STUDIES IN UTO-AZTECAN GRAMMAR

Volume 3

Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches
Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar

Volume 3
Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches

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Foreword

This is the third of a set of four 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 1 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. Volume 2, Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches, contains sketches of Tetelcingo Nahuatl by David H. Tugy, North Puebla Nahuatl by Earl Brockway, Huasteca Nahuatl by Richard and Patricia Beller, and Michoacán Nahuatl by William R. Sischo. The present volume contains three sketches (rather than five as originally planned): Northern Paiute represents the Numic subfamily, the northernmost within Uto-Aztecan; Papago and Northern Tepehuan are both members of the Pimic (or Tepiman) subfamily found in Arizona and northern Mexico. Volume 4 will contain sketches of Western Tarahumara by Don Burgess and of 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. These four volumes are to be considered an integral unit. The Overview constituting Volume 1 provides the background necessary for appreciation of the individual sketches in Volumes 2–4, which in turn serve to exemplify the points covered in the Overview and to make possible ready comparison of the languages treated.

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Organization

The outline below is the general one for the series as presented and followed in Volume 1. Titles in italics stand for actual sections in a sketch; the others show how these sections are organized into larger units. Individual sketches in Volumes 2–4 may depart in minor ways from this outline.

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   Subordination
      Complement Clauses
      Embedded Questions
      Relative Clauses
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Texts
Abbreviations

ABS  absolutive
ABSTR abstract
ACC  accusative
ADJ  adjective
ADJR adjective
ADV  adverb
ADVIR adverbializer
AFF  affirmative
AG  agent
AL  alienable
AMNT amount
AN animate
APPLIC applicative
ARG  argument
ART  article
ASP  aspect
AUX auxiliary
B auxiliary base
BEN benefactive
CAUS causative
CHAR characterize/characteristic
CL  clause
CLSF classifier
CMPL complement
CNJ conjunction
COLL collective
COM comitative
COMPAR comparative
COMPL completive
COND conditional
CONN connective
CONT continuous/continuative
DAT dative
DEF definite
DEG degree
DEM demonstrative
DER derivational
DESID desiderative
DIM diminutive
DIRL directional
DIST distal
DISTR distributive
DITRNS ditransitive
DL dual
DOM domestic animal
DS different subject
DUB dubitative
DUR durative
EMPH emphatic
EQ  equational
EV  evidential
EXCLM exclamation
FUT future
GEN genitive
GER gerund
HAB habitual
HON honorific
IMP imperative
IMPOT impotitive
IMPRF Imperfect(ive)
INAN inanimate
INCEPT inceptive
INCHO inchoative
INCL inclusive
<table>
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<td>pronominalizer</td>
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<td>clause boundaries</td>
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</table>
NORTHERN PAIUTE

Allen Snapp and John and Joy Anderson
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INTRODUCTION

Northern Paiute is a Numic language and the most northern of the Uto-Aztecan family. It is a major language on ten reservations and nine colonies in Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, and California. It is spoken by approximately 3000-5000 people. All dialects from Lee Vining in California to Fort Hall in Idaho are mutually intelligible. The Northern Paiute native to Owens Valley, California speak a language often called Mono which is distinct from the language discussed in this paper. The Northern Paiute of this paper is specifically the dialect spoken at the Fort McDermitt reservation in Nevada. Other names that have been used for this language or for the speakers of this language include Piute, Bannock, Snake, Western-Shoshoni-Paiute-Snake, and Pavictso [pabioco'ø].

Historically, the Paiute people were divided among at least nineteen bands each representing a dialect of the Northern Paiute language. After settlement on reservations, many bands found themselves split between two or more reservations and living with members of other bands and often other languages as well. Individual reservation and colony dialects have begun to emerge from convergence of band dialects and divergence of location. There is still easy intelligibility among all dialects, but the language as spoken south of the Humboldt River in Nevada is different in some ways from the language spoken north of it. Allen Snapp is a native speaker of Northern Paiute. He was born in McDermitt in 1919 and has lived most of his life there. He is responsible for the idiomaticity and accuracy of all Paiute utterances in this work and for their pairing with the free translations.

Joy and John Anderson are native speakers of English and have lived in McDermitt since 1968. They are responsible for the glosses below each morpheme, for the English prose, and for the Paiute transcriptions.

The authors owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Sven Liljeblad for his inspiration and encouragement, and to Ed and Neva Andrews for permission to use their unpublished work.
Phonology

Phonemes

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<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g'</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>h'</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Most second-syllable vowels of a word are long. The only exception is when the first-syllable vowel is long. Some suffixes contain a long vowel as well. Length is written only when not on the second syllable.

/nana/ [nana'] man
/naana/ [na'na] men
/tini'jui/ [tini'jui] teach
/na-tini'jui/ [nat'ni'jui] learn

REFL-teach

The primary word stress and highest pitch occur on the long vowel, except on a very few words where the length is on the first syllable but the stress on the second. The lowest pitch immediately follows the highest pitch. Secondary stress pitches occur on every even syllable after the primary stress. Stress and pitch are not written in this sketch.

1 = lowest pitch
4 = highest pitch
' = primary stress
' = secondary stress

2 4 1 3
2 4 1 3 2
2 4 1 3 2

/tini'jui/ na-tini'jui su-ná-tini'jui
/teach/ REFL-teach want-REFL-teach
/teach/ learn want to learn
All syllables and all morphemes end in a vowel. A syllable contains only one vowel, or a consonant and a vowel, or a glottal stop or h plus a nasal or semi-vowel plus a vowel.

\[ V = \text{any vowel} \]
\[ C = \text{any consonant} \]
\[ C_1 = 'h \]
\[ C_2 = m, n, ñ, w, w \]
\[ CV \]
\[ C_1C_2V \]

a.da crow na.ka ear sa.'ml wet
pa.ba -'yu big pa.hmu tobacco 'ma.ha.nl prepare

The proper rhythm of a Northern Paiute sentence comes from spacing the sentence stresses equally. This equal spacing is achieved by lengthening or shortening all syllables in a stress group. Up to three sentence stresses are placed on any one clause. The sentence stress falls on the last word of the phrase, on the syllable receiving the primary word stress. One stress is placed on the verb. Another is placed on a topicalized phrase, if any. Others may be placed on any other phrase, with nouns getting preference over pronouns, long phrases over short, and subjects over objects.

" = sentence stress
' = primary word stress
" = secondary stress

ka'ba-mâku nf ka pukû punnY
mountain-on I ACC horse see
On the mountain I see the horse.

Major Phonological Processes

Every consonant except h and ' is paired with another in a fortis-lenis contrast.

Fortis: p t c s k K' mm nn ññ j k'/w
Lenis: b d z z g g' m n ñ y w

At the beginning of a phrase, the contrast between fortis and lenis is phonetically neutralized. The neutralized form is phonetically similar to the fortis (except for w and y), but there are underlying contrasts in fortis and lenis that are brought out when the word falls phrase medially.
Single Nouns

[kapa] /gape/ bed
[kuca] /kucu/ cow
[pakˈwi]/ /bakˈwi/ fish
[puku] /puku/ horse
[tammu]/ /dammu/ sinew
[tি́бэ]/ /tiba/ pine nut

Frame: su...pabaˈyu This...is big.

/su gapa pabaˈyu/ /su gapa pabaˈyu/
/su kucu pabaˈyu/ /su kucu pabaˈyu/
/su pakˈwi pabaˈyu/ /su bakˈwi pabaˈyu/
/su puku pabaˈyu/ /su puku pabaˈyu/
/su tammu pabaˈyu/ /su dammu pabaˈyu/
/su tि́бэ pabaˈyu/ /su tiba pabaˈyu/

Certain morphemes have the property of causing the following morpheme within the phrase to begin with a fortis.

/nobi-kˈwai/ /i mai-wai/
house-into my hand-in
into the house in my hand

/nobi-kˈwaˈniˈyu/ /mai-waˈniˈyu/
house-be hand-be
like like
like a house like a hand

/ada-kˈwaˈniˈyu/ /agaˈwaiˈniˈyu/
crow-be trout-be
like like
like a crow like a trout

/kawona-kˈwai/ /isa-waˈniˈyu/
carrying-into wolf-be
basket like
into the carrying basket like a wolf

/kawona-kˈwaˈniˈyu/ /toogи-waˈniˈyu/
carrying-be dog-be
basket like
like a carrying basket like a dog

/kaadi-kˈwaˈniˈyu/
cat-be
like
like a cat

The durative morpheme changes lenis to fortis or inserts a glottal stop into a morpheme (see STEMS for spelling rules and examples).

Lenis consonants spirantize after all vowels except i.
Northern Paiute

[su baa piša kama] [paa piša kama]
/su baa bisa kamma/ /baa bisa kamma/
that water good taste water good taste
That water tastes good. Water tastes good.

[kə piša te noži matažonna] /gal bisa t£ nobi mmatabin na/
not good own house fix
up
They didn't fix their house.

[pip su gaž o mažicažina] /pis su gai o mmabicabina/
he not it clean
EMPH
He himself did not clean it.

Voicelessness regresses from pause or fortis.

suUPITAKwatu /supitakwatu/ knows (DUR)
suUPITAKwatuna /supitakwatuna/ knows (+ SUBR)

High vowels become centralized after low vowels.

[niga poku ų mi uunakwa wa'mo] /niga puku ų mi uunakwa wa'mu/
my horse they behind gallop
EMPH
My horse gallops faster than their horse.

Low vowels become centralized after high vowels.

[ka noži] [i noži]
/ka nobi/ /i nobi/
that house my house
that house my house

[su gape paža'yu] [su kucu paža'yu]
/su gape paba'yu/ /su kucu paba'yu/
that bed big that cow big
This bed is big. This cow is big.
BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The most frequent, the unmarked, and almost surely the underlying basic sentence structure is SOV. The surface-structure subject is not necessarily overt.

ní puku punni
I horse see
I see the horse.

Location, temporal, and manner expressions occur anywhere in a sentence except between object and verb. They occur most frequently in initial position, and most commonly in the relative order TEMP-LOC-MAN. There is preference for two adverbs not to be adjacent. TEMP, LOC, and MAN can be realized as adverbials, adverbial phrases, adverbial subordinate clauses, noun phrases, or postpositional phrases.

izí'í  né puku punni kaiba-maku
yesterday I horse see mountain-on
Yesterday I saw the horse on the mountain.

Any constituent of a sentence, except the verb, or any major semantic word within a constituent, may be moved to sentence-initial or sentence-final position. The semantic effect of such a move is to identify the moved constituent as new information or to emphasize it. Case is usually marked on all constituents of the sentence that has undergone topicalization.

ka puku né punni kaiba-maku
ACC horse I see mountain-on
It was a horse that I saw on the mountain.

kaiba-maku né ka puku punni
mountain-on I ACC horse see
It was on the mountain that I saw the horse.

kaiba-maku ka puku punni usu
mountain-on ACC horse see he
It was he who saw the horse on the mountain.

kaiba-maku ka puku punni izí'í
mountain-on ACC horse see yesterday
He saw the horse on the mountain yesterday.
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions (see COORDINATION)

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<td>then (temporal sequence)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pino' o</td>
<td>DS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tîwazu/tîwau</td>
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<td>pana</td>
<td>but</td>
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<td>pîti</td>
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<td>and/with</td>
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<tr>
<td>(tu'itu)...tu'itu</td>
<td>(either)...or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=slap tô</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
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</table>

yaisi tammi mia'a-k'î
TEMP we go-POT
SEQ PL

Now we are going to go.

nî tamidî-waî-tu mia-k'î usu pino'o mia-k'î tîwazu
I PN-to-go go-POT he DS go-POT also
I will go to McDermitt and he will go also.

usu waa'adi-du-dî tîwau
he bow-make-PRTC also
He is a bow maker also.

nî lûlî'! tauna-mai pana usu gai
I yesterday town-to but he not
Yesterday I went to town, but he didn't.

himma usu paca-u moponî pîtî mulbi
what he kill-PACT mosquito or fly
What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?

toogî-noo kaàdî tlîpa-kuba yak'î
dog-and eat ground-on sit
DL
The dog and cat sit on the ground.

usu tauna-mai-k'î tu'itu saa-k'î
he town-to-POT or cook-POT
He will go to town or cook.

nî sîkudû-ga=slap tô nî gai u-ma sunamî
I school-go=but I not it-on think
I went to school, but I didn't pay any attention.
Source Evaluation

tab'\textsuperscript{a} apparently (clause-final)
n\textsubscript{+}timma it feels like (clause-final)
mi QUOT/say (immediately follows quote)

uni mia\textsuperscript{a}-k\textsuperscript{w\textdagger} di-k\textsuperscript{w\textdagger} ni tab\textsuperscript{a}
they go-POT-PRTC-like apparently PL
It looks like they are going.

usu suk\textsuperscript{W}ida mani-d\textsuperscript{i}-k\textsuperscript{w\textdagger} ni n\textsubscript{+}timma
he hurry do-PRTC-be feel
like like
He seems to be in a hurry.

usu yaa tabinu pil\textsuperscript{d\textdagger}-u-k\textsuperscript{W\textdagger} mi
he this day arrive-PNCT-POT QUOT
He said he will arrive today.

Modal

\textasciitilde ha/ha\textsuperscript{a} Q
=sa\textsuperscript{k\textwavy}} a should/would
\textasciitilde iga used to
\textasciitilde pana UNR
\textasciitilde ga\textsubscript{\ldots}-pana NEG IMP
\textasciitilde tu\textsuperscript{i} try
\textasciitilde wa\textsuperscript{n\textdagger} ni\textsuperscript{yyu} can/should
\textasciitilde wa\textsuperscript{n\textdagger}/k\textsuperscript{a\textdagger} ni be like
\textasciitilde sim\textsubscript{\textit{m}}na might/maybe
\textasciitilde ga must

\textasciitilde ha\textsuperscript{a} t\textsuperscript{\textit{t\textsuperscript{ka}-k\textsuperscript{w\textdagger}}
\textsubscript{\textdagger} 
 you Q eat-POT
Are you going to eat?
We should go.

\textasciitilde o su-mia-na [hau=sa\textsuperscript{k\textwavy}} a tu'i usu ina gwii-u-ka]
I there want-go-SUBR if=would try he here invite-PNCT-go
I want to go there if he would invite me.

usu \textasciitilde iga ni-noo t\textsuperscript{\textit{\text{-hoawai-yak\textsuperscript{W}}}
he used I-with UNSPEC-hunt-HAB
to
He used to go hunting with me.

\textasciitilde ni su-t\textsuperscript{\textit{k\textsuperscript{a}-pana gad\textsuperscript{u\textdagger} nu na-t\textsuperscript{\textit{k\textsuperscript{a}-d\textsuperscript{i}}
I want-eat-UNR not REFL-eat-PRTC
have
I want to eat but there is no food.
gal yaga-pana
not ary-UNR
Don't cry!
nfmn tu'il na-ti'njul
we try REF-Taught
learn
We are trying to learn.

um t u punni-gia-wa'ni'yu pana gal
they him see-go-can but not
They could go see him but they haven't.

um t mia'a-k'wi-ti=k'wa'ni tabi'a
they go-POT-PRTC=be apparently
like
It looks like they are going.

simina paama-k'wi
might rain-POT
Maybe it will rain.

usu'ga hanano'o kimma [gal pimi l punni-pini-no'o]
he-must when come not he me see-STAT-along
EMPH watch DUR
He must have come sometime when I wasn't watching for him.

Polarity

aha yes

gai no/not
gai...-pana don't!
gai...-wa'ni'yu won't
=ci INTNS
ini very/too
tabi ci truly
nagitza really
gal'yu have/exist
gadu'u not have/not exist

aha nt piha-bi
yes I sugar-ABS
Yes, I want sugar.
gai nt kop'i'l
no I coffee
No, I want coffee.
I don't want coffee.

gal su-mi'a
I not want-go
DUR
I don't want to go.
gal yaga-pana
not cry-UNR
Don't cry!

nt gal mia-wa'ni'yu
I not go-can
I can't go.
ti=ci nt ti'yo'a'i
very=INTNS I sick
I am really sick.
tabici nîmî
truly Indian

înî plawabî
very old
woman

She is a very old woman.

usu nagîpâ i nî paba-’yu
he really very big-PRED

He is really too big.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Many clauses have no overt verb. Instead they consist of
two nonverbal units juxtaposed. In most cases the linear order
may be inverted without changing meaning.

Two noun phrases, one generic and one specific, are juxta-
posed to convey the idea of set membership.

sîgi nîtî wâlici
PN very old
this woman

isu mogo’ni lî nînimidui
man
my relative

This woman is my relative.

Sîgi is a very old man.

The generic noun phrase is frequently a nominalized clause.
This greatly increases the productivity of the N + N construc-
tion and yields a more forceful way of expressing the concept
than if it were left as a verbal-type clause.

usu nana nobi-tu-dî
that man house-make-PRTC
DUR

That man is a carpenter.

An adjective can function as the predicate of the clause
by juxtaposition of a noun phrase and an adjective. The adjec-
tive will appear in its predicate form suffixed with -’yu,
-tîpî, or -kwa’ja’a (see ADJECTIVES).

sawa-bi odi-’yu
sagebrush-ABS tall-PRED

The sagebrush is tall.

A locative can function as a predicate by juxtaposition of
a noun phrase and a locative phrase (usually postpositional).
kinimmt obi nobi-k'awi
PN over house-in
there
Kinimmt is over there in the house.

A special case of the above is where motion towards an object is marked by the addition of the postposition -tu towards.

usu gaibe-ma-tu
he mountain-on-towards
He went on the mountain.

An adverbial and a temporal may be juxtaposed to form a clause.

yau 'awamua
now morning
Now it is morning.
toisu 'awamua
still morning
It is still morning.

Existence can be overtly indicated with the suffix -ga'yu exist/have.

kaiba wogo-ka'yu
mountain pine-existat
The mountains have pines.

Existence can be denied by the free-standing but usually initial word kadu (-'yu) not existing/not have. -'yu PRED occurs on kadu sentence-final.

kadu sawa-bi yaa-t'i
not sagebrush-ABS here-at
have
There is no sagebrush here.
kadu haga oi-t'i
not someone there-at
have
No one is there.

i moonl'li kadu-'yu
my money gone-PRED
My money is gone.

Existence of inanimate objects or abstracts can be indicated by making them subjects of a posture verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kad</td>
<td>y′tik ^w</td>
<td>aata'a</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habi</td>
<td>k'abi</td>
<td>k'ak'abi</td>
<td>lie (INAN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'win̂</td>
<td>wami</td>
<td>kono</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pid</td>
<td>pl pid</td>
<td>pidi</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
umí  pa-paba-'yu tipí ka  kaiba-kuba  yitk’wí
those RDP-big-PRED rock ACC mountain-on sit
DL
Those big rocks are sitting on the mountain.

usu mi taka iwa-u tipla-na k’ak’wapi o mayí-u
he PL arrowhead lots-ACC ground-on lie;PL there find-PNCT
DUR
He found those arrowheads lying on the ground.

su siŋa-bí huu-dí k’imaba ’wint
NOM cottonwood-ABS flow-PRTC by stand
The cottonwood tree stands by the river.

tomo píít
winter arrive
DUR
The winter arrived.

The idea of becoming can be expressed several ways:

-’waya’ni turn into/become (suffixed to adjectives)
-tua become (suffixed to nouns)
’máni become (free-standing)

siŋa-bí naka oha-’waya’ni
cottonwood-ABS leaf yellow-become
The cottonwood leaves are turning yellow.

[usu híičí-ku puku-ga-sí] iwa puku-tua
he few-ACC horse-have-SUBR many horse-become
He had just a few horses; then his horses became many.

nána ’máni
man become
He became a man.

HAVE

Possession, whether long-term or fleeting, is expressed by
-ga’yu have/exist suffixed to the noun of a noun phrase.

wiyípúi píídí nobí-ka’yu
PN new house-have
puha-ga’yu su wálcí
power-have NOM old
Wiyípúi has a new house.
The old man is a shaman.

Possession is negated by a free-standing word kádu (-’yu)
not have/not exist, which usually occurs clause-initial.
Clause-final the suffix -’yu PRED occurs on kádu.
Certain verbs with the general meaning of do and make are general enough in meaning to function as transitive proverbs, particularly in questions such as *What are you doing?* Most begin with the prefix ma- by hand/cause, although the remnant is usually not a productive morpheme.

'do' 
manak'wí
manai
hani
mahani
mada'i
matabuil
N-du
mabicapl
mabicla

'su nana yayawa 'manak'wí
NOM man lively do
That man is lively.
usu muasu tī-bo mada'i
He already UNSPEC-write create
He already knows how to write.

'tīuunnak'wá hani
pinenut REFL-behind put
He put pine nuts behind himself.

'su mogo'ni tīkabí mahani
NOM woman bread work
The woman is working on bread.

'su isa ka tiipa mada'i
NOM wolf ACC earth create
That wolf creates the earth.

'su nana kàdí-nu matabuil
NOM man hit-NR make
carry DUR
That man made the chair.
su nana nobi-tu
NOM man house-make
The man made the house.

su nana kaazi mabicapi
NOM man car fix
The man is fixing the car.

su mogo'ni ka duaki mabicla
NOM woman ACC children take
DUR care
That woman takes care of the children.

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Reflexive

The reflexive prefix na- has several uses. When prefixed to a verb with a collective subject, it can be reciprocal in function.

um† waha na-kimma'yu-su nim† na-nodik'wa-du
those two REPL-different-ADVR people REPL-wife-make
Those two peoples different from each other are marrying each other.

o naaci-noo cia'a na-noo sikudu-ga
there boy-with girl REPL-with school-go
The boy and the girl go to school together.

um† na-waŋa'a-m†
PL REPL-brother-PL
those brothers to each other

It is also reciprocal in certain frozen forms incorporating numbers, nouns, or verbs.

naa-pahi-'yu na-bui na-bunni'll
REPL-three-PRED REPL-eye REPL-see
six glasses DUR
mirror/window

When it is used with specifically reflexive (non-reciprocal) value, a reflexive pronoun is optionally inserted. (Without the reflexive pronoun, the statement is ambiguous between reflexive and passive sense.)
The prefix na- can also have passive force. The logical subject cannot occur in an agentive construction, but must be left unspecified.

yaa tomo simina lwa tīhīja na-koi-kʷī
this winter might many deer REFL-kill-POT PL
Lots of deer might be killed this year.

nī kidī ti̥pi-kīa-kʷī-ku na-mayī
PL groundhog rock-ADJR-in-at REFL-find
Groundhogs are found in rocky places.

Unspecified Arguments

When an argument is not specified, it may be marked with tī UNSPEC. For instance, when there is no object of an obligatory transitive verb, the verb will be prefixed with tī...

usu tī-hoawa’ī VS. usu tīhīja hoawa’ī
he UNSPEC-hunt he deer hunt DUR DUR
He is hunting. He is hunting deer.

This morpheme is also used for the subject of meteorological verbs.

[gai tī bau’māj tammi mia-‘a-kʷī
not UNSPEC rain we go-PL-POT DUR
When it isn't raining, we will go.

[tī taba cibugi-ki-si] toisu na-‘ižisī
UNSPEC sun rise-come-SUBR still REFL-cold
Until sunrise it will still be cold.

usu nonoca tī puku-kuba nimmi [tī togano-kʷaitu]
he always UNSPEC horse-on travel UNSPEC dark-to
He always rides his horse until it gets dark.

The morpheme tī also has a variety of coreferential functions, essentially complementary to those of na-. When the object of the verb is a full clause, either a complement or a relative clause, the object can be copied as tī.
usu tī [na-tīnjul-na] bisa mayoho
he UNSPEC REFL-learn-SUBR good follow
He follows the ways he was taught.

usu ka [hama-ma tī-pagida-raw]-ni-maku tī timī-pī
he ACC hammer-with hit-REPRT I-from UNSPEC buy-PERF
PRTC
He bought the hammer he is hammering with from me.

If a possessor or postpositional object is coreferential to the main clause subject, it is marked with tī.

usu tī oŋa'a wasa-kʷt
she UNSPEC baby wash-POT
(REFL)
She bathes her own baby.

tība tī uunnakʷa hani
pinenut UNSPEC behind put
(REFL)
He put the pinenuts behind himself.

If the possessor of an obligatorily possessed noun is not specified, it is marked with the absolutive suffix -bi.

usu oŋa'a-bi wasa-kʷt
she baby-ABS wash-POT
She washed someone's baby.
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

-ha (bound form)
ha’a (free form)

A question marker may be added to any sentence (except a content question) to form a yes/no question. Either the free or bound form can be used. The bound form is the more frequently used and is suffixed to the last word of the first constituent.

+i-ha 1zi'1 ka puku maka
you-Q yesterday ACC horse feed
Did you feed the horse yesterday?

The free form can occur immediately after the first constituent or the verb.

+i ha’a ka puku punni paamau-k’ha’a
you Q ACC horse see rain-POT Q
Did you see the horse? Will it rain?

The intonation of a yes/no question is highest on the primary stress immediately preceding the question marker and is otherwise the same as non-question intonation. A yes/no question can be answered with yes or no; a complete or partial repetition of the sentence with nouns pronominalized; I don’t know; or in the case of an action verb, an adverb. A partial repetition most frequently consists of no plus pronominalized subject; or (yes) SUBJ OBJ VERB.

+i-ha tika-mak’ha
you-Q eat-finish
Have you finished eating?

Answers: aha Yes, gai No, muasu Already.
yes no already

gai-su
not-yet
Not yet.

muasu tika-mak’ha
I already eat-finish I finished eating.
Alternative Questions

One special type of yes/no question is an alternative question where two noun phrases or complete clauses are conjoined with (p)ti or. Again, the -ha or ha'a will occur after the first constituent. (Cf. COORDINATION.)

mogo'ni ha'a piti nana i punni
woman Q or man you see
Did you see a woman, or a man?

i ha'a izi'i mia-u piti i-'izi'i
you Q yesterday go-PNCT or RDP-yesterday
Did you go yesterday, or the day before yesterday?

WH Questions

Content interrogative words can take the place of any content construction in a sentence or phrase. The question word is moved to initial position in the sentence. Each constituent has its unique, synchronically unanalyzable question word, although all begin with h followed by a non-back vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haga</td>
<td>haka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit'-yu</td>
<td>hit-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hauni'-yu</td>
<td>hauni-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hano</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hano-zi</td>
<td>where at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hano-tu</td>
<td>where to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'u</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hautu</td>
<td>which direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa'no</td>
<td>how much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haa'no-k'wi</td>
<td>what time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himma</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himma...hauni-k'yu</td>
<td>what kind of thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himma...ha-y'k'wi</td>
<td>what is/are NP doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hii-p'</td>
<td>what used to be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| haga tauna-wal    | haka i izi'i punni |
| who town-in       | whom you yesterday see |
| Who is in town?   | Whom did you see yesterday? |

hit'-yu nimt oo
how-NOM people there
many
How many people are there?
hit-u t cipisa kol
how-ACC you squirrel kill
many PL
How many squirrels did you kill?

hauni-'yu umt nımî
what-NOM those people
timî
kind
What kind of people are they?

hauni-ku t na-тика-dî timî
what-ACC you REFL-eat-PRTC buy
timî
kind
What kind of food did you buy?

hano t mia-u
where you go-PNCT
Hano t na-'oqâ-du-pî
where you REFL-baby-make-PERF
Where did you go?
Where were you born?

hanotë mi'a
where to
to DUB
ha'u usu tîkabî-du
why she bread-make
Where are you going?
Why is she making bread?

hautu mi'a
which go
direction
hau-no na-ninaka
how REFL-cost
Which way shall I go?
How much does it cost?

hau-no-kâi-ku t twôki
how-in-at you work
much
What time do you come to work?

hau-no-kâi t twôki
how-in you work
much
How much are you working for?
How much area are you working?

himma t [tauna-wal-ku o tîmî-u-sî] u punni
what you town-in-at there buy-PNCT-SUBR it see
What did you see him buy in town?

himma usu hauni-ku t glî'a
what he kind-ACC you give
of
thing
What kind of thing did he give you?
himmata hau-yīk'Wil
what you how-doing
What are you doing?

hii mau
what that
What is it?

hiip tis
what this
used
be
What did this used to be?

Content interrogative words can be placed in second position because of topicalization. Since the indefinite is identical in form but isn't moved forward, any interrogative which is not moved is ambiguous with the indefinite.

usu hano mia-p
he where go-PERF
PTTC
Where did he go?

he went somewhere.

The content question word cannot occur in the same clause as the yes/no question marker. Several of the question words, taking the place of a noun phrase, show case.

hīt-'yu duakl sīkudu-ga
how-NOM children school-go
many
How many children go to school?

hīt-ū duakl punn
how-ACC you children see
many
How many children do you see?

When a content interrogative word is a possessor or post-positional object, it carries the larger constituent with it when it is moved to initial position.

haga tua usu kuma-du
who son she husband-make
Whose son did she marry?

himmamausu tī-bo
what-on he UNSPEC-write
What did he write on?

haga puku kuba usu kati paataimapi-k'Wil
who horse on he sit rodeo-in
DUR
Whose horse did he ride in the rodeo?
IMPERATIVES

The positive imperative is expressed with -u PNCT on the verb. Rarely does any other inflection except directionals go on the verb. Reduplication for the dual can co-occur with the imperative -u PNCT, but -a PL will displace -u PNCT.

kimma-u  ki-kimma-u-si  mī tīka-na  
come-PNCT  RED-come-PNCT-SUBR  PL eat-SUBR  
Come! (SG)  Come to eat! (PL)

kimma'-a-si  mī tīka-na  
come-PL-SUBR  PL eat-SUBR  
Come to eat! (PL)

Sometimes an overt subject may be used:

mī du-duaki  līka-u  a-gai  mī nofā'a  ža-gia-u-dua  
PL RED-child this-ACC trout PL neighbor hand-carry-PNCT-UNR  
You children carry this trout to your neighbors!

The imperative idea may be carried by a modal:

=saḵʷa  should (requires overt subject)  
gai...-pana  not...UNR/NEG IMP (used with second person, no overt subject)

=saḵʷa  ni-noo tauna-mai  
you=should I-with town-to  Go with me to town!

A polite request will be formed by the expression of a wish with a desiderative su- want or simina might.

ni tauna-i-tt su-mi'a  ni simina tauna-i-tu  
I town-to-at want-go  I might town-to-towards  
DUR  I might go to town.

I want to go to town.
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

\[ N + X = N \]

-\( \text{ci} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{DIM}
-\( \text{ga'yu} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{POSSR (NOM)}
-\( \text{gaku} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{POSSR (ACC)}

Nouns may be made out of other nouns by the addition of the diminutive or possessor suffix. The diminutive is only marginally productive, but the POSSR suffix is a productive nominalizer.

\text{nne-ci} \hspace{1cm} \text{puha-ga'yu} \hspace{1cm} \text{puku-ga'yu}
\text{male-DIM} \hspace{1cm} \text{power-POSSR} \hspace{1cm} \text{horse-POSSR}
\text{boy} \hspace{1cm} \text{shaman} \hspace{1cm} \text{horse-rider}

\text{puku-kaku} \hspace{1cm} \text{yaa mio-ga'a n+ punni}
\text{horse-POSSR here go-by I see}
\text{ACC}

\text{I saw the horseman going by.}

\[ X + N = N \]

Instrumental prefixes are used on some body parts to distinguish or reinforce their meaning.

-\( \text{na-togo} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{ta-togo} \hspace{1cm} \text{co-pihi}
-\( \text{hand-appendage} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{foot-appendage} \hspace{1cm} \text{scalp-hair}
-\( \text{thumb} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{big toe} \hspace{1cm} \text{hair on head}

Certain other prefixes occur in fossilized form on animal names or others but are no longer productive nor easily recognized by the native speaker:

-\( \text{pa-} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{big or water}
-\( \text{na-} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{a pair with (REFL/RCP)}
-\( \text{kak'wi-} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{head}
-\( \text{wobl-} \) \hspace{1cm} \text{head}

\text{pa-tihija} \hspace{1cm} \text{na-bul} \hspace{1cm} \text{I na-nimi}
\text{water/Big-deer} \hspace{1cm} \text{pair-eye} \hspace{1cm} \text{my pair-people}
\text{elk} \hspace{1cm} \text{glasses} \hspace{1cm} \text{my relatives}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kak'ì-tuhu'u</td>
<td>wildcat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kak'ì-ada</td>
<td>crow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wobi-agal</td>
<td>head-trout</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain lion</td>
<td>valley crow</td>
<td>salmon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ V + X = N \]

-\(\pi\) one on which \(V\) is done (PATIENT NR)
-\(\nu\) one with which \(V\) is done (INSTR NR)
-\('a\) person characterized by \(V\) (CHAR NR)
-\(wab\) habitual doer of \(V\) (HAB AB)

tî-bo-pl
UNSPEC-write-PATIENT
NR
letter
pencil

tî-bo-nu
UNSPEC-write-INSTR
NR

tîka-'a
groundhog eat-CHAR
NR
\(j\)adua-wab
talk-HAB
AG
Fort Bidwell Paiute
(speaking Paiute)

The most frequent nominalizations are special cases of headless relative clauses.

-\(d\) \(N\) is coreferential with the subject of \(V\) (PRTC)
-\(p\) \(N\) is coreferential with the object of \(V\), perfective action (PERF PRTC)
-\(n\) \(N\) is coreferential with the object of \(V\), imperfective action (SUBR)

na-tîka-dì
REFL-eat-PRTC
food (not already eaten)
tîka-pì
eat-PERF
food (already eaten)

ya'ì-dì
die-PRTC
dead one
\(u\) \(j\)adua-na
his talk-SUBR
\(u\) tîka-na
his eat-SUBR
his speech
his eating
VERB MORPHOLOGY

\( N + X = V \)

-dua become
-du make
-ya put on
-ga go
-ga hunt
-ga’yu have/be

sag\(^W\)ani tiba-ka’yu gal fni iwa pinak\(^W\)a tomo iwa
few pinenut-have not very many next year many

*tiba-tua-k\(^W\)†
pinenut-become-POT
DUR
There are very few pinenuts; next year there will be many.

ni dikabi-du
I bread-make
isa nim\(^\d\) ma-nim\(^\d\)-du
Wolf people hand-people-make
I make bread.
Wolf made people.

um\(^\d\) pinak\(^W\)a nanasati-k\(^W\)a nobi-tu-k\(^W\)†
they next week-in house-make-POT
DUR

Next week they will build a house.

† kuudi-k\(^W\)al kuudi-ya-u
you coat-in coat-put-PNCT
on
Put on your coat!

ni muu’a nag\(^W\)i-ya-k\(^W\)†
I tomorrow dress-put-POT
on
I will put on the dress tomorrow.

usu siku du ga
kids go
he school-go
kidi-ga-ga
groundhog-hunt-go
He goes to school.
go groundhog hunting

[usu hici puku-ga-si] iwa puku-dua
he few horse-have-SUBR many horse-become
He had just a few horses; then his horses became many.
su tïka-pï int onï-ga'yû
NOM eat-PERF very salt-have

That food is very salty.

These can be shown to be a single word by prefixation:

nt su-kidâ-ga-ga
I want-groundhog-hunt-go
I want to go groundhog hunting.

vs.

nt kidâ su-hoawai
I groundhog want-hunt
I want to go groundhog hunting.

\[ \text{ADJ} + X = V \]

-\'waya'ni become

\[ \text{su } \text{nag} \, \text{toha-\'waya'ni himma naka oha-\'waya'ni} \]
NOM dress white-become some leaf yellow-become

The dress becomes white. Some leaves become yellow.

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

There are two types of compound nouns, one of which is tightly bound phonologically with the stress and length shifted, showing it to be one word. The semantic whole may be fairly different from the semantic sum of its parts. This type is very limited in its productivity and recursion in it has not been observed. The second type involves two separate words.

Type 1

\[ N_1 + N_2 = N; N_2 \text{ located in } N_1. \]

pa-\'unga'a 
water-baby

pa-tipi
water-stone

a supernatural being
water-worn rock/
living in water
river bottom rock
\(N_1 + N_2 = N; N_2\) made of \(N_1\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waa-'adi} & \quad \text{si\textsuperscript{ii}-osa} \\
juniper-gun & \quad \text{willow-bottle} \\
bow & \quad \text{willow jug}
\end{align*}
\]

\(N_1 + N_2 = N; N_2\) part of \(N_1\).

\[
\begin{align*}
wiy\textsuperscript{a}-pul & \\
buckbrush-berry & \\
buckberry & \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Type 2**

\(N_1 + N_2 = N; N_2\) for/part of \(N_1\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agai 'zanu} & \quad \text{si\textsuperscript{a}-bi} \quad \text{naka} \\
tROUT grapplehook & \quad \text{cottonwood-ABS ear} \\
grapplehook for trout & \quad \text{cottonwood leaf}
\end{align*}
\]

\(N_1 + N_2 = N; N_2 = V + \text{NR.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
nabu \quad \text{ti\textsuperscript{a}-dif} & \\
peyote eat-PRTC & \quad \text{a user of peyote}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{ADJ} + N = N; \text{ADJ}\) attributive to \(N\).

\[
\begin{align*}
tuu \quad \text{k\textsuperscript{W}obi} & \\
black head & \\
Negro & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(V + N = N; N\) is for the purpose of \(V\).

\[
\begin{align*}
nanisut\text{hi} \quad \text{nob\textsuperscript{i}} & \quad \text{ti-k\textsuperscript{W}itima} \quad \text{nob\textsuperscript{i}} \\
pray \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-jailing house} \\
church \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{jailhouse}
\end{align*}
\]

**Verb Compounds**

Verbs can be made up of two or more easily recognizable and elsewhere independent forms bound with different degrees of tightness.

Many stative verbs have become so tightly bound that they have lost their meanings and accents, have taken on aspectual meanings, and can no longer be considered to form true compounds. However, they still retain the same phonetic shape as
the free forms and still inflect suppletively with the same suppletives to agree in number with the subject. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspect.)

usu tîka-wîntâ  
he eat-CONT     vs.  
usu tîka-na 'wîntâ  
He is eating.  
He stands and eats.

umî tîka-kono  
they eat-CONT     vs.  
PL  
umî kono  
They are eating.  
They stand.

Some verbs of the semantic domain of do, make, create, finish, and tell occur as second elements, usually without any accent.

umî tîka-mak'î  
they eat-finish  
usu mî nimî himma hau yak'wî-tînâ  
he PL people what how do-tell  
They finished eating.  
He told those people what to do.

Many verbs are made up of two stems still carrying independent meanings, but closely enough bound so that the first always receives primary stress. No suffixing of the first element is permitted, although prefixation of the second element may be possible or obligatory. There are four types of these.

MOD + V = V

simî-bitân  
one-arrive  
assemble

N + V = V; N is the direct object of the resultant verb.

usu tî kusa-î  
he own  
kusa-ya-u  
pante-in  
pante-put-PNCT  
on

He put on his own pants.

\[ V_1 + V_2 = V \]; \( V_2 \) in the manner of \( V_1 \). (\( V_1 \) is a small class of verbs usually carrying manner idea, but \( V_2 \) is less restricted.)
wazi-zakati
secretly-catch
secretly catch/steal

wazi-punni-pini
secretly-see-STAT
watch
secretly watch/spy

\[ V_1 + V_2 = V; V_2 \text{ in order to } V_1. \]

\text{tika-ga-pi} \quad \text{He went in order to eat.}
\text{eat-go-PERF}
\text{PRTC}

Then there are loosely bound, two-word constructions where each element receives stress, may be affixed, and retains its semantic value.

\text{MOD + } V = V

\begin{align*}
\text{usu sitida kama} & \quad \text{usu bisa sunami} \\
\text{it bad taste} & \quad \text{he good think} \\
\text{It is sour/bitter.} & \quad \text{He is happy.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{usu in\text{"u} sunami} & \quad \text{usu in\text{"u} kama} \\
\text{he very think} & \quad \text{it very taste} \\
\text{He is smart.} & \quad \text{It tastes strong.}
\end{align*}

\text{N + } V = V

\begin{align*}
\text{iza'a ya'l} & \quad \text{p\text{"i}-pi } \text{ja'l} \\
\text{coyote die} & \quad \text{blood-ABS stick} \\
\text{to have rabies} & \quad \text{bleeding}
\end{align*}

\[ V_1 + V_2 = V; V_1 \text{ in order to } V_2 \text{ or } V_1 \text{ simultaneous with } V_2. \]

\begin{align*}
\text{usu sogo kidi-ka} & \\
\text{he walk groundhog-hunt} & \quad \text{DUR} \\
\text{He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{usu kidi } \quad \text{sogo hoawa'l} & \\
\text{he groundhog walk hunt} & \quad \text{DUR} \\
\text{He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.}
\end{align*}
\[ V_1 + V_2 = V; V_1 \text{ object of } V_2. \]

naka oijíkiti
hear believe
believe (what you hear)

\[ V_1 + V_2 = V; V_1 \text{ generic of } V_2. \]

kojì piti
return arrive
say think
arrive back
think

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

Most plant names and a few other intrinsic quality nouns take -bi/-pi ABS when not in compounds, possessed, or the object of a postposition.

- oʃa-bi
  salt-ABS
  salt
- oʃa-ga'yu
  salt-have
  salty

- sîl-bi
  willow-ABS
  willow
- sîl-osə
  willow-jug
  willow jug

- wogo-pl
  pine-ABS
  pine
- wogo-ka'yu
  pine-have
  having pine
trees on it

The absolutive is lost when -na POSSD (see POSSESSIVES) occurs on a noun.

- l sîga-na
  my cottonwood-POSSD
  my cottonwood

The absolutive is optional on objects of postpositions.

- sîl-bi-ma
  willow-ABS-on
  on the willow

- sîl-bi
  willow-ABS under
  under the willow
Number

Some nouns of person and adjectives (except color adjectives) show plural--and motion verbs show dual--by reduplication. The first syllable of the word is reduplicated, and stress is placed on the second syllable. A glottal stop is inserted to separate identical vowels.

\[(C_1)V_1X \rightarrow (C_1)V_1(C_1)V_1X\quad V_1V_1 \rightarrow V_1 V_1\]

cî-ch'ì'a
RDP-girl

naacî
boy

na-na'aci
RDP-boy

girls

boy

boys

c'o-òdî-'yu
RDP-long-PRED

ki-kîmma
RDP-come

long ones

come (to two people)

Two exceptions to the reduplication rule are nana man and mogo'nî woman, which are partially suppletive:

naana  men

mo-mo'go'nî  women

Reduplication on numerals gives the idea of by.

me-manigî-'yu
RDP-five-PRED

by fives

Reduplication on some temporalos doubles their time reference.

l-ì'zi'î
RDP-yesterday

day before yesterday

The rest of the human nouns pluralize with -mî PL on either the reduplicated or unre duplicated form.*

u kîwôho-mî
his emeny-PL

u pî-pîlîa-mî
his RDP-friend-PL

his enemies

his friends

*This appears to be a remnant of a singular-dual-plural distinction no longer maintained in the noun system though still used in some verbs. The reduplication may previously have marked dual for both nouns and regular verbs, while plural was formed on either the singular or dual form.
Most nouns do not show number. However, the entire noun phrase can be marked for number by the particle mi PL.

ni mi phii cibi-hu I took the feathers off ducks.
PL duck pluck-PNCT

Number may be redundantly marked.

ni wahu in neju-juhu mo-moko'ni punni
I two very RDF-fat RDF-women see
ACC
I see two really fat women.

Accusative

Nouns are not marked for case. However, the entire noun phrase most frequently is marked for case by attributive modifiers or by a case-marking particle. Any phrase, including adverbial phrases but excluding the subject or predicate, can be marked accusative. Subordinate clauses are an exception to this rule. Certain subordinate clauses undergo a case switch in which the object may no longer be marked ACC, but the subject must be (see the subordinate clause sections for further discussion). A noun phrase may, but need not, have redundant ACC marking.

-ku/-u ACC (on all adjectives taking -'yu PRED suffix)
-ka ACC (on DEM)
ka ACC (on noun phrases)

usu paba-u puku saq'ani waha maka
he big-ACC horse some hay feed
He feeds the big horse some hay.

usu ka tiici-ku nana ti-bo-pi gia-u
he ACC small-ACC man UNSPEC-write-NR give-PNCT
He gave the small man a letter.

ni lizl'i i-ka wid'al punni
I yesterday this-ACC bear see
I saw this bear yesterday.

ni [ka moqo'ni uusapa isayai-dif] supidakwatu
I ACC woman always lie-PRTC know
DUR
I know that woman always lies.

ka lizl'i ni tu nobini Yesterday I visited him.
ACC yesterday I him visit
Nominative

Nouns are not marked for case. However, all subject noun phrases in main clauses and in subordinate clauses that have not undergone case switch (see individual subordinate clause sections for rules and examples of case switch), and all object noun phrases in clauses that have undergone case switch, may be marked nominative.

\[
\begin{align*}
su & \quad \text{NOM (as first element in the noun phrase)} \\
-su & \quad \text{NOM (in any DEM)} \\
\emptyset & \quad \text{NOM (inflection on adjective)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{l-su} & \quad \text{nobi-ха́limí} \quad \text{o'o'o su wihl} \\
\text{this-NOM house-Q yours} & \quad \text{there NOM knife} \\
\text{Is this house yours?} & \quad \text{The knife is over there.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
paba & \quad \text{nana nobi-ka'yu} & \text{The big man has a house.} \\
biga & \quad \text{man house-have}
\end{align*}

If the subject has been topicalized (i.e., moved to follow the verb), or in a narrative, the first mention of a character must be overtly marked NOM.

Possessives

Syntax

To show possession, an accusative (possessor) noun phrase is placed immediately before the possessed noun.

\begin{align*}
su & \quad \text{paba-u nana nobi anuahu} \\
\text{NOM big-ACC man house fall} & \text{The big man's house fell.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
ni & \quad \text{ka-́t pabi'i nobi-k\text{-}wai-tu mia-u} \\
I & \text{ACC your older house-in-to go-PNCT brother} \\
I & \text{went to your older brother's house.}
\end{align*}
I ate those deaf people's food.

Possession is recursive.

My older brother's calf is sick.

Reciprocal relationship terms such as kinship terms or friend or enemy are obligatorily possessed. If not possessed, they may be marked with the absolutive, which effectively marks unspecified possessor.

I see many big brothers.

I see many enemies.

His older brother helps his own enemies.

Nouns taking the absolutive are usually not possessed. If they are, the ABS may be dropped, replaced by -na POSSD. If the POSSD suffix isn't used, the ABS is then optional.

He cut down my cottonwood.
If the third person possessor is coreferential to the subject, the possessor is tî own (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Unspecified Arguments).

usu ka tî oga’a na-bagia-kitî
she ACC own baby REFLEX-bathe-BEN
She bathed her own baby.

usu ka u oga’a bagia
she ACC her baby bathe
She bathed her (someone else’s) baby.

usu izî’i tî oga tîmî-na qa-punni-kitî
he yesterday own salt buy-SUBR CAUS-see-BEN
Yesterday he showed me the salt he bought.

Possessive Pronouns

The possessor may be a simple possessor pronoun, or an emphatic pronoun. If the pronoun is the complete predicate, it will take the predicate form.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>nî-ga</td>
<td>nîga-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>fî-ga</td>
<td>fîmi-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u-mî</td>
<td>uga-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta-ga</td>
<td>taga-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tî</td>
<td>tâmî-ga</td>
<td>tâmî-ga-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nî</td>
<td>nîmî-ga</td>
<td>nîmî-ga-tî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mî</td>
<td>u-mî</td>
<td>îmu-tî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nî izî’i u pabî’i punni
I yesterday his big see
brother
I saw his brother yesterday.

nîga puku pa’a ‘winî
my horse high stand
EMPH
My horse is tall.
### POSTPOSITIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Order</th>
<th>Second Order</th>
<th>Third Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-noo</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naumu</td>
<td>middle of</td>
<td>(motion to/through)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>by/with</td>
<td>-tf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuha</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>(temporarily) at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuba</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobina</td>
<td>in front of</td>
<td>(customarily) at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'tma(ba)</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>-yuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uunnak'a</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>(leaving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sîaga</td>
<td>at the side of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak'wa</td>
<td>next to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ala'ga'a</td>
<td>far from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagi'i</td>
<td>near</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naga</td>
<td>in/among</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tammi</td>
<td>towards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-muupa</td>
<td>pass by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ima'i</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uunnak'wa</td>
<td>more than</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'ni/k'â'ni</td>
<td>like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-wai/-k'âi/-i in/to/into
-ma on/at/INST
-wana away from

Any order or combination of orders can occur, except that the comparative uunnak'wa more than and wa'ni/k'â'ni like cannot co-occur with any second-order postposition. The third-order postpositions will permit the postpositional phrase to be the predicate of the sentence but are by no means limited to this use. Objects of postpositions are ACC noun phrases or pronouns in their NOM form, except for third singular pronouns, which occur in ACC form. The ABS will optionally drop off nouns taking postpositions.

nî u-noo mia su caki paniñâdi-naumu-k'âi
I him-with go NOM boat lake-middle-in
I went with him. The boat is in the middle of the lake.

nîmmi-ba tîka-ga su ci'a ka stî tuha
we-with eat-go NOM girl ACC willow under
Go eat with us. The girl is under the willow.

nî u punni huciba'a nobî kuba-'yuna yozî-u
I it see bird house on-leaving fly-PNCT
I see the bird fly off the top of the house.
su nana nobi kobina
NOM man house in
front
The man is in front of the house.

su nana nobi kimaba
NOM man house beside
The man is beside the house.

su nana nobi uunnakʷa
NOM man house behind
The man is behind the house.

su tooqι ka nobi staga-wai mila
NOM dog ACC house side-in go DUR
The dog is going by the house.

ni nobi mua siŋa bi nakʷa
our house old cottonwood-ABS next to
Our house is next to the old cottonwood.

su nana nobi kʷaiŋa a
NOM man house far from
The man is far from the house.

su nana nobi cagl'i
NOM man house near
The man is near the house.

yoci-nu kίmiba naga-tu yoci-u
fly-NR cloud in-to fly-PNCT airplane
The plane flew into the cloud.

usu ka matapo ni-tammi tuwazi-u simi-su
he ACC ball I-towards throw-PNCT one-ADV
He threw the ball to me one time.

mit niŋi u-muupa mia'a
The people are passing him.
PL person he-pass go by PL

nana nobi kimai mia-u
man house beside go-PNCT
The man went by the house.
nîga uunak'â tînî sunami He is smarter than I am.  
more very think  
EMPH than

usu sî-bî-k'â'ni tabit'a It looks like a willow.  
it willow-ABS-be appear like

usu cla'a saki-wai nî nobi-k'â-tu  
that girl boat-in I house-in-to  
That girl is in the boat.  I am going home.

baa ka ba-nono osa-i  
water ACC water-carry water-in  
jug  
The water is in the jug.

pipa-ma nî tî-bo-nu-ma ti-bo'o  
paper-on I UNSPEC-write-INTR-INTR UNSPEC-write  
NR  DUR  
I write on paper with a pencil.

su toogî ka kaadî-wana-tu ta'nomanai  
HOM dog ACC out-from-to run  
The dog ran away from the cat.

nî ka huu-dî-k'â-tu nî ka huu-dî-tu  
I ACC flow-PRTC-in-to  I ACC flow-PRTC-through  
I went to the river.  I went through the river.

usu nobi-k'â-tî  
he house-in-at  
the one in the house

yaa tabinu i milda-na tauna-wai-ku timî-kî  
this day my meat-POSSD town-in-at buy-POT  
Today I will buy my meat in town.

nî muua tamîdî-wai-'yuna mla-u-kî  
I tomorrow McDermitt-in-Leaving go-PNCT-POT  
Tomorrow I will leave from McDermitt.

yîfîcîba nobi-tuha-tu ti-hî'wi  
gopher house-under-to UNSPEC-dig  
DUR

The gopher is digging to under the house.
su sadi'i nobi-tuha-'yuna tanomani
NOM dog house-under-leaving run
The dog ran out from under the house.

na- REFL/RCP or the reduplicated na-na- may be prefixed
to a postposition to give a reciprocal concept.

umii na-kimaba nobi-ka-'yu
they RCPR-beside house-have-PRED
They live beside each other.

waci na-na-kuba tilpa na-madabui
four RDP-RCPR-above earth REFL-make
The earth was made four on top of each other

DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronominal Demonstratives

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<tr>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>PROX/DIST</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>UNMARKED</th>
<th>Q/INDEF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>i-su</td>
<td>ma-su</td>
<td>oo-su</td>
<td>u-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>i-ka</td>
<td>ma-ka</td>
<td>oo-ka</td>
<td>u-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>i-ga</td>
<td>ma-ga</td>
<td>oo-ga</td>
<td>u-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Infor-</td>
<td>i-kia(u)</td>
<td>ma-kia(u)</td>
<td>oo-kia(u)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind NOM</td>
<td>yuu-ni('yu)</td>
<td>ma-ni('yu)</td>
<td>oo-ni('yu)</td>
<td>uu-ni('yu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind ACC</td>
<td>yuu-niku</td>
<td>ma-niku</td>
<td>oo-niku</td>
<td>uu-niku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal demonstratives can occur alone as the whole
noun phrase or as an attributive to a noun within a noun phrase.
As attributives, they precede all other attributives except the
partitive numeral.

isu tigapu maga uunak'w odii-'yu
this rope that more long-PRED
NOM EMPH
This rope is longer than that.

ikia ni na-tina-pana usu uka i gia
this I ask-UNR that that me give
(old) NOM ACC
(he)
I asked for this one, but he gave me that.

yuunii'yu nagiza paba-'yu
this this really big-PRED
kind NOM
This kind is too big.
NORTHERN PAIUTE

uuni ku  nǐ izi'i  timí
unmarked I  yesterday  buy
kind
ACC
I bought that kind yesterday.

usu  manigi-baatí  yuuni ku  nati  timí
that  five-PRTV  this  belt  buy
NON  kind
(he)  ACC
He bought five of this kind of belt.

Pronominal demonstratives are inflected for case, but not for number. The third person plural pronominal can function as a plural demonstrative when plurality rather than distance is in focus; but the pronoun is not marked for distance. Pronominal demonstratives are used with plural nouns.

nǐ  ikia  tīka  usu  píno'o  umí  tīka
I  this  eat  that  DS  they  eat
(he)  (those)
I ate this and he ate those.

usu  tīci'Iyu  puku  gai  i  noo-wa'nîlyu
this  small  horse  not  me  carry-can
NON
This small horse can't carry me.

[ka  tī  ika  puku-kuba]  o'no  nǐ  píno'o  kuba
ACC  you  this  horse-on  then  I  DS  on
ACC
If you ride on this horse, I will ride on that.

usu  umí  palhu  nadino'o  su-timí'í
that  they  three  saddle  want-buy
NON  ACC  DUR
(he)
He wanted to buy these three saddles.

A demonstrative that is object of a postposition will have only its bare stem, unmarked for case.

usu  mi  i  nita m[a  gai  i-ma  ti-bo-pana]  mi
that  say  me  tell  not  this-on  UNSPEC-write-UNR  say
NON  (he)
He said to me, "Don't write on this."
uuni-ma usu izi'i i tìmp-u
that-on that yesterday me buy-PRCT
kind [NOM (he)]
sell
He sold me that kind yesterday.

Demonstratives cannot co-occur with case markers since the
case marker is already incorporated into them. usu ‘unmarked
NOM demonstrative’ is used frequently to introduce new char-
acters in a discourse and sometimes as the third singular NOM
pronoun, which is otherwise Ø.

usu mino'o ma'nô 'winî He is that tall now.
that now that stood
NOM much
(he)

Adverbial Demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives can take the place of any adver-
bial phrase or can introduce an adverbial phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>PROX/DIST</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>Q/INDF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>o'o</td>
<td>hano/hanano'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>hano'yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>y:no</td>
<td>ma'no</td>
<td>oo'n:oa</td>
<td>ha'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>yano'yuna</td>
<td>maano'yuna</td>
<td>oono'yuna</td>
<td>hano'yuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>mawî</td>
<td>oowl</td>
<td>hano'tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC Pred</td>
<td>iwiu</td>
<td>mawiu</td>
<td>oowiu</td>
<td>hano'yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

izî'i pac'go'a yaa pasa-pî
yesterday icy this dry-PERF
DUR ADV PRTC
Yesterday it was icy; now it’s dry.

mau su whîl The knife is there.
there the knife

gai=sak'â usu oo'nô ma'na'wi na-hani
not=should it that complete REFL-do
much
It shouldn’t have taken that long to do it.

usu simîna yaa-no'yuna yaa toganu mla-dua
he might this-from this night go-UNR
ADV ADV
He might leave from here tonight.
usu uusapa baa lwi-u hani-di osa-i
he always water this-PRED fix-PRTC jug-in
LOC
He used to keep water here in this jug.

Adverbial demonstratives can take the adverbializer -su, which favors a temporal interpretation. Adverbial phrases are often initiated with the ACC marker.

ka oo'no-su mî nimî no'yuna wagîna-ga'yu
ACC that-ADVR PL person all wagon-have much
Long ago all the people had wagons.

Adverbial demonstratives can precede other adverbials to give more precise or more intensive information.

gal umî oo'no k'âlîga'a oo-noo manî-wa'nî'yu
not they that far it-with do-can much
They can't go that far with it.

They can take third order postpositional suffixes:

-tı at
-tu towards

oo-tı pacîgo'a yaa-tı pasa-pı
that-at icy this-at dry-PERC
ADV ADV PRTC
There it's icy; here it's dry.

[mau-tu mia-'a] mi usu mî nitama
that-towards go-PL say he PL tell
ADV
"Go that direction", he told them.

Adverbial demonstratives are often discontinuous to their phrase, occurring just before the verb, after the rest of the phrase has been topicalized to the edge of the clause.

usu uusapa baa lwi-u hani-di osa-i
he always water this-PRED fix-PRTC jug-in
LOC
He keeps water in this jug all the time.
QUANTIFIERS

Nominal Attributives

One set of nominal attributive quantifiers can optionally inflect for case to agree with the noun phrase containing them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sisimad flattened</td>
<td>m flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwa flattened</td>
<td>iwa-u flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisim'i'yu flattened</td>
<td>sisim'mina, sisim'mtu flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitci'yu, hitci'i flattened</td>
<td>hitci-ku flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nookno flattened</td>
<td>nookno flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitu flattened</td>
<td>nami-ku flattened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nami flattened</td>
<td>nami-ku flattened</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

sisimad flattened tihja aa-ga'yu Some of the deer have horns.

usu m flattened tihja kaiba-maku punni
he PL deer mountain-on see
He sees some deer on the mountain.

iwa kaiba-matu flattened tihja-ga'yu
many mountain-on deer-exist
Many deer are on the mountain.

usu iwa u puku maka He feeds many horses.
he many horse feed
ACC

usu iwa toolsa-bui flattened za-boka
he many chokecherry-berry force-pick
He picked many chokecherries.

sisim'i'yu daaki sikudo-ga-k flattened each children school-go-POT
Each of the children will go to school.

sisim'iu ni nika o himmi-na himmau
ACC EMPH
I have one of each thing he gave me.
Itic'yu piha-bi kopi'i bisa kama-kiti
little sugar-ABS coffee good taste-CAUS
bit
A little bit of sugar makes the coffee good.

usu hitciku hogo-natiga
he little flour-ask
bit
ACC
He asked for a little bit of flour.

usu hitci-ku piha-ga'yu
he little-ACC sugar-have

nood'yna toha nobi punni
everyone white house see

nood'yna hii nobi-k'wai
every thing house-in

nooko himma supidak'atu
every thing know
ACC DUR

Iti'yu tihija i nobi-cagi'i pit'i-u
few deer my house-near arrive-PNCT
A few deer came near my house.

niimm hitu huicba'a punni
we few bird see
ACC

hitu + iizi'li may
how you yesterday find
many
ACC
How many did you find yesterday?

nami simt-u timum-u
each one-ACC buy-PNCT
Each one bought one.

n+ namiku m+ naana punni
I each PL men see
ACC
I saw both men.

Quantifiers may take -su ADVR suffixed to the NOM form.
Iwa-zu usu so-ga tauna-mai-yak\textsuperscript{w}i
\textit{many-ADV R he walk town-to-REP ET many times}

Many times he walks to town.

tammi noo'yu-su \hspace{1cm} We are everyone.
\textit{we everyone-ADV R}

su nami-su mī-batī timī-u
\textit{he each-ADV R PL-from buy-PNCT}

He bought one of each of them.

nimmi nami-su st'umī timī \hspace{1cm} We bought one apiece.
\textit{we each-ADV R only buy}

These quantifiers can also stand alone as nouns or predicates when they take the -'yu PRED form.

nīga puku iwa-'yu \hspace{1cm} umī iga hī-'yu
\textit{my horse many-PRED they used few-PRED to be}

My horses are many.

They were a few.

There is also a group of nominal attributive quantifiers that do not inflect.

\begin{itemize}
  \item st'mī
  \hspace{1cm} \textit{only}
  \item nanoo
  \hspace{1cm} \textit{both}
  \item nanasīmī
  \hspace{1cm} \textit{each}
  \item sag\textsuperscript{w} ani
  \hspace{1cm} \textit{some}
\end{itemize}

usu kādī-nu st'mī punni \hspace{1cm} He saw only chairs.
\textit{he sit-NP only see chair}

umī nanoo kaažī timī-u \hspace{1cm} Both bought a car.
\textit{they both car buy-PNCT}

nōo'yuna nanasīmī (hii) bīsa tabī'a
everything each \hspace{1cm} \textit{things good apparently each thing looks nice.}

kalba-mātī sag\textsuperscript{w} ani tīhiya-ga'yu
\textit{mountain-on few deer-exist}

Just a few deer were on the mountain.
Adverbial Quantifiers

These quantifiers may be introducers or the second or third constituent in the sentence.

sïmïsu = once
simïdui = sometimes
hiïdui = few times
sïsimana = each time/sometimes
nanoca = every time/often
samupi = mostly
uusapa = always/often
nanajabi = often
lïwazu = many times/mostly
tu'ï nanoca = usually

sïmïsu u i mani-tïïna = He told me to do it once.

simïdui nï i nobi-kïmai o mi'a u punni = Sometimes I see my house-beside there go him see

Sometimes I see him go by the side of my house.

nimmi yau iwiku hiïdui agai hani-yakWï
we here this few trout catch-REPET

place times

We have caught trout a few times here.

sïsimana gai tabi tïka-yakWï
sometimes not noon eat-REPET

Sometimes he doesn’t eat his dinner.

mi nanoca sogo tauna-ma'i
they every walk town-go

time DUR

Every time they go to town, they walk.

usu samupi huciba’a punni sït-bi-maku
he mostly bird see tree-ABS-on

He saw mostly birds in the tree.

nimmi uusapa yahu tïkabâ tïka awamua
we always fry bread eat morning

We always eat fry bread for breakfast.
nimmi naňaŋaji tauna-ma'í čikabí-waití
we often town-go bread-about
dur
We have often gone to town for bread.

Iwazu sitowa čikabí-ka'yu
many store bread-have
times
Many times the store has bread.

nî tu'î nanoca wînal-dî punni
I usually fish-PRTC see
fisherman
I usually see fishermen.

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

1 simi simiu simi'yu
2 waha wahu waha'yu
3 pahi pahi'yu
4 waci waci'yu
5 manigi manigi'yu (begins with hand prefix)
6 naapahi naapahi'yu (RCA of 3)
7 natak'así natak'así'yu
8 namiwaci namiwaci'yu (contains 4)
9 simi kądpí simi kądpí'yu (one missing)
10 simi manoi simi manoi'yu

Numbers inflect in case to agree with the case of the noun phrase in which they stand as an attributive. They may stand alone as head.
ka ızl'i' toganu waći naana i nobini
ACC yesterday night 4 men me visit
Last night four men visited me.

waći'ku n'i maka I feed four.
ACC

naapahl'yu nî'mt togi i kaazi-wai mi'a
6 people can my car-in go
EMPH DUR
Six people can go in my car.

Numbers reduplicate to show distributive.

wa-k'waña'yu-na na-na-nak'wai ngi'ga mi'a
RDP-2-SUBR RDP-RCPR-by dance go
PRED DUR
They are dancing two by two behind each other.

usu wa-k'wa-k'wa'ni'yu He is like a twin.
he RDP-2-LIKE
PRED

Derivatives of ONE

mul
simt(-su) first
sî'mî only
simt-bitî assemble

[1 mul maka-na] nana cîaye'il
me first feed-SUBR man hungry
DUR
The first man I fed was hungry.

simt ni aaba-ga'yu vs. nî simt-u aaba-ga'yu
once I white-have I one-ACC white-have
horse horse
Once I had a white horse. I have one white horse.

usu simt-su ka tîhja k'ati-u
he once-ADVR ACC deer shoot-PNCT
He shot the deer once.

usu tîhja sî'mî hoawa'i He hunts only deer.
he deer only hunt
DUR
umt noo'yuna i nobi-k'ai simi-bitť-u
they all my house-in one-arrive PHCT
assemble
They all assembled at my house.

umt pakodoci maa simi-bitți
those blackbird there one-arrive
assemble
Those blackbirds are there in a bunch.

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can stand as attributives in noun phrases or as predicates. There are three types of adjectives: color, age, and other.

As predicates or emphatic nominatives, the colors take -k'ija'a/k'ija't 'PRED. These do not inflect for case or number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjectival form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aca</td>
<td>red/brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhi/pui</td>
<td>green/blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toha</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu(hu)</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik'isi</td>
<td>grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oha</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n't tu tipi punni kaiba-maku
I black rock see mountain-on
I saw a black rock on the mountain.

uga nobi puhi-k'ija't niga nobi aca-k'ija't
his house green-PRED my house red-PRED
EMPH EMPH
His house is green, but mine is red.

As predicates or emphatic nominatives, age adjectives take -tipi 'PRED. They optionally reduplicate to show number but do not inflect for case.

mua old
pdi new

usu mua ad't-ma i timfì
he old gun-to me buy
sell
He sold me an old gun.
usu adi in'i mua-típí That gun is very old.
he gun very old-PRED

umí mu-mua-típí himma pik'wai na-heni-na nobi-k'wai those RDF-old-PRED some- place REFL-put-SUBR house-in thing in in The old dressers are in the house.

umí mua nobi toha-na pisa'a those old house white-SUBR paint The old houses are painted white.

umí momoko'ni mu-mua-típí Those women are old.
those women RDF-old-PRED

mí mu moomoko'ni nobi-k'wai those old women house-in The old women are in the house.

umí kucu mua-típí Those cattle are old.
those cattle old-PRED

usu nag'wí pídí-típí The dress is new.
that dress new-PRED

usu pídí nag'wí-ga'yu She has a new dress.
she new dress-have

umí pídí kucu tíka-kono The new cattle are eating.
those new cattle eat-CONT PL

umí nobí nagíza pí-pídí-típí Those house really RDF-new-PRED Those houses are really new.

The use of pídí new for young does not have the predicate form. Instead it is used as an adverb.

umí pídí duaki Those children are young.
those newly child

umí momoko'ni pídí momoko'ni those women newly women Those women are young.

Among the remaining adjectives are all numbers and most quantifiers; these are not listed here (see QUANTIFIERS and
NUMERALS). The other adjectives take -u/-ku when attributive in a non-nominative noun phrase and -'yu when functioning as predicate. They optionally inflect for number by reduplication to agree with their heads.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
    \bf{paba} & big \\
    \bf{bisa} & good \\
    \bf{odt} & long \\
    \bf{titci} & small \\
    \bf{ siti} & bad \\
    \bf{milici} & short \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{su paba-'yu puku ka titci-kku puku uunak\textsuperscript{W}a \textit{fini} nazu'! NOM big-PRED horse ACC small-ACC horse more very strong That big horse is stronger than the small horse.}

\textit{usu bisa-u wihi-ma i tim\textit{I sell}}
\textit{he good-ACC knife-to me buy}
\textit{He sold me a good knife.}

\textit{ni ka odt-u t\textit{iga}pu na-t\textit{iga}-na su ka milici-kku i}
\textit{I ACC long-ACC rope REFL-tell-SUBR he ACC short-ACC me ask give}
\textit{I asked for a long rope, but he gave me a short one.}

\textit{um\textit{I aca nobi pa-paba-'yu Those red houses are big.}}
\textit{those red house RDF-big-PRED}

COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

One noun phrase can be compared to another as more in respect to some ground of comparison. The first noun phrase (which is more) is nominative. The second noun phrase is the object of the postposition \textit{uunak\textsuperscript{W}a more than}. The ground of comparison is expressed in the predicate. (Also the concept of \textit{greater than} can be expressed periphrastically with two sentences; the first is intensified, and the second is negated, usually with the redundant parts deleted from the second sentence.)

\textit{isu naaci t\textit{I nea uunak\textsuperscript{W}a 'wi\textit{I this boy own father more stand}}
This boy is taller than his father.
usu nìga uuñakʷa yuhu-pí  He is fatter than I.
he I more fat-PERF
EMPH PRTC

isu gapa uga sìmì-u uuñakʷa paba-'yu
This bed it one-ACC more big-PRED
EMPH

This bed is bigger than that one.

usu aaba lka sìmì puku uuñakʷa wa'mu
that blond this one horse more gallop
That white horse runs faster than this horse.

su kʷìw'na'a ka naka'į uuñakʷa pa'a-kʷal yoocl
NOM eagle ACC hawk more high-in fly
The eagle flies higher than the hawk.

Comparisons of Equality

-noo as
-kʷa'n! be like

A comparison of equality can be made between two noun phrases by putting the first noun phrase in the nominative, the second in the postpositional form, and adding some form of the equality postpositions. This postposition can go on one of the noun phrases, on na- REFL/RCPR, or on both. The ground of comparison is provided by the predicate.

isu naaci t+ naa-no'o-su 'winį
this boy com father-as-ADVR stand
DUR
This boy is as tall as his father.

usu ada-noo kʷidaw'o'yo na-wa'ni-ku-su yoozl
that crow-as magpie RCPR-be-at-ADVR fly
like DL
That crow flies like a magpie.

Equality can be negated to give a form where the first is less than the second. The second then receives the equality postposition.

ani gai ka nota-noo paba-'yu
cutter not ACC bee-as big-PRED
ant
The cutter ant isn’t as big as the bee.
masu gai nagiza ni-k'wani yahu-pi
that not really I-be fat-PERF
like PRTC
That one is not really as fat as I.

u k'lidawo'yo gai naka'i-wa'niku-su yooci
it magpie not hawk-be-at ADVR fly
like
The magpie doesn't fly as fast as the hawk.

Superlatives

\[ t\text{h} \text{b} \text{i} \text{c} \text{i} \text{l} \quad \text{truly} \]
\[ n\text{a} \text{g} \text{z} \text{a} \quad \text{really} \]
\[ i\text{ni}...d\text{}/p\text{t} (\ldots\text{-wait}t) \quad \text{very} \]
\[ uu\text{na}k\text{'} a\text{...d} \text{}/p\text{t} (\ldots\text{-wait}t) \quad \text{most} \]

Superlatives can be expressed with a noun phrase followed
by an intensifier of comparison, which is followed in turn by
a nominalized predicate expressing grounds of comparison and
optionally a partitive idea expressed by a noun phrase and the
postposition -wait among.

usu mogo'ni ni t\text{h} \text{b} \text{i} \text{c} \text{i} od\text{i} mana 'win\text{'}-wabi yaat\text{'}
that woman PL truly tall among stand-BAB here
AG
That woman is the very tallest woman here.

masu ni nagiza na-mua-t\text{f}p\text{t} iw\text{i}u nobi-k\text{'}wai-t\text{'}
that our really RCP\text{-}old-PRED here house-in-at
She is the oldest one in the room.

usu mogo'ni i\text{ni} mooni yabi ticina-d\text{i}
that woman very money fast count-PRTC
That woman must be the fastest money counter.

isu puku i\text{ni} tanomani-d\text{i} mooku iklau titp\text{-}wait\text{t}
this horse very run-PRTC all this world-among
ACC ACC
This horse is the fastest in the world.

usu m\text{'}i sim\text{i} uu\text{na}k\text{'}w\text{'a} 'win\text{'}-d\text{i} i na-nimi-wait\text{t}
h\text{e} PL one more stand-PRTC my RCP\text{-}person-among
relative
He is the tallest of my relatives.
INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

There is a scale of definiteness for nouns and pronouns. Pronouns and demonstratives assume the speaker and listener know the antecedent. The minimally specific a also assumes the speaker knows the antecedent but that its identity is irrelevant. The indefinite pronoun implies the speaker doesn't know the antecedent or is purposefully unwilling to specify an antecedent. The indefinite occurring with tui-...-tui any implies the antecedent to be any member of a certain set. Negated, the indefinite implies that there is no member of the set for which the statement is true. Finally, ti UNSPEC implies no particularized antecedent at all.

Proper Name nǐ sigī punni I see Sigt.
Pronoun nǐ u punni I see him.
Demonstrative Pronoun nǐ uka punni I see that one.
Minimally Specific nǐ a punni I see it.
Indefinite nǐ haka punni I see someone.
Any nǐ tui-haka-tui punni I see anyone.
Negative Indefinite nǐ gai haka punni I see no one.
Unspecified nǐ ti-punni I watch.

The minimally specified pronoun can be object of an obligatorily transitive verb or possessor of an obligatorily possessed noun.

tiibo-kuba-ku a punni I see it on the table.
table-on-at it see

[usu pabicl a nobi mayś-si] mǐ noo t̕ka-u-k̂̕ti
that weasel its house find-SUBR PL egg eat-PRCT-PCT
If the weasel finds a nest, he will eat the eggs.

Indefinites are marked by content-question words.

hii thing NOM haunik̕wai kind of place
hlip̂̕ thing (used to be) haga who NOM
himma thing ACC haka who ACC
hano where haa'no'yu how much NOM
hanano' o when haa'noku how much ACC
haunik̕udu kind of hautu some direction
hau way
The some indefinites are marked by just the content-question words. These indefinites, not using modals, are ambiguous with questions.

hil ka sii-bi-ma
thing ACC tree-ABS-on Something is on the tree./What is on the tree?

tiip'i-wa'ni tabt'a
thing-be appears (used like to)
It looks like it used to be something.

ni' himma tilbo-kuba-ku punni I saw something on the table./I thing table-on-at see What did I see on the table?

usu hano mla-pi
he somewhere go-PERF He went somewhere./Where did he go?

usu=ga hanano'o kimma [gal pem'1 punni-p'in1-noo] he=must when come not he me see-STAT-along
He must have come sometime when I wasn't watching for him.

usu hauniku na-tika-di tika
he some REFL-eat-PRTC eat kind
He eats some kind of food./What kind of food does he eat?

haga ta punni
someone us see Someone saw us./Who saw us?

usu haka punni
he someone see He saw someone./Whom did he see?

haa'no-'yu mt duaki yabi bok'au-ka-k'w
how-NOM those children fast lie-go-POT much down
down PL
A certain number of children go to bed early./How many children will go to bed early?
ni haa'no-ku suga timi-kw
I how-ACC sugar buy-POT
much
I'll buy a certain amount of sugar./
How much sugar will I buy?

gal hauniku su kaazi umi mabicabi-wa'ni'yu
not kind NOM car it fix-can
of
There is no way to fix the car.

The any/ever indefinites are marked by the content question words with tul any prefixed and suffixed to the question word or the phrase containing it.

usu tui-himma-tui tika He'll eat anything at all.
he any-thing-ACC eat

usu tui-hano-tui + mla-kwa'ai-tu mi'a
he any-where-you go-in-to go
DUR
He goes anywhere you go.

usu tui-hanano'o-tui tibunni-kw yaa awamua
he any-when-ACC wake-POT this morning
up
He's going to wake up sometime this morning.

usu tui-hauniku-tui tika He'll eat any kind of thing.
he any-kind-ACC eat
of

nimni tui-hau-tui tu'li koj tab'la
we any-how-ACC try return apparently
We have tried every way to go home.

tul-haga-tui ka sakl timi-kw
any-who-ACC boat buy-POT
Anyone will buy the boat.

usu tui-haka-tui piml gunna kibita-kk ft tib-maka-kw
he any-who-ACC he wood chop-BEN pinenut-give-POT
ACC EMPH
He will give pinenuts to anyone who will cut wood for him.
tui-haa'no-'yu-tui duakî sîkudu-ga-kʷɨ
any-how-NOM-any children school-go-POT
much
Any number of children will go to school.

tui-haa'no-ku-tui suga ni tîmî-kʷɨ
any-how-ACC-any sugar I buy-POT
much
I'll buy any amount of sugar.

nî tui-haunîkʷai-tu-tui mia-kʷɨ
I any-kind-to-any go-POT
of
place
I will go to any kind of place.

[usu tui-hauntu-tui mia-sî] misu juhu tîmî'î
he any-direction-any go-SUBR can gas buy
DUR
Any direction he goes, he can buy gas.

The indefinite pronouns, when referring to a place, can
take -tî (temporarily) at, -tu to, or -ku (customarily) at.

umî tui-hano-tî-kʷai-tî-tui tikâbî tîmî-kʷɨ
they any-where-at-in-at-any bread buy-POT
They will buy bread in any place.

umî hano-tu-kʷai-tu sîkudu-ma'i
they where-to-in-to school-go
DUR
They went to a certain place to go to school.
## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subj</th>
<th>Obj</th>
<th>Obj</th>
<th>Emph</th>
<th>Poss Pron</th>
<th>Emph Refl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P SG</td>
<td>n+i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>n+g+</td>
<td>n+gat+</td>
<td>nisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P SG</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>+ga</td>
<td>+mit+</td>
<td>isu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P SG (Coreferential to Subj)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>p+i</td>
<td>p+ml</td>
<td>p+mit+</td>
<td>pisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P SG (Non-Coreferential to Subj)</td>
<td>(DEM) u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>+mi</td>
<td>uga+t+</td>
<td>uusu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### STEMS

Many verbs show no number; however, certain semantic categories of verbs do inflect for number. Intransitives agree with their subjects, while transitives agree with their objects.

Motion verbs show dual by initial reduplication and a few show plural by final reduplication. Some use the singular or dual form for plural, while others pluralize by fortification of the final (or other) consonant (" indicates a fortis consonant).

\[
C_1V_1X \rightarrow C_1V_1-C_1V_1X \quad (DL)
\]

\[
Xa \rightarrow Xa'a \quad (PL)
\]

\[
XCV \rightarrow X''CV \quad (PL)
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mla</td>
<td>mlima</td>
<td>mla'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimma</td>
<td>kiklimma</td>
<td>kimma'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pid+</td>
<td>pibid+</td>
<td>pit+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiciña</td>
<td>yiycinña</td>
<td>yicina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koj+</td>
<td>kokoj+</td>
<td>koj+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'mu</td>
<td>wawaw'mu</td>
<td>wak'wa'mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs of distress take yai die SG in the singular but koi kill PL in the plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tţoyai</td>
<td>tţoikoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paayai</td>
<td>paakoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pîţjai</td>
<td>pîţkoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cţjayai</td>
<td>cţakoi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many posture verbs dualize and pluralize suppletively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'wini</td>
<td>wammi</td>
<td>kono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kati</td>
<td>yats'i</td>
<td>aata'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habi</td>
<td>k'abi</td>
<td>bokaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahabi</td>
<td>pak abi</td>
<td>pabokaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some motion verbs only partially supplet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yoci</td>
<td>yosi</td>
<td>yoozi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some motion verbs mix reduplication and partial or complete suppletion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wîwu</td>
<td>wîwu/sawiu</td>
<td>sawiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîmi</td>
<td>moo</td>
<td>moo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igia</td>
<td>õuzunua</td>
<td>õunua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poiyə</td>
<td>popo'ya</td>
<td>tipo'ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many verbs may supplet the stem or reduplicate the first syllable, but they rarely show more than two independent forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tak'wî'ti</td>
<td>tadima</td>
<td>tadi'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tok'wî'ti</td>
<td>todima</td>
<td>todi'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tîght</td>
<td>ñunna</td>
<td>ñunna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gja</td>
<td>himmi</td>
<td>himmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'î't</td>
<td>himma</td>
<td>himma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some aspect suffixes are derived from motion or posture verbs; except for stress and glottals, these retain their phonological shape and suppletive potential, so that number may be shown by suppletion of the suffix. This number marking does not prevent pluralization of the stem as well.
SG | DL | PL
---|---|---
matonímmi | matomok'ati | matomó'o | crawl
pahabinímmi | pawabinó'o | pabok'amo'o | swimming around
tiikwini | tiikwami | tiikakono | continue eating

Most verbs show no number at all.

SG | DL | PL
---|---|---
naka | naka | naka | hear
punni | punni | punni | see

Durative

Another stem change arises from the durative. Although the durative is in the mutually exclusive set of aspect markers, it actualizes as an infix or process.

\[
\begin{align*}
XV_1V_2 & \rightarrow XV_1'V_2 \\
XC_1V_1 & \rightarrow X'CV_1V_1 \quad (C_1 = \text{lenis consonant other than semivowel}) \\
X'CV_1 & \rightarrow X'CV_1'V_1 \quad ("C_2 = \text{oral fortis consonant}) \\
XC_3V_1 & \rightarrow X'CV_3V_1 \quad (C_3 = \text{nasal consonant or oral semivowel})
\end{align*}
\]

| UNMARKED | DUR |
---|---|
mia | mi'a | go
yaga | yaka | cry
nñmi | nñmí | move about/walk/go
tiik'í | tiik'íí | tell
zoba | zopà | gather
himma | himma | carry PL
sumaya | sumá'ya | remember

Directionals receive durative marking instead of the stem.

| UNMARKED | DUR |
---|---|
-gi | -ki | movement towards speaker
-gia | -gia'a | UNSPEC DIR
-ga | -ka/ga'a (word final) | movement not towards the speaker
-noo | -no'o | movement for the purpose of
usu ka tîha' a- ku gapa- kuba za- habi- ki- u
he ACC child-ACC bed- on CAUS- lie- some- PNCT
DUR

He laid the child on the bed.

usu puku- ga- na tîka bî tîka kadi- no' o
he horse- have- SUBR bread eat sit- along
DUR

He was going along eating bread on his horse.

INCORPORATION

The first-order prefixes on nouns and verbs show relationship with, or use of, a body part or certain other nouns. Some are obviously related to nouns or verbs still used in the language. Some stems require a prefix; some take it optionally.

Prefixes: Historically related
- mind
- hand
- talking
- force/hands
- water
- foot
- nail/pointed instrument
- side/blunt instrument
- scalp/horn
- face
- beak/shoulder
- teeth
- fire
- back end

- su-pidâ' adu
- mind-know
- think
- ma-hani
- hand-fix
- prepare/doing
- pa-habi
- water-ive
- swim

mânt' ya
hand-bump
bump one's hand
a za- k' t- u
it force-carry- PNCT
lift something
moko- i ta- nigiyâ- u
a ci- ka' a
shoe-in foot- put- PNCT it pierce- out
put on one's shoe
cut it
Many body part nouns, particularly the hands and feet, have instrumental prefixes.

The instrumental uses have been extended to causation (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION). su- is also used for want/desire.
SYNTACTIC MARKING

There are no pronominal affixes on the verb in Northern Paiute. For number agreement, see STEMS.

Non-Distinct Argument Markers

The prefix na- has reflexive, reciprocal, passive, and--when reduplicated--distributive value. The prefix ti- marks unspecified objects. See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA for further examples and details.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{su} & \quad \text{nana} \quad \text{piisu} \quad \text{na-ma'li-u} \\
\text{NOM} & \quad \text{man} \quad \text{himself} \quad \text{REFL-hurt-PNCT} \\
\text{The man} & \text{ hurt himself.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{umî} & \quad \text{na-nod+wa-du} \\
\text{they} & \quad \text{REFL-wife-make}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{umî} & \quad \text{na-na-holsu} \quad \text{na-na-punni} \\
\text{they} & \quad \text{RDP-REFL-REFL} \quad \text{RDP-REFL-see} \\
\text{They each one saw the other.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na-tika-dî} & \quad \text{na-tika-pî} \\
\text{REFL-eat-PRTC} & \quad \text{REFL-eat-PERF} \\
\text{PERF} & \\
\text{The food has been eaten.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{usu} & \quad \text{ti-bo'o} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-write} \\
\text{DUR} & \\
\text{He wrote.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{usu } [i \quad \text{ini-na}] & \quad \text{bo'o} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{me say-NR} \quad \text{write} \\
\text{DUR} & \\
\text{He wrote what I said.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sentence Type

While most mode is marked in second position in the clause, the negative imperative is marked partially on the verb. It involves gai not and -pana UNR.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gai makau tika-pana} & \quad \text{gai yaga-pana} \\
\text{not that eat UNR} & \quad \text{not cry UNR} \\
\text{don't} & \quad \text{don't} \\
\text{Don't eat that!} & \quad \text{Don't cry!}
\end{align*}
\]
**Subordination**

Subordination of a clause is also marked on the verb. (See following sections for more extensive discussion and examples of -na, -p†, and -dt.)

-Ø Simultaneous Action
-śi Sequential Action
-na Simultaneous Related Action
-p† PERF PRTC
-d† PRTC

su naacl pid†-u [ni t†ka]
NOM boy arrive-PNCT us eat
The boy arrived while we were eating.

[n† u-noo yadua-śi] t†ka
I her-with talk-SUBR eat
After I talked with her, I ate.

su naacl [ni punni-na na-śibau-d†] s†kudu-ga
NOM boy us see-SUBR REFL-hit-PRTC school-go
The boy whom we saw hit goes to school.

[ni t†ka-p†] mliiđ†-ma t sea mogo'ni pid†-u
us eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT
PRC
After we ate, the meat saleswoman arrived.

**Unified Discussion of -na**

Throughout all the uses of -na runs the common thread of related action and simultaneity. Of all the subordinators -na is the most widely and frequently used.

In relative clauses -na is used to mark that the noun phrase coreferential to the head is not the subject of the embedded clause in all cases where simultaneous action is taking place.

usu kld† [ja'i-na] za-kW† ††
he groundhog die-SUBR hands-carry
DUR DUR
He was carrying the groundhog which was dead.

Compare: usu kld† [ya'i-p†] za-kW† ††
he groundhog die-PERF hands-carry
PRC DUR
He was carrying the groundhog that died.
su naacl [ni supidak'atu-na] sikudu-ga
NOM boy us know-SUBR school-go
The boy whom we know goes to school.

A special case of the relative is the headless relative, which is used as a subject or object. When it consists of only a verb, the result is a nominalization.

nf [u tt-delay-na] punni
I him UNSPEC-make-SUBR see
I saw what he makes.

[mogo'ni saa-na] nf oga-ga'yu
woman cook-SUBR very salt-have
The woman's cooking is too salty.

[baa-huu-na] I gunna
water-flow-SUBR my wood

pa-to-jak'k-fi-k'jinai-hu
water-shoulder-carry-APPLIC-away-PNCT
The flood carried away my wood.

In adverbial clauses -na is used to mark a unity of relationships. In temporal clauses it marks simultaneous action.

nf'mmi ka nana punni [tabi tik'a-na]
we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR
We saw a man while we ate dinner.

[ni tabi iwi-na] ka yadua-pi sumaya
I noon sleep-SUBR ACC talk-NR remember
While napping I remembered a word.

In conditional sentences it marks the if clause.

[gai haga l-noo-na] nf gai tauna-wai-wa'ni'yu
not someone me-with-SUBR I not town-to-can
If no one takes me, I can't go to town.

In concessive sentences -na can mark the although clause.

[nf u nobi-k'ai-tu tu'i mia-yal-na] gal u mayi-di
I his house-at-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC
Although I went to his house many times, I never found him home.

In causal sentences -na marks the reason if the two clauses are simultaneous and the subjects coreferential.
usu I toog† k‘at-i-u [ka gaI u biţabi-na]
he my dog shoot-PWCT ACC not him like-SUBR
He shot my dog because he didn’t like it.

In instrument sentences the -na marks the by means of clause if the action is simultaneous.

n† ka kaazi mabicipl [pild†-tir† piw† o-i
I ACC car fix new-EMPR battery there-in DUR

za-kati-ga-na]
CAUS-sit-go-SUBR
I fixed my car by putting in a new battery.

Embedded questions are also marked by a -na.

n† u may† [hano-t† maina hiwi-na]
I it find where-at mine dig-SUBR
I found where he is digging a mine.

A -na can be attached to a noun to give a simultaneous temporal idea.

n† [ka naacI-na] nana punnl
I ACC boy-SUBR man see
When I was a boy, I saw that man.

Unified Discussion of -d†

Throughout all the uses of -d† runs the idea of habitual or characteristic action. It is not used adverbially but is frequently used in nominalization.

[n† u nobi-wai-tu’I mia-‘yai-na] gai u may†-d†
I his house-at-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC
Although I went to his house many times, I never found him.

n† gai t-noo t†ka-d†
I never ate with you.
I not you-with eat-PRTC

In relative clauses -d† marks that the subject of the embedded verb is coreferential to the head.

su naacI [ni supidak’atu-d†] štkudu-ga
NOM boy we know-PRTC school-go
The boy who knows us goes to school.
A special case of this is the headless relative.

\[ \text{sù nìmù tusu-di ti kawona znono ona} \]
\[ \text{that people grind-PRTC own basket force-carry there} \]

\[ \text{mia-ka'i} \]
\[ \text{go-walk} \]
\[ \text{DUR} \]
\[ \text{That people grinder went along carrying his basket.} \]

A very common use of the nominalization is in a verbless construction (see BE/HAVE/DO, \textit{BE}).

\[ \text{usu saa-di} \]
\[ \text{she cook-PRTC} \]
\[ \text{She is a cook.} \]

**Unified Discussion of -\textit{pi}**

The main concept expressed with -\textit{pi} is completed action. As aspect on the main verb, it expresses a perfective or completed idea.

\[ \text{usu tauna-wai-\textit{pi}} \]
\[ \text{he town-to-PERF} \]
\[ \text{PRTC} \]
\[ \text{He has gone to town.} \]

\[ \text{usu tabi saa-\textit{pi}} \]
\[ \text{she noon cook-PERF} \]
\[ \text{PRTC} \]
\[ \text{She had cooked dinner.} \]

Similarly in adverbal clauses it subordinates but carries a perfective sense.

\[ \text{[ni tŋa-\textit{pi}] miida-ma timùm mogo'ni plidi-u} \]
\[ \text{usu eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT} \]
\[ \text{PRTC} \]
\[ \text{After we ate, the meat saleswoman arrived.} \]

And even in the relative clause the perfective idea persists, although -\textit{pi} also marks the fact that the head is co-referential to a non-subject of the subordinate clause.

\[ \text{mì naana [ka na-saa-\textit{pi}] tŋa} \]
\[ \text{PL men ACC REFL-cook-PERF eat} \]
\[ \text{PRTC} \]
\[ \text{The men ate that which was cooked.} \]
NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

Some affixes add an argument to the verb. Instrumentals can be used as causatives (see STEMS), but usually only ma-hand and za-force are used.

ma- \hspace{1cm} \text{CAUS}
za- cause by force
\text{ti-} \hspace{1cm} \text{CAUS (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT}} \hspace{1cm} \text{PHENOMENA}
-k\text{t}(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} \text{BEN/APPLIC}

usu ka \u00a0 kucu \u00a0 ma-yuhu-dui \u00a0 [u-matu \text{ tim\text{-}i-na}]
he \text{ ACC cattle CAUS-fat-become \text{ it\text{-}on \text{ buy\text{-}SUBR sell}}}
kobina-su
\text{ in\text{-}ADVP}
front
He fattens the cattle before he sells them.

usu ka \u00a0 t\text{the}'a-ku \u00a0 kapa-kuba \u00a0 za-habi-k\text{t}-u
he \text{ ACC child-ACC bed\text{-}on \text{ CAUS\text{-}lie\text{-}APPLIC\text{-}FNCT}}
He laid the child on the bed.

c\text{a'}a-b\text{t} \u00a0 na'i
\text{ weed\text{-}ABS burn}
DUR
The weeds are burning.

usu ka \u00a0 nati \u00a0 ti\text{mi}-k\text{t}-u
he \text{ ACC belt me \text{ buy\text{-}BEN\text{-}FNCT}}
He bought me a belt.

Adverbial

Adverbials of motion, many obviously related to motion verbs, can be suffixed to the verb to give the idea of movement in a direction.

Suffixes: \hspace{1cm} Independent verbs:
-\text{ki motion towards speaker} \hspace{1cm} k\text{imma come}
-\text{ga motion not towards goal} \hspace{1cm} gia'a go towards a goal
-\text{gia motion towards goal} \hspace{1cm} noo accompany
-\text{noo motion for the purpose of} \hspace{1cm} n\text{imi travel/live (SG)}
-\text{ni\text{mi random motion (SG)}}
-moo random motion (DL/PL) moo travel (DL/PL)
-mina go, random focus
-k\textsuperscript{w}inai take/send away
-bodo(ti) round trip

usu mlidi\text{-}ma timi\text{-}di si\text{-}si\text{'}mft nobi\text{-}k\textsuperscript{w}ai
that meat\text{-}on buy\text{-}PRTC RDP\text{-}alone house\text{-}to sell

o\text{-}ma timi\text{-}ga\text{-}yak\text{\w}\w
it\text{-}sell\text{-}go\text{-}REPET
That meat sales\text{w}oman goes selling it from one house to another.

usu nanoca tomo k\text{\d}i\text{-}ga\text{-}bodoti
he every year groundhog\text{-}hunt\text{-}round
trip
He will hunt groundhogs every year.

usu puku\text{-}ga\text{-}na tikab\text{i} tik\text{a} kadi\text{-}no\text{'}o
he horse\text{-}have\text{-}SUBR bread eat sit\text{-}go along
DUR
He is going along on horseback eating bread.

usu tih\text{\textbar}a gaiba\text{-}muupa hoawai\text{-}jai\text{-}nimmi
he deer mountain\text{-}on hunt\text{-}HAB\text{-}travel
He is hunting for deer, all around on the mountain.

um\text{\textbar} tih\text{\textbar}a hoawai\text{-}jal\text{-}mo\text{'}o gaiba\text{-}muupa
they deer hunt\text{-}HAB\text{-}travel mountain\text{-}on
DUR
They go hunting around on the mountain for deer.

usu nati\text{-}ma timi\text{-}mina ka ta\text{-}tauna\text{-}du
he belt\text{-}sell\text{-}go ACC RDP\text{-}town\text{-}through
about
He is going about from town to town selling belts.

baa huu\text{-}na \text{i kuna pa\text{-}to\textsuperscript{w}i-k\text{\textbar}i-k\textsuperscript{w}inai\text{-}hu
water flow\text{-}NR my wood water\text{-}shoulder\text{-}carry\text{-}APPLIC\text{-}away\text{-}PNCT
flood
The flood carried my wood away.

Volitional

Volition can be expressed with a preverb construction or by a verb-verb construction where the second verb expresses the volition.
**Preverb form**  | **Verb**  
--- | ---  
su- | sunami  
ni- | t'fqa  
tu' | mapunnii  
supidak'atu | know  
nat'ni'iu | learn  
nisu- | be able to  

Preverbal elements are in strict order. tu' precedes nisu-, which precedes ni-. The postverb construction is more frequent than the other form. The volitional construction often co-occur with the BEN also, redundantly with both preverb and verbal forms.

usu mi kucu nisu-su-k'isi-k'itli  
he PL cattle be-want-lasso-BEN  
able  
He wants to be able to lasso cattle.

ni mi t'gapu od' tu'i su-jag' | su-nami  
I PL rope long try want-make want  
I want to try to make those ropes long.

nimt puha-ga'yu i su-ma-bisa-k+ mapunnii  
Indian power-have me want-CAUS-good-BEN try  
The Indian doctor wanted to try to make me well.

mino'o n'i 'nimi  
now I walk  

usu uka mi u nitama [i=sak'w a kucu k'isi-k']  
he that say him tell you=should cattle lasso-BEN  
supidak'atu] mi  
know say  
DUR  
He said, "You should learn to lasso cattle".

**Aspect**

'/Fortis'  | **DUR (see STEMS)**  
--- | ---  
-p+  | PERF PTIC  
-u/hu  | PNCT  
-dua  | UNR  
-tya  | again  
-k'  | POT  
-w+n  | CONT (SG)
-wami CONT (DL)
-kono CONT (PL)
-pini COMPL/STAT
-nimmi STAT (SG)
-mo'o STAT (DL/PL)
-yai BAB (PERF)
-yak'ni HAB (IMPRF)/REPET
-no'o go along doing

ni u-noo yadu'a na-tīka-dī na-tīka-pī
I her-with talk REFL-eat-PRTC REFL-eat-PERF PRTC

I talked with her. The food was eaten.

pauma-hu-k'wī
rain-PNCT-POT

usu mogo'ni saa-dī u tīka-u
that woman cook-PRTC it eat-PNCT
The woman, who was cooking, ate it.

muu'a punni-dua
I'll see you tomorrow.
tomorrow see-UNR

ni muu'a sa'a punni-dua toisapa
I tomorrow later see-UNR really
I'll see you again tomorrow for sure.

ni simina tui-hanano'o-tui i punni-dua
I might any-when any you see-UNR
I might see you sometime.

[ni ka gai tī-hoa'ai-gla-na] simina ni tauna-mai-dua
I ACC not UNSPEC-hunt-go-SUBR maybe I town-to-UNR
If I don't go hunting, maybe I will go to town.

[ni tauna-wai-si] bui na-tīka-dī tīmī-k'wī
I town-to-SUBR green REFL-eat-PRTC buy-POT
I will go to town and buy vegetables.

simina ni muu'a tīhī'a-ga-ga-k'wī
might I tomorrow deer-hunt-might-POT
I might go deer hunting tomorrow.

su tauna-mai-k'wī tultu saa-k'wī
she town-to-POT either cook-POT
She will go to town or cook the dinner.
su kadi-nu-du-k’ [gai tabi saa-na]
he chair-make-POT not noon cook-BR
He will make the chair instead of cooking dinner.

[nimmi ta-tanomani-si] usu ni wa’agi-wñt
we RDN-run-SUBR he us yell-CONT
We were running away when he was yelling at us.

[usu saa-wñtì-na] o pt-p’a-mñ tìka
he cook-CONT-SUBR his friends eat
He was cooking while his friends were eating.

usu tìka-wñt
he eat-CONT
He is eating.

umñ tìka-kono
they eat-CONT
They are eating.

[umñ saa-kono-na] mì pña’a tìka
they cook-CONT-SUBR their friend eat
PL
They were cooking while their friend ate.

usu 1 kadi-nu-tu 1 punni-pini
he my chair-make me see-COMPL DUR
He watched me make the chair.

nì hë-dul waanamoko-waitu mia-pini
I time-any Winnemucca-towards go-COMPL
I went to Winnemucca a few times.

tabi-wano nì yau kadi-nìmì
day-all I here sit-STAT
I have sat here all day.

umñ tì kapa-kuba bok’ a-mo’o
they own bed-on lie-STAT
PL
They are lying on their beds.

nì nano’ocñ tì nawakìno 1 punni-yai-dua
I every Monday you see-RES-UNR
I will see you every Monday.

usu u naka [ka paba-u nana nìka mia-yak’ì]
he him hear ACC big-ACC man I go-REPPE
EMPH
He heard the big man call me (again and again).
sisimina nti cikana noho awamua tfka-yak
sometimes I chicken egg morning eat-REPET
Sometimes I eat eggs for breakfast.

[u mia-no'o] nti tanomani-no'o
him go-along I run-along
While he was walking along, I was running along.

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE
want-DISTR-REFL-INSTR-CAUS-STEM-BEN-PNCT-DIRL-ASP-HAB-UNR-
(su-) UNSPEC SUBR-ADVR

niti su-na-ni-su-tihai
I want-REFL-INSTR-CAUS-pity
I want to pray.

umtf na-na-hoisu na-na-bunni
they RDP-REFL-REFL RDP-REFL-see
(DISTR)
They are looking at each other.

usu ka natl i timi-kfu
he ACC belt me buy-BEN-PNCT
He bought a belt for me.

u pabu'ul u tfibci naak-u-ga-yak
his brother him really accompany-PNCT-DIRL-REPET
His brother will really get him to go along with him.

pauka-hu-k'r
It will rain.

rain-PNCT-POT

sisimina nti muu'a ttfi'a-ga-ga-k'r
might I tomorrow deer-hunt-go-POT
Tomorrow I might go deer hunting.

umtf na-na-pido ttfi-k'r-jak
they RDP-REFL-turns sing-POT-REPET
(DISTR)
They took turns singing.

nti nano'oct ttf nawakino t punni-yal-dua
I every Monday you see-HAB-UNR
I will see you every Monday.
usu kimma-u-gi-na-su He is coming again.
he come-PNCT-DIRL-SUBR-ADVR

Reduplication for dual will not co-occur with prefixing.

umf ka nobi-k'ai-tu ki-kimma-u they ACC house-in-to RDP-come-PNCT (DL)
They c"ome to the house.

umf ka nobi-k'al-tu su-kimma-u they ACC house-in-to want-come
They want to come to the house.

COORDINATION

Two nouns may be conjoined with a conjunction immediately following one of the nouns.

-noo with/and (NOM)
nooku with/and (ACC)
piti or
tooq-+nno kaad tli-pa-kuba yi'wil
dog-and cat ground-on sit DL DUR
The dog and cat sit on the ground.
nf naeci nooku cia'a punni I see the boy and girl.
I boy and girl see ACC

himmu usu paca-u mopoga pitl mui'bi
what he kill-PNCT mosquito or fly
What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?

The conjunction pitl or can also conjoin temporals.

usu mino'o tabl saa-k'wil pitl saa'ã he now noon c"ook-POT or later
Will she cook lunch now or later?

Clauses may be conjoined with a conjunction placed in the second clause.
=slapî but
yaisî then (temporal sequence)
pîno'o DS
tu'îtu or
tîwau also
pâna but

nî sîkudu-ga=slapî nî gai u-ma sunami
I school-go-but I not it-to think
I went to school, but I didn’t pay any attention.

nî waanamoko-maî=slapî usu gai
I PN-to-but he not
I went to Winnemucca, but he didn’t.

usu u tîino-wai-tu mia-u-kî yaisî tîwau
he that PN-to-go go-PNCT-POT then also

waanamoko-wai-tu
PN-to-go
He is going to Reno and then to Winnemucca also.

usu tauna-maî-kî tu'îtu saa-kî
to town-to-POT or cook-POT
He will go to town or cook.

usu o-witu mia-kî i-witu tîwau
he that-place go-POT this-place also
He will go to that place and this also.

nî ižî'î tauna-maî pâna usu gai
I yesterday town-to but he not
I went to town yesterday but he didn’t.

Most conjoining of clauses is done by juxtaposition, with
a repetition of inflection, subject, or other.

u mia-no'o nî tanomani-no'o
him go-along I run-along
DUR DUR
He was walking along, and I was running along.

ižî'î nî tauna nîmmî yaa tabînu nî paamu-kîwai-tu
yesterday I town travel this day I hot-to-go
springs
Yesterday I went to town and today I went to the hot
springs.

If the second clause is negated, then gapping will delete
all repeated material.
nī izi’i tauna-mal pana usu gal
I yesterday town-to but he not
I went to town yesterday but he didn’t.

nī ka kaadî punni usu gal I saw the cat, but he didn’t.
I ACC cat see he not

nī ka kaadî punni gal ka toogî
I ACC cat see not ACC dog
I saw the cat, but not the dog.

Gapping is blocked if the second clause is not negated.

muigasu nanasati-k’al nī kusa tîmî yaa nī nati tîmî
last week-in I pants buy now I belt buy
Last week I bought some pants; now I bought a belt.

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses, whether subject or object, may be finite. They can be embedded questions (see EMBEDDED QUESTIONS) or regular complement clauses. They may take -na SUBR as their final element, or they may take case switch (i.e., the subject is marked ACC and the object NOM), but in all other respects they are indistinguishable from main clauses.

Subject Complement Clauses

Sentences that take clauses as subjects usually have for their predicate an intransitive verb stem transitivized by a causative, or a transitive stem passivized. The complement clause must be marked by -na SUBR and never experiences case switch.

usu toga-bina tî-nîk’î-na] l ni-ma-sita’a
he night-middle UNSPEC-sing-SUBR me by-CAUS-angry
speech DUR
His singing at midnight made me mad.

[kami wigia na-k’isi-na] ini na-manak’i
rabbit blanket REPL-weave-SUBR hard REPL-do
Rabbit blanket weaving is hard to do.

If the embedded clause does not have a logical subject, the embedded object can be raised to become a matrix subject by a rule resembling "tough movement".
[pasa-p] sti-bi] tni [n̥i payu'li]
dry-PERP willow-ABS hard split

Dry willows are hard to split.

Object Complement Clauses

Certain verbs may optionally take clauses as objects. The complement clause may take -na SUBR, and when marked for case, the embedded subject will be marked ACC and the embedded object either NOM or EMPH. The complement clause can precede the verb or be moved to follow it.

usu [ni kadi-nu-tu] ni ni-yua1-kì-u
he us sit-NR-make us by-stop-APPLIC-PNCT
DUR speech

He stopped us from making chairs.

usu i bunni [gai pf-m] k'Wat1-na]
he me see not he-EMPH shoot-SUBR at

He saw I wasn't shooting at him.

If the embedded subject is not coreferential to the matrix subject, it can be raised to, or copied as, the matrix object.

nì u ni-dau [t kucu-ma tìmì't]
I him by-stop you cattle-sell
speech DUR

I stopped him selling your cattle.

usu ni bunni [tìh1]a ni hoawa'li]
he us see deer us hunt
DUR

He saw us hunting deer.

nì ka nana punni-pinì [o kadi-nu-du]
I ACC man see-STAT him sit-NR-make

I saw the man make the chair.

If the subject is not raised, the whole embedded clause may have a pronoun copy u it ACC as matrix object.

nì u supldak'atu [nì gal kucu-ma tìmì't]
I it know I not cattle-sell
DUR DUR

I know I didn't sell cattle.
Verbs of mental action and direct quotation are a special case of complements and frequently take a whole discourse as complement. These verbs block case switch. Direct quotations, whether actually said or just thought, end in mi say.

\[ nt\ u\ supidak^wu\ [usu\ ga\ i\ bunn\i] \]
\[ I\ it\ know\ he\ not\ me\ see\ DUR \]
\[ I\ knew\ he\ didn't\ see\ me. \]

\[ usu\ mi\ u\ sunami\ [nt\ i-noo\ mia-u]\ mi \]
\[ he\ say\ it\ think\ I\ you-with\ go\-PNCT\ say\ He\ thought,\ "I\ went\ with\ you". \]

**EMBEDDED QUESTIONS**

Questions can be embedded as subject or object in a clause, but object embedding is far more frequent. They are finite and can be fully inflected. They may be marked with -na SUBR. But other than that, embedded content questions are identical to nonembedded questions.

Questions embedded as subjects usually involve passivization of the main verb and occur sentence initial.

\[ [hananô'o\ su\ tîkabî\ noho]\ gal\ na-supidak^wu \]
\[ when\ he\ bread\ bake\ not\ REFL-know\ DUR \]
\[ When\ he\ baked\ bread\ is\ not\ known. \]

Yes/no questions may have some form of hau whether/if instead of a question marker.

\[ [ha'u\ su-mia-na]\ muasu\ na-supidak^wu-pînî \]
\[ whether\ want-go-SUBR\ already\ REFL-know-STAT \]
\[ whether\ he\ wants\ to\ go\ is\ already\ known. \]

Object embedded questions occur sentence final and may begin with ka ACC.

\[ 1\ tîk^wî\ mîno'o\ [ka\ hau\ tî\ tîk^wî-a-wînî-na]\ \]
\[ me\ tell\ now\ ACC\ if\ UNSPEC\ snow-CONT-SUBR \]
\[ Tell\ me\ now\ if\ it\ is\ snowing. \]
ni su-supidak₃atu [hau yaa tabinu pauma-k₃⁻³]
I want-know if this day rain-POT
DUR
I want to know if it will rain today.

ni t₃ u supidak₃atu [hanano'o saa-u mani-na]
I it know when cook-PNCT become-SUBR
DUR
I know when he became a cook.

usu supidak₃atu [haka tf ad tìtìha-u-na]
he know whom UNSPEC gun steal-PNCT-SUBR
DUR
He knows who stole his gun.

The question can have a pronoun copy u it placed before the verb. Also the question marker can occur instead of hau whether/if for a yes/no embedded question.

ímì pabìli u su-supidak₃atu [tf ha'₃ a yaa
your older it want-know you Q this
brother DUR (day)

tf-hoawai-gia-k₃⁻³]
UNSPEC-hunt-go-POT
Your brother wants to know if you are going hunting (today).

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General
A noun, regardless of its function in the main clause, may be modified by a relative clause. The relative can precede or follow an overt head, occur without a head, or be moved to follow the whole main clause. Relatives whose heads are matrix subjects or possessors most frequently directly follow their head.

usu tooqì [i'zì'i ni punni-na] yaa tabinu ni that dog yesterday us see-SUBR this day us

naki-kìa
chase-go
DUR
The dog which we saw yesterday chased us today.
usu ka nana [pi-noo i ti-hoawai-yai-na] tua
she ACC man he-with me UNSPEC-hunt-HAB-SUBR son

kuma-du
husband-make
She married the son of the man I used to hunt with.

Those relatives whose heads are objects most frequently
are moved to follow the verb. This is in line with a very
strong tendency not to divide an untopicalized object from its
verb.

nimni ka waici mooni-maka [nimni mooni'i na-tiïga-di]
we ACC old money-give money REFL-ask-PRTC
We gave money to the old man who asked us.

Relatives attributive to an object of a postposition can
occur between the object and the postposition or may be moved
to follow the clause with the postposition optionally copied
onto the end of the clause. In either case the postposition,
if bound, will attach to the last word of the clause. The
subordinator may drop before a postposition.

nî ka i aakîsî [uga maïakudu]-ma kuna kâbitî
I ACC my axe he sharpened-with wood chop
I chopped wood with my axe which he sharpened.

usu ka hama-ma tiïpagî-da-jakî [ni-makû tî
he ACC hammer-with hit-REPEET I-from UNSPEC

tîmi-pî(-ma)]
buy-PERF(-with)
PRTC
He is hammering with the hammer he bought from me.

Headless relatives tend to occur in the same position that
their head, if overt, would occupy.

usu [tî kuçu tifyha-di] naki
he own cattle steal-PRTC chase
He chased the one who stole his cattle.

The noun phrase coreferential to the head is never overt
unless it is the object of a postposition or possessive (see
Non-Subject Relatives for examples).

nana [pi-noo i mia-na] pakî i maka
man he-with me go-SUBR fish me feed
The man whom I went with gave me a fish.
The predicate of a relative clause is fully finite and can take any inflection a main verb will except the reduplicative plural. Even headless relatives functioning like nominalizations can still inflect with any aspect. No purely nominal affixing can be attached to the relative clause verb except a postposition.

\[ k^\text{m} \text{num} \text{wil} - w^\dagger \text{m} \text{in} - d^\dagger \text{t} \text{f} \text{f} \text{f} \text{cawa-k}^\dagger \text{nu} \]

\[ \text{spin-CONT-PRTC} \quad \text{fan-BEN-NR} \]

\[ \text{mechanical fan} \]

Relative clauses are semantically restrictive. Non-restrictive clauses are identical to adverbial clauses and are covered under that rubric.

Subject Relatives

Relative clauses in which the noun phrase coreferential to the head is subject of the subordinate clause are marked with -d^\dagger PRTC suffixed to the final word, the verb. If the head is matrix object, any object or dative object will be marked NOM or EMPH.

\[ \text{usu \ too}^\dagger [\text{bisa ni supi}j^\text{a-d}^\dagger] \text{yaa tabinu ni bunni} \]

that dog \ good we like-PRTC \ this day \ we see

The dog that likes us saw us today.

\[ \text{f=} \text{sak}^\text{w}a \quad \text{tga ka} \quad \text{kak}^\text{w}l \quad \text{tuhu'u} \quad \text{k}^\text{w} \text{at}^l-u \quad [\text{ka} \quad \text{you=should UNR ACC mountain lion} \quad \text{shoot-PWCT ACC} \]

\[ \text{izil'l} \quad \text{n}^\text{ika} \quad \text{nak}l-d^\dagger \]

\[ \text{yesterday I:EMPH chase-PRTC} \]

You should shoot the mountain lion that chased me yesterday.

Relative clauses can occur without overt heads. There are no special characteristics of headless relatives or nominalizations to distinguish these from other relatives.

\[ \text{usu [t}^\text{f} \text{kucu} \quad \text{tit}^\text{h} \text{a-d}^\dagger] \text{naki} \]

he \ own cattle steal-PRTC chase

He chased the one who stole his cattle.

\[ [\text{na-t}^\text{f} \text{ka-d}^\dagger] \quad \text{na-t}^\text{f} \text{ka-p}^\dagger \]

\[ \text{REPL-eat-PRTC REPL-eat-PERF PRTC} \]

The food was eaten.
Non-Subject Relatives

When the noun phrase coreferential to the head is not the subject of the relative clause, the subject is marked ACC and the object or dative object, if overt (i.e., not the coreferential constituent), will be marked NOM or EMPH.

usu kucu tua’a [nîmmi tî tînî-kî-na] tî tana-dî hâ’a
that cow child we you buy-BEN-SUBR you kick-PRTC Q
ACC ACC
Did that calf you bought for us ever kick you?

nî ka toolsa-bui [yaa l hani pldî-pî] tusu
I ACC chokecherry-berry here me carry arrive-PERF grind
PL PRTC
I ground the chokecherries I brought here.

[ka nana maka-na] puku pâ’a ’winî
ACC man feed-SUBR horse high stand
The horse the man feeds is tall.

If the coreferential noun phrase is the object of a postposition or a possessor, the pronoun pî REFL is used to mark the coreferent.

nana [pî-noo i mia-na] pak’î lî maka
man he-with me go-SUBR fish me feed
The man I went with gave me a fish.

The relative clause can occur without overt head. Again there are no special characteristics to distinguish these from other relative clauses. The subject, since it is already marked ACC, will look like a possessor if no other word happens to intervene.

usu [ka nana pî-maku tîtîha-na] mayî
he ACC man him-from steal-SUBR find
He found what the man stole from him.

[mogo’ni saa-na] tîf ona-ga’yu
woman cook-SUBR very salt-have
The woman’s cooking is too salty.
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial ideas can be expressed by adverbial words or phrases or by adverbial clauses subordinate to the main clause. There are four structural types: locative, temporal, without, and until. Temporal clauses have been extended to cover many other semantic relationships, such as by means of, because, in order to, if, and although. Subordination is signaled by the final suffix on the predicate and by case switch (i.e., the embedded subject is marked ACC and the embedded object marked NOM). All movement rules that would result in the predicate being nonfinal are blocked. All adverbial clauses can occur either preceding or following the matrix clause, although some occur immediately following the matrix subject. If the two subjects are coreferential, the embedded or second subject may be, and usually is, deleted.

Locative Clauses

Locationals are often expressed with a clause. An embedded question beginning with the appropriate form of mano where and ending (like all embedded questions) in -na SUBR can be used.

nf u mayi [hano-ti maina hiwi-na]
I it find where-at mine dig-SUBR
I found where he is digging a mine.

A relative clause attributive to an object of a postposition can fill in many more details. It may be moved to follow the matrix predicate, but the head will be represented by a co-referential $p$ on which the postposition of the head will be copied. The relative clause itself will have an appropriate postposition following the predicate and, if a bound form, suffixed to it.

nimmi ka nobi-kwai-tu mi-mia [p-t-kwai-tu i
we ACC house-in-to RDP-go it-in-to me
(IDL)
na-tua-tu-p-f-wai-tn]
REFL-child-make-PERS-in-at
PHTC
We went to the house where I was born.

Instead of a postpositional expression, a locative word may be used. Then no coreferential pronoun will occur in the embedded clause, but the postposition still follows the predicate.
usu unatì [ti-hoawal] caglì l nobi-ka'yu  
he there UNSPEC-hunt near house-have  
He lives near where he hunts.

That locative word can be an indefinite.

nì [ka tu-i-hano-tui ÷ su-tïka-k'wäi] tïka-k'wäi
I ACC any-where-any you want-eat-in eat-POT
I will eat anywhere you want to eat.

Or a locative expression can be formed by sufffixing the locative nominalizer -pi place onto the predicate of the embedded clause and then adding an appropriate postposition. This -pi is apparently the source of -pi ABG.

usu nabu tïka-pi-k'wäi-tu mia-pì
he peyote eat-place-in-to go-PERF PRTC
He went to the peyote meeting.

usu ti-boo-pi-ma ti-bo'o
he UNSPEC-write-place-on UNSPEC-write DUR
He wrote on the letter.

Temporal Clauses

The temporal adverbial clause is the least marked adverbial clause and is used for a variety of adverbial concepts. If the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, the second (or subordinate) subject will be deleted. If they are not co-referential, the subordinate subject will be marked ACC and the embedded direct and dative objects will be marked Nom or EMPH. The subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause.

Subordinators:

-sì sequential
-na simultaneous (SS)
Ø simultaneous (DS)

Temporal adverbial clauses can be used to show temporal relationships.

nì [u-noo yadua-sì] tïka
I him-with talk-SUBR eat
After I talked with him, I ate.
[u saa-mak' + -si] nimmī tabī tiēka
him cook-finish-SUBR we noon eat
After he finished cooking, we ate dinner.

nimmī ka nana punni [tabi tiēka-na]
we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR
We saw the man while we ate dinner.

nimmī nana punni [mī duakī tabi tiēka]
we man see FL children noon eat
ACC
We saw the man while the children ate lunch.

They can be used to express by means of.

nī ka kaazi mabicabi [pīti -tipt piwit o1
I ACC car fix new-EMPH battery there

za-katīga-na]
force-put-SUBR
I fixed the car by putting in a new battery.

usu iwa-u moonī'ī-gia manī [owa moonī'ī mayī-si]
he much-ACC money-POSSR become yellow money find-SUBR
He became rich by finding gold.

Or temporal adverbials can carry the because idea with the cause in the subordinate clause and the effect in the main clause. The main clause usually precedes the subordinate one, but if it doesn't it may begin with wunī'yu therefore.

 usu i tooget k'ati-u [ka gai u bizapi-na]
he my dog shoot-PNCT ACC not it like-SUBR
He shot my dog because he didn't like it.

usu i tooget k'ati-u [kucu naki]
he my dog shoot-PNCT cattle chase
He shot my dog because it chased cattle.

[usu timī-ga-k' + u manī-gia-k' + -si] gai ni-noo
he buy-go-POT it do-go-POT-SUBR not I-with

ti-hoawei-gi'a
UNSPEC-hunt-go
DUR
Because he is going shopping, he can't go hunting with me.
[usu ka u n-imdúi-na] uuni'yuna u tamaza'l
he ACC his relative-SUBR therefore him help

DUR

Because he is his relative, therefore he is helping him.

The in order to concept can also be expressed this way:

nít tauna-l-tu kimna [títkabí tímí-k'it-sí]
I town-in-to come bread buy-POT-SUBR
I went to town to buy bread.

nít ka kucu iwa maka [u ma-yuhu-dui-na]
I ACC cow lots feed her CAUS-fat-become-SUBR
I feed the cow lots to fatten her.

If clauses use the same form; the if clause is sub-
ordinate.

umít [ka pími nobí'ní] tooisa-buí i hani-kía-kíít
they ACC SP visit chokecherry-berry me give-go-POT
EMPH
They will give me chokecherries if/when I visit them.

isu títk'wà-kíít [ka caq'ítd-níyuna i sual-sí]
this storm-POT ACC porcupine-at you laugh-SUBR
It will snowstorm if you laugh at a porcupine.

[usu ka mí nobí'ní-na] usu=qá simína oítí mí títk'íí]
he ACC them visit-SUBR he=might might that them tell
DUR
If he visited them, he probably told them about it.

Contrary-to-fact conditionals are marked by putting =sák'wa
should in the if clause and a modal in the result clause. The
subordinator in contrary-to-fact clauses is always -na.

[usu iza'=sák'wa lka gáí ka mago'o=k'wäl-tu punni-na]
that coyote=should it not ACC bag-in-to look-SUBR

su huna=sák'wa ka pitumaba tablci k'ít-ka
that badger=should ACC whirlwind really carry-away
DUR
If that coyote hadn't looked into the bag, that badger
would have taken the whirlwind completely away.

[uni=sák'wa ka gáí ka ni tìmahí tilpa gáí kíma-pidosi
they=should ACC not ACC our grazing land not side-change
trade-SUBR we-might now very good-PRED-POT
If they hadn't changed our grazing lands to the other side, we would be much better off.

If clauses can be negated to give the unless or if not idea.

[gai haga i-noo-na] ni gai tauna-mai wa'ni'yu
not who me-with-SUBR I not town-to can
If no one takes me, I can't go to town.

[ni ka gai nobi-k'ai-ku u mayi-na] ni st'mt
I ACC not house-in-at him find-SUBR I only

ti-hoawai-k'W
UNSPEC-hunt-POT
If I don't find him home, I will hunt alone.

The introduction of a modal to the subordinate but not to the main clause gives the idea of although.

   tui/tu'i any/try/even
   =sak'a should
   =slapf might
   =pana UNR

[ni u nobi-k'ai-tu tu'i mia-yai-na] gai u mayi-dì
I his house-in-to try go-RAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC
Although I went to his house many times, I never found him there.

[tui=sak'W a ni nika mr pacak'mat=slapf gai ni
even should I I them kill-POT might not I

EMPH

na-ma-mia-wa'ni'yu
REFL-CAUS-go-cam
Even if it might kill me, still I won't run away.

[tu'i gai haa'no i t'managa-k'i-pana] ni u-ma u timi-k'W
even not some me pay-BEN-UNR I him it POT

sell

Even though he won't pay me much, still I will sell it to him.
The manner adverbial idea is expressed by a subordinate clause ending in either \textit{wa'ni('yu)} be like or \textit{tab'i'a} apparently or both. One can also occur in the matrix clause.

\textbf{usu [ka naac\text{-}t-na] ada juhu-'na na-zo-k'\text{\texttimes}ina [o u he ACC boy-SUBR crow grease-with REFL-head-rub DEM it tî mani-wa'ni]}

\textit{UNSPEC do-be like}

When he was a boy he greased his hair with crow's grease like he should.

\textbf{usu [mî mu-mua-tipî nîmî oka u matabul tab'i'a he these REFL-old-EMPH people that it make apparently k'wa'ni-su] u matabul'î}

\textit{be-ADVR it make like DUR}

He made it the same way the old people used to make it.

\textbf{[ka tui-hau-tui maka i matabul tab'i'a] ka ACC any-thus-any that me do apparently ACC EMPH}

\textit{togi'yu-kiti}

\textit{dislike-BEN}

Whatever way I fix it, he won't like it.

\textbf{[tui-hau maka saa tab'i'a] nî gal a tîka-wa'ni'yu any-thus that cook apparently I not some eat-can/will EMPH}

However she cooks it, I won't eat it.

\textbf{nî [tui-hau-tui maka i pizabî tab'i'a-k'wa'ni] a matabul I any-thus-any that you like apparently-he it fix EMPH}

\textit{tab'i'a-k'\text{\texttimes}}

\textit{apparently-POT}

I will fix it any way you want.

\textbf{Other}

The adverbial clauses expressing the idea of \textit{without all} begin with \textit{gai} not and end with \textit{-pana} URR and contain no other subordinator. They do not show case switch.
usu [gai tabl saa-pana] mlo-k'it
he not noon cook-UNR go-POT
meal
He will go without cooking supper.

usu tiihiya hoawai-gia [gai tii k'it-pana]
he deer hunt-go not tell-UNR
He went deer hunting without telling me.

The adverbial until clause uses certain postpositions which share the idea of staying with to subordinate the clause. Case switch occurs in DS subordinate clauses of this type. The subordinators nootu and nooti are used with a time idea and k'aitu with a goal idea.

nootu with-to \( (\text{time}) \)

nooti with-at \( (\text{goal}) \)

usu mti duamti nogat-k'it [i piti-ga-no'o-ti]
she PL my children stay-POT me arrive-DIRL-with-at
with until
Until I get home, she will watch my children.

i puku inti yabi tika-wini-yak'it \( \text{tt} \)
my horse very quickly eat-DUR-HAB UNSPEC

k'az'mlu-k'aitu]
full-in-to
until
My horse always eats very fast until he gets full.

nti gai waanamoko-mai [i mooni'i' i nabonna i
I not PN-to my money my check me

q'it-no'o-tu]
give-with-to
until
I won't go to Winnemucca until I get my check.
PAPAGO

Dean Saxton
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INTRODUCTION

General

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

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

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

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

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

The primary focus of the paper is Papago.

Notation

A common phonological notation is employed for all dialects; forms for specific dialects may be derived by simple rules.
Ko’lodi dialect deletes glottal stop in secondary-stressed syllables:

`aani/i/aañli  I  aapi/i/aapli  you
hoohoi/d/hoohoid  to like  higa/i/higai  that
ma’išpi’ok/ma’išpiok  to uncover

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

'ćuukhug/'ćuuhug  flesh  uupham/uuhum  back, home
wawhia/wahia  well  wabs/was  just

Other dialects delete h following a voiceless noncentral oral consonant:

'ćuukhug/'ćuukug  flesh  uupham/uupam  back, home

Other dialects also exclude central disparate \( V_1(G)V_2 \) phonetically by backing \( V_1 \) following a noncentral nonglottal C and/or decentralizing:

w'hooh/wohoo  true  mť’a/*mo’a/mu’a  to kill
mía/*moa/mua  kill  doa/dua  live
do’ag/du’ag  mountain  čiho/čiho  cave
čioj/čioj  male  čiham/čiham  to command
ñť’oki/ñl’oki  word

The following special grammatical abbreviations are used:

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

Certain other special notations are employed in this paper.
In lexical listings, certain verb constituents are partly or completely underlined to indicate the truncated form of the perfective:

\[-\text{cud} \quad \text{APPLIC} \]
\[\text{maak} \quad \text{to give} \]
\[\text{\textit{mita}} \quad \text{to kill} \]

In text, truncation is marked X and labeled \textit{PERF}:

\[\text{kii-\textit{c}} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{house-APPLIC-PERF} \quad \text{maa-X} \quad \text{give-PERF} \]
\[\text{make a house} \quad \text{give} \]

\[\text{\textit{mita}} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{kill-PERF} \quad \text{kill} \]

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

\[\text{so-\textit{o}} \quad \text{\textit{wa}i} \quad \text{s=giw} \quad \text{\textit{w-a-n-t}} \quad \text{wo \textit{ni}-\textit{t}} \quad \text{\textit{I'll see him}.} \]
\[\text{\textit{X-MD} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{AFF=strong} \quad \text{\textit{X-MD-I-TNS} \quad \text{\textit{look-APPLIC} \quad \textit{FUT}}} \quad \text{\textit{He's quite strong.}} \]
\[\text{\textit{wo-\textit{o}} \quad \text{\textit{wab}g} \quad \text{\textit{iattog-id} \quad \text{\textit{X-MD} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{REFL lite-APPLIC}}} \quad \text{\textit{just}}} \quad \text{\textit{He's just deceiving himself.}} \]
\[\text{\textit{gogs} \quad \text{go-go-gs} \quad \text{\textit{X-RDF-X}}} \quad \text{\textit{dog}}} \quad \text{\textit{dog}}} \quad \text{\textit{dogs}}} \]

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

\[\text{\textit{kal=siida} \quad \text{ka-ka-l}=\textit{si-si-da}} \quad \text{\textit{X-RDF-X=}\textit{X-RDF-X}}} \quad \text{\textit{sock}} \quad \text{\textit{STEM}} \quad \text{\textit{socks}}} \]
When a morpheme is deleted by morphophonemic or phonetic rule, its structural label is added to that of the previous morpheme:

\[ g \quad \text{kii} \quad g \quad \text{huan} \quad g \quad \text{huan kii} \]
\[ \text{ART house-GEN ART PN} \quad \text{ART PN house} \quad \text{GEN} \]
\[ \text{the house of Juan} \quad \text{Juan's house} \]

\[ g \quad \text{mil-i-} \quad g \quad \text{huan} \quad g \quad \text{huan mil} \]
\[ \text{ART run-GER-GEN ART PN} \quad \text{ART PN run} \quad \text{GER} \quad \text{GEN} \]
\[ \text{the running of Juan} \quad \text{Juan's running} \]

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

**PHONOLOGY**

**Phonemes**

- \( p \quad t \quad ċ \quad k \)
- \( b \quad d \quad j \quad g \)
- \( m \quad n \quad ŋ \quad ŋ \)
- \( s \quad ň \quad h \)
- \( l \quad ť \)
- \( w \quad y \quad i \quad ū \quad ū \quad ū \quad ū \)
- \( a \quad o \)

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

\[ īq \quad \text{to plant} \quad \text{mo'o} \quad \text{head} \]
\[ čtho \quad \text{cave} \quad \text{kaam} \quad \text{cheek} \]
\[ wald \quad \text{to invite} \quad s=ktʃg \quad \text{be good} \]
\[ s=ŋ=kíı'ıd \quad \text{AFF=me=hate} \quad \text{gogs} \quad \text{dog} \]
\[ \text{AFF=me=hate} \quad \text{to hate me} \quad aqšp \quad \text{steep down} \]
The phonemes also divide into the following sets in contrast to the residue: central (columns t, č); front (columns p, t); tense (rows p, s, i); nasal (row m); spirant (row s); voiced (rows b, m, l, w, l, a); stop (rows p, b, and also phoneme š in Togotuañ dialect).

Phonetically, t, d, n are apico(dental); č, ŋ, ň, ʃ, ɬ are palatal; l is a retroflexed flap; ň is a fricative preceding l/a. ŋ and ŋ are song analogs of g and ' respectively, acquiring phonemic status in speech through Spanish loans:

aghil angel waŋko bank pa-yaasə clown

All geminate sequences are permitted, and in addition ÇG, stop plus spirant, s/ʃ plus nonvoiced stop, and nasal plus homorganic nonnasal. All CV are permitted except t/d/n/s/l plus i; s/ʃ/y plus i; b/g plus u. All V(G)V occur in syllable nucleus except a/o/u plus i; a/u plus o; o plus u.

Phonological Processes

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

[kuí] mesquite [wuí] toward
[kái] seed [wáí] invite
[wuá] do [máščam] teach
[číkpn] work [hú] REM
[hí] on one hand [hí] how about
[wá] as mentioned [pí ñp] not good

NEG MD hear
He doesn't hear.

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

Place secondary stress (in all morphemes--stem, particle, clitic, affix) on all single lax V; on single u except after noncentral C; and on the second V of disparate clusters when the first V is tense, on the first V otherwise:
[māščām] to teach [hīmhashawā] must
[kūdūt] to trouble [wō] FUT
[hīkuč] to cut [hūkā] whole
[déapiūn] to smooth [āālig] domain
[tāččuiri] will [šīfgōi] greasewood
[fpāi] also [-āmiō] go to do

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

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

nīnga/[nīŋga] (Totoguaŋ)/[nīŋɡa] (other) to wait

Change ŋ to d preceding t:

nawoŋ-t/nawod-t  gi+i-ŋ-ta/gi+i-d-ta
friend-make big-be-INCHO
make a friend get big

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

ha NEG  hahawā then  haš/wabš just
wa REF  wa+i only wo FUT

Delete h following unstressed V:

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

Insert V in ĉ X where CX is not a permitted sequence of segments--u in ĉC ; i in ĉ/i/n/s/1 ; a otherwise:

[či̱ugidɑ̃] to shake [hūdōn] to descend
[fdagidɑ̃] to own [hūuči] hoof
[nāahkɑ̃] ear [čīkaPana] to work
[čīkaPɑ̃] work

Put secondary stress on V between two ĉ, the second lax, if not followed by stressed V:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>číkapāna</th>
<th>to work</th>
<th>[číkap-a-X]</th>
<th>work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work-PRF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūgūni</td>
<td>to descend</td>
<td>[fdagi-da]</td>
<td>to own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fdagi- X']</td>
<td>find</td>
<td>[gfwik-m-hun]</td>
<td>encourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>strong-ADVR-APLIC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| [kāA]                    | hear                     | [kōi]                | yet                       |
|                         |                          | [hūki]               | whole                     |
| [ṣiguli]                | greasewood               | [mōomi]              | heads                     |
| [dāgiši]               | leave                    | [mō'0]               | head                      |
| [čifhō]                 | cave                     | [jīwīʔa]             | earth                     |

Devoice C if not followed by voiced segment:

| [dāgiši]               | leave                    | [mōomi]              | heads                     |
| [čikapāna]             | to work                 | [jīwīʔa]             | earth                     |
| [hūgūni]               | to descend              |                      |                           |

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

| [dā'giši]              | to leave                | [čikapāna]           | to work                  |
| [gōnkih]               | tracks                  | [jīwīʔa]             | earth (Totoguan)         |
|                         |                         | [jīwīʔa]             | earth (other)            |

Delete unstressed V if flanked by permitted CC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ḋa-ḍa-ha/ ḋa-ḍ-ha</th>
<th>kō-kō-s- ḋ/kō-k-s- ḋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X-RDP-X</td>
<td>X-RDP-X-REPET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitting PL</td>
<td>sleep REPET</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ṣūudagi-kājī/ ṣūudag-kājī | liquid-INSTR            |
|                         | by water                |

Delete unstressed first V of disparate central VV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>čf-či-oji/ čf-č-oji</th>
<th>dō-d-o-a/dō-d-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X-RDP-X</td>
<td>X-RDP-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>live PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reduce unstressed single \( V \) to \([\varepsilon]\), except noncentral \( V \) following noncentral \( C \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čikApa}ñ\text{n}A/\text{čikApa}ñ\text{nd} & \quad s\text{i}w\text{f}çi-mà/\text{sa}w\text{f}ça-mà \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{AfF} = \text{heavy-ADVR} \\
\text{tâ-a-ta-ðâ-j}l/\text{tâ-a-ta-ðâ-j}l & \quad \text{tôb}b\text{l} \quad \text{co}tt\text{ont}\text{ail} \\
\text{foot} & \\
\text{dâg-}tò & \quad \text{híkúč}\text{a} \\
\text{hand-GER-COMPL} & \quad \text{cut} \\
\text{leave} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{naad-'}i-\text{ř}/*\text{naad-i-ř} & \quad *\text{d-'}o/\text{q-o} \\
\text{fire-PERF-you} & \quad \text{E}q-MD \\
\text{Make fire!} & \quad \text{it is} \\
*\text{m}t\text{d-'}i-\text{ř}/*\text{m}t\text{d-i-ř} & \quad \text{wà 'f}p/\text{wà-'ap} \\
\text{run-PERF-you} & \quad \text{R}e\text{f also} \\
\text{Run!} & \quad \text{likewise} \\
\text{wô 'ip/\text{wô-'op}} & \quad \text{tà 'ò/tô-'}o \\
\text{PUT time} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-MD} \\
\text{until} & \quad \text{UNSPEC it} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Reverse frontness of \( d, \dot{g}, n, \dot{s} \) before \( i \):

\[
\begin{align*}
*\text{naad-i-ř}/\text{naa}ñ-j-\text{i-ř} & \quad *\text{m}t\text{d-i-ř}/\text{m}t\text{l-i-ř} \\
\text{fire-PERF-you} & \quad \text{run-PERF-you} \\
\text{Make a fire!} & \quad \text{Run!} \\
\text{hain-i/haiř-i} & \quad *\text{kooś-i-ř}/\text{koos-i-ř} \\
\text{crack-GER} & \quad \text{sleep-PERF-you} \\
\text{cracked} & \quad \text{Sleep!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Replace stem-initial (and in some dialects, clause-initial) \( \dot{\text{q}} \) with \( d \):
da-q-ha/[da-q-ha]  q-o/[d-o]  
X-RDP-X  EQ-MD  it is  
sit  Be sitting  PL  

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

*gook-ho/*gok-ho  *naak-pig/nak-pig  
two-time  ear-remove  
twice  earmark  

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

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

toobi 'o/[t̪̥əb̪'ið]  taatami 'o/[t̪̥aata'mið]  
rabbit MD  tooth MD  
rabbit it  tooth it  
'am hu/['ahmu]  
LOC RMN  that-QNT-time  
there  so many times  

Assimilate h to preceding tense stop:  

či-č-hia/či-č-ča  young female  
X-RDP-X 
girl  

*gok-ho/gok-ko  *ha'a-khio/ha'a-kkio  
two-time  that-QNT  
twice  time  
so many times
Morphological Processes

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{him/hii-X} & \quad \text{move} \\
\text{ho'igi'1lid/} & \quad \text{ta'ilibim/} \\
\text{ho'igi'1l-X} & \quad \text{pity} \\
\text{mid/mi+i-X} & \quad \text{run} \\
\text{ta'ilibi} & \quad \text{pass around}
\end{align*}
\]

Optionally delete previous VC in certain untruncated verb stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ho'igi'ilid/ho'igi'id} & \quad \text{pity} \\
\text{ta'ilibi} & \quad \text{pass around}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ban/ ba-a-ba-n} & \quad \text{gogos/go-go-gs} \\
\text{coyote} & \quad \text{dog} \\
\text{coyotes} & \quad \text{dogs} \\
\text{him/hi-hi-m} & \quad \text{wuugad/wuug-a-d} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{deliver} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{deliver} \\
\text{go DISTR} & \\
\text{mid/mi-m-g-a} & \quad \text{čiiple/či-č-pi-a-g} \\
\text{run} & \quad \text{move} \\
\text{run} & \quad \text{move} \\
\text{run repeatedly} & \quad \text{move camp repeatedly} \\
\text{ghüg/gi-g-s-s-t} & \quad \text{kow/kо-o-ko-w} \\
\text{fall} & \quad \text{dig} \\
\text{fall} & \quad \text{dig} \\
\text{fall repeatedly} & \quad \text{dig repeatedly}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wui/wu'-u-wu-i} & \quad \text{daam/da-`a-da-m} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{on} \\
\text{to DISTR} & \quad \text{on DISTR}
\end{align*}
\]
kiiq/kii-hi-g  čiiq/dagii/čii-hi-dagii
   good   X-RDP-X
      good
     good  DISTR

wamaq/wa-ha-m-ma-d  šulig/shu-hu-l-l1-g
   snake    X-RDP-X  X-RDP-X
      snake
   snakes

shine  X-RDP-X  X-RDP-X
      shine
   shine  DISTR

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

mawid/mawi-pl-d/mai-pl-d  gılık/ gılı-p-k
    lion       X-RDP-X
      lion
   lions

nawuj/nauw-pu-j/nau-pu-j  na'-a-na-u-pu-j
   friend     X-RDP-X
      friend
friends (Pima)

wawina/wawi-pl-ha/wai-pl-ha/wai-pl-a
   well      X-RDP-X
      well
   wells
BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

General

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

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

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

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

pigii oig paançu čikpna-ŋ pigii čikpna-ŋ paançu
INTJ INTJ PN work-you INTJ work-you PN
IMP Well then, work, Pancho!

The clause consists of (INTR) PRED ARG1-3 MODn. Modifiers are prepositional, temporal, manner phrases, and may be prepositional in part or whole to the predicate (see later sections). The arguments are ordered and ranked SUBJ ((DAT)OBJ), and consist of article plus noun phrase:

k mid g gogs k ńtid g čioj g gogs
INTR run ART dog INTR see ART man ART dog
And the dog is running. And the man sees the dog.

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

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

k ńtid g čioj [m-o mid g gogs]
INTR see ART man SUBR-MD run ART dog
And the man sees the dog running.

k čitg-id g paançu g huan [m-o am ċaha
INTR find-APPLIC ART PN ART PN SUBR-MD LOC sit
g pliwlo\]  
ART PN  
And Pancho shows Juan that Pedro is there.

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

\[\text{mìš o g čtoj} \quad \text{pi o mìš g čioj}\]
run AUX ART man        NEG AUX run ART man
The man is running. The man isn’t running.

\[\text{čum o pi mìš g čioj}\]
MDL AUX NEG run ART man
The man is trying not to run.

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

\[\text{mìš o-ki g čtoj} \quad \text{mìš-\text{x} a-t-\text{g} g čioj}\]
run MD-MDL ART man run-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART man
The man is evidently running. The man reportedly ran.

\[\text{mìš a-ñ a-a-ñi-’l}\]
run MD-I I
I'm running.

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

\[\text{ku-ñ mìš aañi’i} \quad \text{k mìš g čioj}\]
INTR-I run I run ART man
And I'm running. And the man is running.

\[\text{d-o paanču}\]
EQ-MD PN
It's Pancho.

Nonemphatic PRON is deleted:

\[\text{mìš a-ñ}\quad \text{maak a-ñ g gogs g čuukhug}\]
run MD-I give MD-I ART dog ART meat
I'm running. I'm giving the dog meat.

Nonzero OBJ and DAT PRON copies are preposed to the predicate stem:
pi a-n ha ntid g a'-a-l
NEG MD-I them see ART X-RDP-X
OBJ child
I don't see the children.

ha a-n ntid g a'-a-l
them MD-I see ART children
OBJ
I see the children.

ha a-n aag-id g a'-a-l g ni'-i
them MD-I say-APPLIC ART children ART sing-GER
DAT
I'm singing the children a song.

Clause PRED stems agree in distributeness with the determiner of the rightmost argument:

him o higa'i hi-hi-m o higam
move MD that move-RDP-X MD those
That one is moving. Those DISTR are moving.

him-i-čud o g paanču higa'i
move-GER-APPLIC MD ART PN that
Pancho is moving that.

s=ap o ha hi-hi-m-i-čud g paanču higam
AFF=good MD them X-RDP-X-GER-APPLIC ART PN those
move
Pancho is moving those DISTR.

Prepositional phrase PRED stems agree in distributeness with the determiner of their argument:

a-m daam higa'i a-m ha daam higam
LOC over that LOC them over those
over
over those

a-m ha da'-a-da-m higam
LOC them X-RDP-RDP-X those
over over those DISTR

Noun phrase PRED, and some prepositions, are marked by
GEN -j:
The genitive marker is deleted when a constituent of its argument is prepended to the predicate:

```
g  ha  kii  higam             am  ha  w'tm  higam  
 ART  them  house  those        LOC  them  with  those
 the  house  of  those           with  those
 am  ha  wui  higam             
 LOC  them  to  those            
 to  those
```

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

```
pl  a-ŋ  ha  maak  g  a-la-  g  luulsi  m-w'tm  higam
 NEG  MD-I  them  give  ART  children  ART  candy  you=for
 (aapi'í)
you
I'm not giving the children candy for you.

pl  a-ŋ  ha  m=maak+júl-id  (aapi'í)g  a-la-  g
 NEG  MD-I  them  you=give-BEN-APPL CY you  ART  children  ART

luulsi
  candy
I'm not giving the children candy for you.

ha  a-ŋ  wa-p-kon  g  ko-k-toñ  m-w'tm  higam  (aapi'í)
  them  MD-I  X-RDP-X  ART  X-RDP-X  you=for  you
  wash  shirt
I'm washing the shirts for you.

ha  a-ŋ  m=wa-p-kon  id  (aapi'í)  g  ko-k-toñ
  them  MD-I  you=X-RDP-X-APPL CY you  ART  shirt
  wash
I'm washing you the shirts.
In neutral order a pitch contour occurs with each predicate, including exclamation and embedded phrase predicates. Pitch is high from first through last primary stress in the predicate and low elsewhere:

\text{ko'a\ g/\ hu\ \ ko'okol} \quad \text{na-p/\ ko'a\ g/\ ko'okol\ huan}

José eats chili. Do you eat chili, Juan?

\text{hpu\ ko'a\ a-\ n\ g/\ ko'okol} \quad \text{g/kili\ \ g/\ huan}

Yes, I eat chili. the house of Juan

\text{am/\ whifma\ \ g/\ huan}

there with Juan

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

\text{n-t\ wo\ si/\ g\ ga'i\ al-\ l\ [ma-t\ wo]} \quad \text{I-TNS\ PUT\ INTENS\ feed-PERF\ that\ child-SG\ SUBR-TNS\ FUT}

\text{g\ l-\ ka-d]}

I'll really feed a big child.

Subordinate nonrelative clauses have independent contour:

\text{n-t\ wo\ si/\ g\ ga'i\ al-\ l\ [ma-t\ wo]} \quad \text{I-TNS\ PUT\ INTENS\ feed-PERF\ that\ child-SG\ SUBR-TNS\ FUT}

\text{g\ l-\ ka-d]}

I'll really feed that child so he'll get big.

\textbf{Emphasis}

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

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

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

Topicalization is superimposed on focus raising:

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

Any number of phrases may be topicalized:

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

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

nih’a-ן g/kili-/ן g/husi/nih’a-ן g/husi/kill
see MD-I ART house-GEN ART PN see MD-I ART PN house
I see the house of José./I see José's house.

kpan a-ן withma-/ן g/husi/kpan a-ן g/husi with
work MD-I with-GEN ART PN work MD-I ART PN with
I work with José./I work with José.

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

hi-ki hu/ṣima g/kili/ṣ ima-ŋ wos-mad ʁ
RA-time REM MDL one ART man ART REFL grand-child ART

wipl’a-ŋ mančam
hunt-GER teach
Long ago, reportedly, a man was teaching his grandchild
hunting. (SS-LL-227)
A phrase is topicalized if its referent is in contrast to a previous referent. A phrase may be deleted if its referent is redundant and not in contrast nor syntactically required. A preposed response constituent is not subsumed under the contour of its matrix predicate:

A: \[
\text{mha-X a-t-g g/huan g/siliki}
\]
\[
\text{kill-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART PN ART white-tailed}
\]
\[
\text{deer}
\]
Juan reportedly killed a white-tailed deer.

B: \[
\text{pi a-t g siiki mha-X}
\]
\[
\text{NEG MD-TNS ART white-tailed kill-PERF}
\]
\[
\text{deer}
\]
It wasn't a white-tailed deer he killed.

\[
\text{huawi a-t mha-X}
\]
\[
\text{mule MD-TNS kill-PERF}
\]
\[
\text{deer}
\]
It was a mule deer.

A: \[
\text{pi a-t g huan mha-X}
\]
\[
\text{NEG MD-TNS ART PN kill-PERF}
\]
It wasn't Juan who killed it.

B: \[
\text{huasi a-t mha-X}
\]
\[
\text{PN MD-TNS kill-PERF}
\]
It was José.

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

A: \[
\text{ku-t hida'i mha-X g/huawi}
\]
\[
\text{INTR-TNS who kill-PERF ART mule}
\]
\[
\text{deer}
\]
Who killed the mule deer?

B: \[
\text{huasi (a-t mha-X)}
\]
\[
\text{PN MD-TNS kill-PERF}
\]
José (killed it).

A: \[
\text{ku-t hascu mha-X g/huan}
\]
\[
\text{INTR-TNS what kill-PERF ART PN}
\]
What did Juan kill?

B: \[
\text{siliki (a-t mha-X)}
\]
\[
\text{white-tailed MD-TNS kill-PERF}
\]
\[
\text{deer}
\]
A white-tailed deer (is what he killed).
A: ku-t h'ba'i mła-X g-huan g-sãlikl
    INTR-TNS where kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
    deer

    Where did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?

B: do'ag daam (a-t mła-X)
    mountain on MD-TNS kill-PERF
    On the mountain (is where he killed it).

A: ku-t hikl i mña-X g-huan g-sãlikl
    INTR-TNS when DEF kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
    deer

    When did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?

B: tako (a-t mña-X)
    yesterday MD-TNS kill-PERF
    Yesterday (is when he killed it).

A: ku-t hašču-kañ mña-X g-huan g-sãlikl
    INTR-TNS what-INSTR kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
    deer

    With what did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?

B: hašču-kañ (a-t mña-X)
    arrow-INSTR MD-TNS kill-PERF
    With an arrow (he killed it).

A: k has mas-ma čikpan g-husí
    INTR thus like-ADVR work ART PN
    How does José work?

B: hasčma-m o čikpan
    ART=industrious-ADVR MD work
    He works industriously.

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

with-ma-i g-huan/huan with-m
    with-GEN ART PN PN with
    with Juan/with Juan

A: k hida'i with čikpan g-husí
    INTR who with work ART PN
    With whom does José work?

B: huan with (o čikpan)
    PN with MD work
    It's with Juan (that he works).
Contrasting referent precedes question referent:

A: \[\text{ku-t} \quad \text{hasću mda-X} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{hubși}\]
\[\text{INT} \quad \text{TNS} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{kil-PERF ART} \quad \text{PN}\]
What did José kill?

A: \[\text{ku-t} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{huhan hasću mda-X}\]
\[\text{INT} \quad \text{TNS} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{kil-PERF}\]
And Juan, what did he kill?

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

\[\text{higai čọj} \quad [\text{m-o} \quad \text{gi公益性} \quad \text{higai} \quad [\text{m-o} \quad \text{gi公益性} \quad \text{čọj}]\]
\[\text{that man} \quad \text{SUBR-MD big-be} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{SUBR-MD big-be} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{that man who is big}\]

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

\[\text{higai čọj} \quad [\text{m-o} \quad \text{gi公益性} \quad \text{čọj} \quad \text{o s-sap} \quad \text{čikpan/higai} \quad \ldots] \]
\[\text{that man} \quad \text{SUBR-MD big-be} \quad \text{MD AFF-well work} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{SUBR-MD big-be} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{MD AFF-well work}\]
\[\text{That man who is big works well.}\]

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

Presumptive Pronoun Construction

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

\[\text{čikpan o higa-m či-č-oŋ/h+gam o čikpan či-č-oŋ} \]
\[\text{work MD that-PL X-RDP-X those MD work men}\]

Those men work. Those are the men that work.

\[\text{am o čikpan ha'i-ŋŋ h+gam či-č-oŋ} \]
\[\text{LOC MD work some-PART those men}\]
Some of those men work there.
ha'í-joy o am čikpan hígam čit-č-oj
some-PRTV MD LOC work those men
Some of those men work there.

am o čikpan gooka-joy hígam čit-č-oj
LOC MD work two-PRTV those men
Two of those men work there.

gooka-joy o am čikpan hígam čit-č-oj
two-PRTV MD LOC work those men
Two of those men are working there.

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

čikpan o hígál čitoj/híg o čikpan čitoj
work MD that man that MD work man
That man works./That's the man that works.

čikpan o lida'a čitoj/lí o čikpan čitoj
work MD this man this MD work man
This man works./This is the man that works.

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

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

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

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

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

čikpan o am īda hígál kilí/ am o čikpan híg īda kilí
work MD LOC in that house LOC MD work that in house
He works in that house./That's the house he works in.

Unemphatic quantifier may also be prepused to verb, not for topicalization, forming a presumptive pronoun construction:
am o čikpan ha'ı g či-č-oj/am o ha'ı čikpan g
LOC MD work some ART men LOC MD some work ART
či-č-oj
men
Some men are working there.

am o čikpan gook g či-č-oj/am o gook čikpan g
LOC MD work two ART men LOC MD two work ART
či-č-oj
men
Two men are working there.

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

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

či-č-oj o am ha'ı čikpan či-č-oj o am gook čikpan
men MD LOC some work men MD LOC two work
Some men are working there. Two men are working there.

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

Clefting

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

d-o higa'i čioj (higa'i) [ma-t wa mta-X g
EQ-MD that man he SUBJ-TNS REF kill-PERF ART
huawli]
mule
deer
That man is he who killed the mule deer.

d-o ha'a-kid (ida) [ma-t wa hab juu-X]
EQ-MD that-time than SUBJ-TNS REF thus do-PERF
Last year is when he did it.
da-t wo si'alim-k (ıda) [ma-n-t wo wa
EQ-TNS FUT tomorrow-STAT then SUBR-I-TNS FUT REF

m-ıni-x]
you=see-PERF
It will be tomorrow when I see you.

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

čikp-x]
work-PERF
When will it be that you will start work?

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

wo čikpna-d]
FUT work-IMPRF
Where is it that you're going to be working?

### PARTICLES AND CLITICS

#### Polarity

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POS</th>
<th>NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hıu'ı/hau'ı</td>
<td>plı'a/plı'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ yes</td>
<td>INTJ no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pıgli</td>
<td>daapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ all right</td>
<td>INTJ unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doowal</td>
<td>kla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ ready</td>
<td>INTJ wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oıl/oıgo</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ go ahead</td>
<td>INTJ Oh (I didn't know).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>plı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS/unexpectedly</td>
<td>NEG not, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>true</td>
<td>§(a...w)a'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>DGE a bit, at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTNS (DEG)</td>
<td>wa'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s= AEP</td>
<td>alı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DGE any, at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>il INTJ Oh (can it be?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čum MDL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ineffectual,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrealized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wo MDL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future, unaccomplished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hımS MDL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrealized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu RMN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not close, unfactual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
na-t pi hii-X g huan
Q-TNS NEG go-PERF ART PN
Didn't Juan go?

hiu'u pi a-t hii-X
INTJ NEG MD-TNS go-PERF
Yes, he didn't go.

daap łi a-ń maač [ma-s hii-X]
INTJ NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL go-PERF
Unknown, I don't know if he went.

pìiji oig
INTJ INTJ
All right, go ahead.

doowai n-t wo hii-X
INTJ I-TNS PUT go-PERF
I'm ready to go.

kìa n-t pi ol wo hii-X
INTJ I-TNS NEG now PUT go-PERF
Wait, I'm not going now.

ab o qì tonoŋ ha kìi am
LOC MD POS shine their house at GEN
A light is shining unexpectedly at their house.

na-p qì halwaŋ-ga
Q-you POS cattle-AL
Do you have cattle?

pìa' a pi a-ń ha halwaŋ-ga
INTJ NEG MD-I any cattle-AL
No, I don't have any cattle.

iI mu'I a-p (qì) halwaŋ-ga
INTJ many MD-you POS cattle-AL
Oh, you have lots of cattle.

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

pìa' a ń wabą s=maač [ma-p s=halwaŋ-ga]
INTJ I just AFF=know SUBR-you AFF=cattle-AL
No, I just know you have a lot of cattle.

n-t wo čum hii-X
I-TNS PUT MDL go-PERF
I want to/took to/would have/did go, but...

pì a-t ab hu i ń=kì-i
NEG MD-TNS LOC REM DEF me=set-PERF
They didn't appoint me.
Article
The article g introduces an argument nominal in the absence of a pronoun; it is deleted following LOC or ART or clause initially.

g-0 maakal g huan
EQ-MD doctor ART PN
Juan is a doctor.

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

Syntactic Connectives

kə CNJ and
o/aha CNJ or (aha preceding INQ, o otherwise)
ni CNJ neither, nor
čikpan o g huan č ŋt'it
work MD ART PN CNJ sing
Juan is working and singing.
čikp-X a-t g huan k-X gm hu hli-X
work-PERF MD-TNS ART PN CNJ-PERF LOC REM go-PERF
Juan worked and left.

n-o čikpan g huan aha n-o ŋt'it
Q-MD work ART PN CNJ Q-MD sing
Is Juan singing or working?

na-'a-s čikpan g huan o a-s wabš ŋt'it
MDL-MD-MDL work ART PN CNJ MD-MDL just sing
Maybe Juan is working, or maybe he's just singing.

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

Semantic Connectives

(w/h)abšaba/šaba but
ol wa yet, then

ku-t wabšabapli hli-X g huan
INTR-TNS but NEG go-PERF ART PN
But Juan didn't go.
ku-t  ol wa pi hii-X  g huan
INTR-TNS yet NEG go-PERF ART PN
Yet Juan didn't go.

Unspecified Argument Markers

cu  UNSPEC OBJ  (cf. has-cu 'what')
ta  UNSPEC SUBJ  (cf. hi-da-'i who)

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

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

Referential Markers

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

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

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

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

n-t  hig  wo  hii-X  higa'i
I-TNS REF FUT see-PERF that
How about my seeing that?
id  hígi  
this REF

How about this?

n-t  wa  híi-X  híga'l  
I-TNS REF see-PERF that
I saw that, as mentioned.

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

híg  a-n-t  wa'l  híi-X  
that MD-I-TNS only see-PERF
That's the only one I saw.

Tense/Aspect
Tense is signalled in the AUX.

Ø  
pre-experiential (co-occurring with quotative modal)

REM PAST

t  
contemporary (PAST through FUT)

am  a-§  kii  g  ki-ki-l  
LOC MD-QUOT live ART X-RDF-X

The old timers reportedly lived there.

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

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

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

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

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

am  g  biî-'i  
LOC MD get-PERF

Get it there!

am  a-t  bi-X-i  
LOC MD-TNS get-PERF-PERF
He got it there.
am g ha ʂaad
LOC MD them drive
IMF
PERF
Drive them there!

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

ab g maak-l
LOC MD give-PERF
IMF
Give it to him!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

am o mıgé-d ç giwk-o
LOC MD run-IMPRF CNJ strong-PRIV
He is/was running and has gotten tired.

am o mıği g huan ç giwk-o
LOC MD run ART PN CNJ strong-PRIV
Juan is/was running and has gotten tired.

The distributive is signalled by verb suffix and/or reduplication (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE). The suffix is t (harmonizing with stem vowel), q, s, or w. Distributive aspect marks repetition or an increment in a continuing action. Reduplication is effected in the final morpheme.
da-d'-'i
X-RDP-X-DISTR
jump
jump repeatedly

\( i-'i-g-a \)
X-RDP-X-DISTR
plant
plant repeatedly

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

\( a-'a-h-i \)
X-RDP-X-DISTR
reach
catch up with

on-am-m'q
go for salt repeatedly
salt-X-RDP-X
for

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

ok PAST PERF
ahim PAST IMPRF

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

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

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

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

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

The definite particle co-occurs with auxiliary verb ha'asa to quit.
am a-t wo i ha'asa čikpk-X waik oola č-id
LOC MD-TNS FUT DEF quit work-PERF three hour CONN-in
He'll quit work there at three o'clock.

**Introducer**

na- YNQ
ma- SUBR
ku- CONN

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

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

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

k has ču'lg
**INTR** what like
What's it like?

ku-t-ʒ wo mii-X /t-ʒ wo mii-X
**INTR-TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF**
He'll reportedly run.

**Auxiliary**

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

Mood distinguishes imperative and nonimperative.

g IMP
a non-IMP

am g čikpan
LOC MD work
Work there!

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

Mood marker a becomes o preceding # or modal ki.

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

The mood marker deletes between ku and # or ki.
The imperative person marker ŋ is deleted if pre-verb, and the plural number marker wo extrapoosed to follow the AUX.

am ŋ wo čikpan
LOC MD FUT work
You PL work there!

In the nonimperative, person and number are fused.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3P</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-p</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-č</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-č</td>
<td>UNSPEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre-experiential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>contemporary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

am a-ŋ čikp-X
LOC MD-MDL work-PERF
He reportedly worked there. He had worked there.

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

Alveopalatals assimilate to the position of a following dental.

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

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

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

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

am a-č čikpan
LOC MD-we work
We are/were working there.
Modality is signalled in the AUX in two adjacent modals. Modal\textsubscript{1} indicates the source of the information of the proposition.

\begin{itemize}
\item $ki$\quad\textit{evidential}
\item $\xi$\quad\textit{quotative}
\item $\emptyset$\quad\textit{experiential}
\end{itemize}

\begin{align*}
\text{am a-t-}ki & \quad \textit{juu-X} \quad \text{am a-t-}\xi & \quad \textit{juu-X} \\
\text{LOC MD-TNS-MDL\textsubscript{2}} & \quad \textit{rain-PERF} & \text{LOC MD-TNS-MDL\textsubscript{2}} & \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{It evidently rained there.} & \quad \text{It reportedly rained there.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{am a-t} & \quad \textit{juu-X} \\
\text{LOC MD-TNS} & \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{It rained there.}
\end{align*}

Modal\textsubscript{2} indicates conditionality in contrast to $\emptyset$ nonconditional.

\begin{itemize}
\item $p$\quad\textit{assumptive}
\item $s$\quad\textit{dubitative}
\end{itemize}

Modal\textsubscript{2} occurs primarily in subordinate sentences, $s$ for the unknown in the complement of negative polarity predicates of knowledge, $p$ elsewhere.

\begin{align*}
\text{pl a-ni maač} & \quad [\text{ma-s wo juu-X}] \\
\text{NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL\textsubscript{2} FUT} & \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{I don't/didn't know if it is/was going to rain.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{na-p s-maač} & \quad [\text{ma-s wo juu-X}] \\
\text{Q-you AFF-know} & \quad \text{SUBR-MDL\textsubscript{2} FUT} \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{Do you know if it will rain?}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{pl a-ni maač} & \quad [\text{ma-t wo juu-X}] \\
\text{NEG MD-I know SUBR-TNS} & \quad \textit{FUT} \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{I didn't know it was going to rain.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{pl a-n-t wo hii-X} & \quad [\text{ma-t-p wo juu-X}] \\
\text{NEG MD-I-TNS FUT} & \quad \textit{go-PERF} \quad \text{SUBR-TNS-MDL\textsubscript{2} FUT} \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{I won't go if (assuming that) it rains.}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
\text{ku-s wo juu-X} & \quad \text{ku-t-p wo juu-X} \\
\text{INTR-MDL\textsubscript{2} FUT} & \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \quad \textit{FUT} \quad \textit{rain-PERF} \\
\text{I wonder/doubt if it will rain?} & \quad \text{Will it/I assume it will rain?}
\end{align*}
Modal₁ and modal₂ co-occur in the combinations ñ-p and kl-s.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ku-s-p} & \quad \text{am juuk} & \quad \text{ku-kl-s} & \quad \text{am juuk} \\
\text{INTR-MDL₁-MDL₂ LOC rain} & & \text{INTR-MDL₁-MDL₂ LOC rain}
\end{align*}
\]

Presumably it's reportedly raining there. Oh, so it might be raining there.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kl'a-ga-n} \\
\text{yet-MD-you}
\end{align*}
\]

Wait!

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o} \\
\text{X-RDP-X-PERF-PUT-MD-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{quit}
\]

You PL quit DISTRI!

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{him-i-ñ} \\
\text{go-PERF-you}
\end{align*}
\]

You go!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hl'-hi-m-i-o} \\
\text{X-RDP-X-PERF-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{go}
\]

You PL go!

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čikpan-g-o/čikpn-o} \\
\text{work-MD-PL/work-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

You PL work!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hì'-ñ-o} \\
\text{take-you-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

You PL take it!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dà-g-ha-l-wua-ñ-o} \\
\text{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-you-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{sit}
\]

You PL sit down!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dà-g-ha-l-wu-l-o} \\
\text{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{sit}
\]

Certain clause-initial suppletives fuse with AUX, replacing mood marker a or flanking the AUX.
The first vowel of a flanking morpheme assimilates to the following vowel.

Besides bound modals, there are free modal constituents. These precede the verb except when AUX MD is duplicated. Those indicated obligatorily co-occur with wo FUT. Certain free modal constituents co-occur with certain epistemology modals. Modals which occur with Ø epistemology modal are:

wo POC, PUT
wo am hu subjunctive, might
čum impotentive, try, would, to no avail, suddenly
gí unexpected
hig/higi polite, how about, let
hhhab concessive, even though
himho wo wa necessitative, certainly, must
hims
hu wo l
pim
pimigia
pin
sa
waam
wabš

obligatory, should
optative, hope
negative, pejorative, ho-ho, not
pretense, pretend
ineffectual, recollective, what was
conditional, if
aggravative, the more
just, only

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

n-t himho wo wa hii-X /himho a-n-t wo wa hii-X
I-TNS MDL go-PERF [MDL-I-TNS] go-PERF
MDL
I'll certainly go./I must go.

p-t hims wo čkp-X
you-TNS MDL FUT work-PERF
You should have worked.

p-t hu wo l čkp-X
you-TNS MDL work-PERF
I hoped you would work.
p-t hu i pi wo čikp-X
you-TNS [NEG] work-PERF
MDL
I hoped you wouldn’t work.

pim a-m-s + ho-ho-n-t
MDL MD-you-IRR REPL X-RDP-X-make
PL wife
Too bad you PL didn’t get married.

pim a-p-t ñ=a-i
MDL MD-you-TNS me=pas-GERF
Ho-ho, you didn’t pass me.

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

k has pin čʰɪʧiɡ hɨɡa'i k has pin čʰum wua
INTR what MDL named that INTR what MDL MDL do
Now what is that one named? Now what was he trying to do?

[p-t pi wo ʃə čikp-X] n-t pi wo m=namkld
you-TNS NEG PUT MDL work-PERF I-TNS NEG PUT you=pay
PERF
If you don’t work, I won’t pay you.

pi a-n-t wo ñII-X g husi [ma-n-t wo čʰum
NEG MD-I-TNS PUT see-PERF ART PN SUBR-I-TNS PUT MDL
ʃə hII-X]
MDL go-PERF
I won’t see José if I go. I wouldn’t have seen José if I
had gone.

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

Modal which co-occurs with -ki evidential:

hǐms should

n-t-ki hǐms wo čikp-X
I-TNS-ÊV MDL PUT work-PERF
I evidently should have worked.

Modals which co-occur with -p conditional are:
has
hīms
hu i
pihīga
ṣa

how should
maybe, should have
optative, hope
pretend
if

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

t-p hīms wo juu-X
TNS-COND MDL FUT rain-PERF
Maybe it will rain.

t-p hu wo juu-X
TNS-COND [FUT] rain-PERF
MDL
There's hope it will rain.

pl a-n-t p wo m-namkid [ma-p-t-p wabš
NEG MD-I-TNS FUT you=pay SUBR=you-TNS-COND just

pihīga člkpan]
pretend work
I won't pay you if you are just pretending to work.

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

Modals which occur with -s DUB are:

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

n-t p wo člkp-X [čum a-s p wo juu-X]
I-TNS FUT work-PERF MDL MD-DUB FUT rain-PERF
I'll work even though it rains.

n-t p wo člkp-X [čum a-s hīms p wo juu-X]
I-TNS FUT work-PERF [MD-DUB] FUT rain-PERF
MDL
I'll work even if it rains.

ku-s haspk wo člkp-X
INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF
Why shouldn't he work?
ku-s  hims hi pi wo číkp-X
INTR-DUB MDL  NEG  FUT  work-PERF
I thought he wasn't going to work.

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

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

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

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

hīg  a-t  hīkaŋ  a-t-p  hīms wo  i  gi-i
that  MD-TNS  reason  MD-TNS-MDL  MDL  FUT  DEF  fall-PERF
For that reason he may fall.

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

i  ūn-ga
REFL  CLSF-AL
He left to José perhaps even his own property.

Clitics

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

s=amičud
AFF=understand
understand

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

s=ap-'i
AFF=right-be
be right

s=ap
AFF=right
right

s=ūn-ga
AFF=CLSF-AL
to own much

s=ūn-ga-ka-m
AFF=CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC
owner of much
For each argument other than subject, a person marker is preposed to the head of its predicate. Object person markers are unbound if third person or if reflexive non-first person:

$$\text{OBJ: } \tilde{n}= t = \text{REFL: } \tilde{n}= t =$$

$$\text{OBJ: } \tilde{n}= t = \text{REFL: } \tilde{n}= t =$$

$$\emptyset \text{ ha } \tilde{i}$$

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

$$\tilde{n}=\tilde{\text{ti}}\text{d o g huan/a}\tilde{n}\text{i o } \tilde{n}=\tilde{\text{ti}}\text{d g huan}$$
$$\text{me=see MD ART PN } I \text{ MD me=see ART PN }$$

$$\text{(me)}$$

$$\text{Juan sees me./Juan sees me.}$$

$$\text{ ha o } \tilde{\text{ti}}\text{d g huan/higam o ha } \tilde{\text{ti}}\text{d g huan}$$
$$\text{them MD see ART PN those MD them see ART PN}$$

$$\text{Juan sees them./Juan sees them.}$$

$$\tilde{n}=\tilde{\text{ti}}\text{d a-} \tilde{n} \text{ a}a\tilde{n}\text{i'i/hijji} \text{ a-} \tilde{n} \text{ a}\tilde{n}=\tilde{\text{ti}}\text{id a}a\tilde{n}\text{i'i}$$
$$\text{me=see MD-I I self MD-I me=see I}$$

$$I \text{ see myself./I see myself.}$$

$$\tilde{i} \text{ o } \tilde{\text{ti}}\text{id higam/hi-}h'\tilde{i}-t'\text{l o i } \tilde{\text{ti}}\text{id higam}$$
$$\text{REFL MD see those X-RDP-X MD REFL see those X-self}$$

$$\text{They see themselves./They see themselves.}$$

Person markers displace s= AFF forward:

$$s=\tilde{n}=\text{ami}\tilde{c}\text{ud o g huan}$$
$$\text{AFF=me=understand MD ART PN}$$

$$\text{Juan understands me.}$$

$$s=\text{ha o ami}\tilde{c}\text{ud g huan}$$
$$\text{AFF=them MD understand ART PN}$$

$$\text{Juan understands them.}$$

$$s=\tilde{t} \text{ a-p ami}\tilde{c}\text{ud huan}$$
$$\text{AFF=REFL MD-you understand PN}$$

$$\text{You understand yourself, Juan.}$$

Direct object copy is deleted when displaced by indirect object copy:
huan o ha aag g ñ+-ñ-'i
PN MD them sing ART X-RDP-\(X\)

Juan is singing songs.

huan o ñ=aag-íd g ñt-ñ-'i
PN MD me=ing-APPLIC ART songs
Juan is singing me songs.

Direct or indirect object copy is retained when displaced by benefactive object copy. Benefactive attachment occurs only if previous object pronoun copy is unbound. Benefactive is raised in focus for attachment:

\[
\text{huana o ha } \overset{\text{suo-so-m}}{\text{g ko-k-tòn ñ=wi+hijidiq/}} \\
PN \quad MD \quad \overset{\text{X-RDP-X}}{\text{them}} \quad \overset{\text{X-RDP-X}}{\text{ART}} \quad \overset{\text{me=for}}{\text{sew}} \quad \overset{\text{shirt}}{\text{shirt}}
\]

\[
\text{huana o ha } \overset{\text{ñ=soo-so-m-jil-id}}{\text{g ko-k-tòn}} \\
PN \quad MD \quad \overset{\text{X-RDP-X}}{\text{them}} \quad \overset{\text{me=sew-BEN-APPLIC ART}}{\text{sew-BEN-APPLIC ART}} \quad \overset{\text{for me}}{\text{for shirts for me.}}
\]

\[
\text{huana o } \overset{\text{ñt+m}}{\text{g jil-id}} \overset{\text{g l-ís-pud}}{\text{g}} \\
PN \quad MD \quad \overset{\text{REFL}}{\text{REFL}} \quad \overset{\text{sew-BEN-APPLIC ART}}{\text{sew-BEN-APPLIC ART}} \quad \overset{\text{for skirt}}{\text{for skirt}}
\]

Juana is sewing skirts.

The identical object pronoun copies are preposed to non-verb predicates:

am ñ-wul aani'i  t=wi+hijidiq aačim
LOC me=to I we=for we
to me
for us

ñtíd o g j kli g huan
see MD ART REFL house ART PN
Juan sees his own house.

\[
\text{huana o } \overset{\text{suo-so-m-hijil}}{\text{g withjidiq}} \\
PN \quad MD \quad \overset{\text{REFL for}}{\text{sew}} \quad \overset{\text{for}}{\text{self}} \quad \overset{\text{for}}{\text{REFL}} \quad \overset{\text{for}}{\text{for}}
\]

Juana is sewing for herself.

\[
\text{ñtíd a-ñ g hjil g kíll} \\
PN \quad MD-I ART self me=house
I see my own house.
\]

s= is deleted preceding s= and ha preceding ha (and t in Ko=loodi):
s=mamč + s=...-imk > s=mamč-imk
AFF=know AFF DESID AFF=know-DESID
to desire to know

huana o ha soo-so-m g ko-k-ṭoŋ ha wihijig g
PN MD them saw ART shirts them for ART

a'-a-l /huana o (Ø) soo-so-m-jɪl-ɪd g a'-a-l
X-RDP-X/PN MD them new-BEN-APPLIC ART children
child
g ko-k-ṭoŋ
ART shirts
Juan is sewing shirts for the children.

huana o (Ø) i soo-so-m-jɪl-ɪd g j'-i-pud
PN MD them REPL new-BEN-APPLIC ART skirts
Juan is sewing skirts for herself.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

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

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

Attributive predicate consists of adjective plus -j, -k, -'i, -d, -n, Ø, or of gerund in ču/tu...-ma:

gt'į-j
big-be
is big

s=ap-'i
AFF=good-be
is good

§tli-ń
short-be
is straight

§opol-k
short-be
is short

s=htipin-d
AFF=cold-be
is cold

s=toŋ
AFF=hot
is hot
s=ču amičud-a-ma
APP=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADV
OBJ
be understanding/understandingly

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

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

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

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

Existential verbalizer is -g:

gi'ʁ o čho-g ama'ʁi
big MD cave-be there
A big cave is there.

gi'ʁ o čho-g-k-ahm ama'ʁi
big MD cave-be-STAT-PAST there
A big cave was there.

gi'ʁ a-t wo čho-g-ka-d ama'ʁi
big MD-TNS FUT cave-be-STAT-IMPRF there
A big cave will be there.

Locational verb of being consists of demonstrative adverb
or preposition:

am o g ʁ=kli
LOC MD ART me=house
There is my house.

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

Demonstrative adverb and response may be topicalized:
ku-p-t hiba'i wo ka-d
INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF
Where will you be?

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

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

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

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

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

ab a-ŋ maak-s g giwk-dag
LOC MD-I give-RSLTV ART strong-NR
I am given strength.

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

maak-č give-RSLTV
have given

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
have finished

maak-či-d give-RSLTV-IMPRF
will have given

maak-č-k-ahim give-RSLTV-STAT-PAST
had given

Stance verbs are animate or inanimate:

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

kaač/witč/w='-i-wi-č
lie lie X-RDP-RDP-X

lie
lie SG/PL/DISTR (INAN)
HAVE

Stative possessive verb is marked by g\textnumero\textit{POS} in the absence of quantifier or negative. N stems incorporated as possessive V retain alienability marking:

na-p gi go-go-gs-ga
\textit{Q-you POS X-RDP-X-AL}
dog
Do you have dogs?

pla'a pi a-\textnu\ ha gogs-ga
no \textit{NKG MD-I any dog-AL}
No, I don't have any dog.

na-p gi kii
\textit{Q-you POS house}
Do you have a house?

Possessive verb stem \textit\{fdg\}d own, find, take possession of exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast, occurring usually with inalienable nouns:

\textit\{fdg\}d a-\textnu\ g lliwa
\textit{possess MD-I ART coat}
I have a coat.

\textit\{fdg\}dgi-X a-n-t g lliwa
\textit{possess-PERF MD-I-TNS ART coat}
I acquired a coat.

DO

The pro-verb wua/ju\textnu\d do, make co-occurs with pro-adverb hab/has\!' thus, how, is partially suppletive, and exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast:

n-o hab wua g + \textit\{ck\}pan
\textit{Q-MD thus do ART REFL work}
Is he doing his work?

na-t hab juu-X g + \textit\{ck\}pan
\textit{Q-TNS thus do-PERF ART REFL work}
Did he do his work?

huan a-t hab wo wua-d g + \textit\{ck\}pan
\textit{PN MD-TBS thus FUT do-IMPRF ART REFL work}
Juan will be doing his work.
The verb naato make, finish is source of -t factorial:

\[ n-t\ wo\ ha'-l\ ha\ naato\ g\ kii-ki / \]
\[ I-TNS\ FUT\ some\ them\ make\ ART\ house-RDP\ PERF \]

\[ n-t\ wo\ ha'-l\ kii-ki-t \]
\[ I-TNS\ FUT\ some\ house-RDP-make \]
\[ I'm\ going\ to\ build\ some\ houses. \]

NONDISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Reflexive

Reflexive object person markers ñ= myself, my, t= ourselves, our, i= self, selves, own are employed for noun phrases coref-erential to the subject. Arguments are ranked in the order SUBJ, BEN, DAT, OBJ. Reflexive pronoun hjíi! self, hj-hj+t-j+g (self-RDP-X) selves is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

\[
(hjíi!) o + wa-kon g al-i
self\ MD\ REFL\ water-INST ART\ child-SC
wash
\]

The child is washing himself.

hjíi! o + wa-kon g xoko\n
self\ MD\ REFL wash-APPLIC ART\ shirt
He's washing himself a shirt.

wa-kon o g al-i g (hjíi!) + fín-ga
wash\ MD\ ART\ child\ ART self\ REFL\ CLSF-AL
The child is washing his own clothes.

wa-kon o g al-i g fín-ga (hjíi!) + wí+hjí+g
wash\ MD\ ART\ child\ ART\ CLSF-AL\ self\ REFL\ for
The child is washing clothes for himself.

wa-kon o g huana g fín-ga g (hjíi!) i mad
wash\ MD\ ART\ PN\ ART\ CLSF-AL\ ART\ own\ REFL\ child

wí+hjí+g
for
Juana is washing clothes for her own child.
wa-kon o g huana g iŋ-ga g (hiʃil) t wiθnaŋ
dash MD ART PN ART CSLF-AL ART own REFL sister

mad t wiθiʃil
child for
Juan is washing clothes for her own sister's child.

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

aaʃim a-ʃ hi-hiʃil t=niθid
we MD-we X-RDP-X REFL-see

We see ourselves.

aaŋi'i kɕ aapli'i a-ʃ hi-hiʃil t=niθid
I and you MD-we selves REFL-see
you and I see ourselves.

hi-hiʃil o t niθid g a-ŋa-l
selves MD REFL see ART X-RDP-X

The children see themselves.

hi-hiʃil o t niθid g huan ɕ husi
selves MD REFL see ART PN and PN
Juan and José see themselves.

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

b-o mas-ma miŋ g kawiu-gaŋ g huan [m-o
that-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD

(hab mas-ma miŋ) g wiŋgaŋ (g kawiu-gaŋ)
that like-ADVR run ART sibling-GEN ART horse-AL-GEN

g huan)] [m-o g t wiθnaŋ]
ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL sibling
Juan's horse runs like its sibling.

b-o mas-ma miŋ g kawiu-gaŋ g huan [m-o (...)
SUBR-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD
g wiinga-] (g huan]
ART sibling-GEN ART PN
Juan's horse runs like Juan's sibling.

ha'a-kia o ka-ka-wlu-ga g huan
as-many MD X-RDP-X-AL ART PN

Juan has as many horses...

[m-o (ha'a-kia ka-ka-wlu-ga) g ooga=] (g huan)]/
SUBR-MD as-many horses-AL ART father-GEN ART PN
...as the father of Juan has horses.

[m-o t oog]
SUBR-MD REPL father
...as his father.

In reciprocal clauses, the arguments are only nondistinct if conflated. Reciprocal adverb algo, a'ai(go) is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

ab o (algo) nhid g huan g husi
LOC MD across look ART PN ART PN
Juan is looking at José.

ab o (algo) nhid g husí g huan
LOC MD across look ART PN ART PN
José is looking at Juan.

ab o (a-'a-i) t nhid g huan ñ husi
LOC MD across-RDP-X REPL look ART PN and PN
Juan and José are looking at each other.

am o čikpan g huan ñ husi a-'a-í t witht]id
LOC MD work ART PN and PN across REPL for
Juan and José are working for each other.

Reflexive and plural reciprocal are ambiguous when reflexive pronoun and reciprocal adverb are deleted.

Passive

Certain verbs employ applicative suffix -jid with unspecified argument for passive or with specified argument for benefactive:
hīma a-t + ṃi'a-j-X g sili
one MD-TNS REFL kill-APPLIC-PERF ART deer
A deer got himself killed./Someone killed himself a deer.

hīma a-n-t ṃi=ṃi'a-j-X g sili
one MD-I-TNS you=kill-APPLIC-PERF ART deer
I killed a deer for you.

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

† a-t ṃi-a-X g huan
REFL MD-TNS kill-PERF ART PN
Juan killed himself.

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

Other

Meteorological verbs are intransitive verbs with unspecified argument:

s=tōŋ o hiwɨḍ o
AFF=hot MD blow MD
It's hot.

p-t ḥịba'li i juu k-X wo l ŋikp-X
you-TNS where DEF sits(the sun) CNJ-PERF FUT DEF work-PERF
When will you start work?

Stative unspecified argument markers are ta agentive and ču objective:

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

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

s=ču o ɨbbid-a-ma
AFF=UNSPEC MD fear-GER-VR
OBJ
It's fearful (i.e., fears something).
Adverbs and nouns derived from unspecified argument verbs employ the same markers and sustain the same relationship:

\[
\begin{align*}
s=\text{ta} & \quad /s=\text{cu} & \quad +\text{bid-a-m} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{UNSPEC} & \quad \text{AFF}=\text{UNSPEC} & \quad \text{fear-GER-ADV}
\end{align*}
\]

SUBJ
OBJ
frighteningly/fearfully

\[
\begin{align*}
s=\text{ta} & \quad /s=\text{cu} & \quad +\text{bid-a-ma-ka-m} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{UNSPEC} & \quad \text{AFF}=\text{UNSPEC} & \quad \text{fear-GER-VR-STAT-PRTC}
\end{align*}
\]

SUBJ
OBJ
frightening one/fearful one

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ku-m-t} & \quad \text{m=wîl-X} \\
\text{INTR}=\text{UNSPEC-TNS} & \quad \text{you}=\text{see-PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

SUBJ
Someone saw you.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ku-m-t} & \quad \text{m=maa-X} & \quad \text{g gogs} \\
\text{INTR}=\text{UNSPEC-TNS} & \quad \text{you}=\text{give-PERF ART dog}
\end{align*}
\]

SUBJ
Someone gave you a dog.

Unspecified object is marked by pronoun copy ha:

\[
\begin{align*}
huan & \quad \text{a-t} & \quad \text{ha} & \quad \text{mîa-X} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} & \quad \text{UNSPEC kill-PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

OBJ
Juan killed someone.

\[
\begin{align*}
huana & \quad \text{a} & \quad \text{ha} & \quad \text{walla} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{MD} & \quad \text{UNSPEC dance}
\end{align*}
\]

OBJ
Juana is dancing with someone.

\[
\begin{align*}
huan & \quad \text{a-t} & \quad \text{mîa-X} & \quad \text{g ha} & \quad \text{gogs-ga} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} & \quad \text{kill-PERF ART UNSPEC dog-AL}
\end{align*}
\]

OBJ
Juan killed someone’s dog.

Unspecified subject and object pronoun copies co-occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ku-m-t} & \quad \text{ha} & \quad \text{mîa-X} & \quad \text{m=wihtiijig} \\
\text{INTR}=\text{UNSPEC-TNS} & \quad \text{UNSPEC kill-PERF you}=\text{for}
\end{align*}
\]

SUBJ
OBJ
They killed someone for you.
Active transitive verbs occur with unspecified object:

\[ \text{wa-p-kon} \quad o \quad g \quad \text{huana} \]
water-RED-INSTR MD ART PN
Juana is doing a wash.

\[ \text{t=wa-p-kon-id} \quad o \quad g \quad \text{huana} \]
we=water-RED-INSTR-APPLIC MD ART PN
Juana is doing a wash for us.

Resultative verb consists of verb stem plus -s. Second
rank argument replaces first, which then is unspecified:

\[ \text{am o him-s} \quad g \quad \text{woog} \]
LOC MD go-REFL ART road
The road goes there.

\[ \text{an o bi-l-s} \quad g \quad \text{ni\'ok-\text{-}zulid-a id tda o\'ohan-a} \]
LOC MD get-GER-REFL ART talk-APPLIC-GER this in mark-GER
The reading is taken from this book.

\[ \text{ab a-p} \quad \text{gawul-kd-a-s} \quad g \quad \text{i} \quad \text{\text{-}zikpan} \]
LOC MD-you separate-APPLIC-GER-REFL ART REPL work

\[ \text{withi} \text{-}j\text{id} \]
for
You are dedicated to your work.

\[ \text{ab a-\text{-}c} \quad \text{maak-s} \quad g \quad \text{giwk-dag} \]
LOC MD-we give-REFL ART strong-NR
We are given strength.

Body-part nouns occur with UNSPEC argument and are then
alienable:

\[ \text{hihi-j} \]
guts-GEN
trip

\[ \text{hihi-j} \quad g \quad \text{haiwa\text{-}n} \]
guts-GEN ART cow
intestines of a cow

\[ \text{\text{-}hiihi-j-ga} \]
me=guts-GEN-AL
my tripe

\[ \text{\text{-}hiihi} \]
me=guts
my intestines
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

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

na-p čikpan  
Q-you work
Do you work?

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

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

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

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

Alternative questions employ the conjunction aha or:

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

Response to alternative question omits INTJ:

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

Redundant verb in alternative question is deleted:

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

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

n-o hig wihoo  
Q-MD REP true
Is that right?
WH Questions

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

ha-s
what-MAN
what?

ha-b
that-MAN
that, thus

has-ču'u
what-thing
what thing?

hi-ga-'l
RA-DIST-SG
that thing

has-ču-kaj
what-thing-INTR
with what thing?

hi-g htkaj/hikaj hi-ga-'l
RA-DIST-INTR INSTR RA-DIST-SG
with that thing

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
what-ADVR X-RDP-X-ADVR
what
direction(s)?

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
that-ADVR X-RDP-X-ADVR
that/ those direction(s)

hi-ba-'l
RA-neutral-NUM
where, when?

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

hi-ga-'i /hi-ga-m
RA-UNSPECSG RA-UNSPEC-PL
who (SG/PL)?

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

fda /w'inoq
ten then

fda /w'inoq
ten then

idañ
at this time of cycle

hi'f-kia
what-NUM
how many?

ha'a-kia
that-NUM
that many

hi'1-kia-ču
what-NUM-thing
what numbered thing?

ha'a-kia-ču
that-NUM-thing
that numbered thing
ht'î-kki-o
what-NUM-time
how many times?

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

ht'î-k-pa
what-NUM-place
how many places?

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

ht'î-s
what-QNT
how much?

ha'a-s
that-QNT
that much

ht'î-s-ču
what-QNT-thing what-RDP-X-QNT-thing
what size thing(s)?

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

ht'î-s-ko
what-QNT-ADVR
how far?

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

Question words co-occur optionally with i DEF:

k  hî-da-'i  am  čikpan
INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC work
Who's working there?

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

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

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

ht'î-kia o ma-a-ma-d  q  gogs
what-NUM MD child-RDP-RDP-X ART dog
How many pups does a dog have?

ht'î-kia o l  ma-a-ma-d  q  gogs
what-NUM MD DEF children ART dog
How many pups does the dog have?
hi'i-s o gi't-i-y g al=huandil
what-QNT MD big-be ART elephant
How big is an elephant?

hi'i-s o i gi't-i-y g al=huandil
what-QNT MD DEF big-be ART elephant
How big is the elephant?

k ha-s /signup wua
INTR what-MAN REFL do
What does he do?

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

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

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

Any phrase without an embedded phrase may be question word:

t hi-da-'i sol-ga hab juu-X
TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL thus do-PERF
Whose animal did it?

t hi-da-'i ti-n-ga-ka-m hab juu-X
TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC thus do-PERF
Whose owner did it?

WH words co-occur with partitive -jj/ʔ:

hi't-kla-jj o i čikpan hīgam či-č-oj
what-NUM-PRTV MD DEF work those man
How many of those men are working?

ha'a-kla-jj o čikpan hīgam či-č-oj
what-NUM-PRTV MD work those men
That many of those men are working.

hi't-si-ğg o ʔs=ki-ga-ʔ hīgali o'od
what-QNT-PRTV MD DEF AFF=good-be that sand
How much of that sand is good?
k hida'i i cikpan higam [ti-č-o]
INTR who DEF work those men
Which of those men are working?

k has-ču'u ñ o'odham higam
INTR what-thing EQ Indian those
What kind of Indian are they?

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

has/šaa- what?
hiba'/baa- where?
hida'/doo- who?

The suppletives are bound to AUX, baa- to -jìd from, and šaa- to -ču'u thing or -ko direction:

doo'-o hu ñ i who-MD REM EQ DEF Which one was it?
doo'-o wuŋ higa'í who-MD EQ that Who is that?

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

baa-jìd a-t í hii-X where-from MD-TNS DEF go-PERF Where did he come from?

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

šaa-ču'u o wuŋ higa'í what-thing MD EQ that What's that?

šaa-ko a-t í hii-X what-way MD-TNS DEF go-PERF Which way did he go?

šaa-p í t wua what-you DEF REFL do What are you doing?

Demonstrative is copied from complement for questioning or defining:

ht'+s a-p hab í šlid [ma-p-t ha'a-s what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBJ-you-TNS that-QNT

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

ha'a-s a-ñ hab šlid [ma-n-t ha'a-s wo kii-t] that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBJ-I-TNS that-QNT FUT house-VR
That's what size house I think I'll build.
hī'i-k-pa a-p hab i tild [m-o
what-NUM-place MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-MD

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

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

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

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

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

šaa-ču-ka] a-p hab i tild [ma-p-t hīg
what-thing-INSTR MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that

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

ba-š-p hab i tild [ma-p-t an wo kii-t]
where-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS LOC FUT house-VR
Where do you think you'll build the house?

Question correlate of demonstrative occurs in complement of demonstrative:

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

i taččua-d]
DEF want-IMPERF
I'll make the size house I want.

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

i ńḥidol-X]
DEF me=cook-PERF
for
I'll eat whatever you cook for me.
ha'ap-kia a-n-t wo m=maa-X [ma-p hi'i-kia
that-QNT MD-I-TNS PUT you=give-PERF SUBR-you what-NUM

I taččua]
DEF want
I'll give you how many you want.

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

gi'o has-ču'ú has wua
who-MD what-thing what do
Who does what?

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

na-p am i ńiḍ g has čtįg-į
Q-you LOC DEF see ART what name-GER
Did you see what's-his-name there?

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

hiḍa'į i
who DEF
Which one?

has-ču'ú i
what-thing DEF
What thing?

hi-ba'į i
what-place-NUM DEF
What place?
IMPERATIVES

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

kl'a-ga-υ
yet-MD-you
IMP
Wait!

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

čikpna-υ
work-you
IMP
Work!

hi'i-υ
take-you
IMP
Take it!

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

hi'i-υ-ω
take-you-PL
IMP
You PL take it!

da-d-ha-i-wua-υ-ω
sit-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL
sit IMP
You PL sit down!

The person marker υ is usually deleted preceding the plural marker wo.

da-d-ha-i-wu-ι-ω
sit-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL sit down!

čikpna-υ/čikpna-ω
work-MD-PL work-PL
IMP
You PL work!

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

him-ι-υ
go-PERF-you
IMP
Go!

hi-hi-m-ι-ω
go IMP
You PL go!
The imperative demonstrates that it is future by occurrence of the future morpheme in some V-AUX forms.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mu'-o-wo} \\
\text{kill-FUT-PL} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL kill it!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o} \\
\text{X-RDP-X-PERF-MD-PL} \\
\text{quit IMP} \\
\text{You PL quit DISTRI}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpan-da-ń} \\
\text{work-IMPRF-you} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{Be working!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpan-d-o} \\
\text{work-IMPRF-PL} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL be working!}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpana-ń} \\
\text{work-you} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{Work!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpana-ń} \\
\text{work-IMPRF-you} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{Be working!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpn-o} \\
\text{work-PL} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL work!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{čikpana-ń} \\
\text{work-IMPRF-PL} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL be working!}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{am g čikpan} \\
\text{LOC MD work} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{Work there!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{am g wo čikpan} \\
\text{LOC MD PL work} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL work there!}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{am g hab wo juuń} \\
\text{LOC MD thus PL do} \\
\text{IMP} \\
\text{You PL do it there!}
\end{array}
\]
am a-m-t hab wo juu-X
LOC MD-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
PL
You PL will do it there!

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

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

ba-g juuŋ
thus-MD do
IMP
Do it!

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

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

bii=t
get
get

am g bii-’i
LOC MD get-PERF
IMP
Get it there!

am g wo bii-’i
LOC MD PL get-PERF
IMP
You PL get it there!

bi’a
serve
serve

am g bia-’i
LOC MD serve-PERF
IMP
Serve it there!

him
go

am g hiim
LOC MD go
PERF
IMP
Go there!

miŋ
run

am g miŋ
LOC MD run
PERF
IMP
Run there!

Verb stems of CVGV delete final V in the imperative perfective if clause initial.
b'ih-1-ŋ
get-PERF-you
Get it!

b'ih-1-o
get-PERF-PL
You PL get it!

bi'-i-ŋ
serve-PERF-you
Serve it!

hV is also deleted before k:

b'ih-1-ŋ k ŋd/ b' k ŋd
get-PERF-you and see get and see
IMP IMP IMP IMP
Get it and see it!

*daa-ka-t > ja-ka-d
sit-STAT-IMPRF
will be sitting

In DEF V-PERF, IMP may be deleted:

| g b'ih'! | / | b'ih'! |
| DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF |
| IMP IMP |
Bring it!

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

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

am g b'ih'! g t waakus k-x gm hu hilm
LOC IMP get-PERF ART REPL bedroll CWJ-PERF LOC REM go
| IMP |
Take your bedroll and go!

am g b'ih'! g t waakus k-x gm hu wo
LOC IMP get-PERF ART REPL bedroll CWJ-PERF LOC REM FUT
| IMP |

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

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-bad
defunct, detached, deceased, former, dead

-dag/-lig (or -adag/-alig) ABSTR NR

-ga/-ka/-g
POSSESS AL, special (-g following loans, -ka following term ending in j, -ga otherwise)

-gam/-gim
group membership

-i
intimate, honorific (effects reduction of geminate V and voicing of C in stem)

-jig
hole, aperture of N

-kug
ABSTR, INSTR

-mag
child relation

-la
abnormal

-po/-wo
hair of

ku'1-bad
tree-detached
harvest stick

ho'1-bad
thorn-detached

needle

n=ka'a-bad
my grandmother-deceased
my deceased grandmother

woog-bad
road-defunct

defunct road

ho'1g1d-a-dag/-lig
bless-GER-ABSTR
blessing

kownal-t-a-dag/-lig
governor-VR-GER-ABSTR

kingdom

uuw-a-lig
smell-GER-ABSTR
odor

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

riches

n=uus-ga
me=tree-Al
my tree

n=usa-ga
me=stick-Al

my gavel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAPAGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ń-wuu-pu-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me=X-RDP-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ń-paali-g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me=minister-AL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nai-pi-jju-gim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-RDP-X-group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>members of friend group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baa-b/ba-b-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's father or male sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wosk/woj-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father or male sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kii-jig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doorway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋild-a-kud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-GER-INSTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-i-kud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get-GER-INSTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ol-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head-abnormal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abnormal-headed one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ń-ka'a-mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me=grand-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my (sister's) grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiň-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth-hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moustache</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\( V + X = N \)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maači-g} & \quad \text{doa-ka-g} \\
\text{know-NR} & \quad \text{live-STAT-NR} \\
\text{knowledge} & \quad \text{soul}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{doa-ka-g} & \quad \text{him-da-g} \\
\text{live-STAT-IMPRF-NR} & \quad \text{go-IMPRF-NR} \\
\text{lifetime} & \quad \text{ways}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuup-i} & \quad \text{haĩn} \\
\text{close-GER} & \quad \text{crack} \\
\text{closed/closing} & \quad \text{GER} \\
\text{cracked/cracking} & \quad \text{lawu-i} \\
\text{me=run} & \quad \text{spill-GER} \\
\text{GER} & \quad \text{slop}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{my running} & \quad \text{ki}=\text{t-a} \\
\text{ki}=\text{t-a} & \quad \text{ki}=\text{p-a} \\
\text{house-VR-GER} & \quad \text{foot-contact-GER} \\
\text{building} & \quad \text{pace}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{juuk-i} & \quad \text{naato-i} \\
\text{rain-GER} & \quad \text{make-GER} \\
\text{rain} & \quad \text{creation}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gogs=mi-k} & \quad \text{tohɑ=bi-d-k} \\
\text{dog=burn-place} & \quad \text{white=clay-place} \\
\text{Dog-Burnt} & \quad \text{White-Clay}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s=ap'-i-ka-m} & \quad \text{kii-ka-m} \\
\text{AFF=good-be-STAT-PRTC} & \quad \text{dwell-STAT-PRTC} \\
\text{good thing} & \quad \text{dweller}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{him-da-m} & \quad \text{him-ka-m} \\
\text{go-IMPRF-PRTC} & \quad \text{go-STAT-PRTC} \\
\text{goer} & \quad \text{one in the state of having gone}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{MOD} + X = N \)

-\( \text{ču'-u/-ču} \) (Totogua/Ho=loodi)
s-čuk-ču'u
 Aff-black-NR
 black one

ha' a-kia-ču'u
 that-NUK-NR
 that numbered one

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

ha'a-s-ču'u
 that-QWT-NR
 that size one

VERB MORPHOLOGY

V + X = V

-č/-kč (in C__/V__, respectively) RSLTV, to have
  in the state of V
-čk, -kumiak to separate by V
-čulid CAUS (APPLIC)
-čug to continue V
-čad VOL
-člid CAUS
-čim PROG, to go along Ving
-čl RSLTV
-člid VOL, able
-čg RSLTV
-čnilid BEN
-člid/-lid/-čud APPLIC
-č-ča'! to V and then go
-č-čok PRIV, to un-V
-čs RSLTV, PASS, INTRNS STAT
-čstk to have endurance
-ča INCHO, become
-čwua, -čulig to move or remove by Ving

sad-č
 hang-RSLTV
to have around neck
to have closed

kuup-č
 close-RSLTV

kuup-čok-č
 close-PRIV-RSLTV
to have open

to have finished

waq-čk, wan-kumiak
 pull-separate
to pull off
maaž-čulid
know-CAUS
to cause to know

hiiz-čulid
happy-CAUS
to cause to be pleased

gj'a-čug
grasp-continue
to carry in grasp

kai-čug
listen-continue
to continue listening to

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

jitūn-gid
smoke-CAUS
to cause to smoke, discuss

him-him
go-PROG
ambling, wandering

maak-him
give-PROG
going along giving

kuup-l
close-RSLTV
closed

ma'i-gp-i
object-contact-RSLTV
from
hand
covered

maak-jtild
give-BEN
to give for

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

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

soom-jtild
sew-BEN
to sew for

ha a-t ā-samaak-jtī-x
dim MD-TNS me=give-BEN-PERP
He gave it to them for me.

bi-ka'l
get-go
to get it and go

wul-l'ok
tie-PRIV
to untie

bid-sp-l'ok
mutl-contact-PRIV
to unplaster

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

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

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

s=hiwa-stk
AFF=wind-endure
to be able to endure wind
him-i-d-ta-him         mtl-i-d-t       a-t
   go-able-GER-become-PROG    run-able-GER-become  MD-TNS
   learning to walk           He learned to run.

waŋ-čk-wua               ha waŋ-č-šulig
   pull-INSTR-move           them pull-INSTR-move
   to pull along             PL
                                 pulling them along

N + X = V

-čk                      INSTR, to push on with N
-čud                     APPLIC, apply INAN N, cause to be or
                         treat like AN N
-çad, çag                 to put N on
-čg                       existential, N is, exists
-člid                     APPLIC, to shake N
-čgw                      to move N constantly
-čhai, -hai-š               INSTR, to hit with N
-čhin, -hi-š                INSTR, to hit with N
-čhog                     to be expected to
s=...-hog                  to be displeased by
-čhung                    APPLIC
-čkkan, -kka-š                INSTR, to hit with N
-čkon, -ko-š                INSTR, to hit with glancing blow of N
-čmad                     to apply N
-čmfq/-qg                  MOT of purpose, to go for N
-čmus                     INSTR, to disturb with N
-čpig                     PRIV, to remove
-čsid                     to mimic the action
-š                        RSLTV, PASS (second rank argument replaces
                         -šp                      INSTR, to make contact with N     highest)
-šan, -ša-g                 to act along a surface
-šun, -šu-g, -šu-š            INSTR, to crush with N
-t                         to make N
-win, -wla                  INSTR, to break up with N
-wua                      to bump or touch N

hon-čk                     body-INSTR
                         to push on with the body

hima-čud                   ñ-ba'ag-čud
   another-APPLIC            me=eagle-APPLIC
   to treat like another    to make me an eagle
a'angan-čud
feather-APPLIC
to feather

ŋiŋ-kiŋ-čud
me=housing-APPLIC
to make me a house

hög-wā-dad
leather-put
on
to saddle, have saddled

iŋ-ga-ŋad
CLSP-AL-put
on
to put on, have on (clothes)

am o čiho-g
LOC MD cave-be
A cave is there.

s=kui-g
AFF=mesquite-be
to be many mesquites

am o ha'įču-g
LOC MD something-be
It (something) is there.

mo'o-gid
head-APPLIC
to shake head

mo-o-m-gid
head-RDP-RDP-APPLIC
to shake heads

ba'įl-gid
tail-APPLIC
to switch tail

mo'o-giw
head-swing
to have head tremors

to swing arm

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

to hit with head

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

mbi-gid
head-APPLIC
to hit with knee

ma'-l-i-hin
object-GER-INSTR
from
hand
to hit with thrown object

ʒoŋi-hiŋ
object-INSTR-DISTR
in
hand
to hit repeatedly with held object

mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give

mū'-a-hog
kill-GER-expected
to be expected to kill

s=ka-i-hog
AFF=hear-GER-dissatisfied
to be dissatisfied by hearing

s=tam-hog
AFF=tooth-dissatisfied
to consider a nuisance

bid-hun
mud-APPLIC
to contaminate

do'įįh'Ida-hun
blesb-GER-APPLIC
to pray
kil-kkan
foot-INST
to kick

mo'o-kka-ŋ
head-INST-DISTR
to hunt heads repeatedly

cili-kon
rough-INST
surface
to scratch off

dap-kon
smooth-INST
surface
to slip

kl'i-kon
tooth-GER-INST
to gnaw clean

on-mad
salt-apply
to salt

ko'okol-mad
chili-apply
to chili

milš-mad
mass-apply
to practice religion on

čikpn-a-miŋ/čikpn-op
work-GER-MOT/work-MOT
PL
to go for work

č'ũ'a-mun
point-INST
to tamp/poke

dag-l-mun
hand-GER-INST
to massage

sil-l-mun
edge-INST
to hoe/mash

mad-pig
offspring-remove
to remove fruit

wilip̰idho-pig
testicles- remove
to castrate

juŋ-sid
do-imitate
to imitate the action of

ŋiŋ-sid
talk-imitate
to imitate the speech of

aag-a-s
eye-GER-RSLTV
to be told

bi-l-s
grow-GER-RSLTV
to be gotten

naato-l-s
finish-GER-RSLTV
to be finished

čiŋ-ŋ
mouth-INST
to take in the mouth

ki-l-s
foot-GER-INST
to step on

ki-i-s-č
foot-GER-INST-RSLTV
to have underfoot

juk-šp
rain-INST
to rain on

ki-i-s-ša-p
foot-GER-X-RDP-X
INST
to step on repeatedly
čti-šan
rough-INST\n
surface
to rub off

čtk-šan
point-INST\n
to mark a line

ma-‘i-šu-đ
object-GER-INST\-PERF\n
from
hand
to crush with thrown object

kii-t
house-make
to make a house

kih-i-win
foot-GER-INST\n
to thresh

mo'o-win
head-INST\n
to clean horns

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

l'o-šan
breath-INST\n
to clear throat

ma-‘i-šu
object-GER-INST\n
from
hand
to crush with thrown object

šoŋ-šu-qs
object-INST\-DIST\n
in
hand
to crush repeatedly

šoŋ-wia
object-INST\n
in
hand
to pound apart

mo'o-wua
head-bump\n
to bump head

mo-o-m-wua
head-RDP-RDP-bump\n
to bump heads

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

-đ/-i/-j/-k/-ŋ/∅ \text{ be}

s=hintipl-đ
AFF=cool-be
to be cold

s-ap‘i
AFF=good-be
to be right/good

gt‘i-t-j
big-be
to be big

šopol-k
short-be
to be short

s=šiři-ŋ
AFF=straight-be
to be straight

s=baa-bagar
AFF=slow
to be slow
Other

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

all-čud
child-APPLIC
to treat like a child

hima-čud
other-APPLIC
to treat like another

hima-ko-čud/-jil
one-APPLIC
to unite
gook-čud
two-APPLIC
to make two
daam-čud
over-APPLIC
to put over

wičo-čud
under-APPLIC
to put under

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

n=kli-čud
me=house-APPLIC
to make me a house

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

hima-čud
go-GRR-APPLIC
to cause to go

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

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

bíh-l-čud
get-GER-APPLIC
REPL MD get-GER-APPLIC
He's getting it for himself./He's getting himself captured.

n=mí'-i-jil
a-ng siiki
me=kill-GER-APPLIC MD-I ART deer
I'm killing myself a deer.

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

ho o n=maak-jilld
them MD me=give-BEN
He's giving it to them for me.
ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{s}=\text{baabagl} & \text{çiw} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{slow} & \text{long} \\
\text{slow} & \text{long} \\
\text{s}=\text{gaki} & \text{g'i'g} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{dry} & \text{big} \\
\text{dry} & \text{big} \\
\text{s}=\text{pʰhiɾiɾi} & \text{mu'ı} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{easy} & \text{many} \\
\text{easy} & \text{many} \\
\text{s}=\text{ap} & \text{good} \\
\text{AFF} & \text{good} \\
\end{array}
\]

AFF is deleted if negated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piō } & \text{ ga'ı' } \text{ ap } \text{ d } \text{o'odham} \\
\text{NEG } & \text{ MD } \text{ DEG } \text{ good } \text{ EQ } \text{ person} \\
\text{He's not at all a good person.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piō } & \text{ am } \text{ hu } \text{ l } \text{ si } \text{s}=\text{ap } \text{ d } \text{o'odham} \\
\text{NEG } & \text{ MD } \text{ LOC } \text{ MDL } \text{ DEF } \text{ DEG } \text{ AFF}=\text{good } \text{ EQ } \text{ person} \\
\text{He's not a very good person.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{s}=\text{baabagl} & \text{s}=\text{i'owl} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{slow} & \text{AFF}=\text{sweet} \\
\text{slow} & \text{sweet} \\
\text{s}=\text{toŋ} & \text{wʰčiŋ} \\
\text{AFF}=\text{hot} & \text{new} \\
\text{hot} & \text{new} \\
\end{array}
\]

In certain stems, the distributive is formed by reduplication of the initial C(V) or of medial w.
s=ap /s=a-'a-p
AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X

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

good

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

s=blɨtagl /s=bl-b-tagl
AFF=dirty AFF=X-RDP-X

soft
dirty

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

hard

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

s=čɨdagl /s=čɨ-ɨ-dagl
AFF=green AFF=X-RDP-X

green

s=kɨig /s=kɨ-ɨ-g
AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X

good

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

s=jumal /s=ju-'u-ɨ-mal
AFF=low AFF=X-RDP-X

s=ʃo-pol /s=ʃɔ-'o-s-pol
AFF=short AFF=X-RDP-X

low

short

giwul /gi-ɨl-ɨ-wul
constriicted X-RDP-RDP-X

wadak /wa-ɨ-a-p-dak
shiny X-RDP-RDP-X

costritced

shiny
ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

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

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \(s=\text{ap}^{-1}\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{AFF} &= \text{good-be} \\
  \text{to be good, right} &= \text{well, rightly}
  \end{align*}
\item \(g^{\ast}^{-1}b\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{big-be} &= \text{big} \\
  \text{to be big, great} &= \text{much, greatly}
  \end{align*}
\end{enumerate}

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \(s=\text{wil}n\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{AFF} &= \text{difficult} \\
  \text{to be difficult} &= \text{with difficulty}
  \end{align*}
\item \(s=\text{mo}k\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{AFF} &= \text{soft} \\
  \text{to be soft} &= \text{softly}
  \end{align*}
\item \(\text{gakol}^{-k}\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{crooked-be} &= \text{crooked} \\
  \text{to be crooked} &= \text{crookedly}
  \end{align*}
\item \(s=\text{li}^{-n}\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{straight-be} &= \text{straight} \\
  \text{to be straight} &= \text{straightly}
  \end{align*}
\item \(s=a^{-l}l^{-}\)
  \begin{align*}
  \text{AFF=children-ADVR} &= \text{childishly}
  \end{align*}
\end{enumerate}
amčud-a
understand-GER
understanding

s=ta amčud-a-m
APP=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR
SUBJ
understandably

s=ću amčud-a-m
APP=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR
OBJ
understandingly

bih-i
get-GER
the gain

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

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

aj̱i-pressive to thin
thin-be
thin

maas
like

to be like

s=hipi-d
APP=cool-be
to be cool

s=moik
APP=soft
to be soft

s=oam
APP=brown
to be brown, yellow

s=aj̱-ma
thin-ADVR
thinly

s=mas-ma
like-ADVR
like

s=hipi-ma
APP=cool-ADVR
in the cold

s=moi-ma
APP=soft-ADVR
softly

s=oam-ma
APP=brown-ADVR
brownish, yellowish
Certain adverbs advance from zero to -m or from -m to -ma ADVR when co-occurring with transitive verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s=wič} & \quad \text{s=wič-ma} \\
\text{AFF=heavy} & \quad \text{AFF=heavy-ADVR} \\
to\ be\ heavy & \quad \text{heavily}
\end{align*}
\]

Numeral adverb consists of numeral plus ADVR -ho:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hím-ho} & \quad \text{gok-ko} \\
\text{one-ADVR} & \quad \text{two-ADVR} \\
\text{once} & \quad \text{twice}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{has-ko} & \quad \text{ha'a-s-ko} \\
\text{that-ADVR} & \quad \text{that-QNT-ADVR} \\
\text{that\ direction} & \quad \text{that\ far}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s=a'ag-ko} & \quad \text{hįń-ko} \\
\text{AFF=secret-ADVR} & \quad \text{alone-ADVR} \\
\text{in\ a\ secret\ place} & \quad \text{in\ a\ lonely\ place}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s=toń-ko} & \quad \text{jíwíŋ-ko} \\
\text{AFF=hot-ADVR} & \quad \text{ground-ADVR} \\
\text{in\ the\ heat} & \quad \text{on\ the\ ground}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{do'ag-o} & \\
\text{mountain-ADVR} & \quad \text{on\ a\ mountain}
\end{align*}
\]

Count place adverb consists of quantifier plus ADVR -pa:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha'a-k-pa} & \quad \text{hima-k-pa} \\
\text{that-NUM-ADVR} & \quad \text{one-NUM-ADVR} \\
\text{that\ number\ of\ places} & \quad \text{in\ one\ place}
\end{align*}
\]
hî'î-k-pa
what-Num-Advr Def
what number of places

Time adverb consists of time plus Advr -d:

hî-ki-d
Ra-Time-Advr
sometime

čuu-č-ka-d
x-Rdp-x-Advr
right
nightly

hu-hu-đuka-d
x-Rdp-x-Advr
evening
evenings

si-si-'allma-d
x-Rdp-x-Advr
morning
mornings

daam ʒu-ʒ-ù-d
above sum-Rdp-Rdp-Distr-Advr
noons

Adverb consists of noun plus Advr -kaŋ like:

ban-kaŋ
CoYoTe-Advr
coyote-like

ba'ag-kaŋ
Eagle-Advr
eagle-like

† aamoa-kaŋ
Refl Boss-Advr
like his own boss

COMPOUNDS

Single-Stress Compounds
N + N = N (cf. Noun Morphology)

-mad  (mad child) descent relation
-woŋ̃-po (woŋõ body hair) hair of a body area

ba'a-mad
grand-child

wa-mad
water-child

man's/brother's/male cousin's snake
daughter's child
čiŋ-wo  
mouth-hair  
moustache

+iš-po  
chin-hair  
beard

N + ADJ = N  (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-baq  \quad \text{defunct}  \quad (paq \quad \text{bad})

\quad \text{ku'i-baq}  
\quad \text{mesquite-detached}
\quad \text{harvest stick}

\quad \text{Jf't-baq}  
\quad \text{mother-deceased}
\quad \text{deceased mother}

\quad \text{t=kt-kt-1-baq}  
\quad \text{us=X-RDP-X-deceased}
\quad \text{old man}
\quad \text{our ancestors}

\quad \text{mo'baq}  
\quad \text{head-detached}
\quad \text{game-head disguise}

N + V = N  (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-\text{jig}  \quad (\text{jig be open}) \text{the opening in N}

-\text{mɪl}  \quad (\text{mɪ run} + \text{-1 NR}) \text{a running N}

\quad \text{klɪ-jig}  
\quad \text{house-opening}
\quad \text{doorway}

\quad \text{aksi-mɪl}  
\quad \text{arroyo-run}
\quad \text{NR}
\quad \text{running arroyo}

\quad \text{gohi-mɪl}  
\quad \text{limp-run}
\quad \text{NR}
\quad \text{limping dance}

N + V = V  (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-\text{gɪd}  \quad (u\text{gɪd shake}) \text{to shake or switch N}

-\text{gɪw}  \quad (gɪgiwk tremble) \text{to tremble or wave}

-\text{hain}  \quad (\text{hain crack}) \text{INSTR, to hit with N}

-\text{mɪd, -gɪp}  \quad (\text{mɪd, woopo to run}) \text{to go for}

\quad \text{-t}  
\quad (\text{naato to make}) \text{to make N}

\quad \text{-\text{wɪn}/wia}  
\quad (\text{wia to ruin}) \text{INSTR, to clean off with N}

\quad \text{-\text{wua}}  
\quad (\text{wua to do})

\quad \text{-\text{pɪɡ}}  
\quad (\text{pi NEG}) \text{to remove N}

\quad \text{mo'c-o-gɪd}  
\quad \text{head-shake}
\quad \text{to shake head}

\quad \text{bahl-gɪd}  
\quad \text{tail-shake}
\quad \text{to switch tail}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papago</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-gw</td>
<td>hand-swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head-swing</td>
<td>to swing arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o-gw</td>
<td>head-swing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head-INSTR</td>
<td>to swing head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ton-hain</td>
<td>knee-INSTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to hit with knee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-a-mid</td>
<td>on-op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt-GER-MOT</td>
<td>salt-MOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go for salt</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go PL for salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kii-t</td>
<td>o'-o-dham-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-make</td>
<td>people-make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make house</td>
<td>to make people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kihu-win</td>
<td>kihu-wia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot-INSTR</td>
<td>foot-INSTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to thresh</td>
<td>to thresh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin-wua</td>
<td>ton-wua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth-bump</td>
<td>knee-bump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to bump mouth</td>
<td>to bump knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'o-t-pig</td>
<td>nak-pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scalp-remove</td>
<td>ear-remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to scalp</td>
<td>to earmark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADJ + PROG + APPLIC = N**

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

V + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

- bim/-bij (bijim to go around) to go around, pass
ta'i (ta'i back, up) to back out, to rise
-hjm (him to go) PROG, to go along doing
-hog to be expected to V
-imk want (-im before -muk, -k before -ko'o)
-nam (nam meet) to meet while Ving
-nog (nog to turn) to turn while Ving
-muk, -ko'o (muuk, ko'o to die) to be dying of
-to (naato finish) COMPL, to finish Ving
-wua (wua do) INCEPT, to assume a stance
-wua, -gulig (wua, gulig to throw away) to V away
ňil'i-bim
run-pass
to run around

ta'i-bij
back-pass
PERF
to pass around

ta'i-wuŋ
back-emerge
to come out

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

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

čiggi-a-him
fight-PROG
to go along fighting

hi-api-i-him
cold-INCHO-PROG
to get cold

gnl'i-d-a-him
big-be-INCHO-PROG
to get big

ap-'i-ta-him
right-be-INCHO-PROG
to get well

hlm-id-t-auhim
go-able-INCHO-PROG
to become able to walk

bi-i-hog
get-GER-expect
to expect to get

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

s=bih-imk
APP=get-DESID
to want to get

s=maak-imk
APP=give-DESID
to want to give

s='niid-amk
APP=see-DESID
to want to see

mfl-i-nam
run-GER-meet
to meet running

mfl-i-noŋ
run-GER-turn
to turn running

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

wo-'i-noŋ
run-GER-turn
PL
to turn running PL

hob-i-noŋ
wrap-GER-turn
to wrap

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

bi-hug-k-k'o'o
food-eat-DESID-die
to be hungry PL
ko'=-l-to
eat-GER-COMPL
to eat

hag-l-to
burn-GER-COMPL
to burn up

ktl-l-wua
stand-GER-INCEPT
to stand up
dqah-l-wua
sit-GER-INCEPT
to sit down

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

V + ADV = V

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

š=him-ma
AFF-go-seem
to seem to go

š=him-a-d-ma
AFF-go-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be going

ko'ë-a-d-ma
eat-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be eating
cikpana-d-ma
work-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be working

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

daam-ỳ̈d
above-from
from above

m+t̂lh-ỳ̈d
far-from
from far

gə hu-ỳ̈d
there REM-from
from over there

pl'ə-a-ỳ̈d
NEG-from
from nowhere

Multiple-Stress Compounds

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

hīg a-t ɖ wo ɖa=hug-ka-m ə o'odham-k
that MD-TNS EQ FUT in=end-STAT-PRTC=Indian-STAT
He'll be Half-Indian.

hīg a-t ɖa hug-ka-m ɖ wo o'odham-k
that MD-TNS in end-STAT-PRTC EQ FUT Indian-STAT
He'll be half-Indian.
\[ N_1 + N_2 = N \]

\( N_1 \) possesses \( N_2 \):

- \textit{hu'ul=naagi}\textsuperscript{1}
  grandmother=skirt
  moth

- \textit{čuuwl=tad-po}\textsuperscript{1}
  rabbit=foot-hair
  owl/clover

- \textit{ń=wos-ma=ji’t’i}\textsuperscript{1}
  me=grand-child-mother
  my daughter-in-law/
  grandchild’s mother

- \textit{ho'ok=waa'lo}\textsuperscript{1}
  ogress=tongue
  nightblooming cereus

- \textit{utko=ji’t’i}\textsuperscript{1}
  soapweed=mother
  stalk
  soapweed

- \textit{ń=wo-p-s-mag=ha-ji’t’i}\textsuperscript{1}
  me=X-RDP-X-child=their-mother
  grand
  my grandchildren’s mother

\( N_2 \) is made of \( N_1 \):

- \textit{uus=gaaat}\textsuperscript{1}
  wood=weapon
  bow

- \textit{wainomi=woog}\textsuperscript{1}
  metal=road
  railroad

- \textit{wainomi=gaaat}\textsuperscript{1}
  metal=weapon
  gun

\( N_2 \) is used for \( N_1 \):

- \textit{liai=kii}\textsuperscript{1}
  money=house
  purse, wallet

- \textit{huhul-ga=kii}\textsuperscript{1}
  menstruation-AL=house
  menstrual house

\( N_2 \) is characterized by \( N_1 \):

- \textit{gogs=o’odham}\textsuperscript{1}
  dog=man
  monkey

\( N_2 \) is secretion of \( N_1 \):

- \textit{čukud=goša}\textsuperscript{1}
  owl=snot
  date
N₂ acts on N₁:

wi-pii=s'i-da-m  
nipples=swuk-IMPF-PTC  
evening primrose

N₂ is accomplished by N₁:

hoohi=t-'i-s  
mourning=XRDP-X  
dove plant:GER  
gold poppy

htwil=t-'i-s  
wind=plant  
scarlet bugler

N₂ is effected on N₁:

ku-k-šo=wuu-p-li-m  
X-RDP=XRDP-X-PTC  
occiput=hand-contact-GER  
occiput tie  
larkspur

kušo=dag-šp-a  
grasp occiput

ADJ + N = N

on-k=aki-mil  
salt-STAT=arroyo-rem  
GER

Salt River

gt=šuudagi  
great=water  
sea

uugk=da's-da-m  
/ugk=him-da-m  
high=fly-IMPF-PTC  
high=move-IMPF-PTC  
airplane

PRON + N = N

htīl=mi1-i-čud-da-m  
alone=rum-GER-APPLIC-IMPF-PTC  
avtomobile
\[ N + \text{ADJ} = N \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čuukhug}= & \text{s}=\text{gaki} \\
\text{flaš}= & \text{AFF}=\text{dry} \\
\text{dried meat} & \\
\text{hiwč}= & \text{w}=\text{igil} \\
\text{groin}= & \text{red} \\
\text{black widow spider} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[ V + N = N \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{da}= & \text{-d-p-k}=\text{wašai} \\
\text{X}= & \text{RDP-X}=\text{STAT}=\text{grass} \\
\text{smooth} & \\
\text{side oats} &
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w}= & \text{s}=\text{t}=\text{ma}-\text{a}-\text{m} \\
\text{all}= & \text{=u}=\text{fi}=\text{nger-RDP-RDP} \\
\text{ten} &
\end{align*}
\]

**BASIC INFECTIONAL ELEMENTS**

The inflectional suffixes are \( \text{NUM} \{\{\text{AL}\} \text{ GEN.}\} \)

\[
\{\{\text{HON}\} \text{ ABS}\}
\]

**Number**

NUM suffixes are plural/reversative. Plural is \(-m\) following pronoun stem, \(\emptyset\) otherwise:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hi}= & \text{-ga}=\text{-m} \\
\text{that-PL} & \\
\text{those} & \\
\text{hi}= & \text{-da}=\text{-m} \\
\text{who-PL} & \\
\text{who PL} &
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i}= & \text{-i-da}=\text{-m} \\
\text{this-PL} & \\
\text{these} & \\
\text{a}= & \text{-a-pi}=\text{-m} \\
\text{you-PL} & \\
\text{you PL} &
\end{align*}
\]

Reversative is \(-'i/\emptyset\); i dissimilates to \(a\) in stems with \(i\) INTNS. Reversative is SG with PRON stems and certain N stems, PL with other N stems, and neutral with ADV stems. Certain N stems reduplicate in the plural. The first \(V\) of certain stems geminates under reduplication.
ht-ge'-l
that-SG
that

hi-da'-i
who-SG
who

l-i-a-a'
here-NUM
here

al-i
child-SG
child

ki-1
male-SG
mature male

oks
female
mature female

jisk
aunt
aunt

mo'o
head
head

gogs
dog
dog

mad
child
woman's child

l-i-da'-a
this-SG
this

a-a-pi-l
you-SG
you

a-ma'-i
there-NUM
there

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

ki-k-i-l
X-RDP-X
male
mature males

o'o-k-i
X-RDP-X-PL
female
mature females

jl-i-s'-i
X-RDP-X-PL
aunt
aunts

mo-o-m-i
head-RDP-RDP-PL
heads

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

ma-a-ka-d
X-RDP-RDP-X
child
children
Certain senior kin N stems reduplicate in live reference and/or truncate in the SG, supplet by reduction of geminate V and substitution of voiced for voiceless consonant in the HON, delete SG otherwise:

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{n}=\text{ka'a-bad} & \quad \tilde{n}=\text{kaa-k} \\
\text{me=grandmother-deceased} & \quad \text{me=grandmother-RDP} \\
\text{my deceased grandmother} & \quad \text{my grandmother} \\
\tilde{n}=\text{ga-g-i-i} & \quad \tilde{n}=\text{kaa-ka-'a} \\
\text{me=grandmother-RDP-SG-HON} & \quad \text{me=grandmother-RDP-X} \\
\text{my honorable grandmother} & \quad \text{my grandmothers}
\end{align*}
\]

Certain N occur only reduplicated or unreduplicated for SG and PL. Certain N reduplicate in PL, other only in segregate PL.

Possession

Alienable marker is -g following Spanish loan stems, -ga otherwise. Nonalienable N stems are terms for abstract concepts, kin, attached parts, and man-made objects. The same referent may have alienable and inalienable terms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{n}=\text{paal-i-g} & \quad \tilde{n}=\text{kil-i-g} \\
\text{me=minister-AL} & \quad \text{me=male-AL} \\
\text{my minister} & \quad \text{my old man} \\
\tilde{n}=\text{kun} & \\
\text{me=husband} & \\
\text{my husband}
\end{align*}
\]

Genitive is -\text{y/}\emptyset with partitive function in QNT, -\text{y/}\emptyset (nonpartitive) otherwise, marking the predicate of a complex phrase as any argument of a proposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha'i-} & \quad \text{hima hizam \text{c}-\text{c-o}\text{j}} \\
\text{some-GEN those [X-RDP-X]} & \quad \text{one those men} \\
\text{some of those men} & \quad \text{GEN} \\
\text{one of those men} \\
\text{am wiima-} & \quad \text{am wui-} \\
\text{LOC company-GEN ART PN} & \quad \text{LOC direction-GEN ART PN} \\
\text{there in the company of} & \quad \text{there in the direction of} \\
\text{Juana} & \quad \text{Juana} \\
\text{am daam g hodaia} & \quad \text{g kli-} \\
\text{LOC above ART rock} & \quad \text{ART house-GEN ART PN} \\
\text{there on the rock} & \quad \text{the house of Juana}
\end{align*}
\]
g kil-i-ga
ART male-SG-AL-GEN ART PN
the old man (husband) of Juana

The genitive marker of a phrase predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it. Constituents preposed to their predicate are incorporated in its pitch contour:

\[
g \quad \text{kili-y} \quad g \quad \text{huana/g/\text{huana kil i}}
\]
ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
Juana's house

\[
am \quad \text{wihma-y} \quad g \quad \text{huana/am/huana wi\text{h}m}
\]
LOC with-GEN ART PN LOC PN with
with Juana

\[
g \quad \text{\=n kil} \quad g \quad \text{\=huana kil i-ga}
\]
ART PN male-SG-AL
my house
Juana's man

Detached parts have unspecified argument and are alienable to another argument:

\[
nima-y
liver-GEN
\]
\[
\=n=nima-y-ga
me=liver-GEN-AL
my liver of something
\]

\[
\=n=n\text{+m}
me=liver
my liver
\]

When the predicate of possession is preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i, -y is replaced by -q:

\[
am \quad \text{t\text{+}g a} \quad g \quad \text{kili-y} \quad g \quad \text{huan/am kili-\text{+}d} \quad \text{t\text{+}g huan}
\]
LOC in ART house-GEN ART PN LOC house-GEN in ART PN
in the house of Juan

\[
ab \quad \text{kili-\text{+}d} \quad \text{am-t\text{+}g d} \quad g \quad \text{huan}
\]
LOC house-GEN there-from ART PN
from the house of Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i. ABS is -k following indefinite pronouns and certain nouns, otherwise -t before a and -\~\varepsilon before i:
ab ha'iču-k ab am ŝtoñ-k 丢了
LOC something-ABS on LOC AFF=heat-ABS in
on something

am s=čuhugam-k 丢了
LOC AFF=dark-ABS in
in the dark

am pi ap-'i-ka-m-k 丢了
LOC NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC-ABS in
in evil

ab kii-t am-jiq am kii-č 丢了
LOC house-ABS there-from LOC house-ABS in
from the house in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrases from
possessed noun phrases in which GEN has been deleted because of
a prepossed constituent:

hima kii-č 丢了
one house-ABS in
in a house

hima kii 丢了
someone house in
in someone's house

ab san=piwlo kilhim-t am-jiq
LOC PN=STEM village-ABS there-from
from San Pedro village

ab san=piwlo kilhim am-jiq
LOC PN=STEM village there-from
from San Pedro's village

The locative suffix -ko/o substitutes for preposition am
at or on.

am jìg-ko am has-ko
LOC opening-LOC LOC INDE-LOC
there outside there somewhere

am jìwìg-o am kii-jìg-o
LOC earth-LOC LOC house-opening-LOC
there on the ground there at the door
POSSESSIVES

A possessed noun phrase is predicate, marked by genitive -ǰ and preceding its argument, possessor noun phrase, in basic order:

\[
\begin{align*}
g \quad \text{kli-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{huan} & \quad g \quad \text{kil-ǰ} & \quad \text{higa'i čloǰ} \\
\text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} & \quad \text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{that man} \\
\text{the house of Juan} & & \text{the house of that man} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
g \quad \text{kli-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{ooga-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{huan} \\
\text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{ART father-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} \\
\text{the house of the father} & \quad \text{of Juan} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The genitive marker of the predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it:

\[
\begin{align*}
g \quad \text{huan} & \quad \text{kil} \\
\text{ART PN} & \quad \text{house} \\
\text{Juan's house} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hig} \quad \text{kli-čloǰ} \\
\text{that house} & \quad \text{man} \\
\text{that man's house} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
g \quad \text{kli-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{huan} & \quad g \quad \text{ooga-ǰ} & \quad \text{kil} & \quad g \quad \text{huan} \\
\text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} & \quad \text{father} & \quad \text{ART father-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} \\
\text{the house of Juan's father} & \quad \text{the father's-house of Juan} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
g \quad \text{huan} & \quad \text{oog} & \quad \text{kil} \\
\text{ART PN} & \quad \text{father} & \quad \text{house} \\
\text{Juan's father's house} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The genitive marker of the preposed argument is not deleted, but is replaced by ǵ, preceding preposition beginning in ī or ā:

\[
\begin{align*}
am \quad \text{ida} & \quad \text{g} \quad \text{kli-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{huan/am} & \quad \text{kil-ǵ} & \quad ǵ \quad g \quad \text{huan} \\
\text{LOC in} & \quad \text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} & \quad \text{LOC house-GEN in} & \quad \text{ART PN} \\
in \text{the house of Juan} & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ab am}įḑō & \quad \text{g} \quad \text{kli-ǰ} & \quad g \quad \text{huan/ab} & \quad \text{kil-ǵ} & \quad \text{amįḑō} & \quad g \\
\text{LOC from} & \quad \text{ART house-GEN} & \quad \text{ART PN} & \quad \text{LOC house-GEN from} & \quad \text{ART} \\
\text{from the house of Juan} & & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition starting with ī or ā. The absolutive is -k following indefinite pronoun, s-čuhuga-m ([AFF=night-PRTC] dark,
pi ap-‘i-ka-m (NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC) evil, and s-toñ (AFF=hot)
hot; otherwise it is -t before a and -č before i:

has-ču-k
what-thing-ABS in
what in?

ab ab g kíl /ab kíl-t ab
LOC at ART house LOC house-ABS at
at the house

am tða g kíl /am kíl-č tða
LOC in ART house LOC house-ABS in
in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrase from
possessed noun phrase in which GEN is deleted because of a
preposed constituent (see BASIC INFECTIONAL ELEMENTS,
Possession, for examples).

The pronoun copies of possessor argument are identical to
those of object arguments:

\[ \tilde{n} = t = \text{REFL} \]
\[ n = \text{im} = \]
\[ \emptyset = \text{ha} \]

Pronoun copies are preposed to the predicate dominating the
argument of which they are constituent, triggering deletion of
genitive marker:

\[ g \tilde{n}=kíl \text{ aaðl‘i} \]
ART me=house I
my house

\[ g t=kíl \text{ aaðl‘i} \]
ART we=house we
our house

\[ g \text{ m=kíl} \text{ aaðl‘i} \]
ART you=house you
your house

\[ g \text{ im=kíl} \text{ aapim} \]
ART you=house you
PL PL
your PL house

\[ g \text{ ha kíl higam} \]
ART them house those
their house

\[ g ñ=kíl \]
ART REFL house
your/his/their own house

Nouns are alienable or inalienable. Inalienable nouns
signify body parts, man-made articles, kin, and abstract con-
cepts. Alienable nouns occur with classifier in contrast with
alienable nouns. Classifier is goi- if noun is animate, ñ- in
any case. Alienable marker is -ka with possessed plant part,
-g with loan words, -ga otherwise, suffixed to classifier if present, to noun otherwise:

has-ču ʂoi-ga-j  g huan
what-thing CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN
What kind of animal of Juan?

g gogs ʂoi-ga-j  g huan/g huan gogs ʂoi-ga
ART dog CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN ART PN dog CLSF-AL
the dog class of Juan Juan's dog class

g gogs-ga-j  g huan/g huan gogs-ga
ART dog-AL-GEN ART PN ART PN dog-AL
the dog of Juan/Juan's dog

It is the noun that is classified, since the same object may have alienable and inalienable lexemes:

ǹ=kwun  /ǹ=kti-li-ga  ǹ=mad  /ǹ=ali-ga
me=husband  me=old-AL  me=child  me=child-AL
  man  my child

my husband

Body parts form a sub-class of inalienable noun, reversing alienation when argument is unspecified:

hihi-j  g haiwań
hit-GEN ART cow
  gut of cow

hihi-j-ga-j  g huan
hit-GEN-AL-GEN ART PN
the tripe of Juan

hihi-j
hit-GEN

huan hihi-j-ga
PN hit-GEN-AL
Juan's tripe
PREPOSITIONS

Forms

Prepositions are identical in singular and plural, but most have a distributive formed by reduplication. Certain PREP reduplicate stressed V as well as initial CV.

ab                      at, on the near side of
am                      at, on the far side of, UNSPEC
an                      at, on the edge of
aǐgo, a'ai(go)          across, back, RCPR
a'mjɟd, a'amjɟd          from, about, ABLATIVE
baaɔo, baaŋo            along, in front of (baaŋo breast)
ba'ĩč, baa'aič          beyond, in front of, more
daam, da'adam           above, on
ŋda, t'ŋda             in, in the midst of
gahi, gaaghai           across
oldam, o'oldam         during
ŋaagid, ŋa'asagid       between, among
taagio, ta'atagio      in the way of/direction of, before
wičo, wi'iwico          under
wi'big, wi'iwibig       behind, around (Ko=loodi dialect)
wifŋaj, wi'iwifŋaj       behind, around (other dialects)
wif'tjɟ, wi'iwif'tjɟ      for, BEN
wif'm, wi'iwim          with
wipo, wi'ippo           like
tui, wu'uwui            to, DAT (wuhi eye, wuhi-oŋa face)

The following verbs have participles with suffix -č/k which function as prepositions:

miabid, mimiabid        be near, approach
oid, o'oid             follow, go through
wiñad, wi'twiñad       put with

The participle agrees with the main verb in perfectivity.

ku-ki am oïd-č hlm g kil
INTR-EV LOC through-CNJ go ART house
He's going through the house.

ku-t-ki am oïd-k hii-X g kil
INTR-TNS-EV LOC through-CNJ go-PERF ART house
He went through the house.
Syntax

The preposition is predicate, preceding its argument in neutral order and marked by genitive in some forms:

\[ w+ima-y g huan \quad wul-y g kil \]
\[ \text{with-GEN ART PN} \quad \text{to-GEN ART house} \]
\[ \text{with Juan} \quad \text{to the house (Pima)} \]

\[ gahi-y g woog \]
\[ \text{across-GEN ART road} \]
\[ \text{across the road (Pima)} \]

As is the case with nouns, genitive is deleted if any constituent of its argument is prepended to the preposition:

\[ huan w+im \quad hi\dot{g} w+im \acute{\z}io\acute{j} \]
\[ \text{PN with} \quad \text{that with man} \]
\[ \text{with Juan} \quad \text{with that man} \]

\[ kil wul \]
\[ \text{house to} \]
\[ \text{to the house} \]

\[ hima wul g kil \]
\[ \text{one to ART house} \]
\[ \text{to a house} \]

Pronoun copies prepended to preposition are identical to those of other object arguments:

\[ ^{\tilde{n}}= \quad ^{\tilde{m}}= \quad ^{\tilde{\zeta}}= \quad ^{\tilde{n}}= \quad ^{t}= \quad ^{t}= \]
\[ ^{\emptyset}= \quad ^{t}= \quad ^{m}= \quad ^{n}= \quad ^{a} \]
\[ ^{\tilde{n}}= w+im \quad ^{a} \text{a\ddot{a}ni}\acute{i} \]
\[ ^{\tilde{m}}= w-i-w+im \quad ^{\tilde{\zeta}}= h+gam \acute{z}-\zeta-o\acute{j} \]
\[ ^{\tilde{n}}= \text{with I} \quad ^{a} \text{with me} \]
\[ ^{\tilde{m}}= \text{with} \quad ^{\tilde{\zeta}}= \text{with those scattered man} \]
\[ ^{\tilde{n}}= \text{X-RDP-RDP-X} \quad ^{a} \text{with} \quad ^{\tilde{m}}= \text{X-RDP-X} \quad ^{\tilde{\zeta}}= \text{X-RDP-X} \quad ^{\tilde{n}}= \text{with man} \]

Two prepositions may co-occur, with nonablative prepended to ablative, and thus in the same contour, and ablative optionally reducing to -\(j\dot{\acute{d}}\):

\[ \text{am daam amj\dot{\acute{d}} g kil} \quad /\text{am daam-j\dot{\acute{d}} g kil} \]
\[ \text{LOC over from ART house} \quad \text{LOC over from ART house} \]
\[ \text{from over the house} \]
am węco-jtq g kii-j g ooga-j g huan
LOC under-from ART house-GEN ART father-GEN ART PN
from under the house of the father of Juan

Adverb, REM, and indefinite pronoun may also be preposed to ablative preposition with optional reduction of the preposition:

mia anjig/mia-jtq
near from near-from
from near

ga hu-jtq
LOC REM-from
from over there

hibai-jtq /baa-jtq
where-from
from where?

pi-'a-jtq
no-place-from
from nowhere

has-ko-jtq /ssaa-ko-jtq
what-direction-from
from which direction?

DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms

Demonstratives and pronouns have the same structure and employ some of the same morphemes, consisting of deictic-(intensifier)-(specifier)-quantifier.

Deictic is used when pointing to degrees of distance or quantity. The morphemes are a proximal, ga distal, h+ unspeci-

fied/indefinite, ha'a unspecified quantity, h+‘+ indefinite quantity. In demonstratives, a PROX assimilates to the follow-
ing vowel.

Intensive is i, occurring with specified range and indi-
cating extremity of range.

Specifiers are specific to the class.

Quantifier is m plural, i unspecified (singular, mass,
locational). Quantifier i dissimilates to a from word-initial i.

Demonstratives and adverbs of one syllable or two open syllables suppletive when individually forwarded for topicaliza-
tion. The suppletion is effected by deleting unstressed vowels, except after y, when not essential for distinguishing range.
Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns indicate range and quantity. The deictic is proximal or unspecified. The intensifier occurs with specified deictic. The specifier is da proximal, ga distal.

\begin{align*}
\text{i-i-da-m} & \quad \text{PROX-INTNS-PROX-PL} & \text{i-i-da-'a} & \quad \text{PROX-INTNS-PROX-UNSPEC} \\
\text{these} & & \text{this, this stuff} \\
\text{hi-ga-m} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-DIST-PL} & \text{hi-ga-'i} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-DIST-UNSPEC} \\
\text{those} & & \text{the, that, that stuff}
\end{align*}

The suppletive forms are id this and hi that.

\begin{align*}
\text{i-d} & \quad \text{a-\text{n} hab aag \text{\textbar{o}}} & \text{PROX-PROX MD-I thus say man} \\
\text{This (is the) man I mean.} \\
\text{hi-g} & \quad \text{a-\text{n} hab aag \text{\textbar{o}}} & \text{UNSPEC-DIST MD-I thus say man} \\
\text{That (is the) man I mean.}
\end{align*}

Quantifying demonstratives consist of deictic (plus intensifier?) plus quantifier. The deictic is unspecified/indefinite.

\begin{align*}
\text{ha('a)} & \quad \text{UNSPEC} \\
\text{hi('i) } & \quad \text{INDF}
\end{align*}

The quantifier is number/quantity.

\begin{align*}
\text{kia} & \quad \text{NUM} \\
\text{s} & \quad \text{QNT} \\
\text{ha'a-kla} & \quad \text{UNSPEC-NUM} \\
\text{so many} & & \text{hi'i-kia} & \quad \text{INDF-NUM} \\
\text{hi'i-s} & \quad \text{INDF-QNT} \\
\text{so much}
\end{align*}

Number demonstrative co-occurs with \text{\textbar{o}u} things, ho times, pa places.
ha'a-kia-ču    hī't-i-kia-ču
UNSPEC-NUM-thing    INDEF-NUM-thing
that numbered thing    what numbered thing

ha'a-kki-o    hī't-i-kki-o
UNSPEC-NUM-times    INDEF-NUM-times
that many times    how many times

ha'a-k-pa    hī't-i-k-pa
UNSPEC-NUM-places    INDEF-NUM-places
that many places    how many places

Quantifying demonstrative co-occurs with ču thing, ko distance.

ha'a-s-ču    hī't-i-s-ču
UNSPEC-QNT-thing    INDEF-QNT-thing
that size thing    what size thing

ha'a-s-ko    hī't-i-s-ko
UNSPEC-QNT-distance    INDEF-QNT-distance
that far    how far

Syntax
DEM precedes noun and agrees in number:

i-i-da-m kli-ki    i-i-da-'a kil
this-PL house-RDP    this-SG house
these houses    this house

Quantifier and/or adjective and/or participle may intervene:

i-i-da-m gi'-i-gi-d kli-ki
these big house-RDP
these big houses

i-i-da-m ha'i gi'-i-gi-d kli-ki
these few big house-RDP
these few big houses

i-i-da-m s=wa-pa-glim-am čikpan-da-m čit-č-oj
these work-IMPRF-PRTC X-RDP-X
industrious man
these industrious working men
Partitive quantifier is the determiner, preceding the pronoun.

híma hi-ga-m či-č-oj a-t am wo hii-X
one those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-PERF PRTV
One of those men will go there.

ha'i-yi hi-ga-m či-č-oj a-t am wo hii-hi-X
some-PRTV those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-RDP-PERF
Some of those men will go there.

Pronoun copy agrees in person with highest rank pronoun and in number with the sum of pronouns:

híma a-t ha mta-x hi-ga-m či-č-oj
one MD-TNS them kill-PERF those men PRTV
He killed one of those men.

híma a-t-t wo hii-X a-a-či-m
one MD-we-TNS FUT go-PERF we PRTV
One of us will go.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-hi-'l g h-nawoj
LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I ART me=friend PL

with
We drove there, I with my friend.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-hi-'l kč l-l-da-'a
LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I and this PL
We drove there, I and this one.

Article g/hig (Papago/Pima, respectively) introduces argument. ART is deleted before pronoun, after ART/LOC, and clause initially:

g kil-i hi-ga-'l čloj
ART house-GEN that man
the house of that man

g kil-i g huan/ g huan kil
ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
house of Juan/Juan's house
am daam g kli /am kli daam
LOC above ART house LOC house above
above the house

mīd o g huan/huan o mīd
run MD ART PN PN MD run
Juan is running.

ART is likewise absent in discontinuous phrase when locative is forwarded:

an o kīk kil daam
LOC MD stand house on
He's standing there on the house.

Relative clause requires DEM:

n-t wo ŋi-i-X hi-ga-'i čjoj [m-o am kīk]
I-TNS FUT see-PERF that man SUBR-MD LOC stand
I'm going to see that man that's standing there.

Pronoun with relative clause may be generic rather than demonstrative:

n-t wo namkid hi-ga-'i čjoj [ma-t wo či kp-X]
I-TNS FUT pay the man SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF PERF
I'll pay the man that works.

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Like simple demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives consist of deictic-(intensifier)-specifier-quantifier. The deictic indicates range.

a PROX
ga DIST
hi INDF

The intensifier is i, indicating extremity of range, and assimilating to the previous vowel in ga. PROX a assimilates to the following vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-INTNS</th>
<th>INTNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROX a-</td>
<td>i-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST ga-</td>
<td>ga-a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The specifier in ADV DEM indicates the direction the object is facing with respect to the observer, or vice versa.

- **m** object facing away or behind the observer
- **n** object facing across or beside the observer
- **b** object facing toward or in front of the observer

The quantifier is unspecified 1, dissimilating from intensive 1 when co-occurring with it. DIRL b is deleted following 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX-INTNS</th>
<th>away</th>
<th>across</th>
<th>toward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-1-ma-'a</td>
<td>i-1-na-'a</td>
<td>i-1-a-'a</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ma-'i</td>
<td>a-na-'i</td>
<td>a-ba-'i</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ma-'i</td>
<td>ga-na-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-ba-'i</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST-INTNS</td>
<td>ga-a-ma-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-na-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-ša-'y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives i-1-a'a and a-ma-'i are also employed for neutral direction. UNSPEC DIRL is qa after ga and ba after hi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RA-DIRL-QNT</th>
<th>there out of range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hi-ba-'i</td>
<td>RA-DIRL-QNT somewhere, where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives delete INTNS i and QNT but retain stress when fronted for topicalization. Final vowel is reduced by phonetic rule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX-INTNS</th>
<th>away</th>
<th>across</th>
<th>toward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-m</td>
<td>i-n</td>
<td>i-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-m</td>
<td>a-n</td>
<td>a-b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST-INTNS</td>
<td>ga-m</td>
<td>ga-n</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-a-m</td>
<td>ga-a-n</td>
<td>ga-a-š</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Demonstrative Adverbs**

Demonstrative adverbs indicate range and attitude, employing proximal and distal deictic, intensifier, specifier, and unspecified quantifier. Where the previous vowel does not assimilate to the intensifier, the intensifier assimilates to the previous vowel.

The specifier in demonstrative adverbs indicates attitude or direction of motion of either the observer or the referent of a term with respect to the other or the referent of another term: ma away, na across, ya/ba/ša toward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX-INTNS</th>
<th>away</th>
<th>across</th>
<th>toward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>i-1-ma-'a</td>
<td>i-1-na-'a</td>
<td>i-1-ya-'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>a-ma-'i</td>
<td>a-na-'i</td>
<td>a-ba-'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>ga-ma-'i</td>
<td>ga-na-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-ba-'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>way over there</td>
<td>ga-a-ma-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-na-'i</td>
<td>ga-a-ša-'y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstratives liya'a and ama'i are also employed for neutral attitude. Specifier may indicate level, ma below, na eye-level or above. The demonstrative adverbs supplette as follows.

|远离 | 穿过 | 向
|---|---|---|
| PROX-INTNS | i-m | i-n | i-a
| PROX | a-m | a-n | a-b
| DIST | ga-m | ga-n | ga
| DIST-INTNS | ga-a-m | ga-a-n | ga-a-ŋ

Specifier ga indicates out of range, and does not specify attitude or level, ga-ŋa-ŋiŋ gaŋ there out of range.

Reduced demonstratives contrast in stress with unstressed locative particles:

|远离 | 穿过 | 向
|---|---|---|
| PROX(NTNS) | i-m | i-n | i-a | here facing
| PROX | a-m | a-n | a-b | there facing
| DIST | g-m | g-n | g-ŋ | over there facing
| DIST-INTNS | ga-a-m | ga-a-n | ga-a-ŋ | there UNSPEC

Reduced demonstratives and locational particles contrast with PREP:

|离 | 在 | 沿着 | 向
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am at</td>
<td>an along</td>
<td>ab against</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether attitude of speaker or subject is in view may be disambiguated by preposition:

|离 | o | 前
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>im o kiŋ kĩ-baaŋo</td>
<td>ADV MD stand me-front (facing away from me).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADV DEM and their question correlates are:

|离 | 什么
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-ma-'i</td>
<td>that-DIRL-NUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-DIRL-NUM</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|离 | 在
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha-b</td>
<td>that-MAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-MAN</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>离</th>
<th>什么-方向</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>has-ko</td>
<td>that-direction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| that direction | what direction
ha'a-s  
that-QNT  
that much

hÎhc-i-s  
what-QNT  
how much

ha'a-s-ču  
that-QNT-thing  
that size thing

hÎhc-i-s-ču  
what-QNT-thing  
what size thing

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

hÎhc-i-s-ko  
what-QNT-far  
how far

ha'a-kla  
that-NUM  
that number

hÎhc-i-kla  
what-NUM  
what number

ha'a-kla-ču  
that-NUM-thing  
that number thing

hÎhc-i-kla-ču  
what-NUM-thing  
what number thing

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

hÎhc-i-kki-o  
what-NUM-times  
what number times

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

hÎhc-i-k-pa  
what-NUM-places  
what number of places

hÎimu  
at this time

îda/wînog  
at that time

idañ  
at this time of cycle

hîkid  
at what time

Demonstratives co-occur with stative marker to form predicate:

ku-p-t  
hïba'i wo ka-d  
INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF

Where will you be?

n-t  
amàl'i wo ka-d  
I-TNS there FUT STAT-IMPRF

I'll be there.

A demonstrative is obligatory with a relative clause:

am a-n-t wo çilpa-na-d  
ADV ND-I-TNS FUT work-IMPRF SUBR-I-TNS where FUT

kil-ka-d  
live-STAT-IMPRF

There I'll work where I'll be living.
QUANTIFIERS

Forms
Quantifiers are count/measure (MEAS), definite/indefinite.
Indefinite quantifiers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNT</th>
<th>MEAS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>híma</td>
<td>a, one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'í</td>
<td>some number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu'í</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wíts</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>a bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>some amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi't</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wíts</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With WH, definite is -kia NUM with count N, -s QNT otherwise:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'a-kia</td>
<td>ha'a-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-NUM</td>
<td>that-QNT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that number</td>
<td>that amount</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otherwise, definite quantifier is: hímako one, gook two, walk three, gli'ik four, hítasp five, čuudp six, wíwa'ak/wíwkam seven, gli'ik eight, humukt/humujkam nine, wíts-í=maam ten, etc.

Number NUM co-occurs with suffixes -ču'u thing, -ho time, -pa place, and measure QNT co-occurs with -ču'u thing, -ko distance:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha'a-kia-ču'u</td>
<td>ha'a-s-ču'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-NUM-thing</td>
<td>that-QNT-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that numbered thing</td>
<td>that size thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'a-k-kio (ha'a-ki-ho)</td>
<td>ha'a-k-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-NUM-time</td>
<td>that-NUM-place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that number of times</td>
<td>that number of places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'a-s-ko</td>
<td>gook-ču'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-QNT-distance</td>
<td>two-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that much distance</td>
<td>number two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gok-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Syntax

Both number and measure co-occur with partitive. Partitive is Ø following singular QNT, -jj otherwise but optionally deleted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hima/himako</th>
<th>witsi-jj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>all-PRTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one of</td>
<td>all of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'a-si-jj</td>
<td>ha'a-kia-jj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-QNT-PRTV</td>
<td>that-NUM-PRTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that much of</td>
<td>that number of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gooka-jj</td>
<td>mu'i-jj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two-PRTV</td>
<td>many-PRTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two of</td>
<td>many of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonpartitive QNT agrees in number with noun and follows pronoun or precedes article. Modifiers of noun intervene between article and noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>higam ha'i gi-'+gi-d či-č-oj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>those few X-RDP-X X-RDP-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha'i g gi-'+gi-d či-č-oj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>some ART big men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some big men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Partitive QNT precedes plural pronoun and is not constrained to agree with it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hīma higam gi-'+gi-d či-č-oj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one those big men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one of those big men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WH words and partitive QNT are preposed to the predicate to signal topicalization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha'a-kia a-t wo ha u-l g ka-ka-wiu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that-NUM MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF ART X-RDP-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL horse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He'll get that many horses.
ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hīgam ka-ka-wlu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
   PL
He'll get some of those horses.

Otherwise, alternate neutral position of a QNT is preposed to
the predicate word:

t wo ha'i ha u-i g ka-ka-wlu
TNS FUT some them get-PERF ART horses
   PL
He'll get some horses.

t wo ha bi-l g o'og
TNS FUT some get-PERF ART sand
He'll get some sand.

If a nonpartitive quantifier is preposed to the predicate word,
the remainder of the noun phrase may be preposed to the predi-
cate for topicalization, forming a resumptive pronoun construc-
tion:

ka-ka-wlu a-t wo ha'i ha u-i
horses MD-TNS FUT some them get-PERF
   PL
Some horses he'll get.

The predicate word agrees in number with the highest rank
determiner in the rank order PRTV QNT, PRON, N:

hīma a-t wo ha bi-l hīgam ka-ka-wlu
one PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
He'll get one of those horses.

ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hīgam ka-ka-wlu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
   PL
He'll get some of those horses.

am hīma ha ūga hīgam kii-ki
LOC one them in those houses
PRTV
there in one of those houses

am ha'i-jj ha ū-ga hīgam kii-ki
LOC some-PRTV them X-RDP-X those houses
   in
there in some of those houses
Quantifier may occur without head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ab} & \quad \text{h} \quad \text{him} & \quad \text{da-t} & \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{gook-k} \\
\text{LOC} & \quad \text{MD} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{go} \quad & \quad \text{EQ-TNS} & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad \text{two-STAT} \\
\text{Someone is coming.} & & \text{There'll be two.} & \\
\text{h}^{t} \text{-kla} & \quad \text{a-t} & \quad \text{q} & \quad \text{wo} & \quad \text{k} & \quad \text{gook} & \quad \text{a-t} & \quad \text{q} & \quad \text{wo} & \quad \text{k} \\
\text{what-NUM} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} & \quad \text{EQ} & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad \text{STAT} & & \quad \text{two} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} & \quad \text{EQ} & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad \text{STAT} \\
\text{How many will there be?} & & \text{Two is what there will be.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Definite quantifier co-occurs with \textit{wa'i} just, only:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gook} & \quad \text{a-t} & \quad \text{ab} & \quad \text{wa'i} & \quad \text{hi-hi} & \quad \text{-X} & \quad \text{g} & \quad \text{\textit{ti} \text{-c-oj}} \\
\text{two} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{go-RDP-PERF} & \quad \text{ART} & \quad \text{men} \\
\text{Only two men came.} & & & & & & & \\
\text{ha'a-kla} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{ab} & \quad \text{wa'i} & \quad \text{hi-hi} & \quad \text{-m} \\
\text{that-NUM} & \quad \text{MD} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{X-RDP-X} & \quad \text{go} \\
\text{Only so many are coming.} & & & & & & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{h}^{t} \text{-kla} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{ab} & \quad \text{wa'i} & \quad \text{hi-hi} & \quad \text{-m} \\
\text{what-NUM} & \quad \text{MD} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{only} & \quad \text{DEF} & \quad \text{go} \\
\text{Just how many are coming?} & & & & & & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\textbf{ADJECTIVES}\]

Adjectives precede (participle plus) noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{higam} & \quad \text{\textit{gi} \text{-ti} \text{-gj} \quad \text{\textit{ci} \text{-c-oj}} \\
\text{those} & \quad \text{X-RDP-RDP-X} & \quad \text{work-IMPRF-PRTC} & \quad \text{X-RDP-X} & \quad \text{man} \\
\text{those. adult. working. men} & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Adjectives agree in number with noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{gi} \text{-ti} \text{hodai}} & \quad \text{\textit{gi} \text{-ti} \text{-gj} \quad \text{ho-ho-dal}} \\
\text{big. stone} & \quad \text{big. stone} & \quad \text{X-RDP-X} & \quad \text{stone} \\
\text{big. stones} & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Unreduplicated noun may be collective:
gi-'t-gi-d hodal
big stone
course gravel

qi-'t-gi-q halwaang
big bovine
mature cattle

Adjectives may occur without noun:

ab o him g gi'ti
LOC MD go ART big
There comes the chief.

an o mid g s=koomagi
LOC MD run ART AFF=gray
The gray is running along there.

Headless adjectives may occur with other noun modifiers:

ab o hi-hi-m higam gi-'t-gi-d
LOC MD X-RDP-X those big go
There come those adults.

ab o hi-hi-m g gi-'t-gi-d čikpan-da-m
LOC MD go ART big work-IMPRE-PRTC
There come the adult working ones.

Relative clause may occur in modifying slot following DEM:

higam [m-o pi am hu l si gi-'t-gi-da-j] a-'a-l
those SUBR-MD NEG DEC big-be X-RDP-X
child

those children who are not very big

higam [m-o am ha'i-ču-g naanko maas] himajkm
those SUBR-MD LOC some-thing-be different like person COLL
those different kinds of people present

Relative clause may be trimmed as modifier by deletion of subordinator, auxiliary, and verbalizer:

higam pi am hu l si gi-'t-gi-q a-'a-l
those NEG DEC big children

those not very big children

Adjectives may be conjoined:

higa'li gi'ti kš s=koomagi kawlu
that big and AFF=gray horse
that big gray horse

Demonstratives agree with ADJ in manner and quantification and co-occur with manner or quantity gesture:
am o ฎา-ฎา g  ha-a-kla mu'i himajkan (gesture)
LOC MD Ḫ-RDP-X ART that-NUM many person COLL
   sti
That many people are sitting there.

ha-a-s ฏิ (gesture)
that-QNT big
that big

ha-ha-'a-s ฏิ-'ฏิ (gesture)
X-RDP-X-QNT big
that
that big PL

ha-b maas himajkan (gesture)
that-MAN like person COLL
people like that

COMPARATIVES

Comparative sentences employ ADV and/or PREP plus ADJ in the main clause, and ADV plus ADJ in the complement. The prepositions employed are ba'ič past, w̱p̱o even with:

ba'ič i ฎิw past DEF long
longer

ba'ič i m+i k past DEF far
farther

Main and complement clause adjectives agree as manner or quantitative and may be verbalized or adverbalized. The ADV in the complement is DEM:

ba'ič o i Ḫ-iwa-y g al-i [m-o g ฏum
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

w̱ḻ-l-kud ha-a-s s-taγaŋ
bed that-QNT AFF-wide
The child is longer than a small bed is wide.
ba'lič o i s=hoota-m md g al-ı [m-o g past MD DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART]

ooga-j ha'a-s s=hoota-m him
father-GEN that-QNT AFF=rush-ADVR walk
The child runs faster than his father walks.

When a redundant predicate is pruned, the SUBJ of the SUB CL replaces the CL as main clause complement. Thus a subject stranded by pruning of POSSR is REFL:

ba'lič o i čiwa-j g al-ı [m-o g čum past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-l-kud (ha'a-s čiwa-j)]
bed that-QNT long-be
The child is longer than a small bed (is long).

ba'lič o i čiwa-j g al-ı [m-o g t oog past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father

(ha'a-s čiwa-j)]
that-QNT long-be
The child is taller than his father.

The main clause ADV in equational comparatives is DEM. Demonstratives agree with adjectives as manner or quantitative:

al-ı o ha-b mes-ma him m-o g t oog child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR walk SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child walks like his father.

ha'a-s o čiwa-j g al-ı m-o g t oog that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child is as tall as his father.

ha'a-kla o mu'i-j g a'-e-ı m-o g t that-NUM MD many-be ART X-RDP-X SUBR-MD ART REFL child

ýi-+-j
mother-RDP-RDP
The children are as many as their parents.

A redundant argument is pruned:
ha'a-s o s-ta'daŋ g milša [m-o hɪ+t-s]
that-QNT MD AFF-wide ART table SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF
čiwa-j]
long-be
The table is as wide as it is long.

If not verbalized or adverbialized, the ADJ is deleted in QNT X:

ha'a-kla o (mu'li) a-'a-t-ga g pliwlo m-o g ɪ
that-NUM MD many child-AL ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL
oog
father
Pedro has as many children as his father.

ha'a-s-ko a-t (mi+k) hii-X g pliwlo ma-t
that-QNT-far MD-TNS far walk-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

g ɪ oog
ART REFL father
Pedro walked as far as his father.

ha'a-k-pa a-t (mu'li-k-pa) kli-ki-t
that-NUM-place MD-TNS many-NUM-place house-HDP-make

g pliwlo ma-t g ɪ oog
ART PN SUBR-TNS ART REFL father
Pedro built houses in as many places as his father.

Less than comparatives employ hug-ka-m (en-d-STAT-PRTC)

end:

ɪda hug-ka-m o čiwa-ɨ g al-i m-o g ɪ
mid end-STAT-PRTC MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL
oog
father
The child is half as tall as his father.

pi o am hu hug-ka-m čiwa-ɨ g al-i m-o
NEG MD LOC REM en-d-STAT-PRTC long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD

g ɪ oog
ART REFL father
The child is not as tall as his father.

Preceding ba'lč, the ADV is REM/NUMR plus QNT:
ha'a-s o ba'iči čiwa-ʔ g al-i m-o g
that-QNT MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART
+ oog (gesture)
REFL father
The child is that much taller than his father.

ha'a-kla o ba'iči mu'i-ʔ g a'-a-l m-o g
that-NUM MD past DEF many-be ART children SUBR-MD ART
+ ji-ʔ (gesture)
REFL mother-RED-RED
The children are that many more than their parents.

gook taq o ba'iči čiwa-ʔ g al-i m-o g
two-foot MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART
+ wiŋag
REFL sibling
The child is two feet taller than his sibling.

gokko o ba'iči čiwa-ʔ g al-i m-o g
two-times MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART
+ wiŋag
REFL sibling
The child is twice as tall as his sibling.

The stranded SUBJ of a manner complement may be raised to replace ADV:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma(-kaį) him m-o g +
child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR-like walk SUBR-MD ART REFL

ooŋ /'al-i o + oog-kaį him
father child-SG MD REFL father-like walk
The child walks like his father.

+ aamo-kaį o da-d'-t
REFL master-like MD jum-D-RED-REPET
He rides like his master.

Reciprocal manner comparative sentences employing PREP
wipo may be conflated:
Pedro and Pablo look like one another.

A stranded SUBJ may be raised to OBJ of ba'ič:

ba'ič o i čiwa-ğ g al-i ma-ŋ aani'li/ŋ=ba'ič past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-I I me=past

o i čiwa-ğ g al-i
MD DEF long-be ART child-SG

The child is taller than I.

go-go-gs o ha-ha-'a-s ha ba'ič i gi-'i-gi-da-ğ X-RDP-ŋ MD X-RDP-ŋ-QNT them past DEF X-RDP-RDP-X be dog that big
g mi-mi-stol (gesture)
ART X-RDP-ŋ

dog are that much bigger than cats.

A comparative with complement raised to OBJ of PREP may entertain another complement of like structure, forming a double comparison:

go-go-gs o ha-ha-'a-s ha ba'ič i gi-'i-gi-da-ğ g dogs MD that-QNT them past DEF big-be ART
mi-mi-stol [m-o hi g ka-ka-wiu ha ba'ič g kaawal] cats SUBR-MD REF ART X-RDP-ŋ they past ART sheep horse

Dogs are as much bigger than cats as horses are than sheep.

go-go-gs o pl am hu hug-ka-m ha ba'ič l dogs MD NEC LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC them past DEF

gi-'i-gi-da-ğ g mi-mi-stol [m-o g ka-ka-wiu ha big-be ART cats SUBR-MD ART horses them ba'ič g kaawal] past ART sheep

Dogs are not as much bigger than cats as horses are than sheep.
Double comparisons have also been observed employing PREP wui to:

\[
\text{ži-či-no o ha'a-kia ba'ič I mu'i-j am ha wui g } \text{X-RDP-X MD that-NUM past DEF many-be LOC them to ART}
\]

Chinese

\[
\text{India himajkam [m-o g India himažkam ha'a-kia mu'i-j PN people SUBR-MD ART PN people that-NUM many-be am ha wui g laaša himažkam] LOC them to ART PN people The Chinese are as much more numerous to the India people as the India people are numerous to the Russian. (Field Notes 1963, Albert Alvarez)}
\]

The complement clause ADV may also be question word:

\[
\text{ha'a-s o čiwa-j g al-i [m-o g čum that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small wo'i-kud hii-t-s i s-tadañ] SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF AFF-wide The child is however long a small bed is wide. b-o mas-ma čičwi g a-'a-l [m-o g ha MAN-MD like-ADVR play ART children SUBR-MD ART them jii-t-j ha-s i mas-ma čičpan] mother-RDP-RDP what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work GEN Children play however their parents work.}
\]

A complement clause with question word may be preposed to the main clause:

\[
[m-o hii-t-s i s-tadañ g čum wo'i-kud] k SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF AFF-wide ART small bed INTR g a-li ha'a-s čiwa-j ART child-SG that-QNT long-be However wide a small bed is, the child is that long. [m-o ha-s i mas-ma čičpan g ha SUBR-MD what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work ART them jii-t-j] k g a-'a-l ha-b mas-ma čičwi mother INTR ART children that-MAN like-ADVR play However their parents work, children play like that.
The superlative is expressed by comparison with a total:

\[
\text{al-huandlo wiis ha ba'iči gi'i-}^\prime \text{y g ha'įču} \\
elephant \text{ MD all them past DEF big-be ART some-thing}
\]

\[
doa-ka-m \\
\text{live-STAT-PRTC}
\]
The elephant is bigger than all the animals.

All permitted combinations of YNQ, NEG, EQ, IMP occur in comparative sentences:

\[
n-o \text{ ba'iči s=hoota-m } mi\text{g g gogs m-o g} \\
\text{Q-MD past DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog SUBR-MD ART}
\]

milistol

\[
cat \\
\text{Does the dog run faster than the cat?}
\]

\[
n-o \text{ pl am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m } mi\text{g g gogs} \\
\text{Q-MD NEG LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog}
\]

\[
m-o \text{ g milistol} \\
\text{SUBR-MD ART cat}
\]

\[
\text{Doesn't the dog run as fast as the cat?}
\]

\[
n-o \text{ pl am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m } mi\text{g-da-m g} \\
\text{Q-MD NEG LOC REM end } \text{fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC ART}
\]

\[
gogs m-o \text{ g milistol} \\
\text{dog SUBR-MD ART cat}
\]

\[
\text{Isn't the dog as fast a runner as the cat?}
\]

\[
\text{ba'iči g i s=hoota-m miįl m-o higa'i} \\
past IMP DEF fast run SUBR-MD that
\]

\[
\text{Run faster than him!}
\]

\[
\text{pl g am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m } mi\text{g-da-m} \\
\text{NEG IMP LOC REM end } \text{fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC}
\]

\[
m-o \text{ higa'i} \\
\text{SUBR-MD that}
\]

\[
\text{Don't be as fast a runner as he.}
\]
INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns and corresponding question forms are:

hîma someone, another hîda'i/hîjam who?
ha'içu something hasçu'u what?
hîba'i somewhere/sometime hîba'i where?/when?
hîkid sometime hîkid when?

Indefinite pronouns hîma, ha'içu are usually preposed to the verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
n-t \ wo \ ŋî|-X \ hîma & \ /n-t \ wo \ hîma \ ŋîi-X \\
I-TNS \ FUT \ see-PERF \ someone & \ I-TNS \ FUT \ someone \ see-PERF \\
I'll \ see \ someone. & \\
n-t \ wo \ bi-i \ ha'içu & \ /n-t \ wo \ ha'içu \ bi-i \\
I-TNS \ FUT \ get-PERF \ something & \ I-TNS \ FUT \ something \ get-PERF \\
I'll \ get \ something. & \\
ба-n-t \ wo \ či-i \ ha'içu & \ /ба-n-t \ wo \ ha'içu \\
that-I-TNS \ FUT \ say-PERF \ something & \ that-I-TNS \ FUT \ something \\
či-i & \\
say-PERF & \\
I'll \ say \ something. & \\
n-t \ wo \ m=ŋîi-X \ hîba'i & \\
I-TNS \ FUT \ you=see-PERF \ somewhere/sometime \\
I'll \ see \ you \ somewhere/sometime. & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The question form of indefinite pronoun co-occurs with negative and any construction, and is preposed to the predicate:

\[
\begin{align*}
pl \ a-n-t \ hîda'i \ wo \ ŋîi-X & \\
NEG \ MD-I-TNS \ anyone \ FUT \ see-PERF & \\
I \ won't \ see \ anyone./I'll \ see \ no \ one. & \\
pl \ a-n-t \ hasçu/ha'içu \ wo \ bi-i & \\
NEG \ MD-I-TNS \ anything \ \ FUT \ get-PERF & \\
I \ won't \ get \ anything./I'll \ get \ nothing. & \\
pl \ a-n-t \ has(ču \ hab) \ wo \ či-i & \\
NEG \ MD-I-TNS \ anything \ \ FUT \ say-PERF & \\
I \ won't \ say \ anything./I'll \ say \ nothing. & \\
\end{align*}
\]
pi a-n-t h ikid wo ēni-X
NEG MD-I-TBS any time FUT see-PERF
I won't see him any time./I'll never see him.

Indefinite pronouns co-occur:

pi a-t hida'i hascu has wo juu-X
NEG MD-TNS anyone anything anything FUT make-PERF
No one will make anything.

Any construction employs wabs just plus čum IMPOT plus

wabs čum hida'i a-t wabs čum h ikid wabs čum has
just IMPOT who MD-TNS just IMPOT when just IMPOT what

wo + juu-X
FUT REPL do
PERF
Anyone will do anything at any time.

pi a-t wabs čum hascu has wo juu-X
NEG MD-TNS just IMPOT what what FUT do-PERF
He won't do just anything.
DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Pronoun consists of range, (intensive), specifier, number. Subject and object pronouns are identical and may be deleted if nonemphatic. In personal pronouns, the specifier indicates person. The intensifier i becomes a before person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>a-a-ŋi-’l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-a-pl-’l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>i-i-da-’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>h+i-ga-’l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reflexive object:

h+i*j+1 h+i-h+i-’i-j+1 DIST

Dependent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ/POSSR</th>
<th>REFL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-p</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STEMS

Stems consist of verb roots, or of various roots with appropriate suffixes of fixed productivity and order, plus outer suffixes of freer productivity and order, preceding inflectional suffixes.

There is an inner sequence of adjective plus copula plus inchoative. The copular suffix is -’i, -d, -j, -k, ø to have the quality following the appropriate adjectives.
s=ap-’t
APF=good-be
to be good

gi’i’-j
big-be
to be big

s=moik
APF=soft
to be soft

The copula is -dag to have the quality following stance verb plus gerund.

s=dah-i-dag
APF=si-i-GER-be
to be good at riding

s=mi-1-i-dag
APF=run-GER-be
to be good at running

Inchoative suffix is -ta, deleting C after most adjectives and assimilating V to the preceding V or to V preceding k and otherwise deleting V at word boundary. Initial APF and final ag or SF -d are deleted.

ap-’i-t
good-be-INCHO
to become good

baga-t
angry-INCHO
to get angry

hiipi-i
cold-INCHO
to become cold

mi-i-d-t
run-GER-be-INCHO
to learn to run

There is an inner sequence of incorporated object plus suffix -gid to shake N, -giw to have tremors of N, -wua to bump N.

mo’o-gid
head-shake
to shake the head

mo’o-giw
head-tremor
to have head tremors
mo'o-wua
head-bump
to bump the head

There is an inner sequence of incorporated instrument or action plus gerundive suffix plus instrumental suffix, forming a transitive verb. The gerundive suffix is -i following an incorporation or following a vowel, -a otherwise. Instrumental suffixes are -čk to press on with N, -dad to put N on, -hain/hin to hit with N, -kkan to pound with N, -kon to glance N off of, -mad to apply N to, -mun to disturb with N, -pig to remove N from, -šan/šad to act along a surface with N, -šun/šug to crush with N, -šp to contact with N, -to to finish an action, -win/wia to pulverize with N.

mo'o-čk
head-čuk
push with the head
wonami-dad
hat-don
to don a hat

mo'o-hain
head-hain
hit with the head
ma'-i-hin
object-GER-hit
to hit with a thrown object

mo'o-kkan
head-kkan
pound
ma'-i-kon
object-GER-glance
to glance an object off of

on-mad
salt-apply
to salt
dag-i-mun
hand-GER-disturb
to massage

nak-pig
ear-remove
to earmark
čil-šan
rough-act
to rub off

ma'-i-šun
object-GER-crush
to crush with a thrown object
ma'-i-šp
object-GER-contact
to cover with an object from the hand

dag-i-to
hand-GER-COMPL
to drop
kīn-i-win
foot-GER-pulverize
to thresh

Suffix -wua (SG), -šulig (PL) to move object along co-occurs with instrumental -čk.
mo'o-čk-wua  mo'o-č-šulig
head-press-move     head-press-move
to push along with the head  to push objects along with
                             the head.

Suffix -i'ok to reverse action co-occurs with instrumental -šp.

ma-'i-šp-i'ok
object-GER-contact-PRIV
to uncover

There is an inner sequence of stance verb plus GER plus
INCEPT -wua to assume a stance.

dah-i-wua       kik-i-wua
sit-GER-INCEPT    stand-GER-INCEPT
to sit down      to stand up

There is an inner sequence of noun plus -ta to make N,
forming a transitive verb. -ta deletes V word finally and be-
fore gerund, and is replaced by a benefactive suffix.

kli-t
house-make
to make a house

Outer derivational suffixes may follow a verb root or inner
derivational suffixes. The outer suffixes occur in the order:

APPLIC GER  \{\{MOT \} DESID APPLIC\} \{PROG \} RSLTV \}

Applicative suffix is causative after intransitive verb or
after DESID, benefactive otherwise. Applicatives co-occur in
the order CAUS X BEN.

Causative suffix is -čud after a root or replacing -ta,
-jid otherwise. A restricted set of verb roots take -čulid.

him-čud          daam-čud
move-CAUS        over-CAUS
to cause to move  to cause to be over

ap-'i-čud        gš'i-d-a-jid
good-be-(INCHO)  big-be-INCHO-CAUS
to fix            to enlarge

maač-čulid       hšig-čulid
know-CAUS        happy-CAUS
to cause to know  to please or praise
Benefactive suffix is -čud when replacing -ta or after the causative suffix -čud, and -jilid, -jid, -lid otherwise in the appropriate environments.

kli-čud
house-(make) BEN
to make a house for

ap-’t-čud-a-čud
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-BEN CAUS
to fix for

maak-jilid
give-BEN
to give to for

gť’ť-d-a-jid-jilid
big-be-INCHO-CAUS-BEN
to enlarge for

wakon-lid
wash-BEN
to wash for

ma-’l-sp-lid
object-GER-contact-BEN
to cover it for

The motion suffix -mîd (SG), -op (PL) to go to do or get follows certain noun or verb stems and requires the gerundive suffix. The benefactive suffix may follow a transitive verb.

on-a-mîd
salt-GER-MOT

to go get salt

čikpn-op
work-MOT PL
to go to work PL

ku’ag-a-mîd
wood-GER-MOT

to go for wood

ku’ag-id-a-mîd
wood-BEN-GER-MOT
to go for wood for

Progressive suffixes are -čug abstract, -him concrete, requiring a gerundive suffix following a transitive verb.

aag-a-čug
say-GER-PROG

to bear a message

aag-a-him
say-GER-PROG

to go along saying

ňiiid-a-čug
see-GER-PROG

to keep a watch

ňiiid-a-him
see-GER-PROG

to go along seeing

aag-id-a-him
say-BEN-GER-PROG

to go along telling

him-him
move-PROG

to wander along

maak-him
give-PROG

to distribute

ap-’t-ťa-him
good-be-INCHO-PROG
becoming right
baga-ta-him
angry-INCHO-PROG
getting angry

hti-pl-i-him
cold-INCHO-PROG
getting cold

kil-t-a-him
house-make-GER-PROG
to progress with building

kuup-a-him
close-GER-PROG
to go along closing

kil-čud-a-him
house-(make)-GER-PROG
BEN
to progress with building a house for

Resultative suffixes are -s to be in a state and -č to have in a state. GER is obligatory with -s following a transitive verb stem, and second rank argument is advanced to first rank.

him-s
move-RSLTV
to be in a state of going

aag-a-s
say-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spoken state

ap-čud-a-s
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-RSLTV
CAUS
to be in a corrected state

naato-l-s
finish-GER-RSLTV
to be in a finished state

ma-č-sp-l'ok-a-s
object-GER-contact- PRIV-GER-RSLTV
to be in an uncovered state

ab a-č maak-s g doakag
LOC MD we give-RSLTV ART life
We are given life.

ie-wu-l-s
drop-INCEPT-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spilled state

The suffix -č deletes k after a consonant.

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have in a finished state

kuup-č
close-RSLTV
to have in a closed state

ab o t=maak-č g doakag
LOC MD we=give-RSLTV ART life
He gives us life.
There are two desiderative suffixes, -imk and -mk/kk. DESID -mk/kk indicates SG/PL, respectively, co-occurring with a limited set of nonproductive stems.

tono-mort

\text{drink-DESID}
\text{water}
\text{to want to drink water}

\text{ton-kk}

\text{drink-DESID}
\text{water PL}
\text{to want to drink water PL}

DESID -imk co-occurs with s= AFF and productive verb stems, with plural marked in the stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

\text{s=hi-imk}
\text{AFF=move-DESID}
\text{to want to go}

\text{s=hi-hi-m-imk}
\text{AFF=\(X\)-D\(X\)P-\(X\)-DESID}
\text{move}
\text{to want to go PL}

\text{s=ku'ag-imk}
\text{AFF=get-DESID}
\text{wood}
\text{to want to get wood}

\text{s=ku'ag-id-amk}
\text{AFF=you-get-BEN-DESID}
\text{wood}
\text{to want to get wood for you}

\text{s=ku'ag-a-mil-imk}
\text{AFF=get-GER-MOT-DESID}
\text{wood}
\text{to want to go get wood}

\text{s=ku'ag-id-a-mil-imk}
\text{AFF=you-get-BEN-GER-MOT-DESID}
\text{wood}
\text{to want to go get wood for you}

\text{s=kili-t-amk}
\text{AFF=house-make-DESID}
\text{to want to build a house}

\text{s=kili-\(\text{\~d}\)um-amk}
\text{AFF=you-house-(make)-DESID}
\text{BEN}
\text{to want to build a house for you}

\text{s=ma-on-mad-\(\text{\~j}\)lid-amk}
\text{AFF=you=salt-apply-BEN-DESID}
\text{to want to salt it for you}

\text{s=ma-i-sp-i\'ok\-id-amk}
\text{AFF=you=object-GER-contact-PRIV-BEN-DESID}
\text{to want to uncover it for you}

An applicative following a desiderative suffix must be causative, and is blocked by any previous applicative. An applicative suffix cannot follow a motion suffix.
s=him-im-čud
APP=move-DESID-CAUS
to cause to want to go

s=ŋ=ku'a-ag-a-míl-im-čud
APP=me=get-GER-MOT-DESID-CAUS
wood
to cause me to want to go
get wood

INCORPORATION

Nouns may be incorporated as instrument of action in compound verb, usually co-occurring with GER 'i. The following instrumental nouns no longer occur as independent nouns:

čič-
pointed object
čič-
rough object
ču'a-
sharp object
dag-
hand
how-
inhalation
kíh-
foot
kí-'i-
teeth
ma-'l-
thrown object
nú-'l-
hand (or unspecified) away
šoŋ-
held object
wa-, wa-'l-
liquid
waŋ-
hand toward
wi-'l-
non-solid
wus-
exhalation

The following independent nouns occur as instrumental nouns, with geminate-V reduction:

čič
mouth
hon
body
kaam/kam-
cheek
mo'-o
head
naak/nak-
ear
taatami/tam-
tooth
toon/ton-
knee
SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

Object      Reflexive      Unspecified      Imperative
\( \tilde{n} = \)       \( \tilde{n} = \)       \( \tilde{n} = \)       \( -\tilde{n} \)
\( m = \)       \( \tilde{m} = \)       \( m = \)       \( \tilde{m} = \)
\( \emptyset \)       \( \hat{t} = \)       \( \hat{t} = \)       \( \hat{t} = \)
\( \text{ha} = \)       \( \text{ha} = \)       \( \text{ha} = \)       \( \text{ha} = \)

Benefactive focus raising results in co-occurrence of free and bound object copies:

\text{na-p ha \( \tilde{n} \)-go-o-go-m-\( \tilde{j} \)-l-id g ko-k-to\( \tilde{n} \)}
\text{G-you them ms=\( X \)-RDP-RDP-\( X \)-BEN-APPLIC ART \( X \)-RDP-\( X \)}
\text{\textit{sew}}

\text{Are you sewing the shirts for me?}

\text{ab a-\( \tilde{n} \) ha \( \tilde{m} \)-ma-m-k-a-\( \tilde{j} \)-l-id g a-\'a-l}
\text{LOC MD-I them you=\( X \)-RDP-X-DISTR-BEN-APPLIC ART \( X \)-RDP-X}
\text{\textit{give}}

\text{g ha\'i-\( \hat{t} \) cu hug-l}
\text{ART some-thing eat-GER}
\text{I repeatedly give the children something to eat for you PL.}

Nondistinct Argument Markers

\text{\( \text{ta} \) UNSPEC SUBJ}
\text{\( \text{\( \hat{c} \)u} \) UNSPEC OBJ}
\text{\( \text{\( \hat{j} \)id} \) PASS}
\text{\( \text{\( \hat{s} \)} \) STAT PASS}

Sentence Type

Auxiliary is suffixed if following imperative verb:

\text{\( \text{cikpna-\( \tilde{n} \)} \)
\text{work-you}}
\text{\( \text{IMP} \)}
\text{Work!}
\text{\( \text{cikpn-o} \)
\text{work-PL}}
\text{\( \text{IMP} \)}
\text{You PL work!}
Number Agreement

Number agreement is ergative, marked by Ø, suppletion, or reduplication:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čikpan} & \text{ o g čto} / čt-č-o / \text{mľd o g čto} \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{MD ART man /} \_
\text{x-RDP-x} & \quad \text{run MD ART man} \\
\text{imp} & \quad \text{The man is running.} \\
\text{Keep working!} & \quad \text{You PL keep working!}
\end{align*}
\]

The man/men are working.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo-o-po o g čt-č-o} & \\
\text{run-RDP-RDP MD ART men} & \quad \text{The men are running.}
\end{align*}
\]

He’s running a machine.

His running machines.

The man is walking.

The men are walking.

There is also distributive agreement with temporal or locational:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am a-t wo hl-hl-ma-d si-si’alma-d} & \\
\text{LOC MD-AGR PUT x-RDP-RDP-x IMPRF x-RDP-x IMPRF} & \quad \text{go morning}
\end{align*}
\]

He’ll be going there each morning.

He’s working in that many places.
NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-č/-kč  RSLTV
-čud/-čulid  APPLIC
-ły/-ld, -łyliid  APPLIC
-gld  APPLIC
-hun  APPLIC
-ś/-d  CAUS

ki-i-ś-č  daa-ś-č
stand-GER-contact-RSLTV sit-APPLIC-RSLTV
to have object underfoot to have object sitting

kiś-ś-č  nako-tık
stand-APPLIC-RSLTV finish-RSLTV
to have object standing to have object finished

da-i-ś-č  ba'ag-čud
sit-GER-contact-RSLTV eagle-APPLIC
to have object under seat to make one an eagle

mīl-i-čud  maač-čulid
run-GER-APPLIC know-APPLIC
to cause to run to cause to know

him-i-čud  hītg-čulid
go-GER-APPLIC happy-APPLIC
to cause to walk to cause to be happy

giwk-a-jid  ʂoom-jiilid
strong-INCHO-APPLIC sew-BEN
to strengthen to sew for

čikpán-id  mo'o-gid
work-APPLIC head-APPLIC
to work for to shake the head

yyiñ-glid  ho'įgi'įid-a-hun
smoke-APPLIC bless-GER-APPLIC
to lecture, discuss to pray
to shake the head to contaminate, plaster

to have object sitting
kiit-§
stand-CAUS
to cause to stand
daa-§
sit-CAUS
to cause to sit

woo-d
lie-CAUS
to cause to lie

Adverbial

-§m, opo-*op
 go for, MOT
-nam
 meet
-noq
 turn

čikpn-a-mid
work-GER-MOT
to go for work
čikpn-op
work-MOT
 PL
to go for work PL

don-a-mid
salt-GER-MOT
to go for salt

m+i-l-nam
run-GER-meet
 to run meet
wo{l}-i-nam
run-GER-meet
 PL,
to run meet PL

m+i-l-noq
run-GER-turn
 to run turn
wo{l}-i-noq
run-GER-turn
 PL,
to run turn PL

Volitional

-hog
be expected to
-id
be able to
s=...-hog
reject
s=...-daq
be proficient at
s=...-imk
want to

bi-i-hog
get-GER-expected
to be expected to get
mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give
s=mtl-1-d-ka-m  
*APP=*run-GER-able-STAT-PRIC
a good runner

s=mtl-1-da-g  
*APP=*run-GER-able-be
be proficient at running

mtl-1-d-ta-him  
*run-GER-able-INCHO-PROG
becoming able to run

mtl-1-l-imk  
*APP=*run-DBSID
want to run

s=ka-i-hog  
*APP=*hear-GER-reject
to reject hearing

s=tam-hog  
*APP=*tooth-reject
to reject (tasting)

Aspectual

-čug  
CONT
carry on action

-him  
PROG
-going along Ving

-'i  
PERF
V and go

-ka'i (-ka-'i)  
COMPL
finish Ving

-to  
INCEPT
assume a stance

-aag-a-čug  
say-GER-CONT
keep saying

-aag-a-him  
say-GER-PROG
go along saying

ka-i-čug  
hear-GER-CONT
keep listening

-ňl'-l-him  
sing-GER-PROG
go along singing

aag-a-čug  
say-GER-CONT
keep saying

Juk-l-to  
rain-GER-COMPL
finish raining

ka-i-čug  
hear-GER-CONT
keep listening

ko'-l-to  
eat-GER-COMPL
finish eating something

b-i-ka'i  
take-go
take it and go

-da-g-ha-i-wua  
sit-GER-INECEPT
sit down

-da-d-ha-i-wu-l-o  
sit-GER-INECEPT-PERF-PL
You PL sit down!
wo-o-p-i-wu-i-o
lie-RDP-RDP-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL lie down!

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE
The verb is a constituent of the predicate in the order
MDL NEG V AUX. The constituents of V are AFF STEM NUM DISTR
STAT ASP TNS CNJ.

Pre-Stem Elements
AFF is s=:

\[
s=m\text{aa}c \quad s=t\text{o}n \quad s=l\text{ia}l-ga
\]
AFF=know \quad AFF=hot \quad AFF=money-AL
know \quad be hot \quad have much money

AFF is deleted if negated, but not if INTNS is negated.

\[
\text{pl } o \text{ to}n \quad \text{pi } o \text{ s}i \text{ s=to}n
\]
NEG MD hot \quad NEG MD INTNS AFF=hot
It isn't hot. \quad It isn't really hot.

Argument markers are preposed to the stem, displacing AFF.

\[
s=k=m\text{aa}c \quad s=h\text{a} \quad o \text{ m}\text{aa}c
\]
AFF=me=know MD \quad AFF=them MD know
He knows me. \quad He knows them/someone.

\[
s=i \quad o \text{ m}\text{aa}c
\]
AFF=REPL MD know
He's skilled.

OBJ copies are preposed to the stem in the order direct-indirect
benefactive, and only if not preceded by a bound or unspecified
copy:

\[
\text{huana o ha } w\text{a-p-kon} g \text{ ko-k-to}n
\]
PW MD them water-RDP-ISTR ART X-RDP-X

Juana is washing shirts.
A direct object copy is deleted preceding an indirect object copy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am o ha aag g } & \tilde{\text{ni}-\tilde{n}-'i-i} \\
\text{LOC MD them say ART X-RDP-X-NR} & \underline{\text{sing}}
\end{align*}
\]

He's singing songs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am o } \tilde{\text{n}}-\text{aag-id} & \quad \text{g } \tilde{\text{ni}}-\tilde{\text{n}}-'i-i \\
\text{LOC MD me=say-APPLIC ART songs} & \underline{\text{He's singing me songs.}}
\end{align*}
\]

In some dialects a free copy is deleted preceding a free copy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{huana o } & \quad \text{ha wa-p-kon-ld g ko-k-to\n} \\
\text{PN MD them wash-BEN ART shirts} & \underline{\text{Juana is washing shirts for them.}}
\end{align*}
\]

Unspecified argument markers ŋu OBJ, ta SUBJ do not co-occur, and do not co-occur with any object pronoun copy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s-ču o mač} & \quad \text{s=ta o mač-ma} \\
\text{AFF=UNSPEC MD know OBJ} & \text{AFF=UNSPEC MD know-VR SUBJ} \\
\text{He knowledgeable, enterprising.} & \text{It's knowable.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi o ču mač} & \quad \text{pi o ta mač-ma} \\
\text{NEG MD UNSPEC know OBJ} & \text{NEG MD UNSPEC know-VR SUBJ} \\
\text{He isn't knowledgeable.} & \text{It's unknowable.}
\end{align*}
\]
The verb is ergative, certain V suppleting and/or reduplicating in agreement with plural determiner of lowest rank argument in the order SUBJ, benefactive OBJ, indirect OBJ, direct OBJ. Intransitive V suppletes and/or reduplicates with plural nonaggregate SUBJ:

hima o am miď higam či-č-oʃ
one MD LOC run those X-RDP-X

One of those men is running there.

ha'ǐ-jʃ o am wo-o-po higam či-č-oʃ
some-PRTV MD LOC run-RDP-RDP those men

PL

Some of those men are running there.

am o miď higam himaj-ka-m
LOC MD run those people

Those people are running there together.

am o wo-o-po higam himaj-ka-m
LOC MD run-RDP-RDP those people

PL

Those people are running there.

am o miď g šuudagi am o him g himaj-ka-m
LOC MD run ART water LOC MD walk ART people

The water is running there. The people are walking there together.

am o hi-hi-m g himaj-ka-m
LOC MD X-RDP-X ART people

walk

The people are walking there.

Simple transitive V suppletes and/or reduplicates with plural OBJ. Object marker ha is partitive with aggregate N, plural otherwise:

am a-t bĩ-l g čloʃ am a-t bĩ-l g muuʃ
LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART man LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART beans

He got the man there. He got the beans there.
am a-t ha bi-i g muuñ
LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART beans
He got some of the beans there.

am a-t ha u-l g či-č-oŋ
LOC MD-TNS them get-PERF ART men
PL
He got the men there.

am a-t hima ha bi-i higam či-č-oŋ
LOC MD-TNS one them get-PERF those men
PL
He got one of those men there.

am a-t u-l g liāl
LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART money
PL
He got the money there.

am a-t ha u-l g liāl
LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART money
PL
He got some of the money there.

am o m-li-čud g maaginā
LOC MD run-APPLIC ART motor
He's running the motor there.

am o ha wo-o-po-'i-čud g ma-m-gina
LOC MD them run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC ART ći-RDP-X
PL
motor
He's running the motors there.

am o hima ha m-li-čud higam ma-m-gina
LOC MD one them run-APPLIC those motors
PL
He's running one of the motors there.

**Distributive**

DISTR in V stems marks repeated action or an increment or stage in a continuing action. DISTR is -g/-q replacing final C in INSTR, -q with certain stems effecting reduplication, -w with certain roots, -i otherwise:

ma-'i-kon /ma-'i-ko-ŋ
hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-INSTR-DISTR
glancing a thrown object off of
kl-’l-šun /kl-’l-šu-ːs
teeth-GER-INSTR teeth-GER-INSTR-DISTR
crushing with the teeth

čįk-šan /čįk-ša-d
sharp-INSTR sharp-INSTR-DISTR
making a line

naeto /nat-to-d
finish finish-RDP-DISTR
finishing
to’a /to’a-w
place place-DISTR
pouring objects,
pouring mass

dada /da-i-w
arrive arrive-GER-DISTR
arriving PL

DISTR -i effects reduplication of the first CV of the closest morpheme in monosyllabic and polymorphemic stems, of post-initial CV otherwise, and is deleted following polymorphemic stems and certain monomorphemic stems:

da’a/da-d-’i
fly X-RDP-X-DISTR
fly
flying

bihi/bi-b-h-i
get X-RDP-X-DISTR
get

gaining

dah-1-wua /dah-i-wu-p
sit-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
sitting

da-ž-ha-i-wua /da-ž-ha-i-wu-p
X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
sit
sitting PL

on-am-tė /on-am-mi-d
salt-NOT salt-X-RDP-X
 NOT

going for salt

wuṣad /wuṣ-ša-d
deliver X-RDP-X
deliver
delivering
taṭam/tat-ta-m
touch X-RDP-X
touch
feeling, touching
mil-ìw /mil-opa  
run-arrive run-arrive  
arriving at a run 
DISTR  

wo-'ìw /wo-'i-opa  
run-arrive run-arrive-DISTR  
PL  
arriving at a run PL  

ma-'ì-səp /ma-'i-sə-p  
hand-GER-INST hand-GER-X-RDP-X  
INST  

covering  
ku'ag-op/ku'ag-op-p-o  
get -go get -go-RDP-DISTR  
wood for wood for  
PL  
going for wood PL  

DISTR -t harmonizes with stem V except after G, dissimilating from t and assimilating to other V or being replaced by a as permitted by co-occurrence restrictions and as required to distinguish identical stems:

hug/hu-hu-g-a  
eat X-RDP-X-DISTR  
eat  
eating  

hug/hu-hu-g-t  
eat X-RDP-X-DISTR  
end X-RDP-X-DISTR  
end  
ending  

baha /ba-b-h-t  
ripen X-RDP-X-DISTR  
ripen (REPST)  
ripening 

ths /ti-t-s-a  
plant X-RDP-X-DISTR  
plant  
planting 

čtig/čt-č-g-a  
find X-RDP-X-DISTR  
find  
examining 

iit /i-t-t-a  
scoop X-RDP-X-DISTR  
scoop  
scooping 

koos /ko-k-s-o  
sleep X-RDP-X-DISTR  
sleep  
sleeping 

maač/ma-m-č-t  
know X-RDP-X-DISTR  
know  
investigating 

niin /ni-n-n-a  
waken X-RDP-X-DISTR  
waken  
wakening 

muuk/mu-m-k-u  
die X-RDP-X-DISTR  
die  
be sick
Certain stems reduplicate initially and noninitially:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{him/hi-h-hi-m} &\quad \text{ntid/ni-n-nt-idi} \\
g\quad \text{go} &\quad \text{see} \\
\text{going} &\quad \text{seeing} \\
g\quad \text{git\textsuperscript{s}/gi-g-gi-\textsuperscript{s}i} &\quad \text{c\textsuperscript{i}lipa/ci-\textsuperscript{c}i-p-pi-a-\textsuperscript{c}i} \\
\text{fall} &\quad \text{move} \\
\text{falling} &\quad \text{moving camp}
\end{aligned}
\]

Certain polysyllabic stems reduplicate the first V in the DISTR. The V reduplicates as hV if initial CV is not reduplicated:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{wan\textsuperscript{l}g/wa-ha-m-mI-g} &\quad \text{wi\textsuperscript{ma}-j/wi-hi-m-ma-j} \\
\text{rise} &\quad \text{with-be} \\
\text{rising} &\quad \text{with} \\
\text{gul\textsuperscript{l}g/gu-hu-l-lI-g} &\quad \text{tono}\textsuperscript{d}/to-ho-n-no-d \\
\text{fall} &\quad \text{shine} \\
\text{falling PL} &\quad \text{shining} \\
\text{s=\textsuperscript{c}tidagi/s=\textsuperscript{c}t-hi-dagi} &\quad \text{s=k\textsuperscript{t}ga-j} /\text{s=k\textsuperscript{t}-h\textsuperscript{t}-ga-j} \\
\text{AFF=blue} &\quad \text{AFF=good-be} \\
\text{be blue/green} &\quad \text{AFF=good-be} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

Derived stems mark distributive identically to their root, thus exhibiting reduplication of first CV and first V when derived from certain attributives and prepositions. V reduplicates as V if first CV is reduplicated:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{ciwa-j} /\text{ci-}\text{hi-}\text{ci-wa-j} &\quad \text{daam/da-}\text{a-da-m} \\
\text{long-be} &\quad \text{over} \\
\text{be long} &\quad \text{be over}
\end{aligned}
\]
Tense/Aspect

STAT marker is -k (see BE/HAVE/DO).

ASP is PERF following nondurative V stem, IMPRF following
STAT, PERF/IMPRF otherwise. PERF is -'i, IMPRF is -d:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am g } & \text{bii-}'i \\
\text{LOC IMP get-PERF} & \text{LOC IMP get-IMPRF} \\
\text{IMP} & \text{IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

Get it! Be getting it!

IMPRF is optionally deleted following STAT:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am g } & \text{gi'it-j-ka-d} \\
\text{LOC IMP big-be-STAT-IMPRF} & \text{LOC IMP big-be-STAT} \\
\text{/am g } & \text{gi'it-j-k} \\
\text{IMPRF} & \text{IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

Be big!

Morphemes delete ' after C-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ab g } & \text{i}~\text{maak-i} \\
\text{LOC IMP DEF me=give-PERF} & \text{NEG IMP thus REFL say-PERF} \\
\text{IMP} & \text{IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

Give it to me! Don't think it!

PERF deletes ' and replaces previous V in VV- -V:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{da-g-ha-i-wua} & \text{/da-d-ha-i-wu-l-o} \\
\text{\underline{\text{sit}}} & \text{\underline{\text{sit}}} \text{GER-INCEPT-IMPRF-PL} \\
\text{you PL sit down!}
\end{align*}
\]

PERF is deleted word finally following polysyllabic V stem, in
VV- -C, and before CNJ:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am g } & \text{dah-i-wua} \\
\text{LOC IMP sit-GER-INCEPT} & \text{LOC MD-TNS send} \\
\text{IMP} & \text{send him there.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sit down there!

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{la } & \text{e-t jiwia} \\
\text{LOC MD-TNS arrive} & \text{sit-GER-INCEPT-you} \\
\text{PERF} & \text{Sit down!}
\end{align*}
\]

He came here.

Certain V delete IMPRF if not before PL or CNJ:
hi-hi-m-d-o
X-RDP-X-IMPRF-PL
walk
You PL walk!

ŋtok-him o am hima-d-č
talk-PROG MD LOC walk-IMPRF-CNJ
He's talking while walking there.

am o hima-d  č  ŋtok-him
LOC MD walk-IMPRF CNJ talk-PROG
He's walking there and talking.

am o him g huan ċ  ŋtok-him
LOC MD walk ART PN CNJ talk-PROG
Juan is walking there and talking.

All other V delete IMPRF if not before PL:

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
You PL work!

ŋtok o am čikpan-č
talk MD LOC work-CNJ
He's talking while working there.

am o čikpan ċ  ŋtok
LOC MD work CNJ talk
He's working there and talking.

bi-b-h-i-him
X-RDP-X-DISTR-PAST
IMPRF
was repeatedly getting

Tense is signalled in the auxiliary (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS). Time previous to specified tense is marked by verb suffixes -ahim, -ok, co-occurring with IMPRF/PERF respectively.

am a-ŋ čikpn-ahim
LOC MD-I work-PAST
IMPRF
I have been working there.

am a-ŋ-g čikpn-ahim
LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
IMPRF
I had been working there.

am a-n-t čikpn-ok
LOC MD-I-TNS work-PAST
PERF
I have worked there.

am a-ŋ-g čikpn-ok
LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
PERF
I had worked there.
am a-n-t hii-X bih-i-ok
LOC MD-I-TNS go-PERF get-PERF-PAST
PERF
I went there after I got it.

STAT and ASP are employed in the derivation of irrealis, co-occurring with s= AFF:

s=him=ma                      s=hima-d-ma
AFF=move-IRR                   AFF=move-IMPRF-IRR
seem to move                   seem to be moving

s=ql'j-ka-d-ma
AFF=big-be-STAT-IMPRF-IRR
seem to be big

FUT, STAT, and ASP are employed in the derivation of participles:

wo=ha=hoon-ta-m
FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC
groom

da-t wo wo=ha=hoon-ta-m-k
EQ-TNS FUT PUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC-STAT
He'll be the groom.

cikpan-da-m
work-IMPRF-PRTC
worker

da-t wo cikpan-da-m-ka-d
EQ-TNS FUT work-IMPRF-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a worker.

doa-ka-m
live-STAT-PRTC
animal

da-t wo doa-ka-m-ka-d
EQ-TNS FUT live-STAT-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a living thing.

Conjunctions

CNJ is -kč and/CONN, aha/o or, ni nor. The CNJ kč truncates in PERF-TNS___ except when employed in conflation of same-predicate clauses (see COORDINATION), or reduces to č in C____. PERF is deleted in ____CNJ:
čig-i-to-kč
find-GER-COMPL-CNJ
as he's thinking
cig-i-to-k-X
find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF
when he thought
da'a-d-č
fly-IMPRF-CNJ
as he's flying
da'a-k-X
fly-CNJ-PERF
when he flew

The CNJ is extraposed if conjoining a following clause, and incorporated initially in the clause. Thus AUX (MD-PERS-TNS-MDL) follows CNJ when postposed to clause-initial constituent:

an a-t da'a k-X o-ki ò u'uwigh
LOC MD-TNS fly CNJ-PERF MD-EV EQ bird
It flew by and was evidently a bird.

an o da'a-d č o-ki ò u'uwigh
LOC MD fly-IMPRF CNJ MD-EV EQ bird
It's flying by and is evidently a bird.

Other

In the imperative, an AUX following a verb is also a verb constituent.

čikpna-ń
work-you
IMP
You work!
čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
You PL work!
čikpen-da-ń
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
You be working!
čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
You PL be working!

PL is preposed to non-clause-initial or nonimperative V:

am g čikpan
LOC IMP work
IMP
Work there!
am g wo čikpan
LOC IMP PL work
IMP
You PL work there!

am g čikpna-d
LOC IMP work-IMPRF
IMP
Be working there!
am g wo čikpna-d
LOC IMP PL work-IMPRF
IMP
You PL be working there!
Certain monosyllabic verbs supplet and/or partially supplet in the PERF. Certain of those occurring with pro-ADV supplet:

wua/juñ  
do do  
doing/do  
kaiʃ/ʧʼʧʼ  
say say  
saying/say

Imperative CVGV delete G in __PERF#:

hab ʧʼʧʼ  
thus say  
saying  
ba-g ʧʧʼ-ʼI  
thus-IMP say-PERF  
IMP  
Say it!

bʧhʧ  
get  
getting  
am g bʧʧ-ʼI  
LOC IMP get-PERF  
IMP  
Get it!

uʻu  
get  
PL  
getting PL  
am g ha uu-ʼI  
LOC IMP them get-PERF  
PL  
IMP  
Get them!

mʧʼa  
kill  
kill  
am g mʧa-ʼI  
LOC IMP kill-PERF  
IMP  
Kill it!

Imperative CVC geminate V in __PERF#:

hab juñ  
thus do  
do  
ba-g juuñ  
thus-IMP do  
IMP  
Do it!

him  
walk  
walk  
am g hlI  
LOC IMP walk  
IMP  
Go there!
miɣ
run
run

naad
fire
make fire

Imperative CVGV delete V in ____PERF AUX/FUT if stem V are identical, delete PERF otherwise:

bithi
get
get

bith-i-ð
get-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL get it!

u'-i-ð
get-PERF-PL
PL
Get them!

m'ta
kill
kill

m't'a-ð
kill-you
IMP
Kill it!

m't'o-wo
kill-PL
IMP
You PL kill it!

bl'a-ð
serve-you
PERF
Serve it!

bl'a-wo
serve-PL
PERF
You PL serve it!

Nonimperative verbs supplet and/or truncate in ____PERF. Series verbs reduplicate first CV, geminate first V, and truncate final segment and PERF:
In \( \text{CVG} | \text{CVVC} \) PERF#, nonimperative CVGV and CVVC delete second V and truncate final segment:

\[
\begin{align*}
\star (\text{bi}++-i') & \rightarrow \text{bi}++-i' > \text{bi}+i) > \text{bi}-l \quad \text{get it} \\
\star (\text{u}-'u-'i) & \rightarrow u--i' > u--i \quad \text{get them} \\
\star (\text{ma}a-\text{c}'i) & \rightarrow \text{ma}c-'i > \text{ma}c-i) > \text{ma}-l \quad \text{learn} \\
\star (\text{naad}'i) & \rightarrow \text{naa}-i' > \text{naa}-i) > \text{naa}-i \quad \text{make fire} \\
\star (\text{taa}n-'i) & \rightarrow \text{taa}n-i > \text{taa}n-i) > \text{taa}-l \quad \text{ask} \\
\star (\text{koos}'i) & \rightarrow \text{koos}-i > \text{koos}-i > \text{koos}-i) > \text{ko}-l \quad \text{sleep} \\
\end{align*}
\]

STEM-PERF   STEM-PERF   STEM-PERF   STEM-PERF

IMP g may be deleted in DEF ___V:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g bi}++-i' /i bi--i' \\
\text{DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF} \\
\text{Bring it!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

I hiim
DEF walk

IMP
Come!

V stems of CVhV delete hV before CNJ:

bihi
get
get

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi-k-X} & \quad \text{ah}a \\
\text{get CNJ-PERF} & \quad \text{arrive} \\
\text{get and} & \quad \text{arrive} \\
\text{a-k-X} & \quad \text{a} \text{ k-X} \\
\text{arrive-CNJ-PERF} & \quad \text{arrive CNJ-PERF} \\
\text{when he arrived} & \quad \text{arrive and}
\end{align*}
\]

DEAN SAXTON
COORDINATION

Coordination of Sentences

Coordination of sentences is marked by semantic coordinator and/or deletion of connective introducer and/or forwarding of contrasting phrase. Semantic coordinators are čda yet, ĭpai also, oi wa yet, wabsaba/šaba but:

am a-t čikpn-a-m-X g huan čuk=son wuL
LOC MD-TNS work-GER-MOT-PERF ART PN PN to
Juan went to Tucson to work.

k čda g huana čum șooibid
INTR yet ART PN MDL prevent
Yet Juan tried to prevent him.

t g husi am ĭpai čikpn-a-m-X
TNS ART PN LOC also work-GER-MOT-PERF
And José also went to work there.

t oi wa g husi pi am hu hab ğuu-X
TNS yet ART PN NEG LOC REM thus do-PERF
Yet José didn’t.

am a-t čum čikpn-a-m-X
LOC MD-TNS MDL work-GER-MOT-PERF
He went there hoping to work.

t šaba pi hčda’il čikpan-č
TNS but NEG anyone work-APPLIC
But no one put him to work.

Coordination Within a Sentence

Coordination of grammatically equivalent constructions within the sentence is marked by conjunction. The constructions conjoined are any clause or phrase type. The CNJ is verb-final constituent, connective, or alternative. Connective CNJ kč marks connection of same subject clauses. When a same-subject relative deletes its subordinator, its connection to the main clause is indicated by CNJ.
The CNJ is truncated in perfective verb when connecting clauses:

\[ \text{id a-ñ aag } \text{[s=čig-i-to-kč g } \text{ñ=ču'ičig]} \]
\text{this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ ART me=fault}
\text{This I say, remembering my faults.}

The CNJ is detached and moved to initial position in a following connected clause:

\[ \text{s=čig-i-to a-ñ [ma-t has i juu-x]} \]
\text{AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF}
\text{kč m=aa-g-id}
\text{and you=say-APPLIC}
\text{I remember what happened, and tell you.}

\[ \text{s=čig-i-to a-n-t [ma-t has i juu-x]} \]
\text{AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I-TNS SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF}
\text{k-X m=aa-g-id}
\text{and-PERF you=say-APPLIC}
\text{I remembered what happened, and tell you.}

\[ \text{[ma-t-p wo si m+q] k-X wo ha gíŋ} \]
\text{SUBR-TNS-MDL PUT INTNS run CNJ-PERF PUT them defeat}
\text{If he runs hard, he'll defeat them.}

\[ \text{[ma-t-p wo si m+t-x g huan] k-X wo} \]
\text{SUBR-TNS-MDL PUT INTNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF PUT}
\text{ha giŋ}
\text{them defeat}
\text{If Juan runs hard, he'll defeat them.}

Alternative CNJ conjoins following dubitative and/or negative clause. Alternative CNJ is aha initiating a question:

\[ \text{n-t wo m=gíŋgos-x aha na-p-t pl bi-hug-im-x} \]
\text{I-TNS PUT you=feed-PERF or Q-you-TNS NEG food-eat-DESID-PERF}
\text{I'll feed you, or didn't you get hungry?}

\[ \text{na-p ha taččua g ko'okol aha na-p g muuŋ} \]
\text{Q-you some want ART chili or Q-you ART beans}
\text{Do you want some chili or some beans?}
na-'a-s am čikpan aha n-o pi am hu ha'i-ču-g
MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or Q-MD NEG LOC REM some-thing-be
Maybe he's working there, or isn't he there?

When not initiating Q, alternative CNJ is o dubitative, ni otherwise, initiating same-subject clause:

na-'a-s am čikpan o a-s am wabš ґaha
MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or MD-MDL LOC just sit
Maybe he's working there, or just staying there.

pi o am hu čikpan ni a-s am ґaha
NEG MD LOC REM work nor MD-MDL LOC sit
He isn't working there nor is he staying there.

The CNJ is employed to conjoin any corresponding phrases with different referents when two or more parallel clauses are conflated. Conflation deletes constituents with redundant referent and conjoins nonidentical constituents:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am o ґaha g huana} & \quad \text{am o ґa-d-ha g huana} \\
\text{LOC MD sit ART PN} & \quad \text{LOC MD x-RDP-X ART PN} \\
\text{Juana is sitting there.} & \quad \text{sit}
\end{align*}
\]

*am o ґaha-kČ g huan
LOC MD sit-CNJ ART PN
Juan is sitting there.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am o Či-č-pan aho kČ hilla=wiln-t am} & \quad \text{am o ґaha-kČ g huan} \\
\text{LOC MD x-RDP-X PN and PN=STEM-ABS PREP} & \quad \text{LOC MD sit-CNJ ART PN} \\
\text{They're working in Ajo and Gila Bend.} & \quad \text{Juan is sitting there.}
\end{align*}
\]

na-'a-s taččua g ko'okol o g muuŋ
MDL-MD-MDL want ART chili or ART beans
Maybe he wants chili or beans.

pi o taččua g ko'okol ni g muuŋ
NEG MD want ART chili nor ART beans
He wants neither chili nor beans.

n-o sme p o pi ap ґiok
Q-MD AFF-good or NEG good talk
Is he talking well or poorly?

CNJ may be deleted in a series:
O'dodham o ko'ag ko'okol muuñ huuñ haal
Indian MD eat ART chili beans corn squash
The people eat chili, beans, corn, squash.

Pronouns may be either conflated in highest rank person or conjoined (plural nouns may also be viewed as conflated identical different-referent N):

\[\text{niok a-n aañl'i} \quad \text{niñ-ñ-ok a-č aañl'i} \quad \text{x-RDP-X MD-we we} \]
\[\text{talk MD-I I} \quad \text{talk} \quad \text{MD-we I and you} \]
\[\text{I'm talking.} \quad \text{We're talking.} \quad \text{I and you are talking.} \]

The CNJ kč deletes k after C (see PHONOLOGY):

\[\text{miña-d-č} \quad \text{run-IMPREF-CNJ} \]
while running

\[\text{am o qa-d-ha g huan č huana} \quad \text{LOC MD Qin ART PN and PN} \]
\[\text{There sit Juan and Juana.} \]

If not employed in conjoining phrases, the CNJ kč is truncated in perfective verbs:

\[\text{am o čikpan [am miñ-k-X]} \quad \text{LOC MD work LOC run-CNJ-PERF} \]
\[\text{He's working there, having run there.} \]

\[\text{am a-t miñ k-X am čikpan} \quad \text{LOC MD-TNS run CNJ-PERF LOC work} \]
\[\text{He ran there and is working there.} \]

\[\text{[ma-t-p hñq'a l wo l čikp-X hñmu] k-X wo} \quad \text{SUBJ-THIS-MDL who PUT DEP work-PERF now CNJ-PERF PUT} \]
\[\text{+ namk-id} \quad \text{REFL meet-APPLIC} \]
\[\text{Whoever works now will be paid.} \]

AUX is postponed to CNJ, but deleted if modal is Ø:
n-t am wo mtd k-X a-n-t-g am wo čïkp-X
I-TNS LOC FUT run CNJ-PERF MD-I-TNS-QUOT LOC FUT work-PERF
I'll run there and will reportedly work there.

[ma-t-p hīga'i wo i čikpan] k-X a-t-g
SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-QUOT

wo t namk-id
FUT REFL meet-APPLIC
Whoever works, it is said, will be paid.

s=t=t a-n-t ēbd̪a-m ha'i-ču wo gahi
AFF=UNSPEC MD-I-TNS feareome-ADV something FUT through SUBJ

wuusáh k-X hīg hīkāj h=kuduit
exit and-PERF that reason REFL-trouble
I'm going to go through something dangerous and therefore am troubled.

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Position

Subordinate constructions are introduced by SUBR ma-, follow the body of the sentence in neutral order, and include comparative (treated previously), complement, relative, and adverbial. Sentence body and/or subordinate construction may be multiclausal or multisentential. We begin with complement constructions.

Subject complements:

s=ap'-t o [m-o čikpan 9 huan]
AFF=good-be MD SUBR-MD work ART PN
It's good that Juan works.

n-o s=ap'-t [m-o čikpan]
G-MD AFF=good-be SUBR-MD work
Is it good that he works?

p! o ap'-t [m-o čikpan]
NEG MD good-be SUBR-MD work
It's not good that he works.
s=ñ=hooho’id-a-čud o [m-o čikpan]
FIELD=me=like-GER-APPLIC MD SUBR-MD work
It pleases me that he works.

Object Complements:

s=hooho’id a-ñ [m-o čikpan]
FIELD=like MD-I SUBR-MD work
I like it that he’s working.

na-p ñ+ld [m-o-ki s=ap čikpan]
Q=you see SUBR-MD-MDL AFF=good work
Do you notice that he works well?

pl a-t wo i nako-X [ma-t wo čikp-X]
NEG MD-TNS FUT REPL able-PERF SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF
He can’t (bear to) work.

ha a-ñ tačču-ld g ñ=a-‘a-l-ga [ma-t
them MD-I want-APPLIC ART me-X-RDP-X-AL SUBR-TNS
s=ap wo čikp-X]
FIELD=good FUT work-PERF
I want my children to work well.

Finite CMPL is obligatorily extraposed:

s=ap-’i o ha wihijig g a-‘a-l [ma-t wo
FIELD=good-be MD them for ART children SUBR-TNS FUT
čikp-X]
work-PERF
It’s good for children that they work.

ñ+ld a-ñ am hima-d-č ñ=kil wui [m-o am čikpan]
see MD-I LOC go-IMPRF-CMI my=house to SUBR-MD LOC work
I saw as I was going to my house that they were working there.

Modification

Syntactic marking is deleted in reduction of finite CMPL
to nonfinite:
Nonfinite CMPL may be displaced by constituent forwarded for focus:

s=âp-’t o g a-’a-l ha withi j alleging [ma-t wo
AFF=good-be MD ART children them for SUBR-TNS FUT

† wo-o-po-’i-č-a]
REPL run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-PERF
PL
It’s good for children that they race.

s=âp-’t o g wo-o-po-’i-čud-a g a-’a-l
AFF=good-be MD ART run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER ART children
PL

ha withi j alleging
them for
Racing is good for children.

Emphatic phrase in CMPL is copied in mentation matrix, second or both reducing to pronoun:

huan a-ŋ hab ḷild [ma-t hig wo čikp-x]
PN MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
(he)
Juan is the one I think will work.

hig a-ŋ hab ḷild [ma-t hig wo čikp-x]
that MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
He’s the one I think will work.

am a-ŋ hab ḷild [ma-t am wo čikp-x]
there MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF
There’s where I think he’ll work.

 nga a-ŋ hab ḷild [ma-t nga wo čikp-x]
then MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF
Then is when I think he will work.
ha’a-s  a-n hab  šlid [ma-t ha’a-s wo čikp-X]  
that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT work-PERF  
That long is how long I think he’ll work.

Emphatic phrase copy may be questioned:

h’t’i-s  a-p hab  šlid [ma-t ha’a-s wo čikp-X]  
what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT  
čikp-X  
work-PERF  
How long a period do you think he’ll work?

h’k’id  a-p hab  šlid [ma-t iqa wo čikp-X]  
when MD-you thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF  
When do you think he’ll work?

baa-p  hab  šlid [ma-t am wo čikp-X]  
where-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF  
Where do you think he’ll work?

do-o-p  hab  šlid [ma-t hig wo čikp-X]  
who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF  
Who do you think will work?

h’t’i-s-ko  a-p hab  šlid [ma-t ha’a-s-ko što-QNT-far MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT-far  
wo hli-X]  
FUT go-PERF  
How far do you think he’ll go?

Emphatic phrase copy cannot be questioned in YNQ matrix:

na-p hig hab  šlid [ma-t hig wo čikp-X]  
Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF  
is that the one you think will work?

Marking

Quote complement employs epistemology MDL § if the subject of its matrix is non-first person, other MDL otherwise:

ba-n  kalj [m-o  n=aag-ld  g husi [ma-n-t-§  
thus-I say SUBR-MD me=say-APPLIC ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT  
wo m=aag-i-X  
[F (ma-n la čikpan)]]  
FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work  
I said that José told me to tell you that I’m working here.
First person quote matrix is deleted unless emphatic. Unemployed subordinator is deleted:

...ã=aag-id o g husi [ma-n-t-ã wo me=aay-APPLIC MD ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT FUT

m=aag-i-X [ma-ã la čikpan]]
you=aay-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
José told me to tell you I'm working here.

Any quote matrix not employing § QUOT may be deleted:

...n-t-ã wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ã la čikpan]
I-TNS-QUOT FUT you=aay-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
I reportedly am to tell you I'm working here.

The introducer of a direct quote complement may be deleted:

ba-č kajj [...t-t wo čikp-X]
thus we say we-TNS FUT work-PERF
We said, "We'll work."

A quote matrix may be copied after its complement. Only the first sentence of a complement is subordinate:

k hab kajj g ha qi’i-jii-g
INTR thus say ART then big-be-NR
And their leader said,

[[ma-t-t has hiig wo juu k-X wo m=t=a-X]
SUBR-we-TNS what how FUT do CMI-PERF FUT kill-PERF
about
"What can we do to kill him?

ku-t hab pl ıp wo t čig-i-to]
INTR-TNS thus NEG again FUT HELP find-GER-COMPL
Thus he will not revive again."

b-o kajj g ha qi’i-jii-g
thus-MD say ART then big-be-NR
Thus said their leader.

The subject may be raised from a mentation complement but not from a quote:

kk a-ã [m-o ab him g huan]/kk a-ã g huan
hear MD-I SUBR-MD LOC walk ART PN hear MD-I ART PN
[m-o ab him]
SUBR-MD LOC walk
I hear Juan coming.

kaa a-ñ [m-o hab kai] g husi [ma-s ab him
hear MD-I SUBR-MD thus say ART PN SUBR-MDL LOC walk

[kaa a-ñ] kaa a-ñ g husi [m-o hab kai] [ma-s
ART PN hear MD-I ART PN SUBR-MD thus say SUBR-MDL

ab him g huan]]
LOC walk ART PN
I heard José say that Juan is coming.

kaa a-ñ [ma-s ab him g huan]
hear MD-I SUBR-MDL LOC walk ART PN
I hear that Juan is coming.

ha a-s kaa g huan g i a-la-ga
them MD-MDL hear ART PN ART-REFL children-AL

[m-o ab him]
SUBR-MD LOC walk
Juan reportedly heard his children coming.

The complement of volitional propositions is infinitive:

na-p-t i nako-X [ma-p-t hab wo juu-X]
Q-you-TNS REFL able-PERF SUBR-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
Were you able to do it?

na-p hiwg-id-a-s [ma-p-t wo čikp-x]
Q-you trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLIV SUBR-you-TNS FUT work-PERF
Are you allowed to work?

ab o ň=čihaĩ [ma-n-t hab wo juu-X]
LOC MD me=order SUBR-I-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
He ordered me to do it.

The negative volitional complement optionally employs modal s
IRR:

pi a-n-t ň=nako-X [ma-n-s hab wo
NEG MD-I-TNS REFL=able-PERF SUBR-I-IRR thus FUT

ŋ=juu-X]
REFL=do-PERF
I wasn’t able to do it.
pl a-n hiwg-id-a-s [ma-n-s wo ekp-X]
NEG MD-I trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-I-IRR FUT work-PERF
I'm not allowed to work.

pl o ab hu n=čhtaň [ma-n-s has wo n=juu-X]
NEG MD LOC REM me=order SUBR-I-IRR what FUT REFL=do-PERF
He's not ordering me to do anything.

Thought complement also employs s IRR:

ba-n n=aag [ma-s ekp-pan]
thus-I REFL=say SUBR-IRR work
I thought, mistakenly, that he was working.

ba-n n=aag [m-o(-k1) ekp-pan]
thus-I REFL=say SUBR-MD-MDL work
I thought, appropriately, that he was working.

The complement of a knowledge verb employs modal s, indicating the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition:

pl a-n maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s ekp-pan]]
NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
I don't know whether he knows (and I don't know) whether you're working.

pl a-n maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p ekp-pan]]
NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
I don't know whether he knows (as I know) that you're working.

pl a-n maač [m-o s=maač [ma-p ekp-pan]]
NEG MD-I know SUBR-MD AFF=know SUBR-you work
I didn't know (but now know) he knew that you were working.

ab a-n ka-k-k-t [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s ekp-pan]]
LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
I asked him whether he knew whether you were working.

ab a-n ka-k-k-t [ma-s s=maač [ma-p ekp-pan]]
LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
I asked him whether he knew that you are working.

[ma-p s=maač [ma-s ekp-pan g huan]] ba-n kal]
Q-you AFF=know SUBR-DUB work ART PN thus-I say
"Do you know whether Juan is working?" I said.
Complements employing MDL s also entertain alternatives:

\[ a-\tilde{n} \ \text{ka-k-k-t} [ma-s \ \text{čikpan o a-s am wabs ȳa-ha}] \]
\[ \text{LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB work or MD-DUB LOC just sit} \]
I asked whether he was working or just staying there.

\[ pi \ a-t \ \text{wo i nako-X [ma-s wo čikp-X o}} \]
\[ \text{NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-IRR FUT work-PERF or} \]
He won't be able to work or do anything.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses co-occur with generic pronoun or demonstrative. The neutral position of relative is following head word. Nonrestrictive relative is considered deviant. Subject, object, and oblique object relatives are treated alike and may occur in any noun phrase of the sentence. Redundant phrases are deleted, but pronoun copy retained:

Subject Relatives:

\[ gi-\tilde{t}-g\tilde{i}-da-j \ o \ \text{higam a-\text{a}-1 [m-o am čičwi]} \]
\[ X-RDP-RDP-X-be \ MD those X-RDP-X \ \text{SUBR-MD LOC play} \]
Those children that are playing there are big.

\[ ha \ a-\tilde{n} \ \text{taččua higam a-\text{a}-1} \ [m-o \ am \ čičwi] \]
\[ \text{them MD-I need those children SUBR-MD LOC play} \]
I need those children that are playing there.

\[ ha \ a-n-t \ maa-X \ g \ \text{luulsi higam a-\text{a}-1 [m-o}} \]
\[ \text{them MD-I-TNS give-PERF ART candy those children SUBR-MD} \]
\[ \text{am čičwi} \]
\[ \text{LOC play} \]
I gave candy to those children that are playing there.
am a-n-t ha wul hi-X higm a-'a-l [m-o am LOC MD-I-TNS them to go-PERF those children SUBR-MD LOC
čičwi]
play
I went to those children that are playing there.

Object Relatives:

gi-‘i-gi-da-] o higm a-'a-l [ma-ñ ha ni-id]
big-be MD those children SUBR-I them look-APPLIC
Those children I see are big.
(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Indirect Object Relatives:

gi-‘i-gi-da-] o higm a-'a-l [ma-n-t ab ha
big-be MD those children SUBR-I-TNS LOC them
maa-X g luulsí]
give-PERF ART candy
Those children I gave the candy to are big.
(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Oblique Object Relatives:

gi-‘i-gi-da-] o higm a-'a-l [ma-ñ ha wɪ+hɪ+jɪ+d
big-be MD those children SUBR-I them for
hidog]
cook
Those children I'm cooking for are big.
(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Position
The REL is final constituent of the N phrase:
higham wait a-'a-l [m-o am gi-g-ok]
those three children SUBR-MD LOC X-RDP-X stand

those three children that are standing there

The REL may, however, be postponed to the pronoun:

gf't-j-o higa'i [m-o am kitk] kit-i o'odham
big-be MD that SUBR-MD LOC stand old-SG person male

That old man standing there is big.

t wo l gf't-d-a higa'i [ma-t sap wo
TNS fut def big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT

i gigos-ida-d] al-i
REPL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF child-SG
A child that eats well will get big.

Head word may be deleted:

higham wait [m-o am gi-g-ok]
those three SUBR-MD LOC stand PL

those three that are standing there

All parts of the noun phrase precede a complement:

n-t ab wo im-čha-X aapim [ma-m la gi-g-ok]
I-INS LOC FUT you=order-PERF you SUBR-you LOC stand PL

[ma-m-t has wo i jüu-X]
SUBR-you-TNS what FUT REL do-PERF PL

I'm going to tell you who are standing here what to do.

Relatives may co-occur:

am a-n-t wo ha aa'ad higham [m-o am gi-g-ok]
LOC MD-I-TNS FUT them send those SUBR-MD LOC stand PL

ama'i [ma-p am čikpan]
there SUBR-you LOC work
I'll send those that are standing there over there where you're working.
Noun phrases with REL are subject to focus reordering:

\[ n-t \ wo \ maa-X \ h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i} \ [m-o \ am \ k\text{\textgreek{}tk}] \ l\text{\textgreek{}da'e} \]
I-TNS PUT give-PERF that SUBR-MD LOC stand this

\[ [ma-p-t \ h\text{\textgreek{}maa-X}] \]
SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF
I'll give the one standing there this that you gave me.

\[ n-t \ wo \ maa-X \ l\text{\textgreek{}da'a} \ [ma-p-t \ h\text{\textgreek{}maa-X}] \]
I-TNS PUT give-PERF this SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i} \ [m-o \ am \ k\text{\textgreek{}tk}]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
I'll give this that you gave me to the one standing there.

The first among phrases with relative may be topicalized:

\[ k\text{\textgreek{}d} \ a-n-t \ wo \ maa-X \ [ma-p-t \ h\text{\textgreek{}maa-X}] \]
this MD-I-TNS PUT give-PERF SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i} \ [m-o \ am \ k\text{\textgreek{}tk}]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
This that you gave me I'll give to the one standing there.

Untopicalized N phrase with REL is postposed to N phrase without REL:

\[ ha \ o \ h\text{\textgreek{}t-ld} \ g \ a-\text{\textgreek{}a}-l \ h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i} \ [m-o \ am \ k\text{\textgreek{}tk}] \]
them MD look-APPLIC ART children that SUBR-MD LOC stand
The one standing there sees the children.

Only one REL may occur in a phrase:

\[ m\text{\textgreek{}ta-X} \ a-n-t \ g \ \text{\textgreek{}sol-ga-} \ g \ al-i-ga-] \]
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CSLF=AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i} \ \text{\textgreek{}c\text{\textgreek{}o}} [m-o \ am \ k\text{\textgreek{}tk}]
that man SUBR-MD LOC stand
I killed the pet of the child of that man standing there.

\[ m\text{\textgreek{}ta-X} \ a-n-t \ g \ \text{\textgreek{}sol-ga-] h\text{\textgreek{}ga'i al-i-ga-} ] \]
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CSLF=AL-GEN that child-SG-AL-GEN

\[ g \ h\text{\textgreek{}uan} \ [m-o \ am \ \text{\textgreek{}ci\text{\textgreek{}w}i} ] \]
ART EN SUBR-MD LOC play
I killed the pet of that child of Juan playing there.
mía-X a-n-t híga'í ñoi-ga-jí g ali-ga-jí
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS that CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am kaač]
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC lie
I killed that pet of the child of Juan lying there dead.

A REL may occur in each conjoined phrase:

d-o ñ-wt-p-nag iida'a [m-o ia qaha] kč
EQ-MD me=k-RDP-X this SUBR-MD LOC sit and

híga'í [m-o ab kítk]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
This one sitting here facing us and that one standing
there facing us are my siblings.

A nongeneric REL may be deleted if redundant, or replaced by
gesture:

gi'ti-j o híga'í ali (redundancy/gesture)
big-be MD that child-SG
That child is big.

Form

The REL of a generic sentence employs an attributive and/or
FUT, and co-occurs with a nondenominative 3P pronoun. A
generic sentence is potential, employing wo FUT:

t wo ha gi'ti-g-X híga'í ali [ma-t
TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS

wo gi'ti-j-k]
FUT big-be-STAT
The child that's big will win.

t wo i gi'ti-d-a híga'í [ma-t swap wo
TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT

+ gi'gos-ida-d]
REFL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF
He who eats well will get big.

A generic REL may be reduced to a nonfinite participial with
suffix -m. SUBR, AUX, and TNS are deleted, and nondenominative
PRON reduced to g ART:
A relative may contain a question word:

\[
\begin{align*}
t & \text{ wo } \text{ ha } \text{ gi-i-g-X } \quad \text{ higa'li } [m-o \quad \text{ higa'li} ] \\
\text{TNS} & \text{ PUT} \quad \text{them} \quad \text{beat-RDP-RDP-PERF \ that} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{SUBR-MD} \\
\text{s} & \quad \text{mig} \\
\text{DEF} & \quad \text{INTRANS} \quad \text{run} \\
\text{That} & \quad \text{one \ who \ is \ really \ running \ will \ win.}
\end{align*}
\]

A REL may be included in forwarded topic, since the first contour or first stressed word is forwarded:

\[
\begin{align*}
higa\text{m} & \quad [m-o \quad \text{hi-da-m } \quad \text{si} \quad \text{wo-o-po} ] \quad \text{a-t} \quad \text{wo} \\
\text{those} & \quad \text{SUBR-MD} \quad \text{WHO-PL} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{INTRANS} \quad \text{run-RDP-RDP MD-TNS FUT} \\
\text{PL} & \\
\text{iib-k} & \\
\text{breathe-DESID} \\
\text{Those} & \quad \text{who \ are \ really \ running \ will \ get \ winded.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
higa\text{m} & \quad \text{a-t} \quad \text{wo} \quad \text{iib-k-X } \quad [m-o \quad \text{hi-da-m } \quad \text{si} \quad \text{wo-o-po} ] \\
\text{those} & \quad \text{MD-TNS} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{breathe-DESID-PERF} \quad \text{SUBR-MD} \quad \text{WHO-PL} \quad \text{DEF} \\
\text{PL} & \\
\text{Those} & \quad \text{who \ are \ really \ running \ will \ get \ winded.}
\end{align*}
\]

An unforwarded DEM may be deleted preceding a question-word REL:

\[
\begin{align*}
t & \quad \text{wo } \quad \text{ha } \quad \text{gi-i-g-X } \quad [m-o \quad \text{higa'li } \quad \text{si} \quad \text{mig} ] \\
\text{TNS} & \quad \text{PUT} \quad \text{them} \quad \text{beat-RDP-RDP-PERF} \quad \text{SUBR-MD} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{INTRANS} \quad \text{run} \\
\text{He} & \quad \text{who \ is \ really \ running \ will \ win.}
\end{align*}
\]

Ever relatives employ modal -p with question word:

\[
\begin{align*}
t & \quad \text{wo } \quad \text{ha } \quad \text{gi-i-g-X } \quad [m-a-t-p \quad \text{higa'li } \quad \text{si} \quad \text{mig} ] \\
\text{TNS} & \quad \text{PUT} \quad \text{them} \quad \text{beat-RDP-RDP-PERF} \quad \text{SUBR-TNS-MDL} \quad \text{who} \quad \text{DEF} \\
\text{Whoever} & \quad \text{it \ is \ that's \ running \ hard \ will \ win.}
\end{align*}
\]
A headless REL not forwarded with DEM may be preposed to the main clause:

\[(m-o \text{ hasču'um i kaač}) n-t \text{ (hig) wo bi-i SUBR-MD what LOC DEF lie I-TNS that FUT get-PERF That which is lying there is what I'll get.} \]

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX and FUT:

\[
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{t wo ha gi-i-g-X [ma-t hiđa'i wo TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT} \\
\text{i si mii-X] DEF INTNS run-PERF} \\
\text{t wo ha gi-i-g-X [hiđa'i i si TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS} \\
\text{miš-k-X] run CNJ-PERF} \\
\text{[ma-t hiđa'i wo i si miš] k-X wo ha SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-CNJ-PERF FUT them} \\
\text{gi-i-g-X beat-RDP-RDP-PERF} \\
\text{He who runs fast will win.} \\
\end{pmatrix}
\]

\[
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{t wo ha gi-i-g-X [ma-t hiđa'i wo i TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF} \\
\text{si miša-d] INTNS run-IMPERF} \\
\text{t wo ha gi-i-g-X [hiđa'i i si TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS} \\
\text{miša-d-ć] run-IMPERF-CNJ} \\
\text{[ma-t hiđa'i wo i si miša-d] ć wo ha SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-IMPERF CNJ FUT them} \\
\text{gi-i-g-X beat-RDP-RDP-PERF} \\
\text{He who keeps running fast will win.} \\
\end{pmatrix}
\]
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial relatives co-occur with and follow demonstrative:

\[
\begin{align*}
& t \ wo \ \textit{čikp-X} \ g \ huan \ a\text{-}m\text{-}l [ma-t \ g \ husl \ am \\
& \quad \text{TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN } \there \text{ SUBR-TNS ART PN \ LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{wo čikp-X]}\]
\[\text{FUT work-PERF}\]
Juan will work there where José will work.

Redundant time demonstrative is usually deleted:

\[
\begin{align*}
& t \ wo \ \textit{čikp-X} \ g \ huan \ (i\text{ğa}) [ma-t \ g \ husl \ i\text{ğa} \\
& \quad \text{TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN } \then \text{ SUBR-TNS ART PN } \then
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{wo čikp-X]}\]
\[\text{FUT work-PERF}\]
Juan will work then when José will work.

In a resumptive construction, the forwarded DEM is usually truncated:

\[
\begin{align*}
& am \ a-t \ wo \ \textit{čikp-X} \ g \ huan [ma-t \ g \ husl \\
& \quad \text{there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN } \text{ SUBR-TNS ART PN}
\end{align*}
\]

\[am \ wo \ \textit{čikp-X]}\]
\[LOC FUT work-PERF\]
There is where Juan will work, where José will work.

Adverbial relatives may employ question words:

\[
\begin{align*}
& am \ a-t \ wo \ \textit{čikp-X} \ g \ huan [ma-m \ h\text{-}ba\text{-}l \ i \\
& \quad \text{there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN } \text{ SUBR-UNPSEC where}
\end{align*}
\]

\[l \ \textit{kii-t}]}\]
\[\text{DEF house-VR}\]
There where they are building a house is where Juan will work.

\[
\begin{align*}
& t \ wo \ i \ \textit{čikp-X} \ g \ huan [ma-m-t \ h\text{-}k\text{-}lid \\
& \quad \text{TNS FUT DEF work-PERF ART PN } \text{ SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS when}
\end{align*}
\]

\[wo \ i \ \textit{kii-t}]}\]
\[\text{FUT DEF house-VR}\]
Juan will begin to work when they begin the house.
Ever clauses employ modal -p with question word:

\[ t \text{ wo } čík\text{-p-X } g \text{ huan } [\text{ma-m-t-p } \text{ hūkíd}] \]
\[ \text{TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL} \]
\[ \text{when} \]
\[ \text{wo i } \text{kli-t}] \]
\[ \text{FUT DEF house-VR} \]
Juan will work whenever they are going to build.

\[ \text{am a-t čík\text{-p-am-X } g \text{ huan } [\text{ma-m-t-p } \text{ there MD-TNS work-MIT-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL}]} \]
\[ \text{hība'i i } \text{ aa'ad}] \]
\[ \text{where DEF send} \]
There's where Juan will go to work, wherever they sent him.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX:

\[ \{ \text{ba-t i } \text{ jub-X (iđa) [ma-t gm hu wo hli-X]} \} \]
\[ \text{thus-TNS REFL do-PERF then SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT go-PERF} \]

\[ \{ \text{ba-t i } \text{ jub-X [gm hu wo him-k-X]} \} \]
\[ \text{thus-TNS REFL do-PERF LOC REM FUT go-CNJ-PERF} \]

\[ \{ \text{[ma-t (iđa) gm hu wo him] k-X hab i } \text{ SUBR-TNS then LOC REM FUT go CNJ-PERF thus REFL} \}

\[ \text{juub-X} \]
\[ \text{do-PERF} \]
He did it as he was about to leave.

FUT is also deleted in reduced generic relative:

\[ \{ \text{t wo naato [ma-t hīga'i wo i } \text{ čík\text{-p-X} } \text{TNS FUT finish SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF} \}
\[ \text{wiśs tās-ka'y]} \]
\[ \text{all time-INSTR} \}

\[ \{ \text{t wo naato [hīga'i i číkpan-k-X wiśs tās-ka'y]} \}
\[ \text{TNS FUT finish who DEF work-CNJ-PERF all time-INSTR} \]

\[ \{ \text{[ma-t hīga'i wo i čík\text{-p-X wiśs tās-ka'y}]} \]
\[ \text{SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF all time-INSTR} \]

\[ \text{k-X wo naato} \]
\[ \text{CNJ-PERF PUT finish} \]
The one who works all the time/every day will finish.
A REL with unspecified subject may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, but is not connected with CNJ:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n-t wo i ċikp-X [ma-t ga hu wo I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT} \\
i \text{ juu-X]} DEF sit-PERF \\
\text{n-t wo i ċikp-X [ga hu i juuuk] I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF LOC REM DEF sit} \\
\text{[ma-t ga hu wo i juu-X] n-t SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT DEF sit-PERF I-TNS} \\
\text{wo i ċikp-X FUT DEF work-PERF} \\
\text{I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.}
\end{align*}
\]

A reduced REL with unspecified subject may be forwarded within the clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n-t [ga hu i juuuk] wo i ċikp-X I-TNS LOC REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF} \\
[ga a-n-t hu i juuuk] wo i ċikp-X LOC MD I-TNS REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF \\
\text{I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.}
\end{align*}
\]
If Clauses

If clauses employ modal -p and/or ša:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t} & \quad \text{wo bi-hug-im-X} \quad \text{g al-i} \quad [\text{ma-t-p}] \\
& \quad \text{TNS FUT food-eat-DEST-PERF ART child-SG SUBR-TNS-MDL} \\
\text{pi ha'i-ču wo huu-X} & \\
& \quad \text{NEG some-THING FUT eat-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{The child will get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.} \\
\text{t} & \quad \text{wo bi-hug-im-X} \quad [\text{ma-t(-p) wo ša pi}] \\
& \quad \text{TNS FUT food-eat-DEST-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT if NEG} \\
& \quad \text{ha'i-ču huu-X} \\
& \quad \text{some-THING eat-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{He'll get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.} \\
\text{n-t pi wo ři-i-X} & \quad [\text{ma-t hims wo ša}] \\
& \quad \text{I-TNS NEG FUT look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT ři} \\
& \quad \text{hii-X} \\
& \quad \text{go-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{I wouldn't see him if he were to go.} \\
\text{pi a-t wo ři-či-i-X} & \quad [\text{ma-t hims wo}] \\
& \quad \text{NEG MD-TNS FUT me=look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT} \\
& \quad \text{ša hii-X} \\
& \quad \text{if go-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{He wouldn't see me if he were to go.}
\end{align*}
\]

Forwarded if clauses optionally delete SUBR:

\[
\begin{align*}
[(\text{ma-})t-p & \quad \text{wo juu-X}] \quad \text{n-t pl wo hii-X} \\
& \quad \text{SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT rain-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT go-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{If it rains, I won't go.} \\
[(\text{ma-})t & \quad \text{hims wo ša hii-X}] \quad \text{n-t pi wo} \\
& \quad \text{SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT} \\
& \quad ři-i-X \\
& \quad \text{look-APPLIC-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{If he were to go, I wouldn't see him.}
\end{align*}
\]
[ma-t hiti wo qa hiti] k-X a-t-ki pl wo
SUBR-TNS IRR PUT if go CNJ-PERP MD-TNS-MDL NEG FUT

hiti-X
mse=look-APPLIC-PERF
If he were to go, he evidently wouldn't see me.

Other

Purpose clauses are unmarked, FUT, and cannot be preposed to the main clause:

am a-t hiti-X g huan [ma-t hiti-X g
LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS FUT see-PERF ART
husi]
PN
Juan went to see José.

Reason clauses are the CMPL of DEM plus hikaj for this/that reason:

am a-t hiti-X g huan hiti hikaj [ma-t
LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN that reason SUBR-TNS
hiti-X g husi]
see-PERF ART PN
Juan went because he saw José.

pi o ćikpan g huan hiti hika j [m-o juuk]
NEG MD work ART PN that reason SUBR-MD rain
Juan is not working because it's raining.

pi o haiću ć-i-s-a g huan hiti hikaj
NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN that reason

[m-o pi juuk]
SUBR-MD NEG rain
Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

Reversed polarity tag question may substitute for a reason construction:

pi o ćikpan g huan [n-o pi juuk]
NEG MD work ART PN Q-MD NEG rain
Juan isn't working because it's raining (for isn't it raining?).
pi o ha'i-ču t'í-s-a g huan [n-o pi pi juuk]
NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD NEG NEG rain
Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

A double negative may reduce to positive gi:

pi o ha'i-ču t'í-s-a g huan [n-o gi juuk]
NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD POS rain
Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.
The Coyote and the Jack Rabbit

ban č čuuwí
coyote and jack rabbit

1. One time, it is said, there was a big coyote,
ṣ am hu hība'í hìma g qi't ban
QUOT LOC REM sometime one EQ big coyote

and he got hungry and was chasing a jack rabbit.
č am í bi-hug-im k-X g čuuwí hu-hu-'id
and LOC DEF food-eat-DESID and-PERF ART rabbit X-RDP-X

2. It is said the jack rabbit was truly frightened, chase
ṣ wabš who'í t tods-X g čuuwí
QUOT just truly REFL frighten-PERF ART rabbit

but he knew he could not
k-X wabšaba s=maaž ma-t-ṣ pi wo
CNJ-PERF but AFF-know SUBR-TNS-QUOT NEG FUT

i nako-X
REFL able-PERF

run long because he was old
ma-t taš wo mít-X na-ṣ pi mu'íq ahi-dag
SUBR-TNS time FUT run-PERF Q-QUOT NEG many EQ cycle-ABSTR

and his legs were very tired.
ṣ g ka-k-λo-i' j si qtw-p-k-o
QUOT ART X-RDP-X-GEN INTNS X-RDP-X-PRIV

leg strong

3. It is said the jack rabbit turned to the coyote
ṣ ab sikol i kí-ñ-wua g čuuwí ban wui
QUOT LOC around DEF stand-GEN-COMPL ART rabbit coyote to

and said, "Stop chasing me.
k-X a-ṣ hab kaij ha'asa g ŋ=hu-hu-'id
and-PERF MD-QUOT thus say stop IMP me=chase

and-PERF MD-QUOT thus say stop IMP me=chase

4. Or are you going to eat me and is that why you're chasing me?" aha na-p-t wo ŋ=hug k-X hab ŋ=hu-hu-'id
or Q-you-TNS FUT me=eat and-PERF thus me=chase
5. It is said the coyote said, "Yes, I’m going to eat you."
   ʂ hab kalj g ban hiwu n-t wo m-huu-X
   QUOT thus say ART coyote yes I-TRANS PUT you=eat-PERF

6. It is said the jack rabbit said, "Don’t eat me,
   ʂ hab kalj g čuwili pi g am n-huug-l
   QUOT thus say ART rabbit NEG ART LOC me=eat-PERF
   IMP

   because you will surely die.
   na-p-t pi himho wo wa muu-X
   Q-you=TRANS NEG X FUT X die-PERF
   surely

7. You presumably think I’m a jack rabbit.
   ba-p-t-p n-liid ma-n ġ čuwili
   thus-you=TRANS-NEG me=think SUBR-I EQ rabbit

8. Yet I am really a rattlesnake.
   n ġd a ġt ko’owl
   I yet EQ POS rattlesnake

9. And my poison will kill you."
   t g n-ko’ok-dag wo m-mla-X
   TNS ART me=hurt-ABSTR FUT you=kill-PERF

10. "What will I eat then?" it is said the coyote said.
    n-t has-ču higi wo huu-X ba-s kalj g
    I-TRANS what-thing then FUT eat-PERF thus-QUOT say ART
    ban coyote

11. It is said the rabbit said, "This fruit is what you will eat,
    ʂ hab kalj g čuwili ld a-p-t wo huu-X
    QUOT thus say ART rabbit this MD-you=TRANS FUT eat-PERF
    ha’l-ču bahi-dag
    some-thing ripe-ABSTR

    that I have gathered and am carrying.
    ma-n-t u-u k-X iit-a-čug
    SUBR-TRANS take=RDP and-PERF gather-GER-carry
    PL

12. I was going to take them to my house
    n-t wo čum u-‘u-k am n-kill wul
    I-TRANS PUT MDL take=RDP-go LOC me=house to
    PL GEN
and thus am carrying them stowed in this basket.

13. Then you chased me."

14. It is said coyote said, "The truth is
that rabbits eat vegetation.

15. But a rattlesnake doesn't eat it.

16. So you evidently are really a jack rabbit
despite what you say.

17. You will not at all be able
to trick me.

18. It's good you're a rabbit,
because rabbit is edible.

19. I don't like to eat rattlesnake."

π't transitive verb intransitive verb
ab context person me=chase-PDEC
hos context thing in basket

π't you=NSX

π't=NSX

π't then me=chase-PDEC

π't me=chase-PDEC

π't

π't

π't

π't=NSX

π't

π't

π't

π't=NSX

π't

π't=NSX

π't=NSX

π't=NSX
20. He then indeed ate the jack rabbit
   t oí wíwí huu-X hí-ču'í čuíwi
   TNS then true LOC DEF eat-PERF that rabbit
   that tried to deceive him.
   ma-t čum iattog-i-X
   SUBR-TNS MDL lie-APPLIC-PERF

21. He also ate the fruit
   t hí-ču bahí-dag
   TNS that also eat-PERF some-thing ripe-ABSTR
   that the jack rabbit was carrying,
   m-o iíl-a-ču g čuíwi
   SUBR-MD gather-GER-carry ART rabbit
   and afterward sat down under a mesquite tree somewhere
   k-X amjídií hu híbá'í l ḡahí-wuá
   and-PERF after LOC REM somewhere DEF sit-GER-COMPL
   kuí wičo
   tree under
   and suddenly died,
   k-X hahá wábí muu-X
   and-PERF then just die-PERF
   because the fruit was just poison
   n-o-kí pl wábí híalwu'-í híga'í ha'i-ču
   Q-MD-EV NEG EQ just poison-GER that some-thing
   bahí-dag
   ripe-ABSTR
   that the jack rabbit got.
   ma-t-ki u-i čuíwi
   SUBR-TNS-EV take-PERF ART rabbit
   PL

(For additional texts, see Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians.)
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

Burton Bascom
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INTRODUCTION

Northern Tepehuan is spoken by approximately 8,000 people in the state of Chihuahua in northern Mexico. It belongs to the Tepiman (Pimic) subfamily of Uto-Aztecan. The Tepehuan live scattered around a large area of the Sierra Madre Occidental where Chihuahua borders Sinaloa and Durango. The Baborigame dialect is the larger of two major dialects; the other is spoken in and around Nabogame.

The author has spent over half of the past thirty years living with and translating the New Testament for the Tepehuanes. The principal Tepehuan translator has been Narcisa Molina de Herrera. Nepomuceno Bueno helped during the preparation of this sketch. Others who have helped in years past, or whose stories or letters or other taped materials have been used in the analysis and as illustrative examples, are Celestino Carrillo, Adalaido Bueno, José Valencia, and Hermenegildo Carrillo.


PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

| p | t | t' | k | l | f | u |
| b | d | d' | g | o | a |
| v | s | s' | h* | | |
| m | n | n' | ñ | | |
| ε | | | | | |

Vowel length is interpreted as geminate clusters.

Tone: there are two tones, high tone /'/ and low tone (unmarked).

*Note that h stands for the velar fricative [x].
Stress is noncontrastive. It is freely fluctuation in many words. Ă is found in relatively few words. In most of these Ă fluctuates with ź or t’y or both. Nonfluctuating: Ăffkí a few vs. źffkí how many.

Intonation, when marked, will be indicated by a raised arrow: ↗.

**Major Phonological Processes**

**Allophonic Variation**

Stops, fricatives, and nasals have long allophones following #(C)Y.

Velars have back variants preceding o or a.

n or ų becomes ų before velars.

Vowels become voiceless before pause.

**Morphophonemic Alternation**

{ \( t \) \( d \) \} \rightarrow { \( t^y \) \( d^y \) \} \( \tilde{n} \) \{ \( \tilde{s} \) \}

adjacent to i, ź, ų

Exceptions include:

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<th>Word</th>
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<td>in the sun</td>
<td>(cf. tásai sun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kášiat íf</td>
<td>he already went</td>
<td>(cf. miánai close)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miáníóma</td>
<td>closer</td>
<td>(cf. miádítí come in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miadítáva</td>
<td>he did come in</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Loss of velar consonants and d is frequent following a high-toned syllable. viši-kídít > viši-tidít the red ones.

Loss of word final vowel(s) or syllable occurs in fast speech. vőôri who? > vőôtí who is that?; kifga good, well > kif màátī he knows very well.

v > p in reduplicated forms. vááktí enter > vapákí enter repeatedy. For some speakers vapáktí > papákí.

Vowel harmony is not infrequent. tátáka roots / tátákííi it is getting roots; áálíít’ú to cause to become small / ááltíííííi it is shrinking.
For a more complete phonemic statement see Bascom's Proto-Tepiman.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Normal word order for sentences in descriptive discourse is as follows: Major (i.e., nuclear) constituents are V S O. Only V is obligatory. Peripheral constituents are somewhat free as to their order.

INTR TIME MAN LOC V S O LOC COM BEN INSTR

dal saapáto-ko čiwuavá-šändyirí 1h-1 aatfmí
and Saturday-TEMP PN-from RDP-went we PL

meehíko anåkoga
PN towards
And on Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

takávo savíli pilídýuru imádu ándiriší múi ffkoll
yesterday bought PN with PN many orange

ánn lín-vítári gi-cumfíšsl-ge-kídít
me ns-for their-money-POSSD-with
Yesterday Peter and Andrew bought many oranges for me with their own money.

Topicalization

A constituent may be emphasized by placing it before the V.

pildýuru=a=t savíli go-ffkoll
PN=B=COMPL bought the-orange
Peter bought the oranges.

aántí ffgl giñ-gifígí
I alone HCPFL-hit
I alone hit myself.

naváftí yffí gi-gir-du-kídít
corn drink RDP-big-QMT-AG PL

Adults drink corn liquor.
Pronoun Copies

A subject clitic occurs following the first constituent of an independent clause. The subject clitic co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

\[
gîl=ä=m=n=t\quad \ddot{s}änt\nnell=B=l=COMPL\ I\nnell.\]

I fell.

An object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

\[
pli(l)\ddot{u}ru\ i\ddot{u}n-gît\ddot{g}ît\ sän\ddot{t}
PN\ me-hit\ me
Peter\ hit\ me.\]

An indirect object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

\[
aän\ddot{t}\ gi\ddot{n}=ma\ddot{a}\ fgal\ imö\ fkokl\nme\ me-gave\ he\ one\ orange
He\ gave\ me\ an\ orange.\]

The set of object pronoun prefixes occurs also with postpositional elements (locative, comitative, benefactive, etc.).

\[
tän\ dána\ go-döf-karoi\ sän\ i\ddot{u}n-ibig\nhere\ sit\ the-sit-INSR\ me\ me-behind
Here's\ the\ chair\ behind\ me.\]

A possessor pronoun occurs prefixed to a noun (except for 3P POSSR, which is a suffix) and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

\[
kav\ddot{a}m\ddot{i}\ kóko\ aän\ddot{t}\ gi\ddot{n}-t\ddot{u}d\ddot{g}a\na\ hurt\ my\ my-knee
My\ knee\ really\ hurts.\]

A reflexive pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an independent pronoun.

\[
ffgi\ git-gît\ fgal\alone\ REFL-hit\ him
He\ hit\ himself.\]

\[
ffgi\ fgal\ git-gît\ fgal\alone\ he\ REFL-hit\ him
He\ hit\ himself.\]

\[
ffgi\ aän\ddot{t}\ gi\ddot{n}-gît\ddot{g}ît\ aän\ddot{t}\ cf.\ pli(l)\ddot{u}ru\ gi\ddot{n}-gît\ddot{g}ît\ sän\ddot{t}
alone\ I\ REFL-hit\ me\PN\ me-hit\ me
I\ hit\ myself.\Peter\ hit\ me.\]
The subject pronoun clitic occurs also preceding WH words and conjunctions and co-occurs with an independent pronoun. The conjunction and the WH occur first in the clause, the independent pronoun following the verb.

\[
\text{n=ai ntìd'ì-nà ñàntì kíámo-ko} \\
I=and saw-PAST I morning-TEMP DUR \\
\text{And I saw (them) in the morning.}
\]

\[
\text{n=oor ñàntì} \\
I=who I \\
\text{Who am I?}
\]

A slightly different set of subject pronoun clitics occurs following a verb preceding ñgái INTEN will, gonna or agáftada: IMPF INTEN. These pronoun clitics co-occur with an independent pronoun.

\[
\text{imì=á=iñ ñgái ñàntì} \\
go=B=I will I \\
I'm going to go.
\]

Presumptive and Resumptive Pronoun Constructions

A presumptive pronoun construction is attested with pronominalized numerals or quantifiers.

\[
\text{vìf gooká-tai bir-tìmìi ì-ki-kìfìli} \\
all two-PRONR this-come the-RDP-man way PL PL \\
\text{Here come the two men.}
\]

Adverbial constructions relating to location and time (and manner) all display presumptive "pronoun" constructions. Location constructions with adverbial demonstratives:

\[
\text{vòìbid'ì aatfìì gásìmo báìg ìbfìì} \\
went we there eagle behind \\
\text{We went around behind Eagle Mountain.}
\]

A discontinuous adverbial demonstrative construction:

\[
\text{tàn dáà ñàntì giì-kìi-fì-rì} \\
here sit I my-house-LOC-in \\
\text{Here I am in my house.}
\]
A resumptive pronoun construction:

ád y ści vúsai vuaána ád y+ augusto f r gff
when came PN then PN be big out

bait y f kiá-kamí-ka-tadai room-f-rf
ahead stand-AG-STAT-PAST PN-LOC-in

chief CT

When John was born, then Augustus was the Emperor in Rome.

Clefting

The cleft sentence construction involves a subject followed by a pronoun which translates as X is the one. This expression is followed by and plus a clause. The whole sentence is translated as X is the one who did Y.

píl y úru fgaí dai bĩ f go-Únu-l
PN he and grasped the-corn-ABS
Peter is the one who took the corn.

adéláido-av fgaí dái y+ asavfíl go-ffkoli
PN-AFF he and bought the-orange
Adelaido is the one who bought the oranges.

Apposition

When two nouns occur in apposition, the second further identifies (modifies) the first.

váí tasá-f-kídt d'vialád y+ t-kílí-ódami
three day-ABS-with came the-male-person old man

kuná-dí f šlankí sói mása l id y uf
husband-her one bad appear did who evil

After three days the old man, husband of her-who-did-bad, came.
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

dai and INTR SS
tai and INTR DS
dimos~dik but INTR
	mádu and, with (joins two nouns to form compound SUBJ/OBJ)
šífp~šif or (joins nouns, phrases, or clauses)
dan~dan and INTR

See COORDINATION for a more detailed discussion and examples of conjunctions.

Adverbs

tído~túdu well, then
típ also
	ípfp~típamu~típá again

vítísší~víf still, yet, nevertheless

mos~ just, only

šíd'íši at that time

ámíši then

káši~ká already, now

kíši yet

imfda-š ífífo go-IMP then shám fpí tít'ímo ko I also need one
Go then!/Well, go on! I need one too.

šíád'í-ko típa nóra next-TEMP again go


day back

The next day he went back again.

vítísší toóší ve-páki-i toma-šíá-dírí still rabbit RDP-enter-PRES any-where-from REPET

Still Rabbit kept getting in anywhere!
mos-imó pá-dtri va-páki-1 toôši
just-one where-from RUP-enter-PRES rabbit
REPET
Rabbit kept getting in at just one place.

amásíl ti+vání-kai ka=vff navámu-a-n táda ááni
then get-when already=all drunk-STAT-might feel I
off
When I got off I felt like I was drunk.

kaši=a=t fé piíli dímos mai=kíá d'ívia dulifansa
already=B=PERF went PN but not=yet come PN
Phillip has gone but Lencho has not come yet.

Polarity

thf/čúo/číúu yes
NEG (preposed to AUX)

mai no
NEG, not yet

-d'va EMPH, AFF (SF to verbs, nouns, pronouns)

dí EMPH (occurs at end of sentence)

dííí AFF, really

alíí very

maiší not very, not really

bái a bit

pálíí a little bit

váá the very one

thf cf. BIRD 18; also COY 9.
mai cf. BIRD 2, 3, 15, 19, 21, 25; COY 3, 10, 18, 20, 21.
d'í cf. BIRD 3, 5; also COY 12, 17, 20, 22, 23.
gíí cf. BIRD 9, 25; also COY 19, 21, 24, 25.
alíí cf. BIRD 10.
maiší cf. BIRD 19.
váá cf. BIRD 11.
bái cf. COY 3.
čúo cf. COY 10.
-ava cf. COY 17, 22.

parí tigítyo ááni
not need I
yet
I don't need it yet.

mai tigítyo ááni kíá
not need I yet
I don't need it yet.
dagiti'y o-ni ści=d'uvá-na palippa leave-INF SUBR=rot-POT a little

Let it rot a little.

go-todší a-titiš-f-d' yi tiliği the-rabbit very UNSPEC-rob-APPLIC wheat OBJ

The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

Modal

=ści = Question (cf. QUESTIONS)
=sa=s= Quotative

The QUOT clitic =sa occurs as the final element of the QUOT clitic group which is: =SUBJ:PRON=sa. The QUOT clitic group may occur following the verb or following other elements which precede the verb.

inf-na=pī=sa
go-POT=you=QUOT
gåam=apī=sa

He says you should go.

He says you should go there.

s= QUOT occurs preposed to CNJ and WHW. See COORDINATION and QUESTIONS.

ści=ści SUBR (if, so that)

fgai ći=a maaki=di ści-gi=d' yi aa l=maaki=ti he wrote SUBR=that told-APPLIC others SUBR=who=be which

n+iha=da-mi see=APPLIC-NR

He wrote what others who were witnesses told him.

See sections on complex sentences for further examples.
Subject Clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>m ~ mŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
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<td>$</td>
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See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for a more detailed analysis of the pronouns.

Tense/Aspect

TNS/ASP morphemes are suffixes except in verb Stem III, the PERFECTIVE stem, where they are treated as clitics:

=ta Compleitive
=tviki Compleitive Definite
=tyi Compleitive Indefinite

See also NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.

Auxiliary

The auxiliary group is a group of clitics phonologically bound to the first constituent of an independent clause. The BASE drops out in some cases. The structure of the auxiliary group is:

BASE=SUBJ=NEG=TNS/ASP/MDL

The AUX group occurs as enclitic to verbs, pronouns, and adverbs.

\[
\begin{align*}
gi\text{=}n\text{=}ta & \quad \text{fall=B=I=COMPL} \\
 & \quad I\text{ fell.} \\
k\text{ši}\text{=}n\text{=}t & \quad \text{already=B=I=COMPL went} \\
 & \quad I\text{ already went.} \\
gi\text{=}n\text{=}tviki & \quad \text{fall=I=COMPL DEF} \\
 & \quad I\text{ fell.} \\
gi\text{=}n\text{=}tŋ & \quad \text{I=I=COMPL went} \\
 & \quad I\text{ went.} \\
k\text{ši}\text{=}n\text{=}ma\text{=}t\text{a} & \quad \text{now=B=I=NEG=COMPL go-?} \\
 & \quad \text{(any more)} \\
 & \quad \text{I'm not going to go now.} \\
gi\text{=}n\text{=}ši & \quad \text{fall=I=Q} \\
 & \quad \text{Did I fall?}
\end{align*}
\]
BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Ø Stative or existential, signalled by juxta-position of noun-noun, noun-pronoun, quantifier-noun, WHM-pronoun, adverb-adjective, adjective-noun.

tabal NEG existential (can occur with mai not)

there isn't any

tidágel POS existential (can occur with mai not)
to live, there are

-ka STAT

naato to become

-tu to become (probably related to naato)

ir to be

dáha/daráha to sit SG/PL

kifka/guuka to stand SG/PL

kaatí/vuiftí to lie SG/PL

víf to remain

-mu ~ -mí to be

kiflí ántí man I

I am a man.

múñ-díu kí-fí

many-QNT RDP-house PL

There are lots of houses.

gí-do l-áki big-QNT this-stream

This stream is big.

stifí-kí tó-ú-sá-móval straight-with tree-ADJR there

It's really woody there.

v=6ó r góval 3P=who that

Who is that?

alí tó-ú-ní very hot

It's very hot.

kifgóso ti-tílái áántí lš=gí-oohí-dí-yá-gí good thought I SUBR=you-write-APPLIC-UNR

I thought it was good that I write you.
someone du-kaa-tada
there many CONT
How many were there?

Tli-pu tama li
there not one
not even

Tli-pu ka-tada
there many-STAT-CONT
any
There aren't any.

go-vosfki naato naa-kamuli
that-mouse become bat
The mouse becomes a bat.

ka-mili-tyu dano ka-66n-tya
already-man-become I already-wife-make REPL-want
Now that I'm a man I want to get married.

dán=t=tr kíflí
I=be man
I am a man.

Váá dáha pallíš
where sit PN
Where's Felix?

Kí=d=ty=án kífka gi-sóí=ga gogóoší
house-his-at stand your-DOM-POSSD dog
Your dog is outside.

Dulánša kí=d=ty=rt guúka gi-so-sóí=ga
PN house-his-at stand your-RDP-DOM-POSSD dogs
PL PL
Your dogs are at Lencho's house.

Mo kaátt i-gíkai
there lie that-plow
There's the plow.

Mo vufíí=rt gír-so-sóí=ga
there lie our-RDP-DOM-POSSD RDP-goat
PL PL PL
There are our goats.

Gin=ši-šíífgí-míl=fgí
their-RDP-sibling-be those
RCPR PL
They are siblings/cousins.
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

vuañi-ka-m víi giñ-kií
clean-STAT-NR remained my-house
My house is clean.

HAVE

Ø

0

tíípu

there is not, there are not

gííka go-kiílí
plow the-man
The man has a plow.
dí=pt= él
mother=you=Q
Do you have a mother?
i-takúku giá aína mai=šíí nóvi
the-chicken APP wing not=no hand
A chicken has wings, not hands.

óódamí giá tíí miya=šíí Gúsu
people APP mouth not=no beak
People have a mouth, not a beak.

tí-ffí-kamí tíílíí maa-mára giíka ášii
the-plant-AG wheat RDP-child two little
PL ones
The owner of the wheat field has two little children.

alf tumfíí-ga tí-gáagar-damí
very money-ADVJR the-sell-AG
The merchant has lots of money.

Gúurugi mai-ta fsai tomali mai vúa gin-troohó-ga
birds not=COMPL plant not not have their-store-POSSD
INDF even own house
Birds don't plant, nor do they have storehouses.

ií-ódííí sóosoi dai tóíí-dííyagai
me-follow cold and hot-ABSTR
I have a cold and a fever.
The following sentences represent BE (-ka STAT) or HAVE (Ø).

\[ \text{duuká}t\text{-t} \text{ almfra}\text{i} \quad \text{mai t}^{\text{y}} \text{lîpû-ka-tai} \quad \text{f-kaso-d}^{+} \]

\[ \text{the-snake how get around} \quad \text{not there-STAT-while RDP-leg-his} \quad \text{PL any} \]

\[ \text{mai f-kaso-ka-tai} \quad \text{not RDP-leg-STAT-while} \quad \text{PL} \]

\[ \text{How does a snake get around,} \quad \{ \text{not having any any legs?} \quad \{ \text{since he is legless?} \} \]

\[ \text{mai dîf-ka-mi go-áll} \]

\[ \text{not mother-STAT-NR the-little} \quad \text{AG one} \]

\[ \text{The child has no mother. The child is motherless.} \]

**DO**

\[ \text{dúûnul} \quad \text{to make, do} \]

\[ \text{tpi-dúûnui} \quad \text{to happen (also-do)} \]

\[ \text{ivuááyiyi} \quad \text{to do (used only in IMPRF)} \]

\[ \text{-tai} \quad \text{to make} \]

\[ \text{tumá dúûl ágal áapi šfóro-ko} \]

\[ \text{what do will you tomorrow-TEMP} \]

\[ \text{What are you going to do tomorrow?} \]

\[ \text{duûnî-mu áant imö asáral kurû-t-kid+} \]

\[ \text{make-FUT I one basket palm-with} \]

\[ \text{I'm going to make a basket with palm leaves.} \]

\[ \text{káši tpi-duûf vîfîl lë=t'umššî-i giñ-šâgi-dôj igal} \]

\[ \text{already happen all SUBR-what me-told-APPLIC that one} \]

\[ \text{lë=t'pi-duûf á agâf-t'adâl} \]

\[ \text{SUBR-happen will will-PAST} \]

\[ \text{CONT} \]

\[ \text{All that he told me would happen has already happened.} \]

\[ \text{tumá vûâáyiyi} \]

\[ \text{what do} \]

\[ \text{What are you doing?} \]
**NORTHERN TEPEHUA**

\textit{mif\ k\^61\^da ga-vaak\^i-t\^yal\ gl\^i-t\^u\^eba}
\textit{there below UBSPC-house-make my-father}
\textit{INDBJ -in-law}

My father-in-law is building a house down below.

**NONDISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**

**Reflexive**

There are four reflexive pronoun prefixes, as seen below.
(Second person singular and plural have merged with third person singular and plural respectively.)

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<td>(g)îr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P/3P</td>
<td>(g)î-</td>
<td>(g)în-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reflexive pronouns may co-occur with subject pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are used for simple reflexive, reciprocal, or for the passive. A few verbs always occur with the reflexive prefix.

\textit{g\^i-n-\^f\^i-d\^y\^l\ ån\^î n\^l\^d\^y\^a-ka\^ro\^i-k\^i\^d+}
\textit{myself-see I see-INSTH-with}
\textit{I see myself in the mirror.}

\textit{v\^f\^s-ka-t\^al\ g\^i-n-g\^i-g\^ff\^g+\ ai\^p\^a-k\^o\^ga}
\textit{all-STAT-PRONR themselves-HDP-hit all-towards PL directions}

They all hit each other.

\textit{\^ff\^g+ ån\^î g\^i-n-g\^ff\^g+ ån\^î}
\textit{alone I myself-hit I}
\textit{I hit myself.}

\textit{k\^\^s\^i-a-p\^i-t\^ c\^i-\^s\^l\ g\^i-\^y\^\^g\^\^u\^\^k\^\^u\^\^\^sl}
\textit{already=B\^y\^o\^w=COMPL yourself-put you your-clothes on}

You already put on your own clothes.
plid'yuru gi-kifsimaí ífgi fgai
EN himself-scratched alone he
Peter scratches only himself.

Passive
Passive is always marked with a reflexive prefix:

gi-aag-áva iín-š-imí-ágí
REFL-must-APP I-SUBR=go-UNR
I ought to go.

Cf. ágai as used with the whole set of reflexive pronouns, in which case it means to be needed:

alí-ší iín-ágai ánní vavfil-ana
very-INTNS REFL-needed I  PN-in
I'm really needed in Baborigame.

alí-ší tr-ágai aatfí vavfli-ana
very-INTNS REFL-needed we  PN-in
We're really needed in Baborigame.

Verbs which always occur with reflexive prefixes:

giáágai to begin (cf. COY 16)
giááshagí to begin
gitóómadai to get well

dai amááší káší iín-t'óómad-n táda ánní
and then already REFL-feel-POT felt I
better
And by that time I felt better.

suúááí vícááka-tadai parí tmo kóbaí dan báiyus'rááma
Jesus have-PAST about one twenty and ten
CONT

uumígi áld'yíší gi-ánogai gi-aadúíñ-d'yaga
years when REFL-began his-work-ABSTR
Jesus was thirty years old when his work was begun.

Unspecified Arguments

gatem  UNSPEC POSSR/INDOBJ/OBJ of VERB/OBJ of P
m+  ~m=  UNSPEC SUBJ
The unspecified possessor pronoun ga- is prefixed to nouns. It co-occurs with the suffix -ga POSSD.

\[ \text{ga-} \text{ma-} \text{mái-ti-} \text{tul-d}^\prime \text{a-} \text{dami-} \text{ga} \]

unspec-RDP-know-BEN-APPLIC-AG-POSSD

RDP

someone's teacher

\[ \text{mo} \text{ dáha ga-} \text{sói-} \text{ga} \quad \text{(gogōši)} \]

there sit UNSPEC-DOM-POSSD dog

There's someone's dog.

The unspecified indirect object pronoun ga- is prefixed to ditransitive verbs.

\[ \text{ga-} \text{ótoš-} \text{d}^\prime \text{y} \quad \text{šáni} \text{ imó} \text{ takúku} \text{ kaayá-mu} \]

unspec-sent-APPLIC I one chicken street-to

I sent a chicken to the village.

To see the function of ga-, compare the preceding sentence with the following:

\[ \text{ótoš-} \text{d}^\prime \text{y} \quad \text{šáni} \text{ vúšána} \text{ imó} \text{ takúku} \]

sent-APPLIC I PN one chicken

I sent John a chicken.

The unspecified object pronoun ga- is prefixed to transitive verbs. Since ga- sometimes occurs along with an explicit object, the meaning of UNSPEC here must be qualified. ga- is not used with a specified object when that object is made emphatic or is contextually identified as the specific center of interest or comparison. Note the contrast in the following sentences.

\[ \text{mo} \text{ daráha} \text{ mui} \text{ ódami} \text{ ga-yff-} \text{l} \quad \text{(naváít}^\prime \hbox{y} \text{l)} \]

there sit many people UNSPEC-drink-PRES corn

PL liquor

There are a lot of people drinking (corn liquor).

\[ \text{yff-} \text{l} \quad \text{vfíba-} \text{l} \text{ ñálí} \quad \text{naváít}^\prime \hbox{y} \text{l} \text{ yff-} \text{l} \]

drink-PRES milk-ABS children corn drink-PRES

liquor

\[ \text{gf-gir-du-kid} \hbox{á} \]

RDP-big-QNT-AG

PL

Children drink milk, adults drink corn liquor.
The use of ga- with a specified object may convey some type of partitive notion as seen with verbs such as eat and drink. With verbs such as burn or curse which resist a partitive interpretation, ga- does not co-occur with a specified object.

\[
\text{fgal mfhi eskúela} \\
\text{he burned school} \\
\text{He burned down the school.}
\]

\[
\text{go-kffli kffda-i gi-ooni-ga} \\
\text{the-man cursed-PRES his-wife-POSSED own} \\
\text{The man cursed his own wife.}
\]

Swallow a pill contrasts with eat and drink in that pill-swallowing tends to be an all-or-nothing affair; thus ga- cannot be used in the following sentence where the object is specified:

\[
\text{fgal baá imó doadýf-gaml pastfy} \\
\text{he swallowed one cure-AG pill} \\
\text{He swallowed a pill.}
\]

But ga- does occur with baá in the following sentence where the object is not specified.

\[
\text{go-óódami ga-tí-tfni-a-ki-dýl} \\
\text{the-people UNSPEC-RDP-mouth-STAT-TRNSR-APPLIC REPET} \\
\text{YR} \\
\text{ga-baá dan vúúáy} \\
\text{UNSPEC-swallow? do/make} \\
\text{People open their mouths wide to swallow.}
\]

The unspecified postpositional object ga- is prefixed to postpositions.

\[
\text{ga-báitý+ dáha} \\
\text{UNSPEC-in sit} \\
\text{front of} \\
\text{It's in front of someone.}
\]

The unspecified subject pronoun m+ occurs as a proclitic to conjunctions and WHW.

\[
\text{mi-tai tfhal i-óódami sai tímí-na šišáko vuvááha} \\
\text{UNSPEC=and order the-people that go-POT where come} \\
\text{SUBJ PL out} \\
\text{PL}
\]
mi=sal fkal=ya-na
UNSPEC=EO count-POT
SUBJ that
And they ordered the people to go to the place where they were born so that they might count them.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

=ši Q
š rising intonation Q
maš=š1 ŋ not=no TAG Q

=ši always occurs preceded by a SUBJ pronoun clitic. The Q CLT group occurs either following a verb or following certain particles which precede the verb. It also occurs following nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and adverbs.

kof=p1=ši
slept=you=Q
Did you sleep?

kof=p1=ši
snake=you=Q
Are you a snake?

viifik1-ga=ō=ši
tasty-ADJ=it=Q
Is it good tasting?

ñm=š1 idyi utgda=ō=ši
another=it=Q this new=it=Q
Is this another one, is it new?

†+g1=p1=š1 ñáhá
alone=you=Q sit
Are you alone? (cf. also BIRD 1; COY 7, 8.)

š always occurs at the end of the clause with extra-high tone (intonation).

šš1 š
And you? (response to How are you?)
(cf. also BIRD 4; COY 8.)

Rising intonation on the final syllable of the last word or particle in a clause is another way of indicating a question.
káaká
taste
Q
How does it taste?

mááši gōô
appear that
Q
What does it look like?

(cf. also BIRD 7, 17.)
čigíá mááši go-yōōšigai mai=šíũ
pretty appear the-flower not=no
The flower is pretty, isn’t it?

Some verbs occur in interrogative sentences with no overt marker.

mááši go-tišívagai
appear the-lizard
What does the lizard look like?

úvвал gōôvai
smell that
one
What does it smell like?

túfga go-ōôdami
character the-person
What kind of a person is he?

WH Questions

máášk+i-dí ~ maak+i-dí
which one?

duukátaí ~ dōûka ~ dōû
how?

túfga-ko
when?
(at what particular time)

túřš=ší ~ túřš
why?

tumáš=ší ~ tumá
what?

v=gōôrai ~ vōôr
who?

v=aakoga ~ vááko ~ váá
where?

v=ffkš
when? (past)

v=ffkšdi-yu ~ vffki ~ vff
how many?

v=ffšige ~ vffsi ~ vff
how much?

v=ffš-kidí
when? (future)

v=Ūôd’uru
what size?

v=uu
what time?

Question words occur initially in the sentence. In embedded clauses they are preceded only by the subordinating proclitic ši= ~ iš=.

The first two WH are single morphemes.

máášk+i-di áága-i
which want-PRES
one
Which one does he want?
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

dúú taapánti-na go-ááyi ffq
how break-POT the-cilla alone
How could the cilla break by itself?

túiga-ko occurs with the temporal suffix -ko.

túiga-k=tí tasa-qa-dí
when-TEMP=be day-POSSD-his
When is his saint's day (birthday)?

The next two WHW occur with the Q CLT =ši.

tuš=p=tíši lín-gffgi
why=you=Q me-hit
Why did you hit me?

tumši=ši goó dai ód dân kástí
what=Q that and rock on lie
What's that on the rock?

The remaining WHW occur with subject pronoun clitics plus a set of aspect clitics, in the following order: SUBJ=ASP=WHW.

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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ší</td>
<td>DUB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n, p, v, tít, m occur before a vowel.
an, pí, ø, tí, mí occur before a consonant.
ín occurs before š.

n=šír áántí
p=šír áápí

I=who I
Who am I?
you=who you
Who are you?

v=šír goóvalí

he=who he
Who is he?

we=who we
Who are we?
m=ôôr  aapîmt
you=who you
PL  PL
Who are you PL?

Ø=t=ôôr  dàívusai  Ôikläpo
he=COMPL-who passed earlier
Who went by earlier?

dal aapîmt  ô mt=kâft’y  an=s=ôôr  ãánd
and you  Q you=say  I=QUOT=who I
PL
And you PL? Whom do you PL say that I am?

$=ôôr  màåt+  iê=t’umšâ=t’i-ka-mu  gôôvai
DUB-who know SUBR=what=Q-STAT-FUT he
Who knows what he will turn out to be?

p=sá  înf  ågai  pì=t=Ôikâ  d’yâvia
you=where go will  you=COMPL=when came
Where are you going?
When did you come?

Ø=ôût=t=Ôikâ  înf  mu  gôô
he=DUB=how=with go-FUT he
much
When will he go?

v=Ôûd’uru  gi=sôf-ga  miśëft’û
he=what your-DOM-POSSD cat
size
What size is your cat?

v=ûû  dûuku  fiyî
it=how time now
much
What time is it now?

By this analysis vif preceding dûuku > vuu by vowel harmony. Some of the WHW take verbalizing suffix -ka plus verb inflections and auxiliary verbs ågal is going to and agâfâdai was going to. Cf. the example above involving lîšt’umšâšikamu What will he be?
The positive imperative is signalled either by a suffix or by the bare verb stem, or in some cases of the plural, with a particle. The negative imperative uses the bare verb stem preceded by mai not.

-ꞌil IMP SG
ꞌvrai IMP PL
vrai IMP PL
nāa An interjection used for here (take this)l. Can be used alone or preceding a verb.

kīkīva-ꞌil tabfī-diŋí ŋimi-vrai aapímt
stand-IMP here-from go-IMP you
up PL PL PL
Get out of here!
You go!

The plural imperative particle vrai - vṛ appears as the first element of a clause or as an enclitic to the first element.


vūsāna tffti gin-mára
PN call your-child
PL
Your wife will have a child and you PL will call him John.

Either of the two nonperfective verb stems, and Stem I plus
-i PRES, can be used for the imperative (cf. STEMS).

báí bífkai go-doad'yí-ga-mi
this carry the-cure-ALTR-NR
way
Bring the medicine here!

báí im-bff-d'yá go-so-sóna-karoi
this me-carry-APPLIC the-RDP-tap-INSTR
way REPET
Bring me the hammer!

vffškiri báí vūsápi lffči kǔá-daga-i
still this bring a eat-ABSTR-ABS
way little
Bring me some food anyhow!

nás
here
Here (take this)!

For an example of NEG IMP, cf. COY 10.
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ši  DIM
-karo  deceased
-baro  used to be mine
-dadt  PRSNR

kifli-ši
male-DIM
little boy

tmó kahooni-f-rt m=tí=tíf
one box-LOC-in UNSPEC=COMPL-laid my-father-deceased
SUBJ
They laid my deceased father in a coffin.

bir-ími-i  glín-ooní-baro  daid'y+  kitsá-tugai
this-one-PRES my-wife-former and put-coming
way

on

glín-vanámo-baro  dai  dán  dái-t'yugai  glín-soí-gá-baro
my-hat-former and on mounted-come my-DOM-POSSD-former

Here comes my ex-wife, wearing my old hat, riding the
burro that used to be mine.

ookf-ádt
woman

kifli-ádt
man

Female (cf. 66ki woman)  male (cf. kifli man)

V + X = N

-karo  INSTR, place where action occurs, -able
-baro  has been Ved
-gaí/dagai/ragai  ABSTR
-dadt  PRSNR
-mí  NR
-dí  NR

dai  móf-d'yu  tít-tfvi-karo-i  šfááko  ga-tí-tfvtí
and many-QMT RED-play-INSTR-ABS where UNSPEC-RED-play
CONT

PL
ááli
little
ones
And there were many playthings where children play.

mítí-karo-1
run-INST-ABS
a row of adobes

dái guřú tudáí-karo-na mos-šlkóli vopbyi uh-úrugi
and bird jump-INST-at just-around run RDP-bird PL PL
And at the airport the planes just circled around.

mai=t'vir títí-karo-í t-súñallí
not=COMPL=be see-INST-ABS the-spirit
The spirit is not visible.

mítí-baro
burn-has
been
ash residue from burning

šíví gú škód'í-rí dána in-d'agít'º-baro
now wood dead-in sit my-leave-has
ex-wife
My ex-wife now lives in Deadwood.

bó-d'írt sóî máá taátá núf-d'ú bíúgl-gál
here-from poor appear feel much-QNT hungry-ABSTR
that-from suffer time
From that time on he suffered much hunger.

čeno giám-ír iíva-tíra-ka-mí dímos mái=šfú šbái
PN AFF=be play-CHR-STAT-NR but not=no Mestizo AG

tudáí-d'ágí-rí víítáí
dance-ABSTR-at for
Cheno is really a musician, but he does not play for Mestizo dances.

i-kúáiži hám-ga imó kóbaí vůáápa-ragáí dáí imó
the-firewood pay-ABSTR one twenty bring-ABSTR and one
worth
kôbai dûñh-d'yagal
twenty make-ABSTR
Firewood costs twenty cents to bring and twenty cents to make.

dai mûf-d'yu bûgikoi-d'yadî ga-gâagai-t'yadai aadûñh-d'yagal
and many-QNT hungry-PRSNR RDP-look-PAST work-ABSTR PL CONT CONT
And many hungry people were looking for work.

The nominalizing suffix -mi combines with verbal or adjectival morphemes to form the three agentive suffixes: -dami, -gami, and -kami. -da-mi APPLIC-NR seems to focus on one who is doing or can do V; -ga-mi ADJR-NR appears to focus on one who is characterized by doing or being V or ADJ; -ka-mi seems to focus on one who does V for a living, all the time, or very well, or on the thing to which V is done.

\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{z}}\)-dami                  soomâ-damî
plant-AG                                     sew-AG
planter                                      one who sews

\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{t}}\)-t'vî-ku-dami
RDP-play-CHAR-AG
CONT
gambler

-kami AG has an alternate form -k+di (probably from -ka-di STAT:VR-NR by vowel harmony) which occurs in a discourse. At the first reference to a one who... -kami is used, in all subsequent references to this same person or thing the form -k+di is used.

\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{y}}\)-a-kami                 \( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{y}}\)-kami
plant-APPLIC-AG                              plant-AG
planter                                     a planting
(one's vocation)                            (that which is planted)

\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{t}}\)-kami                   vû-fi-gî-kami
plant-AG                                    red-AG
one who owns a planting                      one which is red

kôf-hara-kami
\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{t}}\)-hara-kami
\( \hat{\frak{t}} \hat{\frak{t}}\)-hara-kami
down-?-AG                                   three-QNT-STAT-NR
a downriver man                             VR
                                               AG
The Three (Orion's Belt)
ADJ + X = N

mi NR (cf. V + -mi = N for comment on -gami as agentive)
dad PRSNR (this may be two morphemes)
-pũ NR (pũ < pa < vaa < vākoga where)

tudáí-tira-ga-mi
dance-CHAR-ADJ-PR
dancer

íva-tira-ga-mi
play-CHAR-AG
music

bfí-vuli-gami
grab-CHAR-AG

parf-gami
lazy-AG
lazy person

mo kifka go-kfli omáli-gami i-tiká-ra-kami saāgďa
there stand the-man mean-AG the-up-?-AG among
upriver people

There stands the mean man among the upriver people.

imó kfli maa-mára-ka-tadai gēóka kî-kfli t-aid
one man RDF-child-STAT-PAST two RDF-male DS-then
PL CONT

i-gookî-fr-dad po-ti-tfdaí gi-gōgga
the-two-ORD-PRSNR thus-RDF-said his-father
DUR

A man had two sons and the younger one said to his father...

vff gooká-tai vľa báá-baki gooká-pũ-ri
all two-PRONR have RDF-house two-where-in
PL

Both of them have houses in two places.
VERB MORPHOLOGY

\[ N + X = Y \]

-\text{ta} to make a N
-\text{ka} STAT
-\text{piga} PRIV
-\text{sa} to hit with N
-\text{r} to become N or Ned
-\text{mada} put on
-\text{da} VR

\text{mo dáha giñ-gúli ga-súáá-ta-i}
\text{there sit my-mother's UNSPEC-blanket-make-PRES}
\text{mother INDBJ}

There's my grandmother making a blanket!

\text{ka kiti-lí ka paranšíšiko}
\text{already man-STAT PN}
Frank is a man now. (cf. COY 22)

\text{óotoma óda-piga-ñi go-báv! daí ldóra}
\text{quickly rock-PRIV-IMP the-beans and cook(them)}
Clean the rocks out of the beans quickly and cook them.

\text{šf=gú důuku giñ-ko-kóda-i t-ši-šívatu sffli}
\text{DUR=how time RCPR-RDP-fight-PRES the-RDP-goat straight}
\text{much DUR PL}

\text{gu-gúka-ñi vu-púí-dýr̄t giñ-koová-ñi-ña-i}
\text{RDP-stand-PRES RDP-eye-from RCPR-forehead-ABS-hit-PRES}
\text{DUR up PL PL}
When goats fight they stand up straight facing each other
and butt one another.

\text{ka ta-táki-rí-i go-yatóvara}
\text{already RDP-root-become-PRES the-potato}
\text{PL}
The potato is getting roots.

\text{dáf-karo-mada-ñi}
\text{kukúruñ-dýa-ñi}
\text{sit-INSTR-put-PRES across-VR-IMP}
saddle on
\text{PL}
He saddles it. Make the sign of the cross.
ADJ + X = V

-kə STAT
-ri become
-mada put on
-da VR
-i VR
-to VR

dāf-na ʔánə šį=ffɧ=ɬ r kiįgii-ka-na
fly-POT I DUB=how=be good-STAT-POT much
How good it would be if I could fly.

ffko-ri-i go- ꦓɓaɬi
sour-become-PRES the-milk-ABS
The milk is getting sour.

šįvi go-ssəɬi ɬt-ffɪl ɬoʔal-i-madaɬi ɡiŋ-kiy
today the-little RDP-boy white-put-PRES my-house PL on
The little boys whitewashed my house today.

viiɬ təsaɬi vaamuɬoɬma tə-ɬiʔ-dɬ-yi-aɬi
all day-ABS more-COMPAR RDP-hot-VR-become-PRES CONT
Every day it keeps getting hotter.

vuaaməɬ-mi tɨlfɬi tídɬi-tɬo ɡiŋ-masəviɬ-ga
yellow-VR-PROG wheat black-VR my-finger-POSSD and
The wheat is getting yellow. blue
My finger got black and blue.

ADV + X = V

Ø VR
-kə VR (STAT)

mítkə-vɪɬ (cf. mítkəɬɬa/mítkəɬɬa/mɪfka
far-IMP far, far away)
PL
Go PL1

siɬiɬiɑɬ-mi
straight-STAT-NR
laws, position of authority, just, right
gim-maš' tmó stilľī-ka-mi
me-gave a straight-STAT-NR position
of authority
He gave me a position of authority.

ka-mai višā šant stilľī-ka-mi lš=t'r
already=not have I right-STAT-NR SUBR=be

gi-marš-ka-gI
your-child-STAT-UNR
I no longer have the right to be your son.

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

ADJ + X = ADJ

-ťa ADJR
weerō-ga go-älli tšō-pora-ga
fair-ADJR the-little blue/-light-ADJR
SP one green
The child is fair.
light blue/green

N + X = ADJ

-ťa ADJR
-daga ADJR
alf talšōli-ga go-älli
ever pig-ADJR the-little one
That kid is really dirty.

vaamś-ōma ɡī-d'aga ši-nāvo-1 šil t-tasāšI
more-COMPAR needle-ADJR the-cactus-ABS than the-organ cactus
The prickly-pear cactus is more prickly than the organ cactus.
\[ V + X = ADJ \]

-\( ga \) ADJR
-\( daga \) ADJR

tikáka-mili-\( ga \) bff-vuli-\( ga \)
aak-run-ADJR grab-CHAR-ADJR
questions thieving
curious, inquiring

\[ \text{alf navá-mu-daga go-naváit}^\text{Yi} \]
very corn-die-ADJR the-corn
liquor liquor
drunk
Corn liquor is inebriating.

\[ \text{alf tonô-mo-daga gff}^\text{Yu-dagai} \]
very hot-die-ADJR cut-ABSTR
thirsty wood
Cutting wood makes one very thirsty.

**COMPOUNDS**

**Noun Compounds**

These compounds are tightly bound:

\[ N_1 + N_2 = N \]

\( N_1 \) place of \( N_2 \):

\( t\text{üt\-vo-d}^+ \)
mouth-body-his
hair
his beard

\( t\text{üf\-d}^Y + \)
his mouth

\( v\text{ópoi} \)
body hair, fur, wool

\( t\text{ágí} \)
chest

\[ N_2 \) place of \( N_1 \):

\( u\text{k-oid\text{ýgi}-rì} \)
pine-country-in

\( òkuj \)
pine

\( o\text{id\text{ýgíl} \)
world, uninhabited place

highlands
N_1 kind of N_2:

ook-ódamí
woman-person
older woman, woman with children

kílí-ódamí
man-person
older man

N_2 part of N_1:

uk-áágá
pine-leaf
pine needles

un-ku-kúga
corn-HDP-point/tip
PL corn fodder

N + ADJ = N

vúf-kováli-ga
eye-thick-ADJR
blind in one eye

vúf-bit'yú-li-ga
eye-excrete-ADJR
matter which comes out of the eye

ADJ + N = N

moi-ñóli-ga-dt
soft-crooked-POSSD-his
soft palate

molíka
soft

molíñí
crooked

avok-ñuñí
soft-corn
soft corn

These compounds are loosely bound:

N_1 + N_2 = N

N_1 kind of N_2:
Gë gáto-l
wood bow-ABS
bow

Gëšl
gátoi
bow, gun

valñošm gáto-l
metal bow-ABS
gun

N₁ place of N₂:

vavás-k-irí Gûnui
canyon-in corn
hot corn
(canyon corn)

vavás-k-irí
Canyon

Gûši-an bávi
pole-on beans
pole beans

bávi
Beans

N₁ POSSR of N₂:

{tásą̱-l}  f-vo-dí
{tás}
tásal  fvo-dí
sun-ABS ?-body-its
hair
rays of sun shining
through clouds

sun's rays illustrates the first step in the process of forming compounds from compound-like noun phrases; that is, the final V(V) of N is lost. The next step is the loss of high tone on N, resulting in a true compound. Thus I would predict tás fvo-dí rays of sun to develop soon if it does not already exist in the speech of some Tepehuanes.

ADJ + N = N

ko-kómá bávi
RDPl-gray beans
PL
gray beans

komági
gray

vf-pf Gûkui
RDPl-red pine
PL
red pines

vífgi
red
tu-tů    kuráatu    tůku    black
**RDP-black woodpecker**
**PL**
black woodpecker

ADV + N = N

út    bakúli
under pants    dám vasáragai
over shirt
underpants    shirt

**Verb Compounds**

These compounds are tightly bound:

N + V = V

kílf-mu    múů    to die
man-die    SG PERF
to get old

tonó-koi
rays-die    tonóli tásai    sun’s rays
of    PL
sun
to be thirsty

bi-úúgi-mu    bif    food
feed-eat-die    fed
/food
to be hungry

V + V = V

kooší-mu    kósos    he sleeps
sleep-die    be sleepy

naakí-mu    náñkí    he likes
like-die    (food)
food
want to eat

ibí-mu    lbfkí    he breathes
breath(e)-die
(?)
be tired
bāā-mu
?-*die
be angry

sa-sāi-mira-i
RDPP-stick-run-PRES
REPST
he stutters

saī
to stick,
get stuck
PERF

tikāka-mīli-ga
tikākal
to ask a
question

ask-run-ADJR
talkative

baŋi-mīra-i
mīrai
he runs

?-*run-PRES

ADJ + V = V

gif-goi
gifgi
lard

fat-*die
gif
fat
(ADJ)

fatten (PL OBJ)

soiŋgā-mu
poor-*die
/sad
be sad

poor (ADJ)

Other

DEM + DEM = DEM

idv-i-gfmai
go-gfmai
this-other
that-other
one
one

this other one
that other one

†-gāa
those-others
those other ones
BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

The absolutive suffix -i occurs on noun stems ending in a vowel other than -i, such as:

- óda-i rock
- óna-i salt
- kúpa-i hair (on head)
- vópo-i body hair
- gúnu-i corn
- vanámo-i hat

-i ABS drops off with the following suffixes:

- -ga POSSD
- -dí 3P SG POSSR
- -aba on (right next to, attached to)
- -baro used to be mine
- -piga PRIV

- giñ-oná-ga
- my-salt-POSSD
- my salt
- kupá-dí
- hair-his
- his hair

- giñ-vanámo-aba dáha imó nakástral
- your-hat-on sit one scorpion
  There's a scorpion on your hat.

- baigó im-bfí-d'á
- this me-bring-APPLIC my-hat-used
  way to be

- Bring me the hat that used to be mine!

- odá-piga-ní
- rock-PRIV-IMP the-beans
- Clean the rocks out of the beans!

Plural

Plurals are formed by (1) reduplication of initial (C)V(V); (2) lengthening of V; (3) shortening of V. Associated changes involve a shift of tone; v > p; or some combination of the above processes. (4) Some forms manifest no change. (5) Some
borrowed forms (and possibly one native word) reduplicate medially and/or have some of the other pluralization features listed above. A complete analysis of the morphophonemic rules will simplify the rules for pluralization.

RDP of \( \hat{V} > VV \) in RDP and remains \( \hat{V} \) in stem

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{glī-ŋōvi} & \quad \text{gi-ŋoo-nōvi} \\
\text{my-hand} & \quad \text{my-RDP-hand} \\
\text{my hand} & \quad \text{my hands}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{glī-kāhī} & \quad \text{gi-ŋ-kaa-kāhī} \\
\text{my-leg} & \quad \text{my-RDP-leg} \\
\text{my leg, thigh} & \quad \text{my legs, thighs}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bāna-ī} & \quad \text{baa-bāna-l} \\
\text{coyote-ABS} & \quad \text{RDP-coyote-ABS} \\
\text{coyote} & \quad \text{coyotes}
\end{align*}
\]

RDP of \( VV > VV \) in RDP and \( \hat{V} \) in stem

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{glī-d'yaāka} & \quad \text{gir-daa-dāka} \\
\text{my-nose} & \quad \text{our-RDP-nose} \\
\text{my nose} & \quad \text{our noses}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-ŋąāka} & \quad \text{gi-ŋ-naa-nāka} \\
\text{my-ear} & \quad \text{our-RDP-ear} \\
\text{my ear} & \quad \text{our ears}
\end{align*}
\]

RDP of \( \hat{V} > V \) in RDP and \( VV \) in stem

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tmō kifflī} & \quad \text{mūi ki-kfflī} \\
\text{one man} & \quad \text{many RDP-man} \\
\text{a man} & \quad \text{many men}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tmō gifflī} & \quad \text{mūi gi-gfflī} \\
\text{one boy} & \quad \text{many RDP-boy} \\
\text{a boy} & \quad \text{many boys}
\end{align*}
\]

RDP of \( VV > V \) in RDP and \( VV \) in stem

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-ŋ-kif} & \quad \text{gi-ŋ-klī-ki} \\
\text{my-house} & \quad \text{my-RDP-house} \\
\text{my house} & \quad \text{my houses}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-ŋ-d'yaādi} & \quad \text{gi-ŋ-d'yaādi} \\
\text{my-mother} & \quad \text{my-RDP-mother} \\
\text{my mother} & \quad \text{my parents}
\end{align*}
\]
RDP of v > p and tone shift forward one syllable

vanámol va-pánamol
hat hats

RDP of v > p and ʔ > VV in RDP and remains ʔ in stem

vůhi vuu-půhi
eye eyes

evůvol vaa-pávul
cliff cliffs

RDP of v > p and V > VV and tone shift forward one syllable

giñ-kotáva giñ-koo-kótapa
my shoulder my-RDP-shoulder
my shoulders

vavíhi vaa-pávihi
swamp RDP-swamp
swamps

RDP of v > p and VV > VV in RDP and ʔ in stem

vooká-dī voo-póka-dī
his stomach RDP-stomach-their
their stomachs

vooká-dī poo-póka-dī
its stomach (a cow's) their stomachs (cows')

RDP of v > p and VV > VV in RDP and ʔ in stem

giñ-voóka gir-voó-póka
my stomach our-RDP-stomach
our stomachs

RDP and other changes

kahí-d'yū
his thigh RDP-thigh-his
his thighs

wuhí-d'yū
his eye RDP-eye-his
his eyes
puu-púf-dýi
RDP-eye-his
sleet

váški
house

báá-baki
RDP-house
houses

RDP: CV > CV-CV and Ë > Vh-Á

táísholl
pig

ta-táišoll
RDP-pig
pigs

súímailí
deer

su-suímailí
RDP-deer
deer PL

bff-karo-i
grasp-INSTR-ABS
pliers

bt-bff-karo-i
RDP-grab-INSTR
pliers PL

áít'ýi
flat rock

ah-áít'ýi
RDP-flat
rock
flat rocks

RDP: #V > #Vh in RDP and ËV in stem

Ami 6yi
a needle

mûi oh-66yi
many RDP-needle
many needles

RDP: #ÍV > Vh in RDP and ËV in stem

Ami ááyi
an olla

mûi ah-ááyi
many RDP-olla
many ollas

Ami 66yi
a bone

mûi oh-66yi
many RDP-bone
many bones

V > Â

d̪aki
stream

ɗ-ńkí
RDP-stream
streams
áli
child

á-áli
RDP-little
one
children

V > ñ

adgñi
relative

á-aduññi
RDP-relative
relatives

gĩñ-onóma
my rib

gĩñ-ó-onóma
my-RDP-rib
my ribs

gogógoši
dog

gōgoši
dogs

kokóññi
crow

kōkoññi
crows

kaváyu
horse

kāápayu
horses

No Change

óna-i
salt

číññl óna-l
little salt-ABS
bit
a little salt

múi óna-i
many salt
a lot of salt

1ñma-l
squash, squashes

ûñnu-l
corn

6ōkñi
woman, women

RDP for both SG and PL

bobókñi
squirrel(s)
mimfval
bee(s)

RDP of second syllable

nuváll
fly

nu-vá-píll
flies
### POSSESSIVES

#### Morphology

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In addition to the possessor pronouns there is a suffix -ga occurring with domesticated animals, persons, and alienable things.

- **giñ-klíf**
  - my-house
  - my house

- **dif-díf**
  - mother-his
  - his mother

- **ga-máwá-tul-díy-u-damí-ga**
  - UNSPEC-RDP-know-CAUS-APPLIC-AG-POSSD
  - someone's teacher

- **gl-mára tdp-ga-dad† títgídíy-u adelaido bueno dúbles daid†**
  - my-child first-PRSnr be PN and named

- **go-té-r-dad† títgídíy-u rosario bueno dúbles dado**
  - two-?-ORD-PRSnr be PN and named

- **ga-díf**
  - vuañíta dúbles kilones
  - UNSPEC-mother PN
  - POSSR
My first child is named Adelaida Bueno Dubles; my second child is named Rosario Bueno Dubles; their mother is named Juanita Dubles Quiñones.

mo fm+1-go-áll ta-táfi'sollí diff-dí
there go-PRES the-little RDP-pig mother-their PL PL
There goes the mother of the little pigs.

giñ-maá piid'yúru gi-baví-ga
me-gave PN his/-beans-POSSD
your
Peter gave me his/your own beans.

bor-fm+1 doróli gi-ooní-ga ti'mádu
thia-go-PRES PN his/-wife-POSSD with way your
Here comes Dolores with his/your wife.

bor-fm+1 doróli ooní-ga-dí fnal ti'mádu
thia-go-PRES PN wife-POSSD-kí another with way
Here comes Dolores with another's wife.

bor-fm+1 doróli ga-ooní-ga ti'mádu
thia-go-PRES PN UNSPEC-wife-POSSD with way POSSR
Here comes Dolores with someone else's wife.

Syntax
In a possessive noun phrase the POSSR pronoun prefixes are obligatory. An independent pronoun may also occur as the first constituent of the possessive noun phrase. Possessed domesticated animals do not take the possessive affixes directly. They are preceded in the noun phrase by sóiga, which takes the POSSR pronouns and the POSSD suffix -ga. This construction may occur in place of the possessed animal.

án iñ-šóí-ga ašñft'yú
my my-DOM-POSSD burro
my burro

gcal giñ-ffáí tmó giñ-šóí-ga kaváyu
he me-stole one my-DOM-POSSD horse
He stole one of my horses.
go-kifli kifda-l giiñ-šōf-ga
the-man curse-PRES my-DOM-POSSD
That fellow curses my mule (or any animal I own).

Inanimate objects may take the possessive affixes directly or they may be preceded by tūid'ya, which, if present in the construction, takes the POSSR pronouns and the POSSD suffix -ga. This construction may stand alone in place of the possessed object.

\[\text{ka=mīf} \quad \text{ān iñ-t'ūid'ya-ga vāāki} \]
\[\text{already-burned my my-\text{INAN}-POSSD house} \]
My house already burned.

\[\text{ka=mīf} \quad \text{ān im-vāāki} \quad \text{ka=mīf} \quad \text{im-vāāki} \]

\[\text{ka=mīf} \quad \text{ān iñ-t'ūid'ya-ga} \]
Nine already burned.

Recursion is allowed:

\[\text{stiñ-kidī} \quad \text{ci-gīa} \quad \text{māāki piid'ūru ooñī-ga-dī} \]
\[\text{straight-with INTNS-EMPH appear PN wife-POSSD-his} \]

\[\text{mará-dī} \quad \text{soi-gā-dī} \quad \text{maa-māra-dī} \quad \text{moo-mō-dī} \]
\[\text{child-her DOM-POSSD-his RDP-offspring-his RDP-head-their} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{PL} \]
Peter’s wife’s child’s pot’s offsprings’ heads are really cute.

POSTPOSITIONS

There are free postpositions and bound postpositions. The free postpositions occur following the object. When a free postposition occurs with an object pronoun, the object pronoun is attracted to it as a prefix.

Free postpositions include simple forms and complex forms. Some complex forms are composed of body parts plus postpositions. Others are composed of a locative base plus a postposition or other combinations.
Simple Free Postpositions

Úta under
daáma over, above, on
tímacdu with (accompaniment)
šikóli around
saagíd’a among, in
vítárí for
baít’ýkli ahead of
tíbfíl behind

műs-vural go-táfšolí dai mo díyfral úta yaása kill-IMP the-pig and there ground under bury PL
Kill the pig and bury it under the ground!

mo kuráral daáma dáha go-písflí there fence on sit the-chipmunk There's the chipmunk sitting on the fence.

műi ődami gin-ťmpagl t-paavóra šikóli many people RCPH-gathered that-PN around Many people gathered around Paul.

móval go-űún saagíd’a aimfral t-taksúku there the-corn in walk the-chicken around The chickens are walking around there in the cornfield.

savfíl ánt váfk ímai gił-ooñí-ga vítárí bought I three squash my-wife-POSSD for I bought three squash for my wife.

váskl tibfi kaáti t-kúgí house behind lie the-wood The wood is behind the house.

Complex Free Postpositions

Some complex postpositions are composed of body parts plus -na in, at, -dírf away from, or -pi in.

taagí-ña vul-dýfrí
chest-at eye-away
in front of from in front of (facing)
vúf-ʔə-pi  cf. tasá-pi  in the sun
eye?-ʔ-in  ḫiká-pi  in the shade
in front of,
in presence of

vááki tʰaaɡí-ŋa  kaátí  ᵁ-ləapíši
house in  lie  the-pencil
front
of
The pencil is in front of the house.

vffší  ḥódaml  vúf-ʔə-pi  ga-nfí
all  people  eye?-ʔ-in  UNSPEC-sang
in presence of OBJ
He sang in the presence of all the people.

Other complex postpositions are composed of a locative base
plus  -âna  at,  in,  -ɪrɪ  in,  at,  or  -aba  on  (attached  to).

ab-âna  ḳr-ába
right-on  inside-on
next  inside, between, middle
to
beside (touching),
on (attached to)

sonó-âna
near-at
beside, next to

alt  kahóńi  ab-ân  dáha  go-rádio
little box  beside  eit  the-radio
The radio is beside the box.

giń-kóko  giń-onóma  ḫmóko  giń-ɪr-ába
me-hurt  my-rib  one  me-inside
One of my ribs hurts inside of me.

tóku  vuhí-dì  ḳr-âna
black  eye-his  inside
The middle of his eye is black.

vááki  sonó-âń  kaátí  ᵁ-vaakáší
house  beside  lie  the-cow
The cow is lying beside the house.

Two complex postpositions appear to be composed of N plus
-âna  in,  at  and  N  plus  -ɪrɪ  in,  at.  The  analysis  of  one  of
these is ambiguous. It could be a locative use of gookífr̥
second, in second place, behind. More likely it is from
gooki-dé his footprint.

\text{ki-d'y-g-ana} /ki-d’y-ana\ 
\text{house-his-POSSD-at house-his-at}
\text{outside}

\text{gooki-fri} 
\text{footprint-in}
\text{behind}
\text{ugf-d’y-ana}
\text{finish-his-at}
\text{at the edge of}

dal vavfli ugf-d’y-ana víaá
\text{and wild at left}
\text{fg edge of}
And they left him on the outskirts of Wild Fig Village.

A postposition may occur preceding the object and may be
discontinuous. This may be for focus or it may be to avoid
piling up postpositions after the object.

\text{vffsí šikólí ff kuráral ugf’d’y-a-mu}
\text{all around went fence edge-LOC-to}
\text{He went all around the edge of the fence.}

\text{bai’t’y-fkí ff šáni giñ-shukálí}
\text{ahead went I my-younger sibling}
\text{I went ahead of my little brother.}

\text{kid’y-ana kaští go-laapšíl go-kahóí}
\text{outside lie the-pencil the-box}
The pencil is outside of the box.

\text{irána váákl koší-mu alí gfíl}
\text{inside house sleep-FUT little boy}
The baby is going to sleep inside the crib.

The above postpositions occur with the object pronoun pre-
fixes. The resultant form is optionally preceded by the
corresponding independent pronoun.

\text{giñ-taagíña}
\text{me-in}
\text{front}
\text{of}
in front of me
gin-ibf[g ka[t] áán in-šóga
me-behind lie my my-pet
My dog is behind me.

áp[gi sonóáñ yóma ka[t] go-sárui
you you-next more lie the-hoe
to
The hoe is closer to you.

gin-pu-púd’ir[ gin-ši-sórora
RCPR-RDP eye-away stand RDP-lady
from PL

The ladies are facing each other.

gin-gookír[ fímti wíši gin-šu-súkuli
me-behind go all my-RDP-younger
PL PL sibling

All of my younger brothers and sisters are walking behind me.

áán in-šikóli daráha múí ááll
me me-around sit many children
PL

Many children are around me.

wúaa áánt tmó išt’umááši ááp[gi-vítááři
brought I one something you you-for
I brought something for you.

gir-saaad’ya
g-íímádu
us-among UNSPEC-with
among us OBJ

with someone

Some of the free postpositions occur with RDP, lengthening of V, and tone shift (cf. BASIC INFECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Plural) to agree with the plural object.

gin-so-sóncan fímt-i
RCPR-RDP-near go-PRES
PL PL
They are walking close
together.

gin-áában guúka go-úúši
RCPR-close stand the-tree
beside PL

The trees are standing
right next to each other.

gin-púd’ir[ guúka go-ki-kfíli
RCPR-RDP-facing stand the-RDP-man
PL PL PL

The men are standing face to face.
There are a number of location words which are free post-positions but do not take the object pronouns. A complete description of these forms would involve a careful study of all location words. The following are illustrative:

- amákoga  
  towards
- amádíři  
  from
- apákoga  
  towards
- apádíři  
  from
- taiákoga  
  upwards
- utanákoga  
  downwards
- tapákoga  
  this way
- kold amákoga  
  downstream

Saturday-TMP over time PN-from went we noontime

meehíko amákoga
PN  towards
On Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

bffkat’i áání kőági giñ-kíí amádíři
carry  I  firewood my-house from
I carry firewood from my house.

ga-ähl  áání ogíš apádíři stilšíš apákoga
UNSPEC-write I  left from  right towards INDOBJ
I write from left to right.

kóko giñ-t’yóona tai-ákoga
hurt my-knee up-towards
(My leg) hurts from my knee up.

mai kóko giñ-t’yóona uta-n-ákoga
not hurt my-knee down-at-towards
It doesn’t hurt from my knee down.

Some complex postpositions occur as possessed nouns and combine with other elements to form compounds.

- giñ-frána-ga  
  my-inside-POSSD
- giñ-túána-ga  
  my-under-POSSD
- my insides
- my underclothes
giñ-yúkuší utána-ga  
my-clothes under-POSSD
my underclothes

giñ-daamána-ga  
my-over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-yúkuší daamána-ga  
my-clothes over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-út bakúli  
my-under pants
my underpants

giñ-d'úšam vasára-ga  
my-over shirt-POSSD
my shirt

utána-ga-dú giği  
under-POSSD-his lard
lard settlements

daamána-ga-dú navší:ví  
over-POSSD-his corn
liquor
head on corn liquor/beer

baltY:k t'áá-kami  
ahead stand-AG
chief, leader

sonfr gúka-kami  
near stand-AG
PL
lesser chiefs

ki-t'agíña  
house-in
front of
doors

tran-úku  
middle-week
(?)
midweek, Wednesday

Bound Postpositions

Bound postpositions occur suffixed to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and free postpositions.

-a  
LOC (SF on places)

-ba  
on, attached to

-na  
in, at, on

-ři  
in, at

-mu  
to

-škoga  
towards

-ńří  
from

-auńd'ří  
from, at

-pa  
place

-ko  
at the edge of (cf. kóvai forehead)

wuší-řa bašišpi řgai go-pápi  
tree-LOC-on nailed he the-paper

He nailed the paper to the tree.
uuší-á-na dáha go-mí-mfy-a-l  klí-d’+  
Tree-LOC-on sit the-RDP-bee-ABS house-their  
PL  
The beehive is on the tree.

uuší-f-r+ vaasí-d’yí  go-klávo  
Tree-LOC-in put-APPLIC the-nail  
into  
He put the nail into the tree.

imí-mu  án+ giñ-kii-á-mu  
go-FUT I my-house-LOC-to  
I’m going to my house.

ánn lñ-kli-áfñ-dýtr+ d’ývía  
I my-house-at-from come  
I came from my house.

páñ-dír  ímì-i  
where-from come-PRES  
Where are you coming from?  
far-from  
from a long ways off

tomali  ímì  apíí-dír+  
not one place-from  
even  
in many places  
from nowhere

tal-kó dáha /tai kóval dáha  
fir-e next sit fir-e next sit  
to  
to  
He sits next to the fire.

go-ááli tohá-li-mada-l  giñ-vááki daamá-dír+  
the-little white-?-put-PRES my-house above-from  
one  
on

uta-n-ákoga  maišíú  utá-dír  tai-ákoga  
below-at-towards not=no below-from up-towards  
The kids are whitewashing my house from top to bottom,  
ot from bottom to top.

6d  ut-áñ-ñ-dír+ vúsal +kóbyí  
rock under-at-from come the-snake  
out  
The snake came out from under the rock.
6. daam-áñ-í'írt daí t-údrugí
rock on-at-from flew the-bird
The bird flew from on top of the rock.

-kídí with, in, on occurs with nouns, pronouns, quantifiers, and adverbs.

giñ-kirígsoma-l áññt odá-í-kídí
REPL-scratch-PRES I rock-ABS-with
I scratch myself with a rock.

go-kusíru iš=maáktíí t-kídí gúíkuta áññt babáíd'í
the-knife SUBJ-which that-with cut I meat one
the knife with which I cut meat

gi-too-tóna-kídí kuikísa
his-RDP-knee-with kneel
own PL
He is kneeling.

imí líst'umááší líst'ú-kídí čís-t'íuda-l
one something which-with drip-CAUS-PRES

doa-d'yí-ga-mí
aure-APPLIC-ABSTR-NR
a thing with which one drops medicine

íptí-ráš-kídí
another-little-with
See you later. (Lit.: in a little bit)

iš-i'má-du-tái šízá írá-da-gí aaní-kídí
if-one-QNT-PRONR _ blood-APPLIC-UNR me-with
ashamed
If anyone is ashamed of me...

d'yívía áññt ís koíd'y-áññ-í'írt tará-kídí
came I wood die-at-from foot-on
PL Deadwood
I came from Deadwood Village on foot.

When -kídí occurs with adverbs or with adjectives, it can be interpreted as -kídí with or -ki-dí AG.

*bo-ikúší vigí-kídí
the-cloth red-with/AG
the red cloth

This could be:
the-cloth with-redness
the-cloth the-one-which-is-red
stilí-kidí
straight-with/AG
really

This could be:
with straightness
that which is straight

DEMONSTRATIVES

There are five demonstrative pronouns. All function as
third person independent pronouns and may stand alone as the
subject or object of a sentence. They indicate distance from
the speaker ranging from proximal to distal.

SG/PL
PROX  íd’í  this one, these
       goval  that one, those (nearby)
DIST  (g)fmal  that one, those (far)
       (g)áa  the other one
       others

Truncated forms of the first three serve as definite articles.
They are prefixed to nouns.

PROX  í-
       go-
DIST  í-
       the

Six complex demonstrative pronouns are derived by combining
each of the first three with (g)fmal the other one and áa the
others.

PROX  id’í-gfmal  this other one  id’í-gáa  these others
       go-gfmal  that other one  go-gáa  those others
DIST  í-gfmal  that other one  í-gáa  those others

stilí-kidí  vitíi-ga  íd’í  fífíkollí
straight-with flavor-ADJR this orange
really
This orange is really tasty.

id’í-gfmal  mái=ší  kíi-gá-du
this-other not=INTNS good-QNT
one
This other one is not very good.
Alif gffli d’fiart ktiqâ-du imóó-di
title boy devil good-QNT the-head-his
The little boy, devil that he is, has a good head.

go-gjimai vaam-yóma namf-ga
that-other more-COMPAR pay-ABSTR
one
The other one is worth more.

go-toóši alff-ši a-ťtši-d’yi tiífgí
the-rabbit very-INTNS UNSPEC-steal-APPLIC wheat
OBJ
The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

go-gáa fpy
those-others also
Those others too?

ímó gt-d’ yóma i-gjimai alff-d’ yóma
one big-QNT COMPAR that-other small-QNT COMPAR
one
one bigger and the other smaller

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adverbial demonstratives include those elements referring
to manner, time, and location. For each of these classes we
will list the WHW and the any form corresponding to the members
of the class.

Manner

duukâtal ~ dûkâl ~ dûk’a ~ dû
how? (cf. QUESTIONS for
inflection of these forms)
tomašduukâtal
however
póval ~ póva ~ pov- ~ po-
thus
po-dûkâl
this way
a-dûkâl
this other way
imá dûkâl
another way
îpân dûkâl
like, in the way
again how
duukatai lduuniri-mu ąnį ỹd4ỹi aa-ðųgk-dỹaga-l
how do-FUT I this ?-make-ABSTR-ABS
/ do
work

How shall I do this work?

ľf4į p+i=s=dřyukatai lpi=l4į
alone you=DUB-how want
/only
just as you'd like to

toma=s-dyukatai
even=DUB-how
however (you may want to)

pobyal iĩ-tỹ+f-tfda-l
thus me-RDP-say-PRES
CONT
thus he said to me
(that's what he said to me)

po-dųg ǿi= súa a-ðųgkai ǿi= thuse-how ENPH no this-how ENPH
other way
That way NO! (Do it) this way.

Đmą ądųkai ỹdųuf ľfą
one how did he
other
He did it another way!

ldyuuuńi-ni śąpų po-dųgkai  ApiService=dųgkai ƫ-tfha-l ąnį
do-IMP you thuse-how SUBR=how you-order-PRES I
Do it as I told you to.

Time

when? involves a variety of forms and occurs as first element in the clause. It occurs with person and TNS/ASP clitics.

vutkỹdỹt when? PAST
vũkỹkadt when? FUT
vųg ǻųgku what time is it?
tųgako when? FUT (at what particular time)

The temporal adverb when also has forms for PAST, FUT, and time of day, some of which correspond to the WHW for when?. 
áfdʸ+iši when PAST (at the time)
šff§škad+ when FUT (at any time)
šľű́d dűku when FUT (at what specific hour)
tűgako when FUT (at the time expected)
tomašťáfdŸ+ whenever FUT (within a given period)
tomašťffškad+ whenever FUT (anytime)
tomaššű́d dűku whenever FUT (at whatever time of day)
tomašc’űgako whenever FUT (at whatever time expected)

There is a group of related introducer elements ranging from temporal adverbs to conjunctions with no clear dividing line between these two classes.

áfdŸ+iši when PAST (at the time, an INTR in time clauses)
áfdŸ+i then PAST (at that time, an INTR in a time clause, referring to the time specified by áfdŸ+iši in the preceding clause)
dai and
dai áfdŸ+i and then (contraction of dai áfdŸ+i)

All of the above forms take PERS and TNS/ASP clitics. Enclitic =ši, which may be DUB (cf. proclitic ši= DUB with WHW) attracts the PERS markers to enclitic position. Other PERS and TNS/ASP markers are proclitics.

**Proclitics**

n=áfdŸ+i then I an=t=áfdŸ+i then I PAST
p=áfdŸ+i then you p+=t=áfdŸ+i then you PAST
v=áfdŸ+i then he, they ź= t=áfdŸ+i then he, they PAST
t=áfdŸ+i then we t+=t=áfdŸ+i then We PAST
m=áfdŸ+i then you PL m+=t=áfdŸ+i then you PL PAST

an=s=áfdŸ+i then I QUOT
p+=s=áfdŸ+i then you QUOT
ź= s=áfdŸ+i then he, they QUOT
t+=s=áfdŸ+i then we QUOT
m+=s=áfdŸ+i then you PL QUOT

**Enclitics**

áfdŸ+i=ń=ši when I
áfdŸ+i=p+=ši when you
áfdŸ+i=ť=ši when he, they
áfdŸ+i=t+=ši when we
áfdŸ+i=m+=ši when you PL
The following paragraph illustrates several varieties of áíd'y at that time.

áíd'y=ʒi vǔusa-i vǔáana áíd'y augústo ir ġff
at=DUB come-PRES PN at PN be big
the that
time time
When John was born, Augustus was

bail'y kíáak-a-mi-ka-tadai room-fři dai fgaí tȟha-i
ahead stand-STAT-NR-STAT-PAST PN-in and he order-PRES
chief CONT
emperor in Rome. And he ordered

gi-son-fři gǔúka-ka-mi-ga s=al
his-near-in stand-STAT-NR-POSSD QUOT=at
PL that
lieutenants time
his lieutenants to count

ffkál-d'y-na ȓ-óðdaml dai óóha-na ȉš=t'y-i-tfgid'y u
count-APPLIC-POT the-people and write-POT SUBR=RDP-named
PL
the people and to write down their names.

áíd'y=ir túkami-d'y-tri-ka-tadai mi=ʒi=ffkál-d'y
at=be first-from-STAT-PAST UNSPEC=SUBR=count-APPLIC
that first CONT SUBJ
time time
This was the first time that they had counted

ági vffši ȓóðdami old'y d'yáama áíd'y-kami áíd'y=mi=ʒi
INTEN all people world on live-AG at=UNSPEC=DUB
the SUBJ time
all the people in the world. When they

ffkál ȓ-óðdami áíd'y t-sirénio ir káfi-ka-tadai
counted the-people then the-PN be governor-STAT-PAST CONT
counted the people Sirenio was governor

síli-aña mi=t'ai tȟha-i ȓ-óðdami s=al
PN-in UNSPEC=COMPL=at order-PRES the-people QUOT=at
SUBJ that time
that time
in Syria. At that time they ordered the people
to go to the place where they were born so that they
might count them.

When I heard I knew it was Phil.

Whenever he comes (on Sunday), it's O.K.

**Location**

In the locative system there are forms indicating distance from the speaker ranging from proximal to distal. There are also positional and directional locatives. Details of the system have yet to be worked out.

**Positional**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROX</th>
<th>tamāšī</th>
<th>right here (ši seems to indicate a specific spot.)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>tānāšī</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td>here (in general area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tānai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bōvai</td>
<td>there (in a hole, in a pipe, in the distance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>movāši</td>
<td>right there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>móvai</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maffšī</td>
<td>right over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>novāšī</td>
<td>right out there (outside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nóvai</td>
<td>out there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maffkāšī</td>
<td>way over there (in a certain place)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DIST  | maffkai | way over there (in a certain place)              |

**Directional**

| DIST  | maffkai | way over there (in a certain place)              |

**Proximal**

<table>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DIST  | maffkai | way over there (in a certain place)              |

**Directional**

| DIST  | maffkai | way over there (in a certain place)              |
tamá-ši  an-daasa  ál-ni gíml-vańño-mol
here-SPEC here-put I  my-hat
I put my hat right here.

támi vakúšna-i  ánñít  i-ah-šásokoll
here wash-PRES I  the-RDP-dish
PL
I wash the dishes here.

mová-ši  dáha gíml-bakúli  dáí-kari-o  daáma
there-SPEC sit  my-pants  sit-INST-ABS on
My pants are right there on a chair.

bai  mitká-ši  iñmt  aatñmt
quite far-SPEC go  we
PL
We were going a long ways.

Directional

PROX  baigóval  this way

↓  maigóval  that way

DIST  naigóval  outside (speaking from inside)

PROX  tabádirf  from here

↓  mitkádirf  from way over there

b-algó  lm-bíñ-d'ya  go-sáru-i
this-DIRL me-bring-APPLIC the-hoe-ABS
way
Bring me the hoe.

s-mi  átl'ytí  n-algó  áñti  iñmó bána-i
QUOT=and after  out-DIRL go-PRES one coyote-ABS
a  side
bit
And after a while a coyote was passing by.

t=máda  m-algó  imf-kai  a-úññ-nt  šfsád'yi
COMPL=then that-DIRL go-having UNSPEC-ate=I dawn
way  OBJ  next
day

ksásám-ko
morning-TEMP
And having gone down the road I ate early the next morning.
mifká-dir b-aigo-vákoga mai-šiůú tablá-dir
there-from this-DIRL-towards not-no here-from
way

m-aigo-vákoga
that-DIRL-towards
way
From over there towards this way, not from here to there.

Locatives participate in the presumptive pronoun copy
construction; the prolocational adverb precedes the adverb
construction and may be discontinuous.

gir-vaid'áha-i a-mífka šiůáko îîmi ir-agáí-t'ugai
us-take/-PRES LOC-over DUB=where go REFL-INTEN-take
invite there PL
He took us along over there to where he was taking us.

mifkáš-d'yir d'ivi šání valuupí-á-n-d'yirí
way-from came I EN-LOC-at-from
over
there
I came from way over there at Guadalupe y Calvo.

QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers precede the noun they modify and may be pre-
ceded by NEG/INTNS and may stand alone in their pronominalized
forms. When they occur as the subject of a sentence, they
follow the verb. They show agreement in number with the noun
they modify and with the verb they relate to as subject or
object.

imó
a, one
imóko
one, once
ffmoko
some, sometimes
imádu
one (counting out items)
imádutai
someone, anyone, some animal
ffmadutai
some people, animals
imápirí
in a place
ffmapirí
in some places
mú
many
múd'yu
many
múd'utai
many people, animals
múfyapirí
in many places
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

múyoko  many times
číkí  a few
číkid'yu  a few
číki dtai  a few people, animals
číki dtai tai  in groups of a few
číki kloko  a few times
číki lap'tř  a few places
číši  all
číši kírí  always
číši katai  everyone
číši lap'tř  everywhere, in all places
lá̱ši  a little bit
líši  a very little bit
paipí  a little bit (sick, warm, sad)
káškí  that many

WHW

číki d'yu  how many?
číši gigi  how much?
číki kloko  how many times?
číki lap'tř  how many places?
číki dtai  how many people, animals?

QNT take a number of suffixes, some of which appear in the forms cited above.

-du  QNT
-tai  PRONR
-oko  number of times
-ap'tř  in X places
-kid't  with
-šma/yšma  COMPAR
RDP  PL
RDP  DISTR

tmó unrunu-ko  mos-íféš-1  mos-íféš-1
one afternoon-TEMP just-go-PRES just-go-PRES
PL  PL

One whole afternoon we just kept going and going.

dai tmóko ᵀšai saagíš'-a-iíš-dírt
and one he among-LOC-at-from
And one of them...
Give the children one orange each.

And if anyone tells you PL that you shouldn't let it loose...

My children are in several places; i.e., each one is in a different place.

Suddenly I saw many lights.

And further on down the road we saw many more lights.
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

&fji-ka-tai  i$=maakidt kaf  i$=maakidt s$a-ga-1
and all-STAT-PRONR SUBR=who heard SUBR=that say-PRES

&-ki-kffli
the-RDP-mem
PL
And all those who heard what the men were saying...

&$k$s ni-nfraka-mu s$ant fpt  &ffki tasa-1
yet RDP-wait-FUT I another few day-ABS
DUR
I'm going to wait a few more days.

mo-tlm-ti &ff-ctkl-a-tai  oidami
there-go-PRES RDP-few-STAT-PRONR people
PL
There go the people a few at a time.

dai bo t&s$chi-kidk  th-i
and I-a with RDP-go
little PL
bit
And after a bit they left.

mos-1s$-lacl  ata v$&s$yi s$ant
just-RDP- a do I
DISTR little work
bit
I work a little at a time.

&ffki &g$ji-kidt kur&$-ta-mu  s$api i$=m&$i-kidk
how log-with fence-make-FUT you SUBR=many-with
many

i=$li  &ffki-kidk fpt
SUBR=or few-with also
How many logs will you need to build the fence, a
whole lot or just a few?

iy6gialmal &ff$-kidd a$i-mu  t$sa-n $o-6g$6i
barely all-with reach-FUT believe=I the-log
/think

go-kur&$a-1 vitt&$r
the-fence-ABS for
I think there will just barely be logs enough for the
fence with all of them.
p=ffki tigít'ọ áápi i-kaáki go-kaáki iš=maffší daráha
you=how need you this-many the-many SUBR=right sit
many there PL
How many do you need? This many. The amount (of)
those which are) right there.

Quantifiers may stand alone as a complete sentence when
occurring with the verbalizing suffix -ka plus the accompanying
verbal inflections.

ší=ffki-a-tai-ka-tadál
SUBR=how-STAT-PROPR-STAT-PAST
many CONT
How many were there?

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tmóko</td>
<td></td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goóka</td>
<td></td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaíka</td>
<td></td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maakóva</td>
<td></td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taáma</td>
<td></td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naadámi</td>
<td></td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuvárahami</td>
<td></td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaamákovala</td>
<td></td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuvušt'áma</td>
<td></td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baivušt'áma</td>
<td></td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baivušt'áma dan tmóko</td>
<td></td>
<td>eleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmó kóbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmó kóbal dan baivušt'áma dan tuvušt'áma</td>
<td>thirty-nine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goó kóbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váik kóbal</td>
<td>sixty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maakó kóbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>eighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmó stíento</td>
<td>one hundred</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo-vúíítí goóka laapíší
there-lying two pencil
PL
There are two pencils over there.
Tomali


tomali imé imídγaga mai=tí áání Gügü köi-dγa-mu
not one go-ABSTR not-mwent I tree die-STAT-to

PL
evem

I've never been to Deadwood.

Derived Forms

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix -irí in or on. They are used only for referring to days of month, not for first, second, third child, or other listing.

umók-irí

túkam-irí

goök-irí

vaik-irí

maakóv-irí

taam-irí

naadámi-irí

kuvárahami-irí

maamákoγv-irí

tuvuštγam-irí

baivušt'aam-irí

first (acceptable but not preferred)

second

third

fourth

fifth

sixth

seventh

eighth

ninth

tenth

Ímía r-ágai aatfmí maakóv-irí maayó-ko

go we=INTENT we four-on May-TEMP

FL

We are going on May fourth.

When counting out units of measurement the first five numbers occur with the QNT suffix -du, numbers 6-10 are identical with the basic forms.

ímá-du

goöká-du

vaiká-du

maakóá-du

taamá-du

one
two

three

four

five

Number of times an action is carried out is indicated by suffix -oko ~ -ko ~ -aha ~ -oho.

ím-oko

gokó-sha

vaik-óho

maakóva-ko

tamá-ko

naadámi-ko

kuvárukámi-ko

once
twice

thrice

four times

five times

six times

seven times
maamáko-ko  

eight times

tuvuš't'āmā-ko  
nine times

baivuš't'āmā-ko  
ten times

ǐ-əl āpū goō-goha pasti'ya goko-ša īmō tāsai  
drink-IMP you RDP-two pill two-time one day  
DISTR

Take two pills twice a day.

In X places: -p'r+ ~ -p'k'r+.

imā-p'r-i  
in one place

gookā-p'r-i  
in two places

valkā-p'r-i  
in three places

makōva-p'r-i  
in four places

taamā-p'r-i  
in five places

naadāmī-p'-r-i  
in six places

kuvārahani-p'-r-i  
in seven places

maamākopa-p'-r-i  
in eight places

tuvuš'ataamā-p'-r-i  
in nine places

baivuš'ataamā-p'-r-i  
in ten places

duukātai aatf'mī f-frmdu-tai kaf ff'gi gpr-ī siggīl  
how we RDP-one-PRON hear alone our-talk  
DISTR PRTV

d'īvi'tā-ka'i  
f-frm-pk't-r-aiŋ'li mehńko
some-having RDP-one-where-in-from PN  
DISTR

How is it that each one of us hears his own language,  
since we have come from many parts of Mexico?

Pronominalizer, partitive -tai is used with persons or  
animals. Follows -du in someone and some people.

imā-du-tai  
one, someone

ffma-du-tai  
some people, some animals

gook-tai  
two people, two animals

valk-tai  
three people, three animals

maakō-tai  
four people, four animals

taam-tai  
five people, five animals

naadāmi-t'ai  
six people, six animals

kuvārahani-t'ai  
seven people, seven animals

maamākopa-tai  
eight people, eight animals

tuvuš't'āmā-tai  
nine people, nine animals

baivuš't'āmā-tai  
ten people, ten animals
Distributive is signalled by RDP of initial V, CV, CVV with other accompanying changes described in BASIC INFECTIONAL ELEMENTS.

f-moko one at a time
gōō-goha two at a time
vāś-valka three at a time
māā-nakova four at a time
tāā-tama five at a time
nāā-nadani six at a time
kūū-kuvarahami seven at a time
mamāā-kova eight at a time
tūū-tuvūš tṽāā-tama nine at a time
bāā-baś tṽāā-tama ten at a time
ta-taūkami half at a time (cf. taūkami half)

maakā-ŋi vāś-valka vff taamā-tal
give-IMP RDP-three all five-PRONR DISTR PRTV
Give all five of them three each.

ADJECTIVES

Morphology

Some adjectives consist of only a stem:

vāːgi wet
gōːi dry
wǐfti heavy
tō̂i hot
ffpián white
tōha black
viŋi red
viušma yellow
tt̕iŋi green/blue
gfff fat
gakfũi skinny
utūdai new

There is a group of adjectives which end in -ii. This morpheme (?) has not been otherwise identified. Since it also occurs on a number of nouns we hesitate to call it "adjective" or "adjectivalizing."
vigši-li  
fine, small
suusúku-li  
tender

Others which take -li will appear below with additional suffixes.

Some adjectives take the stative suffix -ka.

yúusa-ka  
rough
kavóra-ka  
round
dapá-ka  
smooth
móf-ka  
soft
kavá-ka  
hard
guvū-ka  
strong
kavúli-ka  
short
komá-li-ka  
thin

Some adjectives take the QNT suffix -du.

gf-du  
big
alfd-γu  
little
ktγá-du  
good
ttvf-du  
long

-ga is an adjective or an adjectivalizing suffix occurring with words which appear to be basically adjectival, with nouns, with verbs, and with borrowed adjectives.

omá-li-ga  
mean
parf-ga  
lazy
tfkava-ga  
tall, high
uusú-ga  
woody  
cf. úúši  
tree
átγa-ga  
flat-rocky  
cf. átγi  
flat rock
ohóda-ga  
rocky  
cf. ohóda  
rocks
namf-ga  
expensive  
cf. namfki  
to pay
títivi-ga  
playful  
cf. titívui  
to play
ttkáka-mli-ga  
talkative  
cf. tükáka  
to ask a question
ask-run-AIV  
mfrai  
to run
ivá-baro-ga  
played (i.e., cf. ivai)  
to play an
one that has
been played)  
-baro  
used
klaarú-ga  
clear  
cf. claro SP  
clear
muudú-ga  
dumb  
cf. mudo SP  
dumb
weeró-ga  
ligh-  
cf. huero SP  
light-skinned

Colors take the suffix -p ora light.
NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

stḻkítdí vúšám-pora-ga ñdíyi yóósi-ga-i
truly yellow-light-ADJK this flower-ABS
This flower is truly light yellow.

Adjectives reduplicate the initial (C)(V)V to show agreement with the noun they modify.

vaamí-óma vi-pffgl ñdíyi yúukuši ši=góvai
more-COMPAR RDF-red these materials than=that PL
These materials are redder than those.

Adjectives occur with suffixes -ka-mi STAT-NR to form participles which occur as attributives following the nouns they modify. (They also occur as subject or object of a sentence, cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY, V + X = N; and RELATIVE CLAUSES.)

ṯít-ḏtí-kami green
kapára-kami flat
fra-kami bloody cf. frai blood
taká-kami rooted cf. taká-dí its root
kuupí-kami closed cf. kuupal he closes
totópí-da-kami boiled cf. totópí-kí he boils

vuñ fəgai váíka vaa-pása-raga-i kí-kaffga-du-kami
took he three RDF-put-ABSTR-ABS RDF-good-QNT-PRTC PL in _________ PL

shirt

ṯí-tfdoi-kami úútudai mai=šíšú ááda-baro-kami
RDP-green-PRTC new not=no put-used-PRTC PL
He took three good, green, new shirts—not used ones.

Long modifying expressions may be built up.

mo vuñfíg góóka laapíší kíf mûú-mua-kami
there lie two pencil well RDF-sharpen-PRTC PL

too-tóó-kami ṯí-tfvi-du-kami gíff-gtr-du-kami
RDP-white-PRTC RDF-long-QNT-PRTC RDF-big-QNT-PRTC PL
PL
There lie two big, long, white, well-sharpened pencils.
Syntax

Adjectives occur in two distinct syntactic relationships: as the complement in a VERB-COMP-SUBJ sentence in which the verb is zero (cf. BE/HAVE/DO, BE); and as an attributive in a noun phrase, preceding the noun it modifies. Particles which precede and modify adjectives include: aši very, -ši INTNS, bái a little bit, sìlikidí really, truly, paléma (a little bit=COMPAR) less, vaméma (more=COMPAR) more. Adjectives as complements occur in their basic form: unmarked, or with -li, -ka, -lika, -du, or -ga.

takávo aši tildóbi go-vásol dai šívi aši gáki yesterday very green the-grass-ABS and today very dry
Yesterday the grass was very green and today it is very dry.

aši vigisíli fo'li vásol dai aši kaváka gówai very fine this grass-ABS and very hard that
This grass is very fine and that grass is hard.

bái gído gówai dai omáliga a big that and mean
bit one
He is a bit large and mean.

A few adjectives occur before the noun they modify in a NP. There are others which occur before the noun in names of types of corn, beans, trees, etc. These latter appear to be loosely bound compounds.

ipfíga bigavusa-a aatími go-gífi aši dai go-tdíri first pass-PRES we the-big stream and second-?-in PL

the-little stream
First we crossed the big stream and afterwards the little stream.

kavá vásol hard grass
vipfí Úkui red pine
tuutú Úkui black pine
totí Úkui white pine
vipfí Únui red corn
titffído Únui blue corn
tuutú bávi black beans
COMPARATIVES

 yöma
3-10ma (3I INTNS, yöma COMPAR)
 COMPAR

balyöma
ADV/PRTC yöma...3I=
much more, very much, well,
very well

*x fešši e mo30kaš Y
3-10fešši e x m030kaš Y
X as well as Y

*x fešši e ik0ašši Y
X as much as Y

*ma3u0an du0kaš
the same

*ma3uga mfešši
the same

ipfa
like, just like, same

Comparisons of Inequality

 yöma COMPAR occurs following adverbs and participlied
adjectives, and combines with particles to form adverbs of de-
gree which modify adverbs or adjectives.

vaas-tki=öma 6tol yöma giff go-ta0soli
before-early=COMPAR less COMPAR fat the-pig
The other day the pig was not as fat.

gf-du-ki0 Yö yöma 3an in-30f-ga tuuru 3-10pi
big-QNT-PRTC COMPAR my my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

gi-30f-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.

pi=t=ff 3-10n koš
you-COMPL-30M INTNS-COMPAR slept
much well
How did you sleep?

3-10ma
INTNS-COMPAR
Very well.

3-10n gf-du gi3-10f-ga tuuru 3-10pi
INTNS-COMPAR big-QNT my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

gi-30f-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.
Comparisons of Equality

The two as...as comparatives as well as and as much as both begin with šiffšši how much:

šif-ffšši X mo-dúukai Y
DUB-how much X as well as Y

šif-ffšši X t-kášši Y
DUB-how that-much much X as much as Y

In each of these comparisons the second part may leave out the verb.

po-šifšši šāntš lš=gir-ilm-d’aga alffšši-tr
thus-believe I SUBR=our-go-ABSTR very-INTNS-be

duadd’šši-mu-dagai-k ágai dai šíššá gt-duuni-mu šif-ffšši
scared-die-ABSTR-STAT will and ? REFIL-do-PUT DUB-how
be (PASS) much lost

go-várku mo-dúukai kusúvi-d’šši
the-boat -how cargo-its
I believe that our going on will be very dangerous and that the ship as well as the cargo will be lost.
Felix plants as much as Andrew.

I can lift as much as you can.

Men like to dance as much as women.

There are three ways to say the same.

God sees all people as equal.

He looks good on everyone just like they’re all the same.

We are just the same age.
go-maak^di tip'fan du^ka fce yat^ovara tip'fan du^c iba-f-t'ay
that-which also how plant potato like fruit-make
like
The (food) that is planted like potatoes, it yields
like (potatoes).

tip'fan mas-ma^shi go-s'ali
also RDP-appear those-little
PL ones
Those kids look alike.

tip'fan u'id'uru vff gook^a-tai
also size all two-PRONR
The two of them are the same size.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

*tmoko someone (of a group) vocrai who?
*ffmoko some (of a group)
*tmadutai* someone
*ffmadutai* some people
*tm o i'st'umasi something tumasi what?
*shibhakogg somewhere vaskoga where?
*tm o lmi'd'agai sometime vffskad when?

mik^-r lmi-l *tmoko
there-at go-PRES someone
There comes someone.

bfkata-l fgal *tm o i'st'umasi gi-novf-rf
carry-PRES he one thing his-hand-in
He is carrying something in his hand.

mos-shi-bi^a-koga as=kfka a^nifiyu
just-DUB-?-LOC-where QUOT=stand burro
It is said there was a burro somewhere.

*tm o lmi-d'agai dad'y-mu atffmi dal mai mai ma^st' gis=ffkad when
one go-ABSTR some-PUT we but not know DUB=when
We will come sometime, but we don't know when.

* See NUMERALS.
Negative

Negative forms are derived by adding tomali NEG to the positive forms.

tomali ɨmōko  
not one (of them)
tomali ɨmāduṭαι  
no one

tomalti ɨmō ištɨ umāšši  
nothing
tomalti ɨmā pğākọga  
nowhere
tomalti ɨmō ɨmīdɨgal  
ever

tomalti ɨmā-du-tai  
not one-QNT-PRONR not come-FUT
mai dadɨ-mu  
not come-FUT

No one will come.

goi mai yʊɡápa  
not bring not one thing

tomalti ɨmō ištɨ umāšši  
he didn't bring anything.

mai-t'va=ɨn  
not-COMPI-I go I not one in-LOC-where
ɨm  
I'm not going anywhere!

un  
not one go-ABSTR not went I PH-LOC-to

ɨmō ɨmī-dɨgal mai ɨf  
I never went to Guadalupe y Calvo.

ANY

tomaş ištɨ umāšši  
anything, whatever

tomaş duukāṭai  
however

tomaş ɨsōraɪ  
anyone, whoever

tomaş ɨshakoɣa  
anywhere, wherever

tomaş ɨʃkadi  
anytime, whenever

tomaş ɨsɨkti  
anyone, whichever

tomaş ɨsɨnti  
anyone, whichever

tomaş-ištɨ umāšši  
resent—vʊ̃aapi  
I'll eat whatever you bring me.

tomaş ɨsōraɪ mai ɨta vušayɨ  
Anyone who does work won't eat.
toma-š \-ško \l m\-í-á \ iptišča \ á\-pi \ án\-í \ gi\-á \ lmi\-mu
any-where go-are want you I APP go-FUT

go-ing
I'll go anywhere you want to.

toma-šfíšfikd\+ dá\-da \ gir-\-ámdu\-ni \ baig-fr-\-lfd\Ýi \ aatf\-mí
any-when come our-relatives happy-REFL-think we PL
Whenever our relatives come we will be happy.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

The independent pronouns may occur as the sole marker of the subject or as the optional pronoun copy of any of the dependent pronouns (cf. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE, Pronoun Copies).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>a-n-í \ I</td>
<td>aatf-mí \ we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-á-pi \ you</td>
<td>aap-í-mí \ you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the normal order of elements in the sentence the subject pronoun follows the verb. Where the subject is in focus it comes first in the sentence. In complex sentences the subject pronoun occurs with one clause and may be dropped from the other clause or clauses as long as the subject remains the same.

ka \ ugi\-mu \ á\-n\-í
already eat-FUT I
I'm going to eat now.
aâni-v fgai dai ŋiôîka-i mai-šïú ñmai fgai dai
I-EMPH he and speak-PRES not=no another he and

ŋiôîka-i
speak-PRES
I am the one who is talking, not someone else.

áídï'íši miká-r vuváka áídï'í kiïgá-ki-r ímîl aatîmî
when there-at left then good-STAT-in go we
PL

PL
dai kiïgá-ki-rî ááyi šlaako ímîa r-ágai
and good-STAT-in arrived where go we=INTEN
PL

PL
On leaving there we travelled in good shape and arrived in good shape where we were going.

Dependent

There are two sets of subject clitics which occur as pro-
clitics to WHW and CNJ. Set I occurs before vowels, and Set
II before consonants (iï= before a palatalized C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET I</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>n= I</td>
<td>tît= we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>p= you</td>
<td>m= you they UNSPEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>v= he, they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET II</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>an= /íï= I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>pî= you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cf. PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Subject Clitics; QUESTIONS, WH Questions; ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES; and COORDINATION.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mìt}=\text{ai} & \quad \text{bo ma-màkova} \, \text{tasà-t-} \, \text{kàdàt} \, \text{th-i} \\
\text{UNSPEC}=\text{CONPL}=\text{and from RDP-four day-ABS-with RDP-went} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \quad \text{then PL PL} \\
\text{And after eight days they went.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{àid}^Y=\text{fr tùkamàd}^Y=\text{tri-ka-tadàl} & \quad \text{mì}=\text{š}l=\text{fkal-d}^Y \\
\text{then}=\text{be first-STAT-PAST} & \quad \text{UNSPEC}=\text{SUBR}=\text{count-APPLIC} \\
\text{CONT} & \quad \text{SUBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{àgâi} & \quad \text{òdàmi} \\
\text{INTEN people} & \\
\text{That was the first time they had counted the people.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{àid}^Y=\text{i mì}=\text{š}l=\text{fkal} & \quad \text{i-òdàmi} \\
\text{at} & \quad \text{UNSPEC}=\text{SUBR}=\text{counted the people} \\
\text{the SUBJ} & \\
\text{time} & \quad \text{when they counted the people}
\end{align*}
\]

There are two other sets of subject clitics, which occur with verbs. Set III are either enclitics (well attested) or proclitics (not so well attested).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET III</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>=nì I</td>
<td>=timì we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>=pi you</td>
<td>=pimì* you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{úg}=\text{pi} & \\
\text{ate}=\text{you} & \\
\text{I ate.} & \quad \text{You ate.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bìf}=\text{timì} \text{ autòvûs} & \\
\text{took=we bus} & \\
\text{We took a bus.}
\end{align*}
\]

*-pimì is not attested but included by analogy (-pimì < aapìmì you PL analogous to -timì < aafìmì we).
If you don't get out of the way I'll slap you.

Set IV are prefixed to the verb. First and second person singular and first person plural have been observed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET IV</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>an- I</td>
<td>tť- we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>ap- you</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I'll go when the moon rises, I'll return when the rooster crows.

Let's look for fire and see if we might find it.

One other set of subject pronoun clitics occurs as enclitics to the AUX BASE preceding auxiliary verbs, and as proclitics to the auxiliary verb when the AUX BASE is not present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET V</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>=iř  I</td>
<td>=řř  we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>=př you</td>
<td>=m you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>Ø  he, they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC</td>
<td>=m they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
imī=án āgāi  
go=ī=I  INten  
I'm going to go.

imī=án āgāi-tađal  
go=ī=I  INten-Past  
CONT  
I was going to go.

īfim=ā=ř āgāi  
go=Ī=e  INten  
PL  
We are going to go.

Object pronouns occur prefixed to verbs and postpositions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>(g)ī̱n- me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>(g)h- you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>(g)h- you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC</td>
<td>(g)a- someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ğānī  ġā giṁ-ōgītā-dāl  giṁ-ā˚mu  
I  AFF  me-love-PRES  my-boss  
My boss really loves me.

ğān  īpī  ga-tīkākJa-dāl  ı̱=d'yukājai  īpī-duł  
I  also  UNSPEC-ask-PRES  SUBR-how  also-did  
I too asked what had happened.

giṁ-bāi Yfi  ūmī-i  gi-sūkūli  
me-ahead  go-PRES  your-younger  
of  brother  
Your younger brother is walking ahead of me.

gā-šīfī  dāha  
UNSPEc-behind  sit  
It's behind someone.

Possessor pronouns occur affixed to the possessed noun (see POSSESSIVES); reflexive pronouns occur prefixed to verbs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P  ( g)i^m- )</td>
<td>1P  ( g)i^r- )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my, myself</td>
<td>our, ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P/3P  ( g)i^{-} )</td>
<td>2P/3P  ( g)i^n- )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| your, yourself, his own,
| his own, himself       | your, yourselves, their
|                         | own, themselves         |
| 3P  -\(d) \)           | -\(d) \)                |
| his, their              | his, their              |
| UNSPEC                  | UNSPEC                  |
|  \( g)a- \)            |  \( g)a- \)            |
| someone's, the          | someone's, the          |

\( k\ddot{a}si=a=n=ta \)  \( gi\ddot{n}=a \)  \( (\ddot{a}n) \)  \( gi\ddot{n}=y\ddot{u}ku\ddot{i} \)
\( already=B=I=COMPL \)  \( myself-put \)  \( I \)  \( my\-clothes \)  \( on \)
\( I \) already put on my clothes.

\( k\ddot{a}si=a=ta \)  \( gi^a=fi \)  \( (g\ddot{o}vai) \)  \( gi=y\ddot{u}ku\ddot{i} \)
\( already=B=COMPL \)  \( himself-put \)  \( he \)  \( his\-clothes \)  \( on \)
\( He \) already put on his own clothes.

\( k\ddot{a}si=a=ta \)  \( gi^a=fi \)  \( (g\ddot{o}vai) \)  \( gi=\ddot{s}iffi=gi \)  \( y\ddot{u}ku\ddot{i} \)-\(d) \(\ddot{u} \)
\( already=B=COMPL \)  \( herself-put \)  \( she \)  \( her\-older\ clothes\-her \)  \( on \)
\( own\ sister \)
\( She \) already put on her older sister’s clothes.

Certain verbs always take the REFL prefix:

\( gi=\ddot{a}gai \)  to be needed
\( gi=\ddot{a}hagi \)  to begin
\( gi=\ddot{a}\ddot{u}madai \)  to get well

\( alff=\ddot{u} \)  \( gi=\ddot{a}gai \)  \( g\ddot{o}vai \)  \( vav\ddot{i}=\ddot{a}na \)
\( very\-INTINS \)  \( REFL\-need \)  \( he \)  \( wild-\at \)
\( fig \)
\( He \) is really needed in Baborigamo.

\( k\ddot{a}si \)  \( gi=ta=\ddot{a}\ddot{u}madai=mi= \)  \( a\ddot{t}f\ddot{m}+ \)
\( already \)  \( REFL\-RECP\-get\-PROG \)  \( we \)
\( PL \)  \( well \)
\( We \) are already getting well.
REFL PF is used for passive:

\[
\text{ktfga gj-mátt iš-ti ráwoir}
\]

*good REFL-know SUBR=be true*

*It's well known that it's true.*

**STEMS**

Verb stems undergo suppletion and/or reduplication to indicate plural subject or object and also for REPET/CONT/DUR action. In some verbs the suppletion is complete, in others it is partial, and in still others suppletion and reduplication combine. Intransitive verbs reduplicate for plural subject. Transitive verbs reduplicate for plural object.

**Number**

Suppletion in intransitive verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG SUBJ</th>
<th>PL SUBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>múńkuí</td>
<td>kóóyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañti</td>
<td>vííti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kífka</td>
<td>guúka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dývia</td>
<td>dáda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mfnai</td>
<td>vóópoí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alimfrai</td>
<td>aihOptai/ahfOpai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gffsti</td>
<td>suuígií</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dávusai</td>
<td>ditégáusai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáha</td>
<td>daráha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáíva</td>
<td>daráíva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vañígíí</td>
<td>vaapáigíí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisédai</td>
<td>títítííăí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suppletion of second element of compound form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG SUBJ</th>
<th>PL SUBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bífúgi-mu</td>
<td>bífúgi-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kooşí-mu</td>
<td>kooşí-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonó-mo</td>
<td>tonó-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navá-mu</td>
<td>navá-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibí-mu</td>
<td>ibí-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvá-mu</td>
<td>uvá-koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baš-mu</td>
<td>baš-koi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suppletion in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ  PL OBJ
mūsāyi  kōōdai  kill
b-heavy  vūūkai  grasp
bīfd'ay  vūūd'ay  bring
bīkait'ay  vūūkait'ay  carry
tīkād'ay  totōd'ay  bet
dīvūd'ay  dadīd'ay  visit

Reduplication in verbs is similar to RDP in plurals of nouns and adjectives in that a shift of tone and v > p accompany the reduplication of initial syllables.

Reduplication in intransitive verbs:

SG SUBJ  PL SUBJ
fımṭi  fımṭi  go
uutūvī  ġūtyvī  trip
ol'āga  ġīfd'āga  live
gīfbūst'ay  gīfbūst'ay  rest
vāttuvīl  vāpūftuvīl  bathe
tudākī  tuutūdakīl  dance

Reduplication in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ  PL OBJ
bīfd'ay  bībūfd'ay  feed
kusūvī  kūkuūspūl  load
savīd'ay  sāpūd'ay  buy
dīgūral  dīdfūarsai/dīdfārsai  dig

Aspect

Reduplication for REPET-CONT-DUR action of verbs:

Nonrepetitive  Repetitive
vāskūl  vapūskūl  enter
gīffrāl  gīgīffrāl  grow
bīkait'ay  bībūkait'ayl  grasp
tīfd'ay  tībīfd'ay  feed
kōōsoi  kōōkōsoi  sleep
vifa t'asa-i mo va-paki aani
all day-ABS there RDP-enter I
REPET
Every day I go in there.

vifa t'asa-i gi-giffra-i go-aki
all day-ABS RDP-grow-PRES the-stream
REPET
Every day the stream rises.

cf. vifa t'asa-i gifi-i go-tii
all day-ABS grow-PROG the-wheat
Every day the wheat grows.

mai=t'yi fpidi bi-bfkaat'yi
not=COMPL quit RDP-grasp
INDEF REPET
He doesn’t quit holding on to it.

mai bi-bi-da-mudai aapi mai gifi-muda gowai
not RDP-feed-APPLIC-had you not grow-had he
REPET
If you hadn’t fed him he would not have grown.

Some verbs always occur reduplicated. These verbs are
inherently durative/continuative/repetitive.

totopkii boil
ninfiirakai wait for
titfdaal say to him (used before and after
quotation)
giifisii (SG) swim cf. giisii fall (SG)
suuligii (PL) swim cf. suuligii fall (PL)

One other type of suppletion involves different forms for
PERF vs. IMPRF and PRES/HAB vs. other TNS/ASP: vuaayi to do
and kuaayi to eat are found only in the PRES/HAB tense-aspect.
For other tenses and aspects of to do and to eat the verbs
duunui to do, make and uugai to eat, finish are used.

tuma vuuaayi tuma duunui-mu aapi
what do what-do-PUT you
What are you doing?
What are you going to do?

-oodami kuuaayi bavi vifa t'asa-i
the-people eat beans all day-ABS
Tepehuanes eat beans every day.
vffší úú fgaí tumáfti
all ate he tamales
He ate all of the tamales.

d'vívia to come never occurs in the PRES tense. The verb ímí to come/go is used as to come in the PRES tense.

šIOro-kO d'vívia-mu fgaí
tomorrow-TMP come-FUT he
He will come tomorrow.

ka d'vívia
already came
He already came.

bir-ímí-i
this come-PRES
way
Here he comes.

Stem Alternates

The following sets of forms represent a large class of verbs (Class I) which have three stem alternates. The formulas illustrate how Stems II and III are predictable from Stem I. Each of these stems occurs with a certain set of suffixes.

| Stem I  | ... (C)(V)VCV- | IMPRF
| Stem II | ... (C)(V)VCI- | IMPRF/PERF
| Stem IIIa | ... (C)VV | PERF
| Stem IIIb | ... (C)V | PERF

Stem II is predictable from Stem I by V > i. Stem III is predictable from Stem I by loss of CV and by (V)V > VV or VI.

Class I verbs will be subclassified by the different ways in which their Stem III is formed. Class Ia verbs use Stem IIIa: (C)VV.

máák-a-i
he gives (him)

máakí-mu
he will give (him)

maá
he gave (him)

sóóma-i
she sews

sóomít-mi
she is sewing

sóó
she sewed

bííd'ya-i
he feeds (him)

im-blíd'f-tul-d'ya-mí
feed (him) for me

bíí
he fed (him)
mfra-ı he runs
mtf-mu he will run
mtf he ran

yart-ı it rolls
yalı-mu it will roll
yaå it rolled

ımt-ı he goes
ımtı-mu he will go
ı he went

mu-mGuku-ı someone dies (every day)

RDP
REPET
muukı-f-mu he will die
mu he died

Class Ib verbs use Stem IIIb: (C)Vi.

diiša-ı he puts
daşı-mu he will put
daı he put
dii-ı he requests, pleads
daı-mu he will plead
daı he pled

giišı-ı he falls
gišı-mu he will fall
gıı he fell

bii-ı he grasps
bii ågai he is going to grasp
bıı he grasped

fšı-ı he plants
tšı-mu he will plant
tı he planted

Class Ic verbs use Stem II as IMPRF/PERF.

ası-ı he laughs
ası-mı he is laughing
ası he laughed
INCORPORATION

A noun or an adjective (not always identifiable) may be used as the first element of a verb to indicate the instrument of an act.

Nouns:

máišal  throw rocks (cf. mataká palm of hand)
máiñal  throw rocks (cf. PAP: ma'i object from
mákarsal throw rocks, shoot hand)
máišapal throw in to person
kííšanai bite (cf. PAP: ki'i teeth)
kíí-šapal hold in teeth
móí-t'ukasal hit with head, butt (cf. mooyí head)
kíí-t'ukasal kick (as mule kick)(cf. PAP: kíí foot)
kíí-kakáral kick (a football)
kíí-šal step on

Adjectives:

va-kúánai  wash (cf. vagí wet)
va-štívál  bathe
va-k'áa  wring out
va-kátá  soak corn
va-ráíd'a  put water on food
va-šíbal  dip
va-gúglá  rinse
va-húral  sweat
va-gal  irrigate
va-súdal  blister

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal elements on the verb include a set of SUBJ prefixes; a set of DIR/INDOBJ prefixes; a set of REFL prefixes; and a set of POSSR affixes. See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Nonsubordinating grammatical suffixes include -ava AFF; -ní IMP SG; -vural IMP PL. On verbs which do not show SG vs. PL by suppletion or RDP (cf. STEMS) this suppletive suffix pair serves to distinguish SG vs. PL SUBJ.
así-aúva
Laugh-AFF
Yes, he's laughing.

kooso-aúva
sleep-AFF
Yes, he's sleeping.

gií-vúúápi-d'y-a-ní
me-bring-APPLIC-IMP
(You) bring it to me.

gií-vúúápi-d'y-a-vurai
IMP
PL
(You PL) bring it to me

-vurai has alternate forms =avír, which is attached to the element preceding the verb, and vírai, which acts like a CNJ.

mai=t'y-a-vír
not=COMPL=IMP move-?-APPLIC
PL
Don't (you PL) move!

mó=a-vír
there=IMP me-put-APPLIC you
PL PL PL
You PL put it there for me!

tími-vurai dai gáága i-alí
go-IMP and look the-little baby and you=DUB=how-?
PL PL for PL much

tigí-ági vírai dadá-kai gií-aagí-d'y a n=ai sání
find-UNR IMP come-having me-tell-APPLIC I
PL PL that time

fpi mit šííí dúú tús-agi
also there __ UNR

worship
You PL go look for the child and when you find him and come back let me know so that I can go and worship him too.

Subordinating suffixes on verb include:

-kai/-tai while, as, when, since
-na POT
-gí/-agi UNR

Cf. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Temporal Clauses; NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspectual.
NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

\(-\text{da} \sim -\text{d}^{\text{Yi}}\)  
**APPLIC (VR/TRNSR/DITRNSR)**  
suffixed to Stem II (with some exceptions)

\(-\text{tuda} \sim -\text{tu}^{d^{\text{Yi}}} \sim -\text{tu}\)  
**CAUS/put on**

\(-\text{tulda} \sim -\text{tul}^{d^{\text{Yi}}} \sim -\text{tul}\)  
**BEN/CAUS**

\(-\text{mad} \sim -\text{mad}^{\text{Yi}}\)  
**put on**

\(-\text{ka}\)  
**STAT**

\(-\text{oko}\)  
**REV**

Several of these forms I analyze as complex units whose second element is -\text{da} APPLIC. Listing each of these with -\text{da} and with their stem alternates reflects the view that each is probably derived from a verb in Proto-Tepiman or P-UA.

-\text{da} as verbalizer:

\begin{align*}
\text{kuvö-ha-da-i} & \quad \text{dapákada}\text{i} \\
\text{thick-STAT-VR-PRES} & \quad \text{smooth, make smooth} \\
\text{swell, become thick} & \quad (\text{cf. kovóka thick})
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{kukürušd^{Yai}} \\
\text{make the sign of the cross}
\end{align*}

(cf. kürüši cross SP)

-\text{da} as transitivezer:

\begin{align*}
\text{mu-müüka-da-i} & \quad \text{kugá-d+ laapfśi} \\
\text{RDP-die-TRNSR-PRES point-its pencil} & \quad \text{REPET}
\end{align*}

\text{He is sharpening the pencil. (cf. müükui die)}

\begin{align*}
\text{to-tòpiš-d^{Y}a} & \quad \text{aatfn gfp1 suudągi} \\
\text{RDP-boil-TRNSR we lots water} & \quad \text{REPET}
\end{align*}

\text{We will boil lots of water. (cf. totòpiškí boil)}

Note also the following set of intransitive vs. transitive verbs:
d'yvia  come               d'yivid'ya  visit
mfhii    burn               mf'id'ya   burn
ntnfnai  see               nf'id'ya   look at
Guvai    smell             uvapid'ya   smell
aatagai  converse         aatagid'ya  converse
Gukai    warm              ukada     warm

-da as ditransitivizer:

ka mai ti-tfga-i d'okai gaagid'ya gl-maa-maara
already not RDP-find-PRES how look-DITRNSR my-RDP-child
REPET for provide
for
I can't figure out how to provide for my children.
(cf. gaagai look for)

TRNS               DITRNS

fsai    plant             t'id'ya    plant for someone
saagai  tell              ag'id'ya    tell to someone
niaogkai    talk         niokid'ya    talk to someone

-tuda CAUS, put X on, apply X to:

skoili imii-t'yu-da-i  go-vana-mo-i
around go-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES the-hat-ABS
He is twirling the hat.

ka kii-t'yu  an'ka  oon-t'ya  in-ilid'yi
now man-CAUS I now wife-make REFL-want
Now that I'm a man I want to get married.

su-usaka-tu-da-i  igai mu-mugra
RDP-axandle-put-APPLIC-PRES he RDP-mule
PL on                   PL
He is shoeing the mules.

-mada put on, suffixed to nouns:

dal-karo-ma-da-i     itfli-mada
sit-INSTR-put-APPLIC-PRES wind-put
on                       on
saddle
He is saddling (a horse).
He is fanning.
kókolli-madai be burned with chili
toháll-madai whitewash
vúuirú-madai be fooled

-tulld'ya - tulld'yí - tulld BEN/CAUS, suffixed to verbs:

i-nfóóki-tul-d'ya-ńi éépi
me-speak-BEN-APPLIC-IMP you
You speak for me!

kífga maatf-tul išnutúld'yi
good know-CAUS I therefore you can
teach

iš=kífga maatf-tul-d'yi-agi ša
SUBR=good know-CAUS-APPLIC-UNR others
teach
I taught you well; therefore, you can teach others well.

-ka STAT:

kaatf-ka-tadai
lie-STAT-PAST
down CONT
He was lying down.

vas-umf-rt old'ya-ka-tadai fgai vavfll-irt
before-year-in live-STAT-PAST he PN-in
last
year
Last year he lived in Baborigame.

-oko REV:

kupí-ško-ńi
shut-REV-IMP
Open it!
somí-ško-ńi
sew-REV-IMP
Unsew it!

Adverbial

-tuga go/come/take Ving DUR
-mtra to run around Ving HAB (míral = run)
-rt become
-tuga ~ -tugi DUR:

bfûgimu-tuga-i
be-come-PRES
hungry
He comes hungry.

takávo aadâi-tugai fgai imó vaakâši
yesterday chase-take he one cow
Yesterday he took the cow running.

kóko-tugai
he comes sick

töñí-t’ugai
he comes hot

ibímu-tugai
he comes tired

giín-aagí-t’ugai
he comes talking to me

-mira ~ -mîli HAB:

tikáka-mirai
ask-run
questions
he runs around asking questions

sa-sáí-mira-i
RDP -get-run-PRES
RDPST stuck

Tai-kó-míli-ga i-gogóši
fire-by-run-ADJR the-dog
The dog enjoys being close to the fire.

-rî become suffixed to nouns, adjectives, or verbs:

Ta-tákí-rî-i
RDP-root-become-PRES
it is getting roots
(tatáka roots)

á-áli-t’î-rî-i
RDP-small-CAUS-become-PRES
CONT
it is shrinking
(alî-dyu small)

imó tasá-f-kidî šî=tîpî
g6ó tasá-f-kidî
one day-ABS-with DUB=also two day-ABS-with or

Kavé-ka-rî-i
go-seamenti
hard-STAT-become-PRES the-cement
In a day or two the cement hardens.

Gûva-rî-i
go-to-tôgšî
smell-become-PRES the-RDP-rabbit
PL
The rabbits are mating.
Volitional

-ku want to, DESID, occurring only along with -mu:

ilĩã-mu-ku go-ôki viáã-ka-tai ali šíífiñi daí
eat-die-want the-woman have-STAT-while little child and
certain
food

iš-mai ugô-ãgi sîífi-kidî muukô-ãgi
if-not eat-UNR straight-with die-UNR
A pregnant woman wants a certain food and if she doesn't
get it she'll die.

íña-mu-ku šánî
shout-die-want I
I want to shout.

go-tářôsôl mai kâf gi-mô-ku-ri-i
the-pig not good fat-die-want-become-PRES
The pig doesn't want to fatten very well.

-vuli CHAR
-suli CHAR
-tîra CHAR

imî-vuli-ga
imî-šuli-ga
a roamer
a roamer

gô-CHAR-ADJR
go-CHAR-ADJR

bôf-tîra-ga-mi
grasp-CHAR-ADJR-UNR
a thief

Aspectual

In addition to suppletion and reduplication of verb bases
(which signal SG vs. PL SUBJ/OBJ and repetitive action) and
alternation of verb bases (which signal PERF/IMPRF), there are
several tense-aspect suffixes in Northern Tepehuan. They will
be listed by their order and by the stem alternate with which
they occur.

Order I

Suffixes occurring with Stem I:
-i  PRES  The present tense suffix is used for present tense, habitual or repeated action, and for the past tense in narratives.

mo  ñmí-i
there  go-PRES
There he goes.

wifš  t'ásá-a-i vakúšna-i yúkúši i-ôódami
all  day-ABS wash-PRES clothe the-people
The Tepehuanes wash clothes every day.

dìi-dgara-i divíral dai yupú’dýr daršíva
RDP-dig-PRES earth and facing sit
PL hole  PL PL
OBJ
They dug holes and sat down facing one another.

Suffixes occurring with Stems I and II:

-mu  FUT (used in PAST TNS context as well as future)

-imi □-mi  PROG/INCEPT (cf. ñmi-, Stem II of verb to go)

-muda □-muðyi  PAST PERF

-na  POT

-gi  UNR

-mu  FUT
gí-taañi-t'yul-d'ya-mu  ñání
you-ask-BEN-APPLIC-FUT I
I'll ask for it for you!

agí-mu  go-kfva-i  ýróko
melt-FUT the-snow-ABS tomorrow-TEMP
The snow will melt tomorrow.

gaagá-mu-ši  vaakáši
look-FUT=aQ cow
for
Did he go look for the cow?

-imi  PROG/INCEPT

divá-imi  kííí-mu-imi
rot-PROG  man-die-PROG
It is rotting.  He is getting old.
grow-PROG
He is growing.

plant-PROG
He is beginning to plant.

-muda ~ -mud'í  PAST PERF

harvest-PAST
PERF
He would have harvested.

not plant-PAST
PERF
He would not have planted it.

not chase-PAST
PERF
He would not have chased it.

-na ~ -ña  POT

about three nights send-PRES he the-big-QNT-AG little

boy QUOT=at there RDP-watch-PRES rabbit not eat-POT that CONT
time

wheat
For about three nights he sent the big boy to watch for
Rabbit so that he might not eat wheat.

He says for you to laugh (that you should laugh).

-gi ~ -agi  UNR

If you don't get out of the way...

how much
For how much will you sell it to me?
Suffixes occurring with Stems II and III:

-to finish (cf. naáto to finish)

ka ugí-t'Yo áámít
already eat-finish I
I already finished eating.

táši=a=n=t íf-t'Yo
already=B=I=COMPL drank-finished
I already finished drinking.

cf. táši=a=n=t naáto íf
already=B=I=COMPL finished drink
I already finished drinking.

Order 2

Order 2 suffixes occur following -i PRES or -ka STAT:

-tadai PAST CONT
-ña PAST REPET/HAB/DUR

easí-t'adai
laugh-PRES-PAST
CONT
He was laughing.

vfr̩ sulvíši-ko apašfa̱ru-i-ña aatín
all Thursday-TEMP go-PRES-HAB we
for ride

Every Thursday we go for a ride.

áámít mai vukat'y-ka-tadai ád'y tumpinši
I not carry-STAT-PAST at money
CONT that time

...I wasn't carrying any money at that time.

Clitics occurring with Stem III:

=t'y Compl. INDF
=t'yiki Compl. DEF
=ta Compl.
-tadai PAST CONT
The first three of these TNS/ASP clitics combine with subject pronoun clitics and the AUX base to form the auxiliary group (cf. PARTICLES AND CLITICS). The AUX group attaches phonologically to the first element of a clause.

šía’ imí-da aapí [ši=mai=t’i kukú-n əan’i]
where go-? you SUBB=not=COMPL eat-POT I INDF

Where could you go so that I might not eat you?

vuú-n=t’i ke ií=á=mn=ta
up DEF already drink=B=I=COMPL
I tied it up (I remember doing it).

dläši=a=mn=t’i
already=B=I=COMPL drank
I already drank.

ka yóga kuú-tadai əgái
already almost close-PAST they CONT
They were about to close it.

There is another set of subject pronouns which occur as enclitics to Stem III verbs. These may be phonologically determined variants of those listed as part of the AUX base. The AUX base subject pronouns may occur only word medial and the other set only word final.

=nni I
=pi you
=timi we

ka əgú=nni ka əgú=pi
already ate-I already ate-you
I already ate. You already ate.

bi=timi autovus
took=we bus
We took the bus.

The question clitic =ši was treated under QUESTIONS. Further examples here will illustrate how =ši (along with the SUBJ PRON) occurs with any form of the verb.
a-kūmu-1=∅-ṣi
UNSPE=eat-PRES=he=Q
OBJ countable
things
Is he eating?

bāfd' a-mu=∅-ṣi fgai go-kāā-daga-i
cook-FUT=he=Q he the-eat-ABSTR-ABS
Is he going to cook the food?

īmf-1=t'adal=p≒-ṣi
īmf-na=t=ti=ṣi
go-PRES-PAST=you=Q
CONT
RDP-go-POT=we=Q
PL
Were you going by (earlier)? Should we go?

ih-1=mm=ṣi
RDP-go=you=Q
PL PL
Did you PL go?

The QUOT clitic =sa is preceded in the verb by a SUBJ PRON. These clitics occur postposed to the verb, following -na POT. The variant = QUOT occurs preceding WHW, introducers, and conjunctions. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Modal).

īmf-na=p≒=sa
kodā-na=p≒=sa kāft'yi
go-POT=you=QUOT
He said that you should go.
kill-POT=you=QUOT said
PL
OBJ
He said that you should kill them.

gāāmo=a=p≒=sa īmf-na
there=b=you=QUOT go-POT
He says you should go there.
AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliary verbs follow the main verb. They never occur apart from the main verb. They occur with a set of subject pronoun clitics (cf. DEFINITE PRONOUNS, Dependent, Set V), which precede them as proclitics except when the AUX BASE is present. The AUX BASE attracts the subject pronoun to it as an enclitic.

ągał INTEN
ągą́gą́yadał PAST INTEN

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{imf} & = \text{ą} & \text{ągał} \\
\text{go} & = \text{B} & \text{INTEN} \\
\text{I'm going to go.} & \text{he} & \text{go INTEN} \\
\text{He's going to go.} \\
\text{koool}= & \text{ą} & \text{ągał} \\
\text{kill} & = \text{B} & \text{INTEN} \\
\text{PL} \\
\text{OBJ} \\
\text{I'm going to kill them.} \\
\text{dai } \text{ipâu} & \text{mu } \text{suúli } \text{vawfüli } \text{am} & \text{ąągą } \text{ągał} \\
\text{and again fell } & \text{PN-to } & \text{look INTEN} \\
\text{PL} & \text{returned} \\
\text{And they returned to Baborigame to look for him.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mai}= & \text{t} & \text{ą́va} \\
\text{not}= & \text{COMPL} & \text{ROP-play} \\
\text{agą́gą́yadał} & \text{INTEN-PAST} \\
\text{DUR instrument} & \text{CONT} \\
\text{He wasn't going to play.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga}- & \text{t} & \text{áva}= \text{t} & \text{úa} \\
\text{UNSPEC-ROP-play}= & \text{we}= & \text{we} \\
\text{ągą́gą́yadał} & \text{INTEN-PAST} & \text{we} \\
\text{INDOBJ DUR} & \text{CONT} \\
\text{Were we going to play (the instrument)?}
\end{align*}
\]
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OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

BURTON BASCOM
COORDINATION

Conjunctions

dai and, but SAME SUBJ

tai and DIFF SUBJ

tai so that, in order to PAST

val so that, in order to NON-PAST

sai so that, in order to QUOT

améšši then

dimos but

šíipi \( \sim \) šíi or

dânī and

říimádu and, with

mos- just

fpì also

Syntax

Introducer particles occur as the first element of a clause. In addition to PAST, NON-PAST, and QUOT clitics, so that takes SUBJ PRON clitics (cf. ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES for a set of temporal introducers which take the same set of clitics). The remaining conjunctions either introduce clauses or join elements in a syntactic construction.

The following account contains illustrations of various introducers and conjunctions. / indicates end of sentence.

\[
\text{tmó imí-d'aga apašfaru-1 sánt římádu danfél dai ááyl} \\
\text{one go-ABSTR take-PRES I and PN and arrived a walk}
\]

\[
\text{aafími mfí šlaako kifka tmó motör dai vía tmó úrugi} /
\text{we there where stand one motor and have one airplane/}
\]

\[
\text{dai v=šííří ikáft'í danfél sánt ša namfí-d'ya-na tmó} \\
\text{and he-then said PN I ? cost-APPLIC-POT one pay}
\]

\[
\text{pipšu p=al dáíva go-motorf-ába/ t-motor ř-fón} \\
\text{peac you=so get the-motor-on / the-motor INTRNS-COMPAR that on}
\]

\[
\text{kavámi aimfá-i ří-rom úrugi / dai šikóli aimfá-i} \\
\text{fast go-PRES than=one airplane/ and around go-PRES}
\]
One time Daniel and I went for a walk, and we came to where there was a motor which had an airplane. And then Daniel said, "I’ll pay a peso so that you can ride the motor." The motor went faster than an airplane. And it went around and around, going up and coming down again. I went up high and others were sitting down below. Those who were down below went up again and I went down. When I got down, I felt drunk. It seemed like the world was spinning.

There were many white and black bears there.

When the leaves are going to fall it (the tree) gets very red.

How many logs will you need to build the fence, a whole lot or just a few?
COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Subject Complement Clauses

Unmarked

-na POT
%i=/%i=...-gi SUBR= (preposed to first element of clause)...
-UNR (suffixed to verb)

alí gínpl-ga kíva-i tóóglá máááí [káááí kurára-í]
very much-ADJR snow-ABS scarcely appear lie fence-ABS
There was lots of snow. The fence was barely visible.

The foregoing example of an unmarked subject complement is probably derived from:

[iš=mo kaááí imó kurára-í]
SUBR=there lie one fence-ABS
that a fence was there

[dáf-na áááí] šíffši=ir kíígíí-ka-na
fly-POT I how-be good-STAT-POT
much
If I could fly, how good it would be.

alí doad'fmudaga [ší=imí á aagááda-gi ŧúrugí-irí]
very scary SUBR=go INTEN want-UNR airplane-in
Going in an airplane is scary.

Split subject complement:

[vííšši go-dóódamí kóó-kokol-d'adí] gí-šíígái
all the-people RDP-sick-RSNSR REFL-necessary
PL

[išíímí-agí v=aí nffíí-d'í-gí go-do-dóóad'í-gamí]
SUBR=go-UNR he=in see-UNR the-RDP-sure-AC
PL order PL
to
dál ffmoko mai ahíípái
but some not go
PL

All the sick Topohuanes ought to go see the doctors,
but some don't go.
Object Complement Clauses

Unmarked

iš=/ši=...-gi \text{ SUBR= (preposed to first element of clause) ... -UNR (suffixed to verb) }

Unmarked: object precedes verb.

\[ \text{[tuı̇=pı̇=šı̇ košso] as-tı̇-tı̇-ı̄fdai} \]
\[ \text{why}=\text{you}=\text{Q} \text{ sleep} \text{ QUOT-RDP-said DUR} \]

"Why are you sleeping?", he said.

iš=/šı̇=...-gi:

mos-oohvı̇-di̇ \text{ i̇-mavı̇dı̇'ı̇ [i̇š=koo-dā-da-gi}
\text{ just-like-APPLIC the-lion} \text{ SUBR=kill-APPLIC-RDP-UNR}
\text{ PL REPET OBJ}

su-súımali\]
\text{RDP-deer PL}

The lion just likes to kill deer.

Split object complement:

\[ \text{[ka=mı̇kă̇šı̇ i̇-ı̇mt] ı̇fdı̇'ı̇ ą̇n̄ı̇ [i̇-voopı̇-kami]} \]
\text{already=far HDP-go think I the-man-AG}
\text{ PL PL}

I think those fleeing are already a long way off.

The following example shows that embedding can go at least four levels deep:

\[ \text{[mȧl=tı̇yȧmın̄=ı̇ má̇stı̇ aapı̇mt} \text{ [ı̇š=vı̇ğ̄ȧ ą̇n̄ı̇ [ı̇š=ı̇dı̇yu̇nın̄-gı̇} \]
\text{not=CONPL=you=Q know you SUBR=have I SUBR=do-UNR}
\text{ PL PL}

\[ \text{[ı̇š=ı̇'umă̇šı̇gi̇ gi̇n̄-tı̇hái gi̇n̄-dı̇oka]} \text{] astı̇tı̇-ı̄fdai} \]
\text{SUBR=what me-order my-father said}

"Don't you PL know that I must do what my father tells me to do?", he said.
EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

WH Questions

Unmarked
Marked by clitic iə= SUBR

The embedded question follows the main clause and has the same internal order as the corresponding question.

mai máaṭi áánì [šíaáko oíd'ágà góval]

not know I where live he
I don't know where he lives.

cf. šíaáko oíd'ágà góval

where live he
Where does he live?

t=fmì ni-nff-i-d'í [šíaáko kíí áápi t-moomo]

weego RDF-see-APPLIC where stood you the-doll
DUR up
Let's go see where you stood up the doll.

vfflí šikóli íí kurára-i uugíd'í-a-mu ni-nffíd'í [šíaá]

all around went fence-ABS edge-LOC-to RDF-see where

CONT

sfflí pa-páki-i tooší]

straight RDF-enter-PRES rabbit
REPET
All around the edge of the corral he went looking to see where exactly Rabbit kept getting in.

Clitic iə= SUBR is preposed to the first element of the clause, and -ə Q is deleted from WHW.

dúú maatf-ka-na áánì [iə=t'yúmá púáápa góvl] 6

how know-STAT-POT I SUBR=what bring they Q
How could I know what they would bring?

cf. tumá=si vúásá góval

what-Q bring they
What did they bring?

gin-aagf-i-d'ýa-mu áánì [iə=t'yúmá vúásayí aatfmì]

you-tell-APPLIC-PUT I SUBR=what do we
I'll tell you what we are doing.
gǐn-saqπ-d'ya-mu ąıımt [iš=t'úrga gá-mu imi=á-líŋ
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I SUBR-when there-to go=B=I FUT

á ] [iš=maá tas-f-rí mff d'ívía iĩ=ágai ]
INLEN SUBR=which day-LOC-on there come REFL=INTEN

[ši=kά maatf-ka-mu aapímí]
SUBR=already know-STAT-FUT you PL
I'm going to tell you PL when I'll be going there,
what day I'll be arriving there, so that you PL
will know.

Yes/No Questions
Embedded yes/no questions take the proclitic iš= SUBR,
delete -ši Q from the verb, and change the intonation.

kffga máati áıımt [iš=gin-yaatági-i giĩ-mára] [iš=ći̊ fps]
well know I SUBR-me-lie-PRES my-child if=not also
if
I know very well if my child is lying to me or not.

cf. giĩ-yaatági-i=ši fga
me-lie-PRES-Q he
Is he lying to me?

RELATIVE CLAUSES
Relative clauses occur following the nouns which they
modify.

Finite
The finite relative clause is introduced by the proclitic
iš= ~ ši=, which occurs on the relative pronoun (the first
element of the relative clause). There are three relative
pronouns: iš=máákidí ~ iš=mááki the one who, which; ši=ánkidi
~ ši=ánki the one who, which; iš=t'umááši the one which. The
first two are either animate or inanimate, the third is only
inanimate.
kāši=an=t i=šant go-past\jīa [lš=mā̊skit\ already=B=I=COMPL drank I the-pill SUBR=which
gī=mā̊a fgal] me=gave he
I already took the pill which he gave me.
s=aid\jī ta=duaad\jīmu i=ō̊ki [iš=ankt kō̊yī]
QUOT=then already scared the-woman SUBR=who snake
gī=nā̊ato] REFL-became
Then the woman who had become a snake was frightened.
vffla=fkatai [lš=t\umā̊sši i=t\ykaka-i fgal] ą̊nt vffśl
everything SUBR=what me=ask-PRES she I all
aagī=d\jī told-APPLIC
I told her everything she asked me.

Some headless relative clauses are quasi-headless; i.e.,
there is a pronoun outside the relative clause to which
the relative pronoun refers. In the following example this pronoun
is the POSSR PRON -di her, which occurs suffixed to the noun
preceding the relative clause.

s=ai vā̊k tasā-i-kidt d\jīviaid\jī t=k+jō̊damī
QUOT=then three day-ABS-with came the-old
man
kunā̊-dī [iš=ankt sō̊i mā̊ssś] id\jīuf]
husband-her SUBR=one bad did
who
Then after three days the old man, husband of the one
who did bad, came.

Here is an example of an oblique relative:

ka ą̊yī i-šī̊gas duu-dą̊gai [lš=t\ẙugga-kō
already arrived the-respect-ABSTR SUBR=when-TEMP
tẙdu
days

ɡi-kuaa-dą̊-na i-kapirotāda]
REFL-eat-APPLIC-POT the-capirotada

The time for the fiesta during which the capirotada is
eaten has arrived.
Nonfinite

Nonfinite relative clauses are participials, which can occur either with or without a head.

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{bír-imí-} & \text{imó gi-víd}^y\text{a-kami} \\
\text{this-come-PRES one REFL-be-PRTC} & \\
\text{way} & \text{left} \\
\text{man} & \text{over} \\
\text{rich} & \\
\text{There comes a rich man.} \\
\hline
\text{gípi-ga} & \text{tiši-kami} \\
\text{large-ADM plant-PRTC} & \text{čigíš go-viigî-kami} \\
\text{quantity} & \text{pretty appear the-red-PRTC} \\
\text{The planting is very big.} \\
\hline
\text{šíóro-ko} & \text{d}^y\text{fvi ĝgai í-bait}^y\text{f kíšá-kami} \\
\text{tomorrow-TEMP come INTEN the-ahead stand-PRTC} & \text{leader} \\
\text{Tommorrow the leader is going to come.} \\
\hline
\text{cf. mo} & \text{bait}^y\text{ki kífa giš-šíši} \\
\text{there ahead stand my-older} & \text{brother} \\
\text{There’s my older brother up ahead.} \\
\hline
\text{imó imí-d}^y\text{aga-i od}^y\text{ka-tadai imó gi-víd}^y\text{a-kami} \\
\text{one go-ABSTR-ABS Live-STAT-PAST one REFL-be-PRTC} & \\
\text{CONT} & \text{left} \\
\text{rich} & \text{over} \\
\hline
\text{dai ĝgai gi-aadáš-ña yúkuši dai kffga t}^y\text{jí-t}^y\text{fó}^y\text{d}^y\text{i-kami} \\
\text{and he REFL-put-PAST clothes and well RDF-pretty-PRTC} & \text{on REPET} \\
\hline
\text{dai vffš t}^y\text{ásà-1 iyuadá-na vagími gi-gir-du-kami} \\
\text{and all day-ABS make-PAST fiesta RDF-big-QNT-PRTC} & \text{REPET PL} \\
\text{Once upon a time there was a rich man, and he wore very pretty clothes, and every day he would throw a big party.} \\
\text{The nonfinite relative clause with a head normally occurs following the head. When topicalized, however, the modifying clause precedes the head.} \end{array} \]
maati=mi=ši aapim+ Gûrugi [gff kil-fr+ oíd’á-kami]
know=you=Q you bird big house-in live-PRTC
PL PL
Do you PL know the bird that lives in the big house?

Note the contrast in:

[gff kil-fr+ oíd’á-kami] Gûrugi áánt gíá nfid’ýi
big house-in live-PRTC bird I APF saw
I really saw the bird that lives in the big house.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Some temporal clauses are formed like finite relatives. They take the subordinating proclitic iš=/>ši= and may occur with a head which it follows. The first example shows how location words double as time words.

kašáyi ímô fkalí [ši=amí-fr+ mai
already=arrived one week SUBR=here-LOC-in not
since
ko-kóosí-i áánt]
RDP-sleep-PRES I
DUR
It's now been a week since I've slept.

kíá kóoso alí gífi [iš=d’ívia oogá-dí]
already sleep little boy SUBR=come father-his
/atill when
The boy was still asleep when his father arrived.

The how clause is like a relative clause in that it has a head preceding it and a relator element dukátai how as the first element of the clause. The proclitic iš= SUBR occurs with this clause.

áági-d’ýí íg-fmai kílí’óami níóókí [iš=d’uukátai
told-APPLIC he-the old word SUBR=how
other man one

i’d’uuní-á fgai]
do-UNR he
The other old man gave him advice on what he should do.
Temporal Clauses
-kai〜-tai*  when/while/after/having/because

Temporal clauses may immediately precede or follow the head which they modify (the head is optional). They are not relative clauses since the clauses include no relator element.

dai asta Ŝiááyí [vuusáí-kái tása-i] vázì
and until next some-having sun-ABS got
day out
... And the next day when the sun came up, I got up.
(Taken from a first person account of a trip in which the larger context identifies the subject as 'I'.)

dai [ka maaší-d'ya-tai] íí t-kffli šmí
and already appear-APPLIC-having went the-man there
damed

vavfli-a-iñít-rt
wild-LOC-from-at
fig
... And as it was getting light, the man left Wild fig Valley.

[ka=ibí-kái  ġûnu-i] ñ'ûuki ògai oíd'ígí
already=yielding-when corn-ABS rain stop world
When the corn has ripened, it will stop raining.

mááko tása-i lù-ičì iñ-kì-kfìš-d'ya-ña ògai
four day-ABS RDP- little me-RDP- put-APPLIC-PAST they
REPET bit REPET on DUR

iñ-ìkáso [iñ-dufn-d'ya-kái]
my-leg me-make-APPLIC-having
For four days they put my leg on for a little while,
after having made it for me.

For other examples of -kai〜-tai, cf. COY 1, 28.

* -kai has a punctilious connotation; -tai has a continuous connotation. Cf., váávoit'udákái having believed (at a certain time) and váávoit'udátaí having believed (and still continuing to believe).
Locative Clauses

Locative clauses are like relatives in that they have a relator element šágko ~ šáá where which occurs first in the clause. They are all finite and occur with a head which usually precedes the clause but may also follow it. The locative complex may include as many as three elements: first, the prolocative here, there, far away; second, a location such as in the woods; and third, a relative clause which either further specifies the head it modifies or defines the head. Either of the first two elements may occur alone; the third may occur with either of the first, but not alone.

If i-kifli bai mikháši oídya-g-a-na [šágko mai went the-man quite far uninhabited-LOC-in where not place

oídya-ga gódamí] live people
The man went quite far into the uninhabited area where no one lives.

dai abí [šág pa-páki-i toóši] abí and there where REP-enter-PRES rabbit there

kit'yaagí-ná kif house-crouch-at stood doorway up
And there where Rabbit kept getting in, there in the passageway he stood it up.

[šág dáráhá aatími] ści ír lómikílpí-rí where sit we here be PN-in PL
Here where we live is Ixmiquilpan.

If Clauses

These may be marked by rising intonation on final syllable of last word of clause.

Rising intonation is indicated by :.

[+šá-ka ña-ka fga?] parí bi-bígí-ga fgaí plant=APPLIC-STAT he-if not RDP-hungry he

If he were a good planter, he would not be hungry.
Other markers include:

\[\text{ši}= \sim \text{š}= \text{SUBR (proclitic to clause)}\]
\[\text{ši}=. \ldots \text{gi} \text{ SUBR=(proclitic to clause)} \ldots \text{-UNR (verb suffix)}\]
\[-\text{na} \text{ POT} \]
\[-\text{gi} \text{ UNR} \]
\[-\text{mudai} \text{ PAST PERF} \]

\[\text{ši}= \text{if attracts the subject pronoun clitic, which is preposed to it:} \]
\[\text{pi}=\text{š}=\text{s+il-k+d+} \]
\[\text{iš}=\text{š}=\text{ stubd+} \quad [\text{iš}=\text{id'ũni-gi} \]
\[\text{you}=\text{š}=\text{strait-with} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{SUBR=do-UNR} \]
\[\text{go-màaši } \text{y}=\text{id'ũni-gi} \]
\[\text{the-thing EMPH do-IMP} \]
\[\text{If you really can do that, then do it!} \]
\[\text{(cf. COY 11, 13)} \]

\[-\text{na}: \]
\[\text{iš}=\text{d+gît}=\text{š}=\text{d+na giš=ooši-ga} \]
\[\text{me-leave-POT my-wife-POSSD alone I me-kill} \]
\[\text{If my wife leaves me, I'll kill myself.} \]

\[-\text{gi}: \]
\[\text{maat}=\text{š}=\text{gît}=\text{š}=\text{tumiš} \]
\[\text{know-UNR play-ABSTR-ABS very-INTNS earn money how instrument} \]
\[\text{If he knew how to play an instrument, he'd really make money.} \]

\[\text{iš}=\text{:} \]
\[\text{š}=\text{š}=\text{tomiš} \]
\[\text{gòi} \text{d=f d+š}=\text{š}=\text{tumš} \]
\[\text{SUBR=soon plant INTEN Holy behind-from some plant-his Week before out} \]
\[\text{If he plants soon, his crop will sprout before Holy Week.} \]

\[-\text{mudai}: \]
\[\text{š}=\text{š}=\text{u=f-š}=\text{š}=\text{mudai gòvai} \]
\[\text{not RIP-feed-APPLIC-had you not grow-had he} \]
\[\text{REPET} \]
\[\text{If you had not fed him, he would not have grown.} \]
Other

kāśkiḍi ə kākiḍi ə kākṭ -tai ə -kai
because, that's why, therefore
having, while, because

kāśkiḍi may occur as the first or the last element in a reason clause. (Cf. COY 4, 5.)

 ánî gi̲á gi̲iñ-ōgida-i gi̲iñ-á̲á̲m̲u [kākṭ kîf̲g̲a gi̲iñ-ōíḍ̲î me AFF me-love-PRES my-master that's well me-give why

kûâ̲dadagai] [kâkṭ gîf̲ṭ]
food that's fat
why
My master really loves me; that's why he gives me plenty of food, that's why I'm fat.

sîî̲l̲ûkîḍṭ bal gi̲iñ+tîlḍ̲î ə ánî [çîñ̲kî tása-i vîf̲g̲a
really happy I few day-ABS look

[iš-gâ̲m̲u ə mîá ə ánî] kâ̲kiḍt]
SUBR=there go I that's
why
I'm really happy because it lacks only a few days until I'll be going there.

sîaíḍ̲î əśníť[tu mai mî-다가 [gakîn̪i-ka-tai]
QUOT=then burro not go-ABSTR skinny-STAT-because And burro does not go fast, because he's skinny.

ʃi= so that
v=ai...-na he=so that...POT

Both of these elements occur first in the clause.

tûşî mos-ʃi-fî kîfḍa-i gi̲-á̲á̲m̲u [ʃi=mos-fî
why just-DUB-how look-PRES your-master so-just-how much down that much on

gakîn̪i əápî]
skinny you
Why does your master look down on you so much, so that you are so skinny?
bf1-ńi [v=ai mai imf-na]
grab-IMP he=so not go-POT
that
Grab it, so that it can't go!
TEXTS

A Coyote and a Rabbit

 Constitutional Analysis

Once upon a time when a big coyote was very hungry

he was chasing a rabbit out in a field.

The rabbit was scared stiff.

And the rabbit knew very well that he could not run

very long.

The rabbit was old and his legs were tired.

And so all of a sudden the rabbit stopped and

faced the coyote.

1. ḡnō ḡnāl ḡnādū ḡnō ṭōōšī
one coyote with one rabbit

2. ḡnō ḡnī-d’gal ḡnō ḡnāl-1 ḡndō-ka-mī ḡnī biūgl-μu-kal
one go-ABSTR one coyote-ABS big-STAT-NR very eat-die-when
hungry

3. ḡndō ṭōōšī ṭī=bae ti’īf-μu ti’īf-d’gal
one coyote-ABS eat-die-when very scared-die the-rabbit

4. ḡnī =ti’īf kttī’īf-μu ṭī’dī-μu ŭfī-μu t’īf-pl-ktd
very man-die he and breathe-die RDP-leg-his that’s
tired PL

5. ḡndō ṭī’īf kttī’īf-μu ṭī’dī-μu ŭfī-μu t’īf-pl-ktd
very man-die he and breathe-die RDP-leg-his that’s
tired PL

in front of
6. And said: "Stop!" he said.
daid'i it'itfdai kik'wa-hi as-titfdai
and said stand-IMP QUOT-said

7. "Why do you chase me?"
tuf=p=t=ksi gi'n-adam=fi a-api
why=you=Q me-chase you

8. Are you going to eat me?" he said.
gi'n-uugf-mu=p=ksi=0 as-titfdai
me-eat-FUT=you=Q=Q QUOT-said

9. And the coyote said: "Yes, I am going to eat you,"
daid'i i-bana-i it'itfdai thf g't-ughi-a=gni=a-na
and the-coyote-ABS said yes you-eat-UNR=B=I
he said.
as-titfdai
QUOT-said

10. And the rabbit said: "No, forgive me,
daid'i i-tooshi it'itfdai ci'i i-in-ogtda-hi
and the-rabbit said no me-love-IMP
don't eat me.
mai=t'i gi'n-uga
not=COMPL me-eat

11. If you eat me you will surely die.
i=ksi=gi'n-ughi a-api stt'k-dt muukf-mu a-api
SUBR-if=me-eat you straight-with die-FUT you
surely

12. You just think that I'm a rabbit, but I'm
mos-pov-ilfd'i a-api i=in=ksi=a=nn=tr tooshi a=nn=tr
just-thus-think you I=SUBR=I=be rabbit I=be
really a rattlesnake.
adaga-ABS EMPH

13. And if you eat me my poison will kill you,"
dai s=gi'n-ughi a-api gt-mu=sh=mu gi'n-ponsooni'a-ga
and if=me-eat you you-kill-FUT my-poison-POSSD
14. And the coyote said, "What should I eat then?"
   daɪ̯ ɪ̯-bána-i ɬɬɪ̯t̊ɪ̯ɪ̯tdal tumá ugɪ̯-mu ɬd̚ɪ̯a-na
   and the coyote-ABS said what eat-FUT ?-FOT

   he said.
   daɪ̯t̊ɪ̯ɪ̯tdal
   QUOT-said

15. And the little rabbit said: "Eat these little
   daɪ̯ ɪ̯-alɪ̯ ɬɪ̯t̊ɪ̯ɪ̯tdal ugā- nl ɬd̚ɪ̯i ɬalɪ̯
   and the little rabbit said eat-IMP these little
   berries (fruit) which I picked earlier.
   ɡuí̯ ibɪ̯á-dɪ̯ ɬ有一定的时间 imagagi ɬɑ̂n+-ɪ̯tí̯ápo
   plant fruit-its SUBJ=which gathered I earlier

16. I was already carrying these in my basket to my house
   ka bɪ̯ɪ̯kɪ̯al̚ɪ̯ ɬɑ̂n+- ḳ̚ɪ̯-as̚ɪ̯r-t̚ ɡɪ̯i̯-kɪ̯ɪ̯f
   already carrying I these my-basket-in my-house

   to eat them when you began
   ạm̚ákóga daɪ̯i a-ugɪ̯=ạ-ɪ̯ ɬạ́gai ɬɪ̯d̚ɪ̯si ɡɪ̯-ạ́ gạ ɬạ́ pl
   towards and UNSPEC-eat=S=I will when REFL-began you
   OBJ
   chasing me."
   daɪ̯ ɪ̯n-ɑd̚ɪ̯m̚-ɪ̯
   and me-chase-PRES

17. And the coyote said: "The rabbit is really
   daɪ̯t̊ɪ̯ɪ̯tdal ɪ̯-bána-i ɬɪ̯t̊ɪ̯ɪ̯tdal ɬ-alɪ̯-av ɡfai d̚ɪ̯
   and said the coyote-ABS the-rabbit-APP he EMPH

   the one who eats the little fruit.
   daɪ̯i akʊ̯á-dá-na go-ɬi̯ ɬũ̯i̯ ibɪ̯á-dɪ̯ d̚ɪ̯
   and eat-APPLIC-POT the-little plant fruit-its EMPH

18. The rattlesnake does not eat fruit.
    go-ɬạ́ga-ɪ̯ maɪ̯t̚ ɬɑ̂kɪ̯-ɪ̯ ɬũ̯i̯ ibɪ̯á-dɪ̯
    the-rattlesnake-ABS not=COMPL eat-PRES plant fruit-its
    INDF
19. The rabbit really does eat them," he said.
   t-toóšį́ giá akúá-i as-títfdai
   the-rabbit really eat-PRES QUOT-said

20. "Actually you're a rabbit even though you tell me
   stiįį-kítí=ir toóšį́ áąpí d'yí tomašį giń-áągí-d'yí
   really=be rabbit you EMPH even me-tell-APPLIC
   though

   that you are not a rabbit.
   áąpí l=t mó=t=ir toóšį́
   you SUBR=not=COMPL=be rabbit

21. You may very well be able to
   áąpí giá kíígä išt'utúfd'yí
   you really good can

   keep on fooling yourself but
   l=t-g+vuířú-mada-gí ffgü di-mos
   SUBR=REFL-foolishness-put-APPLIC-UNR alone and-just
   on

   you can't keep on fooling me.
   maí=t' išt'utúfd'yí liš-giń-vuířú-mada-da  áąpí
   not=COMPL can SUBR-me-foolishness-put-APPLIC you
   INDIP on

22. It's really good you are a rabbit!
   kíígä-du-ava d'yí ši=ir toošį́-ka áąpí
   good-QNT-EMPH EMPH SUBR=be rabbit-STAT you

23. Rabbits really are food.
   t-toóšį́ giá=ir kuúá-dágä d'yí
   the-rabbit really=be eat-ABSTR EMPH

24. Rabbit is really good to eat.
   t-toóšį́ giá, kíígä-du miši=ugú-agí
   the-rabbit really good-QNT UNSPEC=SUBR=eat-UNR
   SUBJ

25. And I just don't really like to eat rattlesnakes,"
   d'ai mos-áą́ni giá mai ňéékl'-i adága-i
   and just-I really not like-PRES rattlesnake-ABS

   said the coyote.
   as-títfdai i-bána-i
   QUOT-said the-coyote-ABS
26. And nevertheless the coyote ate the rabbit who
dai vffškiri ū-bána-i uū t-tośši and still the-coyote-ABS ate the-rabbit
really tried to trick him.
gu-gūšmi-kiddi vu-púru-mada-i ăgal RDP- great-with RDP-foolishness-put-PRES he REPET effort REPET on

27. And the coyote ate the little fruit
daid'ī ū-bána-i ga-uū t-alī Ăšši ibš-dì and the-coyote-ABS UNSPEC-ate the-little plant fruit-its
also which was there in little rabbit's basket.
ftime Ăšša maakidì mo dāha alī toōšśi ġššar-dì-rì also SUBSTR-which there sit little rabbit basket-his-in

28. And as soon as he had eaten Rabbit's fruit,
dai mos-uugš-kāl t-toōšśi ġšši d'aga-dì and just-eat-having the-rabbit bear-ABSTR-his fruit
the coyote up and died also, while sitting there
i-bána-i mo ġōtma muū āftime mo Ăšši the-coyote-ABS there quickly died also there tree
under a tree.
ūta dāška-tai under sitting-while

29. The fruit was poisonous, that's why.
go-Ăšši ibš-dì viša ponsōóło kāškiddī the-plant fruit-its had poison that's why

30. And that's all.
dai mos-ikšši and just-that
much
The Bird Who Lives in the Big House

1. CHENO:

Do you know the bird who lives in the big house
maatf=meš1 aapímì Gùrugì gff kii-t-rì oídÝä-kamì
know=you=Q you bird big house-LOC-in live-AG

whose nest cries when his egg moves?
dai ōññì-i nonò-dì dai šùàasks-ì kosä-dì
egg-PL move-PRES egg-his and cry-PRES next-his

2. I think you are probably not going to know (guess) that.
baitòöma mai maatf-mu gôô aââna ìñ=ìldì-i
almost not know-PUT that I think
(guess)

3. ANGEL:

What could it be? I sure don’t know yet.
túmâşšì gif aâñì mai-kìä mai dÝì
what could I not=yet know EMPH
be

4. CHENO: How come you’re laughing?
dûûkaì åsi-i šùpl-dì o
how laugh-PRES you-Q

5. ANGEL: You say his nest moves!
ōññì-i kosä-dì kâítì-i šùpl dÝì
move-PRES next-his say you EMPH

6. CHENO:

I said his egg moves and his nest cries.
ōññì-i nonò-dì an=kâítì-i aâñì dai šùàasks-ì kosä-dì
move-PRES egg-his I-say I and cry-PRES nest-his

7. ANGEL: His nest cries?
sùàasks-ì kosä-dì
cry-PRES nest-his
8. CHENO: The bird who lives in the big house.
   giff kil-f-rt old'y-kami Gûrugi
   big house-LOC-in live-AG bird

9. I've seen it.
   ânîf giá nffîd'y
   I AFF saw

10. It has its name too and you'll know it very soon.
    víåa gi-nombre-ga fpt df allô Gôtoma mâêtî â aapîmt
    have his-name-POSSD also but very soon know will you SP
    PL

11. Everybody here they all heard it today for sure,
    vffîl tânai vff kaf ñîvî d'y
    all here all heard today EMPH
    that very one
    fgal váá
    that very
    one

12. All the people hear it, Mexicans too, you too.
    vffîl Gôdami vffîl kaf óbal vffîl dal aapîmt vffîl
    all people all hear Mexicans too and you too PL

13. But he lives in the big house that bird,
    giff kil-f-rt tuu old'y-ga-l-d'y fgal i-Gûrugi
    big house-LOC-in but live-PRES-? he the-bird
    and he moves.
    dal ôfînt-i
    and move-PRES

14. What is it?
    tumâssî f'd'y fgal
    what this that

15. I'll tell you in a little bit if
    gin-aagi-d'a-mu ânîf lff-kînt iš=ka=mai
    you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I little-with if=already-not
    you don't guess it.
    mâêtî â aapîmt
    guess will you PL
16. That's the way I heard it, and it's true.

$I$ thus-how heard-I conversation and true then

17. ANGEL: A bird

Gúrugí
bird

18. CHENO: Yes. One who lives in the big house.

Iwí gff kli-f-ri old'yá-kamí
yes big house-LOC-in live-AG

19. ANGEL: It must not be a bird.

mai=$f=ir$ Gúrugí
not=DUB=be bird

20. CHENO: Well, they say it's a bird...bird...

Gúrugí ásga-i tódu Gúrugí ff
bird say-PRES well bird alone

that's exactly how I learned it from those other
po-dú maí=nt ŋfóóki
thus-how knew-I word

people.

ìgáš-kítt
them-with

21. you haven't guessed it.

ka=mai maí aapímt
already=not guessed you

PL

22. ANGEL: I'm almost figuring it out.

bait'óma ma-máší-t-rt-i ánant
almost RDP-know-become-PRES I
CONT

23. CHENO: In Wild Fig Village up high is the thing

vayfli-i-rt mo tıkaví maakt
wild-LOC-in there up that
fig high which

that the fiscales hit.

gfva-i pi-píškali
hit-PRES RDP-fiscals

PL
24. It's the bell, that's it.
    góval kapána ʰɡí-ʰ tūdu
    that bell that-AFF well

25. But it doesn't look like a bird.
    dɪ gɪ ʰmái ñuɾuɡí mæsʰí tudʊg gó
    but AFF not bird look then that
    like one

26. But, uh, they move the little, uh, the thing that hangs
    dɪ gɪ ʰoɾiⁿ-d’í ɡo-ɑli ɡɪ maaki sáɡí
    but uh move-AFFLIC the-little uh that hang
    which

    down, the little round metal thing, that's the egg.
    a-li kavəra-kidʰ valəmí fɡai ʰr nonó-d’t
    little round-one metal that be egg-his
    which

27. And the part that is outside the big thing,
    d’ai’n gó kii-d’í-ɡa-na ɡi-du-kid’h
    and that house-his-POSS-at big-QMT-one
    which

    that's the nest.
    fɡai ʰr kosá-d’t
    that be nest-his