikak      'He will come lowering from heaven.'  
 come-lower-FUT heaven

Intensive notion nel- 'really':

ki-nel-neki      'He really wants it.'  
 it-really-want

## SYNTACTIC MARKING

(For ordering of verb affixes, see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

### Pronominal Prefixes

Subject prefixes precede object prefixes and agree in person and number with any overt subject on the clause level:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1P	ni-	ti-
2P	ti- ši- IMP	(E) in-, (W) an-
3P	∅	∅

If a verb has both a direct and an indirect object, the direct object is understood and the indirect object is indicated according to the following chart. Although some verbs like maka 'give' are inherently applicative, most verbs add the suffix -li APPLIC when the overtly marked item is an indirect object: neč-kowi-li-s 'He will buy it for me'. Only one object (direct, indirect, reflexive, or unspecified) can be overtly marked on the verb. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for co-occurrence charts.) The object prefix on the verb agrees in person and number with any direct or indirect object on the clause level.

	<u>SG</u>		<u>PL</u>
1P	neč-		teč-
2P	mic-	(E)	inmeč, -meč-
		(W)	anmeč-, -meč-
3P	-h-, -k-, ki-		kin-, kinin-
REFL	mo-		

Unspecified Objects

Unspecified objects tla- (for things) and te- (for people) may be part of the stem, as seen in INCORPORATION. Only when part of the stem can they co-occur with an object prefix.

tla-k <sup>W</sup> a	k <sup>W</sup> ali	'He eats well.'
UNSPEC-eat	well	
te-k <sup>W</sup> a-ni	te-k <sup>W</sup> a	'People eaters (lions, tigers) eat people.'
UNSPEC-eat-AG	UNSPEC-eat	

Sentence Types

Imperative ši- occurs in place of the subject prefix.

ši-ya	mo-ča	'Go home!'
IMP-go	your-home	
ši-h-čiwa	tlen k <sup>W</sup> al-i	'Do that which is good.'
IMP-it-do	REL good-ADJR	

Hortative or permissive ma is a particle.

ma	ti-ya-kah	'Let's go.'
EXHRT	we-go-IMP:PL	
ma	amo ki-čiwa	'Don't have him do it.'
EXHRT	NEG it-do	

Number Agreement

Number agreement with a plural subject is of various kinds.

Suppletion (see STEMS):

	<u>SG</u>		<u>PL</u>
	yawa	yawi	'to go'
	walawa	walawi	'to come'

Variation in tense suffix:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
PAST:	-ki	-keh
PRES DUR:	-tika	-tikateh

The plural affix (-eh after consonants and -h after vowel) marks plural subjects in all other tenses.

mik-tok die-STAT	'He is dead.'
mik-tok-eh die-STAT-PL	'They are dead.'
koči-yaya sleep-PAST:DUR	'He was sleeping.'
koči-yaya-h sleep-PAST:DUR-PL	'They were sleeping.'

Exhortatives and imperatives with plural subject use -kah.

ši-ya-kah          a-pa IMP-go-IMP:PL    water-place	'You all go to the water hole.'
ma          ti-ya-kah          amanci EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL right:now	'Let's go right now.'

### NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

#### Causative

The causative -tiya occurs after consonants, and -ltiya occurs after vowels. (See STEMS, Class III).

miki	'to die'
ki-mik-tiya it-die-CAUS	'He kills it.'
ni-pewa-s I-begin-FUT	'I will begin.'
ni-h-pewa-lti-s I-it-begin-CAUS-FUT	'I will start it.'

The applicative -liya causes an object prefix to be indirect rather than direct; a → i before l.

ni-h-kowa-s I-it-buy-FUT	'I will buy it.'
ši-neč-kowi-li IMP-me-buy-APPLIC	'Buy it for me.'
ki-walika-s it-bring-FUT	'He will bring it.'

neč-waliki-li-s me-bring-APPLIC-FUT	'He will bring it for me.'
neč-namaki-lti-li-s me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT	'He is going to sell it to me.'

Adverbial

The directionals are seen in the following table:

<u>Incompletive</u>	<u>Completive</u>	
-ki	-ko	'toward/come'
-ti	-to	'away from/go'
ši-pano ši-mo-sewi-ki IMP-pass IMP-REFL-sit-come		'Pass, come sit down.'
ni-h-namaka-ko e-tl čikweyi-ya I-it-sell-came bean-ABS eight-ago		'I came and sold beans last week.'
ši-neč-kowi-li-ti seboyas IMP-me-buy-APPLIC-go onions		'Go buy onions for me.'
mil-teki-ti-to field-work-VR-went		'He went to work in his field.'

The directive is sometimes doubly marked.

yah-ki ki-namaka-to go-PAST it-sell-went	'He went to sell it.'
---	-----------------------

When a second verb occurs connected to the first one, the tense marking is on the second verb.

-ti-nemi	'habitually'
-ti-wala	'on the way toward'
-ti-ya	'as he goes'
-ti-kisa	'quickly, right away'
-ti-weci	'for a minute'
wika-ti-nemi sing-CONN-walk	'He habitually sings.'
wika-ti-nemi-yaya sing-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR	'He was always singing.'
cik <sup>w</sup> in-ti-wala jump-CONN-come	'He jumps on the way here.'
kin-namaka-ti-ya-s them-sell-CONN-go-FUT	'He will sell them as he goes.'

ši-wala-ti-kisa		'Come quickly.'
IMP-come-CONN-leave		
ni-wala-ti-wec-ki		'I came for a minute.'
I-come-CONN-fall-PAST		

**Volitional**

There are no desiderative affixes. The desiderative is expressed by two independent verbs or by a compound. The independent verb ki-neki 'want it' is followed by a second verb which has future tense. Notice that transitive verbs each take the object prefix, showing that there are two verbs, not one. The first one may take any tense marker.

ki-neki ki-čiwa-s	tlen k <sup>w</sup> al-i	'He wants to do what is good.'
it-want it-do-FUT	REL good-ADJR	
ki-neki-yaya	ya-s	'He was wanting to go.'
it-want-PAST:DUR	go-FUT	

The desiderative compound is formed by attaching the stem neki 'want' to another verb with future tense. Any tense can occur on the neki.

ki-čiwa-s-neki	tlen k <sup>w</sup> al-i	'He wants to do what is good.'
it-do-FUT-want	REL good-ADJR	
ya-s-nek-toya		'He had wanted to go.'
go-FUT-want-PAST:PERF		

'Can' or 'able' is also expressed by an independent verb at the front of the verb phrase.

kena weli ki-čiwa	'Yes, he can do it.'
yes able it-do	

The future tense on the verb weli usually expresses possibility.

weli-s	ki-wika-s	'Perhaps he will take it.'
able-FUT	it-take-FUT	

**Modal**

For exhortative, permissive, and imperative see SYNTACTIC MARKING.

Irrealis describes an action in the past that is contrary to fact.

mik-toskia intla aš	ti-h-wika-toskia-h	kampa médiko
die-IRR	if NEG we-him-take-IRR-PL	where doctor
'He would have died if we hadn't taken him to a doctor.'		
yah-toskia pero	mih-ki	i-nana
go-IRR	but die-PAST	his-mother
'He would have gone, but his mother died.'		

The conditional is -skia.

ki-kowa-skia intla ti-h-neki  
it-buy-would if you-it-want

'He would buy it if you want (him to).'

The exhortative is ma.

ki-neki ma ni-h-čiwa  
it-want EXHRT I-it-do

'He wants me to do it.'

### Aspect

Stative and present perfect are both indicated by -tok.

wec-tok ne kokoš-ke-tl  
fall-STAT that sick-AG-ABS

'The sick one is in bed ('fallen').'

wak-tok ne yoyo-mitl  
dry-STAT that cloth-ABS

'That clothing is dry.'

ya walah-tok  
he come-PRES:PERF

'He has come.'

Completive =ya/a is a clitic meaning 'already' that goes on various types of words (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS) expressing the completive idea. It occurs after the tense.

yah-ki=ya  
go-PAST=already

'He already went.'

el-tos=a lalaš  
be-FUT:DUR=already orange

'There will already be oranges.'

The repetitive is expressed by =nok/ok meaning 'again'. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS.)

wala-s=ok  
come-FUT=again

'He will come again.'

Many aspectual ideas are expressed by a limited list of verbs that are connected to the main verb by -ti-. The tense occurs at the end of the second verb.  
Habitual:

tla-namaka-ti-nemi  
UNSPEC-sell-CONN-walk

'He is always selling things.'

Momentary (also 'quickly'):

ni-wala-ti-weci-s  
I-come-CONN-fall-FUT

'I will come for a minute.'

'On leaving' / 'and leave' / 'quickly':

ni-h-wika-ti-kisa-s  
I-it-take-CONN-leave-FUT

'I will take it on leaving.'



'On the way toward':

ni-h-walika-ti-walah-ki  
I-it-bring-CONN-come-PAST

'I brought it as I came.'

'As one goes':

ni-h-namaka-ti-ya-s  
I-it-sell-CONN-go-FUT

'I will sell it on the way.'

### Tense

Present tense is represented by  $\emptyset$ ; with Class III verbs, present tense is indicated by retention of -ya or -wa (see STEMS, Stem Classes). Present tense also is used for present progressive action except in the rare cases where present durative -tika is used (see below).

ki-čiwa ama  
it-do now

'He is doing it now.'

ki-neštilya  
him-show

'He shows it to him.'

ki-tolowa i-pastiyas  
it-swallow his-pills

'He swallows his pills.'

Past tense is  $\emptyset$ , -k, or -ki in singular and -keh for plural. (See STEMS, Stem Classes for complete description.)

Future tense is marked by the suffix -s added to the stem (see STEMS, Stem Classes).

wala-s mostla  
come-FUT tomorrow

'He will come tomorrow.'

### Tense/Aspect

The past durative is -yaya, and it often carries an idea of interruption ('He was doing it, but something happened').

pano-yaya ne kal-i Wan wec-ki  
pass-PAST:DUR that house-ABS and fall-PAST  
'He was passing that house and he fell.'

The past perfect is -toya.

ya yah-toya i-ča kema ni-ahsi-ko  
he go-PAST:PERF his-house when I-arrive-came  
'He had gone to his house when I arrived (here).'

The present durative is singular -tika and plural -tikateh. It is very rarely used. The present also carries with it the idea of continuing and is used most commonly.

ni-h-kaki wecka-tika mo-kone  
I-it-hear laugh-PRES:DUR your-child

'I hear your child laughing.'

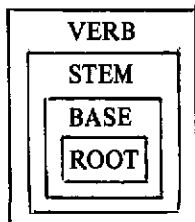
The future durative is -tos 'will be...ing'.

ni-ahki-tos          mostla      tlahko-tona      'I will be swimming tomorrow at noon.'  
 I-swim-FUT:DUR      tomorrow      half-sun

### OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The overall structure of the HN verb can be seen in the following charts. Forms are from the E dialect; the W dialect differs slightly in the form of certain pronominal prefixes (see DEFINITE PRONOUNS).

The HN verb consists of a stem, affixes, and clitics. The stem consists in turn of at least one base or other stem and an optional aspectual verb. The base consists of a root and various other optional elements.



#### Verb

The pre-stem items are listed in the first chart. UNSPEC OBJ and OBJ cannot co-occur.

<u>SUBJ</u>	<u>OBJ</u>	<u>DIM</u>	<u>DIR</u>	<u>UNSPEC OBJ</u>	<u>STEM</u>
ni-	neč-	pil-	wal-	tl-	
ti-	mic-		on-	te-	
∅	-k-, ki-, -h-				
ti-	teč-				
in-	-meč-, inmeč-				
∅	kin-, kinin-				
ši-	mo-				

The post-stem suffixes and clitics are:

<u>STEM</u>	<u>TNS/ASP</u>	<u>PL</u>	<u>'already'</u>	<u>'again'</u>
	-s	-eh	=(y)a	=(y)ok
	-tok			
	-tos			=nok
	-k, -ki, Ø	-(k)eh		
	-tika	-teh		
	-yaya	-h		
	-toya			
 <u>MODAL</u>				
	-skia			
	-toskia			
 <u>DIR</u>				
	-ti			
	-to			
	-ki			
	-ko			
	Ø	-kah		

ši-neč-waliki-li-kah  
IMP-me-bring-APPLIC-IMP:PL

'(You PL) bring it to me.'

ki-pil-on-k<sup>W</sup>a-ki  
it-DIM-there-eat-PAST

'He ate a little of it there.'

pil-on-tla-k<sup>W</sup>a  
DIM-there-UNSPEC-eat

'He eats a little there.'

ki-noca-ko-h=ya=nok  
him-call-came-PL=already=again

'They already came and called him again.'

yah-toya-h=ya=nok  
go-PAST:PERF-PL=already=again

'They already had gone again.'

Stem

A verb stem consists of at least one base or another stem, followed optionally by an aspectual verb linked to it by -t(i)-, -ka-, -s- FUT, or Ø.

ni-k<sup>W</sup>a-ič-yoli-s-neki  
I-head-cotton-seed-FUT-want  
get white-headed

'I am getting (want to get) white-headed.'

wika-ti-wala	'He comes singing.'
wika-t-ewa	'He leaves singing.'
wika-ti-nemi	'He habitually sings.'
wika-ti-ya	'He sings as he goes.'
wika-ti-kisa	'He sings as he leaves.'
wika-s-neki	'He wants to sing.'
wika-ti-weci	'He sings for a moment.'
mowika-ka-neki	'He pretends to sing.'
wika-teh-ti-nemi	'He habitually leaves singing.'
sing-leave-CONN-walk habitually	

Base

The base consists of a root together with optional preceding or following elements. Following elements include one of a set of characteristic verbal or verbalizing endings, the causative suffix, and the applicative suffix. Preceding elements include an unspecified or reflexive object marker which has been reanalyzed as part of the base, reduplication, and an incorporated root possibly with a connective.

<u>OBJ</u>	<u>RDP</u>	<u>INCORP</u> <u>ROOT</u>	<u>CONN</u>	<u>ROOT</u>	<u>VR</u>	<u>CAUS</u>	<u>APPLIC</u>
tla-			ka-		-ni	-(l)tiya	-liya
mo-					-wa		
					-wi		
					-owa		
					-ca		
ki-tla-powa							'He opens it.'
it-UNSPEC-open							
ki-tla-peh-pen-ki							'He chose him.'
him-UNSPEC-RDP-pick-PAST		choose					
ki-čih-čiwa							'He does it.'
it-RDP-do							
k <sup>w</sup> alan-ka-ita							'He looks with anger.'
anger-CONN-see							
ni-h-cayana-s	no-yoyo						'I will tear my clothes.'
I-it-tear-FUT	my-clothes						
cayani	no-yoyo						'My clothes tear.'
tear	my-clothes						
ni-tlaštlawa	beinte	pesos					'I pay twenty pesos.'
I-pay	twenty	pesos					

ni-h-tlaštlawi beinte pesos	'I pay him twenty pesos.'
I-him-pay twenty pesos	
tlaškal-owa amanci	'She is making tortillas now.'
tortilla-VR now	
tla-ka-kapaca no-siwa-pil i-pan mesah	
UNSPEC-RDP-pat my-woman-little its-place table	
'My little girl is patting her hands on the table (as drum beating).'	
paki	'She is happy.'
happy	
neč-pak-tiya	'It makes me happy.'
me-happy-CAUS	
neč-namaki-lti-li-s	'He will sell it for me.'
me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT	

**Root**

Roots can be of several kinds:

Simple Verb Root	piya	'to have'
Spanish Verb Root	pensar	'to think'
Stative Verb Root	k <sup>w</sup> al	'good'
	nel	'true'
Noun Root	ma	'hand'
	ikši	'foot'
	teki	'work'
Adjective Root	čipa	'clean'

**COORDINATION**

i-waya*	'and'	(joins noun phrases)
ika	'and'	(joins noun phrases and predicates)
Wan/iWan	'and'	(joins clauses with same or different subjects, nouns, and predicates)
pero	'but'	(joins clauses with same or different subjects)
o	'or'	(joins nouns, predicates, or clauses in questions or statements)
niyon	'not even'	(joins clauses)

\*-waya can be inflected with all possessor prefixes.

nohkia, no	'also'	(joins clauses, nouns, and predicates)
wahka	'then, so'	(joins clause and discourse units)
yeka, (yehka)	'therefore'	
teipa	'afterward'	
sampa	'again'	

## i-waya

ki-koh-ki sin-tli i-waya e-tl 'He bought corn and beans.'  
 it-buy-PAST corn-ABS its-with bean-ABS

Wan i-waya i-ikni yah-k-eh méhiko  
 PN his-with his-brother go-PAST-PL Mexico  
 'John and his brother went to Mexico.'

no-nana ya-s no-waya 'My mother will go with me.'  
 my-mother go-FUT my-with

## ika

mo-ma-teh-ki i-ka i-mačete 'He cut his own hand with his machete.'  
 REFL-hand-cut-PAST its-with his-machete

maria ika Wana yah-k-eh pašalo-to-h 'Mary and Juana went visiting.'  
 PN and PN go-PAST-PL visit-went-PL

## Wan

ni-h-namaka-k k<sup>w</sup>ašilo-tl Wan no-wewe ki-namaka-k kafe  
 I-it-sell-PAST banana-ABS and my-husband it-sell-PAST coffee  
 'I sold bananas and my husband sold coffee.'

## pero

ni-h-neki-yaya ni-ya-s pero aš ni-wel-ki  
 I-it-want-PAST:DUR I-go-FUT but NEG I-able-PAST  
 'I was wanting to go but I couldn't.'

## o

ti-h-neki se lalaš o oton-lalaš 'Do you want an orange or a tangerine?'  
 you-it-want a orange or autumn-orange

## niyon

aš neč-maka-k tleno ni-h-k<sup>w</sup>a-s niyon aš neč-maka-k se točo  
 NEG me-give-PAST anything I-it-eat-FUT not:even NEG me-give-it a stale  
 tortilla

'She didn't give me anything to eat; she didn't even give me a stale tortilla.'

## nohkia, no

ni-h-kowa-s sin-tli nohkia e-tl  
 I-it-buy-FUT corn-ABS also bean-ABS  
 'I will buy corn, and beans also.' (somewhat of an afterthought)

wahka

...wahka san ya nopa ni-k-ih-towa  
so just it that I-it-say

'So just that I say.' (end of discourse)

wahka ni-mic-ilwi se ome k<sup>w</sup>entos  
then I-you-tell one two stories

'So I will tell you a story or two.'  
(beginning of story—joins request for  
story to story)

yeka

neč-noc-k-eh yeka ni-yah-ki  
me-call-PAST-PL therefore I-go-PAST

'They called; therefore I went.'

teipa

ni-h-namaka-k sin-tli Wan teipa ni-h-koh-ki kafe  
I-it-sell-PAST corn-ABS and afterward I-it-buy-PAST coffee  
'I sold corn, and afterward I bought coffee.'

sampa

ni-yah-ki biernes sampa ni-yah-ki sábado  
I-go-PAST Friday again I-go-PAST Saturday  
'I went on Friday; again I went Saturday.'

### COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses as a subject or object occur at the end of a clause. They are not marked and are finite.

#### Subject Complement Clauses

nesi [mokokowa-yaya]  
show be:sick-PAST:DUR

'That she has been sick shows.'

k<sup>w</sup>al-i [walah-ki i-tata]  
good-ABS come-PAST his-father

'It is good his father came.'

#### Object Complement Clauses

ni-h-mati [yahaya yah-ki]  
I-it-know he go-PAST

'I know he went.'

ni-h-neki [ni-ya-s]  
I-it-want I-go-FUT

'I want to go.'

ni-h-temiti' [mih-ki no-nana]  
I-it-dreamed die-PAST my-mother

'I dreamed my mother died.'

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Embedded questions do not differ in any way from main clause questions or subordinate clause sentences, except that embedded yes/no questions employ the conjunction intla/tla 'if', whereas independent yes/no questions have no introducer. (See Yes/No Questions.)

Embedded questions can function as subject and may precede or follow the main verb.

[tlački ki-čih-ki] neč-k<sup>w</sup>a-totonih-ki  
 what it-do-PAST me-head-get:hot-PAST  
 'What he did bothered me.' (i.e., the fact that he did what he did, or the thing he did)  
 neč-paktih-ki [kanke ni-yah-ki]  
 me-please-PAST where I-go-PAST  
 'I liked where I went.' (i.e., that I went where I did, or the place where I went)

Embedded questions can function as object and then follow the main verb.

neč-ilwi' [kanke ya-s] 'He told me where he is going.'  
 me-told where go-FUT  
 aš ki-mati [tlački ni-h-čiwa-s] 'He doesn't know what I will do.'  
 NEG it-know what I-it-do-FUT  
 aš ni-h-mati [intla ya-s o aštle] 'I don't know if he is going or not.'  
 NEG I-it-know if go-FUT or no

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Any noun in a sentence (subject, object, indirect object) can be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause normally follows the noun it modifies, but there is at least one example in the E dialect of the relative preceding the noun (the W dialect will not accept the example). Noun heads with relatives are reinforced with a demonstrative, quantifier, or numeral. Pronoun heads aren't reinforced. The relative marker is always tlen in E. The W dialect also has katli as an alternate relative marker. The relative pronoun may function as subject, direct object, indirect object, or object of postposition in the relative clause.

Direct Relatives

nopa tlaka-tl [tlen ki-neki no-kawayo] 'that man that wants my horse'  
 that man-ABS REL it-want my-horse  
 nopa pah-tli [tlen ki-koh-ki] 'that medicine that he bought'  
 that medicine-ABS REL it-buy-PAST



no-siwa [tlen ni-h-kowi-lih-ki seboyas]  
 my-wife REL I-her-buy-APPLIC-PAST onions  
 'my wife that I had bought onions for'

i-čiči ne tlaka-tl [tlen walah-ki yalwaya] mih-ki  
 his-dog that man-ABS REL come-PAST yesterday die-PAST  
 'The man who came yesterday's dog died.'

### Oblique Relatives

The oblique relative retains the object as a pronoun to which the postposition is attached. The tlen and postposition occur contiguous to each other, but either may be initial in the relative clause.

nikani ni mačete [i-ka tlen ki-mik-ti] nopa kowa-tl]  
 here this machete its-with REL it-die-CAUS:PAST that snake-ABS  
 'Here is the machete with which he killed that snake.'

ši-h-wika nopa cika-tl [tlen i-pan ti-atli-s-eh]  
 IMP-it-take that jug-ABS REL its-place we-drink-FUT-PL  
 'Take that jug from which we will drink.'

### Headless Relatives

Headless relatives occur as subject or object of the clause. Headless relatives also occur when a demonstrative replaces the head noun.

ni-k-ita-k [tlen ki-čih-ki] 'I saw what he did.'  
 I-it-see-PAST REL it-do-PAST

nopa [tlen ki-koh-ki] 'that which he bought'  
 that REL it-buy-PAST

Question words can be used in place of the relative subordinator when the head is absent. The resulting clauses are identical with embedded questions.

aš ni-k-ita-k [tlački ki-čih-ki] 'I didn't see what he did.'  
 NEG I-it-see-PAST what it-do-PAST

yahaya ki-mati [ahkeya yah-ki] 'He knows who went.'  
 he it-know who go-PAST

The 'ever' forms are usually identical to the WH words. (See WH Questions.) The concept of 'ever' can be expressed by onka 'there is/be' or weli 'able' or nesi 'appear' if a different form is used.

ni-h-seli-s [tlen onka ki-kowa-s] 'I will receive whatever he buys.'  
 I-it-receive-FUT REL be it-buy-FUT

ki-koh-ki noči [tlen weli ki-neki-yaya]  
 it-buy-PAST all REL able it-want-PAST:DUR  
 'He bought whatever he wanted.'

ši-neč-maka [tlen nesi]  
IMP-me-give REL appear

'Give me whichever one.'

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

### Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial clauses are usually after the main clause, but they may be initial. They begin with the relator or the question word. Locative and manner clauses have a relator that is different from the question word, but the question word can also be used. tlen is used with oblique constituents. The 'when' clauses often omit the question word. They are not marked in any special way.

#### Locative:

yahaya teki-ti [kampa ic-tok]  
he work-VR where live-STAT

'He works where he lives.' (not the question word)

aš ni-h-mati [kanke teki-ti]  
NEG I-it-know where work-VR

'I don't know (the place) where he works.'  
(question word)

teki-ti nečka [kampa el-tok at-l]  
work-VR near where be-STAT water-ABS

'He works close to where the water is.'

nenen-ki [asta kampa el-tok i-mila]  
walk-PAST to where be-STAT his-field

'He walked to where his field is.' (Relator can be used for questions.)

ki-ihk<sup>w</sup>eni [tlen i-pa ni-mo-sewi-yaya]  
it-move REL its-place I-REFL-sit-PAST:DUR

'He moved that which I was sitting on.' (question words)

#### Manner:

ni-h-čih-ki iWikal [keha no-tata neč-ilwi]

I-it-do-PAST same like my-father me-told

'I did just like my father told me.'

aš ni-h-mati [kehaca ti-pano-s-eh]  
NEG I-it-know how we-pass-FUT-PL

'I don't know how we will get by.'

nes-ki [keha tlatla-yaya]  
appear-PAST like burn-PRES:DUR

'It looked like it was burning.'

Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses can occur before or after the main clause. Clauses meaning 'before' have aya negative 'not yet' as an introducer:

neč-tlapepen-ki [aya pewa tlaltepak-tli]  
me-choose-PAST not:yet start world-ABS  
'He chose me before the world began.'

A  $\emptyset$  subordinator is most common for 'when' clauses.

ni-mo-ilwi' neč-aWa-s [ni-ahsi-ti no-ča]  
I-REFL-said me-fuss:at-FUT I-arrive-go my-house  
'I thought she would fuss at me when I arrived home.'

The kema 'when' subordinator (same as question word) can be used.

[kema ni-walah-ki] yahaya yah-ki 'When I came, he left.'  
when I-come-PAST he go-PAST

The 'while' idea can be expressed by  $\emptyset$ :

[ni-wala-yaya i-pan oh-tli] ni-k-ita-k seh tli-tl  
I-come-PAST:DUR its-place road-ABS I-it-see-PAST a fire-ABS  
'While I was coming down the road, I saw a fire.'

The 'while' idea can be emphasized by kema noha 'while still'.

ni-k-ihk<sup>w</sup>iloh-ki ne ama-tl [kema noha ni-wec-toya i-pan tlapēč-tli]  
I-it-write-PAST that paper-ABS when still I-fall-PAST:PERF its-place bed-ABS  
'I wrote that letter while I was still in bed.'

Other

'If', 'even if', 'because', 'therefore', 'in order to', and 'until' clauses are marked by an introducer that is clause initial. These subordinate clauses can go before or after the main clause and any tense can occur in them unless otherwise specified.

'If' clauses are marked by the introducer tla or intla.

[intla Wan yah-ki yalwaya] maria ya-s mostla  
if PN go-PAST yesterday PN go-FUT tomorrow  
'If John went yesterday, Mary will go tomorrow.'

mik-toskia [tla aš yah-toskia kampa médiko]  
die-IRR if NEG go-IRR where doctor  
'He would have died if he hadn't gone to the doctor.'

ya-s mohmostla [intla weli-s] 'He will go daily if he can.'  
go-FUT daily if able-FUT

'Even if' clauses are marked by the introducer yonke.

aš ni-ya-s ospitál [yonke ni-miki-s]  
 NEG I-go-FUT hospital even:if I-die-FUT  
 'I will not go to the hospital even if I die.'

'Because' clauses are introduced by pampa.

aš neč-paktiya i-tlamačtih-ka [pampa aš tlamačtiya k<sup>W</sup>ali]  
 NEG me-please his-teacher-POSSD:AG because NEG teach well  
 'I don't like his teacher because she doesn't teach well.'

'Therefore' clauses are introduced by yeka.

ni-mokokowa-yaya [yeka aš ni-yah-ki]  
 I-sick-PAST:DUR therefore NEG I-go-PAST  
 'I was sick; therefore I didn't go.'

'In order to' clauses are marked by the introducer para, which is borrowed from Spanish. Only incompletive tenses and aspects occur in a para clause.

ni-h-mok<sup>W</sup>itlawih-ki i-kone [para weli ya-s tlačik<sup>W</sup>eni-s]  
 I-it-take:care:of-PAST her-child in:order:that able go-FUT wash-FUT  
 'I took care of her child so that she could go wash.'

'Until' clauses are marked by the introducer asta, which is borrowed from Spanish.

neč-aWa-k miak [asta ni-kis-ki]  
 me-scold-PAST much until I-leave-PAST  
 'She scolded me a lot until I left.'

The introducer asta 'until' occurs with kema 'when' following it.

ni-teki-ti-yaya [asta kema peh-ki tla'aweci]  
 I-work-VR-PAST until when start-PAST rain  
 DUR  
 'I was working until it started to rain.'

## TEXTS

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

ne koyo-čiči Wan ne oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči  
 that outsider-dog and that grey-wood-rabbit  
 coyote jackrabbit

(E dialect)

- One day when a big coyote was really hungry,  
 seh tonal kema seh wey-i koyo-čiči nelia mayana-yaya  
 one day when one big-ADJR coyote really hungry-PAST:DUR  
 he was chasing a jackrabbit there in the woods.  
 ki-toh-toka-yaya seh oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči ne k<sup>W</sup>a-titla  
 it-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR one jackrabbit there wood-CHAR:BY  
 chase
- That jackrabbit was really afraid, but he knew  
 nelia mah-mawi-yaya nopa oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči pero ki-mati-yaya  
 really RDP-fear-PAST:DUR that jackrabbit but it-know-PAST:DUR  
 he couldn't run far  
 a=y=ok weli-yaya motlalowa weh-ka  
NEG=already=again able-PAST:DUR run big-place  
 no longer far  
 because he was already old and his feet were tired.  
 pampa ya=we-wen-ci Wan ikši-tlašikowa-yaya  
 because already=RDP-old-DIM and foot-be:tired-PAST:DUR
- Therefore suddenly that jackrabbit stopped  
 wahka isokapa nopa oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči mo-til-kec-ki  
 therefore suddenly that jackrabbit REFL-stop-stand-PAST  
 and faced that coyote.  
 Wan mo-iš-tlači-lih-ki i-waya nopa koyo-čiči  
 and REFL-face-look-APPLIC-PAST his-with that coyote
- "Stop!" said that jackrabbit.  
 ši-mo-til-keca ki-ihto' nopa oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči  
 IMP-REFL-stop-stand it-said that jackrabbit  
 "Why are you chasing me?  
 para tlen ti-neč-toh-toka  
 for what you-me-chase  
 why

5. Are you going to eat me?"  
 ti-neč-k<sup>Wa</sup>-s  
 you-me-eat-FUT
6. "Yes," said that coyote, "I will eat you."  
 kena ki-ihto' nopa koyo-čiči ni-mic-k<sup>Wa</sup>-s  
 yes it-said that coyote I-you-eat-FUT
7. "Don't eat me," answered that jackrabbit,  
 amo ši-neč-k<sup>Wa</sup>' ki-nanki-li' nopa oselo-k<sup>Wa</sup>-toči  
 NEG IMP-me-eat it-(?)-APPLIC:PAST that jackrabbit  
 answered  
 "because if you eat me, you will die.  
 pampa intla ti-neč-k<sup>Wa</sup>-s ti-miki-s  
 because if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT
8. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am really  
 ta ti-mo-ilwiya na ni-oselo-k<sup>Wa</sup>-toči pero nelia na  
 you you-REFL-say I I-jackrabbit but really I  
 think  
 a rattlesnake, and when you eat me, my poison  
 ni-kowa-k<sup>W</sup>ečma Wan kema ti-neč-k<sup>Wa</sup>-s no-pah-yo  
 I-snake-rattle and when you-me-eat-FUT my-poison-INAL  
 will kill you."  
 mic-mik-ti-s  
 you-die-CAUS-FUT  
 kill
9. "Therefore what shall I eat?" asked  
 yeka tlački mo-neki ni-h-k<sup>Wa</sup>-s mo-tlah-tłani'  
 therefore what REFL-want I-it-eat-FUT REFL-RDP-earned  
 asked  
 that coyote.  
 nopa koyo-čiči  
 that coyote
10. "Eat these little fruits that  
 ši-h-k<sup>Wa</sup>' ni pil-tla-copel-ka-yo-tł tlen  
 IMP-it-eat these DIM-UNSPEC-sweet-be-ABSTR-ABS REL  
 fruit  
 I picked," said that jackrabbit.  
 ni-h-peh-pen-ki ki-ihto' ne oselo-k<sup>Wa</sup>-toči  
 I-it-RDP:PL-pick-PAST it-said that jackrabbit

11. "I was carrying them home in my little basket  
 ni-h-wika-yaya no-ča i-pan ni no-pil-čiki  
 I-it-carry-PAST:DUR my-home its-place this my-DIM-basket  
 in  
 to go eat them when you started chasing me."  
 para ni-h-k<sup>W</sup>a-ti kema ti-peh-ki ti-neč-toh-toka  
 for I-it-eat-go when you-start-PAST you-me-chase
12. "Jackrabbits eat fruit,"  
oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči-meh ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-h tla-copel-ka-yo-tl  
 jackrabbit-AN:PL it-eat-PL fruit  
 said the coyote, "but snakes that are rattlers  
 ki-ih<sup>to</sup>' nopa koyo-čiči pero kowa-meh tlen k<sup>W</sup>ečma-meh  
 it-said that coyote but snake-AN:PL REL rattler-AN:PL  
 never eat fruit.  
 aš kema ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-h tla-copel-ka-yo-tl  
 NEG when it-eat-PL fruit
13. Therefore really you are a jackrabbit even though you say no.  
 wahka nelia ta ti-oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči maske ti-k-ih<sup>towa</sup> aštle  
 therefore really you you-jackrabbit even:though you-it-say no
14. You can fool yourself but you can't fool me.  
 weli-s ti-mo-kahkayawa-s pero ta aš weli-s ti-neč-kahkayawa-s  
 able-FUT you-REFL-fool-FUT but you NEG able-FUT you-me-fool-FUT
15. It is good you are a jackrabbit.  
 k<sup>W</sup>al-ti-tok ta ti-oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči  
 good-CONN-STAT you you-jackrabbit
16. Everybody likes to eat jackrabbits,  
 noči-meh kin-pak-tiya-h ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-s-eh oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči-meh  
 all-AN:PL them-happy-CAUS-PL it-eat-FUT-PL jackrabbit-AN:PL  
 please  
 but I don't like to eat snakes that are rattlers."  
 pero aš neč-pak-tiya ni-kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-s kowa-meh tlen k<sup>W</sup>ečma-meh  
 but NEG me-please I-them-eat-FUT snake-AN:PL REL rattler-AN:PL
17. Therefore that coyote ate that jackrabbit  
 wahka nopa koyo-čiči ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ki nopa oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči  
 therefore that coyote it-eat-PAST that jackrabbit  
 that was trying to fool him.  
 tlen ki-neki-yaya ki-kahkayawa-s  
 REL it-want-PAST:DUR him-fool-FUT

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18. Also he ate that little fruit that was  
 nohkia ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ki nopa pil-tla-copel-ka-yo-tl tlen el-toya  
 also it-eat-PAST that DIM-fruit REL be:located-PAST:PERF  
 in the little basket of the jackrabbit.  
 i-pan i-pil-čiki nopa oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči  
 in his-DIM-basket that jackrabbit
19. When that coyote ate the fruit of that  
 kema nopa koyo-čiči ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ki i-pil-tla-copel-ka-yo nopa  
 when that coyote it-eat-PAST his-DIM-fruit that  
 jackrabbit, right away he died at the foot of the tree.  
 oselo-k<sup>W</sup>a-toči niman-ci mih-ki ne k<sup>W</sup>a-cin-tla  
 jackrabbit quick-DIM die-PAST that wood-buttocks-place
20. That fruit was very poisonous.  
 nopa tla-copel-ka-yo-tl nelia ki-piya-yaya i-pah-yo  
 that fruit really it-have-PAST:DUR its-medicine-INAL



I was Horse-Thrown on the Road

ni-mo-kawa-tepešwi i-pan oh-tli  
 I-REFL-horse-throw its-place road-ABS  
 (E dialect)

1. Now this season, April and May, there are spring fields,  
 ama ni tonali ni abril mayo onka tonal-mili  
 now these days this April May be sun-fields  
  
 really a lot of pure birds are there.  
 tlawelnelia san toto-meh ic-tok-eh  
 really really just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL
2. Those birds didn't allow us  
 a=yok teč-kawi-liya-h nopa toto-meh para toWanti  
 no:longer us-leave-APPLIC-PL those bird-AN:PL for we  
 allow  
  
 to eat that young corn that is in the field.  
 ma ti-k<sup>w</sup>a-kah nopa elo-tl tlen el-tok mila  
 EXHRT we-eat-IMP:PL that young:corn-ABS REL be-STAT field
3. I can no longer go anywhere; I just guard my field.  
 na a=yok weli kana ni-ya san ni-h-mok<sup>w</sup>itlawiya no-mila  
 I no:longer able anywhere I-go just I-it-guard my-field
4. It isn't big; it's just a little thing, but  
 aš wey-i san seh pil-ken-ci pero  
 NEG big-ADJR just a DIM-little-ADJR but  
  
 I don't want to let those birds eat that corn.  
 aš ni-h-neki ma ki-k<sup>w</sup>a-kah toto-meh nopa elo-tl  
 NEG I-it-want EXHRT it-eat-IMP:PL bird-AN:PL that young:corn-ABS
5. And so I was guarding my field, that corn.  
 Wan ihkino ni-h-mok<sup>w</sup>itlawi' no-mila nopa elo-tl  
 and so I-it-guarded my-field that young:corn-ABS
6. And I went to buy.  
 Wan ni-yah-ki ni-tla-kowa-to  
 and I-go-PAST I-UNSPEC-buy-went
7. I went there to Chapopote to get kerosene.  
 ni-yah-ki nepa čapopote ni-h-k<sup>w</sup>i-to has  
 I-go-PAST there tar (PN) I-it-get-went gas

8. And it was already late when I left my field;  
 Wan ya=tiotlak ni-kis-teh-ki no-mila  
 and already=late I-leave-leave-PAST my-field  
 I couldn't leave them I was spying on.  
 aš weli-yaya ni-kin-kah-tewa ni-tla-'piya-yaya  
 NEG able-PAST:DUR I-them-leave-leave I-UNSPEC-spy-PAST:DUR
9. And I went and got on leaving my horses,  
 Wan ni-yan-ki ni-kin-k<sup>W</sup>ih-teh-ki no-kawayoh-wa  
 and I-go-PAST I-them-get-leave-PAST my-horse-POSSD:PL  
 and I took one for the load,  
 Wan seh ni-h-wika-k para tlamamal-i  
 and one I-it-take-PAST for load-ABS  
 and one I took to ride on.  
 Wan seh ni-h-wika-k para i-pan ni-yah-ki  
 and one I-it-take-PAST for its-place I-go-PAST  
 on (it)
10. And I was going along just on the road where those oilmen were fixing.  
 Wan ni-yawi-yaya san i-pan oh-tli kampa ki-k<sup>W</sup>al-tlali-yaya-h  
 and I-go-PAST:DUR just on road-ABS where it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL  
 nopa petroleros  
 those oilmen
11. But since in places the road was bad,  
 pero kehki kanaya aš k<sup>W</sup>al-i nopa oh-tli  
 but since in:places NEG good-ADJR that road-ABS  
 they were fixing it because it had rained  
 ki-k<sup>W</sup>al-tlali-yaya-h pampa wec-ki a-tl  
 it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL because fall-PAST water-ABS  
 and damaged that road.  
 Wan ihtlakah-ki nopa oh-tli  
 and damage-PAST that road-ABS
12. And my horse saw those oilmen were working  
 Wan nopa no-kawayo ki-ita-k teki-ti-yaya-h nopa petroleros  
 and that my-horse it-see-PAST work-VR-PAST:DUR-PL those oilmen  
 putting in (a tube).  
 ki-tlali-yaya-h  
 it-put-PAST:DUR-PL

13. And my horse did not want to pass.  
Wan aš ki-neh-ki pano-s nopa no-kawayo  
and NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT that my-horse
14. And after that there I waited some time,  
Wan teipa nopano ni-čiš-ki seh ome oras  
and afterwards there I-wait-PAST one two time  
some
- I was watching them for an hour.  
ni-kin-tlačilih-tok asta pano-k seh ora  
I-them-watch-PRES:PERF until pass-PAST one hour
15. And afterwards I returned again; I didn't pass  
Wan teipa sampa ni-mo-k<sup>w</sup>ep-ki aš ni-pano-k  
and afterward again I-REFL-return-PAST NEG I-pass-PAST  
because my horse didn't want to pass.  
pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-neh-ki pano-s  
because that my-horse NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT
16. And I already was made because he didn't want to pass.  
Wan ni-k<sup>w</sup>alan-ki=ya pampa aš ki-neh-ki pano-s  
and I-angry-PAST=already because NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT
17. Therefore I hit him with the whip.  
Wan ni-h-tlali-li' k<sup>w</sup>awasas-tli  
and I-it-put-APPLIC:PAST whip-ABS
18. But because my horse didn't have a bridle,  
pero pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-wika freno  
but because that my-horse NEG it-carry bridle
- just a rope, therefore he took me  
san i-ka meka-tl yeka neč-wika-k  
just its-with rope-ABS therefore me-carry-PAST  
with
- where he wanted to go.  
kampa ya ki-neh-ki ya-s  
where he it-want-PAST go-FUT
19. And I hit him with a whip.  
Wan ni-h-tlali-li' seh k<sup>w</sup>awasas-tli  
and I-him-put-APPLIC:PAST one whip-ABS

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20. Also I was already mad, and he left quickly  
 no ni-k<sup>w</sup>alan-ki=ya Wan kis-ki žikawa-k  
 also I-angry-PAST=already and leave-PAST strong-ADJR  
 and he jumped to one side,  
 Wan mo-makah-ki seh lado  
 and REFL-throw-PAST one side  
 and I also went on one side, and I went falling.  
 Wan na no ni-yah-ki i-pan seh lado Wan ni-weci-to  
 and I also I-go-PAST on one side and I-fall-went
21. And there I went falling, and I hurt myself a little here on my shoulder.  
 Wan nopano ni-weci-to Wan kenci ni-mo-koko' i-pan nika no-ahkol  
 and there I-fall-went and a:little I-REFL-hurt on here my-shoulder
22. And then I stood up.  
 Wan ihkino ni-mo-kec-ki  
 and then I-REFL-stand-PAST
23. I couldn't ride the horse any more;  
a=yok weli-yaya ni-kawa-tlehko-k  
 no:longer able-PAST:DUR I-horse-climb-PAST  
 my shoulder was hurting me.  
 než-kokowa-yaya no-ahkol  
 me-hurt-PAST:DUR my-shoulder
24. And then again I rode even though I had hurt myself a little,  
 Wan ihkino sampa ni-tlehko-k yonke ači ni-mo-kokoh-ki  
 and then again I-climb-PAST even:though a:little I-REFL-hurt-PAST  
 but I circled around; a big circle I made.  
 pero ni-h-maka-k welta wey-i welta ni-tlali'  
 but I-it-give-PAST turn big-ADJR turn I-put:~PAST
25. And there I went running down the road.  
 Wan nopano ni-motlaloh-ti-nen-ki i-pan nopa oh-tli  
 and there I-run-CONN-walk-PAST on that road-ABS  
 habitually
26. I had really hurt myself.  
 k<sup>w</sup>ali ni-mo-koko'  
 well I-REFL-hurt:~PAST
27. And then I thought, it's nothing else but  
 Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwi' aš tlahki se=yok tlaman-tli  
 and then I-REFL-said NEG nothing one=yet thing-ABS  
 another

I hurt myself because of those birds that are in the field,  
 ni-mo-koko' pampa nopa toto-meh ic-tok-eh mila  
 I-REFL-hurt:PAST because those bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL field

those birds really damaging the young corn.  
 nopa toto-meh tlawel ki-ihlakoh-k-eh elo-tl  
 that bird-AN:PL really it-damage-PAST-PL young:corn-ABS

28. And so now at this time, this April just birds are there  
 Wan yeka ama ni tiempo ni abril san toto-meh ic-tok-eh  
 and so now this time this April just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL

where the field is.  
 kampa onka mila  
 where be field

29. And I returned; I came like I had been punished because  
 Wan ni-mo-k<sup>wep</sup>-ki ni-wala keha ni-mo-tlacak<sup>wiltih</sup>-tok pampa  
 and I-REFL-turn-PAST I-come like I-REFL-punish-PRES:PERF because

I was dirty and I was hurt  
 ni-sokiyoh-tok Wan ni-mo-kokoh-tok  
 I-dirty-STAT and I-REFL-hurt-STAT  
 because I was horse-thrown.  
 pampa ni-mo-kawa-tepešiwih-ki  
 because I-REFL-horse-throw-PAST

30. So I came towards my field; again I arrived at my field;  
 ihkino ni-wala-ko para no-mila sampa ni-ahsi-ko no-mila  
 so I-come-came for my-field again I-arrive-came my-field

there I came and remained already again.  
 nopano ni-mo-kawa-ko=ya=nok  
 there I-REFL-leave-came=already=again  
 stay

31. I can't go anywhere any more.  
 a=yok weli kana ni-ya  
 no:longer able anywhere I-go

32. And then I thought until I laughed at myself because  
 Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwiya asta no ni-mo-wecki-liya pampa  
 and then I-REFL-say until also I-REFL-smile-APPLIC because  
 think laugh at

I went around being horse-thrown.  
 ni-mo-kawa-tepešiw-ti-nemi-yaya  
 I-REFL-horse-throw-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR  
 habitually



# MICHOACÁN NAHUAL

*William R. Sicho*





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## INTRODUCTION

This dialect of Nahuatl is spoken by about a thousand to fifteen hundred people, almost all of whom occupy four villages and their environs in the Pacific coastal region of the state of Michoacán in Mexico. The four villages are Ostula, Coire, Pómaro, and San Pedro Naranjestil. Of the four, Pómaro is the only one in which all of the inhabitants speak Aztec, and it is in this village that I have been studying the language during various field trips since October 1960.

Many of the speakers of this dialect of Aztec have aided me in learning the language, principally the following: Nicolasa Padua de Papas, Zenaído Aquino Campanela, Fortino Ortiz (now deceased), Ricarda Isidro vda. de Ortiz, Gabriel Flores, Eliseo Juan, Anastasio Aquino, and Maximino Gaitán.

Speakers of this dialect are descendants of a large group, who even before the Spanish arrived had been subjugated by the Tarascan Indians. (Pómaro, incidentally, is a Tarascan name, not Aztec.) The domain had extended from present-day Apatzingán, in the vicinity of which remain many vestiges of the ancient civilization of these people, to the Pacific coast. Through the centuries their numbers have dwindled until today only these thousand or so speakers of the dialect still preserve their identity through the language.

Monolingualism is non-existent among them. Notwithstanding, Aztec is preferred as the medium of communication, especially in Pómaro.

There is a great admixture of Spanish loan words in the vocabulary, and most utterances of any length contain Spanish words. There has also been some influence of Spanish grammar brought to bear on Aztec grammar, as will be seen in the following grammatical sketch.

## PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	c	č	k	k <sup>w</sup>	'	i	u
(b)	(d)			(g)			e	o
	s		š		h		a	
m	n		(ñ)					
	l		(r)					
w		y			W			
					Y			

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable except in verbals in which the final two syllables are contracted into one syllable, and then the stress falls on the ultimate syllable. It is usual for speakers to say the contracted form: tomáwak → tomák 'fat'; úyak → úk 'he went'; nimicmáka → nimicmá 'I give it to you'. There are also some locative words with ultimate stress that is invariable, but through comparison with words in other dialects they are found to be probable contractions of two syllables originally. One can only guess at the sounds that were dropped: \*lasiwakan, \*lasiwayan (?) now always heard as lasiwán 'shade'; probably the former form is the correct one.

No word in this dialect occurs with an initial vowel nor with initial W or Y. Symbols in parentheses are allophones or sounds occurring in loan words. A d occurs only after n except when it occurs word initially, and then the n even there may be heard faintly: da, nda 'if'. The symbol b is used for a voiced bilabial stop or fricative, the variation reflecting its Spanish source. Word-initial glottal stops are not written.

### Major Phonological Processes

A p becomes k when followed by t, even in loan words: mo-k<sup>w</sup>epa (REFL-return) 'he returns', mo-k<sup>w</sup>ek-ti-ka (REFL-return-CONN-be) 'he is returning'. An a is raised slightly when occurring in a final unstressed syllable. In unstressed syllables, i and e fluctuate as do also u and o, the higher vowels predominating. In some words, w disappears in an unstressed syllable following a stressed syllable whose vowel is a front one. The w reappears, of course, if the stress changes to its syllable or is otherwise lost from the preceding stressed syllable with the front vowel: i-kšían 'his foot', i-kšiwá-hmes 'his feet'; péwa or péa 'he begins', ki-pewa-ti-a (it-begin-CAUS-PRES) 'he begins it'.

A c becomes s when followed by t, weci 'he falls', wes-ti-ka (fall-CONN-be) 'he is falling'.

A ' becomes k in a few cases: \*ma 'amo becomes ma kamo 'let not'; \*k-ah-'aWa becomes k-ah-kaWa (him-RDP-scold) 'he scolds him bitterly'. The tl of most Aztec dialects occurs as l in this dialect; l in turn changes to d when occurring after n (see above), except in the case of one verb k-anlani-a (him-give: charge:to-PRES) 'he gives him a charge to fill'. Or the l becomes t, so that instead of \*mosla, the form is mosta 'tomorrow'; ki-pala 'he changes it' becomes ki-pati-li-a (him-change-APPLIC-PRES) 'he changes it for him'. A k<sup>w</sup> occurs in only one word syllable-finally, never word-finally: nek<sup>w</sup>li 'honey'.

A syllable-final w becomes h when followed by another consonant: ki-kuw-a (it-buy-PRES) 'he buys it', ki-kuh-ti-ka (it-buy-CONN-be) 'he is buying it'; from k<sup>w</sup>awil 'tree', \*k<sup>w</sup>aw-lan becomes k<sup>w</sup>ah-lan 'forest'.

An affricate becomes h if followed by an affricate or s: nič-copini-k (me-prick-PERF) becomes nih-copini-k 'it pricks me'.

A k becomes h if followed by another k, whether within a word or between word boundaries: \*u-ya-k k-ana-k (PERF-go-PERF it-get-PERF) becomes u-ya-h k-ana-k 'He went to get it'; \*ni-k-kuw-a (I-it-buy-PRES) becomes ni-h-kuw-a 'I buy it'. This is true also if k is followed by g.

In verb stems whose final syllable begins with s, the s becomes š on the affixation of the causative or applicative suffixes: ahsi 'arrive', k-ahši-lti-a (it-arrive-CAUS-PRES) 'he places it at, causes it to contact'; ki-lasa 'he throws it', ki-laši-li-a (him-throw-APPLIC-PRES) 'he throws it at him'; kisa 'he goes out', ki-kiš-ti-a (it-go: out-CAUS-PRES) 'he removes it'.

In verb stems whose final syllable is ya, the a drops and the y changes to š if followed by a t-initial suffix: ki-piya 'he has it', ki-piš-ti-ka (it-have-CONN-be) 'he is having/holding it'. Otherwise an š is attached to the ya in front of the t-initial suffix: lašokuya 'he makes a sour face', lašokuyaš-ti-ka 'he is making a sour face'.

Loan words from Spanish with an initial fl become words with an initial pl in Aztec: fleča becomes pleča 'arrow'; flakito becomes plakito 'thin'.

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

### Word Order

Transitive sentences have a tendency to place the subject first. The preference in intransitive sentences is for the subject to follow the verb. The order of the other constituents is loosely fixed, some constituents more loosely than others. Emphasis is effected through change in order, likewise topicalization. Here is a tentative design for a neutral order:

INTR	TEMP	PRT	NP	PRT	V	ADV	NP	NP
			(SUBJ)				(DIR OBJ)	(DAT)

Only V is obligatory. The introducer slot includes conjunctions and subordinators. The particle after the temporal position is usually the Spanish loan word pues 'so/then'. The particle before V is amo 'not', ayamo 'not yet', or yahmo 'no more'; or it may be the hortatory particle ma (which may be negated by placing the negative particle immediately after, i.e., kamo, which is the form used after the hortatory, following the morphophonemic rules set forth in the section on phonology). The adverbial is usually one of manner or location.

wan	ašan	pwes	newal	ni-mic-ihk <sup>w</sup>	ilui-li-h-ti-ka	resio
and	now	then	I	I-you-write-APPLIC(h)-CONN-be	intensely	
se	amal	pa	tewal			
a	paper	for	you			

'And now, then, I am furiously writing a letter to you.'

Topic

Emphasis of a constituent may be effected by placing it before the verb:

wan tata no-nobia len ti-ya-lo ti-k-maka-lo  
and papa my-fiancée what we-go-PL we-her-give-PL  
'And Dad, my fiancée, what are we going to give her?'

in bwey amo ni-k-mik-ti-k de gusto  
the ox NEG I-it-die-CAUS-PERF of pleasure  
'I did not kill the ox for fun.'

wan san in masal kim-panawi-k  
and only the doe them-pass-PERF  
'And only the doe passed them.'

In the above, the addition of the particle san before the subject serves to emphasize.

wan in se nepa unka kiči ši-šíl ya unka nikan  
and that one there is how:many RDP-year already is here  
'How many years has that one there been here already?'

tel animal-ito ti-iš-la-k<sup>W</sup>a-li-ta-t-aya  
you animal-DIM you-me-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-APPLIC-CONN:be-(?)-PAST  
ni-ya ni-mic-a-lti-a ka al tibiy-ito  
I-go I-you-water-CAUS-PRES with water tepid-DIM  
'You, you little beastie who ate up my crop for me always, I'm going to bathe you with tepid water.'

In the above example, the grammatical function of the t that precedes the PAST suffix -aya is unknown. Therefore, a question mark is used in the gloss.

Pronoun Copies

Even though the pronoun subject and object prefixes obligatorily appear in the verb, explicit subjects and objects may co-occur:

tewal ti-k-cayana-s k<sup>W</sup>awil 'You will split wood.'  
you you-it-split-FUT wood

Emphasis may be achieved through use of a pronoun copy:

unka no-siwak<sup>W</sup>ak<sup>W</sup>a newal 'It's my cow.'  
is my-cow I

In the above example the emphasis is more intense than if the pronoun preceded the possessed item, as it does in the following example:

newal no-nobia 'my fiancée'  
I my-fiancée

Postpositional expressions, although rather rare, may also take pronoun copies:

i-pan in lakal	'on the man'
his-on the man	
no-pan newal	'on <u>me</u> '
my-on I	

### Resumptive Pronoun Construction

wan in ok sekin laka-mes pos yewanten mo-keca-he nohe  
 and the yet some man-PL why they REFL-stand-PERF:PL also  
 'And the other men stood up, also.'

wan in hente yewanten amo siawi-lo-aya  
 and the men they NEG tire-PL-PAST  
 'And the men were not tiring.'

### Focus

Clefting: may take ka 'be' or not, with nothing to mark subordination.

[ni-k-palewi-k] ka-t-aya in lunes  
 I-him-help-PERF be-(?)-PAST this Monday  
 'It was this Monday I helped him.'

There are other focus devices:

wan ya una bes amwanten amo an-ye-s unidos tiž-kiš-ti-a  
 and now once you:PL NEG you:PL-be-FUT united us-leave-CAUS-PRES  
 pero por amwanten amo por elegobierno  
 but because:of you:PL NEG because:of government  
 'And now once you are not in agreement, he expels us, but because of you, not because of the government.'

## PARTICLES

### Conjunctions and Adverbs

wan	'and' (INTR) (Primary meaning is actually 'with' (in the associative sense); otherwise acts as a coordinating conjunction.)
wan gabriel u-ya-he*	'Did he go with Gabriel?'
with PN	PERF-go-PERF:PL
yohe/yohke	'thus' (If followed by <u>pwes</u> 'then', it means 'therefore'.)
k <sup>w</sup> akín/k <sup>w</sup> akinon	'then' (sequential)
ašan/aškan	'now, today'

\*The prefix u- is a vestigial perfective which occurs only with the verb ya 'go'.

- pero 'but' (Spanish)
- nuso An expletive used after verbs, connotes impatience or anger:  
 ši-ya nuso 'Go, for crying out loud!'  
 IMP-go then
- da/nda 'if' (Also in certain contexts, used initially in a clause, denotes strong affirmation or negation.)
- sinda 'if' (Apparently a wedding of the Spanish *si* 'if' with the corresponding Nahuatl particle, always meaning 'if'.)
- pampa 'because, that' (Latter as complement clause subordinator. It can be inflected with pronoun possessive markers—first, second, and third; singular and plural. When used thus, it is always preceded by the Spanish loan *por* 'through' (INSTR).)  
 por i-pampa 'by reason of him/it'  
 through his-because
- len 'what' (Used as subordinator. Also used as an expletive followed by *amo* NEG plus verb to register something unexpected or shocking.)  
 ni-k-ita-k in tel len nič-laši-li-k  
 I-it-see-PERF the rock what me-throw-APPLIC-PERF  
 'I saw the rock that he threw at me.'
- mente Adverb used preceding a positive verb to register intensity.  
 mente cik<sup>w</sup>ini-he i-tenko in prinsesa  
 simply jump-PERF:PL her-edge the princess  
 'They simply jumped round about the princess.'
- amalá Probably a contraction, but it is impossible to guess at the full form since it is always heard in this form. The first part may be the negative *amo* merged into the etymologically indeterminate *-alá*. The sense is something like 'Be careful not to...'. It is always used immediately preceding the verb.
- sangá/hangá 'lest' (Used with or without NEG without any apparent change in meaning.)  
 ma kamo yawi hangá mo-k<sup>w</sup>alti-ti-kisa-s len animal  
 EXHRT NEG go lest REFL-maul-CONN-hurry-FUT some animal  
 'Don't let him go, lest some animal suddenly maul him.'  
 ni-mic-ili-a san yohe amo hangá  
 I-you-say-PRES just so lest  
 ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-s  
 you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT  
 'I say it to you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself.'



**Polarity**

kema	'yes' (POS) (As an affirmative, is usually preceded by the particle <u>ho</u> .)
neli	'truly'
no	'no' (Spanish) (Also an expletive to introduce an explanation.)
amo	NEG
ayamo	'not yet'
yahmo	'no more'
kil	QUOT
wil	POT
miak	'much'
nadita	'a little'
se tipičín	'a little'
len	'some, a certain' (INTNS) (Used with NEG for positive effect.)

wan da amo ki-walika-k kema o wala ka kabayo o  
 and if NEG him-bring-PERF POS either come with horse or  
 wala por lanča  
 come by boat  
 'And if he didn't bring him, it's certain he'll either come by horse or  
 by boat.'

ho ke(ma) ni-ya ni-k-ana tulin pa pelal  
 yes I-go I-it-get tulin:grass for mat  
 'Yes, I'm going to get tulin for a grass mat.'

k-ihtu-k pampa kema yawi-aya k<sup>W</sup>ahmilu  
 it-say-PERF that yes go-PAST do:fieldwork  
 'He said that yes, he was going to work in the field.'

ka-t-aya kil hente mas maldito  
 be-(?)-PAST QUOT people more wicked  
 'It is said they were a more wicked people.'

ki-maka-k nadita al  
 him-give-PERF little water  
 'She gave him a little water.'

la-htu-a miak  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-talk-PRES much  
 'He talks a lot.'

len animal ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>a-k  
 some animal him-RDP-bite-PERF  
 'Some animal bit him.'

Modalk<sup>W</sup>ahnesi 'perhaps'

wehtika 'perhaps'

san/han/ha 'just, only' (The forms ha and han never occur except preceding what they modify, whereas san may either precede or follow.)

ha in san (Said at termination of discourse.)  
just this only

k-ihtu-a san pampa dlos  
it-say-PRES only because God  
'He only says "Thank you".'

k<sup>W</sup>ahnesi ti-k-ita-ski mosta  
perhaps we-it-see-FUT:PL tomorrow  
'Perhaps we'll see it tomorrow.'

Aspect

ya 'already, now' (Spanish) (PERF)

In texts there are examples of this particle used with most tenses, but it seems to be used principally with the present and perfect tenses to mark completive action or to reinforce completed action.

k<sup>W</sup>ando ya kisa-s no-kompadre  
when already leave-FUT my-compadre  
'...when my compadre will have left'

wan de umpa ya mo-keca sehpa  
and from there already REFL-rise again  
'...and then she is up again'

wan i-kompadre ya ki-pi-aya nawi o mak<sup>W</sup>ili tonali-hmes  
and his-compadre now it-have-PAST four or five day-PL

ki-temuh-ti-nemi-aya i-bwey  
it-search-CONN-walk-PAST his-ox  
'And his compadre had walked for four or five days searching for his ox.'

With durative aspect, perfective sense cannot be assumed when this particle is used:

ši-k-ita padrino mo-bwey ya ti-h-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ti-ka-te i-nakal  
IMP-it-see godfather your-ox already we-it-eat-CONN-be-PL its-meat  
'Look, godfather, we are now eating the meat of your ox.'

Other

- ho An expletive observed only in two contexts:  
 ho kema/ho ke 'yes' (Or perhaps 'That's it precisely'.)  
 ho k<sup>w</sup>akin 'well, then' (Meaning: 'If that's the way you feel about it...'.)

## BE/HAVE/DO

BE

- ∅ The subject-marking prefix, normally occurring on verbs, attaches to N, ADJ, or ADV in this construction. Note that the third person prefix is zero. The tense may be considered present or timeless.

ni-lakal		'I'm a man.'
I-man		
ti-čikawak		'You are strong.'
you-strong		
amo ni-kinami inon		'I am not like that.'
NEG I-like	that	
kuwal		'It's a snake.'
snake		
no-dedo čik <sup>w</sup> enta isai i-dedo		'My toe is like Isai's finger.'
my-toe like	PN his-finger	

An overt subject noun can occur:

kokoški in siwal		'The woman is sick.'
sick	the woman	
in lakal k <sup>w</sup> ahtik se lamaštini		'That tall man is a teacher.'
that man tall	a teacher	

ka 'be'

In all the above examples this root for 'be' can be substituted, if the speaker so prefers, to render the present tense. For all persons of the singular and for the second person plural, the stem is unka. In the first and third persons plural, it is kate.

ya unka bweno		'Now it is good.'
now is	good	
ti-ka-te mičeros		'We are fishermen.'
we-be-PL	fishermen	
an-unka koh-kokoški		'You all are sick.'
you:PL-are	RDP-sick	

All other tenses of course require ka or ye in their corresponding form; otherwise tense would be indistinguishable. Often the meaning of ka corresponds to the transitory sense of the Spanish estar.

Following are examples from all tenses with ka, excepting present.\*

se kompadre ka-t-aya bwena hente  
one compadre be-(?)-PAST good person  
'One compadre was a good sort.'

kal-ihitik ka-ta-lo-aya 'They were in the house.'  
house-inside be-(?)-PL-PAST

amo ka-ya-si nikan 'They will not be here.'  
NEG be-(?)-FUT:PL here

ya ti-ka-ya-lo-ski-aya miak tonali nepa pa yiwal  
already we-be-(?)-PL-FUT-PAST many day there so:that he  
tič-palewi-ski-aya  
us-help-FUT-PAST

'We would have liked to have been there many days for him to have helped us.'

ka-ya-k se kasion kisa-k de pa i-čan in točin  
be-(?)-PERF one occasion leave-PERF from at his-home the rabbit  
'It was on one occasion that the rabbit left his home.'

For the remote past tense there are two stems, and there seems to be no distinguishing feature to determine when to use one or the other.

ti-ka-ya-ni moči semilwil pin k<sup>W</sup>ahlan  
you-be-(?)-REM:PAST all day in woods  
'Back then you were all day in the woods.'

ti-ka-ta-ni-hme pa yina moči tonalko alamar  
we-be-(?)-REM:PAST-PL to time:past all dry:season seashore  
'Long ago we spent all the dry season at the seashore.'

ye 'be'

This stem seems to denote permanent state, like the Spanish ser 'to be'. It does not occur in the present indicative tense, although it does occur in the hortatory and imperative. Nor does it occur in the past nor in the remote past. Speakers say there is no difference in meaning between the two roots ka and ye, but there is obviously a subtle difference which may be being lost among the younger speakers.

amo ši-ye tonto 'Don't be silly.'  
NEG IMP-be silly

yohe ma ye 'May it be thus.'  
thus EXHRT be

wan ti-ye-k gwače 'And you were a soldier?'  
and you-be-PERF soldier

\*In the gloss, the morpheme in parentheses cannot be translated.

len ye-s la-k<sup>Wa</sup> nikan 'What must it be that eats here?'  
 what be-FUT UNSPEC:OBJ-eat here  
 ma kamo ye-kan yohe 'Let them not be like that!'  
 EXHRT NEG be-EXHRT:PL thus  
 ni-k-neki-k pa ye-ski-aya lamaštini  
 I-it-want-PERF that be-FUT-PAST teacher  
 'I wanted him to be a teacher.'

### HAVE

-pia 'have'

This stem becomes piš- when followed by -ti (CONN); it becomes pi- when followed by -li (APPLIC):

ki-pi-aya se šolol prinsesa 'He had a daughter princess.'  
 her-have-PAST an offspring princess

da ti-k-pi-li-a gusto in lakal leka amo  
 if you-him-have-APPLIC-PRES pleasure this man why NEG

ti-k-ili-a kema  
 you-him-say-PRES yes  
 'If you find the man to your liking, why don't you tell him "yes"?'

ašan ki-piš-ti-ka-te miak lakilyo  
 now it-have-CONN-be-PL much fruit  
 'They are having a lot of fruit now.'

### DO

-čiwa 'do, make'

The stem usually appears as -čia in all persons except the plural of first and third persons, when it is -čiwa. This holds true for all tenses except past and remote past, where it is -čiwa throughout. The stem becomes -čih when -ti (CONN) is affixed:

ki-čia se kali 'He builds a house.'  
 it-make a house

ti-k-čiwa-lo-aya in kali 'We built that house.'  
 we-it-make-PL-PAST that house

ki-čih-ti-ka-te in-trabahito 'They are doing their chores.'  
 it-do-CONN-be-PL their-chose

Reduplication of the stem connotes repairing or decoration, etc.

ki-čih-čiwa-hke inmin-kali wal ki-šitini-k in iYekal  
 it-RDP-do-PERF:PL their-house that it-destroy-PERF the wind  
 'They repaired their house that the wind destroyed.'

The reflexive form of the verb means 'become':

mo-čia-k lakal 'He became a man.'  
 REFL-do-PERF man

This stem is homophonous with the stem -čia 'wait', except in the plural first and third persons of the tenses mentioned above, wherein the difference becomes plain when the w reappears in -čiwa 'do' according to the rules mentioned in the section on phonology. Also, the stem -čia 'wait' becomes altered to -čič when followed by -ti (CONN).

ki-čih-ti-ka it-do-CONN-be	'He is doing it.'
ki-čič-ti-ka it-wait-CONN-be	'He is awaiting it.'
ki-čia it-do/await	'He does it.'/'He awaits it.'
ki-čiwa-lo it-do-PL	'They do it.'
ki-čia-lo it-wait-PL	'They await it.'

### NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

#### Passive

The passive suffix -lo of Classical Nahuatl serves other purposes in dialects of today, and so the passive sense is rendered in other ways. One frequently used way is with the reflexive construction. The prefix mo- (REFL), already observed in some examples, also serves to express the reciprocal sense:

han se k <sup>W</sup> išito mo-iti-li-k just one lizard REFL-see-APPLIC-PERF	'Just one lizard was seen.'
mo-neki pa yiwal ya-s REFL-want that he go-FUT	'It is necessary that he go.'
in kuyol mo-konbenseru-k the coyote REFL-convince-PERF	'The coyote was convinced.'
myentras mo-aorkaruh-ta-t-aya in kuyol meanwhile REFL-strangle-CONN:be-(?)-PAST the coyote 'Meanwhile the coyote was being strangled.'	

The context will readily show if the reciprocal sense is intended with a reflexive verb in the plural.

wan moči mo-ili-he mehor ma ti-ya-kan pa to-čan and all REFL-say-PERF:PL better EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL to our-home 'And everyone said to one another, "We'd better go home".'	
---	--

The passive sense can also be expressed by an impersonal use of the third person plural.

kinm-inbitaru-he pan se fiesta ka entero i-siwa wan i-šolo-mes  
 them-invite-PERF:PL to a fiesta with all his-wife and his-kid-PL  
 'He was invited to a party with his wife and kids.'

A less impersonal substitute for the passive is with the use of the third person singular with the indefinite pronoun se 'one'.

k<sup>W</sup>ando se ki-neki ki-čia tapalkal 'When it is desired to make pottery...'  
 when one it-want it-make pottery

When the nominalizing suffix -li (NR) is added to a verb stem, the resulting form with some verbs may be used as a noun having passive sense.

cawa-li 'spun thread'  
 spin-NR

More frequently the prefix la- (UNSPEC OBJ) is added to the stem to form a participle which is used as an adjective, less often as a noun, either alone or in a periphrastic construction to express the passive sense. In none of these constructions has there ever been observed an agent included in the same clause. Lacking such features that are expected of passive constructions, it seems proper not to refer to this type of construction as a true passive, but rather as something approaching a predicate nominative or predicate adjective construction, when the verb ka appears in the construction, at least.

pa yina ti-laken-ti-ni-hme san la-číwa-li  
 at yesteryear we-blanket-CAUS-REM:PAST-PL just UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR  
 'Years ago we dressed only in clothes that were handmade.'

ti-k-pia-lo la-posuni-li in al  
 we-it-have-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-boil-NR the water  
 'We have the water boiled.'

unka la-toka-li in k<sup>W</sup>ahmili ka ayohli  
 is UNSPEC:OBJ-sow-NR the field with squash  
 'The field is sown to squash.'

ya unka la-'ahoki-li  
 now is UNSPEC:OBJ-raise-NR  
 'Now it is raised.'

ti-mo-číwi-li-ni-hme de la-číwa-li he  
 we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL of UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR a  
 tukuru rayado  
 tucuru:garment striped  
 'We used to make ourselves a striped tucuru garment of homespun.'





ki-te-maka-k i-kni ka i-kontrarios  
 him-UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-give-PERF his-brother with his-enemies  
 betray

'He betrayed his brother to his enemies.'

te-k<sup>W</sup>a-ni 'jaguar'

UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-eat-NR  
 living-thing eater

la-palewi-ni 'helper'

UNSPEC:OBJ-help-NR

There is some evidence of a tendency on the part of speakers to merge the unspecified object prefix *la-* into one syllable with the initial syllable of a verb stem that also happens to be *la*, so that instead of \**la-lahlani-a* one usually hears *lahlani-a* (question-PRES) 'he questions'; or *lala-lti-a* (burn-CAUS-PRES) 'he kindles' instead of \**la-lala-lti-a*.

## QUESTIONS

### Yes/No Questions

Marked only by rising intonation. When someone asks another for a favor or anything, it is often if not usually asked for in the negative, possibly because a positive response is desired.

ti-ya ti-k-wika ka tel 'Are you going to take it with you?'  
 you-go you-it-take with you

amo ti-k-pla he botita pa t-ič-maka-s  
 NEG you-it-have a can that you-me-give-FUT  
 'Don't you have a tin can to give me?'

amo t-ič-maka-s nadita al  
 NEG you-me-give-FUT little water  
 'Will you not give me a little water?'

### WH Questions

The WH word is usually initial. An introducer may precede it, or a phrase specifying something unspecified in the question itself may precede it.

aki 'who' (akinoheh PL)  
 kapa 'where'  
 kapik 'to where' (ka kapik also 'to where')  
 ka len 'with what'  
 kalia 'which'  
 kiman 'when'

kiči 'how much'  
 kinami 'how'  
 leka 'why'  
 pa len 'why'  
 len 'what'

aki tewal 'Who are you?'  
 who you

kapa unka no-paša 'Where is my sash?'  
 where is my-sash

kapik ti-ya 'Where are you going?'  
 to:where you-go

ka len ti-k-počina in ičkal 'What do you card the cotton with?'  
 with what you-it-card the cotton

kalia no-koton ni-mic-maka-s 'Which shirt of mine shall I give you?'  
 which my-shirt I-you-give-FUT

kiči kostaru-a 'How much does it cost?'  
 how:much cost-PRES

kiman ti-ya-s pa mo-lali 'When will you go to your country?'  
 when you-go-FUT to your-country

kinami ti-mo-toka 'What is your name?'  
 how you-REFL-name

kinami pwes ti-k-mati-ski len kim-panu-k to-šolo-mes  
 how then we-it-know-FUT:PL what them-happen-PERF our-kid-PL  
 'How shall we know then what happened to our children?'

leka ti-yawi-aya ti-mo-mik-ti 'Why were you going to kill yourself?'  
 why you-go-PAST you-REFL-die-CAUS

pa len ki-čiwa-hke inon 'What did they do this for?'  
 for what it-do-PERF:PL this

len ti-k-neki 'What do you want?'  
 what you-it-want

## IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Marked by the prefix ši- on the stem for the second person singular, with the addition of the suffix -kan (used in both true imperative and exhortative constructions) for the second person plural.

ši-mo-kawa mic-kaki-s in lakal  
 IMP-REFL-stay you-hear-FUT the man  
 'Hush up; the man will hear you.'

ši-kisa-kan pa yohe wil koči-s  
 IMP-leave-EXHRT:PL so thus POT sleep-FUT  
 'Go out so he'll be able to sleep.'

The future may also be used in an imperative sense.

moči an-mo-deteneru-s pa an-ni-mic-ili-s kapik ti-ya-si  
 all you:PL-REFL-stop-FUT so OM-I-OM-say-FUT to:where we-go-FUT:PL  
 you PL  
 'You all will stop so I may tell you where we will go to.'

Exhortatives

Occur in first and third persons, singular and plural. Marked by the particle ma placed before the verb, whose subject markers are the same as those of the indicative tenses. As in the imperative, the plural forms are marked by the suffix -kan.

ma ni-ya 'that I may go'  
 EXHRT I-go

ma ti-ya-kan 'Let's go.'  
 EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL

ma kin-k<sup>wa</sup> in oso nek<sup>w</sup>lero  
 EXHRT them-eat the bear honey:hunter  
 'Let the honey bear eat them.'

ma tekipanu-kan moči semilwil  
 EXHRT work-EXHRT:PL all day  
 'Let them work all day.'

In one situation the exhortative particle ma is used with the first person plural indicative of go. This form sounds less peremptory than the exhortative form, besides giving the hint of an exclusive we, and so guests when taking leave prefer to dismiss themselves therewith.

ma ti-yawi-lo 'We'll be going now.'  
 EXHRT we-go-PL

In all singular forms of the exhortative and the imperative, only the stem of the verb appears, the stem being obvious only in such verbs as end in *ia* or *ua*, in which the majority drop the final *a* to reveal the stem. Furthermore, in a sequence of two singular verbs forming a phrase in the past tense, the second verb appears with only the subject marker and the verb stem.\* This is invariable. In the present and remote past tenses the same phenomenon can occur, but not invariably.

k-ahoki-a it-lift-PRES	'He lifts it.'
ši-k-ahoki IMP-it-lift	'Lift it.'
panu-a pass-PRES	'He passes by.'
ši-panu IMP-pass	'Pass on.'
ma ni-k-mik-ti EXHRT I-it-die-CAUS	'Let me kill it.'
yawi-aya panu go-PAST pass	'He was going to pass by.'
ni-k-ñeki ni-panu I-it-want I-pass	'I want to pass.'
ni-yawi-ni ni-panu I-go-REM:PAST I-pass	'I was going to pass back then.'

### Negative Imperatives

The negative particle amo appears immediately before the imperative verb.

amo ši-nawa-ti	'Don't talk.'
NEG IMP-word-CAUS	

According to the rules set forth in the phonology section, the negative particle becomes kamo, as it appears immediately following the exhortative particle.

ma kamo ki-k <sup>W</sup> a miak	'Let him not eat much.'
EXHRT NEG it-eat much	

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\*But in the first and third persons, the plural suffix *-lo* is of course added to the second verb when the subject is plural. Note that *čia* 'wait' and *pia* 'have', although ending in *ia*, are stems, so the final vowel does not drop in these constructions.

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-cin/-cinde	DIM	-cician/-cicinde	PL
i-pelo-cinde			'his doggie' (or 'dear pet')
his-dog-DIM			
i-pelo-cicinde			'his dear pets'
his-pet-DIM:PL			
i-tah-cician			'his/her parents'
his-father-PL:HON(vestigial)			
-yo	COLL		
i-saka-yo			'its leaves, foliage' ( <u>sakal</u> 'green growth')
its-green: growth-COLL			
i-lakil-yo			'its fruit'
its-fruit-COLL			
-ero	Spanish loan, meaning one having to do with the thing represented by the noun to which it is affixed.		
masal-ero			'deer hunter'
deer-SF			
mič-ero			'fisherman' ( <u>mičín</u> 'fish'; <u>mičeros</u> 'fishermen')
fish-SF			
-era	Spanish loan, with altered meaning 'abundance'.		
siwal-era			'a lot of women'
woman-abundance			
-ahe	Spanish loan <u>-aje</u> , meaning same as above.		
tiškal-ahe			'a lot of stones'
stone-abundance			

V + X = N

-loni	INSTR		
la-čih-čika-loni			'electric shaver' (Word coined on the spot when seeing an electric shaver in use.)
UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-scrape-INSTR			
-lisli	ABSTR		
lamašti-lisli			'pedagogy'
teach-ABSTR			

-ni	AG	
	lamašti-ni	'teacher'
	teach-AG	
	lahtu-ni	'speaker'
	speak-AG	
-li	Designates object of the verb's action.	
	la-k <sup>W</sup> a-li	'something to eat, something eaten'
	UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR	
	cawa-li	'something spun, thread'
	spin-NR	
	la-malina-li	'something twisted like the fibers in rope'
	UNSPEC:OBJ-turn:twists-NR	
-kil	Designates non-agentive subject. (Consists of perfective <u>-ki</u> (see ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY) plus absolutive <u>-l</u> .)	
	mih-kil	'corpse' (miki 'die'; k → h / __k)
	die-NR	
	lašukoya-h-kil	'sourface'
	look:sour-(h)-NR	

### Locative Nouns

Certain suffixes added to nouns and verbs form them into locative nouns, so-called because some can receive possessive pronoun prefixes and/or serve as objects of prepositions, besides serving as locative words in a clause. The following derive locative nouns from other nouns.

-pan	'on'	
	šali-pan	'on the sand' (i.e., 'beach')
	sand-on	
-tilan	'among'	
	saka-tilan	'weedy place'
	green:growth-among	
	tiška-tilan	'stony place'
	stone-among	
-lan	(-dan if/n __) 'place'	
	k <sup>W</sup> ah-lan*	'woods'
	tree-place	

\*With the examples for -tilan should be included k<sup>W</sup>ah-tilan (tree-among) 'woods', although perhaps -tilan connotes denseness here in contrast to -lan (k<sup>W</sup>ah- is the radical of k<sup>W</sup>awil 'tree').

i-cika-lan	'his armpit'
his-armpit-place	
i-kiš-lan	'his neck'
his-neck-place	
-dan	'place' (cf. <u>-lan</u> )
i-cin-dan	'its underside'
its-bottom-place	
la-cin-dan	'any place below'
UNSPEC-bottom-place	
The following derive locative nouns from verbal elements.	
-yan	'time or place location'
i-pewa-yan	'its beginning'
its-begin-time	
-n	It is impossible to tell for sure if this is a contracted form of <u>-kan</u> 'place', or <u>-yan</u> , since it always occurs in contracted words.
temuá-n	'place of descent'
descend-place	
la-siwá-n	'shady place'
UNSPEC:OBJ-shade-place	
-kan	'time location'
k <sup>w</sup> al-kan	'just before dawn'
(?)-time	
-kal	'place'
la-istih-kal	'cold area' ( <u>istik</u> 'cold'; k → h / __k)
UNSPEC-be:cold-place	
lal-molun-kal	'dusty area' / 'cloud of dust'
soil-boil:up-place	

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

SM + X = V

As noted in BE/HAVE/DO, stative predicates can be formed by adding a subject marker to otherwise non-verbal elements.

amo ni-kinami inon	'I'm not like that.'
NEG I-like that	
ni-lakal	'I'm a man.'
I-man	
ni-kokoški	'I'm sick.'
I-sick	

N + X = V

-arua Consists of Spanish infinitive marker -ar plus Nahuatl verbalizer -u plus Nahuatl present indicative marker -a.

laškali-arua	'She makes tortillas.'
tortilla-VR	

Note the following for justification of the proposed segmentation:

<u>ili-ar-u-k</u>	'He wound it.'
<u>hilar-VR-PERF</u>	
spin/wind	

-lti	CAUS	
m-a-lti-a		'He bathes himself.'
REFL-water-CAUS-PRES		
-ti	CAUS	
šan-ti-a		'He dwells.'
home-CAUS-PRES		
-wia		
mahpil-wia		'He points with the finger.'
finger-VR		



k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>a-wia\*  
RDP-tree/wood-VR  
'She gets wood.'

**ADV + X = V**

-ti CAUS  
ki-pan-ti-a  
it-on-CAUS-PRES  
'She shapes it (by adding clay [in pottery making]).' / 'She builds it up; she adds to it.'

**ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY****V + X = ADJ**

-ki PERF  
k<sup>W</sup>alan-ki 'soreheaded'  
be:angry-PERF  
palan-ki 'rotten'  
rot-PERF  
toton-ki 'hot'  
heat-PERF

-k PERF  
picawa-k 'narrow'  
be:narrow-PERF  
waki-k 'dry' (Usually pronounced wáik.)  
dry-PERF

-udo Spanish loan suffix, added to certain adjectives in a pejorative sense.  
k<sup>W</sup>alan-k-udo 'evilly disposed'  
be:angry-PERF-ADJR

-ado Spanish loan; used only on Spanish loan words, whether unaltered or altered to Nahual patterns.  
ili-ado 'wound' (Probably from Spanish hilado.)  
wind-ADJR

\*In the above example it would rightfully seem that the pronunciation should be k<sup>W</sup>ak<sup>W</sup>aWia because of the morphophonemic rules concerning a radical ending in w which resolves into the sound h when followed by a consonant; i.e., k<sup>W</sup>awil 'tree, wood' becomes \*k<sup>W</sup>aw- (radical), which becomes k<sup>W</sup>ah- in this dialect and then, being followed by -wia (VR), might be pronounced as indicated above. But it is not so pronounced, so that one considers the feasibility of positing a radical \*k<sup>W</sup>awj- for k<sup>W</sup>awil and -a as VR. The difficulty here is, however, that there is no other example where a serves as a verbalizer.

N + X = ADJ

-udo	Loan from Spanish, meaning abundance in a pejorative sense.
condi-udo	'hairy'
hair-ADJR	

Miscellaneous

## ADJ = ADJ

k <sup>w</sup> ali	'good'
we	'big'

All adjectives may be made negative by placing the negative amo before them. All adjectives derived from transitive verbs lose the object marker.

## COMPOUNDS

Compounding is no longer as productive a feature of this dialect of Nahuatl as it is in others, but there are numerous frozen forms to illustrate its erstwhile productivity.

Noun Compounds

## N + N = N

ten-conde mouth-hair	'beard'	(N <sub>2</sub> located on N <sub>1</sub> )
kočo-k <sup>w</sup> al parrot-tree	'parrot tree'	(N <sub>2</sub> for N <sub>1</sub> )
tepos-tepel metal-hill	'Ironhill'	(place name) (N <sub>2</sub> made of N <sub>1</sub> )
k <sup>w</sup> aw-ayohli tree-squash	'tree squash'	(N <sub>2</sub> part of N <sub>1</sub> )
tutol-tel bird-stone	'bird's egg'	(pronounced tutótlil) (N <sub>2</sub> from N <sub>1</sub> )
mas-atemil deer-louse	'deer louse'	(N <sub>2</sub> from N <sub>1</sub> )
mela-pili grindstone-child	'metapil'	(N <sub>2</sub> as if from N <sub>1</sub> )

## ADJ + N = N

čiči-k <sup>w</sup> al bitter-wood	'bitter wood bark'
picak-ihyul narrow-breath	'whooping cough'

## N + V = N

tepos-mo-lalu-a	'car'	(Word was coined by one language helper. Others would likely use Spanish word.)
metal-REFL-run-PRES		
it runs		

## N + PRTC = N

k <sup>w</sup> ah-mašali	'forked post'
wood-croched	

Verb Compounds

## N + V = V

kal-panu-a	'He passes from house to house.'
house-pass-PRES	
ki-k <sup>w</sup> a-ya-teki-a	'He baptizes him.'
him-head-water (?) -work-PRES	
amo ši-mo-tem-paka	'Don't rinse out your mouth.'
NEG IMP-REFL-mouth-wash	
ni-k-tol-packa-k	'I strangled him.'
I-him-throat-squeeze-PERF	

In all the above examples N is the object of V.

kuyol-pica	'He howls.'
coyote-blow	
ki-ma-toka	'He touches it.'
it-hand-follow	
ti-k-iš-namiki-a	'You confront him.'
you-him-face-meet-PRES	
ni-lank <sup>w</sup> a-k <sup>w</sup> eca	'I kneel.'
I-knee-bend	

In the above examples N is the subject of V.

## V + V = V

ki-wal-ika	'He brings it.' (The <u>w</u> disappears from <u>wika</u> 'take'.)
it-come-take	
teki-panu-a	'He works.'
work-pass-PRES	

## ADV + V = V

ni-pan-kisa	'I climb (a hill).'
I-on-go:out	
ki-cin-k <sup>w</sup> epa	'He turns it bottom side up.'
it-bottom-return	
ni-k-nel-toka	'I believe (obey) it.'
I-it-truly-follow	
ši-mo-cin-kiš-ti-a	'Slide over (on the chair).'
IMP-REFL-bottom-go:out-CAUS-PRES	(Generally pronounced: <u>šimočinkištia</u> )

## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-l  
-li  
-n  
-en  
∅

The absolutive suffix -l disappears when the plural suffix -mes or the possessed plural -wan is added; it also disappears in certain words when possessed, but this rule is not always observed by some speakers. Likewise, with the possessed plural -wan, it is not always dropped, in certain words, that is. There seems to be a trend toward regularization of plurals among younger speakers, and thus the forms that are encountered less frequently suffer. And whereas in the Michoacán dialect some words are never encountered except possessed, in other dialects many of these same words occur in a free form with the absolutive.

siwa-l	i-siwa	'his wife'	(Only word known at the present time in which the absolutive disappears when possessed. Many pay no attention to this rule.)
woman-ABS	his-woman		
siwa-mes		'women'	
woman-PL			
in-siwa-wan		'their wives'	
their-woman-PL			

With many nouns, -l or -li remains when the noun is plural or possessed; it might be considered part of the stem.

i-lawika-l	'her husband'
her-husband-ABS	
in-lawika-l-wan	'their husbands'
their-husband-ABS-PL	

tiška-li stone-ABS	'stone'	tiška-li-mes stone-ABS-PL	'stones'
tiška-l-tilan stone-ABS-among			'among the stones' (Cf. <u>tiška-tilan</u> 'stony place'.)

These absolutes may however drop in compounds.

k-a-tok-tik him-water-sow-CAUS-PERF drown			'She drowned him.' (al 'water')
a-ten-ko water-mouth-in edge			'water's edge' / 'brook'
siwa-k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> a female-horn			'cow' ( <u>siwal</u> 'woman')
šoko-k <sup>w</sup> al round:fruit-tree			'guava-like fruit' ( <u>šokol</u> )

They also disappear in reduplicated nouns.

koyun-ki-l hole-NR-ABS	'hole'	koh-koyun-ki RDP-hole-NR	'holes'
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∅

kali house	'house'	i-kali his-house	'his house'
kali-mes house-PL	'houses'	i-kali-mes his-house-PL	'his houses'

According to the preference of the speaker, he will use one of two forms for the plural, -mes or -hmes. There does not seem to be much rhyme or reason in his choice.

pelo-hmes dog-PL			'dogs'
i-kni his-sibling			'his/her brother/sister'
i-kni-an his-sibling-PL			'his brothers' (The <u>w</u> of <u>-wan</u> disappears according to morphophonemic rule.)

-en

total-en hen-ABS	'hen'	total-mes hen-PL	'hens' (ABS drops.)
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-n

miči-n	'fish'	miči-(h)mes	'fishes'
fish-ABS		fish-PL	

Spanish loans use on occasion the Nahuatl plural -mes or -hmes, but drop no sounds.

to-abwelo-hmes	'our elders'
our-elder-PL	

### Plural

Marked by reduplication. All adjectives are pluralized by reduplication if they are pluralized at all, unless they are loans from Spanish or unless Spanish loan suffixes are added to the Nahuatl word, in which cases they are pluralized in the Spanish way, if at all. But reduplication, according to context, may also mean intensification of meaning, just as with verbs.

čikawak	'hard'	čih-čikawak	'very hard'
hard		RDP-hard	
gordito-s	'fat ones'		

Locative nouns may also be pluralized by reduplication.

i-tenko	'its edge'	i-teh-tenko	'its edges'
its-edge		its-RDP-edge	
wahcinko	'morning'	wah-wahcinko	'mornings'/'every morning'

Some diminutivized nouns are pluralized through reduplication of the diminutive suffix. However, the Spanish plural -s is affixed finally as if to really insure plurality.

tuto-cinde	'little bird'	tuto-ci-cinde-s	'little birds'
bird-DIM		bird-RDP-DIM-PL	

Some nouns are reduplicated, but the reduplication no longer carries the plural meaning as it still does for the same word in other dialects.

i-ma	'his hand'	i-mah-ma	'his hand'
his-hand		his-RDP-hand	
i-mah-ma-Wan	'his hands'		
his-RDP-hand-PL			

Marked by the plural -mes/-hmes.

laka-l	'man'	laka-mes	'men'
man-ABS		man-PL	
kimičin	'mouse'	kimiči-hmes	'mice'
mouse		mouse-PL	

Marked by the possessed plural suffix -wan/-Wan/-an. (Second form affixed to stems that end in h; third form to stems that end in stressed front vowels.)

in-lawikal-wan their-husband-PL	'their husbands'
i-kni-an his-sibling-PL	'his siblings'

In many contexts, speakers are quite indifferent as to the use of the plural where there is no likelihood of misunderstanding. One instance of an obviously plural form (obvious from comparison with other dialects) being used as a singular form is:

<u>i-kši-an</u> his-foot	'his foot' (Other dialects: <u>i-kši</u> 'his foot')
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When this word is pluralized, it becomes in effect a double plural, and the w of -wan reappears because the preceding front vowel is no longer stressed (see section on PHONOLOGY); and since the n of -wan now finds itself in the absolutive position, it must disappear to accommodate the plural -hmes.

i-kši-wa-hmes his-foot-PL-PL	'his feet'
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Marked by the Spanish loan -era, having come to mean a collective plural. It is affixed without dropping the absolutive of the noun (though -li may reduce to -l).

siwal-era woman-PL	'a lot of women'
tišk'al-era stone-PL	'a lot of stones'

Marked by -yo (COLL PL).

lakil-yo fruit-PL	'fruit'	i-saka-yo its-herbage-PL	'its leaves'
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Marked by the convenient Spanish loan -s.

terikni-s form:of:cotton-PL	'bunches of cotton for spinning'		
sendi ear	'ear of corn'	sendi-s ear-PL	'ears of corn'

## POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor prefixes:

no- /nu-	to- /tu-
mo- /mu-	anmo- /anmu-
i-	in- /inm- /inmin-

Only in stressed syllables does one clearly hear the distinction between o and u. Consequently it is only on two-syllable words in which the possessor prefix is the stressed one that the distinction is noticed, and on most of these the quality is u, especially among the younger speakers. In unstressed syllables the quality is slightly lower than that of u.

The third person plural prefix has three forms, the first and third of which are used with consonant-initial stems. For example, 'their home' can be either in-čan or inmin-čan.

Body parts are inalienably possessed, likewise most words denoting kinship, and also the word for 'home'. The word for 'husband' is inalienably possessed, but the word for 'wife', being the word for 'woman' also, is not always possessed, obviously. In other than these cases just mentioned, possession is alienable.

i-lawikal her-husband	'her husband'
siwal woman	'woman'
i-siwa his-wife	'his wife'

Syntax

Possessive pronouns are formed by prefixing a possessor morpheme to the inalienable stem *-yaška* 'possession' (cf. *mo-yaškah-ti-a* (REFL-possession-CAUS-PRES) 'he takes possession of something').

in no-yaška this my-possession	'This is mine.'
no-siwa my-woman	'my wife' (Note that the absolutive is dropped. This happens very infrequently.)

When the possessor is mentioned, it can either immediately precede or follow the possessed noun. However, if it follows, the Spanish preposition *de* 'of' often intervenes, especially if the possessor is the third person.

newal no-kali I my-house	'my house'
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i-lahketili de rikarda                    'Ricarda's loom'  
her-loom of PN

Recursion is somewhat rare in the texts available, the possessor more often being preceded by de 'of' following the Spanish pattern. But it is suspected that in ordinary conversation it is not so rare, especially among older speakers.

i-cocomahli (de) mo-tah-cin            'your father's clothes'  
his-clothes of your-father-HON

The phrase can be reversed so that the possessor occurs first, and de is no longer permitted.

mo-tah-cin            i-cocomahli            'your father's clothes'  
your-father-HON his-clothes

u-ya-k            k-ita-k            no-nan-cita\*            i-nan-cin            yial  
PERF-go-PERF her-see-PERF my-mother-HON her-mother-HON her  
'My mother went to see her own mother (i.e., my grandmother).'

## PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

### General

All postpositions are bound, whereas all prepositions are free. These last are mainly loans from Spanish with the exceptions of pani 'on', pan 'on/for (the purpose of)', obviously derived from the postpositive locative -pan which is bound, and the perhaps hybridized pin (thought to be a fusion of para (Spanish) and in 'this', first shortened to pa in, then to pin 'inside of'). The preposition ka 'with' (both associative and instrumental) never has the possessive pronoun prefixes as in other dialects, and wan, meaning 'and' ordinarily, serves in one construction as a preposition meaning 'with' (association). Two postpositions (-pan and -pampa) are attached to the same pronominal bases as possessed nominals: no-, mo-, i-, to-, anmo-, and in-, with all their variant forms. In the present stage of the language, nouns with postpositional suffixes occur mostly in frozen forms, whereas the postpositions with pronoun prefixes remain productive.

šali-pan	'beach'	kali-ka	'wherewith'
sand-on		which-with	
por i-pampa inon	'because of this'	(Always occurs with	
by its-cause this		Spanish <u>por</u> .)	

---

\*The form no-nan-cita is an illustration of hybrid suffixation. The Nahual suffix -cin (HON) is fused with the Spanish suffix -ita 'endearment' to form -cita, contracted from \*-cinita. Other Spanish suffixes may also be hybridized, e.g., in-nan-cota 'their big old mother' (said of a snake that was slithering about the timbers of the house), contracted from \*-cin-ota.

Frozen Forms

ka <sup>l</sup> -ihtik house-inside	'inside the house'	la-ih <sup>t</sup> ik UNSPEC-inside	'inside'
k <sup>w</sup> ah-lan tree-place	'woods'	k <sup>w</sup> ah-tilan tree-among	'among the trees'
k <sup>w</sup> al-kan (?)-where	'before dawn'	a-ten-ko water- <u>mouth-in</u> edge	'brook'

-teč 'in' survives no longer as a postposition even in frozen forms in this dialect; it survives only in the verb -teč-kuni-a (in-drink-PRES) 'absorb'.

With the exception of the frozen forms, some of which are given above, the postpositions are suffixed to the possessor prefixes listed further above.

-pan	'on'
-nák/-nawak	'beside'
-cindan	'under'
-pampa	'by cause of, by means of' (Always preceded by the Spanish loan <u>por</u> .)
-tepockon	'behind'

ma EXHRT	kiawi mu-pan rain your-on	'May it rain upon you.'
ži-neh <sup>n</sup> emi IMP-walk	no-nák* my-beside	'Walk beside me.'
unka is	i-cindan his-under	'It is under him.'
nič-panu-k me-happen-PERF	por mo-pampa by your-cause	'It happened to me because of you.'

The pronoun copy construction is possible with noun or pronoun object in either order, but there have been no cases of discontinuity observed.

mo-lali-a REFL-sit-PRES	nel no-nák me my-beside	'He sits beside me.'
mo-lali-a REFL-sit-PRES	no-nawak nel my-beside- me	'He sits beside me.'

---

\*The form heard most frequently is no-nák.

**Free Prepositions**

Spanish loans:

de	'of, from'
pa(ra)	'for, in order to, at, into, to'
por	'through' (INSTR)
antes de	'before'
después de	'after'
serka de	'near to'

Nahual Prepositions:

pani	'on, over'
pin	'in'
pan	'for (the purpose of), on'
ka	'with' (INSTR, ASSOC)
wan	'with' (ASSOC)

se lami pa i-čan                    'One dies at his home.'  
 one finish at his-home

in ti-k-wiki-li-lo pa in nana    'This we take for the mother.'  
 this we-it-take-APPLIC-PL for the mother

in barko yawi pani in al        'The boat goes on the water.'  
 the boat go on the water

de pin kalihtik                    'from inside the house'  
 from in inside:house

u-ya-k pa lamar                  'He went to the ocean.'  
 PERF-go-PERF to ocean

wan gabriel ya-he                'Did Gabriel go with him?'  
 with PN go-PERF:PL

ni-ya pan k<sup>w</sup>awil                'I'm going for wood.'  
 I-go for wood

wan ya ni-yawi-ni pin bulto de sakal ka miak tiškali  
 and now I-go-REM:PAST in bunch of weeds with many stone  
 'And then I went into a clump of weeds, taking many stones with me.'

amo ni-k-ita-k in akač-kuwal no-tepockon pin in koyunkil  
 NEG I-it-see-PERF the rattle-snake my-behind in the hole  
 'I did not see the rattlesnake in the hole behind me.'

## DEMONSTRATIVES

There is a near demonstrative with singular and plural forms, the plural more frequently standing alone as a nominal than as a noun modifier. The sense is also quite often more like an article than a demonstrative. Both function as third person pronouns and can stand alone as nominals. There is also a singular near particularizing-demonstrative, but no corresponding plural for it is known.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
in	innoh(k)en	'this, these'
nihkin	[no textual examples]	'this same'

Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify.

in lamaštini		'the/this teacher'
this teacher		

in se		'this one'
this one		

innohen laka-mes		'these men'
these man-PL		

ni-wala-s	mosta	ka	nihkin	oras
I-come-FUT	tomorrow	with	these:same	hours
'I'll come tomorrow at this same time.'				

Far demonstratives are rendered by contracted verb phrases.

nepunka	(from <u>nepa unka</u> )	'that one there'
there:he:is		

umpunka	(from <u>umpa unka</u> )	'that one yonder'
yonder:he:is		

nepuka and unpuka are occasionally heard.

ninunka	( <u>nikan unka</u> )	'this one here'
he's:here		

wan nepunka kiči	tonali mo-kawa-s
and that:one how:many day	REFL-stay-FUT
'And how many days will that one stay?'	

If the nominal referred to by these phrases must be mentioned, it must include the near demonstrative, and the whole phrase precedes the verb-phrase demonstrative.

wan in lakal umpunka kiči	tonali mo-kawa-s
and that man he's:there how:many day	REFL-stay-FUT
'And that man over there, how many days will he stay?'	

There is a form of the near demonstrative which never serves to modify but always stands alone: inon 'this one'. There is no corresponding far demonstrative, and so this one form serves both senses, although examples of its use in the far sense are so rare as to render it an open question, almost, whether it should be so interpreted.

### ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms include:

k <sup>w</sup> akinon/k <sup>w</sup> akín	'then, at that time'	umpa	'yonder'
ašan/aškan	'now'	lakpak	'up there' (Some say <u>lakpan</u> .)
yohe/yohke	'thus'		
nikan	'here'	punta	'up above'
nepa	'there'		

Adverbial demonstrative phrases include:

ka nik(ik) with here	'to here'	ka yohe with thus	'to the other side'
ka umpek with there	'to there'	de umpa from there	'then'
ka kapik with where	'to where?'	pa punta to above	'toward above'

### QUANTIFIERS

se	'one' (person or any unit), 'someone', 'a'
sekin	'some'
miak	'many'
moči	'all'
muštin	'all'
nadita	'a little' (Spanish loan meaning probably 'a little nothing')
naditas	'a few'
tipitun/tipičín	'little'

All quantifiers can stand by themselves, but when modifying a noun, they precede it and follow the demonstrative or article, if any, in the phrase, provided the demonstrative modifies both the quantifier and the noun. If the demonstrative

modifies only the noun, then the quantifier precedes the demonstrative also.

wala-k in se kin-piš-ta-t-aya čibos  
 come-PERF this one them-have-CONN:be-(?)-PAST goats  
 'This one came having some goats with him.'

miak amo ki-neki-lo-aya pa ti-k-čia-ski-aya ok se kali  
 many NEG it-want-PL-PAST for you-it-make-FUT-PAST yet one house  
 'Many did not want for you to build another house.'

k-ihtu-lo sekin ti-k-akop-ar-ulo pa tu-čan  
 it-say-PL some we-it-use-PL for our-home  
 'Some say we use it for our home.'

ya u-ya-he muštin  
 now PERF-go-PERF:PL all  
 'All have gone.'

han yohe tipitun mo-mati ki-neki to-dios  
 just thus little REFL-know it-want our-God  
 'Just a little thus it seems God wants it.' (Answer to greeting.)

ši-š-maka nadita  
 IMP-me-give little  
 'Give me a little.'

amo kiman ki-mati se len yawi ki-panu-a  
 NEG when it-know one what go him-happen-PRES  
 'One never knows what's going to happen to him.'

### NUMERALS

se	'one'	čik <sup>W</sup> ase	'six'
ome	'two'	čikome	'seven'
ye	'three'	čik <sup>W</sup> e	'eight'
nawi	'four'	čiknawi	'nine'
mak <sup>W</sup> ili	'five'	mahlakli	'ten'

Numerals always precede nouns but can stand alone in a clause.

There are special forms for 'two', 'three', and 'four' when the set is considered as a unit, used always in reference to persons.

omenten	'a twosome'
yeyenten	'a trio, threesome, troika'
nawenten	'a foursome'

There is one suffix that occurs only with the number one: -hpa se-hpa 'at one/once'.

Used in combination with the particles ok or han:

tewanten han se-hpa	ašan	'We are just at one now.'	(Said of those who have stopped quarreling.)
we	just one-time now		
ši-k-čiwi-li	ok se-hpa	'Do it to him again.'	
IMP-him-do-APPLIC	yet one-time		

Numerals may be reduplicated to give a distributive meaning, but the forms generally are spoken twice in a phrase wherein the two forms are connected by the Spanish loan word por.

seh-se	por seh-se	'one by one'
RDP-one	by RDP-one	
'oh'ome	por 'oh'ome	'two by two'
RDP-two	by RDP-two	

In no text at hand is there found any phrase in which other than these two numbers are used, but there is every likelihood that any number may appear in this construction when called for. The occurrence of the reduplicated form of the number by itself is exceedingly rare.

### ADJECTIVES

Most adjectives are derived from verbs and as such are identified by the stative or perfective suffix -k(i) and might be also called stative verbs. There are also adjectives that appear identical in form to nouns, having suffixes identical to the absolutive suffixes of some nouns.

se kali	k <sup>w</sup> ali wan k <sup>w</sup> ahti-k	'a good and tall house'
a house	good and tall-PERF	

Just as in Spanish, an adjective used attributively follows the noun, as shown in the above example.

Here are adjectives that resemble nominals, although some are derived from verbs.

šilan-ki	'long'	toton-ki	'hot'
long-PERF		heat-PERF	
šiwín-ki	'rough'	tipičin	'small'
rough-PERF			
we	'big'	bunč-ito	'short' (Never occurs except in this form.)
		short-DIM	

Adjectives may be used predicatively with or without 'be'. In the present tense it is more commonly used without 'be'.

kokoš-ki in siwal 'The woman is ill.'  
sick-PERF the woman

An adjective is reduplicated indifferently when used attributively to a plural noun. No cases have been seen in which the adjective is pluralized without the noun's so being, even when the adjective is used predicatively. But absence of reduplication when occurring with plural nouns is quite common.

kali-mes k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>ahti-k 'tall houses'  
house-PL RDP-tall-PERF

Qualifiers include niman 'very', amo NEG, and nadita 'a little'. They always immediately precede the adjective.

niman čawa-k 'very greasy'  
very greasy-PERF

amo toton-ki 'not hot'  
NEG heat-PERF

nadita isti-k 'a little cold'  
little cold-PERF

More than one adjective can be used to modify a nominal. The adjectives are then connected by wan 'and' (see the first illustration in this section).



COMPARATIVES

Comparatives and superlatives are patterned after the Spanish manner, constructed with Spanish loan words.

mas we	'bigger'	in mas we	'the biggest'
more big		the more big	

For 'more...than' comparatives, the pattern is likewise similar to Spanish, and the same words are used just as in Spanish.

Wan unka mas k<sup>W</sup>ahti-k ke newal 'John is taller than I.'  
 PN is more tall-PERF than I

i-pelo-hmes amo ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>a-lo-aya tanto mas k<sup>W</sup>ali  
 his-dog-PL NEG her-RDP-eat-PL-PAST so:much more well

k-iš-mati-lo-aya ke antes  
 her-face-know-PL-PAST than before  
 'His pets didn't bite her, so much better they knew her than before.'

For 'as...as' comparatives, one construction renders it thus:

wan kinami yiwal ki-pia miak ganas pa tekipanu-s han yohe newal  
 and as he it-have much liking so:that work-FUT just so I  
 'And as he likes to work so much, just so am I.'

Or it is also possible to say it thus:

tanto ki-pia miak ganas de tekipanu-s kinami nel  
 so:much it-have much liking of work-FUT like I  
 'He has as much liking to work as I.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

se	'one'	kapa	'somewhere'
aki	'someone'	kiman	'sometime'
len	'something'	kahkapa	'various indefinite places'

amo wil k-ita se 'One cannot see it.'  
 NEG POT it-see one

aki unka 'Who is it?'  
 who is

unka len i-cin-dan no-lapešli  
 is something its-bottom-place my-bed  
 'There is something under my bed.'

ni-k-ita-s kapa 'I'll see it somewhere.'  
I-it-see-FUT somewhere

ahsi-k de kiman 'He arrived some time ago.'  
arrive-PERF of sometime

weci-aya kah-kapa mo-laluh-ti-ka 'Running, he fell in places.'  
fall-PAST RDP-where REFL-run-CONN-be

The words aki, len, kapa, and kiman more often serve as interrogative pronouns.

### Negative

There are negative forms derived by adding amo NEG to some of the positive forms.

amaki (from \*amo aki) 'no one' amaki unka 'Nobody's home.'  
no:one is

nindeno 'nothing' amo neŋ-í-k nindeno  
NEG me-say-PERF nothing  
'He said nothing to me.'

amo len 'nothing' amo ni-k-čih-ti-ka len  
NEG I-it-do-CONN-be what  
'I ain't doin' nothin'.'

Quite often amo len is used as an answer in itself by one to whom thanks is expressed, or to the question 'What are you doing?'

### ANY

Perhaps the nearest equivalent to this idea is rendered by a phrase consisting of the indefinite pronoun plus the future of the verb ye 'be'.

kapa ye-s 'anywhere' len ye-s 'anything'  
where be-FUT what be-FUT

kiman ye-s 'any time' aki ye-s 'anyone'  
when be-FUT who be-FUT

kinami ye-s 'anyhow'  
how be-FUT

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

**Independent**

Used for subjects or objects:

newal /nel	tewante /tewanten
tewal /tel	amwante /amwanten
yiwal /yial	yiwante /yiwanten

**Dependent**

Subject prefixes (may be prefixed to nouns and other elements as well as verbs):

ni-	ti- (plus plural suffix)
ti-	an-
∅	∅ (plus plural suffix)

Possessor prefixes (also serve as base for attachment of postpositions):

no- /nu-	to- /tu-
mo- /mu-	anmo- /anmu-
i-	in- /inm- /inmin-

Object prefixes (prefixed to verbs only):

nič-	tič-
mic-	anmic-
k- /ki- /-h-	kinm- /kin- /kinmin-

The second person plural object marker is discontinuous when the first person subject markers appear in conjunction with it.

an-ni-mic-	'I-you'	an-ti-mic-	'we-you'
<u>OM-I-OM</u>		<u>OM-we-OM</u>	
you PL		you PL	

Reflexive prefixes:

mo- /m- (both singular and plural for all persons)

## STEMS

Defective Stems

There is no restriction on any verb, whether transitive or intransitive, as to which tense it may appear in, with the exceptions of the two stems for 'be', viz., ka and ye. Neither is used with an aspectual verb suffixed to it by means of the connective suffix -ti, nor does ye occur in the present indicative, nor in the past -aya form, nor in the remote past -ni form, whereas ka occurs in these forms, even having two stems for the remote past tense; there seems to be no rule as to which one to choose when speaking.

ka-ta-ni	or:	ka-ya-ni	'He was at that time.'
be-(?)-REM		be-(?)-REM	
PAST		PAST	

The occurrence of ka with the perfective suffix -k/-hki is rather rare.

Reduplication

In any stem in which reduplication has not come to denote a completely different meaning of the stem, reduplication of the initial syllable generally indicates intensification of the meaning. The pattern of this reduplication is CVh-. The CV reduplication pattern occurs in frozen forms, is never used optionally, and is therefore rather rare.

nič-aWa-k		'He scolded me.'
me-scold-PERF		
nič-ah-'aWa-k		'He read the riot act to me.'
me-RDP-scold-PERF		
to-toka	in al de in tečo	'The water runs off the roof.'
RDP-follow	the water from the roof	

## INCORPORATION

Instrumental Prefixes

Some instrumental prefixes for verb stems are no longer recognizable as independent nouns, but basically they are nouns whose meaning can be determined historically or by comparison with other dialects. Among such are:

il-	probably 'mind'	ih-	'mind'
k <sup>W</sup> il-	Exact meaning unknown. (ki-k <sup>W</sup> il-paču-a (it-(?)-cover-PRES) 'He bends it.')		

The following instrumental prefixes do not exist as independent nouns, but they are semantically transparent:

tu-	'god' (from <u>teo-</u> )
k <sup>W</sup> a-	'head'

tem-	'mouth'
cin-	'underside'
tol-	'throat'

The following instrumental prefixes are roots of independent nouns:

iš-	'face'	yol-	'heart'
ma-	'hand'	k <sup>w</sup> ah-	'wood'
lan-	'tooth'	tepos-	'metal' (rare)
nakas-	'ear'	lal-	'earth'
lan <sup>k<sup>w</sup></sup> a-	'knee'	a-	'water'

ki-ma-toka  
it-hand-follow

'He touches it.'

lan-kakica  
tooth-squeak

'He whistles.'

ki-nakas-teka  
it-ear-lay

'He lays it on its side.'

ki-lal-paču-k  
him-earth-cover-PERF

'He buried him.'

### SYNTACTIC MARKING

There is a series of subject pronominal prefixes and a series of object pronominal prefixes for marking these elements on the verb stem. There is one prefix for marking reflexive action.

#### SM

ni-	ti-
ti-	an-
∅	∅

#### OM

nič-	tič-
mic-	anmic-
ki-/k-/h-	kin-/kinm-/kinmin-

#### REFL

mo-

#### UNSPEC OBJ

la- (See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT  
PHENOMENA.)

Only on certain verb stems may the object marker occur followed by the reflexive prefix, with the applicative suffix obligatory. See the next section for an explanation of applicative suffix.

mic-mo-lati-li-k  
you-REFL-hide-APPLIC-PERF

'He hid himself from you.'

ni-k-mo-lank<sup>W</sup>a-k<sup>W</sup>eci-li-aya 'I knelt before him.'  
I-him-REFL-knee-bend-APPLIC-PAST

The regular plural suffix for verbs is -lo. There is also one prefix for marking imperatives and one suffix that serves to pluralize the imperative and the exhortative, viz., ši- IMP and -kan IMP/EXHRT PL.

ši-mo-kawa 'Shaddup!'  
IMP-REFL-stay

ši-k-maka-kan 'Give it to him.'  
IMP-him-give-EXHRT:PL

In exhortative sentences, the exhortative particle is obligatory and only occurs with the first and third persons singular and plural. In negative exhortations, the negative particle is kamo.

ma ni-ya 'May I go.'  
EXHRT I-go

ma ki-pilu-kan pan i-yakacol 'Let them hang it on his nose.'  
EXHRT it-hang-EXHRT:PL on his-nose

yohe ma kamo ye 'Let it not be thus.'  
thus EXHRT NEG be

## NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

### Causative

-ti CAUS (For consonant-final stems.)

-liti CAUS (For vowel-final stems.)

Both forms serve also as transitivizers as well as causatives when suffixed to intransitive verbs.

ni-h-koč-ti-aya 'I put him to sleep.'  
I-him-sleep-CAUS-PAST

ki-k<sup>W</sup>alan-ti-aya 'He made him mad.'  
him-be:angry-CAUS-PAST

t-ič-panu-liti-k in kokolisli 'You passed the illness to me.'  
you-me-pass-CAUS-PERF the sickness

Following are transitive verbs with CAUS.

an-nih-čiwa-liti-k 'You all forced me into it.'  
you:PL-me-do-CAUS-PERF

k-a-tok-ti-k 'She drowned him.'  
him-water-bury-CAUS-PERF

Applicative

-li APPLIC (Acts also as transitivizer when suffixed to an intransitive stem.)

š-ih-čiwī-li se fabor 'Do me a favor.'  
 IMP-me-do-APPLIC a favor

kin-k<sup>W</sup>alani-li-a i-paračitos in lapačuani  
 them-be:angry-APPLIC-PRES her-chickens the brood:hen  
 'The mother hen defends her chickens.'

-liti APPLIC (In at least one verb it acts as APPLIC instead of CAUS.)

nič-namaki-liti-he se koyamil 'They sold me a pig.'  
 me-sell-APPLIC-PERF:PL a pig

Aspectual

Consists of two suffixes, first a connective (CONN) -ti, the second a verb stem immediately following, of which there are four. Note that the aspectual verb stem, while in each case related to an independently occurring verb, contributes a sense that represents an extension of the basic meaning of the independent verb (particularly in the case of *kīša* 'go out, leave').

-ti-nemi 'go about Ving'

-ti-ya 'go on Ving'

-ti-ka 'be Ving'

-ti-kisa 'quickly, suddenly Ving'

mo-laluh-ti-nemi 'He runs about.'  
 REFL-run-CONN-walk

kin-laloš-ti-ti-ya 'He goes on making them run.'  
 them-run-CAUS-CONN-go

ašan amo ki-nek-ti-ka tekīpanu-a  
 today NEG it-want-CONN-be work-PRES  
 'He's not wanting to work today.'

lenča ši-wala-ti-kisa 'Lencha, come quickly.'  
 PN IMP-come-CONN-hurry

Tense

The plural tense suffixes can of course be segmented into a plural component and a tense component, but there is considerable irregularity.

SG

∅ /-a

-aya/-ya

PL

-lo PRES

-loaya PAST (-ya occurs with stems ending in a.)





When APPLIC is contiguous to CONN, an *h* intervenes.

ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ti-ka                    'I'm making it go for you.'  
I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN-be

If the foregoing example were in the past, having the same aspectual verb *ka*, an alteration would be necessary. The CONN *-ti* and the ASP V *ka* would merge into one syllable *-ta*, so that instead of \**ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ti-ka-t-aya*, the form would be *ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ta-t-aya*, (I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN:be-(t)-PAST) 'I was making it go for you'. (The morpheme in parentheses has not been semantically determined.)

### Auxiliary Verbs

This grammatical device, apparently borrowed from Spanish, has completely displaced the directional suffixes met with in most if not all other dialects. The auxiliary most often found is *yawi* 'go'.

ni-yawi-aya ni-k-ita                    'I was going to see her.'  
I-go-PAST I-her-see

Notice that although the auxiliary is in the past tense, the principal verb appears in its stem form. This consistently happens in this tense: *ni-yawi-aya ni-k-ih-tu* (I-go-PAST I-it-say) 'I was going to say it'. If the auxiliary is in the present tense, the principal verb occurs in its stem form, although not as consistently as in the former case: *ni-ya ni-k-ih-tu* (I-go I-it-say) 'I'm going to say it'. In other tenses both auxiliary and principal verb receive the same tense markers, with the possible exception of the remote past, where occasionally the principal verb appears in the stem form: *ti-ya-k ti-k-ita-k* (you-go-PERF you-it-see-PERF) 'Did you go to see it?'; *ya ni-yawi-ni ni-mawilti-ni* (already I-go-REM:PAST I-bathe-REM:PAST) 'Then at that time I went to bathe'; *wan ya ni-yawi-ni ni-k-lali in laso* (and now I-go-REM:PAST I-it-lay the snare) 'And then at that time I went to lay the snare'.

Since verbs in combination with this auxiliary are used often as a variety of future tense, as its counterpart in Spanish is, this auxiliary is heard most frequently. But *wala* 'come' is also used as an auxiliary denoting motion towards: *wala-k k-ita-k* (come-PERF him-see-PERF) 'He came to see him'. The desiderative also uses an auxiliary verb construction, being marked by the verb *neki* 'want' appearing as an auxiliary before the principal verb, as in Spanish: *ki-neki mo-kuwi-li cocomahli yank<sup>Wik</sup>* (it-want REFL-buy-APPLIC clothes new) 'He wants to buy himself some new clothes'.

The potential, more often marked by the particle *wil*, which is itself derived from the verb stem *wili*, is sometimes marked by this as an auxiliary: *wan siempre newal ni-wili-ti-aya ni-kin-čok-ti-aya no-kni-an siwa-mes* (and always I I-could-CAUS-PAST I-them-cry-CAUS-PAST my-sibling-POSSD:PL female-PL) 'And always I could make my sisters cry'.

Contraction

Verbs, and adjectives derived from verbs, quite normally contract their last two syllables into one, so that the stress then falls on the last syllable instead of the penultimate where it regularly falls. The contraction is primarily the result of the disappearance of the initial consonant of the final syllable. If the vowels of the two final syllables are the same, they merge into one vowel of similar length to that of a vowel in any stressed syllable. If the vowels are different, the last one is usually i, which becomes an offglide of the first vowel. The consonants that have the tendency to disappear are k, w, y, and l.

š-ič-maka	se koyunki	→ š-ič-má se koyunki	'Give me a doughnut.'
IMP-me-give	a hole		
ši-kin-čikawa	muštin	→ ši-kin-čiká muštin	'Greet them all.'
IMP-them-strengthen	all		
nih-čiwili-k	se fabor	→ nih-čiwí-k se fabor	'He did me a favor.'
me-do-APPLIC-PERF	a favor		
miki-k	yalwa	→ mí-k yalwa	'He died yesterday.'
die-PERF	yesterday		
yawi-aya	pa lamar	→ yawi-á pa lamar	'He went to the ocean.'
go-PAST	to ocean		
ni-k-ahoki-k		→ ni-k-ahói-k	'I raised it.'
I-it-raise-PERF			
unka picawa-k		→ unka picá-k	'It is narrow.'
is narrow-PERF			
ni-pewa-k		→ ni-péa-k (or: ni-pé-k)	'I began.'
I-begin-PERF			

The auxiliary ya 'go' often disappears completely.

ni-ya	ni-k-lali se laso	→ ni ni-k-lali se laso	'I'm going to set a snare.'
I-go	I-it-lay a snare		

## COORDINATION

wan	'and'	(Primitive meaning apparently 'with'.)
nohe	'also'	(Almost completely replaced by Spanish 'también'.)
pero	'but'	(Spanish)
o	'or'	(Spanish)
∅	(juxtaposition)	

The element wan 'and' serves as introducer particle more frequently than it serves as coordinator.

wan umpa ki-temuh-ti-nemi                    'And there he goes about seeking him.'  
and there him-see-CONN-walk

With DIFFERENT SUBJ:

se ka-t-aya      bwena hente wan in ok se ka-t-aya      mala hente  
one be-(?)-PAST good people and the yet one be-(?)-PAST bad people  
'One was a good sort and the other was a bad sort.'

With SAME SUBJ:

wan ora sí      pos in kuyol k-ita-k      totonki wan al ratito  
and now AFF why the coyote it-see-PERF hot      and at trice  
íhole mente cik<sup>W</sup>ini-k  
wow just jump-PERF  
'And now the coyote felt how hot it was and—wow!—did he ever jump right then!'

ya ma      ti-h-kawa-kan      pwes pero in çikote  
now EXHRT we-him-let-EXHRT:PL then but the whip

ti-mo-wiki-li-lo  
we-REFL-take-APPLIC-PL  
'Now let's leave him alone, then, but the whip we take with us.'

Reductions are allowed; in fact, as regards o 'or' they are much more common.

umpa ya ti-k-ana-lo ti-k-ahoki-lo pan len mesa o pan len tabla  
then now we-it-get-PL we-it-lift-PL onto some table or onto some board  
punta pa ti-k-belaru-lo asta mo-namiki-a oras k<sup>W</sup>ando lami-k  
atop for we-it-watch-PL 'until REFL-meet-PRES hours when finish-PERF  
'Then we take it and lift it atop some table or board to watch it until the hours  
that he died come around again.'

But juxtaposition is by far the most common way of indicating coordination.

ti-lami-lo ti-k-teka-lo ti-h-kiš-ti-lo ti-k-paka-lo  
we-finish-PL we-it-lay:down-PL we-it-go:out-CAUS-PL we-it-wash-PL

ti-k-posuni-lo ti-k-lali-li-lo tešli  
we-it-boil-PL we-it-put-APPLIC-PL corn:dough  
'We finish laying it down, we take it out, wash it, boil it, and we put corn  
dough in it.'

in lomo ti-k-waca-lo ti-k-čiwa-lo sesinas  
the loin we-it-roast-PL we-it-make-PL jerky  
'The loin we roast, and we make jerky out of it.'

de umpa ya ni-krusaru-a ni-lakisa ni-krusaru-a  
from there now I-cross-PRES I-finish I-cross-PRES  
'Now from there I cross, and I finish, and I cross again.'

u-ya-k ki-temu-k i-šolol nohe wan i-siwa u-ya-he  
PERF-go-PERF him-seek-PERF his-son also with his-wife PERF-go-PERF:PL  
'He went to look for his son; also his wife went with him.'

## COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

### Subject Complement Clauses

This type is quite common in narratives.

ye-k [kikiški inmin-lomo] 'It must have been that their back itches.'  
be-PERF itch their-back

### Object Complement Clauses

ni-k-ihtu-k [ti-yawi-aya ti-kisa mosta]  
I-it-say-PERF you-go-PAST you-leave tomorrow  
'I thought you were going to leave tomorrow.'

an-ki-kaki-k [ni-cahci-k] 'You all heard me yell.'  
you:PL-it-hear-PERF I-yell-PERF

len amo umpek ki-kah-kawa-k pa k<sup>w</sup>ahlan  
what NEG to:there him-RDP-leave-PERF in woods

[las-ti-ka pan se saka-tilan]  
toss-CONN-be on a weed-among  
'If she didn't leave him in the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.'

ni-h-kaki-h [k-ihtu-a [pampa aki ki-mik-ti-a  
 I-it-hear-PERF it-say-PRES that whoever it-die-CAUS-PRES  
 in sierpe mo-namik-ti-a ka no-šolol]]  
 the serpent REFL-meet-CAUS-PRES with my-child  
 'I heard he said that whoever kills the serpent marries my daughter.'

ni-k-neki [ni-mo-šima] 'I want to cut my hair.'  
 I-it-want I-REFL-shear

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

ma ni-mo-kiš-tí\* se pwes de pan tapalkal a ber  
 EXHRT I-REFL-go:out-CAUS:APPLIC one then from in pot to see  
 [da unka bweno]  
 if is good  
 'Let me take one out of the pot to see if it is good.'

WH Questions

tewal ti-k-mati [kapa wan len oras temu-a]  
 you you-it-know where and what hours descend-PRES  
 'You, do you know where and what time it comes down?'

de umpa ti-wala-lo asta tiolak a ber [len ti-k-ita-lo ka umpek]  
 then we-come-PL until evening to see what we-it-see-PL there  
 'Then we come at evening to see what we see there.'

ti-k-mati [kapa unka se parte ki-kuh-ti-ka-te tinešli]  
 you-it-know where is a place it-buy-CONN-be-PL lime  
 'Do you know where there's a place where they are buying lime?'

yahmo ni-k-mati-ni [kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nancin]  
 no:more I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-calm-CAUS-FUT my-mother  
 'I no more knew at that time how I would calm down my mother.'

wan ni-mic-lah-lan-ti-ya [kinami ti-unka]  
 and I-you-RDP-ask-CONN-go how you-be  
 'And I go on asking you how you are.'

wan ši-k-ili [kiči yawi kostaru-a]  
 and IMP-him-say how:much go cost-PRES  
 'And tell him how much it's going to cost.'

---

\*Here CAUS and APPLIC merge into one syllable.

amo ni-k-mati [len ni-k-čia ka in kokolisli]  
 NEG I-it-know what I-it-do with this illness  
 'I don't know what to do about this illness.'

kinami yiwal ki-mati-aya [pa kiman ya yawi-aya lakati i-šól]...  
 as she it-know-PAST for when already go-PAST be:born her-child  
 'As she knew when her child was going to be born...'

ti-mo-ilih-ti-ka-te [de kinami ti-yawi-lo  
 we-REFL-say-CONN-be-PL of how we-go-PL  
 ti-k-nankili-lo in wal ti-ya t-ič-ili-a]  
 we-it-answer-PL this that you-go you-us-say-PRES  
 'We're saying to ourselves how we're going to answer what you're going to  
 say to us.'

umpa mo-kawa-lo se ratito ki-pensaruh-ti-ka-te  
 there REFL-stay-PL a while it-think-CONN-be-PL  
 [pa lakeca-si o len lo ke ya-lo lakeca-lo]  
 for talk-FUT:PL or what what go-PL talk-PL  
 'There they stay awhile thinking about what to talk of or what they are going  
 to talk about.'

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns serve as subordinators. Aside from these pronouns introducing a relative clause, there is nothing to distinguish a relative clause from another clause. The relative pronouns are:

wal	'who/which/that'	len yul	'that which' (very rare)
yul	'who/which/that'	wal aki	'who'
len	'which/that'	aki wal	'someone who'

### Subject Relatives

in indios [wal čan-ti-ni-hme pin išława-hmes]  
 the Indians who home-CAUS-REM:PAST-PL in plain-PL

kin-temu-ni-hme  
 them-hunt-REM:PAST-PL  
 'The Indians who lived then on the plains used to hunt them.'

čan-ti-ti-ka pin kali [wal unka pa yohe in lado de in pweblo]  
 home-CAUS-CONN-be in house that is on thus the side of the village  
 'He's living in a house on the other side of the village.'

wan de umpa in lakal [wal k-ih-tu-k siempre de  
and then the man who it-say-PERF always of  
ki-čia-ski-aya] siempre ki-lali-k in trampa  
it-do-FUT-PAST indeed it-lay-PERF the trap  
'And then the man who always talked of doing it did indeed lay the trap.'

Non-restrictive clauses:

ni-čan-ti-ti-ka pa i-čan tačo [wal nič-makawi-lti-k  
I-home-CAUS-CONN-be at his-home PN who me-let-CAUS-PERF  
pa ni-čan-ti-s nepa]  
so:that I-home-CAUS-FUT there  
'I'm living at Tacho's house who let me live there.'

in oso ki-walika-he de amerika in [wal unka pin  
the bear it-bring-PERF:PL from America this that is in  
kapa ka-te ok sekin animales]  
where be-PL yet some animals  
'The bear they brought from America, this one which is in where other animals are.'

In the above example, the discontinuity of the object of the main clause from its relative clause is remedied by the insertion of the demonstrative just before the relative.

Some relative clauses have no subordinating pronouns.

yawi-aya se i-kni kimičin [ki-mati-aya mo-maš-ti responso]  
go-PAST one his-brother mouse it-know-PAST REFL-know-CAUS liturgy  
'A brother-mouse went, who knew how to read liturgy.'

ka-t-aya se mwačito islakati [čan-ti-aya alamar]  
be-(?)-PAST a boy he:lies home-CAUS-PAST ocean  
'There was a boy liar who lived at the ocean.'

A noun phrase that serves as a relative clause head may be repeated as a pronoun immediately before the relative clause.

[wal aki ki-mati] nikan unka se lakal masalero yiwal [wal yawi  
who who it-know here is a man deer:hunter he who go  
nič-nes-ti-li kapa unka]  
me-appear-CAUS-APPLIC where is  
'He who knows is a deer hunter here, it's he who's going to show me where she is.'

A relative clause may precede the main clause.

[wal amo ki-pia ya] in yawi mo-temači-a ka  
who NEG it-have now that:one go REFL-reciprocate-PRES with  
i-prohimo 'Whoever doesn't have it will certainly reciprocate with his  
his-neighbor neighbor (when he does have it).'

Object Relatives

kapa unka in tortuga [wal ti-h-kiš-ti-k] 'Where is the turtle you caught?'  
 where is the turtle that you-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF

The demonstrative pronoun can be substituted for a noun phrase or a noun which is the head of a relative clause, but it is only included obligatorily with the head if the head is remotely discontinuous with the relative clause itself (as in a previous example under Subject Relatives above).

ši-k-ita amigo ya in [wal ki-kawa-he] ya moči pa tewanten  
 IMP-it-see friend now this that it-leave-PERF:PL now all for us  
 'Look, friend, all this that they left is now ours.'

in [wal amo ki-pi-aya tomin] mo-lami-li-k  
 this who NEG it-have-PAST money REFL-finish-APPLIC-PERF

[len ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-s]  
 what it-eat-FUT

'This one who had no money ran out of what he should eat.'

The above example is of a complex sentence in which occur both subject and object relative clauses, the object relative being of the headless type.

Oblique Relatives

Wherein the relativized noun is a possessor in the relative clause:

unka se čapulín [wal kis-ti-ka al pa i-kamak  
 is a grasshopper who go:out-CONN-be water at its-mouth

wan pa i-barba]  
 and at his-chin

'There's a grasshopper from whose mouth and chin water is coming out!'

Headless Relatives

Headless finite relative clauses may occur initially in a complex sentence, their antecedents even occurring finally in the main clause.

[wal amo ki-lakamati-s] yíwal ki-mati kapa yawi ki-tilani-a  
 who NEG him-obey-FUT he it-know where go him-send-PRES  
 'He knows where he's going to send whoever will not obey him.'

An ellipsis with inference from an immediately preceding clause characterizes this headless relative clause:

kasiones ki-žiwa-lo fandango de semilwil [wal ańó' ki-žiwa-lo  
 sometimes it-do-PL dance of daytime who NEG it-do-PL

de semilwil] asta tiolak  
 of daytime until evening

'Sometimes they have a dance in the daytime; those who do not do it in the daytime (wait) until evening.'



pos es ke [wal ki-pia kuči tomawak] ma tih-ti-h-k<sup>W</sup>a-kan  
 well it:is that who it-has pig fat EXHRT RDP-we-it-eat-EXHRT:PL  
 ‘Well, it’s like he who has a fat pig (says), “Let’s gobble it up”.’

ti-k-lašpani-li-lo-aya [wal k-ahsi-aya]  
 we-him-sweep-APPLIC-PL-PAST who it-get-PAST  
 ‘We swept it for him who got it.’

[wal t-ič-ili-k] pa ni-k-namaka-ski-aya in tinešli  
 that you-me-say-PERF that I-it-sell-FUT-PAST the ashes

in ni-ya-k ni-k-namaka-k  
 this I-go-PERF I-it-sell-PERF  
 ‘That which you told me, that I should sell the ashes, (well), I went and sold them.’

al kabo amwanten an-ki-mati [aki wal ki-mati ki-čia kali]  
 in end you:all you:PL-it-know one who it-know it-make house

mo-čih-čiwili-a i-čan k<sup>W</sup>altišin wan de  
 REFL-RDP-make-APPLIC-PRES his-home nice and of

amo panu-s al wan amo la-išika-s  
 NEG pass-FUT water and NEG UNSPEC:OBJ-leak-FUT

‘After all’s said and done you all know that anyone who knows how to build a house makes his home nice for himself and so that the water will not pass through and the house will leak.’

wan k-ita-s [len ni-ya-s ni-k-maka-s]  
 and it-see-FUT what I-go-FUT I-him-give-FUT  
 ‘And he’ll see what I’ll be going to give to him.’

Here are some examples of the ‘ever’ construction, rendered by a relative pronoun (aki, len, or kalia ‘which’) followed by the future of ye ‘be’:

[aki ye-s ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-k] miki-k  
 who be-FUT it-eat-PERF die-PERF  
 ‘Whoever ate it died.’

ki-laši-li-k [kalia ye-s pelo kalaki-k]  
 it-throw-APPLIC-PERF which be-FUT dog enter-PERF  
 ‘He threw it at whichever dog entered.’

ki-mayawi-a i-pan [aki ye-s panu-a i-cindan]  
 it-drop-PRES his-on who be-FUT pass-PRES his-beneath  
 ‘He drops it on whoever passes beneath him.’

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

'When' clauses seem to be of two varieties, those that are introduced by the Spanish loan cuando and those juxtaposed to the main clause. One or two speakers of this dialect have said that the native word kiman 'when' is also used to introduce 'when' clauses, but there are no texts in which it does occur as relator, nor have I heard it used in this way. Its use seems to be confined almost exclusively to questions.

[k<sup>w</sup>ando ya      ĉikawa] ya      puni      semiya  
 when      already      harden      then      burst      seed  
 'When it hardens, the seed bursts.'

[ti-lami-he      ti-h-kiš-ti-he]      ya      ti-k-lali-he      in  
 we-finish-PERF:PL      we-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF:PL      now      we-it-put-PERF:PL      the  
 kopra      pan      kostal-es  
 copra      in      bag-PL  
 'When we finish taking it out, then we put the copra in bags.'

Usually these clauses appear first in a sentence, but they may succeed the main clause.

de pronto in      mo-maš-ti-ni-hmes      k-ih-tu-he      a ke      bwno  
 of quickly the REFL-know-CAUS-NR-PL      it-say-PERF:PL      how good  
 kiah-ti-ka      [k<sup>w</sup>ando han      ahnaškan      tuyawi-k      miak      al]  
 rain-CONN-be      when      just now      spill-PERF      much water  
 'Quickly the pupils said, "Ah, how nice, it's raining," when suddenly much water poured in.'

A 'when' relative clause may follow another initial subordinate clause.

para yohe amo      ti-mo-enfadaru-si      [k<sup>w</sup>ando ya      lami-s  
 for thus NEG we-REFL-be:lonely-FUT:PL      when      now finish-FUT  
 he to-kni      kristiano]      diario      ti-k-maka-si      kompañia  
 a our-sibling human      daily we-him-give-FUT:PL company  
 'So in order that we may not get lonely when one of our fellows dies, we keep him company daily.'

'Where' clauses usually follow the main clause, introduced by kapa 'where', kapik 'to where', and ka kapik 'to where' also. They also may appear within the main clause. There is generally no change in syntax or anything to distinguish them from the main clause, save the introductory relational words mentioned.

ya      wala-k      [kapa      ki-kawa-he      in      difuntos]  
 now come-PERF      where      it-leave-PERF:PL      the dead:ones  
 'Now he came to where the dead ones left it.'

pero ti-ya-s pa ok se amo [kapa ti-ya-k ašan]  
 but you-go-FUT to yet one NEG where you-go-PERF today  
 '...but you will go to another (place) not where you went today.'

If the relative 'where' clause precedes the main clause, a definite locational word precedes the relator locational.

ya umpa [kapa k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>awi-k] umpa ki-čičinu-k  
 now there where RDP-wood-PERF there it-burn-PERF  
 'Now there where he gathered wood, he burned it there.'

If the verb in a 'where' clause is be, it may be omitted.

wan ok se tonali u-ya-k pašalu-k [kapa i-čan in lakal]  
 and yet one day PERF-go-PERF visit-PERF where his-home the man  
 'And the next day she went to visit where the man's home (was).'

An adverbial clause can be embedded in another adverbial clause; it can also function as prepositional object.

wan ya [k<sup>W</sup>ando u-ya-he de [kapik wala-he]]  
 and now when PERF-go-PERF:PL from to:where come-PERF:PL  
 'And now when they went from where they had come to...'

The meaning of kapik 'to where' is differentiated from kapa 'where' in that the former bespeaks a changing location.

in mwačito nohe umpa ki-toka-ti-ya-k atrás  
 the boy also there him-follow-CONN-go-PERF behind  
 [kapik yawi-lo-aya in sekin]  
 where go-PL-PAST the others  
 'The boy went following behind there where the others were going.'

### Conditional Clauses

In most cases, 'if' clauses precede the main clause. Like all other clauses, there is nothing peculiar to them except the use of 'if', even though they might follow the main clause. Some speakers say da, others say nda, and sometimes the younger ones, especially, combine the Spanish loan si and append it to the native word, thus making the form sinda, all meaning 'if'.

[da ki-neki] ki-čia ha palawito o ki-lai-li-a i-kišlan  
 if it-want it-make just slightly:wide or it-put-APPLIC-PRES its-neck  
 'If he wants to, he makes it just a little wide, or he puts a neck on it.'

ašan š-ič-ili [da newal amo ni-k-pia derečo in mákina]  
 now IMP-me-say if I NEG I-it-have right this machine  
 'Now tell me if I did not have the right to this machine.' (Meaning: 'I surely have the right to this machine.')

The verb and *da* 'if' may be discontinuous.

wan [da wahcinko amo ti-lakisa] ni-mic-mik-ti-a  
and if tomorrow NEG you-finish I-you-die-CAUS-PRES  
'And if you're not finished by tomorrow, I'll kill you.'

There may be several 'if' clauses in succession; the first two in this next example function as embedded yes/no questions.

wan a ber [da ni-ya ni-k-segirui-li-a] [da niš-ahsi  
and to see if I-go I-it-continue-APPLIC-PRES if me-arrive  
tiempo] wan [sinda no] ya umpa ni-h-kawa  
time and if not now there I-it-leave  
'And we'll see if I'm going to continue, if I have time, and if not, I'll leave it at that.'

The particle *da* may be used to reinforce a positive statement, or, in combination with the negative *amo* to which it is fused into one, *damo*, it reinforces the negative statement.

yewanten k-ih-tu-a pampa ka-t-aya se león pero damo  
they it-say-PRES that be-(?)-PAST a lion but not:really  
ka-t-aya león san ka-t-aya in koneho larahero  
be-(?)-PAST lion just be-(?)-PAST the rabbit orange:picker  
'They thought that it was a lion, but really it wasn't a lion; it was only the orange-picking rabbit.' (Cf. section on modals.)

'Because' clauses are introduced by *pampa* 'because' without pronominal inflections (see section on Conjunctions/Adverbs under PARTICLES for its use with pronominal inflection). But since *pampa* serves also as a subordinator meaning 'that', many speakers use the Spanish loan *porque* 'because' to assure the distinction between the two senses.

leka siah-ti-ka no-kote [pampa ni-yewa-ta-t-aya nikan]  
why tire-CONN-be my-lower:backbone because I-sit-CONN:be-(?)-PAST here  
'Why is my lower spine tiring? Because I was sitting here.'

pos eh-sa-he ya lak<sup>w</sup>alispan [pampa ki-maka-ta-t-aya  
well wake-PERF:PL now noon because it-give-CONN:be-(?)-PAST  
tonali]  
sun

'Well, they awakened; noon it was already, because the sun was beating down.'

k-ita-k [pampa ye kimiči-hmes amo žoka-ta-ta-lo-aya]  
it-see-PERF that three mouse-PL NEG weep-CONN:be-(?)-PL-PAST  
'He saw that three mice were not crying.'

The combination da pampa 'if that' also occurs, rendering a subtlety of meaning that has to date proved elusive. There seems to be no difference in meaning on the surface than if da were used by itself.

[da pampa amo wil ti-k-nankili-lo ok se welta] yawi  
if that NEG POT we-him-answer-PL yet one time go

tič-witeki in lamaštini ok se welta  
us-beat the teacher yet one time

'If we are not able to answer him again, the teacher is going to beat us again.'

### Other

'Until' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan hasta.

de umpa pewa-k k-ana-k in cocomahli [asta milini-k]  
from there begin-PERF it-get-PERF the clothes until flame-PERF  
'Then it began to get at the clothes until they burst into flame.'

A less frequent, but more native, way to render the meaning of 'until':

ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-k išul ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-k išul ya pačiwik  
it-eat-PERF beans it-eat-PERF beans now be:full-PERF  
'He ate beans until he was full.'

'While' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan mientras.

ki-lali-he pan se karsel [myentras yawi-lo-aya  
it-put-PERF:PL in a jail while go-PL-PAST

mo-namik-ti-lo in prinsesa]  
REFL-meet-CAUS-PL the princess

'They put him in jail while the princess (and the hero) were going to be married.'

Sometimes the loan word cuando renders the idea of 'while'.

...pa mo-ká-s čipák pa kamo tanto ti-kihya-si  
so:that REFL-stay-FUT clean so:that NEG so:much we-sicken-FUT:PL

[k<sup>W</sup>ando ti-la-k<sup>W</sup>ah-ti-ya-si]  
when we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-CONN-go-FUT:PL

'...so that it will stay clean so that we will not get sick so much when we go along eating it.'

'As' clauses are marked by kinami 'like/how'.

wan [kinami in siwal ka-t-aya pinah-k-ud-ota]  
and as the woman be(?) -PAST shame-PERF-ADJR-AUG:PEJ

len amo\* umpek ki-kah-kawa-k pa k<sup>W</sup>ahlan  
what NEG to:there it-RDP-leave-PERF in woods

\*The phrase len amo is used to introduce a clause stating something shocking, or exciting, or unexpected.

las-ti-ka pan se saka-tilan  
toss-CONN-be on a weed-among

'And as the woman was very ashamed, why if she didn't go and leave it there in the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.'

'Although' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan phrase mas que.

yiwal amo cucukal [mas ke moštín k-ihtu-lo pampa kema]  
he NEG stingy although all it-say-PL that yes

'He is not stingy although everybody thinks so.' (Reverse order of clauses permitted.)

'After' clauses rendered by después de que, although consultants have said they are permissible, are seemingly absent in ordinary texts, or if not absent, are exceedingly rare. The Spanish loan después is also used, but one is not certain whether one should consider that it really subordinates the clause or that it serves as a time word in one of two juxtaposed independent clauses, at least in the following examples:

ya [después newal nič-maka-he se libro] nič-ili-he  
now after me me-give-PERF:PL a book me-say-PERF:PL

pos in ti-k-agwardaru-a ok se martes ti-ya ti-k-estudiaru-a  
now this you-it-keep-PRES yet one Tuesday you-go you-it-study-PRES

'Now after they gave me a book, they said to me, "Now this you keep, you are going to study it next Tuesday".'

The above could be rendered by omitting después in the first clause and adding k<sup>W</sup>akinon or k<sup>W</sup>akín 'then' in the second.

ya newal nič-maka-he se libro k<sup>W</sup>akín nič-ili-he...

'Before' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan antes de or de antes de.

sekin ya [de antes de lami] se mo-cak<sup>W</sup>a i-lahtol  
some now of before of finish one REFL-close his-voice

'Concerning some, before one dies, his talking stops.'

'Without' clauses are, not surprisingly, marked by Spanish sin que 'without that'.

duraru-a kasionés kinse días [sin ke k-uni se tragito de al]  
last-PRES sometimes 15 days without that it-drink a swallow of water  
'One lasts sometimes a fortnight without drinking one swallow of water.'

'In order to' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan para, more often shortened to pa 'in order to', and, unlike the subordinate clauses dealt with above, clauses of this type are of much more frequent occurrence. The tense employed in the subordinated clause depends on whether the action is viewed as completed or happening simultaneously or during the same stretch of time as the action in the main clause; or whether the action is viewed as incomplete or possibly taking place at some near or remote future time with respect to the time referred to in the main clause. In the former case,

the tense employed in the subordinate clause is the same as that of the main clause. In the latter, the tense is future for the subordinate clause when the main clause is in the present or future tenses or even past or perfect tense, although some speakers say that for past or perfect tenses in the main clause, the future past or conditional tense is the tense that should be used in the subordinate clause.

If the subordinate clause is negated, the negative particle generally follows immediately after the subordinating marker *pa* and appears as the particle *kamo* 'not', following the morphophonemic rule mentioned in the phonology section of this paper.

ya umpa ti-mo-kiš-ti-li-he nadita sentabito  
now there we-REFL-go:out-CAUS-APPLIC-PERF:PL a:little cents

[pa ti-mo-palewi-he pa to-k<sup>w</sup>ento kapa  
so:that we-REFL-help-PERF:PL for our-account where

ti-ki-wiki-lih-ti-ka-te]

we-him-owe-APPLIC-CONN-be-PL

'So then we earned a little pin money in order to help us in our account where we are owing.'

ni-mic-maka k<sup>w</sup>arenta sentabos [pa ti-ya-s  
I-you-give forty cents so:that you-go-FUT

ti-k-šini-s pa i-tenko saka-tilan]  
you-it-sprinkle-FUT at its-edge weed-among

'I'll give you forty centavos for you to go sprinkle it at the edge of the weeds.'

ki-maka-ya [pa kamo mo-mahti-ski-aya]  
him-give-PAST so:that NEG REFL-fear-FUT-PAST

'He made him so that he would not be afraid.'

ya ki-pia la-yamani-li [pa ki-pan-ti-a]  
now it-have UNSPEC:OBJ-soften-NR so:that it-build:on-CAUS-PRES  
'Now she has it softened so that she might shape it.'

de pa yina [pa ti-mo-šiwili-ni-hme to-k<sup>w</sup>i]  
from long:ago so:that we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL our-dress

ti-k-ana-ni-hme in ikpal  
we-it-get-REM:PAST-PL the thread

'In the old days, in order that we make our dresses, we used to get thread.'

## TEXTS

Hunting Chacalacas for my Parents

ni-kin-temu-a      čačalaka-hmes      pa      no-tah-ci-ci-an  
 I-them-hunt-PRES      woodgrouse-PL      for my-parent-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL

1. I used to like to snare the woodgrouses,  
 newal ni-k-iš-toka-ni      ni-kin-kicki-s      in      čačalaka-hmes  
 I      I-it-face-follow-REM:PAST      I-them-catch-FUT      the woodgrouse-PL  
     like  
 and if I came with a woodgrouse arriving where  
 wan da ni-wal-aya      ka      čačalaka      ya      ni-ahsi-aya      kapa  
 and if I-come-PAST with woodgrouse now I-arrive-PAST where  
 my mother was, my mother would like to eat it,  
 no-nan-cin      no-nan-cin      k-iš-toka-ya      pa      ki-k<sup>w</sup>a-ski-aya  
 my-mother-HON      my-mother-HON      it-like-PAST      to it-eat-FUT-PAST  
 and my father too (would like to).  
 wan no-tah-cin  
 and my-father-HON
2. So then, one time I went to lay a snare.  
 ya      k<sup>w</sup>akinon se      welta ni-ya-k      pa      ni-k-lali-ski-aya      se      laso  
 now then      one time      I-go-PERF to I-it-lay-FUT-PAST a      lasso
3. When I climbed the tree and when I was  
 k<sup>w</sup>ando ni-lehku-k      in      mata de anunas k<sup>w</sup>ando nepa ni-ka-t-aya  
 when      I-climb-PERF the tree      of anonas when      there I-be-(?)<sup>w</sup>-PAST  
 up high there, if that branch didn't break and  
 punta len      amo postek-ti-ya-k      in      rama      de      in      anunas wan  
 above what NEG break-CONN-go-PERF the branch of the anonas and  
 I came to the ground myself with the branch;  
 len      amo      ni-wala-k      pan lali      ka      entero      in      rama  
 what NEG I-come-PERF on ground with entirely the branch  
 we fell onto the ground!  
 ti-weci-he      pan lali  
 we-fall-PERF:PL on ground
4. And since fortunately there were thick weeds, I fell into them.  
 wan hortuna      ka-t-aya      miak saka-tilan      ni-weci-k      pin      saka-tilan  
 and fortunately be-(?)<sup>w</sup>-PAST much weed-among I-fall-PERF in weed-among  
 since



5. I did not hurt myself, as I fell protected/padded (by the weeds).  
 amo ni-mo-koko-lti-k kinami ni-weci-k  
 NEG I-REFL-hurt-CAUS-PERF as I-fall-PERF  
 la-pi-piš-ti-li  
 UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-have-CAUS-NR
6. I didn't bang myself, but I did knock the wind out of me just a little.  
 amo ni-mo-golpearu-k pero ni-mo-yol-cak<sup>W</sup>a-k nadita san  
 NEG I-REFL-hit-PERF but I-REFL-insides-shut-PERF little just
7. And I quickly got up and ran home;  
 wan ni-mo-kes-ti-kisa-k ni-mo-lalu-k pa no-čan  
 and I-REFL-rise-CONN-hurry-PERF I-REFL-run-PERF to my-home  
 I reached home, and I told my mother.  
 wan ni-ahsi-k ni-k-ili-k no-nan-cin  
 and I-arrive-PERF I-her-tell-PERF my-mother-HON
8. And as my mother must have been mad,  
 wan kinami no-nan-cin ye-s k<sup>W</sup>alan-ta-t-aya  
 and as my-mother-HON be-FUT be:angry-CONN:be(?) -PAST  
 she grabbed a rope and said to me, "And you,  
 k-an-ti-kisa-k se meka-l nič-ili-k wan tewal  
 it-grab-CONN-hurry-PERF a rope-ABS me-say-PERF and you  
 boy, why do you go on falling among the trees like that?  
 mwaičito leka yohe ti-wes-ti-nemi pin in k<sup>W</sup>awi-mes  
 boy why thus you-fall-CONN-walk in the tree-PL
9. So that you take care another time not  
 pa ti-k-pia-s k<sup>W</sup>idado ok se welta pa kamo  
 so you-it-have-FUT care yet one time that NEG  
 to go about climbing...". ...pow! pow! pow!...she gave me just  
 ti-lehkuh-ti-nemi-s pau pau pau nič-maka-k san  
 you-climb-CONN-walk-FUT me-give-PERF just  
 three whacks and said to me, "You go climbing  
 ye baraso-s wan nič-ili-k ši-ya ši-lehku ok se welta in  
 three blow-PL and me-say-PERF IMP-go IMP-climb yet one time the  
 trees again, and you'll see I shan't scold;  
 k<sup>W</sup>awi-mes wan ti-k-ita-s newal amo ni-mic-ili-a ka regañada  
 tree-PL and you-it-see-FUT I NEG I-you-say-PRES with scolding

I'll deal with you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself!  
 ni-mic-ili-a san yohe amo sangá ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-s  
 I-you-say-PRES just thus NEG just you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT  
might  
 lest

10. But you, now, d'you not hear for sure? I'll beat you more so  
 pero tewal da amo t-ič-kaki-s ni-mic-witeki-s mas pa  
 but you if NEG you-me-hear-FUT I-you-beat-FUT more so  
 you'll hear!"  
 t-ič-kaki-s  
 you-me-hear-FUT
11. "I for sure will never climb trees again!  
 wan newal amo ni-mo-k<sup>W</sup>epa ni-lehku-a in k<sup>W</sup>awi-mes  
 and I NEG I-REFL-return I-climb-PRES the tree-PL
12. Let me tell you, Mom, I was trying  
 ma ni-mic-ili-a nana newal ni-k-čih-ti-nemi-aya luča  
 EXHRT I-you-say-PRES\* Mother I I-it-do-CONN-walk-PAST struggle  
 to get a woodgrouse for us to eat, but you  
 pa ti-h-k<sup>W</sup>a-lo-ski-aya čačalaka pero tewal  
 so we-it-eat-PL-FUT-PAST woodgrouse but you  
 got mad... ."  
 ti-kisa-k ti-k<sup>W</sup>alani-k  
 you-turn:out-PERF you-get:mad-PERF
13. "Hush up, or I'll whack you another three times!"  
 amo ši-nawa-ti porke amo hangá ni-mic-má-s ok sekin ye  
 NEG IMP-word-CAUS because lest I-you-give-FUT yet some three
14. And I said to her, "Mom, if you want to, beat yourself  
 wan newal ni-k-ili-k nana da ti-k-neki ši-mo-witeki  
 and I I-her-say-PERF Mother if you-it-want IMP-REFL-beat  
 on your foot!"  
 pa mo-kšian  
 on your-foot
15. "What did you say?"  
 len ti-k-ihtu-a  
 what you-it-say-PRES

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\*Here the PRES is used for politeness.

16. When I saw her get the stick, I ran  
 k<sup>w</sup>ando ni-k-ita-k k-ana-k se bara ni-mo-lalu-k  
 when I-her-see-PERF it-grab-PERF a stick I-REFL-run-PERF  
 to an open space so that my mother wouldn't reach me.  
 pa lahkoti-yan pa kamo nič-ahsi-ski-aya no-nan-cin  
 to open-place so:that NEG me-reach-FUT-PAST my-mother-HON
17. I no more knew at that time how I would calm my mother,  
 yahmo ni-k-mati-ni kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nan-cin  
 no:more I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-leave-CAUS-FUT my-mother-HON  
 and I kept thinking about how I would go about it.  
 newal ni-mo-kaw-aya ni-k-pensaruh-ti-ka kinami ni-ya-s  
 I I-REFL-leave-PAST I-it-think-CONN-be how I-go-FUT
18. "I'm going to go kill a dove or a mourning dove of some kind."  
 ma ni-ya ni-k-mik-ti len wilotita o len koko-cito  
 EXHRT I-go I-it-die-CAUS some dove or some mourning:dove-DIM
19. And so I went at that time into a clump of weeds with many stones  
 wan ya ni-yawi-ni pin bulto de saka-l ka miak tiška-li  
 and now I-go-REM:PAST in clump of weed-ABS with many stone-ABS  
 where I saw at that time a mourning dove; I pursued it until  
 kapa ni-k-ita-ni se koko-cin ni-k-toka-ya asta  
 where I-it-see-REM:PAST a mourning:dove-DIM I-it-follow-PAST until  
 I killed it.  
 ni-k-mik-ti-aya  
 I-it-die-CAUS-PAST
20. "And now with this I'm going to calm down my mother."  
 wan ya ka inon ni-k-lakawa-lti-ti-ya no-nan-cin  
 and now with this I-her-leave-CAUS-CONN-go my-mother-HON
21. So when I arrived I asked her not to beat me;  
 ya k<sup>w</sup>ando ni-ahsi-aya ni-k-ili-aya pa kamo nič-witeki-ski-aya  
 now when I-arrive-PAST I-her-say-PAST that NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST  
 I told my mother, "Mom, here I brought a dead mourning dove  
 ni-k-ili-aya no-nan-cin nana nikan ni-k-walika se koko-cin  
 I-her-say-PAST my-mother-HON Mother here I-it-bring a mourning-DIM  
 dove  
 for us to eat."  
 pa ti-h-k<sup>w</sup>a-si  
 that we-it-eat-FUT:PL

22. And she answered me, "My son, where did you get  
 wan yiwal niš-nankili-aya no-šolo-l kapa ti-k-ana-k  
 and she me-answer-PAST my-son-ABS where you-it-get-PERF  
 the little mourning dove?"  
 in koko-cito  
 the mourning:dove-DIM
23. "I killed it there."  
 nepa ni-k-mik-ti-k  
 there I-it-die-CAUS-PERF
24. "And why do you go about killing animals?"  
 wan leka ti-k-mik-ti-ti-nemi in animal-ito-s  
 and why you-it-die-CAUS-CONN-walk the animal-DIM-PL
25. And I answered her, "Why, so that we may eat it, Mom."  
 wan newal ni-k-nankili-k pos pa ti-h-k<sup>w</sup>a-si nana  
 and I I-her-answer-PERF why so:that we-it-eat-FUT Mother
26. "Now then, I'm going to roast it."  
 orita pwes ni-ya ni-k-waca  
 now then I-go I-it-roast
27. In this way I dealt with her so that she would not beat me  
 in yohe ni-k-čiwili-k han pa kamo nič-witeki-ski-aya  
 this thus I-her-do-APPLIC-PERF just so NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST  
 and so that I might go on appeasing my mother.  
 pa ni-segiru-ski-aya ni-k-awi-lti no-nan-cin  
 so:that I-keep-FUT-PAST I-her-play-CAUS my-mother-HON

The Coyote and the Rabbit

in kuyo-l wan in koneho  
the coyote-ABS and the rabbit

1. There was a big coyote, and one day when he was very hungry, he  
 ka-t-aya kil se kuyo-l we wan se tona-li k<sup>w</sup>ando  
 be-(t)-PAST QUOT a coyote-ABS big and one day-ABS when  
 was chasing a rabbit in a field.  
 mayan-ta-t-aya niman miak ki-toh-tok-aya kil se  
 be:hungry-CONN:be-(?)-PAST very much him-RDP-follow-PAST QUOT a  
 koneho pan se k<sup>w</sup>ahmili  
 rabbit in a field
2. The rabbit was very frightened, but he knew he could not  
 mo-mah-ti-aya miak in koneho pero ki-mati-aya pampa yahmo  
 REFL-fear-CAUS-PAST much the rabbit but it-know-PAST that no:more  
 keep running very long because he was old  
 wil segiru-aya mo-laluh-ti-ya miak tiempo pampa ya bieho  
 could keep-PAST REFL-run-CONN-go much time because now old  
 and his legs were tired.  
 yiwal wan siawi-lo-aya i-kšiya-hmes  
 he and tire-PL-PAST his-feet-PL
3. So suddenly the rabbit stopped  
 yohe pwes mo-kes-ti-kisa-k in koneho mo-malina-k  
 so then REFL-stand-CONN-hurry-PERF the rabbit REFL-turn-PERF  
 and faced the coyote.  
 wan k-iš-namiki-k ka in kuyo-l  
 and him-face-meet-PERF with the coyote-ABS
4. "Stop!" he said.  
 ši-mo-keca kil k-ili-k  
 IMP-REFL-stand QUOT him-say-PERF
5. "Why are you chasing me?"  
 leka t-ič-toh-toka-ti-ka  
 why you-me-RDP-follow-CONN-be
6. Are you going to eat me?"  
 ti-ya t-ič-k<sup>w</sup>a newal  
 you-go you-me-eat me

7. "Yes," said the coyote.  
 ho kema k-ili-k in kuyo-l  
 yes him-say-PERF the coyote-ABS
8. "I am going to eat you."  
 ni-ya ni-mic-k<sup>W</sup>a  
 I-go I-you-eat
9. "Do not eat me," answered the rabbit, "because if  
 amo š-ič-k<sup>W</sup>a ki-nankili-k in koneho pampa da  
 NEG IMP-me-eat him-answer-PERF the rabbit because if  
 you eat me you will die.  
 t-ič-k<sup>W</sup>a-s pos ti-miki-s  
 you-me-eat-FUT then you-die-FUT
10. You think I am a rabbit, but I am not.  
 ti-k-ih-tu-a pampa newal ni-koneho pero damo ni-koneho  
 you-it-say-PRES that I I-rabbit but not:really I-rabbit  
 I am really a rattlesnake, and when you eat me you will die  
 newal ni-akač-kuwa-l wan k<sup>W</sup>ando t-ič-k<sup>W</sup>a-s ti-miki-s  
 I I-rattle-snake-ABS and when you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT  
 from my poison."  
 por i-pampa no-pahli  
 by its-cause my-poison
11. "What should I eat then?" asked the coyote.  
 pos len unka pa ni-h-k<sup>W</sup>a-s ki-lah-lani-k in kuyo-l  
 then what is:there for I-it-eat-FUT him-RDP-ask-PERF the coyote-ABS
12. "Eat these zapotes that I picked.  
 ši-kin-k<sup>W</sup>a in capo-mes wal ni-kim-peh-pena-k  
 IMP-them-eat these zapote-PL that I-them-RDP-pick-PERF
13. I was carrying them with me in this basket to my house to  
 ni-kin-man-ti-yawi-aya newal pin in čikiwi-l pa no-čan pa  
 I-them-carry-CONN-go-PAST I in this basket-ABS to my-home so:that  
 eat when you started chasing me."  
 ni-kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-s k<sup>W</sup>ando ti-pewa-k t-ič-toh-toka-k  
 I-them-eat-FUT when you-start-PERF you-me-RDP-follow-PERF
14. "Rabbits eat zapotes," said the  
 pos in koneho-s yewanten kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-lo capo-mes k-ili-k in  
 now the rabbit-PL they them-eat-PL zapote-PL him-say-PERF the

coyote, "but zapotes are never eaten by rattlesnakes,  
 kuyo-l pero amo kiman kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-lo capo-mes in akač-kuwa-mes  
 coyote-ABS but NEG when them-eat-PL zapote-PL the rattle-snake-PL  
 never

so you must be a rabbit despite what you say.

yohe pwes tel ti-ye-s koneho mas ke ti-k-ih-tu-a pampa no  
thus then you you-be-FUT rabbit more that you-it-say-PRES that not  
 therefore but although not

15. You may fool yourself, but you cannot fool me.  
 k<sup>W</sup>ahnesi ti-mo-k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>amana pero newal amo wil t-ič-k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>amana  
 perhaps you-REFL-RDP-deceive but I NEG can you-me-RDP-deceive

16. It is good that you are a rabbit.  
 unka k<sup>W</sup>ali tewal ti-koneho  
 it:is good you you-rabbit

17. Rabbits can be eaten, but I do not like  
 in koneho-s wil kin-k<sup>W</sup>a se pero amo ni-k-iš-toka  
 the rabbit-PL can them-eat one but NEG I-it-face-follow  
 like

to eat rattlesnakes."

ni-kin-k<sup>W</sup>a akač-kuwa-mes  
 I-them-eat rattle-snake-PL

18. So the coyote ate the rabbit who had tried  
 pos in kuyo-l ki-k<sup>W</sup>a-k in koneho wal ki-čia-k in luča  
 so the coyote-ABS him-eat-PERF the rabbit who it-do-PERF the battle  
 tried

to fool him.

de ki-k<sup>W</sup>ah-k<sup>W</sup>amana-s  
 of him-RDP-deceive-FUT

19. He also ate the zapotes that were in  
 kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-k nohe in capo-mes wal ka-ta-lo-aya pin  
 them-eat-PERF also the zapote-PL that be-(?)>PL-PAST in  
 the rabbit's basket.

i-čikiwi-l in koneho  
 his-basket-ABS the rabbit

20. Having eaten the rabbit's zapotes, the coyote soon  
 lami-k kin-k<sup>W</sup>a-k i-capo-mes in koneho al ratito  
 finish-PERF them-eat-PERF his-zapote-PL the rabbit to short:time

died, while sitting

miki-k in kuyo-l k<sup>w</sup>ando mo-lali-h-ta-ta-ya  
 die-PERF the coyote-ABS when REFL-sit-(h)-CONN:be-(?)-PAST

under a tree.

i-cin-dan se k<sup>w</sup>awi-l  
 its-bottom-place a tree-ABS

21. The zapotes were poisonous, so the coyote died.

ki-pia-lo-aya pah-li in capo-mes pampín miki-k  
 it-have-PL-PAST poison-ABS the zapote-PL because:of:this die-PERF

in kuyo-l  
 the coyote-ABS

22. That's the end.

ha in san  
 just this only