STUDIES IN UTO-AZTECAN GRAMMAR

Edited by Ronald W. Langacker

Volume 2
Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON
STUDIES IN UTO-AZTECAN GRAMMAR

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Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches
Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar

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Ronald W. Langacker
University of California, San Diego

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Foreword

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

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

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TETELCINGO
NAHUATL

David H. Tuggy
TETELCINGO NAHUATL

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    The Coyote and the Jackrabbit
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES


PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

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<th>i</th>
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<th>ĭ</th>
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The tense-lax distinction corresponds to a historical long-short contrast.

Spanish Loan Phonemes

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Phonetic Values of Phonemes

tl is completely voiceless.
r is a flap as in Spanish—it occurs predominantly in Spanish words.
t, d, and n are pronounced as in Spanish.
n is velar before velars and m. It is bilabial before p and b or β (w).
l is voiceless syllable final. For some speakers this does not hold true, especially in Spanish loans.
w is labial (β) before front vowels (alternating with b initially); it is voiceless following voiceless consonants (including l), and devoiced and delabialized (to h) preconsonantally.

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

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

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

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

u is pronounced ye in stressed initial position; e is ye in initial position.

Stress

Stress is penultimate. The very rare exceptions are marked with an accent (').
Major Phonological Processes

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

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

nu-ya  I go.
I-go

tle-kᵀa-lo  He HON eats,
UNSPEC-eat-HON
OBJ

tle-kᵀa-lu-ta-ya  He HON was eating
UNSPEC-eat-HON-DUR-IMPRF
OBJ

V→∅ / repair with certain systematic exceptions.

[stret]
mo-polowa  becomes lost
REFL-lose

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

∅→ɪ/ {
{C}C+C
#{C}
}
with a few positive exceptions in some people's speech.

nu-k-neki  I want it.
I-it-want

ki-neki  wants it
it-want

nen-k-asi  You PL reach it.
you-it-reach
PL

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

kᵀaw-ktl  tree
tree-ABS

kᵀah-me  trees
tree-PL

1→∅ in SUBJ prefixes (including IMP 1-st) in some cases where the following vowel is ∅.
In some cases this rule is optional.

nu-k-wika  I take it.
I-it-carry

tle-k-wika  You HON go.
you-REFL-carry

nu-k-wika  I take it.
I-it-carry

tle-k-wika  You HON go.
you-REFL-carry

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

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

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

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

HON

HON
\( y \rightarrow \frac{C}{-vd} \frac{\#}{-} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tlå-čiya} & \quad \text{looks around, wakes up} \\
\text{UNSPEC-await} & \\
\text{OBJ} & \\
\text{ku-čič-tka} & \quad \text{is awaiting it} \\
\text{it-await-PRES} & \\
\text{PROG} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C} & \rightarrow \emptyset / _{-} \emptyset \\
[+\text{nas}] & \\
\text{con-tlī} & \quad \text{home, dwelling} \\
\text{home-ABS} & \\
\text{o-čo} & \quad \text{my home} \\
\text{my-home} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w} & \rightarrow \emptyset / _{-} \emptyset \\
\text{h} & \\
\text{y} & \\
\text{kr-čiwa} & \quad \text{does it} \\
\text{it-do} & \\
\text{PAST-it-do} & \quad \text{He did it.} \\
\text{PERF} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( p \rightarrow k \) syllable final.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo-kʷepa} & \quad \text{turns around} \\
\text{REFL-turn} & \\
\text{o-mo-kʷek} & \quad \text{He turned around.} \\
\text{PAST-REFL-turn} & \quad \text{PERF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo-kʷek-tka} & \quad \text{is turning around} \\
\text{REFL-turn-PRES} & \\
\text{PROG} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\( C \rightarrow h \) before a homorganic consonant.

\[
\begin{align*}
[+\text{obs}] & \\
\text{mue-maka} & \quad \text{hits you} \\
\text{you-hit} & \\
\text{o-ki-mat} & \quad \text{found it out} \\
\text{PAST-it-know} & \quad \text{PERF} \\
\text{mēh-čiw-le-a} & \quad \text{does it to you} \\
\text{you-do-APPLIC-PRES} & \\
\text{kt-mah-ta-ya} & \quad \text{was aware of it} \\
\text{it-know-DUR-IMPRF} & \\
\text{mo-kʷepa} & \quad \text{turns around} \\
\text{REFL-turn} & \\
\text{o-mo-kʷek-kú} & \quad \text{They turned around.} \\
\text{PAST-REFL-turn-PL} & \quad \text{(see previous PERF rule)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Insofar as there are necessary orderings among these rules, they are reflected in the order given. Some of the rules mentioned in the description of phonetic values of the phonemes may precede some of these rules.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

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

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

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

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

Topicalization

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

nōnt i-h'anko'ñ-wa o-kin-tepiewi-ši He knocked out all his teeth.

all his-tooth-POSSD PAST-them-scatter-APPLIC
PL

naha kono ok w-či-cči-ci nieč-k'awa-lu-tiewa
I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM me-leave-HON-leave

Since I was still little, she would go and leave me.

ka meyak k'wercoc o-k-tlapc powielta Very carefully he opened
with much care PAST-it-open door the door.
PERF

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

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

yaha tli-ka tu-k-maka-k taha Why did you hit him?
he why you-him-hit-PERF you
The presence of a pronominal SUBJ or OBJ is redundant, since these are already marked pronominally on the verb. So their retention usually signals topicalization or emphasis of some sort. Occasionally, however, their function seems to be disambiguation of homophonous or nearly homophonous verb forms. (See the following section on Pronoun Copies.)

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

Pronoun Copies

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sen-te tloka-tl } (\emptyset) & \text{-ki-piya-ya sen-te puro} & \text{A man had a} \\
\text{one-NUM man-ABS he-it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro} & \text{donkey.} \\
\text{\textit{\textbf{\$t-k-maka i-saka puro} Give the donkey his fodder.}} & \\
\text{IMP-him-give his-fodder burro} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tehwa t\-k-neku} & \text{ We want it.} & \text{taha t\-k-neku} & \text{ You want it.} \\
\text{we we-it-want} & & \text{you you-it-want} \\
\text{taha to-mo-kal-te\-c-ow-a} & \text{ You move over.} \\
\text{you you-REFL-house-next-VR-PRES} & & \text{to} \\
\text{tehwa-ci to-mo-kal4e\-c-dwi-a} & \text{ You HON move it over.} \\
\text{you-HON you-HON-house-next-APPLIC-PRES} & & \text{HON} \\
\text{HON} & & \text{to} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yehwa-ci ne-maka-lu-k} & \text{ yehwa-ci mismo} \\
\text{he-HON REFL-give-HON-PERF he-HON same} & \text{HON} & \text{HON} \\
\text{HON} & \text{HON} & \text{HON} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He HON gave himself. (not gave something for himself)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*There are some exceptions to this: e.g., the verb maka 'give' only marks the indirect object (see second example in this section), and ay! 'do something' has no object marked.
Sometimes it is used in a construction which specifies a reciprocal sense.

nemehwa ne-mo-tlaohatl a entre nemehwa You love each other.
you you-REFL-love among you
PL PL PL

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

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

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

i-htek no-kx in my foot
its-inside my-foot

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

nemehwa nen-ka-te nen-kWal: nen-tloka You are good men.
you you-be-PL you-good you-men
PL PL PL PL

taha tu-tlachk: lakwus You are very lazy.
you you-lazy very

taha tu-kWal: tloka-tl You are a good man.
you you-good man-ABS

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

This occurs in a structure resembling English dislocation.

in-u tlloka-tl tli o-khto yaha o-mo-pacO
DEM-DIST man-ABS that PAST-it-say he PAST-REFL-bring near

That man who said it, he approached.

Focus

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

wa o-kx:l yaha in-u transiako And it was Francisco who did it.
and PAST-it-do he that PN
PERF one
Clefting also serves to indicate focus. This construction is likely a result of the influence of Spanish grammar.

\[
\begin{align*}
o-\text{ye} & \quad \text{sen-te} & \quad \text{lunes} & \quad kWa-k & \quad o-ta-ya-hki \\
PAST-be & \quad \text{one-NUM} & \quad \text{Monday} & \quad \text{when} & \quad PAST-we-go-PERF \\
& & & & \quad PAST-it-say & \quad \text{IMPRF} & \quad \text{PL}
\end{align*}
\]

It was Monday when we went.

\[
\begin{align*}
o-\text{ye} & \quad \text{ya-ha} & \quad \text{in-u} & \quad \text{pegro} & \quad \text{kt} & \quad o-k-\text{dhto} \\
PAST-be & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{DEM-DIST} & \quad \text{PN} & \quad \text{who} & \quad PAST-it-say \\
& & & & \quad PAST-it-say & \quad \text{IMPRF}
\end{align*}
\]

It was Peter who said it.

**Stylistic Apposition**

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

\[
\begin{align*}
o-k-\text{dhto} & \quad \text{tie-kWa} & \quad \text{nt} & \quad \text{tl} & \quad \text{t-as} & \quad \text{tnem} \\
PAST-it-say & \quad UNSPEC-eat-AG & \quad \text{what} & \quad \text{you-be:busy-go:around} & \quad \text{H} & \quad \text{OBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

"What are you doing?" said the mountain lion.

\[
\begin{align*}
yul-k\text{C-tl} & \quad o-\text{nowat} & \quad \text{tl-i} & \quad \text{ka} & \quad \text{tu-nie\~c-kW} & \quad \text{a-s} & \quad \text{g} \\
\text{live-NR-ABS} & \quad PAST-reply & \quad \text{what-with} & \quad \text{you-me-eat-FUT} & \quad \text{animal} & \quad \text{why}
\end{align*}
\]

The animal replied, "Why are you going to eat me?"

\[
\begin{align*}
ye-kW & \quad \text{sk-in-u} & \quad \text{tl} & \quad \text{ka-tl} & \quad \text{o-nowat} & \quad o-k-\text{dhto} & \quad kWa-lt \\
\text{already-when-DEM-DIST} & \quad \text{man-ABS} & \quad PAST-reply & \quad PAST-it-say & \quad \text{good} & \quad \text{then}
\end{align*}
\]

Then the man replied and said, "Good."
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Introducers

wa and pero but (Sp.)
(o) noso or be it (used to introduce one of a series of rhetorical questions)
or
nuyuhtl also $\phi$ now (often to signal a change in topic)
p$\text{\textsuperscript{W}}$es, p(o)s well, for (Sp.) wieno p$\text{\textsuperscript{W}}$es well, then (Sp.)
good then
$\text{\textsuperscript{h}}$kt-u thus (like that) $\text{\textsuperscript{h}}$kt-yi thus (like this)
be-DIST be-PROX
permanently
as$\text{\textsuperscript{t}}$ ((es de)ke) so then (Sp.)
thus is of that
yaha i-ka therefore, because of that
it its-with
ka in-u therefore (cf. Sp. por eso)
with DEM-DIST
por in-u therefore
by DEM-DIST
de maneras ke so then (Sp.)
intunses, tu(n)ses, tos(es) then (Sp.)
of manners that
ye-k$\text{\textsuperscript{W}}$ok-in-(uh)-u then (after that, at that time)
already-when-DEM-RDP-DIST
i-pa in-u tiempo at that time s-o-tie-pa afterwards
its-at DEM-DIST time just-UNSPEC-on

Adverbs

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

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

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

Quotatives

ne-li  they say  (disclaimer, used by some older speakers to introduce a
direct quote)
UNSPEC-say
REFL

mati  evidently, I guess
know

Polarity

kiema  yes  (usually a complete utterance, occasionally used before a
verb for emphatic affirmation)
amo  no, NEG
       melɔwak  true, truly
tiel  true  (less strong than melɔwak; often used in combination with
it: tiel melɔwak really truly true)

motiel  isn’t it so?  (tag question; from amo + tiel ??)

a-

NEG

a-wel₈  impossible
NEG-possible
a-ye-wel₈  not yet possible
NEG-already-possible
ayehkɔkwel₈, aihkɔkwel₈  no longer possible
ayik  never
a-ye-mo  not yet  (ye already; a...mo NEG)

a-ye-k-mo  no longer  (k PERF?)

a-ye-k-mo  kiema  never again
no  longer when

ayok  not be present  (irregular; see BE)
ni a'ón not even (from Sp. ni a'ón not even)
ní a'ón-ki nobody (compare with amo oki (there is) no one (who))

Modal

ma may, SBJNCT, EXHRT
ma-hk-amo may (it) not (be that)
EXHRT-be-NEG ma-hk-ayuk may (it) never (be that)
permanently(?) EXHRT-be-never permanently(?)

mač COND(??) (probably from mačt know)
k'awal POT kana(h) perhaps, DUB
good

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Ø NP/ADJ

tahá ok t-pdalak-tlu You are still a lad.
you yet you-lad-ABS

lalúus wéyí tle-tla-sohtu-los His HON love is very great.
very big his-love-ABSTR

HON

ka is NP/ADJ/LOC/EXIST Irregular; paradigms follow.

PRES

nú-(ka)-ka ti-(kah)-ka-te*
l-REDP-be we-REDP-be-PL
I am we are

ti-(ka)-ka ne(n)-(kah)-ka-te
you-REDP-be you-REDP-be-PL

you are PL

you HON are

you HON are

tyo-mo-wec-tka** ne-mo-wec-tka-te

you-HON-fall-PRES you-HON-fall-PRES-PL
PROG PL PROG

you HON are

you PL HON are

*This PL is not used anywhere else except with the related aspect marker -tka PRES PROG.
**wec-tka is also used in positional compounds: e.g., hítla-h-pač-wec-tka (eye-down-approachfall-PRES:PROG) is (tying) face downwards. wec-tka by itself means is tying.
(kah)-ka-te  
RDP-be-PL  
they are

ih-ilowa-k  
RDP-is-PRES  
HON  
they HON are

tc-ye-s-kt  
we-be-FUT-PL  
we will be

ne(n)-ye-s-kt  
you PL will be

ne-mo-wec-ya-s-kt  
you PL HON will be

ye-s-kt  
they will be

ih-ilowa-s  
they HON will be

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

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

**Normally k is a PERF marker—only here and in the obviously related 3P HON forms of go (w-ilowa-k) and wh-w-ilowa-k) does it appear in the PRES, and in those cases it is retained in the perfect also.
(o)-tu-ye-ya you were (o)-ne-yeh-ye-ya you PL were
(o)-tu-mo-wec-ta-ya you HON were (o)-ne-mo-wec-ta-ya you PL HON were
o-ye-ya o-yeh-ye-ya they were
he was (o)-ih-ilowa-ya they HON were
he HON was

SBJNCT nu-ye tu-ye-kɔ
IMP I-be we-be-PL
I be we be

SBJNCT SBJNCT
IMP- be we SBJNCT
Be!/you be Be PL!/you PL. be

§i-ye §i-ye-kɔ
IMP-be IMP-be-PL
§mo-wec-ta §mo-wec-ta-kɔ
Be HON!/you HON be Be PL. HON!/you PL. HON be

ye ye-kɔ
he be they be
ilowa ih-ilowa
he HON be they HON be

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

I ah ok ˈt-ka-ka t-philak-tl You are still a lad.
you yet you-RDP-be you-lad-ABS (cf. first example)
õk a i-pa i-ɔ
is its-at his-home
sa ˈs-ye-(ta) Shut up! / Sit still!
just IMP-be-DUR

ye-hwa-ci deus solamiente yehwa-ci ilowa-k God, He is the only one/
he-HON God only he-HON is-PRES only He exists.
HON HON

õk dwi-tl It is a fiesta.
is fiesta-ABS
oya, uya  he was / there is  Existential. Possibly from o- PAST and ya go (cf. Sp. fué he went / he was).

oYe-s, uye-s  FUT

A-ye-k-mo oye-s  tie-tun-ie  There will be no more pain.
no longer  be-FUT  UNSPEC-burn-VR
H
OBJ

yaha oya rey
he  be  king
PERF

onka  there is  Existential. Probably from om MED + ka be.
onka-te  PL
onkayes  FUT  PRES and FUT only; IMPRF supplied by dka.
onka  dwu-tl
there  fiesta-ABS
is
sotiepa o-ye:yi wleyu  dwu-tl  Afterwards there was a big
afterwards  PAST-be  big  fiesta-ABS
IMPRF

on-kon-ka  there is some
MED-LOC-be (?)
ok onkonka tlaol-t  There is still some corn.
yet  there  shelled-ABS
is  corn

ayokok  there isn't any(thing) (anymore)
ayokaka  there isn't anyone (ayok + daka)
ayokahkate  PL
antlei, antleyi  there isn't any (amo NEG + tli what?)
ayok  isn't / wasn't (there/home/etc.) Irregular; paradigms follow.
n-ayok  I am absent.
I-be
absent
t-ayok-t*  We are absent.
we-be-PL
absent

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

- **t-ayok** You are absent.
- **you-be** absent
- **t-ayok-ci** You HON are absent.
- **you-be-HON** absent
- **ayok** He is absent.
- **ayok-ci** He HON is absent.
- **nem-ayok-ε** You PL are absent.
- **you-be-PL** PL absent
- **nem-ayok-cı-ci** You PL HON are absent.
- **you-be-RDP-HON** PL absent
- **ayok-ε** They are absent.
- **ayok-cı-ci** They HON are absent.

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

- **ধ-ত্কা** it stands, it is permanently, it is by moral right
  - **ধ্কী** SBJNCT
  - **ধ্কু-ু** ধ-ত্কা That's how things are.
  - **be-DIST** be-PRES:PROG permanently permanently thus
  - **মা** ধ্কী May it be so (without changing).
  - **EXHRT** be permanently
  - **ধ-ত্কা** para ma to-tlasohtla-ko We ought to love
  - **be-PRES:PROG** for **EXHRT** we-love-PL each other.
  - **permanently** REFL SBJNCT

- **kʷal-ka** it is good, OK

**Locatives:**

- **non-ka** Here (it) is. / It's this one. LOC/PRSNTV (also used as DEM)
- **PROX-be**
  - **non-ka-te** PL
- **om-pa-ka** There (it) is.
- **MED-at-be**
  - **om-pa** (kah)-ka-te PL
  - **there** RDP-be-PL
- **nie-pa-ka** There (it) is (over there).
- **DIST-at-be**
  - **nie-pa** (kah)-ka-te PL
nie-ka-ka  It's that one.
DIST-be-be
that
one
i-tlan-ka  It's near him.
his-near-be
nenk\^ah-ka  It is by itself.
apart-be
tl\^ol-tka  It is on the ground.
ground-PRES
PROG
wec-tka  It is lying.
fall-PRES
PROG
ahk\^ec-te-wec-tka  is (lying) face upwards
upwards-CONN-fall-PRES
(?)  PROG
\^ih-tlah-p\^ach-wec-tka  is (lying) face downwards
eye-down-approach-fall-PRES
PROG

For some older speakers, ka can affix freely to almost any locative word.
tie-mo-tlak-cun-ko-ka  It is in his HHON hand.
his-hand-near-HON-LOC-be
HON

Questions:
konen-ka  where is?
where-be
kont (kah)-ka-te  PL
kotlime  Where are (they)?  (tli what, -me PL)
kotleyaku  Which ones (are they)?
tlin-in-i-hi  What is this?
what-DEM-PROX-PROX
tlin-in-u-hu  What is that?
what-DEM-DIST-DIST

HAVE
ku-piya  has it
it-have
sen-te tlapa-tl kipuya-ya sen-te puro A man had a burro.

one-NUM man-ABS it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro

With tla- UNSPEC OBJ or an incorporated object, puya means guard, herd, keep, take care of.

chiboh-puya herds goats

goat-have
tutuh-puya keeps (birds out of) rice fields

bird-have

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

niec-pltl-a konfyonsa He has confidence toward me.

me-have-APPLIC-PRES confidence

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

kupuya \{ ke para \} tyo-s He has to go.

it-have goes-FUT

okupas on-ya He had to go (and did).

PAST-it-have DIRL-go PERF(PAST?)

DQ

kuchiwa does it, makes it

it-do

kuchihuchiwa makes, constructs it

it-TRP-do

mo-uchiwa happens i-pa mo-uchiwa happens to him

REFL-do

his-on REFLEX

pasor-owi happens

happen-VR

(INTRNS)

kupasorow-a happens to him

him-happen-VR-PRES

(TRNS)
produces (of crops)
ye o-mo-či štoma-tl
PAST-REFL-do tomato-ABS PERP
already

The tomato crop is ripe.

sla-mo-čiwa
OBJ UNSPEC-REFL-do (COLL?)

sla-mo-čiwa-lus-tl
harvest abound-ABSTR-ABS

becomes (with PRED N or ADJ)
o-mo-či tunto became, acted
PAST-REFL-do stupid stupid PERP

o-mo-k’wek tunto became, acted
PAST-REFL-turn stupid stupid PERP

mo-lukoh-k’wepa goes crazy
REFL-crazy-turn

ayi do something, be busy (irregular)
n-ayi I am busy. t-ah-ayi We are busy.
I-be busy we-RDP-be busy

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

busu you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES
you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES
PL busy

busu you-be-APPLIC-PRES
you-be-APPLIC-PRES
PL busy

HON (mo+ayi)

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

ayi-wa He HON is busy. ah-ayi-wa They HON are busy.
be-HON RDP-be-HON
busy
ayú is not precisely a transitive verb; as far as I know it does not ever appear with nominal or pronominal object, yet its most common use is a question *What are you doing?*. It does not appear in any tense but PRES, though it shows up in PRES PROG forms with a truncated stem.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti} & \text{ t-aš-tuka} & \text{What are you doing? (usual non-HON greeting)} \\
\text{what} & \text{ you-be-PRES} \\
\text{bus} & \text{y PROG} \\
\text{ti} & \text{ tt-moi-l-ea} & \text{What are you HON doing? (usual HON greeting)} \\
\text{what} & \text{ you-be-APPLIC-PRES} \\
\text{bus} & \text{y HON} \\
\text{ku-yek-tl-ea} & \text{fixes it} \\
\text{it-well-ground-TRNS} & \text{VR} \\
\text{put} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

**NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**

**Passive**

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amo} & \text{ o-mo-hi-ta-k} & \text{desde un-u} & \text{He was not seen again after that.} \\
\text{NEG PAST-REFL-see-PERF since that} \\
\text{mo-hi-ta} & \text{ REFL-say-PRES} & \text{it is said} \\
\text{o-mo-hi-ta-tl-apo} & \text{He had an abdominal operation.} \\
\text{PAST-REFL-belly-open} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o-kí-tepoc-toka-k-ú} & \text{ka nowyo} & \text{o-kí-maka-k-ú} & \text{problema-s} \\
\text{PAST-him-iron-fol-low-PERF-PL} & \text{everywhere} & \text{PAST-him-give-PERF-PL} & \text{problem-PL} & \text{weapon} \\
\text{He was persecuted everywhere; (people) gave him troubles.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ño-co-tl} & \text{ para mo-tuka-s} & \text{wa tla-kWal-ú} & \text{para} \\
\text{seed-ABS for REFL-bury-FUT and UNSPEC-eat-NR-ABS for OBJ} \\
\text{óku} & \text{ ku-kW3-s} & \text{seed to be planted and food to be eaten} \\
\text{someone it-eat-FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Reflexive

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

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

\[\text{mo-mo-hta-kǒ \ kWɔlː neme:hwa \ mismo(-s)} \quad \text{Take a good look at yourselves.}\]

\[\text{IMP-REFL-see-PL, \ good \ you \ same-PL} \quad \text{SBINCT \ PL}\]

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

\[\text{mo-mmana} \quad (\text{water}) \text{ becomes muddy, (people) get in line}\]
\[\text{REFL-(-?)}\]

\[\text{mo-kəhɔr-ow-a} \quad \text{He gripes. (Sp. quejarse)}\]
\[\text{REFL-gripe-VR-PRES}\]

Often the reflexive bears a reciprocal sense:

\[\text{mo-lwɐ-a} \quad \text{They tell each other.}\]
\[\text{REFL-say-PRES} \quad \text{to}\]
\[\text{mo-hta} \quad \text{They are friendly (to each other).}\]
\[\text{REFL-see}\]

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

\[\text{o-mo-lwɛ-hkt} \quad \text{sent-ə kə ok-sentə} \quad \text{they said to each other}\]
\[\text{PAST-REFL-say-PL one-NUM with yet-one-NUM} \quad \text{to}\]

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

\[\text{kΨɔlː mo-kΨɔ-s} \quad \text{It can be eaten. / It's edible.}\]
\[\text{good \ REFL-eat-FUT} \quad \text{(POT)}\]

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

\[\text{mo-čamɔwə-ntu} \quad \text{braggart}\]
\[\text{REFL-praise-AG}\]

\[\text{mo-kΨɔ-ntu} \quad \text{edible thing}\]
\[\text{REFL-eat-AG}\]
There is a morpheme -yohma- (from i-ohma his soul?) used in a couple of verbs to indicate a true reflexive.

mo-yohma-nu-ncu  talks to himself
REFL-himself-RDP-call

mo-yohma-tlah-tlan-a  asks himself
REFL-himself-RDP-ask-PRES

Unspecified Arguments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tla-</th>
<th>UNSPEC (NH) OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tie-</td>
<td>UNSPEC H OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>UNSPEC REFL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

} homophonous with (and probably historical source for) 3P HON OBJ, REFL

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

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

Contrast with:

tie-puwlita  tells it to him HON
him-count-APPLIC-PRES
HON

kt-tla-kwa-lta  feeds him
him-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES
OBJ

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

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

tla-kwa-nu  glutton
UNSPEC-eat-AG
OBJ

tie-koko  pain, sickness
UNSPEC-hurt
H
OBJ
tie-mah-tu  
UNSPEc-fear-CAUS  
H  
OBJ

ne-siku-lis-tlt  
UNSPEc-bear-ABSTR-ABS  
REFL

tla-is-pa  
UNSPEc-face-on  
OBJ

sku  one, anyone, who (contrast with yeka someone)

k\textsuperscript{W}al\textsubscript{Sk}i k\textsubscript{W}\textsuperscript{O}s  
good one it-eat-FUT (POT)

Two UNSPEc markers may appear in the same word.

tie-tla-k\textsuperscript{W}ientah-tu-a  
UNSPEc-UNSPEc-account-CAUS-PRES  
H  
OBJ

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

ne-n\textsuperscript{Wmk-ti-lu-jo  
(woman's) marriage, wedding  
UNSPEc-husband-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR  
REFL

ne-sowa-ti-lu-jo  
(man's) marriage, wedding  
UNSPEc-woman-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR  
REFL

tie-nuca-lo  
UNSPEc-call-PASS  
H  
OBJ

k-is-mati-lo-a  
him-eye-know-PASS-PRES

yeh-yeka-wi-lo  
wind-carry-PASS  
(evil spirit)

*Neighboring dialects have a NEG \textsuperscript{S} verbal prefix. Other than this, I have no guess where the NEG might be in this verb.
kʷa-lo-miec-tl
*eat-PASS-moon-ABS*

miec-kʷa-lo
*moon-eat-PASS*

*eclipse of the moon*  
*child who is moon-eaten (i.e., with harelip,  
because his mother failed to take proper precautions  
during a moon eclipse)*

tla- sometimes seems to have an INTNS function:

ku-tektl  cuts it  tla-tektl  all cut up, scarred
it-cut

ku-mutla  hurls it  kl-tla-mutla  throws it out
it-hurl

ku-hnekʷl  smells it  tla-hnekʷl  smells very much
it-smell

INTNS-smell

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

tla-lw-k'uš-tu-a  throws (a) fiesta(s)
UNSPEC-feast-emerge-CAUS-PRES
OBJ

petlom  shines  tla-petlom  (it) lightnings

ku-clin-su  clashes/clangs it  tla-clinu  (bell) rings
it-clang-PRES

UNSPEC-clang
OBJ

niešu  appears  tla-niešu  dawns
appear

UNSPEC-appear
OBJ

tlaw-nieš-tu-a  illuminates/shines on/reveals things
UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES
OBJ
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

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

\[\text{ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{He wants to go.}\]
\[\text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]

\[\text{ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{Does he want to go?}\]
\[\text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]

\[\text{ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{Does he want to go?}\]
\[\text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]

\[\text{ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{Does he want to go?}\]
\[\text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]

\[\text{welis} \, \text{perhaps} \quad \text{may be used at the beginning of a YNQ to express surprise at the mildly expected affirmative answer.}\]
\[\text{welis} \quad \text{ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{Does he want to go, then?}\]
\[\text{perhaps} \quad \text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]

YNQ are typically answered by \text{kiema} \, \text{yes} \quad \text{or amo} \, \text{no}; \text{by kiema or amo followed by the whole interrogative sentence (with declarative intonation); or, more usually, by kiema or amo followed by the main verb of the question sentence.}\]
\[\text{amo \, ki-nekti} \quad \text{No, he doesn't want to.} \quad \text{(appropriate response}\]
\[\text{NEG} \quad \text{it-want} \quad \text{to Does he want to go? above)}\]

YNQ may also be answered by \text{kien-amo} \,(\text{how-NEG}) \, \text{of course} \quad \text{(cf. Spanish ¿cómo no?)}\]
\[\text{or by tlika amo} \,(\text{why-NEG}) \, \text{why not?}.,}\]

A YNQ with a NEG usually carries a mild expectation of a NEG answer.
\[\text{amo \, ki-nekti \, ty\text{-}s} \quad \text{Doesn't he want to go, then?}\]
\[\text{NEG} \quad \text{it-want \, goes-FUT}\]
\[\text{ps \, amo} \quad \text{No, (he doesn't).} \quad \text{(expected response)}\]
\[\text{well} \, \text{NEG}\]

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

\[
\text{He wants to go, doesn't he.}
\]

\[
\text{He wants to go, doesn't he?}
\]

\[
\text{He wants to go, doesn't he?}
\]

**WH Questions**

\begin{align*}
\text{ok\textsuperscript{u}} & \quad \text{who?} \\
\text{tli} & \quad \text{what?} \\
\text{k\textsuperscript{on}} & \quad \text{where?} \\
\text{kiema} & \quad \text{when?} \\
\text{kien\textsuperscript{i}} & \quad \text{how?} \\
\text{kie\textsuperscript{hki\textsuperscript{c}}} & \quad \text{how many?} \\
\text{tli-ka} & \quad \text{why?} \\
\text{what\text{-}with}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{tli para} & \quad \text{what for?} \\
\text{what for} & \\
\text{kot\text{-}aha} & \quad \text{which one?} \\
\text{which\text{-}he} & \\
\text{kot\text{-}ehwa} & \quad \text{which ones?} \\
\text{which\text{-}they} & \\
\text{kot\text{-}i\text{-}me} & \quad \text{which ones?, Where are they?} \\
\text{which\text{(1\text{-}PL}}} & \\
\text{kot\text{-}ley\text{ka}} & \quad \text{which ones?, Where are they?} \\
\text{ok\text{-}n\text{-}u} & \quad \text{which one?, who} \\
\text{who\text{-DEM\text{-}DIST}} & \quad \text{anyone who, those who} \\
\text{is it (that)?} \\
\text{ok\text{-}me\text{-}hu} & \quad \text{PL} \\
\text{who\text{-}PL\text{-DIST}} & \\
\text{kona\text{-}n\text{\text{-}ka}} & \quad \text{Where is (it)?} \\
\text{where\text{-}be}
\end{align*}

Other meanings:

\begin{align*}
\text{one, anyone, someone (who), who} & \\
\text{REL that, who} & \\
\text{the place where, any place where} & \\
\text{(homophonic with yes; k\textsuperscript{W}ok when)} & \\
\text{like (with V, ADJ)} & \\
\text{as many as, all those who} & \\
\text{amo tlika for no particular reason} & \\
\text{(i\text{-}pampa (its-on:\text{account:of}) because)}
\end{align*}
kiehkč-tu ka wieyi how big? (kč-tu-n-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX) ka wieyi about so big)
how-DIM with big
many
kiehkč-pa how many times?
how-times
many
kieski-pa how many times? a few times
few-times

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

tli-ka ti-k-neki te-yo-s Why do you want to go? what-with you-it-want you-go-FUT

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

(i)-ka tli its-with what
with what?
okč i-ka who his-with
with whom?
de kou from where
from where
tos kieni ti-k-čiwa-s-kı What shall we do, then? then how we-it-do-FUT-PL (INTR)

Some postpositions always advance to second position.

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

A topicalized element may also precede a WH word.
taha tli-ka o-tu-wala Why did you come? you what-with PAST-you-come

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

*til* te-k-neku [ma *nu-kum-ul-wu* [ma *ku-čiwa-kọ*]]
what you-it-want EXHRT l-them-say-APPLIC EXHRT it-do-PL
SBJNCT

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

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

*Lti* no*so* *nu-k-čiwa-s*  
What shall I do, then?

*what* or *l-it-do-FUT*

*kienu* no*so* *t-asu-s-ki*  
How then will we arrive?

*how* or *we-arrive-FUT-PL*

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

*wel-l-s*  
possible-FUT good *we-ascend-FUT-PL* like *lizard-ABS*  
perhaps (POT)

*Perhaps we can crawl up like a lizard?*

*noso* wel-l-s  
kači *ku-wal* ti-plehu-s-ku  
sana tutu-tl
or perhaps more good *we-fly-FUT-PL* like *bird-ABS*

*Or better, maybe we can fly like a bird?*

*noso* kienu  
ti-kisa-s-ki
or *how* we-emerge-FUT-PL

*Otherwise, how will we get out?*

---

**IMPERATIVES**

**Positive Imperatives**

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

*ści-čiwa*  
*IMP-it-do*

*ści-mo-wiki-ča-twecí*  
*(You HON) take it quickly!*

*IMP-HON-take-APPLIC-quickly*

*sci* *ści-yo-ta-kọ*  
*(You PL) shut up / sit still!*

*just IMP-be-DUR-PL*

SBJNCT
Occasionally, with a few verbs (especially when somewhat exasperatedly addressing a child), the naked verb stem is used as an IMP.

\[\text{wala} \quad \text{\textit{C'm'ere! / C'mon!}}\]

\[\text{come}\]

**Negative Imperatives**

Negative imperatives are marked by a NEG such as amo preceding the IMP verb. The EXHRT NEG mahkamo may also be used, giving a softened IMP sense.

\[\text{amo} \quad \text{\textit{so-mo-\text{\textit{ciw}l}}} \quad \text{(You HON) don't do it!}\]
\[\text{NEG \ IMP-HON-do-APPLIC}\]

\[\text{a-\text{\textit{ye}}-k-mo} \quad \text{\textit{so-mo-\text{\textit{ciw}l}}} \quad \text{(You HON) stop doing it!}\]
\[\text{no longer \ IMP-HON-do-APPLIC}\]

\[\text{ma-hk-amo} \quad \text{\textit{so-mo-mak}l} \quad \text{pd-cin-tl} \quad \text{(You HON) (please) don't}\]
\[\text{EXHRT-be-NEG \ IMP-HON-hit-APPLIC \ child-DIM-ABS \ hit the child!}\]
\[\text{permanently(?)}\]

**Modal Imperatives**

Optative sense is marked by ohalá would that (Sp.); or else it is marked by the forms nu-k-nek-ska (I-it-want-would've) I wish or nu-k-nek-ska-nu (\textit{-ni} IRR) I could wish followed by ma EXHRT or its negative mahkamo and a SBJNCT verb, usually with an IRR suffix. Often an EXHRT construction will also bear this meaning.

\[\text{ohalá ma} \quad \text{nu-ye-nu nu-tiko} \quad \text{Would that I were rich.}\]
\[\text{OPTV \ EXHRT \ I-be-IRR \ I-rich}\]

EXHRT is marked by ma (or mahkamo) followed by an independent SBJNCT verb.

\[\text{ma} \quad \text{tu-\text{\textit{yo-c}k}o} \quad \text{Let's go.}\]
\[\text{EXHRT \ we-go-PL}\]
\[\text{SBJNCT}\]

\[\text{ma-hk-amo} \quad \text{tu-k-pensor-u-k}o \quad \text{\textit{thk-u}} \quad \text{Let's not think that way.}\]
\[\text{NEG \ EXHRT \ we-it-think-VR-PL \ thus}\]
\[\text{SBJNCT}\]

This construction is used in several common phrases.

\[\text{ma} \quad \text{wala} \quad \text{usta-tl} \quad \text{Please pass the salt.}\]
\[\text{EXHRT \ come \ salt-ABS}\]

\[\text{ma} \quad \text{\textit{thk-u} yey} \quad \text{OK, agreed.}\]
\[\text{EXHRT \ thus \ be}\]

\[\text{ma} \quad \text{kWalt yowa-\text{\textit{t}}} \quad \text{Good night.}\]
\[\text{EXHRT \ good \ darken-NR-ABS}\]
ma \textit{k\textsuperscript{W}al} \textit{oh-tlu} (mu-mo-wik-li) \textit{Have a good trip.} \\
\textit{E}XHRT \textit{good} road-\textit{ABS} (\textit{you-HON-carry-APPLIC}) \textit{OBJ} \\

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

\textit{amo ti-\textgamma-s} \textit{Don't you go!} \\
\textit{NEG you-go-FUT} \\

\textbf{NOUN MORPHOLOGY} \\

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

\textbf{N + X = N} \\

\textbf{Affective Suffixes} \\

-\textit{cin} \textit{DIM/HON/endearment} \\
-\textit{ci-cin} \textit{PL} \\

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{l}ama-\textit{ci} & (\textit{little}) old lady & \textit{ku-k\textsuperscript{\textgamma}oh-ci}\textsuperscript{*} & \textit{lame man} \\
\textit{female-DIM} & & \textit{RDP-lame-DIM} \\
\textit{HON} & & \\
\textit{tl\textgamma}ka-cin-tlu & lord (God or the) & \textit{to-t\textgamma-tah-ci-ci} & \textit{our town idols} \\
\textit{man-HON-ABS} & President) & & \textit{our-RDP-father-RDP-DIM} \\
& & \textit{HON} \\
\end{tabular} \\

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

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{ye-cin-tlu} & beans & \textit{i-ye-wa} & his beans \\
\textit{bean-DIM-ABS} & & \textit{his-bean-POSSD} & \textit{PL} \\
& & & \\
\textit{korus-ci} & cross & \textit{i-korus-ci} & his cross \\
\textit{cross-HON} & & \textit{his-cross-HON} & \\
\textit{tle-cin-tlu} & fire & \textit{tle-muk\textgamma} & \textit{is very hot} \\
\textit{fire-DIM-ABS} & & \textit{fire-die} & \\
\end{tabular} \\

\textsuperscript{*}Most nouns (particularly borrowed ones) for the lame, deaf, blind, dumb, etc. have the -\textit{ci} suffix. Compare the Spanish use of the DIM in such words, e.g., \textit{col-\textgamma-to} (lame-DIM) \textit{lame man}. \\

\textbf{specification error}
pl-cin-tlu  child  i-pd-wa  his children  
child-DIM-ABS  

pl-an-ci-ci  children  o-cin-tlu  water  
child-(?)-RDP-DIM  water-DIM-ABS  

-tun  (-to-tu(n))  

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

čič-tu  dog  čič-me  dogs  
dog-ABS  dog-PL  
sowa-tl  woman  sowan-to-tu  girls (in some older 
woman-ABS  woman-RDP-DIM speakers' speech)  

[ RDP ]  DIM  
woman  

si-si-wan-tu  girl  siwan-to-tu  girls  
woman-RDP-DIM  

pd-alak-tlu  boy, youth  pd-tun-tlu  boy, young lad  
child-(?)-ABS  child-DIM-ABS  

kieškč-tu  ka  wieyit  how big?  
how-DIM with big  much (?)  

kuč-tu-n-t  ka  wieyit  about so big  
size-DIM-DEM-PROX with big  

(?)(?)  

†-kone-ci  DIM  
-ku-kone  PL  

čon-kone-ci  little house  čič-ku-kone  puppies  
home-child-DIM  dog-RDP-child  
dawin-kone-ci  little David  
PN-child-DIM  

†-wie-we  AUG  (cf. wieyit big, wie-wen-ci (little) old (man))  
-wie-wen-to-tu  PL  
gerra-wie-we  great war  koyu-wie-we  big coyote  
war-RDP-big  coyote-RDP-big  
šok-wie-wen-to-tu  big ollas (pots)  
olla-RDP-big-RDP-DIM  

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

koyu-wie-we big coyote  
koyu-wie-wen-ci old coyote 
coyote-RDP-big  
coyote-RDP-big-DIM  
HON

wie-we-koyu-ci  O honorable big coyote (addressed by the 
RDP-big-coyote-HON flattering rabbit)

Place Suffixes

-tla  LOC

ye-tla bean patch  
bean-LOC

k\W asowa-tla place of many  
cazaguate-LOC cazaguate trees

k\W oh-tla Cuautla  
tree-LOC

kawus kulu-tla place of very many  
very scorpion-LOC scorpions

-kamak place full of

\$l-kamak sandy place, beach  
sand-mouth

k\W oh-kamak forest  
tree-mouth

k\W asowa-kamak place of many cazaguate trees  
cazaguate-mouth

-ko  LOC

kal·tien-ko field  
house-rim-LOC

k\W aw-tl-i\$-ko Cuautlixco  
tree-ABS-DIM-LOC

Abstract/Collective

-yu/-yo ABSTR/COLL, system of

\$i\W -tl leaf  
leaf-ABS

i\$-h-yo its leafage, foliage  
its-leaf-COLL

\$i\W -tl witch doctor  
witch-ABS

\$i\W yu-tl sorcery  
witch-ABSTR-ABS

naka-tl meat  
meat-ABS

naka-yu-tl (the) flesh  
meat-COLL-ABS

tohmi-tl feather  
feather-ABS

i-tohme-yo its plumage, fur  
its-feather-COLL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ku-konie-tl</th>
<th>Doll, mannikin</th>
<th>Ku-konie-yo</th>
<th>Embroidered hem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RDP-child-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>RDP-child-COLL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tla-</td>
<td>UNSPEC OBJ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuloh-tlu</td>
<td>Heart (of person, animal, etc.)</td>
<td>Tla-yuloh-tlu</td>
<td>Center, heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-muh-ku</td>
<td>Corpse, dead</td>
<td>Ḫči-muh-ku</td>
<td>Dead dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog-die-ADJR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-lama</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Ḫči-lama</td>
<td>Bitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog-female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yegwa-lama</td>
<td>Mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mare-female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-karayu</td>
<td>Male (PEJ?)</td>
<td>Ḫči-karayu</td>
<td>Male dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog-male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-wie-wen-ci</td>
<td>Old (male)</td>
<td>Ḫči-wie-wen-ci</td>
<td>Old dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog-RDP-big-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-lama-ci</td>
<td>Old female</td>
<td>Ḫči-lama-ci</td>
<td>Old bitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dog-female-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>AG</td>
<td>Ḫči-nu</td>
<td>Householder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Home-AG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pd</td>
<td>Appendage</td>
<td>No-mah-pd</td>
<td>My finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My-hand-child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No-kšo-pd</td>
<td>My toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My-foot-child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I-kʷ-ul-a-pd</td>
<td>Its tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Its-dung-child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iero</td>
<td>AG (Sp.)</td>
<td>Swul-iero</td>
<td>Teacher (there is no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School-AG</td>
<td>parallel Spanish word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>No-konie</td>
<td>Ku-konie-tl</td>
<td>Doll, mannikin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My child</td>
<td>RDP-child-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukowa</td>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>Kʷa-kʷah-čuka</td>
<td>(Ox) moos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ox</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head-RDP-cry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ox</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TETELCINGO NAHUATL** 37

\[ V + X = N \]

\[ \dagger -nu \quad AG \]

| tla-k\textsuperscript{w}a-\textsuperscript{m}e -gluttons |
| UNSPEC-eat-AG-PL |
| OBJ |
| mo-\textsuperscript{s}ikow-\textsuperscript{c}nu -the devil |
| REFL-bear-PRES-AG |
| envy |
| čuka-\textsuperscript{nu} -cry baby |
| cry-AG |

\[ -ku \quad \text{characterized by (ADJ ending)} \]

\[ -\text{k}o-\text{c}u-\text{ci} \quad PL \]

-ku (characterized by (ADJ ending))

| tlōw\textsuperscript{n}a -is drunk |
| tlōw\textsuperscript{n}n-\text{k}t -drunkard |
| be(\text{come}) |
| drunk |
| be(\text{come})-ADJR |
| drunk |

| tēo-pię-x-k\textsuperscript{c}u-\text{ci} -priests (There is a large class of nouns with -pę̃k\text{k}t.) |
| god-have-ADJR-RDP-DIM:HON |

| tlah-mat-\text{k}t -wise man |
| UNSPEC-know-ADJR |
| OBJ |

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

| tie-kōko -pain(ful) |
| UNSPEC-hurt |
| H:OBJ |

| tie-muk-t -poison(ous) |
| UNSPEC-die-CAUS |
| H:OBJ |

| ku-pi\textsuperscript{c}ow-a -kisses her |
| her-kiss-PRES |

| tla-pi\textsuperscript{c}u-\text{i} -kiss |
| UNSPEC-kiss-NR-ABS |
| OBJ |

| ku-mat\textsuperscript{u} -knows it |

| tlah-mat-\text{k}t -wise man |
| UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ADJR |

| mo-ma-kį̃-tu-a -is rescued |
| REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES |

| ne-\text{m}a-kį̃-tu-k\text{lt} -salvation |
| UNSPEC:REFL-rescue-ABSTR-ABS |

\[ -\text{ci} \quad \text{DIM/HON} \]

| tla-\text{k}w\text{a} -eats |
| UNSPEC:OBJ-eat |

| tla-\text{k}w\text{a}-\text{ci} -possum |
| UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-DIM |

| k\textsuperscript{w}i-k\textsuperscript{w}i-ka-yo-\text{c}u-\text{ci} -(kind of) crickets |
| RDP-sing-ABSTR-RDP-DIM |
ABS tla-nieš-tu-a illumines
    UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES
    OBJ
     tla-tuk-tlu planted field
        UNSPEC-plant-ABS
        OBJ
     ki-cok-wa glued/sticks/
    it-stick-PRES learns it
    tree-stick-ABS

-t result of V
     tunu shines, is hot
     shine
     tla-yowa becomes dark
        UNSPEC:OBJ-darken
     tlaa shells corn
     shell: corn
     ki-čiwa does it
     it-do
     či,ča-lu spittle
    spiit-NR-ABS
     tunu-tu sun, day
     shine-NR-ABS
     yowa-lu night
        darken-NR-ABS
     tlaa-lu shelled corn
        shell: corn-NR-ABS
     tla-čiwa-lu deed
        UNSPEC:OBJ-do-NR-ABS
     no-tla-k'wa-lu my food/my eating
        my-UNSPEC-eat-NR
        ground (P-G-60, OBJ
        10)

†-ls ABSTR
     tla-čiwa-lu deed
        UNSPEC-do-NR-ABS
        OBJ
     ki-tieka pours it out
        it-pour
     mo-yul-siewi-a feels peaceful
        REFL:heart-rest-PRES
     tla-čiwa-lu doing, deed
        UNSPEC-do-ABSTR-ABS
        OBJ
     tiek-lu-di-lu diarrhea
        pour-ABSTR-ABS
     ne-yul-siewa-lu peace
        UNSPEC:heart-rest-ABSTR-ABS
        REFL

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

k'ye k-tie-niewa praises him
him-well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention

yek-tie-niewa-lu-lu praise
well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention-ABSTR-ABS

plexes him
him-well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention

yek-tie-niewa-lu-lu praise
well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention-ABSTR-ABS

yek-tie-nieuw-les-tlu  praise
ki-tlasohtla  loves him
him-love
tlasoht-las-tlu  love-ABSTR-ABS
ki-mači-s-ti-ls  knows it
it-know
no-mači-s-ti-ls  my knowledge
my-know-FUT(?)-CONN:(CAUS?)-ABSTR
-s  ABSTR
tla-tlaši  coughs
tla-tlaši-s-tlu  a cough, the gripe
RDP-cough
RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS
-yu/-yo  ABSTR, COLL
kWika-yu-tl  song
sing-ABSTR-ABS
kWika-tl-as-tlu  song
sing-CONN:(CAUS?)-ABSTR-ABS
tla-seh-sie-yo  shadow, shade
UNSPEC-RDP-rest/cool-ABSTR
OBJ
-ti-ero  AG (Sp.)
ki-mači-s-ti-a  warns, informs him
him-know-FUT(?)-CAUS-PRES
mači-s-ti-ero  teacher
know-FUT-CAUS-AG
mku-s-ti-ero  murderer
die-FUT-CAUS-AG
∅
čiyowa  fat(ness), becomes greasy
kukowe/  ox (probably from kWɔ-kWa-wt (head-RDP-VR) is horned)
KWokowe

ADJ + X = N
-yu  ABSTR
wie-wen-ci  old
wie-weh-yu-tl  age(dness)
RDP-big-DIM:HON
RDP-big-ABSTR-ABS
šipec-ti-k  naked
šipec-yu-tl  misery
peeling-slippery-CONN-ADJR
naked-ABSTR-ABS
DAVID H. TUGGY

riko
rich
i-rikoh-yu
his wealth
rich
his-rich-ABSTR

-\text{lu} \quad \text{PASS(\text{-})?)}

\text{k\text{\text{"e}}\text{\text{c}}\text{\text{\text{"o}}}\text{\text{w}a-k}} \quad \text{humid, wet}
\text{k\text{\text{"e}}\text{\text{c}}\text{\text{\text{"o}}}\text{\text{w}a-lu-tl}} \quad \text{humidity, wetness}
\text{humid-ADJR}
\text{humid-PASS(?)\text{-}ABS}

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

\text{koh-kul-tu-k} \quad \text{twisted}
\text{koh-kul-ci} \quad \text{lame man (with}
\text{RDP-twist-CONN-ADJR}
\text{RDP-twist-DIM} \quad \text{twisted feet)}

\text{Other}

\text{tl\text{a}-kpak} \quad \text{above, up high}
\text{nie-ka} \quad \text{that one}
\text{UNSPEC-on:\text{top}-of}
\text{DIST-be}
\text{OBJ}

\text{tl\text{a}-kpak-nie-ka-\text{tl}} \quad \text{man from the high country}
\text{above-DEM-ABS}
VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-tu CAUS, become
ku-tlaken-tu-a clothes him mo-namuk-tu-a (she) gets married
him-clothing-CAUS-PRES REFL-husband-CAUS-PRES
čarampeyoh-ti has measles ku-lukoh-ti-ti-a drives him crazy
measles-CAUS him-crazy-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES
ku-pdl-wah-ti-a engenders children on her
her-child-POSSD-PL-CAUS-PRES
ku-pah-ti-a doctors him, heals him
him-medicine-CAUS-PRES

-wu APPLIC
ku-pah-wu-a fumigates it
it-medicine-APPLIC-PRES
ku-mah-pdl-wu-a points at/gestures to it
it-hand-child-APPLIC-PRES
finger
ku-macieteh-wu-a hits it with a machete
it-machete-APPLIC-PRES
ku-soh-soki-wu-a muddies it
it-RDP-mud-APPLIC-PRES

-ow-a TRNS VR
-ow/-iewt INTRNS VR
mo-šinoč-ow-a multiplies, increases
REFL-seed-VR-PRES
compil-iewt has a cold
grippe-VR
puč-iewt becomes smoky,
smoke-VR sooty
ku-puč-iew-ti-a smokes it up
it-smoke-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

- a TRNS
- i INTRNS

tiem-t is full
ku-tiem-t pours it out
rim-INTRNS it-rim-PRES:(TRNS)
ku-tl̃ol-ta places/puts/seats it
it-ground-PRES:(TRNS)
-yo

koko-lis-yo-hku  They were sick.

hurt-ABSTR-VR-PL

sickness  PERF

**ADJ + X = V**

-tw/-iew  become ADJ

ččil-iew-i  reddens
red-VR-INTRNS

pico-nel-aw-t  gets dirty
pig-(?)-VR-INTRNS

filthy

-it  APPLIC

kučči-lu-a  embitters it
it-bitter-APPLIC-PRES

ku-meyak-č-lu-a  increases it
it-much-(?)-APPLIC-PRES

ku-sie-ti-lu-a  unites it
it-one-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

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

-ow-a  TRNS VR

-twí  INTRNS VR

pasar-ow-i  happens

happen-VR

ki-pasar-ow-a  happens to him

him-happen-VR-PRES
ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

\(X + Y = \text{ADJ}\)

\(-(\text{tu})\text{-}k\) \(\text{ADJR, -(tu)-k-t} \quad \text{PL} \)

| tliit\(\text{-i}\) | soot | tliit\(\text{-tu}\text{-}k\) | \textit{black} | soot-\text{CONN-ADJR} |
| kahwien\(\text{-e}k\) | \textit{brown} | \textit{\text{\zpection}}\(\text{-e}k\) | \textit{red} | coffee-\text{CONN-ADJR} |
| \textit{\zpection}\(\text{-e}k\) | \textit{peeled} | ye\(\text{-tu}\text{-}k\) | \textit{heavy PL} | bean-\text{CONN-ADJR-PL} |
| (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) | (?) |

\(\text{ADJ ending in} \ \textit{\text{\zpection}} \text{\-}k \text{\ (which are numerous)} \text{\ lose their final} \ a \text{\ before the}\ PL \text{\ ending. A few other ADJ similarly lose an} \ i\).\)

| to\textit{\text{\zpection}}w\(\text{-e}k\) | \textit{thick} | to\textit{\text{\zpection}}w\(\text{-e}k\text{-tu}\) | \textit{thick PL} | to\textit{\text{\zpection}}w\(\text{-e}k\text{-tu}\text{-tu}\) | \text{RDP-thick-ADJR-PL} |
| \textit{\text{\zpection}}\text{\-e}k\text{-tu} | \textit{delicious} | \textit{\text{\zpection}}\text{-e}k\text{-tu} | \textit{delicious PL} | \text{delicious-ADJR-PL} |

\(-\text{ku} \quad \textit{PERF PRTC} \quad \text{(not freely productive synchronically)} \)
\(-\text{k3} \quad \text{when non-final} \)

| comun\(\text{-u}\) | breaks | comun\(\text{-ku}\) | \textit{broken} | break-\text{ADJR} |
| k\(\text{\zpection}\text{-u}\) | becomes soft, \textit{loose} | k\(\text{\zpection}\text{-ku}\) | \textit{soft, loose} | \text{become\text{-soft-ADJR} |
| k\(\text{\zpection}\text{-u}\) | \textit{hurries} | k\(\text{\zpection}\text{-ku}\) | \textit{intelligent,} | hurry-\text{ADJR} | \textit{light-footed} |
| mih\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | mih\(\text{-e}k\text{-k}\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\text{-k}\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\text{-k}\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\text{-k}\) |
| \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) |
| \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) |
| \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) | \text{\zpection}k\(\text{-e}k\) |

Sometimes a \text{PERF verb in an unmarked relative construction is used as an adjective.} This form is sometimes offered as an alternative to the \(-\text{ku} \quad \text{PERF} \) form, perhaps with an active instead of passive sense.

| i\(\text{m}\) | o\(\text{m}\) | \textit{his withered hand} | \textit{PAST-dry:PERF} |
| i\(\text{m}\) | woh\(\text{-k}\) | \textit{his withered hand} | \textit{dry-ADJR} |
UNSPEC OBJ

tie-mah-ti  frightful, scary  tla-tek-tlu  all cut up, scarred
UNSPEC-fear-CAUS  UNSPEC-cut-ABS
H:OBJ  OBJ

ABS

tla-ši-pieh-tlu  peeled
UNSPEC:OBJ-peeling-begin-ABS

-yo  ABSTR

coco-yo  hairy, furry, fuzzy
RDP-hair-ABST

ADJ + X = ADJ

iš-  -ish  (productive)

iš-kWɔkWal-ci  rather pretty, pretty
face-RDP-good-DIM  of face
iš-neš-ték  grayish
eye-gray-CONN-ADJR

-ci  DIM

wieyis  big
RDP-big-DIM

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

yek-  well, upright

yeh-kWal-ti-k  very good, perfect
well-good-CONN-ADJR

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

RDP  (see above examples)
kWalt  good
kWahl-kWalt  very good/good PL
COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

N₁ characterizes N₂

N + N = N

kʷ'tlac'i-ka-tl  dung-ant
  dung-ant-ABS
kuska-şapol-ʃ  collared grasshopper
  collar-grasshopper-ABS
mh-kɔ-tlaxt-s-tl  whooping cough
  die-ADJR-RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS
dead man  cough

N₂ characterizes N₁

i-cocoma-tatapap  his ragged clothes
  his-cloth(es)-rag

N₂ is made of N₁

ye-mul-ʃ  bean mole (soup)
  bean-mole-ABS
tle-mul-ʃ  red mole (very picante)
  fire-mole-ABS
tepos-tutu-tl  airplane
  iron-bird-ABS

N₂ is for N₁

trenh-oh-tl  railroad
  train-path-ABS
tlɔl-piko  pick, mattock
dirt-pick

N₂ is in N₁

kʷ'ɔ-teš-tl  brains
  head-dough-ABS
kʷ'ɔ-teneš-tl  dandruff
  head-plaster:of:Paris-ABS
k′ah-pixo-tl  wild pig
  tree-pig-ABS
cin-tatapah-tl  diaper
  bottom-rag-ABS

N₁ causes N₂

čiš-koko-luš-tl  sickness caused by
  witch-hurt-ABSTR-ABS  witchcraft
  sickness
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N₁ is source of N₂</th>
<th>tutol-te-tl</th>
<th>egg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bird-stone-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-yeka-tol-kʷtl</td>
<td>his snot/mucus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-nose-tissue(?)-dung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čįčį-wal-ɔ-yo</td>
<td>her breast milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her-suck-come(?)-water-ABSTR</td>
<td>breast juice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N₂ is part of N₁</td>
<td>tutol-te-kakawa-tl</td>
<td>egg shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bird-stone-pod-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toma-čįl-č</td>
<td>tomato and chile sauce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomato-chile-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čįloka-iknu</td>
<td>his neighbor/fellow-man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-man-brother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADJ + N = N**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teson-capo-tl</th>
<th>mamey (fruit)</th>
<th>čįl-tutu-tl</th>
<th>a variety of red bird</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raspy-zapote-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>red-bird-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cohyo-k-šuč-tlu</td>
<td>a variety of flower that smells burnt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stinky-ADJR-flower-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kos-tu-katul-č</td>
<td>yellow atole (gruel)</td>
<td>kʷieč-pah-tlu</td>
<td>powdered medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow-CONN-ADJR-atole-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>ground-medicine-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**N + ADJ = N**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>te-te-wie-wen-ci</th>
<th>boulder</th>
<th>tlol-man-ki</th>
<th>(a) plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM:HON</td>
<td></td>
<td>land-flatten-ADJR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td></td>
<td>flat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlol-neč-tu-k</td>
<td>a type of grayish clay</td>
<td>šulie-pčoh-k-č</td>
<td>slender mushrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirt-gray-CONN-ADJR</td>
<td></td>
<td>mushroom-narrow-ADJR-PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**V + N = N**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>popuca-sitlal-č</th>
<th>comet</th>
<th>popuca-tepie-tl</th>
<th>Popocatepetl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smoke-star-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>smoke-mountain-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tem naš-kal-č</td>
<td>sauna bath house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steam-FUT-house-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
N + V = N

kʷahciktlú   grafted shoot
      tree-stick:to-ABS

ičpučkowaltú   old maid
daughter-remain-NR-ABS

\[ N + V = N \]

\[ N + V = N \]

\[ N + V = N \]

\[ N + V = V \]

\[ N = OBJ \]

kíkečpciowaltú   strangles it
      it-neck-squeeze-VR-PRES

ku-pahkwa-ltálú   poisons him
      him-medicine-eat-CAUS-PRES

kípకtkówalú   makes him happy
      him-rejoice-ABSTR-give
      joy

ôsaká   carts water
      water-cart

with OBJ

kísokknelowaltú   mixes it with mud
      it-mud-mix-PRES

\[ N = LOC \]

kíkamapuyá   has it in his mouth
      it-mouth-have

kʷah-tlehko   climbs a tree
      tree-ascend

origin

kímo-kwítú   snatches it from the hand
      it-hand-grab

kípúrotpeštwinálú   dumps it off a burro
      it-burro-dump-PRES

destination

kísokkakiálú   puts it into the mud
      it-mud-fit-PRES

kíkšmutlalú   shoots at his feet
      him-foot-hurl

relative

kínakasikatíeka   lays it on its side
      it-ear-with-lay

position

kícinjewalátálú   places it around the base
      it-bottom-surround-CAUS-PRES

\[ N = INSTR \]

kíihyutiema   inflates it
      it-breath-fill
ko-puk-tiem-ta fills it with smoke
it-smoke-fill-CAUS-PRES

kt-ihiu-mk-ta him-breath-die-CAUS-PRES
drowns him

k-o-ihiu-mk-ta him-water-breath-die-CAUS-PRES
dsuffocate

m-o-kokow-a (plant) becomes sick from
REFL-water-hurt-PRES too much water

opis-mki is very hungry
famine-die

N = MAN
k-dknu-uhta has pity on him
him-orphan-see
tu-mo-neh-nemu crawls
all(?)-hand-RDP-walk

kW-tla-kisa comes gushing out
dung-emerge

bakiero-kisa plays the part of a cowboy
cowboy-emerge

boka-čuka (cow) moos, lows
cow-cry

čukW-a-tla-htow-a speaks evil, slanders,
owl-UNSPEC-say-PRES blasphemes
(?) OBJ

N = time
tu-tlahko-tla-kW-o-s-ku We will eat at noon.
we-half-UNSPEC-eat-FUT-PL
OBJ

N = purpose
ku-keč-tekoycw-a cuts a neck-hole in it
it-neck-pierce-PRES

N = SUBJ
con-te-kolpan-i has a (splitting) headache
hair-CONN(?)-LOC(?)-split-INTRNS
head open

íte-čuka his stomach growls
stomach-cry

koč-kama-koycw-yawns
sleep-mouth-open-INTRNS
kuku-poscwí  has a swollen throat
throat-swell
miec-tuna    (moon) shines brightly,
moon-shine-brightly  it's a bright night
mo-kwah-ti    his hands tire
hand-wood-VR  tire

\[ V + V = V \]

\[ V_1 = OBJ \]
k-dhtu-s-neku  means
it-say-FUT-want
koči-s-neku    is sleepy
sleep-FUT-want

\[ V_1 = MAN \]
čuki-s-wie-wecka  smiles through tears
cry-FUT-RDP-smile
kt-mah-kə-hta    looks at him fearfully
him-fear-MAN-see
kt-kuku-poc-muk-tu-a  strangles him
him-throat-squeeze-die-CAUS-PRES
strangle   kill
kt-koc-tie-mikî    dreams of him
him-sleep-UNSPEC-die
H
OBJ

OBJ

dream

tiasoh-kɔ-matl  thank you
love-MAN-know

\[ MOD + V = V \]

adjectival
kt-wieyuc-çiwa  makes it big
it-big-make
kt-wehka-pano-a  elevates it, exalts him
him-high-pass-PRES
kt-wel-matl  likes its taste
it-delicious-know
mošo-kisa  becomes tame
tame-emerge
kt-kwal-hta    likes it
it-good-see
Adverbial

pucah-ka-sek\textsuperscript{Wt}  has (malarial) chills
ugly-MAN-be: cold
k-ičteka-nu-nuca  talks to him/her (lovers)
him-secretly-RDP-call  secretly
ku-melch-ko-powa  testifies, affirms truthfully
it-true-MAN-tell

(See also INCORPORATION.)

Adjective Compounds

\[ N + \text{ADJ} = \text{ADJ} \]

yul-tepic-t\textsuperscript{-}k  hard-hearted
heart-hard-CONN-ADJR

yul-kašon-ku  tender-hearted
heart-soften-ADJR

yul-kapoc-t\textsuperscript{-}k  black-hearted, evil
heart-black-CONN-ADJR

\( k^{W}_{o}\)-sto-k  white-haired, white
head-white-ADJR

k^{W}_{o}-pin-t\textsuperscript{-}k  sharp-pointed, oval
head-pointed-CONN-ADJR

nakas-pačun-t\textsuperscript{-}k  long-haired, in need of a haircut
ear-approach-CONN-ADJR

iš-k^{W}_{o}-k^{W}_{al}-ci  pretty of face, handsome, sort of pretty
eye/face/sort:of-RDP-good-DIM

iš-isto-k  whitish, cataracted eye
eye/sort:of-white-ADJR
BASIC INFLectionAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-tl/-tli/-tl

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kak-tli</th>
<th>sandal</th>
<th>no-kak</th>
<th>my sandal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sandal-ABS</td>
<td>sandal-PL</td>
<td>my-earth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kak-me</th>
<th>sandal-ABS</th>
<th>my-earth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>my land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no-tlčl</th>
<th>my earth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my-earth-ABS</td>
<td>my-earth-on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWeya-tl</th>
<th>frog-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>klčl-t</td>
<td>klčl-pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWeya-me</th>
<th>frogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frog-PL</td>
<td>earth-ABS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWmiač-l</th>
<th>mouse-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>klčl-te</td>
<td>klčl-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDP-mouse-PL</th>
<th>RDP-mouse-PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>čič-lk</th>
<th>witch doctor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kław-ctl</th>
<th>leaf-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-kłh-yo</th>
<th>its foliage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłh-me</th>
<th>leaf-PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWaw-ctl</th>
<th>tree-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWah-me</th>
<th>tree-PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWah-puco-tl</th>
<th>wild pig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWey-ctl</th>
<th>skirt-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>klčl-te</th>
<th>her skirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWem-ctl</th>
<th>furrow-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kłWe-me</th>
<th>furrows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>furrow-PL</th>
<th>furrow-PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
tlaken-ntl  costume, dress,     i-tlakie  his costume, etc.
clothes-ABS  clothing              his-clothes
tekol-i(tl)  coal (of fire)        tekol-me  coals
coal-ABS     coal-PL

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

petla-ntl  petate (woven mat)     i-petl  his petate
petate-ABS            his-petate
petla-me  petates                kwitla-ntl  dung
petate-PL              dung-ABS
i-kwl-ntl  his dung              kwitla-kisa  gushes out
dung-emerge

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

con-te-koma-ntl  head, skull  to-con-te-ko  the human head, our
hair-stone-gourd-ABS  our-head  heads

-tu (historically DIM) sometimes acts as an ABS.

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

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

puro-kone-ci  donkey foal        puro-ku-kone  donkey foals
donkey-child-DIM  donkey-RDP-child

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

aloško  orange               čil-teku  (a very hot chile)
chile(?)
peyu  peon               kašu  box
Obligatory possessed nouns may also exceptionally appear with ABS.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t-mo-tl} & \quad \text{hand} & \text{t-knu-tl} & \quad \text{brother} \\
\text{his(?)\text{-hand-ABS}} & \quad & \text{his(?)\text{-brother-ABS}}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\text{tli tloka-tli ika-ka in-i} \quad \text{What sort of man is this?} \\
\text{what man-ABS is-RDP DEM-PROX}
\]

**Plural**

-\( me/-te \)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{siltal-t} & \quad \text{star} & \text{siltal-te} & \quad \text{stars} \\
\text{siltal-me} & \quad \text{stars}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tla-htu-l-t} & \quad \text{word, language} & \text{tla-htu-l-me} & \quad \text{words} \\
\text{UNSPEC-say-NR-ABS} & \quad & \text{word-PL} \\
\text{OBJ} & \quad & \\
\text{tla-htu-l-te} & \quad \text{languages} \\
\text{word-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tuntoh-te} & \quad \text{idiots, stupid PL} & \text{bokah-te} & \quad \text{cows} \\
\text{stupid-PL} & \quad & \text{cow-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tloka-tl} & \quad \text{man} & \text{tloka} & \quad \text{men} \\
\text{man-ABS} & \quad & \text{tloka} & \quad \text{men} \\
\text{kum-tl} & \quad \text{water pot} & \text{kum} & \quad \text{water pots} \\
\text{water:pot-ABS}
\end{align*}
\]
All of the nouns in this category that I know of except tlōka end in m like kum and ōmu. However, for most speakers t and e tend to neutralize in this context, and some speakers pronounce them as a definite me. So for these speakers it is probably best to analyze these cases as examples of the -tl ABS (whether or not a result of epenthesis; see under Absolutive) and -me PL, with mm reducing to m. Supporting this analysis is the fact that the possessed form of tlākem-tl clothing is i-tlakie (his-clothing), not i-tlākiem as one would expect if the stem were really tlākietm.* Note also i-ku his water pot. Also, compounded forms with these nouns do not have the t in them.

- (e) s

A minority of Spanish loan words take this Spanish PL.

peyu peon peyun-es peons peon-PL

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

kalobos nail (from Sp. clavos nails) kalobos-te nails nail-PL

-ku

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

kukowe ox kukoweh-ku oxen ox-PL

*The final m, of course, deletes. Interestingly enough, Pochutula had parallel forms ending in m-t, where the -k was ABS, e.g., Poch. atōm-t louse, Tetel. atum-tl louse. This suggests that perhaps these forms arose historically from an epenthesis.
tla-teki-pano servant
tla-teki-panoh-kí servants
UNSPEC-work-pass servant-PL
OBJ
mo-tla-teki-panoh-kó-ci-ci-wa your HON servants
your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL
sie one se-ki some, several, a few
one one-PL

-ti ADJ PL
weya-k long
long-ADJR wie-weya-k-ì long PL
RDP-long-ADJR-PL
ëchi-k bitter
bitter-ADJR ëchi-kì bitter PL
bitter-ADJR-PL

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

wiel-k delicious
delicious-ADJR wiel-k-ì delicious PL
delicious-ADJR-PL
copiél-k* sweet
copiél-k-ì sweet PL
sweet-ADJR sweet-ADJR-PL
tékowa-k strong
tékoh-kì strong PL
strong-ADJR strong-ADJR-PL
pucowa-k thin
pucoh-kì thin PL
thin-ADJR thin-ADJR-PL

-tie QNT PL (from -te PL tensed?)
meyak much
meyak-tie many
much-PL
noči all
in-noč-tie all of them
all their-all-PL
mok Wil-tie five of them
mok Wil-te five of them
five-PL (in some older
people’s speech)

-wa POSSD PL
no-mcó my hand
no-mcó-wa my hands
my-hand my-hand-POSSD:PL

*This is probably etymologically related to wielík, though there is no -o morpheme I know of with an appropriate meaning. Cf. 2-wielík (water-delicious-ADJR) watery-tasting, insipid.
pərinoh-tlu godfather
i-pərinoh-wa his godparents

In a few cases a POSSD noun will appear with RDP to indicate PL, and no -wa.
A distributive or ‘respective’ meaning may be implied in these cases.

i-kič-tu his size
to-kič-to-tu our (respective) sizes

čon-tlu home, dwelling
in-čah-ča their (respective) homes

RDP

Reduplication either of the type C₁V₁-C₁V₁ X or C₁V₁-C₁V₁ X or the

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

komik-t lizard
ku-komik-te lizards
RDP-lizard-PL

kumuč-t mouse
ku-kumuč-te mice
RDP-mouse-PL

i-nah-nomk her husband
in-nah-nah-nomk-wa their husbands
their-RDP-husband-POSSD
DISTR(?) PL

i-si-si-wan-konie his daughter
i-si-si-wan-wan-wa his daughters
his-RDP-child-POSSD PL

kaka-tu toad
kaka-to-tu toads
kaka-RDP-DIM

koruh-ci cross
koruh-ci-ci crosses
cross-RDP-HON

tłoka-cin-tlu lord
tloka-ci-cin-te lords
man-RDP-HON-PL

uc-tlu pregnant (woman)
uu-uc-te pregnant PL (women)
RDP-pregnant-PL

weya-k long
wie-weya-k-č long PL
RDP-long-ADJR-PL

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tie-te-tu</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>te-me</td>
<td>stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-stone-ABS-DIM(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>stone-PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-su-wan-tu</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>siwan-to-tu</td>
<td>girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[RDP] DIM</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td>woman-RDP-DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-moroh-ci</td>
<td>dumb man</td>
<td>moroh-ci</td>
<td>dumb men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-dumb-DIM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dumb-RDP-DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci-ciku-ci</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>ciku-ci</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-little-DIM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>little-PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| kW₂ₗₖₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗ₃

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku-kušoh-ci</td>
<td>lame man</td>
<td>ku-kušoh-te</td>
<td>lame men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-lame-DIM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RDP-lame-PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puroh-kone-ci</td>
<td>burro foal</td>
<td>puroh-kone</td>
<td>burro foals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burro-child-DIM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burro-RDP-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deus</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>deus-ci</td>
<td>gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>god-RDP-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tłowon-ku</td>
<td>drunk (man)</td>
<td>tłowon-ku-cicci</td>
<td>drunks, drunk PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:drunk-ADJR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be:drunk-ADJR-RDP-DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moko</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>moko-ci</td>
<td>mangos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RDP-mango-DIM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te-te-wie-wen-ci</td>
<td>boulder</td>
<td>te-wie-wen-to-tu</td>
<td>boulders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM/HON</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>stone-big-RDP-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaswiela-wie-we</td>
<td>big cazuela</td>
<td>kaswiela-wie-wen-to-tu</td>
<td>big cazuelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cazuela-RDP-big</td>
<td>(serving dish)</td>
<td>cazuela-RDP-big-RDP-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suppletion

no-konie  my son/child  no-pl-wa  my children
my-child  my-child-POSS:PL

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

mo-pl-wan-ci-ci-wa  your *HON* children
your-child-POSS:RDP-HON-POSS:PL
PL  PL
POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor Affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P HON</td>
<td>mo-...-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P HON</td>
<td>tie-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P HHON</td>
<td>tie-...-ci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

no-knu   my brother   namo-knu-ci-ci-wa your PL HON brothers
my-sibling your-sibling-RDP-HON-POSSD
PL   PL

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

in-tah-toh their (respective) to-koh-to-tu our (respective) sizes
their-RDP-home homes our-size-RDP-DIM

in-nah-nomuk-wa their husbands
their-RDP-husband-POSSD:PL

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

in-omplielo their (respective) hats
their-hat

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

to-mo the human hand to-to-ta-c-c-ci the town idols (even
our-hand our-RDP-father-RDP-HON when referred
to by an atheist)

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

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

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

\[
pd-cin-tl = \text{baby, child} \quad \text{no-konie} = \text{my son/child} \\
\text{child-DIM-ABS} \quad \text{my-child:POSSD} \\
\text{no-pd-wa} = \text{my children} \\
\text{my-child:POSSD:PL}
\]

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

\[
\text{mo-pd-wan-ci-ci-wa} = \text{your HON children} \\
\text{your-child:POSSD:PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL}
\]

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

\[
\text{mo-tla-tek-panoh-ko-ci-ci-wa} = \text{your HON servants} \\
\text{your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL}
\]

**Syntax**

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

\[
i$\delta$o mali Mary's home tie-konie de $\delta$owa John's son \\
\text{her-home PN} \quad \text{his-konie of PN} \\
\text{HN}
\]

$\delta$ki one, someone, however, always precedes its POSSD nominal, and normally so do all nominal question words, including $\delta$ki who?

\[
\delta$ki i-yulo one's heart \\
\text{one his-heart} \\
\delta$ki i-yulo (with Q intonation) whose heart? \\
\text{who his-heart}
\]

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

\[
yaha in-$u$ i-puro de i-to-ta pango That's Pancho's daddy's \\
\text{it DEM-DIST his-burro of his-RDP-father PN} \quad \text{burro.}
\]

POSS PRON are formed by attaching POSSR affixes to -wąża.

\[
\text{mo-wąża-ci yours HON} \quad \text{nowąžka mine} \\
\text{your-own-HON} \quad \text{my-own}
\]
POSTPOSITIONS

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

Related forms:

-\textit{pa} \hspace{1cm} \textit{on, at, in} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ka panu} (with outside) \textit{outwardly, on the surface}

-wa \hspace{1cm} \textit{with (H)} \hspace{1cm} \textit{wa and}

-pampa \hspace{1cm} \textit{on account of, for the sake of, in place of} \hspace{1cm} \textit{i-pampa} \textit{because its-on:account:of}

-tlak \hspace{1cm} \textit{near, next to}

-te\textit{c} \hspace{1cm} \textit{up against, touching}

-kpak \hspace{1cm} \textit{on top of}

-\textit{ka} \hspace{1cm} \textit{with, by, INSTR}

-\textit{col} \hspace{1cm} \textit{among}

-w\textit{ik} \hspace{1cm} \textit{against (archaic)}

Complex P:

-\textit{j\textit{s}-tl\textit{a}} \hspace{1cm} \textit{in front of, before} \hspace{1cm} \textit{m-j\textit{s}-tl\textit{an-ci}(ne)-m-j\textit{s}-tl\textit{an-cin-ko}} \hspace{1cm} \textit{(you:PL)-HON-face-LOC-HON-LOC}

\textit{Excuse me, please.}

-\textit{j\textit{s}-pa} \hspace{1cm} \textit{in front of, before} \hspace{1cm} \textit{face-at}

-h\textit{te}-k \hspace{1cm} \textit{inside of, into} \hspace{1cm} \textit{belly-LOC}

-h\textit{te}-k-t \hspace{1cm} \textit{PL (archaic)}

-k\textit{s\textit{i}-tl\textit{a}} \hspace{1cm} \textit{at the foot of} \hspace{1cm} \textit{foot-LOC}

-cin-\textit{tl\textit{a}} \hspace{1cm} \textit{underneath, at the bottom of} \hspace{1cm} \textit{base-LOC}

-cin-te\textit{c} \hspace{1cm} \textit{at the bottom of} \hspace{1cm} \textit{base-touching}

*An exception is the phrase \textit{yaha i-ka} (it its-with) "because of that, therefore, that's why", where \textit{yaha} undoubtedly is in focus.
-kʷ-o-tu-qpak on the top of
head-CONN-on:top:of
-h-te-ko-pa inside of, on the inside of
belly-LOC-at
-tien-ko around, at the edge of
lip-LOC
-teki-pa in place of
work-at
-ne-ṭlak very close to
UNSPEC:REFL-near
-ne-wa together (Normally has no noun or pronoun following it. Occasionally you get something like:
on-ya-hku in-ne-wa karlos ka sowna
DIRL-go-PL their-together PN with PN
Charles and John went off together.
where it seems more probable that the proper names are
SUBJ rather than P-OBJ.)
-tla-ko-pa by means of (archaic)
near-LOC-on
Free P include wa and, pa on, at, and ka with from the above list. These are
preposed to their head noun. A number of Spanish prepositions have also been
borrowed and are freely used.

de of, from (Sp.)
para for (Sp.)
sana like
kienm like
kienm ka about, more or less
like with
tla-tlahk in the middle
RDP-half
por i-pa (motion) over, along
by its-on
para ka as far as concerns, in the
for with case of (Sp. para con)

There is evidence that i-pa (its-at) and perhaps i-ka (its-with) are being
reanalyzed as unit prepositions:
mo-čiwa ipa to-noč-tie It happens to all of us.
REFL-do on our-all-PL
happen
The expected form would be:

mo-te-wa to-pa to-nok-tie  
REFL-do our-on our-all-PL

*It happens to all of us.*

Also note:

i-yul-IPA  
in his heart

ika te-me  
with stones

his-heart-in  
with stone-PL

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

yey-ti ura wan=tlahko  
three-ABS hour and=half

mok-il-ti wan-sie  
five-ABS and-one

kiemu pan=tlahka  
about noon

like at=half

i-pan=tlol-kt-pak-tl  
on earth

its-on=ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS

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

to-ne-wa  
we (usually two)

in-ne-teč  
very close to each other

our-UNSPEC-with together

REFL  
their-UNSPEC-touching

REFL

in-ne-tlak  
very close together

tlac-lo  
in the middle

their-UNSPEC-near

UNSPEC-among

OBJ

tla-kpak  
up high

i-ktlan-ka  
It is near him.

UNSPEC-on:top:of

his-LOC-be

(This is the only use of -tlan LOC with a PRON.)

OBJ

tla-cin-tl  
down low

i-pan-ka  
It is on it.

UNSPEC-base-LOC

its-on-be

OBJ

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

tlol-tol-pak-tl  
the earth, world, universe

ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS

i-kw-ot-tol-pak  
on the top of

its-head-CONN-on:top:of
-pa is used with QNT (incl. NUMR) and a few nouns and ADJ with the meaning times:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sah-pa</td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mëkWul-pa</td>
<td>five times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuh-pa</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meyak-pa</td>
<td>often, many times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noč-pa</td>
<td>forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weh-ko-pa</td>
<td>long ago, (a little) later,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big-LOC-times</td>
<td>in a while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo-sie-pa-yewi are of the same age

REFL-one-times-be-born
(same)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wehka-pa</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wehka-tla</td>
<td>very deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ka iš-tlah-pač facing downwards
with eye-down-approach

ka tla-cin-tla down-hill, down south, southwards (The slope is from north to south.)
with UNSPEC-base-down
OBJ

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlol-pa</td>
<td>(on) the ground/floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-yul-ipa</td>
<td>in his heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-heart-at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-cim-pa</td>
<td>his waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-bottom-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-mo-pa</td>
<td>in his hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-hand-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEMONSTRATIVES

Basic Forms

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

PROX nənka this (one) (here)

here-be

nənka-te these (ones)

here-be:PL

nə-ilowak this (one) HON

here-be:HON

nə-h-ilowak these (ones) HON

here-RDP-be:HON

in-i this, these

DEM-PROX

in-u that, those

DEM-DIST

DIST nie-ka that (over there)

there-be

nie-ka-te those (over there)

there-be:PL

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

nə ki-mah-tka kəyaw-s This fellow is sure it’s going to rain.

here it-know-PRES rain-FUT

PROG

Other Forms

ini nənka(te) These doubled up forms are very common; they are especially likely to be used when the DEM stands alone.

ini nieka(te)

yehwan-i these ones

they-PROX

yehwan-ua those ones

they-DIST

nəč-hi all these, all this

all-PROX

nəč-hu all those, all that

all-DIST
noč-me-hu    all of those ones, all of them
all-PL-DIST
nie-ka-hu    that (one over there)  (alternate form of nie-ka)
there-be-DIST

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

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

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

tlin-in-i-hi    What's this here?
what-DEM-RDP-PROX
tlin-in-u-hu    What's that there?
what-DEM-RDP-DIST

kotl-aha    which one?
which-it
    kotl-ehwa    which ones?
      which-they

kotl-a-hu    which one (of those)?
which-it(?)-DIST
    kotl-ehwa-w    which ones (of those)?*
      which-they-DIST

kotl-a-si    which one (of these)?
which-it(?)-PROX

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

oku-me-hu    PL
who-PL-DIST

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

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

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

nu-ko  here  is sometimes used in a nearly DEM sense.

*This word is irregular either in not deleting a final w or in having antepenultimate stress
(kotlehwaw).
ni-kɔ to-knu our brother here
I(ʔ)-LOC our-sibling

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

in-in=tun-al-t this day in-un=kwalt tlɔka-tl that good
DEM-PROX=sun-ABS DEM-DIST=good man-ABS man

DEM precede the N and its other modifiers.
in-u lako rises kwalt tlɔka-tl that very good man
that very good man-ABS

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Location

PROX ni-c here
DIST nie there

These are used only with a few words.
ni-c=wi-c- Here they come. nie-wi-c There he comes.
here=come-PL there-come

ni-c=lo-ro this side nie-lo-ro that side
here=side there=side

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

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

on-kɔ around here, towards here
MED-LOC

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

MED om-pa there, in that place, thither
MED-one

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

DIST nie-pa away over there, in Hell
DIST-one
Other forms:

no-nka
   here-be

   no-nka-te
   here-be-PL

nie-ka-(ka)
   there-be-RDP

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

WHW
  konu
  where?, where
  konu-nka
  where is?
  where-be
  konu-n-u
  over there
  where-DEM-DIST
  konu-n-u-hu
  where (REL)
  where-DEM-RDP-DIST

Manner

dhi-u
   thus, in that way
   be:permanently-DIST

dhki-i
   thus, in this way
   be:permanently-PROX

kieni
   how?

Reason, Cause:

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

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

Time

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

ka ye
   nie-pa
   away back when
   with already DIST-at
   there
i-pa nie-ka-te tunal-te in olden days, in those days
its-on that-PL sun-PL
ye=k\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textwedge}\textsuperscript{k}=u-n-u then, after that happened
already=when=DEM-DIST
k\textsuperscript{W}\textsuperscript{\textwedge}\textsuperscript{k}=u-n-u-hu then, when that happened/happens
when=DEM-RDP-DIST
kiem-a-ni-yo some day, sometime
when-\{?\}-ABSTR
\begin{align*}
\text{kiemanyu} & \} \\
\text{kiemanu} & \} \\
\text{kiemanu} & \} \\
\text{entunes} & \text{then} \\
\text{tuses} & \} \\
\text{toses} & \} \\
\text{tos} & \} \\
\end{align*}
\\n\text{WHW kiema when?} \\
\text{Size} \\
krä-tun-i* ka wieyu about this big
\textit{size-DIM(?)-PROX with big} \\
kieh-krä-tu ka wieyu how big?
\textit{(?)\textsuperscript{-size-DIM with big}} \\
how many \\
i-krä-tu his size
\textit{his-size-DIM} \\

\text{*Perhaps this should be divided thus: krä-tun-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX).}
QUANTIFIERS

Forms

noči   all  (noči-ki is listed as plural in the Brewers' *Vocabulario*, but I have never heard it.)

in-noč-tie(n) all of them
their-all-PL

noč-aha pure, straight (whiskey), heaped up
all-it

noči-pa forever
all-times

meyak much, many

meyak-tie(n) many -tie PL is used only here, on noči, and on some
much-PL NUMR in some old people's speech.

mie-meyak-ci a good number/amount of
RDP-much-DIM

mie-meyak-ci-ci a good number of
RDP-much-RDP-DIM

meyak-pa often, many times
many-times

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

ok-se-ki others
yet-one-PL

kieski a little bit (of), a few
kieski-te a few
few-PL

tepi-ci a little bit (of), somewhat, a little while
little:bit-DIM

noč-te a little bit (of), a few
4(?)-PL

ci-ciku-i-ci a little bit (of) (cf. ci-ciku-ci little)
RDP-little-NR(?)-DIM

tlahko half of

seme always

semuhkak eternally, forever

sem-dw-mtl the livelong day Usually noči semdwmtl.
always-fiesta(?)-ABS all all day
The main WHW corresponding to QNT is **kieh-k'ič** (??)-size) *how much?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kieh-k'ič-te</th>
<th><em>how many</em></th>
<th>kieh-k'ič-pa</th>
<th><em>how:much-times</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(??)-size-PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how much</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kieh-k'ič-tu</th>
<th><em>how big?</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(??)-size-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| kieh-k'ič | *how many days?, how long?*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tunal-č</td>
<td>how much sun-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kieskt-pa</td>
<td><em>how many times?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:few-times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kieh-k'ič-č</td>
<td><em>how many?</em> (for some speakers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntax**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>se-ki</th>
<th>tlah-tla-kw-ya</th>
<th>se-ki</th>
<th>koh-k'oč-ta-ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one-PL</td>
<td>RDP-UNSPEC-eat-IMPRF</td>
<td>one-PL</td>
<td>RDP-sleep-DUR-IMPRF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some were eating; some were sleeping.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ši-nieč-čya</th>
<th>tep-t-ci</th>
<th>Wait a minute for me.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP-me-await</td>
<td>little:bit-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>so</th>
<th>cu-cdk-t-ci</th>
<th>ši-nieč-maka</th>
<th>Just give me a little.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>just</td>
<td>RDP-little-NR-DIM</td>
<td>IMP-me-give</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QNT precede the noun they modify. Sometimes they are ‘intrinsic’ or distinctive properties of the noun; in such cases they may intervene between a noun and its possessor prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meyak hiente</th>
<th><em>lots of people</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>much people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tie-meyak</th>
<th>tlasohtz-šu</th>
<th><em>his HON great love</em> (Note the N has no ABS because it is possessed.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tie-much</td>
<td>love-ABSTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tehwa</th>
<th>ti-meyak-tie</th>
<th>ti-ka-te</th>
<th><em>We are many.</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>we-much-PL</td>
<td>we-be-PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The partitive construction involves the Spanish preposition de or from. nóči has its own construction in this sense.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{meyak-tie} & \quad \text{de tehwa} & \quad \text{many of us} \\
\text{much-PL} & \quad \text{of we} \\
\text{to-nóč-tie} & \quad \text{all of us} \\
\text{our-all-PL} &
\end{align*}
\]

## NUMERALS

### Basic Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>One Form</th>
<th>Ten Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sie/sente</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tlće*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ume/unte</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wan-sie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeyu/yete</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wan-ume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nów</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wa yeyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokwilt*</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wa nów</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-wa-sie</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wa yeyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five-and-one</td>
<td></td>
<td>mahtłaq-tł wa nów</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-ume</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>kastuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-w-jeyu</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>kastuli w-an-sie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five-and-three</td>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-nów</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>sem-poə-lv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-count-NR-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above ten, Spanish numerals are more common. A few old people recall forms such as ub-poə-lv (two-count-NR-ABS) forty, etc. Six is occasionally given as mokwilt wan-sie, seven as mokwilt wan-ume, etc.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čik-w-jeh-pa} & \quad \text{eight times} \\
\text{five-and-three-times} \\
\text{čik-w-jeyh-pa} & \quad \text{eight times} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*Both mokwilt* and mahtlaktlk are probably historically derived from mə or mah 'hand'.

mokwilt (hand-grasp-NR-ABS) and mahtlaktlk (hand-near-ABS) could be somewhat far-fetched synchronic analyses.
The difference in meaning between the two sets of forms listed for 1-3 is hard to describe. Often they seem to be interchangeable. The first set seems to mean something like one in essence, essentially two, etc., whereas the second set means one in number, etc., or some such thing. This difference comes out most strongly with the use of sie as against sente.

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

Synty

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

yeey alosí three oranges i-sen-te konie his only son
three orange his-one-NUM son (no ABS)
tehwa t-xo-xo-we me We are four./the four of us
we we-four-PL

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

sah-pa once mokʷil-pa five times
one-times
ok-sah-pa again tuk-wa-sie-pa six times
yet-one-times
uh-pa twice tuk-umeh-pa seven times
tukʷ-ih-pa/
thrice tukʷ-iyeh-pa eight times
mahtlak-pa ten times
nok-pa four times

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

un-te-me (the) two of them mokʷil-te/ (the) five of them
two-NUM-PL mokʷil-me
ye-te-me  (the) three of them  čik-ume-me  (the) seven of them
nowi-me  (the) four of them
ti-nowi-me  ti-ka-te  We are four.
we-four-PL  we-be-PL
ti-ka-te  ti-nowi-me  We are four.

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

makWil-tie  (the) five of them
mahtlak-tie  (the) ten of them
kaštul-tie  (the) fifteen of them

Derived forms

ka  sie-sen-te  one by one  ka  oh-ume  two by two
with  RDP-one-NUM

sie-sen  each one  (kara)  se-sen  each, every single
RDP-one  each  RDP-one

sen-ti-tl  unique, only, complete
one-NUM-ABS

(ṣa)  se-k-nu  (completely) alone together, united
just  one-ADJR(?)-AG(?)
se-ki  some, several, a few
one-PL

ye  on-sie-št-ku  is one year old, has been a year
already  DIRL-one-year-VR  (Note sympathetic palatalization of sie.)
(PAST?)

uh-kɔ  lɔro  both sides  uh-pa-pa  ki-powa  repeats it
two-LOC side  two-RDP-times  it-(re)count
ADJECTIVES

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

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

koh-kul-tu-k koh-kul-tu-k-t twisted twisted PL
RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR-PL

Some of the main modifiers of ADJ are:

wel very lalwes very
tepu-ci somewhat (QNT) amo NEG
little; bit-DIM
amo wel not very; to a very little degree
lalwes wel/wel lalwes very

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

nemehwan-ci-ci [tli nen-k$^W$al-tu-k-t ne-mo-wec-tka-te]
you-RDP-HON that you-good-CONN-ADJR-PL you-HON-fall-PRES-PL
PL PL _______ PROG

you HON who are good men

a-ye-k-mo &-ye-k-c &-tun-toh-te Stop being so stupid!
no longer IMP-be-PL IMP-stupid-PL
SBJNCT

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

sen-te kal-t wieyi a big house
one-NUM house-ABS big
tie-lalwes wieyi tla-sohtu-las his HON very great love
his-very big love-ABSTR
HON
(Note that the noun has no ABS because it is possessed.)

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

no-konie [tli ka$k$ wieyi] my biggest son
my-child that more big
no-konie kači wieyi  
my biggest son (less usual)

my-child more big

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

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

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

COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

kači  more
ke  than (Sp.)

\[
\begin{align*}
X \text{ kači} & \begin{cases} 
\text{ADJ} (N) \
\text{QNT} (N) \
\text{V} (\text{OBJ}) 
\end{cases} & (\text{ke Y}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

yaha kači wieyi (tka) ke taha  He is bigger than you.
he more big is than you

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

is

\[
\begin{align*}
X \text{ V kači} & \begin{cases} 
\text{QNT} (N) \\
\text{ADV} 
\end{cases} & (\begin{cases} 
\text{ke} \\
\text{de} 
\end{cases}) & \text{lo ke tli V Y) 
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

He HON loves us much more than our parents do.
kačt ADV V
entunses kačt lalewlas k-neki-ya
then more very it-want-IMPRF
kačt mienos less
more less

Comparisons of Equality

yaha ika igwol de wieyi ka pegro He is the same size as Pedro.
he is equal of big with PN
yehwa tieč-hecki igwol ke in-u ok-se-ki They like us as much as
they us-want equal that DEM-DIST yet-one-PL those others do.

Superlatives

yaha kačt wieyi ika ke to-noč-tie He is the biggest of us all.
he more big is than our-all-PL all of us
yaha kačt wieyi ika de to-noč-tie He is the biggest of us all.
he more big is of all of us
yaha kačt wieyi ika
(with emphatic stress and pitch on kačt)
[lo ke tli kačt kwa[t] ika in-i no-nka
that that that more good is DEM-PROX PROX-be
(PRON) (SUBR) (REL)
that which
The best thing is this.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive
yeka someone (I don't know who), some person
itla something
paka/pakas sometimes, once in a while: (perhaps from -pa times + -kta PL ??)
kiemaneyu some day (in the future) (kiema when?)
sie tunal-t one day (in the past)
one sun-ABS
kahna some place
tli something(s) (Use very restricted in this sense. Also means what?, that which.)
tli-mac' all sorts of stuff, what-not
what-know
sen-te one, someone
one-NUM

yeka o-ki-wika-k Somebody took it.
someone PAST-it-carry-PERF
pakis ni-k-eliew-a kanah-tla Sometimes I crave something or
sometimes l-it-desire-PRES DUB-something other.

Negative

amo oki no one
NEG who
amo=ytla nothing (at all)
NEG=something
amo kahna nowhere (in particular)
NEG somewhere
amo tli nothing OBJ (preceding the V)
NEG what
ayk never
a-ye-mo not yet (ye already)
a-ye-k-mo no longer
a-ye-k-mo kiema never again
no longer when
nich-tli nothing (in particular)
not:even-what
nich-sku nobody (at all)
not:even-who
nich sah-pa not even once, never
not:even one-times

antlei/antleyi there is no(ne) (from amo NEG and tli what?)
amoSKU o-nowat Nobody answered.
NEG who PAST-reply:PERF
amo tli o-nowat nich-tli He didn't answer anything at all.
NEG what PAST-reply not:even-what
PERF
NEG INDF PRON sometimes act as QNT, modifying a N. They usually appear in an already NEG sentence in these cases. yeqa also sometimes functions as a N modifier.

\[
\text{amo } \text{ni-k-pya } \text{ni-m-tli } \text{tlau-l-t} \\
\text{NEG I-it-have not:even-something shell:corn-NR-ABS} \\
\text{I don't have any corn.} \\
\text{yeqa } \text{sowa-tl } \text{o-kt-či} \\
\text{someone woman-ABS PAST-it-do:PERF} \\
\text{Some woman did it.}
\]

**Any**

\[
\text{oki} \\
\text{one, someone (or other), anyone} \quad \text{(also who?, who (REL))} \\
\text{oki-m-ehwa} \\
\text{PL} \\
\text{who-PL-they} \\
\text{kanah-ye} \\
\text{someone, anyone} \\
\text{DUB-someone} \\
\text{kanah-utla} \\
\text{something, anything} \\
\text{DUB-something} \\
\text{kanah-kiema} \\
\text{at some time or other, whenever} \\
\text{DUB-when} \\
\text{oki ki-neki} \\
\text{whoever (wants to), anybody} \quad \text{(cf. Sp. quienquiera)} \\
\text{who it-want} \\
\text{oki wel-ti-s} \\
\text{whoever, anybody at all} \\
\text{who possible-VR-FUT} \\
\text{be able} \\
\text{katl-aha wel-ti-s} \\
\text{whichever one, any one} \\
\text{which-it be:able-FUT} \\
\text{tli wel-ti-s} \\
\text{whatever, anything at all} \\
\text{what be:able-FUT} \\
\text{kon wel-ti-s} \\
\text{wherever, anywhere at all} \\
\text{where be:able-FUT} \\
\text{algo} \\
\text{anything, something} \\
\text{something}
\]

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

\[
\text{mul} \text{-ti de ayoh-wač-tli} \\
\text{mole-ABS of squash-seed-ABS or if what} \\
\text{mole (soup) made of squash-seeds or something or other} \\
\text{muk-č de  ámbre noso kien} \\
\text{die-FUT of hunger or how} \\
\text{He will die of hunger or in some other way.}
\]
DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P naha</td>
<td>tehwa (tehwan-te is an archaic form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P taha</td>
<td>nemehwa/namehwa*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON tehwacici</td>
<td>nemehwan-ci-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you:HON-HON</td>
<td>you:PL-RDP-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P yaha</td>
<td>yehwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON yehwaci</td>
<td>yehwan-ci-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he:HON-HON</td>
<td>they-RDP-HON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Dependent

Possessor affixes (used also with P):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P no-</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P mo-</td>
<td>nemo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON mo....-ci</td>
<td>nemo....-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P i-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON tie-</td>
<td>tien-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHON tie....-ci</td>
<td>tien....-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHON tie-mo....-ci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Virtually all 2P PL forms have a similar variant with na- instead of ne-. Use depends on speaker preference; older speakers are more likely to prefer the na-forms. For simplicity, I will cite only the ne-forms throughout, except in some examples.
When the POSSD object is PL, the special PL -wa is used. The -ci in HON forms reduplicates to -cu-ci before -wa. (See POSSESSIVES.)

**Subject prefixes:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>nu-/n.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>tu-/t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>tu-...mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHON</td>
<td>ø...-mo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Except with 2P OBJ; see below. nu- or tu-/ ___C; n- or t-/ ___V.)
(The basic form of nen- may be nenm- or nem-.)
(The o in mo- usually drops before a V.)

**Object prefixes:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-nieč-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>tumuc-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>tumuc-mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muč-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muč-mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-k-/-ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>-tie-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHON</td>
<td>-tie-mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC H</td>
<td>-tie-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC NH</td>
<td>-tla-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1P SUBJ, 2P OBJ forms)
(3P SUBJ, 2P OBJ forms)
(\{-kt/ \{[A] C \} \_C , k- elsewhere\)

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

*The nu- and tu- prefixes and \*y- IMP have harmonious no-, to-, and \*y- allomorphs /___Co. For some speakers this harmony is obligatory; for others it is optional, especially in the frequent \timo- 2P HON or REFL cases.*
Reflexive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>tu-...mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>tu-...mo-...cinow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHON</td>
<td>mo-...cinow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHON</td>
<td>ne-...cinow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC (H)</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Suppletion

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

ka  be  is used in the present non-HON; ye  is used in FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT, and forms with contingency or DUR aspect for non-HON forms. The only PERF is 3P SG non-HON oya or uya. ye(y) is an alternative IMPRF form (instead of ye(ya) be-IMPRF). (See paradigms under BE.)

wic  come  is used in the present; wala in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT for non-HON forms. All present tense forms have irregular plurals. w-ika-c (take-be-come) bring is used (with REFL) for 2P HON and w-ilowa-c (take-be:HON-come) for 3P HON in the PRES; wal-mo-w-ika (hither-REFL/HON-take-be) for 2P HON and wal-nilowa (hither-be:HON) or wal-w-nilowa (hither-take-be:HON) for 3P HON in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, and SBJNCT.

wic-t  They come.  §u-wal-c-kc  (You PL) come!

      come: PRES-PL  IMP-come-PL:SBJNCT

to-mo-w-ika-c  You HON come.
you-HON-take-be-come

      bring

o-tu-wal-mo-w-ika-k  You HON came.
        PAST-you-hither-HON-take-be-PERF

wah-nilow-a-y  They HON were coming.
RDP-hither-take-be:HON-IMPRF

ya  go  has wya in SG non-HON SBJNCT.

§u-nilow-a  Go!  ma  na-nilow-a  I'm going now.

      IMP-go

      SBJNCT:SG

    EXHRT  I-go  Good-bye.

           SBJNCT:SG

hhta  see  has c for DUR forms (including PRES PROG). The c tenses a preceding s.

    ki-c-tka  He is watching it.  niec-hhta  sees me

    it-see:DUR-PRES:PROG  me-see

    tu-mo-c-ti-lhhtka  You HON are watching it.
you-HON-see-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

      DUR

PROG

§u-ki-c-ta  Look at it!

    IMP-it-see:DUR-DUR
The 3P HON for this verb in PRES PROG is hopelessly irregular:

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

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

§-mo-tla-k-hcino  
*Please HON sit down.*  
IMP-HON-ground-HON

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

ku-lc  
(him-tell)  
told him  
occurs only in the PERF and IMP. All other tenses and aspects are filled by its APPLIC form, ku-l-wa-k  
tells it to him, which can also appear in the PERF and IMP.

§-ku-lc  
*Tell him!*  
§-ku-l-wi  
*Tell him about it!*  
IMP-him-tell  
IMP-him-tell-APPLIC

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

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

wic/wala  
come  
(see above)

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

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

ayi  
do something, be occupied  
usually has the related APPLIC form ci-l-k  
(occupied: APPLIC(?)-APPLIC-PRES)  
use  
in 2P HON forms.

tli  
*What's up?*  
(greeting)  
what  
you-HON-be:occupied-APPLIC-PRES

tli  
*What's up?*  
k-ci-l-k  
*uses it*  
occupied

what  
you-be  
(non-HON greeting)  
it-be-APPLIC-PRES  
occupied

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

§-k-ont  
*Drink it!*  
§-m-it  
*HON Drink it!*  
IMP-it-drink  
IMP-HON-drink
Reduplication

RDP is usually of one of four types: \[ C_1 V_1 - C_1 V_1 X, \quad C_1 V_1 - C_1 V_1 X, \quad \text{[atns]} \quad \text{[atns]} \]
or either of the above types with a following the reduplicated vowel.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-ne-ne-ca} & \quad \text{talks, chats with him} \\
\text{him-RDP-call} & \quad \text{yt-yt} \quad \text{always goes, travels} \\
\text{tla-hla-hla-a} & \quad \text{talks} \\
\text{RDP-UNSPEC-say-PRES} & \quad \text{pah-poka} \quad \text{is happy, rejoices} \\
\text{OBJ} & \quad \text{RDP-be-happy}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-to-a} & \quad \text{follows him} \\
\text{him-follow} & \quad \text{to-tu-a} \quad \text{hurries, goes quickly} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-ne-ne-a} & \quad \text{spreads it} \\
\text{it-spread-PRES} & \quad \text{kt-ne-ne-low-a} \quad \text{does it out, distributes} \\
\text{RDP} & \quad \text{it} \quad \text{spread}
\end{align*}
\]

Some forms have a double RDP.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-tu-tu-to-a} & \quad \text{chases him} \\
\text{him-RDP-RDP-follow} & \quad \text{mo-tla-tla-hla-a} \quad \text{prays} \\
\text{RDP-UNSPEC-ask-PRES} & \quad \text{REFL-RDP-RDP-UNSPEC-ask-PRES} \\
\text{OBJ} & \quad \text{beg} \\
\text{PRAY} & \quad \text{pray}
\end{align*}
\]

RDP often indicates repetitive or intensified action or some similar semantic shift. Sometimes the RDP and non-RDP meanings are only loosely related.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yt} & \quad \text{goes} \\
\text{yt-yt} & \quad \text{always goes, travels} \\
\text{caca} & \quad \text{shouts, makes} \\
\text{caca} & \quad \text{(hen) cackles} \\
\text{shout} & \quad \text{animal’s cry} \\
\text{RDP-shout} & \quad \text{abandons it} \\
\text{kt-kwa} & \quad \text{leaves it} \\
\text{kt-kah-kwa} & \quad \text{jails him} \\
\text{it-leave} & \quad \text{it-RDP-leave} \\
\text{kt-cak} & \quad \text{shuts it} \\
\text{kt-cak} & \quad \text{makes/builds/fixes it} \\
\text{it-shut} & \quad \text{esp. a complicated thing) } \\
\text{kt-cho} & \quad \text{does/makes it} \\
\text{kt-cho-cho} & \quad \text{(bridegroom’s grandmother) asks (bride’s father) for the bride} \\
\text{it-do} & \quad \text{it-RDP-do}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-ne-ne-ca} & \quad \text{calls him} \\
\text{kt-ne-ne-ca} & \quad \text{kt-nok-ne-ne-ca} \\
\text{him-call} & \quad \text{him-RDP-call}
\end{align*}
\]
ki-šikow-a bears it
it-bear-PRES

NEMI lives
live

ki-šikow-a outlasts (and thus beats)/
him-RDP-bear-PRES persuades him

neh-nemi walks
RDP-live

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

aka/dakaka is
m-ahwa/m-ah-ahwa bawl each other out,
REFL-bawl:out quarrel loudly

poku/pah-poku is happy
*p-ōk/o-pah-pōk was happy, rejoiced
PAST-RDP-be
happy:PERF

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

tlatlas coughs
Cough
kekelew is ticklish
be:ticklish

Very often, especially with PRES and 3P HON forms where there is no PL suffix,
RDP indicates plurality of the SUBJ. Some speakers will not permit this when the
RDP form already has another meaning.

ilowa-k is HON
be:HON-PRES(?)

ih-ilowa-k they are HON
RDP-be:HON-PRES

ki-neki wants it
it-want

ki neh-neki They want it.
it-RDP-want

ki c̣h-c̣iwa makes/constructs/fixes it; (for some speakers) They do it/make it.
it-RDP-do

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

tla-mk-t-a kills
UNSPEC-die-CAUS-PRES
OBJ

tlah-tla-mk-t-a kills lots of things
RDP-UNSPEC-kill-PRES
OBJ

kt-šielow-a spreads it
it-spread-PRES

kt-šielow-a spreads them around,
it spread PRES distributes it/
RDP spread them

UNSPEC markers are RDP, whereas other OBJ PRON are not. This seems to
indicate that the UNSPEC markers are part of the stem. However, the stem may also
be RDP following an UNSPEC marker.
TETELCINGO NAHUATL 87

tla-h tow-a speaks
UNSPECSay-PRES
OBJ
tlah-tla-h tow-a talks
RDP-UNSPECSay-PRES
OBJ
ku-tie-i-wu-a accuses him
him-UNSPECtell-APPLIC-PRES
H:OBJ
ku-teh-tie-i-wu-a They accuse him.
him-RDP-UNSPECtell-APPLIC-PRES
H:OBJ
ku-tla-kuh-kišt-ti-li-s He will (INTNS) take things away from him.
him-UNSPEC-RDP-EMERGE-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT
OBJ

Other Phonological Changes

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

tla-h tow-a speaks
UNSPECOBJSay-PRES
ku-tla-h tu-htu-a reads it
it-UNSPECOBJSay-CAUS-PRES
ku-kowa buys it
it-buy
ku-kwine-i-a buys it for him
it-buy-APPLIC-PRES
o-khe-ku bought it
PASTit-buy:PERF

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

k-htow-a says it
it-say-PRES
k-htu-lo HON says it
it-say-HON
ku-chiw-i-a does it to him
him-do-APPLIC-PRES
ku-chiwi-li-lo HON does it to him
him-do-APPLIC-HON
ušwi is full
be:full
ušwi-wa HON is full
be:full-HON
pano passes
pass
pano-wa HON passes
pass-HON

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

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

nu-ya I go. nu-ya-s I will go.
1-go

ma tu-ya-ko Let's go!

EXHRT we-go-PL

ki-čiw-lí-to He went to do it to him.

SBJNCT

him-do-APPLIC-went

ki-čiw-lí-c-nu (if) he had done it to him

him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR

But note:

muki-s He will die. kí-čiwa-to He went to do it.
die-FUT

it-do-went

nu-k-pah-tí-s I will cure him. pah-tí-s He will get well.

I-him-medicine-CAUS-FUT medicine-VR-FUT

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

pano passes panu-ta-ya was passing
pass pass-DUR-IMPRF

panu-tíka is passing o-panu-k passed
pass-PRES:PROG PAST-pass-PERF

tla-k'w-a-lo HON eats tla-k'w-a-lu-tie HON left eating

UNSPEC-eat-HON

OBJ

UNSPEC-eat-HON-leave

OBJ PERF

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

kt-ťlasohtla loves him to-mo-ťlasohtl-ťa You HON love him.

him-love you-HON-love-APPLIC-PRES

kt-patla changes it mo-pat-tl-a changes his clothes

it-change REFL-change-APPLIC-PRES

kt-patla stirs it kt-pat-tl-a stirs it for him

it-stir it-stir-APPLIC-PRES

Some verbs palatalize s to š, and t or c to č, before CAUS, APPLIC, TRNSR, or the ABSTR NR -ls. Some occurrences of ti that are derived from tla (see preceding paragraph) undergo this change. This palatalization is probably related to the fact that there is usually an i (often derived from an a; see next to last paragraph
in this section) between the consonant in question and the ending. However, the ʼ is sometimes deleted, as in the last example here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki-ma ti</td>
<td>knows it</td>
<td>maši-a</td>
<td><strong>is known</strong>  know-TRNSR(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-tepi c-ow-a</td>
<td>hardens it</td>
<td>to-mo-tepi  ń -dw-a</td>
<td><strong>You HON</strong> harden it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-hard-VR-PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-titi ca</td>
<td>stretches it</td>
<td>to-mo-titiči-li-a</td>
<td><strong>You HON</strong> stretch it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-stretch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisa</td>
<td>emerges</td>
<td>ki-kš-ti-a</td>
<td><strong>brings it</strong> out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emerge</td>
<td></td>
<td>it-emerge-CAUS-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw-teši</td>
<td>grinds it</td>
<td>ki-teši-li-a</td>
<td><strong>grinds it for her</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-grind</td>
<td></td>
<td>her-grind-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw-keca</td>
<td>stands it</td>
<td>to-mo-keči-li-a</td>
<td><strong>You HON</strong> stand it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-stand</td>
<td></td>
<td>you-HON-stand-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw-mutila</td>
<td>hurls/shoots it</td>
<td>to-mo-muči-li-a</td>
<td><strong>You HON</strong> hurl/shoot it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-huri</td>
<td></td>
<td>you-HON-hurl-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw-ma ti</td>
<td>knows it</td>
<td>ki-maš-ti-a</td>
<td><strong>teaches him</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-know</td>
<td></td>
<td>him-know-CAUS-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kw-teši</td>
<td>grinds it</td>
<td>ki-teši-wa</td>
<td><strong>HON grinds it</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-grind</td>
<td></td>
<td>it-grind-HON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>arrives</td>
<td>aši-wa</td>
<td><strong>HON</strong> arrives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive</td>
<td></td>
<td>arrive-HON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kw-pol-ow-a</td>
<td>loses it, is lacking</td>
<td>pol-wu</td>
<td><strong>is lacking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-lack-VR-PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(TRNS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kt-kombenier-ow-a is proper/good for him (Sp. le conviene)

him-be:proper-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

kombenier-owu is proper
be:proper-VR:INTRNS

k-tlapon-a breaks it

it-break-PRES:(TRNS)

tlapon-t breaks
break-INTRNS

ku-poka washes it

it-wash

poka rejoices

rejoice

Exceptions:

k-ast reaches it,

it-reach grasps it

k-onu drinks it

it-drink

sawana/sawantu is hoarse

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

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

k^walaŋa is angry

be

angry:STAT

k^walaŋ-owa/k^walaŋa-lo HON is angry

be-HON  be-HON

angry  angry:ACT

to-mo-k^walaŋa-lu-a You HON are angry.

you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES

angry:ACT
INCORPORATION

(See also VERB MORPHOLOGY.)

Directionals

on-  hence
wal-  hither

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

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

nu-wal-yewa-ta-ya  I was coming seated.
I-hither-sit:DUR-DUR-IMPRF

$-wal-mo-titlan-il  (You HON) send him/it hither!
IMP-hither-HON-send-APPLIC

tie-mo-wal-mo-titlan-il  He HHON (God) sent him HHON (Christ) hither.
him:HON-HON-hither-HON-send-APPLIC

to-k-o-in-dhata-ti  We are going (away) to see them.
we-him-hence-PL-see-go

k-wal-in-mo-kài-tu-le-hit-cya  He HHON went about causing them to come out.
him-hither-PL-HON-emerge-CAUS-APPLIC-go-IMPRF

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

ye  o-tla-cì  He already woke up.
already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at::PERF

ye  on-tla-cì  He already woke up.
already DIRL/(PAST?)-UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at::PERF

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

ktm-titlan  ‘He sends them.’
ktm-in-titla  ‘He sent them.’
them-send

nt-k-wal-in-kài-tt  tlin=amo kwalì  ‘I came and got a bad thing.’
l-it-hither-(?)-emerge-CAUS that=NEG good
DAVID H. TUGGY

ye o-tla-nie$ It already dawned.
already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF

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

on-asi-ko He (just) arrived (here).
DIRL:arrive-came (The hence meaning is impossible in this very
(PAST?):(just?) common case.)
on-wala He (just) came.
DIRL:come (Again, the hence meaning is impossible.)
(PAST?):(just?)
on-ya he went oya he was
PAST(?)-go be:PERF

In its PAST usage, on- may precede an OBJ prefix:
on-k-asi-k He grabbed it. k-on-asik He went and grabbed it.
DIRL:(PAST?):it-reach-PERF it-DIRL-reach-PERF

on- also seems to have honorific overtones in some cases. (This is a main
function in some dialects, e.g., Sierra de Puebla.)
nie$-on-tlasohtla-lo He HHON loves me.
me-DIRL:(HON?):love-HON

on- usually causes vowel harmony in a preceding SUBJ PRON nu- I,
tu-you SG/we or & a IMP.
no-k-on-maka-k I (went and) gave it to him.
I-him-hence-give-PERF

Other

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

ka i$-tla$pach facing downwards i$-tla$pach-wecu falls, lies face downwards
with face-down-approach face:downwards-fall

ka ahk-ec facing upwards k-ahk-ec-te-tla$h-kal$ throws it down on
with raise(-?) it-face-CONN(?)-UNSPEC-throw its back
upwards OBJ

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

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

k$-wehka-panow-a raises it, builds it up, brags about him, praises him
it-far-pass-PRES:(TRNS)
kwēhka-tla-tlokt-á
sinks it down deep
it-far-down-earth-PRES
place

WHW and DEM may be incorporated, especially with -ka be (see BE, QUESTIONS, DEMONSTRATIVES).
yek- well (yek-te-k (well-CONN-ADJR) upright, righteous)
nien- in vain, for no reason, to no avail
čkʷa- angrily, strongly, disrespectfully (possibly related to čkʷah-tla (owl-ABS) owl, or čkʷa-k (strong-ADJR) strong)
tla(h)- INTNS (UNSPEC OBJ)

kw-e-yek-wkši-tu-á
cooks it well
it-well-cook:(INTRNS)-CAUS-PRES
ku-e-yek-piya
saves it up
it-well-have
ku-e-yek-nuca
speaks respectfully to him
him-well-call
ku-nien-čiwa
does it in vain
it-in:vain-do
ku-niem-pol-ów-a
loses it utterly, ruins it, murders him
him-in:vain-lack-VR-PRES
lose
čkʷa-kisa
surpasses, excels
strong-emerge
čkʷa-tla-htow-á
curses, slanders, uses strong language
strong-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES
tla-hnekʷ t
INTNS-smell

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal Elements

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for listing.)

Pronominal elements on the verb usually come in the order SM-OM-STEM. Normally only one OBJ is marked by a verb prefix; almost always the indirect OBJ is marked if there is one, and the direct OBJ otherwise. The presence of a second object,
if it is 3P non-HON, is signalled by the APPLIC suffix.

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ki-čiwa} & \text{does it} \\
\text{it-do} & \text{nieč-čiwi-a} \quad \text{does it to me} \\
\text{ki-powa} & \text{tells it} \\
\text{it-count} & \text{tu-nieč-puw-t-a} \quad \text{You tell it to me.} \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{me-do-APPLIC-PRES} & \\
\text{you-me-count-APPLIC-PRES} & \\
\end{array}\]

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nieč-namaka-k-t} & \text{ka tehwa-ci} \quad \text{They sold me to you HON.} \\
\text{me-sell-PERF-PL} & \text{with you:HON-HON} \\
\end{array}\]

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{to-mo-čiwi-a} & \text{You HON do it.} \\
\text{tu-nieč-moht-t-a} & \text{You HON see me.} \\
\text{you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES} & \text{you-me-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES} \\
\end{array}\]

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ki-tla-maka} & \text{feeds him} \\
\text{him-UNSPEC-OBJ-give} & \\
\text{tu-tie-tla-kWientah-tu-a} & \text{You loan things to people/to him HON.} \\
\text{you-UNSPEC-UNSPEC-account-CAUS-PRES} & H \\
\text{OBJ} & \text{OBJ:(him HON)} \\
\end{array}\]

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nočt} & \text{i-tlankoč-wa} \\
\text{o-ko-tepiew-ti} & \text{He knocked all his teeth out of him.} \\
\text{all} & \text{his-tooth-POSSD:PL} \\
\text{PAST-them-knock:out-APPLIC} & \text{(P-G B 19)} \\
\end{array}\]

**Honorifics**

**Second Person Honorifics**

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tu-k-čiwa} & \text{You do it.} \\
\text{you-it-do} & \text{to-mo-čiwi-t-a} \quad \text{You HON do it.} \\
\text{you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES} & \text{(You do it to} \\
& \text{REFL}) \quad \text{yourself.)} \\
\end{array}\]
You do it to me.
you-me-do-APPLIC-PRES

You HON do it to me.
you-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

You see him HON.
you-him:HON-see

You HON see him.
you-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES

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

You say it.
you-it-say-PRES

You HON say it.
you-HON-say-APPLIC-PRES

You think it.
you-it-think-VR-PRES

You HON think it.
you-HON-think-APPLIC-PRES

Many common verbs use CAUS instead of APPLIC when forming their 2P HON forms. In these cases it is easy to interpret the HON mo- as a REFL. Most INTRNS verbs form their 2P HON in this way.

You know it.
you-it-know

to-mo- mač-t-t-a You HON know it. (lit. you cause yourself to know)
you-HON:(REFL)-know-CAUS-PRES

to-nek-t-
you-it-want

to-mo-nekt-t-a You HON want it.
you-HON:(REFL)-want-CAUS-PRES

You talk.
you-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

to-mo-tla-htu-l-t-a You HON talk.
you-HON-UNSPEC-say-CAUS-PRES

(REFL) OBJ

to-mo-tla-kw-a You eat.
you-UNSPEC-eat

You HON eat.
you-HON-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES

(REFL) OBJ

Pass! (Good-bye non-HON) to-mo-panu-ł-lt HON Pass! (Good-bye
IMP-pass

IMP-HON-pass-CAUS

(REFL)

You arrive.
you-reach

You HON arrive.
you-HON-reach-CAUS-PRES

(REFL)

PERF, FUT, etc., are formed as in other verbs which have APPLIC, CAUS, etc.

You HON were doing it. // (You were doing it to you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF

(REFL)
ne-mo-nemu-ti-s-ku  
you-HON-live-CAUS-FUT-PL  
PL (REFL)
You PL HON will live.

ne-mo-nemu-tu-hku  
you-HON-live-CAUS-PL  
PL (REFL) (PERF)
You PL HON lived.

Some verbs take two APPLIC to form their 2P HON.

ti-h-kulow-a  
you-him-cut:off:return-PRES
You cut off his return.

ti-mo-kul-wi-la-a  
you-HON-cut:off:return-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES
You HON cut off his return.

Some verbs are suppletive for 2P HON forms (see STEMS).

ti-ya  
you-go
You go.
ti-mo-wika  
you-HON:(REFL)-carry
You HON go.

The irregular verb ayok be absent has -ci (normally a nominal-type HON marker) as its 2P (and 3P) HON marker.

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

Since the REFL mo- is already doing service as an HON marker, 2P HON reflexives use a special REFL HON -cinow.

ti-mo-kokow-a  
you-REFL-hurt-PRES
You are sick.
ti-mo-kokoh-cinow-a  
you-HON-hurt-REFL:HON-PRES
You HON are sick.
mo-mač-ti-a  
REFL-know-CAUS-PRES
learns
, ne-mo-mač-ti-hcinoh-ku  
you:PL-HON-know-CAUS-REFL:HON-PL:(PERF)
You PL HON learned.

For verbs that form their PERF by dropping the last vowel, -cinow almost always suffixes to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem, taking the form -hcinow following vowels (cf. above examples).

mo-ttita  
stretches himself
 o-mo-ttic stretched himself
REFL-stretch
PAST-REFL-stretch:PERF
to-mo-ttih-cinow-a  You HON stretch yourself.  
you-HON-stretch-REFL:HON-PRES

do-to-mo-ttih-cino  You HON stretched yourself.  
PAST-you-HON-stretch-REFL:HON

mo-pah-tu-a  cures himself, gets well  
REFL-medicine-CAUS-PRES

&mo-pah-tu-hcino  (You HON) get well!  
IMP-HON-cure-REFL:HON

But:

mo-tlahkak  lies down  
REFL-dump  PAST-REFL-dump:PERF

do-mo-tlahkak-hcinow-a  You HON lie down.  
you-HON-dump-REFL:HON-PRES

In at least one case -cinow seems to affix to a quasi-PERF stem, i.e., a stem formed by dropping the final vowel even though the verb in question forms its PERF in another way.

mo-tema  steam-bathes  
REFL-steam:bathe  REFL-steam:bathe:PERF

tu-mo-ten-cinow-a  You HON steam-bathe.  
you-HON-steam:bathe-REFL:HON-PRES

At least one REFL verb uses the CAUS -ti in the normal non-REFL construction for the 2P HON.

tu-mo-sie-pa-yewu-tu-a  you HON are the same age (as)  
you-HON-one-times-be-CAUS-PRES  
(REFL) (at?) born

ne-sie-pa-yewi-wa  he HON is the same age (as)  
REFL:HON-one-times-be:born-HON

2P HON OBJ are marked by mo-, and the verb is given the APPLIC.

muc-pol-ow-a  It is lacking to you.  
mu-mo-pol-wu-a  It is lacking to you HON.  
you-lack-VR-PRES  you-HON-lack-APPLIC-PRES

muc-importor-ow-a  matters to you  
muc-mo-importor-wu-a  matters to you HON  
you-matter-VR-PRES  you-HON-matter-APPLIC-PRES

tumc-maka-s  I will hit you.  
IP:you-give:(hit)-FUT  IP:you-HON-give-APPLIC-FUT

2P PL HON forms may be used (e.g., with godparental relations) as extra-HON 2P SG forms.
na-mo-neki-tu-a  You SG HHON/PL HON want it.
you:PL-HON-want-CAUS-PRES

**Third Person Honorifics**

There are a couple of RDP REFL verbs ending in kV that take a 3P HON SUBJ marker -o*, replacing the final V.

mo-mo-teh-tek-o  *HON cuts his (own) hand*  ne-mo-teh-tek-o  *HON cuts his (own) hand*
REFL-hand-RDP-cut                     REFL:HON-hand-RDP-cut-HON

And similarly all REFL compounds with a body part and teh-tek, but:

ku-teki-wa  *HON cuts it*  ki-mo-teh-teki-wa  *HON cuts his (another's) hand*
it-cut-HON                         him-hand-RDP-cut-HON

Also:

mo-mo-pah-poka  *washes his (own) hands*  
REFL-hand-RDP-wash

ne-mo-pah-pok-o  *HON washes his (own) hands*  
REFL-hand-RDP-wash-HON

but:

ki-poka-lo  *HON washes it*  
it-wash-HON

A few other verbs take the 3P HON -owa, which replaces the final vowel, i.e., affixes to a PERF or quasi-PERF stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-HON</th>
<th>HON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wie-wecka</td>
<td>wie-weck-owa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP-smile</td>
<td>RDP-smile-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miki</td>
<td>miki-owa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>die-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuka</td>
<td>čuka-owa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>cry-HON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some can use either -owa or the more common -lo or -wa suffixes.

*It seems probable that all these 3P HON forms (-o, -owa, -wa, -lo) derive from a single IMPERS or PASS *-owa. For instance, the IMPRF form is -owa instead of -wa following -lo, which suggests that there is a final ə or a associated with -lo.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-HON</th>
<th>HON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwalon</td>
<td>kwalon-owa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>become</td>
<td>become-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwalon-a-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>become-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwah-tie-teki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree-RDP-cut</td>
<td>kwah-tie-teki-owa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tree-RDP-cut-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwah-tie-teki-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tree-RDP-cut-HON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large number of verbs (mostly ending in \(\i\) or derived by the PRES TRNS marker -a from verbs ending in \(\i\)) take -wa for 3P HON. Almost all stems ending in \(\i\) take this ending.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-HON</th>
<th>HON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akt</td>
<td>aki-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit</td>
<td>fit-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-akt-a</td>
<td>k-akti-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-fit-PRES:(TRNS)</td>
<td>it-fit-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-mati</td>
<td>ki-mati-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-know</td>
<td>it-know-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pano</td>
<td>pano-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass</td>
<td>pass-HON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs take -lo as the 3P HON. -lo is pronounced -ro following rV. All verbs with APPLIC and almost all with CAUS take this ending. Usually -a PRES disappears before it, but sometimes not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-HON</th>
<th>HON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki-cheva</td>
<td>ki-cheva-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-do</td>
<td>it-do-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-tlapow-a</td>
<td>ki-tlapow-a-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-open-PRES</td>
<td>it-open-PRES-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-shikow-a</td>
<td>ki-shiku-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-bear-PRES</td>
<td>it-bear-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-pensor-ow-a</td>
<td>ki-pensor-u-ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-think-VR-PRES</td>
<td>it-think-VR-HON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-chevi-li-a</td>
<td>ki-chevi-li-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him-do-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td>him-do-APPLIC-HON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kt-čiwa-lt-i

him-do-CAUS-PRES makes him do it

k-čiw-ti

it-be-CAUS-PRES full

t-stuff, overfeeds it

full

But:

tek-i

cut-CAUS

- and o tense before -lo; i also tenses before -wa. (See STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; see also preceding examples.)

The irregular verb ayok to be absent takes -ci (normally a nominal HON constituent) as its 3P (as well as 2P) HON.

ayok is absent
be-absent

ayok-ci HON is absent
be-absent-HON

They HON are absent.
be-RDP-HON

Plural 3P HON forms are usually the RDP forms of the singular.

kp-peh-pen-e-or-u-ro They HON think it.

it-RDP-think-VR-HON

PERF and FUT 3P HON forms can be formed by the final suffix -ku/-kku/-k (usually PL; see Number Agreement for distribution) added to the appropriate stem or affix. All these forms are ambiguous with non-HON PL forms.

kt-čiwa-s-k

He HON will do it./They will do it.

it-do-FUT-HON/PL

o-k-čih-k He HON did it./They did it.
PAST-it-do:PERF-HON/PL

Many verbs taking -lo as their 3P HON can also form the PERF and/or FUT by adding -k PERF or -s FUT to -lo (which tenses). A few verbs which take -wa can do the same, at least in the FUT.

(?) kt-čiwa-š-l-u He HON will do it. (Questionable; see alternative form above.)

it-do-HON-FUT

kt-čiwa-lu-k He HON did it. (See alternative form above.)

it-do-HON-PERF

ko-čiwa-s He HON will sleep.
sleep-HON-FUT

ko-či-s-ku They will sleep. (not He HON will sleep.)
sleep-FUT-PL
Even when such forms seem to be questionable or unacceptable for independent use they may be demanded for combining forms.

k-htu-s-ku  He HON/They  *k-dhtu-lu-s  He HON will say it.
     it-say-FUT-HON/PL will say it.  it-say-HON-FUT
k-dhtu-lu-s-neku  he HON means
     it-say-HON-FUT-want

SBJNCT forms can be either the same as non-HON PL SBJNCT or, in some cases, identical with the PRES HON forms.

ma  kti-cwa-kɔ  May he HON/they/they HON do it.
     EXHRT  it-do-HON/PL::SBJNCT
(?) ma  kti-cwa-lo  May he HON/they HON do it.
     EXHRT  it-do-HON

IMPRF forms have -owɔ-ya for verbs taking -owa, -wa-ya for those taking -wa, and -lu-ɔya for those taking -lo.

čuk-owɔ-ya  He HON was crying.  ku-mati-wa-ya  He HON was aware of it.
     cry-HON-IMPRF  it-know-HON-IMPRF
ku-čiwa-lu-ɔya  He HON was doing it.
     it-do-HON-IMPRF

Some verbs are suppletive with respect to 3P HON (see STEMS, Suppletion).

uka  is  ilowa-k  is HON
     be::HON-PRES(??)::(PERF?)

ma  iloa  may he HON be
     EXHRT  be::HON

Extra-HON forms may be formed by using the 2P HON forms minus the tu- or ne- SM, plus the 3P OM, if such has been dropped by the 2P HON form. These forms are normally used only for reference to Deity, or sometimes for reference to a godparental relative or the President of the Republic, particularly in the presence of such a person.

kt-neki-wa  HON wants it  to-mo-neki-tia  You HON want it.
     it-want-HON  you-HON-want-CAUS-PRES
kt-mo-neki-tia  HHON wants it  nem-owa  HON lives
     it-HON-want-CAUS-PRES  live-HON
to-mo-nemi-tia  You HON live.
     you-HON-live-CAUS-PRES
mo-nemi-tia  HHON lives

Sometimes both kinds of HON markers are used to give an ultra-HON sense.

nieh-čiwi-li-lo  HON does it to me
     me-do-APPLIC-HON
You HON do it to me.
you-ME-HON-DO-APPLI-C-APPLI-C-PRES

HON does it to me
me-HON-DO-APPLI-C-APPLI-C-PRES

HHON does it to me
me-HON-DO-APPLI-C-APPLI-C-HON

The DIRL on- sometimes seems to have honorific tendencies.
nieM-on-tla-sohtla-lo
me-DIRL-LOVE-HON

HON loves me

3P HON REFL are marked by the HON REFL OM ne- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC REFL OM). Since the SUBJ is still 3P HON, the normal markings for such a SUBJ are retained.

pus ts on his (own) sandals
mo-kak-ti-a
REFL-sandal-CAUS-PRES

HON puts on his (own) sandals
ne-kak-ti-lo
REFL-HON-sandal-CAUS-HON

3P HON OBJ are marked by the HON OM tie- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC H OM) in the singular and tie-in(m) in the plural.

I tell him HON.
mu-tie-ul-wi-a
I him-say-APPLI-C-PRES
HON

I tell them HON.
mu-tie-in-ul-wi-a
I him-PL-say-APPLI-C-PRES
HON

Non-Distinct Argument Markers

(See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

REFL: See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.

UNSPEC:

tie- UNSPEC H OBJ (also 3P SG HON OBJ)
ne- UNSPEC REFL OBJ (also 3P HON REFL)
tla- UNSPEC NH OBJ

Sentence Type

Imperative is marked by &- IMP with a SBJNCT verb. &- seems to be in some sense an IMP SM; it replaces the 2P SM and is copied, like other SM, onto PRED N and ADJ.

Do it!
IM-IT-DO

(You HON) do it!
IM-APPLI-C-HON-DO-APPLI-C
amo ši-ye-kə ši-tuntoh-te  Don’t be such idiots!
NEG IMP-be-PL::SBJNCT IMP-stupid-PL.

Subjunctive verbs are usually marked by the exhortative ma preceding them. They are formed of the PRES form minus the -a PRES (TRNS), if any. The PL marker is -kə. For most speakers the 2P forms are marked with the IMP kə- instead of the normal SM.

k-dhtow-a  says it  ma  k-dhto  May he say it.
it-say-PRES  EXHRT  it-say
ku-čiwa  does it/They do it.  ma  ku-čiwa-kə  May they do it.
it-do  EXHRT  it-do-PL::SBJNCT
nen-ku-čiwi-li-a  You PL do it to him.
you::PL-him-do-APPLIC-PRES
ma  šek-čiwi-li-kə  May you PL do it to him.
EXHRT  IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL::SBJNCT

Some vowels tense before the SBJNCT PL -kə.

tu-ya-wə  We’re going.  ma  tu-ya-kə  Let’s go!
we-go-PL  EXHRT  we-go-PL::SBJNCT
ne-nieč-mo-čiwi-li-a  You PL HON do it to me.
you::PL-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES
ma  še-nieč-mo-čiwi-li-kə  May you PL HON do it to me.
EXHRT  IMP-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL::SBJNCT

ya go  has the special SBJNCT form wya for non-HON SG forms.

ši-wya  Go!
IMP-go::SBJNCT

**Number Agreement**

RDP = PL in PRES, IMPRF, sometimes in SBJNCT(?), IMP, PERF, FUT
(though in these latter cases the PL is elsewhere marked). This RDP marking is not obligatory, though it usually occurs if there is any danger of confusion with a SG subject, and it is usually suppressed in cases where RDP has another meaning with that stem.

ku-čiwa  He does it./
it-do  They do it.
n-asət  I arrive.
l-reach  You arrive./ (we arrive.)
t-ah-asət  We arrive.
we-RDP-reach  ilowa-ya  he HON was
th-ilowa-ya  they HON were
RDP-be-IMPRF

be:HON-IMPRF
-\(ku/-\text{-l-hk}\) in PERF, FUT. -\(t\) occurs after -\(k\) PERF; -\(ku\) after other consonants, including stem-final \(k\) and FUT -\(s\); -\(hk\) after vowels*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k-dhta-k} & \quad \text{He saw it.} & \text{o-k-dhta-k-t} & \quad \text{They saw it.} \\
\text{it-see-PERF} & & \text{PAST-it-see-PERF-PL} \\
\text{k-dhta-s-ku} & \quad \text{They will see it.} & \text{on-tla-\text{\text{-l-s}}-\text{-k}} & \quad \text{They woke up.} \\
\text{it-see-FUT-PL} & & \text{DIRL-UNSPEC-look-PL} & \text{(PAST?) OBJ at:PERF} \\
\text{o-pah-p\text{-ok}} & \quad \text{He rejoiced.} & \text{o-pah-p\text{-ph-ku}} & \quad \text{They rejoiced.} \\
\text{PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF} & & \text{PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF-PL} \\
\text{ki-\text{\text{-l-wl-ki}}} & \quad \text{He did it to him.} & \text{ki-\text{\text{-il-\text{-l-hk}}} & \quad \text{They did it to him.} \\
\text{him-do-APPLIC} & & \text{him-do-APPLIC-PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

-\(k\) in SBJNCT, IMP.

-\(we\) with aspect markers -\(ti\), -\(ki\); with ya go for some speakers.

-\(w\) with ya go in PRES.

-\(t\) with wic come in PRES, with aspect marker -\(twic\), with ayok be absent. (Cf. -\(t\) PERF PL, above, which is probably a different thing.)

-\(te\) with ka be in PRES, and with aspect marker -\(tka\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma \&-k-\text{\text{-l-wa-k\text{-ok}}} \quad \text{May you PL do it.} \\
\text{EXHRT IMP-it-do-PL::SBJNCT} \\
\text{ki-\text{\text{-l-wa-ti-wa}} \quad \text{They are going (away) to do it.} \\
\text{it-do-go-PL} \\
\text{ti-ya-wa} \quad \text{We’re going.} & \quad \text{ti-ya-wu} \quad \text{We’re going.} \\
\text{we-go-PL} & \text{(some speakers)} & \text{we-go-PL} & \text{(other speakers)} \\
\text{om-wic-t} \quad \text{They come doing it.} \\
\text{MED-come-PL} & \text{ki-\text{\text{-l-wa-tu-wic-t}}} & \text{They come doing it.} \\
\text{t-ayok-t} \quad \text{We are not at home.} & \quad \text{ti-ka-te} \quad \text{We are.} \\
\text{we-be:absent-PL} & \text{we-be-PL} \\
\text{ki-\text{\text{-l-wa-tka-te}} \quad \text{They are doing it.} \\
\text{it-do-PRES:PROG-PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

*Most if not all of these cases of -\(hk\) are probably really \(y\) and \(w\) becoming \(h\) preconsonantly. However, there are some problems for this analysis.
NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-ltu CAUS

-tu CAUS, VR (INCHO)

neh-nemu walks
RDP-walk

ktō-tla-kʷa eats
UNSPEC-eat OBJ

kt-wika carries it
t-carry

-ltu affixes to the PRES stem (see above examples), and -tu often does. A final -a becomes -t before -tu (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; also examples below). Often, however, -tu affixes to the (truncated) PERF stem formed by dropping the final vowel even when the verb in question forms its PERF in another way. There are several cases of verbs with two -tu CAUS forms with different stems and different meanings.

čuka cries
cry

čuka-k cried
cry-PERF

ktčuk-tu-a mourns him
him-cry-CAUS-PRES
(APPLIC?)

kt-pok-tu-a It makes him happy.
him-be-CAUS-PRES

kwpok-tu-a He makes him happy/
him-be-CAUS-PRES gives him pleasure.
happy

kwpalon-tu-a angers him
him-be:angry-CAUS-PRES

tomokʷalon-ai-tu-a You HON are angry.
you-HON-be:angry-TRNS-CAUS-PRES:(TRNS)

In the case of the verb mati know, -tu is affixed to three different forms of the verb, including its FUT form.

kmt-mati knows it
to-mo-mač-tu-a You HON know it.
it-know you-HON-know-CAUS-PRES

kmtmač-tu-a teaches him
him-know-CAUS-PRES

ktmačs-tu-a announces to him, informs him
him-know-FUT-CAUS-PRES
Most cases of CAUS take -a PRES TRNS in the appropriate forms (see above examples), but some do not. These seem to include those in which the CAUS meaning is not pronounced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tek-i-ti</th>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Wel-i-ti</th>
<th>Able (to)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cut-CAUS</td>
<td></td>
<td>possible-CAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some consonants palatalize before -i or -iti, and some vowels tense (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ki-mat-i</th>
<th>Knows it</th>
<th>Ki-ma-č-ti-a</th>
<th>Teaches him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It-know</td>
<td></td>
<td>it-know-CAUS-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki-tolow-a</td>
<td>Swallows it</td>
<td>Ki-tolu-iti-a</td>
<td>Gives him the Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It-swallow-PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td>him-swallow-CAUS-PRES (in Mass)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-a PRES TRNS occasionally functions alone as a sort of CAUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aki</th>
<th>Fits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K-ak-a</th>
<th>Makes it fit, packs it in, makes it comfortable in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It-fit-PRES:TRNS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tlam-iti</th>
<th>Ends</th>
<th>Ki-tlama-a</th>
<th>Finishes it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>End</td>
<td></td>
<td>it-end-PRES:TRNS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-wi APPLIC(?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koči</th>
<th>Sleeps</th>
<th>Ki-koč-wi-a</th>
<th>Rocks him in his arms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td></td>
<td>him-sleep-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CAUS meaning can also be expressed by the CAUS form of do followed by a SBJNCT verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tum-čiwa-iti-s</th>
<th>Ma</th>
<th>Śi-woya</th>
<th>I will make you go.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IP:you-do-CAUS-FUT EXHRT IMP-go;SBJNCT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Applicative

-lwi, -wu APPLIC. Occurs as the normal replacement for the VR -ow in APPLIC forms; it also replaces final ow in many verbs which synchronically show no other evidence of the presence of the VR. It also appears in a few other cases. It takes the form -wu after l or r.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ki-makor-ow-a</th>
<th>Marks it</th>
<th>Ki-makor-wu-a</th>
<th>Marks it for him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It-mark-VR-PRES</td>
<td></td>
<td>it-mark-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki-soso</td>
<td>Pricks it</td>
<td>Tu-mo-soso-lwi-a</td>
<td>You HON prick it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It-prick</td>
<td></td>
<td>you-HON-prick-APPLIC-PRES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ku-kʷesə  half-cooks it  te-mo-kʷesə-lwu-a  You HON half cook it.
  it-half:cook  you-HON-half:cook-APPLIC-PRES
ku-lɨ  told him  ku-lwu-a  tells it to him
  him-tell  him-tell-APPLIC-PRES

When -lwɨ occurs after a consonant other than l or r, either a, o, or i occurs between them, the latter being more common. It is not possible to completely predict phonologically which vowel will be used.

ku-kʷah-puc-ow-a  gives him gumption
  him-wood-thin-VR-PRES
  stiff
  to-mo-kʷah-puc-alwɨ-a  You HON give him gumption.
  you-HON-stiff-APPLIC-PRES
ku-tlacow-a  beats it (eggs)  te-mo-tlac-olwɨ-a  You HON beat it (eggs).
  it-beat-PRES  you-HON-beat-APPLIC-PRES
ku-ilakacow-a  rolls it up  te-m-ilakac-dwɨ-a  You HON roll it up.
  it-roll:up-PRES  you-HON-roll:up-APPLIC-PRES

-ɨ  APPLIC. This is the most common APPLIC and is used in all the cases except those mentioned above. Verbs ending in a (usually TRNS or ACT) will change the a to i (INTRNS or STAT) and some verbs palatalize a consonant (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

ku-čiwa  does it  ku-čiwɨ-lɨ-a  does it to him
  it-do  him-do-APPLIC-PRES
ku-wika  carries it, marries him/her  te-mo-wiki-lɨ-a  You HON carry it/marry
  it-carry  you-HON-carry-APPLIC-PRES  him/her.
ast  arrives, reaches (to)  aš-lɨ-a  is enough (for)
reach  reach-APPLIC-PRES

As the above examples show, the APPLIC form is usually best derived from the PRES stem. However, in a few cases it appears to affix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem.

ku-pyə  has it  ku-pi-lɨ-a*  guards it for him
  it-have  it-have-APPLIC-PRES

A verb may have as many as three successive APPLIC morphemes.

te-mo-hu-lɨ-lɨ-lɨ-a  You HON note it in him.
you-HON-see-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

note it
note it in him

*Actually this may be a case of a contraction of ᵇpyɨ to pi rather than a PERF formation.
tu-nieč-mo-pi-lu-lu-lu-a  respieto  You HON respect me.
you-me-HON-have-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES  respect
   guard it for (me)
   have it towards (me)

The CAUS markers -tu and -ltu sometimes seem to have a near APPLIC sense.

čuka  crites
   cry
k-dhita  sees it
   it-see
ki-tuka  plants it
   it-bury
   k-dhita-lu-a  shows it to him
   him-see-CAUS:(APPLIC?)-PRES
ki-tuka-lu-a  plants it for him
   him-bury-APPLIC (?)-PRES

Sometimes the APPLIC meaning is not exactly obvious.

ki-mati  knows it
   it-know
asi  arrives, reaches (to)
   reach
   aši-lu-a  is enough
   reach-APPLIC-PRES

As the above examples demonstrate, the PRES TRNS marker -a is used with the appropriate APPLIC forms.

Some of the meanings associated with APPLIC can also be expressed in other ways, e.g., with prepositional or postpositional phrases.

nieč-tlan-lu-a  asks me for something on behalf of him
   me-ask-APPLIC-PRES
nieč-tlan-a  para yaha  asks me for something for him
   me-ask-PRES for him

Some verbs might be treated as having an intrinsically APPLIC meaning.

nieč-maka  gives me (it), (hits me)
   me-give

Desiderative

A few verbs have a kind of compounding or affixation with nekt want. The verb being compounded takes the FUT -s.

ne-tla-kW-s-nekt  I am hungry, I want to eat.
   I-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-want

*It is interesting and perhaps significant that -a changes to - in this case as it normally does before APPLIC, but elsewhere does not before the CAUS -ltu.
k-dhtu-s-neki
  \textit{means} (lit. \textit{want} to say; cf. Sp. \textit{ QUIERE decir})
  \textit{it-say-FUT-want}

The first verb usually takes any 3P HON markings; all other suffixal markings go on the \textit{neki}.

k-dhtu-lu-s-neki-sk\'{o}-nu
  \textit{(if) he HON had meant}
  \textit{it-say-3P:HON-FUT-want-would've-IRR}

For most verbs, desire is expressed by \textit{ki-neki (i-t-want)} \textit{wants it} as an independent verb, followed by the other verb in FUT.

nu-k-neki [nu-y\'{o}-s]
  \textit{I want to go.}
  \textit{I-it-want I-go-FUT}

When the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the second verb is SBJNCT.

kt-neki [ma nu-ya]
  \textit{He wants me to go.}
  \textit{it-want EXHRT I-go}

The verbs that compound with \textit{-neki} can also take this kind of periphrastic construction; there is usually a slight change in the meaning, however.

nu-k-neki [nu-k\'{o\textasciitilde}-s]
  \textit{I want to go to sleep.}
  \textit{I-it-want I-sleep-FUT}

nu-k\'{o\textasciitilde}-s-neki
  \textit{I am sleepy.}
  \textit{I-sleep-FUT-want}

\textbf{Modal}

\textbf{Subjunctive}

The SBJNCT form of the verb is the same as the PRES minus the \textit{-a PRES} if any. The PL \textit{-k\textordmasculine o} is not used elsewhere. For many speakers the IMP \textit{\&} functions as the 2P SUBJ PRON even in non-IMP uses of the SBJNCT verb. Except in its IMP use the SBJNCT verb is preceded by the EXHRT/SBJNCT particle \textit{ma or} its negative \textit{ma-hk-amo} (may-be: permanently(?)\textordmasculine-NEG).

kt-\textsc{ciw\textasciicircumflex}t-\textasciitilde a
  \textit{does it to him.}
  \textit{him-do-APPLIC-PRES}

ma kt-\textsc{ciw\textasciicircumflex}t-\textasciitilde
  \textit{May he do it to him.}
  EXHRT \textit{him-do-APPLIC}

ma \&k-\textsc{ciw\textasciicircumflex}t-li-k\textordmasculine o
  \textit{May you PL do it to him.}
  EXHRT IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL::SBJNCT

ma-hk-amo \textit{eye}
  \textit{May it not be.}
  NEG EXHRT \textit{be}
Sometimes the ma is repeated twice: before a pre-verb SUBJ and again before the verb.

\[ \text{ma yaha ma wya May he go.} \]

\[ \text{EXHRT he EXHRT go:SBJNCT} \]

The verb ya go has a special SBJNCT stem for non-HON SG forms (see above example).

**Potentive**

This construction is usually marked by k\text{\textwalt} good preceding a future verb. Occasionally a different tense is permitted; a PERF tense gives the meaning managed to.

\[ \text{k\text{\textwalt} ni-tleku-s I can climb up.} \]
\[ \text{good ascend-FUT} \]
\[ \text{k\text{\textwalt} tlekhow-a He can climb up (any time he wants to).} \]
\[ \text{good ascend-PRES} \]
\[ \text{k\text{\textwalt} o-tleku-k He was able/managed to climb up.} \]
\[ \text{good PAST-ascend-PERF} \]

**Dubitative**

This is marked by kana(h) perhaps preceding a FUT or contingent verb (see Contingency below). Usually this construction only occurs in if-clauses (see If-Clauses).

\[ \text{ti o kana krayaw-s if it (happens to) rain} \]
\[ \text{if perhaps rain-FUT} \]

**Aspect**

**Directionals, Movement:**

\*[ti (PL -ti-we) goes to ...]
\*[ki (PL -ki-we) comes to ...]
\*[to went to ...]
\*[t-o-ya (IMPRF) was ...ing while going]
\*[ko came to ...]
\*[t-tiewa leave...ing (from ti CONN + iewa get up)]
\*[tnemw go around ...ing (from ti CONN + nemu walk, live)]
\*[tehkо ... upon arrival there (used only in SBJNCT and FUT; tenses to -tehku before -s FUT or -ko PL SBJNCT)]
\*[tвic (PL -tвic-i) comes ...ing (from ti + wic come; used only in PRES)]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Contingency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>†-tikisa</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>-tuka</td>
<td>*-nú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†-twecu</td>
<td>quickly</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>*-s-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Durative)  
-tuka (PL -tka-te) PRES PROG (from tu + ka be)  
-ta non-PRES DUR  
(-tnemigo around ...ing and -t-oya was ...ing while going approximate a DUR meaning.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contingency</th>
<th>Contingency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-nú</td>
<td>IRR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| *-s-ka      | would have ...ed, was going to ...  
(The -s- is the FUT marker; it tenses the same vowels as  
the FUT -s. However, I don’t know what the -ka  
might come from.)
| *-s-ko-ya   | IMPRF would have ...ed, was/had been going to ...  
|-s-ko-ny    | (if he) had ...ed (but he didn’t, even though he had  
wanted to)  

Forms marked by * suffix to the present form of the verb, minus the -a PRES  
if there is any. -nú IRR, however, retains the -a.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ku-čiwa  | does it          | ku-čiwa-to       | He went to do it.  
| it-do    | it-do-went       |                  |          |                  |
| ku-čiwa-skj-ya | He would have done it/was going to do it.  
| it-do-should’ve-IMPRF |                  |          |                  |
| ku-čiwa-ka | does it to him  | ku-čiwa-li-ki    | comes to do it to him  
| him-do-APPLIC-PRES | him-do-APPLIC-come |          |                  |
| ku-čiwa-li-nú  | he were to do it to him, (if) he had done it to him  
| him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR |                  |          |                  |

Other aspect markers suffix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem of verbs except  
for those verbs which take -k to form the PERF; they suffix to the PRES form of such  
verbs. In the cases where they suffix to the PERF stem, an h appears between them  
a vowel* other than the o in -lo 3P HON, which tenses to u.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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| o-ku-čih-ki | They did it.  
| PAST-it-do:PERF-PL |                  |          |                  |
| ku-čih-tiwa | leaves (here) doing it  
| it-do-leave |                  |          |                  |
| ŋ-ku-čih-twect | Do it quickly!  
| IMP-it-do-quickly | we-it-do-PRES:PROG-PL |          |                  |

*These are probably really cases of a final w or y becoming h preconsonantally.
ki-maka-k
hit him/gave him (it)

nieč-maka-tka
is hitting me/giving me

me-give-PRES:PROG

(it)

ki-čiwu-le-a
does it to him

nuk-čiwu-lehtka
I am doing it to him.

him-do-APPLIC-PRES

I-him-do-APPLIC-PRES:PROG

ku-čiwa-lu-tka
HON is doing it

it-do-HON-PRES:PROG

Forms marked with † lose their final vowel in their PERF use; other forms have
no PERF unless a special one is given. Forms not marked with * take -s for their
FUT unless specified not to occur with FUT. -to went, -ta non-PRES DUR, and
-tune go around...ing also occur with -ya IMPRF.

o-ku-čihi-lie

PAST-it-do-leave:PERF

He went out and did it.

ti-ku-čih-teku-s-ku

we-it-do-upon:arrival-FUT-PL

We will do it when we arrive.

ne-ku-čih-ta-ya

I was doing it (all along).

I-it-do-DUR-IMPRF

RDP often functions to give a HAB or REPET aspect (see STEMS, Reduplication).

ku-čihi-čiwa
does it REPET, makes/fixes it

it-RDP-do

Tense

-a
PRES
(on some verbs, esp. those with APPLIC or CAUS or
ending in ow. This PRES marker is also retained in
IMPRF (see below) and before the IRR marker -nt.)

-s
FUT

-yu
IMPRF
(The -a PRES stays here, usually as -o.)*

ki-čiwa

does it/they do it

it-do

ma

ki-čiwa
May he do it.

EXHRT

it-do

ki-čiwi-l-icio

does it to him/they do

him-do-APPLIC-PRES

it to him

EXHRT

him-do-APPLIC

ki-čiwa-s

He will do it.

it-do-FUT

ki-čiwi-le-s-ku

They will do it to him.

him-do-APPLIC-FUT-PL

ki-čiwa-ya

He was doing it.

it-do-IMPRF

ki-čiwi-le-o-ya

He was doing it to him.

him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF

*Actually, -yo appears as the IMPRF form after the 3P HON -to and aspect marker -to
or -tio, which do not take -g PRES, so perhaps -yo should be treated as another IMPRF marker,
occuring after -to and -tio and such verbs as take -g in the PRES.
Since the plural markers are somewhat suppletive for tense, they also aid in identifying tense (see SYNTACTIC MARKING).

The prefix o- PAST and the particle ye already, singly or in combination, are used very often with PERF and IMPRF verbs. o- does not seem to be as closely bound phonologically to the verb as other prefixes. ye is also used sometimes with other tenses, with the already meaning in focus; with PERF and IMPRF verbs this meaning is often negligible—ye seems to just mark PAST.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye} & \quad \text{o-} \text{-kî-ciwa-ya} & \quad \text{He was (already) doing it.} \\
\text{already} & \quad \text{PAST-it-do-IMPRF} \\
\text{ye} & \quad \text{tu-y} \text{-} \text{o-s-kî} & \quad \text{We will already have gone. We are going now.} \\
\text{already} & \quad \text{we-go-FUT-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

In at least one case a -tu CAUS (or -tu- CONN ??) appears with the FUT -s in the 2P HON forms.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu-} \text{-m-} & \quad \text{n-} \text{-l-} \text{-a} & \quad \text{You HON are doing something.} \\
\text{you-HON} & \quad \text{be-APPLIC-PRES} \\
\text{occupied:} & \quad \text{HON} \\
\text{tu-} \text{-m-} & \quad \text{o-} \text{-l-} \text{-t-} \text{-i-} \text{-s} & \quad \text{You HON will be doing something.} \\
\text{you-HON} & \quad \text{be-APPLIC-CAUS-FUT} \\
\text{occupied:} & \quad \text{HON}
\end{align*}
\]

PERF is marked in several ways. Some stems do nothing (except perhaps add the o- PAST prefix, which is normally optional).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ku-} & \quad \text{kî} \text{-w} & \quad \text{a eats it} & \quad \text{o-} \text{-kî-kî} \text{-w} & \quad \text{a He ate it.} \\
\text{it-eat} & \quad \text{PAST-it-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

Many of these stems are now beginning to take -k PERF.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o-} \text{-kî-kî} \text{-w} & \quad \text{kî He ate it.} \\
\text{PAST-it-eat-PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

Many stems take -k PERF. All stems ending in CCV take this PERF; also almost all stems ending in ka, (ga), tla, sV, or kWV take -k.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k-} \text{dhta} & \quad \text{sees it} & \quad \text{o-} \text{-kî-dhta-} \text{kî} & \quad \text{He saw it.} \\
\text{it-see} & \quad \text{PAST-it-see-PERF} \\
\text{čuka} & \quad \text{cries} & \quad \text{čuka-kî} & \quad \text{He cried.} \\
\text{cry} & \quad \text{cry-PERF} \\
\text{tla-yowa} & \quad \text{Night comes.} & \quad \text{tla-yowa-kî} & \quad \text{Night came.} \\
\text{UNSPEC:OBJ-night} & \quad \text{UNSPEC:OBJ-night-PERF} \\
\text{kî-phhpîc} & \quad \text{pulls it apart} & \quad \text{kî-phhpîc-kî} & \quad \text{He pulled it apart.} \\
\text{it-pull:apart} & \quad \text{it-pull:apart-PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

*One could propose that all verbs take -k in the PL as part of the PL -(h)kt.
m-dhyu-cakʷa suffocates himself  m-dhyu-cakʷa-κ suffocated himself
REFL-breath-shut  REFL-breath-shut-PERF

But:

κt-cakʷa shuts it  o-κt-cak He shut it.
it-shut  PAST-it-shut:PERF

Most verbs drop their final V (including -a PRES) to form the PERF stem. Many final consonants then drop also by regular morphonemic rule (see PHONOLOGY).

cakʷi runs, jumps  o-cakʷi He ran/jumped.
run/jump  PAST-run/jump:PERF
mo-keca stands up  o-mo-kec-κi They stood up.
REFL-stand  PAST-REFL-stand:PERF-PL
κt-čiwa does it  o-κt-čih-κi They did it.
it-do  PAST-it-do:PERF-PL
κt-tlap-ona opens it up  κt-tlap on-κi They opened it up.
it-open  it-open:PERF-PL
κt-muk-κu-κa kills him  o-κt-muk-tu He killed him.
him-die-CAUS-PRES  PAST-him-die-CAUS-PERF

Some forms which have already dropped -a PRES will also add -κ PERF.

ne-tlɔt-hcin-aw-a He HHON sits down.
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PRES
ne-tlɔt-hcinu-κ He HHON sat down.
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PERF

PERF forms which would otherwise consist of only one syllable must take o-PAST; those which would otherwise be only two syllables almost invariably do. In longer forms the o- is usually optional.

mku  o-mku  He died.
die  PAST-die:PERF
tlamu  o-tla  It ended.
end  PAST-end:PERF
κi-s-tie-ąa  o-κi-tie  He went out (and away).
geemere-leave  κi-tieh-κı They went out (and away).
eemere-leave:PERF-PL
Several verbs seem to accept either of two PERF forms.

\textit{o-ki-k^{\text{w}}a-\text{k}} \quad \text{He ate it.}
\text{PAST-it-eat-PERF}

Some verbs which do not drop their final vowel to form the PERF do so when combined with certain affixes. We have termed these quasi-PERF stems.

\text{čuka-k} \quad \text{He cried.}
\text{cry-PERF}

\text{kt-čuk-t-a} \quad \text{makes him cry}
\text{him-cry-CAUS-PRES}

Some verbs which drop their final vowel also tense a stem vowel.

\text{kt-kowa} \quad \text{buys it}
\text{it-buy}

\text{o-ki-ku} \quad \text{He bought it.}
\text{PAST-it-buy:PERF}

\text{o-ki-kuh-k\text{i}} \quad \text{They bought it.}
\text{PAST-it-buy:PERF-PL}

Some speakers will often add a -\text{k} PERF to a verb that has already dropped its final vowel. This construction may imply an ultra-PERF ‘over and done with’ sense.

\text{pas\text{e}r-wu} \quad \text{happens}
\text{happen-VR}

\text{p\text{a}s\text{e}r-i} \quad \text{happened}
\text{PAST-happen-VR:PERF}

\text{o-p\text{a}s\text{e}r-i-\text{k}} \quad \text{happened}
\text{PAST-happen-VR:PERF-PERF}

There seems to be an -\text{i PRES vs. -o PERF distinction in the aspect markers -\text{ti} and -\text{ki} (go to ... and come to ...), whose PERF versions are -\text{to} and -\text{ko}.

\text{kt-č\text{i}wa-\text{ti}} \quad \text{goes to do it}
\text{it-do-go}

\text{kt-č\text{i}wa-\text{to}} \quad \text{went to do it}
\text{it-do-go:PERF}

The verb \text{k\text{a}n\text{a} grasp, take} has an irregular SG PERF form for some speakers. The tendency not to have two-syllable verbs may be involved.

\text{o-k\text{a}n\text{a}} \quad \text{He grasped it.}
\text{PAST-grasp (some speakers)}
\text{PERF}

\text{o-k\text{o}} \quad \text{He grasped it.}
\text{PAST-grasp (other speakers)}
\text{PERF}
OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The following hopefully covers most of the common cases.

**Pre-Stem Elements**

\[
\text{PAST - SM - OM - } [\text{DIRL}] - \text{UNSPEC - STEM} \\
\text{ADV - OM}
\]

Refl go in the same slot as the other OM, except that the Refl (or HON) mo- follows the DirI, wal-.

**Post-Stem Elements**

\[
\text{STEM - CAUS - APPLIC - } [\text{3P} \\
(\text{several}) \\
\text{HON} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{HON} \\
\text{Refl} \\
\text{ASP - TNS}]
\]

**COORDINATION**

- wa and
- wa nuydik and also
- noso or
  - o noso or
  - noso koš or be it
  - koš...koš whether...or
- pero (poro) but (Sp.)
- sino but (Sp.) (NEG V sino V)
- kači more, but, rather

\[
[\text{naha } \text{ni-tiek-tit}]^* \text{ wa [tumc-mk-ti-s]} \\
\text{I am a viper and I will kill you.}
\]

\[
\text{I-viper-ABS and } 1\text{P:you-die-CAUS-FUT}
\]

\[
\text{amo } \text{ni-} \text{k-matti [koš ok om-pa-ka] noso [koš ye on-ya]}
\]

\[
\text{NEG I-it-know whether yet MED-at-be or whether already hence-go}
\]

\[
\text{I don't know if he's still there or if he's already gone.}
\]

*Square brackets are used to mark conjoined clauses in this section.*
[amo as-tø pan=tekt-il] sino [as-tø sa asta kon oh-thl]
NEG arrive-went at=work-ABS but arrive-went just until where path-ABS
He never got to work, but he got only as far as the road.

[kĩ-neku-ya ki-pucu-ska] poro [nie-ka si-si-wan-tu amo
it-want-IMPRF her-kiss-would've but DIST-be [RDP]DIM NEG
woman
o-mo-kɔ]
PAST-REFL-let:PERF
He wanted to kiss that girl, but she wouldn't permit it.

[welis nɛ-ya-s mieʔhko] noso [welis no-kəwa-s niko]
perhaps l-go-FUT Mexico or perhaps l:REFL-leave-FUT here
Maybe I'll go to Mexico, or maybe I'll stay here.

[amo nɛ-ya-s] kaʔi [no-kəwa-s niko]
NEG l-go-FUT more l:REFL-leave-FUT here
I won't go, but rather I'll stay here.

Often two clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition, with intonation indicating
that they are one sentence.

**COMPLEMENT CLAUSES**

All complement clauses with the exception of some direct quotes seem to follow
the main verb. The main verb is 3P SG SUBJ for SUBJ clauses, 3P SG OBJ for OBJ
clauses. Markings of the subordinate clauses are discussed below.

**Subject Complement Clauses**

Usually these clauses are not marked; however, they may be marked with the
Spanish SUBR. ke that. Some cases will have EXHRT ma may with the SBJNCT.

niest [(ke) ye on-ya-hki] It looks like they already left.
appear that already hence:(PAST?)-go-PL
kombenier-wa [ma tu-kəwa-kɔ] It is fitting that we do it.
be -VR EXHRT we-it-do-PL
fitting (INTRNS) SBJNCT

Some cases show evidence of a subject copy to the main clause; the main verb
has no k-it OBJ, as it would if the lower clause were an OBJ.

o-nu-pie [o-nu-tekt] I began to work.
PAST-I-begin:PERF PAST-I-work:PERF
Object Complement Clauses

Object complement clauses are marked differently according to what type of main verb they have. The following observations are far from exhaustive. Note that the same verb used in different senses may take different types of subordinate OBJ clauses.

Volitional/Desiderative/Gustative

Marked with FUT for same subject; ma + SBJNCT for different subject.

ye o-nu-k-desedir-o [nu-yɔɔ-s] I have decided to go.
already PAST-it-decide-VR I-go-FUT

nu-k-nekt [nu-yɔɔ-s] I want to go.

i-it-want I-go-FUT

ki-nekt [ma ni-ya] He wants me to go.
it-want EXHRT I-go

ki-kwɔ-al-dtha [kɔɔ-ciwa-s] He likes to do it.
it-good-see it-do-FUT like

amo nu-k-wel-mat [nu-h-kwɔs tew-kwɔ] I do not like the taste of eating
NEG I-it-delicious-know I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS viper. (see TEXT, line (18).)

nu-kum-d-wu [ma yo-kɔ] I told (asked) them to go.
I-them-say-APPLIC EXHRT go-PL:SBJNCT

tu-k-pensor-ow-a [tsiε-s] You are thinking to go.
you-it-think-VR-PRES you-go-FUT

Quotative/Considerative

Usually marked with the Spanish SUBR ke.

o-k-dpto [ke ye o-tla] He said that it was all over with.
PAST-it-say that already PAST-end:PERF

ki-pensor-o-huka [ke ok turabea on-kɔn-ka] He thinks there still
it-think-VR-PRES:PROG that yet still MED-LOC-be is some.

Some speakers use the QUOT nelt to introduce an indirect quote; for other speakers nelt seems to function only as a disclaimer of some sort, they say or I heard that.

o-nicɛt-d-wu [nelt ye o-mk puɛ-cin-tls] PAST-me-say-APPLIC QUOT already PAST-die:PERF child-DIM-ABS
He told me the child was already dead. (some speakers)

He told me he had heard the child was already dead. (other speakers)
Direct quotes only exceptionally have ke; they are usually marked by a pause and also by the switch of person reference; they may precede the main verb.

[kiema] o-k-hto koyu-tl “Yes,” said the coyote. (TEXT, line (7))
    yes PAST-it-say coyote-ABS

Sensation

The complement clause may be unmarked or may use ke.

o-k-dha-ta-k [(ke) ye on-ya] He saw that he had already gone.
PAST-it-see-PERF that already hence:(PAST?)-go

Others

Others are left unmarked or are marked in various ways.

št-k-segir-on-ta [št-tekt-tt] Stick to your work!
    IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS
work

kr-čiwa-lu-a [ke i-so-wa čuka-s] He makes his wife cry!
her-do-CAUS-PRES SUBR his-woman cry-FUT
    force

Oblique Complement Clauses

The normal ‘because’-clause (see ADVERBIAL CLAUSES) is marked with the postposition i-pampa its-on:account:of, and may be viewed as a kind of oblique complement.

o-nu-ya i-pampa [ye nu-teosaw-ya] I went because I was

The Spanish para for, in order to and por (ke) because of, for the sake of can be viewed as the same kind of thing.

o-nemitéš-d-wt para [ma št-k-piya-kō kWeroro]
PAST-you:PL-say-APPLIC for EXHRT IMP-it-have-PL::SBJNCT care
    I told you PL so you will/would be careful.

no kr-mah-tu-a [kyawu-s] por [ke k-on-d-wt copilu-tl]
PROX it-know-PRES rain-FUT by that him-DIRL-say-APPLIC buzzard-ABS
    PROG
This fellow is sure it will rain because the buzzard told him so.

Oblique complements appear in some other constructions borrowed from Spanish.

št-h-ka-wa de [a-ye-k-mo št-k-maka-ta] Stop beating him! (Note that
IMP-it-leave of no longer IMP-him-hit-DUR the main verb is marked as for a
direct object complement.)
EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Embedded YNQ are marked by tlɔ if or koʃ whether. They almost always follow the main clause, even in cases where they are embedded subjects of a verb with an explicit object; they even follow the object.

amo nieʃ-d-wi [tlɔ yɔ-s] He didn’t tell me if he’s going.
NEG me-say-APPL.IC if goes-FUT

solo deus [koʃ yɔ-s] God only (knows) whether
only God whether goes-FUT he’ll go.

amo k-import-or-ow-a no-tɔ-ta [tlɔ n-yɔ-s] It doesn’t matter to
NEG him-matter-VR-PRES my-RDP-father if I-go-FUT my father if I go.

Especially with koʃ a tag neso amo or not is often included in the embedded question. The whole negated clause may be repeated after neso, or just amo and the verb, tlɔ or koʃ and the negative, etc.

amo mača [tlɔ ki-ciwa-s neso (tlɔ) amo (ki-ciwa-s)]
NEG is:known if it-do-FUT or if NEG it-do-FUT
Nobody knows if he’ll do it or not.

tlɔ and koʃ with a neso construction are also used for embedded alternative questions.

amo mača [koʃ yaha marta neso adelina]
NEG is:known whether she PN or PN
I don’t know whether that’s Martha or Adeline.

amo nieʃ-d-wi [tlɔ yɔ-s mustla neso wiktla]
NEG me-say-APPL.IC if goes-FUT tomorrow or day:after:tomorrow
He didn’t tell me if he’s going tomorrow or the day after.

Sometimes the tlɔ or koʃ is repeated after the neso.

amo mača [koʃ yaha marta neso koʃ adelina]
NEG is whether she PN or whether PN
known
I don’t know whether that’s Martha or whether it’s Adeline.

WH Questions

The construction of embedded WH questions is generally the same as that of independent ones. They usually follow the main clause.

solo deus [kiem n-temu-s] God only (knows) how I’ll get down.
only God how I-descend-FUT
TETELCINGO NAHUATL

kt-kWienta-čih-tu [kiehkuč tunal-t pol-twŒ]
it-account-make-CAUS how sun-ABS lack-VR many

He made an accounting of how many days were lacking.

amo maça [de kont on wala] Nobody knows where he came NEG is:known of where DIRL-come from.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses are marked by the relative/question words tli(n) that/what, őkt who, and kiehkuč as many as/how many. tli may be used with any head; őkt only with singular animate (and usually human) heads (even though in its use as a question word, it may refer to a PL noun); and kiehkuč only with PL heads in restrictive clauses.

o-niec-d-wi noč so-san-tlu [tli o-kthta-k] PAST-me-say-APPLIC all RDP-just-ABS that PAST-it-see-PERF things
He told me everything that he saw.

o-kah-wi-łu ka in-u o-cin-tlu [tli PAST-it-water-VR-APPLIC with DEM-DIST water-DIM-ABS that k-om-wika-k] it-hence-carry-PERF
He watered it with that water which he had brought (there).

ayok in-u umbre [őkt i-tlak n-tekt-tya] be:absent DEM-DIST man who his-by 1-cut-CAUS-IMPRF work
The man with whom I was working is not home.

ma walc-kö in-noč-tee [kiehkuč ku-neh-nekt] EXHIRT come-PL:SBJNCT their-all-PL how:many it-RDP-want May all those come that want to.

Some speakers rarely use ők as a relative. Some rarely use kiehkuč. The WHW őkt-me-hu (who-PL-DIST) who are those ones? is sometimes used by some speakers as an animate or human PL relative; it probably retains a DEM force.

tlo if' is sometimes used in an unusual construction that might be treated as a sort of relative; it may have concessive force.

entunes yaha [tlo prinjesa] o-kpico [tlo poruwe]
then she if princess PAST-him-kiss if poor
Then she, the princess, kissed the poor man.

The Sp. SUBR ke may signal a relative; some speakers delete a ku- which follows it (at least in fast speech).

nie-ka-te tloka [ke (ku)poya ume in-ŋoyak]
DIST-be-PL men that it-have two their-face
those men who are hypocrites

Occasionally an unmarked relative is used.

sen-te [ku-poya-ya pico-yeh-yeka-tl] a man who had a demon
one-NUM it-have-IMPRF ugly-RDP-wind-ABS
i-mo [o-wok] his withered hand
his-hand PAST-dry:PERF

A noun functioning as head of a relative clause rarely, and probably then only with a restrictive relative, when being introduced for the first time in a discourse, appears without some sort of modifier (DEM or QNT usually) preceding it. Possessed nouns, pronouns, and personal names are ordinarily exceptions to this rule, as they are usually already definite. However, they too may have such a modifier in cases where they are not definite or fully identified.

tloka [tli ku-čiwa ḋuku-u] people who do that sort of thing
men that it-do thus (less common)

noči tloka [tli ku-čiwa ḋuku-u] all people who do that sort of thing
all men that it-do thus (more usual)

in-u no-konie [tli kači wiey] that son of mine that is the biggest.
DEM-DIST my-child that more big

Some speakers use a headless or quasi-headless relative to represent a noun-cum-restrictive relative construction, with the noun overtly functioning in the relative clause.

noči [tlin=kWaw-tl ku-mo-čiwa-igung] [tlin=amo-kWalu i-fruto]]
all that=tree-ABS it-REFL-do-CAUS-PRES that=NEG-good its-fruit
grow produce
any tree that produces bad fruit

Although relative clauses typically follow their head, restrictive relatives (especially when verbless) may precede it, particularly if no other modifier precedes it. This is doubtless a reflex of the fact that adjectives expressing an intrinsic or
restrictive quality will often precede their head. In some of these cases it may be best
to analyze the construction as a headless relative (see preceding paragraph).

\[ \text{k-k\-nuca} \quad [\text{tlin=kal\-t\-k-t}] \quad \text{tl\-ka} \quad \text{Call (the) men that are}
\text{IMP-them-call that=good-CONN-ADJR-PL men good.} \]

Another modifier may intervene between a relative and its head.

\[ \text{in-u} \quad \text{tl\-ka weh-weyi} \quad [\text{tli on-wala-hku}] \quad \text{those big men that came}
\text{DEM-DIST men RDP-big that DIRT:(PAST?)-come-PL} \]

\[ \text{tie-yo} \quad \text{de no-tl\-ci} \quad [\text{tli kena\=c o-kt\-kuh-ki}]
\text{his:HON-net of my-uncle-HON that barely PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON}
\text{my uncle's net that he just bought recently} \]

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate pronominal
affix on the relativized verb or the appropriate POSSR on a postposition.

\[ \text{taha} \quad [\text{\=k\- ti-k-matt}] \quad \text{you who know better}
\text{you who you-it-know} \]

\[ \text{in-u} \quad \text{tl\-ka-tl} \quad [\text{\=k\- i-ka nt\-tek-tu-ya}]
\text{DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with 1-cut-CAUS-IMPRF}
\text{the man I was working with work} \]

If two coreferential nouns are constituents of the main clause and a relative
clause respectively, the one in the relative clause is deleted if the one in the main
clause is SUBJ. If the main clause constituent is not SUBJ, the relative clause
constituent can often be deleted but may be pronominalized or even left overt to
avoid confusion. The deleted noun, of course, is still represented by the appropriate
verbal or postpositional affix.

\[ \text{no-t\-ta} \quad \text{o-kt-k\-W\-a-hku in-u naka-tl} \quad [\text{tli my-RDP-father PAST-it-eat:HON DEM-DIST meat-ABS that}
\text{k-om-wika-k-ti}]
\text{it-hence-carry:PERF-HON}
\text{My father ate the meat that he had brought (there).} \]

\[ \text{yehwa tie-maka-k-ti} \quad \text{no-t\-ta in-u naka-tl} \quad [\text{tli they him:HON-give:PERF-PL my-RDP-father}
\text{DEM-DIST meat-ABS that yehwa-ci o-kt\-kuh-ki}]
\text{he:HON-HON PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON}
\text{They gave my father the meat that he had bought.} \]

\[ \text{(yehwaci he HON serves to disambiguate the verb—otherwise it would mean}
\text{the meat that they had bought in this case, because they is the SUBJ of the}
\text{main clause and the lower verb is ambiguous between they SUBJ and he}
\text{HON SUBJ.)} \]
Sometimes, however, if the main clause constituent is a POSSR, it may be represented only by a POSSR affix, while the relative clause constituent may be spelled out.

The things that had been happening to Paul didn’t matter to him.

Main clause subjects, objects, indirect objects, possessors, and postpositional and prepositional objects can all have relative clauses modifying them—only subjects and objects, however, can consist of a headless relative.

**Subject Relatives**

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate SUBJ pronoun prefix on the relativized verb. (See examples above.)

**Object Relatives**

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate OBJ pronoun prefix on the verb. Non-pronominalized subjects tend very strongly to follow the verb even in cases when ambiguity results. (Presumably this is because the relativized noun is almost always in focus; in those cases where it is not, the focused element will usually have been pronominalized. Since pronouns appear in this sort of situation only to indicate focus, they normally precede the verb.)
Oblique Relatives

The relativized noun is represented by the appropriate POSSR prefix on the postposition of which it is object or on the possessed noun it modifies. The definite pronoun is used following prepositions.

\[
\text{in-}u \quad k^{\text{w}}\text{du-}tli \quad [\text{i-ka} \quad \text{tl}i \quad \text{ka-maka-ta-ya}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{stick-ABS} \quad \text{its-with that} \quad \text{him-hit-DUR-IMPRF} \\
\text{the stick that he was beating him with}
\]

\[
\text{in-}u \quad \text{tl}o\text{ka-tl} \quad [\text{ok}u \quad \text{i-pa} \quad \text{i-ke} \quad \text{tu-yeh-yeyi}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{man-ABS} \quad \text{who its-at} \quad \text{his-home} \quad \text{we-RDP-were:IMPRF} \\
\text{the man at whose house we were}
\]

\[
\text{n}ie-\text{ka} \quad \text{hiente} \quad [\text{ok}u \quad \text{para} \quad \text{yehwa} \quad \text{o-tu-k-\text{cih-ki}}]
\]
\[
\text{DIST-be} \quad \text{people who for them} \quad \text{PAST-we-it-do-PL} \quad \text{PERF} \\
\text{those people that we did it for*}
\]

In general, oblique relatives tend not to use tli when oku can be used. Sometimes oku is used with a PL animate or human referent in this type of construction, though otherwise it is used only with SG. This strong preference for oku is especially noticeable in constructions where a POSSR is relativized.

\[
\text{in-}u \quad \text{tl}o\text{ka} \quad [\text{ok}u \quad \text{pah-pa}no\text{-}ku \quad \text{in-ayoh-wa}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{men who RDP-rot:PERF-PL} \quad \text{their-squash-POSSD:PL} \\
\text{those men whose squashes rotted}
\]

\[
\text{in-}u \quad \text{tl}o\text{ka-tl} \quad [\text{tl}i \quad \text{o-mk} \quad \text{i-konie}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{man-ABS} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{PAST-die:PERF} \quad \text{his-child} \\
\text{that man that his son died (very questionable)}
\]

As in the cases where the OBJ is relativized, a non-pronominal subject tends strongly to follow the verb. However, when the subject is the noun possessed by the relativized noun, it is often preposed to the verb.

\[
\text{in-}u \quad \text{tl}o\text{ka-tl} \quad [\text{ok}u \quad \text{o-mk} \quad \text{i-konie}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{man-ABS} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{PAST-die:PERF} \quad \text{his-child} \\
\text{that man whose son died}
\]

\[
\text{in-}u \quad \text{tl}o\text{ka-tl} \quad [\text{ok}u \quad \text{i-konie} \quad \text{o-mk}]
\]
\[
\text{DEM-DIST} \quad \text{man-ABS} \quad \text{who his-child} \quad \text{PAST-die:PERF} \\
\text{that man whose son died}
\]

*The use of oku here may be an example of the special use of oku with a PL referent (see next paragraph), or it may be a result of the fact that hiente is ambiguous between singular and plural (as in the Spanish of the region). In this example it appears with the SG nie-ka instead of the PL nie-ka-te, yet the relativized pronoun is PL. Such confusion is common.
Some postpositions tend to precede the relativizer tli but not oki. The Spanish prepositions may precede both. (Compare this with their behavior as WH words under WH Questions).

in-u \[W\] tlu-tl \[i-ka tli ki-maka pu,o\]
DEM-DIST stick-ABS its-with that it-hit donkey
the stick he hits the donkey with

in-u t\[\]oka-tl \[\[\] oki i-ka nt-teka-tu-ya\]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF
work

the man with whom I was working

yehwa-ci \[por oki to-m\-k\-t\-a\]
he:HON-HON by who we:REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES
escape
save

he HON by whom we are saved

Other P (generally the longer and less used ones) follow both relativizers. Often, and always when subordinated by tli, these P will have a definite pronoun as their head besides the relativizer.

in-u t\[\]oka-tl \[tli i-pampa yaha o-k-dhtoh-k\]
DEM-DIST man-ABS that his-on:account:of he PAST-it-say:PERF-PL
the man for whose sake they said it

in-u t\[\]oka-tl \[\[\] oki i-pampa o-k-dhtoh-k\]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-on:account:of PAST-it-say:PERF-PL
the man for whose sake they said it

When the Spanish prepositions occur after the relativizer, they must have a definite pronoun OBJ.

in-u t\[\]oka-tl \[\[\] oki para yaha o-n\-k-wal\-ka-k\]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who for him PAST-I-it-bring-PERF
the man for whom I brought it

Headless Relatives

Quasi-headless relatives are very common. Usually a DEM or QNT (often with PRTV de of (Sp.)) represents the nominal from which the head has been deleted.

in-i-n\[\]an-ka \[tli ti-k-wal\-ka-k\]
DEM-PROX-PROX-be that you-it-hither-carry-PERF
this here

in-u \[\[\] oki tla\-w-k\-t\-a\]
DEM-DIST who UNSPEC:OBJ-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES
the one who is giving the fiesta
in-noč-tie [tli on-wala-hkt] all that came
their-all-PL that DIRL:(PAST?)-come-PL

A special relative, lo=ke=tli(n) that (SG) (from Spanish lo que that which and tli) is very common in these constructions with QNT, and also is the normal inanimate singular marker for true headless relatives.

meyak de [lo=ke=tli o-k-dhta-k] much of what he saw
much of it=that=that PAST-it-see-PERF
[lo=ke=tli n-k-nekt] aka ma a-ye-k-mo 8-tlah-tla-htu-kɔ
it=that=that I-it-want is EXHRT no longer IMP-RDP- UNSPEC-say-PL
OBJ SBJNCT

What I want is that you no longer talk.

Sometimes tli marks a headless relative when it functions as OBJ in the main clause.

kt-toka [(lo=ke)=tlin=kʷal] He follows the good.
it=follow it=that=that=good

əkti is common as the relativizer of a headless relative, usually with the ‘ever’ sense.

eye-s teki-yo para [əkti k—from kt-nekt-s tlehu-s]
be-FUT work-ABSTR for who it-want-FUT ascend-FUT
difficult
It will be difficult for whoever will want to climb up.

[əkti tla-wi-kəs-ta] lalwūs porube ka mo-hta
who UNSPEC-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES very poor with REFL-see
OBJ INTNS

Whoever gives a fiesta winds up very poor.

Sometimes a headless relative apparently has the head noun functioning in the relative clause. In some cases these could be analyzed as examples of a relative clause preceding its head (see RELATIVE CLAUSES, General).

nočt [tlin=kʷaw-ttl kt-wika [tlin=kʷal] i-fruto]
all that=tree-ABS it-carry that=good its-fruit
any tree that bears good fruit
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Locative

Where-clauses are marked by the question word koni where or koni-n-u-hu (where-DEM-RDP-DIST) at the place where. They may precede or follow the main clause.

\[ \text{kon}i \text{ nek-\text{as}-s} \text{ neh-k\text{w}-s} \\]
\[ \text{where I-him-reach-FUT I-him-eat-FUT} \\]
\[ \text{Wherever I catch him I will eat him.} \]

\[ \text{kalaku [kon}i \text{ mo-wec-tuka-te to-ta-tah-ci-ci]} \\]
\[ \text{enter where REFL-fall-PRES-PL our-RDP-father-RDP-DIM} \]
\[ \text{HON PROG} \quad \text{HON} \]
\[ \text{HHON are (our) idols enters where the town (or family) idols are} \]
\[ \text{on-yah-k}i \text{ [kon}i\text{-n-u-hu o-mo-tuka-k in-u tloka-tl]} \\]
\[ \text{hence-go-PL where-DEM-RDP-DIST PAST-REFL-bury-PERF DEM-DIST man-ABS (PAST?)} \]
\[ \text{He went to the place where that man was buried.} \]

\[ \text{kon}i \text{ is used often in apposition to some other locative expression and even in cases where an oblique relative clause could also be used.} \]

\[ \text{om-pa dwakak [kon}i \text{ naha n-y-s-s]} \]
\[ \text{MED-at heaven where I I-go-FUT} \text{ going} \]
\[ \text{o-k}i-t\text{i kal-te weh-weyt [kon}i \text{ k}i-t\text{loki-s} \text{ tla-o-tl]} \]
\[ \text{PAST-it-make house-PL RDP-big where it-ground-FUT-PL shell-NR-ABS PERF corn} \]
\[ \text{He made big houses in which to put corn.} \]

\[ \text{kon}i \text{ may be preceded by a locative P indicating an appropriate modification of the 'where' sense.} \]

\[ \text{entuneses yehwa-ci wilowak [ka koni wilowak]} \]
\[ \text{then he-HON goes with where goes} \]
\[ \text{HON HON around where HON} \]
\[ \text{Then he HON goes wherever he's going.} \]

\[ \text{on-wala [desde koni teki-tu-y] He came from where he} \]
\[ \text{DIRL-come from where cut-CAUS-IMPRF had been working.} \]
\[ \text{(PAST?)} \text{ work} \]

Some P seem to prefer to prepose to a noun phrase with lokor place (Sp. lugar), opposed to the koni clause.

\[ \text{o-mo-k\text{weh-ki i-pa in-u lokor [kon}i \text{ primero o-kis-ki]} \}\]
\[ \text{PAST-REFL-turn:PERF-PL its-at DEM-DIST place where first PAST-emerge-PL PERF} \]

\[ \text{They returned to the place where they had first left from.} \]
The 'until' or 'as far as' meaning is given by the Spanish *asta until* in combination with *k'ax*

*on-yahhi [asta k'ax o-yey sen-te o-mieyatl] hence-go-PL until where PAST-be one-NUM water-REFL rise-NR ABS (PAST?) IMPRF*

*They went on until (they came to) where there was a spring.*

*nuk-segir-oh-ta-s [asta k'ax nu-welti-s] I-it-follow-VR-DUR-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT*

*I will keep on as long as I am able.*

**Manner**

These are usually marked by *kiemt like*. They usually follow the main verb.

*sk-kevia-k [kiemt naha nuk-kevia] IMP-it-do-PL:SBINCT like I I-it-do (You PL) do as I do!*

*sh-k-cahui-lu shku-u [kiemt nuk-wal-hito] IMP-him-shout-APPLIC be-DIST like I-it-hither-say permanently thus (like:that)*

*Shout to him like I came and said to!*

*omo-ma-ti-lu [kiemt do o-ye-nu skewa-k laiws] PAST-REFL-know-APPLIC like if PAST-be-IRR strong-ADJR very He felt as if he were very strong.*

The question word *kiemt how?* is sometimes used in this sense (usually with a 'however' emphasis), as are also *san kiemt just how, san kiemt ka just how INTNS, and kienam just like.*

*[san kiemt ka nuk-hita-k] shku-u ku-kevia-ya just how INTNS I-it-see-PERF thus it-do-IMPRF He was doing it just as I saw.*

*sk-kevia [kienamtc mac-nawat] Do just as he advised you. IMP-it-do just:like you-advice:PERF*

Very often the manner clause is apposed to an ADV DEM thus.

*oko-ki shku-yi [kienamtc nemiets-hita-ti-tuka] He did it just like I'm PAST-it-do be-PROX just:like you-see-CAUS-PRES showing you PL. PERF permanently PL PROG thus (like: this)*
Temporal

Simultaneous

Many simultaneous when-clauses are marked with k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok} \textit{when}. These clauses tend to follow the main clause, but may sometimes precede it, especially if the occurrence of the main verb logically depends on the occurrence of the subordinate verb.

\textit{[k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok} wa\textit{\textsuperscript{L}a}s \ n\textit{\textsuperscript{T}a-clini-s] \ \textit{when come-FUT 1-UNSPEC:OBJ-clang-FUT}}}

\textit{\textit{nu\textit{\textsuperscript{N}t\textit{\textsuperscript{O}n\textit{\textsuperscript{T}a}} mo\textit{\textsuperscript{L}o\textit{\textsuperscript{T}i-wa] \ [k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok} k\textit{\textsuperscript{D}a-y\textit{\textsuperscript{N}i}]} \ \textit{all REFL-do green-CONN-ADJR when rain become}}}}}

\textit{\textit{Everything becomes green when it rains.}}

\textit{nu\textit{\textsuperscript{N}k\textit{\textsuperscript{D}i-ta-k \ [k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok} on\textit{\textsuperscript{T}i-s]} \ I-him-see-PERF when hence:(PAST?)-emerge:PERF}}}

\textit{\textit{I saw him when he came out.}}

\textit{mientras while} (Spanish) is also used often followed by the Spanish SUBR \textit{ke that}. Its clauses tend to precede the main clause. It is often used with its clause deleted and followed by a strong pause, with the meaning \textit{meanwhile}.

\textit{[mientras ke amo nu\textit{\textsuperscript{N}k\textit{\textsuperscript{D}i-wa}} amo y\textit{\textsuperscript{G}a-s\textit{\textsuperscript{T}a}} \ \textit{while that NEG 1-it-do NEG go-FUT:PL}}}

\textit{\textit{They won't go as long as I don't do it.}}

\textit{[mientras] taha ñ\textit{\textsuperscript{N}k\textit{\textsuperscript{D}e-segir-\textit{\textsuperscript{O}h-ta} ñ\textit{\textsuperscript{D}e-teki-ta}} \ \textit{meanwhile you IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS work}}}

\textit{\textit{Meanwhile, you keep on working.}}

The 'until' meaning is given by the Spanish preposition \textit{asta}, often in combination with \textit{k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok} when}. Sometimes \textit{asta} is used with \textit{k\textit{\textsuperscript{N}a} where} to give a temporal sense (see above).

\textit{neh\textit{-\textsuperscript{N}en-ta\textsuperscript{T}a-y\textsuperscript{T}a} \ neh\textit{-\textsuperscript{N}en-ta\textsuperscript{T}a-y\textsuperscript{T}a} [asta k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}ok ah-\textit{\textsuperscript{N}a-st-to} RDP-live-DUR-IMPRF walk-DUR-IMPRF until when RDP-reach-went walk}}}

\textit{kn\textit{\textsuperscript{T}a o\textit{-\textsuperscript{N}e-y\textsuperscript{T}u} sen\textit{-\textsuperscript{T}e k\textit{\textsuperscript{W}aw-atl \\textit{wiye\textit{\textsuperscript{T}i}}]} \ where PAST-be:IMPRF one-\textit{\textsuperscript{N}e-M\textit{\textsuperscript{T}u} big}}}

\textit{They walked and walked until they arrived where there was a big tree.}

\textit{nu\textit{-\textsuperscript{N}k\textit{-\textsuperscript{D}i-k\textit{-\textsuperscript{T}i-s]} [asta kn\textit{\textsuperscript{N}a nu\textit{-\textsuperscript{N}a-wel-ti-s]} \ \textit{I-it-bear-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT}}}

\textit{I will bear it as long as I can.}
Sequence

Subordinate sequential time clauses are usually marked by $kwok$ when, often with ye already modifying the subordinate verb. They almost always precede the main verb. At times it is difficult to distinguish between sequential and near-simultaneous usages.

[kwok ye o-tlanies] o-mo-kec
when already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF PAST-REFL-stand:PERF
When it dawned, he got up.

[kwok o-tlapo] o-kum-dta-k
when PAST-open:PERF PAST-them-see:PERF
When it had opened, he saw them.

$so$-tie-pa (just-UNSPEC:POSSR-at) afterwards followed by de ke of that (Sp.) is also used in this sequential sense; also so is $so$-tie-pa de $kw$ok.

[sotie-pa de kwok ye o-mk] ye piewa coh-cuka
afterward of when already PAST-die:PERF already begin RDP-cry
After he is dead, they begin to mourn.

Often a sequential time clause is apposed to entunes then (Sp.) or some other ADV DEM meaning then more or less.

entunes [kwok ye o-mo-ci] tyawa to-co
then when already PAST-REFL-do we-go-PL our-home
happen:PERF
Then, when it’s already happened, we go home.

Sometimes a reverse sequential time clause occurs, marked by kačto first, earlier followed by de ke. These clauses can also follow the main verb. Often the subordinate verb will bear an IRR marker or one of the contingency markers.

[kačto de ke on-wala i-tah-ci] yaha o-k-ul-wi
first of that DIRL:(PAST?)-come his-father-HON he PAST-her-say-APPLIC
i-non-ci
his-mother-HON
Before his father came, he told his mother.

yaha in-u o-mo-cik [kačto de ke o-mo-ciwa-nu
it DEM-DIST PAST-REFL-do:PERF first of that PAST-REFL-make-IRR
tiol-t-ktak-tl]
world-ABS
That happened before the world was made.
If-Clauses

The phrase often marks if-clauses, sometimes with DUB kana perhaps; tlo k-dtu-s (if it-say-FUT) if it should be (that) is also common. These clauses usually precede the main clause.

[tlo kana amo dhkt] ma te-h-korehir-u-ko
if DUB NEG be:permanently EXHRT we-it-correct-VR-PL:SBJNCT
If (perchance) it's not right, let's correct it.

[tlo ye kWalu] te-yo-s-ki
If it's ready, we will go.
if already good we-go-FUT-PL

Often the main clause is introduced by entunes then.

wa [tlo nu-ya] entunes ne-kum-d-wi-s dhkt-u
and if I-go then I-them-say-APPLIC-FUT thus
And if I go, I will speak thus to them.

mos though (probably from Spanish mas but), mos=ke (though=SUBR), and mos tlo are all used in the 'even if' sense, often with kana perhaps. These clauses tend to follow rather than precede the main clause. (See ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Other.)

amo tie=kwa-lu-s [mos tlam-s tlcl-u-kpak-tlu] NEG us-leave-HON-FUT though end-FUT ground-CONN-on-ABS
top:of

He HON will not leave us even though the world should end.

nu-walo-s [mos tlo kana kyawi-s] I will come even if it should i-come-FUT though if DUB rain-FUT rain.

mos=ke is often used with the rest of the clause deleted, with a meaning like anyway or in any case.

ko$ whether often gives a near-'if' sense.

ki-saka para ikni-wa noso [ko$ ok-se-ki wic] it-cart for his-sibling-POSSD or whether yet-one-PL come-PL others

He carts it for his brothers or for if others should come.


He comes sprinkling that medicine on him if it is liquid.

[ko$ k-dku-ppl-w] noso [ko$ ku-tokor-o swerte] yaha whether him-luck-child-APPLIC or whether him-touch-VR luck he

k-maka-k tomi If he was lucky, or if luck came his way;

him-give-PERF money he gave him money.
por by, for, for the sake of (Sp.) is used, often with tlō, sometimes alone, and occasionally with ke that SUBR (Sp.), in the 'in case' sense. (por) tlakaso (from Spanish por si acaso in case with tlō substituted for the Spanish si if) may sometimes also be used in this way; more often it appears without a clause following it.

\[
\begin{align*}
o-ki-cah-cak & \quad \text{por} \ [\text{tlō kuyaw-s}] \\
PAST-it-RDP-close & \quad \text{for if rain-FUT} \\
& \quad \text{PERF rain.}
\end{align*}
\]

Verb forms with IRR, FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT, and the forms constructed with sk̂a would've (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspect) often turn up in if-clauses with varying semantic effects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ika-ka sen-te desperdisio lalwes} & \quad [\text{tlō sa to-mo-maka-} \\
is-RDP & \quad \text{one-NUM waste very if only you-REFL-give} \\
& \quad \text{HON}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-cinu-skac-ya} & \quad \text{k\textsuperscript{W}ienta] REFLEX:HON-would've-IMPRF account} \\
\text{It is a great waste, if you HON would only realize it.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{tlō sa} & \quad \text{kt-neki-skac-ni} \\
p\text{\textsuperscript{W}ieblo]} & \quad \text{niec-consentir-u-s}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{if only it-want-would've-IRR town me-put-up:with-VR-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{If the town only wanted to, it would put up with me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes tlō is used in a quasi-concessive (?), almost relative sense.

\[
\begin{align*}
yaha & \quad [\text{tlō princesa} \quad \text{o-ki-paco} \\
in-u & \quad \text{padak-tlō}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{she if princess PAST-him-kiss:PERF DEM-DIST lad-ABS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{She, the princess, kissed the lad.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tlō tli if what is used in the sense of 'whatever'.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kt-maka-k} & \quad \text{atul-t de kakawa-tl noso [tlō tli]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{him-give:PERF gruel-ABS of cacao-ABS or if what}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{She gave him gruel of cacao or something or other.}
\end{align*}
\]

Because-Clauses

Because-clauses are marked by the postposition i-pampa its-on:account:of or by the Spanish por (ke) for (SUBR) = because. They follow the main clause. por clauses may precede the main clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
o-mo-k\text{\textsuperscript{W}ek} & \quad \text{i-pampa [kt-polo i-\text{\textsuperscript{X}ompliejo]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
PAST-REFL-turn:PERF its-on:account:of it-lose:his-hat
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He turned back because he had lost his hat.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amo on-wala} & \quad \text{por [ke mo-kokow-a-ya]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG DIRL:(PAST?)-come for that REFL-hurt-PRES-IMPRF}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He didn't come because he was sick.}
\end{align*}
\]
por [taha ti-wala] ye ni-wal-temu-k
for you you-come already I-hither-descend:PERF
Because you came, I’ve managed to get down here.

sam-por just because, for no reason, to no avail, just (from san just and
por for (Sp.)) is occasionally used as a because-clause marker. These clauses usually
precede the main clause, perhaps because they are usually in focus.

sam-por [o-nu-k-nek] o-nu-kis
just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF
Just because I wanted to, I came out.

sam-por o-nu-k-nek o-nu-kis
just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF
I wanted to leave for no particular reason.

Therefore-constructions are usually separate sentences; the second will be
introduced by por in-u by DEM-DIST, yaha i-ka (it its-with) because of that,
ka in-u (with DEM-DIST) since that is so, or i-pampa-hu (its-on:account:of-DIST)
because of that. Occasionally a because-clause is topicalized and preposed to the main
clause. In these cases, the main clause is usually marked as in a therefore-construction,
and the two clauses are separated by a strong pause.

i-pampa [amo niec-neku wa de porsi amo kwach] its-on:account:of NEG me-want and of naturally NEG good

por in-u niec-il-wt chku-u
for DEM-DIST me-say-APPLIC thus
Because he doesn’t like me and he’s just intrinsically bad, that’s why he talked to me
like that.

kiem how?, kiem like, and komo how?, how (Sp.) are all used in a sort of ‘being
that’ sense in a construction reminiscent of Spanish usage. Clauses marked by them
usually precede the main verb. Often they act almost as relatives.

naha [komo ok ni-ci-ceci-ci] no-nona niec-kah-ku
I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM my-mommy me-leave-HON
Since I was still little, my mother left me.

in-u tloka-tl [kiem amo ki-matu-ya] on-ya
DEM-DIST man-ABS like NEG it-know-IMPRF hence:(PAST?)-go
Being that he didn’t know, that man went.

Purpose Clauses

These clauses are marked by the Spanish preposition para for or para ke for
SUBR. The subordinated verb is usually FUT or SBJNCT with EXHRT ma;
occasionally some other inflections occur with varying semantic effects. These
clauses usually follow the main clause.
o-ku-ti  tle-cin-tl  para [wksi-s  naka-tl]  
\textit{PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-FUT flesh-ABS}

He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-ku-ti  tle-cin-tl  para [ma  wksi  naka-tl]  
\textit{PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for EXHRT cook flesh-ABS}

He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-ku-ti  tle-cin-tl  para [wksi-k  naka-tl]  
\textit{PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-PERF flesh-ABS}

He made a fire so the meat cooked.

In the case of the verb \textit{ya go}, a subordinated verb in a parallel tense simply juxtaposed to \textit{ya} gives the ‘in order to’ meaning.

\textit{nu-ya} [nu-teki-tl]  
\textit{I-go I-cut-CAUS}

\textit{work}

\textit{para tl o for if} or \textit{para tlakaso} ((from tl o + a kaso \textit{perhaps} (Sp.)) or either of these with \textit{por} \textit{for} instead of \textit{para}, is used with the meaning ‘in case’. (See \textit{If-Clauses}.)

o-ku-tlo-ti  tla-k\textsuperscript{w}a\textsubscript{4}-tl  para [tl o walo-tek-\textit{tya}]
\textit{PAST-it-ground UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR-ABS for if come-would’ve-IMPRF}

She put out food in case they were going to come.

\textbf{Other}

Although-clauses are marked by \textit{mos although} (from Spanish \textit{mas but}) or some construction thereof (\textit{mos=ke (mos + ke that SUBR)} or \textit{mos + tl o if} (see also under \textit{If-Clauses})). These clauses may precede or follow the main clause.

\textit{mos yaha teki-tya}  i-non-ci  seme  k-ah-ahwa-ya
\textit{though he cut-CAUS-IMPRF his-mother-HON always him-RDP-scold-IMPRF work}

\textit{Though he worked hard, his mother always bawled him out.}

\textit{tmuc-tiwi-li-s}  [mos  amo  t\textsubscript{k}-nek-i-s]  
\textit{1P:you-do-APPLIC-FUT though NEG you-it-want-FUT}
\textit{I will do it to you though you will/might not want it.}

Sometimes \textit{mos} is combined with \textit{wa and}. This seems to give an ‘even though’ sort of twist. (Cf. TEXT, line (15).)

\textit{ku-wika-ci}  [wa mos  amo  tli  ku-\textit{ciwa}]
\textit{him-carry-bring-PL and though NEG what it-do}
\textit{They are bringing him, and (they are doing it) even though he hasn’t done anything.}
Often the main verb is marked with Sp. pero but.

[mos-ke amo k-uhta-ya] pero ki-mat-t-ya ke om-pa
though-SUBR NEG him-see-IMPRF but it-know-IMPRF SUBR MED-on
o-yeya
PAST-be:IMPRF
Although he couldn’t see him, he knew he was there.

Until-clauses are marked with the Spanish asta until, usually with ke SUBR. They usually follow the main clause.

ku-tu-tu-toka-tunem-ya asta [ke o-mo-kiści-k'ah-tu]
him-RDP-RDP-follow-go-IMPRF until that PAST-REFL-foot-wood-VR
around become: tired
He chased him around until his feet were tired out.

Without-clauses are marked with the Spanish sin ke without SUBR. The subordinate clause is almost always negated, especially in past tenses. These clauses almost always follow the verb.

o-tu-kis-kt sin [ke amo o-mo-maka-kt k'ienta]
PAST-we-emerge-PL without that NEG PAST-REFL-give-PERF account
PERF
We went out without his realizing it.

tu-kisa-s-kts sin [ke mo-maka-s k'ienta]
we-emerge-FUT-PL without that REFL-give-FUT account
We will go out without his realizing it.
The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

1. One day, when a very big coyote was very hungry,
ye sie tunal-t k\textsuperscript{W}ok lalwus teos\textsuperscript{W}-ya sen-te koyu-tl
already one day-ABS when very be:hungry-IMPRF one-NUM coyote-ABS

he was chasing a jackrabbit around
lalwus wieyt ku-tu-tu-toka-tunemu-ya sen-te shh-tlt
very big her-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around-IMPRF one-NUM jackrabbit-ABS

in a corn field.
i-htek sen-te mil-t
its-inside one-NUM corn:field-ABS

2. The jackrabbit was very frightened, but she knew
shh-tlt lalwus mah-k\textsuperscript{O}-muk-ya ka\textsuperscript{C}t yaha ki-mah-ta-ya
jackrabbit-ABS very fear-MAN-die-IMPRF more she it-know-DUR-IMPRF

that she could no longer keep on running because
ke a-wel\textsuperscript{C}t ka\textsuperscript{C}t mo-mer\\textsuperscript{O}w-a-s i-pampa
that NEG-possible more REFL-run-FUT its-on:account:of

she was already very old, and her feet
ye lalwus ye lama-ci wa i-k\textsuperscript{W}-wa
already very already old:female-DIM:HON and her-foot-POSSD:PL

were no longer strong.
a-y\textsuperscript{E}-k-mo wel\textsuperscript{C}-ti-ya
no longer possible-VR-IMPRF

3. So the jackrabbit suddenly stopped
wa ka in-u shh-tlt sa trepiente o-mo-kec-tukis
and with DEM-DIST jackrabbit-ABS just of PAST-REFL-stand-suddenly
a:sudden PERF

and looked back sideways to see the coyote.
wa o-nakas-tla\textsuperscript{C}\textsuperscript{E}t para k\textsuperscript{C}-hta-s koyu-tl
and PAST-ear-look:PERF for it-see-FUT coyote-ABS

4. The jackrabbit said to the coyote, "Stop a minute.
shh-tlt o-kta-wi koyu-tl \textsuperscript{O}-mo-keca tep-c\textsuperscript{E}t
jackrabbit-ABS PAST-it-say-APPLIC coyote-ABS IMP-REFL-stand little-DIM bit
5. Why are you chasing me around?
   tli-ka       tti-neč-tu-toka-tunem
   what-with  you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around

6. Do you want to eat me?"
   tt-k-nekti    tti-neč-k'w-o-s
   you-it-want  you-me-eat-FUT

7. "Yes," said the coyote.
   kiema  o-k-hti       koyu-tl
   yes       PAST-it-say:PERF coyote-ABS

8. "I want to eat you."
   ntc-k-nekti   ttc-nc-k'w-o-s
   I-it-want 1P:you-eat-FUT

9. Replied the jackrabbit, "Don't eat me, because if
   o-nswat       sh-tlu   amo  st-tti-neč-k'w-a     i-pampa       tlo
   PAST-reply:PERF jackrabbit-ABS NEG IMP-me-eat its-on:account:of if
   you eat me, you will die.
   tti-neč-k'w-o-s    taha   ttc-mkti-s
   you-me-eat-FUT you you-die-FUT

10. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am
    taha  ttc-kmati   ke   naha  ntc-ka-ka  ntc-suh-tlu   kačt   naha  ntc-ka-ka
    you you-it-know that 1  I-RDP-be I-jackrabbit-ABS more 1  I-RDP-be
    a viper, and when you eat me, my poison-juice
    ntc-tiek-tlu  wa  k'w-o-k    taha  tti-neč-k'w-o-s  ntc-tlack-o-yo
    I-viper-ABS and when you you-me-eat-FUT my-(-?) water-ABSTR
    will kill you."
    mtc-mkti-s
    you-die-CAUS-FUT

11. Asked the coyote, "If that's how it is, what shall I eat?"
    o-tlah-tlu       koyu-tl    tli  ttc-hk-u  tli  k'w-alc  ntc-h-k'w-o-s
    PAST-RDP-ask coyote-ABS if-be-DIST what good I-it-eat-FUT
    permanently
    thus (like that)

12. "Eat these berries that I picked.
    st-h-k'wa    in-ncn-ka   kapol-u  tli  naha  o-nt-h-k'w-th-k'w-klk
    IMP-it-eat DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS that 1  PAST-I-it-RDP-pluck:PERF

13. I was carrying these here berries in
    naha  ntc-wika-ya    in-ncn-ka   kapol-u  i-h'tek
    I  I-it-carry-IMPRF DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS its-inside
my basket to my house to eat them there.

no-čiki asta no-čo para om-pa nu-h-kʷo-s
my-basket until my-home for MED-on I-it-eat-FUT

14. Then you started chasing me."

ye-kʷok-um-ta hah o-t-πie tʊ-nieč-tu-tu-toka-(k)
already-when-DEM-DIST you PAST-you-begin you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-PERF
PERF

15. Said the coyote, "Jackrabbits eat berries, but

o-k-πhto kουy-ti lsi-sth-te kʊ-kʷa kopol-t pero
PAST-it-say coyote-ABS RDP-jackrabbit-PL it-eat berry-ABS but

vipers can't eat berries, so

kopol-t a-wel kʊ-kʷa tiek-tli waa kaa iin-u
berry-ABS NEG-possible it-eat viper-ABS and with DEM-DIST

you are a jackrabbit, even though you string me a line.

taha ti-ka tst-suh-tli waa mɔs tli-mač tʊ-nieč-d-wi-s
you you-be you-jackrabbit-ABS and though what-ever you-me-say-APPLIC-FUT

16. You fool yourself, but you can't

taha ti-miš-kah-kayowaa lsi taha pero naha a-wel
you you-REFL-eye-RDP-deceive one you but I NEG-possible

fool me,

tʊ-nieč-kah-kayowaa-s
you-me-RDP-deceive-FUT

17. How nice that you are a jackrabbit.

lalwaa kʷalt kẹ taha ti-ka-ka tst-suh-tli
very good that you you-RDP-be you-jackrabbit-ABS

18. Jackrabbits are good to eat, but I don't like the taste

lse-sth-me kʷalt mo-kʷo-s-kə pero amo nuk-wel-mată
RDP-jackrabbit-PL good REFL-eat-FUT-PL but NEG I-it-delicious-know

of eating viper."

neh-kʷo-s tiek-tli
I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS

19. And with that the coyote up and ate the jackrabbit

waa kaa iin-u kουy-ti sas-saa o-k-kʷa stb-tli
and with DEM-DIST coyote-ABS RDP-just PAST-her-eat jackrabbit-ABS

"
even though she had wanted to deceive him.
wa məs yaha ki-nec-tə ki-kah-kayəwəs
and though she it-want-IMPRF him-RDP-deceive-FUT

20. Also he ate the berries that she had had in her basket.
nuyuhtə o-ki-kʷa kapol-ə tli ki-pə-yə i-htek čikw-ətl
also PAST-it-eat berry-ABS that it-have-IMPRF its-inside basket-ABS

21. And when the coyote had eaten the jackrabbit's berries,
wa kʷok koyu-əl o-ki-kʷa i-kapol sh-ətl
and when coyote-ABS PAST-it-eat her-berry jackrabbit-ABS

he went and sat down under a tree,
o-mo-təli-ə to i-cin-əla sen-te kʷaw-ətl
PAST-REFL-place-went its-bottom-LOC one-NUM tree-ABS

and there he died forthwith.
wa om-pə o-mək sa ni-mə
and MED-on PAST-die:PERF just immediately

22. Those berries were poisonous.
in-u kapol-tə o-ye-yə yaha tie-mək-tə
DEM-DIST berry-ABS PAST-be-IMPRF it UNSPEC:H:OBJ-die-CAUS
NORTH PUEBLA NAHUATL

Earl Brockway
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INTRODUCTION

This grammatical sketch describes the structure of the Aztec dialect spoken by approximately 50,000 inhabitants of the far northern sector of the state of Puebla that extends as a peninsula between the states of Hidalgo and Vera Cruz. Data were gathered by the author during the years 1953-1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Informants were Santiago Gil, José Peña, Noé Lopez, Leodegario Santos, Augustín and Auséncio Cravioto, and Celerino Juárez, natives of Tlaxpanaloya, Naupan Municipio, Puebla. Extensive use was made of the syllable concordance run by the University of Oklahoma Research Institute under the National Science Foundation Grant GS-934, and of Robinson’s *Sierra Nahuat Word Structure, Aztec Studies II*, SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, Publication No. 22, 1970. The author is indebted to colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for helpful suggestions in organizing the data.

Examples have been elicited from language consultants or excerpted from the corpus of collected texts. Those taken from the text found at the end of the sketch ‘How They Teased the Old Man’ are indicated by the convention (TOM-#), the number pertaining to the sentence number in the text. Examples taken from ‘The Coyote and the Rabbit’ are indicated by the convention (CR-#).

PHONOLOGY

**Phonemes**

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\ p & \ t & \ t l & \ c & \ \check{e} & \ k & \ k^w & \ i & \ o \\
\ s & \ \check{g} & \ e & \ a \\
\ l \\
\ m & \ n \\
\ w & \ y \\
\end{array}
\]

Vowel length is quite erratic, varying among speakers, and no attempt has been made to indicate same in this sketch. (For a full discussion of vowel length, see Brockway, ‘The Phonemes of North Puebla Nahuatl’, *AL* Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1963.) Stress is penultimate except when a syllable drops out in contraction.

**Major Phonological Processes**

- **mo- (REFL) → m-** before V-initial stem.
- **Stem-final s + lo → \(\check{s}o\); s + li → \(\check{s}i\); s + ti → \(\check{s}i\).**
- **Stem-final t + ili → \(\check{c}ili\); ca + li → \(\check{c}ili\).**
- **Stem-final y → \(\check{g}\)** before \(t\) or word-finally \(ta + t → ct\).  
- \(\check{c} + \check{e} \rightarrow \check{c}e; \ t + t \rightarrow wt; \ k + ke \rightarrow hke; \ k^w + ke \rightarrow hke.\)**
- \(yi = (COMPL) + o- (PERF) → yo-. \ ye^* = + pa → yew = pa.\)**
BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Order of major constituents is relatively fixed, in that change in their order usually signals focus or topicalization. The most neutral order is as follows:

INTR LOC SUBJ PRT V OBJ/IOBJ

Other possible orders are:

INTR LOC V OBJ SUBJ
INTR LOC V OBJ IOBJ

Only V is obligatory. INTR includes conjuctions, appositives, and interrogatives. PRT includes negatives, demonstratives, locatives (of time and space), quantifiers, directionals, numbers, subordinator, and article. Negation and quantifiers precede V and other particles occur in free distribution.

entoneses E. o-ki-kì-tì in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k
INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST
Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him. (TOM-22)

wan entoneses i'kWak yi=ki-kama-wi'tok in sigaro inin A.H.
and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN
and then when A.H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth... (TOM-23)

niman ki-maka se mačete ik i-ten-i'yan in ok=seya
immediately it-give one machete DDIRL its-edge-LOC ART yet=one
Immediately he hit the other with the edge of the machete.

Emphasis

A constituent may be focused upon by co-occurrence of a coreferential pronoun.

wan o-te-awil-tì ye'wa-tì in E.M.
and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN
'And it was E.M. who teased him.' (TOM-2)

Pronoun Copies

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by means of pronoun affixes, except in the case of some inherently applicative verbs with which the -li APPLIES occurs optionally. These affixes must agree with the free constituent in person and number, except in special cases of collectivization.

Ø is posited for the third person singular subject prefix.

wan teč-sè-šel-wi-a ye'wa-tì He passes it to us. (TOM-38)
and us-RDP-divide-CAUS-PRES he-ABS

pwes casi sek-pa o-hkonon o-ki-tlakeh-ke in A.H.
INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN
Well, once they sort of hired A.H. (TOM-3)

te'wa-tì' san ti-neč-nawati-s ne'wa-tì You just let me know.
you-ABS just you-me-notify-FUT I-ABS
mo-mati-s ye'wa-tì in i-kWento You will know his story.
you-know-FUT he-ABS ART his-story
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions and Adverbs

The following are particles which occur clause-initially or second following wan and (though not wan wan).

- wan: and, but (INTR)
- tel: so (INTR)
- onkan: then (INTR)
- no=iñkon: thus also
- ik inon: therefore
- pero: but (Spanish loan)
- no=yohke/no=: also
- yohke: same
- ka’so: so then
- maske: even though (Sp. loan)

Polarity

- keme: yes
- ken a’mo: certainly
- ayamo: not yet
- a’yik: never
- a’wel: unable
- nian: not even
- kana: sort of, DUB
- tekin: very (INTNS)
- tlawel: too much
- a’wel ni-k-ciwa-s ašan: I can’t do it now.
- a’mo o-k-a’sl-k nian seya: He didn’t find even one.
- ni-ya-s ok=se-pa mostla: I will go again tomorrow.
- I-go-FUT yet=one-LOC tomorrow

wan kana ye-s then ki-ci-s ompa: Perhaps there will be something for and DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there him to do there. (TOM-44)
wan tekin ni-k-tlašo’tlा: And I am so very fond of it.
and INTNS I-it-love (TOM-60)

tlawel weyi in te-tl a’wel ti-k-olíni-s-ke
too: much big ART stone-ABS unable we-it-move-FUT-PL
The stone is too big: we can’t move it.
molwi teki-yo to-nemi-lis: Our life is very difficult.
INTNS work-ABSTR our-live-ABSTR

(For other adverbs see ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES.)
Modal

kWali able ma= OPTV
welis probable
welika must
sa= just that – no more
san just

kWali ni-k-kWa-s able I-it-eat-FUT
able I-it-eat-FUT
welis a’mo ni-k-kowa-s a’en NEG I-it-buy-FUT today
probable NEG I-it-buy-FUT today
inon welika ki-polo-s that must it-lose-FUT

maç sa=inon ki-maka-ti-ka QUOT just=that it-give-CONN-be
He was giving him just that.
san o-hkonon ti-tlayi-’ke ika in pulke just the way we drink
just DIST-thus we-drink-PL INSTR ART pulque pulque
wan neç-pak-ti-a ma=kana ni-k-itia se kone-tl
and me-please-CAUS-PRES OPTV=DUB I-it-see one child-ABS
And I would like to have a baby.

Other

=ik DIRL
Occurs before N in free form, postposed to LOC and DIRL-LOC.

yi= COMPL
Occurs most often before the verb, preposed to any prefix. If o-PERF occurs,
yi= shortens to y=.
yi= can possibly be equated with the infix -ya- in certain negative polarity items:
a-ya-mo not yet
NEG-COMPL-NEG

a-ya-k-mo no longer
NEG-COMPL-PAST-NEG

Subject Clitics

ne?= 1P
te?= 2P
ye?= 3P

These occur only in the singular and are preposed to the pronoun prefix of the
verb or possessed noun. They are used for focus or emphasis.

ne?=no-aška in tiči The dog is mine.
I=my-possession ART dog
ye'no-aška in čiči
it-my-possession ART dog

tel te'=ti-k-neki ti-ya-s
so you=you-it-want you-go-FUT

ne'=no-telpoka-w
l=my-boy-POSSD

ye'=no-telpoka-w
he=my-boy-POSSD

That dog is mine.

Do you want to go?

He is my boy.

He [that one] is my boy.

The third person ye'= also occurs as a demonstrative.

ye'=in ika
it=ART INSTR

yew=pa
it=LOC

That is why.

That's it/right.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Ø (with ADJ and N)

(=)ka be

ye-s will be

be-FUT

o-katka was (at that time)

PERF-was

čikawa-k in kal-i

strong-ADJR ART house-ABS

ni-kan=ka no-čan

PROX-LOC=is my-home

ni-k-a'si-s keski tonal-i ka

I will find out how many days there

I-it-find-FUT how:many day-ABS is are.

ompə ti-ye-s-ke

there we-be-FUT-PL

o-ni-katka čikWeyi no-čan

PERF-I-was eight my-home

The house is strong.

Here is my home.

I will find out how many days there

are.

We will be there.

I was home a week ago.
The subject pronoun prefixes occur prefixed to N in the predicate nominative construction.

- te'wa-tl ti-kone-tl You are a child.
  you-ABS you-child-ABS

- ne'wa-tl ni-veyi tlaka-tl I am a big man.
  I-ABS I-big man-ABS

**HAVE**

pïya have

This verb is inflected in the regular way. One special construction occurs, which may be a grammatical borrowing. It is the auxiliary usage have to.

- ni-k-pïy-a tlen ni-ya-s mostla I have to go tomorrow.
  I-it-have-PRES what I-go-FUT tomorrow

**DO**

The reflexive prefix mo- with verb stem čiwa do yields mo-čiwa become.

- akin mo-čiwa-s topli-i Who will become a policeman?
  who REFL-do-FUT policeman-ABS

C₁V₁ of čiwa do is reduplicated to indicate make.

- ni-k-či'čiwa-s se no-kal I will build my house.
  I-it-RDP-do-FUT one my-house

Object pronoun prefix occurs with panowa pass to indicate happen.

- ma=mo-ta tlen o-neš-pano-k Look what happened to me.
  OPTV=you-see what PERF-me-pass-PAST
NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Unspecified Arguments

The verb prefix tla- indicates an unspecified non-human object. te- indicates an unspecified human object; it also occurs as postpositional object and possessor.

te-tla-maka  
UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give  
He feeds (someone).

Passive

There is no formal marker for passive, but two ways of expressing passive voice have been observed. The subject of the active verb is de-specified by adding te-pampa UNSPEC-BEN to the construction, or by use of the third person plural with no subject specified.

o-ki-mik-ti'-ke  
te-pampa  
PERF-him-die-CAUS-PL  UNSPEC-BEN  
He was killed by someone.

neč-ceko'-ke  
te-pampa  
me-detain-PL  UNSPEC-BEN  
I was detained by someone.

ašan tla mač  o-neč-te-lwi'-ke  
now if QUOT PERF-me-UNSPEC-tell-PL  
accuse

Now if, as I heard, I have been accused...

Reflexive

The verb prefix mo- occurs to indicate that the action or goal of the verb is reflexive. When occurring with V-initial stems, o usually drops out. If it occurs, it retains its syllabification.

ni-mo-kawa-s  
I-REFL-leave-FUT  
I will remain.

ni-m-ewa-s  
I-REFL-raise-FUT  
I will get up.

The reflexive prefix mo- occurs with subject plural suffix to indicate reciprocity.

ti-mo-tlašo'tla'-ke  
we-REFL-love-PL  
We love each other.

mo-lwi-a'-ke  
REFL-tell-PRES-PL  
they say to one another
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

tla if (for polite request; softens imperative; equivalent to Will you please?)
tlen what (what then)

   tla ši-wala-kan no=yohke ti-mo-tema-s-ke
   if IMP-come-PL also=same we-REFL-bathe-FUT-PL
   If you will please come also, we will bathe.

   tlen ti-ya-s-ke mostla
   what we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow
   Shall we go tomorrow then?

Yes/no questions with a negative seem to occur much more frequently.

   tla'mo i-hkon ok=kaši k'ali As if it isn't better this way?
   if-not PROX-thus yet=more good

   tel a'mo mo-neki neč-palevi-s So then, don't you want to help me?
   so NEG you-want me-help-FUT

Alternative Questions

koš

   koš ti-ya-s-ke mostla koš wiptla noso i-k'itlapan
   Q we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow Q day:after:tomorrow or its-behind
   wiptla
day:after:tomorrow
   Shall we go tomorrow, or the day after, or the day after that?

Tag Questions

ašan ti-tla-k'wa-s-ke a'mo Now we will eat, won't we?
now we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-PL NEG

WH Questions

The WH word occurs clause-initial or following an introducer or conjunction.

kani where keman when
kati which tieka why
kenin how akin who
keski how many tlen what
keč how much
kani wi-lowa-s ašan Where are you, sir, going now?
where go-HON-FUT now
keč i-patiw inon komi-tl How much is that pot?
how:much its-price that pot-ABS
keski tlaka-tl o-ya-'ke How many men went?
how:many man-ABS PERF-go-PL
katli in no-ten-con Where is (what happened to) my beard?
which ART my-edge-hair (TOM-60)
beard

**IMPERATIVES**

**Direct Imperatives**

Marked by verb prefix Ši-. Plural marker is suffix -kan.

Ši-yaw Ši-k-ana no-tepos Go bring me my machete!
IMP-go IMP-it-bring my-metal
Ši-i'sa-kan sa=niman Get up PL immediately!
IMP-rise-PL just=next

**Modal Imperatives**

The dititic ma= has optative value.

ma=ye k̥awal-cin tonal-i mostla May tomorrow be a nice day.
OPTV=be good-DIM day-ABS tomorrow

Exhortatives involve a periphrastic locution with future tense.

ti-ya-s-ke ti-k-ita-s-ke mo-mili Let's go see your field.
we-go-FUT-PL we-it-see-FUT-PL your-field

The imperative Ši- has modal uses:

sikiera a'mo ompa Ši-k-iš-namiki itlaitlen se desgrasia at NEG there IMP-it-face-meet whatever one misfortune least
that at least you will not run into any misfortune over there
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N
- ton  DIM
- cin  HON
- pan/-kan/-tlan/-tla’/-ko  LOC
- yo  ABSTR
  tlaka-ton-tli  little man
  man-DIM-ABS
  šiw-tla’-tli  place full of weeds
  weed-LOC-ABS
  nay-o’-pan  crossroad
  four-road-LOC
  nelwa-yo-tl  root system
  root-ABSTR-ABS
  i-mon-ta-cin  his father-in-law
  his-in:law-father-HON

V + X = N
- yan  LOC
- lis  ABSTR
- ki/-ani  AG
- loni  INSTR
- ka  RSLTV
  i-tlama-yan  his clearing
  his-clear-LOC
  i-koko-lis  his illness
  his-hurt-ABSTR
  te-mik-tl-ani  assassin
  UNSPEC-die-CAUS-AG
  tla-čteh-ki  thief
  UNSPEC:OBJ-rob-AG
  tla-teki-loni  knife
  UNSPEC:OBJ-cut-INSTR
  i-kis-ka  his reputation
  his-go:out-RSLTV
VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V
-wi
    k-ista-wi-a He salts it.  
it-salt-VR-PRES

ADV + X = V
-wi
    ki-chko-wi-a He sets it aside (for another).  
it-ATTEN-VR-PRES
    mo-tla-chko-wi-a He keeps some back for himself.  
REFL-UNSPEC:OBJ-ATTEN-VR-PRES
    ki-on-ka-wi-a Two together do it.  
it-two-CONN(ADVR)-VR-PRES
    ki-sek-pa-wi-a He does it (hoes corn) the first time.  
it-one-LOC-VR-PRES

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds
N + N = N
    popoč-kaši-tl incense burner  
smoke-bowl-ABS
    kow-čakal-i tree fork  
tree-crab-ABS
    pico-naka-tl pork  
pig-meat-ABS
    i-con-tekó his head  
his-hair-owner
    xoši'-k'wai-i banana  
flower-meal-ABS

Verb Compounds
N + V = V
    mec-tona moon is shining  
moon-shine
kow-maka
*beat with stick*
tree-give
kone-weci
*miscarry*
child-fall

*miki* *die* may be joined to a noun base to express urgency.
apis-miki
*be very hungry*
hunger-die

\[ V + V = V \]

*neki* *want* can be joined to the future form of another verb, expressing desire.
tlamì-s-neki
*want to finish*
finish-FUT-want

Connectives -ka- and -ti- combine verbs in special constructions. -ka- followed by *neki* *want* denotes pretense. -ti- connects a closed set of verb stems denoting time/manner to the main verb.
y=ɔ-a’i-ka-čikaw
*It is already ripe.*
*COMPL=PERF-arrive-CONN-mature*
mo-čikaw-ka-neki
*He pretends to be strong.*
*REFL-strengthen-CONN-want*
čoka-ti-nemi
go about crying
cry-CONN-live
čoka-t-ewa
*cries upon leaving/in passing*
cry-CONN-arise
kow-ti-weci
*buy quickly*
buy-CONN-fall

onkan ma=čoka-ti-ye
*Over there let her cry continually.*
*there* OPTV=cry-CONN-be
nikan ʃi-čoka-ti-ye
*Keep on crying here.*
*here* IMP-cry-CONN-be

yi=a’i-ti-wic
*He has suddenly arrived.*
*COMPL=arrive-CONN-come:unexpectedly*
koč-ti-ka
*He is sleeping.*
sleep-CONN-be
o-ki-čiw-ti-katka
*He was doing it (at that time).*
*PERF-It-do-CONN-was*
BASIC INFECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive
-tli Occurs following consonants except l.
-i Occurs following l; also follows ñ and ñ in a few words.
-tl Occurs following vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ayo-tli</th>
<th>squash</th>
<th>kal-i</th>
<th>house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>squash-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>house-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kone-tl</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>kimič-i</td>
<td>mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>mouse-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kWī-š-i</td>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>teš-tli</td>
<td>corn dough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>ground:corn-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'peč-tli</td>
<td>nest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nest-ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns derived from verb stems: absolutive -tli follows nominalizer -lis.

tla-matli-dis-tli         wisdom
UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

The few nouns which do not occur with the absolutive seem to show irregularities in other constructions also. Some are derived from Spanish words, and some are not usually possessed or pluralized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kalnelo</th>
<th>sheep (Sp. carnero)</th>
<th>kotón</th>
<th>serape (Sp. cotón)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tančaw</td>
<td>fox</td>
<td>kapoš</td>
<td>grub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

Nouns with absolutive -tli or -i are marked for plural by replacing the absolutive with -ten. Absolutive -tl is replaced by -men. A few of the nouns with absolutive -tl (most of those with stem final -i) delete the stem final vowel and take the plural -ten, as is the case with the consonant final stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kal-i</th>
<th>house</th>
<th>kal-ten</th>
<th>houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wik-tli</td>
<td>hoe</td>
<td>wik-ten</td>
<td>hoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kone-tl</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>kone-men</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kowi-tl</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>kow-ten</td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komi-tl</td>
<td>cook pot</td>
<td>kon-ten</td>
<td>cook pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soči-tl</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>soči-men</td>
<td>flowers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some nouns may be marked for plural by reduplication of the first syllable.

kone-čl child ko-kone children

Some nouns occur in plural constructions, though not marked for plural.

keski tlaka-čl ki-neki-s inon teki-čl How many men will be needed
how man-ABS it-want-FUT that work-ABS for that work?
many

Possession

Noun possession is marked by affixing a possessive prefix for person and number,
and by replacing the absolutive suffix with the correlative possessed singular or plural
suffix. (See POSSESSIVES, Morphology.)

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor affixes:

- no- my to- our
- mo- your namo- your PL
- i- his/hers/its in- their
- te- your (HON) or his (HON or UNSPEC POSSR) HON or UNSPEC

Possessed suffixes:

SG -Ø /w PL -wan
- no-kal my house to-kal our house
- namo-kal-wan your PL houses in-čan their home
- te-siwa-w someone’s wife te-siwa-w-cin your HON wife HON
- te-nana

Syntax

Possessive pronoun

-waška/-yaška possession

Occurs with all the possessive prefixes. SG POSSD suffix is Ø, and PL is -wan.

no-waška in weyi kal-i The big house is mine.
my-possession ART big house-ABS
ino'-ke kow-ten to-waška-wan Those trees are ours.
that-PL tree-PL our-possession-POSSD.PL
a’mo ši-k-wika in tlen te-yaška Don’t take that which is another’s.
NEG IMP-it-carry SUBR what UNSPEC-possession
Pronoun copy

Possessor occurs as free noun or noun phrase.

\[
\begin{align*}
&i\text{-siwaw } & \text{in } & \text{pan}c\text{o} & \text{Pancho's wife} \\
&h\text{is-woman-POSSD ART PN} & \\
&i\text{-telpo}c & \text{inon ok=se} & \text{tlaka-tl} & \text{that other man's boy} \\
&\text{his-boy that yet=one } & \text{man-ABS}
\end{align*}
\]

Recursion

\[
\begin{align*}
&i\text{-wik } & \text{i-telpo}c & \text{in } & \text{pan}c\text{o} & \text{Pancho’s boy’s hoe} \\
&h\text{is-hoe his-boy ART PN}
\end{align*}
\]

POSTPOSITIONS

\textbf{Forms}

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{-i'tek} & \text{inside of} & \text{-te'c} & \text{on, contiguous to} \\
\text{-nawak} & \text{near to} & \text{-kwitlapa} & \text{behind} \\
\text{-pa} & \text{LOC} & \text{-pan} & \text{LOC} \\
\text{-kwak} & \text{above} & \text{-tla} & \text{at} \\
\text{-ko} & \text{to, toward} & \text{-calan} & \text{between} \\
\text{-kan} & \text{LOC} & \text{=ik} & \text{DIRL} \\
\text{ika} & \text{INSTR} & \text{-pampa} & \text{BEN} \\
\text{-sel} & \text{alone} & \text{-wan} & \text{with}
\end{array}
\]

\textbf{Syntax}

These are affixed to a few nouns, to possessor prefixes, and to quantifiers.

With nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mil-ten-ko} & \text{border of field} & \text{kal-i'tek} & \text{in the house} \\
&\text{field-edge-to} & \\
&\text{tla-kal-te'c} & \text{against the house} & \text{UNSPEC.OBJ-house-on} \\
&\text{kl-piy-a} & \text{i-chan} & \text{no-kal-nawak} & \text{He has his home near my house.} \\
&\text{it-have-PRES} & \text{his-home my-house-near} \\
&\text{i-nakas-tla} & \text{in the corner} \\
&\text{its-ear-at}
\end{align*}
\]
With possessor prefixes:

i-ten-tla in a-tl at the edge of the water
its-edge-at ART water-ABS
o-mo-kec no-ktllapa He stood behind me.
PERF-REFL-stand my-behind
año-pa first time se-pan one time
first-LOC one-LOC
down in the weeds
its-between ART weed-ABS
i-ta-y-s no-wan You will go with me.
you-go-FUT my-with
i-pampa o-mik i-kone-w He died for his child.
its-BEN PERF-die his-child-POSSD
o-ni-mo-kaw no-sel I remained alone.
PERF-I-REFL-leave my-alone

=ik DIRL is suffixed to locatives but also occurs as a free particle.

ni-ya-s ne-p=ik I will go over there.
you-go-FUT DISTR-LOC=DIRL
o-ya iki aten-kö He went to the river.
PERF-go DIRL river-toward

ika INSTR occurs only as a free particle.

ši-k-tolo-s ika a-tl Swallow it with water.
IMP-it-swallow-FUT INSTR water-ABS

DEMONSTRATIVES

The two demonstratives may be inflected for plural by the verb plural suffix, and they can stand alone as nominals.

PROX inin this ini'-ke these
DIST inon that ino'-ke those
WH katli which katle'-ke which PL

They agree in number with the nouns they modify, and precede them.

ki-neki inin libro He wants this book.

it-want this book
That dog bit me.

I will go with those men.

Which ones of them did it?

That's what I said.

Both of us

That big house

That house is big.

I have not done that.

Let's go immediately.

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Location

Two adverbial demonstratives denote both time and space, and one modifies abstractions. They are referred to as LOC of time, space, and manner.

next to, immediately, particularly

far long time

Let's go immediately.
\textbf{EARL BROCKWAY}

\text{sa=niman ki-piya in peine tlen=ik ki-Xelwas-wi-a just=reserved it-have ART comb what=DIRL it-brush-VR-PRES}
\text{in i-ten-con ART his-heard}
\text{He has a comb which he reserves for combing his beard. \textit{(TOM-31)}}
\text{we'ka om-pa=ka It is far away.}
\text{far DDIRL-LOC=be}
\text{inon k^wali we'kaw ki-kama-wi'to-s That one is able to keep it in that able long:time it-mouth-VR-DIRL-FUT his mouth a long time.}

The bound postpositions -pa and -kan occur with directionals to form locatives. These locatives may be further inflected by=ka is, or =ik DDIRL.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
PROX & ni-kan \textit{here} & ni-kan=ka \textit{here it is} \\
 & ni-k=ik \textit{in this direction} & \\
 & nis \textit{here} & nis=ik \textit{toward here} \\
DIST & ne-pa \textit{there} & ne-pa=ka \textit{there it is} \\
 & neč=ka \textit{there it is} & \\
 & on-kan \textit{there are} & on-kan=ka \textit{there they are} \\
 & om-pa \textit{over there} & om-pa=ka \textit{it is there} \\
 & om-p=ik \textit{in that direction} & \\
newiyan & \textit{all around} & \\
seknin & \textit{apart} & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\text{Distributive ne- plus LOC -pan plus DDIRL -ko yields i-ne-pan-ko in the middle of.}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
WH & kani \textit{where} & san kani \textit{wherever} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textbf{Time}

The LOC of time are formed by suffixing locatives to a few quantifiers. They include those of the negative and show less structural similarity than those of place.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
keman & \textit{when} \\
ágan & \textit{now, today} \\
welok & \textit{recently} \\
mostla & \textit{tomorrow} \\
inepantla & \textit{mid-day} \\
wiptla & \textit{day after tomorrow} \\
kemanian & \textit{sometimes} \\
sank^\text{w}el & \textit{early} \\
\textit{tl\'a}'ka & \textit{mid-morning} \\
mostli & \textit{daily} \\
semilwitl & \textit{all day} \\
ok= & \textit{yet} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
se-pan one time sek-pa once
ok=se-pan again satepa later, afterwards
yalwa yesterday yi=wiptla day before yesterday
ayamo not yet ayakmo no longer
aˈyik never

Combinations with san just allow finer delineation.
san ćiˈton a moment san welok just recently
san keman just now

Also one occurrence noted:
welok aˈći just now (most recent)

Manner

Locatives of manner exhibit fewer structural similarities than the others. They combine quite freely with expressions of degree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH</th>
<th>kenin</th>
<th>how</th>
<th>(keˈkeni</th>
<th>How do they sell?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>ihkin</td>
<td>this way</td>
<td>ihkinin</td>
<td>continuing so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>ohkon</td>
<td>that way</td>
<td>ohkonon</td>
<td>thus it was</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yoł=ik slowly (as the growing process)
iˈsiw quickly

nonkwa same ok=nonkwa other
nen=ka as usual nen=ok yet as usual
sa=ihkon just so (no other way) ıčtaka secretly

Degree

san just sa= only
molwi very teki intensely
tlawel too much yewpa that’s it (finality)
temowte too big, too much
QUANTIFIERS

| se  | a, one | sekin | some |
| kači | more | miak | much, many |
| tla'ko | half | noćin | all |
| či’ton | a little | tepicin | small amount |

Most of the QNT combine with the augmentative ok= yet and the restrictive san just. Some may be inflected for plural and for person and number. The plural marker -ten is same as that for -tl class nouns, and subject pronominal prefixes mark person and number.

```
ti-noč-ten          all of us
we-all-PL
in miak-ten a’mo o-ya’ke  Many did not go.
ART much-PL NEG PERF-go-PL
```

Some combine with LOC -pa to denote number of times.

```
o-ni-k-ilwi  miak-pa       I told him often.
PERF-I-him-tell much-LOC
o-ni-k-ita-k ok=se-pa      I saw it again.
PERF-I-it-see-PAST yet=one-I.LOC
```

The unmarked position of QNT is before N. It precedes other modifiers. It can occur without a head N.

```
ni-k-wika-s či’ton ista-tl         I will take a little salt.
I-it-carry-FUT little salt-ABS
o-ki-kow noćin in kafen            He bought all of the coffee.
PERF-it-buy all ART coffee
ni-k-neki san tla’ko         I want just half of it.
I-it-want just half
```

WH

keski how many, some (number)
keč how much (the price)

```
keski yolka-tl o-ti-k-ita-k     How many animals did you see?
how:many animal-ABS PERF-you-it-see-PAST
san keski o-wala’ke             Just a few came.
just some PERF-come-PL
```
 nel, i-pati-w  
how:much its-cost-POSSD

Other combinations:

i-pan in tla'ko yowal-i  
at midnight
its-LOC ART half night-ABS

te-miax-ka-kow  
the wood of many (communal)
UNSPEC-much-CONN-tree

kači wan ok=kači neč-tla'il-ti-a  
It disgusts me more and more.
more and yet=more me-disgust-CAUS-PRES

NUMERALS

The system of numerals is formed by compounding and is adequate for any number up to one hundred. Larger numbers are handled by means of Spanish loans: siento hundred and mil thousand.

seya  
one
ome  
two
yiyi  
three
nawe  
four
makwilii  
five
čikwilii  
six
čikome  
seven
čikweyi  
eight
čiknawe  
nine
ma'tlaktli  
ten
ma'tlaktli wan seya  
eleven
ma'tlaktli wan ome  
twelve
ma'tlaktli wan yiyi  
thirteen
ma'tlaktli wan nawe  
teen
kaštolii  
fifteen
kaštolii wan seya  
sixteen
kaštolii wan ome  
seventeen
kaštolii wan yiyi  
eighteen
kaštolii wan nawe  
nineteen
sempowali  
twenty

The basic unit for larger numbers is twenty. It is composed of se one plus powal count plus i ABS.

sempowali wan seya  
twenty-one
sempowali wan makwilii  
twenty-five
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli  
 thirty
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli wan yiyi  
 thirty-three
sempowali wan kaštolii wan ome  
 thirty-seven
ompowali  
forty
yepowali  
sixty
nawpowali  
eighty

Numerals normally precede nouns. Numbers one through four may be suffixed for time or place.

ni-k-piya se weyi kal-i  
I have a big house.
1-it-have one big house-ABS
ni-kim-piya nawe no-pil-wan
I-them-have four my-child-POSSD:PL

I have four children.

ow-pan o-wala
two-LOC PERF-come

He came twice.

yeš-kan ka tia-tok-tli
three-LOC he UNSPEC:OBJ-plant-ABS ART
potatoes in three places.

Numerals may be inflected for plural and may stand as substantives. These occur with or without -ton DIM.

o’mo-kaw sa=se-ton
PERF-REFL-leave only=one-DIM

There was only one left.

nawen-ten
four-PL

count of them

ti-nawen-ten te’wan-ten
we-PL we-four-PL

There were the four of us.

A distributive use of numerals is marked by RDP.

se’-seya
RDP-one
each one

o’-ome
RDP-two
two by two

ma-mak^w^li
RDP-five
five each (piles of, or $.05 each)
ADJECTIVES

weyi \( \text{big} \)
kinchin \( \text{small} \)
k\(W\)ali \( \text{good} \)

Adjectives precede or follow the nouns they modify. They are preceded by NEG to express negation. If either of the first two occur with the third, one of them serves as predicate. Agreement in number with the noun is marked by reduplication or by a plural suffix.

\[ \text{neč-pak-ti-a inon weyi kal-i I like that big house.} \]
\[ \text{me-please-CAUS-PRES that big house-ABS} \]
\[ \text{k\(W\)ali in weyi kowi-tl The big tree is good.} \]
\[ \text{good ART big tree-ABS} \]
\[ \text{kicini-\text{to} in k\(W\)ali tlaka-tl The good man is small.} \]
\[ \text{small-DIM ART good man-ABS} \]
\[ \text{in ki-kicini mi-mis-ten y\(=\)o-mih-ke The little cats died.} \]
\[ \text{ART RDP-small RDP-cat-PL COMPL=PERF-die-PL} \]

Most verbs may be inflected to function as adjectives. These are probably stative verbs. Some take the absolutive suffix, making them gerunds. The verbal adjective marker is -\(k/\text{ki}\).

\[ \text{kose-wi turn yellow, ripen} \]
\[ \text{kos-\text{ti-k} yellow} \]
\[ \text{tolon-\text{ti-k} round} \]
\[ \text{in tlac-\text{ac-tli kafen the roasted coffee} ART UNSPEC:OBJ-dry-ABS coffee} \]
\[ \text{ni-k-noca-s in cin-ka pec kone-tl I will call the bare-bottomed child.} \]
\[ \text{l-him-call-FUT ART bottom-CONN-bare child-ABS} \]
\[ \text{o-wec i-pan yeman-ki tlal-i It fell on soft ground.} \]
\[ \text{PERF-fall its-LOC soft-ADJR earth-ABS} \]
\[ \text{o-ki-paka-k ika toton-ki a-tl He washed it with hot water.} \]
\[ \text{PERF-it-wash-PAST INSTR heat-ADJR water-ABS} \]

The stative verbs denote action completed. They are marked by the suffix -\(tok\).

\[ \text{in wec-tok kowi-tl the fallen tree} \]
\[ \text{ART fall-STAT tree-ABS} \]
Modifiers of ADJ delineate size and quality of the head noun. (See ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES, Degree.)

temowte we'-weyi kal-ten ka-te  There are such great houses.
estoundingly RDP-big house-PL is-PL

o-ni-k-a'si-k se mango molwi wiliki-k
PERF-I-it-encounter-PAST one mango very cook-ADJR
I found a very ripe mango.

inon tiaka-tl a'mo tekin čikawa-k  That man is not very strong.
that man-ABS NEG very strong-ADJR

COMPARATIVES

kači  more
kenin  how, as, than
yohke  same

The first of these combines with ok=yet. All may occur with NEG.

ne'wa-tl kači ničikawa-k ken ye'wa-tl
I-ABS more I-strengthen-ADJR than he-ABS
I am stronger than he is.

ye'wa-tl i-hkon kow-tlk ken ne'wa-tl
he-ABS PROX-thus tree-ADJR than I-ABS
He is as tall as I am.

ašan o-ni-k-tek kači a'mo miak  I didn't pick as much today.
today PERF-I-it-cut more NEG much

o-ki'-čiw wan ayakmo yohke  He fixed it, but it's not the same
PERF-it-RDP-do but no:longer same

alen ye'wa ok=kači kičiwa-s  What else will he do?
what he yet-more it-do-FUT

any more.
INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

akin  who, one who, someone

*These combine with some particles to form the range of this construction.*

se akin  anyone

in akin  someone

nian akin  whoever

san tlen  anything

nian tlen  nothing

in tlen  that which

itla'tlen  whatever (i-tla'-tlen (its-UNSPEC:OBJ-what))

ni-k-temo-s  se akin no-namik  I will look for someone to be my

I-him-hunt-FUT one who my-husband husband.

in akin ki-neki-s  kwal ki-kowa-s  Whoever wants it can buy it.

ART who it-want-FUT able it-buy-FUT

in tlen mo-tla-ne'newi-lis  ti-k-piya

ART what your-UNSPEC:OBJ-think-ABSTR you-it-have

the understanding which you have

san tlen yolk-la-tl  kwal  Any kind of animal can do it.

just what animal-ABS able

kana tla'tlen  o-hkon k-ilwi-a'-ke  Perhaps thus they tell him

DUB whatever DIST-thus it-tell-PRES-PL something.

se itla'tlen  o-k-ičtaka-ana-to  te-mila

one whatever PERF-it-secretly-take-DIRL UNSPEC:field

something (you) took (stole) from someone's field

in ne'=a'mo tla'wis in tlen=ik  ni-ya-s

ART t=NEG vain ART what=DIRL 1-go-FUT

I am not going just for nothing.

Negative

Negative forms are derived by combining the pronouns with a NEG. The NEG

precedes the pronoun.

a'mo akin wala'-tok  No one has come.

NEG who come-STAT
nian akin ki-mati kani ya-s  No one knows where he will go.
not:even who it-know where go-FUT

a'wel tlen ki-čiwa-s  He can't do anything.
unable what it-do-FUT

WH
katli  which

This form is always an interrogative, whereas akin who  is also declarative.
katli which  refers only to non-person, as does tlen what. These two may be inflected
for plural with verb plural suffix -ke.

katli ye'wa-tl ni-k-wika-s  Which one shall I take?
which it-ABS 1-it-carry-FUT

katle-ke no-yolka-wan  Which are my animals?
which-PL my-animal-POSSD:PL

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Occurrence of ABS suffix with singular forms is optional.

Subject/Object:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1P SG</th>
<th>2P SG</th>
<th>3P SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>ne'wa-tl</td>
<td>te'wa-tl</td>
<td>ye'wa-tl</td>
<td>te'wa-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>te'wa-tl</td>
<td>name'wa-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ye'wa-tl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ye'wa-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2P HON-VOC  SG  | te'wa-cin PL  name'wa-n-ci-cin
you-HON  you-PL-RDP-HON

3P HON-REF  SG  | ye'wa-cin PL  ye'wa-n-ci-cin
he-HON  he-PL-RDP-HON

Dependent

Subject prefix:

SG         PL
1P  ni-/na- ti-/ta-
2P  ti- nan-
mo- HON

Object prefix:

SG         PL
1P  neč- teč-
2P  meč-

3P  k-/ki- kin-
1P SG na- and PL ta- occur with 2P PL OBJ meč-. HON mo- also occurs contiguous to verb stems following object prefix, thus exhibiting similarity to mo-REFL.

mo-neki te-tla-kWal 
you-want UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ:meal

ti-k-mo-neki-l-ti-a te-tla-kWal 
you-it-HON-want-APPLIC-CAUS-PRES UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ:meal
Do you want your meal?

For possessor prefixes (also used with postpositions) see POSSESSIVES.

STEMS

Suppletion

A few irregular verbs evidence suppletion.

wala come (the regular form)

wic come (suddenly, unexpectedly)

This suppletive form occurs in the set of stems that are affixed to the main verb and denote time/manner of main verb. (See COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds.)

o-wala-ke ašan They came today.
PERF-come-PL today

o-wica 
PERF-come 
He came by.

ya/yo go

The regular form is ya, and yo occurs only with first person plural exhortative or declarative. But ya in present tense is suffixed by -w SG and -we PL.

ni-ya-w I am going.

ya-we niman They are going immediately.

ya-s mostla He will go tomorrow.

ti-yo-we Let's go!

This exhortative form may be further suffixed by verb PL -ke making it a declarative construction.

ti-yo-we-ke We are going.
Suppletion is evidenced in the irrealis mode, with ye occurring. It also occurs in the suffixal set referred to above (see COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds).

ayakmo  ka kowtl’a’-ti
no:longer be woods-ABS
o-kat-ka  molwi soki-tik
PERF-RDP-be very mud-ADJR
ye-s  ilwi-tl mostla
be-FUT fiesta-ABS tomorrow

There are no longer any forests.
It was very muddy.
There will be a fiesta tomorrow.

All these stems evidence further suppletion in the honorific constructions.

ma=wal-wi-lo-wa
OPTV=come-(? )-HON-HON
where go:HON-HON-FUT
ompə  i-lo-wa-k
there be-HON-HON-PAST
ompə ti-mec-tok
there you-be-STAT

Please come here, sir.
Where are you going, sir?
There he HON is.
Are you there, sir?

Reduplication

Some stems evidence reduplication to mark plurality of subject or object, or repetitive action. The following patterns have been observed:

\[ C_1 \quad V_1 \quad X \rightarrow C_1 \quad V_1 \quad 'C_1 \quad V_1 \quad X \]  
Plural actor or diversity of action.

(Also: \[ V_1 \quad X \rightarrow V_1 \quad 'V_1 \quad X \] )

\[ C_1 \quad V_1 \quad X \rightarrow C_1 \quad V_1 \quad C_1 \quad V_1 \quad X \]  
Repetitive action.

-čiwa  do
-či’-čiwa  make, repair
kalaki  enter  ka’-kalak-ti-a  offer for sale, peddle
RDP-enter-CAUS-PRES
nemi  live
ne’-nemi  walk
ki-no-noc-a
it-RDP-call-PRES  He relates it.
ki-no’-noc-a  He chats with him.
him-RDP-call-PRES
With first stem of compound verbs:

\[\text{ṣole-wi} \quad \text{to scrape} \quad + \quad \text{kopini} \quad \text{fall out} \rightarrow \]

\text{scape-TRNSR}

\[\text{ṣo-ṣol-kopini} \quad \text{in ye-tl} \quad \text{The beans are leaking out (of the sack).} \]

\text{RDP-scape-fall ART bean-ABS}

Negation by reduplication has been observed with a few verbs.

\[\text{-neki} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{o-pew} \quad \text{ne'-neki} \quad \text{He began to not want...} \]

\text{PERF-begin RDP-want}

\[\text{-šikowa} \quad \text{endure} \quad \text{o-mo-ši'-šiko} \quad \text{He reneged.} \]

\text{PERF-REFL-RDP-endure}

\[\text{-polowa} \quad \text{lose} \quad \text{tla-po'-pol-wi-a} \quad \text{forgive (i.e., not cause loss)} \]

\text{UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-lose-TRNSR-PRES}

Reduplication is used also to mark figurative speech.

\text{tlan-kopini}

\text{tooth-fall:out}

\text{The tooth falls out.}

\text{tlan-ko'-kopini}

\text{tooth-RDP-fall:out}

\text{bares teeth (in anger)}

**Stem Classes**

Stems divide most readily into two classes: those which drop stem final -V to mark past tense, and those which add -k or -Ø.

\[\text{čoka} \quad \text{cry} \quad \text{o-čoka-k} \quad \text{He cried.} \]

\text{PERF-cry-PAST}

\[\text{koči} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{o-koč} \quad \text{He slept.} \]

\text{PERF-sleep}

\[\text{ki-k\textsuperscript{W}a} \quad \text{He eats} \quad \text{o-ki-k\textsuperscript{W}a-k} \quad \text{He ate it.} \]

\text{PERF-it-eat-PAST}

\[\text{it-eat} \quad \text{it.} \quad \text{PERF-it-tie-PAST} \]

\[\text{k-ilpi-a} \quad \text{He ties it.} \quad \text{o-k-ilpi} \quad \text{He tied it.} \]

\text{PERF-it-tie-PRES}
INFORMATION

Directional/Locative

wal- toward
iš- forward, facing
cin- toward the rear, bottom
pan- upward, top of
on- away from, over there

o-neč-wal-ew in čiči
PERF-me-DIRL-arise ART dog

ni-k-iš-a'wa-s
I-him-DIRL-scold-FUT

o-cin-kis
PERF-DIRL-go:out

o-ki-pan-tle'ka-wi
PERF-it-DIRL-raise-TRNSR

a'mo tlen ši-k-on-ana
NEG what IMP-it-DIRL-bring

The dog came at me.
I will scold him to his face.
He backed out.
He raised it up onto...
Don't bring anything from there.

Adverbial

yek- complete, excellent
čiko- ATTEN
wel- forcefully, exceedingly

o-ki-yek-ilwi
PERF-it-ADV-tell

san keski čiko-kisa-s-ke ika in teki-tl
just how:many ATTEN-go:out-FUT-PL INSTR ART work-ABS
Just a few will come out to work.

o-mo-wel-mat
PERF-REFL-ADV-know

He explained it carefully.
He has recovered.
SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal Prefixes
(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS, Dependent, for basic subject and object prefixes.)

Second or indirect object is marked by -li APPLIC, although some verbs are inherently applicative and occurrence of -li is optional.

ni-kčiwi-li-s mostla I will do it for him tomorrow.
I-it-do-APPLIC-FUT tomorrow

ši-neč-ilwi tlen ti-k-neki Tell me what you want.
IMP-me-tell what you-it-want

(For reflexive/reciprocal and passive/impersonal marking, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

Honorable

mo- HON occurs in the object marker slot, but in some cases it may occur with the indirect object marker, always preceding the stem contiguously.

o-ni-mic-mo-maki-li in ayo'-tlí
PERF-I-you-HON-give-APPLIC ART squash-ABS
I gave to you, sir, the squash.

kani ti-mo-mawes-ti-li-s
where you-HON-respect-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT
Where will you, sir, worship?

ši-neč-mo-maki-li-kan in čikawa-lis-tlí
IMP-me-HON-give-APPLIC-PL ART strengthen-ABSTR-ABS
Please, sir, give me the strength.

-lo HON occurs as a suffix which may be followed by optional occurrence of -wa HON, tense/aspect marker, directional, STAT, or a plural marker. Whereas mo-HON makes a polite form of the imperative, -lo occurs only with ma= OPTV.

ma=ki-tla’tlani-lo That you, sir, ask him.
OPTV=him-ask-HON

tlen ki-maka-lo-s What will you, sir, give him?
what it-give-HON-FUT

mo-siwa-w-tl-lo-tok You, sir, are married.
REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-HON-STAT
Other

tla- UNSPEC OBJ (non-human); te- UNSPEC OBJ (human)

These usually occur with the predicate in place of object marker, but also with object markers in a few cases. They occur preceding nominalized verb stems.

ki-tla-maka  
*him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give  
He feeds him/it.

te-tla-maka  
UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give  
He feeds him (person).

ni-mic-tla-paki-s  
*I-you-UNSPEC:OBJ-wash-FUT  
I will wash your clothes.

ki-mati  
it-know  
He knows it.

it-lis-tli  
wisdom  
UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

-lis  
ABSTR NR

Occurs suffixed to verb stem and may be followed by -tli ABS or -ten PL.

in-tla-mo-siwa-w-ti-lis-ten  
*their weddings  
their-UNSPEC:OBJ-REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-ABSTR-PL

yi=  
COMPL

Occurs preceding all verb prefixes. When followed by o-PERF, the i is lost.

yi=ki-neki  
COMPL=it-want  
Already he wants it.

y=o-ki-mat  
COMPL=PERF-it-know  
He already knew it.

ni-ya’ti-ka  
ni-koči ok=se welta yi  
I was already going to sleep
*I-go-CONN-be I-sleep yet=one time COMPL  again.
NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-\(\cdot\)i CAUS
-\(\cdot\)l APPLIC
-\(\cdot\)l\(\cdot\) CAUS:APPLIC
-tok STAT
-ka/-wi/-ni INTRNS
-wa/-ca TRNS

\(\text{o-ki-mik-ti} \quad \text{in \(\tilde{\text{c}}\tilde{\text{i}}\tilde{\text{t}}\)}\) \quad \text{He killed the dog.}
\(\text{PERF-it-die-CAUS ART dog}\)

\(\text{ni-k-wal-iki-li-s}\) \quad \text{I will bring it for him.}
\(\text{l-it-come-with-APPLIC-FUT}\)

\(\text{ne\(\tilde{\text{c}}\)-teki-lti-a}\) \quad \text{He caused me to cut it for him.}
\(\text{me-cut-CAUS:APPLIC-PRES}\)

A second -\(\cdot\)l APPLIC occurs in HON constructions with mo- HON.

\(\text{\(\tilde{s}\)-ne\(\tilde{c}\)-mo-temo-li-li-kan}\) \quad \text{se no-\(\tilde{s}\)-namik}\)
\(\text{IMP-me-HON-hunt-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL one my-front-likeness}\)
\(\text{Please find me one who looks like me.}\)

\(\text{\text{a'-si'-tok} \quad \text{complete}}\)
\(\text{arrive-STAT}\)

\(\text{omp\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) wec-tok} \quad \text{It is fallen over there.}\)
\(\text{there fall-STAT}\)

A few verbs demonstrate the full range of INTRNS/TRNS possibilities.

\(\text{poli-\(\cdot\)wi} \quad \text{perish} \quad \text{ki-polo-wa} \quad \text{He loses it.}\)
\(\text{lose-INTRNS} \quad \text{it-lose-TRNS}\)

\(\text{ni-mo-polo} \quad \text{I am lost.} \quad \text{a'mo tlen poliw-tok} \quad \text{No harm done.}\)
\(\text{I-REFL-lose} \quad \text{NEG what lose-STAT}\)

The suffixes -\(\cdot\)ni INTRNS, -\(\cdot\)ka INTRNS, and -\(\cdot\)ca TRNS occur with the set of onomatopoetic verbs:

\(\text{kala-ni} \quad \text{It bangs.}\)
\(\text{bang-INTRNS} \quad \text{RDP-bang-INTRNS}\)

\(\text{ki-ka-kala-ca} \quad \text{He rattles (raps on) it.}\)
\(\text{it-RDP-bang-TRNS}\)
Adverbia!

(See INCORPORATION, Directional/Locative, Adverbia!al: COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds.)

-neki  DESID
-miki  INTNS
k\textsuperscript{W}ali  be able
-čiwa  do, try

\begin{align*}
\text{ki-mati-s-neki} & \quad \text{He wants to know it.} \\
\text{it-know-FUT-want} & \\
\text{mo-kokoś-ka-neki} & \quad \text{He pretends to be sick.} \\
\text{REFL-sick:one-CONN-want} & \\
\text{k\textsuperscript{W}ali tekiti čikawa-k} & \quad \text{He can work hard.} \\
\text{able work strong-ADJR} & \\
\text{k-iš-poliw-ka-čiwa tlen ki-wiki-li-a} & \\
\text{it-front-lose-CONN-do what it-carry-APPLIC-PRES} & \\
\text{He tries to renege on his debt.} & \\
\end{align*}

Modal

(See QUESTIONS; IMPERATIVES.)

-s  FUT (occurs marking POT)
-ni  CNTRFCT
-skia  COND
-yaya  IMPRF (occurs marking IMPOT)

\begin{align*}
\text{mo-neki mo-mati-s} & \quad \text{You, sir, want to know.} \\
\text{you-want you-know-FUT} & \\
\text{ni-kowa-ni wan tekin pati-yo} & \quad \text{I would have bought it, but it is too} \\
\text{I-buy-CNTRFCT but very cost-ABSTR expensive.} & \\
\text{wala-skia-ni yalwa} & \quad \text{He should have come yesterday.} \\
\text{come-COND-CNTRFCT yesterday} & \\
\text{o-ki-neki-yaya kin-je'̃-šelwi'-ta-ni} & \\
\text{PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT} & \\
\text{He wanted to serve it to them. (TOM-15)} & \\
\end{align*}

Tense/Aspect/Number

Principal aspect markers are shown on the following chart. Plural markers are shown in parentheses. Note that PAST may be marked by truncation of a final vowel, and that -a may occur as PRES after certain stems and suffixes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>-Ø / -k (-ke/-ke)</td>
<td>-yaya (-ke)</td>
<td>Ø (-ke/-ke)</td>
<td>-s (-ke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>-to-k (-e)</td>
<td>-to-ya (-ke)</td>
<td>-to-s (-ke)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNCT</td>
<td>-ta-ya (-ke)</td>
<td>-ta (-ke)</td>
<td>-ta-s (-ke)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of -tok is questionable. It marks both STAT and DUR PAST. With some verbs it could be either.

koč-to-k  
_slepping_ 
sleep-DUR-PAST  
koč-tok  
asleep  
sleep-STAT  
yi=teč-neš-ti-li-to-k-e  
COMPL=us-show-CAUS-APPLIC-DUR-PAST-PL  
o-tla-kʰa-yaya  
PERF-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-IMPRF  
o-ni-k-kawa-to  
PERF-I-it-leave-DIRL  
o-ki-kowako  
PERF-it-buy-DIRL  
o-ki-tek-to-ya  
kafen  
PERF-it-cut-DUR-IMPRF coffee  
ni-k-kak-to-s  
I-it-hear-DUR-FUT if  
o-ki-tek-ta-ya  
PERF-it-cut-PNCT-IMPRF  

We are already being shown. 
He was eating. 
I left it there. 
He bought it here. 
He had been picking coffee. 
I will be hearing it. 
He had been picking (in passing).
OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Pre-Stem Elements

Order: \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{COMPL\,=\,PERF-} \\
\text{OPTV=} \\
\text{IMP-} \\
\text{OM--} \\
\text{REFL-} \\
\text{HON-} \\
\end{array}
\] STEM

(yi\,=\,o-ni-k-tla- exemplifies a maximal sequence.)

Restrictions on co-occurrence of these elements are as follows: OPTV may not occur with IMP; REFL may not occur with HON; OM may occur with UNSPEC OBJ in a very few cases.

ma=ni-te-kowi-li  
\[\text{OPTV}\,=\,l\,-\text{UNSPEC\,-buy\,-APPLIC}\]

\[\text{SEL}\,=\,\text{nemaki-tti}\]

\[\text{IMP}\,=\,\text{sell\,-CAUS\,-APPLIC}\]

ti-neč-mo-maki-li-s  
\[\text{you\,-me\,-HON\,-give\,-APPLIC\,-FUT}\]

ni-mo-kawa-s  
\[\text{ok\,=\,se\,tonal-i}\]

\[\text{I\,-REFL\,-leave\,-FUT\,yet\,=\,one\,day\,-ABS}\]

\[\text{ki-tla-maka}\]

\[\text{him\,-UNSPEC\,-OBJ\,-give\,LOC}\]

That I may buy it from you.

Sell it to me!

You, sir, will give it to me.

I will remain another day.

He feeds him every other day.

Post-Stem Elements

Order: 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{STEM\,-CAUS\,-APPLIC\,-HON\,-HON\,-CONN}\,-
\text{ASP}
\end{array}
\] -TNS-PL

\[-\text{ti}\] \[-\text{li}\] \[-\text{lo}\] \[-\text{wa}\] \[-\text{ti}\]

HON -wa may be reanalyzed as merely -a after o of -lo. It occurs with the HON forms of go, come, and be. A second -li APPLIC co-occurs with mo- HON prefix. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION for further details.)

COORDINATION

wan \quad \text{and, but}

pero \quad \text{but (Spanish loan)}

noso \quad \text{or}

o-ki-kš-ti \quad \text{in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon}

\[\text{PERF\,-it\,-go\,-out\,-CAUS\,ART\,match\,and\,PERF\,-it\,-strike}\]

He took out a match and struck it. (TOM-23)
pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan wan ye’wa-n a’mo o-ki-neh-ke
same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL and he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL.
that they all drink the same, but they didn’t want to (TOM-15)
wan tla koni noso a’mo san kiera i-ten-con ki-pal-ti-li-a
and if it-drink or NEG just at:least his-beard it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES
i-pan in haro
its-LOC ART jar
And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard in the jar. (TOM-51)
The Spanish loan pves well is sometimes used in the apposition clause.
ki-temow-a in i-ten-con pves a’yak
it-hunt-PRES ART his-beard but none
He hunts for his beard, but it isn’t there. (TOM-56)

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES
Both subject and object complement clauses typically occur at the end of the
main clause. Both are marked in a variety of ways.

Subject Complement Clauses
ok=kači k\textsuperscript{W}ali [nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s] You had better stay here.
ye=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT (TOM-19)
k\textsuperscript{W}ali=ka [tieka te’wa ti-koneho] It is good you are a rabbit.
good=he because you you-rabbit (CR-16)

Object Complement Clauses
o-ki-mači-li [a’wel cek\textsuperscript{W}ini we’kaw]
PERF-it-know-APPLIC NEG-able run far
It realized it was unable to run far. (CR-2)
ti-k-mati [kana ni-koneho] You think that I am a rabbit.
you-it-know DUB I-rabbit (CR-10)
o-ki-neki-aya [kin-še’-šelwi’-ta-ni]
PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT
He wanted to serve it to them. (TOM-15)
ni-k-neki [ma=neč-maka-s] I want him to give it to me.
I-it-want OPTV=me-give-FUT
ayakmo ni-k-neki [ši-wala] I don’t want you to come any
no:longer I-it-want IMP-come more.
k'ito-a'ke [mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka]
it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash
They say that he just washes his beard in it. (TOM-11)

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

These are marked by occurrence of tla if or ko$ whether. (See QUESTIONS, Yes/No Questions.)
ti-k-ita-s-ke [in tla o-ti-k-neš-ti in kone-tl]
we-it-see-FUT-PL SUBR if PERF-you-it-appear-CAUS ART child-ABS
We will see if you have had the child.
wan [tla nele k-oni noso a'amo]
and if really it-drink or NEG
and whether he drinks or not... (TOM-51)
a ber [ko$ ok ni-k-a'si-tiw noso kana ayakmo]
INTR whether yet I-it-arrive-DIRL or DUB no:longer
We'll see whether I will still find it or not.

WH Questions

These are marked by occurrence of preposed WH word as subordinator. (See QUESTIONS, WH Questions.)
a'mo o-ki-mati-a ya [kan=ik o-ya inon kWakWe]
NEG PERF-it-know-IMPRF where=DIRL PERF-go that bull
He didn't know where that bull had gone.
mo-neki mo-mati-s [in kenin o-ki-awil-ti'-ke in tekW-tli]
you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old-ABS one
You, sir, want to know how they teased the old man. (TOM-1)

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses may precede or follow their heads, or the head may be deleted. Occurrence of in SUBR is optional in combination with akin who and tlen what, and always introduces the clause.

Subject Relatives

ye'wa in kWa-tl [tlen nemi ši-šiw-tla]
it ART snake-ABS which live RDP-weed-LOC
It is the snake which lives in the weeds.
o-ki-ilwi-k in ič-poč-tli [akin tla-ne-maka]
PERF-it-tell-PAST ART girl-youth-ABS SUBR who UNSPEC:OBJ DISTR give
She told the girl who sells (i.e. waitress).

in konoho [akin o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s]
ART rabbit who PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT
the rabbit who tried to fool him (CR-18)

Object Relatives
inin kow-wewecok [tlen o-ni-k-tek]
this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick
these berries which I have picked (CR-12)

Oblique Relatives
o-ki-awil-ti'ke in tekw-tli [i-toka A. H.]
PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS his-name PN
They teased the old man named A. H. (TOM-1)

Headless Relatives
[akin tekiti] ye' in loko The one who works, he is the crazy one.
who work he ART crazy

entoneksi ok=se i-kni-w kwala-ni [akin a'mo loko]
INTR yet-one his-brother-POSSD angry-INTRNS SUBR who NEG crazy
So the other brother was angry, the one who was sane.

neč-mo'mow-ti-a i-hkon [akin neč-a'si-s]
me-RDP-frighten-CAUS-PRES PROX-thus who me-arrive-FUT
Whoever meets me thus frightens me.

a'mo ni-k-neltoka-s [akin neč-ka'kayawa-s]
NEG I-him-believe-FUT SUBR who me-deceive-FUT
I will not believe whoever will deceive me.

ti-k-ita-s [in tlen ne' ni-k-seman-ti-ka]
you-it-see-FUT SUBR what I I-it-peddle-CONN-be
You will see what I am peddling.

neč-pak-ti-a [in tlen o-neč-maka-k]
me-please-CAUS-PRES SUBR what PERF-me-give-PAST
I like what he gave me.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbal Relative Clauses
Locative
[kani tok-tok] tlaš-kokoš-tok The ground where he is buried is sour.
where bury-STAT ground-sour-STAT
ompə i-pan  inon [kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti'ke ya-s-ke
there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL go-FUT-PL
tla-co'cona-s-ke]
UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL
there in the place where they asked them to go play (TOM-37)

Temporal

tlen inon ki-wal-ilwi-s [i'kWak tlami tla-mat-ka-
what that it-DIRL-tell-FUT when finish UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-
tla'-to-s]
UNSPEC:OBJ-say-FUT
what he will tell him when he finishes chanting

[i'kWak tla-maw-ti-ye-s] ki-pak-ti-a
when UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-be-FUT it-please-CAUS-PRES
When he is sober he likes it. (TOM-30)

Manner

Adverbial clause of manner may occur with or without ken how, as.

[ken o-wal-ew-ke in biči-men] ki-ti-tilana'-ke
as PERF-DIRL-arise-PL ART dog-PL it-RDP-pull-PL

apurado in naka-tl
quickly ART meat-ABS
As the dogs came charging, they quickly pulled off the meat.

o-ti-k-pa'lti-k [ken ompa o-kat-ka-yaya mih-ki]
PERF-you-him-heat-PAST how there PERF-RDP-be-IMPRF die-ADJR
You healed him as he was over there dead.

molwi teč-tla'lit-ti-a [weyak i-ten-con]
much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES long his-heard
He disgusts us (since) his beard is (so) long. (TOM-7)

If-Clauses

tla if occurs with various forms of the irrealis mode. If-clauses usually precede
the main clause, and occurrence of the subordinator in is optional.

[in tla kWak'we] pos ompa nele pil-ka-ti-ye-s
SUBR if bull INTR there really hang-be-CONN-be-FUT

miak in naka-tl
much ART meat-ABS
If it is beef, there will be a lot of meat hanging there.
ašan [tla mač o-neč-tełwi'-ke] ašan ni-ya-s kiera ni-mo-cač'wa-tiw
now if 'QUOT-PERF-me-accuse-PL now I-go-FUT even:if I-REFL-shut-DI R
If I have been charged and I were to go now, I would be locking myself up.
wan [tla kana akin ok=seya]
and if DUB who yet=one
and if perhaps there is someone else...

An if-clause may be used to suggest a possibility.
pero [tla ki-piya se i-g'ahito de oro]
but if it-have one his-jug of gold
but supposing he has a golden jug...

An if-clause may be used to express surprise.
wan [tla ka'so sa ye' in ik o-mo-sewi-lo-k]
and if so:then just it SUBR INSTR PERF-REFL-rest-HON-PAST
And if it wasn't that by which he died!

There is a special use of an if-clause for optative mode.
[tla ti-neč-mo-tlokol-li-skia-ni ye' in tomin]
if you-me-HON-give-APPLIC-COND-CNTRFCT it ART money
Please may it be money that you give to me.

When an if-clause marks contrafactual, the main clause is also contrafactual.
tla if may be omitted.
[in tla ken ašan ye-ni] ni-k-kic−k-i ni ka sinta
SUBR if now how now be-CNTRFCT I-it-grab-CNTRFCT INSTR belt
If it had been as now, I would have taken a belt to it.
[a'mo ni-siego ni-ye-skia-ni] ni-tolo-ni
NEG I-blind I-be-COND-CNTRFCT I-flee-CNTRFCT
If I were not blind, I would have fled.

Other

tla if occurs with the negative a'mo in positive rhetorical questions.
tla'mo ni-miki-s ika mow-ka-yo-tl
if-not I-die-FUT INSTR fear-CONN-ABSTR-ABS
If I won't die of fright!
tleka [in tla'mo ok ti-k-ma-kį̂-ti-skia-ni'-ke]
why SUBR if-not yet we-it-hand-go -CAUS-COND-CNTRFCT-PL
Why couldn't we have still saved her?
Because-clauses sometimes occur with *tleka why, because*, but most are determined by type and position of adverbs. The combination *ye’ in ik that is why* occurs frequently.

molwi teč-tla’il-ti-a [san o-hkonon ti-tlayi’-ke ika in pulke]  
*very us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL INSTR ART pulque*  
He disgusts us so much because of the way we drink pulque. *(TOM-10)*

kači kWa’li nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s [kana weci-wa-tiw ik o’-tli]  
*more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL DIRL road-ABS*  
You had better stay here because you might fall in the road. *(TOM-19)*

miki-s sa=nima [tleka ki-ticina inon wicici]  
*die-FUT just=next because it-suck that hummingbird*  
He will die immediately because that hummingbird sucks it (his blood).
How They Teased the Old Man

keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke in tekʷ-til

how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS

1. So, now you want to know how they teased the
tel ašan mo-neki mo-mati-s in keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke
so now you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART
old man named A. H.
tekʷ-til i-toka A. H.
old:one-ABS his-name PN

2. And it was E. M. who did the teasing.
wan o-te-awil-ti ye'wa-tl in E. M.
and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN

3. Well, thus it was that one time they hired A. H.;
pwes kasi sek-pa o-hkono o-ki-tlakew-ke in A. H.
INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN
he was what you would call teacher of the musicians.
ye'wa-tl kasi ki'to-s-neki maestro ika in musikos
he-ABS DUB it-say-FUT-want teacher INSTR ART musicians

4. And so he was teaching them how to play,
wan o-kin-neš-ti-li-aya kení mo-maš-ti-s-ke
and PERF-them-show-CAUS-APPLIC-IMPRF how REFL-know-CAUS-FUT-PL
and also this E. M. and his brother, named M.
wan no=yohke inin E. M. wan in i-kni-w seya i-toka M.
and also=same this PN and ART his-brother-POSSD one his-name PN

5. Well now, well, he is dead; no longer living.
bweno ašan bweno yi=mih-ki porke ayakmo nemi
INTR now INTR COMPL=die-ADJR because no:longer live

6. But that day when he was still living, thus he said,
pero inon tonal-i i'kwak o-katka wan i-hkono o-ki-ilwi
but that day-ABS when PERF-was and PROX-thus PERF-him-tell
well, they said to each other:
bweno o-mo-lwi-'ke
INTR PERF-REFL-tell-PL
“Now here comes our teacher, but he disgusts
ašan wala in to-maestro pero molwi teč-tla’il-ti-a
now come ART our-teacher but much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES
us very much with his long beard,” they said.
weyak in i-ten-con mo-lwi-a’ke
long ART his-edge-hair REFL-tell-PRES-PL
beard

8. So this E. M. and M. and another man named A. said:
won entonse inin E. M. wan in M. wan ok=se tlaka-tl i-toka
and INTR this PN and ART PN and yet=one man-ABS his-name
A. no=yohke asta
PN also=same till

9. “Now we will cut off the old man’s beard.
ašan ti-k-ten-con-teki-s-ke in bielho
now we-it-beard-cut-FUT-PL ART old-man

10. Well, he disgusts us so much just in the way we drink pulque.”
bweno molwi teč-tla’il-ti-a san o-hkonon ti-tlayi’ke
INTR much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL
ika in pulke
INSTR ART pulque

11. And also since that old man’s beard was so long they said
wan entonse inon tek[w]-tli no=yohke ken weyak in i-ten-con
and INTR that old:one-ABS also=same as long ART his-beard
that he just washes his beard in that pulque.
k-i’to-a’ke mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka inon pulke
it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash that pulque

12. So one day they held a little party and they invited
entonse in tonal-i o-ki-ciw-ke se fiesta wan
INTR one day-ABS PERF-it-do-PL one party and
that teacher of the band.
o-k-ilwi’ke ma=wala-w inon maestro ika in banda
PERF-him-tell-PL OPTV=come(?) that teacher INSTR ART band

13. So then they had already given E. and M. and the other companions
wan entonse in E. wan in M. wan ok=se kin-ten in kompañeros
and INTR ART PN and ART PN and yet=some-PL ART companions
a jar apiece.
y=o-kin-mak a-ke se’se in haro pareho
COMPL.=PERF-them-give-PL RDP=one ART jar same
14. But that old man, as I will say, was accustomed to having to stick his nose in a jar to drink.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wan inon tek}^W\text{-tli kasi} & \text{ ken ni-k'-i-to-s mo-maw-tok i-hkonon} \\
\text{but that old:one-ABS DUB as I-it-say-FUT REFL-know-STAT PROX-thus}
\end{align*}
\]

se haro ki-yeka-wi-a'ke ik ki-oni-'ke

one jar it-nose-VR-PRES-PL DIRL it-drink-PL

15. So he wanted to serve it to them

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{entones o-ki-neki-saya kin-ke'\text{-}\text{\'selwi'-ta-ni}} \\
\text{INTR PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT}
\end{align*}
\]

that they might drink alike, but they didn't want to.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan} & \text{ wan ye'wa-n a'mo o-ki-neh-ke} \\
\text{same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL but he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

16. Therefore E. said: "Well, here in this town, we are accustomed to each one having his own jar."

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{altepe-tl} & \text{ pwe's ti-tla-ma'\text{-tli}-l-ten} \\
\text{town-ABS INTR we-UNSPEC:OBJ-learn-CAUS-ABS-PL each one his-jar}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-tokaro-s} & \text{ him-pertain-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

17. And thus they gave each one of them his own jar, whoever wanted to drink pulque.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wan i-hkonon o-kin-maka-ke no'cin i-haro se' se pareho in} \\
\text{and PROX-thus PERF-them-give-PL all his-jar RDP-one alike ART}
\end{align*}
\]

akin ki-neki ki-oni-s in pulke who it-want it-drink-FUT ART pulque

18. Then when he was already drunk, they said to this old man, A. H.: "Well, now you will no longer go.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{entones inon i'k}^W\text{ak ok=ka'c\text{-}v o-winti-k ma'c k-ilwi-a'ke} \\
\text{INTR that when yet=more COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{this old:one-ABS PN INTR now no:longer you-REFL-carry-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

19. You had better stay here, because you might fall down in the road, and here it is better.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ok=ka'c\text{-}v \text{ and nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s kana weci-wa-tiw} \\
\text{yet=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in the road, and here it is better.} \\
\text{ik o'-tli wan nikan mehor DIRL road-ABS and here better}
\end{align*}
\]
20. Here we are in the house," they said.

nis ti-ka-te kal-i'tek mač k-ilwi-a'-ke
here we-be-PL house-inside QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL

21. They detained him there and in a little while they said to

onkan o-ki-ceko'-ke wan inon rato mač mo-lwi-a'-ke
there PERF-hit-detain-PL and that time QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL
each other: "Now let's burn our grandfather's
ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-t-en-con-tlati-s-ke či'ton in to-
now we-go-PL we-it-beard-burn-FUT-PL little ART our-
beard a little," they said.

kol-cin mač mo-lwi-a'-ke
great-grandfather-HON QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL

22. Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him.

entoneses E. o-ki-kš-ti in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k
INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST

23. And then he also took out a match and struck it

wan entoneses no=yolke o-ki-kš-ti in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon
and INTR also=same PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART match and PERF-it-strike
to ignite it.
para ma=sotla
to OPTV=ignite

24. And then when A. H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth,
wan entoneses i'k'wak yi=ki-kama-wi'tok in sigaro inin A. H.
and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN
(E.) brought it near, as you might say, put the fire into the
ki-pačow-a kasi i-nak kasi k-i'to-s-neki ki-pačo-
it-cover-PRES almost its-next:to almost it-say-FUT want it-cover-
beard.
't-ewa in tetl i-pan in i-t-en-con
CONN-arise ART fire its-LOC ART his-beard

25. And then, well, in a little while he realized that it was
wan entoneses bweno ik se rato y=o-ki-mač-li-k
and INTR INTR DIRL one while COMPL=PERF-it-feel-APPLIC-PAST
stinking, since his beard was already burnt.

y=o-co'ya-s ken y=o-tiatla-k in i-t-en-con
COMPL=PERF-stink-PAST since COMPL=PERF-burn-PAST ART his-beard
26. And then A. H. said: "But not like that, E.," he said.
wan entones k-i'ta in A. H. pero a'mo i-hkon E. o-k-i'to
and INTR it-say ART PN but NEG PROX thus PN PERF-it-say

27. "You have already burnt my beard."
y-o-ti-neʔ-ten-con-tlati-k
COMPL = PERF you-me-beard-burn PAST

28. "As if I did it on purpose," said E.
tla'-mo san ik ni-k-čiwa o-k-i'to in E.
if-not just DIRL I-it-do PERF-it-say ART PN

29. Then in a little while he burnt the beard again.
entones ik se rato ok=se biahe o-ki-ten-con-tlati
INTR DIRL one while yet=one time PERF him-beard-burn

30. But then when he is sober, he likes it; he thinks
wan entones kasi i'kʷak tla-maw-ti-ye-s
but INTR almost when UNSPEC OBJ know-CONN be-FUT
it is beautiful.
ki-pak-ti-a mač kʷalc'i'to
it-please-CAUS-PRES QUOT beautiful

31. He combs it with a comb; even has a comb
ki-šelwas-wi-a ika in peine o bweno sa=niman ki-piya
it-RDP brush-VR PRES INSTR ART comb or well only=near it has reserved
just for combing his beard.
in peine tlen=ik ki-šelwas-wi-a in i-ten-con
ART comb what=DIRL it-brush VR PRES ART his-beard

32. So then he realized that his beard was all burnt,
wan entones pweš o-ki-mač-li inon o-tnan-ten-con-tlatla
and INTR so PERF it-learn APPLIC that PERF finish beard burn
a little, but not entirely, just a little.
či'ton pero a'mo yek san či'ton
little but NEG perfectly just little

33. Then the second time, one day they took him also.
entones ik ow-pa se tonal-i o-ki-wika-ke no=yohke
INTR DIRL two LOC one day ABS PERF him carry PL also same

34. They went to play in Iksakakowta.
o-ya'ke tla-co'cona'ke mač ik-saka-kow-tla
PERF go PL UNSPEC OBJ play PL QUOT DIRL grass wood LOC
35. And thus him also as the band.
   wan i-hkonon no=yohke ken in banda
and PROX-thus also=same as ART band

36. You already know how many come out to play.
   yi=mo-mati ken miake mo-wal-čiwa-ke para tla-co'cona-ke
COMPL=you-know how many REFL-DIRL-do-PL to UNSPEC:OBJ-play-PL

37. And so there in that place where they were invited to go play,
wan entones in ompa i-pan inon kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti-ke
and INTR SUBR there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL.
   they said to one another:
   ya-s-ke tla-co'cona-s-ke mač mo-lwi-a-ke
go-FUT-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL

38. “Well, so now they will give us pulque and he will serve
bweno pwes ašan teč-maka-ke in pulke wan teč-še'-šelwi-a
INTR INTR now us-give-PL ART pulque and us-RDP-divide-PRES
   it to us, but he drinks first and at least (if nothing else)
   ye'wa-tl pero ačto ki-oni ye'wa-tl wan i-ten-con si-kiera
he-ABS but first it-drink he-ABS and his-beard if-at:least
   he washes his beard,” they say to one another.
i-pan mo-ten-con-paka mač mo-lwi-a-ke
its-LOC REFL-beard-wash QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL

39. So then these other companions, well, he disgusted them.
entones inin ok=sekin kompañeros pwes kin-tla'li-ti-a
INTR this yet=some companions INTR them-d disgust-CAUS-PRES

40. And then, well, that A.H. also drank that time.
wan entones bweno o-tla-tlayi-k no=yohke inon räto inon A.H.
and INTR INTR PERF-RDP-drink-PAST also=same that time that PN

41. But the other companions of the band didn’t want it thus.
wani ok=sekin kompañeros den banda pwes a'mo ki-neki'-ke i-hkonon
but ART yet=some companions of:the band INTR NEG it-want-PL PROX-thus

42. Since as one might say, he just put it to his mouth and they
   kasi ken k-i'to-s-neki san ki-kama-wi-a wan ok=se
almost as it-say-FUT-want just it-mouth-VR-PRES and yet=one
   also drank again.
biahe ki-oni'=ke ye'wa-n no=yohke
time it-drink-PL he-PL also=same
43. So this brother of E.’s, he was sort of a barber.
   onkan inin i-kni-w in E. ye’wa-tl kasi pelukero
   there this his-brother-POSSD ART PN he-ABS almost barber

44. So sometimes he carries the clippers and all in case there
   kema-nian l-hkonon ki-wika-s in makina wan nočin wan
   when-neither PROX-thus it-carry-FUT ART clippers and all and
   might be something to do there; he cuts hair also.
   kana ye-s tlen ki-či-s ompa tla-kwa-teki no=yohke
   DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there UNSPEC:OBJ-top:of:head-cut also=same

45. Then this brother of E.’s says, “Now the old man, now we
   entoneses mač k-i’ta inin i-kni-w in E. ašan in bieho
   INTR QUOT it-say this his-brother-POSSD ART PN now ART old:man
   will cut off his beard,” he says.
   ašan ti-k-tlam-i-t-en-con-teki-s-ke mač k-i’ta
   now we-it-finish-beard-cut-FUT-PL QUOT it-say

46. And so, at that time, while they were there, he was already drunk.
   wan entoneses inon rato ı’kwak omp=ık ka-te y=o-winti-k
   and INTR that time when there=DIRL be-PL COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST

47. Then he fell asleep, being drunk.
   entoneses o-köč-wec ık winti
   INTR PERF-sleep-fall DIRL drunk

48. And then he says: “Now he has already fallen asleep.
   wan onkan mač k-i’ta ašan y=o-köč-wec
   and there QUOT it-say now COMPL=PERF-sleep-fall

49. Now let’s cut his beard all off,” he said.
   ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-tlam-i-t-en-con-teki mač k-i’ta
   now we-go-PL we-it-finish-beard-cut QUOT it-say

50. “He disgusts us so much even if he just puts his lips in the pulque.
   molwi teč-tla’l-ti-a ık san kiera i-pan ten-kalaki in pulke
   very US-disgust-CAUS-PRES DIRL just even:if its-LOC lip-enter ART pulque

51. And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard
   wan tla nele k-oni noso a’mo san kiera i-t-en-con
   and if really it-drink or NEG just even:if his-beard
   in the jar of pulque,“
   ki-pal-ti-li-a i-pan in haro de pulke
   it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES its-LOC ART jar of pulque
And so, well, this M. takes the scissors and
he stuck them in, just here, there;
he snipped at that beard.

But they did it for no reason.

It seems that since the old man loved
his beard so much, just for no good reason they did it.

They cut it all up, just hacked it up.

And then when he came to,
he hunts for his beard, but it isn’t there.

Then he notifies them, well, he asks them, “Well, who
cut my beard?”

“Well, we didn’t see; we were drunk also,” he said.
59. "You have really ruined me now," he said.

molwi o-nan-neč-i’tlako’ke ašan mač k-i’ta
very PERF-you:PL-me-ruin-PL now QUOT it-say

60. "Now where is my beard, and I love it so much."

ašan katli in no-ten-con wan teki ni-k-tlaso’tlia
now which ART my-beard and so:much 1-it-love

61. They hacked it all up; they didn’t even finish cutting it off;

o-ki-ten-ci-cikilo’ke nian a’mo o-tlan ki-ten-con-teki’ke
PERF-it-edge-RDP-hack-PL not:even NEG PERF-finish it-beard-cut-PL

just here, there, they stuck in the scissors.

san nis=ik nep=ik o-ki-kalaki-li’ke in tiheras
just here=DIRL there=DIRL PERF-it-enter-APPLIC-PL ART scissors

62. So they just hacked it all up with the scissors.

entoneses san o-tlan ki-tlami-ten-ci-cikilow-a ika in tiheras
INTR just PERF-finish it-finish-edge-RDP-hack-PRES INSTR ART scissors

\[\text{The Coyote and the Rabbit}\]
\[\text{in koyo-čiči wan in koneho ART outsider-dog and ART rabbit coyote}\]

1. One day when he was hungry,

se tonal-i i’k’ak o-apis-mik-ti-katka molwi
one day-ABS when PERF-hunger-die-CONN-was very

a big coyote was chasing a rabbit in the field.

se weyi koyo-čiči ki-totoka-a’si se koneho ik mila
one big coyote it-chase-find one rabbit DIRL field

2. The rabbit was very frightened, as it realized it was unable

teki o-momow-ti in koneho o-ki-mači-li a’wel
very PERF-fear-CAUS ART rabbit PERF-it-feel-APPLIC NEG-able
to run far because it was already old and tired.

cek’ini we’kaw tleka yi=čikawa-k wan yi=ko-siawi
run far because COMPL-old-ADJR and COMPL=foot-tire

3. It stopped suddenly for a little and faced the coyote.

o-mokeč-ti-wec či’to wan o-k-iš-namik-ti-wec
PERF-REFL-stand-CONN-fall little and PERF-him-face-meet-CONN-fall
in koyo-čiči
ART coyote
4. "Stop!" said the rabbit.
\(\text{ši-mo-keca mač k-i'ta in koneho} \)  
\(\text{IMP-REFL-stand QUOT it-say ART rabbit} \)

5. "Why are you chasing me?"
\(\text{tleka ti-neč-totoka-a'si} \)  
\(\text{why you-me-chase-find} \)

6. Will you eat me?"
\(\text{tlen ti-neč-k"a-s} \)  
\(\text{Q you-me-eat-FUT} \)

7. "Yes," said the coyote, "I will eat you."
\(\text{keme mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči ni-mic-k"a-s} \)  
\(\text{yes QUOT it-say ART coyote I-you-eat-FUT} \)

8. "Don't eat me," said the rabbit.
\(\text{a'mo ši-neč-k"a mač k-i'ta in koneho} \)  
\(\text{NEG IMP-me-eat QUOT it-say ART rabbit} \)

9. "If you eat me, you will die."
\(\text{tla ti-neč-k"a-s ti-miki-s} \)  
\(\text{if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT} \)

10. You think that I am a rabbit, but really I am a rattlesnake,
\(\text{ti-k-mati kana ni-koneho wan ne'wa-tl ni-k"a-tl kaskabel} \)  
\(\text{you-it-know DUB I-rabbit but really I-ABS I-snake-ABS rattler} \)  
\(\text{and if you eat me, I will poison you.}"  
\(\text{wan i'k"ak tla ti-neč-k"a-s ni-mic-miko-ti-s} \)  
\(\text{and when if you-me-eat-FUT I-you-poison-CAUS-FUT} \)

11. "What should I eat then?" said the coyote.
\(\text{tlen tel ni-k"a-skiá-ni mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči} \)  
\(\text{what so I-eat-COND-CNTRFCT QUOT it-say ART coyote} \)

12. "Eat these edible berries which I have picked."
\(\text{ši-k"a inin kow-wewecok tlen o-ni-k-tek} \)  
\(\text{IMP-eat this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick} \)  
\(\text{berry} \)

13. I was carrying them in my basket to my house when you
\(\text{o-ni-k-wiuka-ti-katka i'teč no-kanasta para no-čan i'k"ak o-ti-} \)  
\(\text{PERF-I-it-carry-CONN was in my-basket for my-home when PERF-you-} \)  
\(\text{started to chase me."} \)  
\(\text{pew ti-neč-totoka-a'si} \)  
\(\text{start you-me-chase-find} \)
14. "Rabbits eat berries," said the coyote,
in koneho ki-k\textsuperscript{wa} in kow-wewecok ma\textsuperscript{e} k-i\textsuperscript{ta} in koyo-\textsuperscript{tiri} ART rabbit it-eat ART berry QUOT it-say ART coyote
"but rattlesnakes never eat berries,
wann in kaskabel a\textsuperscript{\textvisiblespace}yi\textsuperscript{k} ki-k\textsuperscript{wa} in kow-wewecok but ART rattler never it-eat ART berry
and therefore you are a rabbit even if you say you aren't.
wann ik inon tel ti-koneho nian ti-k-i\textsuperscript{to-s} a\textsuperscript{\textvisiblespace}mo and INSTR that so you-rabbit not:even you-it-say-FUT

15. You can just fool yourself but you can't fool me.
san te\textsuperscript{wa} \textvisiblespace xi-mo-ka'kayawa ne\textsuperscript{wa} a\textsuperscript{\textvisiblespace}wel ti-ne\textsuperscript{e} ka'kayawa-s just you IMP-REFL-deceive I NEG-able you-me-deceive-FUT

16. It is good you are a rabbit.
k\textsuperscript{wa}li=ka tieka te\textsuperscript{wa} ti-koneho good=be because you you-rabbit

17. Rabbits can be eaten,
k\textsuperscript{wa}li ki-k\textsuperscript{wa}-ke in koneho able it-eat-PL ART rabbit
but I don't like to eat rattlesnakes."
wann in kaskabel a\textsuperscript{\textvisiblespace}mo ne\textsuperscript{e} pak-tl-a ni-k\textsuperscript{wa}-s but ART rattler NEG me-please-CAUS-PRES I-eat-FUT

18. And so the coyote ate the rabbit who tried to fool him.
wann i-hkon in koyo-\textsuperscript{tiri} o-ki-k\textsuperscript{wa} in koneho akin and PROX-thus ART coyote PERF-it-eat ART rabbit who
o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT

19. He also ate the berries which the rabbit had in his basket.
no=yohke o-ki-k\textsuperscript{wa} in kow-wewecok tlen o-ki-piy-aya also=same PERF-it-eat ART berry what PERF-it-have-IMPRF
i'te\textsuperscript{e} i-kanasta in koneho in his-basket ART rabbit

20. And thus the coyote finished them and died not long afterwards,
wann i-hkon o-ki-tlami in koyo-\textsuperscript{tiri} wan a\textsuperscript{\textvisiblespace}mo we'kaw o-mik and PROX-thus PERF-it-finish ART coyote and NEG long:time PERF-die
while resting beneath a tree.
i'k\textsuperscript{wa}k ye\textsuperscript{wa}-ti-ka i-cintla se kowi-tl when rest-CONN-be its-beneath one tree-ABS
21. The berries weren't really edible, but poisonous.
   in kow-wewecok tlaka'so a'mo ye'wa tlaka'so ye'wa in tamponero
   ART berry so:then NEG it so:then it ART poison:berry

22. That's why they poisoned him.
    ye' in ik o-ki-miko-ti
    that SUBR INSTR PERF-him-poison-CAUS
HUASTECA
NAHUATL

Richard and Patricia Beller
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INTRODUCTION

Huasteca Nahuatl (HN) is spoken by 350,000 Indians in Mexico in the states of San Luís Potosí, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and a relatively small area in the northern tip of Puebla. It divides itself into two major dialects, with the major dividing line running (from northeast to southwest) from east of Platon Sanchez, Veracruz down to Tianguistengo, Hidalgo. When there is a contrast we will use (W) for the Western dialect and (E) for the Eastern dialect. Most of our time has been spent in the area of Huautla, Hidalgo and Tamazunchale, San Luís Potosí. From 1970 until 1976 we have averaged living about five months a year as the only outsiders in an Aztec village. We speak the language daily with a constant stream of Indian visitors. Most of the other months of these six years have been spent doing intensive study with a native speaker outside of the village.

The principal language consultant for this present work is Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés of Cuatenahuatl, a village near Huautla, Hidalgo. Zacarías Hernández Antonio from Tamazunchale, San Luís Potosí helped as needed for examples from the W dialect.


Two texts are included at the end of these data. The first was translated with the help of Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés. The second is a spontaneous text which was recorded by magnetic tape. The speaker is Aurelio Alvarado Mojica, also from Cuatenahuatl. The text ‘The Coyote and the Jackrabbit’ is abbreviated COYOTE, and ‘I was Horse-Thrown on the Road’ is abbreviated HORSE.
**Phonology**

**Phonemes**

The phonemes of Huasteca Nahuatl are:

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This phonemic inventory includes eighteen consonants, four short vowels, and four long vowels. This does not include phonemes that are only in borrowed words. The stops /p t k/ and affricates /c č/ each have an aspirated and an unaspirated allophone. The aspirated allophone occurs in syllable coda position. Although glottal stop /ʔ/ is a phoneme, most occurrences are predictable. It occurs before all vowel-initial words and between any two vowels that have a morpheme break between them. It also occurs final in a phonological phrase. Only occurrences other than these will be written. The /g/ is rare but is in native words. The /l/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless allophone occurs in syllable coda position. The /tl/ is voiceless. The /m/ is voiced. The /n/ is voiced, and has alveolar and velar allophones; the velar allophone occurs before velar stops. The /y/ is voiced. The /w/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless occurs after /l/. There is also a /W/. The /h/ has allophones [x], [N], [M], [Y], [W], and [h]. The [x] occurs syllable onset between vowels; [NMYW] occur before their voiced counterpart. The allophone [h] takes the shape of the preceding vowel when occurring in coda position phrase medially, but it is realized as a glottal fricative when occurring in onset position: /nihčiwas/ [nǐl.či.was] 'I will do it'. Notice in the following example that /h/ is the plural morpheme and occurs final on the verb, but phonologically it becomes onset of the first syllable of the object because the latter is a vowel-initial word: /toWanti tihnekih etl/ [to.Want.i ti.Nne.ki. hetl] 'We want beans'.
The short vowels are /i e a o/, and the long vowels are /ii ee aa oo/. Long vowels seem to be disappearing. They are very difficult to hear except in minimal pairs, and we are rarely corrected about them. Because of the difficulties of accurately writing them, length is ignored in writing up data.

Stress is on the penultimate syllable except for a few rare exceptions. In these exceptions stress will be written.

**Major Phonological Processes**

The major phonological processes are listed below. The final vowel of the present tense stem of the verb drops before a tense marker is suffixed.

\[ w \rightarrow h \] before stops

- **pewa**
  - 'He starts.'
- **peh-tok**
  - 'He has started.'
- **start- PRES**
  - **PERF**

\[ \{ k \} \]

\[ k \rightarrow h \] before k

- **miki**
  - 'He is dying.'
- **mih-ki**
  - 'He died.'
- **die-PAST**

\[ \{ w \} \]

\[ y \rightarrow t \] word finally

- **ki-ilwiya**
  - 'He says it.'
- **it-say**
  - **ki-ilwi’**
- **it-said**
  - 'He said it.'

\[ m \rightarrow n \] before stops

- **tlami**
  - 'He finishes.'
- **tlan-ki**
  - 'He finished.'
- **finish-PAST**

\[ h \rightarrow k \] before vowels

- **ni-h-walika-s**
  - 'I will take it.'
- **I-it-take-FUT**
- **ni-k-on-walika-s**
  - 'I will take it there.'
- **I-it-there-take-FUT**

\[ l \rightarrow Ø \] after l

- **no-kal**
  - 'my house'
- **my-house**
- **kal + li = kal-i**
  - 'house'
- **house + ABS**
Word Order

The normal order of certain parts of the HN clause is debatable because it varies greatly. However, other parts of the clause are relatively fixed. The introducer always occurs initial in a clause and the quotative occurs final. If there is no introducer, the quotative can occur initially. The quotative is manifested by inflections of ki-ihtowa and tletowa ‘he says’. The predicate, subject, indirect object, and object occur most commonly in that order. Other possible orders are SUBJ-PRED-IOBJ-OBJ and PRED-IOBJ-OBJ-SUBJ. Notice that IOBJ comes before OBJ in all orders. It is unusual for SUBJ, OBJ, and IOBJ to all occur simultaneously in a clause. The benefactive, time, manner, and locative constituents are almost completely free in order. The purpose constituent normally occurs as the last constituent before the quotative. Any two of these five peripheral constituents seem to be the natural limit. The normal order for an entire clause is:

**INTR** PRED SUBJ IOBJ OBJ BEN TIME MAN LOC PUR QUOT

wahka ki-kowi-ji’ roberto i-siwa seh pico yalwaya nepa tiankis tletowa
therefore it-buy-APPLIC PN his-wife one pig yesterday there market says
PAST

‘Therefore Robert bought his wife a pig yesterday there at the market, so he says.’

Topic

A constituent may be topicalized by a change of word order. An adverbial clause, verb, pronoun, question word, or other introducer can change order and act as pivot to topicalize the constituent occurring before it.

An adverbial clause occurring as an element of the main clause can occur directly after the subject to topicalize it.

ne tlaka-tl [kema tlan-ki i-teki] yah-ki tiankis
that man-ABS when finish-PAST his-work go-PAST market

‘That man, when he finished his work, went to market.’

If the verb in a hortative expression comes after the subject, it topicalizes the subject. Notice this causes the noun to be in the middle of the verb phrase.

ma to-teki mic-tio-čiwa ‘May God bless you.’
EXHRT our-boss you-god-do

A subject pronoun occurring immediately after the subject topicalizes it.

nopa siwa-tl yahaya ki-čih-ki
that woman-ABS she it-do-PAST

‘That woman, she did it.’

A question word often topicalizes the constituent before it.

Wan imoWanti tlački in-ki-čiwa-h ama ‘And you all, what will you do now?’
and you:PL what you:PL-it-do-PL now
An introducer of a subordinate clause can topicalize what occurs before it.

Wan toWanti [intla ti-h-ćiwa-s-eh tien k^W_a-l-i]
and we if we-it-do-FUT-PL REL good-ADJR
ti-kisa-s-eh k^W_a-l-i
we-leave-FUT-PL good-ADJR
‘And we, if we do what is good, we will come out well.’

Pronoun Copies

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by pronoun affixes. They must agree with the free constituent in person and number with the exception that plural inanimate objects are often copied with a singular object pronoun affix in the verb.

Agreement between free and bound subjects in person and number:
na kena ni-yah-ki nohka ‘I, yes, I went too.’
I yes l-go-PAST also

Agreement between free and bound objects in person and number:
kin-ita-k yaWanti nepa tiaikis ‘He saw them there in town.’
them-see-PAST them there town

Agreement between free and bound inanimate objects in person only:
ki-piya miak k^W_a-tinih ‘He has many trees.’
it-have many wood-INAN:PL

Agreement between free and bound indirect objects in person and number:
kin-kowi-lih-ki i-kone-wa seh pico
them-buy-APPLIC-PAST his-child-POSSD:PL one pig
‘He bought his children a pig.’

A free possessor must be copied onto the possessed object by a pronoun prefix (see NOUN PHRASES, Possessed Noun Phrase). The free possessor is optional and adds emphasis or clarification.

na no-aška nopa ama-ti ‘That paper is mine.’
I my-possession that paper-ABS

The yaWanti in the following example is redundant and adds emphasis (see also POSTPOSITIONS).

Wan teki-ti-yaya inin-waya yaWanti ‘John was working with them.’
PN work-VR-PAST:DUR their-with them

The free possessor adds clarification in the following:
čučo min-ki ‘Chucho’s dog died.’
his-dog PN die-PAST
Presumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur preceding the constituent for which they stand:

imoWanti tata-meh nana-meh 8l-walah-kah nikani you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL IMP-come-IMP:PL here
‘You all, fathers, mothers, you all come here.’

The adverbial demonstrative pronoun is often discontinuous with its specifier.

nopano ti-h-pan-ti-to-h seh kowa-tl i-pan no-mila there we-it-pass-CAUS-went-PL one snake-ABS its-place my-field find
‘There we went and found a snake in my field.’

For an example of the adverbial demonstrative occurring in the middle of the prepositional phrase, see sentence 21 of HORSE.

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur following the constituent for which they stand:

to-teko yahaya to-te-ma-kii-tih-ka
our-boss he our-UNSPEC-save-leave-CAUS-POSSD take out AG save by taking out

‘The Lord, he is our savior.’

i-pan to-kal-lihti-k nikani peh-ki nopa tii-tl its-place our-house-stomach-place here start-PAST that fire-ABS inside
‘Inside our house here the fire started.’

Focus

Focus can be indicated by a subordinate clause marked by the relative tlen, making a cleft sentence construction.

kena yahaya [tlen ki-mik-ti’ i-ikni]
yes he REL it-die-CAUS his-brother PAST killed
‘Yes, he is the one that killed his brother.’

A negative can focus what occurs before it.

roberto a$ Wan ki-wika-k mo-tomin PN NEG PN it-take-PAST your-money
‘It was Robert, not John, that took your money.’
Apposition

Apposition is very common in HN. Any clause constituent (or non-constituent) can have a second constituent in apposition to it.

kema walah-ki kema ahsi-ko nikani neč-maka-k
when come-PAST when arrive-came here me-give-PAST
'When he came, when he arrived here, he gave it to me.'

See the HORSE text for other examples of apposition: for temporals, sentences 1 and 28; verbs, sentence 30; and object, sentence 5.

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

The following conjunctions are particles and occur clause initial unless otherwise stated. To occur second means to occur after another conjunction, e.g., Wan wahka 'and then'.

Wan 'and' (See COYOTE title and sentences 2, 3, 8, and HORSE 5, 6, 8, 9 (3), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 (4), 21 (2), 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 (2), 32, 33, 36, 37.)
wahka 'therefore, then, well' Occurs clause initial, second, or final. (See COYOTE 3, 13, 17.)
nohkia, no 'also' Occurs clause initial, second, medial, or final. (See COYOTE 18 and HORSE 20 (2), 34, 35, 36.)
yeka 'for that previously stated reason' Occurs initial or second. (See HORSE 18, 27, 28, 32.)
teipa 'afterwards' Occurs initial, second, medial, or final in the clause. (See HORSE 14, 15.)
pero 'but' Spanish loan. (See COYOTE 2, 8, 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4, 11, 18, 24.)
pampa 'because' Occurs initial or second in clause. (See COYOTE 2, 7 and HORSE 11, 15, 16, 18, 27, 29 (2), 32, 34 (2).)
yonke 'even though' Occurs initial or second in clause. (See HORSE 24.)
niyon 'not even' Occurs initial or second in clause.

aš neč-maka-k tleno niyon seh točo
NEG me-give-PAST anything not:even one stale:tortilla
'He didn’t give me anything, not even a stale tortilla.'

ihkino 'so' Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 5, 22, 24, 30, 35, 38.)
kehki 'since' Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 11.)
maske 'even though' Spanish loan. Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See COYOTE 13.)

Adverbs

The following adverbs are particles. They occur anywhere in the clause unless otherwise stated.

isokapa 'quickly' (See COYOTE 3.)
tlawel 'really' (See HORSE 1, 27.)
nelia 'really' (See COYOTE 1, 2, 8, 13, 20 and HORSE 1, 34.)
kana 'anywhere' Occurs only second or medial in a clause that has a negative. (See HORSE 3, 31.)
kanaya 'in parts' (See HORSE 11.)
kʷali 'well' (See HORSE 26.)
nika 'here' (See HORSE 21.)
ači 'a little' (See HORSE 24.)
nima 'right away' (See HORSE 37.)
amā 'now' (See HORSE 1, 28.)
san 'just, only' Occurs anywhere except final in a clause. (See HORSE 1, 3, 4, 10, 18, 28.)
nopano 'over there' (See HORSE 14, 21, 25, 30.)
nepa 'there' (See HORSE 7.)
sampa 'again' (E) (See HORSE 15, 24, 30, 33, 37.)
sempa 'at one time' (E); 'again, at one time' (W)

ši-h-tolo ni eyi pastiyas san sempa
IMP-it-take these three pills just at:one:time
'Take these three pills at one time.'
kema 'when' This cannot occur clause final. (See COYOTE 1, 8, 11, 12, 19 and HORSE 35, 36.)

weyi 'greatly, well'

nopá tlaka-tl tlen weyi koko-tok mih-ki
that man-ABS REL well hurt-PRES:PERF die-PAST
'That severely injured man died.'

waksa 'suddenly'

Wan waksa ni-k-ita-k seh kowa-tl
and suddenly I-it-see-PAST one snake-ABS
'And suddenly I saw a snake.'
Demonstratives

All demonstratives are particles. They occur before the noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASE) or can take the place of the noun. (See also DEMONSTRATIVES.)

ni 'this, these (visible)' (See COYOTE 10, 11 and HORSE 1, 28.)
ne 'that (visible)' (See COYOTE 1, 10, 19.)
nopa 'that (out of sight)' (See COYOTE 2, 3 (2), 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 17 (2), 18 (2), 19 (2), 20 and HORSE 2 (2), 4, 5, 10, 11 (2), 12 (2), 13, 15, 18, 25, 27 (2).)
ini 'this (emphatic)'
ti-h-neki ini
you-it-want this
'Do you want this one?'

ino 'that (emphatic)'
kena ino
yes that
'Yes, that exact one. '

Relative Markers

Relative markers are particles and occur initial in the subordinate clause they introduce.

tlen 'who, that' E and W dialects. (See COYOTE 12, 16, 17, 18 and HORSE 2.)
katli 'who, that' Used only occasionally in the W dialect.
ni-h-pan-di' nopa ama-tl katli ni-h-temo-yaya
I-it-pass-CAUS:PAST that paper-ABS that I-it-look:for-PAST:DUR
found
'I found that paper that I was looking for.'

Prepositions

Prepositions are particles (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS) and occur initial in the relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES, Relator Axis Phrases.)

keha 'like, as' (See HORSE 29.)
asta 'until, to' Spanish loan. (See HORSE 14, 32, 34.)
para 'for' Spanish loan. (See HORSE 2, 9 (2).)
kampa 'where' (See HORSE 10, 18, 28.)
keniki 'as many as'
ma ki-čiwa keniki ki-čih-ki ačtowi 'Let him make as many
EXHRT it-do as:many it-do-PAST first as he made before.'
Pronouns

The independent singular pronouns are particles. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.)

na 'I' (See COYOTE 8 and HORSE 3, 20, 36 (2).)
ta 'you' (See COYOTE 8, 13, 14, 15.)
ya 'he' (See HORSE 18.)

Polarity Items

The following polarity items are particles.

kena 'yes' (See COYOTE 6.)
amo 'no'. This is both the response to questions and the general negative in the W dialect. It is the hortative and imperative negative in the E dialect. (See COYOTE 7.)

aštle 'no'. This is the response to questions in the E dialect.

ti-ya-s aštle aš ni-ya-s
you-go-FUT no NEG I-go-FUT
'Are you going?' 'No, I'm not going.'

aš 'no, not'. This is the general negative for the E dialect. (See COYOTE 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4 (2), 8, 11, 13, 15 (2), 16, 18, 27.)

aš aka 'no one' (E)

aš aka walah-ki
no:one come-PAST

amo aka 'no one' (W)

amo aka ki-neki
no:one it-want

aš tleno 'nothing' (E)

aš tleno neč-maka-k
nothing me-give-PAST

amo tleno 'nothing' (W)

amo tleno ki-ilwi'
nothing it-said

The following polarity items are a combination of the negative with a clitic. (See Clitics for examples.)

aya 'still not' (E)

ayamo 'still not' (W)

ayok 'no longer' (E) (See COYOTE 2 and HORSE 2, 3, 23, 31.)

ayakmo 'no longer' (W)
Modals

The following modals are particles:

ma        ‘let, have, EXHRT’

ma      wala-kah  ‘Let them come.’
EXHRT  come-IMP:PL

intla, tla     ‘if’

ni-ya-s  intla ni-wel-i-s  ‘I will go if I can.’
I-go-FUT if I-able-FUT

Clitics

The only two clitics in HN are =ya/=a ‘already’ and =nok/=yok/=ok ‘again’. They count as part of the word for determining penultimate stress. These are found as postclitics on verbs, negatives, time words, and numbers. When they both occur, they occur in the order given. The morpheme =a is found after an s or a k, and the =ya occurs elsewhere. The morpheme =ok occurs after any consonant, the =nok after a, and the =yok after front vowels or li. The two clitics can fuse and show up as =vak (W).

wala-s-ch=ya=nok  ‘Already they will come again.’
come-FUT-PL=already=again

walah-ki samp=ya=nok  ‘He already came again.’
come-PAST again=already=again

Compare:

seh  ‘one’
se=ok  ‘another one’

sekin  ‘some’
sekin=ok  ‘some others’

sekin=ok walah-ke-h
some=again come-PAST-PL
‘Some others came.’

When clitics occur in the negative, they act differently in each dialect. In the E dialect they are postclitics; the full negative is aš.

a=y=ok  tla-i  ‘He doesn’t drink any more.’
NEG=already=again UNSPEC-drink

a=ya ki-tlaštla-ki  ‘He hasn’t paid him yet.’
NEG=already him-pay-PAST

In the W dialect the negative is amo and the clitics go in the middle of the morpheme.

a=ya=k=mo  tla-i  ‘He doesn’t drink any more.’
NEG=already=again=NEG UNSPEC-drink

a=ya=mo ki-tlaštla-ki  ‘He hasn’t paid him yet.’
NEG=already=NEG him-pay-PAST
The morpheme *ya* 'already' can also occur preceding the verb and other clause constituents. Since it does not change the stress except when it is a postclitic, it is debatable as to whether it is an independent form or a proclitic. There are some verbs that end in *-ya* (e.g., *ilwiva* 'to say') that cannot co-occur with postclitic *=ya*, and the *ya* then precedes the verb as a proclitic (see Stem Classes, Class II). The case in the HORSE sentence 8 (*ya=*tiotlak 'already late') is more debatable but may also be considered a proclitic. This proclitic can occur before any constituent except an introducer. The clitic *=ok* cannot occur as a proclitic. For other examples of these clitics, see COYOTE 2 (2) and HORSE 2, 3, 8, 16, 20, 23, 30 (2), 31.

**BE/HAVE/DO**

The 'be', 'have', and 'do' verbs in HN have very regular stems and tenses. However, they are somewhat irregular as to meaning, limited to certain tenses, and distinguished for animate versus inanimate.

**BE**

The verb *eli* has two basic meanings. With animate subjects it means 'be' or 'become', but with inanimate subjects it means 'to be located'. The present tense is never used, the Ø morpheme (see below) or the stative being preferred.

'Be' or 'become' used of professions:

ki-neki eli-s seh te-pah-tih-ke-tl

it-want be-FUT one UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS

'He wants to be a doctor.'

noha el-tok seh tla-mač-tih-ke-tl

still be-STAT one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS

'He is still a teacher.'

'To be located' of an object. The stative, which is the same as present perfect, is always used when you would expect the present.

el-tok e-tl nēpa no-mila 'There are beans there in my field.'

be-STAT bean-ABS there my-field

el-tok no-tomin i-pan mesah 'My money is on the table.'

be-STAT my-money its-place table

The verb *tentok* 'to be arranged, to be seated' is used with animate and inanimate subjects. The present tense, which should be *tento*, is never used and is not accepted by native speakers as a possible form. The stative is used as present tense. The same is true of *tekpantok* 'to be arranged one after the other' and *içtok* 'to be located'. Observe, however, that the present tense can occur with the imperative prefix.

ten-tok-ch tlaka-meh i-pan saka-tl

seated-STAT-PL man-AN:PL its-place grass-ABS

'The men are seated on the grass.'
The verb tekpantok 'to be arranged one after the other' is used of objects and people.

tekpan-tok-eh miak ama-tl i-pan biblioteka
arranged-STAT-PL many book-ABS its-place library
'Many books are in the library in ordered arrangement.'

The verb ictok means 'to be', 'to be located', or 'to be in the state of', and with each meaning it can only occur with an animate subject. The present and past tenses are never used.

With the first meaning of 'to be' or 'to be located' it cannot occur with the general negative əš (E) or amo (W); the verb əš aki (E) or amo aki (W) replaces ictok with this negative meaning (see below).

ic-tok-eh miak tosa-meh i-pan no-mila
be-STAT-PL many mole-AN:PL its-place my-field
located
'There are many moles in my field.'

ic-tok mo-wewe
be:located-STAT your-husband

kena ic-tok
yes be:located-STAT

'Yes, he's here.'

When the verb ictok means 'to be in the state of', it may occur with the general negative.

ya=ictok kwai
already=be:state-STAT good-ADJR

əš ic-tok kwai
NEG be:state-STAT good-ADJR

'He is already all right.'

'He isn't well.'

With the imperative, the present tense stem icto is used.

$k\text{ito}$ i-ka yeh-yek-ci
IMP be its-place RDP pretty-DIM

'Live happily.'

The verb əš aki (E) or amo aki (W) 'to not be present' are used with animate subjects and only occur with negative sense. əš aki is often used in questions. There is the semantic limitation of first and second persons not being used in present tense, but all persons occur with all other tenses.

əš aki mo-nana
NEG be:here your-mother

'Is your mother here?'

$k\text{ito}$ mo-tata
be:located-STAT your-father

'Is your father here?'

k\text{ito}ašle aš aki
no NEG be:here

'No, she isn't here.'

k\text{ito}ašle aš aki
no NEG be:here

'No, he isn't here.'
The verb onka means ‘there are in existence’ and it is used only with inanimate subjects. There is the semantic limitation of not occurring with imperative, but there are no tense limitations.

\[
\begin{align*}
onka & \text{ pah-di} \\
\text{be } & \text{ medicine-ABS} \\
\text{‘There is medicine.’} & \text{ onka miak teki-tl} \\
\text{be } & \text{ much work-ABS} \\
\text{‘There is much work.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The \(\emptyset\) morpheme meaning ‘is’ is used with animate and inanimate subjects. It always means present tense. The person pronouns can become prefixes on a noun, adjective, or pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na } & \text{ ni-tlaka-tl} \\
\text{I } & \text{ I-man-ABS} \\
\text{‘I am a man.’} & \text{na ni-yahaya} \\
\text{I } & \text{ I-he} \\
\text{ya=tì-wey-i} & \text{weh-ka-pan-ti-k} \\
\text{already=you-big-ADJR} & \text{big-place-pass-CAUS-ADJR} \\
\text{‘Already you are big.’} & \text{tall} \\
\text{‘He is tall.’}
\end{align*}
\]

This last is an example of the third person singular \(\emptyset\) occurring on an adjective.

The following have a \(\emptyset\) stative equating the two main constituents.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wan } & \text{ seh tlaka-tl} \\
\text{PN } & \text{ one man-ABS} \\
\text{‘John is a man.’} & \text{nikani seh k\textsuperscript{w}a-wi-tl wey-i} \\
\text{here } & \text{ one tree-(?)-ABS big-ADJR} \\
\text{‘Here is a big tree.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The verb ewa ‘to originate, be native of’ is used only of animate subjects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kanke } & \text{ ti-ewa} \\
\text{where you originate} & \text{‘Where are you from?’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the verb mo-\textsuperscript{–}ëwa ‘to become a ____’, a noun is compounded into the verb stem. It has no tense limitations.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo-tata-ëh-ki}=\text{ya} & \text{ ‘He became a father already.’} \\
\text{REFL-father-make-PAST}=\text{already} & \text{aš weh-ka-wa-s mo-tlaka-ëwa-s} \\
\text{NEG big-place-INTRNS-FUT REFLL-man-make-FUT} & \text{to be long} \\
\text{‘It won’t be long before he will become a man.’}
\end{align*}
\]

**HAVE**

The verb piya ‘to have’ is the only verb of this class, and it has not been formed into a derivational suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-piya miak tomin} & \text{ ‘He has a lot of money.’} \\
\text{it-have much money}
\end{align*}
\]
HUASTECA NAHUATL

ki-piya i-nakas weh-wey-i  
'He has big ears.'

it-have his-ears RDP:PL-big-ADJR

DO

The verb čiwa 'to do, to make' can have the initial syllable reduplicated (see STEM, Replication) to vary its meaning.

ki-čiwa miak teki-tl  
'He does a lot of work.'

ki-čih-ki seh tlapeč-tli

it-do much work-ABS  
'He made a bed.'

it-make-PAST one bed-ABS

The verb senkawa 'to fix, to make' is often used of a broken object.

ki-sen-kawa-s mo-radio  
'He will fix your radio.'

it-one-leave-FUT your-radio

fix

ki-sen-kah-ki seh tla-kWa-lis-tli  
'She fixed a meal.'

it-one-leave-PAST one UNSPEC-eat-ABSTR-ABS

meal

The verb kWaltlali 'to fix up, to put in order' is used to describe the improvement of something.

ti-h-kWal-tlali-s to-komun-mili  
'We will fix up our town’s field.'

we-it-good-put-FUT our-community-field

fix

The verb pano 'to happen to' is identical with 'to happen'.

téo-pano-k miak kWesol-i  
'Many sorrows have happened to us.'

us-happen-PAST much sadness-ABS
Non-Distinct Argument Phenomena

Reflexive

The verb prefix mo- can be either reflexive or reciprocal, but we label it reflexive consistently. The following are examples of the reflexive use:

ni-mo-tlati' 'I burned myself.'
I-REFL-burned

ti-mo-ita-s-eh i-pan teska-tl 'We will see ourselves in the mirror.'
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL its-place glass-ABS

The following are examples of the reciprocal use:

ti-mo-ita-s-eh mostla 'We will see each other tomorrow.'
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL tomorrow

mo-maki-li-s-eh 'They will hit each other.'
REFL-hit-APPLIC-FUT-PL

The reflexive has also been reanalyzed as part of the stem of some verbs (see Incorporation). This reanalysis can be clearly seen when such a stem occurs with a reflexive prefix.

as mo-mokwitlawi-s 'He will not take care of himself.'
NEG REFL-take:care-FUT

'Myself,' 'himself,' etc. are expressed by the reflexive.

mo-mik-tih-ki 'He killed himself.'
REFL-die-CAUS-PAST

'My own,' 'his own,' etc. are expressed by an independent pronoun with or without the relative pronoun tlen.

i-tlakwilol ya 'his own writing.'
his-writing he

ki-ita-k yahaya i-čiči 'He saw his own dog.'
it-see-PAST he his-dog

ki-ita-k tlen yahaya i-čiči 'He saw his own dog.'
it-see-PAST REL he his-dog

The 'by myself,' 'by himself,' etc. concepts that speak of a figurative location (i.e., responsibility) are expressed by inflections of selti (from seh 'one') or by an independent pronoun.

ni-hčih-ki no-selti 'I did it by myself.'
I-it-do-PAST my-self

na ni-hčih-ki na 'I did it by myself.'
I I-it-do-PAST 1
The 'by myself', 'by himself', etc. concepts that speak of a literal location are expressed only by inflections of -selti.

ic-tok  i-selti  'She lives alone (by herself).'
be-STAT  her-self

Passive

There is no true passive in HN, but an indefinite subject 'they' is sometimes used to express a passive idea.

seh  to-tlayi  ki-mik-tih-tok-eh  'They killed a man.' / 'A man was murdered.'
one  our-uncle  him-die-CAUS-PRES-PL  PERF
a  man

A few verbs use the reflexive to express the passive.

§i-mo-kW-a-lti  'Baptize yourself.' / 'Be baptized.'
IMP-REFL-head-water-VR

Neither of these methods of expressing a passive is used very frequently; an indefinite subject usually expresses a passive idea.

Unspecified Objects

There are two unspecified object prefixes in HN; they cannot co-occur with the direct and indirect object markers except on those verbs (discussed under INCORPORATION) where these unspecified objects have been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, and the verb cannot occur without them. (For order see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

The morpheme tla- 'non-human unspecified object' is used very frequently.

tla-kWah-ki  'He ate.'
UNSPEC-eat-PAST

The morpheme te- 'human unspecified object' is used less than tla- and has been reanalyzed less frequently as part of the verb stem.

te-ikneliya  'He loves people.'
UNSPEC-love

Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -ke 'agent' plus the absolutive -tl.

te-teki-panoh-ke-tl  'servant'
UNSPEC-work-pass-AG-ABS
serve
tla-mač-tih-ke-tl  'teacher'
UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS

HUASTECA NAHUATL  219.
te-pah-ti-ke-tl  
UNSPECMedicine-VR-AG-ABS  
treat

A very few nouns are formed by a verb plus -loni 'instrument'.

tl-a-teki-loni  
UNSPEC-Work-INSTR  
cut

tl-a-tama-ciwa-loni  (W)  
UNSPECSizemake-INSTR  
measure

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -yo ABSTR plus the absolutive -tl. Many of these have -ka before the -yo. This -ka may be related to the agent suffix -ke or to the verb ka 'be' of classical Nahuatl. Here we somewhat arbitrarily gloss it 'be'.

tla-so-tla-ka-yo-tl  
love-be-ABSTR-ABS  

'three'

tl-a-copel-ka-yo-tl  
UNSPECSweet-be-ABSTR-ABS  

'fruit'

kwa1-tla-ka-yo-tl  
good-UNSPECbe-ABSTR-ABS  

'favor'

t-e-ikneli-ka-yo-tl  
UNSPECLove-be-ABSTR-ABS  
to pity

'pity'
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Positive and negative yes/no questions display two kinds of intonation. When the answer is really unknown and a yes or a no answer is equally probable, a level intonation that rises gradually until it reaches its peak on the last syllable is used. When the conversation has already given a clue as to what the answer will be, the intonation rises sharply and reaches its peak and then lowers rapidly. In such cases a negative yes/no question expects a negative answer, and a positive yes/no question, a positive answer.

Negative Yes/No Questions:

\[ \text{aš ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s} \]
\[ \text{NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT} \]

'Don’t you want to buy it?'
(Implied: I don’t know if you do or not.)

\[ \text{aš ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s} \]
\[ \text{NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT} \]

'Don’t you want to buy it?'
(Implied: You are saying you don’t want to buy it.)

This second type of question is often preceded by wihka 'then, therefore'.

\[ \text{wihka aš ti-h-neki ya-s} \]
\[ \text{then NEG you-it-want go-FUT} \]

'Then you don’t want to go?'
(Implied: You already implied you don’t, but here’s another chance to change your mind.)

Positive Yes/No Questions:

\[ \text{ti-ya-s} \]
\[ \text{you-go-FUT} \]

'Are you going?'
(Implied: I don’t know if you are or not.)

\[ \text{teki-ti} \]
\[ \text{work-VR} \]

'Is he working?'
(Implied: You are saying he’s working.)

Yes/No Answers:

The answer to a yes/no question is usually followed by a restatement of the question.

\[ \text{ašle aš ni-h-neki ni-h-kowa-s} \]
\[ \text{NEG I-it-want I-it-buy-FUT} \]
\[ \text{kena teki-ti} \]
\[ \text{yes work-VR} \]

'No, I don’t want to buy it.'
'Yes, he’s working.'
Alternative Questions

Alternative questions have a rising intonation that peaks on the last syllable of the first alternative and then falls rapidly on the second alternative.

yahaya seh tla-mač-tih-ke-tl o seh
he one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS or one teach
te-pah-tih-ke-tl
UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS treat
‘Is he a teacher or a doctor?’

Tag Questions

The tag is aške ‘isn’t that true’. The first part of the question functions as a positive yes/no question and can have either type of intonation. But the tag can only have rising intonation and is always after the main question.

hosé teki-ti kWalli aške

hosé teki-ti kWalli aške
PN work-VR well true
‘Joe works well? Isn’t that true?’

WH Questions

The question word occurs first in a clause. There may be a rising intonation on the question word but not elsewhere.

ahkeya ‘who’
ahkeya ki-koh-ki nopa kal-i
who it-buy-PAST that house-ABS

kehaca ‘how’
kehaca ti-ic-tok
how you-be-STAT

kenikaca ‘in what way, how’
kenikaca yah-ki kWallah-tla
what:way go-PAST sparrow:hawk-place

tląčki ‘what’
tląčki ti-h-neki
what you-it-want

‘Who bought that house?’
‘Who bought that house?’
‘How are you?’
‘In what way did he go to Cuajtl?’
‘What do you want?’
kanki, kanke ‘where’
  kanki   ti-yah-ki where you-go-PAST “Where did you go?”

kema ‘when’
  kema   kis-ki when leave-PAST “When did he leave?”

keski ‘how many’
  kesi   ti-h-neki how:many you-it-want “How many do you want?”

katlia ‘which one’
  katlia  teki-ti mas kwali which:one work-VR more well “Which one works the best?”

tlen ‘which, what’
  tlen   tonal ti-h-toh-ki what day you-it-plant-PAST “What day did you plant it?”

para tlen ‘why’
  para tlen aš yah-ki for what NEG go-PAST “Why did he not go?”

ahkeyawante ‘who are they’
  ahke-yawante  nopa  israelitas who-they those Israelites “Who are those Israelites?”

ika tlački ‘with what’
  i-ka  tlački ki-mik-ti its-with what it-die-CAUS:PAST “With what did he kill it?”

ahkeya i- ‘whose’
  ahkeya  i-ča who his-house “Whose house is that?”

WH words preposed from subordinate clause:
  tlački  ki-lihto [ki-čiwa-s] what it-said it-do-FUT “What did he say he would do?”
IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

The imperative ści- comes before the verb and substitutes for the second person subject marker. When the command is to plural subjects, the verb has a suffix -kah that is used only with imperative and hortative constructions. (See OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE for order.)

ści-ya mo-ča
IMP-go your-home

ści-neš-tla-kaki-kah
IMP-me-UNSPEC-hear-IMP:PL

listen to

‘Go home!’

‘You all listen to me.’

Negative Imperatives

The negative imperative is amo for the E dialect, which is the same as the negative that the W dialect uses exclusively.

amo ści-neš-istlakati
NEG IMP-me-lie

‘Don’t lie to me.’

amo ści-ya-kah
NEG IMP-go-IMP:PL

‘Don’t you all go.’

Modal Imperatives

The modal imperative is ma and it cannot co-occur with the imperative ści-. The particle ma comes before the negative. It carries the meaning of the permissive ‘let’ or the exhortative ‘have’. The subject of modal imperatives is first or third person.

ma wala
EXHRT come

‘Have him come.’

ma ni-h-čiwa
EXHRT I-it-do

‘Let me do it.’

When the subject is plural, the imperative plural suffix -kah is the marker.

ma ti-ya-kah
EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL

‘Let’s go.’
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ci ‘diminutive’, -cici PL:

kone-ci  ‘a little child’ (3 or 4 years old)
child-DIM

miak  kone-cici  ‘many little children’ (3 or 4 years old)
many  child-DIM:PL

The morpheme pil ‘little’ can be affixed as a prefix or a suffix or as both.

pil-kone-ci  ‘baby’ (less than 6 months old)
little-child-DIM

siwa-pil  ‘girl’ (up to 14 years old)
woman-little

pil-siwa-pil  ‘little girl’ (up to 4 years old)
little-woman-little

A noun plus an absolutive -tl, -tli, or -li (l → Ø after l) form most nouns.

tlaka-tl  ‘man’
man-ABS

tepos-tli  ‘a thing of metal’
metal-ABS

komal-i  ‘griddle’ (for cooking tortillas)
griddle-ABS

Perhaps -mitl is an absolutive in its entirety instead of just the -tl on these words. We cannot identify the -mi and it drops off when the word is possessed as the absolutive does. It represents a large group of words. Note the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>komitl</td>
<td>no-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlamapamitl</td>
<td>no-tlamapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoyomitl</td>
<td>no-yoyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlaišpamitl</td>
<td>no-tlaišpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water pot’</td>
<td>‘my water pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hall, eve’</td>
<td>‘my eve, my outside hall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cloth’</td>
<td>‘my cloth, my clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘altar’</td>
<td>‘my altar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns are formed by a noun plus a postpositional. (See Postpositions for a more complete listing.)

a-pa  ‘spring, well’
water-place
kal-ika  ‘behind the house’
house-behind
nil-teno  ‘edge of the field’
field-edge:of
A noun plus -meh ‘person from, inhabitant of’ forms a noun.

kwatla-meh
Huautla-people:from

taltekpa-meh
earth-people:from

In the E dialect a noun plus a plural suffix -meh ‘animate plural’, -tinih
‘inanimate plural’, or Ø ‘inanimate plural’ forms a noun.

tlaka-meh (E & W)
man-AN:PL

kal-tinih (E)
house-INAN:PL

The absolutive is not dropped when the plural Ø is used.

tlapeč-tli (E & W)
bed-ABS

In the W dialect the plural marker -meh is inanimate or animate. The -tinih
is not used and there are very few Ø plurals.

kal-meh (W)
house-PL

**PRED + X = N**

Many nouns are formed by a verb or adjective plus -lis ‘abstract’ plus the
absolutive -tli, which always comes after a consonant.

paki-lis-tli
happy-ABSTR-ABS

čikawa-lis-tli
strong-ABSTR-ABS

tla-sewi-lis-tli
UNSPEC-rest-ABSTR-ABS

koko-lis-tli
hurt-ABSTR-ABS

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus the absolutive -tli, -tl, or -li.

kwalan-tli
be:angry-ABS

wika-tl
sing-ABS

tla-kwali
UNSPEC-eat-ABS

tla-čiwa-li
UNSPEC-do-ABS

‘anger’

‘song’

‘food’

‘deed, act’
Some nouns are formed by an adjective (a noun plus an adjective marker) plus an absolutive. (See ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY.)

\[kw'\text{-a-titla-mitl}\]
\[\text{wood-CHAR:BY-ABS}\]
\[\text{woody}\]

\[saka-titla-mitl\]
\[\text{grass-CHAR:BY-ABS}\]
\[\text{grassy}\]

For nouns derived by -ke AG, -loni INSTR, and -yo ABSTR, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments.

**VERB MORPHOLOGY**

\[N + X = V\]

Various verbalizing suffixes are used: -\(ti\), -\(tiya\), -\(wiya\), -\(owa\) (perhaps to be analyzed further as -\(ti\), -\(ti(y)a\), -\(wi(y)a\), and -\(o(y)a\)). Semantically they cluster around the senses 'make, cause, get'. (Cf. NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Causative.)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{teki-} & \text{-ti} & \text{teki-wiya} & \text{tla\text{-}kal-owa} \\
\text{work-VR} & \text{mouth-VR} & \text{work-VR} & \text{tortilla-VR} \\
\text{‘to work’} & \text{‘to talk’} & \text{‘to use’} & \text{‘to make tortillas’} \\
\text{mo-aska-} & \text{-tiya} & \\
\text{your-possession-VR} & \text{teki-wiya} & \text{tla\text{-}kal-owa} \\
\text{‘to cause it to be your own’} & \text{work-VR} & \text{tortilla-VR} \\
\text{mo-soki-} & \text{-wiya} & \text{tla\text{-}kal-owa} \\
\text{REFL-mud-VR} & \text{tortilla-VR} & \text{‘to make tortillas’} \\
\text{‘to get dirty’} & \\
\text{kamanal-} & \text{-owa} & \\
\text{word-VR} & \text{tortilla-VR} & \\
\text{‘to speak’} & \\
\end{align*}\]
ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

In the language as it is spoken today, the stem of most adjectives cannot be identified. They are adjectives in form and function. All adjectives can function as stative verbs or as modifiers of the head in a noun phrase. (See NOUN PHRASE.)

For a complete treatment, see ADJECTIVES.

N + X = ADJ

Nouns plus an adjective marker (see ADJECTIVES) form an adjective.

kama-wak  te-tik
mouth-ADJR rock-ADJR
‘humid’ ‘hard’
ti-yo  sokiti-tla
rock-ADJR mud-CHAR:BY
‘rocky’ ‘muddy’

V + X = ADJ

Verbs plus an adjective marker form an adjective.

tlatekiwiya  tlatekiwi-li
‘He uses things.’ use-ADJR
‘used’
tlapani  tlapan-keca
‘It breaks.’ break-ADJR
‘breakable’

Adverbs

The following adverbs are derived from adjectives. They do not change in form, but the function changes from that of modifying a noun to modifying a verb.

kWali  ‘good’ ADJ  ‘well’ ADV
    aš  teki-ti  kWali
    NEG work-VR  well
    ‘He doesn’t work well.’
čika-wak  ‘strong’ ADJ  ‘fast’ ADV
čikawak  motlalowa
fast  run
‘He runs fast.’
nelia  ‘true’ ADJ  ‘really’ ADV
    nelia  ki-mati  miak
really it-know much
‘He really knows a lot.’
There are very few adverbs that aren’t derived from adjectives; they include:

iyolik 'slowly'  waksa 'suddenly'
isokapa 'quickly'  tlawel 'very'

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

Noun compounds are used so extensively in HN that the following types are likely not exhaustive. All compounds are very closely bound phonologically. The absolutive drops on all except the word-final noun.

\[ N + N = N \]

piyo-pah-tli  
chicken-medicine-ABS

'chicken medicine'

\( N_1 \) is used for or in place of \( N_2 \). The chicken is used for, or in place of, medicine. The chicken is offered as a sacrifice on the hill to appease the spirit, and the patient is thus cured.

tepos-meka-tl  
metal-rope-ABS

'wire'

\( N_2 \) is made of \( N_1 \).

tlaškal-yoyo-mitl  
tortilla-cloth-ABS

'cloth for tortillas'

\( N_2 \) is made for \( N_1 \).

kowa-k'wečma  
snake-rattle

' rattlesnake'

\( N_2 \) describes \( N_1 \).

okič-čičiči  
male-dog

'male dog'

\( N_1 \) describes/modifies \( N_2 \).

tlaltēkpa-tlaka-tl  
earth-man-ABS

'human'

\( N_2 \) is located at \( N_1 \).

tio-pan-kal-i  
god-place-house-ABS

'church'

\( N_1 \) is located at \( N_2 \) or \( N_2 \) is for \( N_1 \).
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šoči-mili
flower-milpa

N₂ is made up of N₁.

N + N + N = N
ma-keč-kos-tli
hand-neck-necklace-ABS

tepos-wic-meka-tl
metal-thorn-rope-ABS

N + N + N + N = N
tok-sin-owa-kal-i
plant-corn-cane-house-ABS

N + N + V = N
tio-čikawal-nešti-li
god-power-show-ABS

ADJ + N = N
to-wei-teko
our-big-boss

ADJ + N + N = N
oselo-kʷa-toči
grey-wood-rabbit

NEG + ADJ + N = N
aš-kʷal-tlaka-tl
NEG-good-man-ABS

NUMR + N = N
čikon-tepe-k
seven-hill-place

There are some nouns that are both compounds and postpositional expressions because the morpheme functioning as a postposition is a complete noun. (See also PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS.)

kal-ihti-k
house-stomach-place

‘garden’

‘bracelet’

‘barbed wire’

‘house of corn stalks’

‘miracle’

‘our Lord’

‘jackrabbit’

‘the devil’

‘seven hills’

‘inside the house’
Verb Compounds

Verb compounds are used extensively in HN. They are all closely bound phonologically. The following examples do not likely exhaust the types.

\[ \text{MOD} + \text{V} = \text{V} \]

- ki-kʷal-tlali
  - it-good-put
  - 'He fixes (puts good) it.'
- ki-sen-kawa
  - it-one-leave
  - 'He fixes (leaves one) it.'
- ki-weyi-čiwa
  - him-big-make
  - 'He praises him.'
- ki-iyoka-tlali
  - it-apart-put
  - 'He separates it.'
- nel-kʷalani
  - really-be:mad
  - 'He really gets mad.'

\[ \text{N} + \text{V} = \text{V} \]

- a-tla-kʷi-ti
  - water-UNSPEC-bring-go
  - 'She will go get water.'
- N is OBJ of V.
- mo-yol-kʷep-ki
  - REFL-heart-turn:around-PAST
  - 'He repented.'
- N is SUBJ of V.
- piyo-pah-tiya
  - chicken-medicine-VR
    - treat
  - 'He treats with a chicken.'
  - N is instrument of V.
- mo-siya-kawa
  - REFL-chair-leave
  - 'to rest'
  - N is location of V.
- mil-tekiti
  - field-work
  - 'He does field work.'
  - N is location of V.
- es-kisa
  - blood-leave
  - 'He is bleeding.'
  - N is SUBJ of V.
- išik-tlaškowa
  - feet-tire
  - 'The feet are tiring.'
  - N is SUBJ of V.
mec-tona
moon-shine

N is SUBJ of V.

ki-tio-čiwa
him-god-do

N is model of V.
a-miki
water-die

(Lack of) N is cause of V.
tlatlakol-eh-ki
sin-be:born-PAST

V is characterized by N.

V + V = V

ki-pa-kaki
it-happy-hear

'He likes to hear it.'

ki-ma-kį̃shṭiya
it-save-take:out

come-lower

'He saves by taking out.'

ki-kʷa-s-neki
it-eat-FUT-want

'He wants to eat it.'

ki-noca-ti-wala
him-call-CONN-come

'He calls as he comes.'

ni-wala-ti-weci
I-come-CONN-fall

'1 come for a minute.'

ni-tlakowa-ti-ya-s
I-buy-CONN-go-FUT

'1 buy as 1 go.'/‘I go and buy.'

ni-h-čiwa-ti-nemi
I-it-do-CONN-walk

'1 habitually do it.'

P + V = V

pan-kisa
on-leave

'It breaks out (as boils, pimples, rash).'

N + N + N = V

ni-kʷa-ś-yoli
I-head -cotton-seed
get white

'I am getting white-headed.'
NOUN PHRASES

There is a great difference between noun phrases (NP) heard in everyday conversation or seen in texts and the length and complexity of NP that can be elicited. In the following NP types comments will be made about those where the expansions are seldom used.

Adjective Phrase

The adjective phrase (AP) occurs in the modifier slot of a general noun phrase (GNP), a possessed noun phrase (PNP), a name noun phrase (NNP), an additive noun phrase (ANP), or a stative sentence. It has a maximum of four positions in its expansion:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\text{NEG} & \text{INTNS} & \text{DEGREE} & \text{ADJ} \\
aş & nelia & weyi & šok\text{w}eci & \text{‘not really greatly crippled’} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{really} & \text{big} & \text{crippled} \\
\end{array}
\]

The INTNS and ADJ are the limit of the expansion of the AP when it occurs in a GNP that has other pre-noun constituents.

General Noun Phrase

The general noun phrase (GNP) is characterized by a noun head and its modifiers. It occurs as the subject, object, indirect object, or locative of a clause. It has five subtypes (described below). This formula describes the order of its possible constituents:

\[
\text{INTNS LIMITER QNT DEM NUMR AP}_1 \ N \ AP_2 \ RAP_1 \ CNJ \ RAP_2 \ldots
\]

nelia san sekin nopa mahtlak-tli yank\text{w}i-k kalandarios really just some those ten-ABS new-ADJR calendars ‘really just some of those ten new calendars’

e ne weyi tlaka-meh k\text{w}a-k\text{w}al-ci tlen walah-ki mēhīko that big-ADJR man-AN:PL RDP-good-ADJR REL come-PAST Mexico ‘those big good men who came from Mexico’

e ne čiši yayawi-k tlen šok\text{w}e-ci Wan tlen k\text{w}ek\text{w}e-ci that dog black-ADJR REL crippled-ADJR and REL small-ADJR ‘that small, black, crippled dog’

In texts the GNP is limited to three constituents before the noun, and only rarely do AP\text{1} and AP\text{2} both occur. When two qualities of a noun are being discussed, one occurs as AP\text{1} or AP\text{2} and the other in a relator axis phrase (RAP) introduced by the relative subordinator tlen. More than two descriptive constituents can occur. The adjectives that occur in AP\text{1} are usually k\text{w}ali ‘good’ and weyi ‘big’. Other adjectives are preferred after the noun.

\[
\text{ne weyi kl-i tlen čipa-wak ‘that big white house’ that big-ADJR house-ABS REL white-ADJR}
\]
Possessed Noun Phrase

The possessed noun phrase (PNP) is a subtype of the GNP. All pre-noun constituents are the same, but the head is a possessed noun and a possessor nominal may occur after it. If there are no pre-head constituents other than the demonstrative, the possessor NP can occur before the head. If the possessor NP occurs after the head, AP$_2$ can't occur. Very seldom is there a pre-head element when the possessor NP occurs.

ne eyi nelia yehyek-ci i-kalì-wa hosé
[those three really pretty-ADJR his-house-POSSD PN]

DEM NUMR AP HEAD POSSR

‘those three really pretty houses of Joe’

Examples found in texts are usually restricted to HEAD + POSSR or HEAD + AP$_2$. These occur more frequently than any pre-head constituent except the DEM.

ne i-kone Wan
that his-child PN

i-ča yehyek-ci
his-house pretty-ADJR

‘that child of John’

The possessor is manifested by a GNP; however either the head or the possessor GNP is limited in complexity when they co-occur.

ne eyi čiši-meh ne wey-i tläka-il
[those three dog-AN:PL that big-ADJR man-ABS]

‘those three dogs of that big man’

Pronoun Phrase

The pronoun phrase (PP) is another subtype of the GNP. It is characterized by a pronoun head and the absence of AP.

san eyi imoWanti
[just three of you]

just three you:PL

nelia miak yaWanti tlen yayawì-k
really many they REL black-ADJR

‘really a lot of them that are black’

Demonstrative Phrase

The demonstrative phrase (DP) is a subtype of the GNP characterized by a pointer constituent, a head manifested by a DEM, and by the absence of any other demonstrative or modifier constituent.

INTNS LIMITER QNT NUMR POINT DEM RAP

noći ya ni tlen čišil-tik
all POINT DEM REL red-ADJR

‘all this that is red’
Name Noun Phrase

The name noun phrase (NNP) is a subtype of GNP characterized by two obligatory heads that have itoka ‘named; called’ either stated or implied between them. The first head can have SNP, APNP, or any type of GNP manifesting it. The second head is manifested most commonly by a name but can also be manifested by any GNP except DP.

nopa wey-i tla-nawa-tih-ke-tl itoka dабid
that big-ADJR UNSPEC-rule-CAUS-AG-ABS called PN
‘that big ruler named David’

Additive Noun Phrase

The additive noun phrase (ANP) is a GNP characterized by an obligatory additive constituent with mas ‘more’. The mas can occur on either side of the head, replacing an AP.

miak mas kone-meh k\textsuperscript{W}ek\textsuperscript{W}-e-ci ‘many more small children’
many more child-AN:PL small-ADJR

eyi tlaka-meh mas ‘three men more’
three man-AN:PL more

Series Noun Phrase

The series noun phrase (SNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by three obligatory constituents, a head, a CNJ, and a second head. Either or both heads may be manifested by an AP, APNP, or any type of GNP. These can be preceded by other optional heads; the maximum found in texts is four.

sin-tli Ɂarkaka e-tl Wan čil-i
corn-ABS panela bean-ABS and pepper-ABS
‘corn, panela, beans, and peppers’

Apposition Noun Phrase

The apposition noun phrase (APNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by two obligatory heads occurring contiguously that are in apposition one to the other. The heads are manifested by locative expressions, temporal expressions, SNP, or any type of GNP. The second head can be manifested by a relative clause introduced by tlen.

imoWanti tata-meh nana-meh telpoka-meh iθpoka-meh
you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL fellow-AN:PL young-AN:PL lady
okč-pil-meh siwa-pil-meh ši-walak-kah
male-DIM-AN:PL woman-DIM-AN:PL IMP-come-IMP:PL
boy girl
‘You all—fathers, mothers, fellows, young ladies, boys, girls—come!’
no-wewe  tlen  imo-teko  ‘my husband, your PL boss’
my-husband  REL  your:PL-boss

Relator Axis Phrase

Relator axis phrases (RAP) have as relator the relative marker tlen or katli, a preposition or a postposition on a noun, or possessor pronoun plus postposition functioning as a preposition-type unit (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS). They divide themselves into subtypes on the basis of where they occur in the clause and whether their axis can be a NP, a clause, or either.

Locative Phrase

The locative phrase (LP) functions as the locative constituent of the clause. Its relators include: i-pan ‘in, on’, asta ‘to’, i-tekpak ‘above’, kampa ‘where’, kanke ‘where’, tla-cin-tla ‘below’, and yawaltik ‘around’. The axis can be any GNP, a SNP, an AP, a RAP, or a locative expression. The relator kanke can also take a clause as its axis.

i-pan  noči  ni  to-tlal  ‘in all this our land’
it's-place  all  this  our-land
kanke  in-ic-toya  ‘where you all were’
where  you:PL-be-PAST:PERF

Temporal Phrase

The temporal phrase (TP) occurs in the time position of a clause. The relators include i-pan ‘in, on’, para ‘for’, asta ‘til’, and keha ‘like’. The axis of a TP may be a temporal expression, a GNP, a NP, a SNP, or an APNP with a time word as head. asta ‘til’ can have a clause as axis.

i-pan  eyi  tonati  (W)  ‘in three days’
it's-place  three  day

Associative Phrase

The associative phrase (ASP) has a possessor pronominal prefix with the postposition -ka as its relator and has as axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause. It occupies the manner position of the clause.

i-ka  ne  seki=nok  ‘with those others’
its-with  those  some=again
with
i-ka  seh  wey-i  mačete  ‘with a big machete’
with  one  big-ADJR  machete
i-ka  tlen  ki-maka-k  ‘with what he gave him’
with  REL  him-give-PAST
Objective Phrase

The objective phrase (OP) occupies the subject or object position of a clause or the RAP of a DP. The relators include tlen ‘who, that, about’, katli ‘who, that’, and tlački ‘what’. The axis is AP, SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause.

ni-h-temiki tlen čikomeh wakaš-meh
I-it-dreamed about seven cow-AN:PL
‘I dreamed about seven cows.’

neč-pak-ti’ tlen ki-čih-ki
me-happy-CAUS:PAST REL it-do-PAST
pleased
‘What he did pleased me.’

Comparative Phrase

The comparative phrase (CP) has relators that include kenike ‘as many as’, kenikača ‘like’, and keha ‘like’, and as its axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause. It can occur as object if kenike is the relator. Otherwise it occurs as manner or comparative constituent of the clause.

si-h-kowa iWikal kenike ti-h-koh-ki čikweyi-ya
IMP-it-buy same as:many you-it-buy-PAST eight-ago
‘Buy the same amount as you bought last week.’

ni-h-walika-k seh keha ti-h-neki
I-it-bring-PAST one like you-it-want
‘I brought one like you want.’

Benefactive Phrase

The benefactive phrase (BP) can have para ‘for’ or a possessor pronoun prefix with the postposition -pampa ‘because of’ as its relator. The axis is SNP, APNP, or any GNP. The BP occurs as benefactive of the clause.

para no-siwa
for my-wife
‘for my wife’

no-pampa na
my-because I
‘because of me’

Purpose Phrase

The purpose phrase (PURP) has para ‘for’ as relator and a clause as axis and occurs in the purpose constituent of the clause.

neč-maka-k para ti-h-wika-s ‘He gave it to me for you to take.’
me-give-PAST for you-it-take-FUT
BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Nouns in HN are not inflected for nominative, accusative, or genitive.

**Absolutive**

The absolutives are -tl, which occurs after vowel-final stems; -tlī, which occurs after consonant-final stems; -li, which occurs after all l- final stems (the l of the absolute becomes 0 after l), and on nouns derived from verbs; -ci ‘diminutive’; and 0. Many nouns end in -mi-tl, of which the -tl is clearly an absolute and the -mi is unidentifiable: voyo-mi-tl ‘cloth’. When a word ending in -mitl is possessed, the entire syllable drops off instead of just the -tl: no-yoyo ‘my clothes’. Therefore we are considering -mitl an absolute. The few nouns that end in -yitl also drop the entire ending when possessed: k-weyitl ‘skirt’, no-k-ve ‘my skirt’. Nouns that end in -witl are numerous; however, only some of them drop the entire ending when possessed: k-awitl ‘tree’, no-k-wa ‘my tree’; siwitl ‘rb’, no-siwi ‘my herb’. These require further study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tlaka-tl</th>
<th>tla-ix-pa-mitl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-ABS</td>
<td>UNSPEC-face-place-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>‘altar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mec-tli</td>
<td>komal-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg-ABS</td>
<td>griddle-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td>‘griddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla-k-wa-li</td>
<td>kone-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC-eat-ABS</td>
<td>child-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘food’</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absolutive drops when the noun is inflected. In compounds the absolutive drops on all non-final nouns. Only the -i of the -li absolutive drops for possession and postpositions, but the -li remains when Class I plurals are added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no-tlaka</th>
<th>‘my man’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-tlaišpa</td>
<td>‘my altar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no-mec</th>
<th>‘my leg’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-komal</td>
<td>‘my griddle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no-tlak-wal</th>
<th>‘my food’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-kone</td>
<td>‘my child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural**

In the E dialect the nouns divide themselves into five classes on the basis of their plural. Class I includes all animate nouns (that do not have -ci when singular), and they occur with -meh ‘animate plural’. Class II end in -ci ‘diminutive absolute’ in the singular and form their plural by reduplication of the absolutive, yielding -cici ‘diminutive plural’. Class III are inanimate nouns that are pluralized by suffixing -tinih ‘inanimate plural’. Class IV are inanimate nouns that are identical in singular and plural, that is to say, they suffix 0. Class V consists of animate nouns that are derived from verbs and that end in -ke-tl (AG-ABS). They either form their plural by dropping the entire -ketl and adding -mi (after vowels) or -ani (after consonants),
or they drop only the absolutive and add -meh. Notice in the examples below that Class I, III, and IV do not have any particular absolutive that characterizes them. The absolutive -li does not drop before -meh is added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class I -meh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlaka-tl</td>
<td>tlaka-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totol-i</td>
<td>totol-i-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekpi-mitl</td>
<td>tekpi-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesoh-tli</td>
<td>pesoh-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pico</td>
<td>pico-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class II -cici</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayoh-ci</td>
<td>ayoh-cici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata-ci</td>
<td>tata-cici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pil-kwał-a-ci</td>
<td>pil-kwał-a-cici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class III -tinih</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepe-tl</td>
<td>tepe-tinih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal-i</td>
<td>kal-tinih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macah-tli</td>
<td>macah-tinih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwačo-mitl</td>
<td>kwačo-n-tinih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lalaš</td>
<td>lalaš-tinih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class IV -Ø</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šoči-tl</td>
<td>šoči-tl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlapoč-tli</td>
<td>tlapoč-tli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoyo-mitl</td>
<td>yoyo-mitl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlačwa-li</td>
<td>tlačwa-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class V -(a)ni / -meh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokol-ke-tl</td>
<td>kokol-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokol-ke-meh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlamačti-ke-tl</td>
<td>tlamačti-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlamačti-ke-meh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The W dialect uses -meh for animate and inanimate nouns. They do not have the plural -tinih. They have the plurals that characterize Class I, II, IV, and V, but the members of each class differ some from the members in the E dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal-tinih</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal-meh</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayoh-cici</td>
<td>‘turtles’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayoh-meh</td>
<td>‘turtles’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The animate plural -meh also occurs on some quantifiers and numerals. (See QUANTIFIERS and NUMERALS.)

ności-meh  ėikwase-meh
all-AN:PL  six-AN:PL
‘all of them’  ‘six living things’

**Vocative**

The vocative form can occur on a few nouns, changing the final vowel to e, and can optionally change the stress to the final syllable.

nana  ‘mother’  nané  ‘woman!’

tata  ‘father’  taté  ‘father!’

**POSSESSIVES**

**Possessor Markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mo-  (E) imo-,  (W) amo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>i-   in-, inin-, ini-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessor prefixes occur initially on the noun or postposition. The three third person plural forms are identical in meaning. The absolutive always is dropped when the possessive is added.

**Possessed Markers**

The vast majority of singular possessed items are unmarked. Singular nouns that are derived from verbs by the agentive -ke-tl are marked with -ka when possessed.

tlamačtiya  ‘He teaches.’

tlamačtih-ke-tl  ‘teacher’

no-tlamačtih-ka  ‘my teacher’

In the E dialect, singular nouns that end in h, and are only one syllable long when the absolutive is dropped, add -wi when possessed.

pah-tli  ‘medicine’

no-pah-wi  ‘my medicine’

In the W dialect, singular nouns that end in h when the absolutive is dropped add -wi when possessed regardless of the number of syllables.

macah-tli  ‘pineapple’

no-macah-wi  ‘my pineapple’
All plural items that are possessed add -wa after dropping the absolutive.

tlaka-tl 'man'
no-tlaka 'my man'
no-tlaka-wa 'my men'
komal-i 'griddle'
no-komal 'my griddle'
no-komal-wa 'my griddles'

Nouns that end in -ke-tl 'agent' when unpossessed retain the -ka and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

tlamačtiya 'he teaches'
tlamačtih-ke-tl 'teacher'
no-tlamačtih-ka 'my teacher'
no-tlamačtih-ka-wa 'my teachers'

Plural nouns in the E dialect that end in h and are one syllable long after the absolutive is dropped retain the -wi from the singular possessed form and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

oh-tli 'road'
no-oh-wi 'my road'
no-oh-wi-wa 'my roads'

Plural nouns in the W dialect that end in h after the absolutive is dropped add the -wa 'plural possessed object', replacing the -wi 'singular possessed object'.

oh-tli 'road'
no-oh-wi 'my road'
no-oh-wa 'my roads'

Possessed words can be marked for inalienability by -yo/-o, but are not marked for alienability.

naka-tl 'meat'
no-naka-yo 'my flesh'
estli 'blood'
no-es-o 'my blood'

The plural -wa is not commonly used when the -yo is used, but if it is, the order is -yo-wa.

no-omi-yo-wa 'my bones'
my-bone-INAL-POSS:PL

Syntax

The possessed noun may be the head of a noun phrase, forming a possessed noun phrase (PNP) (see NOUN PHRASES). The possessor noun may be the head of a general noun phrase (GNP). When these come together, just the heads usually occur, and either order is acceptable.
Wan  i-nana ‘John’s mother’
PN  his-mother
i-nana  Wan ‘John’s mother’
his-mother  PN

If the POSSD NP is first and is expanded, the GNP indicating the possessor may not be expanded.

ne  yehyek-ci  i-kamanal  to-teko  ‘that pretty word of God’
that  pretty-DIM  his-word  our-boss

If the POSSD NP is first and is not expanded, the possessor head of the GNP may be modified, causing discontinuity.

ini-čiči-wa  ne  eyi  siwa-meh  ‘those three women’s dogs’
their-dog-POSSD:PL  those  three  woman-AN:PL

If the GNP indicating POSSR is first, the POSSD NP can only be expanded after the head.

ne  eyi  siwa-meh  inin-čiči-wa  wey-i
those  three  woman-AN:PL  their-dog-POSSD:PL  big-ADJR
‘those three women’s big dogs’

There is often recursion.

i-čiči  i-ikni  no-awi ‘my aunt’s brother’s dog’
his-dog  her-brother  my-aunt

Reflexive possessive is marked by a bound possessor and an independent pronoun with an optional tlen REL preceding it.

no-čiči  (tlen)  na  ‘my own dog’
my-dog  REL  I

Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronoun is very common and is always possessed:  -aška, aška-wa.
It occurs as subject or object or in a stative sentence.

no-aška  yah-ki ‘Mine went.’
my-possession  go-PAST
ni-k-ita-k  no-aška-wa ‘I saw my things.’
I-it-see-PAST  my-possession-POSSD:PL
ni  čiči  no-aška  ‘This dog is-mine.’
this  dog  my-possession

It can also be inflected as a verb.

mo-aška-tih-ki  ‘He took possession of it.’
REFL-possession-VR-PAST
Spanish loans are possessed as other nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mesah</th>
<th>'table'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-mesah</td>
<td>'my table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-meşah-wa</td>
<td>'my tables'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

All kinship terms, body parts, and a limited group of other nouns are always possessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no-awi</th>
<th>'my aunt'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-ma</td>
<td>'my hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-ça</td>
<td>'my house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

Prepositions

Prepositions are independent words and occur as relator to a relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

- asta        | 'to, until' |
- para        | 'for'       |
- kampa       | 'where'     |
- yawaltik    | 'around'    |
- keha        | 'like'      |
- wehka       | 'far from'  |
- nečka       | 'near to, close to' |
- kenike      | 'as many'   |

ni-motlaloh-ki asta mo-ça  'I ran to your house.'
1-run-PAST to your-house

ki-mik-tí' seh piyó para imoWanti  'He killed a chicken for you all.'
it-die-CAUS:PAST a chicken for you:PL

ši-h-tlali kampa pwerta  'Put it at the door.'
IMP-it-put where door

el-tok a-tl yawaltik no-ça  'There is water around my house.'
be-STAT water-ABS around my-house

ni-čik-ki miak keha yaWanti  'I waited a lot like they (did).'</n-wait-PAST many like they

yah-ki wehka i-tlal  'He went far from his land.'
go-PAST far:from his:land

ic-tok-eh tokon-cici nečka no-mila  'There are tejones close to my field.'
be-STAT-PL tejon-PL close:to my-field
ma ki-čiwa-kah iWikal kenike i-miak-a adobes
EXHRT it-make-EXHRT:PL same as:many its-many-POSSD:PL adobes

‘Have them make the same number of adobes.’

Postpositions

Postpositions are suffixed to the end of possessor pronoun prefixes or a noun. They may occur with any possessor pronoun prefix, but the third person singular is most frequently used. Postpositions may function as the relator of relator axis phrases, and the possessor prefix is a pronoun copy of the head of the axis and agrees in person and number. (See NOUN PHRASES.)

Postpositions that occur with possessor pronoun prefixes:

-waya ‘with’
-pa, -pan ‘on, in’
-ka ‘with’
-pampa ‘because of’
-cala ‘underneath, among’
-teki ‘in place of’
-cin-tla ‘below’
-con-pak ‘above’
-neč-ka ‘beside’
-ika ‘behind’
-teno ‘beside, against’
-iš-ko ‘top of’

yahaya yah-ki inin-waya i-ikni-wa
he go-PAST their-with his-brother-POSSD:PL
‘He went with his brothers.’

ни-х-как-тэh-ki i-pan ne tläpeč-tli
I-it-leave-leaving-PAST its-place that bed-ABS
‘I left it on that bed.’

ki-koh-ki i-ka i-tornи ya
it-buy-PAST its-with his-money he
‘He bought it with his own money.’

yahaya mih-ki no-pampa na
he die-PAST my-because I
‘He died for me.’

ни-х-pintar-o i-cala ne mesah
I-it-paint-VR:PAST its-bottom that table
‘I painted the underneath of the table.’

teki-ti-s i-pan no-teki na
work-VR:FUT its-place my-place I
‘He will work in place of me.’
wec-ki  i-cin-tla  ne  siya
fall-PAST  its-bottom-place  that  chair
'It fell below that chair.'

ki-temo-wi-k-eh  i-con-pak  hesós
him-lower-TRNS-PAST-PL  his-head-place  PN
'They lowered him above Jesus' head.'

ki-panti'  i-neč-ka  ne  kwa-wi-tl
it-found  its-near-place  that  tree-ABS
'He found it beside that tree.'

ic-toya  seh  čiči  no-ika
be-PAST:PERF  one  dog  my-behind
'There was a dog behind me.'

ki-ita-k  i-teno  nopa  al-tepe-tl
it-see-PAST  its-beside  that  town-ABS
'He saw it at the edge of that town.'

seh  miš-tli  ki-cah-ki  nopa  tepe-tl  i-iš-ko
one  cloud-ABS  it-close-PAST  that  hill-ABS  its-face-place
'A cloud covered the top of that mountain.'

Simple postpositions that can occur with nouns,

-teno  'outside of, edge'
-cala  'among'
-ika  'behind'
-tla  'at, place'
-teč  'corner of'
-ko  'place'
-ka  'place'  (on  special  verbs  and  adverbs)
-pa  'place'

After the absolutive drops, the postpositions are added to nouns and the entire noun can then be possessed. Possessor prefixes alone indicate possession, but possessed suffixes are never added.

el-tok  kal-teno
be-STAT  house-outside
'It is outside.'

ši-h-tlali  no-kal-teno
IMP-it-put  my-house-outside
'Put it outside my house.'

ki-tlali-to  aka-cala  a-ten-tli
him-put-went  reed-among  water-edge-ABS  of  the  water.'

ni-h-kah-teh-ki  kal-ika
'I left it behind the house.'

I-it-leave-leaving-PAST  house-behind
amo  ši-ya  ne  soki-tla
NEG  IMP-go  that  mud-place
'Don't go to that muddy place.'
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ši-h-tali no-kal-teč
IMP-it-put my-house-corner

‘Put it in the corner of my house.’

ti-mo-panti-k-eh nepa a-mel-ko
we-REFL-find-PAST-PL there water-spring-place

‘We met at the spring.’

-ka on verbs (not derived from -ket):

eyi metro i-welkah-ka
three meter its-far-place

‘Its length is three meters.’

ši-h-čiva i-kWi-aca-ka
IMP-it-do its-head-close-place

‘Make its roof.’

Complex postpositions that can occur with nouns:

-ihti-k
‘inside of’ (stomach-place)

-cin-tla
‘below’ (bottom-place)

-ma-pa
‘hand of’ (hand-place)

-con-pak
‘above’ (head-place)

-iš-pa
‘front of’ (face-place)

-iš-ko
‘top of’ (face-place)

-tla-teno
‘edge of’ (place-side)

-tla-pa
‘place’ (place-place)

mo-neki seh piso tio-pan-kal-ihti-k
REFL-want a floor god-place-house-stomach-place

‘A floor is needed inside the church.’

ne médiko ki-tlačılıh-ki i-nakas-ihti-k
that doctor it-look-PAST his-ear-stomach-place

‘That doctor looked inside his ear.’

koč-ki kWi-cin-tla
sleep-PAST tree-bottom-place

‘He slept below the tree.’

ni-teki-tl-yaya i-kal-ma-pa
I-work-VR-PAST:DUR his-house-hand-place

‘I was working under the eave of his house.’

ki-tleko-k kal-con-pak
it-climb-PAST house-head-place

‘He climbed above the house.’

mo-keca-yaya no-kaš-š-pa
REFL-stand-PAST:DUR my-house-face-place

‘He was standing in front of my house.’

ne bako neh-ken-kı a-iš-ko
that boat RDP-walk-PAST water-face-place

‘That boat walked on top of the water.’

ni-yah-ki a-tla-teno
I-go-PAST water-place-side

‘I went to the edge of the water.’

ki-koko-wa i-kWi-tla-pa
him-hurt-TRNS his-dung-place-place

‘His back hurts.’
Notice that this postposition is attached to a verb, miki ‘to die’.

aʃ ya-s mik-tla  ‘He won’t go to hell.’
NEG go-FUT die-place

DEMONSTRATIVES

ni  ‘this’ (in sight)
ne  ‘that’ (in sight, more distant)
nop a  ‘that’ (out of sight)
in i  ‘this’ (emphatic, in sight)
in o  ‘that’ (emphatic, in sight)
ya ni  ‘this’ (emphatic, in sight)
ya ne  ‘that’ (emphatic, in sight)
ya nop a  ‘that’ (emphatic, out of sight)
ahkey a  ‘who, which’ (question word)
i m oWanti  ‘you all’

Demonstratives indicate proximal and distal contrasts, visible and invisible, and emphasis. The emphatic form is the third person singular subject pronoun, occurring with the simple demonstratives. Demonstratives precede the head noun, and nothing outside the noun phrase can occur between the demonstrative and the head noun. A numeral and a modifier can optionally occur between the demonstrative and the head noun (see NOUN PHRASES). Demonstratives are not inflected.

ši-h-wika ni ama-tl  ‘Take this paper.’
IMP-it-take this paper-ABS
ni-h-wika-s ne ama-tl  ‘I will take that paper.’
1-it-take-FUT that paper-ABS
nop a wey-i kal-i tlatla-k  ‘That big house burned.’
that big-ADJR house-ABS burn-PAST
ini siwa-pil-meh owi-k-eh  ‘These little girls are difficult (to these woman-DIM-AN:PL difficult-ADJR-PL handle).’
ken a in o tlaka-tl  ‘Yes, that man.’
yes that man-ABS
in o tlaka-tl tlawilan-ki  ‘That is the man that fought.’
that man-ABS fight-PAST

The emphatic demonstratives more commonly stand alone replacing the head of a general noun phrase (GNP).

ni-h-koh-ki ya ni  ‘I bought this.’
I-it-buy-PAST it this
this:EMPH
aš ni-h-neki ya ne ‘I don’t want that.’
NEG I-it-want it that that:EMPH:VIS

ni-h-kah-teki ya nopa ‘I left that.’
I-it-leave-left it that that:EMPH:INVIS

They can also modify a noun head.
i-h-neki ya ni komal-l ‘I want this griddle.’
I-it-want it this comal-ABS this:EMPH

Other things that function like demonstratives:
ahke-ya tlaka-tl yah-ki ‘Which man went?’
which-he man-ABS go-PAST

imoWanti siwa-meh ši-tlašpana-ti-h tiankis
you:PL woman-AN:PL IMP-sweep-go-PL plaza
‘You all women go sweep the plaza.’

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adverbial demonstratives are not inflected or modified.
nikani (E) ‘here’ (in sight)
nika (W) ‘here’ (in sight)
nepa ‘there’
neka ‘over there’
nopano (E) ‘there’ (emphatic)
nopona (W) ‘there’ (emphatic)
keha ni ‘in this manner’ (‘like this’)
keha ne ‘in that manner’ (‘like that’)
keha nopa ‘in that manner’ (‘as discussed’)
ama ‘now’
amanci ‘right now’
wałka ‘then’
kanke ‘where’ (question word)
kehaca ‘how’ (question word)
keema ‘when’ (question word)

ši-h-talai nikani (E)
IMP-it-put here
ni-walak-ki nika yalowa (W)
I-come-PAST here yesterday

Put it here.’
"I came here yesterday."
kena ni-yah-ki nepa
yes I-go-PAST there
‘Yes, I went there.’

ši-h-kalaki neka kal-ihtk
IMP-it-enter over:there house-stomach-place
‘Put it over there inside the house.’
nikani ‘Here?’
here
kena nopono (E) ‘Yes, there.’
yes there
nika ‘Here?’
here
kena nopono (W) ‘Yes, there.’
yes there
ši-h-čiwa keha ni
IMP-it-do like this
‘Do it like this.’ (visible proximal)
amo ši-h-čiwa keha ne
NEG IMP-it-do like that
‘Don’t do it like that.’ (visible distal)
ni-h-senkah-ki keha nopa
I-it-fix-PAST like that
‘I fixed it like that.’ (in the manner
discussed but not seen)
walah-ki ama
come-PAST now
‘He came now (this day).’
aman-ci ši-ya mo-ča
now-DIM IMP-go your-home
‘Go home right now.’

ki-koh-ki seh aži tla-li Wan wahka ki-čih-ki i-ča
it-buy-PAST a little land-ABS and then it-make-PAST his-home
‘He bought land, and then he made his home.’
kanke in-yah-k-eh yalwaya ‘Where did you all go yesterday?’
where you:PL-go-PAST-PL yesterday
kehaca ti-k-i-k mo-pah-wi ‘How did you take your medicine?’
how you-it-take-PAST your-medicine-POSSD
kema mih-ki mo-kon ‘When did your child die?’
when die-PAST your-child

QUANTIFIERS

Morphology

Quantifiers are generally not inflected; however some can occur with a clitic, a
possessor pronoun prefix, or a plural suffix.

miak ‘many, much, most’
noči ‘all’
seh seh ‘each’
seh ome ‘some’ (inanimate)
san ‘only’
sekin ‘some’ (animate)
ači ‘a little’
noči-pa ‘always’ (all-place)
kęski ‘how many’ (question word)

miak wakaš-meh ‘many cows’
many cow-AN:PL
noči y'aWanti ‘all of them’
all they
seh seh imoWanti ‘each one of you’
one one you:PL
seh one lalaš ‘some oranges’
one two orange
san ne ama-tl ‘just that paper’
just that paper-ABS
sekin siwa-pil-meh ‘some girls’
some woman-little-AN:PL
ači tomi ‘a little money’
a:little money
ti-ic-tos-eh para nočipa ‘We will live forever.’
we-be-FUT:DUR-PL for always
kęski lalaš ti-h-neki ‘How many oranges do you want?’
how:many orange you-it-want

All quantifiers can be negated with aš (or amo (W)) occurring before them.
aš miak tlaka-meh walah-k-eh ‘Not many men came.’
NEG many man-AN:PL come-PAST-PL

Some quantifiers can occur with the clitic =ok ‘again’.
sekin=ok ‘others of a different class’
some=again
ači=yok ‘some more’
a:little=again
kęski=yok ‘how many others’
how:many=again

The quantifier noči can occur with the animate plural -meh.
noči-meh mih-k-eh ‘Everyone (living) died.’
all-AN:PL die-PAST-PL
Syntax

The quantifier miak ‘many’ can be used as a predicate.

miak i-tomi ‘He has a lot of money.’
much his-money

The quantifiers ači, miak, and noči can be intensified with nelía before them.

nelía ači neč-maka-k ‘She really gave me a little.’
really a:little me-give-PAST
nelía miak wec-ki ‘Really a lot fell.’
really many fall-PAST
nelía noči tlaka-meh miki-s-eh ‘Really all men will die.’
really all man-AN:PL die-FUT-PL

The quantifier miak ‘many’ can be possessed.

ši-hčiwa iWiikal keniki i-miak-a adobes
IMP-it-make same as its-many-POSSD:PL adobes
‘Make the same number of adobes (as before).’

The quantifiers occur modifying a noun or pronoun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES) with the following order:

QNT DEM NUMR ADJ N
sekin nopa mahtlak-tli weh-vey-i tlaka-meh
some those ten-ABS RDP:PL-big-ADJR man-AN:PL
‘some of those ten big men’

Quantifiers can replace the head noun.

miak yah-k-eh ‘Many went.’
many go-PAST-PL

Partitive constructions have tlen ‘of’ between the quantifier and the noun. In that case sekin ‘some’ takes the place of the head noun, and the remaining phrase is a relator axis phrase.

sekin tlen nopa tlaka-meh ‘some of those men’
some of those man-AN:PL
sekin tlaka-meh ‘some men’
some man-AN:PL

Some constructions inherently mean ‘some of those’. Quantifiers before pronouns or numbers often carry this sense. However tlen ‘of’ can be inserted if there is emphasis.

sekin imoWanti ‘some of you’
some you:PL
sekin ne mahtlak-tli tlaka-meh  ‘some of those ten men’
some those ten-ABS man-AN:PL

sekin tlen imoWanti  ‘some of you’
some of you:PL

NUMERALS

Elements

se                        one
ome                       two
eyi                       three
nawi                      four
makWI-li                  five
čik-wa-seh                six  (five-and-one)
čik-ome                   seven (five-two)
čik-w-eyi                 eight (five-and-three)
čik-nawi                  nine (five-four)
mahtlak-tli               ten
mahtlak-tli wan seh       eleven (ten and one)
kašto-li                  fifteen
kašto-li wan seh          sixteen (fifteen and one)
sempwa-li                 twenty

Morphology

The numerals ‘five’, ‘ten’, ‘fifteen’, and ‘twenty’ have an absolutive that only
drops before -meh animate plural. ‘Five’ makWI-li comes from ‘hand’ (no-ma ‘my
hand’); afterward čik means ‘five’. ‘Twenty’ is sem-pwali ‘one count’.

Numerals can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes, animate plural -meh,
-ya ‘ago’, the clitic =ya ‘already’, =ok ‘again, more’, -pa ‘times’, -kak ‘place’, -ci/-cici
‘just’.

Any numeral can occur with a subject prefix.

ti-ome-h  ‘We are two.’
we-two-PL

ti-ome-h  ti-yah-k-eh  ‘We two went.’
we-two-PL  we-go-PAST-PL

in-nawi  si-ya-kah  nepa  ‘You four go there.’
you:PL-four IMP-go-IMP:PL there
The numerals ‘five’, ‘six’, and ‘ten’ can occur with animate plural suffix -meh. These occur when the referent is known, and the numeral becomes the head of the noun phrase.

mak\textsuperscript{Wil-meh} walah-k-eh \hspace{1cm} ‘Five (living things) came.’
\text{five-AN:PL} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{come-PAST-PL}

ic-tok-eh san \text{čik-wa-seh-meh} \hspace{1cm} ‘There are just six (living things).’
\text{be-STAT-PL} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{just five-and-one-AN:PL}

The numerals ‘eight’ and ‘fifteen’ can be inflected with -\text{ya} ‘(days) ago’. When they occur in the time position of the clause with -\text{∅}, they mean ‘days from now’.

čik-we-yi-ya \hspace{0.5cm} ni-yah-ki čikon-tepek
\hspace{1cm} ‘Eight days ago (a week ago) I went to Chicontepec.’
\text{five-and-three-ago} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{I-go-PAST} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{seven-hill}

kašto-li-ya \hspace{0.5cm} tlakat-ki no-kone
\hspace{1cm} ‘My child was born two weeks ago.’
\text{fifteen-ABS-ago} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{be:born-PAST} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{my-child}

ni-y-	ext{a}s čik-w-eyi
\hspace{1cm} ‘I will go a week from now.’
\text{I-go-FUT} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{five-and-three}

ni-h-tlam-\text{i}s kašto-li
\hspace{1cm} ‘I will finish it in fifteen days.’
\text{I-it-END-FUT} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{fifteen-ABS}

Numerals occurring with the clitic =\text{ya} ‘already’:

\text{ki-piya} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{ome}=\text{ya} \hspace{0.5cm} i-kone-wa
\hspace{1cm} ‘He already has two children.’
\text{it-have} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{two}=\text{already} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{his-child-POSSD:PL}

Numerals can occur with the clitic =\text{ok} ‘again, more’ (see Clitics).

\text{se} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{yok} \hspace{1cm} ‘another’
\text{one}=\text{again}

mak\textsuperscript{W}i-li=yok lalaš
\hspace{1cm} ‘five more oranges’
\text{five-ABS}=\text{again} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{orange}

Numerals occurring with -\text{pa} ‘times’ have various meanings.

\text{si-h-tolo} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{ni} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{ome} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{san} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{sem-pa}
\hspace{1cm} ‘Swallow these two at the same time.’
\text{IMP-it-swallow} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{these two} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{just one-time}

\text{sam-pa} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{si-wala}
\hspace{1cm} ‘Come again.’
\text{one-time} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{IMP-come}

We are considering \text{sam} to be ‘one’ because some speakers use \text{sampa} to mean ‘again’ and ‘at the same time’. Other speakers divide them as the examples do. The word for ‘just’ is \text{san}. The \text{W} dialect uses \text{sempa} to mean ‘again’ and ‘at the same time’.

\text{si-h-tolo} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{seh} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{pastiya} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{e\text{̃}k-pa}
\hspace{1cm} ‘Take one pill three times a day.’
\text{IMP-it-swallow} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{one pill} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{three-time}
ya=om-pa ni-walah-ki 'Already I came twice.'
    already=two-time I-come-PAST

    Numerals with -kak 'places':
    seh mačete tlen tla-tekí on-kak 'a two-edged sword'
        one machete that UNSPEC-cut two-place
    ni-yah-ki eš-kak
        I-go-PAST three-place

    Limited numerals:
    seh-ci
        'just one'
    one-DIM
    omen-ci-ci
        'just two'
    two-RDP-DIM
    eyi-ci-ci
        'just three'
    three-RDP-DIM

    The initial CV is reduplicated or the initial vowel is reduplicated with an h after
    it to show distribution.
    se-sen-ci-ci
        'one by one'
    RDP-one-RDP-DIM
    oh-ome-ci-ci
        'two by two'
    RDP-two-RDP-DIM
    eh-eyi-ci-ci
        'three by three'
    RDP-three-RDP-DIM

    The suffix -pa on a numeral indicates an ordinal in the numerals 'two' and
    upward. The numeral 'one' has a completely different ordinal form, ačtowi 'first'.

    ačtowi
        'first'
    i-om-pa-ka=ya
        'second time'
    its-two-time-place=already
    i-eš-pa-ka=ya
        'third time'
    its-three-time-place=already
    ne tłaka-tl ačtowi
        'that first man'
    that man-ABS first
    ne i-om-pa tłaka-tl
        'that second man'
    that its-two-time man-ABS
    ne i-eš-pa tłaka-tl
        'that third man'
    that its-three-time man-ABS
The numerals seh 'one' and one 'two' are often used with special significance.

i-sel-\text{-ti} \quad \text{‘alone, by himself’}
his-one-VR

ki-maka-k seh sen yaWanti \quad \text{‘He gave it to each one of them.’}
him-give-PAST one one them

noči ome yaWanti yah-ki \quad \text{‘Both of them went.’}
all two they go-PAST

seh-ko \quad \text{‘together’}
one-place

san eyi tlaka-meh \quad \text{‘just three men’}
just three man-AN:PL

Numerals compounded with nouns for place names:
čik-on-tepe-k \quad \text{‘seven hills (Chicontepec)’}
five-two-hill-place

Syntax

Numerals occur after the demonstrative and before the modifier and noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

ne eyi wey-i tlaka-meh \quad \text{‘those three big men’}
those three big-ADJR man-AN:PL

Numerals can act as the head of the noun phrase.

noči eyi yah-ki \quad \text{‘All three went.’}
all three go-PAST
eyi tlen imoWanti \quad \text{‘three of you’}
three of you:PL

ADJECTIVES

Adjective Markings

Adjectives consist of a stem plus an adjective marker. The adjective markers are -k, -tik, -wak, -qi, -li, -tok, -ka, -wa, -yo, -i (after land y), -titla, and -keca. Some of these can be inflected for plural.

The suffix -k occurs after vowel-final adjective stems and -tik occurs after consonant-final stems or single-syllable stems. These adjectives add -eh for plural.

seh wapal-i weweya-k \quad \text{‘a long plank’}
one plank-ABS long-ADJR:(SG)
miak wapal-i  weweya-k-eh   ‘many long planks’
many plank-ABS long-ADJR-PL

Other adjectives with these markers include:

alaš-tik, alaš-tik-eh   ‘smooth’
cilin-tik, cilin-tik-eh   ‘hard, solid’ (as oak)
te-tik,   te-tik-eh   ‘hard’ (as rock)
rock-ADJR rock-ADJR-PL

We are considering -wak a marker in its entirety instead of considering just the -k of these adjectives as the marker. Adjectives marked with -wak suffix -eh for plural. Compare the following with the words that are marked by -k.

tila-wak, tila-wak-eh   ‘thick’
patla-wak, patla-wak-eh   ‘wide’
kama-wak, kama-wak-eh   ‘humid’

Adjectives marked with -ci are pluralized by reduplicating the -ci to form -cici. These forms are identical to the diminutive that occurs on nouns (see NOUN MORPHOLOGY).

seh iępoka-tl yehyek-ci   ‘a pretty girl’
one girl-ABS pretty-ADJR
miak iępoka-meh yehyek-ci-ci   ‘many pretty girls’
many girl-AN:PL pretty-RDP:PL-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -ci include:
kokoštške-ci, kokoštške-ci-ci   ‘thin’
kʷeke-ci, kʷeke-ci-ci   ‘small’

Adjectives with -li are identical for singular and plural. They consist of tla + VERB + li (UNSPEC:OBJ + V + ADJR).

ki-namaka yoyo-mitl tla-teki-wi-li   ‘He sells used clothes.’
it-sell cloth-ABS UNSPEC-work-VR-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -li include:

tla-kowi-li   ‘bought’
UNSPEC-buy-ADJR

tla-sen-kawi-li   ‘fixed’
UNSPEC-one-leave-ADJR
fix
Adjectives marked with -tok add -eh to form -tokeh for plural. This is the present perfect or stative form of the verb, but on many verbs this form functions as an adjective.

wakiya
seh tla-i wak-tok
one land-ABS dry-ADJR

'It is drying.'
'a dry land'

Other adjectives with the marker -tok, and the verbs they are derived from, include:

tlapani
tlapan-tok
koloni
kolon-tok

'It is breaking.'
'broken'
'It is getting wet.'
'wet'

Adjectives marked with -ka are identical for singular and plural.
cocotla-ka ne nek-tli
sticky-ADJR that honey-ABS

tla-popo-ka i-kal-ichtik moh-mostla
UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR his-house-inside RDP-tomorrow
daily

'It’s always smoky inside his house.'

Only a few adjectives are marked with -wa. The singular and plural forms are identical.
tla’ala-wa ni soki-tl
slippery-ADJR this mud-ABS

This mud is slippery.'

Adjectives marked with -yo are identical in singular and plural.
soki-yo noči ni yoyo-mitl
mud-ADJR all these cloth-ABS

'All these clothes are dirty.'

Other adjectives with the marker -yo include:
te-yo
rock-ADJR
pok-yo
smoke-ADJR

'rocky'
'smoked'

Only a few adjectives are marked with -i after l and y. The plurals of these are formed by reduplicating the initial CV or by reduplicating the CV and adding h.
ni-h-koh-ki seh čamaro tlén kWal-i
I-it-buy-PAST one jacket REL good-ADJR

'I bought a good jacket.'
yawey-i mo-kone
already big-ADJR your-child

'Your child is already big.'
ne  kwah-kwal-i  siwa-meh  ‘those good women’
those  RDP:PL-good-ADJR  woman:AN:PL
sekin  weh-wey-i  tlaka-meh  ‘some big men’
some  RDP:PL-big-ADJR  man:AN:PL

The suffix -titla, which is only locative in other dialects, has predominantly an
adjectival function in HN. However, in town names it has retained its older locative
function, and occasionally in other occurrences.

yah-ki  kw-ati-tla  ‘He went to the woods.’ (locative)
go-PAST  wood-place
nepa  nelia  kw-ati-tla  ‘There it is really woody.’ (adjectival)
there really wood-CHAR:BY

The word kwatitla is used in either a locative or an adjectival sense. However, the
other examples given below only carry the adjectival sense. The locative for these words
is expressed by the morpheme -tla: saka-tla ‘a place of grass’, soki-tla ‘a place of mud’,
a-tla ‘a place of water’. Compare these with the examples below.

   ti-teki-ti-s-eh  kampa  saka-titla
   we-work-VR-FUT-PL where  grass-CHAR:BY
   ‘We will work there where it is grassy.’

   tlawel  soki-titla  ama
   really  mud-CHAR:BY  today
   ‘It is really muddy today.’

   ti-h-toka-h  arós  kampa  a-titla
   we-it-plant-PL  rice  where  water-CHAR:BY
   ‘We plant rice where it is watery.’ (refers to water in a big area above ground)

To see how kwatitla and sakatitla function with the absolutive suffix, see NOUN
MORPHOLOGY.

The adjective marker -keca is identical for singular and plural. It is suffixed to
some verb stems and is like our -able suffix in English.

tlapan-ki  ‘It broke.’
ne  komi-tl  tlapan-keca (W)  ‘Those pots are breakable.’
those  pot-ABS  break-ADJR

   tlan-ki  i-teki  ‘His work ended.’
finish-PAST  his-work

   tlan-keca  lalaš  (W)  ‘Oranges are seasonal.’
finish-ADJR  orange
Color Terms

All color terms are marked by either -k or -tik, but some differ as to the animate and inanimate plural with which they occur. Some color words always have reduplication. The adjective marker -k or -tik is the singular form for animate or inanimate, or it is the plural inanimate form. For the plural animate, the suffix -eh is added.

nopa siwa-meh ki-piya inin-yoyo šošowi-k
those woman-AN:PL it-have their-clothes green-ADJR
'Those women have green dresses.'

nopa šošowi-k-eh siwa-meh
those green-ADJR-AN:PL woman-AN:PL
'those green ladies' (dressed in green at the hospital)

Other color words that always have reduplication include:

yayawi-k ‘black’
čičil-tik ‘red’

Some color words have reduplication of their initial CV to form an inanimate plural and also form the animate plural by adding -eh to the marker. The reduplication optionally occurs with this animate plural form.

no-kWe čipawa-k
my-skirt white-ADJR

ni či-či pawa-k pastiyas these white pills
these RDP:PL-white-ADJR pills

to-kone-meh čipawa-k-eh ‘our white children’
our-child-AN:PL white-ADJR-AN:PL

miak enfermeras či-čipawa-k-eh ‘many white nurses’
many nurses RDP:PL-white-ADJR-AN:PL

Other color words that form their plurals in the same way include:

kos-tik ‘yellow’
čokoš-tik ‘grey’
morado-tik (Spanish loan) ‘purple’
kafen-tik (Spanish loan) ‘brown’
asul-tik* (Spanish loan) ‘blue’

Color words that begin with the morpheme iś- or iša-, which means ‘light, pale’, reduplicate the first CV of the stem for their inanimate plural form.

ne šoś-tl iša-kos-tik ‘that light yellow flower’
that flower-ABS light-yellow-ADJR

*The word asultik ‘blue’ reduplicates its first vowel and adds h making ahasultik for inanimate plural.
miak ʃoči-tl  iša-kos-tikik  'many light yellow flowers'
many flower-ABS light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR

miak tlaka-meh iša-kos-tik-eh  'many light yellow men' (Orientals)
many man-AN:PL light-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL

miak tlaka-meh iša-kos-tik-eh  'many light yellow men'
many man-AN:PL light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL

Other color words that begin with iš- or iša- include:

iš-macaḥ-tik  'pink'
iša-kili-tik  'light orange'

**Morphology**

Some adjectives always have reduplication.

weweyak  'long'
cocotlaka  'sticky'
cocoltik  'soft'
sosoltik  'old'
yehyekoi  'pretty'
totonik  'hot'

Most adjectives consist of an adjective stem and an adjective marker. That is to say that the stem cannot be recognized as having been derived from another source. Of the adjectives discussed above in this section, the following roots can be identified:

RDP + ADJ STEM + ADJR = ADJ

we-weya-k  'long'

N + ADJR = ADJ

tel-tik  (rock-ADJR)  'hard'
te-yo  (rock-ADJR)  'rocky'
soki-yo  (mud-ADJR)  'dirty'
soki-titla  (mud-ADJR)  'muddy'
kwa-titla  (tree-ADJR)  'woody'
saka-titla  (grass-ADJR)  'grassy'
ata-titla  (water-ADJR)  'watery'
kama-wak  (mouth-ADJR)  'humid'
popo-ka  (smoke-ADJR)  'smoky'

N + N + ADJR = ADJ

kw'a-te-tik  (head-rock-ADJR)  'dumb'

V + ADJR = ADJ

tlan-keca  (finish-ADJR)  'seasonal'
tlapan-keca  (break-ADJR)  'breakable'
wak-tok  (dry-ADJR)  'dry'
tlapan-tok (break-ADJR) ‘broken’
šolon-tok (wet-ADJR) ‘wet’
alak-tik (smooth-ADJR) ‘smooth’

UNSPEC + V + ADJR = ADJ

tla-kowi-li (UNSPEC-buy-ADJR) ‘bought’
tla-senkawi-li (UNSPEC-fix-ADJR) ‘fixed’
tla-popo-ka (UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR) ‘smoked’

The adverb nelia ‘really’ can be compounded into an adjective.

nel-čipawak ‘really white’
nel-yehyeκci ‘really pretty’
nel-k[w]ali ‘really good’

Some nouns can be compounded.

k[w]a-čo-čokoštik ne siwa-tl ‘That woman is grey-headed.’
head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR that woman-ABS

k[w]a-čo-čokoštik-eh ne tlaka-meh ‘Those men are grey-headed.’
head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR-AN:PL those man-AN:PL

Syntax

Adjectives may occur before and/or after the head noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES) or as the predicate in a stative clause. An adjective can occur as subject or object when it is the axis of the relator tlen ‘that which is’, which makes the adjective the predicate of a stative clause.

seh k[w]al-i okiš-pil ‘a good boy’
one good-ADJR boy-DIM

ne wey-i tlaka-tl šok[w]e-ci ‘that big crippled man’
that big-ADJR man-ABS crippled-ADJR

neč-pak-tiya* tlen čipawa-k ‘The white one pleases me.’ / ‘I like the
me-happy-CAUS REL white-ADJR please

ši-neč-maka tlen yehyeκ-ci ‘Give me the pretty one.’
IMP-me-give REL pretty-ADJR

yehyeκ-ci ne kal-l ‘That house is pretty.’
pretty-ADJR that house-ABS

*Pak-tiya is the only verb we have found that can have an adjective as subject.
Adjectives can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes.

- ni-we-wen-ci  ‘I am old (with years).’
- I-RDP-old-ADJR
- ti-wey-i  ‘You are big.’
- you-big-ADJR

When the third person Ø morpheme occurs as subject, the form is identical with the adjective that is predicate of a stative clause.

- toma-wak  ‘He is fat.’
- tomato-ADJR
- toma-wak no-kone  ‘My child is fat.’
- tomato-ADJR my-child

Adjectives are negated by the occurrence of the general negative aš (E) or amo (W) before them.

- aš  tla-tekiwi-li  (E)  ‘It isn’t used.’
- NEG  UNSPEC-use-ADJR
- amo  tlapan-keca  (W)  ‘It isn’t breakable.’
- NEG  break-ADJR

Only one adjective can occur before and after the head without a tlen (see NOUN PHRASES). When more adjectives are in sequence, the relator tlen must be used before them.

- ni-k-iš-mati se ti-aka-tl tlen nelia koto-ci tlen nelia toma-wak
- I-it-face-know a man-ABS REL really short-DIM REL really tomato-ADJR
- Wan tlen nelia kʷal-i
- and REL really good-ADJR
- ‘I know a man that is very short, very fat, and very good.’
COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

The 'more...than' type of comparative is mas, borrowed from Spanish. It is often used in a construction with tlen 'than'. The tlen usually occurs after the dimension compared, but may occur before the mas in a relative construction. It can be negated with the aš (amo W dialect) occurring before the mas.

Comparison of Adjectives:

Wan mas wey-i (tlen raul) 'John is bigger (than Raul).'
PN more big-ADJR than PN
Wan tlen mas wey-i 'John is he that is bigger.'
PN than more big-ADJR
Wan aš mas kolecular w-e-ci tlen raul 'John isn’t smaller than Raul.'
PN NEG more small-ADJR than PN

Comparison of Quantities:

yahaya ki-piya mas tomi 'He has more money.'
he it-have more money
ic-tok-ehe mas okiš-pil-meh tlen siwa-pil-meh
be-STAT-PL more male-little-AN:PL than woman-little-AN:PL
'There are more boys than girls.'
yahaya ki-piya mas čikawa-lis-tli 'He has more power.'
he it-have more strength-ABSTR-ABS

Comparison of Verbs:

yahaya tekiti mas tlen Wan 'He works more than John.'
he work more than PN.
(Notice the verb tekiti cannot be repeated after Wan.)

Comparison of Adverbs:

yahaya ki-ciwa mas aš kMan whek tlen na 'He does worse than I do.'
he it-do more NEG well than I

Full comparison need not be given.

yahaya tekiti mas iyolkik 'He works slower.'
he work more slow

The comparison (i.e. item after tlen) can be a noun or an embedded clause if the clause does not contain a repetition of the main verb. If the verb in the subordinate clause is a repetition of the main verb, it is omitted.
yahaya mas wekapan-tik tlen Wan 'He is taller than John.'
he more tall-ADJR than PN

yahaya mas wehwey-i tlen i-patla-ka i-tlapεč
he more long-ADJR than its-wide-POSSD his-bed
'He is longer than his bed's width.'

With two items in mind, you can make a 'more...than' comparison by stating a positive and negative. This may be more Aztec than the mas...tlen borrowed idea.

wey-i Wan aš wey-i raul
big-ADJR PN NEG big-ADJR PN
'John is big.' 'Raul isn't big.'

The comparative mas may be the head of the noun phrase.

ni-h-neki mas 'I want more.'
1-it-want more

The mas can be modified by ači 'a little' or miak 'a lot'.

neč-maka-k miak mas tlen yalwaya 'He gave me a lot more than yesterday.'
me-give-PAST lot more than yesterday
ama ači mas tla-seseyi 'It is colder today.'
today little more UNSPEC-cold

The 'less...than' idea is expressed by kenci tlen.

mic-maka-k kenci tlen yalwaya 'He gave you less than yesterday.'
you-give-PAST little than yesterday

kenci also occurs as head of the GNP.

mic-maka-k kenci 'He gave you a little bit.'
you-give-PAST little

Comparisons of Equality

The 'as...as' type construction obligatorily has a form of 'like'. Sometimes iWikal 'the same' is used before it for emphasis. There seems to be little difference in the speaker's mind between the first two examples below.

ši-h-čiwa i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya
IMP-it-do its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday
'Make as many adobes as yesterday.'

ši-h-čiwa iWikal keniki i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya
IMP-it-do same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday
'Make as many (the same amount of) adobes as yesterday.'

yahaya wey-i keha na 'He is as big as I am (we are the same).' /
he big-ADJR like me 'He is big like me (we are similar).'
The two ideas expressed by this third example seem to be the same in Nahuatl.

raul ki-k'a nohkia i-miak-a kheha i-tata
PN it-eat also its-many-POSSD:PL like his-father
‘Raul eats as much as his father.’

The kheha cannot be omitted, although the construction seems complete without it.

Other

The superlative idea is expressed with a mas construction followed by tlen noći ‘than all’. It can also be expressed with a tlen before the mas.

yahaya mas yehyek-ci tlen noći ‘She is prettiest of all.’
show more pretty-ADJR than all

yahaya mas wey-i ‘He is bigger / biggest.’ (The context determines which is indicated.)
he more big-ADJR

The ‘so’ concept is expressed by the position of the dependent clause.

onka-yaya miak poh-tli wahka aš ni-wel-yaya
be-PAST:DUR lot smoke-ABS therefore NEG I-able-PAST:DUR
ni-hyo-tilana
I-breath-pull
‘There was so much smoke I couldn’t breathe.’

‘Like’, describing state of being, is expressed by kenikaca or a shortened form, kheaca.

kenikaca ic-tok-eh mo-familia ‘How is your family?’
how be-STAT-PL your-family

‘Like’, meaning ‘as many, as much’, is expressed by keniki.

neč-ilwi’ keniki i-pati ni kafe
me-told how:much its-worth this coffee
‘He told me how much this coffee cost.’

ma ki-čiw-h iWilka keniki i-miak-a adobes
EXHRT it-make-PL same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes
‘Have them make the same amount of adobes (as before).’

‘Like’, describing comparison, is expressed by a noun or a pronoun after kheha.

ni-h-čih-ki kheha ta ‘I did like you.’
I-it-do-PAST like you
ni-h-neki seh kheha Wan ‘I want one like John (has).’
I-it-want one like PN
INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

When there are two forms, either form can be used unless otherwise indicated.

se tlake, se tlakia  
'something'

ki-maka-k seh tlake  
'He gave him something.'

him-give-PAST a something

seki, se akahaya  
'someone, somebody'

seki ne8-k’ist-luh-ki no-ma7ete  
'Someone took my
someone me-take-APPLIC-PAST my-machete machete'

sekin  
'some'

sekin a8 yah-k-eh  
'Some didn’t go.'

some NEG go-PAST-PL

sekin=ok  
'some other’ (usually of a different kind)

sekin=ok ki-ihto’ a8tle  
'Some others said, “No.”'

some=again it-said no

sekanok, sekoyok  
'somewhere'

no-wewe yah-ki se-ka=nok pero a8 ni-h-mati kanki
my-husband go-PAST one-place=again but NEG I-it-know where
'My husband went somewhere, but I don’t know where.'

kenWeli  
'anyway'

a8 ki-cihi ki kwali san ki-cilh-ki kenWeli
NEG it-do-PAST well just it-do-PAST anyway
'He didn’t do it well, he just did it any old way.'

akin weli, ahkeya weli, katlila weli (W)  
'anyone, anybody (people)'

ahkeya weli tlen ki-piya tomi weli-s tla-kowa i-pan tiankis
anyone able that it-have money able-FUT UNSPEC-buy its-place market
'Anyone who has money can buy in the market.'

ahkehya weli  
'everybody'

ahkeh-ya weli tlen ki-neki ya-s-eh ma ya-kah
who-he able that it-want go-FUT-PL EXHRT go-IMP-PL
'Everybody who wants to go, let them go.'

tlen onka, tlen nesi  
'anything (objects)'

tla8ki ti-h-k’wa-s tlen onka
what you-it-eat-FUT REL exist
'What will you eat?' ‘Anything.’

tla8ki pan-ci ni-mic-maka-s tlen nesi
what bread-DIM I-you-give-FUT REL appear
'Which bread shall I give you?' ‘Any one.’
noči-meh  ‘everyone, everybody’
noči-meh misaweh-k-eh i-pan a-tl
all-AN:PL drown-PAST-PL its-place water-ABS
‘Everyone drowned in the water.’

seh tonal, seh ora  ‘sometime’
seh tonal ti-ya-s-eh tamacončale
a day we-go-FUT-PL Tamazunchale
‘Some day we will go to Tamazunchale.’
tlen weli ora, tlen weli tonal  ‘any time’
tlen weli ora ti-h-neki ti-ya-s-eh
REL able hour you-it-want we-go-FUT-PL
‘Any time you want, we will go.’
kehaca weli  ‘somehow, anyway’
san ki-šh-ki kehaca weli  ‘He just made it anyway.’
just it-do-PAST like able

kampa weli  ‘anywhere, everywhere’
ši-h-tlali kampa weli i-pan mesah
IMP-it-put where able its-place table
‘Put it anywhere on the table.’
yaWanti yah-k-eh kampa weli  ‘They went everywhere.’
they go-PAST-PL where able

katli weli, katli weli  ‘whichever’
ši-neč-maka katli weli čiči  ‘Give me whichever dog.’
IMP-me-give who able dog

noči tlamantli  ‘everything’
yahaya ki-neki noči tlamant-tli  ‘He wants everything.’
he it-want all thing-ABS
tlen weli  ‘whatever’
ši-neč-maka tlen weli lapis  ‘Give me whatever pencil.’
IMP-me-give what able pencil

Question words (see QUESTIONS for examples) include:

ahkeya  ‘who’
ahkeyawanti  ‘who they’
kehaca  ‘how’
tlački  ‘what’
kanki  ‘where’
kema  ‘when’
keski  ‘how many’
akatli  ‘which one’
tlen  ‘what, which’
para tlen  ‘why’
ika tlački  ‘with what’
ahkeya i-  ‘whose’
kānika  ‘to where’
Indefinite pronouns are not inflected for case or number. Most bear some relation to a question word.

**Negative**

There can only be one negative in the clause. Sometimes the forms are discontinuous.

\[ \text{aš aka} \quad \text{Neg anyone it-want go-FUT} \]

\[ \text{aš aka ki-neki ya-s} \quad \text{Neg anyone it-want go-FUT} \]

\[ \text{aš yah-ki i-waya aka} \quad \text{Neg go-PAST his-with anyone} \]

\[ \text{aš kema} \quad \text{'never' (only contiguous)} \]

\[ \text{aš kema ki-neki tekiti-s} \quad \text{Neg when it-want work-FUT} \]

\[ \text{aš kana} \quad \text{Neg where I-go-PAST yesterday} \]

\[ \text{aš kana ni-yah-ki yalwaya} \quad \text{'I didn't go anywhere yesterday.'} \]

\[ \text{aš tleno} \quad \text{'nothing, none'} \]

\[ \text{aš tleno neč-maka-k} \quad \text{Neg anything me-give-PAST} \]

\[ \text{aš neč-maka-k tleno} \quad \text{Neg me-give-PAST anything} \]

**Other**

\[ \text{ši-neč-maka seh} \quad \text{IMP-me-give one} \]

\[ \text{ši-neč-maka ya ni} \quad \text{IMP-me-give EMPH this} \]

\[ \text{ši-neč-maka ya ne} \quad \text{IMP-me-give EMPH that} \]

\[ \text{ši-neč-maka (ne) čičil-tik} \quad \text{IMP-me-give that red-ADJR with demonstrative.} \]

\[ \text{ši-neč-maka tlen el-tok i-pan mesah} \quad \text{IMP-me-give REL be-STAT its-place table} \]

\[ \text{aš neč-maka-k niyon seh} \quad \text{Neg me-give-PAST not:even one} \]

\[ \text{He didn't give me even one.'} \]

\[ \text{Give me the red one.' (More common with demonstrative.)} \]

\[ \text{Give me the one on the table.'} \]

\[ \text{Give me one.'} \]

\[ \text{'Give me this one.'} \]

\[ \text{'Give me that one.'} \]
DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns are optional in a clause.

Eastern Dialect:

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<td>toWanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>taha, ta</td>
<td>imoWanti</td>
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<td>2P HON</td>
<td>tawal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>yaha, yahaya, ya</td>
<td>yaWanti</td>
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Western Dialect:

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<td>ininwanti</td>
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Verb Prefixes

Subject pronoun prefixes are first order prefixes.

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Direct and indirect objects are second order prefixes occurring after subject prefixes:

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<td>kin-, kinin-</td>
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<td>·REFL</td>
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Co-occurrence of subject and object prefixes is spelled out in the following chart. V stands for a vowel-initial stem, and forms from the W dialect are underscored when they differ from the E dialect.

- ̃ni-neč-maka
  IMP-me-give
- ti-neč-ilwh-kikena
  you-me-tell-PAST yes
- mic-čili-lh-kiki
  you-do-APPLIC-PAST

‘Give it to me.’
‘You told me yes.’
‘He did it for you.’
### PERSON OF OBJECT

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The 3P SG h- occurs after vowels and before a consonant.

ni-h-maka-k
I gave it to him.

I-him-give-PAST

The ki- occurs after 3P Ø subjects and after 2P PL in-.

ki-ita-k
He saw it.

it-see-PAST

ki-neki-h ači tomi
‘They want a little money.’

ki-need-Ø ači tomi
it-want-PL little money
in-ki-neki-h  pan-ci       'Do you all want bread?'
you:PL-it-want-PL  bread-DIM

The k- occurs intervocally.
ni-k-ahsi-s       'I will get it.'
I-it-arrive-FUT

The (W) anmeč and (E) inmeč occur after 3P Ø subject.
anmeč-ita-k       'He saw you all.'
you:PL-see-PAST

The kin- and kinin- are identical in meaning and use.
kin-maka-k  miak  tomi      'He gave them a lot of money.'
them-give-PAST  much  money
ni-meč-ilwi-s  tlen  melawak  'I will tell you the truth.'
I-you-tell-FUT  REL  truth

The W dialect has the following fusions (the E dialect has none):
  \( \mathbf{\text{s}} \) + neč \( \rightarrow \) teč
  \( \mathbf{\text{s}} \) + teč \( \rightarrow \) teč

teč-ilwi  tlen  pano-k      'Tell me/us what happened.'
IMP:me/us-tell  REL  happen-PAST
  \( \mathbf{\text{t}} \) + neč \( \rightarrow \) teč
  \( \mathbf{\text{t}} \) + teč \( \rightarrow \) teč

teč-maka-k  san  seh       'You gave me/us just one.' (Same form as
you:me/us-give-PAST  just one  for 'He gave us just one'.)

Possessor Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>(E) imo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>in-, inin-, ini-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The usage of in-, inin-, and ini- seems identical, and all occur in both dialects. These forms are also used with postpositions.
STEMS

Suppletion

Only two stems are suppletive for number. They are both intransitive and depend on the number of the subject.

- Yawa ‘go’ (singular subject)
- Yawi ‘go’ (plural subject)
- Walawa ‘come’ (singular subject)
- Walawi ‘come’ (plural subject)

- Ni-yawa no-ča ‘I'm going home.’
- L-go my-home
- Ti-yawi-h=ya to-ča ‘We are going to our home.’
- We-go-PL=already our-home

The third person singular for the verb ‘go’ is an exception in that it can take either stem. The yawi is most common.

- Yawa i-ča
  go his-home
  ‘He is going home.’
- Yawi i-ča
  go his-home
  ‘He is going home.’

Another kind of suppletion is seen in the verb ‘to be located’ (see BE/HAVE/DO).

The positive animate stem is ic(to)-.* It cannot be negated.

- Ic-tok-eh miak tlaka-meh nepa be:located-STAT-PL many man-AN:PL there
  ‘There are many men there.’

The negative animate stem is aki, which is always negated.

- Aš aki no-wewe NEG be:located my-husband
  ‘My husband isn’t here.’

The inanimate stem is el(to)-.

- El-tok eyi pesos i-pam ne mesah
  be:located-STAT three pesos its-place that table
  ‘There are three pesos on that table.’

Reduplication

Reduplication is most commonly used to give the verb a new meaning that is more intense. (See also ADJECTIVES.)

*The to of ic(to)- and el(to)- drops before the ending -tok.
Compare ‘follow’ versus ‘pursue’.

neč-toka-yaya  neč-toh-toko-yaya
me-follow-PAST:DUR  me-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR
‘He was following me.’  pursue
  ‘He was pursuing me.’

Compare ‘He made it’ versus ‘He created it’.

ki-čih-ki  se mesah  ‘He made a table.’
it-make-PAST a table

to-teko ki-čih-čih-ki  tlał-tek-pak-tli
our-boss it-RDP-make-PAST ground-(?)-place-ABS
create  world
‘God created the world.’

Compare ‘call’ with ‘speak to’ (in the sense of communicate with someone).

ši-h-noca  mo-wewe  ‘Call your husband.’
IMP-him-call your husband

ayok neč-noh-noca  ‘She does not speak to me any more.’
no:more me-RDP-speak:to

Reduplication can also indicate a plural object.

ki-čih-čih-ki  miak tlaman-tli  ‘He made many things.’
it-RDP-make-PAST many thing-ABS

ki-piya tomi  ‘He has money.’
it-have money

tla-pi-piya  miak tlaman-tli  ‘He has many things.’
UNSPEC-RDP-have many thing-ABS

Reduplication also can indicate repeated action on some verbs in which repeated action is inherent.

tla-co-cona i-ka se gitara  ‘He plays a guitar.’
UNSPEC-RDP-play its-with a guitar

ši-kwelpačo ne yoyo-mitl  ‘Fold those clothes.’
IMP-RDP-fold those cloth-ABS

There are two methods of reduplication.

(1) $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_2$,  as in ki-kwelpačo-s (it-fold-FUT) ‘She will fold it’, ki-kwelpačo-s ‘She will repeatedly fold them’.

(2) $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2V_2$,  as in tlani ‘to earn’, ki-tlah-tlani ‘He asks him’.
Stem Types

HN verb stems are simple, derived (see VERB MORPHOLOGY), or compounded (see Verb Compounds).

A simple stem is piya ‘have’.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ki-piya miak tomin} & \text{‘He has a lot of money.’} \\
\text{it-have much money} & \\
\end{array}
\]

The verb stem tlapal ‘to paint’ is derived from the noun tlapali ‘paint’, to which the -owa verbalizer is added.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ki-tlapal-owa i-ča} & \text{(W)} \text{ ‘He paints his house.’} \\
\text{it-paint-VR his house} & \\
\end{array}
\]

A compounded verb stem is piyopahtiya ‘to chicken-cure’.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
yahaya noči-pa mo-piy-o-pah-tiya \\
he all-place REFL-chicken-medicine-VR always cure chicken-cure \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He always cures himself by means of a chicken.’

Stem Classes

All verb stems divide themselves into three classes on the basis of how they form their past tense. The present tense form is the basic stem form. All the tenses in HN also divide themselves into three groups on the basis of the initial phoneme in the tense morpheme. Future -s, past durative -yaya, and conditional -skia all begin with continuants. Past -k or -ki begins with -k, and present perfect -tok, past perfect -toys, present durative -tika, future durative -tos, and irrealis -toskia with -t.

Class I verb stems form their past tense by adding -k for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. It is the smallest class of verb stems. In contrast to the other two classes, Class I retains the present tense stem completely when occurring with continual-initial tenses and both types of stop-initial tenses.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
tekiti & \text{‘He works.’} \\
tekiti-k & \text{‘He worked.’} \\
tekiti-tok & \text{‘He has worked.’} \\
tekiti-s & \text{‘He will work.’} \\
tekiti-yaya & \text{‘He was working.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
čoka & \text{‘He cries.’} \\
čoka-k & \text{‘He cried.’} \\
čoka-tok & \text{‘He has cried.’} \\
čoka-s & \text{‘He will cry.’} \\
čoka-yaya & \text{‘He was crying.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Other members of class I are:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ahki & \text{‘He swims.’} \\
\text{ahsi} & \text{‘He arrives.’} \\
\text{ki-ita*} & \text{‘He sees it.’} \\
\text{pano} & \text{‘He passes.’} \\
\text{ki-aWa} & \text{‘He scolds him.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ki-oni & \text{‘He drinks it.’} \\
ki-maka & \text{‘He gives it to him.’} \\
\text{istlakati} & \text{‘He tells a lie.’} \\
\text{ki-neltoka} & \text{‘He believes him.’} \\
\text{ki-maga} & \text{‘He hits him.’} \\
\end{array}
\]

*ita is irregular in that the final vowel of the stem drops and t→g before all t-initial tenses: ki-ic-tok (it-see-PRES:PERF) ‘He has seen it’.
Class II verb stems form their past tense by adding -ki for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. However, before past tense -ki or -keh is added to multisyllable stems, the final vowel of the present tense stem drops and the following changes affect stem-final consonants: \( \text{w} \rightarrow \text{h}, \text{k} \rightarrow \text{h}, \text{k}^\text{w} \rightarrow \text{h}, \text{m} \rightarrow \text{n}, \) and \( \text{y} \rightarrow \text{g} \) (compare with Class III). Class II verbs change \( \text{w} \rightarrow \text{h}, \text{k}^\text{w} \rightarrow \text{k}, \text{m} \rightarrow \text{n}, \) and \( \text{y} \rightarrow \text{g} \) before t-initial tense suffixes (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toskia). The present tense stem is retained in its entirety before all continuant-initial tenses.

koči 'He sleeps.'
koč-ki 'He slept.'
koč-tok 'He has slept.'
koči-s 'He will sleep.'
koči-yaya 'He was sleeping.'
miki 'He dies.'
mik-tok 'He has died.'
miki-s 'He will die.'
miki-yaya 'He was dying.'
pewa 'He starts.'
pew-ki 'He started.'
pew-tok 'He has started.'
pew-s 'He will start.'
pewa-yaya 'He was starting.'

ki-čiya 'He waits for him.'
ki-čiš-ki 'He waited for him.'
ki-čiš-tok 'He has waited for him.'
ki-čiya-s 'He will wait for him.'
ki-čiya-yaya 'He was waiting for him.'

Compare the intransitive tlami 'to finish' with the transitive ki-tlamiya 'He finishes it' in Class III.

tlami 'He finishes.'
tlan-ki 'He finished.'
tlan-tok 'He has finished.'
tlami-s 'He will finish.'
tlami-yaya 'He was finishing.'

Other members of Class II are:
mok^wepa 'He returns.'
ki-čiwa 'He does it.'
nehnemi 'He walks.'
tlanokiya 'He has diarrhea.'
waki 'It dries.'
ki-kawa 'He leaves it.'
ki-kowa 'He buys it.'
totoniya 'It is hot (weather).'
ki-neki 'He wants it.'
kisa 'He leaves.'

Observe that none of Class I and few of Class II end with the -ya in present tense that characterizes Class IIIA. The ones that do not have -ya in the present tense can occur with past clitic =ya 'already', making the forms somewhat homophonous with some members of Class IIIA; however the meaning is different. Compare tlami=ya (finish=already) 'He already finishes' and ki-tlamiya (it-finish) 'He finishes it'. All forms in Class II and IIIA that end in -ya in the present tense can also occur with the clitic =ya, but it becomes a proclitic ya=ki-tlamiya (already=it-finish) 'Already he finishes it'.
Class III verb stems are divided into two parts. Class IIIA is made up only of verbs that end in -lya in the present tense, which include all stems that end in -tiya (CAUS:PRES), -lya (APPLIC:PRES), and -wiya (VR:PRES). Class IIIB is made up only of verbs that end in -owa. Notice that while these classes are exclusively -iya and -owa, they do not represent all the -iya and -owa verbs (see Class II). All Class III verbs have two methods of forming past tense for singular subjects. They drop the final a from the present tense stem and either w → ʒ and y → ʒ word-finally or w → h and y → h before past tense -ki. (Compare with y → ʒ before k in Class II.) With plural subjects there is only one method of forming past tense, with w or y becoming h before -keh. Before initial tenses (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toskla), the final vowel of Class IIIA and IIIB stems is dropped, and w or y becomes h. Before continuant-initial tenses, the final vowel is dropped, and w or y becomes ə. This is the largest class of verb stems.

ki-ilwiya 'He tells him.'
ki-ilwi 'He told him.'
ki-ilwih-ki 'He told him.'
ki-ilwih-tok 'He has told him.'
ki-ilwi-s 'He will tell him.'
ki-ilwi-yaya 'He was telling him.'

ki-mik-tiya 'He kills it.'
ki-mik-ti' 'He killed it.'
ki-mik-tih-ki 'He killed it.'
ki-mik-tih-tok 'He has killed it.'
ki-mik-ti's 'He will kill it.'
ki-mik-ti-yaya 'He was killing it.'

The morphemes in ki-mik-tiya are (it-die-CAUS:PRES), 'He causes it to die' or 'He kills it'.

Other members of Class IIIA are:

ki-sewiya 'He rests it'/
  'He puts it out (fire).'
ki-pantiya 'He finds it.'
ki-palewiya 'He helps him.'
ki-oliniya 'He moves it.'
ki-neštiliya 'He shows it.'
ki-tlamiy讶 'He finishes it.'

mitoniya 'He sweats.'
ki-tlaštlawiya 'He pays him.'
ki-copiniya 'He injects him.'
ki-tlaiya 'He places it.'
ki-apičiya* 'He sprays it.'

ki-šelmiya all verbs with -liya applicative
ki-tlamiyा all verbs with -tiya causative**

Class IIIB verbs end exclusively in -owa and form all tenses the same as Class IIIA except they have two forms for the past durative. In addition to w → ə before continuants, Class IIIB can keep the entire present tense stem before the past durative -yaya form.

*Compare with čiya in Class II.

**There are some stems that are derived from nouns and have the causative incorporated into the stem and cannot take -ya in the present tense and do not occur in Class IIIA, e.g., teki-ti (work-VR) 'He works' and kama-ti (mouth-VR) 'He talks'.

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ki-ihtowa ‘He says it.’
ki-ihto‘ ‘He said it.’
ki-ihtoh-ki ‘He said it.’
ki-ihtoh-tok ‘He has said it.’
ki-ihto-s ‘He will say it.’
ki-ihto-yaya ‘He was saying it.’
ki-ihtowa-yaya ‘He was saying it.’

ki-temowa ‘He looks for it.’
ki-temo‘ ‘He looked for it.’
ki-temoh-ki ‘He looked for it.’
ki-temoh-tok ‘He has looked for it.’
ki-temo-s ‘He will look for it.’
ki-temo-yaya ‘He was looking for it.’
ki-temowa-yaya ‘He was looking for it.’

Other members of Class IIIB are:

ki-tolowa ‘He swallows it.’
tlehtowa ‘He says.’
ki-tlapowa ‘He opens it.’
mopolowa ‘He gets lost.’
motlalowa ‘He runs.’

ki-alašowa ‘He makes it smooth.’
ki-tlałpačowa ‘He buries it.’
ki-ilhkwilowa ‘He writes it.’
ki-kwapiłowa ‘He hangs it.’
ki-kwelpačowa ‘He folds it.’

Transitive/Intransitive

The only set of contrastive pairs that is really productive is -wa for intransitive and -wiywa for transitive. This does not imply, however, that all verbs that end in -wa are intransitive.

pina-wa
be::embarrassed-INTRNS
‘He is embarrassed.’

ki-pina-wiywa
it-be::embarrassed-TRNS
‘He is ashamed of her.’

tlaštla-wa beinte
pay-INTRNS twenty
‘He pays twenty (a day).’

ki-tlaštla-wiywa beinte
it-pay-TRNS twenty
‘He pays him twenty (a day).’

However many transitive verbs end in -wa.

ki-čiwa tlen k^{W}al-i
it-do REL good-ADJR
‘He does what is good.’

The suffix -wiywa also transitivizes other intransitive verbs.

kama-ti
mouth-VR
‘He talks.’

ki-kama-wiywa
her-talk-TRNS
‘He talks with her.’
INTEGRATION

There is incorporation of certain morphemes into the verb stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE, Stem). They are pre-stem.

Prefix k’wa- ‘head’:

amo xi-mo-k’wa-totoni
NEG IMP-REFL-head-get:hot ‘Don’t worry about it/be bothered/go to the trouble.’

mo-REFL has been reanalyzed as part of some stems. These stems can never occur without it, and they can co-occur with object markers, and with the prefix tla-.

mok’witlawi
take:care

si-mo-mok’witlawi
IMP-REFL-take:care ‘Take care of yourself.’

TLA-mok’witlawi i-pa i-ca
UNSPEC-take:care its-place her-home ‘She cares for her household.’

mo-neč-ka-wih-ki
REFL-near-leave-CAUS-PAST
draw near

ki-monečkawih-ki
it-draw:near-PAST ‘He drew near to it.’

tla- UNSPEC INAN OBJ has been reanalyzed as part of many stems and can then occur with an object, which it can’t do otherwise.

tlapowa
open
‘to open’
tlapohpolwiya
forgive
‘to forgive’
tlanesi
dawn
‘to dawn’

nen- is incorporated into a number of stems, but it is hard to gloss. Sometimes it has the meaning of ‘habitually’ and is similar to the North Puebla Nahuatl, and other times it has the meaning of ‘in vain’ and is similar to the Tetelcingo Nahuatl. The habitual idea would be easily seen as a derivative of nen ‘to walk’.

ki-nen-palewiya
her-habitually-help
ki-nen-poliwi-iti
it-in:vain-lose-CAUS:PAST

‘She helps her continually.’
‘He caused it to be lost in vain.’
(The man plants alfalfa and then when it begins to grow, decides he wants to plant corn, so he has the alfalfa turned under with a plow and plants corn.)

ki-nen-polo-ki  i-tomi
it-in:vain-lose-PAST his-money

(He lost his money in vain.)

(A drunk borrows money and goes and spends it on drink and has nothing to show for his money.)

Locatives wal- ‘come’ and on- ‘there’:

ni-k-on-it-a-s
I-him-there-see-FUT

‘I will see him there.’

on-mih-ki
there-die-PAST

‘He died there.’

wal-temo-s  elwikak
come-lower-FUT  heaven

‘He will come lowering from heaven.’

Intensive notion nel- ‘really’:

ki-nel-neki
it-really-want

‘He really wants it.’

**SYNTACTIC MARKING**

(For ordering of verb affixes, see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

**Pronominal Prefixes**

Subject prefixes precede object prefixes and agree in person and number with any overt subject on the clause level:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>(E) in-, (W) an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a verb has both a direct and an indirect object, the direct object is understood and the indirect object is indicated according to the following chart. Although some verbs like maka ‘give’ are inherently applicative, most verbs add the suffix -li APPLIC when the overtly marked item is an indirect object: nech-kowi-li-s ‘He will buy it for me’. Only one object (direct, indirect, reflexive, or unspecified) can be overtly marked on the verb. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for co-occurrence charts.) The object prefix on the verb agrees in person and number with any direct or indirect object on the clause level.
Unspecified Objects

Unspecified objects tla- (for things) and te- (for people) may be part of the stem, as seen in INCORPORATION. Only when part of the stem can they co-occur with an object prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
tla- & \, k^W_{\text{a}} \\
tk_{\text{a}} & \, \text{kwal} \\
\text{UNSPEC-eat well} & \\
tek^W_{\text{a}} & \, \text{ni} \\
tek^W_{\text{a}} & \, \text{a} \\
\text{UNSPEC-eat-AG} & \, \text{UNSPEC-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

\['He eats well.'
\['People eaters (lions, tigers) eat people.'

Sentence Types

Imperative ū occurs in place of the subject prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ū-ya} & \, \text{mo-ča} \\
\text{IMP-go your-home} & \\
\text{ū-hčw} & \, \text{w} \, \text{tlen} \, \text{k}^W_{\text{al-i}} \\
\text{IMP-it-do REL good-ADJR} &
\end{align*}
\]

\['Go home!'
\['Do that which is good.'

Hortative or permissive ma is a particle.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma} & \, \text{ti-ya-kah} \\
\text{EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL} & \\
\text{ma} & \, \text{amo ki-čw} \\
\text{EXHRT NEG it-do} &
\end{align*}
\]

\['Let's go.'
\['Don't have him do it.'

Number Agreement

Number agreement with a plural subject is of various kinds.

Suppletion (see STEMS):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SG} & \, \text{PL} \\
yawa & \, \text{yawi} \\
walawa & \, \text{walawi}
\end{align*}
\]

\['to go'
\['to come'

Variation in tense suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SG} & \, \text{PL} \\
PAST: & \, -\text{ki} \\
PRES DUR: & \, -\text{tika}
\end{align*}
\]

\[-\text{keh}
\[-\text{tikateh}]}
The plural affix (-eh after consonants and -h after vowel) marks plural subjects in all other tenses.

mik-tok  
die-STAT

mik-tok-eh  
die-STAT-PL

koči-yaya  
sleep-PAST:DUR

koči-yaya-h  
sleep-PAST:DUR-PL

Exhortatives and imperatives with plural subject use -kah.

šiya-kah  a-pa  
IMP-go-IMP:PL water-place

ma  tiya-kah  amanci  
EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL right:now

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

The causative -tiya occurs after consonants, and -ltiya occurs after vowels.

(See STEMS, Class III).

miki  
‘to die’

ki-mik-tiya  
‘He kills it.’

it-die-CAUS

ni-pewa-s  
‘I will begin.’

I-begin-FUT

ni-h-pewa-iti-s  
‘I will start it.’

I-it-begin-CAUS-FUT

The applicative -ltiya causes an object prefix to be indirect rather than direct;

a→i before i.

ni-h-kowa-s  
‘I will buy it.’

I-it-buy-FUT

ši-neč-kowi-li  
‘Buy it for me.’

IMP-me-buy-APPLIC

ki-walika-s  
‘He will bring it.’

it-bring-FUT
neč-waliki-li-s  'He will bring it for me.'
me-bring-APPLIC-FUT

neč-namaki-Iti-li-s  'He is going to sell it to me.'
me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT

**Adverbial**

The directionals are seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incomplete</th>
<th>Complete</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>'toward/come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'away from/go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ší-pano  ši-mo-sewi-ki  'Pass, come sit down.'
IMP-pass  IMP-REFL-sit-come

ni-h-namaka-ko  e-tl  šikweyi-ya  'I came and sold beans last week.'
I-it-sell-came  bean-ABS  eight ago

ši-neč-kowi-li-ši  seboysa  'Go buy onions for me.'
IMP-me-buy-APPLIC-go  onions

mil-teki-ti-to  field-work-VR-went

The directive is sometimes doubly marked.

yah-ki  ki-namaka-to  'He went to sell it.'
go-PAST  it-sell-went

When a second verb occurs connected to the first one, the tense marking is on the second verb.

-ši-nemi  'habitually'
-ši-wala  'on the way toward'
-ši-ya  'as he goes'
-ši-kisa  'quickly, right away'
-ši-weci  'for a minute'

wika-ši-nemi  'He habitually sings.'
sing-CONN-walk

wika-ši-nemi-yaya  'He was always singing.'
sing-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR

cikw-in-ti-wala  'He jumps on the way here.'
jump-CONN-come

kin-namaka-ši-ya-s  'He will sell them as he goes.'
them-sell-CONN-go-FUT
Volitional

There are no desiderative affixes. The desiderative is expressed by two independent verbs or by a compound. The independent verb ki-neki ‘want it’ is followed by a second verb which has future tense. Notice that transitive verbs each take the object prefix, showing that there are two verbs, not one. The first one may take any tense marker.

---

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-neki} & \quad \text{ki-ciwa-s} \quad \text{tlen} \quad k^{\text{al-i}} & \quad \text{‘He wants to do what is good.’} \\
\text{it-want} & \quad \text{it-do-FUT} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{good-ADJR} \\
\text{ki-neki-yaya} & \quad \text{ya-s} & \quad \text{‘He was wanting to go.’} \\
\text{it-want-PAST:DUR} & \quad \text{go-FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

---

The desiderative compound is formed by attaching the stem neki ‘want’ to another verb with future tense. Any tense can occur on the neki.

---

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-ciwa-s-neki} & \quad \text{tlen} \quad k^{\text{al-i}} & \quad \text{‘He wants to do what is good.’} \\
\text{it-do-FUT-want} & \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{good-ADJR} \\
\text{ya-s-nek-toya} & \quad \text{‘He had wanted to go.’} \\
\text{go-FUT-want-PAST:PERF} & \quad \text{‘Can’ or ‘able’ is also expressed by an independent verb at the front of the verb phrase.} \\
\text{kena} & \quad \text{weli} \quad \text{ki-ciwa} & \quad \text{‘Yes, he can do it.’} \\
\text{yes} & \quad \text{able} & \quad \text{it-do} \\
\end{align*}
\]

---

The future tense on the verb welli usually expresses possibility.

---

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{weli-s} & \quad \text{ki-wika-s} & \quad \text{‘Perhaps he will take it.’} \\
\text{able-FUT} & \quad \text{it-take-FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

---

Modal

For exhortative, permissive, and imperative see SYNTACTIC MARKING.

Irrealis describes an action in the past that is contrary to fact.

---

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mik-toskia} & \quad \text{intla a}s \quad \text{ti-h-wika-toskia-h} \quad \text{kampa médiko} \\
\text{die-IRR} & \quad \text{if} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{we-him-take-IRR-PL} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{doctor} \\
\text{‘He would have died if we hadn’t taken him to a doctor.’} \\
\text{yah-toskia} & \quad \text{pero} \quad \text{mih-ki} \quad \text{i-nana} \\
\text{go-IRR} & \quad \text{but} \quad \text{die-PAST} \quad \text{his-mother} \\
\text{‘He would have gone, but his mother died.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

---
The conditional is -skia.
ki-kowa-skia inla ti-h-neki
it-buy-would if you-it-want

'He would buy it if you want (him to).'

The exhortative is ma.
ki-neki ma ni-h-ciwa
it-want EXHRT I-it-do

'He wants me to do it.'

Aspect

Stative and present perfect are both indicated by -tok.
wec-tok ne kokoš-ke-ti
fall-STAT that sick-AG-ABS

'The sick one is in bed (‘fallen’).'
wak-tok ne yoyo-mittl
dry-STAT that cloth-ABS

'That clothing is dry.'
yaw walah-tok
he come-PRES:PERF

'He has come.'

Completive =ya/=a is a clitic meaning ‘already’ that goes on various types of words (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS) expressing the completive idea. It occurs after the tense.
yah-ki=ya
go-PAST=already

'He already went.'
el-tos=a lalaš
be-FUT:DUR=already orange

'There will already be oranges.'

The repetitive is expressed by =nok/=ok meaning ‘again’. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS.)
wala-s=ok
come-FUT=again

'He will come again.'

Many aspecual ideas are expressed by a limited list of verbs that are connected to the main verb by -ti-. The tense occurs at the end of the second verb.

Habitual:
TLA-namaka-ti-nemi
UNSPEC-sell-CONN-walk

'He is always selling things.'

Momentary (also ‘quickly’):
ni-wala-ti-weci-s
I-come-CONN-fall-FUT

'I will come for a minute.'

'On leaving’ / ‘and leave’ / ‘quickly’:
ni-h-wika-ti-kisa-s
I-it-take-CONN-leave-FUT

'I will take it on leaving.'
'On the way toward':

ni-h-walika-ti-walah-ki
I-it-bring-CONN-come-PAST

'I brought it as I came.'

'As one goes':

ni-h-namaka-ti-ya-s
I-it-sell-CONN-go-FUT

'I will sell it on the way.'

Tense

Present tense is represented by ŋ; with Class II verbs, present tense is indicated by retention of -ya or -wa (see STEMS, Stem Classes). Present tense also is used for present progressive action except in the rare cases where present durative -tika is used (see below).

ki-čiwa ama
it-do now
ki-neštiliya
him-show
ki-tolowa i-pastiyas
it-swallow his-pills

'He is doing it now.'

'He shows it to him.'

'He swallows his pills.'

Past tense is ŋ, -k, or -ki in singular and -keh for plural. (See STEMS, Stem Classes for complete description.)

Future tense is marked by the suffix -s added to the stem (see STEMS, Stem Classes).

wala-s mostla
come-FUT tomorrow

'He will come tomorrow.'

Tense/Aspect

The past durative is -yaya, and it often carries an idea of interruption ('He was doing it, but something happened').

pano-yaya ne kal-i Wan wec-ki
pass-PAST:DUR that house-ABS and fall-PAST

'He was passing that house and he fell.'

The past perfect is -toya.

ya yah-toya i-ča kema ni-ahsi-ko
he go-PAST:PERF his-house when I-arrive-came

'He had gone to his house when I arrived (here).'

The present durative is singular -tika and plural -tikatch. It is very rarely used. The present also carries with it the idea of continuing and is used most commonly.

ni-h-kaki wecka-tika mo-kone
I-it-hear laugh-PRES:DUR your-child

'I hear your child laughing.'
The future durative is -tos 'will be...ing'.

ni-ahki-tos   mostla   tlahko-tona   'I will be swimming tomorrow at noon.'
I-swim-FUT:DUR tomorrow half-sun

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The overall structure of the HN verb can be seen in the following charts. Forms are from the E dialect; the W dialect differs slightly in the form of certain pronominal prefixes (see DEFINITE PRONOUNS).

The HN verb consists of a stem, affixes, and clitics. The stem consists in turn of at least one base or other stem and an optional aspectual verb. The base consists of a root and various other optional elements.

Verb

The pre-stem items are listed in the first chart. UNSPEC OBJ and OBJ cannot co-occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>DIM</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>UNSPEC OBJ STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>neč-</td>
<td>pil-</td>
<td>wal-</td>
<td>tla-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>mic-</td>
<td></td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>te-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-k, ki-, -h-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>teč-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>-meč-, inmeč-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>kin-, kinin-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ši-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The post-stem suffixes and clitics are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>TNS/ASP</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>'already'</th>
<th>'again'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-eh</td>
<td></td>
<td>=(y)a</td>
<td>=(y)ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=nok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k, -ki, ø</td>
<td>-(k)eh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-tilka</td>
<td>-teh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-yaya</td>
<td>-h</td>
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<tr>
<td>-toya</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MODAL

-akia
-toskia

DIR

-ti
-to
-ki
-ko

∅ -kah

ši-neč-waliki-li-kah ‘(You PL) bring it to me.’
IMP-me-bring-APPLIC-IMP:PL

ki-pil-on-k^W^a-ki ‘He ate a little of it there.’
it-DIM-there-eat-PAST

call-tla-k^W^a ‘He eats a little there.’
DIM-there-UNSPEC-eat

ki-noca-ko-h=ya=nok ‘They already came and called him again.’
him-call-came-PL=already=again

yah-toya-h=ya=nok ‘They already had gone again.’
go-PAST:PERF-PL=already=again

Stem

A verb stem consists of at least one base or another stem, followed optionally by an aspectual verb linked to it by -t(l)-, -ka-, s- FUT, or Ø.

ni-k^W^a-če-yoli-s-neki ‘I am getting (want to get) white-headed.’
I-head-cotton-seed-FUT-want
get white-headed
wika-ti-wala  'He comes singing.'
wika-t-ewa  'He leaves singing.'
wika-ti-nemi  'He habitually sings.'
wika-ti-ya  'He sings as he goes.'
wika-ti-kisa  'He sings as he leaves.'
wika-s-neki  'He wants to sing.'
wika-ti-wedi  'He sings for a moment.'
mowika-ka-neki  'He pretends to sing.'
wika-teh-ti-nemi  'He habitually leaves singing.'
sing-leave-CONN-walk  
habitually

**Base**

The base consists of a root together with optional preceding or following elements. Following elements include one of a set of characteristic verbal or verbalizing endings, the causative suffix, and the applicative suffix. Preceding elements include an unspecified or reflexive object marker which has been reanalyzed as part of the base, reduplication, and an incorporated root possibly with a connective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>INCORP</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>CONN</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>VR</th>
<th>CAUS</th>
<th>APPLIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tla-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ka-</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-liya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>-owa</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ki-tla-powa  'He opens it.'
it-UNSPEC-open
ki-tla-pen-ki  'He chose him.'
him-UNSPEC-RDP-pick-PAST  choose
ki-čih-čiwa  'He does it.'
it-RDP-do
kʰalan-ka-ita  'He looks with anger.'
anger-CONN-see
ni-h-cayana-s  no-yoyo  'I will tear my clothes.'
I-it-tear-FUT  my-clothes
cayani no-yoyo  'My clothes tear.'
tear  my-clothes
ni-tlaštawo beinte  pesos  'I pay twenty pesos.'
I-pay  twenty  pesos
ni-h-tlaštlawi beinte pesos ‘I pay him twenty pesos.’
I-him-pay twenty pesos

tlaškal-owa amanci ‘She is making tortillas now.’
tortilla-VR now

tla-ka-kapaca no-siwa-pil i-pan mesah UNSPEC-RDP-pat my-woman-little its-place table
‘My little girl is patting her hands on the table (as drum beating).’
paki ‘She is happy.’
happy
neč-pak-tiya ‘It makes me happy.’
me-happy-CAUS
neč-namaki-iti-li-s ‘He will sell it for me.’
me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT

Root

Roots can be of several kinds:

Simple Verb Root piya ‘to have’

Spanish Verb Root pensar ‘to think’

Stative Verb Root k’al ‘good’
nel ‘true’

Noun Root ma ‘hand’

ikši ‘foot’
teki ‘work’

Adjective Root čipa ‘clean’

COORDINATION

i-waya* ‘and’ (joins noun phrases)
ika ‘and’ (joins noun phrases and predicates)
Wan/iWan ‘and’ (joins clauses with same or different subjects, nouns,

and predicates)
pero ‘but’ (joins clauses with same or different subjects)
o ‘or’ (joins nouns, predicates, or clauses in questions or

statements)
niyon ‘not even’ (joins clauses)

*waya can be inflected with all possessor prefixes.
nohkia, no  ‘also’ (joins clauses, nouns, and predicates)
wa-hka  ‘then, so’ (joins clause and discourse units)
yeka, (yehka) ‘therefore’
teipa  ‘afterward’
sampa  ‘again’

i-waya

ki-koh-ki sin-tli i-waya e-tl  ‘He bought corn and beans.’
it-buy-PAST corn-ABS its-with bean-ABS

Wan i-waya i-ikni yah-k-eh mēhiko
PN his-with his-brother go-PAST-PL Mexico
‘John and his brother went to Mexico.’

no-nana ya-s no-waya  ‘My mother will go with me.’
my-mother go-FUT my-with

ika

mo-ma-teh-ki i-ka i-mačete  ‘He cut his own hand with his machete.’
REFL-hand-cut-PAST its-with his-machete

maria ika Wana yah-k-eh pašalo-to-h  ‘Mary and Juana went visiting.’
PN and PN go-PAST-PL visit-went-PL

Wan

ni-h-namaka-k kwašilo-tli Wan no-wewe ki-namaka-k kafe
I-it-sell-PAST banana-ABS and my-husband it-sell-PAST coffee
‘I sold bananas and my husband sold coffee.’

pero

ni-h-neki-yaya ni-ya-s pero aš ni-wel-ki
I-it-want-PAST:DUR I-go-FUT but NEG I-able-PAST
‘I was wanting to go but I couldn’t.’

o

ti-h-neki se lalaš o oton-lalaš  ‘Do you want an orange or a tangerine?’
you-it-want a orange or autumn-orange

niyon

aš neč-maka-k tleno ni-h-kwaš niyon aš neč-maka-k se točo
NEG me-give-PAST anything I-it-eat-FUT not:even NEG me-give-it a stale
tortilla

‘She didn’t give me anything to eat; she didn’t even give me a stale tortilla.’

nohkia, no

ni-h-kowa-s sin-tli nohkia e-tl
I-it-buy-FUT corn-ABS also bean-ABS
‘I will buy corn, and beans also.’ (somewhat of an afterthought)
wahka
...wahka san ya nobpa ni-k-iktowa
so just it that I-it-say
wahka ni-mic-ilwi se ome k\textit{wentos}
then I-you-tell one two stories
‘So just that I say.’ (end of discourse)
‘So I will tell you a story or two.’
(beginning of story—joins request for
story to story)
yeka
ne\textit{\c c}-noc-k\textit{\c c}-eh yeka ni-yah-ki
‘They called; therefore I went.’
me-call-PAST-PL therefore I-go-PAST
te\textit{\textipa}\textit{\textipa}a
ni-h-namaka-k sin-tli Wan te\textit{\textipa}a ni-h-koh-ki kafe
I-it-sell-PAST corn-ABS and afterward I-it-buy-PAST coffee
‘I sold corn, and afterward I bought coffee.’
sampa
ni-yah-ki biernes sampa ni-yah-ki s\textipa{\textipa}ado
I-go-PAST Friday again I-go-PAST Saturday
‘I went on Friday; again I went Saturday.’

\textbf{COMPLEMENT CLAUSES}

Complement clauses as a subject or object occur at the end of a clause. They are
not marked and are finite.

\textbf{Subject Complement Clauses}
nesi [mokokowa-yaya]
‘That she has been sick shows.’
show be:sick-PAST:DUR
k\textit{\textipa{\textipa}al-i [walah-ki i-tata]
‘It is good his father came.’
good-ABS come-PAST his-father

\textbf{Object Complement Clauses}
i-h-mati [yahaya yah-ki]
‘I know he went.’
I-it-know he go-PAST
ni-h-neki [ni-ya-s]
‘I want to go.’
I-it-want I-go-PUT
ni-h-temitti’ [mih-ki no-nana]
‘I dreamed my mother died.’
I-it-dreamed die-PAST my-mother
EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Embedded questions do not differ in any way from main clause questions or subordinate clause sentences, except that embedded yes/no questions employ the conjunction intla/tla 'if', whereas independent yes/no questions have no introducer. (See Yes/No Questions.)

Embedded questions can function as subject and may precede or follow the main verb.

[tlački ki-čih-ki] neč-kʷa-totonih-ki
what it-do-PAST me-head-get:hot-PAST
'What he did bothered me.' (i.e., the fact that he did what he did, or the thing he did)
neč-paktih-ki [kanke ni-yah-ki]
me-please-PAST where I-go-PAST
'I liked where I went.' (i.e., that I went where I did, or the place where I went)

Embedded questions can function as object and then follow the main verb.

neč-ilwi' [kanke ya-s]
He told me where he is going.'
me-told where go-FUT
aš ki-mati [tlački ni-h-čiwa-s]
'He doesn't know what I will do.'
NEG it-know what I-it-do-FUT
aš ni-h-mati [intla ya-s o aštle] 'I don't know if he is going or not.'
NEG I-it-know if go-FUT or no

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Any noun in a sentence (subject, object, indirect object) can be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause normally follows the noun it modifies, but there is at least one example in the E dialect of the relative preceding the noun (the W dialect will not accept the example). Noun heads with relatives are reinforced with a demonstrative, quantifier, or numeral. Pronoun heads aren't reinforced. The relative marker is always tlen in E. The W dialect also has katli as an alternate relative marker. The relative pronoun may function as subject, direct object, indirect object, or object of postposition in the relative clause.

Direct Relatives

nopa tlaka-tl [tlen ki-neki no-kawayo] 'that man that wants my horse'
that man-ABS REL it-want my-horse
nopa pah-tl [tlen ki-koh-ki] 'that medicine that he bought'
that medicine-ABS REL it-buy-PAST
no-siwa [tlen ni-h-kowi-lih-ki seboyas] my-wife REL I-her-buy-APPLIC-PAST onions ‘my wife that I had bought onions for’
i-čiši ne tlaka-tl [tlen walah-ki yalwaya] mih-ki his-dog that man-ABS REL come-PAST yesterday die-PAST ‘The man who came yesterday’s dog died.’

**Oblique Relatives**

The oblique relative retains the object as a pronoun to which the postposition is attached. The *tlen* and postposition occur contiguous to each other, but either may be initial in the relative clause.

nikani ni mačete [i-ka tlen ki-mik-tl’ nopa kowa-tl] here this machete its-with REL it-die-CAUS:PAST that snake-ABS ‘Here is the machete with which he killed that snake.’

ši-h-wika nopa cika-tl [tlen i-pan ti-atli-s-eh] IMP-it-take that jug-ABS REL its-place we-drink-FUT-PL ‘Take that jug from which we will drink.’

**Headless Relatives**

Headless relatives occur as subject or object of the clause. Headless relatives also occur when a demonstrative replaces the head noun.

ni-k-ita-k [tlen ki-čih-ki] ‘I saw what he did.’
I-it-see-PAST REL it-do-PAST

nopa [tlen ki-koh-ki] ‘that which he bought’
that REL it-buy-PAST

Question words can be used in place of the relative subordinator when the head is absent. The resulting clauses are identical with embedded questions.

aš ni-k-ita-k [tlacki ki-čih-ki] ‘I didn’t see what he did.’
NEG I-it-see-PAST what it-do-PAST

yahaya ki-mati [ahkeya yah-ki] ‘He knows who went.’
he it-know who go-PAST

The ‘ever’ forms are usually identical to the WH words. (See WH Questions.) The concept of ‘ever’ can be expressed by onka ‘there is/be’ or welli ‘able’ or nesi ‘appear’ if a different form is used.

ni-h-seli-s [tlen onka ki-kowa-s] ‘I will receive whatever he buys.’
I-it-receive-FUT REL be it-buy-FUT

ki-koh-ki noči [tlen welli ki-neki-yaya] it-buy-PAST all REL able it-want-PAST:DUR ‘He bought whatever he wanted.’
Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial clauses are usually after the main clause, but they may be initial. They begin with the relator or the question word. Locative and manner clauses have a relator that is different from the question word, but the question word can also be used. tlen is used with oblique constituents. The 'when' clauses often omit the question word. They are not marked in any special way.

Locative:

yahaha teki-ti [kampa ic-tok] 'He works where he lives.' (not the he work-VR where live-STAT question word)

aš ni-h-mati [kanke teki-ti] 'I don't know (the place) where he works.' NEG I-it-know where work-VR (question word)

teki-ti nečka [kampa el-tok at-l] work-VR near where be-STAT water-ABS 'He works close to where the water is.'

nenen-ki [asta kampa el-tok i-mila] walk-PAST to where be-STAT his-field 'He walked to where his field is.' (Relator can be used for questions.)

ki-lhkweni [tlen i-pa ni-mo-sewi-yaya] it-move REL its-place I-REFL-sit-PAST:DUR 'He moved that which I was sitting on.' (question words)

Manner:

ni-h-čih-ki iWikal [keha no-tata neč-ilwi] I-it-do-PAST same like my-father me-told 'I did just like my father told me.'

aš ni-h-mati [kshaca ti-pano-s-eh] 'I don't know how we will get by.' NEG I-it-know how we-pass-FUT-PL

nes-ki [keha tlatla-yaya] 'It looked like it was burning.' appear-PAST like burn-PRES:DUR
Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses can occur before or after the main clause. Clauses meaning ‘before’ have aya negative ‘not yet’ as an introducer:

neš-tlapen-ki [aya pewa tlapetkab-tli]
me-choose-PAST not:yet start world-ABS
‘He chose me before the world began.’

A Ø subordinator is most common for ‘when’ clauses.

ni-mo-ilwiØ neš-aWa-s [ni-ahsi-ti no-ča]
I-REFL-said me-fuss:at-FUT I-arrive-go my-house
‘I thought she would fuss at me when I arrived home.’

The kema ‘when’ subordinator (same as question word) can be used.

[kema ni-walah-ki] yahaya yah-ki When I came, he left.
when I-come-PAST he go-PAST

The ‘while’ idea can be expressed by Ø.

[ni-wala-yaya i-pan oh-tli] ni-k-ita-k seh tli-tl
I-come-PAST:DUR its-place road-ABS I-it-see-PAST a fire-ABS
‘While I was coming down the road, I saw a fire.’

The ‘while’ idea can be emphasized by kema noha ‘while still’.

ni-k-ihkWiloh-ki ne ama-tl [kema noha ni-wec-toya i-pan tlapes-tli]
I-it-write-PAST that paper-ABS when still I-fall-PAST:PERF its-place bed-ABS
‘I wrote that letter while I was still in bed.’

Other

‘If’, ‘even if’, ‘because’, ‘therefore’, ‘in order to’, and ‘until’ clauses are marked by an introducer that is clause initial. These subordinate clauses can go before or after the main clause and any tense can occur in them unless otherwise specified.

‘If’ clauses are marked by the introducer tla or intla.

[intla Wan yah-ki yalwaya] maria ya-s mostla
if PN go-PAST yesterday PN go-FUT tomorrow
‘If John went yesterday, Mary will go tomorrow.’

mik-toskia [tla aš yah-toskia kampa médiko]
die-IRR if NEG go-IRR where doctor
‘He would have died if he hadn’t gone to the doctor.’

ya-s mohmostla [intla weli-s] He will go daily if he can.
go-FUT daily if able-FUT
‘Even if’ clauses are marked by the introducer yonke.

aš ni-ya-s ospitál [yonke ni-miki-s]
NEG I-go-FUT hospital even:if I-die-FUT
‘I will not go to the hospital even if I die.’

‘Because’ clauses are introduced by pampa.

aš neč-paktiša i-tlamaččí-ha [pampa aš tlamaččíša kWalí]
NEG me-please his-teacher-POSSD:AG because NEG teach well
‘I don’t like his teacher because she doesn’t teach well.’

‘Therefore’ clauses are introduced by yeka.

ni-mokokowa-yaya [yeka aš ni-yah-ki]
I-sick-PAST:DUR therefore NEG I-go-PAST
‘I was sick; therefore I didn’t go.’

‘In order to’ clauses are marked by the introducer para, which is borrowed from Spanish. Only incompletive tenses and aspects occur in a para clause.

ni-h-mokWitlawih-ki i-kone [para weli ya-s tlačikWeni-s]
I-it-take:care:of:PAST her-child in:order:that able go-FUT wash-FUT
‘I took care of her child so that she could go wash.’

‘Until’ clauses are marked by the introducer asta, which is borrowed from Spanish.

neč-aWak miak [asta ni-kis-ki]
me-scold-PAST much until I-leave-PAST
‘She scolded me a lot until I left.’

The introducer asta ‘until’ occurs with kema ‘when’ following it.

ni-teki-ti-yaya [asta kema peh-ki tla'aweci]
I-work-VR-PAST until when start-PAST rain
DUR
‘I was working until it started to rain.’
TEXTS

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

ne koyo-čiči Wan ne ose-lo-kʷa-toči
that outsider-dog and that grey-wood-rabbit
cyote jackrabbit
(E dialect)

1. One day when a big coyote was really hungry,
seh tonal kema seh wey-i koyo-čiči nelia mayana-yaya
one day when one big-ADJR coyote really hungry-PAST:DUR

he was chasing a jackrabbit there in the woods.
kī-toh-toka-yaya seh osel-o-kʷa-toči ne kʷa-titla
it-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR one jackrabbit there wood-CHAR:BY
chase

2. That jackrabbit was really afraid, but he knew
nelia mah-mawi-yaya nopa oselo-kʷa-toči pero ki-mat-yaya
really RDP-fear-PAST:DUR that jackrabbit but it-know-PAST:DUR

he couldn’t run far
a=y=ok well-yaya motlalowa weh-ka
NEG=already=again able-PAST:DUR run big-place
no longer far

because he was already old and his feet were tired.
pampa ya=we-wen-ci Wan ikši-tlašikowa-yaya
because already=RDP-old-DIM and foot-be:tired-PAST:DUR

3. Therefore suddenly that jackrabbit stopped
wahka isokapa nopa oselo-kʷa-toči mo-til-kec-ki
therefore suddenly that jackrabbit REFL-stop-stand-PAST

and faced that coyote.
Wan mo-š-tlaši-lih-ki i-waya nopa koyo-čiči
and REFL-face-look-APPLIC-PAST his-with that coyote

4. “Stop!” said that jackrabbit.
ši-mo-til-keca ki-hto’ nopa oselo-kʷa-toči
IMP-REFL-stop-stand it-said that jackrabbit

“Why are you chasing me?
para tlen ti-neč-toh-toka
for what you-me-chase

why
5. *Are you going to eat me?* "ti-neč-k'w-a-s
you-me-eat-FUT

6. "Yes," said that coyote, "I will eat you."
kena ki-ihto' nopa koyo-ščiči ni-mic-k'w-a-s
yes it-said that coyote I-you-eat-FUT

7. "Don't eat me," answered that jackrabbit,
amo ši-neč-k'wa' ki-nanki-li' nopa oselo-k'w-a-toči
NEG IMP-me-eat it-(?)-APPLIC:PAST that jackrabbit
answered

"because if you eat me, you will die.
pampa into ti-neč-k'w-a-s ti-miki-s
because if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT

8. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am really
a rattlesnake, and when you eat me, my poison
ni-kowa-k'wečma Wan kena ti-neč-k'w-a-s no-pah-yo
I-snake-rattle and when you-me-eat-FUT my-poison-INAL

will kill you."
mic-mik-ti-s
you-die-CAUS-FUT
kill

9. "Therefore what shall I eat?" asked
yeša ščiči mo-neki ni-h-k'w-a-s mo-tlah-tlaní'
therefore what I-it-eat-FUT REFL-RDP-earned
asked

that coyote.
nopa koyo-ščiči
that coyote

10. "Eat these little fruits that
ši-h-k'w-a' ni pil-tla-copel-ka-yo-tl
tlen
IMP-it-eat these DIM-UNSPEC-sweet-be-ABSTR-ABS REL
fruit
I picked," said that jackrabbit.
ni-h-peh-pen-ki ki-ihto' ne oselo-k'w-a-toči
I-it-RDP:PL-pick-PAST it-said that jackrabbit
11. "I was carrying them home in my little basket
to go eat them when you started chasing me."

12. "Jackrabbits eat fruit,"
said the coyote, "but snakes that are rattlers
never eat fruit.

13. Therefore really you are a jackrabbit even though you say no.

14. You can fool yourself but you can't fool me.

15. It is good you are a jackrabbit.

16. Everybody likes to eat jackrabbits,
but I don't like to eat snakes that are rattlers."

17. Therefore that coyote ate that jackrabbit
that was trying to fool him.
18. Also he ate that little fruit that was
nohkia ki-k<sub>W</sub>ah-ki nop<sub>i</sub>p<sub>l</sub>-tla-copel-ka-yo-t<sub>l</sub> ten el-toya
also it-eat-PAST that DIM-fruit REL be:located-PAST:PERF
in the little basket of the jackrabbit.
i-p<sub>an</sub> i-pil-čiki nop<sub>a</sub> oselo-k<sub>W</sub>a-toči
in his-DIM-basket that jackrabbit

19. When that coyote ate the fruit of that
kema nop<sub>a</sub> k<sub>o</sub>y<sub>o</sub>-čiči ki-k<sub>W</sub>ah-ki i-pil-tla-copel-ka-yo nop<sub>a</sub>
when that coyote it-eat-PAST his-DIM-fruit that
jackrabbit, right away he died at the foot of the tree.
oselo-k<sub>W</sub>a-toči niman-ci mih-ki ne k<sub>W</sub>a-cin-tla
jackrabbit quick-DIM die-PAST that wood-buttocks-place

20. That fruit was very poisonous.
nop<sub>a</sub> tla-copel-ka-yo-t<sub>l</sub> nelia ki-piya-yaya i-pah-yo
that fruit really it-have-PAST:DUR its-medicine-INAL
I was Horse-Thrown on the Road

ni-mo-kawa-tepexwi i-pan oh-tili
I-REFL-horse-throw its-place road-ABS
(E dialect)

1. Now this season, April and May, there are spring fields,
aman tonali ni abril mayo onka tonal-mili
now these days this April May be sun-fields
really a lot of pure birds are there.
tlawi nelia san toto-meh ic-tok-eh
really really just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL

2. Those birds didn’t allow us
a=yok tei-kwia-kah nopa toto-meh para toWanti
no:longer us-leave-APPLIC-PL those bird-AN:PL for we
allow
to eat that young corn that is in the field.
ma ti-kwia-kah nopa elo-tl tlen el-tok mila
EXHRT we-eat-IMP:PL that young:corn-ABS REL be-STAT field

3. I can no longer go anywhere; I just guard my field.
na a=yok weli kana ni-ya san ni-h-mokwitlawiya no-mila
I no:longer able anywhere I go just I-it-guard my-field

4. It isn’t big; it’s just a little thing, but
as wey-i san seh pil-ken-ci pero
NEG big-ADJR just a DIM-little-ADJR but
I don’t want to let those birds eat that corn.
as ni-h-neki ma ki-kwia-kah toto-meh nopa elo-tl
NEG I-it-want EXHRT it-eat-IMP:PL bird-AN:PL that young:corn-ABS

5. And so I was guarding my field, that corn.
Wan ihkino ni-h-mokwitlawi no-mila nopa elo-tl
and so I-it-guarded my-field that young:corn-ABS

6. And I went to buy.
Wan ni-yah-ki ni-tla-kowa-to
and I-go-PAST I-UNSPEC-buy-went

7. I went there to Chapopote to get kerosene.
ni-yah-ki nepa Chapopote ni-h-kwi-to has
I-go-PAST there tar (PN) I-it-get-went gas
And it was already late when I left my field;
Wan ya=tiotlak ni-kis-teh-ki no-mila
and already=late I-leave-leave-PAST my-field

I couldn't leave them I was spying on.
aš welli-yaya ni-kin-kah-tewa ni-tla'=piya-yaya
NEG able-PAST:DUR I-them-leave-leave I-UNSPEC-spy-PAST:DUR

And I went and got on leaving my horses,
Wan ni-yan-ki ni-kin-k³wih-teh-ki no-kawayoh-wa
and I-go-PAST I-them-get-leave-PAST my-horse-POSSD:PL

and I took one for the load,
Wan seh ni-h-wika=k para tlamamal-i
and one I-it-take-PAST for load-ABS

and one I took to ride on.
Wan seh ni-h-wika=k para i-pan ni-yah-ki
and one I-it-take-PAST for its-place I-go-PAST
on (it)

And I was going along just on the road where those oilmen were fixing.
Wan ni-yawi-yaya san i-pan oh-tli kampa ki-k³wal-tlali-yaya=h
and I-go-PAST:DUR just on road-ABS where it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL

nopa petroleros
those oilmen

But since in places the road was bad,
pero kehki kanaya aš k³wal-i nopa oh-tli
but since in:places NEG good-ADJR that road-ABS

they were fixing it because it had rained
ki-k³wal-tlali-yaya=h pampa wec-ki a-tl
it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL because fall-PAST water-ABS

and damaged that road.
Wan ihltakah-ki nopa oh-tli
and damage-PAST that road-ABS

And my horse saw those oilmen were working
Wan nopa no-kawayoh ki-ita=k teki-ti-yaya=h nopa petroleros
and that my-horse it-see-PAST work-VR-PAST:DUR-PL those oilmen

putting in (a tube).
ki-tlali-yaya=h
it-put-PAST:DUR-PL
13. And my horse did not want to pass.
Wan aš ki-neh-ki pano-s nopa no-kawayo
and NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT that my-horse

14. And after that there I waited some time,
Wan teipa nopano ni-čiš-ki seh ome oras
and afterwards there I-wait-PAST one two time
some
I was watching them for an hour.
ni-kin-tlačilh-tok asta pano-k seh ora
I-them-watch-PRES:PERF until pass-PAST one hour

15. And afterwards I returned again; I didn’t pass
Wan teipa sampa ni-mo-kenep-ki aš ni-pano-k
and afterward again I-REFL-return-PAST NEG I-pass-PAST
because my horse didn’t want to pass.
pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-neh-ki pano-s
because that my-horse NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT

16. And I already was made because he didn’t want to pass.
Wan ni-kenalan-ki=ya pampa aš ki-neh-ki pano-s
and I-angry-PAST=already because NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT

17. Therefore I hit him with the whip.
Wan ni-h-tlali-li' k'awasas-tli
and I-it-put-APPLIC:PAST whip-ABS

18. But because my horse didn’t have a bridle,
pero pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-wika freno
but because that my-horse NEG it-carry bridle
just a rope, therefore he took me
san i-ka meka-tl yeka neč-wika-k
just its-with rope-ABS therefore me-carry-PAST
with
where he wanted to go.
kampa ya ki-neh-ki ya-s
where he it-want-PAST go-FUT

19. And I hit him with a whip.
Wan ni-h-tlali-li' seh k'awasas-tli
and I-him-put-APPLIC:PAST one whip-ABS
20. Also I was already mad, and he left quickly
   no ni-k alan-ki=ya Wan kis-ki čikawa-k
   also I-angry-PAST=already and leave-PAST strong-ADJR

   and he jumped to one side,
   Wan mo-makah-ki seh lado
   and REFL-throw-PAST one side

   and I also went on one side, and I went falling.
   Wan na no ni-yah-ki i-pan seh lado Wan ni-weci-to
   and I also I-go-PAST on one side and I-fall-went

21. And there I went falling, and I hurt myself a little here on my shoulder.
   Wan nopano ni-weci-to Wan kenci ni-mo-koko’ i-pan nika no-ahkol
   and there I-fall-went and a:little I-REFL-hurt on here my-shoulder

22. And then I stood up.
   Wan ihkino ni-mo-kec-ki
   and then I-REFL-stand-PAST

23. I couldn’t ride the horse any more;
   a=yok welli-yaya ni-kawa-tlehko-k
   no:longer able-PAST:DUR I-horse-climb-PAST

   my shoulder was hurting me.
   neč-kokowa-yaya no-ahkol
   me-hurt-PAST:DUR my-shoulder

24. And then again I rode even though I had hurt myself a little,
   Wan ihkino sampa ni-tlehko-k yonke ači ni-mo-kokoh-ki
   and then again I-climb-PAST even:though a:little I-REFL-hurt-PAST

   but I circled around; a big circle I made.
   pero ni-h-maka-k welta wey-i welta ni-tlali’
   but I-it-give-PAST turn big-ADJR turn I-put:PAST

25. And there I went running down the road.
   Wan nopano ni-mottaloh-ti-nen-ki i-pan nopan oh-tli
   and there I-run-CONN-walk-PAST on that road-ABS
   habitually

26. I had really hurt myself.
   k’ali ni-mo-koko’
   well I-REFL-hurt:PAST

27. And then I thought, it’s nothing else but
   Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwi’ aš tlahki se=yok thaman-tli
   and then I-REFL-said NEG nothing one=vet thing-ABS
   another
I hurt myself because of those birds that are in the field,
i-mo-koko' pampa nopa toto-meh ic-tok-eh mila
I-REFL-hurt::PAST because those bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL field

those birds really damaging the young corn.
nopa toto-meh tlawel ki-ihlakoh-k-eh elo-tl
that bird-AN:PL really it-damage-PAST-PL young::corn-ABS

28. And so now at this time, this April just birds are there
Wan yeka ama ni tiempo ni abril san toto-meh ic-tok-eh
and so now this time this April just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL

where the field is.
kampa onka mila
where be field

29. And I returned; I came like I had been punished because
Wan ni-mo-k'ep-ki ni-wala keha ni-mo-tlacak'wiltih-tok pampa
and I-REFL-turn-PAST I-come like I-REFL-punish-PRES:PERF because

I was dirty and I was hurt
ni-sokiyoh-tok Wan ni-mo-k kokoh-tok
I-dirty-STAT and I-REFL-hurt-STAT

because I was horse-thrown.
pampa ni-mo-kawa-tepesiwih-ki
because I-REFL-horse-throw-PAST

30. So I came towards my field; again I arrived at my field;
ihkino ni-wala-ko para no-mila sampa ni-ahsi-ko no-mila
so I-come-came for my-field again I-arrive-came my-field

there I came and remained already again.
nopano ni-mo-kawa-ko=ya=nok
there I-REFL-leave-came=already=again
stay

31. I can't go anywhere any more.
a=vok well kana ni-ya
no:longer able anywhere I-go

32. And then I thought until I laughed at myself because
Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwiya asta no ni-mo-wecki-liya pampa
and then I-REFL-say until also I-REFL-smile-APPLIC because
think laugh at

I went around being horse-thrown.
i-mo-kawa-tepesiwi-ti-nemi-yaya
I-REFL-horse-throw-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR
habitually
33. And also I wanted to eat.
   Wan sampa ni-h-neki ni-tla-kʷa
   and again I-it-want I-UNSPEC-eat

34. Until also I smile because really we returned
   asta no ni-paki pampa nelia ti-mo-tlali-yaya-h
   until also I-happy because really we-REFL-put-PAST:DUR-PL
   travel
   čikawa-k pampa ti-h-neki-h ti-tla-kʷa-tos-eh
   strong-ADJR because we-it-want-PL we-UNSPEC-eat-FUT:DUR-PL

35. So I had an injury when also
   ithkino ni-h-piš-ki se tla-koko-ka-yo-tl kema no
   so I-it-have-PAST a UNSPEC-hurt-be-ABSTR-ABS when also
   injury
   I was horse-thrown.
   ni-mo-kawa-tepešiwi’
   I-REFL-horse-throw:PAST

36. My horse threw me, went running, and I also
   nopā no-maćo kema neč-makah-ki motlalowa-ya-to Wan na no
   that my-horse when me-throw-PAST run-go-went and I also
   stood and left; I ran; I went.
   ni-mo-kec-ti-kis-ki na ni-motlalo’ ni-yah-ki
   I-REFL-stand-CONN-leave-PAST I-Iran I-go-PAST

37. Again I went and grabbed him, and quickly
   sampa ni-k-icki-to Wan nima
   again I-it-grab-went and right-aways
   I climbed (on him) again.
   sampa ni-tiehko-k
   again I-climb-PAST

38. Thus we went running down the road.
   ithkino ti-motlaloh-ti-nen-k-eh I-pan oh-tli
   thus we-run-CONN-walk-PAST-PL on road-ABS
   habitually
MICHOACÁN
NAHUAL

William R. Sischo
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INTRODUCTION

This dialect of Nahual is spoken by about a thousand to fifteen hundred people, almost all of whom occupy four villages and their environs in the Pacific coastal region of the state of Michoacán in Mexico. The four villages are Ostula, Colre, Pómaro, and San Pedro Naranjestil. Of the four, Pómaro is the only one in which all of the inhabitants speak Aztec, and it is in this village that I have been studying the language during various field trips since October 1960.

Many of the speakers of this dialect of Aztec have aided me in learning the language, principally the following: Nicolasa Padua de Papas, Zenaido Aquino Campanela, Fortino Ortiz (now deceased), Ricarda Isidro vda. de Ortiz, Gabriel Flores, Eliseo Juan, Anastasio Aquino, and Maximino Gaitán.

Speakers of this dialect are descendants of a large group, who even before the Spanish arrived had been subjugated by the Tarascan Indians. (Pómaro, incidentally, is a Tarascan name, not Aztec.) The domain had extended from present-day Apatzingan, in the vicinity of which remain many vestiges of the ancient civilization of these people, to the Pacific coast. Through the centuries their numbers have dwindled until today only these thousand or so speakers of the dialect still preserve their identity through the language.

Monolingualism is non-existent among them. Notwithstanding, Aztec is preferred as the medium of communication, especially in Pómaro.

There is a great admixture of Spanish loan words in the vocabulary, and most utterances of any length contain Spanish words. There has also been some influence of Spanish grammar brought to bear on Aztec grammar, as will be seen in the following grammatical sketch.

PHONOLOGY

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Stress falls on the penultimate syllable except in verbals in which the final two syllables are contracted into one syllable, and then the stress falls on the ultimate syllable. It is usual for speakers to say the contracted form: tomáwak → tomák ‘fat’; úyak → úk ‘he went’; nimicmáka → nimicmá ‘I give it to you’. There are also some locative words with ultimate stress that is invariable, but through comparison with words in other dialects they are found to be probable contractions of two syllables originally. One can only guess at the sounds that were dropped: *lasiwakan, *lasiwayan (?) now always heard as lasiwan ‘shade’; probably the former form is the correct one.

No word in this dialect occurs with an initial vowel nor with initial W or Y. Symbols in parentheses are allophones or sounds occurring in loan words. A d occurs only after n except when it occurs word initially, and then the n even there may be heard faintly: da, nda ‘if’. The symbol h is used for a voiced bilabial stop or fricative, the variation reflecting its Spanish source. Word-initial glottal stops are not written.

**Major Phonological Processes**

A p becomes k when followed by t, even in loan words: mo-k'wepa (REFL-return) ‘he returns’, mo-k'wék-ti-ka (REFL-return-CONN-be) ‘he is returning’. An a is raised slightly when occurring in a final unstressed syllable. In unstressed syllables, i and e fluctuate as do also u and o, the higher vowels predominating. In some words, w disappears in an unstressed syllable following a stressed syllable whose vowel is a front one. The w reappears, of course, if the stress changes to its syllable or is otherwise lost from the preceding stressed syllable with the front vowel: i-k'sian ‘his foot’, i-k'sivá-hmes ‘his feet’; péwa or péa ‘he begins’, ki-péwa-li-a (it-begin-CAUS-PRES) ‘he begins it’.

A c becomes s when followed by t, weci ‘he falls’, wes-ti-ka (fall-CONN-be) ‘he is falling’.

A ' becomes k in a few cases: *ma 'amo becomes ma kamo ‘let not’; *k-ah-'aWa becomes k-ah-káWa (him-RDP-scold) ‘he scolds him bitterly’. The t of most Aztec dialects occurs as l in this dialect; l in turn changes to d when occurring after n (see above), except in the case of one verb k-arlani-a (him-give: charge-to-PRES) ‘he gives him a charge to fill’. Or the l becomes t, so that instead of *mosla, the form is mosta ‘tomorrow’; ki-pala ‘he changes it’ becomes ki-patli-a (him-change-APPLIC-PRES) ‘he changes it for him’. A k' occurs in only one word syllable-finally, never word-finally: nek'li ‘honey’.

A syllable-final w becomes h when followed by another consonant: ki-kwú-a (it-buy-PRES) ‘he buys it’, ki-kuh-ti-ka (it-buy-CONN-be) ‘he is buying it’; from k'awíl ‘tree’, *k'awlan becomes k'ahlan ‘forest’.

An affricate becomes h if followed by an affricate or s: nič-copini-k (meprick-PERF) becomes nih-copini-k ‘it pricks me’.
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A k becomes h if followed by another k, whether within a word or between word boundaries: *u-ya-k k-ana-k (PERF-go-PERF it-get-PERF) becomes u-ya-h k-ana-k ‘He went to get it’; *ni-k-kuw-a (I-it-buy-PRES) becomes ni-h-kuw-a ‘I buy it’. This is true also if k is followed by g.

In verb stems whose final syllable begins with s, the s becomes ç on the affixation of the causative or applicative suffixes: ahsí ‘arrive’, k-ahsí-li-a (it-arrive-CAUS-PRES) ‘he places it at, causes it to contact’; kí-laší ‘he throws it’, kí-laší-li-a (him-throw-APPLIC-PRES) ‘he throws it at him’; kísa ‘he goes out’, kí-kí-e-li-a (it-go-out-CAUS-PRES) ‘he removes it’.

In verb stems whose final syllable is ya, the a drops and the v changes to ç if followed by a t-initial suffix: kí-píya ‘he has it’, kí-píš-ti-ka (it-have-CONN-be) ‘he is having/holding it’. Otherwise an ç is attached to the ya in front of the t-initial suffix: lašokuya ‘he makes a sour face’, lašokuyaš-ti-ka ‘he is making a sour face’.

Loan words from Spanish with an initial fill become words with an initial pl in Aztec: fleña becomes pleña ‘arrow’; flakito becomes plakito ‘thin’.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Transitive sentences have a tendency to place the subject first. The preference in intransitive sentences is for the subject to follow the verb. The order of the other constituents is loosely fixed, some constituents more loosely than others. Emphasis is effected through change in order, likewise topicalization. Here is a tentative design for a neutral order:

INTR TEMP PRT NP PRT V ADV NP NP (SUBJ) (DIR OBJ) (DAT)

Only V is obligatory. The introducer slot includes conjunctions and subordinators. The particle after the temporal position is usually the Spanish loan word pues ‘so/then’. The particle before V is amo ‘not’, ayamo ‘not yet’, or yahmo ‘no more’; or it may be the hortatory particle ma (which may be negated by placing the negative particle immediately after, i.e., kamo, which is the form used after the hortatory, following the morphophonemic rules set forth in the section on phonology). The adverbial is usually one of manner or location.

wan ašan pwes newal ni-mic-iłk wilui-li-h-ti-ka resio
and now then I I-you-write-APPLIC-(h)-CONN-be intensely

se amal pa tewal
a paper for you

‘And now, then, I am furiously writing a letter to you.’
Topic

Emphasis of a constituent may be effected by placing it before the verb:

wan tata no-nobia len ti-ya-lo ti-k-maka-lo
and papa my-fiancée what we-go-PL we-her-give-PL
‘And Dad, my fiancée, what are we going to give her?’

in bwey amo ni-k-mik-ti-k de gustó
the ox NEG I-it-die-CAUS-PERF of pleasure
‘I did not kill the ox for fun.’

wan san in masal kim-panawí-k
and only the doe them-pass-PERF
‘And only the doe passed them.’

In the above, the addition of the particle san before the subject serves to emphasize.

wan in se nepa unka kíëi sì-sìl ya unka nikan
and that one there is how:many RDP-year already is here
‘How many years has that one there been here already?’

tel animal-ito ti-is-la-kwa-li-ta-t-aya
you animal-DIM you-me-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-APPLIC-CONN:be-(?):PAST

ni-ya ni-mic-a-latí-a ka al tibiy-ito
I-go I-you-water-CAUS-PRES with water tepid-DIM
‘You, you little beastie who ate up my crop for me always, I’m going to bathe you
with tepid water.’

In the above example, the grammatical function of the í that precedes the PAST
suffix -aya is unknown. Therefore, a question mark is used in the gloss.

Pronoun Copies

Even though the pronoun subject and object prefixes obligatorily appear in the
verb, explicit subjects and objects may co-occur:

tewal ti-k-cayana-s kwa-wil
you you-it-split-FUT wood

‘You will split wood.’

Emphasis may be achieved through use of a pronoun copy:

unka no-siwa-kwa newal
is my-cow I
‘It’s my cow.’

In the above example the emphasis is more intense than if the pronoun preceded the
possessed item, as it does in the following example:

newal no-nobia
I my-fiancée
‘my fiancée’
Postpositional expressions, although rather rare, may also take pronoun copies:

i-pan in lakal ‘on the man’
his-on the man
no-pan newal ‘on me’
my-on I

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

wan in ok sekin laka-mes pos yewanten mo-keca-he nohe
and the yet some man-PL why they REFL-stand-PERF:PL also
‘And the other men stood up, also.’

wan in hente yewanten amo siawi-lo-aya
and the men they NEG tire-PL-PAST
‘And the men were not tiring.’

Focus

Clefting: may take ka ‘be’ or not, with nothing to mark subordination.

[mi-k-palewi-k] ka-t-aya in lunes
1-him-help-PERF be-(?)-PAST this Monday
‘It was this Monday I helped him.’

There are other focus devices:

wan ya una bes amwanten amo an-ye-s unidos tič-kis-ti-a
and now once you:PL NEG you:PL-be-FUT united us-leave-CAUS-PRES

pero por amwanten amo por elegobierno
but because of you:PL NEG because of government
‘And now once you are not in agreement, he expels us, but because of you, not because of the government.’

PARTICLES

Conjunctions and Adverbs

wan ‘and’ (INTR) (Primary meaning is actually ‘with’ (in the associative sense); otherwise acts as a coordinating conjunction.)

wan gabriel u-ya-he* ‘Did he go with Gabriel?’
with PN PERF-go-PERF:PL

yohe/yohke ‘thus’ (If followed by pwes ‘then’, it means ‘therefore’.)

kwakin/kwakinon ‘then’ (sequential)
ašan/aškan ‘now, today’

*The prefix u- is a vestigial perfective which occurs only with the verb ya ‘go’.
pero  'but'  (Spanish)
nuso  An expletive used after verbs, connotes impatience or anger:
    갖고  nuso  'Go, for crying out loud!'  
   IMP-go  then

da/nda  'if'  (Also in certain contexts, used initially in a clause,  
denotes strong affirmation or negation.)
sinda  'if'  (Apparently a wedding of the Spanish si 'if' with the  
corresponding Nahual particle, always meaning 'if'.)
pampa  'because, that'  (Latter as complement clause subordinator. It can be  
inflected with pronoun possessive markers—first, second,  
and third; singular and plural. When used thus, it is  
always preceded by the Spanish loan por 'through'  
(INSTR.).)
   por  i-pampa  'by reason of him/it'
   through  his-because
len  'what'  (Used as subordinator. Also used as an expletive followed  
by amo NEG plus verb to register something unexpected  
or shocking.)
  ni-ko-ta-k  in  tel  len  ni-Lo-shi-li-k  
  I-see-PERF  the  rock  what  me-throw-APPLIC-PERF  
  'I saw the rock that he threw at me.'
mente  Adverb used preceding a positive verb to register intensity.
  mente  cikWini-he  i-tenko  in  princesa  
simply  jump-PERF:PL  her-edge  the  princess  
  'They simply jumped round about the princess.'
amalá  Probably a contraction, but it is impossible to guess at the full form  
since it is always heard in this form. The first part may be the negative  
amo  merged into the etymologically indeterminate -alá. The sense is  
something like 'Be careful not to...'. It is always used immediately  
preceding the verb.
sangá/hangá  'lest'  (Used with or without NEG without any apparent  
change in meaning.)
  ma  kamo  yawi  hangá  mo-kWalti-ti-kisa-s  len  animal  
  EXHURT  NEG  go  lest  REFL-maul-CONN-hurry-FUT  some  animal  
  'Don't let him go, lest some animal suddenly maul him.'
  ni-mic-ili-a  san  yohe  amo  hangá  
  I-you-say-PRES  just  so  lest  
  ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-s  
  you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT  
  'I say it to you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself.'
Polarity
kema  ‘yes’ (POS) (As an affirmative, is usually preceded by the particle ho.)
neli  ‘truly’
no   ‘no’ (Spanish) (Also an expletive to introduce an explanation.)
amo  NEG
ayamo ‘not yet’
yahmo ‘no more’
kil   QUOT
wil   POT
miak ‘much’
nadita ‘a little’
se tipičin ‘a little’
len   ‘some, a certain’ (INTNS) (Used with NEG for positive effect.)

wan da amo ki-walka-k kema o wala ka kabayo o
and if NEG him-bring-PERF POS either come with horse or
wala por lanča
come by boat
‘And if he didn’t bring him, it’s certain he’ll either come by horse or
by boat.’

ho ke(ma) ni-ya ni-k-ana tulin pa pelal
yes I-go I-it-get tulin:grass for mat
‘Yes, I’m going to get tulin for a grass mat.’

k-ilight-k pampa kema yawi-aya k^wahmilu
it-say-PERF that yes go-PAST do:fieldwork
‘He said that yes, he was going to work in the field.’

ka-taya kil hente mas maldito
be-(?:)-PAST QUOT people more wicked
‘It is said they were a more wicked people.’

ki-maka-k nadita al
him-give-PERF little water
‘She gave him a little water.’

la-htu-a miak
UNSPEC:OBJ-talk-PRES much
‘He talks a lot.’

len animal ki-^k^wah-k^w^a-k
some animal him-RDP-bite-PERF
‘Some animal bit him.’
Modal

\(k^W\text{ahnesi} \quad \text{‘perhaps’}\)
\(\text{wehtika} \quad \text{‘perhaps’}\)
\(\text{san/han/ha} \quad \text{‘just, only’} \quad (\text{The forms ha and han never occur except preceding what they modify, whereas san may either precede or follow.})\)

\(\text{ha in san} \quad \text{(Said at termination of discourse.)}\)
\(\text{just this only}\)
\(k^W\text{-ihtu-a} \quad \text{san pampa dios}\)
\(\text{it-say-PRES only because God}\)
\(\text{‘He only says ‘Thank you’.’}\)
\(k^W\text{ahnesi ti-k-ita-ski} \quad \text{mosta}\)
\(\text{perhaps we-it-see-FUT:PL tomorrow}\)
\(\text{‘Perhaps we’ll see it tomorrow.’}\)

Aspect

\(\text{ya} \quad \text{‘already, now’ (Spanish) (PERF)}\)

In texts there are examples of this particle used with most tenses, but it seems to be used principally with the present and perfect tenses to mark completive action or to reinforce completed action.

\(k^W\text{ando ya kisa-s no-kompadre}\)
\(\text{when already leave-FUT my-compadre}\)
\(\text{‘...when my compadre will have left’}\)
\(\text{wan de umpa ya mo-keca sehpa}\)
\(\text{and from there already REFL-rise again}\)
\(\text{‘...and then she is up again’}\)
\(\text{wan i-kompadre ya ki-pi-aya nawi o mak^Wili tonali-hmes}\)
\(\text{and his-compadre now it-have-PAST four or five day-PL}\)
\(\text{ki-temuh-ti-nemi-aya i-bwey}\)
\(\text{it-search-CONN-walk-PAST his-ox}\)
\(\text{‘And his compadre had walked for four or five days searching for his ox.’}\)

With durative aspect, perfective sense cannot be assumed when this particle is used:

\(\text{si-k-ita padrino mo-bwey ya ti-h-k^Wah-ti-ka-te i-nakal}\)
\(\text{IMP-it-see godfather your-ox already we-it-eat-CONN-be-PL its-meat}\)
\(\text{‘Look, godfather, we are now eating the meat of your ox.’}\)
Other

ho An expletive observed only in two contexts:
    ho kema/ho ke ‘yes’ (Or perhaps ‘That’s it precisely.’)
    ho kwakín ‘well, then’ (Meaning: ‘If that’s the way you feel about it...’)

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

∅ The subject-marking prefix, normally occurring on verbs, attaches to N, ADJ, or ADV in this construction. Note that the third person prefix is zero. The tense may be considered present or timeless.

    ni-lakal ‘I’m a man.’
    I-man
    ti-čikawak ‘You are strong.’
    you-strong
    amo ni-kinami inon ‘I am not like that.’
    NEG I-like that
    kuwal ‘It’s a snake.’
    snake
    no-dedo čikʷenta isai i-dedo ‘My toe is like Isai’s finger.’
    my-toe like PN his-finger

An overt subject noun can occur:

    kokoški in siwal ‘The woman is sick.’
    sick the woman
    in lakal kwahítik se lamaštini ‘That tall man is a teacher.’
    that man tall a teacher

ka ‘be’

In all the above examples this root for ‘be’ can be substituted, if the speaker so prefers, to render the present tense. For all persons of the singular and for the second person plural, the stem is unka. In the first and third persons plural, it is kate.

    ya unka bweno ‘Now it is good.’
    now is good
    ti-ka-te mišeros ‘We are fishermen.’
    we-be-PL fishermen
    an-unka koh-kokoški ‘You all are sick.’
    you:PL are RDP-sick
All other tenses of course require ka or ye in their corresponding form; otherwise tense would be indistinguishable. Often the meaning of ka corresponds to the transitory sense of the Spanish estar.

Following are examples from all tenses with ka, excepting present.*

se kompadre ka-t-aya bwena hente  
one kompadre be-(?-)-PAST good person  
‘One kompadre was a good sort.’

kal-ihtík ka-ta-lo-aya  
house-inside be-(?-)-PAST  
‘They were in the house.’

amo ka-yá-si nikan  
NEG be-(?-)-FUT:PL here  
‘They will not be here.’

ya ti-ka-yá-lo-ski-aya miak tonali nepa pa yíval  
already we-be-(?-)-PL-FUT-PAST many day there so:that he  
tič-palewí-ski-aya  
us-help-FUT-PAST  
‘We would have liked to have been there many days for him to have helped us.’

ka-ya-k se kasion kísa-k de pa i-čán in točín  
be-(?-)-PERF one occasion leave-PERF from at his-home the rabbit  
‘It was on one occasion that the rabbit left his home.’

For the remote past tense there are two stems, and there seems to be no distinguishing feature to determine when to use one or the other.

ti-ka-yá-ni moči semíwil pin kʷahlan  
you-be-(?-)-REM:PAST all day in woods  
‘Back then you were all day in the woods.’

ti-ka-ta-ní-hme pa yína moči tonálko alamar  
we-be-(?-)-REM:PAST-PL to time:past all dry:season seashore  
‘Long ago we spent all the dry season at the seashore.’

ye ‘be’

This stem seems to denote permanent state, like the Spanish ser ‘to be’. It does not occur in the present indicative tense, although it does occur in the hortatory and imperative. Nor does it occur in the past nor in the remote past. Speakers say there is no difference in meaning between the two roots ka and ye, but there is obviously a subtle difference which may be being lost among the younger speakers.

amo si-ye tontó  
NEG IMP-be silly  
‘Don’t be silly.’

yohe ma ye  
thus EXHRT be  
‘May it be thus.’

wan ti-ye-k  
and you-be-PERF soldier  
gwačë  
‘And you were a soldier?’

*In the gloss, the morpheme in parentheses cannot be translated.
len ye-s la-kwa nikan 'What must it be that eats here?'
what be-FUT UNSPEC:OBJ-eat here
ma kamo ye-kan yohe 'Let them not be like that!'
EXHRT NEG be-EXHRT:PL thus
ni-k-neki-k pa ye-ski-aya lamaštini
I-it-want:PERF that be-FUT-PAST teacher
'I wanted him to be a teacher.'

HAVE
-pia 'have'

This stem becomes pli- when followed by -ti (CONN); it becomes pi- when followed by -li (APPLIC):

ki-pi-aya se ṭolol princesa 'He had a daughter princess.'
her-have-PAST an offspring princess
da ti-k-pi-li-a gusto in lakal leka amo
if you-him-have-APPLIC-PRES pleasure this man why NEG
ti-k-lli-a kema
you-him-say-PRES yes
'If you find the man to your liking, why don’t you tell him “yes”?'
ašan ki-pliš-ka-te mlak lakilyo
now it-have-CONN-be-PL much fruit
'They are having a lot of fruit now.'

DO
-čiwa 'do, make'

The stem usually appears as -čia in all persons except the plural of first and third persons, when it is -čiwa. This holds true for all tenses except past and remote past, where it is -čiwa throughout. The stem becomes -čih when -ti (CONN) is affixed:

ki-čia se kali 'He builds a house.'
it-make a house
ti-k-čiwa-lo-a-ya in kali 'We built that house.'
we-it-make-PL-PAST that house
ki-čih-či-ka-te in-trabajito 'They are doing their chores.'
it-do-CONN-be-PL their-chore

Reduplication of the stem connotes repairing or decoration, etc.
ki-čih-čiwa-hke inmin-kali wal ki-štini-k in iYekal
it-RDP-do-PERF:PL their-house that it-destroy-PERF the wind
'They repaired their house that the wind destroyed.'

The reflexive form of the verb means ‘become’:
mo-čia-k lakal 'He became a man.'
REFL-do-PERF man
This stem is homophonous with the stem -čia ‘wait’, except in the plural first and third persons of the tenses mentioned above, wherein the difference becomes plain when the w reappears in -čiwa ‘do’ according to the rules mentioned in the section on phonology. Also, the stem -čia ‘wait’ becomes altered to -čik when followed by -ti (CONN).

ki-čih-ti-ka  
it-do-CONN-be  
'He is doing it.'

ki-čiš-ti-ka  
it-wait-CONN-be  
'He is awaiting it.'

ki-čia  
it-do/await  
'He does it.'/ 'He awaits it.'

ki-čiwa-lo  
it-do-PL  
'They do it.'

ki-čia-lo  
it-wait-PL  
'They await it.'

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

The passive suffix -lo of Classical Nahuatl serves other purposes in dialects of today, and so the passive sense is rendered in other ways. One frequently used way is with the reflexive construction. The prefix mo- (REFL), already observed in some examples, also serves to express the reciprocal sense:

han se kʰiito mo-it-li-k  
just one lizard REFL-see-APPLIC-PERF  
'Just one lizard was seen.'

mo-neki pa yiwal ya-s  
REFL-want that he go-FUT  
'It is necessary that he go.'

in kuyol mo-konbenseru-k  
the coyote REFL-convince-PERF  
'The coyote was convinced.'

myentras mo-aorkaruh-ta-taya  
in kuyol meanwhile REFL-strangle-CONN:be-(?)-PAST the coyote  
'Meanwhile the coyote was being strangled.'

The context will readily show if the reciprocal sense is intended with a reflexive verb in the plural.

wan möti mo-ilih-he  
mehor ma ti-ya-kan  
and all REFL-say-PERF:PL better EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL to our-home  
'And everyone said to one another, “We'd better go home”.'
The passive sense can also be expressed by an impersonal use of the third person plural.

kinm-inbitaru-be pan se fiesta ka entero i-siwa wan i-šolo-mes
them-invite-PERF:PL to a fiesta with all his-wife and his-kid-PL
‘He was invited to a party with his wife and kids.’

A less impersonal substitute for the passive is with the use of the third person singular with the indefinite pronoun se ‘one’.

kWando se ki-neki ki-čia tapalkal ‘When it is desired to make pottery...’
when one it-want it-make pottery

When the nominalizing suffix -li (NR) is added to a verb stem, the resulting form with some verbs may be used as a noun having passive sense.

cawa-li spin-NR ‘spun thread’

More frequently the prefix la- (UNSPEC OBJ) is added to the stem to form a participle which is used as an adjective, less often as a noun, either alone or in a periphrastic construction to express the passive sense. In none of these constructions has there ever been observed an agent included in the same clause. Lacking such features that are expected of passive constructions, it seems proper not to refer to this type of construction as a true passive, but rather as something approaching a predicate nominative or predicate adjective construction, when the verb ka appears in the construction, at least.

pa yina ti-laken-ti-ni-hme san la-čiwa-li
at yesteryear we-blanket-CAUS-REM:PAST-PL just UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR
‘Years ago we dressed only in clothes that were handmade.’

ti-k-pia-lo la-posuni-li in ai
we-it-have-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-boil-NR the water
‘We have the water boiled.’

unka la-toka-li in kWahmili ka ayohli
is UNSPEC:OBJ-sow-NR the field with squash
‘The field is sown to squash.’

ya unka la-’ahoki-li
now is UNSPEC:OBJ-raise-NR
‘Now it is raised.’

ti-no-čwi-li-ni-hme de la-čiwa-li he
we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL of UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR a

tukuru rayado tucuru:garment striped
‘We used to make ourselves a striped tucuru garment of homespun.’
In the example immediately preceding, it will be noted that a Spanish past participle is used, a frequent practice. These participles are used in quite the same manner as the nominalized forms of the verbs illustrated above. There are even hybrid participles with Nahual stems with or without the nominalizer plus the Spanish suffix -ado. More often these hybrid forms have only the Spanish suffix.

mo-kawa-k čarraskado in kuyol
REFL-remain-PERF čamuskado the coyote scorched

‘The coyote got permanently scorched.’

wan moh-mosta ka-t-aya pampa lah-la-kʷa-li-ado
and RDP-morrow be-(?)-PAST that RDP-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR-PRTC
i-čilar
his-chili:field

‘And every day it was that his chili field was devoured.’

**Reflexive**

Some verbs are inherently reflexive.

mo-lalu-a ‘He runs.’
REFL-run-PRES

Others are not.

ka tiolak ni-mo-contekl-k pa no-kšían
with afternoon I-REFL-cut-PERF on my-foot
‘In the afternoon I cut myself on my foot.’

Naturally the reciprocal sense only occurs with plural forms, but they can be made clearly reciprocal by adding the phrase se wan ok se ‘one and another’.

mo-palewih-ti-yawi-lo-aya se wan ok se
REFL-help-CONN-go-PL-PAST one and yet one
‘They went along helping one another.’

**Unspecified Arguments**

The unspecified object prefixes la- and te-, referring to inanimate and animate unspecified objects respectively, have suffered semantic alterations so that nowadays the animate and inanimate distinction has become an all but forgotten entity in this dialect, la- being employed practically to the exclusion of te-, which mostly survives through a number of frozen verb forms.

la-pah-ti-nemi
UNSPEC:OBJ-doctor-CONN-walk
‘He goes about doctoring people.’

te-koku
UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-hurt
‘it hurts’
ki-te-maka-k i-kni ka i-kontrarios
him-UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-give-PERF his-brother with his-enemies
betray
‘He betrayed his brother to his enemies.’

te-kwa-ni ‘jaguar’
UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-eat-NR
living-thing eater

l-a-palewai-ni ‘helper’
UNSPEC:OBJ-help-NR

There is some evidence of a tendency on the part of speakers to merge the unspecified object prefix *la- into one syllable with the initial syllable of a verb stem that also happens to be *la*, so that instead of *la-la-hlani-a* one usually hears *la-hlani-a* (question-PRES) ‘he questions’; or *lala-llti-a* (burn-CAUS-PRES) ‘he kindles’ instead of *lala-lala-llti-a*.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Marked only by rising intonation. When someone asks another for a favor or anything, it is often if not usually asked for in the negative, possibly because a positive response is desired.

ti-ya ti-k-wika ka tel ‘Are you going to take it with you?’
you-go you-it-take with you
amo ti-k-pia he botita pa t-ič-maka-s
NEG you-it-have a can that you-me-give-FUT
‘Don’t you have a tin can to give me?’
amo t-ič-maka-s nadita al
NEG you-me-give-FUT little water
‘Will you not give me a little water?’

WH Questions

The WH word is usually initial. An introducer may precede it, or a phrase specifying something unspecified in the question itself may precede it.

aki ‘who’ (akinohen PL)
kapa ‘where’
kapik ‘to where’ (ka kapik also ‘to where’)
ka-len ‘with what’
kala ‘which’
kiman ‘when’
kići  ‘how much’
kinami ‘how’
leka  ‘why’
pa len ‘why’
len   ‘what’

aki teval ‘Who are you?’
who you
kapa unka no-paša ‘Where is my sash?’
where is my-sash
kapik ti-ya ‘Where are you going?’
to:where you-go
ka len ti-k-počina in ičkal ‘What do you card the cotton with?’
with what you-it-card the cotton
kalia no-koton ni-mic-maka-s ‘Which shirt of mine shall I give you?’
which my-shirt I-you-give-FUT
kići kostaru-a ‘How much does it cost?’
how:much cost-PRES
kiman ti-ya-s pa mo-lali ‘When will you go to your country?’
when you-go-FUT to your-country
kinami ti-mo-toka ‘What is your name?’
how you-REFL-name
kinami pwes ti-k-mati-ski len kim-punu-k ‘How then we-it-know-FUT:PL what them-happen-PERF our-kid-PL’
to-šolo-mes ‘How shall we know then what happened to our children?’
leka ti-yawi-aya ti-mo-mik-ti ‘Why were you going to kill yourself?’
why you-go-PAST you-REFL-die-CAUS
pa len ki-čiwa-hke inon ‘What did they do this for?’
for what it-do-PERF:PL this
len ti-k-neki ‘What do you want?’
what you-it-want
IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Marked by the prefix sì- on the stem for the second person singular, with the addition of the suffix -kan (used in both true imperative and exhortative constructions) for the second person plural.

sì-mo-kawa mic-kaki-s in lakal
IMP-REFL-stay you-hear-FUT the man
'Hush up; the man will hear you.'

sì-kisa-kan pa yohe wil koči-s
IMP-leave-EXHRT:PL so thus POT sleep-FUT
'Go out so he'll be able to sleep.'

The future may also be used in an imperative sense.

moči an-mo-deteneru-s pa an-ni-mic-ilí-s kapík ti-ya-si
all you:PL-REFL-stop-FUT so QM-QOM-say-FUT to:where we-go-FUT:PL
you PL

'You all will stop so I may tell you where we will go to.'

Exhortatives

Occur in first and third persons, singular and plural. Marked by the particle ma placed before the verb, whose subject markers are the same as those of the indicative tenses. As in the imperative, the plural forms are marked by the suffix -kan.

ma ni-ya ‘that I may go’
EXHRT I-go

ma ti-ya-kan ‘Let's go.’
EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL

ma kin-kwa in oso nek'lero
EXHRT them-eat the bear honey:hunter
'Let the honey bear eat them.'

ma tekipanu-kan moči semilwil
EXHRT work-EXHRT:PL all day
'Let them work all day.'

In one situation the exhortative particle ma is used with the first person plural indicative of go. This form sounds less peremptory than the exhortative form, besides giving the hint of an exclusive we, and so guests when taking leave prefer to dismiss themselves therewith.

ma ti-yawi-lo ‘We'll be going now.’
EXHRT we-go-PL
In all singular forms of the exhortative and the imperative, only the stem of the verb appears, the stem being obvious only in such verbs as end in ia or ua, in which the majority drop the final a to reveal the stem. Furthermore, in a sequence of two singular verbs forming a phrase in the past tense, the second verb appears with only the subject marker and the verb stem.* This is invariable. In the present and remote past tenses the same phenomenon can occur, but not invariably.

k-ahoki-a
it-lift-PRES

ši-k-ahoki
IMP-it-lift

panu-a
pass-PRES

ši-panu
IMP-pass

ma ni-k-mik-ti
EXHRT I-it-die-CAUS

yawi-aya panu
go-PAST pass

ni-k-neki ni-panu
I-it-want I-pass

ni-yawi-ni ni-panu
I-go-REM:PAST I-pass

Negative Imperatives

The negative particle amo appears immediately before the imperative verb.

amo ši-nawa-ti
NEG IMP-word-CAUS

According to the rules set forth in the phonology section, the negative particle becomes kamo, as it appears immediately following the exhortative particle.

ma kamo ki-kʷa miak
EXHRT NEG it-eat much

*But in the first and third persons, the plural suffix -i is of course added to the second verb when the subject is plural. Note that šia ‘wait’ and pia ‘have’, although ending in ia, are stems, so the final vowel does not drop in these constructions.
**NOUN MORPHOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N + X = N</th>
<th>DIM</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cin/-cinde</td>
<td>i-pelo-cinde</td>
<td>‘his doggie’ (or ‘dear pet’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his-dog-DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cia/-cinde</td>
<td>i-pelo-cinde</td>
<td>‘his dear pets’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his-pet-DIM:PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-tah-cian</td>
<td>‘his/her parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his-father-PL:HON(vestigial)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>-yo</th>
<th>COLL</th>
<th>\</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-saka-yo</td>
<td>‘its leaves, foliage’ (sakal ‘green growth’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>its-green:growth-COLL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lakil-yo</td>
<td>‘its fruit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>its-fruit-COLL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ero Spanish loan, meaning one having to do with the thing represented by the noun to which it is affixed.

| masal-ero         | ‘deer hunter’   |                      |
| deery             |                  |                      |
| mič-ero           | ‘fisherman’ (mičin ‘fish’; mičeros ‘fishermen’) |
| fish-SF           |                  |                      |

-era Spanish loan, with altered meaning ‘abundance’.

| siwal-era         | ‘a lot of women’|
| woman-abundance   |                  |

-ahe Spanish loan -aie, meaning same as above.

| tilškal-ahe       | ‘a lot of stones’|
| stone-abundance   |                  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V + X = N</th>
<th>INSTR</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-loni</td>
<td>la-čih-čika-loni</td>
<td>‘electric shaver’ (Word coined on the spot when seeing an electric shaver in use.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-scrape-INSTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lisli ABSTR

| lamašti-lisli   | ‘pedagogy’        |
| teach-ABSTR     |                  |
ni     AG
lamaSti-ni    ‘teacher’
teach-AG
lahtu-ni    ‘speaker’
speak-AG

-li   Designates object of the verb’s action.
lak\w^a-li      ‘something to eat, something eaten’
UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR
cawa-li    ‘something spun, thread’
spin-NR
la-malina-li    ‘something twisted like the fibers in rope’
UNSPEC:OBJ-turn:twists-NR

-kil   Designates non-agentive subject. (Consists of perfective -k\l (see ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY) plus absolutive -l.)
mih-kil    ‘corpse’  (miki ‘die’; k \rightarrow h / _k)
die-NR
lašukoya-h-kil    ‘sourface’
look:sour-(h)-NR

Locative Nouns

Certain suffixes added to nouns and verbs form them into locative nouns, so-called because some can receive possessive pronoun prefixes and/or serve as objects of prepositions, besides serving as locative words in a clause. The following derive locative nouns from other nouns.

-pan   ‘on’
Šali-pan    ‘on the sand’ (i.e., ‘beach’)
sand-on

-tilan   ‘among’
saka-tilan    ‘weedy place’
green: growth-among
tiška-tilan    ‘stony place’
stone-among

-lan   (-dan if/n__) ‘place’
k\w^ah-lan*    ‘woods’
tree-place

*With the examples for -tilan should be included k\w^ah-tilan (tree-among) ‘woods’, although perhaps -tilan connotes denseness here in contrast to lan (k\w^ah- is the radical of k\w^awil ‘tree’).
i-ci̱k-a-lan
his-armpit-place

'i-ciki̱-lan
his-neck-place

-dan 'place' (cf. -lan)
i-ci̱-dan
its-bottom-place

la-ci̱-dan
UNSPEC-bottom-place

The following derive locative nouns from verbal elements.

-yan 'time or place location'
i-pewa-yan
its-begin-time

-i
It is impossible to tell for sure if this is a contracted form of -kan 'place', or -yan, since it always occurs in contracted words.
temu-a-n
descend-place

la-siwa-n
UNSPEC:OBJ-shade-place

-kan 'time location'
kWal-kan
(?)-time

-kal 'place'
lal-istih-kal
UNSPEC-be:cold-place

lal-molun-kal
soil-boil:up-place

'cold area' (istik 'cold'; k → h / _k)

'dusty area' / 'cloud of dust'
VERB MORPHOLOGY

SM + X = Y

As noted in BE/HAVE/DO, stative predicates can be formed by adding a subject marker to otherwise non-verbal elements.

amo ni-kinami inon  'I'm not like that.'
NEG I-like that

ni-lakal  'I'm a man.'
I-man

ni-kokoški  'I'm sick.'
I-sick

N + X = Y

-arua Consists of Spanish infinitive marker -ar plus Nahual verbalizer -u plus Nahual present indicative marker -a.

laškali-arua  'She makes tortillas.'
tortilla-VR

Note the following for justification of the proposed segmentation:

ili-ar-u-k  'He wound it.'
hilar-VR-PERF
spin/wind

-lti CAUS

m-a-lti-a  'He bathes himself.'
REFL-water-CAUS-PRES

-ti CAUS

čan-ti-a  'He dwells.'
home-CAUS-PRES

-wia

mahpił-wia  'He points with the finger.'
finger-VR
kʷah-kʷa-wia*
RDP-tree/wood-VR

'She gets wood.'

ADV + X = V
-ti CAUS
ki-pan-ti-a
it-on-CAUS-PRES

'She shapes it (by adding clay [in pottery making]).' / 'She builds it up; she adds to it.'

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

V + X = ADJ

-perf
-k

-kʷalan-ki
be:angry-PERF
palan-ki
rot-PERF
totó-ki
heat-PERF

'soreheaded'
'rotten'
'hot'

-k

-picawa-k
be:narrow-PERF
waki-k
dry-PERF

'narrow'
'dry' (Usually pronounced wáik.)

-udo Spanish loan suffix, added to certain adjectives in a pejorative sense.

-kʷalan-k-udo
be:angry-PERF-ADJR

'evilly disposed'

-ado Spanish loan: used only on Spanish loan words, whether unaltered or altered to Nahual patterns.

ili-ado
wind-ADJR

'wound' (Probably from Spanish hilado.)

*In the above example it would rightfully seem that the pronunciation should be kʷakʷawia because of the morphophonemic rules concerning a radical ending in w which resolves into the sound h when followed by a consonant; i.e., kʷawil 'tree, wood' becomes *kʷaw- (radical), which becomes kʷah- in this dialect and then, being followed by -wia (VR), might be pronounced as indicated above. But it is not so pronounced, so that one considers the feasibility of positig a radical *kʷaw-, for kʷawil and -a as VR. The difficulty here is, however, that there is no other example where -a serves as a verbalizer.
N + X = ADJ

-udo Loan from Spanish, meaning abundance in a pejorative sense.
  condi-udo ‘hairy’
  hair-ADJR

Miscellaneous

ADJ = ADJ

k\textsuperscript{w}ali ‘good’
we ‘big’

All adjectives may be made negative by placing the negative amo before them.
All adjectives derived from transitive verbs lose the object marker.

COMPOUNDS

Compounding is no longer as productive a feature of this dialect of Nahual as it is
in others, but there are numerous frozen forms to illustrate its erstwhile productivity.

Noun Compounds

N + N = N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ten-condé</td>
<td>‘beard’</td>
<td>(N2 located on N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mou̍th-hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō̍-k\textsuperscript{w}al</td>
<td>‘parrot tree’</td>
<td>(N2 for N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parrot-tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepos-tepel</td>
<td>‘Ironhill’</td>
<td>(place name) (N2 made of N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metal-hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w}aw-ayohli</td>
<td>‘tree squash’</td>
<td>(N2 part of N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree-squash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutol-tel</td>
<td>‘bird’s egg’</td>
<td>(pronounced tutółtil) (N2 from N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird-stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas-atemil</td>
<td>‘deer louse’</td>
<td>(N2 from N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer-louse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mela-pili</td>
<td>‘metapil’</td>
<td>(N2 as if from N1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grindstone-child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADJ + N = N

čiši-k\textsuperscript{w}al ‘bitter wood bark’
bitter-wood
picak-ihyul ‘whooping cough’
narrow-breath
N + V = N

tepos-mo-lalu-a 'car' (Word was coined by one language helper. Others would likely use Spanish word.)
metal-Refl-run-PRES it runs

N + PRTC = N

kWah-mašali 'forked post'
wood-crotched

Verb Compounds

N + V = V

kal-panu-a 'He passes from house to house.'
house-pass-PRES

ki-kWa-ya-teki-a 'He baptizes him.'
him-head-water (?)-work-PRES
amo kW-mo-tem-paka 'Don’t rinse out your mouth.'
NEG IMP-Refl-mouth-wash
ni-k-tol-packa-k 'I strangled him.'
I-him-throat-squeeze-PERF

In all the above examples N is the object of V.

kuyol-pica 'He howls.'
coyote-blow

ki-ma-toka 'He touches it.'
it-hand-follow

ti-kW-namiki-a 'You confront him.'
you-him-face-meet-PRES
ni-lankW-a-kWeca 'I kneel.'
l-knee-bend

In the above examples N is the subject of V.

V + V = V

ki-wal-ika 'He brings it.' (The w disappears from wika ‘take’.)
it-come-take

teki-panu-a 'He works.'
work-pass-PRES
ADV + V = V

ni-pan-kisa          ‘I climb (a hill).’
I-on-go:out

ki-cin-k\textsuperscript{W}epa   ‘He turns it bottom side up.’
it-bottom-return

ni-k-nel-toka        ‘I believe (obey) it.’
I-it-truly-follow

\textsc{si-mo-cin-ki\textsuperscript{š}-ti-a}   ‘Slide over (on the chair).’ (Generally pronounced: \textsc{\textipa{šimočinkištia}})
IMP-REFL-bottom-go:out-CAUS-PRES

BASIC INFLectionAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-\text{-i}
-\text{-li}
-\text{-n}
-\text{-en}
\text{∅}

The absolutive suffix \text{-i} disappears when the plural suffix \text{-mes} or the possessed plural \text{-wan} is added; it also disappears in certain words when possessed, but this rule is not always observed by some speakers. Likewise, with the possessed plural \text{-wan}, it is not always dropped, in certain words, that is. There seems to be a trend toward regularization of plurals among younger speakers, and thus the forms that are encountered less frequently suffer. And whereas in the Michoacán dialect some words are never encountered except possessed, in other dialects many of these same words occur in a free form with the absolutive.

siwa-\text{-i}    \hspace{1cm} i-siwa    \hspace{1cm} ‘his wife’    \hspace{1cm} (Only word known at the present time in which the absolutive disappears when possessed. Many pay no attention to this rule.)
woman-ABS        his-woman

siwa-mes          \hspace{1cm} ‘women’
woman-PL

in-siwa-wan      \hspace{1cm} ‘their wives’
their-woman-PL

With many nouns, \text{-i} or \text{-li} remains when the noun is plural or possessed; it might be considered part of the stem.

i-lawika-\text{-i} \hspace{1cm} ‘her husband’
her-husband-ABS

in-lawika-\text{-i} \hspace{1cm} ‘their husbands’
their-husband-ABS-PL
tiška-li ‘stone’ tiška-li-mes ‘stones’
stone-ABS stone-ABS-PL

tiška-l-tilan ‘among the stones’ (Cf. tiška-tilan ‘stony place’.)
stone-ABS-among

These absolutes may however drop in compounds.

k-a-tok-ti-k
him-water-sow-CAUS-PERF
drown

‘She drowned him.’ (al ‘water’)
a-ten-ko
water-mouth-in
edge

‘water’s edge’ / ‘brook’
siwa-k\textsuperscript{w}ak\textsuperscript{w}a
female-horn

‘cow’ (siwal ‘woman’)
şoko-k\textsuperscript{w}al
round:fruit-tree

‘guava-like fruit’ (şokol)

They also disappear in reduplicated nouns.

koyun-ki-l ‘hole’
hole-NR-ABS

koh-koyun-ki ‘holes’
RDP-hole-NR

∅

kali ‘house’
house

i-kali ‘his house’
his-house

kali-mes ‘houses’
house-PL

i-kali-mes ‘his houses’
his-house-PL

According to the preference of the speaker, he will use one of two forms for the plural, -mes or -hmes. There does not seem to be much rhyme or reason in his choice.

pelo-hmes dog-PL

‘dogs’
i-kni
his-sibling

‘his/her brother/sister’
i-kni-an
his-sibling-PL

‘his brothers’ (The w of -wan disappears according to morphophoneme rule.)

-tol-en ‘hen’
hen-ABS

totol-mes ‘hens’ (ABS drops.)
hen-PL
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{michi-n} ‘fish’
\item \textit{michi-(h)mes} ‘fishes’
\item \textit{fish-ABS} \textit{fish-PL}
\end{itemize}

Spanish loans use on occasion the Nahual plural -\textit{mes} or -\textit{hmes}, but drop no
sounds.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{to-abwelo-hmes} ‘our elders’
\item \textit{our-elder-PL}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Plural}

Marked by reduplication. All adjectives are pluralized by reduplication if they
are pluralized at all, unless they are loans from Spanish or unless Spanish loan suffixes
are added to the Nahual word, in which cases they are pluralized in the Spanish way,
if at all. But reduplication, according to context, may also mean intensification of
meaning, just as with verbs.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{čikawak} ‘hard’
\item \textit{čih-čikawak} ‘very hard’
\item \textit{RDP-hard}
\item \textit{gordito-s} ‘fat ones’
\end{itemize}

Locative nouns may also be pluralized by reduplication.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{i-tenko} ‘its edge’
\item \textit{i-teh-tenko} ‘its edges’
\item \textit{its-edge}
\item \textit{wahcinko} ‘morning’
\item \textit{wah-wahcinko} ‘mornings’/‘every morning’
\end{itemize}

Some diminutivized nouns are pluralized through reduplication of the diminutive
suffix. However, the Spanish plural -\textit{s} is affixed finally as if to really insure plurality.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tuto-cinde} ‘little bird’
\item \textit{tuto-ci-cinde-s} ‘little birds’
\item \textit{bird-DIM}
\item \textit{bird-RDP-DIM-PL}
\end{itemize}

Some nouns are reduplicated, but the reduplication no longer carries the plural
meaning as it still does for the same word in other dialects.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{i-ma} ‘his hand’
\item \textit{i-mah-ma} ‘his hand’
\item \textit{his-hand}
\item \textit{i-mah-ma-Wan} ‘his hands’
\item \textit{his-RDP-hand-PL}
\end{itemize}

Marked by the plural -\textit{mes/-hmes}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{laka-l} ‘man’
\item \textit{laka-mes} ‘men’
\item \textit{man-ABS}
\item \textit{man-PL}
\item \textit{kimičin} ‘mouse’
\item \textit{kimiči-hmes} ‘mice’
\item \textit{mouse}
\item \textit{mouse-PL}
\end{itemize}
Marked by the possessed plural suffix -wan/-Wan/-an. (Second form affixed to stems that end in h; third form to stems that end in stressed front vowels.)

in-lawikal-wan  ‘their husbands’
their-husband-PL
i-kni-an  ‘his siblings’
his-sibling-PL

In many contexts, speakers are quite indifferent as to the use of the plural where there is no likelihood of misunderstanding. One instance of an obviously plural form (obvious from comparison with other dialects) being used as a singular form is:

i-kši-an  ‘his foot’ (Other dialects: i-kši ‘his foot’)
his-foot

When this word is pluralized, it becomes in effect a double plural, and the w of -wan reappears because the preceding front vowel is no longer stressed (see section on PHONOLOGY); and since the n of -wan now finds itself in the absolutive position, it must disappear to accommodate the plural -hmes.

i-kši-wa-hmes  ‘his feet’
his-foot-PL-PL

Marked by the Spanish loan -era, having come to mean a collective plural. It is affixed without dropping the absolutive of the noun (though -li may reduce to -l).

siwal-era  ‘a lot of women’
woman-PL
tiškal-era  ‘a lot of stones’
stone-PL

Marked by -yo (COLL PL).
lakil-yo  ‘fruit’
fruit-PL
i-saka-yo  ‘its leaves’
its-herbage-PL

Marked by the convenient Spanish loan -s.

teriaksi-s  ‘bunches of cotton for spinning’
form:of:cotton-PL
sendi  ‘ear of corn’
ear
sendi-s  ‘ears of corn’
ear-PL
POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-</td>
<td>/nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>/mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only in stressed syllables does one clearly hear the distinction between o and u. Consequently it is only on two-syllable words in which the possessor prefix is the stressed one that the distinction is noticed, and on most of these the quality is u, especially among the younger speakers. In unstressed syllables the quality is slightly lower than that of u.

The third person plural prefix has three forms, the first and third of which are used with consonant-initial stems. For example, ‘their home’ can be either in-Can or inmin-Can.

Body parts are inalienably possessed, likewise most words denoting kinship, and also the word for ‘home’. The word for ‘husband’ is inalienably possessed, but the word for ‘wife’, being the word for ‘woman’ also, is not always possessed, obviously. In other than these cases just mentioned, possession is alienable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-lawikal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her-husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siwal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-siwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his-wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax

Possessive pronouns are formed by prefixing a possessor morpheme to the inalienable stem -yaška ‘possession’ (cf. mo-yaškah-ti-a (REFL-possession-CAUS-PRES) ‘he takes possession of something’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>no-yaška</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>my-possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-siwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my-woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘This is mine.’

‘my wife’ (Note that the absolutive is dropped. This happens very infrequently.)

When the possessor is mentioned, it can either immediately precede or follow the possessed noun. However, if it follows, the Spanish preposition de ‘of’ often intervenes, especially if the possessor is the third person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>newal</td>
<td>no-kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>my-house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i-lahketili de rikarda  ‘Ricarda’s loom’
her-loom of PN

Recursion is somewhat rare in the texts available, the possessor more often being preceded by de ‘of’ following the Spanish pattern. But it is suspected that in ordinary conversation it is not so rare, especially among older speakers.

i-cocomahli (de) mo-tah-cin  ‘your father’s clothes’
his-clothes of your-father-HON

The phrase can be reversed so that the possessor occurs first, and de is no longer permitted.

mo-tah-cin i-cocomahli  ‘your father’s clothes’
your-father-HON his-clothes

u-ya-k k-ita-k no-nan-cita* l-nan-cin yial
PERF-go-PERF her-see-PERF my-mother-HON her-mother-HON her
‘My mother went to see her own mother (i.e., my grandmother).’

PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

General

All postpositions are bound, whereas all prepositions are free. These last are mainly loans from Spanish with the exceptions of pani ‘on’, pan ‘on/for (the purpose of)’, obviously derived from the postpositive locative -pan which is bound, and the perhaps hybridized pin (thought to be a fusion of para (Spanish) and in ‘this’, first shortened to pa in, then to pin ‘inside of’). The preposition ka ‘with’ (both associative and instrumental) never has the possessive pronoun prefixes as in other dialects, and wan, meaning ‘and’ ordinarily, serves in one construction as a preposition meaning ‘with’ (association). Two postpositions (-pan and -pampa) are attached to the same pronominal bases as possessed nominals: no-, mo-, i-, to-, anmo-, and in-, with all their variant forms. In the present stage of the language, nouns with postpositional suffixes occur mostly in frozen forms, whereas the postpositions with pronoun prefixes remain productive.

šali-pan  ‘beach’
sand-on
kali-ka  ‘wherewith’
which-with

por i-pampa inon  ‘because of this’ (Always occurs with
by its-cause this
Spanish por.)

*The form no-nan-cita is an illustration of hybrid suffixation. The Nahual suffix -cin (HON) is fused with the Spanish suffix -ita ‘endearment’ to form -cita, contracted from *-cinita.
Other Spanish suffixes may also be hybridized, e.g., in-nan-cota ‘their big old mother’ (said of a snake that was slithering about the timbers of the house), contracted from *-cin-cota.
Compiled from the Gordon collection by William R. Sischo

Frozen Forms

- **kai-htik** ‘inside the house’
- **la-ihtik** ‘inside’ (UNSPEC-inside)
- **k^W^ah-lan** ‘woods’
- **k^W^ah-tilan** ‘among the trees’ (tree-among)
- **k^W^al-kan** ‘before dawn’
- **a-ten-ko** ‘brook’
- **water-mouth-in edge**

-**teč** ‘in’ survives no longer as a postposition even in frozen forms in this dialect; it survives only in the verb -**teč-kuni-a** (in-drink-PRES) ‘absorb’.

With the exception of the frozen forms, some of which are given above, the postpositions are suffixed to the possessor prefixes listed further above.

- **-pan** ‘on’
- **-náw/-nawak** ‘beside’
- **-cindan** ‘under’
- **-pampa** “by cause of, by means of” (Always preceded by the Spanish loan por.)
- **-tepockon** ‘behind’

- **ma** **kiwi mu-pan** ‘May it rain upon you.’
  EXHRT rain your-on
- **ši-nehnemi no-nawak** ‘Walk beside me.’
  IMP-walk my-beside
- **urka l-cindan** ‘It is under him.’
  is his-under
- **niž-panu-k por mo-pampa** ‘It happened to me because of you.’
  me-happen-PERF by your-cause

The pronoun copy construction is possible with noun or pronoun object in either order, but there have been no cases of discontinuity observed.

- **mo-lali-a nel no-nák** ‘He sits beside me.’
  REFL-sit-PRES me my-beside
- **mo-lali-a no-nawak nel** ‘He sits beside me.’
  REFL-sit-PRES my-beside-me

---

*The form heard most frequently is no-nák.*
**Free Prepositions**

**Spanish loans:**
- **de** ‘of, from’
- **pa(ra)** ‘for, in order to, at, into, to’
- **por** ‘through’ (INSTR)
- **antes de** ‘before’
- **después de** ‘after’
- **serka de** ‘near to’

**Nahual Prepositions:**
- **pani** ‘on, over’
- **pin** ‘in’
- **pan** ‘for (the purpose of), on’
- **ka** ‘with’ (INSTR, ASSOC)
- **wan** ‘with’ (ASSOC)

se lami pa i-chan
one finish at his-home

in ti-k-wikili-lo pa in nana ‘This we take for the mother.’
this we-it-take-APPLIC-PL for the mother

in barko yawi pani in al
the boat go on the water

de pin kalihtik
from in inside:house

u-ya-k pa lamar
PERF-go-PERF to ocean

wan gabriel ya-he
with PN go-PERF:PL

ni-ya pan kwawil
‘I’m going for wood.’

I-go for wood

wan ya ni-yawi-ni pin bulto de sakal ka miak tikalkali
and now I-go-REM:Past in bunch of weeds with many stone
‘And then I went into a clump of weeds, taking many stones with me.’

amo ni-k-ita-k in akač-kuwal no-tepockon pin in koyunkil
NEG I-it-see-PERF the rattle-snake my-behind in the hole
‘I did not see the rattlesnake in the hole behind me.’
DEMONSTRATIVES

There is a near demonstrative with singular and plural forms, the plural more frequently standing alone as a nominal than as a noun modifier. The sense is also quite often more like an article than a demonstrative. Both function as third person pronouns and can stand alone as nominals. There is also a singular near particularizing-demonstrative, but no corresponding plural for it is known.

SG          PL
in           innoh(k)en       'this, these'
nihkin       [no textual examples]  'this same'

Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify.
in lamaštini  'the/this teacher'
this teacher
in se         'this one'
this one
innohen laka-mes 'these men'
these man-PL
ni-wala-s mosta ka nihkin oras
I-come-FUT tomorrow with these:same hours
'I'll come tomorrow at this same time.'

Far demonstratives are rendered by contracted verb phrases.
nepunka    (from nepa unka)  'that one there'
there:he:is
umpunka    (from umpa unka)  'that one yonder'
yonder:he:is

nepuka and umpuka are occasionally heard.
ninunka    (nikan unka)  'this one here'
he's:here
wan nepunka kiči tonali mo-kawa-s
and that:one how:many day REFJ-stay-FUT
'And how many days will that one stay?'

If the nominal referred to by these phrases must be mentioned, it must include the near demonstrative, and the whole phrase precedes the verb-phrase demonstrative.
wann lakal umpunka kiči tonali mo-kawa-s
and that man he's:there how:many day REFJ-stay-FUT
'And that man over there, how many days will he stay?'
There is a form of the near demonstrative which never serves to modify but always stands alone: `inon' 'this one'. There is no corresponding far demonstrative, and so this one form serves both senses, although examples of its use in the far sense are so rare as to render it an open question, almost, whether it should be so interpreted.

**ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES**

Forms include:

- \( ^k \)\text{\textacuten}/\( ^k \)\text{\textacuten} ñinon/\( ^k \)\text{\textacuten} 'then, at that time'
- ašan/aškan 'now'
- yohe/yohke 'thus'
- nikan 'here'
- nepa 'there'

\( umpa \) 'yonder'
\( lakpak \) 'up there'
\( punta \) 'up above'

Adverbial demonstrative phrases include:

- ka \( \text{\textipa{niik}}(\text{\textipa{ik}}) \) with here
- ka \( \text{\textipa{umpek} with there
- ka \( \text{\textipa{kapik} with where

\( \text{\textipa{kayhe with thus}\)
\( \text{\textipa{dumpek from there}\)
\( \text{\textipa{kapik to above}\)

\( \text{\textipa{pa punta toward above}\)

**QUANTIFIERS**

- se 'one' (person or any unit), 'someone', 'a'
- sekín 'some'
- muči 'many'
- moči 'all'
- muśtin 'all'
- nadita 'a little' (Spanish loan meaning probably 'a little nothing'.)
- naditas 'a few'
- tipitun/tipitcin 'little'

All quantifiers can stand by themselves, but when modifying a noun, they precede it and follow the demonstrative or article, if any, in the phrase, provided the demonstrative modifies both the quantifier and the noun. If the demonstrative
modifies only the noun, then the quantifier precedes the demonstrative also.

wala-k in se kin-piš-ta-t-aya čibos
come-PERF this one them-have-CONN:be-(?)-PAST goats
‘This one came having some goats with him.’

miak amo ki-neki-lo-aya pa ti-k-čia-ski-aya ok se kali
many NEG it-want-PL-PAST for you-it-make-FUT-PAST yet one house
‘Many did not want for you to build another house.’

k-ňtu-lo sekin ti-k-akop-aru-lo pa tu-šan
it-say-PL some we-it-use-PL for our-home
‘Some say we use it for our home.’

ya u-ya-he muštin
now PERF-go-PERF:PL all
‘All have gone.’

han yohe tiritun mo-mati ki-neki to-dios
just thus little REFL-know it-want our-God
‘Just a little thus it seems God wants it.’ (Answer to greeting.)

și-č-maka n启迪
ing-try give little
‘Give me a little.’

amo kiman ki-mati se len yawi ki-panu-a
NEG when it-know one what go him-happen-PRES
‘One never knows what’s going to happen to him.’

**NUMERALS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>čikʷase</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ome</td>
<td>čikome</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>čik⁵wε</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawi</td>
<td>čiknwε</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak⁵wili</td>
<td>mahlakwu</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čik⁵wase</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik⁵wε</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiknwε</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahlakwu</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals always precede nouns but can stand alone in a clause.

There are special forms for ‘two’, ‘three’, and ‘four’ when the set is considered as a unit, used always in reference to persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omenten</td>
<td>‘a twosome’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeyenten</td>
<td>‘a trio, threesome, troika’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawenten</td>
<td>‘a foursome’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is one suffix that occurs only with the number one: -hpa se-hpa 'at one/once'.

Used in combination with the particles ok or han:

tewanten han se-hpa ašan 'We are just at one now.' (Said of those we just one-time now who have stopped quarreling.)

ši-kčiwi-li ok se-hpa 'Do it to him again.'
IMP-him-do-APPLIC yet one-time

Numerals may be reduplicated to give a distributive meaning, but the forms generally are spoken twice in a phrase wherein the two forms are connected by the Spanish loan word por.

seh-se por seh-se 'one by one'
RDP-one by RDP-one

'oh’ome por ’oh’ome 'two by two'
RDP-two by RDP-two

In no text at hand is there found any phrase in which other than these two numbers are used, but there is every likelihood that any number may appear in this construction when called for. The occurrence of the reduplicated form of the number by itself is exceedingly rare.

ADJECTIVES

Most adjectives are derived from verbs and as such are identified by the stative or perfective suffix -k(i) and might be also called stative verbs. There are also adjectives that appear identical in form to nouns, having suffixes identical to the absolutive suffixes of some nouns.

se kali k\\^wali wan k\\^wahti-k 'a good and tall house'
a house good and tall-PERF

Just as in Spanish, an adjective used attributively follows the noun, as shown in the above example.

Here are adjectives that resemble nominals, although some are derived from verbs.

št̄lan-ki long-PERF 'long'
toton-ki heat-PERF 'hot'

št̄win-ki rough-PERF 'rough'
tipičin 'small'

we 'big'

bunč-ito short-DIM 'short' (Never occurs except in this form.)
Adjectives may be used predicatively with or without ‘be’. In the present tense it is more commonly used without ‘be’.

kokoš-ki in siwal ‘The woman is ill.’
sick-PERF the woman

An adjective is reduplicated indifferently when used attributively to a plural noun. No cases have been seen in which the adjective is pluralized without the noun’s so being, even when the adjective is used predicatively. But absence of reduplication when occurring with plural nouns is quite common.

kali-mes kWah-kWahi-k ‘tall houses’
house-PL RDP-tall-PERF

Qualifiers include niman ‘very’, amo NEG, and nadita ‘a little’. They always immediately precede the adjective.

niman čawa-k ‘very greasy’
very greasy-PERF
amo toton-ki ‘not hot’
NEG heat-PERF
nadita isti-k ‘a little cold’
little cold-PERF

More than one adjective can be used to modify a nominal. The adjectives are then connected by wan ‘and’ (see the first illustration in this section).
COMPARATIVES

Comparatives and superlatives are patterned after the Spanish manner, constructed with Spanish loan words.

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{mas we} & \quad \text{bigger} & & \text{in mas we} & \quad \text{the biggest} \\
\text{more big} & & \text{the more big}
\end{aligned}
\]

For ‘more...than’ comparatives, the pattern is likewise similar to Spanish, and the same words are used just as in Spanish.

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Wan unka mas k}^{\text{Wahti-k}} \text{ ke newal} & \quad \text{‘John is taller than I.’} \\
\text{PN is more tall-PERF than I} & \\
\text{i-pelo-hmes amo ki-k}^{\text{Wah-k}} \text{wa-lo-aya tanto mas k}^{\text{Wali}} & \quad \text{his-dog-PL NEG her-RDP-eat-PL-PAST so:much more well} \\
\text{k-iS-mati-lo-aya ke antes} & \quad \text{her-face-know-PL-PAST than before} \\
\text{‘His pets didn’t bite her, so much better they knew her than before.’}
\end{aligned}
\]

For ‘as...as’ comparatives, one construction renders it thus:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{wan kinami yiwal ki-pia miak ganas pa tekipanu-s han yohe newal} & \quad \text{and as he it-have much liking so:that work-FUT just so I} \\
\text{and as he likes to work so much, just so am I.’}
\end{aligned}
\]

Or it is also possible to say it thus:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{tanto ki-pia miak ganas de tekipanu-s kinami nel} & \quad \text{so:much it-have much liking of work-FUT like I} \\
\text{He has as much liking to work as I.’}
\end{aligned}
\]

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{se} & \quad \text{‘one’} & & \text{kapa} & \quad \text{‘somewhere’} \\
\text{aki} & \quad \text{‘someone’} & & \text{kiman} & \quad \text{‘sometime’} \\
\text{len} & \quad \text{‘something’} & & \text{kahkapa} & \quad \text{‘various indefinite places’}
\end{aligned}
\]

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{amo wil k}^{-\text{ita se}} & \quad \text{‘One cannot see it.’} \\
\text{NEG POT it-see one} & \\
\text{aki unka} & \quad \text{‘Who is it?’} \\
\text{who is} & \\
\text{unka len i-cin-dan no-lape\text{\text{"s}}} & \quad \text{is something its-bottom-place my-bed} \\
\text{‘There is something under my bed.’}
\end{aligned}
\]
ni-k-ita-s kapa 'I'll see it somewhere.'
I-it-see-FUT somewhere

ahsi-k de kiman 'He arrived some time ago.'
arrive-PERF of sometime

weci-aya kah-kapa mo-laluh-ti-ka 'Running, he fell in places.'
fall-PAST RDP-where REFL-run-CONN-be

The words aki, len, kapa, and kiman more often serve as interrogative pronouns.

**Negative**

There are negative forms derived by adding amo NEG to some of the positive forms.

amaki (from *amo aki) 'no one'

amaki unka 'Nobody's home.'

no:one is

nindeno 'nothing'

amo net-i-k nindeno NEG me-say-PERF nothing

'He said nothing to me.'

amo len 'nothing'

amo ni-k-čih-ti-ka len NEG I-it-do-CONN-be what

'I ain't doin' nothin'.'

Quite often amo len is used as an answer in itself by one to whom thanks is expressed, or to the question 'What are you doing?'.

**ANY**

Perhaps the nearest equivalent to this idea is rendered by a phrase consisting of the indefinite pronoun plus the future of the verb ye 'be'.

kapa ye-s 'anywhere' len ye-s 'anything'

where be-FUT what be-FUT

kiman ye-s 'any time' aki ye-s 'anyone'

when be-FUT who be-FUT

kinami ye-s 'anyhow'

how be-FUT
DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Used for subjects or objects:

newal /nel tewante /tewanten
tewal /tel amwante /amwanten
yiwal /yial yiwante /yiwanten

Dependent

Subject prefixes (may be prefixed to nouns and other elements as well as verbs):

ni- ti- (plus plural suffix)
ti- an-
∅ ∅ (plus plural suffix)

Possessor prefixes (also serve as base for attachment of postpositions):

no- /nu- to- /tu-
mo- /mu- anmo- /anmu-
i- in- /inm- /inmin-

Object prefixes (prefixed to verbs only):

nič- tič-
mic- anmic-
k- /kl- /h- kinm- /kin- /kinmin-

The second person plural object marker is discontinuous when the first person subject markers appear in conjunction with it.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{an-ni-mic-} & \text{‘I-you’} \\
\text{OM-I-OM} & \text{OM-we-QM} \\
\text{you PL} & \text{you PL}
\end{array}
\]

Reflexive prefixes:

mo- /m- (both singular and plural for all persons)
STEMS

Defective Stems

There is no restriction on any verb, whether transitive or intransitive, as to which tense it may appear in, with the exceptions of the two stems for 'be', viz., ka and ye. Neither is used with an aspectual verb suffixed to it by means of the connective suffix -ti, nor does ye occur in the present indicative, nor in the past -aya form, nor in the remote past -ni form, whereas ka occurs in these forms, even having two stems for the remote past tense; there seems to be no rule as to which one to choose when speaking.

ka-ta-ni or: ka-ya-ni 'He was at that time.'
be- (?)-REM be- (?)-REM
PAST PAST

The occurrence of ka with the perfective suffix -k/÷hi is rather rare.

Reduplication

In any stem in which reduplication has not come to denote a completely different meaning of the stem, reduplication of the initial syllable generally indicates intensification of the meaning. The pattern of this reduplication is CVh-. The CV reduplication pattern occurs in frozen forms, is never used optionally, and is therefore rather rare.

niš-aWa-k
me-scold-PERF

niš-a-aWa-k
me-RDP-scold-PERF

to-toka in al de in tečo 'The water runs off the roof.'
RDP-follow the water from the roof

INTEGRATION

Instrumental Prefixes

Some instrumental prefixes for verb stems are no longer recognizable as independent nouns, but basically they are nouns whose meaning can be determined historically or by comparison with other dialects. Among such are:

il- probably 'mind'

ih- 'mind'
kWil- Exact meaning unknown. (ki-kWil-paš-a (it- (?)-cover-PRES) 'He bends it. ')

The following instrumental prefixes do not exist as independent nouns, but they are semantically transparent:

tu- 'god' (from teo-)
kWa- 'head'
tem- ‘mouth’
cin- ‘underside’
tol- ‘throat’

The following instrumental prefixes are roots of independent nouns:

iš- ‘face’
ma- ‘hand’
lan- ‘tooth’
nakas- ‘ear’
lankwa- ‘knee’
yol- ‘heart’
kwa- ‘wood’
tepos- ‘metal’ (rare)
lal- ‘earth’
a- ‘water’

ki-ma-toka
it-hand-follow
lan-kakica
tooth-squeak
ki-nakas-teka
it-ear-lay
ki-lal-paču-k
him-earth-cover-PERF

‘He touches it.’
‘He whistles.’
‘He lays it on its side.’
‘He buried him.’

SYNTACTIC MARKING

There is a series of subject pronominal prefixes and a series of object pronominal prefixes for marking these elements on the verb stem. There is one prefix for marking reflexive action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>niš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>tiš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>mic-</td>
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<td>an-</td>
<td>anmic-</td>
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<tr>
<td>φ</td>
<td>ki-/k/-h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φ</td>
<td>kin-/kinm-/kinmin-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNSPEC OBJ

la- (See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

Only on certain verb stems may the object marker occur followed by the reflexive prefix, with the applicative suffix obligatory. See the next section for an explanation of applicative suffix.

Mic-mo-latli-li-k
you-REFL-hide-APPLIC-PERF

‘He hid himself from you.’
ni-k-mo-lank\_\_W a-k\_W ec-i-li-aya  'I knelt before him.'
I-him-REFL-knee-bend-APPLIC-PAST

The regular plural suffix for verbs is -\_\_o. There is also one prefix for marking imperatives and one suffix that serves to pluralize the imperative and the exhortative, viz., si-IMP and -kan IMP/EXHRT PL.

si-mo-kawa  'Shaddup!'
IMP-REFL-stay

si-k-maka-kan  'Give it to him.'
IMP-him-give-EXHRT:PL

In exhortative sentences, the exhortative particle is obligatory and only occurs with the first and third persons singular and plural. In negative exhortations, the negative particle is kamo.

ma  ni-ya  'May I go.'
EXHRT  I-go

ma  ki-pulu-kan  pan  i-yakacol  'Let them hang it on his nose.'
EXHRT  it-hang-EXHRT:PL  on  his-nose

yohe  ma  kamo  ye  'Let it not be thus.'
thus  EXHRT  NEG  be

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative
-ti CAUS  (For consonant-final stems.)
-\_lti CAUS  (For vowel-final stems.)

Both forms serve also as transitivizers as well as causatives when suffixed to intransitive verbs.

ni-h-koč-ti-aya  'I put him to sleep.'
I-him-sleep-CAUS-PAST

ki-k\_W alan-ti-aya  'He made him mad.'
him-be:angry-CAUS-PAST

t-ič-punu-lti-k  in  kokolisli  'You passed the illness to me.'
you-me-pass-CAUS-PERF  the  sickness

Following are transitive verbs with CAUS.
an-nih-čiwa-lti-k  'You all forced me into it.'
you:PL-me-do-CAUS-PERF

k-a-tok-ti-k  'She drowned him.'
him-water-bury-CAUS-PERF
Applicative
-li   APPLIC (Acts also as transitivizer when suffixed to an intransitive stem.)
şih-chiwi-li  se fabor  ‘Do me a favor.’
IMP-me-do-APPLIC a favor
kin-k'alamal-a  i-paračitos in lapačuni
them-be:angry-APPLIC-PRES her-chickens the brood:hen
‘The mother hen defends her chickens.’

-iti APPLIC (In at least one verb it acts as APPLIC instead of CAUS.)
nič-namaki-iti-he  se koyamil  ‘They sold me a pig.’
me-sell-APPLIC-PERF:PL a pig

Aspectual

Consists of two suffixes, first a connective (CONN) -ti, the second a verb stem immediately following, of which there are four. Note that the aspectual verb stem, while in each case related to an independently occurring verb, contributes a sense that represents an extension of the basic meaning of the independent verb (particularly in the case of kísa ‘go out, leave’).

-ti-nemi  ‘go about Ving’
-ti-ya  ‘go on Ving’
-ti-ka  ‘be Ving’
-ti-kísa  ‘quickly, suddenly Ving’
mo-laluhtí-nemi  ‘He runs about.’
REFL-run-CONN-walk
kin-laloš-ti-ya  ‘He goes on making them run.’
them-run-CAUS-CONN-go
ašan amo ki-nek-ti-ka  tekipanu-a
today NEG it-want-CONN-be work-PRES
‘He’s not wanting to work today.’
lenča  ši-wala-ti-kísa  ‘Lencha, come quickly.’
PN  IMP-come-CONN-hurry

Tense

The plural tense suffixes can of course be segmented into a plural component and a tense component, but there is considerable irregularity.

SG  PL
∅ /-a  -lo  PRES
-aya/-ya  -loaya  PAST (-ya occurs with stems ending in a.)
SG  PL
-k    -he/-like  PERF
-s    -si/-ski  FUT
-skiaya -loskiaya  FUT PAST (Sometimes -siaya and -losiaya.)
-ni    -nihme  REM PAST

The past tense can be used as the irrealis modal in a sequence of two clauses, each of which is in the past and one of which, usually the first, bears the particle da ‘if’.

da amo ti-tiʃ-k widaru-aya  pos ti-miki-lo-aya
if NEG you-us-care:for-PAST why we-die-PL-PAST
‘If you didn’t take care of us, we would die.’

The future past tense is sometimes used in a desiderative sense.

ni-mo-kuwi-li-skiaya   se musika
I-REFL-buy-APPLIC-FUT:PAST a victrola
‘I’d like to buy me a victrola.’

The second person plural takes the same tense endings as the singular because its unduplicated subject prefix obviates the addition of a plural marker, whereas in the first and third plural, the subject prefixes are duplicated in the second singular and third singular forms respectively, and therefore confusion would result but for the addition of the plural tense suffixes.

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Order

The verb root, with or without reduplication, serves as a verb stem. Pre-stem elements are ordered thus:

\[
\text{SM} \rightarrow \{ \text{OM} \} \rightarrow \text{REFL} \rightarrow \text{UNSPEC} \rightarrow \text{STEM} \quad (\text{Cf. DEFINITE PRONOUNS concerning the second person plural OM.})
\]

Post-stem elements are ordered thus for past and future past tenses:

\[
\text{STEM} \rightarrow \text{CAUS} \rightarrow \text{APPLIC} \rightarrow \text{CONN} \rightarrow \text{ASP} \rightarrow \text{PL} \rightarrow \text{TNS}
\]

A slight alteration in order occurs in the other tenses:

\[
\text{STEM} \rightarrow \text{CAUS} \rightarrow \text{APPLIC} \rightarrow \text{CONN} \rightarrow \text{ASP} \rightarrow \text{TNS} \rightarrow \text{PL}
\]

These orderings take into account the (sometimes problematic) segmentation of the plural tense endings listed under NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION into a tense component and a plural component.
When APPLIC is contiguous to CONN, an h intervenes.

ni-mic-nemi-liti-li-h-ti-ka  ‘I’m making it go for you.’
I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN-be

If the foregoing example were in the past, having the same aspectual verb ka, an alteration would be necessary. The CONN -ti and the ASP V ka would merge into one syllable -ta, so that instead of *ni-mic-nemi-liti-li-h-ti-ka-t-aya, the form would be ni-mic-nemi-liti-li-h-ta-t-aya, (I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN:be-(t)-PAST) ‘I was making it go for you’. (The morpheme in parentheses has not been semantically determined.)

Auxiliary Verbs

This grammatical device, apparently borrowed from Spanish, has completely displaced the directional suffixes met with in most if not all other dialects. The auxiliary most often found is yawi ‘go’.

ni-yawi-aya  ni-k-ita  ‘I was going to see her.’
I-go-PAST  I-her-see

Notice that although the auxiliary is in the past tense, the principal verb appears in its stem form. This consistently happens in this tense: ni-yawi-aya ni-k-ihtu (I-go-PAST I-it-say) ‘I was going to say it’. If the auxiliary is in the present tense, the principal verb occurs in its stem form, although not as consistently as in the former case: ni-ya ni-k-ihtu (I-go I-it-say) ‘I’m going to say it’. In other tenses both auxiliary and principal verb receive the same tense markers, with the possible exception of the remote past, where occasionally the principal verb appears in the stem form: ti-ya-k ti-k-ita-k (you-go-PERF you-it-see-PERF) ‘Did you go to see it?’; ya ni-yawi-ni ni-mawilti-ni (already I-go-REM:PAST I-bathe-REM:PAST) ‘Then at that time I went to bathe’; wan ya ni-yawi-ni ni-k-lali in laso (and now I-go-REM: PAST I-it-lay the snare) ‘And then at that time I went to lay the snare’.

Since verbs in combination with this auxiliary are used often as a variety of future tense, as its counterpart in Spanish is, this auxiliary is heard most frequently. But wala ‘come’ is also used as an auxiliary denoting motion towards: wala-k k-ita-k (come-PERF him-see-PERF) ‘He came to see him’. The desiderative also uses an auxiliary verb construction, being marked by the verb neki ‘want’ appearing as an auxiliary before the principal verb, as in Spanish: neki mo-kuwidi cocomahli yankWik (it-want REFL-buy-APPLIC clothes new) ‘He wants to buy himself some new clothes’.

The potential, more often marked by the particle wil, which is itself derived from the verb stem willi, is sometimes marked by this as an auxiliary: wil siempre newal ni-will-ti-aya ni-kin-chok-ti-aya no-kni-an siwa-mes (and always I-I-could-CAUS-PAST I-them-cry-CAUS-PAST my-sibling-POSSD:PL female-PL) ‘And always I could make my sisters cry’. 
Contraction

Verbs, and adjectives derived from verbs, quite normally contract their last two syllables into one, so that the stress then falls on the last syllable instead of the penultimate where it regularly falls. The contraction is primarily the result of the disappearance of the initial consonant of the final syllable. If the vowels of the two final syllables are the same, they merge into one vowel of similar length to that of a vowel in any stressed syllable. If the vowels are different, the last one is usually i, which becomes an offglide of the first vowel. The consonants that have the tendency to disappear are k, w, y, and l.

š-ič-maka se koyunki → š-ič-má se koyunki  ‘Give me a doughnut.’
IMP-me-give a hole
ši-kin-čikawa muštin → ši-kin-čiká muštin  ‘Greet them all.’
IMP-them-strengthen all
nih-čiwí-li-k se fabor → nih-čiwí-k se fabor  ‘He did me a favor.’
me-do-APPLIC-PERF a favor
miki-k yalwa → mí-k yalwa  ‘He died yesterday.’
die-PERF yesterday
yawi-a ya pa lamar → yawi-á pa lamar  ‘He went to the ocean.’
go-PAST to ocean
ni-k-ahoki-k → ni-k-ahóí-k  ‘I raised it.’
I-it-raise-PERF
unka picawa-k → unka picá-k  ‘It is narrow.’
is narrow-PERF
ni-pewa-k → ni-péa-k (or: ni-péí-k)  ‘I began.’
I-begin-PERF

The auxiliary ya ‘go’ often disappears completely.

ni-ya ni-k-lali se laso → ni ni-k-lali se laso  ‘I’m going to set a snare.’
I-go I-it-lay a snare
COORDINATION

wan ‘and’ (Primitive meaning apparently ‘with’.)
nohe ‘also’ (Almost completely replaced by Spanish ‘también’.)
pero ‘but’ (Spanish)
o ‘or’ (Spanish)
Ø (juxtaposition)

The element wan ‘and’ serves as introducer particle more frequently than it serves as coordinator.

wan umpa ki-temuh-ti-nemi ‘And there he goes about seeking him.’
and there him-seek-CONN-walk

With DIFFERENT SUBJ:
se ka-t-aya bwena hente wan in ok se ka-t-aya mala hente one be(?)-PAST good people and the yet one be(?)-PAST bad people
‘One was a good sort and the other was a bad sort.’

With SAME SUBJ:
wan ora sí pos in kuyol k-ita-k totonki wan al ratito
and now AFF why the coyote it-see-PERF hot and at trice
ióhole mente cikWini-k
wow just jump-PERF
‘And now the coyote felt how hot it was and—wow!—did he ever jump right then!’

ya ma ti-h-kawa-kan pwes pero in čikote
now EXHRT we-him-let-EXHRT:PL then but the whip
ti-mo-wiki-li-lo
we-REFL-take-APPLIC-PL
‘Now let’s leave him alone, then, but the whip we take with us.’

Reductions are allowed; in fact, as regards o ‘or’ they are much more common.
umpa ya ti-k-ana-lo ti-k-ahoki-lo pan len mesa o pan len tabla
then now we-it-get-PL we-it-lift-PL onto some table or onto some board
punta pa ti-k-belaru-lo asta mo-namiki-a oras kWando lami-k
atop for we-it-watch-PL’ until REFL-meet-PRES hours when finish-PERF
‘Then we take it and lift it atop some table or board to watch it until the hours
that he died come around again.’
But juxtaposition is by far the most common way of indicating coordination.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti-lami-lo} & \quad \text{ti-k-teka-lo} & \quad \text{ti-h-kiš-ti-lo} & \quad \text{ti-k-paka-lo} \\
\text{we-finish-PL} & \quad \text{we-it-lay:down-PL} & \quad \text{we-it-go:out-CAUS-PL} & \quad \text{we-it-wash-PL} \\
\text{ti-k-posuni-lo} & \quad \text{ti-k-lali-li-lo} & \quad \text{tešli} \\
\text{we-it-boil-PL} & \quad \text{we-it-put-APPLIC-PL} & \quad \text{corn:dough} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'We finish laying it down, we take it out, wash it, boil it, and we put corn
dough in it.'

in lomo ti-k-waca-lo ti-k-čiwa-lo sesinas
the loin we-it-roast-PL we-it-make-PL jerky
'The loin we roast, and we make jerky out of it.'

de umpa ya ni-krusaru-a ni-lakisa ni-krusaru-a
from there now I-cross-PRES I-finish I-cross-PRES
'Now from there I cross, and I finish, and I cross again.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u-ya-k} & \quad \text{ki-temu-k} & \quad \text{i-šolol} & \quad \text{nohe wan i-siwa u-ya-he} \\
\text{PERF-go-PERF} & \quad \text{him-seek-PERF} & \quad \text{his-son also with his-wife PERF-go-PERF:PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He went to look for his son; also his wife went with him.'

**COMPLEMENT CLAUSES**

**Subject Complement Clauses**

This type is quite common in narratives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye-k} & \quad \text{[kikiški inmin-lomo]} & \quad \text{‘It must have been that their back itches.’} \\
\text{be-PERF} & \quad \text{itch} & \quad \text{their-back} \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Object Complement Clauses**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ni-k-ihtu-k} & \quad \text{[ti-yawi-aya ti-kisa mosta]} \\
\text{I-it-say-PERF} & \quad \text{you-go-PAST} & \quad \text{you-leave tomorrow} \\
\text{‘I thought you were going to leave tomorrow.’} \\
\text{an-ki-kaki-k} & \quad \text{[ni-cahci-k]} & \quad \text{‘You all heard me yell.’} \\
\text{you:PL-it-hear-PERF} & \quad \text{I-yell-PERF} \\
\text{len amo umpek ki-kah-kawa-k} & \quad \text{pa k\text{\textsuperscript{Wahl}an}} \\
\text{what NEG to:there him-RDP-leave-PERF in woods} \\
\text{[las-ti-ka pan se saka-tilan]} & \quad \text{toss-CONN-be on a weed-among} \\
\text{‘If she didn’t leave him in the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
ni-h-kaki-h [k-htu-a [pampa aki ki-mik-ti-a
I-it-hear-PERF it-say-PRES that whoever it-die-CAUS-PRES
in sierpe mo-namik-ti-a ka no-solol]]
the serpent REFL-meet-CAUS-PRES with my-child
'I heard he said that whoever kills the serpent marries my daughter.'

ni-k-neki [ni-mo-šima] 'I want to cut my hair.'
I-it-want I-REFL-shear

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

ma ni-mo-kiš-tí* se pwes de pan tapalkal a ber
EXHRT I-REFL-go:out-CAUS:APPLIC one then from in pot to see
[da unka bwen] if is good
'Let me take one out of the pot to see if it is good.'

WH Questions

tewal ti-k-mati [kapa wan len oras temu-a]
you you-it-know where and what hours descend-PRES
'You, do you know where and what time it comes down?'

de umpa ti-wala-lo asta tiolak a ber [len ti-k-it-la-lo ka umpek]
then we-come-PL until evening to see what we-it-see-PL there
'Then we come at evening to see what we see there.'

ti-k-mati [kapa unka se parte ki-kuh-ti-ka-te tineši]
you-it-know where is a place it-buy-CONN-be-PL lime
'Do you know where there's a place where they are buying lime?'

yahmo ni-k-mati-ni [kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nancin]
no:more I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-calm-CAUS-FUT my-mother
'I no more knew at that time how I would calm down my mother.'

wan ni-mic-lan-ti-ya [kinami ti-unka]
and I-you-RDP-ask-CONN-go how you-be
'And I go on asking you how you are.'

wan ši-k-li [kiči yawi kostaru-a]
and IMP-him-say how:much go cost-PRES
'And tell him how much it's going to cost.'

* Here CAUS and APPLIC merge into one syllable.
RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns serve as subordinators. Aside from these pronouns introducing a relative clause, there is nothing to distinguish a relative clause from another clause. The relative pronouns are:

wal  ‘who/which/that’
yul  ‘who/which/that’
len  ‘which/that’

Subject Relatives


kin-temu-ni-hme
them-hunt-REM:PAST-PL
‘The Indians who lived then on the plains used to hunt them.’

čan-ti-ti-ka pin kali [wal unka pa yohe in lado de in pweblo] home-CAUS-CONN-be in house that is on thus ‘the side of the village
‘He’s living in a house on the other side of the village.’
wan de umpa in lakal [wal k-ihtu-k siembre de and then the man who it-say-PERF always of ki-čan-ski-aya] siembre ki-lali-k in trampa it-do-FUT-PAST indeed it-lay-PERF the trap ‘And then the man who always talked of doing it did indeed lay the trap.’

Non-restrictive clauses:
ni-čan-ti-ti-ka pa i-čan tačo [wal nič-makawi-li-ti-k I-home-CAUS-CONN-be at his-home PN who me-let-CAUS-PERF pa ni-čan-ti-s nepa] so:that I-home-CAUS-FUT there ‘I’m living at Tacho’s house who let me live there.’

in oso ki-walika-he de amerika in [wal unka pin the bear it-bring-PERF:PL from America this that is in kapa ka-te ok sekin animales] where be-PL yet some animals ‘The bear they brought from America, this one which is in where other animals are.’

In the above example, the discontiguity of the object of the main clause from its relative clause is remedied by the insertion of the demonstrative just before the relative.

Some relative clauses have no subordinating pronouns.
yawí-aya se i-kni kimičin [ki-mati-aya mo-maš-ti responso] go-PAST one his-brother mouse it-know-PAST REFL-know-CAUS liturgy ‘A brother-mouse went, who knew how to read liturgy.’

ka-t-aya se mwačito islakati [čan-ti-aya alamar] be-(?)-PAST a boy he:lies home-CAUS-PAST ocean ‘There was a boy liar who lived at the ocean.’

A noun phrase that serves as a relative clause head may be repeated as a pronoun immediately before the relative clause.

[wal aki ki-mati] nikan unka se lakal masalero yiwal [wal yawi who who it-know here is a man deer:hunter he who go nič-nes-ti-li kapa unka] me-appear-CAUS-APPLIC where is ‘He who knows is a deer hunter here, it’s he who’s going to show me where she is.’

A relative clause may precede the main clause.

[wal amo ki-pia ya] in yawi mo-teranči-a ka who NEG it-have now that:one go REFL-reciprocate-PRES with i-prohimo ‘Whoever doesn’t have it will certainly reciprocate with his his-neighbor neighbor (when he does have it).’
Object Relatives

kapa unka in tortuga [wal ti-h-kiš-ti-k] “Where is the turtle you caught?”
where is the turtle that you-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF

The demonstrative pronoun can be substituted for a noun phrase or a noun which
is the head of a relative clause, but it is only included obligatorily with the head if the
head is remotely discontinuous with the relative clause itself (as in a previous example
under Subject Relatives above).

ši-k-ita amígo ya in [wal ki-kawa-he] ya močí pa tewanten
IMP-it-see friend now this that it-leave-PERF:PL now all for us
‘Look, friend, all this that they left is now ours.’

in [wal amo ki-pi-aya tomin] mo-lami-li-k
this who NEG it-have-PAST money REFL-finish-APPLIC-PERF
[lēn ki-kʷa-s]
what it-eat-FUT
‘This one who had no money ran out of what he should eat.’

The above example is of a complex sentence in which occur both subject and
object relative clauses, the object relative being of the headless type.

Oblique Relatives

Wherein the relativized noun is a possessor in the relative clause:

unka se čapulin [wal kis-ti-ka al pa i-kamak
is a grasshopper who go:out-CONN-be water at its-mouth
wan pa i-barba]
and at his-chin
‘There’s a grasshopper from whose mouth and chin water is coming out!’

Headless Relatives

Headless finite relative clauses may occur initially in a complex sentence, their
antecedents even occurring finally in the main clause.

[wal amo ki-lakamati-s] yiwal ki-mati kapa yawi ki-tilani-a
who NEG him-obey-FUT he it-know where go him-send-PRES
‘He knows where he’s going to send whoever will not obey him.’

An ellipsis with inference from an immediately preceding clause characterizes
this headless relative clause:

kasiones ki-čiwa-lo fondango de semilwil [wal aňó’ ki-čiwa-lo
sometimes it-do-PL dance of daytime who NEG it-do-PL
de semilwil] asta tiolak
of daytime until evening
‘Sometimes they have a dance in the daytime; those who do not do it in the
daytime (wait) until evening.’
pos es ke [wal ki-pia kuči tomawk] ma tih-ti-h-kWa-kan
well it is that who it has pig fat EXHRT RDP-WE-IT-EAT-EXHRT:PL
Well, it's like he who has a fat pig (says), "Let's gobble it up."

ti-k-ląšpani-li-lo-aya [wal k-ahsi-aya]
we-him-sweep-APPLIC-PL-PAST who IT-GET-PAST
'Ve swept it for him who got it.'

[wal t-ič-ili-k] pa ni-k-namaka-ski-aya in tinešli
that you-me-say-PERF that IT-SELL-PAST the ashes
in ni-ya-k ni-k-namaka-k
this I-GO-PERF I-IT-SELL-PERF
'That which you told me, that I should sell the ashes, (well), I went and sold them.'

al kabo amwanten an-ki-mati [aki wal k-mati ki-čia kali]
in end you:ALL you:PL-IT-KNOW one who IT-KNOW IT-MAKE house
mo-čih-ziwi-li-a i-čan kWaltičin wan de
REFL-RDP-MAKE-APPLIC-PRES his-home nice and of
amo panu-s al wan amo la-iška-s
NEG pass-FUT water and NEG UNSPEC:OBJ-leak-FUT
'After all's said and done you all know that anyone who knows how to build a
house makes his home nice for himself and so that the water will not pass
through and the house will leak.'

wan k-ita-s [len ni-ya-s ni-k-maka-s]
and IT-SEE-FUT what I-GO-FUT I-HIM-GIVE-FUT
'And he'll see what I'll be going to give to him.'

Here are some examples of the 'ever' construction, rendered by a relative pronoun
(aki, len, or kalia 'which') followed by the future of ye 'be':

[aki ye-s ki-kWa-k] miki-k
who be-FUT IT-EAT-PERF die-PERF
'Whoever ate it died.'

ki-ląš-li-k [kalia ye-s pelo kalaki-k]
it-throw-APPLIC-PERF which be-FUT DOG ENTER-PERF
'He threw it at whichever dog entered.'

ki-mayawi-a i-pan [aki ye-s panu-a i-cindan]
it-drop-PRES his-on who be-FUT pass-PRES his-beneath
'He drops it on whoever passes beneath him.'
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

‘When’ clauses seem to be of two varieties, those that are introduced by the Spanish loan cuando and those juxtaposed to the main clause. One or two speakers of this dialect have said that the native word kiman ‘when’ is also used to introduce ‘when’ clauses, but there are no texts in which it does occur as relator, nor have I heard it used in this way. Its use seems to be confined almost exclusively to questions.

[kWando ya čikawa] ya puni semiya
when already harden then burst seed

‘When it hardens, the seed bursts.’

[ti-lami-he ti-h-kī-ti-he] ya ti-k-lali-he in
we-finish-PERF:PL we-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF:PL now we-it-put-PERF:PL the
kopra pan kostal-es
copra in bag-PL

‘When we finish taking it out, then we put the copra in bags.’

Usually these clauses appear first in a sentence, but they may succeed the main clause.

de pronto in mo-maš-ti-ni-hmes k-ihtu-he a ke bweno
of quickly the REFL-know-CAUS-NR-PL it-say-PERF:PL how good
kiah-ti-ka [kWando han ahaškan tuyawi-k miak al]
rain-CONN-be when just now spill-PERF much water
‘Quickly the pupils said, “Ah, how nice, it’s raining,” when suddenly much water poured in.’

A ‘when’ relative clause may follow another initial subordinate clause.

para yohe amo ti-mo-enfadaru-si [kWando ya lami-s for thus NEG we-REFL-be:lonely-FUT:PL when now finish-FUT
he to-kni kristiano] diario ti-k-maka-si kompania
a our-sibling human daily we-him-give-FUT:PL company
‘So in order that we may not get lonely when one of our fellows dies, we keep him company daily.’

‘Where’ clauses usually follow the main clause, introduced by kapa ‘where’, kapik ‘to where’, and ka kapik ‘to where’ also. They also may appear within the main clause. There is generally no change in syntax or anything to distinguish them from the main clause, save the introductory relational words mentioned.

ya wala-k [kapa ki-kawa-he in difuntos]
now come-PERF where it-leave-PERF:PL the dead:ones
‘Now he came to where the dead ones left it.’
pero ti-ya-s pa ok se amo [kapa ti-ya-k ašan]
but you-go-FUT to yet one NEG where you-go-PERF today
‘...but you will go to another (place) not where you went today.’

If the relative ‘where’ clause precedes the main clause, a definite locational word precedes the relator locational.
y a umpa [kapa k^wah-k^aw-i-k] umpa ki-čičinu-k
now there where RDP-wood-PERF there it-burn-PERF
‘Now there where he gathered wood, he burned it there.’

If the verb in a ‘where’ clause is be, it may be omitted.
wan ok se tonalí u-ya-k pašalu-k [kapa i-čan in lakal]
and yet one day PERF-go-PERF visit-PERF where his-home the man
‘And the next day she went to visit where the man’s home (was).’

An adverbial clause can be embedded in another adverbial clause; it can also function as prepositional object.
wan ya [k^wando u-ya-he de [kapik wala-he]]
and now when PERF-go-PERF:PL from to:where come-PERF:PL
‘And now when they went from where they had come to... .’

The meaning of kapik ‘o where’ is differentiated from kapa ‘where’ in that the former bespeaks a changing location.
in mwačito nohe umpa ki-toka-ti-ya-k atrás
the boy also there him-follow-CONN-go-PERF behind
[kapik yawi-lo-aña in sekin]
where go-PL-PAST the others
‘The boy went following behind there where the others were going.’

Conditional Clauses

In most cases, ‘if’ clauses precede the main clause. Like all other clauses, there is nothing peculiar to them except the use of ‘if’, even though they might follow the main clause. Some speakers say da, others say nda, and sometimes the younger ones, especially, combine the Spanish loan si and append it to the native word, thus making the form sinda, all meaning ‘if’.

[da ki-neki] ki-čia ha palawito o ki-lai-li-a i-kišlan
if it-want it-make just slightly:wide or it-put-APPLIC-PRES its-neck
‘If he wants to, he makes it just a little wide, or he puts a neck on it.’
ašan ʃ-č-li [da newal arno ni-k-pía derečo in mákina]
now IMP-me-say if I NEG I-it-have right this machine
‘Now tell me if I did not have the right to this machine.’ (Meaning: ‘I surely have the right to this machine.’)
The verb and da ‘if’ may be discontiguous.

wan [da wahcinko amo ti-lakisa] ni-mic-mik-ti-a
and if tomorrow NEG you-finish I-you-die-CAUS-PRES
‘And if you’re not finished by tomorrow, I’ll kill you.’

There may be several ‘if’ clauses in succession; the first two in this next example function as embedded yes/no questions.

wan a ber [da ni-ya ni-k-segirui-li-a] [da nić-ahsi
and to see if I-go I-it-continue-APPLIC-PRES if me-arrive
tiempo] wan [sinda no] ya umpa ni-h-kawa
time and if not now there I-it-leave
‘And we’ll see if I’m going to continue, if I have time, and if not, I’ll leave it at
that.’

The particle da may be used to reinforce a positive statement, or, in combination with the negative amo to which it is fused into one, damo, it reinforces the negative statement.

yewanten k-lihtu-a pampa ka-t-aya se león pero damo
they it-say-PRES that be-(?)-PAST a lion but not:really
ka-t-aya león san ka-t-aya in konhe larahero
be-(?)-PAST lion just be-(?)-PAST the rabbit orange:picker
‘They thought that it was a lion, but really it wasn’t a lion; it was only the
orange-picking rabbit.’ (Cf. section on modals.)

‘Because’ clauses are introduced by pampa ‘because’ without pronominal inflections (see section on Conjunctions/Adverbs under PARTICLES for its use with pronominal inflection). But since pampa serves also as a subordinator meaning ‘that’, many speakers use the Spanish loan porque ‘because’ to assure the distinction between the two senses.

leka siahi-ti-ka no-kote [pampa ni-yewa-ta-t-aya nikan]
why tire-CONN-be my-lower:backbone because I-sit-CONN:be-(?)-PAST here
‘Why is my lower spine tiring? Because I was sitting here.’

pos ehsa-he ya lakWalispian [pampa ki-maka-ta-t-aya
well wake-PERF:PL now noon because it-give-CONN:be-(?)-PAST
tonali]
sun
‘Well, they awakened; noon it was already, because the sun was beating down.’

k-ita-k [pampa ye kimichi-hmes amo čoka-ta-ta-lo-a]
it-see-PERF that three mouse-PL NEG weep-CONN:be-(?)-PL-PAST
‘He saw that three mice were not crying.’
The combination da pampa ‘if that’ also occurs, rendering a subtlety of meaning that has to date proved elusive. There seems to be no difference in meaning on the surface than if da were used by itself.

[da pampa amo wil ti-k-nankili-lo ok se welta] yawi
if that NEG POT we-him-answer-PL yet one time go
tič-witeki in lamaštini ok se welta
us-beat the teacher yet one time
‘If we are not able to answer him again, the teacher is going to beat us again.’

Other

‘Until’ clauses are marked by the Spanish loan hasta.

de umpa pewa-k k-ana-k in cocomahli [asta milini-k]
from there begin-PERF it-get-PERF the clothes until flame-PERF
‘Then it began to get at the clothes until they burst into flame.’

A less frequent, but more native, way to render the meaning of ‘until’:

ki-kʷa-k išul ki-kʷa-k išul ya pačiwi-k
it-eat-PERF beans it-eat-PERF beans now be::full-PERF
‘He ate beans until he was full.’

‘While’ clauses are marked by the Spanish loan mientras.

ki-lali-he pan se karsel [myentras yawi-lo-a ya
it-put-PERF:PL in a jail while go-PL-PAST
mo-namik-ti-lo in prinseša]
REFL-meet-CAUS-PL the princess
‘They put him in jail while the princess (and the hero) were going to be married.’

Sometimes the loan word cuando renders the idea of ‘while’.

...pa mo-kás čipáč pa kamo tanto ti-kíhya-si
so:that REFL-stay-FUT clean so:that NEG so:much we-sicken-FUT:PL
[kʷando ti-la-kʷah-ti-yá-si]
when we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-CONN-go-FUT:PL
‘...so that it will stay clean so that we will not get sick so much when we go
along eating it.’

‘As’ clauses are marked by kinami ‘like/how’.

wan [kinami in siwal ka-t-a ya pinah-k-ud-ota]
and as the woman be-(?)-PAST shame-PERF-ADJR-AUG:PEJ
len amo* umpek ki-kah-kawa-k pa kʷahlan
what NEG to:there it-RDP-leave-PERF in woods

*The phrase len amo is used to introduce a clause stating something shocking, or exciting, or unexpected.
last-ti-ka \ pan se saka-tilan
 toss-CONN-be on a weed-among
 'And as the woman was very ashamed, why if she didn't go and leave it there in
 the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.'

'Although' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan phrase mas que.
yiwal amo cuçukal [mas ke moštın k-įhtu-lo pampa kema]
 he NEG stingy although all it-say-PL that YES
 'He is not stingy although everybody thinks so.' (Reverse order of clauses
 permitted.)

'After' clauses rendered by después de que, although consultants have said they
 are permissible, are seemingly absent in ordinary texts, or if not absent, are exceedingly
 rare. The Spanish loan después is also used, but one is not certain whether one should
 consider that it really subordinates the clause or that it serves as a time word in one of
 two juxtaposed independent clauses, at least in the following examples:
 ya [después newal nič-maka-he se libro] nič-ili-he
 now after me me-give-PERF:PL a book me-say-PERF:PL
 pos in ti-k-agwardaru-a ok se martes ti-ya ti-k-estudiaru-a
 now this you-it-keep-PRES yet one Tuesday you-go you-it-study-PRES
 'Now after they gave me a book, they said to me, "Now this you keep, you are
 going to study it next Tuesday".'

The above could be rendered by omitting después in the first clause and adding
 kWakinon or kWakin 'then' in the second.
 ya newal nič-maka-he se libro kWakin nič-ili-he...

'Before' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan antes de or de antes de.
 sekin ya [de antes de lami] se mo-cakW a 1-lahtol
 some now of before of finish one REFL-close his-voice
 'Concerning some, before one dies, his talking stops.'

'Without' clauses are, not surprisingly, marked by Spanish sin que 'without that'.
duraru-a kasiones kinse dias [sin ke k-uni se tragito de al]
 last-PRES sometimes 15 days without that it-drink a swallow of water
 'One lasts sometimes a fortnight without drinking one swallow of water.'

'In order to' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan para, more often shortened
to pa 'in order to', and, unlike the subordinate clauses dealt with above, clauses of this
 type are of much more frequent occurrence. The tense employed in the subordinated
 clause depends on whether the action is viewed as completed or happening simultane-
 ously or during the same stretch of time as the action in the main clause; or whether
 the action is viewed as incomplete or possibly taking place at some near or remote
 future time with respect to the time referred to in the main clause. In the former case,
the tense employed in the subordinate clause is the same as that of the main clause. In the latter, the tense is future for the subordinate clause when the main clause is in the present or future tenses or even past or perfect tense, although some speakers say that for past or perfect tenses in the main clause, the future past or conditional tense is the tense that should be used in the subordinate clause.

If the subordinate clause is negated, the negative particle generally follows immediately after the subordinating marker pa and appears as the particle kamo 'not', following the morphophonemic rule mentioned in the phonology section of this paper.

ya umpa ti-mo-kiš-ti-li-he nadita sentabito
now there we-REFL-go:out-CAUS-APPLIC-PERF:PL a:little cents
[pa ti-mo-palewi-he pa to-kʷentó kapa
so:that we-REFL-help-PERF:PL for our-account where

ti-ki-wiki-lih-ti-ka-te]
we-HIM-owe-APPLIC-CONN-be-PL
'So then we earned a little pin money in order to help us in our account where we are owing.'

ni-mic-maka kʷarenta sentabos [pa ti-ya-s
l-you-give forty cents so:that you-go-FUT

ti-k-finis pa i-tenko saka-tlan]
you-it-sprinkle-FUT at its-edge weed-among
'I'll give you forty centavos for you to go sprinkle it at the edge of the weeds.'

ki-maka-ya [pa kamo mo-mahti-ski-aya]
him-give-PAST so:that NEG REFL-fear-FUT-PAST
'He made him so that he would not be afraid.'

ya ki-pia la-yamani-li [pa ki-pan-ti-a]
now it-have UNSPEC:OBJ-soften-NR so:that it-build:on-CAUS-PRES
'Now she has it softened so that she might shape it.'

de pa yina [pa ti-mo-ćiwi-li-ni-hme to-kʷi]
from long:ago so:that we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL our-dress

ti-k-ana-ni-hme in ìkpal
we-it-get-REM:PAST-PL the thread
'In the old days, in order that we make our dresses, we used to get thread.'
Hunting Chacalacas for my Parents

ni-kin-temu-a čačalaka-hmes pa no-tah-ci-ci-an
I-them-hunt-PRES woodgrouse-PL for my-parent-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL

1. I used to like to snares the woodgrouses,
newal ni-k-iš-toka-ni ni-kin-kicki-s in čačalaka-hmes
I I-it-face-follow-REM:PAST I-them-catch-FUT the woodgrouse-PL
like

and if I came with a woodgrouse arriving where
wan da ni-wal-aya ka čačalaka ya ni-ahsi-aya kapa
and if I-come-PAST with woodgrouse now I-arrive-PAST where

my mother was, my mother would like to eat it,
no-nan-cin no-nan-cin k-iš-toka-ya pa ki-kw a-ski-aya
my-mother-HON my-mother-HON it-like-PAST to it-eat-FUT-PAST
and my father too (would like to).
wan no-tah-cin
and my-father-HON

2. So then, one time I went to lay a snare.
yai kwakinon se welta ni-ya-k pa ni-k-lali-ski-aya se laso
now then one time I-go-PERF to I-it-lay-FUT-PAST a lasso

3. When I climbed the tree and when I was
kwando ni-lehku-k in mata de anunas kwando nepa ni-ka-t-aya
when I-climb-PERF the tree of anunas when there I-be-(?:)-PAST
up high there, if that branch didn’t break and
punta len amo postek-ti-ya-k in rama de in anunas wan
above what NEG break-CONN-go-PERF the branch of the anunas and

I came to the ground myself with the branch;
len amo ni-wala-k pan lali ka entero in rama
what NEG I-come-PERF on ground with entirely the branch

we fell onto the ground!
ti-weci-he pan lali
we-fall-PERF:PL on ground

4. And since fortunately there were thick weeds, I fell into them.
wan hortuna ka-t-aya miak saka-tilan ni-weci-k pin saka-tilan
and fortunately be-(?:)-PAST much weed-among I-fall-PERF in weed-among
since
5. I did not hurt myself, as I fell protected/padded (by the weeds).
    amo ni-mo-koko-iti-k     kinami ni-wec-i-k
    NEG I-REFL-hurt-CAUS-PERF as I-fall-PERF
    la-pi-pi8-ti-li
    UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-have-CAUS-NR

6. I didn’t bang myself, but I did knock the wind out of me just a little.
    amo ni-mo-golpearu-k pero ni-mo-yol-cakwa-k nadita san
    NEG I-REFL-hit-PERF but I-REFL-insides-shut-PERF little just

7. And I quickly got up and ran home;
    wan ni-mo-kes-ti-kisa-k     ni-mo-lalu-k     pa no-3an
    and I-REFL-rise-CONN-hurry-PERF I-REFL-run-PERF to my-home
    I reached home, and I told my mother.
    wan ni-ahti-k     ni-k-ili-k     no-nan-cin
    and I-arrive-PERF I-her-tell-PERF my-mother-HON

8. And as my mother must have been mad,
    wan kinami no-nan-cin ye-s kwala-ta-t-a ya
    and as my-mother-HON be-FUT be:angry-CONN:be-(?)-PAST
    she grabbed a rope and said to me, “And you,
    k-an-ti-kisa-k     se meka-l     ni8-ili-k
    it-grab-CONN-hurry-PERF a rope-ABS me-say-PERF and
    boy, why do you go on falling among the trees like that?
    mwa8ito leka yohe ti-wes-ti-nemi
    pin in kwawi-mes
    boy why thus you-fall-CONN-walk in the tree-PL

9. So that you take care another time not
    pa ti-k-pia-s
    kwido dado ok se welta pa kamo
    so you-it-have-FUT care yet one time that NEG
to go about climbing...” ...pow! pow! pow!...she gave me just
    ti-lehuku-ti-nemi-s pa
    you-climb-CONN-walk-FUT
    three whacks and said to me, “You go climbing
    ye baraso-s
    kawawi-mes wan ti-k-ita-s
    thee blow-PL and me-say-PERF IMP-go IMP-climb yet one time the
trees again, and you’ll see I shan’t scold;
    ka regañada
    tree-PL and you-it-see-FUT I NEG I-you-say-PRES with scolding
I'll deal with you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself!

ni-mic-ili-a san yohe amo sangá ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-ś
I-you-say-PRES just thus NEG just you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT

might

lest

10. But you, now, d'you not hear for sure? I'll beat you more so

pero tewal da amo t-ić-kaki-ś ni-mic-witeki-ś mas pa
but you if NEG you-me-hear-FUT I-you-beat-FUT more so

you'll hear!"
t-ić-kaki-ś

you-me-hear-FUT

11. "I for sure will never climb trees again!

wan newal amo ni-mo-kʷepa ni-lehkú-a in kʷawi-mes
and I NEG I-REFL-return I-climb-PRES the tree-PL

12. Let me tell you, Mom, I was trying

ma ni-mic-ili-a nana newal ni-k-ćiń-ti-nemi-aya luča
EXHRT I-you-say-PRES* Mother I I-it-do-CONN-walk-PAST struggle
to get a woodgrouse for us to eat, but you
pa ti-h-kʷa-lo-ski-aya čačalaka pero tewal
so we-it-eat-PL-FUT-PAST woodgrouse but you

got mad... ."
ti-kisa-k ti-kʷalani-k
you-turn:out-PERF you-get:mad-PERF

13. "Hush up, or I'll whack you another three times!"

amo ši-nawā-ti porke amo hangá ni-mic-má-s ok sekin ye
NEG IMP-word-CAUS because lest I-you-give-FUT yet some three

14. And I said to her, "Mom, if you want to, beat yourself

wan newal ni-k-ili-k nana da ti-k-neki ši-mo-witeki
and I I-her-say-PERF Mother if you-it-want IMP-REFL-beat

on your foot!"
pa mo-kšian
on your-foot

15. "What did you say?"

len ti-k-ihtu-a
what you-it-say-PRES

*Here the PRES is used for politeness.
16. When I saw her get the stick, I ran
\textit{kwando ni-k-ita-k k-ana-k se bara ni-mo-lalu-k}
when \textit{I-her-see-PERF it-grab-PERF a stick I-REFL-run-PERF}
to an open space so that my mother wouldn’t reach me.
\textit{pa lahkot-i-yan pa kamo ni\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{F}}}ahsi-ski-aya no-nan-cin}
to open-place so:that \textit{NEG me-reach-FUT-PAST my-mother-HON}

17. I no more knew at that time how I would calm my mother,
yahmo ni-k-mati-ni kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nan-cin
no:more \textit{I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-leave-CAUS-FUT my-mother-HON}
and I kept thinking about how I would go about it.
\textit{newal ni-mo-kaw-aya ni-k-pensaru-h-ti-ka kinami ni-ya-s}
\textit{I I-REFL-leave-PAST I-it-think-CONN-be how I-go-FUT}

18. "I’m going to go kill a dove or a mourning dove of some kind."
\textit{ma ni-ya ni-k-mik-ti len wilotita o len koko-cito}
EXHRT \textit{I-go I-it-die-CAUS some dove or some mourning:dove-DIM}

19. And so I went at that time into a clump of weeds with many stones
\textit{wan ya ni-yaw-i-ni pin bulto de saka-l ka miak ti\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{F}}}iska-li}
and now \textit{I-go-REM:PAST in clump of weed-ABS with many stone-ABS}
where I saw at that time a mourning dove; I pursued it until
\textit{kapa ni-k-ita-ni se koko-cin ni-k-toka-ya asta}
where \textit{I-it-see-REM:PAST a mourning:dove-DIM I-it-follow-PAST until}
I killed it.
\textit{ni-k-mik-ti-aya}
\textit{I-it-die-CAUS-PAST}

20. "And now with this I’m going to calm down my mother."
\textit{wan ya ka inon ni-k-lakawa-lti-ti-ya no-nan-cin}
and now with this \textit{I-her-leave-CAUS-CONN-go my-mother-HON}

21. So when I arrived I asked her not to beat me;
\textit{ya kwando ni-ahsi-aya ni-k-ili-aya pa kamo ni\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{F}}}witeki-ski-aya}
now when \textit{I-arrive-PAST I-her-say-PAST that NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST}
I told my mother, "Mom, here I brought a dead mourning dove
\textit{ni-k-ili-aya no-nan-cin nana nikan ni-k-walika se koko-cin}
\textit{I-her-say-PAST my-mother-HON Mother here I-it-bring a mourning-DIM}
dove
for us to eat."
\textit{pa ti\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{F}}}h-k\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{T}}}a-si}
\textit{that we-it-eat-FUT:PL}
And she answered me, "My son, where did you get the little mourning dove?"

in koko-cito
the mourning-dove-DIM

I killed it there."

there I-it-die-CAUS-PERF

"And why do you go about killing animals?"
and why you-it-die-CAUS-CONN-walk the animal-DIM-PL

And I answered her, "Why, so that we may eat it, Mom," and I I-her-answer-PERF why so:that we-it-eat-FUT Mother

Now then, I'm going to roast it."

now then I-go I-it-roast

In this way I dealt with her so that she would not beat me and so that I might go on appeasing my mother.

and NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST

I-her-do-APPLIC-PERF just so NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST

so:that I-keep-FUT-PAST I-her-play-CAUS my-mother-HON
The Coyote and the Rabbit

in kuyol wan in koneho
the coyote-ABS and the rabbit

1. There was a big coyote, and one day when he was very hungry, he
ka-t-aya kil se kuyol we wan se tona-li k\textsuperscript{W}ando
be-(t)-PAST QUOT a coyote-ABS big and one day-ABS when
was chasing a rabbit in a field.
mayan-ta-t-aya niman miak ki-tok-aya kil se
be:hungry-CONN:be-(t)-PAST very much him-RDP-follow-PAST QUOT a
koneho pan se k\textsuperscript{W}ahmili
rabbit in a field

2. The rabbit was very frightened, but he knew he could not
mo-mah-ti-aya miak in koneho pero ki-mati-aya pampa yahmo
REFL-fear-CAUS-PAST much the rabbit but it-know-PAST that no:more
keep running very long because he was old
wil segiru-aya mo-laluh-ti-ya miak tiempo pampa ya bieho
could keep-PAST REFL-run-CONN-go much time because now old
and his legs were tired.
yiwal wan siawi-lo-aya i-kiwa-hmes
he and tire-PL-PAST his-feet-PL

3. So suddenly the rabbit stopped
yohe pwes mo-kes-ti-kisa-k in koneho mo-malina-k
so then REFL-stand-CONN-hurry-PERF the rabbit REFL-turn-PERF
and faced the coyote.
wan k-i\textsuperscript{W}amiki-k ka in kuyol
and him-face-meet-PERF with the coyote-ABS

4. “Stop!” he said.
\textsuperscript{S}i-mo-keca kil k-i\textsuperscript{W}i-k
IMP-REFL-stand QUOT him-say-PERF

5. “Why are you chasing me?”
leka t-i\textsuperscript{W}t-toka-ti-ka
why you-me-RDP-follow-CONN-be

6. Are you going to eat me?”
ti-ya t-i\textsuperscript{W}a newal
you-go you-me-eat me
7. “Yes,” said the coyote.
   ho kema k-ili-k in kuyo-l
   yes him-say-PERF the coyote-ABS

8. “I am going to eat you.”
   ni-ya ni-mi-c-kwa
   I-go I-you-eat

9. “Do not eat me,” answered the rabbit, “because if
   amo §-i-c-kwa ki-nankili-k in koneho pampa da
   NEG IMP-me-eat him-answer-PERF the rabbit because if
you eat me you will die.
   ti-i-c-kwa-s pos ti-miki-s
   you-me-eat-FUT then you-die-FUT

10. You think I am a rabbit, but I am not.
    ti-k-ih-tu-sa pampa newal ni-koneho pero damo ni-koneho
    you-it-say-PRES that I I-rabbit but not:really I-rabbit

    I am really a rattlesnake, and when you eat me you will die
    newal ni-aka-c-kwa-l wan kwa-ando t-i-c-kwa-s ti-miki-s
    I I-rattle-snake-ABS and when you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT

    from my poison.”
    por i-pampa no-pahli
    by its-cause my-poison

11. “What should I eat then?” asked the coyote.
    pos len unka pa ni-h-kwa-s ki-lah-lani-k in kuyo-l
    then what is:there for I-it-eat-FUT him-RDP-ask-PERF the coyote-ABS

12. “Eat these zapotes that I picked.
    §-i-kin-kwa in capo-mes wal ni-kim-peh-pena-k
    IMP-them-eat these zapote-PL that I-them-RDP-pick-PERF

13. I was carrying them with me in this basket to my house to
    ni-kin-man-ti-yawi-aya newal pin in čikwi-l pa no-chan pa
    I-them-carry-CONN-go-PAST I in this basket-ABS to my-home so:that
eat when you started chasing me.”
    ni-kin-kwa-s kwa-ando ti-pewa-k t-ic-toh-toka-k
    I-them-eat-FUT when you-start-PERF you-me-RDP-follow-PERF

14. “Rabbits eat zapotes,” said the
    pos in koneho-s yewanten kin-kwa-lo capo-mes k-ili-k in
    now the rabbit-PL they them-eat-PL zapote-PL him-say-PERF the
coyote, "but zapotes are never eaten by rattlesnakes, kuyol pero amo kiman kin-kwa-lo capo-mes in aca-kkuwa-mes coyote-ABS but NEG when them-eat-PL zapote-PL the rattle-snake-PL never

so you must be a rabbit despite what you say. yohe pws tel tuye-s koneho mas ke ti-k-ihtu-a pampa no thus then you you-be-FUT rabbit more that you-it-say-PRES that not therefore although not

15. You may fool yourself, but you cannot fool me. kwaahnesi ti-mo-kah-kwamana pero newal amo wil ti-ic-kah-kwamana perhaps you-REFL-RDP-deceive but I NEG can you-me-RDP-deceive

16. It is good that you are a rabbit. unka kwali tewal ti-koneho it:is good you you-rabbit

17. Rabbits can be eaten, but I do not like in koneho-s wil kin-kwa se pero amo ni-k-lish-toka the rabbit-PL can them-eat one but NEG I-it-face-follow like
to eat rattlesnakes.''
i-kin-kwa aca-kkuwa-mes I-them-eat rattle-snake-PL

18. So the coyote ate the rabbit who had tried pos in kuyol ki-kwak in koneho wal ki-sha-k in luca so the coyote-ABS him-eat-PERF the rabbit who it-do-PERF the battle tried to fool him.
de ki-kwaah-kwamana-s of him-RDP-deceive-FUT

19. He also ate the zapotes that were in kin-kwa-k nohe in capo-mes wal ka-ta-lo-aya pin them-eat-PERF also the zapote-PL that be-(?)-PL-PAST in the rabbit's basket. i-chikiwi-l in koneho his-basket-ABS the rabbit

20. Having eaten the rabbit's zapotes, the coyote soon lami-k kin-kwa-k i-capo-mes in koneho al ratito finish-PERF them-eat-PERF his-zapote-PL the rabbit to short-time
died, while sitting
miki-k in kuyo-l kwando mo-laih-ta-ta-ya
die-PERF the coyote-ABS when REFL-sit-(h)-CONN:be-(?-)PAST

under a tree.
i-cin-dan se kwawi-l
its-bottom-place a tree-ABS

21. The zapotes were poisonous, so the coyote died.
ki-pi-alo-aya pah-li in capo-mes pampín miki-k
it-have-PL-PAST poison-ABS the zapote-PL because:of:this die-PERF

in kuyo-l
the coyote-ABS

22. That’s the end.
ha in san
just this only