WESTERN TARAHUMARA

Don Burgess

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INTRODUCTION

Western Tarahumara is spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the southwestern part of the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. The Western Tarahumara are bordered on the west by the Guarijio Indians, to the North by the Pima, and to the east by the Central dialect of Tarahumara. The changes between the two Tarahumara dialects are gradual and no exact line can be drawn separating the two, but the differences are most noticeable within a rough triangle formed by the Urique, Oteros, and Chinipas canyons.

The author has spent about half of the past fourteen years living in the Western Tarahumara area at a place called Rocoroibo.

The Western Tarahumara man who worked with the author on the main part of this study was Albino Mares Trias, native of Bacusinare, municipio of Guazapares. The phonology included here was basically analyzed in 1968 with the help of Encarnación Velasquillo under the guidance of Eunice Pike. (Burgess, Don. 'Tarahumara Phonology', in Studies in Language and Linguistics, 1969-70:45-65. The University of Texas at El Paso, 1970.) An initial analysis of the discourse was made with Cruz Velasquillo in 1969 at a workshop directed by Robert Longacre. A more in-depth analysis of certain aspects was done in 1978, again at a workshop directed by Robert Longacre, some of which is included here. (Burgess, Don. 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence in Western Tarahumara Narrative Discourse', in Linda Jones (ed.), Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages, Vol. I 171-88, Vol. II 87-93. Arlington: SIL, UT Arlington, 1979.)

A study of Western Tarahumara colors was done in cooperation with the World Color Survey, an NSF-sponsored collaborative project of the University of California at Berkeley and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. NSF grant BNS 78-15900, Experimental Semantics, supported computer analysis of Tarahumara colors done by Willett Kempton. (Burgess, Don, Willett Kempton, and Robert MacLaury, 'Tarahumara Color Modifiers: Category Structure Presaging Evolutionary Change', American Ethnologist 10.133-49, 1983.)

The following is a linguistically analyzed Western Tarahumara text: Burgess, Don. 1978. 'Rabbit Steals Coyote's Bladder', in William Bright (ed.), Coyote Stories, 178-83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, IJAL-NATS Monograph No. 1.

The majority of the examples given in the present paper were taken from texts which have been printed in the following books:

Burgess, Don (compiler). 1973. Ralámuli Huicala (Canciones de los Tarahumaras). ILV.

———. 1971. Anayábari Ra'icháriara Jipe Nerúgame Ra'íchari (Cuentos de Antes y Hoy). ILV.

———, and Cruz Velasquillo Tria. 1970. Ra'icha Rarámuri-Yorí (Frases Tarahumara-Castellano). ILV.

Mares Trías, Albino. 1975. Jena Ra'icha Ralámuli Alué 'Ya Muchígame Chiquime Níliga (Aquí Relata la Gente de Antes lo que Pasaba en su Tiempo). Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

———. 1974. Regá Me'líame Ju Ye Ajágame (Como Cazamos y Pescamos). Mexico: ILV.

———. 1972. Hue'cá E'carúgame Nehualíame Ju Imé (Hacemos Muchas Cosas con el Mezcal). ILV.

In using the above books, which were done as bilingual literacy materials for the Tarahumara schools, one should remember the following: The Spanish translations are free and do not always exactly follow the Tarahumara. The last two listed were done with the help of Tarahumaras who could not read or write and my transcriptions of what they said were not always exact. In all of the books, the sentence breaks are not always correct. Often they are more like clause breaks.

I also drew examples from a manuscript on Tarahumara plant foods, and other unpublished texts, as well as using elicited examples.

Grammatical analysis and dictionaries on the Tarahumara language (although not specifically on the Western dialect), which offered considerable help, include the following:

Brambila, David. 1953. Gramática Rarámuri. Mexico: Editorial Buena Prensa.

———, José Vergara Bianchi, and Luis González. Diccionario Rarámuri-Castellano. (unpublished)

Gathings, Jerry Baylies. 1972. A Grammatical Statement of Tarahumara. Thesis. University of Texas at El Paso.

Hilton, Simón. 1959. Vocabulario Tarahumara. Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Lionnet, Andrés. 1972. Los Elementos de la Lengua Tarahumara. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

―――――― 1968. 'Los Intensivos en Tarahumara', in Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia: 135-46. Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Thord-Gray, I. 1955. Tarahumara-English, English-Tarahumara Dictionary (and introduction to Tarahumara grammar). Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.

Also helpful was Wick Miller's 'Preliminary Notes on the Guarijío Language' (unpublished, 1977). The analysis done here is not considered final. A great deal more can be said than is presented here and more study will certainly change some of the present analysis. Further breakdowns of some of the morphemes will likely be possible.

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	č	k	'		ɨ			u
b			g				e	o	
	s			h				a	
m	n								
		l							
		r							
w		y							

Stress occurs on every word and is phonemic. There is also a phrase stress which does not necessarily co-occur with word stress and thus far is limited to specific morphemes.

b and **g** are typically fricatives, but they have voiced (fluctuating to voiceless) lenis stop allophones which occur phrase initially. **g** has a voiced stop allophone when following **n**.

The voiced alveolar retroflexed lateral **l** is difficult for a non-native speaker of Tarahumara to distinguish from the alveolar retroflexed vibrant **r**. Initially I analyzed **l** as a rare phoneme, writing mostly **r**'s instead of **l**'s, but I later found that **l** was quite common and I had to change many of the **r**'s to **l**'s. The difference is easier to distinguish with some speakers than with others. Dialect changes are also responsible for some of the difficulties. The phoneme **r** has both trilled and forward-flapped allophones. Phrase initially either allophone may occur, but the trill is the most frequent. Occasionally the initial allophones

have a retroflexed stop onset. Elsewhere a retroflexed forward
flap occurs. For the Central dialect, Brambila distinguishes two
phonemic **r**'s as well as an **l**. Lionnet states that **l** and **r** are
variations of the same sound.

Major Phonological Processes

In a stressed syllable the glottal stop is optionally fol-
lowed by a transitional vocoid of the same quality as the pre-
ceding vowel when preceding **r**, **b**, or **g**.

Nonstressed vowels are lengthened in a phrase-initial syl-
lable unless preceding **h**, **'**, or another vowel.

A word-final stressed vowel optionally ends with a voiceless
offglide when preceding a stop or affricate in the onset of a
stressed syllable.

A phrase-final vowel may or may not have a voiceless off-
glide in accordance with its relationship to intonation and final
pause.

In fast speech, a nonstressed word-initial (but not phrase
initial) sequence of vowel-**h** is actualized as a portmanteau phone,
a voiceless vocoid of the quality of the vowel involved.

A sequence of a nonstressed vowel followed by **h** which occurs
between **č** and a following stop is optionally actualized as a
portmanteau phone.

A word initial **a** becomes **ə** when between a stressed high vowel
and **'**.

i has a more open allophone which occurs in nonstressed,
non-initial syllables.

Vowels occurring in nonstressed syllables are frequently lost
in fast speech.

When the sequence nasal-vowel-stop occurs in nonstressed,
non-initial syllables, the vowel is lost even in slow speech.

For a more detailed analysis, which also includes larger
phonological groups, see Burgess, 'Tarahumara Phonology'.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

The most neutral word order is **SOV**. This is the order which leaves the least doubt as to who the actor is.

huáni hosé ča'pí-le
PN   PN   grab-PAST
'John grabbed Joe.'

When a sentence has an indirect object, its most neutral position seems to be sentence final:

huáni muní 'yǎ alué lusía
PN   bean give that PN
'John gave beans to Lucy.'

The most neutral position of temporals and locatives appears to be sentence final, but there is a tendency to move temporals to the front. A sentence where both locatives and temporals appear and where one or the other was not preposed for emphasis would be difficult to find.

be'ǎ be'lí huáni ro'čí ča'pí-le alé
early morning PN   fish grab-PAST there
'John caught a fish there early in the morning.'

The introducer **'líge** 'and then' usually occurs clause initial but can also follow the verb:

'líge melénalo be'ǎ simí-le-ke-'e   'líge alué yolí
then next   early go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that Mexican
      morning

'The Mexican went early the next morning.'

(For other introducers such as question words and conditionals, see appropriate sections.)

Equative sentences, which are the most common type of sentence in explanatory texts, normally consist of S_1VS_2:

huáni hú alué rió
PN   is that man
'John is that man.'

Emphasis

Word order in sentences is one way of signaling emphasis or topicalization. **SVO** gives emphasis to the subject and is perhaps the second clearest as to which part of the sentence is the actor, although with isolated sentences there is sometimes hesitation on the part of the person being questioned. This order is quite common in texts written by Albino Mares, who seems to be developing a more formal, written style. He might be leaning towards the Spanish construction.

> **huǎni ča'pǐ-le hosě**
> PN   grab-PAST PN
> 'John grabbed Joe.'

OVS gives emphasis to the object, and in many of the narrative texts this is the most commonly found order. In all of these, intonation and context are important.

> **ge'walǐ bahǐ-le   ně**
> esquiate drink-PAST I
> 'I drank esquiate (a corn drink).'

VOS, in questioning people as to its clarity, was not acceptable unless it contained emphatic words and intonation which helped give a clue as to who the subject was:

> **wě   go'-nǎle čulugǐ aluě sinowǐ**
> much eat-want bird   that snake
> 'The snake really wanted to eat the bird.'

VSO is also a commonly used word order.

A subject or object can also be emphasized in a sentence final position by intonation, emphatic particles, and emphatic words.

The following are ways other than word order which help to recognize a subject or object:

(1) In some sentences, such as 'The woman made tortillas', there is no doubt as to which is the subject.
(2) Context.
(3) The accusative -**'či** which appears on **ne** 'I'.
(4) The subject emphatic -**ka.**
(5) Intonation.
(6) The use of singular and plural forms of nouns and verbs, especially when the subject is not specifically mentioned.

An indirect object can be moved to the head of a sentence for emphasis:

     ne-'čí muní 'yǎ
     I-ACC   bean give
     'Give me the beans!'

Locatives and temporals may also be moved to the head of a sen-
tence for emphasis:

     'régana simí-le   'ma simí-le
     below   go-PAST   now go-PAST
     'He went down below.'   'He has already gone.'

Normally the temporal mǎ does not have a glottal, but it is added
when it is being emphasized. It should not be confused with 'mǎ
'run'.

     A type of emphasis is also seen in the following change of
order in an equative sentence:

     aluě rió huǎni hû
     that man PN   is
     'That man is John.'

     Emphasis can also be obtained through a discontinuous con-
struction, moving an adjective or an adverb to sentence-final
position and giving it emphatic intonation:

     'líge alé   wikóči napaí-ka   piêsta
     then there PN   gather-EMPH fiesta

     olǎ-le-ru-ga-ra   wa'lú
     do-PAST-PASS-STAT-QUOT big
     'I am told that then they gathered there at Huicochi and
      a fiesta was held, a big one.'

     awé-ga   go'ǎ-le alé   'wé
     roast-CONT eat-PAST there much
     'Roasting (the meat) there we ate a lot.'

(Note the addition of the emphatic glottal to we.)

     The word a'líge 'and then', when used in its full form
instead of the short form 'líge, signals an emphasis of the
sentence it is connected with:

     a'líge bo'éro   na'nǎ norí-ka   hǎ-ga
     then   sheep:herder LOC   ridge-EMPH stand-CONT

     aní-ke-'e   sinǎ
     say-QUOT-EMPH shout
     'Then the sheep herder was standing there on the ridge
      shouting.'

The two forms of **a'líge** can be used together to give an emphasis along with the meaning 'at the same time'.

>**'líge a'líge simí-le čigó**
>then   then   go-PAST also
>'They went at the same time (but not together).'

A non-emphasized phrase might take on a reduced form:

>**pē   riósi ní-le-ga-ra   a'líge alué (rió)**
>just god   be-PAST-STAT-QUOT then   that   (man)
>'Actually he (that man) was god.'

Pronoun Copies

    A subject pronoun suffix can co-occur with an explicit subject:

>**pē   ani-ã   mučí-ru-ka   ramué-ka arēgimi**
>just say-CONT be:PL-we-EMPH we-EMPH   LOC
>'That is what we were saying there.'

Another type of copy is where the subject is repeated by use of a pronoun:

>**basačí-si   'líge rowí-si   'líge alué napaí-ka**
>coyote-also then   rabbit-also then they <u>gather-EMPH</u>
>   <u>together</u>

>**mučí-me   ka-rã-e   ehperé-ga hãmi**
>be:PL-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB live-CONT wilds
>'The coyote and the rabbit were living together in the wilds,
> they say.'

A presumptive pronoun construction is seen with the adverbial demonstratives **arēgana 'mi** 'there below', where only part of the locative phrase is moved to the stressed position.

>**alé-gana   'mí bo'yá kí-ke-'e   gayēna-gana**
>there-below there fall do-QUOT-EMPH ridge:side-below
>'It fell there below on the side of the ridge.'

Focus

    Focus is a type of emphasis such as 'this very one' or 'he himself is the one'.

>**alué mukí tabilé nakí nē yé   'nalí-na   nakí nē**
>that woman NEG   want I this very:one-LOC want I
>'I don't want that woman, I want this one.'

. **yé' 'nalí   ní-le-ke-'e**
this very:one be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'This was the one.'

A continuous construction can be compared with a discontinuous one
in the following examples:

ně bo'ně si-měla   **bo'ně   simí-ka=ne**
I myself go-FUT   myself go-EMPH=I
'I myself will go.'   'I myself went.'

By itself, **bo'ně** means 'he'.

Apposition

Two nouns or noun phrases which have similar grammatical
functions can come next to each other with the second further
explaining the first:

'lige alué rió luísi morío ani-lí-me
then   that man PN   say-PASS-PRTC
'That man named Luis Morillo...'

A type of apposition is also seen in the following example in-
volving a possessive pronoun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun:

alué ně ba'čí-la-ka
that my older:brother-POSS-EMPH
'he (that one) my older brother'

Related to apposition is a means of giving emphasis by
repeating a sentence in slightly different terms. This often marks
the climax of a narrative discourse.

ně-ka a'lá če'wǎ-ke-'e   gara-bě nahkǎ-la ili-gǎ
I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-DIM ear-POSS stand-CONT

alě   čewǎ-ka ně na'nali alě-ge   'mǎ-ro-či
there hit-EMPH I very:one there-side run-pass:by-when
'I hit him about on the ear. I myself hit him when he ran by
 on the side of the ridge.'

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions/Adverbs/Prepositions

    See **COORDINATION** and the various sections on subordination. A clitic is considered to be an element which sometimes acts as an independent word with stress, and at other times as an affix without stress.

pé	'just/really/but' (in comparisons)
pĕ elegá	'but/nevertheless'
arigá	'nevertheless/still/thus/until'
kŏma	'either...or' (when two things are equal)
ó	'or' (from Spanish)
=rema	'or/perhaps'
a'lîge/'lîge	'and then' (to keep the flow of discourse moving)
abiêna	'yes/also/still'
ãbe	'also' (mostly heard in the area of Churo near the Central dialect)
-tiri	'also'
=si	'also/and/together with'
apusî	'until' (I won't quit until I can't take any more.)
-go	'well/then' (Then go on.)
arekĕre	'because of that'
napurigá	'in order to/like'
rekŏ	'even though'
'yûga	'with'
'yûriga	'mixed with'
=čigo	'also'
aminámi	'there/also/in addition to'

Polarity

    Positive

hû   'yes' (in answer to a question)

    galî-rale   si-mêa muê   **hû**
    house-place go-FUT you   'Yes.'
    'Are you going to the house?'

At least four suffixes can be added to **hû**: **-we, -li, -go,** and **-ba.** **-we** comes from **wê** 'much/EMPH' and adds emphasis. **-li** comes from the verb **ilî** 'be/stand' and is used in response to a direct invitation:

go'yă asă remé   hú-li
eat   sit tortilla   yes-be
'Sit down and eat tortillas!'   'Alright.'

-go IRR and -ba EMPH are used together in response to a state-
ment. The h of hú has been lost here.

'ā si-mêa=ne   ú-go-ba
now go-FUT=I   yes-IRR-EMPH
'I am going now.'   'Alright.'/'It appears so.'

abiéna   'yes/still/also'

umugí-tiri abiéna čigŏ-ame ka-rā-e   'yā-ko
women-also also   rob-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB before-EMPH
'Long ago they were also robbers of women, it is said.'

abiéna is also used as an affirmative answer to a question.

'aingŏ   'alright' (in response to a command)

From abiéna 'yes' and -go IRR. Note ayêna 'yes' from the
Central dialect.

be'li   be'ă simi-bŏ-ka   'aingŏ
tomorrow early go-IMP-EMPH
'Go early tomorrow!'   'Alright.'

a'lă/'lă   'yes/good/very'

wê a'lă hú
very good is
'That is good.'

'lĭge 'lă ta'mê bewărigi-či ni-sa 'lĭge aluê we'é
then very NEG   hard-place be-if then that dirt

'lĭge 'lă we'kă hŏ-pua 'lĭge aluê gičiwă
then very many dig-FUT then that guichihua
'If the dirt is not very hard, then very many guichihua
(a root) can be dug.'

gară   'yes/good'

I've only heard this used occasionally and in exaggerated
situations where a person seems to be imitating the speech of the
other dialect, where gară is in common usage. I have one example
of gară in text. (See BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE, Apposition.)

=si   'also/and/together with/yes/AUG'
         The clitic =si sometimes acts like the Spanish si 'yes'.

alé   minămi năpu ma'čĭna-le aluê rehpŏsi alémi=si
there further where come-PAST that mole   there=yes
                  out

rewǎ-le-ke-'e   'líge alué rowî   ralǎ-la
see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that rabbit track-POSS
'There further on from where the mole came out he found
 the rabbit's tracks.'

Negative

tabilé/tǎ   NEG (**tabilé** consists of **tǎ** NEG and **bilé** 'one'.)

In a statement, the choice of using either the long or the
short form seems to be one of emphasis. **tǎ** is more often seen in
dependent constructions. In questions where a negative is used as
a question, **tǎ** is always used. (See **QUESTIONS.**)

tabilé če'wǎ-ka alué-ka
NEG   hit-EMPH they-EMPH
'They did not hit it.'

resî   oliǎ   ramué tǎ hebéni-ga-me   kǎ osa-gǎ
poor/bad happen us   NEG know-STAT-PRTC be write-CONT
                                    PL
'Bad things happen to us not knowing how to write.'

tabilé combines with various numeral, adjective, and adverb-
type words to form different meanings.

tabilé sinê/tǎ sinê
NEG   once
'never/not once'

'líge bilé ralǎmuli-ka tabilé sinê pǎ-me   ka-rǎ
then   one   person-EMPH NEG   once fall-PRTC be-QUOT

'líge alé
then   there
'A person never falls there, they say.'

'líge tabilé sinê rawé rekîna-le   'líge alué basačî
then   NEG   once day   return-PAST then   that coyote

alé   'légana wičî
there below   land
'The coyote never arrived (returned) at the land there
 below.' (The wind blew him away.)

tabilé 'mé/ta'mé   'not much' (Perhaps **'mé** comes from **wé**
                                    'much'. Also note **mehkǎ** 'far'.)

tabilé 'mé mači-rú-'e
NEG   much know-we-EMPH
'We do not know (him) very well.'

tabilé siné 'mé/tã siné 'mé
NEG   once much
'almost never'

tabilé siné 'mé etê-ru-'e
NEG   once much see-we-EMPH
'We hardly ever see (him).'

tabilé 'čõ/ta'čõ   **tabilé 'čõ sêba**
NEG   yet   NEG   yet arrive
'still not'   '(He) has not arrived yet.'
(Perhaps the most complete form
is **tabilé=čigo** 'not also'.)

tabilé'čõ 'mé/ta'čõ 'mé   **ta-'čõ 'mé iwasi**
NEG   yet much   NEG-yet much ripe
'still not much'   'It still isn't very ripe.'

tabilé 'wési tãbiri
NEG   have thing
'not anything' (**-si** could possibly mean 'time/once'.)

tãse   NEG   (Probably from **ta** NEG and **siné** 'once'.)
                    Used in comparisons, or when opposite
                    statements or possibilities are con-
                    cerned.

'líge tabilé rewé-ga-me   ka-rã-tu   aluê ralãmuli
then   NEG   name-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC those people

tãse napurigã hípe rió-ga-me
NEG like   today men-STAT-PRTC
'They say those people did not have names, not like
 people do today.'

pêča 'wési   **pêča 'wési nóča-me   hú**
NEG   have   NEG   have work-PRTC be
'not have'   'There are not any workers.'

Emphatic

Emphatic suffixes occur word finally. In narrative texts they
are often found in the climax, as well as other emphatic places.

-ka   EMPH (occurs on subject and verb)

'líge muê-ka   yê   pãri nolí-li   simi-bóa-ka 'líge
then   you-EMPH this LOC ridge-steep go-IMP-EMPH then
'You go up on top of this steep ridge.'

In narrative discourse, **-ka** can be used to mark the main
participant.

An example of **-ka** being incorporated into a word is seen in the following:

wě 'much' plus **-ka** became **we'kã** 'many'.

-ko   EMPH

-ko occurs on many of the temporal words and acts almost like a temporal marker. In narrative texts, it marks important temporal changes.

hĩpe-ko
today-EMPH
'today'

In some cases **-ko** has been incorporated into the base of the word:

rapãko   **rukõ**
'yesterday'   'night'

In some cases **-ko** adds to the meaning of the word:

'yã-ko   **'lĩ-ko**
before-EMPH   later-EMPH
'long ago'   'then'
                                     (to keep a story going)

-ba/-pa   EMPH

This emphatic often co-occurs with phrase stress and can be added to a word which already has an emphatic suffix:

ganĩri-ba   **'yã-ko-ba**
content-EMPH   before-EMPH-EMPH
(response to a greeting)   'long ago'

ariõsi-ba
bye-EMPH
'good-bye'

-pa, for the most part, is phonologically determined, occurring contiguous to a glottal, **h**, or nasal, but there are exceptions. It seems that **-pa** is sometimes chosen instead of **-ba** because of the explosive quality which can be given to it. **-ba** cannot be given this quality since **b** is a fricative. A study of how **-ba/-pa** are used in discourse should clear up some of the problems. They are especially numerous in hortatory texts, such as the **sermoni** 'sermons' given at fiestas.

aliẽri hũ-pa   aluẽ sinowĩ alẽ   ba'wi-čĩ
thus   is-EMPH that snake   there water-place

behté-ga-me   hámi
live-STAT-PRTC wilds
'That's the way that snake is that lives in the water place
 in the wilds.' (ending of snake story)

bi'lé-pi onorúgame nehkú-ru-sa 'la ní-ma-pa   bi'lé-pi
only-EMPH father   help-us-may good be-FUT-EMPH only-EMPH
one   god   one

eyerúgame nehkú-ru-sa 'la ku-rú-ba   semárega-ba
mother   help-us-may good be-IMPRS-EMPH beautiful-EMPH
god
'May the only father-god help us, that will be good, may
 the only mother-god help us, that will be good, beautiful.'
 (from a sermon given at a race)

-'e   EMPH

alarigá-'e
thus-EMPH
'That's the way it is indeed.'

When -'e co-occurs with another EMPH, it follows the first
emphatic and carries the phrase stress.

alečirúbi alaregá-riga hú-pa-'e   ra'íča-li-ka
only   thus-thus   is-EMPH-EMPH talk-PRTC-EMPH
this
'This is all of the talk.'

-'e most commonly occurs in narrative texts following -ke
QUOT. (For the use of -'e as a prominence marker in narrative
texts, see Burgess, 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence in Western
Tarahumara Narrative Discourse'.)

'líge alué mukí-ka   tabilé mukú-le-ke-'e   'líge alé
then   that woman-EMPH NEG   die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there
'That woman didn't die there.'

-če   EMPH/'again' (probably from **učé** 'again')

be'lí-pa-če
tomorrow-EMPH-again
'Until tomorrow.'

-če often carries the phrase stress.

yolí   hu   yolí   hú-če
mestizo be   mestizo be-EMPH
'Is it a mestizo?'   'It is a mestizo indeed.'
 (Rising intonation shows
  question.)

In texts, **-če** often occurs in situations where two people or animals are trying to be polite to each other.

čanigá go'-mé olá-če mué-ka ne-'čí áka né-ka héna
why   eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH I-ACC RQ I-EMPH here

ahtí-pa-če yé   gawí rakibú-ga mâ na'míni-li~ame yê
be-EMPH-EMPH this hill push-CONT now fall-STAT-PRTC this

gawí
hill
'Why do you want to eat me? Aren't I here holding up this
 hill that's falling over?'

Note in the above example that **-če** occurs on the second verb in a double-verb construction.

-pi   EMPH/REFL/'only' (Also see **NON-DISTINCT ARGU-**
                              MENT PHENOMENA AND **NUMERALS.)**

bi'lé-pi   **bo'né-pi**
one-EMPH   he-REFL
'only one'   'himself'

-ri   STAT/RCPR/EMPH

The STAT/RCPR **-ri** can also be used to intensify something:

čá-ti   **čá-ti-ri**
ugly-ADJR   bad-ADJR-EMPH
'ugly/bad'   'very ugly/bad'

čá-ti-ri   ohí-ki
bad-ADJR-EMPH bear-EMPH
'you bad bear'

The following are words which carry an emphatic meaning:

hépale/hépa   'Hey you!' (from Spanish **épale,** an expression of
                                greeting used by local Mexicans)

hó   'What's that?' (a reply when someone shouts at you from a
                            distance and you are not quite sure what
                            he said)

há   (same as **hó** but for a shorter distance)

wahá/huahá   'Just look!'

huahá-guru-ba   čikí-čane-kuru-ba   alué rió
look-truth-EMPH happen-noise-truth-EMPH that man
'Just look what happened to that man!'

mué-ri-go
you-APPLIC-DUB
'Hey you!'   (**-go** could be an IMP or EMPH)

muérigo is used to get someone's attention when he is at a distance. It may precede a noun as in the following:

muě-ri-go   ompâli   mâ ne-'čï gosïba-la   o'pôlin-ko
you-APPLIC-DUB compadre now I-ACC bladder-POSS pull-EMPH
'Hey you compadre, you pulled out my bladder!' (shouted
  the coyote to the rabbit)

Reduplication of certain morphemes can be used to get a type of emphasis also.

hu-hûma   **ma-'ma**
RDP-run   RDP-run
'run around'   'flee'

alué we   a'lâ-la   'nâti-li
that very good-RDP think-PRTC
'the very best thoughts' (**-la** could be possessive.)

Modal

(Also see **QUESTIONS** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Sentence Type.)

sinê kâči
once APPROX
'perhaps'

'lïge tâ ma'čï-na-sa-ka 'lïge ya'mâ muku-mêla-'e 'lïge
then NEG out-MOT-if-EMPH then quick die-FUT-EMPH then

alué basačï alê   pačâ   asa-gâ   sinê kâči
that coyote there inside sit-CONT once APPROX
'If that coyote does not come out from there inside, he
 will quickly die perhaps.'

sinê kâči can occur sentence initial or final. (For another example of **kâči**, see **QUANTIFIERS.**)

hêe   'doubt' (This is said in response to what someone says
                     that you doubt. The pitch drops on the second
                     e.)

(For **hâ** and **hô** see Polarity.)

mayê   'think/believe/doubt' (Perhaps from **mačï** 'know' plus
                                   DUB.)

nê-ka 'la bihčiâ mayê
I-EMPH good truth think
'I think it's the truth.'

-re   'doubt'/DUB

    alarigǎ hǔ-re-ke
    thus   be-DUB-QUOT
    'I think it is that way.'

    Note the combination of **sinē kǎči** 'perhaps', **bihčiǎ** 'truth'
and **-re** DUB in the following:

    alarigǎ-riga ruyǎ-čini   ye   ralǎmuli aluē 'ya
    thus-thus   explain-noise these people   those before

    mučǐ-ga-me   sinē kǎči   bihčiǎ ke-rē-ko   aluē
    be-STAT-PRTC once APPROX truth be-DUB-IRR that

    ra'ǐči-li
    talk-PRTC
    'Thus explained those people who lived before. I think
     perhaps that talk is true.'

-we   'appear to/doubt' (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION,** Modal.)

    wihči-mēa ka-wē aluē rehtē
    fall-FUT be-DUB that rock
    'It appears that rock is going to fall.'

-go/-ko/-o   'pretense'/'appear'/'doubt'/IRR (See **NON-**
                 SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal, and **SYNTACTIC**
                 MARKING, Sentence Type.)

-nale   DESID (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION,** Modal.)

-e   DUB/IMPOT (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION,** Modal.)

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

    The following are temporal states of being that are often
translated 'be'. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE** for their use in
single- and double-verb constructions and in discourse.)

ilǐ   'stand' (SG), **ha** (PL)
asǎ   'sit/live' (SG), **umučǐ** (PL)
bo'ǐ   'lie down' (SG), **bi'tǐ** (PL)
ahtǐ   'be' (SG), **mučǐ** (PL)
          (Note Guarijio **kahtǐ** 'sit'.)
čukǔ   'be' (SG), **učǔ** (PL)
          (Refers to something four-footed.)
manǐ   'be' (Refers to something in a container.)
rehpǐ   'remain' (SG), **ehtebǐ** (PL)
enǎ   'walk' (SG), **e'inǎ** (PL)

Examples:

> **wa'lú ba'wí ilí-ga-či**
> big   water stand-STAT-place
> 'lake'

> **kóče asá alué rió**
> where live that man
> 'Where does that man live?'

> **alé bo'í rió**
> there lie man
> 'The man is lying down there.'

> **alé ahtí alué rió**
> there be   the man
> 'There is the man.'

> **'líge alué gawé alé   ba'wi-čí   alé   čukú-le-ga-ra**
> then that horse there water-place there be-PAST-STAT-QUOT

> **'líge ma muku-gá**
> then now die-PERF
> 'The horse was there in the water dead.'

> **čuku-gá ená**
> be-CONT walk
> 'crawling'

> **go'yá asá remé   hémi maní**
> eat   sit tortilla here are
> 'Sit down and eat tortillas, here they are (in a con-
> tainer).'

> **'líge alué bo'á-ka   wé   ra'sálaga rehpí-le-ke-'e**
> then that sheep-EMPH very happy   remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

> **'líge alé**
> then there
> 'Then that sheep was very happy there.'

> **'líge bilé rió ayó-ga   ená-sa   alué ohí 'yúga 'líge**
> then one man mad-CONT walk-when that bear with then

> **alúe ohí yáti ayó-me   hú-ke-'e   čigó 'líge**
> that bear quick mad-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH also then
> 'When a man gets mad at a bear then the bear quickly gets
> mad too.'

In the following example, note the idiomatic use of **ená**
'walk'. Also note the consecutive use of four verbs.

> **'lá asíriga ená ká-me   gayéna-me   ka-rá-če**
> good really walk be-PRTC become-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH

> **alué-ka**
> it-EMPH
> 'It (fermented drink) really becomes strong.'

ilí   'stand' and **ená** 'walk' also act as suffixes.

-li   STAT/PASS/PRTC (See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.**)

huáni ani-lí-ame   hũ aluẽ ríõ
PN   say-PASS-PRTC be that man
'That man's name is John.'

'líge aluẽ mukí pẽ   kulí sinẽ etẽa aluẽ ríõ sinowí
then   that woman just before once see that man snake

etẽ-le-ke-'e   'líge napurigã bilẽ ríõ nãpu
see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then like   one man who

ní-ga-me   ní-lí-ge   'yã   bačã=rawẽ nãpu 'líge
be-STAT-PRTC be-STAT-PERF:CONT before first=day when then

bihí bi'nẽlí kã aluẽ mukí
still alone   be that woman
'When the woman first saw the snake-man, she saw him as
if he were (in the form of) the man who was her boyfriend
before, when she was still not married.'

-na seems to indicate movement, activity, or direction.
There does not ever seem to be an object involved when -na is used
and thus -na could perhaps be called an intransitivizer.

'líge aluẽ mukí aluẽ kobísi bahi-sa   'líge wẽ   'yãti
then   that woman that pinole drink-when then very quick

serã-ka-me   e'nẽ-na-ra   'líge busí-la
red-INTNS-PRTC see-MOT-QUOT then eye-POSS
'They say that when the woman drank the pinole (ground
corn), her eyes quickly became very red.'

In the following example -na acts like a verbalizer as well:

wanipásio bahčã ma'čí-na-ke-'e
PN   first outside-MOT-QUOT-EMPH
'Boniface came out first.'

The following are 'be' verbs which express a quality that is
of a more permanent nature. They are usually found in explanatory
texts as opposed to narrative.

ni   'be/have/own' (perfect)

wa'lú-la ní-ma aluẽ ríõ
big-INSTR be-FUT that man
'He will be a chief.'

ni is also used as a stative suffix:

'líge aluẽ ralãmuli aluẽ piẽsta olã-me   ní-le   wẽ
then   those people   that fiesta make-PRTC be-PAST much

ehebĕ-ni-ga-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge aluĕ piĕsta
know-STAT-PRTC-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that fiesta

ola-gá
make-CONT
'Those people, those fiesta makers, they really knew how to put on a fiesta.'

ni also appears in reflexive- and possessive-type constructions:

'iwí   ní   **romi-ní**
breath be   fold-be
'pant'   'double up/bend over'

nĕ ni-la   mukí
I   be-POSS woman
'my wife'

hû   'be' (present)

'ã   rawilí hû   **wĕ   semãti hû**
now noon   be   very pretty be
'It is noon.'   'It is very pretty.'

muĕ aka-lã   wĕ   o'čĕra-me hû
you sandal-POSS very old-PRTC is
'Your sandals are old.'

In the following example **hû** is used in a locative construction which has a sense of permanency.

kõče hû aluĕ galĕ
where is that house
'Where is that house?'

ke/-ge   'be' (past imperfect)

nĕ umûri-la-ka   wĕ   a'lã ruyã-me   kĕ-pue 'yã
my great-POSS-EMPH very good explain-PRTC be-EMPH before grandfather
'Before, my great grandfather was a very good giver of advice.' (Implies that now he is not.)

kã   'be'

The choice of whether to use **-ka** or **hû** seems to be one of emphasis, **ka** being used in the less emphatic situations. **hû** might appear in the climax of a paragraph whereas **kã** might appear in the rest of the paragraph. **kã** can be used in past tense situations as well as present. In a discourse, **hû** might be used to express something that could be happening at that time. It has a sense of immediacy. **kã** would be used when the teller switches to a more

general description or to a past happening which explains the
first part. Note the following example:

> pế   a'píli rió 'lá benế-ga-me   hǘ-tu   aluế
> just some   men good know-STAT-PRTC be-NONSPEC that
>
> nahấta-ga   aluế samigếli ani-lI-ame   rió wế
> follow-CONT that PN   say-PASS-PRTC man much
>
> benế-ga-me   ka-rá-tu   'yã-ko   aluế se'walí
> know-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC before-TEMP that bee
>
> nahấta-ga
> follow-CONT
> 'Just some men know how to follow (bees). There was a man
> named San Miguel who used to know how to follow bees.'

'íni   'be' (PL of **ni**?)

'íni seems to be used in the present tense like hǘ, but with
a specialized use. I only find it in statements which are
reinforcing or supporting another statement such as 'It's cold.
It's like ice water', or 'It's sour. It's not sweet'.

> wế   a'lá wasi-sã-ka   aluế imế   'líge aluế sugí
> very good roast-when-EMPH that maguey then that beer
>
> newã-li   wế   a'lá ra'í-ga-me   gayẽna-me   hǘ-tu
> make-PASS very good tasty-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-NONSPEC
>
> 'líge 'lá tabilế čikigố-li-ga-me   gayẽna-me   'íni-li
> then good NEG   raspy-STAT-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-STAT
>
> aluế sugí
> that beer
> 'When the maguey plant is roasted really good, then the beer
> that is made from it turns out very tasty. It doesn't turn
> out raspy.' (It goes down smooth.)

The supporting statement does not have to directly follow the
other statement. It might be several paragraphs away, such as
when you say, 'I cut the tree down', and then after you explain
how you cut it down, you say 'But I shouldn't have cut it down'.

HAVE

bukǘ   'own' (animals and sometimes an adopted child)

> alế   učǘ-le-ke-'e   čibá we'ká metíbo merási bukǘ-la
> there be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH goat many PN   own-POSS
> 'Many goats of Metibo Meras were there.'
>
> nế bukǘ-la hǘ o'kočí
> I own-POSS be dog
> 'I own a dog.'

ta'mḕ wḕ   suwâbaga ralámuli   buk-é-tu   aluḗ
NEG   many all   Tarahumara own-have-NONSPEC those

čiwí
turkey
'Not all Tarahumaras own turkeys.'

ni   'be/have/own'

muḕ ní   rehtḗ   **nḗ ní-la   mukí**
you have rock   I have-POSS woman
'You have a rock.'   'my wife'/'I own a woman.'
                                 (said in jest)

tiḗnta ní-ga-me   ka-bâ   aluḕ mukí ralámuli   gosinḗro
store own-STAT-PRTC be-EMPH that woman Tarahumara cook

aluḕ ní-ga   rehpí-ga-ra-'e   aluḕ tiḗnta a'lĩge
she be-POSS remain-STAT-QUOT-EMPH that store   then
'That woman Tarahumara cook was owner of the store. She
 remained with (was owner of) the store then.'

-ga   POSSESSIVE/STATIVE (See **POSSESSIVES** and **NON-
         DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.**)

rolṓ-ga
trachea-POSS
'trachea'

In some cases **-ga** has been incorporated into the root:

čitogá-la   **ahá-ga-me**
elbow(curve)-POSS   live-STAT/POSS-PRTC
'elbow'   'live animal/animal who has
                                 life'

rehtḗ makṓ-ga
rock hand-POSS
'have rock in hand'

-la   POSSESSED

muḕ si'pûča-la wḕ   nuḕbo hú   **nḗ 'yū-la   mukí**
you dress-POSS very new   is   I with-POSS woman
'Your dress is new.'   'my wife'

-e   'have'

gal-ḕ
house-have
'have a house' (**galí** 'house')

     oká maht-ě-ga-me   **hú ně**   (**also: oká mahtá ní ně**
     two metate-HAVE-STAT-PRTC be I   two metate be I)
     'I have two metates.'

    mahtá 'metate/corn grinder' is the only word I have found so
far where there is a difference between the singular 'have' and
the plural. The singular keeps the original form **mahtá.**

     bilě mahtá-ga-me/   **maht-á-ga-me**   **hú ně**
     one   metate-STAT-PRTC metate-have-STAT-PRTC be I
     'I have one metate.'

     má ran-ě   **aluě mukí** / **má ran-ě-ga-me**   **hú aluě**
     now child-have that woman now child-have-STAT-PRTC be that

     mukí
     woman
     'That woman had a child.'

i'tě/'tě   'have' (**i'tě** could possibly be a plural form.)

     tabilě 'tě enomí
     NEG   have money
     'I don't have any money.'

<u>DO</u>

newá   'make'

     aluě-ka   tabilě newa-lí-ame   hú sawá-la   iwía
     that-EMPH NEG   make-PASS-PRTC be leaf-POSS rope
     'Rope is not made from that leaf.'

-ra   'make'

     gema-rá-le   **ino-rá-le**
     blanket-make-PAST   child-make-PAST
     'made a blanket'   'had children'

     gali-rá-me
     house-make-PRTC
     'one who makes a house'

-ra   'put on'/POSS

     ahka-rá-wa
     sandal-put-IMP
     'Put on the sandal!'

     To say 'make a sandal', you have to use **newá** 'make'.

In the following example, -ra could mean 'make', 'put on',
or 'give':

'líge a'kináana aluê balé   nawá-sa   'líge
then later   that priest come-when then

rewa-rá-li-ga-ra   'líge aluê 'yê   gawí bočí-gi-mi
name-give-PASS-STAT-QUOT then   that these hill all-LOC-LOC
                                                      over

nápu ečú rewê-ga-me   hú 'yê   gawí hípe
which be   name-STAT-PRTC be these hill today
'Later when the priest came, names were given to these hills
 everywhere, those which have names today.'

-ta   'make' (seems always to be used in the past
              tense)

wihtá-ta=ne
excrement-make=I
'I went to the bathroom.'

aluê ohí ani-li-me   ahá-ga-me   wê
that bear say-PASS-PRTC live-STAT-PRTC much

bosó-ta-me   ka-rá-tu   'líge aluê awalí
posole-make-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then   that cedar

raká-la
fruit-POSS
'Those animals named bears make a lot of cedar fruit
 posole.'

gema-rá-ta=ne
blanket-make-make=I
'I made a blanket.'(?)

Ø   'make'

remê=ne   **wihtá=ne**
tortilla=I   excrement=I
'I am making tortillas.'   'I am going to the bath-
                                  room.'

But 'basket I' is not acceptable for 'I am making a basket',
and 'blanket I' (**gemá nê**) means 'cover myself with a blanket'.

FUT   (A future suffix can also carry the meaning of 'make'.)

remê-ma
tortilla-FUT
'I am going to make tortillas.'

(You can also say **remê newá-ma nê**, but it is not as common.)

wihta-mêa=ne   **na'i-mêa=ne**
excrement-FUT=I   fire-FUT=I
'I am going to go to the   'I am going to make a fire.'
  bathroom.'

To say, 'I am going to make a blanket', both the future and
the 'make' suffix must be used:

gema-rǎ-ma=ne
blanket-make-FUT=I
'I am going to make a blanket.'

An alternate analysis would be to say that zero and not the
future carries the meaning of 'make'. In fact, if **-ra** could be
analyzed as POSS instead of 'make', zero could be said to carry
the meaning of 'make' in all of the above examples which have **-ra**
as well.

-ya   'make'

na'-yâ   čukû nê
fire-make be   I
'I am making a fire.'

You could say that the **i** of **na'i** 'fire' is lost when
adjacent to **y**, or possibly that **-ya** is actually **-ra** which becomes
-ya after **'i.**

olǎ   'do/think'

tačíri olǎ re'ě-ka
what   do play-EMPH
'What are you playing?'

' líge pě   ohí-čo   ka-rǎ   'líge aluě piésta olǎ-me
then just bear-only be-QUOT then   that fiesta do-PRTC

alě
there
'There were just bears having that fiesta there.'

The word **olǎ** is often translated 'think'. In the case of
'God thought', it means 'he thought it and it happened immedi-
ately'.

iki   'happen'

čirikô iki-le
when   happen-PAST
'When did it happen?'

buhé/-bu   'take off'

ahka-bû-wa
sandal-take-IMP
      off
'Take off the sandal!'

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive and Related Notions

    The notions passive, impersonal, stative, participial, 'be', and reflexive are all related in Western Tarahumara. Different glosses are used in this paper, but the distinctions are not always clear. The verb **ilí/-li** 'stand/be' marks all of the above notions and also appears in locatives, temporals, question words, etc.

'líge alémi bowí-či-mi   alémi uhče-lí-ame
then   there trail-place-LOC there put-PASS-PRTC

ka-rã-tu   'líge alué trãmpa alué iwía trãmpa
be-QUOT-NONSPEC then   that trap   that rope trap
'A trap, a rope trap, is put there in the trail.'

huâni ani-lí-ame   hû
PN   say-PASS-PRTC be
'His name is John.'/'He is called John.'

čã   mahã-li-ga-me   alué ohí
bad fear-PASS-STAT-PRTC that bear
'He was really scared of the bear.'

ra'íči-li   **iwë-li**
talk-PRTC   hard-PRTC
'talk (noun)'   'mountain people'

(referring to the Tarahumaras who live in the mountains, **iwërači**, the first place to get dry after the flood)

alé   nãpu ilí-le alué mukí
there where be-PAST that woman
'...there where that woman was/stood.'

bi'në-li
one/he-REFL
'alone'

Certain instances of **-ri** and **-ti** may be related to **ilí**:

čié-ri   **čié-ti**
Q-STAT   Q-STAT
'who'   'what/how/what state'

gawi-čí-ti   **napié-ri**
hill-place-steep   who-be
'on the steep (standing) hill' 'resemble'

sewá-ri=ne
flower-make=I
'I am making a flower.' (bring into being)

An applicative-type meaning can be seen in the following:

o'tô-ri-wa
carry-APPLIC-IMP
'Take (something) to him!'

-**tiri**   'also/and' (used in lists) (Also see **NON-SYN-**
            TACTIC AFFIXATION, Causative.)

The following are possible examples of **ili** which have been
incorporated into words:

    ali   'late'
    a'lĩge   'and/and then'
    arigã   'thus'
    tačíli   'what'

Similar notions are expressed by -**ru** and -**tu**:

-**ru**   PASS/IMPRS/STAT/REFL/APPLIC

aluě riô-ka   me'-lí-le-ru   ohi-te
that man-EMPH kill-PASS-PAST-PASS bear-by
'That man was killed by the bear.'

wé   reče-rú-ga-me   ka-rá-če   aluě
very clever-STAT-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH that

ahá-ga-me   čigô
live-STAT-PRTC also
'Those animals are also very clever.'

-**tu**   NONSPECIFIC

    -**tu** is used when time is not in focus. Thus it occurs in
texts where the author is simply explaining something. In
narrative texts, it helps to identify background or parenthetical
materials as opposed to the main thread of the discourse. It acts
in a similar way to -**ru,** and might be an alternate form, although
it seems to carry other meanings as well. -**tu** becomes -**te** when
followed by -**'e** EMPH.

    ahar̂ê čigô apié-ri   wilú   alié-ri   hû-tu
    some also like-STAT vulture thus-STAT be-NONSPEC
    'Some (hawks) are similar to vultures.'

Reflexive

        Reflexive and reciprocal notions are seen in the following:

bo'nĕ   'he'/REFL

    bo'nĕ me'tĕ=ne   / nĕ bo'nĕ me'tĕ
    REFL   cut=I   I REFL   cut
    'I cut myself.'

    bo'nĕ me'tĕ
    REFL   cut
    'He cut himself.'

        To say 'I cut him', the demonstrative **aluĕ** would be used
instead of **bo'nĕ**. In plural constructions, the plural pronoun is
used:

    a'bŏ-pi
    they-RCPR
    'among themselves'

a'nagŭ   'back and forth'

        a'nagŭ is probably a composite of three locative morphemes:
a 'here', **-na** 'near'/RCPR, and **guãna** 'behind'.

    re'malĭ a'nagŭ-mĭ wilĭro-ga   sinã-čane
    youth   RCPR-there go:in:circles-CONT shout-noise
    'the young man going back and forth, turning around shout-
    ing' (Tarahumara song)

-pi   RCPR/'only' (also see **NUMERALS**)

    'lĭge wĕ   rukĕ-me 'lĭge aluĕ a'bŏ-pi   tačĭli
    then   much ask-PRTC then   DEM   they-RCPR what

    remŭ-li-ga   aluĕ bilĕ
    dream-STAT-PERF DEM   one
    'Then they asked among themselves what each
    one had dreamed.'

    'ĕmĭ   a'bŏ-pĭ   nakĭ   **bo'nĕ-pi   me'tĕ=ne**
    you:PL PRON:PL-RCPR want   PRON-RCPR   cut=I
    'You only like each other.'   'I cut myself.'/
                                         'I only cut myself.'

    a'nagŭ-pi   ra'ĭča
    back:and:forth-RCPR talk
    'They just talk among themselves.'

na-   RCPR (note the locative **na**)

    na-pa-bã
    RCPR-throw-EMPH/APPLIC
    'They are throwing at each other.'

Participipials

We have seen a gradation between passive/stative-type no-
tions on the one hand and participial/nominalizing-type notions on
the other. Thus it will be convenient to discuss the ubiquitous
participial expressions with **-ame** in this section, though other
places might be at least as appropriate (see also **NOUN MORPHOL-
OGY**).

-ame   PRTC

-ame (often shortened to -me after a vowel) generally--but
not always--derives from a verb (or verbalized stem) a noun that
is co-referential to the subject of the verb. Thus it is basically
an active or agentive nominalizer/participial, but the following
examples show that it may also have repetitive or passive
participial force:

rekŭ-me	**ne-'čĭ gu'ĭro-me**
drink-PRTC	I-ACC help-PRTC
'drink often/drunkard'	'my helper/one who
	helps me'
čigŏ-ame	**go'ã-me**
rob-PRTC	eat-PRTC
'thief'	'food'

Participials with **-ame** occur in a variety of constructions:

čekĭ   riŏ hêna osã-me   **čigŏ-ame hû aluê riŏ**
how:many man here write-PRTC   rob-PRTC be that man
'How many men here are   'That man is a thief.'
 writers?'

aliéri ka-rã-tu   'lĭge aluê basačĭ-ka   nabĭ
thus   be-QUOT-NONSPEC then   that coyote-EMPH always

me'-ti-ãme   ka-rã-tu   'lĭge
kill-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then
'That's the way that coyote was, always killing (always was
 the one who killed).'

umugĭ-tiri abiéna čigŏ-ame ka-rã-e   'yã-ko
women-also also   rob-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB before-TEMP
'They say that before he also robbed women.'

-ame often follows **-ga,** glossed STATIVE but for which it is
difficult to find an exact meaning. The areas of meaning include
possessive, continuative, stative, and imperative. (See appropri-
ate sections for examples.) Here I will consider only its use with
-ame. For the most part, **-ga** and **-ame** occur together on state-type
words, such as 'fear', 'be', 'hot', 'fierce', etc. The word they
occur on, then, usually modifies another word. The following two
examples show them occurring on noun modifiers:

    mã mukú-pa alué sinowí opa-rú-ga-me
    now die-EMPH that snake fierce-STAT-STAT-PRTC
    'That fierce snake died.' (the one which was fierce)

    rehté rahtá-ga-me
    rock hot-STAT-PRTC
    'hot rock' (the one which was hot)

The following shows them in an adverbial construction:

    wehpá-le-ga-ra   iwé-ga-me   o'kó-le-ga-ra
    hit-PAST-STAT-QUOT strong-STAT-PRTC hurt-PAST-STAT-QUOT
    'They say he hit him hard and it hurt.'

In the following examples, equative-type sentences, the word
ending in **-ga-me** could be considered a noun, or possibly an
adjective:

    we'kã up-é-ga-me   hú alué rió
    many wife-have-STAT-PRTC be that man
    'That man has many wives/is a many wived-one.'

    čã wa'lú ní-li-ga-me   alué sinowí
    very big   be-STAT-STAT-PRTC that snake
    'The snake was very big.'

The following example shows two consecutive words with **-ga-me,** the
first modifying the second:

    barã-ko   wé a'lã iwé-ga-me   čigó-li-ga-me
    food-TEMP much good strong-STAT-PRTC rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC
    time

    ka-rã
    be-QUOT
    'They say that during the time of food, they really rob a
     lot.'

The following shows a series of three adjectives modifying the
word 'pencil', only the last of which has **-ga-me.**

    yé bilé lápisi hú we'lí wé semã-ti   wé
    this one pencil be long very pretty-ADJR very

    čupé-ga-me
    point-STAT-PRTC
    'This pencil is long, very pretty, and very pointed.'

    A few words on which **-ga-me** occurs no longer leave any doubt
that they are nouns. These include **ahãgame** 'live things/animals',
eyerúgame 'mother god', **onorúgame** 'father god', and **e'karúgame**
'things'.

    alarigã me'ã-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge alué ralãmuli
    thus   kill-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those people

aluḗ wḗ 'yấ ehperḗ-ga-me aluḗ e'wḗle
those much before live-STAT-PRTC those big

ahấ-ga-me   hấmi ehperḗ-ga-me
live-STAT-PRTC wilds live-STAT-PRTC
'Thus those people who lived long ago killed those
  big animals that lived in the wilds.'

When **-ga-me** occurs with the verb **go'ấ** 'eat', it yields **go'yame**
'food'.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Rising intonation may carry the complete question meaning:

semấ-ti   hū
pretty-ADJR is
'Is it pretty?'

Yes/no questions which have question particles may also be
marked by a rising intonation on the final syllable(s). In more
complex constructions the pitch of the last part may drop.

The negative **ta** (short form of **tabilḗ**) is used in several
yes/no constructions:

ta   NEG/Q

ta go'-nấre muḗ
Q eat-want you
'Do you want to eat?'

ta-'lấ   Q

ta-'lấ hū yḗ   go'ấ
Q-good be this eat
'It is alright to eat this?'

tấ-la   Q

tấ-la nakī muḗ yḗ   o'kočī
Q-good want you this dog
'Do you want this dog?'

tấ-ča   Q

In my examples, **tấča** always occurs in imperative-type con-
structions.

tấ-ča 'lấ e'wấ-sa   nī-li   muḗ hḗna pe'wḗra
NEG-Q good favor-IMP be-STAT you here short
                                        time

tečõniliči yê   gawî
hold   this hill
up
'Won't you please hold up this hill for a moment?'

tãča seems to be used in formal situations and is sometimes almost rhetorical. In the following example, no answer was given in the text.

tã-ča 'lã   umabã-wa wê   aluê sinowî me'ã alê
NEG-Q really win-IMP much that snake kill there

ba'wi-čî   behtê-ga-me
water-place live-STAT-PRTC
'Can't we conquer that snake, kill that one who lives in the water?'

pã-la   Q/'let's see if'/'perhaps'

pãla is sometimes close to being a rhetorical question marker (RQ), but whereas **ãka** RQ does not receive an answer, **pãla** often does.

pã-la simã-wa
Q-good go-IMP
'Shall we go?'

pã-la is also used in embedded questions.

'lîge simî-le-ke-'e   'lîge alê   nãpu suwî-le aluê
then   go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there where end-PAST that

we'ê e'nê-mia alê   ili-gã   pã-la asê 'yêni-ga alê
land look-FUT there stand-CONT Q-good be walk-CONT there

boičî-mi   aluê baikiã čulugî
trail-LOC that three bird
'Then he went there where the ground ended looking to see if those three birds were walking there.'

akobã nê e'nê-ra   pã-la aluê-ka
allow I look-QUOT Q-good he-EMPH
'Allow me to see if it is him.'

pãla is further used in a tag construction.

muê mači-ã-la   alê ahti-gó pã-la bihčiã hũ
you know-CONT-good(?) there be-DUB Q-good true   is
'You know he is there. Isn't that true?'

Yes/no questions are usually answered by the long form of 'no' **tabilê**, or 'yes' **hũ/hûwe/abiêna/hûle**, or 'that's good', **'lã hũ**, or 'who knows', **sagõ**. Note the following conversation.

wihtã-ta nê	**wihtã muê**
excrement-do I	excrement you
'I went to the bathroom.'	'You went to the bathroom?'
	(rising intonation)

   hū-we
   yes-much
   'Yes.'

More complete answers, in which most of the question is
repeated, can also be given to yes/no questions.

   'lige muē basačí-ka   go'-mě olǎ 'lige ne-'čí
   then you coyote-EMPH eat-FUT do   then I-ACC
   'You coyote, are you going to eat me?'

   hū go'-mě olǎ-ke=ne   muě
   yes eat-FUT do-QUOT(?)=I you
   'Yes, I'm going to eat you.'

WH Questions

       A WH question may have a level or falling pitch on the last
syllable. In a somewhat exaggerated situation, the pitch of the
next to last syllable might drop, as in the following example:

   tačíli e'ne-gǎ čukū
   what   look-CONT be
   'What are you looking at?'

       WH question words occur with an optional locative (**ko-**) or
negative (**ta-**) prefix, a question root (**če/či/ča/sa**), an optional
suffix (**-ki/-ni/-ri/-ti** or the double form **-ni-ga**), and an
optional temporal emphatic suffix (**-ko**). **č** occurs in all of the WH
question words and could be called the marker for that category.
The value of the non-temporal suffixes is problematic, so they
will simply be labeled SF.

če-kí   'what/how much/how many'

       (Lionnet calls **-ki** a numerical quality.)

   če-kí nahtě-ame hū aluě   **če-kí rió alě**
   Q-SF cost-PRTC be that   Q-SF men there
   'How much does that cost?'   'How many men are there?'

   če-ki-lí-si   asi-měla muě ma'čí
   Q-SF-STAT-TEMP be-FUT   you outside
   'How long will you be outside?'

       čekilísi is probably a fusion of **čekí** with **ilí** 'stand/be'
plus the temporal marker.

čě-ni/čě-na   'what'

   čě-na 'la hū aluě bowě
   Q-SF good be that trail
   'What condition is the trail in?'

       čěna sometimes acts almost like a yes/no question marker,
but it requires more than a simple yes/no answer.

> **čê-na semã-ti   hú**   **wê   semã-ti   hú**
> Q-SF pretty-ADJR be   very pretty-ADJR be
> 'It is pretty?'   'It's very pretty.'
> (What prettiness is it?)

čê-ni-ko   'when'

> **čê-ni-ko sê-ba   mú**
> Q-SF-TEMP arrive-APPLIC you
> 'When did you arrive?'

kô-če   'where'

> **kô-če ahtí aluê riô**
> LOC-Q be   that man
> 'Where is that man?'

čié-ti   'what/how/what state'

> **čié-ti hú aluê**
> Q-SF   be that
> 'What color is that?'/'What is that like?'

(Context has to give the clue as to what is being discussed--color
or state of something.)

> **čié-ti ahtí muê hípe-ko**
> Q-SF   be you today-TEMP
> 'How are you today?'

čié-ri   'who'

> **čié-ri hú aluê riô**
> Q-SF   be that man
> 'Who is that man?'

čí-ri-ko   'when'

> **čí-ri-ko nawã=mu**
> Q-SF-TEMP come=you
> 'When did you come?'

či-ri-gá   'how' (note **arigá** 'thus')

> **či-ri-gá aní**
> Q-SF-SF say
> 'How do you say...?'

ta-čí-ri   'what'

> **ta-čí-ri hú yê**
> NEG-Q-SF be this
> 'What is this?'

(The negative usually appears in yes/no questions.)

   če occurs with the back velar **k** and the alveolar nasal **n**. **či**
occurs with the dental **t**, the dental spirant **s**, and the alveolar

retroflexed vibrant **r**. A transitional vocoid is sometimes heard with **č(i)ēniko** 'when' and is more permanent in **čiēti** 'what' and **čiēri** 'who'.

In the following two examples, **či(ri)** has become a loosely bound prefix or perhaps part of a compound word.

    či-ri-kāči o'kő   **či-'siá ahtí mué**
    Q-SF-APPROX hurt   Q-doing be   you
    'What, more or less, hurts?'   'What are you doing?'
    ('Where does it hurt?')

čá   'what' (**čá** is tightly bound to the following verb.)

    čá an-e-lí-ame   **hű mué**
    Q say-APPLIC-PASS-PRTC be you
    'What are you called?'

ča-ni-gá   'why'

    'líge né-ka ča-ni-gá tabílē 'lá bi'é-če   **'líge**
    then I-EMPH Q-SF-SF NEG   good clean-EMPH then

    anapurigá bi'é-le   **'émi**
    like   clean-PAST you:PL
    'Why can't I get clean like you guys got clean?'

Question words are normally initial. The subject precedes it in the above example for emphasis.

Other

    ča-lá , 'perhaps' from **če** Q and **olá** 'do/make' (or **'la** 'good'), is found in a couple of special question types:

    alarigá ča-lá hű   **alarigá hű**
    thus   Q-do be   thus   be
    'Is that what happened?'   'Thus is.' (answer)

    u'ku-á   **ilí gepá-ča-la ilí**
    rain-CONT be snow-Q-make be
    'Is it raining or snowing?'

There is a special form of response question:

    kőče eyéna   **ro'kolő-bo   eyéna né**
    where walk   madron-place walk   I
    'Where are you coming from?' 'I'm coming from Rocoroibo.'

    mue-gő   **sa-gő**
    you-EMPH   Q-IRR
    'And you?'   'Who knows?'
    (rising intonation)

The word **áka** appears in rhetorical-type questions and can be considered a rhetorical question marker (RQ). Tarahumaras often

translate it as an emphatic or 'since'. There seems to be a sense
of politeness connected with its use.

čanigá go'-mě olá-če muě-ka   ne-'čí ăka ně-ka hěna
why   eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH I-ACC RQ I-EMPH here

ahtí-pa-če   yě gawî rakibû-ga mă na'míni-li-ame yě
be-EMPH-EMPH this hill push-CONT now fall-STAT-PRTC this

gawî
hill
'Why do you want to eat me? Aren't I here holding up this
 mountain that is falling?' (I'm here holding up this moun-
 tain./Since I'm here holding up this mountain.)

ăka učě 'yă-wa-'e   'líko aluě sa'pâ nápu mué wě
RQ again search-IMP-EMPH then that meat which you much

íyă-ga   aní-le rowî
like-CONT say-PAST rabbit
'"Then shouldn't we look again for that meat which you
 like?", said the rabbit.' (Well then, let's look again
 for...)

A form of the rhetorical question marker is used with the
meaning 'allow me to'. It occurs sentence initial.

ako-bâ   ně a'bé simí-gá e'ně-ra
RQ-EMPH/APPLIC I   near go-CONT see-to
'Allow me to go near in order to see.'

The **-ra** of **e'něra** is probably a shortened form of **-mala** FUT,
which is sometimes used to mean 'in order to'.

IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Ø   IMP

The basic form of the verb can be used for some singular
commands.

go'ă remé   **hěna asă**
eat   tortilla   here sit
'Eat a tortilla!'   'Sit here!'

-ga   SG IMP

asa-gã   **simi-gã**
sit-IMP   go-IMP
'Sit down!'   'Go!'

The singular imperative **-ga** is sometimes used with the plural
form of the verb. This could be a polite way of saying 'Each of
you sit down!' as opposed to 'All of you sit down!'. Or it could
possibly mean that you are referring to the group as a single
unit. If you were mad, you would not use the singular imperative
with a plural verb form (**muči-ga** 'Sit down!') but rather the
plural imperative (**muči-si**).

-si   PL IMP

hé-ka   simã-si   **o'wĕti   hã-si**
here-towards come-IMP:PL   straight stand:PL-IMP:PL
'Come here!'   'All of you stand up!'

-boa/-wa   IMP/FUT/EXHRT

The first person plural future endings **-boa** (which becomes
-poa following glottal) and **-wa** can be used as either singular or
plural command forms and seem to usually have an exhortative
meaning. The **a** of **-boa** is lost immediately preceding a voiceless
stop.

go'-põa-guru yé   masãna   **tabilé go'-põ-ka   o'koli**
eat-IMP-EMPH this apple   NEG   eat-IMP-EMPH chile
'Eat this apple!'   'Don't eat chile!'

čã-tiri ohi-ki   čigõ-li-ga-me   aré-wa
bad-EMPH bear-EMPH rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC leave-IMP

aluê beséro
that calf
'You bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!'

The use of **-boa** with **gemã** 'blanket' (**gemabõa**) gives the
meaning 'Cover yourself!'.

-go   EMPH/IMP/DUB

-go often carries the phrase stress.

hé-ka   o'to-gõ
here-towards carry-IMP
'Give it here!'

go'ã-go hĕna ahtí-kuru sa'pã wasigã
eat-IMP here be-truth meat cooked
'Eat, here is some cooked meat!'

-ri   IMP/VR

'yé-ri   **rehpõ-ri**
door-IMP   greet-IMP
'Close the door!'   'Greet him!'

muḗ-ri-go
you-IMP-IMP/DUB
'Hey you!'

-gi   IMP/EMPH

ne-'čí rari-gí	**'ḗmi ramuḗ rari-gí**
I-ACC sell-IMP	you:PL us sell-IMP
'Sell it to me!'	'You all sell it to us!'

-bu   'take off'/IMP (from **buhḗ** 'take off')

gema-bū	**rahki-bū**
blanket-remove	push-IMP
'Take off the blanket!'	'Push!'

-ba   EMPH/PL/APPLIC/IMP

In the following example, **-ba** acts like an imperative. One could say that zero acts as the imperative and that **-ba** is simply an emphatic; however, **na** does not occur by itself as an imperative expression.

na-bá
walk-IMP
'Let's go!'

na probably comes from **enā** 'walk'; it could also be a locative. (But cf. **ma-bá** 'Let's go!' from the Central dialect, suggesting **mā** 'now' or '**má** 'run'.)

Replies to **nabá** include the following:

na-bá-go	**na-bá-go-ba**
walk-IMP-IMP	walk-IMP-IMP-EMPH
'Let's go then!'	Let's go then!'
(phrase stress on **-go**)	(phrase stress on second **-ba**)

ako-bá   'allow me to' (See **QUESTIONS**, <u>Other</u>.)

The following are examples of what could be interpreted as double imperatives (also note the preceding examples of **nabá**):

rari-gí-wa	**'wḗ-ri-ga**
sell-IMP-IMP	much-IMP-IMP
'Let's sell!'	'Hurry!'

čḕ-čigo   sinḗ ani-ri-go
again-also once say-IMP-IMP/DUB
'Say it again!'

-sa   'when'/'if'/OPTV/EXHRT

bahčabḗ go'-sá go'-ā́me 'líge bahí-wa-ka   'yowí
first   eat-IMP eat-PRTC then drink-IMP-EMPH medicine
'First eat and then drink the medicine.' (When you have eaten, then drink the medicine.)

né wê   ríko ní-sa   'lá ní-me
I   very rich be-IMP good be-PRTC
'Would that I were rich.' (If I were rich, that would
 be good.)

tǎča 'lá buwê-sa ní-li   muê pe'wêra aní-le   'líge
NEG   good wait-IMP be-STAT you short   say-PAST then
                                          time

aluê bo'á 'líge pe'tá   abé i'libé-ko 'la go'-méla
that sheep then shortly more later-TEMP good eat-FUT

muê ne-'čí
you I-ACC
'"Shouldn't you wait a little", said the sheep. "A little
 later it would be alright to eat me."'

When double verbs occur in an imperative expression, the
first seems to always have the continuative **-ya** (which could be
considered an imperative, since continuatives sometimes act as
imperatives), and the second verb carries the imperative marking.

go'-yá   muči-si   **go'-yá   asá-∅**
eat-CONT sit/be:PL-IMP:PL   eat-CONT sit-IMP
'Eat PL!'   'Eat!'

(This is not translated 'Sit down and eat!') The following
example shows a double-verbed imperative along with a double
imperative:

aba'wê yawí-yá   mučí-wa-go   'émi   ralámuli tabilé
much   dance-CONT be:PL-IMP-IMP you:PL people   NEG

siné arê-wa-ka   aluê yawí
once leave-IMP-EMPH that dance
'You people dance a lot. Never stop having dances.'

Negative Imperatives

In negative imperatives, the negative occurs initially. Word
order changes are sometimes noted as compared to a positive
command.

héna asá   becomes   **tabilé asá héna**
here sit   NEG   sit here
'Sit here!'   'Don't sit here.'

In the above negative construction, the FUT/IMP **-boa** can be
added to **asá** (asi-bóa), but not the CONT/IMP **-ga** (asa-gá).

ne-'čí rari-gí   becomes   **táse rari-gí ne-'čí**
I-ACC   sell-IMP   NEG   sell-IMP I-ACC
'Sell it to me!'   'Don't sell it to me.'

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

Locatives (See LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS.)

-ti   'on'

gawi-čí-ti
hill-place-on
'on the hill'

-mi   'there'

gomí-či-mi   **ulí-mi**
gully-place-there   canyon-there
'there at the gully'   'there at the canyon'

-čókata   'next to'

gawi-čókata
hill-next
     to
'next to the hill'

-gi   'edge'

ba'é-gi-či
water-edge-place
'edge of the water/shore'

Place names are formed by adding a place name ending to a noun (which is the most common) or a verb. The word and ending selected give some characteristic of the place.

-či   'place where something is found'

wahó-či   **rečó-či**
mosquito-place   storehouse-place
'mosquito place'   'storehouse place'

-či also appears with body parts:

seka-čí   **seká-la-či**
hand-place   hand-POSS-place
'hand'   'his hand'

-bo   'plain/flat place/valley' (from **epó** 'plain')

ro'koló-bo   **remõe-bo**
madron-plain   frog-plain
tree   'frog plain'
'Rocoroibo/madron plain'   (**remõ** 'frog')

(The **e** could be considered a transitional vowel, or else from **epó** 'plain'.)

-rale   'under/inside'

The Western Tarahumara place names which carry this ending have the characteristic of being under something or having some kind of covering.

maté-rale   **okó-rale**
fir-under   pine-under
'place under the fir tree'   'place under the pine tree'
 (**matĕo** 'fir')

This usually refers to a close-growing bunch of young pines which form a canopy.

Also note the following:

galí-rale   **pačá-rale**
house-under   inside-under
'house'   'inside'

Lionett lists **-raRe/-raRi/-taRi/-tiRi** 'in/at/among'.

-raso   'many' (Perhaps related to the augmentative
                    (r)asíriga.)

ganó-raso   **awé-raso**
giant-many   soap many
'place of many giants'   plant
                                    'place of many soap plants'

The ending a Western Tarahumara chooses for a place name is a matter of focus. **wasá-či** 'grass place' is a plain but the focus is not on the flatness but rather on it being a place where a certain grass grows. On the same plain is a small area called **remóe-bo** 'frog plain' where the focus is more on the flatness. **rohá-či** 'oak place' would be chosen if the focus is simply on the place where certain trees are located. **rohá-rale** 'place under the oak tree' would be chosen if the focus is on the way the trees grow close together to form a canopy.

With place names which have been in use for many years, the focus is sometimes hard to determine since physical characteristics are constantly changing. Also, through long use, the phonetics of some words have changed and their meaning is now hard to reconstruct. For example, the people think that **rehpagé-bo** refers to a flat place where the plant **rehpisó** grows, but they are not sure.

Other place names which do not have endings are used by the Tarahumaras. Some are descriptive words such as **noríge** 'on the ridge' and **rekuáta** 'look-out place'. Others come from Spanish, such as **pinosálto** 'Pinos Altos' and **san rapéli** 'San Rafael'.

Other

-la   POSS (See **POSSESSIVES**.)

nahká-la   **rió-la**
ear-POSS   man-POSS
'his ear'   'husband'

-ero   'one who' (from Spanish)

rabí-éro   **gital-éro**
violin-one   guitar-one
      who   who
'violin player'   'guitar player'
(from **rabéli** 'violin')   (from **gitála** 'guitar')

-čo   'just/only'

'líge pě   aluě umugí-čo   'yěna-le-ke-'e   'líge
then   only those women-only walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

alémi
there
'Those women walked alone there.'

Diminutives of peoples' names are usually made by dropping
certain letters from the name. Occasionally the Spanish diminu-
tive **-íto** is added.

rehína > hína   'Regina'
antónio > ton-íto   'Anthony'

I once heard a four year old boy named Toríbio referred to
as Totoríbio, which is a play on the word **o'torí** 'chicken'. A
small boy might be referred to as **towí rohí** 'boy acorn', which has
a rhyme to it.

Emphatics may also occur on a noun (see **PARTICLES AND CLIT-
ICS**, Polarity). In the following example, the subject emphatic -ka
occurs on the last noun in a series:

'líge aluě wilū   'líge aluě gonóli 'líge aluě goláči-ka
then   that vulture then   that black then   that crow-EMPH
                                                  vulture

ya'mǎ wě   mehkǎ 'yěna-le-ke-'e
now   very far   walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and
 the crow were now very far away.'

ADJ + X = N

-ǎme/-me   PRTC

sewě-ame   **či'mǎ-me**
sad-PRTC   pretty-PRTC
'one who is sad all the time'   'one who is pretty'

-la   INSTR/POSS

    wa'lú-la   **ba'či-lá**
    big-INSTR   first-POSS
    'big one/chief'   'older brother'

    yé   hú aluē a'lá-la
    this be that good-INSTR
    'This is that good one.'

-li   PRTC/STAT

    iwē-li
    firm-PRTC
    'mountain people'

V + X = N

-ame   PRTC

    'yóa-me   **mukú-ame**
    cure-PRTC   die-PRTC
    'doctor'   'dead person'

    go'ǎ-me
    eat-PRTC
    'food'

-la   INSTR

    sú-la   **wičõ-la**
    sew-INSTR   wash-INSTR
    'sewing machine'   'washing machine'

    osí-la   **rihpu-lǎ**
    write-INSTR   cut-INSTR
    'pencil'   'axe'

A Spanish word referring to the same thing might precede the Tarahumara word:

    mǎkina wičõ-la   **lǎpisi osí-la**
    machine wash-INSTR   pencil write-INSTR
    'washing machine'   'pencil'

    lǎpisi osi-lí   newǎ-la
    pencil write-PRTC make-INSTR
    'letter-maker pencil'

-ga-me   STAT-PRTC

    ahá-ga-me   **'yǎ   mučí-ga-me**
    live-STAT-PRTC   before be:PL-STAT-PRTC
    'animals'   'ones who lived before'

-li   PRTC/STAT

    yé   ra'íči-li bilé ra'íči-li hú aluē uhpā 'líge aluē
    this talk-PRTC one talk-PRTC be that skunk then that

basačí
coyote
'This story is a story about a skunk and a coyote.'

~li-ame   STAT-PRTC

gale-lí-ame
like-STAT-PRTC
'one who likes someone a lot'

-rale   'under/inside' (place-name ending)

gočí-rale
sleep-under
'sleep place'

This is the name of a place where a small sensitive-type plant grows whose leaves spread out like a palm. The plant is sometimes smoked during a race and the smoke blown into an opponent's face to make him sleepy.

-či   'place'

yawi-yá-či   **bahisó-či**
dance-make/do-place   seepage-place
'dancing place'   'seeping spring'
                                        (from **bahí** 'drink' and
                                        só 'mud')

bo'í-gi-či
lie-edge-place
down
'at the edge'

Incorporation

Most of the names of geographical features are formed by incorporation of nouns, verbs, locatives, etc. The following are examples of a few of the possible combinations.

resočí   'cave' (from **rehté** 'rock', **ewasó** 'hole',
                        -či 'place')

sikóči   'cove' (from **siká** 'arm', **-či** 'place')

čabáči   'narrow gorge' (from **čá** 'ugly/bad', **ba'wí**
                                'water', **-či** 'place' (bad water
                                place)

wihčimóba   'world' (from **wihčí** 'dirt', **amóba** 'on top
                          of')

Some of the stems of body parts apparently come from locative-directionals, or vice versa. Other stems involve nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

mo'ó   'head' (from **amóba** 'on top of')

rehpōpa   'back' (from **re'pā** 'up/high', **epō** 'flat
                         place')

ečabóa   'whiskers' (from **e-** PL, **čá** 'ugly', **-bo** 'elonga-
                         tion/tubelike', **-la** POSS) (Note the
                         word for outsider: **čabōčí.**)

ču'á   'mouth'

Note the following words which contain **ču**: **ču'égame** 'bird
bill', **čurugí** 'bird', **ču'méa** 'kiss', **ču'mugá** 'sucking', **čulé**
'coati mundi' (an animal with a long snout).

Other nouns have also been formed by incorporation. Note the
parts which the following have in common which seem to mean 'go in
circle/return'. Also note the word **kū** 'again'.

narǎkuri	'snail'
nakurïwa	'exchange
kurîmara	'spindle'

VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-ru   'become'

ba'i-rū-le   **yoli-rū-le**
water-become-PAST   mestizo-become-PAST
'became watery'   'became a mestizo'

-ya   'make'

na'-yǎ=ne
fire-make=I
'I made a fire.'

-ri   'make'

sewǎ-ri=ne
flower-make=I
'I am making a flower (like embroidery).'

-ye   'put more/mix'

na'-yê-wa
fire-put-IMP
      more
'Build up the fire!'

-ra   'make/put on'

gema-rá-le   **'yáti aka-rā-wa**
blanket-make-PAST   quick sandal-put on-IMP
'made a blanket'   'Quickly put on the sandal!'

(To say 'make a sandal', the verb **newá** 'make' is used.)

-ta   'put on'

o'pačá-ta-ma   **go'yá-ta-wa**
clothes-put-FUT   hat-put-IMP
        on   on
'I am going to put on   'Put on the hat!'
 my clothes.'

Ø   The noun 'blanket' can be used without any ending in a
         construction which means 'cover oneself'.

gemá=ne
blanket=I
'cover myself'

-boa   IMP/FUT

         When the word 'blanket' is used with **-boa,** a type of
         reflexive is formed.

gema-bóa
blanket-IMP
'Cover yourself!'

-bu   'take off' (from **buhé** 'take off/push')

gema-bū
blanket-take off
'Take off the blanket!'

-e/-re/-le   'have'

gal-é   **up-é**
house-have   wife-have
'have a house'   'have a wife'
 (**galí** 'house')   (**upí** 'wife')

'líge aluě basačí abé we'lí-ko   kū
then that coyote more later-EMPH again

busi-ré-le-ke-'e
eye-have-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'Later the coyote could see again.' (have sight)

         Some nouns will not take the above suffixes but demand the
full verb, such as the following Spanish loan word:

buhé-wa bantaróni
take-IMP pants
off
'Take off the pants!'

-ki   'sing' (note **gi'sū** 'singing of an animal/howl')

        See examples below.

-we   'play by striking' (from **wehpī** 'hit')

gita-wē-ki   **gita-wē-me**
guitar-strike-sing   guitar-strike-PRTC
'play the guitar'   'guitar player'

        (Also note **wepisōki** 'play the drum'.)

-si   'play by stroking' (from either **simē** 'go/play/make go' or
             sikā 'hand')

rabe-sī-ki   **rabe-sī-me**
violin-stroke-sing   violin-stroke-PRTC
'play violin'   'violin player'
 (**rabēri** 'violin')

        You can also say:

simē gitāra   **simē rabēri**
go   guitar   go   violin
'play the guitar'   'play the violin'

sikarē(ki)   'play the violin'

sukarē(ki)   'play the guitar' (Note **sutū** 'fingernail'.)

-riga   'thus/by means of'

wihčī-riga
dirt-by
'go by foot'

ADJ + X = V

-le   'appear/evidence of'

go'-lē-le
eat-evidence-PAST
'There is evidence that he ate.'
 (Such as when it can be seen that an animal got
  into the garden.)

wahō-le   **gawī-le**
dry-become   thin-appear
'appear to dry up/   'appear to become thin'
 become smaller'
 (including a waning moon)

-ba   'become'

        -ba takes on various meanings, including 'become', APPLIC,
        EMPH, and PL. For an example of PL, see **V + X = V**.

rata-bá-so
hot-become-when
'when it becomes hot'

-ra   'make'

čirigá-riga 'la iwé-ra-ma-če   yé gawí
how-thus   good firm-make-FUT-again this hill
'How can this hill be made firm (not muddy) again?'

V + X = V

-ye   'mix/put more'

go'-yé-wa
eat-mix-IMP
'Eat two things together!'

-bu   'take off/push'

rahki-bū
push-push
'push'

-ba   PL

alué wilū   'līge alué gonóli 'līge alué goláči alué
the   vulture then   the   vulture then   the   crow   those
      red-headed   black-headed

baikiā čulugí simí-ba-le-ke-'e   'līge u'bā-wa   alé
three bird   go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   bathe-FUT there

gomíči ba'wé-gi-či
gully water-edge-place
'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and the
 crow, those three birds went to bathe there in the gully by
 the edge of the water.'

-na   MOT/'walk'

'līge mā suwé-na-sa   'līge alué piésta alé
then   now finish-MOT-when then that fiesta there
'When the fiesta was over...'

Incorporation

It can be seen that historically many verbs came from common
roots. Some were old compounds which became one word. Note that
all of the following words have **me** in common, which could have
meant 'hit'.

me'á   'kill'
'méra   'scare off'
'méka   'care for' (by keeping animals away)
me'čóra   'stick used to break up dirt clods'

| me'táčala | 'Be careful.' (Don't get hit.) (**ta** NEG, **ča** 'hard')· |
| wagî me'čórigame | 'dry pine pecked full of holes by a woodpecker' |

The stems **rahtá** 'hot', **rahá** 'burn', and **rayéna** 'sun' all have **ra** 'hot(?)' in common. Also the name which the Tarahumaras call themselves, **ralámuli** (Central dialect--**rarámuri**). The commonly accepted division of this word is **ralá** 'foot', -**mu** from **húma** 'run', and -**li** "a particle" (actually a participle). I would suggest that **ra** comes from **rayéna** 'sun' and that the word possibly means something like 'children of the sun-god'.

The following words all have -**ča** in common.

gičá	'open and close mouth like when eating or clicking teeth together' (**gi** 'teeth', **ča-** 'hard')
nočá	'stroke'
sináčane	'shout/crow like a rooster' (**siná** 'shout', **ča** 'hard', **ané** 'say to him')
roróčane	'grunt like a pig' (**roró** 'trachea')

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

Basic

wa'lú   'big'

> **asîriga wa'lú hú yé**
> really big   be this
> 'This is really big.'

u'tá   'small'

> **u'tá rió**
> small man
> 'small man'

'lá/a'lá/ba'lá   'good'

> **wé   a'lá rió hú yé**
> very good man be this
> 'This is a very good man.'

če'tî   'thin' (Cf. **ča** 'ugly', -**ti** STAT.)

The following are not adjectives, strictly speaking, but occur in nominal expressions and are conveniently listed here.

aliéti   'type' (**-ti** STAT)

     alué aliéti nóča
     that type   work
     'that kind of work'

pe'tă   'small quantity' (From **pe** 'little' and **u'tă** 'small'.)

     sugí pe'tă 'yúriga
     beer small mix:with
     'mixed with a little beer'
     (Also see **QUANTIFIERS** and **NUMERALS.**)

wé   'much'

     wě   rió hů
     much man be
     'He's really a man.'

pé   'only/small amount'

     alué-ka   pé   kostăli hů
     that-EMPH only gunny   be
                    sack
     'That's only a gunny sack.'

     Nouns may also act as modifiers:

     sunú kobísi   **rió sinowí**
     corn pinole   man snake
     'corn pinole'   'snake that becomes a man'
     (toasted, ground corn)

     sa'pă čomalí
     meat   deer
     'deer meat'
     (See **COMPOUNDS.**)

<u>Derived</u>

-ga-me   STAT-PRTC (See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA,**
                         <u>Participials.</u>)

     sa'p-é-ga-me
     meat-have-STAT-PRTC
     'fat'

-čari 'mixed'

     aka-čări-ga-me   **čípu-čări-ga-me**
     sweet-mix-STAT-PRTC   sour-mix-STAT-PRTC
     'mixed sweet and sour/   'mixed sour and sweet'
      should be sweet but it
      is somewhat sour'

ra'i-čari-ga-me
talk-mix-STAT-PRTC
'talks mixed/tells lies'

(The **ča** of **ra'iča** 'talk' and that of **-čari** 'mixed' show haplology.)

-ti   ADJECTIVALIZER (**-ti** also acts similar to a PRTC.)

čã   'ugly/bad' (ADV)
čã-ti 'ugly/bad' (ADJ)

čã re'pã	**čã wa'lũ**
bad high	bad big
'very high'	'very big'
wẽ čã-ti hũ aluẽ riõ	**rehtẽ-ti**
very bad-ADJR be that man	rock-ADJR
'That man is very bad.'	'rock-like/hard dirt'

'lã abẽ ra'i-ga-n-ti   ni-li-ge-če   aluẽ sa'pã
good more tasty-STAT-PRTC-ADJR be-STAT-(?)-EMPH that meat
'That meat was really tasty.'

nãpu hipe une-li-a   aluẽ-ka se'winã-ti
that today use-PASS-CONT that-EMPH different-ADJR
which

hũ-ke-'e
be-QUOT-EMPH
'The one being used today is different.'

(Also see **-tiri** 'also' under **COORDINATION**.)

-sini 'produced in'

bahči uli-sini	**bahči iwẽri-sini**
squash canyon-produced	squash mountain-produced
'canyon squash'	'mountain squash'

-be   AUGMENTATIVE

yã wa'ru-bẽ hũ
now big-AUG be
'He is bigger now.'

COMPOUNDS

Compounds consist of two words which act as one, at least to the point of having only one accent between them. Some have developed to where the original forms of the two words are difficult to recognize. There are other words which are similar to compounds but which carry separate accents, such as:

rió sinowí
man snake
'snake-man'

(Also see **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS** and Incorporation under **NOUN MORPHOLOGY** and **VERB MORPHOLOGY**.)

Noun Compounds

N + N = N

Except for the last example, the first noun characterizes the second.

gusí + imé = gusíme
brush   maguey
'brush maguey'

galí + imé = galíme
house   maguey
'house maguey'

ohkó + imé = ohkóme
pine   maguey
'pine maguey'
(grows where pines are)

čukurá + muní = čukurámini
woodpecker bean
'woodpecker bean'

bahčí + raká = bahčíriga
squash   seed
'squash seed'
(a prepared food)

rió + galí-čí = ríógačí
man   house-place
'house/town'
(-ga could be STAT/POSS.)

rió + ramuéra-me = ríórame
man   loud-PRTC
'a loud, boisterous person/machismo'

ADV + N = N

be'á + rukó = be'áriko
early   night
'last night'

'yá + aniwí = 'yaniwí
before   two
         days
'day before yesterday' (**aniwí** by itself means 'day after tomorrow'.)

V + N = N

> **če'lá + so'pilí = če'lasópili**
> dawn   star
> 'early morning star'

Verb Compounds

> **pé   larigá bami-bá-sime   hú nabí rawé**
> just thus   year-become-go be every day
> 'That's the way it goes every year.'

> **alé   paní gomí-či-po   bokuí-simi-'e**
> there LOC   gully-place-LOC hide-go-EMPH
> 'He hid up there in the gully.'

Also note **sinážane** 'shout', from **siná** 'shout' plus **žane**, the latter decomposable into **žá** 'hard' and **ané** 'say'.

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Plural

The plurals of some nouns are formed by phonological changes and additions (cf. **STEMS**).

mukí	'woman'	**umugí**	'women'
re'malí	'young man'	**temári**	'young men'
iwé	'young woman'	**i'wé**	'young women'
očérame	'old one'	**o'čérame**	'old ones'

Many nouns are uninflected for plural, but the plurality is recognized by the addition of words which express a quantity, or through the use of plural inflections in related words, or through context.

> **bilé rió**   **we'ká rió**
> one   man   many man
> 'a man'   'many men'

> **ramué ralámuli**
> we   Tarahumaras
> 'we Tarahumaras/people'

> **'yá   mučí-ga-me   ralámuli**
> before be:PL-STAT-PRTC people
> 'the people who lived before'

> **mué aka-lá   wé   o'čéra-me hú**
> you sandal-POSS very old-PRTC be
> 'Your sandals are very old.'

mã simí-ba-le aluê ralãmuli
now go-PL-PAST those people
'Those people left.'

(**aluê** and **ralãmuli** can both be either SG or PL.)

In the following example, an uninflected demonstrative and two pluralized adjectives are used with an uninflected noun:

aní-le-ga-ra   'líge aluê umugí i'wé wilũ
say-PAST-STAT-QUOT then those women young vulture
                                          ladies
'...they say those young lady vultures said.'

Accusative

An object marker, both direct and indirect, can be seen in the suffix -**'čí**. It is found only on the first person singular pronoun **nê** 'I'. The normal position of **ne'čí** as direct object seems to be sentence final, whereas its normal position as indirect object seems to be more sentence initial.

čanigã go'-mé olã muê ne-'čí
why   eat-FUT do you I-ACC
'Why are you going to eat me?'

'líge nê abiêna bi'néli hũ čigõ tabilê 'wêsi
then I also   alone   be also NEG   never

gun-ê-ga-me   hũ nê napurigã nesêro-ma ne-'čí
husband-have-STAT-PRTC be I so   care-FUT I-ACC
                                  that
'I also am alone and have never had a husband to care for me.'

ne-'čí rari-gí
I-ACC sell-IMP
'Sell it to me.'

nê is sometimes acceptable without -**'či**:

nabã nê/ne-'čí behtê-la-či
let's I I-ACC live-INSTR-place
go
'Let's go to my house.'

Here are some examples of **ne-'čí** in complex sentences:

muê-ka   ne-'čí me'-li-mé   olã 'líge go'-mêa ne-'čí
you-EMPH I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT I-ACC
'You are going to kill me then eat me.'

muê-ka   mayé-le-ke   ne-'čí ba'lawĩsi-ko
you-EMPH think-PAST-QUOT I-ACC rabbit-EMPH
'You thought I was a jackrabbit.' (You
 thought of me as a jackrabbit.)

Absolutive

The suffix -**či**, as it appears in the word **go'yǎči** 'hat',
appears to be intrinsic to the noun. That is, **go'yǎ** never appears
by itself with the meaning 'hat'. -**či** has lost the meaning it
probably formerly had of 'place'. Also, when other suffixes are
added to 'hat', -**či** is dropped. This suffix can therefore be
regarded as an absolutive.

-**ri** sometimes also appears to act as an absolutive:

rabéri   **rabe-sí-ki**
'violin'   violin-stroke-sing
                                        'play violin'

-**ri** probably used to be -**li** PRTC, such as is found in
ra'íčali 'talk' and **iwéli** 'mountain people'.

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possession is expressed either by the suffix -**la** (occasion-
ally a remnant of a possessive, -**ga**, is used), verbal construc-
tions, or combinations of the two. (See **BE/HAVE/DO** for verbal
possessives.) A pronoun or noun may precede the possessed word.

It appears that all body parts can add the possessive -**la**,
and most can have the locative -**či** either without the possessive
or in combination with it (-**lači**). At least five of the body parts
have the possessive -**ga** either as a part of the root or as a suf-
fix. The words for 'backbone' and 'rib' can have the suffix -**li**.

In all of the two syllable roots, when the locative -**či** is
added to the root, the stress shifts to the -**či**, with the excep-
tions of **gupá** 'hair' and **elá** 'blood', which keep the stress on the
second syllable. The stress stays on the second syllable of the
root when -**la** or -**lači** are added, except for the following:

elá	'blood'	**elalá**	**ela-lá-či**
ramé	'tooth'	**rame-lá**	**ramé-la-či**
siwá	'intestine'	**siwá-la**	**siwa-lá-či**
wemá	'liver'	**wema-lá**	**wema-lá-či**
iná	'tongue'	**ina-gá**	**ina-lá-či**

Other examples of body parts:

mo'ó	'head'	**mo'o-čí**	**mo'ó-la**
		mo'ó-la-či	

sulagóma	'heart'	sulagóma-či	sulagóma-la
		sulagóma-la-čí	
rehpópa	'back'	rehpogá-la	rehpogá-la-čí

(Apparently -ga became -pa following the stressed syllable pó.)

a'čigáli	'rib'	a'čigáli-la	a'čigáli-la-či
rológa	'windpipe'	rológa-la	rológa-la-či

The following two examples act as if an absolutive is involved:

o'tabóči	'backbone'	o'tabó-li	o'tabó-li-la

(I was unable to elicit o'tobó.)

čitóči	'elbow'	čito-gá-la	čito-gá-la-či

(For the composition of some of the roots, see **NOUN MORPHOLOGY**, Incorporation.)

Syntax

né aka-lá
I sandal-POSS
'my sandal'
(Note shift of stress
 from akâ.)

né 'yú-la   mukí
I with-POSS woman
'my wife/the woman I am
 with'

'líge aluê mukí aluê kantelário upí-la   alé
then that woman that PN   wife-POSS there

galí-rale   ahtí-ga-me   bihčí-ga-me   ní-le-ke-'e
house-place be-STAT-PRTC believe-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'líge napurigá aní-le   aluê rió-la
then like   say-PAST that man-POSS
'Then that woman, Candelario's wife who was there at the
 house, believed what her husband said.'

-la may also occur on verbs. In such cases, it could be that
-la is acting as a participial or instrumental.

né ní-la   mukí
I be-POSS woman
'my wife'

né bukú-la hú o'kočí
I own-POSS be dog
'I own a dog.'

The following example shows a series using the possessive
-la.

akasí muê ba'čí-la   amigo-la   bukú-la
cow   you older-POSS friend-POSS own-POSS
          brother
'The cow belongs to a friend of your older brother.'

POSTPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS

The ideas 'with', 'by', and 'like', which connect nominal constructions with the rest of the sentence, are expressed with both free and bound forms. Some free forms, such as 'with', occur following the noun. Others, such as 'like', occur preceding. The bound forms occur as suffixes on nouns.

Free Forms

'yū-ga
with-STAT/POSS
'with/at'

> **'līge aluē rió tabilé ayō-ga   ahtī-le-ke-'e   'līge**
> then   that man NEG   mad-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then
>
> **aluē sinowī rió 'yū-ga**
> that snake   man with-STAT
> 'The man was not mad at/with the snake-man.'

'yūga always follows the noun. In the following example, the postposition is discontinuous from its object:

> **'līge aluē mukī   ralāmuli mā   'yū-ga**
> then   that woman people   now with-STAT
>
> **mo'i-bá-si-ga-ra   'līge**
> go-PL-TEMP-STAT-QUOT then
> 'They (the snakes) went with the people-woman.'

'yūga can also take the participial suffix -**ame.**

> **okā umugī 'yū-ga-me   nī-le**
> two women with-STAT-PRTC be-PAST
> 'He was married to/with two women.'

'yū-ri-ga
with-mix-STAT
'together with/mix/for'

> **a'līge munī gesó   'yū-ri-ga   go'-sūga abe-čigō yāti**
> then   bean cheese with-mix-STAT eat-when more-also quick
>
> **rusū-me ka-rá   ramē**
> rot-PRTC be-QUOT tooth
> 'When you eat beans with cheese the teeth quickly rot.'
>
> **rūlse 'yū-ri-ga   nakurī-wa   yē   ga'wā**
> candy with-mix-STAT exchange-IMP this egg
> 'Exchange this egg for candy.'

(n)apiĕri/napuyĕri 'resemble/like' always precedes the noun.

'lige apiĕri o'koči aliĕri hû-tu   'lige aluĕ basačî
then   like   dog   thus   be-NONSPEC then   that coyote
'The coyote resembles a dog.' (is like a dog)

Locatives (See **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS**):

a'mbĕ/a'mibĕ/be'bĕ   'near'
pačã   'inside'
korî   'on the other side'
amõba   'on top of'
re'lĕ   'below'

Bound Forms

(See **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS** and **NOUN MORPHOLOGY, N + X = N** for locative endings that might be considered postpositions.)

-te/-re   'with/by'

'lige aluĕ riõ mã me'ã-le-ke-'e   'lige aluĕ geyõči
then   that man now kill-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that fox

aluĕ igû-te   wehpi-gã
that stick-with hit-CONT
'Then the man killed the fox hitting it with a stick.'

An agentive postpositional phrase with a passive form of the verb can be seen in the following:

'lige aluĕ gusî gapõ-so   'lige aluĕ riõ wĕ
then   that stick break-when then   that man much

i'kî-le-ru-ke-'e   'lige aluĕ ohî-te
bite-PAST-PASS-QUOT-EMPH then   that bear-by
'When the stick broke, the man was really bit by the bear.'

mačĕta-re   sikî-ame hû sawã-la
machete-with cut-PRTC be leaf-POSS
'He cut the leaves with the machete.'

(At least in this case, **-te** becomes **-re** following an un-stressed syllable which begins with **t**.)

When a nominalized adjective follows a noun, **-te** moves to the adjective.

rihpu-lã o'čĕra-me-te
cut-INSTR old-PRTC-with
'with an old axe'

The following example expresses the idea of 'have in the fingers (hand)':

hã-le-ke-'e   ramuĕ-ka rehtĕ makõ-ga   alĕ-ka
stand:PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH we-EMPH   rock   hand-POSS there-DIRL

'má-či
run-CONT
'We stood there with rocks in our hands as (the deer) came
  running from there.'

Locative-Directionals (See **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS.**)

gali-mŏpa   **gali-čŏkata**
house-on   house-next
    top   to
'on top of the house'   'next to the house'

galí-rale   **simí-ro**
house-inside   go-by
'inside the house'   'go by'

rēbo-ka
other-from
side
canyon
'come from other side of canyon'

Other

Some preposition-like ideas are inherently expressed in cer-
tain verbs such as:

pabē   'carry on shoulder'
mutū   'carry in arms'

Some preposition-like ideas are left unexpressed:

nabā   ro'kolŏbo   **čekí bamí ahtí mué eskwéla**
let's PN   how   year be   you school
go   many
'Let's go to Rocoroibo.'   'How many years have you been
                                            in school?'

se'wí alé
get   there
away
'Get away from there!'

wé   bemŏ-ka-me   če'lá-le
much mist-STAT-PRTC dawn-PAST
'Dawn came with lots of mist.'

DEMONSTRATIVES

Two demonstratives are noted which center on proximity **(yĕ)** or distance **(aluĕ)**. Both are either singular or plural. They function along a continuum with article-type use at one end and pronoun-type use at the other. Here are some examples of the former:

aluĕ wilú   'lĭge aluĕ gonóli   'lĭge aluĕ goláčĭ aluĕ
that vulture then   that vulture then   that crow   those
      red-headed   black-headed

baikĭã čulugĭ simĭ-ba-le-ke-'e
three bird go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and the
 crow, those three went...'

yĕ   ra'ĭči-li bilĕ ra'ĭči-li hú aluĕ uhpá 'lĭge basačĭ
this talk-PRTC a   talk-PRTC be that skunk then coyote
'This story is a story about the skunk and the coyote.'

(Note that the article does not occur with 'coyote'.)

There are certain occasions when articles are not used as much, such as when talking about people or plants in general as opposed to certain ones.

a'kinána čĕ   rihpúna-me kã-me   ralámuli 'lĭko
later   again cut-PRTC be-PRTC people   then
'Later people will cut them again.'

Another occasion is in an exciting narrative:

pãkana 'mã čomarĭ-ka
down   run deer-DIRL
'The deer ran downhill.'

The styles of different story tellers come into play also. Occasionally it appears that the article is omitted from use with a word like 'deer' or 'coyote' because the word is being used as a proper name.

Sometimes a text will begin with **yĕ** but the rest of the text will use **aluĕ**. This seems to make the story a little more intimate or personal.

yĕ   rió marsiál ani-lĭ-me imĕ   me'čĭ-ame...'lĭge
this man PN   named   maguey cut-PRTC   then

aluĕ rió-ka
that man-EMPH
'This man named Marcial was a maguey cutter...then
 that man...'

A modifier may occur between the article and the noun:

aluě we'kã ahã-ga-me
those many live-STAT-PRTC
'those many animals'

'líge aní-le-ga-ra   aluě umugí wilú
then say-PAST-STAT-QUOT those women vulture
'...they say that those women vultures said'

The modifier may also follow the noun:

aluě sa'pá čomalí
that meat deer
'that deer meat'

A modifier may precede the noun with another following the noun:

aluě umugí wilú   i'wě
those women vulture young
                     ladies
'those young women vultures'

Note the use of a double article in the following:

'líge a'kinána aluě balě   nawá-sa   'líge
then later   that priest come-when then

rewará-le-ga-ra   'líge aluě yě   gawí bočígimi nápu
name-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that this hill all   which

ečú rewě-ga-me   hú yě   gawí hípe
be name-STAT-PRTC be this hill today
'Later when the priest came, he named all the hills
 that have a name today.'

Here are some examples of demonstratives used as pronouns:

aluě hú   **yě   hú**
he   be   this be
'He/that is the one.'   'He/this is the one.'

yě-ka   baikiã pěso nahtigí
this-EMPH three peso cost
'This one cost three pesos.'

LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Locative words are composed of particles having to do with the categories of distance, boundary (distance not involved), slope, and movement. Different combinations of particles within categories and with other categories are possible. As many as four particles may combine into a word and at least two words may combine to form a longer construction. Locative particles also combine with geographical names, temporals, quantifiers, and indefinite pronouns.

Distance

Distance is relative to the speaker's point of view. There appear to be two general points of reference. One refers to a relatively close area, which I have called on-stage. The particles referring to this area end in either -e or -i. The other point of reference refers to a more distant area, which I have called off-stage. These particles end in -a. Off-stage sometimes corresponds to the idea of out-of-sight, but not always. Each of these two general areas can be divided into three smaller areas--here, there, and over there. Taking into account morphophonemics, the initial letter could mark which smaller area is referred to.

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{here} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textbf{hē} \text{ (on-stage)} \\ \textbf{na/hā} \text{ (off-stage)} \end{array} \right. \\[2ex]
\text{there} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textbf{alē} \text{ (on-stage)} \\ \textbf{'a} \text{ (off-stage) (initial } \textbf{a} \text{ lost)} \end{array} \right. \\[2ex]
\begin{array}{l}\text{over}\\\text{there}\end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textbf{'mī} \text{ (on-stage)} \\ \textbf{wa} \text{ (off-stage)} \end{array} \right.
\end{array}
$$

Each of the above six areas can be divided into two smaller areas by adding either the particle **na** 'here', to add a meaning of 'near', or **'mī** 'there', to add a meaning of 'far'.

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{array}{l}\text{on-stage}\\\text{(-e/-i)}\end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{here } \textbf{(hē)} \text{------} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near } \textbf{(na) (hĕ-na)} \\ \text{far } \textbf{('mī) (hē-mi)} \end{array} \right. \\[2ex]
\text{there } \textbf{(alē)} \text{-----} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near } \textbf{(\#) (alē)} \\ \text{far } \textbf{('mi) (alē-mi)} \end{array} \right. \\[2ex]
\text{over there } \textbf{('mi)} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near } \textbf{(\#) ('mī)} \\ \text{far } \textbf{('mi) ('mī-mi)} \end{array} \right.
\end{array} \right.
\end{array}
$$

```
                   ⎛  here (na/ha) -----⎧ near (na) (na-'nã)
                   ⎜                    ⎩ far ('mi) (na-'mĩ/hã-mi)
                   ⎜
off-stage          ⎨  there ('a)-------⎧ near (#) ('ã)
  ('a)             ⎜                   ⎩ far ('mi) (a'-mĩ)
                   ⎜
                   ⎝  over there (wa)---⎧ near (na) (?)
                                       ⎩ far ('mi) (wa-mĩ)
```

Distance, then, includes the ideas of here/there/over there, on-stage/off-stage, and near/far.

Three of the above single particle forms are independent-- **alẽ, 'mĩ,** and **'ã.**

Some combinations of locatives take on other than strictly locative meanings. **hã-mi,** for example, also means 'out in the woods/wilds/brush'. **aminãmi** is used as the connective 'also'.

'lĩge e'karũ-ga-me   ahã-ga-me   ra'iča-me ka-rã-e
then   thing-STAT-PRTC live-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB

'lĩge aminãmi
then   also
'Many kinds of animals talked also.'

When the final -**mi** of **aminãmi** is replaced with -**čo** 'also', the meaning becomes 'more and more'. Replacing the final -**mi** with the diminutive -**be** gives a meaning of 'a little less'. **aminãmi** 'also' sometimes co-occurs in the same sentence with the suffix -**tiri** 'also'.

Distance particles may be repeated as a kind of emphasis:

wa-'mĩ-mi
over-there-there
there
'way over there'

A sequence of distance words, as opposed to a compound-type word, can also be analyzed as a type of emphasis:

alẽ   'mĩ
there over
       there
'there' (as opposed to **alẽmi**)

It could also be argued that in some cases the first word in a series is a demonstrative which is explained by the second.

alẽ 'mĩ-mi	**alẽ 'nã-ka**
there over -over	there here-towards
there there	off-stage
'over there far on-stage'	'there on-stage coming
	from off-stage'

(For an explanation of -**ka,** see Movement.)

Judging by its frequency, **alě** seems to sometimes be used as a general-type locative where specific distance is not in focus.

The distance word **mehkã** 'far' seems to be a composite of **'mí** 'over there' with the emphatic-numerical marker **-ka,** which also occurs in words such as **we'kã** 'many'. The augmentative **-be** may be added to **mehkã,** which becomes **mehkabě. -be** may also be added to other distance words, for example **a'bě** 'close'. In the following example, note the use of **-be,** the additional use of the emphatic **-ka,** and the use of the adverb **pě** 'just/a little'.

> **'líge aluě mukí ralámulí e'ne-gã   ílí-le-ke-'e**
> then that woman people   look-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

> **'líge alě   pě   mehkã-ka táse nawã-le-ke-'e**
> then   there just far-EMPH NEG come-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

> **'líge a'bě-ka**
> then   near-EMPH
> 'The people-woman was standing there looking a little bit
> far off, she didn't come close.'

Slope

Three concepts are closely related in the Western Tarahumara idea of slope: the slope of the land, the direction water flows, and where the sun rises and sets. They are not always easily distinguishable, especially since the Western Tarahumara live along the western slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental where downstream, downhill, and where the sun sets are all basically the same direction.

Flow of water:

> **tú** 'downstream/towards where the sun sets'

> **'ó** 'upstream'

Slope of land:

> towards the top
>
> > **pã** 'uphill'
>
> towards the bottom
>
> > **-'le**
>
> in the slope
>
> > **re-** 'slope' Used for near the top or near the
> >   bottom. Note the following:
> >
> > > **re-'pã** 'up towards the top'
> > >   slope-uphill
> > >
> > > **re-'lé** 'down towards the bottom'
> > >   slope-bottom

-ri/-li/-ti   'steep uphill' (from ilí 'stand')

-ni   'slope, not too steep'

Examples:

rḛ-'tu   pá o'wḛ̃-ti
slope-down   up straight-steep
'downwards more or less far/   'straight up'
 downhill towards where the
 sun sets'

tṵ́   o'wḛ̃-tu
towards straight-towards
sunset   sunset
'flat towards where the sun sets

re-'pá-lí   pâ-mi
slope-up-steep   up-there
'high and steep'   'there above'

tṵ́-mi/'mḭ́ 'tu
towards-there
sunset
'there below where the sun sets'

Boundary

Boundary can be looked at in relation to a mass. For the most part, the boundary particles appear to come from body parts. Note **amṍba** 'on top of' and **mo'ṍ** 'head'.

Free Forms:

pačá   'inside'
mačḭ́   'outside'
amṍba   'on top of'
korḭ́   'on the other side of'
suwḛ̃   'edge'

Bound Forms:

-bo   'opposite side of (canyon)'
  'rḛ̃-bo   'other side towards bottom'

-čoka   'next to'
  gali-čṍka   'next to the house'

-rale   'inside/underneath'
  galí-rale   'inside the house'

-gi/-ki   'edge/side/where two things come together'

čṍni-gi-čí
dark-edge-place
'just dark/dusk'

'lĩge aluẽ mukĩ alẽ   bakõči alẽ   ba'wĩ ilĩ-gi-či
then   that woman there river   there water be-edge-place

sebã-sa
arrive-when
'When that woman arrived at the river at the edge
 of the water...'

At least two of the bound forms may combine with free forms:

pačã-rale   **suwẽ-gi**
'under/inside'   'edge/hem'

Distance suffixes also combine with boundary words:

pačã-mi
inside-there
'inside there'

Movement

Another aspect of Western Tarahumara locatives is movement.
This can be expressed either by the use of verbs, verbal suffixes,
or combinations of locative particles.

Verbs:

enã   'walk'   **eyẽna**   'walk'

nawã   'come'   **bahonĩ**   'cross/
                                                          wander'

simĩ   'go'

'õ   gomĩ-či-ri   enã
upstream gully-place-steep walk
'walk up the steep gully'

kõče sim-ẽ   orã muẽ
where go-away do you
        from
'Where are you going?'

Verbal Suffixes:

-ka/-ki   'movement towards/from'

-e   'away from'

-na   'walk' (from **enã** 'walk' or **nawã** 'come')

-ga   'movement (down and away?)'

hḗ-ka   simĩ   **kṍče-ka   eyḗna**
here-towards go   where-from walk
'Come here!'   'From where are you coming?'

pá-ka-na   'má čomarĩ-ka
up-from-here run deer-EMPH
'The deer came running from up there.'

wačĩna-ga   guána simá-wa   **gu-ačĩna-ga**
straight-away back go-IMP   back-straight-away
'Go straight back!'   'Go straight back!'

a-ki-nã   simĩ
there-towards-here go
'Come here!'

Combinations of locative particles (a verb may or may not be expressed):

na-'mi-nĩ
here-over-transverse
off   there
stage on-stage
'going transverse'

alḗ-mi
there-over
      there
'There it goes.'   (as you would say when a tree is falling
                    or when throwing a ball)

Syntax

The most neutral position for a locative is to precede the verb.

'lĩge aluḗ rowĩ-ka   pá-ri-mi   simĩ-le-ga-ra
then   that rabbit-EMPH up-steep-there go-PAST-STAT-QUOT
'Then the rabbit went up there, it is said.'

The subject of the sentence may come between the locative and the verb:

'mĩ-mi   bilḗ riõ bokuĩ-simi-'e aluḗ kerḗ-ko   nãpu
there-there a   man hide-go-EMPH that think-EMPH whom
                                                one

muḗ nahãto
you look
    for
'A man is hiding over there, the one, I think, whom you are
 looking for.'

The locative may follow the verb for emphasis:

'líge alué uhpá   simí-le=čigó 'líge miná-mi
then that skunk go-PAST=also then further-there
                                                on
'Then the skunk went further on.'

'lá ená-ma=ne pá-ri-mi
good walk-FUT=I up-steep-there
'I'll be going up there.' (Said as a leave-taking.)

The most emphatic position seems to be sentence initial:

'ó-ri-mi   bokuí-simí-'e bilé rió alué keréma
upstream-steep-there hide-go-EMPH a   man that think
                                                one

alué nápu mué 'yári
that whom you look:for
one
'Upstream there a man is hiding, the one, I think, the one
 whom you are looking for.'

In the following example, the locative follows the verb in
the first sentence, and precedes the verb in the second:

'líge alé   simí-sá alué basačí 'líge séba-le   'líge
then there go-when that coyote then arrive-PAST then

alé 'mí-mi   bilé-na   nápu čukú-le alué bilé rió...
there there-far one-place where be-PAST that one man

'líge alué basačí alé   séba-ga   nápu čukú alué
then that coyote there arrive-CONT where be   that

ohčí...
grasshopper
'When the coyote went there he arrived at another place where
 there was a man...Then arriving there where the grasshopper
 was...'

In the following example, the locative is discontinuous from
the verb. In questions and answers, the locative usually comes
sentence final.

táse nawá bilé rió héna   táse nawá-we   hé-mi-ka
NEG come one man here   NEG come-EMPH here-far-EMPH
'Didn't a man come right here?' 'He didn't come around here.'

čukí-ga-me   hú-ko mué-ka   alé banačí
what-STAT-PRTC be-EMPH you-EMPH there cheek
happen
'What's the matter with your cheek?'

Within a locative phrase, the locative normally precedes the
noun:

hé-na   wičimóba
here-close world
'here in this world'

'líge alě   pa rehkuáta moiná-sa   ili-gá
then   there up look   climb-when stand-CONT
                 out

siná-le-ga-ra   'líge alué rowí-ka
shout-PAST-STAT-QUOT   then   that rabbit-EMPH
'When he had climbed up on the look-out point, the rabbit
 stood there and shouted.'

But the locative may be discontinuous and follow the noun:

ně-ka a'lá če'wá-ke-'e   gara-bě nahká-la ili-gá
I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-AUG ear-POSS stand-CONT

alě
there
'I hit it right on it's ear that was sticking straight up.'

The locative may be repeated:

alé   miná-mi   nápu ma'čína-le alué rehpósi alé-mi
there further-there where come-PAST that mole   there-far
      on   out

si   rewá-le-ke-'e   'líge alué rowí   ralá-la
yes(?) see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that rabbit track-POSS
'There further on where the mole came out, there he found the
 rabbit's tracks.'

'líge alué wilú   alé   aré-sa   'líge alué basači alě
then   that buzzard there leave-when then   that coyote there

nápu ne-rú-le   alué piěsta...
where be-IMPRS-PAST that fiesta
'When the buzzards left the coyote there, there where the
 fiesta was...'

The locative can be repeated on the noun:

'líge 'mí-mi   boičí-mi
then   there-there trail-there
'Going along there on the trail...'

'líge alué mukí wé wehčá-ga-me   ka-rá-tu
then   that woman much sore-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC

'líge alé   bočí-gi-mí   seka-čí-mí   rono-čí-mi
then   there all-edge-there hand-place-there leg-place-there
           over
'That woman had sores all over on her hands and legs.'

Emphatics may be added to locatives. The following was said
in response to the question, "Does Lupe live there?".

alé-'e
there-EMPH
'Right there.'

Directions

Western Tarahumaras occasionally adapt the use of locatives
to express the idea of north, east, south, and west. It fits in
with the geography of the area where the mountain range runs north
and south. Two systems have been noted:

'ô-mi   **tû-mi**
upstream-there   downstream-there
'east'   'west'

'mî-mi
there-there
'north/south'

ga-ô-na   **simí nolí**
hill-upstream-here   go   cloud
              off-stage
'The clouds are going up the mountain/east.'

i-tú-na   **simí nolí**
REPET-downstream-here   go   cloud
                 off-stage
'The clouds are going downstream/west.'

gayêna   simí nolí
side   go   cloud
of:hill
'The clouds are going along the side of the mountains/north/
 south.'

TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS

Forms

A temporal word may consist of an independent stem or a stem plus affixes. Several temporal words may occur in a sequence to form a temporal phrase. Temporals play an important part in showing prominence in discourse structure.

Stems

A stem may consist of a single particle or a compound-like construction:

'ǎ si-mḗa nḗ-ba   **mǎ čo-na**
now go-FUT I-EMPH   now dark-LOC
'I am going now.'   'Now it is dark.'

yǎ a'lǎ hū
now good be
'It's alright now.'

kulǐ (**ku** 'again', **ilǐ** 'be')
        'later (a short time)'

alǐ (**'a** 'now', **ilǐ** 'be/stand')
       'afternoon/later'

be'lǐ (**be'a** 'early', **ilǐ** 'be')
         'tomorrow'

čǒna (**čo** 'black', **nǎ** LOC)
        'dark'

hǐpe
'today'

ya'mǎ (**yǎ** 'before', **mǎ** 'now')
         'immediately'

rawilǐ (**rawḗ** 'day', **ilǐ** 'stand/be')
          'noon'

be'ǎriko (**be'ǎ** 'early', **rukǒ** 'night')
            'evening'

yabḗ (**yǎ** 'now', **be'ǎ** 'early')
        'a little before'

be'bḗ (**be'ǎ** 'early', and **be'ǎ** 'early' or -**be** AUG)
         'early/a short time before'

če'lá (**učé** 'again', **a'lá** 'good')
‾dawn'

Affixes

Temporal words may have up to three suffixes.

=si AUG

hípe=sí-ko	**we'lí=si**	**ale=sí-ko**
today=AUG-EMPH	tall=AUG	there=AUG-EMPH
'today'	'a long time'	'from that time'

-bí DIM

čo-bí-na bi'í-bi	
black-DIM-LOC	clean-DIM
'dusk'	'crack of dawn'

-na LOC/'here off-stage'

čő-na
black-LOC
'just dark'

-lí 'stand'/'be'/STAT/PRTC

rawe-lí	**tará-li**
day-stand	count-PRTC
'noon'	'week'

-ko EMPH (Occurs on temporals and verbs.)

'yá-ko
before-EMPH
'long ago'

-pi DIM (Same as **-bi**? Note **pé** 'a little'.)

kulí-pi
later-DIM
'a little later'

-če 'again'

be'lí-pa-če
tomorrow-EMPH-again
'until tomorrow'

Phrases

A temporal word may be modified by another temporal, a
locative, a negative, or a quantifier.

nabí rawé	**'yá kulí**
every day	before later
'everyday'	'a little earlier'

'yã anuwí/'yanuwí
'day before yesterday'

> **anuwí/aniwí** by itself means 'day after tomorrow'.

'mí bamí	**ta-'čõ rawilí**
there year	NEG- still noon
'next year'	'just before noon'

nasípa rukõ	**abê a'kinãna**
half night	more later
'midnight'	'still later'

As seen in the above examples, the modifier usually precedes the head of the phrase.

A temporal phrase may have up to at least five temporal words.

'líge hípe a'kinãna we'kã bamí kãči   alaki-são   aluê
then today later   many year APPROX happen-when that

riõ alê
man there
'Then today many years after that happened to that man there...' (Note the use of 'today' in a general sense.)

'lã ní-mala-ba be'lí   aniwí-tiri riõsi elã-so
good be-FUT-EMPH tomorrow day-also   god   want-when
                                    after
'That will be good tomorrow and the day after, if god wills.'

Clauses

Color words may also be used in temporal expressions, in this case relating to the time of day. They occur in a double verb construction. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, Double Verbs, Group I. Also see **ADJECTIVES**, Color Words.)

rosabõča-ga ilí	**sehtã-na-ga ilí**
gray-CONT be/stand	red-DIM-CONT be
'getting dark in the evening'/	'when sun just went down'
'getting light in the morning'	

ulã-na-ga ilí	**čõ-na-ga ilí**
brown-DIM-CONT be	black-DIM-CONT be
'almost dark'	'dark at night'/
	'dark with clouds'

siyõ-na-ga   ilí
blue/green-DIM-CONT be
'when no clouds in sky' (weather expression)

In fast speech, which is common, **ilí** fuses with the preceding word to become one word, such as the following:

siyónaga ilí > siyónagilí

Others

romó
'winter'   (This refers to the way rains fall in the winter,
           which is usually a slow drizzle. The word **romó** is
           also used to describe drizzly rains which occur in
           the summer.)

guwé
'dry season'

we'lí guwé-sa-me
long dry-times-PRTC
      season
'It's a long dry season.'

bamunú	**balá**
'rainy season'	'fall'
(Note **ba'wí** 'water'.)	

a'líge/'líge	**a'lí-ko**
'and then'	late-EMPH
(Keeps a story moving.)	'then'/RESULT

wé   a'lá repú-ka   go'-póa-ra   sunú tabilé 'lú-ka
very good care-EMPH eat-FUT-QUOT corn NEG   throw-EMPH

hámi a'líko 'lá nabí   rak-é-me   ka-rá
out   then   good always seed-have-PRTC be-QUOT
there
'Take good care of corn for eating and don't throw it around,
 then the corn will always give fruit.'

a'kináa	**i'libé**
'later'	'later'
(See <u>Discourse Function</u>.)	(See <u>Discourse Function</u>.)

apučí biéniko	**pe'wéla**
'anytime'	'in a short time'

i'sínimi
'from time to time' (**i'**- REPET, **siné** 'once', and **-mi** 'there')

Discourse Function

The most emphatic place for a temporal is sentence initial.

siné-čigo ro'kolóbo ké-ke-'e
once-also PN   was-QUOT-EMPH
'Once this also was (happened) in Rocoroibo.'

sinéčigo is sometimes used to begin a story, sort of like 'once upon a time'.

A sentence initial temporal may be preceded by **'líge** 'and then', which keeps the story moving.

'líge pê   abê í'libê-ko má we'kã-ga-ra   'líge alué
then   just more later-EMPH now many-STAT-QUOT then   that

roló
bull
'Then a little later, the bull was lost.'

The following example shows a temporal word in an initial position, but following both **'líge** and a connecting-type word.

'líge alekêre hípe we'kuã ani-gã   gusû-me   ka-rã
then   for   today **we'kuã** say-CONT shout-PRTC be-QUOT
       that

'líge alué goláči
then   that crow
'Because of that, today the crow cries out **"we'kuã"**.'

A less emphatic position is sentence final.

arekêre wê   gomíči ka-rã   hípe-ko
for   many gully be-QUOT today-EMPH
that
'Because of that there are many gullies today.'

The temporal **má** 'now' sometimes acts as a result or summary marker:

'líge alué rió má me'ã-le-ke-'e   'líge alué geyõči
then   that man now kill-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that fox

alué igû-te   wehpa-gã
that stick-with hit-SIMUL
'Then the man killed the fox, hitting it with the stick.'
(The result was...)

At least three levels of prominence are noted with temporals. The lowest is marked by **'líge** 'and then'. Since **'líge** appears in procedural and expository discourse, as well as narrative, it might just be a logical connector. Different story-tellers use it with different degrees of frequency. One person uses it at least twice in every sentence--initially and after the verb. Another uses it at the beginning of each paragraph. The second person, then, is using **'líge** to mark larger chunks than the first person. There is another factor also involved here. The first story-teller, when he originally began to work with me, did not use **'líge** with such frequency. Only when he started writing the stories, as opposed to telling them, did he begin to use them with such frequency. This suggests a written style as opposed to an oral style.

The second level is marked by temporal words such as
'later', 'today', etc. Each of these is used in interesting ways
to mark certain things in discourse. For example, there are two
words which translate 'later'. **i'libé** helps to advance the
sequence of the story: 'He did this, then later he did that'.
a'kinána is used where there is a major time break of considerable
length. It might occur in a closure which said: 'Many years later,
that kind of thing did not happen any more'. Or in a paragraph
which says something like: 'He liked her. Many years later he
still liked her'. Or it might occur as a connective between two
discourses where there is a time difference, in a series of
connected discourses.

In the third or highest level of prominence are the time
changes which the author chooses to give special prominence to.
These are marked with the particle **-ko** being added to the time
word. It might be found at the initiating point of a story and
other prominent points where there is a time change.

QUANTIFIERS

Forms

Adjectival

bilé   'one/a/someone'

'líge bilé rawé be'á be'lí aní-le-ga-ra   alué
then   one day early early say-PAST-STAT-QUOT those

ahá-ga-me   go'á-me go'-gá
live-STAT-PRTC eat-PRTC eat-CONT
animals̲̲̲̲̲̲̲̲   food̲̲̲̲
'Then one day early in the morning, those animals eating food
 said...'

bilé can also be used in an indefinite sense:

bilé rawé   'some/one day'

če=bilé
again=one
'another'

pé   če=bilé   rió 'yúga newí-le-ke-'e   'líge alué
just again=one man with marry-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

mukî
woman
'That woman just married another man.'

halé   'some'

halé ralámuli	**halé-na-mi**
some people	some-place-there
'some people'	'there in some places'
če=halé	**aluê če=harê ahǎ-ga-me**
again=some	those again=some <u>animals</u>
'some others'	'the other animals'

'lîge aluê če=haré-la   abê nǒči-li   kǎ-me
then those again=some-POSS more work-PRTC be-PRTC

hū-tu
be-NONSPEC
'Some others are more work.'

uče   'again' **uče** can be used in the sense of 'more'.

tǎ uče   go'-nále=mu
NEG again eat-want=you
'Do you want to eat more?'

we'kǎ   'many' (**wê** 'much', **e'karú** 'things')

we'kǎ simî-ba-le	**pe'kǎ-bi**
many go-PL-PAST	little-DIM
'Many went.'	'only a little'/'only a few'
	(**pě** 'few', **e'karú** 'things')

hîpe-ko   nawêsa-wa-ba   'lîge amiči-pua pe'kǎ-bi   'lîge
now-EMPH sermon-IMP-EMPH then pray-IMP little-DIM then

rabêli simê-wa 'lîge bakiǎ
violin play-IMP then three
'Now give sermons, pray a little (few prayers), and play
 three violin songs.'

u'tǎ   'small'/'not much' (**kuči** PL)

u'tǎ riǒ	**u'kǎ-bi**
small man	few-DIM
'small man'	'only a few' (**u'tǎ**
	'small', **e'karú** 'things')

asîriga u'kǎ-bi uču-ri-ke   hîpe-ko
really few-DIM be:PL-PASS-QUOT today-TEMP
'Only a few will be left today.'

kăčí   'more or less'/'about'/APPROX

čekí óra kăči sebá-wa
how   hour about arrive-FUT
many
'In how many hours, more or less, will we arrive?'

e'karú   'many things/kinds'

'líge e'kalú-ga-me   ahá-ga-me ra'íča-me ka-rá-e   'líge
then kinds-STAT-PRTC animals   talk-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB then

aminámí
also
'There were many kinds of animals that talked also.'

nabí   'every/all the time'

nabí rawé
every day
'every day'

suwábaga   'all'

hípe-ko 'émí   ahá-ga-me suwábaga suwi-méla tabilé 'wési
now-EMPH you:PL animals   all   die-FUT   NEG   any

rehpí-ga
remain-CONT
'Now all of you animals will die, not one remaining.'

A verbal construction may also be used to express the idea of
'all'.

tabilé sēba-le   'yá-ru-ka=ne
NEG   arrive-PAST give-PASS-EMPH=I
'I was not given the complete (change).'

Adverbial

wě   'much/very'

wé rulá
very cold
'It is very cold.'

wa'lú   'big/much'   (wa'lú may also be an adjective:
                          wa'lú rió 'big man'.)

wa'lú go'á
big   eat
'Eat a lot!'

amulí   'almost'   amulí bosá=ne
                                         almost full=I
                                         'I am almost full.'

pé   'a little/just'   pé   abé i'libê-ko
                                         little more later-EMPH
                                         'a little bit later'

pe'tǎ   'a little bit' (pé 'a little', u'tǎ 'small')

pe'tǎ gepǎ-le   hípe
little snow-PAST today
'It snowed a little today.'

we'sǎ   'many times' (wě 'much', -sa REPET)

wě   we'sǎ símǐ-le
very many   go-PAST
'He went many times.'

aliéna   'so much/this much'

čanigá aliéna ayonó muě basačǐ ne-'čǐ 'yǔga
why   so   mad   you coyote I-ACC   with
        much
'Why are you so mad at me, coyote?'

če=rapé   'more/again'

če=rapé   go'ǎ   rapé-ba
again=more eat   more-EMPH
'Eat more!'   'I'm O.K.'   (Cf. ra- AUG, pé
                                              'a little'.)

(In response to the question 'Are you full?', and implies you
 could have eaten more.)

(r)asíriga   'really (am)' (=si AUG,
                                 -riga 'thus')

asíriga wa'lǔ hǔ yě
really big   be this
'This is really big.'

The word by itself is sometimes used in response to the question
"Are you full?".

rasí-ga-me
more-STAT-PRTC
'more than'

bilé eliá rasí-ga-me
one   score more-STAT-PRTC
'more than twenty'

abé   'more'

aluê bilé ralámuli abé sa'p-é-ga-n-ti   ní-sa
that one people   more meat-have-STAT-PRTC-ADJR be-if

aluê me'a-gá   go'-yá-me   ka-rá-e
that kill-CONT eat-CONT-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB
'If a person was somewhat fat, then they killed and ate him.'

Syntax

The quantifier may follow the noun (see the example for
suwábaga 'all' above). It may also precede the noun and article.

we'kā aluê ralámuli
many those people
'those many people'

It may also precede the noun directly.

aluê we'kā ralámuli   **we'kā riô**
those many people   many   man
'those many people'   'There are many men.'

A quantifier may also be modified.

čā   wa'lú riô
very big   man
'very big man'

'yá   mučí-ga-me   ralámuli o'čéra-me-ka wê   we'kā
before be:PL-STAT-PRTC people   old-PRTC-EMPH very many

e'kalú-ga-me   ra'íča-me 'íni-li   aluê 'yá
things-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC be:PL-STAT those before

nerú-ga-me   ra'íči-li
be-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC
'The old people who lived before told me very many
 stories, stories about long ago.'

A quantifier may be discontinuous from the noun for emphasis:

'lige alé   wičúči napaí-ka   piésta olá-le-ru-ga-ra
then   there PN   gather-EMPH fiesta do-PAST-PASS-STAT-QUOT

wa'lú
big
'(The people) gathered there at Huichúachi and a fiesta
  was held, a big one.'

Negatives may be involved in quantifier constructions.

'líge tabilé siné rawé re'kína-le 'líge alué basačí
then NEG   once day go-PAST   then that coyote
                        back
'The coyote never made it back down there to earth.'

ne-'čí rari-gí boléto abé ta'mé nahté-ame
I-ACC   sell-IMP ticket more NEG   cost-PRTC
'Sell me the cheapest ticket.' (not costly)

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

    The basic Western Tarahumara numerals reflect a combination
of perbaps three systems. One system is based on ten, perhaps
introduced by the Spaniards. 'Nine' is 'ten minus one'. 'Twenty'
(one form) is 'two tens'.

    The second system is based on four. Note that 'eight' is 'two
fours', and 'twenty' (a second form) is 'one score' (or one some-
thing, perhaps body). For 'nine', I once heard a Tarahumara say
'two fours plus one'.

    A third system, based on two, could possibly be involved as
well. Note that the odd numbers three, five, seven, and nine each
have either **gi** or **ki** involved, which in the case of nine means
'less'.

bilé	'one'	**o-sá**	**nõ**	'eight'
oká	'two'	two-times four		
baikiá/bakiá	'three'	(sometimes acts like a compound word)		
naõ	'four'	**gi-makoé**		'nine'
marígi	'five'	(less-ten)		
usáni	'six'	**makoé**	'ten'	
gičáo	'seven'	**makó bilé**		'eleven'
		(miná/aminá		'add')

The words for 'five' and 'ten' come from the proto
*ma 'hand'. Note the Western Tarahumara **makŭsa** 'finger'.

Derived Forms

-sa   'times'

bilé eliá / o-sá makoé	**bai-sá** makoé
one score two-times ten	three-times ten
'twenty'	'thirty'
okä eliá /naŏ-sa makoé	**marígi-sa** makoé
two score four-times ten	five-times ten
'forty'	'fifty'
usáni-sa makoé	**gičǎo-sa** makoé
six-times ten	seven-times ten
'sixty'	'seventy'
o-sá **nó-sa** **makoé**	**gi-makǒ-sa** makoé
two-times four-times ten	less-ten-times ten
'eighty'	'ninety'
bilé siénto/ makǒ-sa makoé	**bilé siénto minä bilé**
one hundred ten-times ten	one hundred add one
'one hundred'	'one hundred one'

bilé siénto aminä nasípa
one hundred add half
'one hundred fifty'

gi-makoé siénto minä usáni-sa makoé minä gi-makoé
less-ten hundred add six-times ten add less-ten
'nine hundred sixty-nine'

-sa is also used in statements such as 'He went twice'. It
does not, however, occur in 'once'.

siné   'once'

'líge a'kinäna nawä-ga-ra   **'líge alué riósi čé=čigo**
then later come-PERF-QUOT then that god again=also

siné
once
'Later god came once again.'

'yä   kulí   siné
before early/late once
'once before'

siné is used with other meanings as well.

siné=čigo
once=also
'one (day)/once upon a time'

siné=kači
once=APPROX
'perhaps'

o-sã
two-times
'twice'

gičão-sa
seven-times
'seven times'

bai-sã
three-times
'three times'

osã   naõ-sa
twice four-times
'eight times'

naõ-sa
four-times
'four times'

gi-makoẽ-sa
less-ten-times
'nine times'

marígi-sa
five-times
'five-times'

makoẽ-sa
ten-times
'ten-times'

usãni-sa
six-times
'six times'

makõ bilẽ-sa
ten one-times
'eleven times'

Note in the above examples that the **a** of **naõ** 'four' and the **e** of **makoẽ** 'ten' often drop out.

-na   'place'

bilẽ-na
one-place
'in one place'

nao-gã-na
four-(?)-place
'in four places'

oka-nã
two-place
'in two places'

malígi-na
five-place
'in five places'

baiki-nã
three-places
'in three places'
(a is lost)

From six on, **-na** is not
used.

Other locatives may also occur with **-na**, such as:

bilẽ-na-mi
one-place-there
'there in one place'

The clitic **če** can also be used:

čẽ=bilẽ-na
again=one-place
'another place'

če=bilẽ-na-mi
again=one-place-there
'there in another place'

When **čebiléna** is modified by **we'ká** 'many', both words have **-na**. Note the shift in stress:

we'ka-ná   če=bilé-na
many-place again=one-place
'many other places'

-čo 'also' appears in statements such as 'two by two'. It does not, however, appear in 'one by one'.

i'-píle
RDP-one
'one by one'

The voiced **b** of **bilé** becomes voiceless next to the glottal.

i'-píle mo'í-le   galí-rale
RDP-one enter-PAST house-inside
'One by one they entered the house.'

oká-čo   **baikiá-čo**
two-also   three-also
'two by two'   'three by three'

naó-čo
four-also
'four by four'

-pi   'only' Occurs word final. (Also see **NON-DISTINCT**
                                     ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

bi'lé-na-pi
one-place-only
'only one place'

-tiri   'also'

oká-tiri
two-also
'two also'

-ni   'be/same'

'íge pé   oká-ni-ka   wé   ralí-áme hú-tu   'íge alué
then just two-be-EMPH much sell-PRTC be-NONSPEC then they
'Those two are both very salable.'

-ni also occurs in the plural form of 'alone'.

'o-ni
two-be
'alone PL'

The singular of 'alone' is expressed with a form of **bilé** 'one' and **-li** 'be/stand'.

bi'né-li ahtí
one-be   be
'He is alone.'

Other numeral-type words:

bahčá   'first/before'

'líge bahčá ta'čŏ o'wína aluĕ piĕsta
then   first still begin that fiesta
              not
'Then first, before the fiesta began...'

bahča-bĕ
first-AUG
'first'

The word for older brother comes from **bahčá**.

ba'čí-lã
first-POSS
'older brother'

bahčá may also be used to express the idea of 'long ago/before'. In the following it acts like a compound word with **rawĕ** 'day'.

'yã   bahčá=rawe nápu 'líge bihí bi'néli kã aluĕ mukí
before first=day when then still alone   be that woman
'before when she was still single'

nihubã   'second/behind/later'

Locatives or **-pi** 'only' may be added.

'líge aluĕ sa'pã bahčá lú-le-ga-ra   'líge alĕgana
then   that meat first throw-PAST-STAT-QUOT then   down
                                                         there

'líge bo'né-ko pĕ   nihubã-gana o'počí-le-ga-ra   'líge
then   he-EMPH just behind-down jump-PAST-STAT-QUOT then
'He first threw the meat there below, then he jumped right
 behind.'

pe'tã nihubã-pi
little later-only
'a little later'

The idea of 'later', or 'second', may also be expressed with a 'when...then' construction, such as 'When he had thrown the meat, then he jumped'.

nasípa   'one-half'

Note the word **nasína** 'lazy'. In the following example, **nasípa** acts as a demonstrative. It also adds the possessive-specifier **-la.**

> **'líge alué sa'pá-la go'á-me hú-tu   'líge nasípa-la**
> then   that meat-POSS eat-PRTC be-NONSPEC then   half-POSS
>   food
> 'That half that is meat is food.'

To express the idea of 'this or that', juxtaposition is used.

> **oká baikiá kilómetro**
> two three kilometer
> 'two or three kilometers'

-la   POSS/SPECIFIER

> **pé   a'čigó aliéri hú napurigá alué čé   bilé-la**
> just same   thus   be like   that other one-SPEC
> 'It is the same as that other one.'

Syntax

The numeral normally precedes the noun.

> **bilé rió**   **naó óra hú**
> one   man   four hour be
> 'one man'   'It is four o'clock.'

But the numeral may also follow the noun, such as in a series.

> **alué bilé imé   me'čó-wa-go 'líge alué 'óna bilé 'líge**
> that one   maguey mash-IMP-EMPH then   that onaba one   then
>   plant
>
> **sugí pe'tá 'yúriga 'líge**
> beef little mix   then
>   with
> 'Mash up a maguey plant and an onaba plant together with a
> little corn-beer.'

ADJECTIVES

<u>Syntax</u>

The distinction between adjective and noun is not always clear, as many adjectives have a participial or stative ending; 'the red egg', for example, might well be translated 'the red-one egg'.

With some adjectives there is number agreement:

we'lí   **če'tí**
'tall'   'skinny'
(**i'wéli** PL)   (**e'čéti** PL)

sa'p-é-ga-me
meat-have-STAT-PRTC
'fat'
(**a'sabégame** PL)

The adjective usually precedes the noun, as in the first examples below. It may, however, follow the noun, even discontinuously, as in the second example below, which contains a series of adjectives:

wé   a'lá rió hú
very good man be
'He is a very good man.'

yé   bilé lápisi hú we'lí wé   semá-ti   wé
this one   pencil be long   very pretty-ADJR very

čup-é-ga-me
point-have-STAT-PRTC
'This pencil is long, pretty, and pointed.'

A noun phrase with an adjective can act as a clause.

wa'lú gawí
big   mountain
'The mountain is big.'/'It is a big mountain.'

A predicate use of an adjective can be seen in the following.

wa'lú hú alué gawí
big   be that mountain
'That mountain is big.'

In the following example, a noun is modified by a participialized noun.

imĕ   ohkŏ-me   ta'mĕ ra'ĭ-ga-me   hŭ
maguey pine-PRTC NEG   tasty-STAT-PRTC be
'Pine maguey is not tasty.'

Color Words

Six basic color roots have been noted in Western Tarahumara. Only 'black' and 'white' have plural forms.

rosã   **čŏ**
'white'   'black'
(**o'tosã** PL)   (**o'čŏ** PL)

sehtã   **siyŏ**
'red'   'blue/green' (The focal point
                                 for most speakers is in the
                                 blues.)

sa'warŏ   **ulã**
'yellow'   'brown'

The roots never occur by themselves. Suffixes which express the ideas of 'lighter', 'darker', 'focal', 'non-focal', 'becoming', 'barely', and 'approximate', as well as a participial ending and a verbal ending, may be added to the basic roots. (Considerable variation has been noted between speakers in regard to the range of color which each root and suffix covers.) A general formula for the non-verbal forms can be given as follows:

```
+ ROOT + DIM + DIM/AUG + PRTC + APPROX
  ‾    -bi   -na -ka    -ame ‾ -ti
       -bo       -ga
                 -ča
```

-bo comes from the future **-boa** and carries the idea of 'becoming'. **-bi** means 'barely' and perhaps also carries the meaning of becoming'. **-ga** occurs only in **sa'warŏgame** 'yellow', and **-ča** occurs only in **rosabŏčame** 'gray'. **-ti** might be equated with **-ti** ADJR.

Examples:

rosa-bŏ-č-an-ti   **čŏ-n-ame**
white-becoming-AUG-PRTC-APPROX   black-DIM-PRTC
'grayish'   'not very black/light black'

čŏ-k-ame   **čŏ-k-an-ti**
black-AUG-PRTC   black-AUG-PRTC-APPROX
'very black/dark black'   'blackish'

rosa-bí-n-an-ti   **rosa-bõ-č-ame**
white-DIM-DIM-PRTC-APPROX   white-becoming-AUG-PRTC
'whitish'   'whitish/becoming white'

A type of compound color word can be formed by putting two color words together. Normally the first word modifies the second, but if the modifier is expressing an extreme case of lightness or non-focalness, then the modifier occurs in the second position.

Three ways have been noted in which compounds are constructed. The most common is where the complete form of the color word appears in each part of the compound:

čõkame siyõkame   **čõname siyõkame**
'blackish-blue'   'blackish-blue' (less strong
                                             black than the preceding
                                             example)

The second is where the participial ending -**ame** is dropped from the first or modifying part:

siyõna čõname   **rosãka sa'warõgame**
'bluish-black'   'whitish-yellow'

A third type is where one part of the compound consists of either a loan word or a word such as 'shiny'.

rosãname čokolãte   **siyõname rahpãme**
'whitish chocolate'   'shiny blue'

Examples show that the ending -**ti** APPROX may appear on either the final part of both. An exception is found where the first part is the word for 'water moss', **banagã**, which is also used to express a color (moss-green). Then the -**ti** may appear only on the first part.

siyõkame čõnanti   **siyõnanti rosabõčanti**
'blackish-blue'   'grayish-blue'

banagãti siyõkame
'mossy-green'

The exact meanings of the above variations is not yet certain.

A color phrase may be further expanded by the use of adverbs such as the following:

pẽ   **wẽ**
'a little/not dark/ non-focal'   'much/dark/focal'

pẽ amulí   **se'winãti**
'almost'   'other'

The adverbs usually precede the color word, but may follow the word or else appear in both places. A formula for the color phrase may be written as follows:

$\pm$ ADV + Color Word/Compound $\pm$ ADV

Examples:

sehtá-n-ame siyó-n-an-ti   pé
red-DIM-PRTC blue-DIM-PRTC-APPROX little
'a little bit bluish-red'

pé   rosá-k-ame
little white-AUG-PRTC
'a little bit white'

The following are examples of noun phrases which contain certain color words:

siyó-k-ame   ga'wá-la   **mo'ó-la   sehtá-k-ame**
green-AUG-PRTC egg-POSS   head-POSS red-AUG-PRTC
'green egg'   'red head'

'lïge alë   nasïpa ena-gá-ra   'lïge alué sinowï
then   there middle walk-CONT-QUOT then   that snake

čö-k-ame   wa'lú
black-AUG-PRTC big
'There in the middle went the big black snake.'

All of the basic colors may be made into a double-verb construction. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, Double Verbs, Group I.)

čö-na-ga   ilï   **sehtá-na-ga ilï**
black-DIM-CONT be   red-DIM-CONT be
'being black'   'being red'

This verbal expression includes all of the variations of a basic color.

For a further study of Tarahumara colors, for both the Central and Western dialects, see Burgess, Kempton, and MacLaury, 'Fuzzy Sets and Tarahumara Color Categories'.

COMPARATIVES

(See also **RELATIVE CLAUSES,** Finite.)

<u>Comparisons of Equality</u>

napuyéri/napiéri/apiéri   'looks alike'

>   **'líge apiéri o'kočí aliéri hů-tu   'líge alué basačí**
>   then like   dog   thus be-NONSPEC then that coyote
>   'That coyote looks like a dog.'

napurigá   'like'

>   **wé   čigó-ri-ga-me   hů alué rió napurigá basačí**
>   much rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC be that man like   coyote
>   'That man is a thief like a coyote.'

     Some comparisons are stated in non-comparative terms. Instead
of saying 'He thinks like the devil', they might say 'He is a
follower of the devil'.

>   **wé   oyéru-me   hů remónesí**
>   much follow-PRTC be devil
>   'He is a follower of the devil.'

a'nǎri   'same size'

>   **a'nǎri a'-sa-bé-ga-me   hů**
>   same   RDP-meat-AUG-STAT-PRTC be
>   'They are the same fatness.'

aliéna   'same'

>   **aliéna semǎ-ti   hů   aliéna mehkǎ hů**
>   same   pretty-ADJR be   same   far   be
>   'They are the same prettiness.' 'They are the same
>   distance.'

a'čigó   'same'

>   **a'čigó aliéna semǎ-ti   hů**
>   same   same   pretty-ADJR be
>   'They are just the same prettiness.'

The use of two comparatives in the above example suggests a type of intensification.

a'čigõ aliéri sawé-ga-me   hū
same   thus   leaf-STAT-PRTC be
'The leaves are alike.'

kõma   'either' (when two things are equal)

anačá-sa migéli o   karnasiõni kõma
last-if PN   or PN   either
'...if either Miguel or Encarnación lasts.'

o   'or' (from the Spanish) (See above example.)

A type of comparative is also seen in the use of 'thus'.

alarigá   'thus'

alarigá newá-le
thus   do-PAST
'That's the way he did it.'

aliéri/abaliéri   'thus' (a characteristic)

aliéri hū
thus   be
'That is the way he is.'

wé   čáti ra'íča aluē riõ abaliéri hū aluē riõ
very bad talk   that man thus   be that man
'That man talks bad. That's the way that man is.'

Comparisons of Inequality

abé   'more'

aluē mukí abē semá-ti   hū
that woman more pretty-ADJR be
'That woman is prettier.'

aluē riõ abē ta'mé a'lá riõ hū
that man more NEG   good man be
'That man is worse.'

čerapé   'more/again'

čerapé abé rahtá-ga-me   hū ulí   tåse napurigá héna
more   more hot-STAT-QUOT be canyon NEG like   here

iwěra-či
mountain-place
'The canyon is hotter than here in the mountains.'
 (The canyon is hot, not like here in the mountains.)

amulí   'almost'

   amulí a'nári aliéna semá-ti   hú
   almost same   same   pretty-ADJR be
   'They are almost the same prettiness.'

tãse   NEG (used in comparatives)

   aluě rió wě   ní-ga-me   hú tãse napurigã ně
   that man very be-STAT-PRTC be NEG   like   I
   'That man is richer than I am.'/
   'That man is very rich, not like me.'

ta'mě   'not much'

   ta'mě bené-ga-me   hú nóča-ga   tãse napurigã ně
   NEG   know-STAT-PRTC be work-CONT NEG like   I
   'He doesn't know how to work as good as I do.'

   migéli wě   a'lã rió hú húlio ta'mě ('la rió hú)
   PN   very good man be PN   NEG   good man be
   'Miguel is a better man than Julio.'
    (Note that the final **'lã rió hú** is optional. Also **tãse** NEG
    could be used instead of **ta'mě**.)

Ø   Comparison by juxtaposition. However, the emphatic **-ka** might
      be helping to express comparison in the following examples:

   aluě rió wě   ní-ga-me   hú ně-ka wě   póbre hú
   that man very be-STAT-QUOT be I-EMPH very poor be
   'That man is very rich. I am very poor.'

neyúra   'win'

   bi'něli neyúra-ga sa'p-é-ga-me   hú
   alone   win-CONT   meat-have-STAT-PRTC be
   'He is the fattest of them all.'
    (He alone beats the others at being fat.)

bi'něli   'alone'

   bi'něli gawi-yã-či-li   hú aluě rió
   alone   skinny-CONT-LOC-PRTC be that man
   'That man is the skinniest of them all.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

haré	'some' (PL)
haré=čigo	'someone' (PL)
biré=čigo	'someone' (SG)
bilé	'one'/INDF PRON (SG)
i'sínimi	'sometimes'
tábiri	'thing'
e'karú	'different things'
apiépiri	'anyone'
apanápuri	'anywhere'
apučí biéniko	'anytime'

Examples:

má simí-ba-le haré
now go-PL-PAST some
'Some of them went.'

bilé rawé si-méa né
one day go-FUT I
'Someday I will go.'

i'sínimi oyá-me hú né
sometimes go-PRTC be I
'Sometimes I go.'

we'ká tábiri nóča né
many thing work I
'I do many things.'

e'karú-ga-me   ne-rú   héna
things-STAT-PRTC be-STAT here
'There are many kinds of
 things here.'

apiépiri owí-pua
anyone invite-IMP
'Invite anyone!'

apanápuri simá-wa
anywhere go-IMP
'Let's go anywhere!'

pé   apučí biéniko elá=ne
just any   time   want=I
'Any time you want.'

Negative

tabilé 'wési/ta-'wési
NEG   have
'no one'

tabilé 'wesí tábiri
NEG   have thing
'not anything'

tabilé asé/ta-sé
NEG   sit
'no place'

tabilé siné/ta-siné
NEG   once
'never'

tabilé tábiri
NEG   thing
'nothing'

Examples:

> **tabilḗ 'wḗsi sḯ**
> NEG   have arrive
> 'No one arrives.'
>   (**ta'wḗsi** can be used in questions, but not the complete
>   form.)
>
> **tabilḗ asḗ gomḯči ka-rá   napurigá enã-ma   ba'wḯ**
> NEG   sit gully be-QUOT so   walk-FUT water
>   that
> 'There were not any gullies for the water to run off.'
>
> **tabilḗ sinḗ oyá-me   hũ nḗ   tabilḗ tãbiri nóča=ne**
> NEG   once go-PRTC be I   NEG   thing work=I
> 'I never go.'   'I don't do anything.'

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

<u>Independent</u>

nḗ	'I'
muḗ	'you'
bo'nḗ	'he/she'
ramuḗ	'we/us'
'ḗmi	'you PL'
a'bõe	'they'

The demonstratives **aluḗ** and **yḗ** are also used for the third person, both singular and plural.

Note the pronouns of the Central dialect: **nihḗ** 'I', **muhḗ** 'you', **binõi** 'he/she', **tamuhḗ** 'we', **'yḗmi** 'you PL', **abõni** 'they', and the demonstrative **ḗči** 'this'.

Endings that occur on pronouns:

-**'čḯ**   ACC (occurs on **nḗ** 'I') (See **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELE-
            MENTS**, Accusative.)
-**ba**   EMPH (**PARTICLES AND CLITICS**, Polarity.)
-**ka**   EMPH (Used to mark main participants in discourse.)

Pronouns are not overly abundant in texts. One reason is that singular and plural forms of verbs are sometimes used to keep participants straight instead of pronouns. Also, some authors have a strong tendency to use the name of the animal or person, or

phrases like 'that man', instead of the pronoun. Pronouns occur mostly in actual quotes.

    'ä si-méa né-ba
    now go-FUT I-EMPH
    'I am going.'

    muě-ka   ne-'čí me'-li-mě   olä 'líge go'-méa
    you-EMPH I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do   then   eat-FUT
    'Are you going to kill me and eat me?'

Dependent

=ne	'I' (When **né** occurs following a verb, it sometimes carries stress and sometimes does not.)
=mu	'you'
-ru	'we'

Examples:

    ta'lä o'to-měla=mu ne-'čí
    Q   carry-FUT=you I-ACC
    'Will you take me?'

    tabilé čé   iki-měla=ne hěna
    NEG   again happen-FUT=I here
    'Nothing will happen to me here.'

    asíriga bosä-ga   sebä-ru   galí-rale
    really full-CONT arrive-we house-LOC
    'We arrived at the house really full.'

STEMS

Number

    Some verb stems change form for the plural while others do
not. Most of the changes involve describable phonological pro-
cesses, which include the following:

    voiceless to voiced changes
    shift of stress
    addition of a glottal
    inversion of sounds
    reduplication of vowels with an **h** or glottal after the ini-
      tial vowel
    vowel assimilation
    flap **r** becomes stop **t**

Examples:

SG	PL	
uhpé	**hubé**	'marry'
rehpí	**ehtebí**	'remain'
eyéna	**e'yéna**	'walk'
čukú	**učú**	'be'
čokíla	**ohčokíla**	'blame'
upé	**uhubé**	'have a wife'
re'kí	**e'tegí**	'get down'
bakí	**mo'í**	'enter'
ahtí	**mučí**	'be'
asá	**umučí**	'sit'

Classes

    Division into classes can be made on the basis of verbs which
take the future forms -**ma, -mia, -mala,** and -**wa,** and those which
take the future forms -**me(?), -mea, -mela,** and -**boa.** In the second
group, the stress which was on the stem shifts to the first syl-
lable of the future suffix: **yawí** 'dance' becomes **yawi-méa** 'will
dance'. In the first group, the stress remains on the stem: **enā**
'walk' becomes **enā-ma** 'will walk'.

-ma		-mea	
mučí-ma	'be PL'	si-méa	'go'
we'kâ-ma	'forget'	yawi-méa	'dance'
nehî-ma	'give'	wehpi-méa	'hit'
enâ-ma	'walk'	muku-méa	'die'
'mã-ma	'run'	baki-méa	'enter'
etë-ma	'see'	rewi-méa	'see'
newã-ma	'make'	osi-méa	'write'
če'wâ-ma	'tear'	ani-méa	'say'
pabé-ma	'carry'	ča'pi-méa	'catch'
rehpí-ma	'remain'	suwi-méa	'finish'
nawã-ma	'come'	muku-méa	'die'
ruyé-ma	'explain'		
mahâ-ma	'scare'		
ayõ-ma	'mad'		

The following examples from the -ma group involve other changes as well, such as an addition of a syllable, and stress or other phonological changes within the stem:

STEM	FUT	
ilí	ili-bá-ma	'stand'
sëba	sebã-ma	'arrive'
ma'čí	ma'čí-na-ma	'leave'
behté	behté-ła-ma	'live'
'nãta	'natã-ma	'think'

In the -mea group, all of the stems (when they have the future suffix) end in either u or unstressed i. The only exception is go'ã/go'-méa 'eat', which involves a glottal. In the -ma group, all of the stems (when they have the future suffix) end in any vowel except u or unstressed i.

With the stems that take -mea, the stress shifts for other suffixes also. For a subclass of this group, the stem changes when "unrealized" affixes are added. (Unrealized includes future, imperative plural, desire, and conditional. Realized includes past tense, participles, etc.)

Realized	Unrealized	
osã	osi-	'write'
rewã	rewi-	'see'
wehpá	wehpi-	'hit'
suwã	suwi-	'finish'
me'ã	me'li-	'kill'
go'ã	go'- (go'-méa)	'eat'

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

=ne	'I'
=mu	'you'
-ru	'we'

    The examples I have so far are all subject related. (See
DEFINITE PRONOUNS.)

Sentence Type

    Imperatives (See **IMPERATIVES** for a list of suffixes with
                   imperative force.)

    Quotatives (Also see **PARTICLES AND CLITICS,** Modal.)

-ke and **-ra**

    For a discussion of first and second hand information markers
and how they are used in narrative to mark the thread of the
discourse, background information, etc., see Burgess, 'Verbal
Suffixes of Prominence...'. Included in that study are **-ke** 'first
hand information/QUOT/thread of discourse marker', and **-ra** 'second
hand information/QUOT/background marker'. They are referred to in
the article as 'source'. Also included in the study are the
emphatic suffixes **-'e** and **-e**, which are used to verify if
something is true (**-'e** referring to truth and **-e** to doubt). They
are referred to in the article as 'verity'.

Examples:

aluẽ hũ-ke-'e	**aluẽ hu-rã**
he be-QUOT-EMPH	he be-QUOT
'That's him indeed.'	'They say it is he.'
(speaker sees him)	

    The idea of whether or not the second hand information
is true can be expressed by adding **-guru** or **-e**.

rahã-ra-guru	**simĩ-le-ga-ra-e**
burn-QUOT-truth	go-PAST-STAT-QUOT-DUB
'They say he burned it and	'Someone said he went
it is probably true.'	but he did not.'

-ra can also be used as an observation with a warning, such as when telling a child that something is going to happen to him but you do not want to be too bossy.

raha-rã   **wihči-rã**
burn-QUOT   fall-QUOT
'(I think) you're going to   '(I think) you're going
  burn yourself.'   to fall.'

-o/-go/-ko   IRR

The suffix -o/-go/-ko is directly related to indirect speech. It usually occurs in sentences with such verbs as 'think', 'know', 'realize', etc. It normally occurs on the verb in the clause expressing the content of the indirect speech.

'líge aluẽ sinowí mačí-le-ke-'e   'líge
then   that snake   know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

aluẽ rió čebilẽ mukí naki-ó   'líge
that man another woman want-IRR then
'The snake knew that the man wanted (thinking about)
  another woman.'

In the above example, the indirect quote follows the introductory quotative clause. In the following example, the introductory quotative is discontinuous, with part of it coming in the middle of the indirect quote.

'líge ralãmuli aluẽ sinowí mukû-li-go   mayẽ 'líge
then   people   that snake   die-STAT-IRR think then

alẽ-mi
there-there
'The people think the snake died there.'

In the following example, the word 'think' is not directly stated:

'líge aluẽ basačí-ka   wẽ   tónto ní-le-ke-'e   'líge
then   that coyote-EMPH much fool   be-PAST-STAT-EMPH then

simi-ó olã-le-ke-'e   'líge aluẽ gawí
go-IRR do-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that hill
'That coyote was foolish. (He thought) the hill was falling.'

The following example shows the IRR suffix occurring on the indirect speech formula verb (as opposed to the verb expressing the content of the indirect speech).

simí-le keré-ko
go-PAST believe-IRR
'It appears that he went.'

Note the use of **-go** in the following question:

pála simí-go-ba yě   gawí
Q   go-IRR-EMPH this hill
'Could this hill be moving?'

In the following, **-go** also occurs in the sentence used in response to a question.

sa-gó
Q-IRR
'Who knows?'

In narrative texts, IRR often occurs in commentary-type statements such as 'That's why the people knew (thought/figured out) the snake killed the man'.

A possible explanation of the phonological differences among -o/-go/-ko could be related to stress. In my examples, **-o** (with one exception) occurs in a stressed syllable, **-ko** in a syllable contiguous to stress, and **-go** in a syllable with at least one un- stressed syllable between it and stress. Also note that **-go** occurs following **-li**.

mukú-li-go	**keré-ko**	**naki-ó**
die-STAT	believe	want
u'kú-li-go	**kǎn-ko-tu**	**ani-ó**
rain	be-IRR-NONSPEC	say
o'tǒ-li-go		**simi-ó**
carry		go
sěba-li-go		**ayó-mi-o**
arrive		mad-FUT

Number Agreement

For singular and plural forms of stems, see **STEMS**.

For singular and plural imperatives, see **IMPERATIVES**.

The suffix **-ba** has PL for one of its values; see **VERB MOR-PHOLOGY**.

See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Tense/Aspect, for number-mark- ing with the future suffixes.

Subordination

Several different subordinating suffixes may occur on the

verb. They include the following, which are discussed under
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES.

Antecedent ('when')

-**sa**
-**so**
-**siga**
-**suga**

Purpose ('in order to')

Future Markers

Simultaneous ('when')

-**ga**
-**a** } see **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Tense/Aspect.
-**ame** PRTC
-**či**

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-**e**   APPLIC/CAUS/POSS

an-é   **sim-é raběri**
say-APPLIC   go-CAUS violin
'say to him'   'play the violin'

wak-ê=ne o'pǎča   **sim-ê-me**
dry-CAUS=I shirt   go-CAUS-PRTC
'I am drying the shirt.'   'driver' (one who causes
                                      a car to go)

up-ê-ga-me
wife-POSS-STAT-PRTC
'have a wife'

-**i/-ri/-li**   APPLIC

o'tô-i-ma   **o'tô-ri-wa**
carry-APPLIC-FUT   carry-APPLIC-IMP
'will take something to him' 'Take (something) to him!'

-ba   CAUS/'become' (See **VERB MORPHOLOGY.**)

nḗ ahčã-ba   ra'íča ilḯ-ga-či
I   stop-CAUS talk   be-STAT-CONT
'I made him stop talking.'

rula-bã-či   **nḗ simḯ rekã-ba   aluḗ riõ**
cold-CAUS-CONT   I go   push-CAUS that man
'making it cool'   'I made him fall.'

-sa   CAUS/IMP (See **IMPERATIVES.**)

nḗ ma'čḯ pa-sã
I   out   throw-CAUS
'I made him leave.'

Modal

-o/-go-ko   IRR (Also see **SYNTACTIC MARKING,** Sentence Type.)

tabilḗ aluḗ newã-le-go   mayḗ=ne aluḗ galḯ
NEG   he   make-PAST-IRR think=I that house
'I have my doubts that he made the house.'

-nale   DESID

wḗ   go'-nãle=ne
much eat-DESID=I
'I really want to eat.'

-e   DUB/IMPOT (Also see **SYNTACTIC MARKING,**
                    Sentence Type.)

ča'pi-nãle-ra-e
grab-DESID-QUOT-IMPOT
'They say he wanted to grab but could not.'

rekõ   simi-nãli-e=ne   tabilḗ gayḗna-ka=ne
although go-DESID-IMPOT=I NEG   able-EMPH=I
'Although I wanted to go I could not.'
 (**-nale** becomes **-nali** preceding **-e**.)

-we   'appear'

simḯ-le ka-wḗ
go-PAST be-appear
'It appears that he went.'

wihčḯ-me ka-wḗ   aluḗ rehtḗ
fall-PRTC be-appear that rock
'It appears that that rock is going to fall.'

-le   'appear/evidence'

> **go'-lé-le**
> eat-evidence-PAST
> 'The evidence is that he ate.'
> (Such as when an animal has been in the garden.)

For a discussion of 'should', see **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, <u>Double Verbs</u>, Group III.

<u>Tense/Aspect</u>

Ø   PRES/REC PAST

Ø includes not only the present, but the recent past when referring to something the speaker saw. In narrative discourse, it normally occurs in materials which are not the main thread of the discourse. (See Burgess, 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence...'; also for **-le** PAST.)

> **'líge aluē ríō ralãmuli mayé-Ø**   **'líge aluē sinowí**
> then   that man people   think-PRES then   that snake
>
> **mukí-la   'yūga nawā-li-go   'líge alé**
> woman-POSS with   come-APPLIC-IRR then   there
> 'The people-man thinks that the snake-woman came
> with him there.' (came with the snake-man)

-le   PAST

-le is a general past tense marker but is used for the immediate past only when referring to something the speaker did not see. In narrative discourse, **-le** usually occurs in the main body of the text and is a distinguishing mark of narrative as opposed to expository or other types of texts.

> **tabilé sinē sēba-le-ke-'e   'líge kū**
> NEG   once arrive-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   again
>
> **behté-la-či**
> live-INSTR-place
> 'He never arrived again at his house.'

-ma/-mea/-mia   FUT (See **STEMS**.)

The **a** of **-mea** is lost preceding a voiceless stop and certain vowels.

> **muē-ka   ne-'čí me'-li-mē   olã 'líge go'-mēa ne-'čí**
> you-EMPH I-ACC   kill-APPLIC-FUT do   then   eat-FUT I-ACC
> 'You are going to kill me and then eat me.'

It appears that a more exact analysis is possible, such as:

-ma/-me   FUT PNCT

-mea/-mia   FUT CONT (**-a** CONT)

For the use of the future to mean 'in order to', see
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Purpose. For the use of the future in
imperatives, see **IMPERATIVES.**

-mala/mela   INDF FUT

  -**la** is added to -**ma**/-**mea** to form an indefinite future suffix.

  'líge alué luísi owí-le-ke-'e   **'líge alué čebilé**
  then that PN   invite-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that other

  rió napurigá si   si-méla 'líge alué ro'čí wehi-méa
  man to   also go-FUT then that fish catch-FUT
  'Luis invited that other man to also go catch fish.'
  (The final syllable of the root **simí** 'go' merges with
   the future -**mela**.)

The indefinite future often carries the meaning of 'may', as
in the following example:

  'líge pe'tá abé i'libé-ko go'-méla mué ne-'čí
  then little more later-TEMP eat-FUT you I-ACC
  'A little bit later you may eat me.'

The indefinite future often occurs in negative constructions:

  tabílé čě   ili-méla=ne   hěna
  NEG   again happen-FUT=I here
  'Nothing will happen to me here.'

-boa/-poa   1P PL FUT Occurs with the -**mea** class of verbs.
                   -**poa** occurs following glottal or **h**, -**boa** following
                   i.

  hěna mači-bóa čikí-me   ní-li-ga   ralámuli
  here see-FUT happen-PRTC be-STAT-CONT people

  wě   'yá
  much before
  'Here we will see what happened to people long ago.'

  'ǎ go'-pǒa
  now eat-FUT
  'Let's eat.'

-wa   PL FUT Occurs with the -**ma** class of verbs.

    aluë baikiã čulugí simí-ba-le-ke-'e   **'líge u'bã-wa**
    those three bird go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then bathe-FUT

    alë gomíči
    there gully
    'Those three birds went there in the gully to bathe.'

-ge   PAST CONT/PERF CONT/SUBR

    'líge aluë rió-ka   ma'čína-le-ke-'e   'líge alë
    then that man-EMPH come-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there
                        out

    reso-či   ahti-gë
    cave-place be-PERF:CONT
    'Then the man came out of the cave where he had been.'

    'líge alë   'yëni-ge   'mã-le-ke-'e   'líge
    then there walk-PERF:CONT run-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

    o'wë-ka   alë   nãpu asã-le   aluë basači
    straight-EMPH there where sit-PAST that coyote
    'Having walked there, he ran straight to where
    the coyote sat.'

    'líge aluë sinowí mukû-le-ke-'e   'líge pë
    then that snake die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then just

    boiči-mí   ena-gë   'líge
    trail-there walk-PAST:CONT then
    'Then that snake died going on the trail.'

    -ge often occurs in subordinating clauses with the subordi-
nator **nãpu**.

    'líge pe'tã nihubãpi 'líge simí-le-ke-'e   'líge učë
    then little later   then go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then again

    sinë 'yã-si-a   aluë učë   harë nãpu 'yúga
    once search-AUG-CONT those again some who with

    enã-li-ge
    walk-STAT-PERF:CONT
    'A little later he went searching again for those others
    whom he had been walking with.'

    When -ge occurs in a double-verb construction, it appears on
the second verb.

    'líge wë ganí-li-ga   mučí-ge   aluë sinowí ta'čõ
    then much happy-STAT-CONT be-PAST:CONT that snake NEG

    nawã-či   alé
    come-SUBR there
    'They were very happy when that snake had still not come
    there.' (before the snake came there)

-a/-ya   SIMUL/CONT/SUBR

    -a/-ya is used in generalized present tense statements. For
its use in double-verb constructions, see **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**,
<u>Double Verbs</u>.

    muku-ã
    die-CONT
    'just dying'

    'lïge bilé mukï sï-le-ke-'e   'lïge wičõ-a   alé
    then one woman be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then wash-SIMUL there

    gomïči oká kũči 'yũga
    gully two kid with
    'A woman was there in the gully washing with two children.'

    'lïge alué goláči ta'mé umẽba-le-ke-'e   'lïge alué
    then that crow   NEG   able-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

    ronõ-la pagó-a
    leg-POSS wash-CONT
    'The crow was not able to wash his leg.'

-ga   SIMUL/PERF/CONT/STAT/IMP

    -ga seems to be used in more specific statements than **-a** and
sometimes carries perfect or past meaning:

    'lïge alué gawẽ alé   ba'wi-čï   alé   čukú-le-ga-ra
    then that horse there water-place there be-PAST-STAT-QUOT

    'lïge má   muku-gã
    then now die-PERF
    'The horse was there in the water now dead.'

    In the following example, -**ga** expresses the idea of 'simul-
taneous':

    'lïge alué basači 'a we'lï-sï asa-gá   'lïge alé   alué
    then that coyote now long-time sit-SIMUL then there that

    gawï rakibú-ga / 'lïge alué basači wẽ   resibá-le-ke-'e
    hill push-SIMUL   then that coyote much tire-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

    'lïge alué gawï rakibú-ga asa-gã   alé
    then that hill push-SIMUL sit-SIMUL there
    'The coyote was sitting there a long time pushing against the
    hill. He got tired sitting there pushing.'

-ga can also be future-oriented:

'líge aluě rió ralǎmuli benê-le-ke-'e   'líge aluě bilé
then that man people   learn-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that one

tǎbiri nóča-ga   'líge napurigǎ aluě rió sinowí tabílé
thing work-CONT then so   that man snake NEG
                   that

mači-měla 'líge alé   sebá-li-či
know-FUT then there arrive-STAT-when
'That people-man learned how to do a work so that the
 snake-man would not realize when he arrived there.'

ralǎmuli   ra'iča-ga beni-nǎle=ne
Tarahumara talk-CONT learn-want=I
'I want to learn how to talk Tarahumara.'

tǎ bené muě osa-gǎ
NEG learn you write-CONT
'Do you want to learn how to write?'

For the use of -ga in double verb constructions, see **OVERALL
VERB STRUCTURE**, Double Verbs. For other uses of -ga, see **NON-DIS-
TINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Participials**; **IMPERATIVES**; and **BE/HAVE/
DO, HAVE**.

-ro   'come and go/pass by/always'

'líge alé   o'líge simí-ro-ga-ra   'líge aluě
then   there PN   go-pass-CONT-QUOT then it
                           by
'It went by Oribo.'

mǎ   simí-ro-le   nasípa rukó
now go-pass-PAST half   night
       by
'Mid-night has passed.'

aluě basačí alémi bo'í-ro-či
that coyote there fall-pass-SUBR
                           by

ma-'mǎ-si-li-ga-ra-'e   'líge mehkǎ minǎmi
RDP-run-AUG-STAT-CONT-QUOT-EMPH then far   there
REPET
'The coyote was running around falling all over the
 place way over there.'

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Single Verbs

Active-type single verbs (as opposed to stative-type 'be' verbs) may consist of a root plus up to at least seven suffixes and one prefix. One to three suffixes is most common. Some stems have both singular and plural forms (see **STEMS**). Considering Ø as present tense, a verb must have at least one suffix. When participialized verbs occur as single verbs, they occur in subordinated clauses and the participial ending acts as the subordinator. The following chart includes most of the affixes which can appear on active-type single verbs.

```
RDP-STEM-APPLIC-TENSE-ASPECT-SUBR-QUOT-EMPH-EMPH
(EMPH/   STAT         DESID  PRTC IRR  TRUTH
REPET)   MOTION       IMP                INDF
                                         DUB
```

Co-occurrence Restrictions:

1. For occurrence of certain FUT forms with certain stems, see **STEMS**.
2. Subordinated verbs take fewer affixes than non-subordinated. In my examples of subordinated verbs, only APPLIC, TENSE, and SUBR occur.
3. Imperatives usually occur only with the stem and possibly an EMPH.
4. A participialized verb does not occur with IMP.

Single stative-type 'be' verbs have less inflection than do active-type verbs. With the present tense 'be' verb **hũ**, only the quotatives -**ke** and -**ra**, and -**tu** NONSPEC have been noted. With **nĩ** 'be', the tense markers occur as well as the subordinators, quotatives, and emphatics, in the same order as above. The past imperfect **kã** 'be' can have the past continuous -**ge** as well as quotatives and emphatics.

Double Verbs

Three auxiliary-type verb constructions have been noted. In narrative texts, they appear in materials which are not the main thread of the discourse.

Group I

In the first group, the initial verb consists of a stem plus a continuative. The verb which follows consists of a stem which is an active-type 'be' verb, plus endings such as tense/-aspect, quotatives, and emphatics.

Content				Auxiliary					
(STEM	+	CONT)	+	(STEM	+	TNS/ASP	+	QUOT	+ EMPH)
ayó	'mad'	**-ga**		**asá**	'sit'	**Ø** PRES		**-ke**	**-'e**
hó	'dig'	**-a**		**kí**	'bite'	**-ga** STAT/CONT			
aní	'say'	**-ya**		**čukú**	'crawl'	**-le** PAST			
ganíli	'happy'			**enã**	'walk'	**-ge** PAST CONT			
ní	'be'			**ilí**	'stand'				
				bo'í	'lie'				
				ahtí	'be' (no focus on position)				

The above is not exhaustive.

The 'be' verbs in Group I express an active idea. The choice of 'be' verb depends on what is actually happening (position of subject) and is related to the idea expressed in the initial verb. The ideas in the final verb include 'sit' (**asã**), which is expanded to include utensils sitting on a shelf, as well as 'living' ('He sits/lives there'); 'stand' (**ilí**), which includes actual standing positions and a body of still water; 'crawl' (**čukú**), which includes crouched-over position as well as being on all fours; and 'bite' (**kí**), which includes falling into something, etc. A general active-type 'be' verb which does not focus on position is found in **ahtí**. Tarahumaras, when translating the above into Spanish, usually say **estar** 'be', with no reference to position.

Certain content verbs fit automatically with certain auxiliary verbs. 'Dig' will almost always go with 'crawl/bent over'. 'Fall' will go with 'bite/fall into'. Others could go with more than one. 'Look', for example, could go with 'sit', 'stand', etc., whatever the position happened to be that the person was looking from.

Examples:

'líge aminámi alué bo'né 'yú-la   mukí 'yúga tabilé
then also   that his   with-POSS woman with NEG

ayó-ga   asá-le-ke-'e
mad-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'Also, he did not get mad at his wife.'

'líge bilé hó-a   čukú-ga-ra
then one dig-CONT be-CONT-QUOT
'One was digging.'

Usually the content verb is active, but the stative-type verb
nî also appears in examples:

'lîge aluê nãpu nî-le   aluê riô pé   aluê-čo   nî-ga
then   that which be-PAST that man just that-also be-CONT

rehpî-le-ke-'e
remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'He also remained with that which belonged to him.'

Group II

Group II deals with a more permanent characteristic than
Group I. The participial **-ame** occurs on the content verb and the
auxiliary verb is always a stative-type 'be' verb such as **hũ, kã,**
or **nî,** which are similar to the Spanish **ser**. The suffixes **-li**
STAT, **-ga** STAT, and **-ba** 'become' may also appear on the content
verb.

Content				Auxiliary					
(STEM	+	STAT	+ PRTC)	+ (STEM	+	TNS/ASP	+	QUOT	+ EMPH)
me'čî 'cut'	**-li**	**-ame**		**kã** 'be'	**-le** PAST			**-ke**	**-'e**
me'ã 'kill'	**-ga**	**-li**		**hũ** 'be'	**-ga** SIMUL			**-ra**	**-e**
nî 'be'	**-ba**			**nî** 'be'	**-∅** PRES				
ahtî 'be'					**-ge** PERF CONT				
					-li STAT				

The above is not exhaustive.

As in Group I, the stative-type 'be' verb **nî** can also appear
as the content verb:

etê-le-ke-'e   'lîge napurigã bilê riô nãpu nî-ga-me
see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   like   a   man who be-STAT-PRTC

nî-li-ge   'yã   bačã=rawe nãpu 'lîge bihî bi'nê-li
be-STAT-CONT before first=day when then   still alone-STAT

kã aluê mukî
be that woman
'She saw him as if he were the man whom he was before (her
boyfriend) when she was still single.'

The final verb does not always have to be expressed:

nîmokue aluê čã   e'wéle čibã pabé-ro-me   aluê basačî
of   that very heavy goat carry-pass-PRTC that coyote
course   by
'Of course it can, that coyote can carry a very heavy goat.'

Below is an example of a triple-verb construction which is a
combination of Groups I and II. The first verb has **-ga** CONT, the
second verb has the participial **-ame**, and the third verb is one of
the stative-type 'be' verbs:

pabé-ga   simî-me kã-re-'e   aluě minãmi mehka-bě
carry-CONT go-PRTC be-DUB-EMPH that there far-AUG
'It carries it a long way off.'

The difference between Group I and II and between the use of
kã and **nî** is related to discourse. In narrative discourse both
groups are used in background materials as opposed to the mainline
verbs which have no auxiliary or participle to downplay their im-
portance. Within background there also seems to be different lev-
els, the more active Group I being foregrounded relative to Group
II. In Group II, one difference between **kã** and **nî** seems to be that
kã is used in materials which are stuck in, or added to a dis-
course, such as an outside comment or a closing remark. **nî** might
be used in background information within the flow of the dis-
course, and **kã** might be used in background information which is
not relevant to the flow of the discourse.

Group III

A type of auxiliary-verb construction can also be seen in the
use of 'should'. Only a few examples have been noted and a more
exact analysis has not been done. Note that in two of the examples
the initial verb does not have any suffix. The other two examples
contain verbs which have continuatives of Group I. No attempt has
been made to break down the word. (Compare the following with the
Central dialect **tếrikopačế** 'until later'.)

muế etế tếrigi=pače   **tabilé čế   orã tếriga=pače**
you see should   NEG   again do should
'You should have seen it.'   'should not do bad things'

simi-ã tế=pačế rowěmi-a
go-CONT should race-CONT
'He should go race.'

ãka go'-yã   tế=pače tã go'-sã-ka   muku-měla
RQ eat-CONT should NEG eat-if-EMPH die-FUT
'He should go eat, because if he doesn't he will die.'

COORDINATION

Conjunctions

The following are elements which suggest coordination as opposed to subordination. The distinction, however, is not always clear.

'líge/a'líge	'and/and then'
'líko/a'líko	'then'
-tiri	'also/and'
sí	'and/also/together with'
pẽ	'just/really/but'
pẽ elegá	'but'
kõma	'or'
ô	'or'
čigó	'also'
aminãmi	'also/in addition'
abiêna	'yes/also'
juxtaposition	

Syntax

'líge/a'líge   'and/and then'

In texts which were recorded on tape by Albino Mares and other Tarahumaras, **'líge** does not occur with much frequency, but in all the texts which Albino has written, **'líge** occurs with great frequency and in a very consistent pattern. Almost every clause begins with **'líge** and almost every verb is followed by **'líge**. Perhaps this suggests that a written style is developing as opposed to an oral style. The postposed position of **'líge** after the verb parallels the use of postpositions with nouns. (See **TEXT**.)

In discourse, the function of **'líge** is to keep the story going (and then...and then).

'líge also functions as a coordinator on the sentence level, for clauses or smaller constituents:

nẽ e'tẽ aluẽ re'malí 'líge aluẽ iwẽ
I see that young   and   the young
              man   woman
'I saw the boy and the girl.'

né-ka   go'á-me   rari-nále   'líge   'yôwî   'yúriga
I-EMPH eat-PRTC buy-DESID then   medicine mix
                                                    with
'I want to buy food and medicine.'

wê   'lá rió hú aluê čigó-ga eyéna-me hú 'líge
very good man be he   rob-CONT walk-PRTC be then
'He is a very good man but he goes around robbing.'

It is not always easy to tell at what level **'líge** is func-
tioning (sentence or discourse). Perhaps both at the same time.
Juxtaposition could be functioning in the above examples also.

'líko/a'líko   'then' **(alí** 'late' plus the temporal **-ko)**

'líko and **a'líko** function in reason-result type construc-
tions. In discourse, they mark a high level contrast such as
a sudden change in what is happening, the arrival of an important
participant whose arrival changes things, death of a participant,
etc. **a'líko** appears to be more emphatic than **'líko**. They occur
sentence initially or nearly so.

'líge a'líko tabilé ayó-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge aluê
then then   NEG   mad-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

ohî aluê rió 'yúga / 'líge alekêre aluê rió tabilé
bear that man with   then because that man NEG
                                         of:that

maha-lê-ga-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge aluê ohî
fear-have-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that bear
'The bear then did not get mad with the man. Because
 of that the man was not afraid of the bear.'

'líge yá   a'líko bihî ta'čô i'tê-le-ke-'e   'líge
then before then   still NEG   have-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

aluê ra'nâ-me   oli-á / alekêre 'larigá me'â-me
that shoot-PRTC do-CONT for   thus   kill-PRTC
                         this

ní-le-ke-'e   'líge aluê čomalî
be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that deer
'Before when they still did not have guns, that's the way
 they killed deer.' (Before they did not have guns. That's
 why they killed deer that way.)

-tiri   'also/and' Occurs on nouns, especially in lists.

riósi newá-le-ga-ra   rewagá we'é-tiri mečâ-tiri
god   make-PAST-STAT-QUOT sky   land-also moon-also
'God made the sky, the land, and the moon.'

=sî   'also/and/together with/yes'

>**'lîge aluê aráni 'lîge aluê êba=sî wê   ganî-li-ga**
>then that PN   then that PN=also very happy-STAT-CONT
>
>**mučî-le-ke-'e   'lîge alé   elêna-bo**
>be:PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there PN-plain
>'Then Adam and Eve were very happy there in Eden.'

pê   'just/really/but'

>**'lîge nê-ka 'lîge pê   wilû   kolâ-tu   'lîge aluê**
>then   I-EMPH then just vulture thought-NONSPEC then it
>
>**pê   aluê a'wê nî-le-ke-'e   'lîge aluê**
>just that hawk be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then it
>'I thought it was just a vulture but it was a hawk.'
>(I thought it was just a vulture. It was just a hawk.)

pê elegá   'but/however'

Occurs initially in the second part of a comparative con-
struction.

>**yê   munî rosabôčame wê   ra'î-ga-me   hû-tu=čigo**
>this bean gray   very tasty-STAT-PRTC be-NONSPEC=also
>
>**go'á pê elegá ralámuli ta'mê wê   ehčá-me   hû-tu**
>eat but   people   NEG   much plant-PRTC be-NONSPEC
>'This gray bean is also very tasty to eat, but people
> do not plant it much.'

pê elegá probably comes from **pê** 'just' and **arigá** 'neverthe-
less/thus'.

kôma   'either...or' Used when two things are equal.

>**'mê-pua-re-ke   we'lî anačá-sa migéli o karnasîôni kôma**
>win-FUT-DUB-EMPH long last-if PN   or PN   either
>'We will win if either Miguel or Encarnacion lasts.'

ô   'or'

From Spanish. Note the example above.

A type of coordination can be seen in the following example
through the use of **aminámi** 'also/in addition to', **=čigo** 'also',
-tiri 'also', and **'lîge** 'then'. **aminámi** occurs either sentence
initial or following **'lîge** 'then'.

>**alé o'lîbo wê   oyá-me   ka-rá-tu   'lîge aluê**
>there PN   many walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that

čomalí / aminámi alé   bakusínili-mi wé   oyá-me
deer   also   there PN-there   many walk-PRTC

ka-rá-tu   'líge čomalí / 'líge alé   čulúbo-mi wé
be-QUOT-NONSPEC then   deer   then   there PN-there   many

oyá-me   ka-rá-tu=čigo   'líge / aminámi alé
walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC=also then   also   there

repawéči-mi wé   oyá-me   ka-rá-tu=čigo   'líge...
PN-there   many walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC=also then

'líge aminámi aluê čomalí-tiri tabílé oyá ka-wé=čigo
then also   that deer-also   NEG   walk be-DUB=also

'líge hípe-ko
then   today-TEMP
'There at Oribo they say there were many deer. Also at
 Bacusiniri they say there were many deer. Then there
 at Chulubo they say there were also many deer. Also there
 at Repawechi they say there were many deer also...Also there
 do not seem to be many deer today (nor bear, etc.).'

=**čigo** 'also' may be used in various ways, which are discussed
below. It may occur with verbs, numerals, negatives, and adverbs.

When appearing with a verb, =**čigo** retains the meaning 'also'.

'á simí-le=čigo
now go-PAST=also
'He also went.'

=**čigo** combines with numerals to form indefinite-type words:

bilé=čigo   'someone' (SG)
harê=čigo   'someone' (PL)
sinê=čigo   'at one time'/'once upon a time'

'líge sinê=čigo ka-rá-e   alé   wasáči
then   once=also be-QUOT-DUB there PN
'Once this was (happened) there at Wasachi.'

The following example shows =**čigo** with a negative. In Eng-
lish, it would not be translated here.

'líge tabílé=čigo alé   ní-le-ko   nápu aluê bakà
then   not=also   there be-PAST-EMPH where that cane

rahá-le
burn-PAST
'He wasn't there where the cane burned.' (Perhaps =**čigo**
 could add a meaning such as 'He wasn't even there...'.)

In the following example, =**čigo** combines with **čẽ** 'again'.

'lĩge abé a'kinãna čẽ=čigo   sinẽ natẽpa-le-ga-ra
then   more later   again=also once meet-PAST-STAT-QUOT

'lĩge aluẽ mukĩ aluẽ ohĩ alẽ   napigõ
then   that woman that bear there PN
'Once later, that woman encountered the bear again there
 at Napigõ.'

Juxtaposition

Coordination can also be shown by placing two clauses next to
each other without coordinator words or affixes. Juxtaposition can
mean 'and', 'but', 'because', or 'or'.

nẽ bilẽ galĩ nĩ   wa'lũ
I   a   house be/have big
'I have a house (and) it is big.' (This could be inter-
 preted as 'I have a big house.')

'lĩge bilẽ towĩ nĩ-le-ke-'e   'lĩge 'lĩge bilẽ mukĩ
then   a   boy be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   then   a   woman

nĩ-le-ke-'e   'lĩge
be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then
'There was a boy (and) there was a woman.'
 (**'lĩge** could be acting as a coordinator, but since
  both clauses are exactly the same, juxtaposition
  is suggested. Also, each clause could stand alone.)

tabilẽ če'wã-ka aluẽ-ka   nẽ-ka a'lã če'wã-ke-'e   gara-bẽ
NEG   hit-EMPH they-EMPH I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-AUG

nahkã-la ili-gã   alẽ
ear-POSS stand-CONT there
'They did not hit it (but) I hit it right on the ear.'

okã baikiã kilõmetro
two three kilometer
'two (or) three kilometers'

Items being expressed in coordination may all be specific, as
in some of the above examples, or they may go from generic to
specific, or specific to generic, or, as in the following example,
generic to specific to generic. A participial ending is often in-
volved in the generic part.

'lĩge e'karũ-ga-me   aluẽ sikolĩ 'lĩge aluẽ behtõli
then   things-STAT-PRTC that pot   then   that dish

aluẽ suwãbaga alẽ   'lũ-le-ke-'e
those all   there throw-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'Many things, the pot, the dish, all of those he threw
 there.'

The following examples go from specific to generic and make use of the connectives **'lîge** 'and then' and **abiéna** 'yes/ also'.

'lîge aki-rû-me   ka-râ   'lîge siná-me   alué o'tolî
then hear-PASS-PRTC be-QUOT then shout-PRTC that rooster

alé   repočî čabáči 'lîge alué berîko abiéna anî-me
there PN   gorge then that parrot also   say-PRTC

ka-râ   'lîge gusû-a   alé   'lîge alué o'kočî abiéna 'lîge
be-QUOT then shout-CONT there then that dog   also   then

alué mîsi abiéna suwábaga alué nápu ikî lû-le   alué
that cat also   all   that which be throw-PAST that

rîô alé   ewá-gi-čî
man there hole-edge-place
'The rooster was heard crowing there in the inner-gorge
 at Tepochî, the parrot they say was also there shouting,
 the dog also, the cat also--all those which the man
 threw into the deep hole.'

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Non-Quotational

Subject

wê   'lá   hû [oká kostáli ne-rû-ga]
very good be two sack   be-STAT-CONT
'It is good that there are two sacks.'

'lá   bihči-á   [o'kô-le   ronó-la] tabilé 'yégi-le
good true-CONT hurt-PAST foot-POSS NEG   lie-PAST
'It is true his foot hurt, he did not lie.'

Object

alué-ka nakî [napurigá nočá-ma nê]
he-EMPH want that   work-FUT I
'He wants me to work.'

nê tabilé aké [rolô-čî]   be'áriko
I NEG   hear snore-SUBR last
                           night
'I did not hear you snoring last night.'
 (When you snored last night I did not hear you.)

Discontinuous object complement clauses can be seen in the
following examples:

[nā-ka   enā-ga-me]   rewā-le-ga-ra   [bilē
here-towards walk-STAT-PRTC see-PAST-STAT-QUOT a

riō o'čéra-me]
man old-PRTC
'They saw an old man walking towards them.'

hūma=si-ga-ra-'e   a'līge [nā-ka   enā-ga-me]
run=AUG-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then   here-towards walk-STAT-PRTC

rewi-sā [o'čéra-me riō]
see-when old-PRTC man
'They ran when they saw the old man walking toward them.'

Direct Quotes

Direct quotes in oral texts differ somewhat from those which
a Tarahumara has written. In oral texts, quotation words (such as
'he said') do not have to be used as much since intonation can
show the listener that someone is being quoted. So, in oral texts,
quotation words occur only after the quote, whereas in written
texts, they are usually put both before and after. In a long
quote, they may also be inserted in the middle of the quote. A
type of discourse has also been noted in which the speaker gives
both sides of a conversation without any quotation words. I have
called this type dramatic discourse. A single speech act, without
any quotation words, may also occur in the peak of a discourse.

The most common word found in speech formulas is **anī** 'say',
even when a question is being asked. Question words within the
actual speech leave no doubt as to whether or not a question is
being asked. In the answer to a question, the speech formula which
precedes the quotation usually contains **nehē** 'answer', and the
speech formula which follows uses **anī**. In one example, however,
anī is used both prior to and following the quote. The following
example shows a combination of **anī** 'say' with **rukē** 'ask'.

'līge aluē rowī   rukē-le-ke-'e   'līge aluē sa'pa
then   that rabbit ask-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that meat

kōki-sa   aluē basačī pála 'lā iyā-gì-li-ga   'līge
take-when that coyote if   good like-edge-STAT-CONT then

aluē sa'pā / 'līge basačī 'līge anī-le-ke-'e   'līge
that meat   then   coyote then   say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

ruke-lī-a   'lā 'abē ra'ī-ga-n-ti
ask-STAT-CONT good more like-STAT-PRTC-ADJR

nī-li-gi-če   aluē sa'pá nāpu muē nehī=si-e
be-STAT-bite-EMPH that meat   which you give=AUG-EMPH

aní-le-ke-'e   **'líge alué basačí**
say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote
'Then when the coyote took the meat, the rabbit asked him
 if he liked it. Then the coyote said asking, "I really
 like that meat which you gave me", said the coyote.'

Double quotation verbs may also be used, which I consider as
a type of emphasis. These include such phrases as 'he answered
said', 'he explained said', and 'said asking', as in the above ex-
ample. The connective **'líge** 'then' usually separates the two
verbs. The following conversation illustrates this point, as well
as others which will be discussed later. A slash denotes change of
speaker.

'líge aní-le-ga-ra   **'líge alué bo'á 'líge mué-ka**
then say-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that sheep then you-EMPH

ne-'čí me'-li-mé   **olá 'líge go'-méa ne-'čí aní-le**
I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT I-ACC say-PAST

'líge alué bo'á 'líge alué basačí natepá-sa 'líge alé-mi /
then that sheep then that coyote meet-when then there-LOC

'líge alué basačí nehé-le-ke-'e   **'líge aní-le   hú**
then that coyote answer-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then say-PAST yes

go'-mé olá né mué aní-le   alué basačí / 'líge alué bo'á
eat-FUT do I you say-PAST that coyote   then that sheep

čerapé ra'íča-le-ke-'e   **'líge aní-le   pé   hípe**
more   talk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then say-PAST just now

yáti-ka   tabilé me'-li-méla   mué ne-'čí aní-le   bo'á
quick-EMPH NEG   kill-APPLIC-FUT you I-ACC say-PAST sheep

'líge pe'tá nihubápi aní-le   'líge alué bo'á táča
then little later   say-PAST then that sheep perhaps

'lá buwé-sa   ní-li   mué pe'wéra aní-le   'líge alué
good wait-should be-STAT you little say-PAST then that
                                          time

bo'á 'líge pe'tá abé i'libé-ko 'lá go'-méla mué ne-'čí
sheep then little more later-EMPH good eat-FUT you I-ACC

áka 'mí   héna asá-ri-go   pe'wéra 'líge alé   asi-sá
RQ there here sit-STAT-IRR short   then there sit-when
                                          time

'líge pé   nihubápi 'lá olá-ma mué 'líge ne-'čí anápu číbi
then just near   good do-FUT you then I-ACC what bad

olá-sa ní-li   mué ne-'čí me'-li-méla   mué ne-'čí
do-when be-STAT you I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT you I-ACC

ahá-ga-me   aré-ma   má mué ne-'čí
live-STAT-PRTC leave-FUT now you I-ACC

'Then they say the sheep said: "You want to kill and eat me?"
said the sheep when he encountered the coyote out there. /
Then the coyote answered and said: "Yes, I want to eat you",
said the coyote. / Then the sheep spoke more and said:
"Don't kill me right away", said the sheep. Then a little
later the sheep said: "Shouldn't you wait a little?" said
the sheep. "Then a little later you can eat me, having sat
here a little. When you have sat there a little later you
can do whatever bad thing you want to do to me. You can kill
me or leave me alive."'

A common way for conversation in coyote stories to be handled
is for there to be one or more speech exchanges which end in a
proposal followed by a non-speech act. For example, the coyote and
an animal begin a conversation, the animal realizes he is going to
get eaten and he then makes a proposal to counter that. At that
point the conversation stops and a description continues of what
took place.

In the speech formula which precedes the quote, the name of
the speaker may either precede the speech verb (or occur in the
preceding sentence) or follow it. Fronting gives emphasis to the
speaker. In the speech formula which follows the speech, the name
of the speaker always occurs following the verb, although it oc-
casionally does not occur at all.

The following suffixes have been noted on speech formula
verbs:

-e 'to him'/APPLIC TNS/ASP QUOT EMPH

All of these may occur on the single, pre-quote verb, and on the
first verb of a double construction. On the second verb of a dou-
ble construction, only the past-tense/mainline verb marker -le has
been noted. On the post-quote verb, all of the above suffixes have
been noted, but the most common pattern is to use only -le.

When -e 'to him' occurs, it comes either in the initiating
speech of a conversation or at a point where there is a switch of
dominance. For example, the coyote might have everything going his
way up to a point and then the rabbit gets control of the scene.
At that point an-ḗ 'say to him' might occur. It may also occur in
the peak of a discourse, as in the following example:

'líge aluḗ mukí ne'ṍča-le-ke-'e   'líge aluḗ ohí
then   that woman shout-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that bear

an-ḗ-le-ke-'e   čã-ti-ri   ohí-ki
say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH bad-ADJR-EMPH bear-EMPH

čígṍ-ri-ga-me   arḗ-wa   aluḗ besḗro
steal-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC leave-IMP that calf

an-ê-le-ke-'e   **'lîge**
say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH   then
'Then the woman shouted at the bear and said to him, "You
 bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!" she said to him.'

The actual words spoken by participants in texts are of two
kinds. In one there are speech exchanges between two participants.
In the other a speech act is uttered by only one participant. This
speech act might repeat something which was just reported. It
might comment on something which was just reported. It might also
be a rhetorical question or a command. The example given earlier
in this section about the bear includes both a command and a
statement: 'You bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!' This is
followed by: 'When the bear heard that, he quickly left it'. As
stated earlier, single speech acts are most often used in high
points of the story, such as a peak, but they may also occur early
in a story and in the final comments. They serve as a literary de-
vice for making a story more interesting and as a type of empha-
sis. An example of a rhetorical question is given below:

anî-le-ke-'e   **'lîge tãča 'lã umabã-wa wê   aluê sinowî**
say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH   then   Q   good able-IMP much that snake

me'ã alê   ba'we-čî   behtê-ga-me   anî-le-ke-'e
kill there water-place live-STAT-PRTC say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
'They said, "Can't we kill that snake that lives there
 in the water?"'

A direct quote may also be given of what someone thinks. In
such a case the verb **'lã** 'think' always appears in the speech for-
mula. It implies a quote.

'lîge 'lã-le-ke-'e   **'lîge yê   mukî pê   aluê**
then   think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   this woman just that

sinowî hû-pa-ku-e=čigó   **'lã-le**
snake   be-EMPH-again-DUB=also think-PAST
'Then he thought, "This woman is just a snake too", he
 thought.'

The following is an example taken from a dramatic discourse
text:

kuîra / ganîri-ba / asa-gã pačã-mi
hello   happy-EMPH   sit-IMP inside-LOC
'Hello.' (speaker one) 'Happy to see you.' (speaker two)
 'Sit down inside.' (speaker one)

In dramatic discourse, intonation plays an important part.

Indirect Speech

(Also see **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Sentence Type.)

Indirect speech involves such verbs as 'think', 'believe', 'realize', 'say', 'explain', and 'invite'. These often work in combination with the suffix **-o/-go/-ko** IRR/INDIRECT QUOTE. Indirect speech is used in texts to give a summary or to make a comment on something. It usually occurs in the closure of a text or near the beginning.

Two verbs are involved in indirect speech which can be translated with the English 'think'. **'náta** is used in summary statements and always infers that some kind of action is going on.

'líge aluê ralámuli wé   a'lá 'náta-le-ke-'e   'líge
then   those people   much good think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

aluê sinowí me'-li-méa   'líge
that snake   kill-APPLIC-FUT then
'The people thought (did) very good in killing that snake.'

'líge aluê riô-ka   'náta-le-ke-'e   'líge napurigá
then   that man-EMPH think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   so
                                                    that

aluê mukí alê   muku-méla
that woman there die-FUT
'Then that man thought (did) in order that (how that)
 that woman might die.'

The verb **mayê** means 'think' in the sense of 'believe'. It usually occurs in background materials where some comment is being made on a matter. In my examples, it always occurs in the same sentence as **-go** IRR.

'líge aluê ralámuli mayê 'líge aluê sinowí alê   čabáči
then   those people   think then   that snake   there gorge

repočí séba-li-go
PN   arrive-STAT-IRR
'Those people think that the snake arrived there at Tepochí
 gorge.'

In the following example, note the combination of **'la** 'think' with **-go** IRR and **mayê** 'believe'. Also note the mid-quote position of **mayê**.

'líge aluê ralámuli aluê etê-sa   'líge alê-mi
then   those people   there see-when then   there-LOC

'lá-le-ke-'e   'líge wa'lú u'kú-li-go
think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then big   rain-STAT-IRR

    mayě-le-ke-'e   **'líge alé   iwěra-čí**
    think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there mountain-place
    'Then when those people saw, they thought, "It rained a
    lot", they believed, "there in the mountains".' (I am
    unsure of the quotes.)

        The normal order of an indirect speech sentence is for the
speech formula clause to come sentence initial. The following
example shows one that is discontinuous. Also note the use of
'say' in indirect speech.

    'líge aluě ralámuli-ka aluě sinowí o'tó-li-go   mayě
    then   those people-EMPH that snake carry-APPLIC-IRR believe

    'líge aluě rió alawǎ-la / alekére mukū aluě rió aní
    then   that man soul-POSS   for   die   that man say
                                       that
    'The people believe that snake took that man's soul. Be-
    cause of that he died, they say.'

        The following example of indirect speech involves the verb
mačí 'know/realize'.

    'líge aluě rió sinowí mačí-le-ke-'e   'líge aluě
    then   that man snake   know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that

    mukí   naki-ó   'líge čebilé rió
    woman want-IRR then   other   man
    'Then that snake-man knew that that woman wanted another
    man.'

        The following two-sentence example involves the verbs **ruyá**
'explain', and **buyá** 'invite'.

    'líge aluě rió ruyá-ra   'líge we'kǎ čuku-gǎ-ra-e
    then   that man explain-QUOT then   many be-CONT-QUOT-DUB

    'líge aluě ro'čí alé   ba'wi-čí   / 'líge aluě rió mǎ
    then   those fish there water-place   then   that man now

    we'kǎ buyá-na-ri-a-ra-e   'líge aluě ro'čí
    many   invite-MOT-APPLIC-CONT-QUOT-DUB then   those fish
    times

    u'pó-ga
    catch-CONT
    'That man explained, they say, that there were many fish
    there in the water hole. The man invited him many times
    to go fishing.'

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

WH Questions

ruwí   [tačíri-te newã]
explain what-with do
'Explain what he did it with.'

tabilé mačí né [čéri=si enã-li-ge-rá]
NEG   know I   who=also walk-APPLIC-PAST:CONT-QUOT
'I do not know who he went with.'

né-ka tabilé mačí [arekê=si simí-le-ga]
I-EMPH NEG   know with=also go-PAST-CONT
                            who
'I do not know who he went with.'

Yes/No Questions

pãla   'if'/'to see if'/Q

aluê rukê [pãla uku-gã   rapãko]
he   ask   if   rain-CONT yesterday
'He asked me if it was raining yesterday.'

'yáti ruwí   [pãla newã-mala=mu tabilé čelã]
quick explain if   make-FUT=you NEG   able
'Quickly explain if you will do it or not.'

'líge aluê ralãmuli-ka 'líge alê   nolíge ahtí-ame
then those people-EMPH then   there ridge be-PRTC

hũ-ke-'e   'líge aluê se'wã buwe-gã [pãla asê
be-QUOT-EMPH then   that bee   wait-CONT if   arrive

simí-ro-ra   'lã]
go-pass-QUOT good
' by
'The people are there on the ridge waiting to see
 if a bee goes by.'

'líge aluê ralãmuli 'líge alê   pačã-rale   ahtí-ame
then those people   then   there inside-under be-PRTC

ka-rã-tu   'líge aluê a'wê buwe-gã [pãla
be-QUOT-NONSPEC then   that hawk wait-CONT if

     asé   nawá-ra   alé   'lá]
     arrive come-QUOT there good
     'The people are there inside waiting to see if a hawk
      lights there.'

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Participial

        A clause which contains a verb with the participial -ame can
be used to modify a head. The relative clause in the first example
modifies the subject, and in the second, it modifies the object.

     yé   rió [marsiál ani-lí-ame]   imé   me'čí-ame
     this man PN   say-PASS-PRTC agave cut-PRTC

     ka-rá-tu
     be-QUOT-NONSPEC
     'They say this man called Marcial was a cutter of
      agave (maguey).'

     mačí né bilé rió [rono-čí o'kó-me]
     know I a   man leg-LOC hurt-PRTC
     'I know a man whose leg hurts.'

The relative clause may precede the head:

     'larigá me'á-me   ka-rá-če   [yá   mučí-ga-me]
     thus   kill-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH before be:PL-STAT-PRTC

     ralámulí-ka napulíge bihí ta'čó ne-rú-ga-či   yé
     people-EMPH when   still NEG   be-STAT-STAT-SUBR this

     trámpa nápu hípe ne-rú
     trap   which today be-STAT
     'That is the way people who lived before killed it
      when there still were not those traps which we
      have today.' (**yá mučígame** could also follow
      ralámuli.)

The head is sometimes repeated:

     aliéri ka-rá-e   alué rió [rebúrsio meríno ani-lí-me]
     thus   be-QUOT-DUB that man PN   PN   say-PASS-PRTC

ríõ
man
'That is the way that man called Tiburcio Merino was.'

In the following example note the part in brackets which acts
more like an amplified repeat of the subject than a relative
clause:

alarigá me'á-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge alué ralámuli
thus   kill-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those people

alué [wé   'yá   ehperé-ga-me]   ralámuli alué e'wéle
those much before live:PL-STAT-PRTC people   those strong:PL

ahá-ga-me   hámi ehperé-ga-me
live-STAT-PRTC wilds live:PL-STAT-PRTC
'That is the way those people, those people who lived
 before, killed those wild animals.'

Finite

Relative clauses can also be marked by the word **nápu**, a
general relative subordinator having numerous English transla-
tions.

Where

'líge alé   'yéni-ge   'má-le-ke-'e   'líge
then   there walk-PAST:CONT run-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

o'wé-ka   alé [nápu asá-le   alué basačí]
straight-DIRL there where sit-PAST that coyote
'Then he ran straight to where that coyote sat.'

The locative word can precede **nápu** as in the above example or
follow it, interrupting the relative clause, as in the following
example:

'líge alué basačí-ka   alé 'lé-gana nalína
then   that coyote-EMPH there below-LOC there

o'pačí-li-ga-me   'líge [nápu] alé   [re'pá ní-le]
jump-STAT-STAT-PRTC then   where there   high be-PAST
'The coyote jumped there below where it was high (over
 a cliff).'

The locative word can be discontinuous from the relative
clause:

'líge alé   sebá-sa   'líge alué baikiá čulugí [nápu
then   there arrive-when then   those three bird   where

alué ba'wí ne-rú-le]
that water be-STAT-PAST
'When the three birds arrived there where the water was...'

Who

'líge pe'tá nihubá-pi   'líge simí-le-ke-'e   'líge učé
then soon behind-RCPR then   go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   again

siné 'yá-si-a   alué učé   haré [nápu 'yúga
once search-also-CONT those again others who with

ená-li-ge]
walk-APPLIC-PERF:CONT
'Soon, he went looking for those others he had been
 walking with.'

'líge alué rió [nápu alué luísi kompaniéro-la
then that man who that PN   companion-POSS

ní-li-ge]   pé alé-mi   suwé-ki-mi
be-APPLIC-PAST:CONT just there-LOC edge-edge-there

eyéna-le-ke-'e   'líge e'né-ni-ga   čikí-le
walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   look-MOT-CONT what-PAST
                                        happen

alué rió ani-gá
that man say-SIMUL
'That man who was Luis' companion was just there on
 the edge looking, asking what happened.'

Which/What

The following example shows the relative clause discontinuous
from the head:

yé   ra'iči-li wé   'yá   ne-rú-ga-me   hú [nápu
this talk-PRTC much before be-STAT-STAT-PRTC be which

ruwí-le   alué né umúli-la]
explain-PAST that my grandfather-POSS
'This talk which my grandfather told me is about long ago.'

'líge alué rió-ka   pé   alué oká kúči 'yúga
then that man-EMPH just those two kid with

rehpí-le-ke-'e   'líge / 'líge alué [nápu ní-le
remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   then that which be-PAST

alué rió] pé alué-čo ní-ga rehpí-le-ke-'e   'líge
that man just that-also be-CONT remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then
'That man just remained with the two kids and with that
 which was his--just that did he remain with.'

nápu   'what' (also 'when', below) also occurs in
                  headless constructions:

[nápu ruwí   aluẽ] tabilẽ 'lá hú
 what explain he   NEG   good be
'What he explains is not good.'

[nápu nočá-nale muẽ] wẽ   'lá hú
 what work-DESID you   very good be
'What you want to do is O.K.'

<u>When</u>

'líge [nápu 'lá ikí-le   aluẽ ralámuli alẽ] pẽ
then   when good happen-PAST those people   there just

kulí ka-rá-e   'líge 1971 kắči ní-le-ke-'e   'líge
before be-QUOT-DUB then 1971 about be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then
'When that happened to those people was not long ago,
 about 1971.'

[nápu iki-sá   simi-sá alẽ   gomíči] 'líge nabí
 when happen-when go-when there gully   then   always

we'kắ a'pá-me   ka-rá-'e   'líge aluẽ mukí aluẽ ro'čí
many   carry-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH then   that woman those fish
'When that happened, when she went to the creek, she
 always brought back many fish.'

nápu also forms a part of several complex words and clitics:

napu='líge
when=then
'when'

     nápu combines with **'líge** to form a word which can best be
explained at the discourse level. It might begin a story, signal a
change in location, a change in topic, or a climax.

napu=líge aluẽ baikiá čulugí simí-ba-le alẽ   'líge aluẽ
<u>when</u>   those three bird go-PL-PAST there then   that

basačí pẽ   alẽ   a'bẽ asá-le-ke-'e   'líge aluẽ o'čí
coyote just there near sit-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that bone

gi'sú-a   alẽ-mi   lúti-ga-me
chew-CONT there-LOC lick-STAT-PRTC
'When the three birds left, the coyote was just there
 close chewing and licking a bone.'

napurigá   'like/in order that'

-**rigá** comes from **arigá** 'thus'. Comparisons using **napurigá** can be comparisons of either equality or inequality.

o'kó-le   ronó-la   a'čigóriga napurigá né
hurt-PAST foot-POSS same   like   I
'His foot hurt just like mine.'

In the following example, **napurigá** occurs sentence initial:

napurigá o'kó-le   né ronó-la   a'čigóriga o'ko-lá   čigó
like   hurt-PAST I foot-POSS same   hurt-PRTC also

alué
he
'Like my foot hurt, his hurts the same.'

alué ronó-la   čerapé o'kó-le   táse napurigá né
that foot-POSS more   hurt-PAST NEG like   me
'His foot hurt more than mine.' (not like mine)

The following example, taken from a text on advice given to children, contains seven purpose clauses. The first purpose clause and the last two are introduced with **napurigá** 'in order that'. In the middle four, **napurigá** is implicit.

kúči-ka   wé   a'lá utuyé-li-re-'e   ábe=čigo napurigá
kid-EMPH much good advise-STAT-PAST-EMPH more=also so
                                                    that

tá   číbi noko-gá e'yéna-mala hámi tabilé apá-ka   tábiri
not bad   do-CONT walk-FUT   out not   throw-EMPH thing
                              there

tabilé čigó-ga tabilé nakó-ga   tabilé iníla-ga e'yéna-ma
not   rob-CONT not   fight-CONT not   with-CONT walk-FUT
                                         women

napurigá 'lá e'wá-mala nule-lí-a   napurigá tabilé
so   good do-FUT   command-STAT-CONT so   not
that   that

čigó-ga e'yéna-ma
rob-CONT walk-FUT
'We give very good advice to the children so they will
 not go around doing bad things out there (away from
 home), so that they will not throw things, so that
 they will not be robbing, or fighting or going around
 with women, so that they will do as commanded, so
 that they will not go around robbing.'

napuyéri/apiéri/napiéri   'appearance like'

'líge apiéri o'kočí aliéri hú-tu   'líge aluē basačí
then   look dog   thus be-NONSPEC then that coyote
       like
'Like a dog is the way that coyote looks.'

panápuriga   'wherever/anywhere'

pa- is probably a locative as is **na-** of **nápu.** **-riga** comes
from **arigá** 'thus'.

'líge pē   panápuriga ga'wá-me ka-rá-če   'líge aluē
then just anywhere   egg-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH then that

čiwí
turkey
'The turkey lays her eggs anywhere.'

Oblique Relatives

A type of oblique relative clause seems to be present in the
following examples:

'líge wē   yáti ča'pí-le-ke-'e   'líge aluē bilē igú
then very quick grab-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that a   stick

[wehpi-mēa aluē geyóči mukí]
 hit-FUT   that fox   woman
'He quickly grabbed a stick with which to hit that fox
 woman.'

'líge aluē rió wē   mahá-ga   'yá-le-ke-'e   'líge
then that man much scare-CONT search-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

bilē igú [aluē geyóči wehpi-mēa]
a   stick that fox   hit-FUT
'That man being very scared looked for a stick with which to
 hit the fox.'

tá nakí muē bilē ra'nēla [čomalí
NEG want you a   rifle   deer

me'-li-á-me/me'-lí-la]
kill-APPLIC-CONT-PRTC/kill-APPLIC-INSTR
'Do you want a rifle with which to kill deer?'

Some of these examples might be analyzed as purpose clauses
rather than oblique relatives (see **ADVERBIAL CLAUSES,** Purpose).

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Four types of adverbial clauses are presented here--those
that express the idea of something preceding the other (anteced-
ent), those which express purpose, those which express a simul-
taneous action, and those which express result ('therefore/thus').
(For location clauses, see **RELATIVE CLAUSES**, <u>Finite</u>.)

Antecedent

There are four versions of the antecedent subordinator 'when/
having': **-sa**, **-so**, **-siga**, and **-suga**. The forms with **ga** mark the
subordinate verb as passive or impersonal. **-so** may indicate switch
reference, but **-sa** can be used whether the main and subordinate
clause subjects are the same or different; however, in the great
majority of cases with **-sa** the subjects are identical.

-sa   'when/having'

In most cases, the dependent clause with **-sa** precedes the
main clause. When it does come first, the subject is sometimes
named in the dependent clause and is not repeated in the main
clause, as in the following example:

['líge alué ríó ralámuli alué sinowí wí'čí-lá buhé-sa]
 then   that man people   that snake   skin-POSS take-when
                                                   off

'líge wé   yǎtí simí-le-ke-'e   'líge kú   alé
 then very quick go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   again there

galí-rale
house-LOC
'When the people-man took off some of the snake skin, he
 quickly went again to the house.'

In the following example, the subject is repeated in the main
clause:

['líge alé   sebǎ-sa   'líge alué baikiǎ čulugí nǎpu
 then   there arrive-when then   those three bird   where

alué ba'wí ne-rú-le]   'líge čohkí-le-ke-'e   'líge
that water be-STAT-PAST then   begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

ūba aluḗ baikiǎ čulugí
bath those three bird
'When the three birds arrived there where the water was,
 the three birds began to bathe.'

In the following example, the subject is not named in either
clause because it was named in the preceding sentences:

['líge alḗ-mi   napaí-sa] 'líge čohkí-le-ke-'e
 then   there-LOC meet-when then   begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'líge ra'íča alḗ-mi   hâ-ga
then   talk   there-LOC stand-SIMUL
'When they met there, they began to talk standing there.'

The following example shows a change in the subjects between
the dependent and main clauses. Note that the subject is mentioned
twice in the main clause.

['líge mǎ suwḕ-na-sa   'líge aluḗ piḗsta alḗ] 'líge
 then   now finish-MOT-when then that fiesta there then

pḗ   abḗ i'li-bḗ-ko   simí-ba-le-ke-'e   'líge aluḗ
just more late-AUG-TEMP go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those

baikiǎ čulugí kū   hḗ-ka-na   wíhčí aluḗ baikiǎ
three bird   again here-towards-MOT land those three

čulugí
bird
'When the fiesta was over, just a little bit later, those
 three birds came back down here to earth.'

The dependent clause with -**sa** occasionally comes last in a
construction; note also the existence of 'when'-clauses marked by
the basically locative ending -**či** (see <u>Simultaneous</u> below):

'líge aluḗ basačí tabilḗ sayḗ-le-ke-'e   'líge [aluḗ
then   that coyote NEG   feel-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that

rowí   aluḗ gosíba-la   o'po-čí / 'líge wḕ-čigo
rabbit that intestine-POSS take-when then much-also

o'kṓ-li-ga-me   'líge [aluḗ wehčǎ-te
hurt-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC then   that thorn-with

so'i-sǎ]
stick-when/having
'The coyote did not feel anything when the rabbit took his
 intestine. (Because) he hurt a lot having been stuck with a
 thorn.'

   -sa is also used in a construction meaning 'Won't you do me
the favor of...'. Perhaps it means, 'Having had this happen to
me, won't you please...'. Polite commands often employ devices
that elsewhere subordinate things or express removal from direct
reality.

   né-ka má so'í-ke-'e /   tắča 'lắ so'-pu-sa
   I-EMPH now stick-QUOT-EMPH NEG   good stick-pull-IMP

   ní-li   muế / so'í-ke=ne   hêna muya-čí   guwắna-ka
   be-APPLIC you   stick-QUOT=I here rump-place behind-EMPH
   'I got stuck with a sticker. Won't you please pull it
    out? I'm stuck here in my rear-end.'

   An interesting triple use of -sa is seen in the following
sentence. Note that the independent clause is not expressed until
the end of the sentence.

   [napu=líge bilẽ sinowí behtế-la-sa   alẽ   bahisó-či
   <u>when</u>   a   snake live-POSS-when there seepage-LOC

   hámi] ['líge wê   rasắ-me   ní-sa   'líge aluẽ wesogắ
   wilds then   very soft-PRTC be-when then that mud

   alẽ] ['líge aluẽ bilẽ akasí alẽ-mi   sí-sa   'líge aluẽ
   there then   that one cow   there-LOC be-when then that

   gasalắ go'-yắ] 'líge aluẽ ronó-la   alẽ   re'lẽ
   grass   eat-CONT then   that foot-POSS there deep

   mo'í-me   ka-rắ   'líge
   enter-PRTC be-QUOT then
   'When a snake lives in a seepage there in the wilds, and
    when the mud there is very soft, then when
    a cow is eating grass, his feet go in real deep.'

-so   'when'

   ['líge aluẽ rehtẽ mắ   rata-bắ-so]   'líge
    then   that rock   now hot-become-when then

   čohkí-le-ke-'e   'líge aluẽ piẽsta olắ
   begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that fiesta do
   'When the rocks became hot then the fiesta began.'

   ['líge aluẽ gusí gapó-so]   'líge aluẽ rió wẽ
    then   that stick break-when then that man much

   i'kí-le-ru-ke-'e   'líge aluẽ ohí-te
   bite-PAST-PASS-QUOT-EMPH then   that bear-by
   'When the stick broke, the man was bitten a lot
    by the bear.'

   In the following example, the subordinate clause comes be-
tween the subject and the verb of the main clause:

'líge alué ralámuli [a'-má eká-na-so-ko   wé
then   those people   now-now blow-MOT-when-EMPH very

a'wá-ga-me]   'líge mo'í-le-ke-'e   'líge alé
strong-STAT-PRTC then   enter-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there

abé pačá-mi   alé   resočí napurigá tabilé
more inside-LOC there cave   so   NEG
                             that

o'wí-na-ma   alué eká
catch-MOT-FUT that wind
'Those people, when the wind began to blow hard, went further
 inside the cave so that the wind would not catch them.'

-siga   'when + PASS/IMPRS'

['líge alué gulasí elé-siga] 'líge yáti kilí
 then   that cross   move-when then   quick quiet

así-ba-ga-ra   'líge alué eká
be-become-STAT-QUOT then   that wind
'When the cross is moved then the wind quickly becomes
 quiet.'

The following sentence contains six subordinated clauses with
-siga. The first clause is general and the other five are spe-
cific.

[bilé tábiri nočá-nili-siga] [re'lóe napí-nili-siga]
 one   thing work-need-when   potato weed-need-when

[sunú-tiri napí-nili-siga] [muní-tiri napí-nili-siga]
 corn-also weed-need-when   bean-also weed-need-when

[tegó-nili-siga] [yé-nili-siga]   'líge owígí-me
 wall-need-when   fence-need-when then   invite-PRTC

hú we'ká ralámuli
be many   people
'When some work needs to be done, when the potatoes need to
be weeded, when the corn also needs to be weeded, when the
beans also need to be weeded, when a rock wall needs to be
made, when a wood fence needs to be made, invite over many
people.'

In a series of passive clauses, such as 'when it is boiled
and then washed...', the initial subordinators always seem to be
-sa and the last **-siga**. The meaning could be 'When you boil it and
when it is washed...'.

[basú-sa] [wé   pagó-siga] wé   a'lá 'íni-li
boil-when much wash-when much good be-stat
'When you boil it and when it is washed, it is
very good.'

['líge mahí-sa]   ['líge aluê mesagóli nawá-siga] wé
then bake-when   then that cake   make-when very

ahká-ga-me   gayéna-me   hú-tu   'líge aluê imé
sweet-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-NONSPEC then that maguey
'When maguey (agave) is baked and made into cakes it
becomes very tasty.'

The following example is intransitive/impersonal:

['líge alê   pačá   sebá-siga] 'líge tabilé
then there inside arrive-when then NEG

čóna-ga   ilí-me ka-rá   'líge
dark-CONT be-PRTC be-QUOT then
'When (someone) arrives there inside, it is not dark.'

-suga   'when + PASS'

[a'líge muní gesó   'yúriga go'-súga] ábe čigó yáti
then   bean cheese mix   eat-when yes also quick
                     with

rusú-me ka-rá   ramé
rot-PRTC be-QUOT tooth
'After beans are eaten with cheese, your teeth will
quickly rot.'

['líge oká rawé nihubá-pi eči-súga] 'líge má če'lá-me
then two day after-only plant-when then now come-PRTC
                                                      up
'Two days after having been planted, the seed has come up.'

Purpose

Several forms of the future and **napurigá** can be used to ex-
press 'in order to'.

-mea   FUT

'líge aluê geyóči alé   gemá-rale   bakí-le-ke-'e
then that fox   there blanket-under enter-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'líge [aluê rió 'yúga goči-méa alé]
then   that man with sleep-FUT there
'Then the fox got under the blanket to sleep with the man.'

'líge aluê rió wé   mahá-ga   'yá-le-ke-'e   'líge
then that man much fear-CONT search-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

bilé igú   [alué geyóči wehpi-méa]
a   stick   that fox   hit-FUT
'Then the man being scared looked for a stick in order
 to hit the fox.'

pẽ   'yáti simí-le ['yo-mẽa] o'ko-sã   ronó-la
just quick go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-when foot-POSS
'He went quickly to be cured when his foot hurt.'

simí-le ['yo-mẽa] o'kõ-me   ní-li-ga-me   ronó-la
go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-PRTC be-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC foot-POSS
'He went to be cured (because) his foot was hurting.'

The following example shows a **-mea** construction in a question
followed by the answer:

(Q) **čanigã simí-le 'yo-mẽa**
    why   go-PAST cure-FUT
    'Why did he go to be cured?'

(A) **simí-le-ke-'e   o'kõ-me   ní-li-ga-me**
    go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH hurt-PRTC be-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC

    ronó-la
    foot-POSS
    'He went (because) his foot was hurting.'

-mia   FUT

It appears that **-mia** occurs with the same class of verbs as
does **-ma** (as opposed to the class which **-mea** occurs with).

'líge ča'pí-le-ke-'e   'líge bilé ra'nẽ-la
then   grab-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   a   noise-INSTR

[a'tãni-mia alué sinowí alẽ   bo'í-ga-me   rasúka-ga
 shoot-FUT   that snake   there lie-STAT-PRTC sun-CONT
                                                    bathe

a'bẽ nãpu   mukũ-le   alué tewẽ]
near where die-PAST that girl
'Then he grabbed a rifle in order to shoot the snake
 lying there in the sun near where the girl died.'

'líge simí-le-ke-'e   'líge alé   mawẽ-či   [e'nẽ-mia]
then   go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there field-place look-FUT
'Then she went there in the field to look.'

The **-mia** clause usually occurs after the main clause, but the
following is an exception.

'líge alué rió [alué sa'õ pabẽ-mia] enã-le-ke-'e
then   that man   that palm carry-FUT walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'líge alé   sonóra alé   sotáti-či ani-lí-či
then   there PN   there PN-place say-PASS-place
'That man had gone to Sonora, there at a place called
Sotati, to bring palm.'

Other forms of the future occur in clauses introduced by
napurigá 'in order to/in order that'.

'líge né abiéna bi'néli hú čigó tabilé 'wési
then I also   alone   be also NEG   any

gun-é-ga-me   hú né [napurigá neséro-ma ne-'čí]
wife-have-STAT-PRTC be I   so   care-FUT I-ACC
                            that
'I am also alone and do not have a wife to care for
me.'

alarigá 'sí-le-ke-'e   alué uhíni [napurigá alué basačí
thus   be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH that bug   so   that coyote
                                      that

tabilé me'-li-méla   alué uhíni] [napurigá 'lá neyúsi-ma]
NEG   kill-APPLIC-FUT that bug   so   good win-FUT
                                   that
'That's the way that bug did so that the coyote would not
kill him, so that he (the bug) would win.'

In the above example, **alarigá** connects the closing sentence
of the story to the rest of the discourse.

pé   elegá 'lá an-é-le-ke-'e   'líge alué basačí
just thus good say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote

[napurigá tá! me'-li-bóa   alué basačí-te]
so   NEG kill-PASS-FUT that coyote-by
that
'He just said that to the coyote so that he would not be
killed by the coyote.'

Simultaneous

The subordinator **-čí** 'when' expresses the idea of simultane-
ity, as do the continuatives **-a** and **-ga**.

[o'kó-ga-či   rono-čí] 'líge simí-le 'yo-méa
hurt-STAT-when foot-place then go-PAST cure-FUT
'When his foot was hurting, then he went to be cured.'

'líge melénalo [ta'čó ma'čí-na-či   'líge alué rayénali]
then morning   still come-MOT-when then that sun
                not   out

'lĩge go'-lé-ke-'e   'lĩge alué go'-ame remé
then eat-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that eat-PRTC tortilla
                                     ‾food‾
'The next morning when the sun still had not come out,
 they ate tortillas.'

simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa· [rono-čĩ   o'kõ-a]
go-PAST cure-FUT foot-place hurt-CONT
'He went to be cured when his foot was hurting.'

[nabĩ o'kõ-a   ronõ-la] 'lĩge simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa
 all hurt-CONT foot-POSS then go-PAST cure-FUT
 time
'All the time his foot was hurting he went to be cured.'

Result

Therefore-type clauses can be expressed by the use of
alekẽre 'therefore'.

rono-čĩ   o'kõ-le   arekẽle   simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa
foot-place hurt-past therefore go-PAST cure-FUT
'He hurt his foot. Therefore he went to be cured.'

o'kõ-me   nĩ-le-ga-me   arekẽle   simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa
hurt-PRTC be-PAST-STAT-PRTC therefore go-PAST cure-FUT
'He was hurting. Therefore he went to be cured.'

Reason-result can also be expressed through a participial-
juxtaposed construction, with the meaning of 'because'.

simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa o'kõ-me   nĩ-le-ga-me   ronõ-la
go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-PRTC be-PAST-STAT-PRTC foot-POSS
'He went to be cured. (Because) his foot was hurting.'
 (Note the use of the PRTC to express a continual action.)

A resultant-type action can also be expressed with **arigá**
'thus'.

wẽ   o'kõ-le   rono-čĩ   arigá simĩ-le 'yo-mẽa 'lĩge
much hurt-PAST foot-place thus go-PAST cure-FUT then
'His foot hurt a lot so he went to be cured.'

TEXT

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

bilé basačí 'líge bilé ba'lawísi
a   coyote then a   jackrabbit

1. One day a coyote was very hungry, they say.
   bilé rawé bilé basačí 'wé e'lowí-le-ga-ra-'e   'líge
   one day a   coyote much hungry-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then

2. Then he began to chase a jackrabbit, encountering him in the
   'líge bilé ba'lawísi me'-lí-si-le-ga-ra-'e
   then a   jackrabbit chase-APPLIC-AUG-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH

   wilds.
   'líge hámi nahtépa-ga 'líge
   then wilds meet-CONT   then

3. The jackrabbit was really scared.
   'líge alué ba'lawísi wé   mahǎ-le-ga-ra-'e   'líge
   then that jackrabbit much fear-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then

4. The jackrabbit knew that he would not last very long running
   'líge alué ba'lawísi 'lá mačí-le-ke-'e   'líge tabílé
   then that jackrabbit good know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then NEG

   because the jackrabbit was very old.
   we'lí=si sapú-mia 'mã-ga 'líge alué ba'lawísi wé
   long=AUG last-FUT run-CONT then that jackrabbit much

   očéra-me ní-le-ke-'e
   old-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

5. The jackrabbit's legs were very tired.
   'líge 'wé rísi-bá-ča-me   ní-le-ke-'e   'líge
   then very tired-become-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

   alué ba'lawísi ronó-la
   that jackrabbit leg-POSS

6. Because of that, the jackrabbit stopped.
   'líge alekére čuhkí-ba-le-ke-'e   'líge alué ba'lawísi
   then because stop-CAUS-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit
        of:that

7. Then the jackrabbit looked at the coyote.
   'lïge aluê ba'lawïsi e'nê-le-ke-'e   'lïge aluê basačï
   then   that jackrabbit look-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that coyote

8. Then he said to him, "You, coyote, stop over there," said the
   'lïge an-ê-le-ke-'e   'lïge alê   ili-bã-wa
   then   say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   there stand-APPLIC-IMP

   jackrabbit.
   muê basačï anï-le-ke-'e   'lïge aluê ba'lawïsi
   you coyote say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that jackrabbit

9. "You, why are you following me?
   muê-ka   čanigã nahãto ne-'čï
   you-EMPH why   follow I-ACC

10. Are you going to eat me?" said the jackrabbit.
    go'-mê olã=mu ne-'čï anï-le-ke-'e   'lïge aluê
    eat-FUT do=you I-ACC   say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that

    ba'lawïsi
    jackrabbit

11. Then the coyote said, "Yes, I am going to eat you,"
    'lïge aluê basačï-ka   anï-le 'lïge hû go'-mê
    then   that coyote-EMPH say-PAST then   yes eat-FUT

    said the coyote.
    olã-ke=ne muê anï-le-ke-'e   'lïge aluê basačï-ka   'lïge
    do-QUOT=I you say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that coyote-EMPH then

12. Then the jackrabbit said, "Why do you want to eat me?
    'lïge aluê ba'lawïsi anï-le-ke-'e   čanigã ne-'čï
    then   that jackrabbit say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH why   I-ACC

    go'-mê olã-če muê-ka
    eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH

13. If you eat me you will die," said the jackrabbit.
    ne-'čï go'-sã-ka   muê muku-mêla muê basačï
    I-ACC   eat-if-EMPH you die-FUT   you coyote

    anï-le-ke-'e   'lïge aluê ba'lawïsi
    say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that jackrabbit

14. Then the jackrabbit said, "You think I am a jackrabbit, but
    'lïge anï-le   ba'lawïsi muê-ka   mayê-le-ke   ne-'čï
    then   say-PAST jackrabbit you-EMPH think-appear-QUOT I-ACC

    I am just a rattlesnake.
    ba'lawïsi-ko   nê-ka pê   bilé sïnowï sayãwi hû-kuru
    jackrabbit-EMPH I-EMPH just a   snake rattler be-truth

15. If you eat me you will die from my poison," said the
    muē ne-'čî go'-sā-ka   muku-méla muē aluē ne-'čî čučalá-te
    you I-ACC eat-if-EMPH die-FUT   you that I-ACC poison-with

    jackrabbit.
    anî-le-ke-'e   'lîge aluē ba'lawîsi
    say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit

16. "What will I eat then?," said the coyote.
    tačîri go'-mēla-če=ne 'lîge anî-le-ke-'e   'lîge aluē
    what   eat-FUT-EMPH=I then say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

    basačî
    coyote

17. Then the jackrabbit said, "Eat this fruit that I picked.
    'lîge aluē ba'lawîsi anî-le-ke-'e   'lîge yē   iwasî
    then that jackrabbit say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then this fruit

    go'-pô-guru   nâpu nē 'wî-le
    eat-FUT-truth which I   pick-PAST

18. I walk along putting the fruit here in this basket.
    hēna kanásta-čî   ahča-gā ená-kuru=ne yē   îwasî
    here basket-place put-CONT walk-truth=I this fruit

19. You were following me as I carried this fruit," said the
    'lîge muē nē yē   iwasî o'kā ená-ga-čî   'lîge nahâto
    then you I this fruit carry walk-CONT-when then follow

    jackrabbit.
    muē 'lîge ne-'čî anî-le-ke-'e   'lîge aluē ba'lawîsi
    you then I-ACC say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit

20. Then the coyote said, "Jackrabbits eat fruit, but
    'lîge anî-le   'lîge aluē basačî aluē ba'lawîsi-ka   aluē
    then say-PAST then that coyote that jackrabbit-EMPH that

    rattlesnakes do not eat fruit," said the coyote.
    iwasî go'-yâ-me   îni-li-ri-'e   'lîge aluē
    fruit eat-STAT-PRTC be-STAT-APPLIC-EMPH then that

    sayâwi-ka   pêča go'-yâ-me   hû-ko aluē îwasî
    rattler-EMPH NEG eat-STAT-PRTC be-IRR that fruit

    anî-le-ke-'e   'lîge aluē basačî
    say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote

21. "You are a jackrabbit.
    'lîge muē pē   ba'lawîsi hû-kuru 'lîge sî-ka   ani-â
    then you just jackrabbit be-truth then be-EMPH say-CONT

22. You cannot fool me.
    'lige muẽ-ka   umubã-me olã-le-ke   'lige ne-'čĩ 'yẽgi-a
    then   you-EMPH win-PRTC do-PAST-EMPH then   I-ACC   lie-CONT

23. I will not believe it even though you say it.
    'lige nẽ-ka   pẽča bihčĩ-ga-ma   'lige rekõ muẽ-ka
    then   I-EMPH NEG   believe-STAT-FUT then   even you-EMPH
                                                            though

    ala-nĩ-či   'lige
    good-say-CONT then

24. You are just a jackrabbit, in spite of what you say, and
    pẽ   ba'lawĩsi kẽ sĩ-ka   anĩ muẽ 'lã hũ-le-ke
    just jackrabbit be be-EMPH say you good be-appear-QUOT

    it will be good to eat you.
    muẽ go'ã
    you eat

25. I like to eat jackrabbit."
    nẽ-ka 'wẽ go'-yã-me   kã-me   'lige aluẽ ba'lawĩsi
    I-EMPH much eat-STAT-PRTC be-PRTC then   that jackrabbit

26. Then the coyote ate the jackrabbit which was there
    'lige aluẽ basačĩ mã   go'-lẽ-ke-'e   'lige aluẽ
    then   that coyote now eat-appear-QUOT-EMPH then   that

    telling lies.
    ba'lawĩsi nãpu 'yẽ-ga   asã-li-ge   alẽ
    jackrabbit which lie-CONT sit-STAT-PAST:CONT there

27. Then when the coyote ate the jackrabbit, that fruit which the
    'lige aluẽ basačĩ aluẽ ba'lawĩsi go'-sã   'lige aluẽ iwasĩ
    then   that coyote that jackrabbit eat-when then   that fruit

    jackrabbit was carrying that he had been putting there in the
    nãpu o'kã enã-li-ge   aluẽ ba'lawĩsi alẽ
    which carry walk-STAT-PAST:CONT that jackrabbit there

    basket, he ate that also (there is evidence that he ate it
    ganãsata-či ahča-gã aluẽ iwasĩ aluẽ mã   'yũriga
    basket-place put-CONT that fruit that now mix
                                                            with

    along with the jackrabbit).
    go'-lẽ-ke-'e=čigo   'lige
    eat-appear-QUOT-EMPH=also then

28. The the coyote quickly died when he ate that fruit, because
    'lige aluẽ basačĩ pẽ   'yãti mukũ-le-ke-'e   'lige aluẽ
    then   that coyote just quick die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then   that

that fruit was poisonous.
iwasí go'sâ   'líge 'líge apigíti aluē iwasí-ka   sowé
fruit eat-when then   then because that fruit-EMPH poison

ni-li-ga-me   'líge
be-STAT-STAT-PRTC then

29. The coyote died seated by a big oak tree that was there.'
alé   wa'lû rohá ilí-ga-či   alé   asa-gá
there big   oak stand-CONT-when there sit-CONT

mukû-le-ke-'e   'líge aluē basačí
die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote