

# PAPAGO

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## INTRODUCTION

General

O'odham designates the language of the Tohono O'odham 'Desert People', and the Akim'ł O'odham 'River People', commonly known as Papago and Pima. There are some 15,000 Papagos and 10,000 Pimas living on reservations, in cities, and on ranches from Tucson westward to Ajo and from Phoenix southward through Arizona into Sonora, Mexico.

The main dialects of Papago are Totoguañ, Ko=loodi, Gigimai, and Huuhu'ula. Papagos occupy four reservations, the Papago, the San Xavier, the Gila Bend, and the Ak Chin Maricopa.

The main dialects of Pima are Salt River, Eastern Gila River, Western Gila River, and Kohadt. Pimas occupy the Salt River and Gila River reservations. Kohadt occupy the northernmost part of the Papago Reservation.

The writer has studied the language under the direction of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, from 1953 to the present, in four villages of the major dialects of Papago, augmented by studies with Pimas. He has authored "Papago Phonemes", and, with his wife Lucille and Papago and Pima translators, co-authored a dictionary, Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians, The New Testament in Papago-Pima, Hymns of the Papagos and Pimas, and various smaller works, as well as consulted in bilingual and trilingual publications of the Mesa Public Schools and the Franciscan Sisters.

The major language consultants and translators were Suzanne Enos, Raymond Johnson, Sam Cachora, Eleanor Hendricks, and Enos Francisco in Ko=loodi dialect; Irene Adams, Albert Alvarez, and Juan Thomas in Totoguañ; Joe Thomas in Huuhu'ula; and Roe B. Lewis in Pima. Suzanne Enos contributed most directly to the present paper.

The primary focus of the paper is Papago.

Notation

A common phonological notation is employed for all dialects; forms for specific dialects may be derived by simple rules.

Ko=loodi dialect deletes glottal stop in secondary-stressed syllables:

aañi'i/aañii	<i>I</i>	aapi'i/aapii	<i>you</i>
hooho'id/hooheid	<i>to like</i>	higa'i/higai	<i>that</i>
ma'iʃpi'ok/ma'iʃpiok	<i>to uncover</i>		

Ko=loodi also deletes noncentral consonants preceding spirants intramorphemically, with progressive assimilation of V across h:

čuu <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ug/čuu <sup>h</sup> ug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uuhum	<i>back, home</i>
wawhia/wahia	<i>well</i>	wabʃ/waʃ	<i>just</i>

Other dialects delete h following a voiceless noncentral oral consonant:

čuuk <sup>h</sup> ug/čuukug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uupam	<i>back, home</i>
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Other dialects also exclude central disparate  $\hat{V}_1(G)V_2$  phonetically by backing  $V_1$  following a noncentral nonglottal C and/or decentralizing:

wihoo/wohoo	<i>true</i>	mɪ'a/*mɔ'a/mu'a	<i>to kill</i>
mɪ'a/*mɔa/mua	<i>kill</i>	doa/dua	<i>live</i>
do'ag/du'ag	<i>mountain</i>	čiho/čiho	<i>cave</i>
čtoʃ/čioʃ	<i>male</i>	čihaf/čihaf	<i>to command</i>
ñt'oki/ñi'oki	<i>word</i>		

The following special grammatical abbreviations are used:

ARG	<i>argument</i>
EQ	<i>equational</i>
DEG	<i>degree</i>
GEN	<i>genitive</i>
INTJ	<i>interjection</i>
MD	<i>mood</i>
MEAS	<i>measure</i>
RA	<i>range</i>

Certain other special notations are employed in this paper.

In lexical listings, certain verb constituents are partly or completely underlined to indicate the truncated form of the perfective:

<u>-čud</u>	APPLIC
<u>maak</u>	to give
<u>mī'a</u>	to kill

In text, truncation is marked X and labeled PERF:

kii-č-X	maa-X
house-APPLIC-PERF	give-PERF
make a house	give
mīa-X	
kill-PERF	
kill	

Discontinuous morpheme fragments are labeled X, and joined if word-initial by to the body of the morpheme:

šo-'o	wa'i	s=gīwk	w-a-n-t	wo	ñī-i
X-MD	X	AFF=strong	X-MD-I-TNS	X	look-APPLIC
	quite		FUT		
He's quite strong.			I'll see him.		

wo-'o	wabš	ī	iattog-id
X-MD	X	REFL	lie-APPLIC
	just		
He's just deceiving himself.			

gogs	go-go-gs
dog	X-RDP-X
dog	dog
	dogs

In loans where a single morpheme is interpreted as a compound because of noninitial stress, the second member is labeled STEM:

kal=siida	ka-ka-l=si-si-da
sock=STEM	X-RDP-X=X-RDP-X
sock	sock STEM
	socks

When a morpheme is deleted by morphophonemic or phonetic rule, its structural label is added to that of the previous morpheme:

g	kii-j̃	g	huan	g	huan	kii
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	ART	PN	house
	the house of		Juan			GEN
						Juan's house
g	mɪl-i-j̃	g	huan	g	huan	mɪl
ART	run-GER-GEN	ART	PN	ART	PN	run
	the running of		Juan			GER
						GEN
						Juan's running

Brackets [ ] enclose subordinate clauses as well as citations in phonetic notation of features under discussion.

#### PHONOLOGY

<u>Phonemes</u>	p	t	č	k	
	b	d	ǰ	g	ʔ
	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
		s	š		h
		l	ɸ		
	w	y			
	i	ɨ		u	
	a	o			

The phonemes divide for phonology into V vowel, C consonant, and G glottal consonant. V and V(G)V occur as syllable nucleus. C occur as syllable margins, 1-3 initially, 0-4 finally. i also occurs in syllable-initial margin in VV. The syllable is the unit of potential stress placement. Word-initial glottal stop (ʔ) is not written.

iʂ	to plant	mo'o	head
čiho	cave	kaam	cheek
waid	to invite	s=kiig	be good
		AFF=good	
s=ñ=kiɨ'id		gogs	dog
AFF=me=hate		agʂp	steep down
to hate me			



biščk-č-x	oimniđ	walk about
sneeze-APPLIC-PERF	oIopo	walk about PL
cause to sneeze		

The phonemes also divide into the following sets in contrast to the residue: central (columns t, č); front (columns p, t); tense (rows p, s, i); nasal (row m); spirant (row s); voiced (rows b, m, l, w, i, a); stop (rows p, b, and also phoneme ɟ in Totoguañ dialect).

Phonetically, t, d, n are apicodental; č, ʃ, ñ, š, ɟ, l are palatal; l is a retroflexed flap; w is a fricative preceding i/a. ŋ and ɣ are song analogs of g and ' , respectively, acquiring phonemic status in speech through Spanish loans:

aŋhɪl	angel	waŋko	bank	pa=yaaso	clown
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All geminate sequences are permitted, and in addition CG, stop plus spirant, s/š plus nonvoiced stop, and nasal plus homorganic nonnasal. All CV are permitted except t/d/n/s/l plus t; š/d/y plus i; b/g plus u. All V(G)V occur in syllable nucleus except a/o/u plus t; a/u plus o; o plus u.

### Phonological Processes

Put primary stress on the first syllable of stems and specified particles, on disparate V after ku/wu, and on the first V otherwise:

[kuí]	mesquite	[wuf]	toward
[káɪ]	seed	[wái]	invite
[wuá]	do	[máščam]	teach
[číkpn]	work	[hú]	REM
[hímhowa]	must	[híms]	ought
[hí]	on one hand	[híg]	how about
[wá]	as mentioned	[pi áp]	not good
			NEG good

[pí o káa]  
NEG MD hear  
He doesn't hear.

Raise pitch from first stressed syllable through last primary stress in each clause and phrase predicate (see BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE).

Place secondary stress (in all morphemes--stem, particle, clitic, affix) on all single lax V; on single u except after noncentral C; and on the second V of disparate clusters when the first V is tense, on the first V otherwise:

[máʃčàm]	to teach	[hímhòwà]	must
[kúqùt]	to trouble	[wò]	FUT
[híkúč]	to cut	[híkíà]	whole
[dáapiùn]	to smoothe	[-àlig]	domain
[táčcuì]	will	[ʃfgòì]	greasewood
[fpài]	also	[-àm+q]	go to do

Assimilate a central nasal to a following central nasal or stop:

ñ=naak/n=naak	ñ=daak/n=daak
me=ear	me=nose
my ear	my nose

ññḍa/[ññḍa] (Totoguañ)/[ññḍa] (other) to wait

Change ʃ to d preceding t:

nawoʃ-t/nawod-t	gi'i-ʃ-ta/gi'it-d-ta
friend-make	big-be-INCHO
make a friend	get big

Delete initial C following C/i in the following morphemes:

ha NEG	hahawa then	haʃ/wabʃ just
wa REF	wa'i only	wo FUT

Delete h following unstressed V:

ki-ki-hi/ki-ki-i	mak-i-hog/mak-i-og
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	give-GER-expected
in-law	expected to give
sibling-in-law	

Insert V in C X where CX is not a permitted sequence of segments--u in úC ; i in č/ʃ/ñ/s/l; a otherwise:

[úʃ <sub>u</sub> gid <sub>a</sub> ]	to shake	[hú <sub>u</sub> ḍ <sub>u</sub> ñ <sub>i</sub> ]	to descend
[f <sub>a</sub> gid <sub>a</sub> ]	to own	[húuč <sub>i</sub> ]	hoof
[náa <sup>h</sup> k <sub>a</sub> ]	ear	[čí <sub>a</sub> p <sub>a</sub> n <sub>a</sub> ]	to work
[čí <sub>a</sub> p <sub>a</sub> ]	work		

Put secondary stress on V between two C, the second lax, if not followed by stressed V:

číkápàna	to work	[číkapa-X]	work
		work-PERF	
húđùñi	to descend	řđagîda	to own
[řđàgi-X']	find	[gřwķî-m-hùn]	encourage
		strong-ADVR-APPLIC	

Devoice unstressed V in #CV at sentence boundary; in C not followed by V or lax C; and in CVG not followed by lax C:

[káA]	hear	[kóI]	yet
[řfgōI]	greasewood	[hřkià]	whole
[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[čřhO]	cave	[mó'0]	head
[číkApàNA]	to work	[řřwřđA]	earth

Devoice C if not followed by voiced segment:

[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[číkApàNA]	to work	[řřwřđA]	earth
[húđùñI]	to descend		

If a voiced V does not precede a voiced segment, insert lax offglide ['] preceding lax stop, and tense offglide [h] otherwise:

[dá'GItòh]	to leave	[čřhkApàhNA]	to work
[góohkI]	tracks	[řřwř'đA]	earth (Totoguañ)
		[řřwřhđA]	earth (other)

Delete unstressed V if flanked by permitted CC:

đá-đa-ha/đá-đ-ha	kó-ko-ř-ò/kó-k-ř-ò
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X-REPET</u>
sit	sleep
sitting PL	sleep REPET

řúudagi-kà]i/řúudag-kà]i  
liquid-INSTR  
by water

Delete unstressed first V of disparate central VV:

čř-čt-o]i/čř-č-o]i	dó-do-a/dó-d-a
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X</u>
man	live
men	live PL

Reduce unstressed single V to [ə], except noncentral V following noncentral C:

ʒíkApànA/ʒíkəpànə  
work

si=wíʒi-mà/sə=wíʒə-mà  
AFF=heavy-ADVR  
heavily

tá-a-tə-dâ-jI/tá-a-tə-dâ-jə  
X-RDP-RDP-X-GEN  
foot  
feet

tóobI  
cottontail

dág-I-tò  
hand-GER-COMPL  
leave

híkUʒə  
cut

To fuse particles across ', delete ' if in C ; otherwise put primary stress on first V (i.e.,  $V_1$ ) and delete stress on second V ( $V_2$ ), assimilating a front  $V_2$  to  $V_1$  and  $V_1$  to a back  $V_2$ :

\*naad-'i-ŋ/\*naad-i-ŋ  
fire-PERF-you  
Make fire!

\*d-'o/d-o  
EQ-MD  
it is

\*mɪd-'i-ŋ/\*mɪd-i-ŋ  
run-PERF-you  
Run!

wà 'fɪp/wá-'ap  
REF also  
likewise

wò 'ip/wó-'op  
FUT time  
until

tà 'ò/tó-'o  
UNSPEC-MD  
UNSPEC it

Reverse frontness of d, ɖ, n, ɲ before i:

\*naad-i-ŋ/naaj-i-ŋ  
fire-PERF-you  
Make a fire!

\*mɪd-i-ŋ/mɪl-i-ŋ  
run-PERF-you  
Run!

hain-i/haiŋ-i  
crack-GER  
cracked

\*kooɲ-i-ŋ/kooɲ-i-ŋ  
sleep-PERF-you  
Sleep!

Replace stem-initial (and in some dialects, clause-initial) ɖ with d:

da-d-ha/[da-d-ha]  
*X-RDP-X*  
*sit*  
*Be sitting PL*

d-o/[d-o]  
*EQ-MD*  
*it is*

Reduce VV to V in roots preceding -hain, -ho, -hog, -li, -ma, -pig, -wua, etc.:

\*gook-ho/\*gok-ho  
*two-time*  
*twice*

\*naak-pig/nak-pig  
*ear-remove*  
*earmark*

\*ha'a-ki-ho/\*ha'a-ki-ho  
*that-QNT-time*  
*so many times*

Metathesize voiced nonstop C and/or unstressed V with following G:

toobi 'o/[tóob'ið]  
*rabbit MD*  
*rabbit it*

taatami 'o/[táata'mið]  
*tooth MD*  
*tooth it*

'am hu/'ahmu]  
*LOC REM*  
*there*

\*ha'a-ki-ho/\*ha'a-khio  
*that-QNT-time*  
*so many times*

Assimilate h to preceding tense stop:

či-č-hia/či-č-ča  
*X-RDP-X*  
*girl*

*young female*

\*gok-ho/gok-ko  
*two-time*  
*twice*

\*ha'a-khio/ha'a-kkio  
*that-QNT*  
*time*  
*so many times*

### Morphological Processes

Delete truncatable part of verb constituent in the perfective and expand #CV# to #CVV# (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE):

him/hii-X	move	miđ/miđ-X	run
ho'igt'ɨlid/		ta'ibiŋim/	
ho'igt'ɨl-X	pity	ta'ibiŋ-X	pass around

Optionally delete previous VC in certain untruncated verb stems:

ho'igt'ɨlid/ho'igt'ɨl	pity
ta'ibiŋim/ta'ibim	pass around

Effect suppletion and/or reduplication in plural/distributive stems. Stressed CV and/or stressed V and/or post-stress C(V) are reduplicated in certain stems:

ban/ ba-a-ba-n  
 coyote X-RDP-RDP-X  
 coyote

coyotes

gogs/go-go-gs  
 dog X-RDP-X  
 dog

dogs

him/hi-hi-m  
 go X-RDP-X  
 go  
 go DISTR

wuʃad/ wuʃ-ʃa-d  
 deliver X-RDP-X  
 deliver  
 deliver

miđ/mi-m-đ-a  
 run X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 run  
 run repeatedly

člipia/či-č-p-pl-a-đ  
 move X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 move  
 move camp repeatedly

giŋ/gi-g-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ  
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR  
 fall  
 fall repeatedly

kow/ko-o-ko-w  
 dig X-RDP-RDP-X  
 dig  
 dig repeatedly

If stem is distributive, stressed V and its reduplicate are interrupted by ' in stems with initial reduplication, and h otherwise:

wui/wu-'u-wu-i  
 to X-RDP-RDP-X  
 to  
 to DISTR

daam/da-'a-da-m  
 on X-RDP-RDP-X  
 on  
 on DISTR

kiig/ki-hi-g  
*good* X-RDP-X  
*good*  
*good* DISTR

wamad/wa-ha-m-ma-d  
*snake* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
*snake*  
*snakes*

tonod/to-ho-n-no-d  
*shine* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
*shine*  
*shine* DISTR

čiidagi/čī-hi-dagi  
*green* X-RDP-X  
*green*  
*green* DISTR

šulig/šū-hu-l-li-g  
*fall* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
 PL *fall* PL  
*fall* PL DISTR

In certain ADJ/N/V, w reduplicates as p and is deleted in Vp:

mawid/mawi-pi-d/mai-pi-d  
*lion* X-RDP-X  
*lion*  
*lions*

giwk/ giw-p-k  
*strong* X-RDP-X  
*strong*  
*strong* DISTR

nawuj/ nawu-pu-j/nau-pu-j  
*friend* X-RDP-X  
*friend*  
*friends* (Pima)

na-'a-na-u-pu-j  
 X-RDP-RDP-X-RDP-X  
*friend*  
*friends* DISTR

wawiha/wawi-pi-ha/wai-pi-ha/wai-pi-a  
*well* X-RDP-X  
*well*  
*wells*

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

General

The sentence consists of (EXCLM) CL (CL):

ñit mɨd o g gogs                      See, the dog is running.  
EXCLM run AUX ART dog

mɨd o g čtoʃ [ma-t wo bɨ-i g gogs]  
run AUX ART man SUBR-TNS FUT get-PERF ART dog  
The man is running to get the dog.

Exclamation consists of (INTJ) (INTJ) (NP). The NP may be extraposed:

piɣii oig paanču žikpna-ñ	piɣii žikpna-ñ paanču
INTJ INTJ PN work-you	INTJ work-you PN
IMP	
Well okay, Pancho, work!	Well then, work, Pancho!

The clause consists of (INTR) PRED ARG<sup>1-3</sup> MOD<sup>n</sup>. Modifiers are prepositional, temporal, manner phrases, and may be preposed in part or whole to the predicate (see later sections). The arguments are ordered and ranked SUBJ ((DAT)OBJ), and consist of article plus noun phrase:

k mɨd g gogs	k ñitid g čtoʃ g gogs
INTR run ART dog	INTR see ART man ART dog
And the dog is running.	And the man sees the dog.

k maak g čtoʃ g gogs g čuukhug  
INTR give ART man ART dog ART meat  
And the man is giving the dog meat.

The object may be a clause (see COMPLEMENT CLAUSES):

k ñitid g čtoʃ [m-o mɨd g gogs]  
INTR see ART man SUBR-MD run ART dog  
And the man sees the dog running.

k čitg-id g paanču g huan [m-o am ɖaha  
INTR find-APPLIC ART PN ART PN SUBR-MD LOC sit



g pliwlo]

ART PN

And Pancho shows Juan that Pedro is there.

The predicate consists of (MDL) (NEG) (EQ) V AUX. The auxiliary is postposed to the clause-initial constituent:

miđ o g čtoǰ

run AUX ART man

The man is running.

pi o miđ g čtoǰ

NEG AUX run ART man

The man isn't running.

čum o pi miđ g čtoǰ

MDL AUX NEG run ART man

The man is trying not to run.

The auxiliary consists of MOOD (SUBJ PRON copy) (TNS-ASP agreement) (MDL), as given in PARTICLES AND CLITICS:

miđ o-kl g čtoǰ

run MD-MDL ART man

The man is evidently running.

miđ-X a-t-š g čtoǰ

run-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART man

The man reportedly ran.

miđ a-ñ a-a-ñi-'i

run MD-I I

I'm running.

The auxiliary is fused with preceding INTR or clause-initial suppletive:

ku-ñ miđ aañi'i

INTR-I run I

And I'm running.

k miđ g čtoǰ

INTR run ART man

MD

And the man is running.

đ-o paanču

EQ-MD PN

It's Pancho.

Nonemphatic PRON is deleted:

miđ a-ñ

run MD-I

I'm running.

maak a-ñ g gogs g čuukhug

give MD-I ART dog ART meat

I'm giving the dog meat.

Nonzero OBJ and DAT PRON copies are preposed to the predicate stem:



g kii-ŷ hfga'i  
 ART house-GEN that  
 the house of that one

am wiiŷma-ŷ hfga'i  
 LOC with-GEN that  
 with that one

am wui-ŷ hfga'i  
 LOC to-GEN that  
 to that one

The genitive marker is deleted when a constituent of its argument is preposed to the predicate:

g ha kii higam  
 ART them house those  
 the house of those

am ha wiiŷm higam  
 LOC them with those  
 with those

am ha wui higam  
 LOC them to those  
 to those

A benefactive phrase object may be raised to second rank clause argument, preposed to other objects, and its pronoun copy preposed to the verb stem. The order of object copies and arguments to the verb stem then is: OBJ DAT BEN V BEN DAT OBJ:

pi a-ñ ha maak g a-'a-l g luulsi m=wiiŷŷiŷiŷ  
 NEG MD-I them give ART children ART candy you=for

(aapi'i)

you

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

pi a-ñ ha m=maak-ŷŷi-l-id (aapi'i)g a-'a-l g  
 NEG MD-I them you=give-BEN-APPLIC you ART children ART

luulsi

candy

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

ha a-ñ wa-p-kon g ko-k-toñ m=wiiŷŷiŷiŷiŷ (aapi'i)  
 them MD-I X-RDP-X ART X-RDP-X you=for you  
                   wash                  shirt

I'm washing the shirts for you.

ha a-ñ m=wa-p-koñ-id (aapi'i) g ko-k-toñ  
 them MD-I you=X-RDP-X-APPLIC you ART shirts  
   wash

I'm washing you the shirts.

In neutral order a pitch contour occurs with each predicate, including exclamation and embedded phrase predicates. Pitch is high from first through last primary stress in the predicate and low elsewhere:

ko'a g g husi g ko'okol  
eat MD ART PN ART chili  
José eats chili.

na-p ko'a g ko'okol huan  
Q-you eat ART chili PN  
Do you eat chili, Juan?

h'u'u ko'a a-ñ g ko'okol  
yes eat MD-I ART chili  
Yes, I eat chili.

g ki[-y] g huan  
ART house-GEN ART PN  
the house of Juan

am witma-y g huan  
LOC with-GEN ART PN  
there with Juan

Relative clause is a constituent of the predicate and subsumed in its pitch contour unless headless:

n-t wo si gtgos-X hga'i al-i [ma-t wo  
I-TNS FUT INTNS feed-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS FUT

gi'i-[-ka-d]  
big-be-STAT-IMPRF  
I'll really feed a big child.

Subordinate nonrelative clauses have independent contour:

n-t wo si gtgos-X hga'i al-i [ma-t wo  
I-TNS FUT INTNS feed-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS FUT

gi'i-[-ka-d]  
big-be-STAT-IMPRF  
I'll really feed that child so he'll get big.

### Emphasis

There are two orders of emphasis, topicalization and focus. Topicalization affects the order of phrases with respect to their predicate, focus their order with respect to one another, constituents having descending emphasis from first to last.

A phrase is raised in focus by preposing it to other phrases. Pitch contour is unaltered in focus raising:

ko'a o g husi g ko'okol/ko'a o g ko'okol g husi  
 eat MD ART PN ART chili eat MD ART chili ART PN  
 José eats chili./José eats chili. (VSO/VOS)

A phrase is topicalized by preposing its predicate contour or its first stressed constituent to its matrix predicate, the article being deleted clause initially or following another article, and in certain other environments. The preposed construction is subsumed under the contour of its matrix predicate:

husi o ko'a g ko'okol  
 PN MD eat ART chili  
 It's José who eats chili. (SVO; SUBJ is TOP and FOC)

Topicalization is superimposed on focus raising:

ko'okol o ko'a g husi  
 chili MD eat ART PN  
 It's chili that José eats. (OVS; OBJ is TOP and FOC)

Any number of phrases may be topicalized:

ko'okol o g husi ko'a  
 chili MD ART PN eat  
 Chili is what José eats. (OSV; SUBJ, OBJ are TOP; OBJ is FOC)

An embedded phrase may be made the topic of its matrix phrase. When any constituent of an embedded phrase is preposed to its matrix predicate, the genitive marker -y is deleted:

ñt|d a-ñ g kil|-y g husi/ñt|d a-ñ g husi kil|  
 see MD-I ART house-GEN ART PN see MD-I ART PN house  
 I see the house of José./I see José's house.

č|kpan a-ñ w|t|ma-y g husi/č|kpan a-ñ g husi w|t|m  
 work MD-I with-GEN ART PN work MD-I ART PN with  
 I work with José./I work with José.

A phrase is topicalized if its referent is new. All the phrases in a discourse-initial sentence may be topicalized:

ht-ki hu s h|tma g kil| g t wos-mađ g  
 RA-time REM MDL one ART man ART REFL grand-child ART  
 w|p|'a-i maščam  
 hunt-GER teach  
 Long ago, reportedly, a man was teaching his grandchild  
hunting. (SS-LL-227)

A phrase is topicalized if its referent is in contrast to a previous referent. A phrase may be deleted if its referent is redundant and not in contrast nor syntactically required. A preposed response constituent is not subsumed under the contour of its matrix predicate:

A:  $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$  a-t-s g  $\overline{huan}$  g  $\overline{siliki}$   
*kill-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART PN ART white-tailed*  
*deer*  
 Juan reportedly killed a white-tailed deer.

B:  $\overline{pi}$  a-t g  $\overline{siiki}$   $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$   
*NEG MD-TNS ART white-tailed kill-PERF*  
*deer*  
 It wasn't a white-tailed deer he killed.

$\overline{huawi}$  a-t  $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$   
*mule MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
*deer*  
 It was a mule deer.

B:  $\overline{pi}$  a-t g  $\overline{huan}$   $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$   
*NEG MD-TNS ART PN kill-PERF*  
 It wasn't Juan who killed it.

$\overline{husi}$  a-t  $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$   
*PN MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
 It was José.

A phrase is topicalized if it is question or response. The topicalized response is not subsumed under the predicate contour:

A:  $\overline{ku-t}$   $\overline{hida'i}$   $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$  g  $\overline{huawi}$   
*INTR-TNS who kill-PERF ART mule*  
*deer*  
 Who killed the mule deer?

B:  $\overline{husi}$  (a-t  $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$ )  
*PN MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
 José (killed it).

A:  $\overline{ku-t}$   $\overline{hasču}$   $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$  g  $\overline{huan}$   
*INTR-TNS what kill-PERF ART PN*  
 What did Juan kill?

B:  $\overline{siliki}$  (a-t  $\overline{m\ddot{t}a-X}$ )  
*white-tailed MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
*deer*  
 A white-tailed deer (is what he killed).

- A: ku-t h̄tba'i m̄ta-X g huan g siiki  
*INTR-TNS where kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed*  
*deer*  
 Where did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: do'ag daam (a-t m̄ta-X)  
*mountain on MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
 On the mountain (is where he killed it).
- A: ku-t h̄tkid i m̄ta-X g huan g siiki  
*INTR-TNS when DEF kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed*  
*deer*  
 When did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: tako (a-t m̄ta-X)  
*yesterday MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
 Yesterday (is when he killed it).
- A: ku-t hasčũ-kaŋ m̄ta-X g huan g siiki  
*INTR-TNS what-INSTR kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed*  
*deer*  
 With what did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: hapot-kaŋ (a-t m̄ta-X)  
*arrow-INSTR MD-TNS kill-PERF*  
 With an arrow (he killed it).
- A: k has mas-ma čikpan g husi  
*INTR thus like-ADVR work ART PN*  
 How does José work?
- B: s-wagima-m o čikpan  
*AFF=industrious-ADVR MD work*  
 He works industriously.

Embedded question and corresponding response must be topicalized in its matrix phrase as well as in the clause:

- wiima-ŋ g huan/huan wiim  
*with-GEN ART PN PN with*  
 with Juan/with Juan
- A: k h̄tda'i wiim čikpan g husi  
*INTR who with work ART PN*  
 With whom does José work?
- B: huan wiim (o čikpan)  
*PN with MD work*  
 It's with Juan (that he works).

Contrasting referent precedes question referent:

A: ku-t / hasču mŋa-X g / huŋi  
*INTR-TNS what kill-PERF ART PN*  
 What did José kill?

A: ku-t g / huan hasču mŋa-X  
*INTR-TNS ART PN what kill-PERF*  
 And Juan, what did he kill?

A relative clause may be preposed to its head not for topicalization:

hŋgai čtoŋ [m-o gi't-ŋ] / hŋgai [m-o gi't-ŋ] čtoŋ  
*that man SUBR-MD big-be that SUBR-MD big-be man*  
 that man who is big

A relative clause may accompany its head in topicalization in either position:

hŋgai čtoŋ [m-o gi't-ŋ] o s=ap čikpan/hŋgai ...  
*that man SUBR-MD big-be MD AFF=well work that*  
 [m-o gi't-ŋ] čtoŋ o s=ap čikpan  
*SUBR-MD big-be man MD AFF=well work*  
 That man who is big works well.

Other factors may trigger topicalization and speakers may differ in threshold of topicalization or application of rules, since a statistical count yields a variation of from 15% to 33% in different speakers.

### Presumptive Pronoun Construction

When topicalization is effected by preposing a stressed constituent other than the whole predicate to the matrix predicate, a presumptive pronoun construction is formed.

čikpan o hŋga-m čt-č-oŋ/hŋgam o čikpan čt-č-oŋ  
*work MD that-PL X-RDP-X those MD work men*  
man

Those men work./Those are the men that work.

am o čikpan ha'i-ŋŋ hŋgam čt-č-oŋ  
*LOC MD work some-PRTV those men*  
 Some of those men work there.



ha'i-ŷŷ o am čikpan hŷgam čt-č-oŷ  
*some-PRTV MD LOC work those men*  
*Some of those men work there.*

am o čikpan gooka-ŷŷ hŷgam čt-č-oŷ  
*LOC MD work two-PRTV those men*  
*Two of those men work there.*

gooka-ŷŷ o am čikpan hŷgam čt-č-oŷ  
*two-PRTV MD LOC work those men*  
*Two of those men are working there.*

Nonplural demonstratives shorten when separated from their phrase (see DEMONSTRATIVES, ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES):

čikpan o hŷga'i čtoŷ/hŷg o čikpan čtoŷ  
*work MD that man that MD work man*  
*That man works./That's the man that works.*

čikpan o iida'a čtoŷ/id o čikpan čtoŷ  
*work MD this man this MD work man*  
*This man works./This is the man that works.*

čikpan o ama'i [m-o s=kui-g ama'i]  
*work MD there SUBR-MD AFF=mesquite-be there*  
*He works there where it's mesquitey.*

am o čikpan [m-o am s=kui-g]  
*there MD work SUBR-MD there AFF=mesquite-be*  
*There is where he works, where it's mesquitey.*

čikpan o iina'a [m-o s=kui-g iina'a]  
*work MD here SUBR-MD AFF=mesquite-be here*  
*He works here where it's mesquitey.*

in o čikpan [m-o in s=kui-g]  
*here MD work SUBR-MD here AFF=mesquite-be*  
*Here is where he works, here where it's mesquitey.*

Locational is displaced to pre-verb or deleted from predicate when a demonstrative is preposed to the predicate:

čikpan o am ŷda hŷga'i kii/ am o čikpan hŷg ŷda kii  
*work MD LOC in that house LOC MD work that in house*  
*He works in that house./That's the house he works in.*

Unemphatic quantifier may also be preposed to verb, not for topicalization, forming a presumptive pronoun construction:

am o čikpan ha'i g čĭ-č-oĭ/am o ha'i čikpan g  
 LOC MD work some ART men LOC MD some work ART

čĭ-č-oĭ

men

Some men are working there.

am o čikpan gook g čĭ-č-oĭ/am o gook čikpan g  
 LOC MD work two ART men LOC MD two work ART

čĭ-č-oĭ

men

Two men are working there.

### Resumptive Pronoun Construction

Topicalization of a phrase whose locational or quantifier has been preposed to the verb results in a resumptive pronoun construction:

čĭ-č-oĭ o am ha'i čikpan čĭ-č-oĭ o am gook čikpan  
 men MD LOC some work men MD LOC two work  
 Some men are working there. Two men are working there.

kil-č ĩd o am čikpan  
 house-ABS in MD LOC work  
 In the house is where they are working.

### Clefting

A cleft sentence is formed when a phrase predicate is deleted, leaving its relative clause headless:

d-o higa'i čtoĭ (higa'i) [ma-t wa mĭa-X g  
 EQ-MD that man he SUBR-TNS REF kill-PERF ART

huawĭ ]

mule

deer

That man is he who killed the mule deer.

d-o ha'a-kid (ĭda) [ma-t wa hab ĩuu-X]  
 EQ-MD that-time then SUBR-TNS REF thus do-PERF  
 Last year is when he did it.

da-t wo si'alim-k (ida) [ma-n-t wo wa  
EQ-TNS FUT tomorrow-STAT then SUBR-I-TNS FUT REF

m=ñti-X]

you=see-PERF

It will be tomorrow when I see you.

hi-kid a-t wo i k (ida) [ma-p-t wo i  
what-time MD-TNS FUT DEF STAT then SUBR-you-TNS FUT DEF

čikp-X]

work-PERF

When will it be that you will start work?

ku-t hi'ba'i wo i k (ama'i) [ma-p-t am  
INTR-TNS where FUT DEF STAT there SUBR-you-TNS LOC

wo čikpna-d]

FUT work-IMPRF

Where is it that you're going to be working?

## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

### Polarity

Polarity is exhibited by a number of interjections, particles, and clitics (see also ADVERBIAL CLAUSES):

POS	NEG
hi'u/hau'u INTJ yes	pi'a/pi'a INTJ no
pi'ii INTJ all right	daapi INTJ unknown
doowal INTJ ready	kia INTJ wait
oig/oigo INTJ go ahead	a INTJ Oh (I didn't know).
gi POS/unexpectedly true	pi NEG not, no
si INTNS (DEG) very	š(á...w)a'i DEG a bit, at all
s= AFF	wa'i only
	ai alas
	ha DEG any, at all
	ii INTJ Oh (can it be?)
	čum MDL ineffectual, unrealized
	wo MDL future, unaccomplished
	hi'ns MDL unrealized
	hu REM not close, unfactual

-s MDL unknown,  
contrary to fact  
na-/n- YNQ INTR

na-t pi hli-X g huan hfu'u pi a-t hli-X  
Q-TNS NEG go-PERF ART PN INTJ NEG MD-TNS go-PERF  
Didn't Juan go? Yes, he didn't go.

daapi pi a-ñ maač [ma-s hli-X]  
INTJ NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL go-PERF  
Unknown, I don't know if he went.

piġil oig doowai n-t wo hli-X  
INTJ INTJ INTJ I-TNS FUT go-PERF  
All right, go ahead. I'm ready to go.

kia n-t pi oi wo hli-X  
INTJ I-TNS NEG now FUT go-PERF  
Wait, I'm not going now.

ab o gġ tonoġ ha kli am  
LOC MD POS shine their house at  
GEN  
A light is shining unexpectedly at their house.

na-p gġ haiwañ-ga pia'a pi a-ñ ha haiwañ-ga  
Q-you POS cattle-AL INTJ NEG MD-I any cattle-AL  
Do you have cattle? No, I don't have any cattle.

ii mu'i a-p (gġ) haiwañ-ga  
INTJ many MD-you POS cattle-AL  
Oh, you have lots of cattle.

a na-p ha ñtid  
INTJ Q-you them see  
Oh, have you seen them?

pia'a ñ wabş s=maač [ma-p s=haiwañ-ga]  
INTJ I just AFF=know SUBR-you AFF=cattle-AL  
No, I just know you have a lot of cattle.

n-t wo čum hli-X p-t hims wo hli-X  
I-TNS FUT MDL go-PERF you-TNS MDL FUT go-PERF  
I want to/tried to/would You should have gone.  
have/did go, but...

pi a-t ab hu i ñ=kġ-i  
NEG MD-TNS LOC REM DEF me=set-PERF  
They didn't appoint me.

Article

The article *g* introduces an argument nominal in the absence of a pronoun; it is deleted following LOC or ART or clause initially.

*g*-o maakai *g* huan  
EQ-MD doctor ART PN  
Juan is a doctor.

na-p ñtid *g* mu-m-k-u-da-m huan  
Q-you see ART X-RDP-X-DISTR-IMPRF-PRTC PN  
*die*  
Are you seeing the sick one, Juan?

Syntactic Connectives

<i>kč</i>	<i>CNJ</i>	and
o/aha	<i>CNJ</i>	or (aha preceding <i>YNQ</i> , o otherwise)
ni	<i>CNJ</i>	neither, nor

čikpan o *g* huan č ñt't  
work MD ART PN *CNJ* sing  
Juan is working and singing.

čikp-X a-t *g* huan k-X gm hu hii-X  
work-PERF MD-TNS ART PN *CNJ*-PERF LOC REM go-PERF  
Juan worked and left.

n-o čikpan *g* huan aha n-o ñt't  
Q-MD work ART PN *CNJ* Q-MD sing  
Is Juan singing or working?

na-'a-s čikpan *g* huan o a-s wabš ñt'-t  
MDL-MD-MDL work ART PN *CNJ* MD-MDL just sing  
Maybe Juan is working, or maybe he's just singing.

pi o čikpan *g* huan ni a-s ñt't  
NEG MD work ART PN *CNJ* MD-MDL sing  
Juan isn't working nor is he singing.

Semantic Connectives

(w/h)abšaba/šaba	but
o/ wa	yet, then

ku-t wabšaba pi hii-X *g* huan  
INTR-TNS but NEG go-PERF ART PN  
But Juan didn't go.

ku-t oi wa pi hii-X g huan  
 INTR-TNS yet NEG go-PERF ART PN  
 yet Juan didn't go.

### Unspecified Argument Markers

ču UNSPEC OBJ (cf. has-ču what)  
 ta UNSPEC SUBJ (cf. hī-da-'i who)

pi o ču amičud-a-ma  
 NEG MD UNSPEC understand-GER-VR  
 OBJ  
 He's not understanding (of unspecified object).

pi o ta amičud-a-ma  
 NEG MD UNSPEC understand-GER-VR  
 SUBJ  
 It's not understandable (by unspecified subject).

### Referential Markers

hab pro-adverb, *thus* (vowel assimilates to previous vowel)  
 hi contrastive referent, *on the other hand, as for that*  
 hig/higi pointed referent, *how about* (higi if contour final,  
 hig otherwise)  
 wa previous or known referent, *recall that*  
 wa'i unique referent, *only*  
 i DEF, refers to a particular object or member of a  
 class

pi a-n-t hab juu-X  
 NEG MD-I-TNS thus do-PERF  
 I didn't do it.

n-t hi wo m=oi-X  
 I-TNS REF FUT you=accompany-PERF  
 As for me, I'd like to accompany you.

k g huan hi s=ap čikpan  
 INTR ART PN REF AFF=good work  
 Juan, on the other hand, works well.

n-t \*hig wo ñi-X higali  
 I-TNS REF FUT see-PERF that  
 How about my seeing that?

id higi  
*this REF*  
*How about this?*

n-t wa ñti-X higa'i  
*I-TNS REF see-PERF that*  
*I saw that, as mentioned.*

n-t wo wa ñti-X  
*I-TNS FUT REF see-PERF*  
*I'll see it, as planned.*

hig a-n-t wa'i ñti-X  
*that MD-I-TNS only see-PERF*  
*That's the only one I saw.*

### Tense/Aspect

Tense is signalled in the AUX.

∅ pre-experiential (co-occurring with quotative modal)  
 d REM PAST  
 t contemporary (PAST through FUT)

am a-š kii g ki-ki-l  
*LOC MD-QUOT live ART X-RDP-X*  
└──────────┘  
*man*

*The old timers reportedly lived there.*

am a-d kil g ki-ki-l  
*LOC MD-TNS live ART (old) men*  
*The old timers used to live there.*

am a-t čilpia g ki-ki-l  
*LOC MD-TNS move ART (old) men*  
*The old men moved there.*

Any tense marker may co-occur with the potential modal marker wo.

am a-t wo čilpia g ki-ki-l  
*LOC MD-TNS FUT move ART (old) men*  
*The old men will move there.*

Aspect is signalled by verb suffixes, manipulatives, and pre-verb particle. The perfective is signalled by suffix 'i and/or truncation. SF 'i is deleted in certain environments (see PHONOLOGY), and truncation occurs only in the nonimperative of certain verbs (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

am g bit-'i  
*LOC MD get-PERF*  
*IMP*  
*Get it there!*

am a-t bi-X-i  
*LOC MD-TNS get-PERF-PERF*  
*He got it there.*

am g ha ʒaad  
 LOC MD them drive  
                   IMP  
                   PERF  
 Drive them there!

am a-t ha ʒa-X-i  
 LOC MD-TNS them drive-PERF-  
                                   PERF  
 He drove them there.

ab g maak-i  
 LOC MD give-PERF  
                   IMP  
 Give it to him!

ab a-t maa-X  
 LOC MD-TNS give-PERF  
 He gave it to him.

Truncation is effected on the conjunction kč if present, and on permissible verbs if not before a conjunction (see COORDINATION).

huan a-t am miđ k-X bi-X-i  
 PN MD-TNS LOC run CNJ-PERF get-PERF-PERF  
Juan ran there and got it.

am a-t miř-X g huan k-X bi-X-i  
 LOC MD-TNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF get-PERF-PERF  
 Juan ran there and got it.

The imperfective is signalled by suffix d. Since d is deleted in the nonfuture if not before a conjunction, the signal is supplemented by deletion of contemporary TNS marker t in the nonfuture, nonconditional (see Auxiliary in this section), and by nontruncation of V and of CNJ.

am g biři-d  
 LOC MD get-IMPRF  
 Be getting it!

am o biřt  
 LOC MD get  
 He is/was getting it.

am o miđa-d č gtwk-o  
 LOC MD run-IMPRF CNJ strong-PRIV  
 He is/was running and has gotten tired.

am o miđ g huan č gtwk-o  
 LOC MD run ART PN CNJ strong-PRIV  
 Juan is/was running and has gotten tired.

The distributive is signalled by verb suffix and/or reduplication (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE). The suffix is † (harmonizing with stem vowel), đ, ʒ, or w. Distributive aspect marks repetition or an increment in a continuing action. Reduplication is effected in the final morpheme.



da-d-'-†  
X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 jump  
 jump repeatedly

†-'†-š-a  
X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 plant  
 plant repeatedly

ku'ag-op-p-o  
 wood-go-RDP-DISTR  
 for  
 PL  
 go PL for wood repeatedly

a-'a-h-†  
X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 reach  
 catch up with

on-am-mi-d            go for salt repeatedly  
 salt-X-RDP-X  
                       
           go  
           for

Past tense is combined with perfective/imperfective aspect in verb suffixes.

ok            PAST PERF  
 ahim        PAST IMPRF

am a-t        čikpn-ok  
 LOC MD-TNS work-PAST  
                                 PERF  
 He had worked there.

am a-t        hli-X    bth-i-ok  
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF get-PERF-PAST  
   PERF  
 He went there, having gotten it.

čikpn-ahim o  
 work-PAST MD  
                         IMPRF  
 He had been working.

A pre-verb particle 'i signals a definite point in an action.

am a-t        wo i    čikp-X    walk oola č-tđ  
 LOC MD-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF three hour CONN-in  
 He'll begin working there at three o'clock.

The definite particle co-occurs with auxiliary verb ha'asa to quit.

am a-t wo i ha'asa čikpk-X waik oola č-iđ  
 LOC MD-TNS FUT DEF quit work-PERF three hour CONN-in  
 He'll quit work there at three o'clock.

### Introducer

na- YNQ  
 ma- SUBR  
 ku- CONN

INTR is clause initial, fusing with the auxiliary, replacing mood marker a.

na-p kaa [ma-t-š wo mi-i-X]  
 Q-you hear SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF  
 Did you hear that he'll reportedly run?

ku introduces discourse-medial independent nonshared subject clauses, reducing to k preceding # and optionally deleting otherwise.

k has ču'ig  
 INTR what like  
 What's it like?

ku-t-š wo mi-i-X /t-š wo mi-i-X  
 INTR-TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF  
 He'll reportedly run.

### Auxiliary

The AUX is an unstressed morpheme cluster postposed to clause-initial constituent. It consists of mood, subject person and number, tense, and modals.

Mood distinguishes imperative and nonimperative.

g IMP  
 a non-IMP

am g čikpan  
 LOC MD work  
 Work there!

am a-p čikpan  
 LOC MD-you work  
 You're working there.

Mood marker a becomes o preceding # or modal ki.

am o(-ki) čikpan He's (evidently) working there.  
 LOC MD(-MDL) work

The mood marker deletes between ku and # or ki.

k am čikpan  
*INTR LOC work*  
*He's working there.*

ku-ki am čikpan  
*INTR-MDL LOC work*  
*He's evidently working there.*

The imperative person marker ñ is deleted if pre-verb, and the plural number marker wo extraposed to follow the AUX.

am g wo čikpan  
*LOC MD FUT work*  
*You PL work there!*

In the nonimperative, person and number are fused.

	SG	PL	
1P	-ñ	-č	UNSPEC
2P	-p	-m	-m
3P	∅		

Tense can be pre-experiential, remote past, or contemporary (recent past through future). Pre-experiential tense requires quotative modal š. All tenses co-occur with future/unaccomplished particle wo.

∅ pre-experiential  
 ḍ REM PAST  
 t contemporary

am a-š čikp-X  
*LOC MD-MDL work-PERF*  
*He reportedly worked there.*

am a-ḍ čikp-X  
*LOC MD-TNS work-PERF*  
*He had worked there.*

am a-t čikp-X  
*LOC MD-TNS work-PERF*  
*He worked there.*

Alveopalatals assimilate to the position of a following dental.

am a-n-t čikp-X  
*LOC MD-I-TNS work-PERF*  
*I worked there.*

am a-t-t čikp-X  
*LOC MD-we-TNS work-PERF*  
*We worked there.*

Aspect is imposed on the AUX in the nonfuture, nonconditional, contemporary tense by deleting the tense morpheme in the imperfective, the tense remaining contemporary.

am a-ñ čikpan  
*LOC MD-I work*  
*I am/was working there.*

am a-č čikpan  
*LOC MD-we work*  
*We are/were working there.*

Modality is signalled in the AUX in two adjacent modals. Modal<sub>1</sub> indicates the source of the information of the proposition.

ki evidential  
 § quotative  
 ∅ experiential

am a-t-ki	ɣuu-X	am a-t-§	ɣuu-X
LOC MD-TNS-MDL <sub>1</sub>	rain-PERF	LOC MD-TNS-MDL <sub>1</sub>	rain-PERF
<i>It evidently rained there.</i>		<i>It reportedly rained there.</i>	

am a-t

ɣuu-X
LOC MD-TNS
rain-PERF
<i>It rained there.</i>

Modal<sub>2</sub> indicates conditionality in contrast to ∅ nonconditional.

p assumptive  
 s dubitative

Modal<sub>2</sub> occurs primarily in subordinate sentences, s for the unknown<sub>2</sub> in the complement of negative polarity predicates of knowledge, p elsewhere.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s wo ɣuu-X]  
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL<sub>2</sub> FUT rain-PERF  
*I don't/didn't know if it is/was going to rain.*

na-p s-maač [ma-s wo ɣuu-X]  
 Q-you AFF-know SUBR-MDL<sub>2</sub> FUT rain-PERF  
*Do you know if it will rain?*

pi a-ñ maač [ma-t wo ɣuu-X]  
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-TNS FUT rain-PERF  
*I didn't know it was going to rain.*

pi a-n-t wo hii-X [ma-t-p wo ɣuu-X]  
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL<sub>2</sub> FUT rain-PERF  
*I won't go if (assuming that) it rains.*

The subordinate clause may be raised to form an indirect question.

ku-s	wo ɣuu-X	ku-t-p	wo ɣuu-X
INTR-MDL <sub>2</sub>	FUT rain-PERF	INTR-TNS-MDL <sub>2</sub>	FUT rain-PERF
<i>I wonder/doubt if it will rain?</i>		<i>Will it/I assume it will rain?</i>	

Modal<sub>1</sub> and modal<sub>2</sub> co-occur in the combinations  $\xi$ -p and kl-s.

ku- $\xi$ -p	am juuk	ku-kl-s	am juuk
<i>INTR-MDL<sub>1</sub>-MDL<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>LOC rain</i>	<i>INTR-MDL<sub>1</sub>-MDL<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>LOC rain</i>
<i>Presumably it's reportedly</i>		<i>Oh, so it might be raining</i>	<i>there.</i>
<i>raining there.</i>			

Besides INTR, certain other clause-initial constituents fuse with AUX, among them imperative predicates.

ki'a-ga-ñ  
*yet-MD-you*  
*Wait!*

The imperative person marker ñ is usually deleted preceding the plural marker.

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o  
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-PERF-FUT-MD-PL}$   
*quit*  
*You PL quit DISTR!*

The imperative marker g is usually deleted following a main verb.

him-i-ñ  
*go-PERF-you*  
*You go!*

h1-hi-m-i-o  
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-PERF-PL}$   
*go*  
*You PL go!*

The perfective suffix i is deleted by regular phonetic rule if not following a grave consonant or between vowels.

čikpan-g-o/čikpn-o  
*work-MD-PL/work-PL*  
*You PL work!*

h1'i-ñ-o  
*take-you-PL*  
*You PL take it!*

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o  
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL}$ -you-PL  
*sit*  
*You PL sit down!*

da-d-ha-i-wu-i-o  
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL}$   
*sit*

Certain clause-initial suppletives fuse with AUX, replacing mood marker a or flanking the AUX.



hims	obligatory, <i>should</i>
hu wo i	optative, <i>hope</i>
pim	negative, pejorative, <i>ho-ho, not</i>
pthigla	pretense, <i>pretend</i>
pin	ineffectual, recollective, <i>what was</i>
ša	conditional, <i>if</i>
waam	aggravative, <i>the more</i>
wabš	<i>just, only</i>

t wo am hu hii-X  
 TNS MDL go-PERF  
 He might go.

čum a-n-t hii-X /ku-n-t čum hii-X  
 MDL MD-I-TNS go-PERF INTR-I-TNS MDL go-PERF  
 I went (but failed).

čum a-n-t wo hii-X /n-t wo čum hii-X  
 MDL MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF I-TNS FUT MDL go-PERF  
 I'd like to go./I tried to go./I would have gone, (but...).

čum o kīg-čud-a-s  
 MDL MD good-CAUS-GER-RSLTV  
 It's supposed to be fixed/was fixed (but...).

ku-t čum ñti-X  
 INTR-TNS MDL see-PERF  
 He saw it suddenly/unexpectedly.

g† o čikpan g huan n-t hig wo ñti-X  
 MDL MD work ART PN I-TNS MDL FUT see-PERF  
 Juan is unexpectedly working. Let me see it.

t hihab čikp-X tako k a-t-ki himu pi  
 TNS MDL work-PERF yesterday CNJ MD-TNS-EV now NEG

wo čikp-X  
 FUT work-PERF  
 Even though he worked yesterday, today he evidently  
 won't work.

n-t himho wo wa hii-X /himho a-n-t wo wa hii-X  
 I-TNS MDL go-PERF MD-I-TNS go-PERF  
 MDL

I'll certainly go./I must go.

p-t hims wo čikp-X p-t hu wo i čikp-X  
 you-TNS MDL FUT work-PERF you-TNS MDL work-PERF  
 You should have worked. I hoped you would work.

p-t hu i pi wo čikp-X  
 you-TNS NEG work-PERF  
 MDL

*I hoped you wouldn't work.*

pim a-m-s † ho-ho-n-t  
 MDL MD-you-IRR REFL X-RDP-X-make  
 PL wife

*Too bad you PL didn't get married.*

pim a-p-t ñ=a-i  
 MDL MD-you-TNS me=pass-PERF  
 Ho-ho, you didn't pass me.

pñtɣia o čikpan g husi/husi o pñtɣia čikpan  
 MDL MD work ART PN PN MD MDL work  
 José is pretending to work.

k has pñ čitɣig higa'i	k has pñ čum wua
INTR what MDL named that	INTR what MDL MDL do
Now what is that one named?	Now what was he trying to do?

[p-t pi wo ʂa čikp-X] n-t pi wo m=namkid  
 you-TNS NEG FUT MDL work-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT you=pay  
 PERF  
*If you don't work, I won't pay you.*

pi a-n-t wo ñti-X g husi [ma-n-t wo čum  
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT see-PERF ART PN SUBR-I-TNS FUT MDL

ʂa hii-X]  
 MDL go-PERF  
*I won't see José if I go./I wouldn't have seen José if I had gone.*

waam a-n-t pi wo čikp-X  
 MDL MD-I-TNS NEG FUT work-PERF  
 The more I won't work.

Modals which co-occurs with -ki evidential:

hɨms should

n-t-ki hɨms wo čikp-X  
 I-TNS-EV MDL FUT work-PERF  
*I evidently should have worked.*

Modals which co-occur with -p conditional are:



has            how should  
 h̄ms            maybe, should have  
 hu i           optative, hope  
 p̄htgia        pretend  
 ʂa            if

has a-n-t-p        wo č̄t-i  
 MDL MD-I-TNS-COND FUT say-PERF  
 How should I say it?

t-p	h̄ms	wo	ʂuu-X	t-p	hu	wo	i	ʂuu-X
TNS-COND	MDL	FUT	rain-PERF	TNS-COND			<u>FUT</u>	rain-PERF
Maybe it will rain.				MDL				
				There's hope it will rain.				

p̄i a-n-t        wo m̄namkid [ma-p-t-p        wabʂ  
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT you=pay    SUBR-you-TNS-COND just

p̄htgia č̄ikpan]  
 pretend work  
 I won't pay you if you are just pretending to work.

p̄i a-n-t        wo hli-X [ma-t-p        wo ʂa ʂuu-X]  
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF    SUBR-TNS-COND FUT MDL rain-PERF  
 I won't go if it rains.

Modals which occur with -s DUB are:

č̄um	concessive, even though
č̄um...h̄ms	conditional, concessive, even if
haspk	why shouldn't
h̄ms hi	I thought
hu	remote possibility, improbability
na	maybe

n-t wo č̄ikp-X [č̄um a-s wo ʂuu-X]  
 I-TNS FUT work-PERF MDL MD-DUB FUT rain-PERF  
 I'll work even though it rains.

n-t	wo	č̄ikp-X	[č̄um a-s	h̄ms	wo	ʂuu-X]
I-TNS	FUT	work-PERF		<u>MD-DUB</u>	FUT	rain-PERF
				MDL		

I'll work even if it rains.

ku-s        haspk wo č̄ikp-X  
 INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF  
 Why shouldn't he work?

ku-s hĩms hi pi wo čĩkp-X  
 INTR-DUB MDL NEG FUT work-PERF  
 I thought he wasn't going to work.

ku-s hu wo čĩkp-X  
 INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF  
 I wonder if he'll work./How can he work?

na-'a-ñ-s pi wo čĩkp-X  
 MDL-MD-I-DUB NEG FUT work-PERF  
 Maybe I won't work.

Auxiliary is duplicated to bear a modal marker which has been omitted or which is required but cannot co-occur with modal marker in the primary auxiliary:

na-'a-s a-t-p d husi [ma-t hab juu-X]  
 MDL-MD-MDL MD-TNS-MDL EQ PN SUBR-TNS thus do-PERF  
 It may presumably have been José who did it.

hĩg a-t hĩkaŷ a-t-p hĩms wo i gĩ-i  
 that MD-TNS reason MD-TNS-MDL MDL FUT DEF fall-PERF  
 For that reason he may fall.

t am dag-i-to husi wui a-t-p hĩms g  
 TNS LOC leave-GER-COMPL PN to MD-TNS-MDL MDL ART

ĩ ĩñ-ga  
 REFL CLSF-AL  
 He left to José perhaps even his own property.

### Clitics

Affirmative s= is preposed to S-class verbs, and retained with certain noun, adjective, and adverb derivatives thereof:

s=amičud  
 AFF=understand  
 understand

s=ču amičuda-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-ADVR  
 OBJ  
 understandably

s=ap-ĩ  
 AFF=right-be  
 be right

s=ap  
 AFF=right  
 right

s=ĩñ-ga  
 AFF=CLSF-AL  
 to own much

s=ĩñ-ga-ka-m  
 AFF=CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC  
 owner of much

For each argument other than subject, a person marker is proposed to the head of its predicate. Object person markers are unbound if third person or if reflexive non-first person:

OBJ:	ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
	m=	†m=			
	∅	ha		†	

The pronoun is forward for topicalization of emphatic, and optionally deleted otherwise:

ñ=ñ†id o g huan/aañi o ñ=ñ†id g huan  
*me=see MD ART PN I MD me=see ART PN*  
 (me)  
*Juan sees me./Juan sees me.*

ha o ñ†id g huan/h†gam o ha ñ†id g huan  
*them MD see ART PN those MD them see ART PN*  
*Juan sees them./Juan sees them.*

ñ=ñ†id a-ñ aañi'i/h†j†l a-ñ ñ=ñ†id aañi'i  
*me=see MD-I I self MD-I me=see I*  
*I see myself./I see myself.*

† o ñ†id h†gam/h†-h††-j†l o † ñ†id h†gam  
*REFL MD see those X-RDP-X MD REFL see those*  
*self*  
*They see themselves./They see themselves.*

Person markers displace s= AFF forward:

s=ñ=amičud o g huan  
*AFF=me=understand MD ART PN*  
*Juan understands me.*

s=ha o amičud g huan  
*AFF=them MD understand ART PN*  
*Juan understands them.*

s=† a-p amičud huan  
*AFF=REFL MD-you understand PN*  
*You understand yourself, Juan.*

Direct object copy is deleted when displaced by indirect object copy:



s=maač + s=...-imk > s=maač-imk  
 AFF=know AFF DESID AFF=know-DESID  
 to desire to know

huana o ha šo-šo-m g ko-k-toñ ha w+hi+j+d g  
 PN MD them sew ART shirts them for ART

a-'a-l /huana o (∅) šo-šo-m-j+l-id g a-'a-l  
 X-RDP-X/PN MD them sew-BEN-APPLIC ART children  
 child

g ko-k-toñ  
 ART shirts  
 Juana is sewing shirts for the children.

huana o (∅) † šo-šo-m-j+l-l-d g i-'i-pud  
 PN MD them REFL sew-BEN-APPLIC ART skirts  
 Juana is sewing skirts for herself.

## BE/HAVE/DO

## BE

Predicate of being co-occurs with stative marker k. STAT follows the predicate word in neutral order, bearing aspect markers -d and -ahim, and is deleted if there is no aspect marker. Aspect marker -d is optionally deleted following STAT.

Predicate of being is attributive, equational, existential, locational, resultative, or stance.

Attributive predicate consists of adjective plus -j, -k, -'i, -d, -ñ, ∅, or of gerund in ču/ta...-ma:

g+i-j big-be is big	šopol-k short-be is short
s=ap-'t AFF=good-be is good	s=hi+pi-d AFF=cold-be is cold
šili-ñ short-be is straight	s=toñ AFF=hot is hot

s=ču            amičud-a-ma  
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR  
                   OBJ  
 be understanding/understandingly

Equational marker is wuđ; it is truncated to đ if not predicate final, and fused with following AUX:

k    has-ču    wuđ higa'i            ho'id-ka-m    o wuđ  
 INTR what-thing EQ that            stick-STAT-PRTC MD EQ  
 What's that?                            It's ironwood.

ku-t    has-ču    đ wo ka-d  
 INTR-TNS what-thing EQ FUT STAT-IMPRF  
 What'll it be?

đa-t    wo    gaat-ka-d                    đ-o    ñ=gaat-t-a  
 EQ-TNS FUT bow-STAT-IMPRF            EQ-MD me=bow-make-GER  
 It'll be a bow.                            It's my bow-making.

Existential verbalizer is -g:

gt't o čtho-g ama'i  
 big MD cave-be there  
 A big cave is there.

gt't o čtho-g-k-ahm            ama'i  
 big MD cave-be-STAT-PAST there  
 A big cave was there.

gt't a-t    wo    čtho-g-ka-d            ama'i  
 big MD-TNS FUT cave-be-STAT-IMPRF there  
 A big cave will be there.

Locational verb of being consists of demonstrative adverb or preposition:

am o g    ñ=kii  
 LOC MD ART me=house  
 There is my house.

am a-t-š            wo t=daam-ka-d            g huan  
 LOC MD-TNS-QUOT FUT us=over-STAT-IMPRF ART PN  
 Juan will be over us.

Demonstrative adverb and response may be topicalized:

ku-p-t            hiba'i wo ka-d  
*INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF*  
*Where will you be?*

n-t    ama'i wo ka-d  
*I-TNS there FUT STAT-IMPRF*  
*There is where I'll be.*

Passive resultative verbalizer -s follows gerundive if verb stem is simple transitive, follows verb stem otherwise:

am o aag-a-s            [ma-š        am kil]  
*LOC MD say-GER-RSLTV    SUBR-QUOT LOC live*  
*It is said that he reportedly lives there.*

an o bi-i-s            g    ñt'ok-čulid-a  
*LOC MD get-GER-RSLTV ART speak-APPLIC-NR*  
*The reading is taken from there.*

ab a-p    gawul-kd-a-s  
*LOC MD-you different-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV*  
*You are differentiated/separated.*

ab a-ñ maak-s        g    gtwk-dag  
*LOC MD-I give-RSLTV ART strong-NR*  
*I am given strength.*

Nonpassive resultative verbalizer -kč deletes k after a consonant. STAT is deleted in -kč -d:

maak-č <i>give-RSLTV</i> <i>have given</i>	naato-kč <i>finish-RSLTV</i> <i>have finished</i>
--	---

maak-či-d <i>give-RSLTV-IMPRF</i> <i>will have given</i>	maak-č-k-ahim <i>give-RSLTV-STAT-PAST</i> <i>had given</i>
--	--

Stance verbs are animate or inanimate:

wo'o/woo-p /wo-'o-wo-p  
*lie lie-RDP lie-RDP-RDP-RDP*  
*lie SG/PL/DISTR (AN)*

kaač/wtīč/wtī-'t-wī-č  
*lie lie X-RDP-RDP-X*  
*lie*  
*lie SG/PL/DISTR (INAN)*

HAVE

Stative possessive verb is marked by *gɪ* POS in the absence of quantifier or negative. N stems incorporated as possessive V retain alienability marking:

na-p gɪ go-go-gs-ga  
*Q-you POS X-RDP-X-AL*  
                   dog  
*Do you have dogs?*

na-p ha'i go-go-gs-ga  
*Q-you some dogs-AL*  
*Do you have some dogs?*

pia'a pi a-ñ ha gogs-ga  
*no NEG MD-I any dog-AL*  
*No, I don't have any dog.*

na-p gɪ kii  
*Q-you POS house*  
*Do you have a house?*

htu'u gɪ a-ñ kii  
*yes POS MD-I house*  
*Yes, I have a house.*

Possessive verb stem *ɪdgid* own, find, take possession of exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast, occurring usually with inalienable nouns:

ɪdgid a-ñ g lliwa  
*possess MD-I ART coat*  
*I have a coat.*

ɪdagi-X a-n-t g lliwa  
*possess-PERF MD-I-TNS ART coat*  
*I acquired a coat.*

DO

The pro-verb *wua/juñ do*, make co-occurs with pro-adverb *hab/has'i thus, how*, is partially suppletive, and exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast:

n-o hab wua g † čikpan  
*Q-MD thus do ART REFL work*  
*Is he doing his work?*

na-t hab juu-X g † čikpan  
*Q-TNS thus do-PERF ART REFL work*  
*Did he do his work?*

huan a-t hab wo wua-d g † čikpan  
*PN MD-TNS thus FUT do-IMPRF ART REFL work*  
*Juan will be doing his work.*



The verb *naato* *make, finish* is source of -t factorial:

n-t wo ha'i ha naato g kil-ki /  
*I-TNS FUT some them make ART house-RDP*  
 PERF

n-t wo ha'i kil-ki-t  
*I-TNS FUT some house-RDP-make*  
*I'm going to build some houses.*

### NONDISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

#### Reflexive

Reflexive object person markers *n̄= myself, my, t= ourselves, our, † self, selves, own* are employed for noun phrases coreferential to the subject. Arguments are ranked in the order SUBJ, BEN, DAT, OBJ. Reflexive pronoun *hiʃti* *self, hi-hi't-ʃti (self-RDP-X) selves* is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

(hiʃti) o † wa-kon g al-i  
*self MD REFL water-INSTR ART child-SG*  
 wash

*The child is washing himself.*

hiʃti o † wa-koñ-id g kotoñ  
*self MD REFL wash-APPLIC ART shirt*  
*He's washing himself a shirt.*

wa-kon o g al-i g (hiʃti) † tñ-ga  
*wash MD ART child ART self REFL CLSF-AL*  
*The child is washing his own clothes.*

wa-kon o g al-i g tñ-ga (hiʃti) † witiʃti  
*wash MD ART child ART CLSF-AL self REFL for*  
*The child is washing clothes for himself.*

wa-kon o g huana g tñ-ga g (hiʃti) † maq  
*wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL child*

witiʃti  
 for

*Juana is washing clothes for her own child.*

wa-kon o g huana g iñ-ga g (hiʃi) † wiñag  
*wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL sister*

maq wiñhiʃi  
*child for*

*Juana is washing clothes for her own sister's child.*

Clauses which are identical except for subject are conflated. Nonidentical noun phrases conjoin, while subject pronouns conflate or conjoin.

aačim a-č hi-hiʃi-ʃi t=ñiʃi  
*we MD-we X-RDP-X REFL=see*  
*self*

*We see ourselves.*

aañi'i kč aapi'i a-č hi-hiʃi-ʃi t=ñiʃi  
*I and you MD-we selves REFL=see*  
*You and I see ourselves.*

hi-hiʃi-ʃi o † ñiʃi g a-'a-1  
*selves MD REFL see ART X-RDP-X*  
*child*

*The children see themselves.*

hi-hiʃi-ʃi o † ñiʃi g huan č husi  
*selves MD REFL see ART PN and PN*  
*Juan and José see themselves.*

When a possessed noun phrase in a subordinate clause is stranded by deletion of redundant predicate and of possessor phrase redundant to main clause subject, the stranded noun phrase assumes a reflexive relationship:

b-o mas-ma miq g kawiu-ga-ʃi g huan [m-o  
*that-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD*

(hab mas-ma miq) g wiñga-ʃi (g kawiu-ga-ʃi  
*that like-ADVR run ART sibling-GEN ART horse-AL-GEN*

g huan)]/ [m-o g † wiñag]  
*ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL sibling*  
*Juan's horse runs like its sibling.*

b-o mas-ma miq g kawiu-ga-ʃi g huan [m-o (...)  
*SUBR-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD*



hima a-t † m'ia-ǰ-X g siiki  
 one MD-TNS REFL kill-APPLIC-PERF ART deer  
 A deer got himself killed./Someone killed himself a deer.

hima a-n-t m=m'ia-ǰ-X g siiki  
 one MD-I-TNS you=kill=APPLIC-PERF ART deer  
 I killed a deer for you.

Verbs which employ -ǰid for passive do not employ simple reflexive for passive, in contrast to most verbs:

† a-t m'ia-X g huan  
 REFL MD-TNS kill-PERF ART PN  
 Juan killed himself.

† a-t ñt!-X g huan  
 REFL MD-TNS see-PERF ART PN  
 Juan saw himself/was seen.

### Other

Meteorological verbs are intransitive verbs with unspecified argument:

s=toñ o hiwiđ o  
 AFF=hot MD blow MD  
 It's hot. It's windy.

p-t h+ba'i i ǰuu k-X wo i čikp-X  
 you-TNS where DEF sit(the sun) CNJ-PERF FUT DEF work-PERF  
 When will you start work?

Stative unspecified argument markers are ta agentive and ču objective:

n-o s=ta ††bid-a-ma g al-i  
 Q-MD AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-VR ART child-SG  
 SUBJ  
 Is a child fearsome (i.e., to be feared)?

pia'a pi o ta ††bid-a-ma  
 no NEG MD UNSPEC fear-GER-VR  
 SUBJ  
 No, it isn't fearsome.

s=ču o ††bid-a-ma  
 AFF=UNSPEC MD fear-GER-VR  
 OBJ  
 It's fearful (i.e., fears something).

Adverbs and nouns derived from unspecified argument verbs employ the same markers and sustain the same relationship:

s=ta /s=ču ††bid-a-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-ADVR  
 SUBJ OBJ  
 frighteningly/fearfully

s=ta /s=ču ††bid-a-ma-ka-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-VR-STAT-PRTC  
 SUBJ OBJ  
 frightening one/fearful one

Unspecified subject of active transitive verb is marked by pronoun copy -m, disambiguated from you:PL by context or by co-occurrence with m=, im=:

ku-m-t m=ñi-X  
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS you=see-PERF  
 SUBJ  
 Someone saw you.

ku-m-t m=maa-X g gogs  
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS you=give-PERF ART dog  
 SUBJ  
 Someone gave you a dog.

Unspecified object is marked by pronoun copy ha:

huan a-t ha mīa-X  
 PN MD-TNS UNSPEC kill-PERF  
 OBJ  
 Juan killed someone.

huana o ha walla  
 PN MD UNSPEC dance  
 OBJ  
 Juana is dancing with someone.

huan a-t mīa-X g ha gogs-ga  
 PN MD-TNS kill-PERF ART UNSPEC dog-AL  
 OBJ  
 Juan killed someone's dog.

Unspecified subject and object pronoun copies co-occur:

ku-m-t ha mīa-X m=wiñiñjĩg  
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS UNSPEC kill-PERF you=for  
 SUBJ OBJ  
 They killed someone for you.



## QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

YNQ are marked by the introducer *na-* with no intonational signal. *na-* does not co-occur in a clause with WH question words.

*na-p* čikpan  
*Q-you work*  
 Do you work?

*n-o* pi čikpan  
*Q-MD NEG work*  
 Isn't he working?

The negative YNQ expresses unfulfilled expectation and elicits confirmation of the negative or negation that yields an affirmative:

*hi'u* pi o čikpan  
*INTJ NEG MD work*  
 Yes, he isn't working.

*pia'a* čikpan o  
*INTJ work MD*  
 No, he's working.

Alternative questions employ the conjunction *aha* or:

*n-o* *s=toñ* aha *n-o* *s=hɨpi-d*  
*Q-MD AFF=hot CNJ Q-MD AFF=cold-be*  
 Is it hot or is it cold?

Response to alternative question omits INTJ:

*s=toñ* o /*s=hɨpi-d* o  
*AFF=hot MD AFF=cold-be MD*  
 It's hot./It's cold.

Redundant verb in alternative question is deleted:

*na-p* g *muuñ taččua* aha *na-p* g *huuñ*  
*Q-you ART beans want CNJ Q-you ART corn*  
 Do you want beans or corn?

There is a tag YNQ, not constrained to agree with preceding sentence:

*n-o* *hi*g *wihoo*  
*Q-MD REF true*  
 Is that right?

WH Questions

The equivalents of WH question words are derived from demonstratives requiring sentence or gesture complement. The question word elicits the complement. The question word and its response are advanced as topic in their immediate matrix as well as higher matrices. Question words are formed with no change, by suppletion, by changing  $\check{V}$  (cluster) to lax, or replacing C following stress.

ha-s  
what-MAN  
what?

has-ču'u  
what-thing  
what thing?

has-ču-kaĵ  
what-thing-INSTR  
with what thing?

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko  
what-ADVR  $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-ADVR}$   
what  
what direction(s)?

hĭ-ba-'i  
RA-neutral-NUM  
where, when?

hĭ-da-'i /hĭ-da-m  
RA-UNSPEC-SG RA-UNSPEC-PL  
who (SG/PL)?

hĭ-ki-d  
what-time-ADVR  
when?

idañ  
at this time of cycle

hĭ'f-kia  
what-NUM  
how many?

hĭ'|-kia-ču  
what-NUM-thing  
what numbered thing?

ha-b  
that-MAN  
that, thus

hĭ-ga-'i  
RA-DIST-SG  
that thing

hĭ-g hĭkaĵ/hĭkaĵ hĭ-ga-'i  
RA-DIST INSTR INSTR RA-DIST-SG  
with that thing

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko  
that-ADVR  $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-ADVR}$   
that  
that/those direction(s)

a-ba-'i  
PROX-toward-NUM  
there facing

hĭ-ga-'i /hĭ-ga-m  
RA-DIST-SG RA-DIST-PL  
that those

ĭda /winog  
then then  
then

ha'a-kia  
that-NUM  
that many

ha'a-kia-ču  
that-NUM-thing  
that numbered thing



hí'í-kki-o  
*what-NUM-time*  
*how many times?*

ha'a-kki-o  
*that-NUM-time*  
*that many times*

hí'í-k-pa  
*what-NUM-place*  
*how many places?*

ha'a-k-pa  
*that-NUM-place*  
*that many places*

hí'í-s  
*what-QNT*  
*how much?*

ha'a-s  
*that-QNT*  
*that much*

hí'í-s-ču /hí-hí'í-s-ču  
*what-QNT-thing what-RDP-X-QNT-thing*  
*what size thing(s)?*

ha'a-s-ču /ha-ha'a-s-ču  
*that-QNT-thing/that-RDP-X-QNT-thing*  
*that size thing(s)*

hí'í-s-ko  
*what-QNT-ADVR*  
*how far?*

ha'a-s-ko  
*that-QNT-ADVR*  
*that far*

Question words co-occur optionally with *i DEF*:

k hí-ḡa-'i am čikpan  
*INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC work*  
*Who's working there?*

k hí-ḡa-'l am i čikpan  
*INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC DEF work*  
*Which one is working there?*

k hí-ba-'i čikpan  
*INTR RA-neutral-NUM work*  
*Where is he working?*

k hí-ba-'l i čikpan  
*INTR RA-neutral-NUM DEF work*  
*Which place is he working?*

hí'í-kia o ma-a-ma-ḡ g gogs  
*what-NUM MD child-RDP-RDP-X ART dog*  
*How many pups does a dog have?*

hí'í-kia o i ma-a-ma-ḡ g gogs  
*what-NUM MD DEF children ART dog*  
*How many pups does the dog have?*

hĩ'i-s o gĩ't-ŷ g al=huandii  
*what-QNT MD big-be ART X=X*  
*elephant*

How big is an elephant?

hĩ'i-s o i gĩ't-ŷ g al=huandii  
*what-QNT MD DEF big-be ART elephant*  
*How big is the elephant?*

k	ha-s	ĩ	wua	k	ha-s	i	ĩ	wua
INTR	what-MAN	REFL	do	INTR	what-MAN	DEF	REFL	do
What does he do?				What is he doing?				

hĩ'i-kki-o a-t wo ma-a-ma-d-t g al=huandii  
*what-NUM-time MD-TNS FUT children-make ART elephant*  
*How many times will an elephant gestate?*

hĩ'i-kki-o a-t wo i ma-a-ma-d-t g al=huandii  
*what-NUM-time MD-TNS FUT DEF gestate ART elephant*  
*How many times will the elephant gestate?*

Any phrase without an embedded phrase may be question word:

t hĩ-ga-'i soi-ga hab ŷuu-X  
*TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL thus do-PERF*  
*Whose animal did it?*

t hĩ-ga-'i tñ-ga-ka-m hab ŷuu-X  
*TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC thus do-PERF*  
*Whose owner did it?*

WH words co-occur with partitive -ŷŷ/Ø:

hĩ'i-kia-ŷŷ o i čikpan hĩgam čĩ-č-oŷ  
*what-NUM-PRIV MD DEF work those X-RDP-X*  
*man*

How many of those men are working?

ha'a-kia-ŷŷ o čikpan hĩgam čĩ-č-oŷ  
*that-NUM-PRIV MD work those men*  
*That many of those men are working.*

hĩ'i-si-ŷŷ o i s=kĩga-ŷ hĩga'i o'od  
*what-QNT-PRIV MD DEF AFF=good-be that sand*  
*How much of that sand is good?*

k hɪda'i i ʃikpan hɪgam ʃɪ-ʃ-oʃ  
 INTR *who* DEF *work* *those men*  
 Which of those men are working?

k has-ʃu'u ɖ o'odham hɪgam  
 INTR *what-thing* EQ *Indian* *those*  
 What kind of Indian are they?

Certain question words have clause-initial truncated, partially suppletive forms:

has/ʃaa-            *what?*  
 hɪba'i/baa-        *where?*  
 hɪɖa'i/ɖoo-        *who?*

The suppletives are bound to AUX, baa- to -jɪɖ *from*, and ʃaa- to -ʃu'u *thing* or -ko *direction*:

ɖoo-'o hu ɖ i  
*who-MD REM EQ DEF*  
 Which one was it?

ɖoo-'o wuɖ hɪga'i  
*who-MD EQ that*  
 Who is that?

baa-t        hii-X  
*where-TNS go-PERF*  
 Where do you live?

baa-jɪɖ    a-t    i    hii-X  
*where-from MD-TNS DEF go-PERF*  
 Where did he come from?

ʃaa-n-t    wo    ñ=juu  
*what-I-TNS FUT REFL=do*  
 What shall I do?

ʃaa-ʃu'u    o    wuɖ hɪga'i  
*what-thing MD EQ that*  
 What's that?

ʃaa-ko    a-t    i    hii-X  
*what-way MD-TNS DEF go-PERF*  
 Which way did he go?

ʃaa-p    i    †    wua  
*what-you DEF REFL do*  
 What are you doing?

Demonstrative is copied from complement for questioning or defining:

hɪ'i-s    a-p    hab    i    †lid [ma-p-t        ha'a-s  
*what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that-QNT*

wo    kii-t]  
*FUT house-VR*  
 What size house do you think you'll build?

ha'a-s    a-ñ    hab    †lid [ma-n-t        ha'a-s    wo    kii-t]  
*that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBR-I-TNS that-QNT FUT house-VR*  
 That's what size house I think I'll build.

hi'i-k-pa a-p hab i flid [m-o  
*what-NUM-place MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-MD*

ha'a-k-pa čikpan]  
*that-QNT-place work*  
*How many places do you think he works in?*

na-p ha'a-s hab flid [ma-p-t ha'a-s wo  
*Q-you that-QNT thus think SUBR-you-TNS that-QNT FUT*

kii-t]  
*house-VR*  
*Do you think you will build that size house?*

na-p hfg hab flid [ma-t hfg hab wo juu-X]  
*Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that thus FUT do-PERF*  
*Is that the one you think will do it?*

doo-p hab flid [ma-t hfg wo m=kii-č]  
*who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT you=house-APPLIC*  
*Who do you think will make you a house?*

šaa-ču-kaŷ a-p hab i flid [ma-p-t hfg  
*what-thing-INSTR MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that*

hkaŷ wo kii-t]  
*using FUT house-VR*  
*With what do you think you will build the house?*

baa-p hab i flid [ma-p-t am wo kii-t]  
*where-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS LOC FUT house-VR*  
*Where do you think you'll build the house?*

Question correlate of demonstrative occurs in complement  
of demonstrative:

ha'a-s a-n-t wo kii-t [ma-n-t hi'i-s wo  
*that-QNT MD-I-TNS FUT house-VR SUBR-I-TNS what-QNT FUT*

i tačču-a-d]  
*DEF want-IMPRF*  
*I'll make the size house I want.*

hfg a-n-t wo huu-X [ma-p-t has-ču'u wo  
*that MD-I-TNS FUT eat-PERF SUBR-you-TNS what-thing FUT*

i ñ=hidoł-X]  
*DEF me=cook-PERF*  
*for*  
*I'll eat whatever you cook for me.*

ha'a-kia a-n-t wo mmaa-X [ma-p ht'i-kia  
*that-QNT MD-I-TNS FUT you=give-PERF SUBR-you what-NUM*

i taččua]

*DEF want*

*I'll give you how many you want.*

Any question words may co-occur if neither is partitive:

doo-'o has-č'u'u has wua

*who-MD what-thing what do*

*Who does what?*

Question word may be incorporated in noun phrase and thus co-occur with YNQ:

na-p am i ñtid g has čtig-i

*Q-you LOC DEF see ART what name-GER*

*Did you see what's-his-name there?*

Phonetic shape is determined before deletion of redundant constituents, accounting for nonsuppletion initially in response questions:

hiđa'i i

*who DEF*

*Which one?*

has-č'u'u i

*what-thing DEF*

*What thing?*

hi-ba-'i i

*what-place-NUM DEF*

*What place?*

## IMPERATIVES

The imperative is marked in the AUX by mood marker *g* and person marker *ñ*. There is no introducer, tense, or modal marker. An imperative verb and following AUX are joined.

kl'a-ga-ñ  
*yet-MD-you*  
 IMP  
*Wait!*

The mood marker is usually deleted if the AUX and verb are joined.

čikpna-ñ  
*work-you*  
 IMP  
*Work!*

hi'i-ñ  
*take-you*  
 IMP  
*Take it!*

In contrast with fused person and number in the nonimperative, the imperative person marker and plural marker do not fuse. The imperative plural marker is *wo*.

hi'i-ñ-o  
*take-you-PL*  
 IMP  
*You PL take it!*

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o  
 $\frac{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-you-PL}{}$   
*sit IMP*  
*You PL sit down!*

The person marker *ñ* is usually deleted preceding the plural marker *wo*.

da-d-ha-i-wu-i-o  
*sit-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL*  
 IMP  
*You PL sit down!*

čikpan-g-o/čikpn-o  
*work-MD-PL work-PL*  
 IMP  
*You PL work!*

The perfective suffix *'i* is defectively represented due to phonetic deletion rules (see PHONOLOGY).

him-i-ñ  
*go-PERF-you*  
 IMP  
*Go!*

hi-hi-m-i-o  
 $\frac{X-RDP-X-PERF-PL}{}$   
*go IMP*  
*You PL go!*

The imperative demonstrates that it is future by occurrence of the future morpheme in some V-AUX forms.

mu'-o-wo  
*kíll-FUT-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL kill it!*

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o  
 $\frac{\text{X-RDP-X-PERF-MD-PL}}{\text{IMP}}$   
*quit IMP*  
*You PL quit DISTR!*

The imperative verb also behaves like the nonimperative future verb in not deleting IMPRF SF *d* when not preceding a CNJ (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

čikpan-da-ñ  
*work-IMPRF-you*  
*IMP*  
*Be working!*

čikpan-d-o  
*work-IMPRF-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL be working!*

The imperative verb contrasts with the nonimperative in not truncating in the perfective when not preceding CNJ (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE). Thus many imperative V depend totally on the IMPRF SF to signal the PERF/IMPRF contrast.

čikpna-ñ  
*work-you*  
*IMP*  
*Work!*

čikpan-da-ñ  
*work-IMPRF-you*  
*IMP*  
*Be working!*

čikpn-o  
*work-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL work!*

čikpan-d-o  
*work-IMPRF-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL be working!*

If the AUX precedes the verb, the person marker *ñ* is obligatorily deleted; the plural marker *wo* is extraposed from the AUX and preposed to the verb in the same position as that of the future morpheme *wo*.

am g čikpan  
*LOC MD work*  
*IMP*  
*Work there!*

am g wo čikpan  
*LOC MD PL work*  
*IMP*  
*You PL work there!*

am g hab wo juuñ  
*LOC MD thus PL do*  
*IMP*  
*You PL do it there!*

am a-m-t        hab wo ʃuu-X  
 LOC MD-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF  
                   PL  
 You PL will do it there!

am a-p-t        hab wo ʃuu-X  
 LOC MD-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF  
 You will do it there!

If the pro-adverb hab precedes the AUX, they are joined.

ba-g        ʃuuñ  
 thus-MD do  
                   IMP  
 Do it!

ba-g        wo ʃuuñ  
 thus-MD PL do  
                   IMP  
 You PL do it!

Verb stems of CVGV delete G and CVC geminate V in the imperative perfective if not clause initial.

bhʔ  
 get  
 get

am g bhʔ-ʔi  
 LOC MD get-PERF  
                   IMP  
 Get it there!

am g wo bhʔ-ʔi  
 LOC MD PL get-PERF  
                   IMP

You PL get it there!

bi'a  
 serve  
 serve

am g bi-a-ʔi  
 LOC MD serve-PERF  
                   IMP  
 Serve it there!

hi  
 go  
 go

am g hiim  
 LOC MD go  
                   PERF  
                   IMP  
 Go there!

miɖ  
 run  
 run

am g miɖi  
 LOC MD run  
                   PERF  
                   IMP  
 Run there!

Verb stems of CVGV delete final V in the imperative perfective if clause initial.



b+h-i-ñ  
 get-PERF-you  
 Get it!

b+h-i-o  
 get-PERF-PL  
 You PL get it!

bi'-i-ñ  
 serve-PERF-you  
 Serve it!

hV is also deleted before k:

b+h-i-ñ        k    ñtid/ b† k    ñtid  
 get-PERF-you and see    get and see  
 IMP                    IMP    IMP        IMP  
 Get it and see it!

\*daha-ka-d > da-ka-d  
 sit-STAT-IMPRF  
 will be sitting

In DEF\_\_V-PERF, IMP may be deleted:

i    g    b††-'i / i    b††-'i  
 DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF  
          IMP                    IMP  
 Bring it!

i    g    waak-i / i    waak-i  
 DEF IMP enter-PERF DEF enter-PERF  
          IMP                    IMP  
 Enter!

Imperative clauses may delete imperative marking from right to left in the sentence:

am g    b††-'i    g    †    waakus k-X        gm hu him  
 LOC IMP get-PERF ART REFL bedroll CNJ-PERF LOC REM go  
          IMP  
 Take your bedroll and go!

am g    b††-'i    g    †    waakus k-X        gm hu wo  
 LOC IMP get-PERF ART REFL bedroll CNJ-PERF LOC REM FUT  
          IMP

hii-X  
 go-PERF  
 Take your bedroll and then you will go.

am a-p-t      wo bi-i      g †      waakus k-X      gm  
 LOC MD-you-TNS FUT get-PERF ART REFL bedroll CNJ-PERF LOC

hu wo hli-X  
 REM FUT go-PERF  
 You will take your bedroll and go.

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-baḍ	<i>defunct, detached, deceased, former, dead</i>
-ḍag/-lig (or -aḍag/-alig)	ABSTR NR
-ga/-ka/-g	POSSD AL, <i>special</i> (-g following loans, -ka following term ending in ʃ, -ga otherwise)
-gam/-gim	<i>group membership</i>
-i	<i>intimate, honorific</i> (effects reduction of geminate V and voicing of C in stem)
-ʃtg	<i>hole, aperture of N</i>
-kuḍ	ABSTR, INSTR
-maḍ	<i>child relation</i>
-la	<i>abnormal</i>
-po/-wo	<i>hair of</i>

ku'i-baḍ  
*tree-detached*  
*harvest stick*

ho'i-baḍ  
*thorn-detached*  
*needle*

ñ=ka'a-baḍ  
*me=grandmother-deceased*  
*my deceased grandmother*

woog-baḍ  
*road-defunct*  
*defunct road*

ho'ig†'id-a-ḍag/-lig  
*bl̥ese-GER-ABSTR*  
*blessing*

kownal-t-a-ḍag/-lig  
*governor-VR-GER-ABSTR*  
*kingdom*

uuw-a-lig  
*smell-GER-ABSTR*  
*odor*

kais-t-a-lig  
*rich-VR-GER-ABSTR*  
*riches*

ñ=uus-ga  
*me=tree-AL*  
*my tree*

ñ=usa-ga  
*me=stick-AL*  
*my gavel*

ñ=wuu-pu-i  
 me=X-RDP-X  
     └───┬───┘  
       eye  
 my eyes

ñ=paali-g  
 me=minister-AL  
 my minister

nai-pi-ŷju-gim  
 X-RDP-X-group  
     └───┬───┘  
       friend  
 members of friend group

baa-b/ba-b-i  
 mother's father OR  
 male sibling

wosk/woŷ-i  
 father's father OR  
 male sibling

kii-ŷig  
 house-hole  
 doorway

ñfid-a-kud  
 see-GER-INSTR  
 mirror

bi-i-kud  
 get-GER-INSTR  
 handle

mo'o-la  
 head-abnormal  
 abnormal-headed one

ñ=ka'a-mađ  
 me=grand-child  
 my (sister's) grandchild

čiñ-wo  
 mouth-hair  
 moustache

ñ=wuu-pu-i-ga  
 me=eye-AL  
 my glasses

apapa-gam/apki-gam  
 father-group  
 members of coyote moiety

kaa-k/ga-g-i  
 father's mother OR  
 female sibling

oks-i  
 mother's older female  
 sibling

ho'i-bađ-ŷig  
 thorn-dead-hole  
 needle  
 eye of needle

kiihin-a-kud  
 dance-GER-INSTR  
 dance floor

iibdag-la  
 heart-abnormal  
 heart patient

ñ=ba'a-mađ  
 me=grand-child  
 my (brother's) grandchild

tš-po  
 chin-hair  
 beard

V + X = N

-g ABSTR NR  
 -i GER  
 -i/-a GER  
 -k PN, *place of V* (cf. STAT -k)  
 -m (or -kam/-dam) PRTC, *actor of V*

maači-g  
*know-NR*  
*knowledge*

doa-ka-g  
*live-STAT-NR*  
*soul*

doa-k-da-g  
*live-STAT-IMPRF-NR*  
*lifetime*

him-da-g  
*go-IMPRF-NR*  
*ways*

kuup-i  
*close-GER*  
*closed/closing*

haiñ  
*crack*  
 GER  
*cracked/cracking*

ñ=mtl  
*me=run*  
 GER  
*my running*

lawu-i  
*spill-GER*  
*slop*

kii-t-a  
*house-VR-GER*  
*building*

kfl-şp-a  
*foot-contact-GER*  
*pace*

juuk-i  
*rain-GER*  
*rain*

naato-i  
*make-GER*  
*creation*

gogs=mt-k  
*dog=burn-place*  
*Dog-Burnt*

toha=bid-k  
*white=clay-place*  
*White-Clay*

s=ap-'i-ka-m  
*AFF=good-be-STAT-PRTC*  
*good thing*

kii-ka-m  
*dwel-STAT-PRTC*  
*dweller*

him-da-m  
*go-IMPRF-PRTC*  
*goer*

him-ka-m  
*go-STAT-PRTC*  
*one in the state of*  
*having gone*

MOD + X = N

-ču'u/-ču (Totoguañ/ko=lodi)

s=čuk-ču'u  
 AFF=black-NR  
 black one

ha'a-kia-ču'u  
 that-*NUM-NR*  
 that numbered one

hab maas-ču'u  
 that like-NR  
 that kind of one

ha'a-s-ču'u  
 that-*QNT-NR*  
 that size one

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

V + X = V

-č/-kč (in C/V, respectively) RSLTV, to have  
 in the state of V  
 -čk, -kumiak to separate by V  
 -čulid CAUS (APPLIC)  
 -čug to continue V  
 -dag VOL  
 -gid CAUS  
 -hīm PROG, to go along Ving  
 -i RSLTV  
 -id VOL, able  
 -g RSLTV  
 -jfid BEN  
 -jid/-id/-čud APPLIC  
 -ka'i to V and then go  
 -i'ok PRIV, to un-V  
 -s RSLTV, PASS, INTRNS STAT  
 -stk to have endurance  
 -tja INCHO, become  
 -wua, -sulig to move or remove by Ving

aad-č  
 hang-RSLTV  
 to have around neck

kuup-i'ok-č  
 close-PRIV-RSLTV  
 to have open

wañ-čk, wan-kumiak  
 pull-separate  
 to pull off

kuup-č  
 close-RSLTV  
 to have closed

naato-kč  
 finish-RSLTV  
 to have finished

maač-čulid  
*know-CAUS*  
 to cause to know

gi'a-čug  
*grasp-continue*  
 to carry in grasp

s=mił-i-dag  
*AFF=run-GER-VOL*  
 to be good at running

him-him  
*go-PROG*  
 ambling, wandering

kuup-i  
*close-RSLTV*  
 closed

ma'i-šp-i  
*object-contact-RSLTV*  
*from*  
*hand*  
 covered

s=mił-ida-g  
*AFF=run-VOL-RSLTV*  
 to be fast

šoom-ŷilid  
*sew-BEN*  
 to sew for

ha a-t ñ=maak-ŷil-X  
*them MD-TNS me=give-BEN-PERF*  
 He gave it to them for me.

wul-'ok  
*tie-PRIV*  
 to untie

ab a-ñ maak-s  
*LOC MD-I give-RSLTV*  
 It's given to me.

s=ida-stk  
*AFF=shame-endure*  
 to be able to endure shame

hiŋg-čulid  
*happy-CAUS*  
 to cause to be pleased

kai-čug  
*listen-continue*  
 to continue listening to

ŷiŋ-ŋgid  
*smoke-CAUS*  
 to cause to smoke, discuss

maak-him  
*give-PROG*  
 going along giving

bid-šp-i  
*adobe-contact-RSLTV*  
 plastered

s=mił-i-d-ka-m  
*AFF=run-GER-VOL-STAT-PRTC*  
 a fast runner

maak-ŷilid  
*give-BEN*  
 to give for

bi-ka'i  
*get-go*  
 to get it and go

bid-šp-i'ok  
*mud-contact-PRIV*  
 to unplaster

am o him-s g woog  
*LOC MD go-RSLTV ART road*  
 The road goes there.

s=hiwa-stk  
*AFF=wind-endure*  
 to be able to endure wind



a'an-čud <i>feather-APPLIC</i> to feather	ñ=kii-čud <i>me=house-APPLIC</i> to make me a house
hogi-đad <i>leather-put</i> <i>on</i> to saddle, have saddled	iñ-ga-đad <i>CLSF-AL-put</i> <i>on</i> to put on, have on (clothes)
am o čiho-g <i>LOC MD cave-be</i> A cave is there.	s=kui-g <i>AFF=mesquite-be</i> to be many mesquites
am o ha'iču-g <i>LOC MD something-be</i> It (something) is there.	mo'o-gid <i>head-APPLIC</i> to shake head
mo-o-m-gid <i>head-RDP-RDP-APPLIC</i> to shake heads	bahi-gid <i>tail-APPLIC</i> to switch tail
ma-giw <i>hand-swing</i> to swing arm	mo'o-giw <i>head-swing</i> to have head tremors
mo'o-hain <i>head-INSTR</i> to hit with head	ton-hain <i>knee-INSTR</i> to hit with knee
ma-'i-hin <i>object-GER-INSTR</i> <i>from</i> <i>hand</i> to hit with thrown object	soñ-hi-š <i>object-INSTR-DISTR</i> <i>in</i> <i>hand</i> to hit repeatedly with held object
mak-i-og <i>give-GER-expected</i> to be expected to give	mi'-a-hog <i>kill-GER-expected</i> to be expected to kill
s=ka-i-hog <i>AFF=hear-GER-displeased</i> to be displeased by hearing	s=tam-hog <i>AFF=tooth-displeased</i> to consider a nuisance
bid-hun <i>mud-APPLIC</i> to contaminate	ho'igi+id-a-hun <i>bles-GER-APPLIC</i> to pray



kʰi-kkan <i>foot-INTR</i> to kick	mo'o-kka-ſ <i>head-INTR-DISTR</i> to bunt heads repeatedly
čʰil-kon <i>rough-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to scratch off	dap-kon <i>smooth-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to slip
ki-'i-kon <i>teeth-GER-INTR</i> to gnaw clean	on-mad <i>salt-apply</i> to salt
ko'okol-mad <i>chili-apply</i> to chili	miſ-mad <i>mae-apply</i> to practice religion on
čʰikpn-a-mʰd/čʰikpn-op <i>work-GER-MOT/work-MOT</i> PL to go for work	ču'a-mun <i>point-INTR</i> to tamp/poke
dag-i-mun <i>hand-GER-INTR</i> to massage	sli-mun <i>edge-INTR</i> to hoe/mash
mađ-pig <i>offspring-remove</i> to remove fruit	wiipdho-pig <i>testicles-remove</i> to castrate
juñ-sid <i>do-imitate</i> to imitate the action of	ñtok-sid <i>talk-imitate</i> to imitate the speech of
aag-a-s <i>say-GER-RSLTV</i> to be told	bʰi-l-s <i>get-GER-RSLTV</i> to be gotten
naato-l-s <i>finish-GER-RSLTV</i> to be finished	čʰiñ-ſ <i>mouth-INTR</i> to take in the mouth
kʰi-l-ſ <i>foot-GER-INTR</i> to step on	kʰi-i-ſ-č <i>foot-GER-INTR-RSLTV</i> to have underfoot
juk-ſp <i>rain-INTR</i> to rain on	kʰi-i-ſ-ſa-p <i>foot-GER-X-RDP-X</i> INSTR to step on repeatedly

čtɪ-ʂan  
rough-INSTR  
surface  
to rub off

čtk-ʂan  
point-INSTR  
to mark a line

ma-'i-ʂu-d  
object-GER-INSTR-PERF  
from  
hand  
to crush with thrown object

kii-t  
house-make  
to make a house

kɪh-i-win  
foot-GER-INSTR  
to thresh

mo'o-win  
head-INSTR  
to clean horns

mo'o-wu-p  
head-bump-RDP  
to bump head repeatedly

i'o-ʂan  
breath-INSTR  
to clear throat

ma-'i-ʂun  
object-GER-INSTR  
from  
hand  
to crush with thrown object

ʂoñ-ʂu-ʂ  
object-INSTR-DISTR  
in  
hand  
to crush repeatedly

ʂoñ-wia  
object-INSTR  
in  
hand  
to pound apart

mo'o-wua  
head-bump  
to bump head

mo'o-m-wua  
head-RDP-RDP-bump  
to bump heads

#### ADJ + X = V

-d/-'t/-j/-k/-ñ/∅ be

s=hɪpi-d  
AFF=cold-be  
to be cold

gɪt-j  
big-be  
to be big

s=ʂili-ñ  
AFF=straight-be  
to be straight

s=ap-'t  
AFF=good-be  
to be right/good

ʂopɪ-k  
short-be  
to be short

s=baabagi  
AFF=slow  
to be slow

Other

-čud/-jid/-id      APPLIC    to cause to be, treat like, put on,  
make for

ali-čud  
child-APPLIC  
to treat like a child

hima-čud  
other-APPLIC  
to treat like another

hima-ko-čud/-jid  
one-APPLIC  
to unite

gook-čud  
two-APPLIC  
to make two

daam-čud  
over-APPLIC  
to put over

wičo-čud  
under-APPLIC  
to put under

ñ=ba'ag-čud  
me=eagle-APPLIC  
to make me an eagle

ñ=ki-i-čud  
me=house-APPLIC  
to make me a house

a'an-čud  
feather-APPLIC  
to feather/make feathers

him-i-čud  
go-GER-APPLIC  
to cause to go

s=him-im-čud  
AFF=go-DESID-APPLIC  
to cause to want to go

s=him-i-čud-amk  
AFF=go-GER-APPLIC-DESID  
to want to cause to go

b+h-l-jid  
get-GER-APPLIC  
to get for/be gotten

ï o b+h-i-jid  
REFL MD get-GER-APPLIC  
He's getting it for himself./  
He's getting himself captured.

ñ=mt'-i-jid      a-ñ g siiki  
me=kill-GER-APPLIC MD-I ART deer  
I'm killing myself a deer.

ho o ñ=wap-koñ-id  
them MD me=wash-APPLIC  
She's washing them for me.

ho o ñ=maak-j'iid  
them MD me=give-BEN  
He's giving it to them for  
me.

## ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

Certain adjective stems co-occur with s= AFF and certain without:

s=baabagi AFF=slow slow	čiw long long
s=gaki AFF=dry dry	gɪ'ɪ big big
s=pɪhtgi AFF=easy easy	mu'ɪ many many
s=ap AFF=good good	

AFF is deleted if negated:

pi o ʃa'ɪ ap ɖ o'odham  
NEG MD DEG good EQ person  
He's not at all a good person.

pi o am hu i si s=ap ɖ o'odham  
NEG MD LOC MDL DEF DEG AFF=good EQ person  
He's not a very good person.

Adjectives have singular-plural and distributive forms. In certain stems, distributive is identical to singular-plural, with stem reduplicated or unreduplicated:

s=baabagi AFF=slow slow	s=l'owi AFF=sweet sweet
s=toñ AFF=hot hot	wɪčɪj new new

In certain stems, the distributive is formed by reduplication of the initial C(V) or of medial w.

s=ap /s=a-'a-p  
 AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X  
 good

s=gɨwk /s=gɨw-p-k  
 AFF=strong AFF=X-RDP-X  
 strong

s=moɨk /s=mo-mo-ɨk  
 AFF=soft AFF=X-RDP-X  
 soft

s=biɨtagi /s=bi-b-tagɨ  
 AFF=dirty AFF=X-RDP-X  
 dirty

s=kawk /s=kaw-p-k  
 AFF=hard AFF=X-RDP-X  
 hard

In certain other stems, the distributive is formed by first-vowel reduplication with glottal insertion:

s=çɨɨdagɨ /s=çɨ-hɨ-dagɨ  
 AFF=green AFF=X-RDP-X  
 green

s=kiɨg /s=ki-hɨ-g  
 AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X  
 good, nice

In certain other stems, distributive is formed by a combination of the above two forms of reduplication:

s=ɨmaɨ /s=ɨu-'u-ɨu-maɨ  
 AFF=low AFF=X-RDP-RDP-X  
 low

ɨopoɨ /ɨo-'o-ɨ-poɨ  
 short X-RDP-RDP-X  
 short

giwul /gi-'i-gi-wul  
 constricted X-RDP-RDP-X  
 constricted

wadək/wa-'a-p-dək  
 shiny X-RDP-RDP-X  
 shiny

## ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

Adverbs are derived from nouns or attributive verbs, thus reflecting stem-formative or inflectional reduplication but not inflecting for distributive.

Certain adverbs are formed by deletion of VR in attributive verb:

s=ap-'t  
AFF=good-be  
to be good, right

s=ap  
AFF=good  
well, rightly

g't-t-ŋ  
big-be  
to be big, great

g't't  
big  
much, greatly

Certain adverbs are formed by suffixing adverbializer -m to attributive verb (with final noncentral consonant deleted following central consonant) or to s=(UNSPEC) N:

s=wiink  
AFF=difficult  
to be difficult

s=wiina-m  
AFF=difficult-ADVR  
with difficulty

s=moik  
AFF=soft  
to be soft

s=moika-m  
AFF=soft-ADVR  
softly

gakol-k  
crooked-be  
to be crooked

gakoli-m  
crooked-ADVR  
crookedly

ŋtli-ñ  
straight-be  
to be straight

ŋtli-ñi-m  
straight-be-ADVR  
straightly

a-'a-l  
X-RDP-X  
child  
children

s=a-'a-ll-m  
AFF=children-ADVR  
childishly

u-'u-wi  
~~X-RDP-X~~  
 woman  
 women

s=u-'u-wi-m  
 AFF=women-ADVR  
 effeminately

amičud-a  
 understand-GER  
 understanding

s=ta          amičud-a-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR  
 SUBJ  
 understandably

s=ču          amičud-a-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR  
 OBJ  
 understandingly

bih-i  
 get-GER  
 the gain

s=ta/s=ču      bih-i-m  
 AFF=UNSPEC get-GER-ADVR  
 SUBJ/OBJ  
 obtainably/acquisitively

Certain adverbs are formed by suffixing adverbializer -ma to attributive verb, with deletion of VR and reduction of geminate vowel cluster or deletion of final k:

a]i-]j  
 thin-be  
 to be thin

a]i-ma  
 thin-ADVR  
 thinly

maas  
 like  
 to be like

mas-ma  
 like-ADVR  
 like

s=hiipi-d  
 AFF=cold-be  
 to be cold

s=hiipi-ma  
 AFF=cold-ADVR  
 in the cold

s=moik  
 AFF=soft  
 to be soft

s=moi-ma  
 AFF=soft-ADVR  
 softly

s=oam  
 AFF=brown  
 to be brown, yellow

s=oam-ma  
 AFF=brown-ADVR  
 brownish, yellowish

s=witč  
 AFF=heavy  
 to be heavy

s=witč-ma  
 AFF=heavy-ADVR  
 heavily

Certain adverbs advance from zero to -m or from -m to -ma ADVR when co-occurring with transitive verb:

s=baabagi mtđ  
 AFF=slow run  
 running slowly

s=baabagi-m wakon  
 AFF=slow-ADVR wash  
 washing it slowly

s=moika-m ñtok  
 AFF=soft-ADVR talk  
 talking softly

s=moi-ma hab wua  
 AFF=soft-ADVR that do  
 doing it softly

Numeral adverb consists of numeral plus ADVR -ho:

hım-ho  
 one-ADVR  
 once

gok-ko  
 two-ADVR  
 twice

hitasp-o  
 five-ADVR  
 five times

ha'a-kki-o  
 that-NUM-ADVR  
 that number of times

Non-count place adverb consists of stem plus ADVR -ko/-o:

has-ko  
 that-ADVR  
 that direction

ha'a-s-ko  
 that-QNT-ADVR  
 that far

s=a'ag-ko  
 AFF=secret-ADVR  
 in a secret place

hitjıl-ko  
 alone-ADVR  
 in a lonely place

s=toñ-ko  
 AFF=hot-ADVR  
 in the heat

jiwtđ-o  
 ground-ADVR  
 on the ground

do'ag-o  
 mountain-ADVR  
 on a mountain

Count place adverb consists of quantifier plus ADVR -pa:

ha'a-k-pa  
 that-NUM-ADVR  
 that number of places

hıma-k-pa  
 one-NUM-ADVR  
 in one place



hɨ'ɨ-k-pa i  
*what-NUM-ADVR DEF*  
*what number of places*

Time adverb consists of time plus ADVR -d:

hɨ-kɨ-d  
*RA-time-ADVR*  
*sometime*

ʃuu-ʃ-ka-d  
*X-RDP-X-ADVR*  
*night*  
*nightly*

hu-hu-ɟuka-d  
*X-RDP-X-ADVR*  
*evening*  
*evenings*

si-si-'allma-d  
*X-RDP-X-ADVR*  
*morning*  
*mornings*

daam ɟu-ɟ-ɟ-u-d  
*above sun-RDP-RDP-DISTR-ADVR*  
*noons*

Adverb consists of noun plus ADVR -kaɟ like:

ban-kaɟ  
*coyote-ADVR*  
*coyote-like*

ba'ag-kaɟ  
*eagle-ADVR*  
*eagle-like*

ɨ aamo-kaɟ  
*REFL boss-ADVR*  
*like his own boss*

## COMPOUNDS

### Single-Stress Compounds

N + N = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-maɟ (maɟ *child*) *descent relation*  
 -wo/-po (wopo *body hair*) *hair of a body area*

ba'a-maɟ  
*grand-child*  
*man's/brother's/male cousin's*  
*daughter's child*

wa-maɟ  
*water-child*  
*snake*

čič-wo  
mouth-hair  
moustache

čš-po  
chin-hair  
beard

N + ADJ = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-bađ defunct (pađ bađ)

ku'i-bađ  
mesquite-detached  
harvest stick

ŷt't-bađ  
mother-deceased  
deceased mother

t=ki-ki-l-bađ  
us=X-RDP-X-deceased  
old man  
our ancestors

mo'o-bađ  
head-detached  
game-head disguise

N + V = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-ŷtğ (ŷtğ be open) the opening in N  
-młł (młł run + -i NR) a running N

kii-ŷtğ  
house-opening  
doorway

aki-młł  
arroyo-run  
NR  
running arroyo

gohi-młł  
limp-run  
NR  
limping dance

N + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-gid (uŷgid shake) to shake or switch N  
-głw (gigłw tremble) to tremble or wave  
-hain (hain crack) INSTR, to hit with N  
-młł, -op (młł, woopo to run) to go for  
-t (naato to make) to make N  
-win/wia (wia to ruin) INSTR, to clean off with N  
-wua (wua to do)  
-pig (pi NEG) to remove N

mo'o-gid  
head-shake  
to shake head

bahi-gid  
tail-shake  
to switch tail

ma-g<sup>h</sup>iw  
hand-swing  
to swing arm

mo'o-hain  
head-INSTR  
to hit with head

on-a-mi<sup>h</sup>d  
salt-GER-MOT  
to go for salt

kii-t  
house-make  
to make house

k<sup>h</sup>i-wi<sup>n</sup>  
foot-INSTR  
to thresh

čiñ-wua  
mouth-bump  
to bump mouth

mo'o-t-pig  
scalp-remove  
to scalp

mo'o-g<sup>h</sup>iw  
head-swing  
to swing head

ton-hain  
knee-INSTR  
to hit with knee

on-op  
salt-MOT  
PL  
to go PL for salt

o-'o-dham-t  
people-make  
to make people

k<sup>h</sup>i-wia  
foot-INSTR  
to thresh

ton-wua  
knee-bump  
to bump knee

nak-pig  
ear-remove  
to earmark

ADJ + PROG + APPLIC = N

gak-im-čul  
thin-PROG-APPLIC  
praying mantis (make become thin)

V + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-bim/-bi<sup>h</sup> (bi<sup>h</sup>im to go around) to go around, pass  
ta'i- (ta'i back, up) to back out, to rise  
-hi<sup>m</sup> (him to go) PROG, to go along doing  
-hog to be expected to V  
-imk want (-im before -muk, -k before -ko'o)  
-nam (nam meet) to meet while Ving  
-no<sup>h</sup>d (nod to turn) to turn while Ving  
-muk, -ko'o (muuk, ko'o to die) to be dying of  
-to (naato finish) COMPL, to finish Ving  
-wua (wua do) INCEPT, to assume a stance  
-wua, -šulig (wua, šulig to throw away) to V away

ñt'i-bim  
*run-pass*  
 to run around

ta'i-wuṣ  
*back-emerge*  
 to come out

aag-a-him  
*tell-GER-PROG*  
 to go along telling

hitpi-i-him  
*cold-INCHO-PROG*  
 to get cold

ap-'t-ta-him  
*right-be-INCHO-PROG*  
 to get well

bt-i-hog  
*get-GER-expect*  
 to expect to get

s=bth-imk  
*AFF=get-DESID*  
 to want to get

s=ñtid-amk  
*AFF=see-DESID*  
 to want to see

wo-'i-nam  
*run-GER-meet*  
 PL  
 to meet running PL

wo-'i-nod  
*run-GER-turn*  
 PL  
 to turn running PL

bi-hug-im-muk  
*food-eat-DESID-die*  
 to be hungry

ta'i-biḷ  
*back-pass*  
 PERF  
 to pass around

ta'i-him  
*up-PROG*  
 to rise in and fill

čtggia-him  
*fight-PROG*  
 to go along fighting

gt't-d-a-him  
*big-be-INCHO-PROG*  
 to get big

him-id-t-ahim  
*go-able-INCHO-PROG*  
 to become able to walk

mak-i-og  
*give-GER-expect*  
 to expect to give

s=maak-imk  
*AFF=give-DESID*  
 to want to give

mł-i-nam  
*run-GER-meet*  
 to meet running

mł-i-nod  
*run-GER-turn*  
 to turn running

hob-i-nod  
*wrap-GER-turn*  
 to wrap

bi-hug-k-ko'o  
*food-eat-DESID-die*  
 to be hungry PL

ko'-i-to  
eat-GER-COMPL  
to eat up

k+k-i-wua  
stand-GER-INCEPT  
to stand up

howi-čk-wua/howi-č-šulig  
breath-INSTR-force  
away  
blow away (SG/PL)

hag-i-to  
burn-GER-COMPL  
to burn up

đah-i-wua  
sit-GER-INCEPT  
to sit down

sli-čk-wua/sii-č-šulig  
edge-INSTR-force  
away  
hook and toss away (SG/PL)

V + ADV = V

-ma (mas-ma like) to seem to V

s=him-ma  
AFF=go-seem  
to seem to go

ko'a-d-ma  
eat-IMPRF-seem  
to seem to be eating

s=hima-d-ma  
AFF=go-IMPRF-seem  
to seem to be going

čikpana-d-ma  
work-IMPRF-seem  
to seem to be working

X + P = P where X = P/ADV/REM/NEG:

daam-ŷtđ  
above-from  
from above

ga hu-ŷtđ  
there REM-from  
from over there

m+k-ŷtđ  
far-from  
from far

pi'a-ŷtđ  
NEG-from  
from nowhere

### Multiple-Stress Compounds

Multiple-stress compounds contrast with identical noncompounds in inseparability of parts:

hŷg a-t đ wo tđa=hug-ka-m=ŷ'o'dham-k  
that MD-TNS EQ FUT in=end-STAT-PRTC=Indian-STAT  
He'll be Half-Indian.

hŷg a-t tđa hug-ka-m đ wo ŷ'o'dham-k  
that MD-TNS in end-STAT-PRTC EQ FUT Indian-STAT  
He'll be half-Indian.



N<sub>2</sub> acts on N<sub>1</sub>:

wi-pii=si'i-da-m  
*nipples=suck-IMPRF-PRTC*  
*evening primrose*

N<sub>2</sub> is accomplished by N<sub>1</sub>:

hoohi=i-'i-s  
*mourning=X-RDP-X*  
*dove* plant:GER  
*gold poppy*

htwtl=i-'i-s  
*wind=plant*  
*GER*  
*scarlet bugler*

N<sub>2</sub> is effected on N<sub>1</sub>:

ku-k-šo=wuu-p-li-m  
X-RDP-X=X-RDP-X-PRTC  
*occiput tie*  
*larkspur*

kušo=dag-šp-a  
*occiput=hand-contact-GER*  
*grasp occiput*

ADJ + N = N

on-k=aki-mtl  
*salt-STAT=arroyo-run*  
*GER*  
*Salt River*

aŷ=wainomi  
*narrow=metal*  
*telephone*

gi=šuuđagi  
*great=water*  
*sea*

uugk=da'a-da-m /uugk=him-da-m  
*high=fly-IMPRF-PRTC high=move-IMPRF-PRTC*  
*airplane*

PRON + N = N

hiŷiti=mi-li-čud-da-m  
*alone=run-GER-APPLIC-IMPRF-PRTC*  
*automobile*

N + ADJ = N

čuukhug=s=gaki  
*flesh=AFF=dry*  
*dried meat*

hiwču=wigi  
*groin=red*  
*black widow spider*

V + N = N

da-d-p-k=wašai  
X-RDP-X-STAT=grass  
*smooth*  
*side oats*

QNT + N = N

wšs=t=ma-a-m  
*all=us=finger-RDP-RDP*  
*ten*

#### BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

The inflectional suffixes are NUM  $\left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AL} \\ \text{HON} \end{array} \right\} \text{GEN.} \right\}$   
 ABS

#### Number

NUM suffixes are plural/reversative. Plural is -m following pronoun stem, Ø otherwise:

hi-ga-m  
*that-PL*  
*those*

i-i-da-m  
*this-PL*  
*these*

hi-da-m  
*who-PL*  
*who PL*

a-a-pl-m  
*you-PL*  
*you PL*

Reversative is -i/Ø; i dissimilates to a in stems with i INTNS. Reversative is SG with PRON stems and certain N stems, PL with other N stems, and neutral with ADV stems. Certain N stems reduplicate in the plural. The first V of certain stems geminates under reduplication.



hí-ga-'i  
that-SG  
that

hí-da-'i  
who-SG  
who

i-j-a-'a  
here-NUM  
here

a-l-  
child-SG  
child

kí-l-i  
male-SG  
mature male

oks  
female  
mature female

ǰlsk  
aunt  
aunt

mo'o  
head  
head

gogs  
dog  
dog

maq  
child  
woman's child

i-i-da-'a  
this-SG  
this

a-a-pl-'i  
you-SG  
you

a-ma-'i  
there-NUM  
there

a-'a-l  
X-RDP-X  
child  
children

kí-kí-l  
X-RDP-X  
male  
mature males

o-'o-k-l  
X-RDP-X-PL  
female  
mature females

ǰi-ǰ-s-i  
X-RDP-X-PL  
aunt  
aunts

mo-o-m-i  
head-RDP-RDP-PL  
heads

go-go-gs  
X-RDP-X  
dog  
dogs

ma-a-ma-d  
X-RDP-RDP-X  
child  
children



g kɪl-i-ga-ŷ g huana  
 ART male-SG-AL-GEN ART PN  
 the old man (husband) of Juana

The genitive marker of a phrase predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it. Constituents preposed to their predicate are incorporated in its pitch contour:

g kɪl-i-ŷ g huana/g huana kɪl  
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house  
 Juana's house

am wɪtɪma-ŷ g huana/am huana wɪtɪm  
 LOC with-GEN ART PN LOC PN with  
 with Juana

g ñ=kɪlɪ  
 ART me=house  
 my house

g huana kɪl-i-ga  
 ART PN male-SG-AL  
 Juana's man

Detached parts have unspecified argument and are alienable to another argument:

nɪma-ŷ  
 liver-GEN  
 liver

ñ=nɪma-ŷ-ga  
 me=liver-GEN-AL  
 my liver of something

ñ=nɪm  
 me=liver  
 my liver

When the predicate of possession is preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i, -ŷ is replaced by -ɖ:

am ɪɖa g kɪl-i-ŷ g huan/am kɪl-i-ɖ ɪɖ g huan  
 LOC in ART house-GEN ART PN LOC house-GEN in ART PN  
 in the house of Juan

ab kɪl-i-ɖ am-ŷɪɖ g huan  
 LOC house-GEN there-from ART PN  
 from the house of Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition beginning in a or ɪ. ABS is -k following indefinite pronouns and certain nouns, otherwise -t before a and -ʒ before ɪ:

ab ha'iču-k ab  
 LOC something-ABS on  
 on something

am s=toñ-k †đ  
 LOC AFF=heat-ABS in  
 in the heat

am s=čuhugam-k †đ  
 LOC AFF=dark-ABS in  
 in the dark

am pi ap-'†-ka-m-k †đ  
 LOC NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC-ABS in  
 in evll

ab kii-t am-††đ  
 LOC house-ABS there-from  
 from the house

am kii-č †đ  
 LOC house-ABS in  
 in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrases from possessed noun phrases in which GEN has been deleted because of a preposed constituent:

hima kii-č †đ  
 one house-ABS in  
 in a house

hima kii †đ  
 someone house in  
 in someone's house

ab san=piiwo kiihim-t am-††đ  
 LOC PN=STEM village-ABS there-from  
 from San Pedro village

ab san=piiwo kiihim am-††đ  
 LOC PN=STEM village there-from  
 from San Pedro's village

The locative suffix -ko/o substitutes for preposition am at or on.

am ††g-ko  
 LOC opening-LOC  
 there outside

am has-ko  
 LOC INDF-LOC  
 there somewhere

am ††w†đ-o  
 LOC earth-LOC  
 there on the ground

am kii-††g-o  
 LOC house-opening-LOC  
 there at the door

## POSSESSIVES

A possessed noun phrase is predicate, marked by genitive -j and preceding its argument, possessor noun phrase, in basic order:

g	kli-j	g	huan	g	kli-j	hŋga'i	čtoj
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	ART	house-GEN	that	man
	the		house		of	that	man
			of				
			Juan				

g	kli-j	g	ooga-j	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	father-GEN	ART	PN
	the		house		of
			the		father
			of		Juan

The genitive marker of the predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it:

g	huan	kli	hŋ	kli	čtoj
ART	PN	house	that	house	man
	Juan's	house		that	man's
					house

  

g	kli-j	g	huan	oog	g	ooga-j	kli	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	father	ART	father-GEN	house	ART	PN
	the		house	of		the	father's-		house
			of				house		of
			Juan's				house		of
			father				of		Juan

  

g	huan	oog	kli
ART	PN	father	house
	Juan's	father's	house

The genitive marker of the preposed argument is not deleted, but is replaced by ɟ, preceding preposition beginning in t or a:

am	tɟa	g	kli-j	g	huan/am	kli-ɟ	tɟ	g	huan
LOC	in	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	in	ART
			in						PN
			the						house
			of						Juan

ab	amjɟɟ	g	kli-j	g	huan/ab	kli-ɟ	amjɟɟ	g
LOC	from	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	from
			from				from	ART

huan
PN
from
the
house
of
Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition starting with t or a. The absolutive is -k following indefinite pronoun, s=čuhuga-m (AFF=night-PRTC) dark,

pi ap-ʔi-ka-m (NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC) evil, and s=toñ (AFF=hot) hot; otherwise it is -t before a and -č before i:

has-č̣u-k            ʔd  
*what-thing-ABS in*  
*what in?*

ab ab g kii /ab kii-t    ab  
*LOC at ART house LOC house-ABS at*  
*at the house*

am ʔda g kii /am kii-č̣    ʔda  
*LOC in ART house LOC house-ABS in*  
*in the house*

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrase from possessed noun phrase in which GEN is deleted because of a preposed constituent (see BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Possession, for examples).

The pronoun copies of possessor argument are identical to those of object arguments:

ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
m=	ʔm=		ʔ	
∅	ha			

Pronoun copies are preposed to the predicate dominating the argument of which they are constituent, triggering deletion of genitive marker:

g    ñ=kii    aañi'i  
*ART me=house I*  
*my house*

g    t=kii    aačim  
*ART us=house we*  
*our house*

g    m=kii    aapi'i  
*ART you=house you*  
*your house*

g    ʔm=kii    aapim  
*ART you=house you*  
*PL            PL*  
*your PL house*

g    ha    kii    higam  
*ART them house those*  
*their house*

g    ʔ    kii  
*ART REFL house*  
*your/his/their own house*

Nouns are alienable or inalienable. Inalienable nouns signify body parts, man-made articles, kin, and abstract concepts. Alienable nouns occur with classifier in contrast with inalienable nouns. Classifier is ʂoi- if noun is animate, ʔñ- in any case. Alienable marker is -ka with possessed plant part,

-g with loan words, -ga otherwise, suffixed to classifier if present, to noun otherwise:

has-ču    ʂoi-ga-ŷ    g    huan  
*what-thing CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN*  
*What kind of animal of Juan?*

g    gogs ʂoi-ga-ŷ    g    huan/g    huan gogs ʂoi-ga  
*ART dog CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN    ART PN    dog CLSF-AL*  
*the dog class of Juan Juan's dog class*

g    gogs-ga-ŷ    g    huan/g    huan gogs-ga  
*ART dog-AL-GEN ART PN    ART PN    dog-AL*  
*the dog of Juan/Juan's dog*

It is the noun that is classified, since the same object may have alienable and inalienable lexemes:

ñ=kun	/ñ=kɪli-ga	ñ=maɟ	/ñ=ali-ga
<i>me=husband</i>	<i>me=old-AL</i>	<i>me=child</i>	<i>me=child-AL</i>
	<i>man</i>	<i>my child</i>	
<i>my husband</i>			

Body parts form a sub-class of inalienable noun, reversing alienation when argument is unspecified:

hihi-ŷ    g    haiwañ  
*gut-GEN ART cow*  
*gut of cow*

hihi-ŷ  
*gut-GEN*  
*tripe*

hihi-ŷ-ga-ŷ    g    huan  
*gut-GEN-AL-GEN ART PN*  
*the tripe of Juan*

huan hihi-ŷ-ga  
*PN gut-GEN-AL*  
*Juan's tripe*

## PREPOSITIONS

Forms

Prepositions are identical in singular and plural, but most have a distributive formed by reduplication. Certain PREP reduplicate stressed V as well as initial CV.

ab	at, on the near side of
am	at, on the far side of, UNSPEC
an	at, on the edge of
aigo, a'ai(go)	across, back, RCPR
amjtd, a'amjtd	from, about, ABLATIVE
baašo, babšo	along, in front of (baašo breast)
ba'ič, bab'aič	beyond, in front of, more
daam, da'adam	above, on
tđa, i'tđa	in, in the midst of
gahi, gaaghai	across
oidam, o'oidam	during
šaagid, ša'ašagid	between, among
taagio, ta'atagio	in the way of/direction of, before
wičo, w'i'wīčo	under
wtībig, w'i'wībig	behind, around (Ko=lodi dialect)
wtīgaj, w'i'wīgaj	behind, around (other dialects)
witījtd, w'i'wījtd	for, BEN
witīm, w'i'wītīm	with
wīpo, w'i'wīppo	like
wui, wu'uwui	to, DAT (wui eye, wui-oša face)

The following verbs have participles with suffix -č/k which function as prepositions:

miabid, mlmlabid	be near, approach
oid, o'oid	follow, go through
wīnad, w'i'wīnad	put with

The participle agrees with the main verb in perfectivity.

ku-ki am oid-č hlm g kii  
 INTR-EV LOC through-CNJ go ART house  
 He's going through the house.

ku-t-ki am oid-k hii-X g kii  
 INTR-TNS-EV LOC through-CNJ go-PERF ART house  
 He went through the house.



Syntax

The preposition is predicate, preceding its argument in neutral order and marked by genitive in some forms:

wi+ma-ŷ g huan  
with-GEN ART PN  
with Juan

wul-ŷ g kli  
to-GEN ART house  
to the house (Pima)

gahi-ŷ g woog  
across-GEN ART road  
across the road (Pima)

As is the case with nouns, genitive is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to the preposition:

huan wi+m  
PN with  
with Juan

h+g wi+m č+oŷ  
that with man  
with that man

kli wui  
house to  
to the house

h+ma wul g kli  
one to ART house  
to a house

h+ma wi+m g č+oŷ  
one with ART man  
with a man

Pronoun copies preposed to preposition are identical to those of other object arguments:

ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
m=	†m=			
∅	ha		†	

ñ=wi+m aañi'i  
me=with I  
with me

ha wi-'i-wi-m h+gam č+č-oŷ  
them X-RDP-RDP-X those X-RDP-X  
with man  
with those scattered men

Two prepositions may co-occur, with nonablative preposed to ablative, and thus in the same contour, and ablative optionally reducing to -j+q̄:

am daam amj+q̄ g kli /am daam-j+q̄ g kli  
LOC over from ART house LOC over-from ART house  
from over the house

am wɨčo-ʝɨɖ g kii-ʝ g ooga-ʝ g huan  
 LOC under-from ART house-GEN ART father-GEN ART PN  
 from under the house of the father of Juan

Adverb, REM, and indefinite pronoun may also be preposed to ablative preposition with optional reduction of the preposition:

mia amʝɨɖ/mia-ʝɨɖ  
 near from near-from  
 from near

ga hu-ʝɨɖ  
 LOC REM-from  
 from over there

hɨbai-ʝɨɖ /baa-ʝɨɖ  
 where-from  
 from where?

pi-'a-ʝɨɖ  
 no-place-from  
 from nowhere

has-ko-ʝɨɖ /ʃaa-ko-ʝɨɖ  
 what-direction-from  
 from which direction?

## DEMONSTRATIVES

### Forms

Demonstratives and pronouns have the same structure and employ some of the same morphemes, consisting of deictic-(intensifier)-(specifier)-quantifier.

Deictic is used when pointing to degrees of distance or quantity. The morphemes are a proximal, ga distal, hɨ unspecified/indefinite, ha'a unspecified quantity, hɨ'ɨ indefinite quantity. In demonstratives, a PROX assimilates to the following vowel.

Intensive is i, occurring with specified range and indicating extremity of range.

Specifiers are specific to the class.

Quantifier is m plural, i unspecified (singular, mass, locational). Quantifier l dissimilates to a from word-initial i.

Demonstratives and adverbs of one syllable or two open syllables supplete when individually forwarded for topicalization. The suppletion is effected by deleting unstressed vowels, except after y, when not essential for distinguishing range.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns indicate range and quantity. The deictic is proximal or unspecified. The intensifier occurs with specified deictic. The specifier is *da* proximal, *ga* distal.

*i-i-da-m*  
*PROX-INTNS-PROX-PL*  
*these*

*i-i-da-'a*  
*PROX-INTNS-PROX-UNSPEC*  
*this, this stuff*

*hi-ga-m*  
*UNSPEC-DIST-PL*  
*those*

*hi-ga-'i*  
*UNSPEC-DIST-UNSPEC*  
*the, that, that stuff*

The suppletive forms are *id* *this* and *hi-g* *that*.

*i-d a-ñ hab aag čtoǰ*  
*PROX-PROX MD-I thus say man*  
*This (is the) man I mean.*

*hi-g a-ñ hab aag čtoǰ*  
*UNSPEC-DIST MD-I thus say man*  
*That (is the) man I mean.*

Quantifying demonstratives consist of deictic (plus intensifier?) plus quantifier. The deictic is unspecified/ indefinite.

*ha('a)* UNSPEC  
*h+('i)* INDF

The quantifier is number/quantity.

*kia* NUM  
*s* QNT

*ha'a-kia*  
*UNSPEC-NUM*  
*so many*

*hi'i-kia*  
*INDF-NUM*  
*how many*

*ha'a-s*  
*UNSPEC-QNT*  
*so much*

*hi'i-s*  
*INDF-QNT*  
*how much*

Number demonstrative co-occurs with *ču* *things*, *ho* *times*, *pa* *places*.

ha'a-kia-ču  
UNSPEC-*NUM-thing*  
that numbered thing

hɪ'i-kia-ču  
INDF-*NUM-thing*  
what numbered thing

ha'a-kki-o  
UNSPEC-*NUM-times*  
that many times

hɪ'i-kki-o  
INDF-*NUM-times*  
how many times

ha'a-k-pa  
UNSPEC-*NUM-places*  
that many places

hɪ'i-k-pa  
INDF-*NUM-places*  
how many places

Quantifying demonstrative co-occurs with ču *thing*, ko *distance*.

ha'a-s-ču  
UNSPEC-*QNT-thing*  
that size thing

hɪ'i-s-ču  
INDF-*QNT-thing*  
what size thing

ha'a-s-ko  
UNSPEC-*QNT-distance*  
that far

hɪ'i-s-ko  
INDF-*QNT-distance*  
how far

### Syntax

DEM precedes noun and agrees in number:

i-i-da-m kii-ki  
*this-PL house-RDP*  
these houses

i-i-da-'a kii  
*this-SG house*  
this house

Quantifier and/or adjective and/or participle may intervene:

i-i-da-m gt-'t-gt-d kii-ki  
*these* X-RDP-RDP-X *house-RDP*  
*big*  
these big houses

i-i-da-m ha'i gt-'t-gt-d kii-ki  
*these* *few* *big* *house-RDP*  
these few big houses

i-i-da-m s=wa-pa-gim-am čikpan-da-m čt-č-oj  
*these* AFF=X-RDP-X-ADVR *work-IMPRF-FRTC* X-RDP-X  
*industrious* *man*  
these industrious working men

Partitive quantifier is the determiner, preceding the pronoun.

h̄ma h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄ a-t am wo hii-X  
 one those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-PERF  
 PRTV  
 One of those men will go there.

ha'i-j̄j̄ h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄ a-t am wo h̄i-h̄i-X  
 some-PRTV those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-RDP-PERF  
 Some of those men will go there.

Pronoun copy agrees in person with highest rank pronoun and in number with the sum of pronouns:

h̄ma a-t ha m̄ta-X h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄  
 one MD-TNS them kill-PERF those men  
 PRTV  
 He killed one of those men.

h̄ma a-t-t wo hii-X a-a-č̄i-m  
 one MD-we-TNS FUT go-PERF we  
 PRTV  
 One of us will go.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i g ñ=nawoj̄  
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I ART me=friend  
 PL

wim  
 with  
 We drove there, I with my friend.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i kč̄ i-i-da-'a  
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I and this  
 PL  
 We drove there, I and this one.

Article g/h̄g (Papago/Pima, respectively) introduces argument. ART is deleted before pronoun, after ART/LOC, and clause initially:

g kii-j̄ h̄t-ga-'i č̄toj̄  
 ART house-GEN that man  
 the house of that man

g kii-j̄ g huan/ g huan kii  
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house  
 house of Juan/Juan's house

am daam g kii /am kii daam  
 LOC above ART house LOC house above  
 above the house

miđ o g huan/huan o miđ  
 run MD ART PN PN MD run  
 Juan is running.

ART is likewise absent in discontinuous phrase when locative is forwarded:

an o kii kii daam  
 LOC MD stand house on  
 He's standing there on the house.

Relative clause requires DEM:

n-t wo ñti-X hi-ga-'i čioj [m-o am kii k] ]  
 I-TNS FUT see-PERF that man SUBR-MD LOC stand  
 I'm going to see that man that's standing there.

Pronoun with relative clause may be generic rather than demonstrative:

n-t wo namkid hi-ga-'i čioj [ma-t wo čikp-X]  
 I-TNS FUT pay the man SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF  
 PERF  
 I'll pay the man that works.

#### ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Like simple demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives consist of deictic-(intensifier)-specifier-quantifier. The deictic indicates range.

a	PROX
ga	DIST
hi	INDF

The intensifier is *i*, indicating extremity of range, and assimilating to the previous vowel in *ga*. PROX *a* assimilates to the following vowel.

	non-INTNS	INTNS
PROX	a-	i-i-
DIST	ga-	ga-a-
INDF		

The specifier in ADV DEM indicates the direction the object is facing with respect to the observer, or vice versa.

m	object facing away or behind the observer
n	object facing across or beside the observer
b	object facing toward or in front of the observer

The quantifier is unspecified *i*, dissimilating from intensive *i* when co-occurring with it. DIRL *b* is deleted following *i*.

	away	across	toward	
PROX-INTNS	<i>i-i-ma-'a</i>	<i>i-i-na-'a</i>	<i>i-i-a-'a</i>	<i>here</i>
PROX	<i>a-ma-'i</i>	<i>a-na-'i</i>	<i>a-ba-'i</i>	<i>there</i>
DIST	<i>ga-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ba-'i</i>	<i>over there</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>ga-a-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ša-ŷ</i>	<i>way over there</i>

Demonstratives *i-i-a-'a* and *a-ma-'i* are also employed for neutral direction. UNSPEC DIRL is *ga* after *ga* and *ba* after *hi*.

<i>ga-qa-'i</i>	<i>hi-ba-'i</i>
<i>RA-DIRL-QNT</i>	<i>RA-DIRL-QNT</i>
<i>there out of range</i>	<i>somewhere, where</i>

Demonstratives delete INTNS *i* and QNT but retain stress when fronted for topicalization. Final vowel is reduced by phonetic rule.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	<i>i-m</i>	<i>i-n</i>	<i>i-a</i>
PROX	<i>a-m</i>	<i>a-n</i>	<i>a-b</i>
DIST	<i>ga-m</i>	<i>ga-n</i>	<i>ga</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>ga-a-m</i>	<i>ga-a-n</i>	<i>ga-a-š</i>

### Demonstrative Adverbs

Demonstrative adverbs indicate range and attitude, employing proximal and distal deictic, intensifier, specifier, and unspecified quantifier. Where the previous vowel does not assimilate to the intensifier, the intensifier assimilates to the previous vowel.

The specifier in demonstrative adverbs indicates attitude or direction of motion of either the observer or the referent of a term with respect to the other or the referent of another term: *ma* away, *na* across, *ya/ba/ša* toward.

		away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	<i>here</i>	<i>i-i-ma-'a</i>	<i>i-i-na-'a</i>	<i>i-i-ya-'a</i>
PROX	<i>there</i>	<i>a-ma-'i</i>	<i>a-na-'i</i>	<i>a-ba-'i</i>
DIST	<i>over there</i>	<i>ga-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ba-'i</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>way over there</i>	<i>ga-a-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ša-ŷ</i>

Demonstratives *iya'a* and *ama'i* are also employed for neutral attitude. Specifier may indicate level, *ma* below, *na* eye-level or above. The demonstrative adverbs supplete as follows.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	i-m	i-n	i-a
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b
DIST	ga-m	ga-n	ga
DIST-INTNS	ga-a-m	ga-a-n	ga-a-ṣ

Specifier *ga* indicates out of range, and does not specify attitude or level, *ga-ḍa-'i/gaḍ* there out of range.

Reduced demonstratives contrast in stress with unstressed locative particles:

	away	across	toward	
PROX(INTNS)	i-m	i-n	i-a	<i>here facing</i>
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b	<i>there facing</i>
DIST	g-m	g-n		<i>over there facing</i>
			g-ḍ	<i>there UNSPEC</i>

Reduced demonstratives and locational particles contrast with PREP:

am at      an along      ab against

Whether attitude of speaker or subject is in view may be disambiguated by preposition:

im o kɪk ñ-baaṣo ADV MD stand me-before He's standing in front of me (facing away from me).	im o kɪk ñ-witgaɿ ADV MD stand me-behind He's standing behind me (thus I'm facing away from him).
--	---

ADV DEM and their question correlates are:

a-ma-'i <i>that-DIRL-NUM</i> there, at that place	hi-ba-'i <i>what-DIRL-NUM</i> where
ha-b <i>that-MAN</i> that	ha-s <i>what-MAN</i> what
has-ko <i>that-direction</i> that direction	has-ko/ṣaa-ko <i>what-direction</i> what direction



ha'a-s that-QNT that much	hi'i-s what-QNT how much
ha'a-s-ču that-QNT-thing that size thing	hi'i-s-ču what-QNT-thing what size thing
ha'a-s-ko that-QNT-far that far	hi'i-s-ko what-QNT-far how far
ha'a-kia that-NUM that number	hi'i-kia what-NUM what number
ha'a-kia-ču that-NUM-thing that number thing	hi'i-kia-ču what-NUM-thing what number thing
ha'a-kki-o that-NUM-times that number times	hi'i-kki-o what-NUM-times what number times
ha'a-k-pa that-NUM-places that number of places	hi'i-k-pa what-NUM-places what number of places
hi mu            at this time	
iđa/wiñog      at that time	hi kid      at what time
idañ            at this time of cycle	

Demonstratives co-occur with stative marker to form predicate:

ku-p-t            hi ba'i wo ka-d  
INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF  
Where will you be?

n-t    ama'i wo ka-d  
I-TNS there FUT STAT-IMPRF  
I'll be there.

A demonstrative is obligatory with a relative clause:

am a-n-t    wo čikpna-d [ma-n-t    hi ba'i wo  
ADV MD-I-TNS FUT work-IMPRF SUBR-I-TNS where FUT

kii-ka-d]  
live-STAT-IMPRF  
There I'll work where I'll be living.

## QUANTIFIERS

Forms

Quantifiers are count/measure (MEAS), definite/indefinite. Indefinite quantifiers are:

COUNT		MEAS	
hima	<i>a, one</i>	ṣa	<i>a bit</i>
ha'i	<i>some number</i>	ha	<i>some amount</i>
mu'i	<i>many</i>	gĩ't	<i>much</i>
wiʔs	<i>all</i>	wiʔs	<i>all</i>

With WH, definite is -kia NUM with count N, -s QNT otherwise:

ha'a-kia	ha'a-s
<i>that-NUM</i>	<i>that-QNT</i>
<i>that number</i>	<i>that amount</i>

Otherwise, definite quantifier is: himako *one*, gook *two*, waik *three*, gi'ik *four*, hitasp *five*, čuudp *six*, wɬwa'ak/wiɬkam *seven*, gigi'ik *eight*, humukt/humuɬkam *nine*, wiʔs-t=maam *ten*, etc.

Number NUM co-occurs with suffixes -ču'u *thing*, -ho *time*, -pa *place*, and measure QNT co-occurs with -ču'u *thing*, -ko *distance*:

ha'a-kia-ču'u	ha'a-s-ču'u
<i>that-NUM-thing</i>	<i>that-QNT-thing</i>
<i>that numbered thing</i>	<i>that size thing</i>
ha'a-k-kio (ha'a-ki-ho)	ha'a-k-pa
<i>that-NUM-time</i>	<i>that-NUM-place</i>
<i>that number of times</i>	<i>that number of places</i>
ha'a-s-ko	gook-ču'u
<i>that-QNT-distance</i>	<i>two-thing</i>
<i>that much distance</i>	<i>number two</i>
gok-ko	gook-pa
<i>two-time</i>	<i>two-place</i>
<i>twice</i>	<i>two places</i>



ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hgam ka-ka-wiu  
*some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses*  
 PL

*He'll get some of those horses.*

Otherwise, alternate neutral position of a QNT is preposed to the predicate word:

t wo ha'i ha u-i g ka-ka-wiu  
*TNS FUT some them get-PERF ART horses*  
 PL

*He'll get some horses.*

t wo ha bi-i g o'od  
*TNS FUT some get-PERF ART sand*  
*He'll get some sand.*

If a nonpartitive quantifier is preposed to the predicate word, the remainder of the noun phrase may be preposed to the predicate for topicalization, forming a resumptive pronoun construction:

ka-ka-wiu a-t wo ha'i ha u-i  
*horses MD-TNS FUT some them get-PERF*  
 PL

*Some horses he'll get.*

The predicate word agrees in number with the highest rank determiner in the rank order PRTV QNT, PRON, N:

hima a-t wo ha bi-i hgam ka-ka-wiu  
*one MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses*  
 PRTV

*He'll get one of those horses.*

ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hgam ka-ka-wiu  
*some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses*  
 PL

*He'll get some of those horses.*

am hima ha iqa hgam kil-ki  
*LOC one them in those houses*  
 PRTV

*there in one of those houses*

am ha'i-jj ha t-'t-da hgam kil-ki  
*LOC some-PRTV them X-RDP-X those houses*  
 in

*there in some of those houses*

Quantifier may occur without head:

ab o h̄ma h̄m  
 LOC MD one go  
 Someone is coming.

ḡa-t wo gook-k  
 EQ-TNS FUT two-STAT  
 There'll be two.

h̄t̄-kia a-t ḡ wo k  
 what-NUM MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT  
 How many will there be?

gook a-t ḡ wo k  
 two MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT  
 Two is what there will be.

Definite quantifier co-occurs with wa'i just, only:

gook a-t ab wa'i hi-hi-X g č̄t̄-č̄-oj  
 two MD-TNS LOC only go-RDP-PERF ART men  
 Only two men came.

ha'a-kia o ab wa'i hi-hi-m  
 that-NUM MD LOC only X-RDP-X  
 go

Only so many are coming.

h̄t̄-kia o ab wa'i i hi-hi-m  
 what-NUM MD LOC only DEF go  
 Just how many are coming?

### ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede (participle plus) noun:

h̄gam ḡt̄-'t̄-ḡt̄-ḡ č̄ikpan-da-m č̄t̄-č̄-oj  
 those X-RDP-RDP-X work-IMPRF-PRTC X-RDP-X  
 big man  
 those adult working men

Adjectives agree in number with noun:

ḡt̄t̄ hodai ḡt̄-'t̄-ḡt̄-ḡ ho-ho-dai  
 big stone big X-RDP-X  
 big stone stone  
 big stones

Unreduplicated noun may be collective:

gí-'í-gí-d hodai  
big stone  
course gravel

gí-'í-gí-d haiwañ  
big bovine  
mature cattle

Adjectives may occur without noun:

ab o him g gí't  
LOC MD go ART big  
There comes the chief.

an o miđ g s=koomagi  
LOC MD run ART AFF=gray  
The gray is running along  
there.

Headless adjectives may occur with other noun modifiers:

ab o hi-hi-m hīgam gí-'í-gí-d  
LOC MD X-RDP-X those big  
go

There come those adults.

ab o hi-hi-m g gí-'í-gí-d čikpan-da-m  
LOC MD go ART big work-IMPRES-PRIC  
There come the adult working ones.

Relative clause may occur in modifying slot following DEM:

hīgam [m-o pi am hu i si gí-'í-gí-da-ŷ] a-'a-i  
those SUBR-MD NEG DEG big-be X-RDP-X  
child

those children who are not very big

hīgam [m-o am ha'i-čū-g naanko maas] hīma]kam  
those SUBR-MD LOC some-thing-be different like person  
COLL

those different kinds of people present

Relative clause may be trimmed as modifier by deletion of subordinator, auxiliary, and verbalizer:

hīgam pi am hu i si gí-'í-gí-d a-'a-i  
those NEG DEG big children  
those not very big children

Adjectives may be conjoined:

hīga'i gí't kč s=koomagi kawiu  
that big and AFF=gray horse  
that big gray horse

Demonstratives agree with ADJ in manner and quantification and co-occur with manner or quantity gesture:



ba'ič o i s=hoota-m miđ g al-i [m-o g  
*past MD DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART*

ooga-ŷ ha'a-s s=hoota-m him]  
*father-GEN that-QNT AFF=rush-ADVR walk*  
*The child runs faster than his father walks.*

When a redundant predicate is pruned, the SUBJ of the SUB CL replaces the CL as main clause complement. Thus a subject stranded by pruning of POSSR is REFL:

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum  
*past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small*

wo'-i-kud (ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]  
*bed that-QNT long-be*  
*The child is longer than a small bed (is long).*

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g † oog  
*past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father*

(ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]  
*that-QNT long-be*  
*The child is taller than his father.*

The main clause ADV in equational comparatives is DEM. Demonstratives agree with adjectives as manner or quantitative:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma him m-o g † oog  
*child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR walk SUBR-MD ART REFL father*  
*The child walks like his father.*

ha'a-s o čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g † oog  
*that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father*  
*The child is as tall as his father.*

ha'a-kia o mu'i-ŷ g a'-a-l m-o g †  
*that-NUM MD many-be ART X-RDP-X SUBR-MD ART REFL*  
*child*

ŷi-†-ŷ  
*mother-RDP-RDP*  
*The children are as many as their parents.*

A redundant argument is pruned:



ha'a-s o s=tadañ g milsa [m-o h't+s i  
 that-QNT MD AFF=wide ART table SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF

čtwa-ŷ]

long-be

The table is as wide as it is long.

If not verbalized or adverbialized, the ADJ is deleted in QNT  
 X\_\_:

ha'a-kia o (mu'i) a-'a-l-ga g pliwlo m-o g †  
 that-NUM MD many child-AL ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog

father

Pedro has as many children as his father.

ha'a-s-ko a-t (mitk) hii-X g pilwlo ma-t  
 that-QNT-far MD-TNS far walk-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

g † oog

ART REFL father

Pedro walked as far as his father.

ha'a-k-pa a-t (mu'i-k-pa) kii-ki-t  
 that-NUM-place MD-TNS many-NUM-place house-RDP-make

g pliwlo ma-t g † oog  
 ART PN SUBR-TNS ART REFL father

Pedro built houses in as many places as his father.

Less than comparatives employ hug-ka-m (end-STAT-PRTC)  
 end:

ida hug-ka-m o čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g †  
 mid end-STAT-PRTC MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog

father

The child is half as tall as his father.

pi o am hu hug-ka-m čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o  
 NEG MD LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD

g † oog

ART REFL father

The child is not as tall as his father.

Preceding ba'ič, the ADV is REM/NUMR plus QNT:

ha'a-s o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g  
*that-QNT MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART*

‡ oog (gesture)

*REFL father*

*The child is that much taller than his father.*

ha'a-kia o ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ g a-'a-l m-o g  
*that-NUM MD past DEF many-be ART children SUBR-MD ART*

‡ ŷi-ŷi-ŷ (gesture)

*REFL mother-RDP-RDP*

*The children are that many more than their parents.*

gook tađ o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g  
*two foot MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART*

‡ wīnag

*REFL sibling*

*The child is two feet taller than his sibling.*

gok-ko o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g  
*two-times MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART*

‡ wīnag

*REFL sibling*

*The child is twice as tall as his sibling.*

The stranded SUBJ of a manner complement may be raised to replace ADV:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma(-kaŷ) him m-o g ‡  
*child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR-like walk SUBR-MD ART REFL*

oog /al-i o ‡ oog-kaŷ him  
*father child-SG MD REFL father-like walk*  
*The child walks like his father.*

‡ aamo-kaŷ o da-d-'‡  
*REFL master-like MD jump-RDP-REPET*  
*He rides like his master.*

Reciprocal manner comparative sentences employing PREP wipo may be conflated:



Double comparisons have also been observed employing PREP wui to:

či-či-no o ha'a-kia ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ am ha wui g  
X-RDP-X MD that-NUM past DEF many-be LOC them to ART  
*Chinese*

india hmaŷkam [m-o g india hmaŷkam ha'a-kia mu'i-ŷ  
 PN people SUBR-MD ART PN people that-NUM many-be

am ha wui g laaša hmaŷkam]  
 LOC them to ART PN people  
 The Chinese are as much more numerous to the India people  
 as the India people are numerous to the Russian.  
 (Field Notes 1963, Albert Alvarez)

The complement clause ADV may also be question word:

ha'a-s o čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum  
 that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-i-kud hŷt'-s i s=tađaň]  
 bed what-QNT DEF AFF=wide  
 The child is however long a small bed is wide.

b-o mas-ma čičwi g a-'a-] [m-o g ha  
 MAN-MD like-ADVR play ART children SUBR-MD ART them

ŷt-i-ŷ] ha-s i mas-ma čikpan]  
 mother-RDP-RDP what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work  
 GEN  
 Children play however their parents work.

A complement clause with question word may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hŷt'-s i s=tađaň g čum wo'-i-kud] k  
 SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF AFF=wide ART small bed INTR

g al-i ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ  
 ART child-SG that-QNT long-be  
 However wide a small bed is, the child is that long.

[m-o ha-s i mas-ma čikpan g ha  
 SUBR-MD what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work ART them

ŷt-i-ŷ] k g a-'a-] ha-b mas-ma čičwi  
 mother INTR ART children that-MAN like-ADVR play  
 However their parents work, children play like that.

The superlative is expressed by comparison with a total:

al=huand | o wɪs ha ba'ič i gi't-] g ha'i-čũ  
*elephant MD all them past DEF big-be ART some-thing*

doa-ka-m

*live-STAT-PRTC*

*The elephant is bigger than all the animals.*

All permitted combinations of YNQ, NEG, EQ, IMP occur in comparative sentences:

n-o ba'ič i s=hoota-m mɪɖ g gogs m-o g  
*Q-MD past DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog SUBR-MD ART*

miɪstol

*cat*

*Does the dog run faster than the cat?*

n-o pi əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m mɪɖ g gogs  
*Q-MD NEG LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog*

m-o g miɪstol

*SUBR-MD ART cat*

*Doesn't the dog run as fast as the cat?*

n-o pi əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m ɖ mɪɖ-da-m g  
*Q-MD NEG LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC ART*

gogs m-o g miɪstol

*dog SUBR-MD ART cat*

*Isn't the dog as fast a runner as the cat?*

ba'ič g i s=hoota-m mɪɪ m-o hɪga'i

*past IMP DEF fast run SUBR-MD that*

*Run faster than him!*

pi g əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m ɖ mɪɖ-da-m  
*NEG IMP LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC*

m-o hɪga'i

*SUBR-MD that*

*Don't be as fast a runner as he.*

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns and corresponding question forms are:

hīma	<i>someone, another</i>	hīḡa'i/hīḡam	<i>who?</i>
ha'ičū	<i>something</i>	hasč'u	<i>what?</i>
hība'i	<i>somewhere/sometime</i>	hība'i	<i>where?/when?</i>
hīkid	<i>sometime</i>	hīkid	<i>when?</i>

Indefinite pronouns hīma, ha'i-čū are usually preposed to the verb:

n-t wo ñī-i-X hīma /n-t wo hīma ñī-i-X  
 I-TNS FUT see-PERF someone I-TNS FUT someone see-PERF  
 I'll see someone.

n-t wo bī-i ha'ičū /n-t wo ha'ičū bī-i  
 I-TNS FUT get-PERF something I-TNS FUT something get-PERF  
 I'll get something.

ba-n-t wo čī-i ha'ičū /ba-n-t wo ha'ičū  
 that-I-TNS FUT say-PERF something that-I-TNS FUT something

čī-i  
 say-PERF  
 I'll say something.

n-t wo m=ñī-i-X hība'i  
 I-TNS FUT you=see-PERF somewhere/sometime  
 I'll see you somewhere/sometime.

The question form of indefinite pronoun co-occurs with negative and any construction, and is preposed to the predicate:

pi a-n-t hīḡa'i wo ñī-i-X  
 NEG MD-I-TNS anyone FUT see-PERF  
 I won't see anyone./I'll see no one.

pi a-n-t hasč'u/ha'ičū wo bī-i  
 NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT get-PERF  
 I won't get anything./I'll get nothing.

pi a-n-t has(čū hab) wo čī-i  
 NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT say-PERF  
 I won't say anything./I'll say nothing.

pi a-n-t hɨkid wo ñii-X  
 NEG MD-I-TNS any time FUT see-PERF  
 I won't see him any time./I'll never see him.

Indefinite pronouns co-occur:

pi a-t hɨda'i hasču has wo juu-X  
 NEG MD-TNS anyone anything anything FUT make-PERF  
 No one will make anything.

Any construction employs wabɨ just plus čum IMPOT plus  
 INDF PRON:

wabɨ čum hɨda'i a-t wabɨ čum hɨkid wabɨ čum has  
 just IMPOT who MD-TNS just IMPOT when just IMPOT what

wo i juu-X  
 FUT REFL do  
 PERF

Anyone will do anything at any time.

pi a-t wabɨ čum hasču has wo juu-X  
 NEG MD-TNS just IMPOT what what FUT do-PERF  
 He won't do just anything.

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Pronoun consists of range, (intensive), specifier, number. Subject and object pronouns are identical and may be deleted if nonemphatic. In personal pronouns, the specifier indicates person. The intensifier *i* becomes *a* before person.

	SG	PL
1P	a-a-ñi-'i	a-a-či-m
2P	a-a-pi-'i	a-a-pi-m
PROX	i-i-da-'a	i-i-da-m/i-da-m
DIST	hi-ga-'i	hi-ga-m

Reflexive object:

hi+j+i      hi-hf-'i-j+i      DISTR

Dependent

	SUBJ		OBJ/POSSR		REFL	
1P	-ñ	-č	ñ=	t=	ñ=	t=
2P	-p	-m	m=	†m=	†	
3P	∅		∅	ha		
UNSPEC	-m		ha			

## STEMS

Stems consist of verb roots, or of various roots with appropriate suffixes of fixed productivity and order, plus outer suffixes of freer productivity and order, preceding inflectional suffixes.

There is an inner sequence of adjective plus copula plus inchoative. The copular suffix is -'i, -d, -j, -k, ∅ to *have the quality* following the appropriate adjectives.



s=ap-'t  
AFF=good-be  
to be good

gi't-'y  
big-be  
to be big

s=moik  
AFF=soft  
to be soft

s=ht'pi-d  
AFF=cold-be  
to be cold

siko'k  
round-be  
to be round

The copula is -dag to have the quality following stance verb plus gerund.

s=dah-i-dag  
AFF=sit-GER-be  
to be good at riding

s=mi'i-dag  
AFF=run-GER-be  
to be good at running

Inchoative suffix is -ta, deleting C after most adjectives and assimilating V to the preceding V or to V preceding k and otherwise deleting V at word boundary. Initial AFF and final ag or SF -d are deleted.

ap-'i-t  
good-be-INCHO  
to become good

baga-t  
angry-INCHO  
to get angry

hi'pi-i  
cold-INCHO  
to become cold

mi'i-d-t  
run-GER-be-INCHO  
to learn to run

paq-t  
bad-INCHO  
to become spoiled

gi't-d-a  
big-be-INCHO  
to get big

čuk-u  
black-INCHO  
to become black

hi'm-i-d-t  
go-GER-be-INCHO  
to learn to walk

There is an inner sequence of incorporated object plus suffix -gid to shake N, -giw to have tremors of N, -wua to bump N.

mo'o-gid  
head-shake  
to shake the head

mo'o-giw  
head-tremor  
to have head tremors

mo'o-wua  
*head-bump*  
 to bump the head

There is an inner sequence of incorporated instrument or action plus gerundive suffix plus instrumental suffix, forming a transitive verb. The gerundive suffix is -i following an incorporation or following a vowel, -a otherwise. Instrumental suffixes are -čk to *press on with N*, -ɖad to *put N on*, -hain/hin to *hit with N*, -kkan to *pound with N*, -kon to *glance N off of*, -mad to *apply N to*, -mun to *disturb with N*, -pig to *remove N from*, -šan/şad to *act along a surface with N*, -şun/şuđ to *crush with N*, -şp to *contact with N*, -to to *finish an action*, -win/wia to *pulverize with N*.

mo'o-čk  
*head-push*  
 to push on with the head

wonami-ɖad  
*hat-don*  
 to don a hat

mo'o-hain  
*head-hit*  
 to hit with the head

ma-'i-hin  
*object-GER-hit*  
 to hit with a thrown object

mo'o-kkan  
*head-pound*  
 to bunt

ma-'i-kon  
*object-GER-glance*  
 to glance an object off of

on-mad  
*salt-apply*  
 to salt

dag-i-mun  
*hand-GER-disturb*  
 to massage

nak-pig  
*ear-remove*  
 to earmark

č+i-šan  
*rough-act*  
 to rub off

ma-'i-şun  
*object-GER-crush*  
 to crush with a thrown object

ma-'i-şp  
*object-GER-contact*  
 to cover with an object from the hand

dag-i-to  
*hand-GER-COMPL*  
 to drop

k+h-i-win  
*foot-GER-pulverize*  
 to thresh

Suffix -wua (SG), -şulig (PL) to *move object along* co-occurs with instrumental -čk.

mo'o-čk-wua  
*head-press-move*  
 to push along with the head

mo'o-č-šulig  
*head-press-move*  
 to push objects along with  
 the head.

Suffix -i'ok to reverse action co-occurs with instrumental -šp.

ma-'i-šp-i'ok  
*object-GER-contact-PRIV*  
 to uncover

There is an inner sequence of stance verb plus GER plus INCEPT -wua to assume a stance.

dah-i-wua  
*sit-GER-INCEPT*  
 to sit down

k+k-i-wua  
*stand-GER-INCEPT*  
 to stand up

There is an inner sequence of noun plus -ta to make N, forming a transitive verb. -ta deletes V word finally and before gerund, and is replaced by a benefactive suffix.

kii-t  
*house-make*  
 to make a house

Outer derivational suffixes may follow a verb root or inner derivational suffixes. The outer suffixes occur in the order:

APPLIC GER { { MOT } DESID APPLIC }  
 { { PROG } }  
 { RSLTV }

Applicative suffix is causative after intransitive verb or after DESID, benefactive otherwise. Applicatives co-occur in the order CAUS X BEN.

Causative suffix is -čud after a root or replacing -ta, -jid otherwise. A restricted set of verb roots take -čulid.

him-čud  
*move-CAUS*  
 to cause to move

daam-čud  
*over-CAUS*  
 to cause to be over

ap-'i-čud  
*good-be-(INCHO)*  
 to fix CAUS

g+'i-d-a-jid  
*big-be-INCHO-CAUS*  
 to enlarge

maač-čulid  
*know-CAUS*  
 to cause to know

h+g-čulid  
*happy-CAUS*  
 to please or praise

Benefactive suffix is -čud when replacing -ta or after the causative suffix -čud, and -jɪlid, -jɪd, -id otherwise in the appropriate environments.

kii-čud <i>house-(make)</i> BEN to make a house for	ap-'i-čud-a-čud <i>good-be-(INCHO)-GER-BEN</i> CAUS to fix for
maak-jɪlid <i>give-BEN</i> to give to for	gɪ't-d-a-jɪd-jɪlid <i>big-be-INCHO-CAUS-BEN</i> to enlarge for
wakon-id <i>wash-BEN</i> to wash for	ma-'i-ʃp-id <i>object-GER-contact-BEN</i> to cover it for

The motion suffix -mɪd (SG), -op (PL) to go to do or get follows certain noun or verb stems and requires the gerundive suffix. The benefactive suffix may follow a transitive verb.

on-a-mɪd <i>salt-GER-MOT</i> to go get salt	čikpn-op <i>work-MOT</i> PL to go to work PL
ku'ag-a-mɪd <i>wood-GER-MOT</i> to go for wood	ku'ag-id-a-mɪd <i>wood-BEN-GER-MOT</i> to go for wood for

Progressive suffixes are -čug abstract, -him concrete, requiring a gerundive suffix following a transitive verb.

aag-a-čug <i>say-GER-PROG</i> to bear a message	aag-a-him <i>say-GER-PROG</i> to go along saying
ñɪd-a-čug <i>see-GER-PROG</i> to keep a watch	ñɪd-a-him <i>see-GER-PROG</i> to go along seeing
aag-id-a-him <i>say-BEN-GER-PROG</i> to go along telling	him-him <i>move-PROG</i> to wander along
maak-him <i>give-PROG</i> to distribute	ap-'t-ta-him <i>good-be-INCHO-PROG</i> becoming right

baga-ta-him  
angry-INCHO-PROG  
getting angry

hɬpi-i-him  
cold-INCHO-PROG  
getting cold

kil-t-a-him  
house-make-GER-PROG  
to progress with building

kuup-a-him  
close-GER-PROG  
to go along closing

kii-čud-a-him  
house-(make)-GER-PROG  
BEN  
to progress with building a house for

Resultative suffixes are -s to be in a state and -kč to have in a state. GER is obligatory with -s following a transitive verb stem, and second rank argument is advanced to first rank.

him-s  
move-RSLTV  
to be in a state of going

aag-a-s  
say-GER-RSLTV  
to be in a spoken state

ap-'t-čud-a-s  
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-RSLTV  
CAUS  
to be in a corrected state

naato-i-s  
finish-GER-RSLTV  
to be in a finished state

ma-'i-šp-i'ok-a-s  
object-GER-contact-PRIV-GER-RSLTV  
to be in an uncovered state

ab a-č maak-s g doakag  
LOC MD-we give-RSLTV ART life  
We are given life.

la-wu-i-s  
drop-INCEPT-GER-RSLTV  
to be in a spilled state

The suffix -kč deletes k after a consonant.

naato-kč  
finish-RSLTV  
to have in a finished state

kuup-č  
close-RSLTV  
to have in a closed state

ab o t=maak-č g doakag  
LOC MD us=give-RSLTV ART life  
He gives us life.

There are two desiderative suffixes, -imk and -mk/kk. DESID -mk/kk indicates SG/PL, respectively, co-occurring with a limited set of nonproductive stems.

tono-mk  
*drink-DESID*  
*water*  
 to want to drink water

ton-kk  
*drink-DESID*  
*water PL*  
 to want to drink water PL

DESID -imk co-occurs with s= AFF and productive verb stems, with plural marked in the stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

s=him-imk  
*AFF=move-DESID*  
 to want to go

s=hi-hi-m-imk  
*AFF=X-RDP-X-DESID*  
└───┬───┘  
move  
 to want to go PL

s=ku'ag-imk  
*AFF=get-DESID*  
*wood*  
 to want to get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-amk  
*AFF=you=get-BEN-DESID*  
*wood*  
 to want to get wood for you

s=ku'ag-a-mɪl-imk  
*AFF=get-GER-MOT-DESID*  
*wood*  
 to want to go get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-a-mɪl-imk  
*AFF=you=get-BEN-GER-MOT-DESID*  
*wood*  
 to want to go get wood for you

s=kli-t-amk  
*AFF=house-make-DESID*  
 to want to build a house

s=m=kli-čud-amk  
*AFF=you=house-(make)-DESID*  
BEN  
 to want to build a house  
 for you

s=m=on-mad-ɟɪlid-amk  
*AFF=you=salt-apply-BEN-DESID*  
 to want to salt it for you

s=m=ma-'i-ʂp-i'ok-id-amk  
*AFF=you=object-GER-contact-PRIV-BEN-DESID*  
 to want to uncover it for you

An applicative following a desiderative suffix must be causative, and is blocked by any previous applicative. An applicative suffix cannot follow a motion suffix.

s=him-im-čud  
 AFF=move-DESID-CAUS  
 to cause to want to go

s=ñ=ku'ag-a-m+1-im-čud  
 AFF=me=get-GER-MOT-DESID-CAUS  
 wood  
 to cause me to want to go  
 get wood

#### INCORPORATION

Nouns may be incorporated as instrument of action in compound verb, usually co-occurring with GER 'i. The following instrumental nouns no longer occur as independent nouns:

čik-	<i>pointed object</i>
čil-	<i>rough object</i>
ču'a-	<i>sharp object</i>
dag-i-	<i>hand</i>
how-i-	<i>inhalation</i>
kth-i-	<i>foot</i>
ki-'i-	<i>teeth</i>
ma-'i-	<i>thrown object</i>
ñu-'i-	<i>hand (or unspecified) away</i>
šoñ-	<i>held object</i>
wa-, wa-'i-	<i>liquid</i>
wañ-	<i>hand toward</i>
wi-'i-	<i>non-solid</i>
wus-	<i>exhalation</i>

The following independent nouns occur as instrumental nouns, with geminate-V reduction:

čiñ	<i>mouth</i>
hon	<i>body</i>
kaam/kam-	<i>cheek</i>
mo'o	<i>head</i>
naak/nak-	<i>ear</i>
taatami/tam-	<i>tooth</i>
toon/ton-	<i>knee</i>

## SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

Object		Reflexive		Unspecified	Imperative	
ñ=	t=	ñ=	t=			
m=	†m=					
∅	ha	i		ha	-ñ	∅

Benefactive focus raising results in co-occurrence of free and bound object copies:

na-p ha ñ=šo-o-šo-m-ŷi-l-id g ko-k-toñ  
*Q-you them me=X-RDP-RDP-X-BEN-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X*  
*sew shirt*

*Are you sewing the shirts for me?*

ab a-ñ ha †m=ma-m-k-a-ŷi-l-id g a-'a-l  
*LOC MD-I them you=X-RDP-X-DISTR-BEN-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X*  
*give child*

g ha'i-ču hug-i  
*ART some-thing eat-GER*

*I repeatedly give the children something to eat for you PL.*

Nondistinct Argument Markers

ta	UNSPEC SUBJ
ču	UNSPEC OBJ
-ŷid	PASS
-s	STAT PASS

Sentence Type

Auxiliary is suffixed if following imperative verb:

čikpna-ñ  
*work-you*  
*IMP*  
*Work!*

čikpn-o  
*work-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL work!*



čikpan-da-ñ  
*work-IMPRF-you*  
 IMP  
 Keep working!

čikpan-d-o  
*work-IMPRF-PL*  
 IMP  
 You PL keep working!

### Number Agreement

Number agreement is ergative, marked by Ø, suppletion, or reduplication:

čikpan o g čtoj/čt-č-oj <i>work MD ART man /X-RDP-X</i> <u>man</u>	mtg o g čtoj <i>run MD ART man</i> The man is running.
<i>The man/men are working.</i>	

wo-o-po o g čt-č-oj  
*run-RDP-RDP MD ART men*  
 PL  
 The men are running.

mīl-i-čud o g maagina  
*run-GER-APPLIC MD ART machine*  
 He's running a machine.

ho o wo-o-po-'i-čud <i>them MD run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC</i> PL	g ma-m-gina <i>ART X-RDP-X</i> <u>machine</u>
<i>He's running machines.</i>	

him o g čtoj  
*go MD ART man*  
 The man is walking.

hi-hi-m o g čt-č-oj <i>X-RDP-X MD ART men</i> <u>go</u>	<i>The men are walking.</i>
---	-----------------------------

There is also distributive agreement with temporal or locational:

am a-t wo hi-h-hi-ma-d <i>LOC MD-AGR FUT X-RDP-RDP-X-IMPRF</i> <u>go</u>	si-si-'alma-d <i>X-RDP-X-IMPRF</i> <u>morning</u>
<i>He'll be going there each morning.</i>	

ha'a-k-pa o čl-č-kpan  
*that-NUM-place MD X-RDP-X*  
work  
 He's working in that many places.

## NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-č/-kč	RSLTV
-čud/-čulid	APPLIC
-jīd/-īd, -jītid	APPLIC
-gīd	APPLIC
-hun	APPLIC
-s/-d	CAUS

ki-i-s-č  
stand-GER-contact-RSLTV  
to have object underfoot

ki-i-s-č  
stand-APPLIC-RSLTV  
to have object standing

da-i-s-č  
sit-GER-contact-RSLTV  
to have object under seat

mīl-i-čud  
run-GER-APPLIC  
to cause to run

hīm-i-čud  
go-GER-APPLIC  
to cause to walk

gīwk-a-jīd  
strong-INCHO-APPLIC  
to strengthen

čikpañ-id  
work-APPLIC  
to work for

jīfīñ-gid  
smoke-APPLIC  
to lecture, discuss

ho'igī'id-a-hun  
bless-GER-APPLIC  
to pray

daa-s-č  
sit-APPLIC-RSLTV  
to have object sitting

naato-kč  
finish-RSLTV  
to have object finished

ba'ag-čud  
eagle-APPLIC  
to make one an eagle

maač-čulid  
know-APPLIC  
to cause to know

hītg-čulid  
happy-APPLIC  
to cause to be happy

šoom-jītid  
sew-BEN  
to sew for

mo'o-gid  
head-APPLIC  
to shake the head

bid-hun  
clay-APPLIC  
to contaminate, plaster

kit-ṣ  
stand-CAUS  
to cause to stand

daa-ṣ  
sit-CAUS  
to cause to sit

woo-d  
lie-CAUS  
to cause to lie

Adverbial

-mṭḍ, -opo/-op      go for, MOT  
-nam                    meet  
-noḍ                    turn

čikpn-a-mṭḍ  
work-GER-MOT  
to go for work

čikpn-op  
work-MOT  
PL  
to go for work PL

on-a-mṭḍ  
salt-GER-MOT  
to go for salt

mṭl-i-nam  
run-GER-meet  
to run meet

wo'-i-nam  
run-GER-meet  
PL  
to run meet PL

mṭl-i-noḍ  
run-GER-turn  
to run turn

wo'-i-noḍ  
run-GER-turn  
PL  
to run turn PL

Volitional

-hog                    be expected to  
-id                    be able to  
s=...-hog            reject  
s=...-da-g           be proficient at  
s=...-imk            want to

bi-i-hog  
get-GER-expected  
to be expected to get

mak-i-og  
give-GER-expected  
to be expected to give

s=ntl-i-d-ka-m  
 AFF=run-GER-able-STAT-PRTC  
 a good runner

mtl-i-d-ta-him  
 run-GER-able-INCHO-PROG  
 becoming able to run

s=ka-i-hog  
 AFF=hear-GER-reject  
 to reject hearing

s=mtl-i-da-g  
 AFF=run-GER-able-be  
 be proficient at running

s=mtl-imk  
 AFF=run-DESID  
 want to run

s=tam-hog  
 AFF=tooth-reject  
 to reject (tasting)

### Aspectual

-čug	CONT	carry on action
-him	PROG	going along Ving
-'i	PERF	
-ka'i (-ka-'i)		V and go
-to	COMPL	finish Ving
-wua	INCEPT	assume a stance

aag-a-čug  
 say-GER-CONT  
 keep saying

aag-a-him  
 say-GER-PROG  
 go along saying

ɣuk-i-to  
 rain-GER-COMPL  
 finish raining

bɪ-ka'i  
 take-go  
 take it and go

daḥ-i-wua  
 sit-GER-INCEPT  
 PERF  
 sit down

da-ḍ-ha-i-wu-i-o  
 sit-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL  
 IMP  
 You PL sit down!

ka-i-čug  
 hear-GER-CONT  
 keep listening

ñt'-i-him  
 sing-GER-PROG  
 go along singing

ko'-i-to  
 eat-GER-COMPL  
 PERF  
 finish eating something

da-ḍ-ha-i-wua  
 X-RDP-X-GER-INCEPT  
 sit PERF  
 sit down PL

wo-o-p-i-wu-i-o  
*lie-RDP-RDP-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL lie down!*

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The verb is a constituent of the predicate in the order MDL NEG V AUX. The constituents of V are AFF STEM NUM DISTR STAT ASP TNS CNJ.

Pre-Stem Elements

AFF is s=:

s=maač	s=toñ	s= ial-ga
<i>AFF=know</i>	<i>AFF=hot</i>	<i>AFF=money-AL</i>
<i>know</i>	<i>be hot</i>	<i>have much money</i>

AFF is deleted if negated, but not if INTNS is negated.

pi o toñ	pi o si s=toñ
<i>NEG MD hot</i>	<i>NEG MD INTNS AFF=hot</i>
<i>It isn't hot.</i>	<i>It isn't really hot.</i>

Argument markers are preposed to the stem, displacing AFF.

s=ñ=maač o	s=ha o maač
<i>AFF=me=know MD</i>	<i>AFF=them MD know</i>
<i>He knows me.</i>	<i>He knows them/someone.</i>

s=i o maač  
*AFF=REFL MD know*  
*He's skilled.*

OBJ copies are preposed to the stem in the order direct-indirect benefactive, and only if not preceded by a bound or unspecified copy:

huana o ha wa-p-kon g ko-k-toñ  
*PN MD them water-RDP-INSTR ART* *X-RDP-X*  
*shirt*  
*Juana is washing shirts.*

huana o ha ñ=wa-p-koñ-id g ko-k-toñ  
 PN MD them me=wash-BEN ART shirts  
 Juana is washing shirts for me.

A direct object copy is deleted preceding an indirect object copy:

am o ha aag g ñi-ñ-'i-i  
 LOC MD them say ART X-RDP-X-NR  
 sing

He's singing songs.

am o ñ=aag-id g ñi-ñ-'i-i  
 LOC MD me=say-APPLIC ART songs  
 He's singing me songs.

In some dialects a free copy is deleted preceding a free copy:

huana o ... ha wa-p-koñ-id g ko-k-toñ  
 PN MD them wash-BEN ART shirts  
 Juana is washing shirts for them.

Unspecified argument markers ču OBJ, ta SUBJ do not co-occur, and do not co-occur with any object pronoun copy:

s=ču o maač  
 AFF=UNSPEC MD know  
 OBJ  
 He knowledgeable,  
 enterprising.

s=ta o mač-ma  
 AFF=UNSPEC MD know-VR  
 SUBJ  
 It's knowable.

pi o ču maač  
 NEG MD UNSPEC know  
 OBJ  
 He isn't knowledgeable.

pi o ta mač-ma  
 NEG MD UNSPEC know-VR  
 SUBJ  
 It's unknowable.

Number

The verb is ergative, certain V suppletting and/or reduplicating in agreement with plural determiner of lowest rank argument in the order SUBJ, benefactive OBJ, indirect OBJ, direct OBJ. Intransitive V supplettes and/or reduplicates with plural nonaggregate SUBJ:

hi<sup>˘</sup>ma o am mi<sup>˘</sup>q hi<sup>˘</sup>gam č̣i-č̣-o<sup>˘</sup>  
 one MD LOC run those X-RDP-X  
     
   man

One of those men is running there.

ha'i-j̣j̣ o am wo-o-po hi<sup>˘</sup>gam č̣i-č̣-o<sup>˘</sup>  
 some-PRTV MD LOC run-RDP-RDP those men  
   PL

Some of those men are running there.

am o mi<sup>˘</sup>q hi<sup>˘</sup>gam hi<sup>˘</sup>ma<sup>˘</sup>j-ka-m  
 LOC MD run those people  
 Those people are running there together.

am o wo-o-po hi<sup>˘</sup>gam hi<sup>˘</sup>ma<sup>˘</sup>j-ka-m  
 LOC MD run-RDP-RDP those people  
   PL

Those people are running there.

am o mi<sup>˘</sup>q g šuudagi  
 LOC MD run ART water  
 The water is running there.

am o hi<sup>˘</sup>m g hi<sup>˘</sup>ma<sup>˘</sup>j-ka-m  
 LOC MD walk ART people  
 The people are walking  
 there together.

am o hi-hi-m g hi<sup>˘</sup>ma<sup>˘</sup>j-ka-m  
 LOC MD X-RDP-X ART people  
   walk

The people are walking there.

Simple transitive V supplettes and/or reduplicates with plural OBJ. Object marker ha is partitive with aggregate N, plural otherwise:

am a-t bi-i g č̣to<sup>˘</sup>j  
 LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART man  
 He got the man there.

am a-t bi-i g muuñ  
 LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART beans  
 He got the beans there.

am a-t ha b*+*i g muuñ  
 LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART beans  
 He got some of the beans there.

am a-t ha u-i g č*+*-č-oj  
 LOC MD-TNS them get-PERF ART men  
 PL  
 He got the men there.

am a-t hima ha b*+*i hígam č*+*-č-oj  
 LOC MD-TNS one them get-PERF those men  
 He got one of those men there.

am a-t u-i g lial  
 LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART money  
 PL  
 He got the money there.

am a-t ha u-i g lial  
 LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART money  
 PL  
 He got some of the money there.

am o ml-čud g maagina  
 LOC MD run-APPLIC ART motor  
 He's running the motor there.

am o ha wo-o-po-'i-čud g ma-m-gina  
 LOC MD them run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X  
 PL motor  
 He's running the motors there.

am o hima ha ml-čud hígam ma-m-gina  
 LOC MD one them run-APPLIC those motors  
 He's running one of the motors there.

### Distributive

DISTR in V stems marks repeated action or an increment or stage in a continuing action. DISTR is -s/-d replacing final C in INSTR, -d with certain stems effecting reduplication, -w with certain roots, -t otherwise:

ma-'i-kon /ma-'i-ko-s  
 hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-INSTR-DISTR  
 glancing a thrown object off of



ki-'i-ṣun /ki-'i-ṣu-ṣ  
*teeth-GER-INSTR teeth-GER-INSTR-DISTR*  
*crushing with the teeth*

čik-ṣan /čik-ṣa-d  
*sharp-INSTR sharp-INSTR-DISTR*  
*making a line*

naato /nat-to-d  
*finish finish-RDP-DISTR*  
*finishing*

to'a /to'a-w  
*place place-DISTR*  
*placing objects,*  
*pouring mass*

dada /da-i-w  
*arrive arrive-GER-DISTR*  
*arriving PL*

DISTR -i effects reduplication of the first CV of the closest morpheme in monosyllabic and polymorphemic stems, of post-initial CV otherwise, and is deleted following polymorphemic stems and certain monomorphemic stems:

da'a/da-d-'-i  
*fly X-RDP-X-DISTR*  
*fly*  
*flying*

biht/bt-b-h-t  
*get X-RDP-X-DISTR*  
*get*  
*getting*

ḡah-l-wua /ḡah-i-wu-p  
*sit-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP*  
*sitting*

da-ḡ-ha-i-wua /da-ḡ-ha-i-wu-p  
*X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP*  
*sit*  
*sitting PL*

on-amtḡ /on-am-mt-ḡ  
*salt-MOT salt-X-RDP-X*  
*MOT*  
*going for salt*

wuṣad /wuṣ-ṣa-d  
*deliver X-RDP-X*  
*deliver*  
*delivering*

taatam/tat-ta-m  
*touch X-RDP-X*  
*touch*  
*feeling, touching*



ko'o/ko-k-'-o  
*sick*/X-RDP-X-DISTR  
 PL sick PL  
*be sick PL*

juuk/ju-ŷ-k-u  
*rain*/X-RDP-X-DISTR  
rain  
*raining*

Certain stems reduplicate initially and noninitially:

him/hi-h-hi-m  
*go* X-RDP-RDP-X  
go  
*going*

ñtid/ñt-ñ-ñt-ld  
*see* X-RDP-RDP-X  
see  
*seeing*

gitiŷ/gi-g-ŷ-ŷ-ti  
*fall* X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR  
fall  
*falling*

člipia/čli-č-p-pi-a-d  
*move* X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR  
move  
*moving camp*

Certain polysyllabic stems reduplicate the first V in the DISTR. The V reduplicates as hV if initial CV is not reduplicated:

wamig/wa-ha-m-mi-g  
*rise* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
rise  
*rising*

witma-ŷ/wi-hi-m-ma-ŷ  
*with-be* X-RDP-X-RDP-be  
with  
*be with*

šulig/šu-hu-l-l-g  
*fall* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
fall  
*falling PL*

tonođ/to-ho-n-no-đ  
*shine* X-RDP-X-RDP-X  
shine  
*shining*

s=čitiđagi/s=čit-hi-đagi  
 AFF=*blue* AFF=X-RDP-X  
blue  
*be blue/green*

s=kitga-ŷ /s=kit-hi-ga-ŷ  
 AFF=*good-be* AFF=X-RDP-X-be  
good  
*be pretty*

Derived stems mark distributive identically to their root, thus exhibiting reduplication of first CV and first V when derived from certain attributives and prepositions. V reduplicates as 'V if first CV is reduplicated:

čitwa-ŷ /čit-'i-čit-wa-ŷ  
*long-be* X-RDP-RDP-X-be  
long  
*be long*

daam/da-'a-da-m  
*over* X-RDP-RDP-X  
over  
*be over*

Tense/Aspect

STAT marker is -k (see BE/HAVE/DO).

ASP is PERF following nondurative V stem, IMPRF following STAT, PERF/IMPRF otherwise. PERF is -'i, IMPRF is -d:

am g	bɪt-'i		am g	bɪtɪ-d
LOC IMP	get-PERF		LOC IMP	get-IMPRF
	IMP			IMP
	Get it!			Be getting it!

IMPRF is optionally deleted following STAT:

am g	gɪt'ɪ-j-ka-d	/am g	gɪt'ɪ-j-k
LOC IMP	big-be-STAT-IMPRF	LOC IMP	big-be-STAT
	IMP		
	Be big!		

Morphemes delete ' after C-:

ab g	i	ñ=maak-i		pi g	hab	ɪ	aag-i
LOC IMP	DEF	me=give-PERF		NEG IMP	thus	REFL	say-PERF
		IMP					IMP
		Give it to me!					Don't think it!

PERF deletes ' and replaces previous V in VV- -V:

da-d	ha-i-wua	/da-d	ha-i-wu-i-o
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	GER-INCEPT	sɪt	GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
	sɪt		
	You PL sit down!		

PERF is deleted word finally following polysyllabic V stem, in VV- -C, and before CNJ:

am g	ɖah-i-wua		am a-t	aa'ad
LOC IMP	sɪt-GER-INCEPT		LOC MD-TNS	send
	IMP			He sent him there.
	Sit down there!			
ia a-t	ɣiwɪa		ɖah-i-wua-ñ	
LOC MD-TNS	arrive		sɪt-GER-INCEPT-you	
	PERF		Sit down!	
	He came here.			

Certain V delete IMPRF if not before PL or CNJ:

hi-hi-m-d-o  
 X-RDP-X-IMPRF-PL  
 walk  
 You PL walk!

ñtok-him o am hima-d-č  
 talk-PROG MD LOC walk-IMPRF-CNJ  
 He's talking while walking there.

am o hima-d č ñtok-him  
 LOC MD walk-IMPRF CNJ talk-PROG  
 He's walking there and talking.

am o him g huan č ñtok-him  
 LOC MD walk ART PN CNJ talk-PROG  
 Juan is walking there and talking.

All other V delete IMPRF if not before PL:

čikpan-d-o  
 work-IMPRF-PL  
 IMP  
 You PL work!

ñtok o am čikpan-č  
 talk MD LOC work-CNJ  
 He's talking while working  
 there.

am o čikpan č ñtok  
 LOC MD work CNJ talk  
 He's working there and  
 talking.

am o čikpn-ahim  
 LOC MD work-PAST  
 He was working there.

bt-b-h-t-him  
 X-RDP-X-DISTR-PAST  
 get IMPRF  
 was repeatedly getting

Tense is signalled in the auxiliary (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS). Time previous to specified tense is marked by verb suffixes -ahim, -ok, co-occurring with IMPRF/PERF respectively.

am a-ñ čikpn-ahim  
 LOC MD-I work-PAST  
 IMPRF  
 I have been working there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ahim  
 LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST  
 IMPRF  
 I had been working there.

am a-n-t čikpn-ok  
 LOC MD-I-TNS work-PAST  
 PERF  
 I have worked there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ok  
 LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST  
 PERF  
 I had worked there.

am a-n-t hii-X bñh-i-ok  
 LOC MD-I-TNS go-PERF get-PERF-PAST  
 PERF

*I went there after I got it.*

STAT and ASP are employed in the derivation of irrealis, co-occurring with s= AFF:

s=him-ma  
 AFF=move-IRR  
 seem to move

s=hima-d-ma  
 AFF=move-IMPRF-IRR  
 seem to be moving

s=gí'í-ŷ-ka-d-ma  
 AFF=big-be-STAT-IMPRF-IRR  
 seem to be big

FUT, STAT, and ASP are employed in the derivation of participles:

wo=ha=hoon-ta-m  
 FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC  
 groom

ǰa-t wo wo=ha=hoon-ta-m-k  
 EQ-TNS FUT FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC-STAT  
 He'll be the groom.

čikpan-da-m  
 work-IMPRF-PRTC  
 worker

ǰa-t wo čikpan-da-m-ka-d  
 EQ-TNS FUT work-IMPRF-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF  
 He'll be a worker.

doa-ka-m  
 live-STAT-PRTC  
 animal

ǰa-t wo doa-ka-m-ka-d  
 EQ-TNS FUT live-STAT-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF  
 He'll be a living thing.

### Conjunctions

CNJ is -kč *and/CONN*, aha/o *or*, ni *nor*. The CNJ kč truncates in PERF-TNS\_\_\_ except when employed in conflation of same-predicate clauses (see COORDINATION), or reduces to č in C\_\_\_\_. PERF is deleted in \_\_\_\_CNJ:

čt̥g-i-to-kč  
*find-GER-COMPL-CNJ*  
*as he's thinking*

cig-i-to-k-X  
*find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF*  
*when he thought*

da'a-d-č  
*fly-IMPRF-CNJ*  
*as he's flying*

da'a-k-X  
*fly-CNJ-PERF*  
*when he flew*

The CNJ is extraposed if conjoining a following clause, and incorporated initially in the clause. Thus AUX (MD-PERS-TNS-MDL) follows CNJ when postposed to clause-initial constituent:

an a-t da'a k-X o-ki d u'uwhig  
*LOC MD-TNS fly CNJ-PERF MD-EV EQ bird*  
*It flew by and was evidently a bird.*

an o da'a-d č o-ki d u'uwhig  
*LOC MD fly-IMPRF CNJ MD-EV EQ bird*  
*It's flying by and is evidently a bird.*

### Other

In the imperative, an AUX following a verb is also a verb constituent.

čikpna-ñ  
*work-you*  
*IMP*  
*You work!*

čikpn-o  
*work-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL work!*

čikpan-da-ñ  
*work-IMPRF-you*  
*IMP*  
*You be working!*

čikpan-d-o  
*work-IMPRF-PL*  
*IMP*  
*You PL be working!*

PL is preposed to non-clause-initial or nonimperative V:

am g čikpan  
*LOC IMP work*  
*IMP*  
*Work there!*

am g wo čikpan  
*LOC IMP PL work*  
*IMP*  
*You PL work there!*

am g čikpna-d  
*LOC IMP work-IMPRF*  
*IMP*  
*Be working there!*

am g wo čikpna-d  
*LOC IMP PL work-IMPRF*  
*IMP*  
*You PL be working there!*

am a-p-t wo čikpna-d  
 LOC MD-you-TNS FUT work-IMPRF  
 You will work there.

Certain monosyllabic verbs supplete and/or partially supplete in the PERF. Certain of those occurring with pro-ADV supplete:

wua/ɟuñ	kaiɟ/čɪ't
do do	say say
doing/do	saying/say

Imperative CVGV delete G in \_\_\_PERF#:

hab čɪ't	ba-g čɪ't-'i
thus say	thus-IMP say-PERF
saying	IMP
	Say it!
bthɪ	am g bɪt-'i
get	LOC IMP get-PERF
getting	IMP
	Get it!
u'u	am g ha uu-'i
get	LOC IMP them get-PERF
PL	PL
getting PL	IMP
	Get them!
mɪ'a	am g mɪa-'i
kill	LOC IMP kill-PERF
	IMP
	Kill it!

Imperative CVC geminate V in \_\_\_PERF#:

hab ɟuñ	ba-g ɟuuñ
thus do	thus-IMP do
do	IMP
	Do it!
him	am g hɪm
walk	LOC IMP walk
walk	IMP
	Go there!



miḡ  
run  
run

si g miḡ  
INTNS IMP run  
IMP  
Run hard!

naad  
fire  
make fire

am g naaḡ  
LOC IMP fire  
IMP  
Make a fire!

Imperative CVGV delete V in \_\_\_\_PERF AUX/FUT if stem V are identical, delete PERF otherwise:

bihi  
get  
get

bihi-i-ñ  
get-PERF-you  
IMP  
Get it!

bihi-i-o  
get-PERF-PL  
IMP  
You PL get it!

u'u  
get  
PL  
get

u'-i-ñ  
get-PERF-YOU  
PL  
IMP  
Get them!

u'-i-o  
get-PERF-PL  
PL  
IMP  
You PL get them!

mi'a  
kill  
kill

mi'a-ñ  
kill-you  
IMP  
Kill it!

mi'o-wo  
kill-PL  
IMP  
You PL kill it!

bi'a  
serve  
serving

bi'a-ñ  
serve-you  
PERF  
Serve it!

bi'a-wo  
serve-PL  
PERF  
You PL serve it!

Nonimperative verbs supplete and/or truncate in \_\_\_\_PERF. Series verbs reduplicate first CV, geminate first V, and truncate final segment and PERF:

giw  
beat  
beating

gi-i-g-X  
beat-RDP-RDP-PERF  
beat

kuum  
gnaw  
gnawing

ku-u-k-X  
gnaw-RDP-RDP-PERF  
gnaw

In \_\_\_\_ (č/d/ñ/š) PERF#, nonimperative CVGV and CVVC delete second V and truncate final segment:

*(b+h+i- 'i	>	b+h- 'i	>	b+h-i)	>	bi-i	get it
*(u' u- 'i	>	u' - 'i	>	u' -i)	>	u-i	get them
*(maač- 'i	>	mač- 'i	>	mač-i)	>	ma-i	learn
*(naad- 'i	>	nad- 'i	>	naǰ-i)	>	na-i	make fire
*(taań- 'i	>	tań- 'i	>	tań-i)	>	ta-i	ask
*(koos- 'i	>	koš- 'i	>	koš-i)	>	ko-i	sleep
STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF	

IMP g may be deleted in DEF \_\_\_\_V:

i g bti- 'i /i bti- 'i  
DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF  
Bring it!

i hiim  
DEF walk  
IMP  
Come!

i waak-i  
DEF enter-PERF  
IMP  
Enter!

V stems of CVhV delete hV before CNJ:

bti  
get  
get

bi-k-X  
get-CNJ-PERF  
when he got

bt k-X  
get CNJ-PERF  
get and

aha  
arrive  
arrive

a-k-X  
arrive-CNJ-PERF  
when he arrived

a k-X  
arrive CNJ-PERF  
arrive and

## COORDINATION

Coordination of Sentences

Coordination of sentences is marked by semantic coordinator and/or deletion of connective introducer and/or forwarding of contrasting phrase. Semantic coordinators are *ɪɖa yet*, *ɪpai also*, *oi wa yet*, *wabšaba/šaba but*:

am a-t čikpn-a-m-X g huan čuk=son wui  
 LOC MD-TNS work-GER-MOT-PERF ART PN PN to  
 Juan went to Tucson to work.

k ɪɖa g huana čum šoobid  
 INTR yet ART PN MDL prevent  
 Yet Juana tried to prevent him.

t g husi am ɪpai čikpn-a-m-X  
 TNS ART PN LOC also work-GER-MOT-PERF  
 And José also went to work there.

t oi wa g husi pi am hu hab juu-X  
 TNS yet ART PN NEG LOC REM thus do-PERF  
 Yet José didn't.

am a-t čum čikpn-a-m-X  
 LOC MD-TNS MDL work-GER-MOT-PERF  
 He went there hoping to work.

t šaba pi hɪɖa'i čikpan-č  
 TNS but NEG anyone work-APPLIC  
 But no one put him to work.

Coordination Within a Sentence

Coordination of grammatically equivalent constructions within the sentence is marked by conjunction. The constructions conjoined are any clause or phrase type. The CNJ is verb-final constituent, connective, or alternative. Connective CNJ *kč* marks connection of same subject clauses. When a same-subject relative deletes its subordinator, its connection to the main clause is indicated by CNJ.

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-kč g ñ=ču'ičig]  
*this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ ART me=fault*  
*This I say, remembering my faults.*

The CNJ is truncated in perfective verb when connecting clauses:

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-k-X g ñ=ču'ičig]  
*this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF ART me=fault*  
*This I say, having remembered my faults.*

The CNJ is detached and moved to initial position in a following connected clause:

s=čig-i-to a-ñ [ma-t has † juu-X]  
*AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF*

kč m=aag-ld  
*and you=say-APPLIC*  
*I remember what happened, and tell you.*

s=čig-i-to a-n-t [ma-t has † juu-X]  
*AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I-TNS SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF*

k-X m=aag-ld  
*and-PERF you=say-APPLIC*  
*I remembered what happened, and tell you.*

[ma-t-p wo si m†đ] k-X wo ha g†g  
*SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run CNJ-PERF FUT them defeat*  
*If he runs hard, he'll defeat them.*

[ma-t-p wo si m††-X g huan] k-X wo  
*SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF FUT*

ha g†g  
*them defeat*  
*If Juan runs hard, he'll defeat them.*

Alternative CNJ conjoins following dubitative and/or negative clause. Alternative CNJ is aha initiating a question:

n-t wo m=g†g-os-X aha na-p-t pl bi-hug-im-X  
*I-TNS FUT you=feed-PERF or Q-you-TNS NEG food-eat-DESID-PERF*  
*I'll feed you, or didn't you get hungry?*

na-p ha taččua g ko'okol aha na-p g muñ  
*Q-you some want ART chili or Q-you ART beans*  
*Do you want some chili or some beans?*

na-'a-s am čikpan aha n-o pi am hu ha'i-ču-g  
 MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or Q-MD NEG LOC REM some-thing-be  
 Maybe he's working there, or isn't he there?

When not initiating Q, alternative CNJ is o dubitative, ni otherwise, initiating same-subject clause:

na-'a-s am čikpan o a-s am wabš đaha  
 MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or MD-MDL LOC just sit  
 Maybe he's working there, or just staying there.

pi o am hu čikpan ni a-s am đaha  
 NEG MD LOC REM work nor MD-MDL LOC sit  
 He isn't working there nor is he staying there.

The CNJ is employed to conjoin any corresponding phrases with different referents when two or more parallel clauses are conflated. Conflation deletes constituents with redundant referent and conjoins nonidentical constituents:

am o đaha g huana  
 LOC MD sit ART PN  
 Juana is sitting there.

am o đa-đ-ha g huana  
 LOC MD X-RDP-X ART PN  
 sit

\*am o đaha-kč g huan  
 LOC MD sit-CNJ ART PN  
 Juan is sitting there.

kč huan  
 and PN  
 There sit Juana and Juan.

am o či-č-pan aho kč hilla=wiln-t am  
 LOC MD X-RDP-X PN and PN=STEM-ABS PREP  
 work

They're working in Ajo and Gila Bend.

na-'a-s taččua g ko'okol o g muuñ  
 MDL-MD-MDL want ART chili or ART beans  
 Maybe he wants chili or beans.

pi o taččua g ko'okol ni g muuñ  
 NEG MD want ART chili nor ART beans  
 He wants neither chili nor beans.

n-o s=ap o pi ap ñtok  
 Q-MD AFF=good or NEG good talk  
 Is he talking well or poorly?

CNJ may be deleted in a series:

o'odham o ko'a g ko'okoi muñ huuñ haal  
*Indian MD eat ART chili beans corn squash*  
*The people eat chili, beans, corn, squash.*

Pronouns may be either conflated in highest rank person or conjoined (plural nouns may also be viewed as conflated identical different-referent N):

<p>ñtok a-ñ aañi'i  <i>talk MD-I I</i>  <i>I'm talking.</i></p>	}	<p>ñt-ñ-ok a-č aačim/  <math>\frac{X-RDP-X}{talk}</math> MD-we we  <i>We're talking.</i></p>
<p>ñtok(-kč) a-p aapi'i  <i>talk-CNJ MD-you you</i>  <i>You're talking.</i></p>	}	<p>ñt-ñ-ok a-č aañi'i kč aapi'i  <i>talk MD-we I and you</i>  <i>I and you are talking.</i></p>

The CNJ kč deletes k after C (see PHONOLOGY):

mida-d-č  
*run-IMPERF-CNJ*  
*while running*

am o da-d-ha g huan č huana  
*LOC MD sit ART PN and PN*  
*There sit Juan and Juana.*

If not employed in conjoining phrases, the CNJ kč is truncated in perfective verbs:

am o čikpan [am mid-k-X]  
*LOC MD work LOC run-CNJ-PERF*  
*He's working there, having run there.*

am a-t mid k-X am čikpan  
*LOC MD-TNS run CNJ-PERF LOC work*  
*He ran there and is working there.*

[ma-t-p hiđa'i wo i čikp-X hitmu] k-X wo  
*SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work-PERF now CNJ-PERF FUT*

† namk-id  
*REFL meet-APPLIC*  
*Whoever works now will be paid.*

AUX is postposed to CNJ, but deleted if modal is ∅:

n-t am wo mtq̄ k-X a-n-t-š am wo čikp-X  
 I-TNS LOC FUT run CNJ-PERF MD-I-TNS-QUOT LOC FUT work-PERF  
 I'll run there and will reportedly work there.

[ma-t-p hiq̄a'i wo i čikpan] k-X a-t-š  
 SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-QUOT

wo † namk-id  
 FUT REFL meet-APPLIC  
 Whoever works, it is said, will be paid.

s=ta a-n-t †bida-m ha'i-čū wo gahi  
 AFF=UNSPEC MD-I-TNS fearsome-ADVR some-thing FUT through  
 SUBJ

wuṣañ k-X hiq̄ hiq̄a'j ñ=kuḍut  
 exit and-PERF that reason REFL=trouble  
 I'm going to go through something dangerous and therefore  
 am troubled.

## COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

### Position

Subordinate constructions are introduced by SUBR ma-, follow the body of the sentence in neutral order, and include comparative (treated previously), complement, relative, and adverbial. Sentence body and/or subordinate construction may be multiclausal or multisentential. We begin with complement constructions.

Subject complements:

s=ap-† o [m-o čikpan g huan]  
 AFF=good-be MD SUBR-MD work ART PN  
 It's good that Juan works.

n-o s=ap-† [m-o čikpan]  
 Q-MD AFF=good-be SUBR-MD work  
 Is it good that he works?

pl o ap-† [m-o čikpan]  
 NEG MD good-be SUBR-MD work  
 It's not good that he works.

s=ñ=hooho'id-a-čud o [m-o čikpan]  
 AFF=me=like-GER-APPLIC MD SUBR-MD work  
 It pleases me that he works.

### Object Complements:

s=hooho'id a-ñ [m-o čikpan]  
 AFF=like MD-I SUBR-MD work  
 I like it that he's working.

na-p ñtid [m-o-ki s=ap čikpan]  
 Q-you see SUBR-MD-MDL AFF=good work  
 Do you notice that he works well?

pl a-t wo † nako-X [ma-t wo čikp-X]  
 NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF  
 He can't (bear to) work.

ha a-ñ tačču-id g ñ=a-'a-l-ga [ma-t  
 them MD-I want-APPLIC ART me=X-RDP-X-AL SUBR-TNS

s=ap wo čikp-X]  
 AFF=good FUT work-PERF  
 I want my children to work well.

Finite CMPL is obligatorily extraposed:

s=ap-'† o ha with†††† g a-'a-l [ma-t wo  
 AFF=good-be MD them for ART children SUBR-TNS FUT  
 čikp-X]  
 work-PERF  
 It's good for children that they work.

ñtid a-ñ am hima-d-č ñ=kiil wui [m-o am čikpan]  
 see MD-I LOC go-IMPRF-CNJ my=house to SUBR-MD LOC work  
 I saw as I was going to my house that they were working  
 there.

### Modification

Syntactic marking is deleted in reduction of finite CMPL  
 to nonfinite:



s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha wiithj}tđ [ma-t wo  
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for SUBR-TNS FUT

† wo-o-po-'l-č-X]  
 REFL run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-PERF  
 PL

It's good for children that they race.

s=ap-'i o g wo-o-po-'l-čud-a g a-'a-l  
 AFF=good-be MD ART run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER ART children  
 PL

ha wiithj}tđ  
 them for  
 Racing is good for children.

Nonfinite CMPL may be displaced by constituent forwarded  
 for focus:

s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha wiithj}tđ g  
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for ART

wo-o-po-'l-čud-a  
 run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER  
 PL  
 Racing is good for children.

Emphatic phrase in CMPL is copied in mentation matrix,  
 second or both reducing to pronoun:

huan a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t h}g wo č}ikp-X]  
 PN MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF  
 (he)

Juan is the one I think will work.

h}g a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t h}g wo č}ikp-X]  
 that MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF  
 He's the one I think will work.

am a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t am wo č}ikp-X]  
 there MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF  
 There's where I think he'll work.

t}đa a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t t}đa wo č}ikp-X]  
 then MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF  
 Then is when I think he will work.

ha'a-s a-ñ hab †lid [ma-t ha'a-s wo čikp-X]  
*that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT work-PERF*  
*That long is how long I think he'll work.*

Emphatic phrase copy may be questioned:

h†i-s a-p hab i †lid [ma-t ha'a-s wo  
*what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT*

čikp-X]

*work-PERF*

*How long a period do you think he'll work?*

h†kid a-p hab †lid [ma-t †da wo čikp-X]  
*when MD-you thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF*  
*When do you think he'll work?*

baa-p hab i †lid [ma-t am wo čikp-X]  
*where-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF*  
*Where do you think he'll work?*

đoo-p hab †lid [ma-t h†g wo čikp-X]  
*who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF*  
*Who do you think will work?*

h†i-s-ko a-p hab i †lid [ma-t ha'a-s-ko  
*what-QNT-far MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT-far*

wo hii-X]

*FUT go-PERF*

*How far do you think he'll go?*

Emphatic phrase copy cannot be questioned in YNQ matrix:

na-p h†g hab †lid [ma-t h†g wo čikp-X]  
*Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF*  
*Is that the one you think will work?*

### Marking

Quote complement employs epistemology MDL § if the subject of its matrix is non-first person, other MDL otherwise:

ba-ñ kai] [m-o ñ=aag-id g husi [ma-n-t-§  
*thus-I say SUBR-MD me=say-APPLIC ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT*

wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]]

*FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work*

*I said that José told me to tell you that I'm working here.*

First person quote matrix is deleted unless emphatic. Unemployed subordinator is deleted:

...ñ=aag-id o g husi [ma-n-t-ş wo  
*me=say-APPLIC MD ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT FUT*

m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]  
*you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work*  
*José told me to tell you I'm working here.*

Any quote matrix not employing ş QUOT may be deleted:

...n-t-ş wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia cikpan]  
*I-TNS-QUOT FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work*  
*I reportedly am to tell you I'm working here.*

The introducer of a direct quote complement may be deleted:

ba-č kaij [...t-t wo čikp-X]  
*thus-we say we-TNS FUT work-PERF*  
*We said, "We'll work."*

A quote matrix may be copied after its complement. Only the first sentence of a complement is subordinate:

k hab kaij g ha gi't-ji-g  
*INTR thus say ART them big-be-NR*  
*And their leader said,*

[[ma-t-t has hig wo juu k-X wo mta-X]  
*SUBR-we-TNS what how FUT do CNJ-PERF FUT kill-PERF*  
*about*  
*"What can we do to kill him?"*

ku-t hab pi ip wo † čig-i-to]  
*INTR-TNS thus NEG again FUT REFL find-GER-COMPL*  
*Thus he will not revive again."*

b-o kaij g ha gi't-ji-g  
*thus-MD say ART them big-be-NR*  
*Thus said their leader.*

The subject may be raised from a mentation complement but not from a quote:

kaa a-ñ [m-o ab him g huan]/kaa a-ñ g huan  
*hear MD-I SUBR-MD LOC walk ART PN hear MD-I ART PN*

[m-o ab him]  
 SUBR-MD LOC walk  
 I hear Juan coming.

kaa a-ñ [m-o hab kai] g husi [ma-ş ab him  
 hear MD-I SUBR-MD thus say ART PN SUBR-MDL LOC walk

g huan]]/kaa a-ñ g husi [m-o hab kai] [ma-ş  
 ART PN hear MD-I ART PN SUBR-MD thus say SUBR-MDL

ab him g huan]]  
 LOC walk ART PN  
 I heard José say that Juan is coming.

kaa a-ñ [ma-ş ab him g huan]  
 hear MD-I SUBR-MDL LOC walk ART PN  
 I hear that Juan is coming.

ha a-ş kaa g huan g † a-'a-]-ga  
 them MD-MDL hear ART PN ART REFL children-AL

[m-o ab him]  
 SUBR-MD LOC walk  
 Juan reportedly heard his children coming.

The complement of volitional propositions is infinitive:

na-p-t † nako-X [ma-p-t hab wo ]uu-X]  
 Q-you-TNS REFL able-PERF SUBR-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF  
 Were you able to do it?

na-p hiwg-id-a-s [ma-p-t wo žikp-X]  
 Q-you trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-you-TNS FUT work-PERF  
 Are you allowed to work?

ab o ñ=čthañ [ma-n-t hab wo ]uu-X]  
 LOC MD me=order SUBR-I-TNS thus FUT do-PERF  
 He ordered me to do it.

The negative volitional complement optionally employs modal s  
 IRR:

pi a-n-t ñ=nako-X [ma-ñ-s hab wo  
 NEG MD-I-TNS REFL=able-PERF SUBR-I-IRR thus FUT

ñ=]uu-X]  
 REFL=do-PERF  
 I wasn't able to do it.

pi a-ñ hiwg-id-a-s [ma-ñ-s wo žikp-X]  
 NEG MD-I trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-I-IRR FUT work-PERF  
 I'm not allowed to work.

pi o ab hu ñ=čthañ [ma-ñ-s has wo ñ=yu-X]  
 NEG MD LOC REM me=order SUBR-I-IRR what FUT REFL=do-PERF  
 He's not ordering me to do anything.

Thought complement also employs s IRR:

ba-ñ ñ=aag [ma-s žikpan]  
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-IRR work  
 I thought, mistakenly, that he was working.

ba-ñ ñ=aag [m-o(-kl) žikpan]  
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-MD-MDL work  
 I thought, appropriately, that he was working.

The complement of a knowledge verb employs modal s, indicating the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition:

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]  
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work  
 I don't know whether he knows (and I don't know) whether  
 you're working.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]  
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work  
 I don't know whether he knows (as I know) that you're  
 working.

pi a-ñ maač [m-o s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]  
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MD AFF=know SUBR-you work  
 I didn't know (but now know) he knew that you were  
 working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]  
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work  
 I asked him whether he knew whether you were working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]  
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work  
 I asked him whether he knew that you are working.

[na-p s=maač [ma-s žikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kal]  
 Q-you AFF=know SUBR-DUB work ART PN thus-I say  
 "Do you know whether Juan is working?" I said.

[na-p s=maač [m-o čikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kai  
*Q-you AFF=know SUBR-MD work ART PN thus-I say*  
 "Do you know that Juan is working?" I said.

Complements employing MDL s also entertain alternatives:

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s čikpan o a-s am wabš daha]  
*LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB work or MD-DUB LOC just sit*  
 I asked whether he was working or just staying there.

pi a-t wo † nako-X [ma-s wo čikp-X o  
*NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-IRR FUT work-PERF or*

a-s has wo † juu-X]  
*MD-IRR anything FUT REFL do-PERF*  
 He won't be able to work or do anything.

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### General

Relative clauses co-occur with generic pronoun or demonstrative. The neutral position of relative is following head word. Nonrestrictive relative is considered deviant. Subject, object, and oblique object relatives are treated alike and may occur in any noun phrase of the sentence. Redundant phrases are deleted, but pronoun copy retained:

Subject Relatives:

g†-†-g†-†-†] o h†gam a-'a-† [m-o am čičwi]  
X-RDP-RDP-X-be MD those X-RDP-X SUBR-MD LOC play  
*big child*  
 Those children that are playing there are big.

ha a-ñ taččua h†gam a-'a-† [m-o am čičwi]  
*them MD-I need those children SUBR-MD LOC play*  
 I need those children that are playing there.

ha a-n-t maa-X g luulsi h†gam a-'a-† [m-o  
*them MD-I-TNS give-PERF ART candy those children SUBR-MD*

am čičwi]  
*LOC play*  
 I gave candy to those children that are playing there.

am a-n-t ha wui hii-X hɨgam a-'a-] [m-o am  
 LOC MD-I-TNS them to go-PERF those children SUBR-MD LOC

ʒičwi]

play

I went to those children that are playing there.

#### Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-ñ ha ñi-id]  
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I them look-APPLIC  
 Those children I see are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

#### Indirect Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-n-t ab ha  
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I-TNS LOC them

maa-X g luulsi]

give-PERF ART candy

Those children I gave the candy to are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

#### Oblique Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-ñ ha wihi]tɨd  
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I them for

hidoq]

cook

Those children I'm cooking for are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

#### Position

The REL is final constituent of the N phrase:

hɪgam waik a-'a-ɪ [m-o am ɡɪ-g-ok]  
*those three children SUBR-MD LOC X-RDP-X*  
*stand*  
*those three children that are standing there*

The REL may, however, be postposed to the pronoun:

ɡɪ't-ɟ o hɪɡa'i [m-o am kɪk] kɪl-i o'odham  
*big-be MD that SUBR-MD LOC stand old-SG person*  
*male*  
*That old man standing there is big.*

t wo i ɡɪ't-d-a hɪɡa'ɪ [ma-t s=ap wo  
*TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT*

ɪ ɡɪɡos-ida-d] aɪ-ɪ  
*REFL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF child-SG*  
*A child that eats well will get big.*

Head word may be deleted:

hɪgam waik [m-o am ɡɪ-g-ok]  
*those three SUBR-MD LOC stand*  
*PL*  
*those three that are standing there*

All parts of the noun phrase precede a complement:

n-t ab wo im=čtha-X aapim [ma-m ɪa ɡɪ-g-ok]  
*I-TNS LOC FUT you=order-PERF you SUBR-you LOC stand*  
*PL* *PL* *PL* *PL*

[ma-m-t has wo ɪ ɟuu-X]  
*SUBR-you-TNS what FUT REFL do-PERF*  
*PL*

*I'm going to tell you who are standing here what to do.*

Relatives may co-occur:

am a-n-t wo ha aa'ad hɪgam [m-o am ɡɪ-g-ok]  
*LOC MD-I-TNS FUT them send those SUBR-MD LOC stand*  
*PL*

ama'i [ma-p am čikpan]  
*there SUBR-you LOC work*  
*I'll send those that are standing there over there*  
*where you're working.*



Noun phrases with REL are subject to focus reordering:

n-t wo maa-X hġa'i [m-o am kġk] iida'a  
I-TNS FUT give-PERF that SUBR-MD LOC stand this

[ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]  
SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF  
I'll give the one standing there this that you gave me.

n-t wo maa-X iida'a [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]  
I-TNS FUT give-PERF this SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

hġa'i [m-o am kġk]  
that SUBR-MD LOC stand  
I'll give this that you gave me to the one standing there.

The first among phrases with relative may be topicalized:

Id a-n-t wo maa-X [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]  
this MD-I-TNS FUT give-PERF SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

hġa'i [m-o am kġk]  
that SUBR-MD LOC stand  
This that you gave me I'll give to the one standing there.

Untopicalized N phrase with REL is postposed to N phrase without REL:

ha o ñġ-id g a-'a-l hġa'i [m-o am kġk]  
them MD look-APPLIC ART children that SUBR-MD LOC stand  
The one standing there sees the children.

Only one REL may occur in a phrase:

mġa-X a-n-t g ʒol-ga-ġ g al-i-ga-ġ  
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

hġa'i ʒtoġ [m-o am kġk]  
that man SUBR-MD LOC stand  
I killed the pet of that man standing there.

mġa-X a-n-t g ʒol-ga-ġ hġa'i al-i-ga-ġ  
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN that child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am ʒiġwi]  
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC play  
I killed the pet of that child of Juan playing there.

m̥a-X a-n-t h̥ga'i ʒoi-ga-ŷ g al-i-ga-ŷ  
*kill-PERF MD-I-TNS that CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN*

g huan [m-o am kaač]  
*ART PN SUBR-MD LOC lie*  
*I killed that pet of the child of Juan lying there dead.*

A REL may occur in each conjoined phrase:

ḍ-o ñ-wi-p-nag iida'a [m-o ia ḍaha] kč  
*EQ-MD me=X-RDP-X this SUBR-MD LOC sit and*  
*sibling*

h̥ga'i [m-o ab k̥ik]  
*that SUBR-MD LOC stand*  
*This one sitting here facing us and that one standing*  
*there facing us are my siblings.*

A nongeneric REL may be deleted if redundant, or replaced by gesture:

g̥i-i-ŷ o h̥ga'i al-i (redundancy/gesture)  
*big-be MD that child-SG*  
*That child is big.*

### Form

The REL of a generic sentence employs an attributive and/or FUT, and co-occurs with a nondemonstrative 3P pronoun. A generic sentence is potential, employing *wo* FUT:

t wo ha g̥i-i-g-X h̥ga'i al-i [ma-t  
*TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS*

wo g̥i-i-ŷ-k]  
*FUT big-be-STAT*  
*The child that's big will win.*

t wo i g̥i-i-d-a h̥ga'i [ma-t s=ap wo  
*TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT*

i g̥igos-ida-d]  
*REFL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF*  
*He who eats well will get big.*

A generic REL may be reduced to a nonfinite participial with suffix *-m*. SUBR, AUX, and TNS are deleted, and nondemonstrative PRON reduced to *g* ART:

t wo i gi'-t-d-a g s=ap † g'gos-id-da-m  
 TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO ART AFF=good REFL eat-APPLIC-

(a1-i)

IMPRF-PRIC child-SG

A good eater (child) will get big.

A relative may contain a question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X h'ga'i [m-o h'ida'i  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that SUBR-MD who

i si mtq]

DEF INTNS run

That one who is really running will win.

A REL may be included in forwarded topic, since the first con-  
 tour or first stressed word is forwarded:

h'gam [m-o h'ida-m i si wo-o-po] a-t wo  
 those SUBR-MD who-PL DEF INTNS run-RDP-RDP MD-TNS FUT  
 PL

iib-k

breathe-DESID

Those who are really running will get winded.

h'gam a-t wo iib-k-X [m-o h'ida-m i  
 those MD-TNS FUT breathe-DESID-PERF SUBR-MD who-PL DEF

si wo-o-po]

INTNS run-RDP-RDP  
 PL

Those who are really running will get winded.

An unforwarded DEM may be deleted preceding a question-word REL:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [m-o h'ida'i si mtq]  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-MD who INTNS run  
 He who is really running will win.

Ever relatives employ modal -p with question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [ma-t-p h'ida'i i  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL who DEF

si mtq]

INTNS run

Whoever it is that's running hard will win.

A headless REL not forwarded with DEM may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hasču'u am i kaač] n-t (hīg) wo bī-i  
 SUBR-MD what LOC DEF lie I-TNS that FUT get-PERF  
 That which is lying there is what I'll get.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX and FUT:

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīḡa'i wo  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT  
 i si mī-t-X]  
 DEF INTNS run-PERF  
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīḡa'i i si  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS  
 mīḡ-k-X]  
 run CNJ-PERF  
 [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i si mīḡ] k-X wo ha  
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-CNJ-PERF FUT them  
 gī-t-g-X  
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF  
 He who runs fast will win.

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF  
 si mīḡa-d]  
 INTNS run-IMPRF  
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīḡa'i i si  
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS  
 mīḡa-d-č]  
 run-IMPRF-CNJ  
 [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i si mīḡa-d] č wo ha  
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-IMPRF CNJ FUT them  
 gī-t-g-X  
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF  
 He who keeps running fast will win.

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial relatives co-occur with and follow demonstrative:

t wo čikp-X g huan ama'i [ma-t g husi am  
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN there SUBR-TNS ART PN LOC

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work there where José will work.

Redundant time demonstrative is usually deleted:

t wo čikp-X g huan (tɔa) [ma-t g husi tɔa  
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN then SUBR-TNS ART PN then

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work then when José will work.

In a resumptive construction, the forwarded DEM is usually truncated:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t g husi  
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS ART PN

am wo čikp-X]

LOC FUT work-PERF

There is where Juan will work, where José will work.

Adverbial relatives may employ question words:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m hɪba'i  
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNPSEC where

i kli-t]

DEF house-VR

There where they are building a house is where Juan will work.

t wo i čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t hɪkid  
TNS FUT DEF work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS when

wo i kli-t]

FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will begin to work when they begin the house.

Ever clauses employ modal -p with question word:

t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t-p htkid  
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL when

wo i kii-t]  
FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will work whenever they are going to build.

am a-t čikpn-am-X g huan [ma-m-t-p  
there MD-TNS work-MOT-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL

hřba'i i aa'ad]  
where DEF send

There's where Juan will go to work, wherever they sent him.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX:

{ ba-t i řuu-X (řđa) [ma-t gm hu wo hii-X]  
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF then SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT go-PERF  
ba-t i řuu-X [gm hu wo him-k-X]  
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF LOC REM FUT go-CNJ-PERF  
[ma-t (řđa)gm hu wo him] k-X hab ř  
SUBR-TNS then LOC REM FUT go CNJ-PERF thus REFL  
řuu-X  
do-PERF  
He did it as he was about to leave. }

FUT is also deleted in reduced generic relative:

{ t wo naato [ma-t hřđa'i wo i čikp-X  
TNS FUT finish SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF  
wiř tař-kař]  
all time-INSTR  
t wo naato [hřđa'i i čikpan-k-X wiř tař-kař]  
TNS FUT finish who DEF work-CNJ-PERF all time-INSTR  
[ma-t hřđa'i wo i čikp-X wiř tař-kař]  
SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF all time-INSTR  
k-X wo naato  
CNJ-PERF FUT finish  
The one who works all the time/every day will finish. }

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t  
*there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS*  
  
 h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d]  
*where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF*  
  
 am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [h̄ba'i  
*there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN where*  
  
 kii-ka-d-č]  
*dwell-STAT-IMPRF-CNJ*  
  
 [ma-t h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d g  
*SUBR-TNS where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF ART*  
  
 huan] č am wo čikp-X]  
*PN CNJ LOC FUT work-PERF*  
*There where he'll be living is where Juan will work.*

A REL with unspecified subject may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, but is not connected with CNJ:

n-t wo i čikp-X [ma-t ga hu wo  
*I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT*  
  
 i juu-X]  
*DEF sit-PERF*  
  
 n-t wo i čikp-X [ga hu i juuk]  
*I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF LOC REM DEF sit*  
  
 [ma-t ga hu wo i juu-X] n-t  
*SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT DEF sit-PERF I-TNS*  
  
 wo i čikp-X  
*FUT DEF work-PERF*  
*I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.*

A reduced REL with unspecified subject may be forwarded within the clause:

n-t [ga hu i juuk] wo i čikp-X  
*I-TNS LOC REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF*  
  
 [ga a-n-t hu i juuk] wo i čikp-X  
*LOC MD-I-TNS REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF*  
*I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.*

If Clauses

If clauses employ modal -p and/or ʒa:

t wo bi-hug-im-X                    g al-i            [ma-t-p  
TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF ART child-SG SUBR-TNS-MDL

pi ha'i-čũ wo huu-X]  
NEG some-thing FUT eat-PERF  
The child will get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

t wo bi-hug-im-X                    [ma-t(-p)            wo ʒa pi  
TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF            SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT if NEG

ha'i-čũ huu-X]  
some-thing eat-PERF  
He'll get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

n-t pi wo ñĩ-i-X                    [ma-t            hĩms wo ʒa  
I-TNS NEG FUT look-APPLIC-PERF            SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if

hii-X]  
go-PERF  
I wouldn't see him if he were to go.

pi a-t wo ñ=ñĩ-i-X                    [ma-t            hĩms wo  
NEG MD-TNS FUT me=look-APPLIC-PERF            SUBR-TNS IRR FUT

ʒa hii-X]  
if go-PERF  
He wouldn't see me if he were to go.

Forwarded if clauses optionally delete SUBR:

[(ma-)t-p            wo ʒuu-X] n-t pi wo hii-X  
SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT rain-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT go-PERF  
If it rains, I won't go.

[(ma-)t            hĩms wo ʒa hii-X] n-t pi wo  
SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT

ñĩ-i-X  
look-APPLIC-PERF  
If he were to go, I wouldn't see him.



[(ma-)t hims wo sa him] k-X a-t-ki pi wo  
 SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-MDL NEG FUT

ñ=ñt-i-X

me=look-APPLIC-PERF

If he were to go, he evidently wouldn't see me.

### Other

Purpose clauses are unmarked, FUT, and cannot be preposed to the main clause:

am a-t hii-X g huan [ma-t wo ñt-i-X g  
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS FUT see-PERF ART

husi]

PN

Juan went to see José.

Reason clauses are the CMPL of DEM plus hika] for this/  
 that reason:

am a-t hii-X g huan htg hika] [ma-t  
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN that reason SUBR-TNS

ñt-i-X g husi]

see-PERF ART PN

Juan went because he saw José.

pi o žikpan g huan htg hika] [m-o juuk]  
 NEG MD work ART PN that reason SUBR-MD rain

Juan is not working because it's raining.

pi o ha'i-ču t-t-s-a g huan htg hika]  
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN that reason

[m-o pi juuk]

SUBR-MD NEG rain

Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

Reversed polarity tag question may substitute for a reason construction:

pi o žikpan g huan [n-o pi juuk]  
 NEG MD work ART PN Q-MD NEG rain

Juan isn't working because it's raining (for  
 isn't it raining?).

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o pi pi juuk]  
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD NEG NEG rain  
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

A double negative may reduce to positive gi:

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o gi juuk]  
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD POS rain  
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

## TEXT

## The Coyote and the Jack Rabbit

ban           č           čuwi  
coyote       and       jack rabbit

1. One time, it is said, there was a big coyote,  
š     am hu h+ba'i   h+ma d   gi't ban  
QUOT LOC REM sometime one EQ big coyote

and he got hungry and was chasing a jack rabbit.  
č     am i   bi-hug-im   k-X       g     čuwi hu-hu-'id  
and LOC DEF food-eat-DESID and-PERF ART rabbit X-RDP-X

2. It is said the jack rabbit was truly frightened,<sup>chase</sup>  
š     wabš wtho'i   †   tods-X       g     čuwi  
QUOT just truly REFL frighten-PERF ART rabbit

but he knew he could not  
k-X     wabšaba s=maač   ma-t-š           pi wo  
CNJ-PERF but     AFF=know   SUBR-TNS-QUOT NEG FUT

†     nako-X  
REFL able-PERF

run long because he was old  
ma-t   taš wo mi†-X   na-š   pi mu'i d   ahi-dag  
SUBR-TNS time FUT run-PERF Q-QUOT NEG many EQ cycle-ABSTR

and his legs were very tired.  
š     g   ka-k-io-ŋ   si   giw-p-k-o  
QUOT ART X-RDP-X-GEN INTNS X-RDP-X-PRIV  
                    leg                      strong

3. It is said the jack rabbit turned to the coyote  
š     ab sikol i   k+k-i-wua       g     čuwi ban   wui  
QUOT LOC around DEF stand-GER-COMPL ART rabbit coyote to

and said, "Stop chasing me."  
k-X     a-š     hab kaiŋ ha'asa g   ñ=hu-hu-'id  
and-PERF MD-QUOT thus say stop IMP me=chase

4. Or are you going to eat me and is that why you're chasing me?"  
aha na-p-t   wo   ñ=hug k-X     hab   ñ=hu-hu-'id  
or Q-you-TNS FUT me=eat and-PERF thus me=chase

5. It is said the coyote said, "Yes, I'm going to eat you."  
 ʃ hab kai] g ban h+u'u n-t wo m=huu-X  
 QUOT thus say ART coyote yes I-TNS FUT you=eat-PERF
6. It is said the jack rabbit said, "Don't eat me,  
 ʃ hab kai] g čuuwi pi g am ñ=huug-l  
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit NEG ART LOC me=eat-PERF  
 IMP
- because you will surely die.  
 na-p-t pi himho wo wa muu-X  
 Q-you-TNS NEG X FUT X die-PERF  
 surely
7. You presumably think I'm a jack rabbit.  
 ba-p-t-p ñ=tlid ma-ñ d čuuwi  
 thus-you-TNS-MDL me=think SUBR-I EQ rabbit
8. Yet I am really a rattlesnake.  
 ñ t̄da d g† ko'owi  
 I yet EQ POS rattlesnake
9. And my poison will kill you."  
 t g ñ=ko'ok-dag wo m=mia-X  
 TNS ART me=hurt-ABSTR FUT you=kill-PERF
10. "What will I eat then?" it is said the coyote said.  
 n-t has-ču higi wo huu-X ba-ʃ kai] g  
 I-TNS what-thing then FUT eat-PERF thus-QUOT say ART
- ban  
 coyote
11. It is said the rabbit said, "This fruit is what you will eat,  
 ʃ hab kai] g čuuwi id a-p-t wo huu-X  
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit this MD-you-TNS FUT eat-PERF
- ha'l-ču bahl-dag  
 some-thing ripe-ABSTR
- that I have gathered and am carrying.  
 ma-n-t u-'u k-X llt-a-čug  
 SUBR-I-TNS take-RDP and-PERF gather-GER-carry  
 PL
12. I was going to take them to my house  
 n-t wo čum u-'u-k am ñ=kil wui  
 I-TNS FUT MDL take-RDP-go LOC me=house to  
 PL GEN

and thus am carrying them stowed in this basket.  
 hab ia to'a-him id †da hašda  
 thus LOC store-PROG this in basket

13. Then you chased me."  
 p-t †da ñ=hu-hu-'i-X  
 you-TNS then me=chase-PERF
14. It is said coyote said, "The truth is  
 š hab kaij g ban wthoo o wa  
 QUOT thus say ART coyote true MD REF  
 that rabbits eat vegetation.  
 m-o g čuwi ko'a g ha'i-ču bahi-dag  
 SUBR-MD ART rabbit eat ART some-thing ripe-ABSTR
15. But a rattlesnake doesn't eat it.  
 k wabšaba g ko'owi pi ko'a  
 INTR but ART rattlesnake NEG eat
16. So you evidently are really a jack rabbit  
 ku-p-ki wa wthoo d čuwi  
 INTR-you-EV REF true EQ rabbit  
 despite what you say.  
 čum a-p-s has wo kaij-čl-d  
 MDL MD-you-MDL what FUT say-RSLTV-IMPRF
17. You will not at all be able  
 pi a-p-t wo ša'i † nako-X  
 NEG MD-you-TNS FUT DEG REFL able-PERF  
 to trick me.  
 ma-p-t wo ñ=ban-mad  
 SUBR-you-TNS FUT me=coyote-apply
18. It's good you're a rabbit,  
 s=ap-† o ma-p d čuwi  
 AFF=good-be MD SUBR-you EQ rabbit  
 because rabbit is edible.  
 n-o pi s=ta hug-ma g čuwi  
 Q-MD NEG AFF=UNSPEC eat-able ART rabbit  
 SUBJ
19. I don't like to eat rattlesnake."  
 pi a-ñ naak g koo-k-'owl  
 NEG MD-I like ART X-RDP-X  
 rattlesnake

20. He then indeed ate the jack rabbit  
 t oi wa wihoo am i huu-X hīga'i čuuwi  
 TNS then true LOC DEF eat-PERF that rabbit

that tried to deceive him.  
 ma-t čum iattog-i-X  
 SUBR-TNS MDL lie-APPLIC-PERF

21. He also ate the fruit  
 t hīg ip huu-X ha'i-ču bahi-dag  
 TNS that also eat-PERF some-thing ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit was carrying,  
 m-o iit-a-čug g čuuwi  
 SUBR-MD gather-GER-carry ART rabbit

and afterward sat down under a mesquite tree somewhere  
 k-X amjīđ am hu hība'i i đah-i-wua  
 and-PERF after LOC REM somewhere DEF sit-GER-COMPL

kui wičo  
 tree under

and suddenly died,  
 k-X haha wabş muu-X  
 and-PERF then just die-PERF

because the fruit was just poison  
 n-o-ki pi đ wabş hialwu-i hīga'i ha'i-ču  
 Q-MD-EV NEG EQ just poison-GER that some-thing

bahi-dag  
 ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit got.  
 ma-t-ki u-i g čuuwi  
 SUBR-TNS-EV take-PERF ART rabbit  
 PL

(For additional texts, see Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians.)