

STUDIES IN UTO-AZTECAN GRAMMAR

Edited by
Ronald W. Langacker

Volume 3

Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches

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(inside of front cover)

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Volume 3

Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches

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**Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

**Volume 3
Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches**

Ronald W. Langacker
University of California, San Diego

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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. Tuggy, 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.

RWL

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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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Abbreviations

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

INDF	indefinite	PROX	proximal
INDOBJ	indirect object	PRSNT	personifier
INFL	inflectional	PRTC	participle
INSTR	instrumental	PRTV	partitive
INTEN	intensive	Q	question
INTJ	interjection	QNT	quantity/quantifier
INTNS	intensifier	QUOT	quotative
INTR	introducer	R	realized
INTRNS	intransitive	RA	range
IRR	irrealis	RDP	reduplication
LOC	locative	REF	reference/referential
MAN	manner	REFL	reflexive
MD	mood	REL	relative/relativizer
MDL	modal	REM	remote
MOD	modifier	REPET	repetitive
MOT	motion	REV	reversative
N	noun/nominal	RSLTV	resultative
NEG	negative	SF	suffix
NOM	nominative	SG	singular
NR	nominalizer	SP	Spanish
NUM	number	SPEC	specific
OBJ	object	SS	same subject
ORD	ordinal	STAT	stative
P	postposition	SUB	subordinate
PASS	passive	SUBJ	subject
PERF	perfect(ive)	SUBR	subordinator
PERS	person	TEMP	temporal
PL	plural	TNS	tense
PN	proper name	TRNS	transitive
PNCT	punctual	UNR	unrealized
POS	positive	UNSPEC	unspecified
POSSR	possessor	V	verb
POT	potentive/potential	VOL	volitional
PRED	predicate	VR	verbalizer
PREP	preposition	WHW	WH word
PRES	present	YNQ	yes/no question
PRIV	privative		
PROG	progressive	1P/2P/3P	first/second/third person
PRON	pronoun	-/=/#	morpheme/clitic/word
PRONR	pronominalizer	boundary	
		[]	clause boundaries

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 Paviotso [pabioco'o].

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

p	t	c	s		k	k ^w
b	d	z	z	ɟ	g	g ^w
mm	nn				ŋŋ	
m	n				ŋ	
w			ɣ			h '
	i		ɨ		u	
			a		o	

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/	[nanaː]	<i>man</i>
/naana/	[naːna]	<i>men</i>
/tiniɟui/	[tiniːɟui]	<i>teach</i>
/na-tiniɟui/	[natɨːniɟui]	<i>learn</i>
<i>REFL-teach</i>		

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 13	2 4 1 32	2 4 1 3 23
tiniɟui	na-tɨniɟui	su-na-tiniɟui
<i>teach</i>	<i>REFL-teach</i>	<i>want-REFL-teach</i>
<i>teach</i>	<i>learn</i>	<i>want to learn</i>

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 = any vowel Northern Paiute syllable patterns:

C = any consonant

C₁ = ' , h

V

C₂ = m, n, ŋ, w, w

CV

C₁C₂V

a.da	crow	na.ka	ear	sa.'mi	wet
pa.ba -'yu	big	pa.hmu	tobacco	'ma.ha.ni	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 nʔ ka pukʔ punnʔ
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 ^w	mm	nn	ŋŋ	j	k ^w /g ^w
Lenis	b	d	z	z	g	g ^w	m	n	ŋ	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

Frame: su...paba'yu *This...is big.*

[kapa]	/gapa/	bed	[su gapa pəβa'yu]	/su gapa paba'yu/
[kuca]	/kucu/	cow	[su kucu pəβa'yu]	/su kucu paba'yu/
[pak ^w i]	/bak ^w i/	fish	[su βak ^w i pəβa'yu]	/su bak ^w i paba'yu/
[puku]	/puku/	horse	[su puku pəβa'yu]	/su puku paba'yu/
[tammu]	/dammu/	sinew	[su rammu pəβa'yu]	/su dammu paba'yu/
[tiβə]	/tiba/	pinenut	[su tiβə pəβa'yu]	/su tiba paba'yu/

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

/nobi-k ^w ai/	/l mai-wai/
house-into	my hand-in
into the house	in my hand
/nobi-k ^w a'ni'yu/	/mai-wa'ni'yu/
house-be	hand-be
like	like
like a house	like a hand
/ada-k ^w a'ni'yu/	/agai-wa'ni'yu/
crow-be	trout-be
like	like
like a crow	like a trout
/kawona-k ^w ai/	/isa-wa'ni'yu/
carrying-into	wolf-be
basket	like
into the carrying basket	like a wolf
/kawona-k ^w a'ni'yu/	/toogɪ-wa'ni'yu/
carrying-be	dog-be
basket like	like
like a carrying basket	like a dog
/kaadi-k ^w a'ni'yu/	
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.

[paa βiʃə kama]
/baa bisa kamma/
water good taste
Water tastes good.

[kaⁱ piʃe te noʔi mataβenna]
/gai bɪsa tɪ nobi mmatabɪnna/
not good own house fix
up
They didn't fix their house.

[pʰsu ga¹ o maʃiceβine]
/pʰsu gai o mmabicabina/
he not it clean
EMPH
He himself did not clean it.

Voicelessness regresses from pause or fortis.

suUPITAK ^W ATU	/supitak ^W atu/	<i>knows (DVR)</i>
suUPITAK ^W Atuna	/supitak ^W atu-na/	<i>knows (+ SUBR)</i>

High vowels become centralized after low vowels.

[nɪga puku tɪmi uunak^{wa} wa'mo]
/nɪga puku tɪmi uunak^{wa} wa'mu/
my horse they behind gallop
EMPH
My horse gallops faster than their horse.

Low vowels become centralized after high vowels.

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

[su gəpə pəpə'yu]	[su kucu pəpə'yu]
/su gapa 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.

nɪ 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.

izi'i nɪ 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 nɪ punni kaiba-maku
ACC horse I see mountain-on
It was a horse that I saw on the mountain.

kaiba-maku nɪ 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 izi'i
mountain-on ACC horse see yesterday
He saw the horse on the mountain yesterday.

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions (see COORDINATION)

yaisi	then (temporal sequence)
pino'o	DS
tiwazu/tiwau	also
pana	but
piti	or
-noo/nooku	and/with
(tu'itu)...tu'itu	(either)...or
=siapt	but

yaisi tammi mia'a-k^w†

TEMP we go-POT

SEQ PL

Now we are going to go.

ni tamid†-wai-tu mia-k^w† usu pino'o mia-k^w† tiwazu

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-d† tiwau

he bow-make-PRTC also

He is a bow maker also.

ni |zi|i 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 mopon† piti muibi

what he kill-PNCT mosquito or fly

What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?

toogi-noo kaad† tiipa-kuba yak^wi

dog-and cat ground-on sit

DL

The dog and cat sit on the ground.

usu tauna-mai-k^w† tu'itu saa-k^wi

he town-to-POT or cook-POT

He will go to town or cook.

ni stikudu-ga=siapt† ni gal u-ma sunami

I school-go=but I not it-on think

I went to school, but I didn't pay any attention.

Source Evaluation

tabi'a	apparently	(clause-final)
ni+mma	it feels like	(clause-final)
mi	QUOT/say	(immediately follows quote)

umi mia'a-k^wi-di-k^wa'ni tabi'a
 they go-POT-PRTC-like apparently
 PL
 It looks like they are going.

usu suk^wida mani-di-k^wa'ni ni+mma
 he hurry do-PRTC-be feel
 like like
 He seems to be in a hurry.

usu yaa tabinu pidi-u-k^wi mi
 he this day arrive-PNCT-POT QUOT
 He said he will arrive today.

Modal

-ha/ha'a	Q
=sak ^w a	should/would
iga	used to
-pana	UNR
gai...-pana	NEG IMP
tu'i	try
-wa'ni'yu	can/should
=wa'ni/k ^w a'ni	be like
stimina	might/maybe
=ga	must

i ha'a tika-k ^w i	tammi=sak ^w a mia
you Q eat-POT	we=should go
Are you going to eat?	We should go.

ni o su-mia-na [hau=sak^wa 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 iga ni-noo ti-hoawai-yak^wi
 he used I-with UNSPEC-hunt-HAB
 to
 He used to go hunting with me.

ni su-tika-pana gadu'u na-tika-di
 I want-eat-UNR not REFL-eat-PRTC
 have
 I want to eat but there is no food.

gal yaga-pana
not cry-UNR
Don't cry!

niṁmi tu'l na-tṁniṁju
we try REFL-teach
learn
We are trying to learn.

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

umt mia'a-k^Wt-tṁ=k^Wa'ni tabi'a
they go-POT-PRTC=be apparently
like
It looks like they are going.

simina paama-k^Wt
might rain-POT
Maybe it will rain.

usu=ga hanano'o kimma [gai pṁi i punni-pṁi-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
tṁt	very/too
tabici	truly
nagṁza	really
ga'yu	have/exist
gadu'u	not have/not exist

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

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

nt gal mla-wa'ni'yu	tṁt=ci nt tṁoya'i
I not go-can	very=INTNS I sick
I can't go.	I am really sick.

tabici nɪnt
truly Indian
truly Indian

ɪnt plawabi
very old
woman
She is a very old woman.

usu nagiza ɪnt 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 juxtaposed to convey the idea of set membership.

sɪgɪ ɪnt waɪɪ
PN very old
man

isu mogo'ni i nɪntɪdui
this woman my relative
This woman is my relative.

Sɪgɪ is a very old man.

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

usu nana nobi-tu-dɪ
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 adjective will appear in its predicate form suffixed with -'yu, -tɪpɪ, or -kʷɪja'a (see ADJECTIVES).

sawa-bi oɪtɪ-'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).

kɪnɪmmɪ obi nobi-k^wal
 PN over house-in
 there
 Kɪnɪmmɪ 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 gaiba-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	toisu 'awamua
now morning	still morning
Now it is morning.	It is still morning.

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

kaiba wogo-ka'yu
 mountain pine-exist
 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-tɪ	kadu haga	oi-tɪ
not sagebrush-ABS here-at		not someone there-at	
have		have	
There is no sagebrush here.		No one is there.	

i moon!i 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.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
kadɪ	yɪtɪk ^w i	aata'a	sit
habi	k ^w abi	k ^w ak ^w abi	lie (INAN)
'wɪnɪ	wamɪ	kono	stand
pɪdɪ	pɪbɪdɪ	pɪdɪ	arrive

umt pa-paba-'yu tip ka kaiba-kuba yttk^wi
 those RDP-big-PRED rock ACC mountain-on sit
 DL

Those big rocks are sitting on the mountain.

usu mt taka lwa-u tiipa-na k'ak^wapi o mayt-u
 he PL arrowhead lots-ACC ground-on lie:PL there find-PNCT
 DUR

He found those arrowheads lying on the ground.

su siqa-bi huu-dt kimaba 'wint
 NOM cottonwood-ABS flow-PRTC by stand
 The cottonwood tree stands by the river.

tomo pit
 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)
'mani	become (free-standing)

siqa-bi naka oha-'waya'ni
 cottonwood-ABS leaf yellow-become
 The cottonwood leaves are turning yellow.

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

nana 'manl
 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.

wiyipui pidt nobi-ka'yu	puha-ga'yu su waici
PN new house-have	power-have NOM old
Wiyipui has a new house.	man
	The old man is a shaman.

Possession is negated by a free-standing word kadu (-'yu) not have/not exist, which usually occurs clause-initial. Clause-final the suffix -'yu PRED occurs on kadu.

kadu mooni'i
not money
have
He hasn't any money.

mooni'i kadu-'yu
money not-PRED
have
He hasn't any money.

DO

Certain verbs with the general meaning of *do* and *make* are general enough in meaning to function as transitive pro-verbs, 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.

'manak ^W i	do
manai	do/complete
hani	put/prepare
mahani	work on/preparing
mada'i	create
matabui	make/fashion
N-du	make N
mabicap!	fix/repair
mabicia	take care of

su nana yayawa 'manak ^W i	su nana bisa 'manak ^W i
NOM man lively do	NOM man good do
That man is lively.	That man is doing good/well.

usu muasu tɬ-bo mada'i
he already UNSPEC-write create
He already knows how to write.

tɬba tɬ-uunnak^Wa hani
pinenut REFL-behind put
He put pinenuts behind himself.

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

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

su nana kadɬ-nu matabui
NOM man git-NR make
chair DUR
That man made the chair.

nɪ (nɪzu) na-punni	nɪ ka huudɪ-k ^w ai na-bagia-k ^w ɪ
I myself REFL-see	I ACC river-in REFL-bathe-POT
I see myself.	I will bathe in the river.

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 iwa	tɪhɪja	na-koi-k ^w ɪ
this winter	might	many deer	REFL-kill-POT
PL			
Lots of deer might be killed this year.			

mɪ kɪdɪ	tɪpi-kia-k ^w ai-ku	na-mayɪ
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 *tɪ UNSPEC*. For instance, when there is no object of an obligatory transitive verb, the verb will be prefixed with *tɪ-UNSPEC (OBJ)*.

usu tɪ-hoawa'i	VS.	usu tɪhɪja hoawa'i
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 tɪ	bau'ma]	tammi	mia-'a-k ^w ɪ
not UNSPEC	rain	we	go-PL-POT
DUR			
When it isn't raining, we will go.			

[tɪ	taba	clbugi-ki-si]	toisu	na-'iɪɪtsɪ
UNSPEC	sun	rise-come-SUBR	still	REFL-cold
Until sunrise it will still be cold.				

usu nonoca tɪ	puku-kuba	nɪmɪ	[tɪ	togano-k ^w aitu]
he always	UNSPEC	horse-on	travel	UNSPEC
He always rides his horse until it gets dark.				

The morpheme *tɪ* 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 *tɪ*.

usu tɪ [na-tɪnɪʃui-na] bisa mayoho
 he UNSPEC REFL-learn-SUBR good follow
 He follows the ways he was taught.

usu ka [hama-ma tɪpagida-ʃak^w] nt-maku tɪ tɪmɪ-pt
 he ACC hammer-with hit-REPET 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 tɪ.

usu tɪ oŋa'a wasa-k^wɪ
 she UNSPEC baby wash-POT
 (REFL)
 She bathes her own baby.

tɪba tɪ uunnak^wa 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-k^wɪ
 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.

†-ha izi'i 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.

† ha'a ka puku punni	paamau-k ^w † ha'a
<i>you Q ACC horse see</i>	<i>rain-POT Q</i>
<i>Did you see the horse?</i>	<i>Will it rain?</i>

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*.

†-ha tika-mak^w†
you-Q eat-finish *Have you finished eating?*

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

gai-su	gai-su nt
<i>not-yet</i>	<i>not-yet I</i>
<i>Not yet.</i>	<i>Not yet.</i>

nt muasu tika-mak^w†
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 pti nana † punni
woman Q or man you see
Did you see a woman, or a man?

† ha'a izi'i mia-u pti 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.

NOM

haga
 hti-'yu
 hauni-'yu
 hano
 hano-ti
 hano-tu
 ha'u
 hautu
 haa'no
 haa'no-k^wai
 himma
 himma...hauniku
 himma...ha-yk^wi
 hii
 hii-pt

ACC

haka
 hti-u
 hauni-ku

 who/whom
 how many
 what kind
 where
 where at
 where to
 why
 which direction
 how much
 what time
 what
 what kind of thing
 what is/are NP doing
 what
 what used to be

haga tauna-wal
who town-in
Who is in town?

haka † izi'i punni
whom you yesterday see
Whom did you see yesterday?

hti-'yu nmt oo
how-NOM people there
many
How many people are there?

hɪt-t-u ɪ ɕipisa koi
 how-ACC you squirrel kill
 many PL
 How many squirrels did you kill?

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

hauni-ku ɪ na-tɪka-dɪ tɪmt
 what-ACC you REFL-eat-PRTC buy
 kind
 What kind of food did you buy?

hano ɪ mia-u
 where you go-PNCT
 Where did you go?

hanotɪ ɪ na-'oqa-du-pt
 where you REFL-baby-make-PERF
 at born PRTC
 Where were you born?

hanotu mi'a
 where to
 to DUR
 Where are you going?

ha'u usu tɪkabi-du
 why she bread-make
 Why is she making bread?

hautu mi'a
 which go
 direction
 Which way shall I go?

haa'no na-ninaka
 how REFL-cost
 much
 How much does it cost?

haa'no-k^wai-ku ɪ ɪwokɪ
 how-in-at you work
 much
 What time do you come to work?

haa'no-k^wai ɪ ɪwokɪ
 how-in you work
 much
 How much are you working for?/
 How much area are you working?

himma ɪ [tauna-wal-ku o tɪmt-u-sɪ] 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 ɪ gi'a
 what he kind-ACC you give
 of
 thing
 What kind of thing did he give you?

himma † hau-yik^wi What are you doing?
 what you how-doing

hii mau hiip† isu
 what that what this
 What is it? used
 to
 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-pt Where did he go?/
 he where go-PERF He went somewhere.
 PRTC

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.

h††-'yu duaki stkudu-ga
 how-NOM children school-go
 many
 How many children go to school?

h††-u † duaki punni
 how-ACC you children see
 many
 How many children do you see?

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

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

himma-ma usu ti-boo What did he write on?
 what-on he UNSPEC-write

haga puku kuba usu kat† paataimapi-k^wai
 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 tika-na
come- <i>PNCT</i>	RDP-come- <i>PNCT-SUBR</i>	PL eat- <i>SUBR</i>
Come! (SG)	Come to eat! (DL)	

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

Sometimes an overt subject may be used:

mī du-duakī ikia-u agai mī nobta'a za-gia-u-dua
 PL RDP-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:

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

ʔ=sak^wa nī-noo tauna-mai
 you=should I-with town-to Go with me to town!

gai yaga-pana	gai umt-ma-tu tik ^w asa-pana
not cry- <i>UNR</i>	not they-at-to throw- <i>UNR</i>
Don't cry!	Don't throw it at them!

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

nī tauna-i-tī su-mī'a	nī 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

-ci	<i>DIM</i>
-ga'yu	<i>POSSR (NOM)</i>
-gaku	<i>POSSR (ACC)</i>

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.

naa-ci	puha-ga'yu	puku-ga'yu
<i>male-DIM</i>	<i>power-POSSR</i>	<i>horse-POSSR</i>
<i>boy</i>	<i>shaman</i>	<i>horse-rider</i>

puku-kaku yaa mio-ga'a ni punni
horse-POSSR here go-by I see
ACC
I saw the horseman going by.

X + N = N

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

ma-togo	ta-togo	co-pihti
<i>hand-appendage</i>	<i>foot-appendage</i>	<i>scalp-hair</i>
<i>thumb</i>	<i>big toe</i>	<i>hair on head</i>

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

pa-	<i>big OR water</i>	
na-	<i>a pair with (REFL/RCPR)</i>	
'kak ^w i-		
wobl-	<i>head</i>	
pa-tihti'a	na-bul	l na-nimi
<i>water/big-deer</i>	<i>pair-eye</i>	<i>my pair-people</i>
<i>elk</i>	<i>glasses</i>	<i>my relatives</i>

kak^Wi-tuhu'u
wildcat
mountain lion

kak^Wi-ada
crow
valley crow

wobi-agai
head-trout
salmon

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)
- wabi habitual doer of V (HAB AB)

tɨ-bo-pi
UNSPEC-write-PATIENT
NR
letter

tɨ-bo-nu
UNSPEC-write-INSTR
NR
pencil

kidɨ tɨka-'a
groundhog eat-CHAR
NR
Fort Bidwell Paiute
(lit. groundhog eater)

ɣadua-wabi
talk-HAB
AG
speaker/interpreter

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

- dɨ N is coreferential with the subject of V (PRTC)
- pɨ N is coreferential with the object of V, perfective action (PERF PRTC)
- na N is coreferential with the object of V, imperfective action (SUBR)

na-tɨka-dɨ
REFL-eat-PRTC
food (not already eaten)

tɨka-pɨ
eat-PERF
PRTC
food (already eaten)

ya'i-dɨ
die-PRTC
dead one

u ɣadua-na
his talk-SUBR
his speech

u tɨka-na
his eat-SUBR
his eating

VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

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

sag^wani tiba-ka'yu gal tnt iwa pinak^wa 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.

n† dtkab†-du	isa n†m† ma-n†m†-du
<i>I bread-make</i>	<i>Wolf people hand-people-make</i>
<i>I make bread.</i>	<i>Wolf made people.</i>

um† pinak^wa nanasat†-k^wal nobi-tu-k^w†
they next week-in house-make-POT
 DUR

Next week they will build a house.

† kuud†-k^wal kuud†-ya-u
you coat-in coat-put-PNCT
 on

Put on your coat!

n† muu'a nag^wi-ya-k^w†
I tomorrow dress-put-POT
 on
I will put on the dress tomorrow.

usu s†kudu-ga	kid†-ga-ga
<i>he school-go</i>	<i>groundhog-hunt-go</i>
<i>He goes to school.</i>	<i>go groundhog hunting</i>

[usu hit†ci puku-ga-s†] iwa puku-dua
he few horse-have-SUBR many horse-become
He had just a few horses; then his horses became many.

su tika-pi iní oña-ga'yu
 NOM eat-PERF very salt-have
 PRTC

That food is very salty.

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

ní su-kidí-ga-ga
 I want-groundhog-hunt-go
 I want to go groundhog hunting.

vs.

ní kidí su-hoawai
 I groundhog want-hunt
 I want to go groundhog hunting.

ADJ + X = V

-'waya'ni become

su nag^wi 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 located in N_1 .

pa-'uñá'a
 water-baby
 a supernatural being
 living in water

pa-típi
 water-stone
 water worn rock/
 river bottom rock

$N_1 + N_2 = N$; N_2 made of N_1 .

waa-'adi
juniper-gun
bow

si+osa
willow-bottle
willow jug

$N_1 + N_2 = N$; N_2 part of N_1 .

wiyi-pui
buckbrush-bermy
buckberry

Type 2

$N_1 + N_2 = N$; N_2 for/part of N_1 .

agai zanu
trout grapplehook
grapplehook for trout

siqa-bi naka
cottonwood-ABS ear
cottonwood leaf

$N_1 + N_2 = N$; $N_2 = V + NR$.

nabu tika-dt
peyote eat-PRTC

a user of peyote

ADJ + N = N; ADJ attributive to N.

tuu k^wobi
black head
Negro

$V + N = N$; N is for the purpose of V.

nanisutihi nobi
pray house
church house

ti-k^witiima nobi
UNSPEC-jailing house
jailhouse

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 tika-wint		usu tika-na 'wint
he eat-CONT	vs.	he eat-SUBR stand
He is eating.		He stands and eats.

umt tika-kono		umt kono
they eat-CONT	vs.	they stand
PL		PL
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.

umt tika-mak ^{wi}	usu mt nmt himma hau yak ^{wi} -tita
they eat-finish	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

smt-bit

one-arrive

assemble

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

usu tt kusa-i kusa-ya-u

he own pants-in pants-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-zakat†
secretly-catch
secretly catch/steal

wazi-punni-p†ni
secretly-see-STAT
watch
secretly watch/spy

$V_1 + V_2 = V$; V_2 in order to V_1 .

tika-ga-p†
eat-go-PERF
PRTC

He went in order to eat.

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

$MOD + V = V$

usu si†da kama
it bad taste
It is sour/bitter.

usu bisa sunami
he good think
He is happy.

usu in† sunami
he very think
He is smart.

usu in† kama
it very taste
It tastes strong.

$N + V = V$

iza'a ya'i
coyote die
to have rabies

pi†-pi †ai'i
blood-ABS sick
bleeding

$V_1 + V_2 = V$; V_1 in order to V_2 or
 V_1 simultaneous with V_2 .

usu sogo kid†-ka
he walk groundhog-hunt
DUR

He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.

usu kid† sogo hoawa'i
he groundhog walk hunt
DUR

He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.

$V_1 + V_2 = V$; V_1 object of V_2 .

naka oiʃtkiti
 hear believe
 believe (what you hear)

$V_1 + V_2 = V$; V_1 generic of V_2 .

koʃt piti
 return arrive
 arrive back

mi sunami
 say think
 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.

oŋa-bi
 salt-ABS
 salt

siti-bi
 willow-ABS
 willow

wogo-pl
 pine-ABS
 pine

oŋa-ga'yu
 salt-have
 salty

siti-osa
 willow-jug
 willow jug

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

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

i siŋa-na
 my cottonwood-POSSD
 my cottonwood

i siŋa-bi
 my cottonwood-ABS
 my cottonwood

The absolutive is optional on objects of postpositions.

siti-bi-ma
 willow-ABS-on
 on the willow

siti tuha
 willow under
 under the willow

siti-bi tuha
 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.

$(C_1)V_1X \longrightarrow (C_1)V_1(C_1)V_1X$	$V_1V_1 \longrightarrow V_1'V_1$
ct-cta'a <i>RDP-girl</i> <i>girls</i>	naaci <i>boy</i> <i>boy</i>
o-'odi-'yu <i>RDP-long-PRED</i> <i>long ones</i>	ki-kimma <i>RDP-come</i> <i>come (to two people)</i>
	na-na'aci <i>RDP-boy</i> <i>boys</i>

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

naana <i>men</i>	mo-moko'ni <i>women</i>
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Reduplication on numerals gives the idea of *by*.

ma-manigi-'yu <i>RDP-five-PRED</i>	<i>by fives</i>
---------------------------------------	-----------------

Reduplication on some temporals doubles their time reference.

i-'izi'i <i>RDP-yesterday</i>	<i>day before yesterday</i>
----------------------------------	-----------------------------

The rest of the human nouns pluralize with -m† PL on either the reduplicated or unreduplicated form.*

u k ^w oho-m† <i>his enemy-PL</i> <i>his enemies</i>	u pi-pia'a-m† <i>his RDP-friend-PL</i> <i>his friends</i>
---	--

*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 *nt* *PL*.

nt nt pthi cibi-hu *I took the feathers off ducks.*
I PL duck pluck-PNCT

Number may be redundantly marked.

nt wahu tnt yu-yuhu mo-moko'ni punni
I two very RDP-fat RDP-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 sag^wani waha maka
he big-ACC horse some hay feed
He feeds the big horse some hay.

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

nt izi'i i-ka wida'a punni
I yesterday this-ACC bear see
I saw this bear yesterday.

nt [ka mogo'ni usapa isayai-dt] supidak^watu
I ACC woman always lie-PRTC know
DUR
I know that woman always lies.

ka izi'i nt u noblni *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.

su *NOM* (as first element in the noun phrase)
 -su *NOM* (in any *DEM*)
 Ø *NOM* (inflection on adjective)

l-su nobi-ha tmlti o'o'o su wihl
this-NOM house-Q yours there NOM knife
Is this house yours? The knife is over there.

paba nana nobi-ka'yu *The big man has a house.*
big man house-have

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.

su paba-u nana nobi anuahu
NOM big-ACC man house fall
The big man's house fell.

nɪ ka ɪ pabi'i nobi-k^wai-tu mia-u
I ACC your older house-in-to go-PNCT
brother
I went to your older brother's house.

If the third person possessor is coreferential to the subject, the possessor is *tɪ* *own* (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Unspecified Arguments).

usu ka tɪ oŋa'a na-baɣia-kiɪ
she ACC own baby REFL-bathe-BEN
She bathed her own baby.

usu ka u oŋa'a baɣia
she ACC her baby bathe
She bathed her (someone else's) baby.

usu izi'i tɪ oŋa tɪmɪ-na ʒa-punni-kiɪ
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.

<u>Possessor</u>	<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Predicate</u>	
i	nɪ-ga	nɪga-tɪ	1P SG
ɪ	ɪ-ga	ɪmi-tɪ	2P SG
u	u-mɪ	uga-tɪ	3P SG
ta	ta-ga	taga-tɪ	1P DL
tɪ	tammi-ga	tammi-ga-tɪ	1P PL INCL
nɪ	nɪmɪ-ga	nɪmɪ-ga-tɪ	1P PL EXCL
mɪ	u-mɪ	ɪmu-tɪ	NON-1P PL

nɪ izi'i u pabi'i punni
I yesterday his big see
brother

I saw his brother yesterday.

nɪga puku pa'a 'wɪnɪ
my horse high stand
EMPH
My horse is tall.

isu puku nɪgatɪ
this horse mine
This horse is mine.

POSTPOSITIONS

First Order

-noo	with
-naumu	middle of
-ba	by/with
tuha	under
kuba	over
kobina	in front of
k+ma(ba)	beside
uunnak ^W a	behind
staga	at the side of
nak ^W a	next to
k ^W aiŋa'a	far from
cagi'i	near
naga	in/among
-tammi	towards
-muupa	pass by
kimai	beside
uunak ^W a	more than
wa'ni/k ^W a'ni	like

Second Order

-wai/-k ^W ai/-i	in/to/into
-ma	on/at/INSTR
-wana	away from

Third Order

-tu	motion to/through
-ti	(temporarily) at
-ku	(customarily) at
-yuna	leaving

Any order or combination of orders can occur, except that the comparative uunak^Wa more than and wa'ni/k^Wa'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.

n+ u-noo	mia	su	caki	pantnadi-naumu-k ^W ai
I	him-with go	NOM	boat	lake-middle-in
I	went with him.	The	boat	is in the middle of the lake.

nimmi-ba	tika-ga	su	cia'a	ka	sii	tuha
we-with	eat-go	NOM	girl	ACC	willow	under
Go	eat with us.	The	girl	is	under	the willow.

n+ u	punni	huciba'a	nobi	kuba-'yuna	yozi-u
I	it	see	bird	house	on-leaving fly-PNCT
I	see	the	bird	fly off	the top of the house.

niga uunak^{wa} tni sunami *He is smarter than I am.*
I more very think
EMPH than

usu stt-bi-k^wa'ni tabt'a It looks like a willow.
it willow-ABS-be appear
like

usu	cla'a	saki-wai	nɪ	nobi-k ^w ai-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.

pipo-ma ni ti-bo-nu-ma ti-bo'o
paper-on I UNSPEC-write-INSTR-INSTR UNSPEC-write
NR DUR
I write on paper with a pencil.

su toog† ka kaadi†-wana-tu ta'nomana†
 NOM dog ACC cat-from-to run
 The dog ran away from the cat.

ní ka huu-dí-k ^w ai-tu	ní ka huu-dí-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^wal-ti
he house-in-at
the one in the house

yaa tabinu i milda-na tauna-wal-ku timi-k^W
this day my meat-POSSD town-in-at buy-POT
 Today I will buy my meat in town.

nt muua tamidi-wai-'yuna mia-u-k^wi
I tomorrow McDermitt-in-leaving go-PNCT-POT
Tomorrow I will leave from McDermitt.

yfttclba nobi-tuha-tu ti-hi'wi
gopher house-under-to UNSPEC-dig
DUR
The gopher is digging to under the house.

su sadi'i nobi-tuha-'yu na tanomani
 NOM dog house-under-leaving run
 The dog ran out from under the house.

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

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

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

DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronominal Demonstratives

	<u>PROX</u>	<u>PROX/DIST</u>	<u>DIST</u>	<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>Q/INDF</u>
NOM	i-su	ma-su	oo-su	u-su	haga, himma
ACC	i-ka	ma-ka	oo-ka	u-ka	haka, himma
EMPH	i-ga	ma-ga	oo-ga	u-ga	---
Old Informa- tion	i-kia(u)	ma-kia(u)	oo-kia(u)	---	---
kind NOM	yuu-ni('yu)	ma-ni('yu)	oo-ni('yu)	uu-ni('yu)	hauni'yu
kind ACC	yuu-niku	ma-niku	oo-niku	uu-niku	hauniku

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^wa odi-'yu
 this rope that more long-PRED
 NOM EMPH
 This rope is longer than that.

ikia nⁱ na-ti^{ga}-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.

yuuni'yu nagiza paba-'yu
 this really big-PRED
 kind
 NOM
 This kind is too big.

uuniku nɪ ɪzi'i tɪmɪ
 unmarked I yesterday buy
 kind
 ACC
 I bought that kind yesterday.

usu manigi-baatɪ yuuniku nati tɪmɪ
 that five-PRTV this belt buy
 NOM 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.

nɪ ɪkia tɪka usu pɪno'o umɪ tɪka
 I this eat that DS they eat
 (he) (those)
 I ate this and he ate those.

isu tɪtɪci'yu puku gai i noo-wa'ni'yu
 this small horse not me carry-can
 NOM
 This small horse can't carry me.

[ka tɪ ɪka puku-kuba] o'no nɪ pɪno'o kuba
 ACC you this horse-on then I DS on
 ACC
 If you ride on this horse, I will ride on that.

usu umɪ paɪhu nadino'o su-tɪmɪ'tɪ
 that they three saddle want-buy
 NOM 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 nitama [gai i-ma tɪ-bo-pana] mi
 that say me tell not this-on UNSPEC-write-UNR say
 NOM
 (he)
 He said to me, "Don't write on this."

uuni-ma usu izi'i i tɪmɪ-u
 that-on that yesterday me buy-PNCT
 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 characters in a discourse and sometimes as the third singular NOM pronoun, which is otherwise \emptyset .

usu mino'o ma'no 'wɪni He is that tall now.
 that now that stood
 NOM much
 (he)

Adverbial Demonstratives

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

	PROX	PROX/DIST	DIST	Q/INDF
Adverbial	yaa	maa	o'o	hano/hanano'o
Adverbial Predicate	yau	mau	oo	hano'yu
_____ much	ya'no	ma'no	oo'no	ha'no
from _____	yaano'yuna	maano'yuna	oono'yuna	hano'yuna
LOC _____	iwi	mawi	oowi	hanotu
LOC _____ PRED	iwiu	mawiu	oowiu	hano'yu

izi'i paɪtgo'a yaa paɪsa-pɪ
 yesterday icy this dry-PERF
 DUR ADV PRTC
 Yesterday it was icy; now it's dry.

mau su wihi The knife is there.
 there the knife

gai=sak^wa usu oo'no ma'na'wi na-hani
 not=should it that complete REFL-do
 much
 It shouldn't have taken that long to do it.

usu siɪmɪna yaa-no'yuna yaa toɪganu mia-dua
 he might this-from this night go-UNR
 ADV ADV
 He might leave from here tonight.

usu uusapa baa iwi-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 mi nini no'yuna wagina-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 umi oo'no k'aiga'a oo-noo mani-wa'ni'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:

-ti at
 -tu towards

oo-ti paci'go'a yaa-ti pasa-pi
 that-at icy this-at dry-PERF
 ADV ADV PRTC
 There it's icy; here it's dry.

[mau-tu mia-'a] mi usu mi 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 iwi-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.

<u>NOM</u>	<u>ACC</u>	
sist'madi	mɪ	some/few
iwa	iwa-u	many
sist'mɪ'yu	sist'mina, sist'mɪ-u	each
hiɪci'yu, hiɪci'i	hiɪci-ku	a little bit
noo'yuna	nooko	all/every
hiɪ'yu	hiɪ-u	a few/how many?
nami	nami-ku	each

sist'madi tɪhiʃa aa-ga'yu Some of the deer have horns.
 some deer horn-have

usu mɪ tɪhiʃa kaiba-maku punni
 he PL deer mountain-on see
 He sees some deer on the mountain.

iwa kaiba-mati tɪhiʃa-ga'yu
 many mountain-on deer-exist
 Many deer are on the mountain.

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

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

sist'mɪ'yu duaki st̩kudu-ga-k^wɪ
 each children school-go-POT
 Each of the children will go to school.

sist'mɪu nɪ nɪka o himmi-na himmau
 each I I him give-SUBR have
 ACC EMPH
 I have one of each thing he gave me.

hɪtɪ'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 hɪtɪkiku hoŋo-natɪŋa
 he little flour-ask
 bit
 ACC
 He asked for a little bit of flour.

usu hɪtɪ-ku piha-ga'yu He had some sugar.
 he little-ACC sugar-have

noo'yuna toha nobi punni Everyone saw a white house.
 everyone white house see

noo'yuna hii nobi-k^wai Everything was in the house.
 every thing house-in

nooko himma supidak^watu He knows everything.
 every thing know
 ACC DUR

hɪtɪ'yu tɪhɪʃa i nobi-cagi'i plɪtɪ-u
 few deer my house-near arrive-PNCT
 A few deer came near my house.

nimmɪ hɪtu hucɪba'a punni We saw a few birds.
 we few bird see
 ACC

hɪtu tɪ ɪzi'i mayɪ
 how you yesterday find
 many
 ACC
 How many did you find yesterday?

namɪ sɪmtɪ-u tɪmtɪ-u nɪ namiku mɪ naana punni
 each one-ACC buy-PNCT I each PL men see
 Each one bought one. ACC
 I saw both men.

Quantifiers may take -su ADVR suffixed to the NOM form.

iwa-zu usu sogo tauna-mai-yak^wi
many-ADVR he walk town-to-REPET
many
times
Many times he walks to town.

tammi noo'yu-su We are everyone.
we everyone-ADVR

su nami-su mī-batī tīmī-u
he each-ADVR PL-from buy-PNCT
He bought one of each of them.

nimmi nami-su sī'mī tīmī We bought one apiece.
we each-ADVR only buy

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

nīga puku iwa-'yu	umī īga hīī-'yu
<i>my horse many-PRED</i>	<i>they used few-PRED</i>
<i>EMPH</i>	<i>to</i>
<i>My horses are many.</i>	<i>be</i>
	<i>They were a few.</i>

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

sī'mī	<i>only</i>
nanoo	<i>both</i>
nanasī'mī	<i>each</i>
sag ^w ani	<i>some</i>

usu kadī-nu sī'mī punnī He saw only chairs.
he sit-NR only see
chair

umī nanoo kaazi tīmī-u Both bought a car.
they both car buy-PNCT

noo'yuna nanasī'mī (hīī) bisa tabī'a
everything each things good apparently
Each thing looks nice.

kaiba-matī sag^wani tīhīja-ga'yu
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.

sĩmĩsu	once
sĩmĩduĩ	sometimes
hĩĩduĩ	few times
sĩsĩmana	each time/sometimes
nanoca	every time/often
samupĩ	mostly
uusapa	always/often
nanajabi	often
ĩwazu	many times/mostly
tu'ĩ nanoca	usually

sĩmĩsu u i manĩ-tĩĩŋa He told me to do it once.
once it me do-tell

sĩmĩduĩ nĩ i nobĩ-kĩmai o mi'a u punnĩ
sometimes I my house-beside there go him see
DUR
Sometimes I see him go by the side of my house.

nĩmmĩ yau iwĩku hĩĩduĩ agai hani-yak^wĩ
we here this few trout catch-REPET
place times
We have caught trout a few times here.

sĩsĩmana gai tabĩ tĩka-yak^wĩ
sometimes not noon eat-REPET
Sometimes he doesn't eat his dinner.

mĩ nanoca sogo tauna-ma'ĩ
they every walk town-go
time DUR
Every time they go to town, they walk.

usu samupĩ huciba'a punnĩ sũ-bĩ-maku
he mostly bird see tree-ABS-on
He saw mostly birds in the tree.

nĩmmĩ uusapa yuhu tĩkabĩ tĩka awamua
we always fry bread eat morning
We always eat fry bread for breakfast.

nimmi nanaʃabi tauna-ma'i tɪkabi-waitɪ
 we often town-go bread-about
 DUR

We have often gone to town for bread.

iwazu sitowa tɪkabi-ka'yu
 many store bread-have
 times
 Many times the store has bread.

nɪ tu'i nanoca winai-dɪ punni
 I usually fish-PRTC see
 fisherman
 I usually see fishermen.

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

1	sɪmɪ	sɪmɪu	sɪmɪ'yu
2	waha	wahu	waha'yu
3	pahi	paihu	pahi'yu
4	wacɪ	wacɪk ^w tu	wacɪk ^w i'yu
5	manigi	manigiu	manigi'yu (begins with <i>hand</i> prefix)
6	naapahi	naapaihu	naapahi'yu (<i>RCP</i> of 3)
7	natak ^w ast	natak ^w asiu	natak ^w asik ^w i'yu
8	namiwacɪ	namiwacik ^w iu	namiwacik ^w i'yu (contains 4)
9	sɪmɪ kadupɪ	sɪmɪ kadupɪ	sɪmɪ kadupɪ (one missing)
10	sɪmɪ manoi	sɪmɪ manoi	sɪmɪ manoi

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 izi'i toganu wact naana i nobini
 ACC yesterday night 4 men me visit
 Last night four men visited me.

wact^Wi^u n^t maka I feed four.
 4 I feed
 ACC

naapah'i^{yu} n^tm^t 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^Waha'y^u-na na-na-nak^Wai n^tga mi'a
 RDP-2-SUBR RDP-RCPR-by dance go
 PRED DUR
 They are dancing two by two behind each other.

usu wa-k^Waha-k^Wa'ni'y^u He is like a twin.
 he RDP-2-Like
 PRED

Derivatives of ONE

mul	first
s ^t m ^t (-su)	once
s ^t 'm ^t	only
s ^t m ^t -bit ^t	assemble

[I mul maka-na] nana ctaya'i
 me first feed-SUBR man hungry
 DUR

The first man I fed was hungry.

s ^t m ^t n ^t aaba-ga'y ^u	VS.	n ^t s ^t m ^t -u aaba-ga'y ^u
once I white-have		I one-ACC white-have
horse		horse

Once I had a white horse. I have one white horse.

usu s^tm^t-su ka t^th^tja k^Wati-u
 he once-ADVR ACC deer shoot-PNCT
 He shot the deer once.

usu t^th^tja s^t'm^t hoawa'i He hunts only deer.
 he deer only hunt
 DUR

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.

paba	big	tɪci	small
bisa	good	sɪta	bad
odi	long	miɬi	short

su paba-'yu puku ka tɪci-ku puku uunak^Wa ɪnɪ naʒu'i
 NOM big-PRED horse ACC small-ACC horse more very strong
 That big horse is stronger than the small horse.

usu bisa-u wihi-ma i tɪmɪ
 he good-ACC knife-to me buy
 sell
 He sold me a good knife.

nɪ ka odi-u tɪgapu na-tɪŋa-na su ka miɬi-ku i
 I ACC long-ACC rope REFL-tell-SUBR he ACC short-ACC me
 ask
 I asked for a long rope, but he gave me a short one.

gia'a
 give

I asked for a long rope, but he gave me a short one.

umɪ aca nobi pa-paba-'yu Those red houses are big.
 those red house RDP-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 uunak^Wa *more than*. The ground of comparison is expressed in the predicate. (Also the concept of *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.)

Isu naaci tɪ naa uunak^Wa 'wɪnɪ
 this boy own father more stand
 This boy is taller than his father.

usu niga uunak^Wa yuhu-pt He is fatter than I.
 he I more fat-PERF
 EMPH PRTC

isu gapa uga simi-u uunak^Wa paba-'yu
 this bed it one-ACC more big-PRED
 EMPH
 This bed is bigger than that one.

usu aaba ikia simi puku uunak^Wa wa'mu
 that blond this one horse more gallop
 That white horse runs faster than this horse.

su k^Wi'na'a ka naka'i uunak^Wa pa'a-k^Wal yooci
 NOM eagle ACC hawk more high-in fly
 The eagle flies higher than the hawk.

Comparisons of Equality

-ngo	as
-k ^W a'ni	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 tt naa-no'o-su 'wini
 this boy own father-as-ADVR stand
 DUR
 This boy is as tall as his father.

usu ada-noo k^Widawo'yo na-wa'ni-ku-su yoozt
 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^wa'ni yuhu-pt
that not really I-be fat-PERF
like PRTC
That one is not really as fat as I.

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

Superlatives

tɪbɪɪ	truly
nagiza	really
ɪnt...dɪ/pt (...-waitɪ)	very
uunak ^w a...dɪ (...-waitɪ)	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 -waitɪ *among*.

usu mogo'ni mɪ tɪbɪɪ odɪ mana 'wɪnɪ-wabi yaatɪ
that woman PL truly tall among stand-HAB here
AG
That woman is the very tallest woman here.

masu ni nagiza na-mua-tɪptɪ iwɪu nobi-k^wai-tɪ
that our really RCPR-old-PRED here house-in-at
She is the oldest one in the room.

usu mogo'ni ɪntɪ mooni yabi tɪcina-dɪ
that woman very money fast count-PRTC
That woman must be the fastest money counter.

isu puku ɪntɪ tanomani-dɪ nooku ikiau tiɪptɪ-waitɪ
this horse very run-PRTC all this world-among
ACC ACC
This horse is the fastest in the world.

usu mɪ sɪmtɪ uunak^wa 'wɪnɪ-dɪ i na-nɪmtɪ-waitɪ
he PL one more stand-PRTC my RCPR-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	nɪ sigɪ punni	<i>I see Sgt.</i>
Pronoun	nɪ u punni	<i>I see him.</i>
Demonstrative Pronoun	nɪ uka punni	<i>I see that one.</i>
Minimally Specific	nɪ a punni	<i>I see it.</i>
Indefinite	nɪ haka punni	<i>I see someone.</i>
Any	nɪ tui-haka-tui punni	<i>I see anyone.</i>
Negative Indefinite	nɪ gai haka punni	<i>I see no one.</i>
Unspecified	nɪ ti-punni	<i>I watch.</i>

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

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

[usu pabici a nobi mayɪ-si] mɪ noo tika-u-k^wɪ
that weasel its house find-SUBR PL egg eat-PNCT-POT
If the weasel finds a nest, he will eat the eggs.

Indefinites are marked by content-question words.

hii	<i>thing NOM</i>	haunik ^w ai	<i>kind of place</i>
hiipɪ	<i>thing (used to be)</i>	haga	<i>who NOM</i>
hiɪma	<i>thing ACC</i>	haka	<i>who ACC</i>
hano	<i>where</i>	haa'no'yu	<i>how much NOM</i>
hanano'o	<i>when</i>	haa'noku	<i>how much ACC</i>
hauniku	<i>kind of</i>	hautu	<i>some direction</i>
hau	<i>way</i>		

The *some* indefinites are marked by just the content-question words. These indefinites, not using modals, are ambiguous with questions.

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

hiipⁱ-wa'ni tabi'a
 thing-be appears
 (used like
 to)

It looks like it used to be something.

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

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

usu=ga	hanano'o	kimma	[gai p ⁱ mi ! punni-p ⁱ ni-noo]
he=must	when	come	not he me see-STAT-along
			EMPH

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 saw us./
someone	us	see	Who saw us?

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

haa'no-'yu	m ⁱ	duaki	yabi	bok ^W au-ka-k ^W i
how-NOM	those	children	fast	lie-go-POT
much			down	
			PL	

A certain number of children go to bed early./
 How many children will go to bed early?

nt haa'no-ku suga tɪmɪ-kʷɪ

I how-ACC sugar buy-POT
much

I'll buy a certain amount of sugar./
How much sugar will I buy?

gai 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 *tui* *any* prefixed and suffixed to the question word or the phrase containing it.

usu tui-himma-tui tɪka

he any-thing-any eat
ACC

He'll eat anything at all.

usu tui-hano-tul tɪ mia-kʷaɪ-tu mi'a

he any-where-any you go-in-to go
DUR

He goes anywhere you go.

usu tui-hanano'o-tui tɪbunni-kʷɪ yaa awamua

he any-when-any wake-POT this morning
up

He's going to wake up sometime this morning.

usu tui-hauniku-tui tɪka

he any-kind-any eat
of

He'll eat any kind of thing.

ntmmɪ tui-hau-tui tu'l koʃtɪ tabt'a

we any-how-any try return apparently
We have tried every way to go home.

tul-haga-tui ka saki tɪmɪ-kʷɪ

any-who-any ACC boat buy-POT
Anyone will buy the boat.

usu tui-haka-tui pɪmi gunna kɪtɪbita-kɪtɪ tɪba-maka-kʷɪ

he any-who-any 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 duaki st̥kudu-ga-k^W†
any-how-NOM-any children school-go-POT
much

Any number of children will go to school.

tui-haa'no-ku-tui suga n† tim†-k^W†
any-how-ACC-any sugar I buy-POT
much

I'll buy any amount of sugar.

n† tui-haunik^Wai-tu-tui mia-k^W†
I any-kind-to-any go-POT
of
place

I will go to any kind of place.

[usu tui-hautu-tui mia-si] mlsu ʔuhu tim††
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 -t† (temporarily) at, -tu to, or -ku (customarily) at.

um† tui-hano-t†-k^Wai-t†-tui t†kabi† tim†-k^W†
they any-where-at-in-at-any bread buy-POT
They will buy bread in any place.

um† hano-tu-k^Wai-tu st̥kudu-ma'i
they where-to-in-to school-go
DUR

They went to a certain place to go to school.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

	<u>SUBJ</u>	<u>OBJ</u>	<u>OBJ</u> <u>of P</u>	<u>EMPH</u>	<u>POSS</u> <u>PRON</u>	<u>EMPH</u> <u>REFL</u>
1P SG	n†	l	n†	n†ga	n†gat†	n†su
2P SG	†	†	†	†ga	†mit†	†su
3P SG (Coreferential to SUBJ)	Ø	p†	p†	p†ml	p†mit†	p†su
3P SG (Non-Coreferential to SUBJ)	(DEM) u	u		†mi	ugat†	uusuu
1P DL	ta	ta	ta	taga	tagat†	tasu
1P PL INCL	tammi	ti	tammi	tammiga	tammigat†	tammisu
1P PL EXCL	n†mmi	ni	n†mmi	n†mmiga	n†mmigat†	n†mmisu
Non-1P PL	um†	†m†	um†	um†ga	um†gat†	um†su

STEMS

Number

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).

$$C_1V_1X \rightarrow C_1V_1-C_1V_1X \quad (\text{DL})$$

$$Xa \rightarrow Xa'a \quad (\text{PL})$$

$$XCV \rightarrow X''CV \quad (\text{PL})$$

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
mia	mimia	mia'a	go
kimma	kikimma	kimma'a	come
pid†	pibid†	pit†	arrive
y†ciŋa	y†y†ciŋa	y†ciŋa	move/live
koj†	kokoj†	koj†	return
wa'mu	wawa'mu	wak ^{wa} 'mu	gallop

Verbs of distress take *yai die SG* in the singular but *koi kill PL* in the plural.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
ttoyai	ttoikoi	<i>sick</i>
paayai	paakoi	<i>drunk</i>
pitjai	pitkoi	<i>thirsty</i>
ciayai	ciakoi	<i>hungry</i>

Many posture verbs dualize and pluralize suppletively.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
'wint	wammi	kono	<i>stand</i>
katt	yig ^w i	aata'a	<i>sit</i>
habi	k ^w abi	bok ^w a	<i>lie (AN)</i>
pahabi	pak ^w abi	pabok ^w a	<i>swim</i>

Some motion verbs only partially supplete.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
yoci	yost	yoozt	<i>rise</i>

Some motion verbs mix reduplication and partial or complete suppletion.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
wiu	wiwu/sawiu	sawiu	<i>fall</i>
nimi	moo	moo	<i>move/live</i>
igia	zuzunua	zunua	<i>enter</i>
po'ya	popo'ya	tipo'ya	<i>climb</i>

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

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
tak ^w it	tadima	tadi'ma	<i>carry in claw</i>
tok ^w it	todima	todi'ma	<i>carry in beak</i>
tigt	tunna	tunna	<i>set down</i>
gia	himmi	himmi	<i>hand over/give</i>
k ^w it	himma	himma	<i>carry</i>

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.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
matonimmi	matomok ^w ati	matomo'o	<i>crawl</i>
pahabinimmi	pawabimo'o	pabok ^w amo'o	<i>swimming around</i>
tikawint	tikawami	tikakono	<i>continue eating</i>

Most verbs show no number at all.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
naka	naka	naka	<i>hear</i>
punni	punni	punni	<i>see</i>

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.

$XV_1V_2 \rightarrow XV_1'V_2$	
$XC_1V_1 \rightarrow X''C_1V_1$	(C_1 = lenis consonant other than semivowel)
$X''C_2V_1 \rightarrow X''C_2V_1'V_1$	(C_2 = oral fortis consonant)
$XC_3V_1 \rightarrow X'C_3V_1$	(C_3 = nasal consonant or oral semivowel)

<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>DUR</u>	
mia	mi'a	<i>go</i>
yaga	yaka	<i>cry</i>
nimi	nimmi	<i>move about/walk/go</i>
tik ^w i	tik ^w i'i	<i>tell</i>
zoba	zopa	<i>gather</i>
himma	hi'ma	<i>carry PL</i>
sumaya	suma'ya	<i>remember</i>

Directionals receive durative marking instead of the stem.

<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>DUR</u>	
-gi	-ki	<i>movement towards speaker</i>
-gia	-gia'a	<i>UNSPEC DIR</i>
-ga	-ka/ga'a (word final)	<i>movement not towards the speaker</i>
-noo	-no'o	<i>movement for the purpose of</i>

usu ka t̥ha'a-ku gapa-kuba ʒa-habi-ki-u
 he ACC child-ACC bed-on CAUS-lie-come-PNCT
 DUR

He laid the child on the bed.

usu puku-ga-na t̥kabi t̥ka kad̥-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:

su- mind
 ma- hand
 ni- talking
 ʒa- force/hands
 pa- water
 ta- foot
 ci- nail/pointed instrument
 wi- side/blunt instrument
 co- scalp/horn
 mo- face
 to- beak/shoulder
 ki- teeth
 ku- fire
 pi- back end

Historically related free forms:

mia hand
 ʔni say
 baa water
 macidu fingernail
 copigi brain
 mobi nose
 ki bite

su-yik^wi
 mind-move
 think

su-pidak^wadu
 mind-know
 know

ma-ni¹ya
 hand-bump
 bump one's hand

ma-hani
 hand-fix
 prepare/doing

ni-hani
 talk-fix
 meeting/judging

a ʒa-k^wi-u
 it force-carry-PNCT
 lift something

pa-habi
 water-lie
 swim

moko-i ta-nigliya-u
 shoe-in foot-put-PNCT
 put on one's shoe

a ci-ka'a
 it pierce-cut
 cut it

wɪ-naupa
side-push:over
 knock it down

mo-nɪ'ya
face-bump
 bump one's face

to-k^wɪ'ɪ
shoulder-carry
 DUR
 carry on shoulder

pl-kɪi
back-bite
 sting

co-nɪ'ya
scalp-bump
 hit one's head

to-k^wɪ-ga'a
beak-carry-go
 DUR
 carry in beak

kɪ-k^wɪ-u
teeth-carry-PNCT
 pick up in mouth

Many body part nouns, particularly the hands and feet, have instrumental prefixes.

ma-togo
hand-big
 appendage
 thumb

ta-togo
foot-big
 appendage
 big toe

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

ma-yuhu-dui-k^wɪ
CAUS-fat-become-POT
 fatten

za-punni
CAUS-see
 show

su-kidi-ga-ga
want-groundhog-hunt-go
 He wants to go groundhog hunting.

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.

su nana piisu na-ma'i-u
NOM man himself REFL-hurt-PNCT
The man hurt himself.

umi na-nodik^wa-du *They married each other.*
they REFL-wife-make

umi na-na-hoisu na-na-punni
they RDP-REFL-REFL RDP-REFL-see
They each one saw the other.

na-tika-di na-tika-pi *The food has been eaten.*
REFL-eat-PRTC REFL-eat-PERF
PRTC

usu ti-bo'o	vs.	usu [i ini-na] bo'o
<i>he UNSPEC-write</i>		<i>he me say-NR write</i>
<i>DUR</i>		<i>DUR</i>
<i>He wrote.</i>		<i>He wrote what I said.</i>

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*.

gai makau tika-pana
not that eat UNR
 └──────────┘
don't
Don't eat that!

gai yaga-pana
not cry UNR
 └────────┘
don't
Don't cry!

Subordination

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

-Ø	Simultaneous Action
-si	Sequential Action
-na	Simultaneous Related Action
-pt	PERF PRTC
-dt	PRTC

su naaci pidt-u [ni tka]
NOM boy arrive-PNCT us eat
The boy arrived while we were eating.

[nt u-noo yadua-si] tka
I her-with talk-SUBR eat
After I talked with her, I ate.

su naaci [ni punni-na na-g^wlbau-dt] stkudu-ga
NOM boy us see-SUBR REFL-hit-PRTC school-go
The boy whom we saw hit goes to school.

[ni tka-pt] miidt-ma timt mogo'ni pidt-u
us eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT
PRTC
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 kidt [ja'i-na] za-k^wt'
he groundhog die-SUBR hands-carry
DUR DUR
He was carrying the groundhog which was dead.

Compare: usu kidt [yai-pt] za-k^wt'
he groundhog die-PERF hands-carry
PRTC DUR
He was carrying the groundhog that died.

su naaci [ni sup^Widak^Watu-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.

n^t [u ti-madabui-na] punni
 I him UNSPEC-make-SUBR see
 I saw what he makes.

[mogo'ni saa-na] tⁿt oⁿa-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-^Wjak^Wi-ki-k^Wtnai-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.

n^tmmi ka nana punni [tabi tⁿka-na]
 we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR
 We saw a man while we ate dinner.

[n^t tabi tⁿwi-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 i-noo-na] n^t 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.

[n^t u nobi-k^Wai-tu tu'i mia-yai-na] gal u mayi-d^t
 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^w k'ati-u [ka gai u biɁabi-na]
 he my dog shoot-PNCT 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.

nɁ ka kaazi mabicapi [pɁdɁ-tɁpɁ piwɁ o-i
 I ACC car fix new-EMPH battery there-in
 DUR
 I fixed my car by putting in a new battery.

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

Embedded questions are also marked by a -na.

nɁ u mayɁ [hano-tɁ 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.

nɁ [ka naaci-na] nana punni
 I ACC boy-SUBR man see
 When I was a boy, I saw that man.

Unified Discussion of -dɁ

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

[nɁ u nobi-k^wai-tu tu'i mia-'yai-na] gai u mayɁ-dɁ
 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.

nɁ gai Ɂ-noo tɁka-dɁ I never ate with you.
 I not you-with eat-PRTC

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

su naaci [ni supidak^watu-dɁ] sɁkudu-ga
 NOM boy us know-PRTC school-go
 The boy who knows us goes to school.

A special case of this is the headless relative.

su nĩmĩ tusu-dĩ tĩ kawona ʒa-nono ona
that people grind-PRTC own basket force-carry there

mia-ka'i

go-walk

DUR

That people grinder went along carrying his basket.

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

usu saa-dĩ
she cook-PRTC

She is a cook.

Unified Discussion of -pĩ

The main concept expressed with -pĩ is completed action. As aspect on the main verb, it expresses a perfective or completed idea.

usu tauna-wai-pĩ
he town-to-PERF
PRTC

He has gone to town.

usu tabi saa-pĩ
she noon cook-PERF
PRTC

She had cooked dinner.

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

[ni tika-pĩ] miida-ma tĩmĩ mogo'ni pidĩ-u
us eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT
PRTC

After we ate, the meat saleswoman arrived.

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

mĩ naana [ka na-saa-pĩ] tika
PL men ACC REFL-cook-PERF eat
PRTC

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-	CAUS
za-	cause by force
ti-	CAUS (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT
-ki{ti})	BEN/APPLIC PHENOMENA)

usu ka kucu ma-yuhu-dui [u-matu timi-na]
 he ACC cattle CAUS-fat-become it-on buy-SUBR
 sell

kobina-su

in-ADVR

front

He fattens the cattle before he sells them.

usu ka tiha'a-ku kapa-kuba za-habl-ki-u
 he ACC child-ACC bed-on CAUS-*lie*-APPLIC-PNCT
 He laid the child on the bed.

ca'a-bi na'i
weed-ABS burn
DUR

The weeds are burning.

usu ca'a-bi ti-na'i
he weed-ABS CAUS-burn
DUR

He is burning the weeds.

usu ka nati i timi-ki-u
he ACC belt me buy-BEN-PNCT

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:

-ki motion towards speaker

-qa motion not towards goal

-gia motion towards goal

-noo motion for the purpose of

- n -dimensional random motion (SG)

Independent verbs:

kimma coze

gia'a go towards a goal

noo accompany

nɪmɪ travel/live (SG)

<u>Preverb form</u>	<u>Verb</u>	
su-	sunamI	want
ni-	tʃɪŋa	tell
tu'i	mapunni	cause to see/try
	supidak ^w atu	know
	natɪniʃui	learn
nisu-		be able to

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

usu mʃ kucu nisu-su-k^wisi-kʃti
 he PL cattle be-want-lasso-BEN
 able

He wants to be able to lasso cattle.

nʃ mʃ tɪgapu oɖt tu'i su-ʃag^wi sunami
 I PL rope long try want-make want
 I want to try to make those ropes long.

nɪmʃ puha-ga'yu i su-ma-bisa-kʃ mapunni
 Indian power-have me want-CAUS-good-BEN try
 The Indian doctor wanted to try to make me well.

mino'o nʃ 'nɪmmi Now I am able to walk.
 now I walk

usu uka mɪ u nitama [ʃ=sak^wa kucu k^wisi-kʃ
 he that say him tell you=should cattle lasso-BEN

supidak^watu] mɪ
 know say
 DUR

He said, "You should learn to lasso cattle".

Aspect

'/Fortis	DUR (see STEMS)
-pʃ	PERF PRTC
-u/ɦu	PNCT
-dua	UNR
-tʃa	again
-k ^w i	POT
-wɪnʃ	CONT (SG)

-wami	CONT (DL)
-kono	CONT (PL)
-p+ni	COMPL/STAT
-n+mmi	STAT (SG)
-mo'o	STAT (DL/PL)
-yai	HAB (PERF)
-yak ^{wi}	HAB (IMPRF)/REPET
-no'o	go along doing

n+ u-noo	yadu'a	na-t+ka-d+	na-t+ka-p+
I her-with	talk	REFL-eat-PRTC	REFL-eat-PERF
	DUR		PRTC
I talked with her.		The food was eaten.	

pauma-hu-k ^{wi}	It will rain.
rain-PNCT-POT	

usu mogo'ni	saa-d+	u	tika-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	

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

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

[n+ ka	gai	t+hoawai-gia-na]	simina	n+ 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.				

[n+ tauna-wai-si]	bui	na-t+ka-d+	titi-k ^{wi}
I town-to-SUBR	green	REFL-eat-PRTC	buy-POT
I will go to town and buy vegetables.			

simina	n+ muu'a	titi+ja-ga-ga-k ^{wi}
might	I tomorrow	deer-hunt-might-POT
I might go deer hunting tomorrow.		

su	tauna-mai-k ^{wi}	tultu	saa-k ^{wi}
she	town-to-POT	either	cook-POT
She will go to town or cook the dinner.			

su kadt-nu-du-k^w† [gai tabi saa-na]
 he chair-make-POT not noon cook-NR
 He will make the chair instead of cooking dinner.

[nimmi ta-tanomani-si] usu ni wa'agi-w††
 we RDP-run-SUBR he us yell-CONT
 We were running away when he was yelling at us.

[usu saa-w††-na] o pt-pt'a-m† t†ka
 he cook-CONT-SUBR his friends eat
 He was cooking while his friends were eating.

usu t†ka-w†††	um† t†ka-kono
he eat-CONT	they eat-CONT
He is eating.	PL
	They are eating.

[um† saa-kono-na] m† pt'a'a t†ka
 they cook-CONT-SUBR their friend eat
 PL
 They were cooking while their friend ate.

usu i kadt-nu-tu i punni-p†††
 he my chair-make me see-COMPL
 DUR
 He watched me make the chair.

n† h††-dul waanamoko-waitu mia-p†††
 I time-any Winnemucca-towards go-COMPL
 I went to Winnemucca a few times.

tabi-wano n† yau kadt-nimmi
 day-all I here sit-STAT
 I have sat here all day.

um† t† kapa-kuba bok^wa-mo'o
 they own bed-on lie-STAT
 PL
 They are lying on their beds.

n† nano'oct t† nawak†no † punni-yai-dua
 I every Monday you see-HAB-UNR
 I will see you every Monday.

usu u naka [ka paba-u nana n†ka mia-yak^wi]
 he him hear ACC big-ACC man I go-REPET
 EMPH
 He heard the big man call me (again and again).

sistimina nĩ cikana noho awamua tĩka-yak^Wi
 sometimes I chicken egg morning eat-REPET
 Sometimes I eat eggs for breakfast.

[u mia-no'o] nĩ 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

nĩ su-na-nĩ-su-tĩhai
 I want-REFL-INSTR-CAUS-pity
 I want to pray.

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

usu ka natĩ i tĩmĩ-ki-u
 he ACC belt me buy-BEN-PNCT
 He bought a belt for me.

u pabi'i u tĩbicĩ naak^Wi-u-ga-yak^Wi
 his brother him really accompany-PNCT-DIRL-REPET
 His brother will really get him to go along with him.

pauma-hu-k^Wi It will rain.
 rain-PNCT-POT

stĩmina nĩ muu'a tĩtĩja-ga-ga-k^Wi
 might I tomorrow deer-hunt-go-POT
 Tomorrow I might go deer hunting.

umĩ na-na-pido tĩni-k^Wi-jak^Wi
 they RDP-REFL-turns sing-POT-REPET
 (DISTR)
 They took turns singing.

nĩ nano'oct tĩ nawaktĩno tĩ punni-yai-dua
 I every Monday you see-HAB-UNR
 I will see you every Monday.

usu kimma-u-gl-na-su *He is coming again.*
he come-PNCT-DIRL-SUBR-ADVR

Reduplication for dual will not co-occur with prefixing.

umt ka nobi-k^wai-tu ki-kimma-u
they ACC house-in-to RDF-come-PNCT
(DL)

They come to the house.

umt ka nobi-k^wai-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	<i>with/and (NOM)</i>
nooku	<i>with/and (ACC)</i>
piti	<i>or</i>

toogt-noo kaadt tiipa-kuba ytk^wi
dog-and cat ground-on sit
DL
DUR

The dog and cat sit on the ground.

ni naaci nooku cia'a punni *I see the boy and girl.*
I boy and girl see
ACC

himma usu paca-u mopoŋa piti muibi
what he kill-PNCT mosquito or fly
What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?

The conjunction piti or can also conjoin temporals.

usu mino'o tabi saa-k^wi piti saa'a
he now noon cook-POT or later
Will she cook lunch now or later?

Clauses may be conjoined with a conjunction placed in the second clause.

nɪ ɪzi'i tauna-mai pana usu gai
I yesterday town-to but he not
I went to town yesterday but he didn't.

nɪ ka kaadɪ punni usu gai I saw the cat, but he didn't.
I ACC cat see he not

nɪ ka kaadɪ punni gai ka toogɪ
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.

muigasɪ nanasati-k^wai nɪ kusa tɪmɪ yaa nɪ nati tɪmɪ
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 tɪ-nɪk^wi-na] ɪ nɪ-ma-sɪta'a
he night-middle UNSPEC-sing-SUBR me by-CAUS-angry
speech DUR
His singing at midnight made me mad.

[kami wigia na-k^wisi-na] tɪnɪ na-manak^wi
rabbit blanket REFL-weave-SUBR hard REFL-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".

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*.

nɪ u supidak^watu [usu gai i bunni]
I it know he not me see
DUR
I knew he didn't see me.

usu mi u sunami [nɪ t-noo mla-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.

[hanano'o su tɪkabi noho] gai na-supidak^watu
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-mla-na] muasu na-supidak^watu-pɪni
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*.

ɪ tɪk^wi mino'o [ka hau tɪ tɪk^wa-wɪnt-na]
me tell now ACC if UNSPEC snow-CONT-SUBR
Tell me now if it is snowing.

ni su-supidak^watu [hau yaa tabinu pauma-k^wi]
I want-know if this day rain-POT

DUR

I want to know if it will rain today.

ni u supidak^watu [hanano'o saa-u mani-na]
I it know when cook-PNCT become-SUBR

DUR

I know when he became a cook.

usu supidak^watu [haka ti adi titi-ha-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.

ti mi pabi'i u su-supidak^watu [ti ha'a yaa
your older it want-know you Q this
brother DUR (day)

ti-hoawai-gia-k^wi]

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 toogⁱ [izi'i ni punni-na] yaa tabinu ni
that dog yesterday us see-SUBR this day us

naki-kia

chase-go

DUR

The dog which we saw yesterday chased us today.

usu ka nana [pt-noo i tɪ-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.

nɪmmi ka waici mooni-maka [nɪmmi mooni'i na-tɪɪha-dɪ]
we ACC old money-give we 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.

nɪ ka i aakɪsɪ [uga magak^wɪdu]-ma kuna k^wabitɪ
I ACC my axe he sharpened-with wood chop
I chopped wood with my axe which he sharpened.

usu ka hama-ma tiipagida-jak^wi [nɪ-maku tɪ
he ACC hammer-with hit-REPET I-from UNSPEC

tɪmɪ-pt(-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 [tɪ kucu tɪtɪha-dɪ] 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 [pt-noo i mia-na] pak^wi 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^winunuwl-wɪnɪ-dɪ tɪtɪcawa-kɪ-nu
spin-CONT-PRTC fan-BEN-NR
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 -dɪ *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*.

usu toogɪ [bisa ni supɪ]a-dɪ] yaa tabɪnu ni bunnɪ
that dog good us like-PRTC this day we see
The dog that likes us saw us today.

ɪ=sak^wa ɪga ka kak^wi tuhu'u k^watɪ-u [ka
you=should UNR ACC mountain lion shoot-PNCT ACC

ɪzɪ'ɪ nɪka nakɪ-dɪ]
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.

usu [tɪ kucu tɪtɪha-dɪ] naki
he own cattle steal-PRTC chase
He chased the one who stole his cattle.

[na-tɪka-dɪ] na-tɪka-pɪ
REFL-eat-PRTC REFL-eat-PERF
PRTC
The food was eaten.

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*.

nt ka tooisa-bui [yaa i hani pldt-pt] tusu
I ACC chokecherry-berry here me carry arrive-PERF grind
PL PRTC
I ground the chokecherries I brought here.

If the coreferential noun phrase is the object of a post-position or a possessor, the pronoun *pi REFL* is used to mark the coreferent.

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.

[mogo'ni saa-na] tɪt̪ ɔŋa-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 *hano* *where* and ending (like all embedded questions) in *-na* *SUBR* can be used.

ni 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 *pi* 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.

ni mmi ka nobi-k^wai-tu mi-mia [pi-k^wai-tu i
we ACC house-in-to RDP-go it-in-to me
 (DL)
 na-tua-tu-pi-wai-ti]
REFL-child-make-PERF-in-at
 PRTC
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 unat† [ti-hoawai] cagi'i nobi-ka'yu
 he there UNSPEC-hunt near house-have
 He lives near where he hunts.

That locative word can be an indefinite.

n† [ka tui-hano-tui † su-tika-k^Wai] t†ka-k^W†
 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 suffixing 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 *ABS*.

usu nabu t†ka-pi-k^Wai-tu mia-p†
 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 coreferential, 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:

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

Temporal adverbial clauses can be used to show temporal relationships.

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

[u saa-mak^w-si] nĩmĩ tabi tĩka
him cook-finish-SUBR we noon eat
After he finished cooking, we ate dinner.

nĩmĩ ka nana punnĩ [tabi tĩka-na]
we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR
We saw the man while we ate dinner.

nĩmĩ nana punnĩ [mĩ duaki tabi tĩka]
we man see PL children noon eat
ACC
We saw the man while the children ate lunch.

They can be used to express by means of.

nĩ ka kaazi mabĩcabi [pĩdĩ-tĩpĩ piwĩ ol
I ACC car fix new-EMPH battery there

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

usu iwa-u moonĩ'i-gia manĩ [owa moonĩ'i mayĩ-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 *uunĩ'yu* *therefore*.

usu i toogĩ k^wati-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 toogĩ k^wati-u [kucu naki]
he my dog shoot-PNCT cattle chase
He shot my dog because it chased cattle.

[usu tĩmĩ-ga-k^w u manĩ-gia-k^w-si] gai nĩ-noo
he buy-go-POT it do-go-POT-SUBR not I-with

tĩ-hoawai-gia'a
UNSPEC-hunt-go
DUR
Because he is going shopping, he can't go hunting with me.

[usu ka u nĩmidui-na] uunĩ'yuna u tamaza'i
 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:

nĩ tauna-i-tu kimma [tĩkabi tĩmĩ-k^W-si]
 I town-in-to come bread buy-POT-SUBR
 I went to town to buy bread.

nĩ 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 subordinate.

umi [ka pĩmi nobi'ni] tooĩsa-bui i hani-kia-k^W
 they ACC 3P visit chokecherry-berry me give-go-POT
 EMPH
 They will give me chokecherries if/when I visit them.

isu tĩk^Wa-k^W [ka cag^Widĩ-ma'yuna i sual-si]
 this storm-POT ACC porcupine-at you laugh-SUBR
 It will snowstorm if you laugh at a porcupine.

[usu ka mĩ nobini-na] usu=ga sĩmina oĩtĩ mĩ tĩk^Wi'i
 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 =sak^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'a=sak^Wa ika gai ka mago'o-k^Wai-tu punni-na]
 that coyote=should it not ACC bag-in-to look-SUBR

su huna=sak^Wa ka pitumaba tabici k^Wĩĩ-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.

[umi=sak^Wa ka gai ka ni tĩmahtĩ tilpa gai kĩma-pidosi]
 they=should ACC not ACC our grazing land not side-change

nabido-na] n+mmi=ga mino'o i+n+ bisa-'yu-k^Wi
 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] n+ 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.

[n+ ka gai nobi-k^Wai-ku u mayi-na] n+ s+im+
 I ACC not house-in-at him find-SUBR I only

ti-hoawai-k^Wi
 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 ^W a	should
=siapi	might
-pana	UNR

[n+ u nobi-k^Wai-tu tu'i mia-yai-na] gai u mayi-di
 I his house-in-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC
 Although I went to his house many times, I never found
 him there.

[tui=sak^Wa n+ nika m+ paca-k^Wi]=siapi gai n+
 even=should I I them kill-POT might not I
 EMPH

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

[tu'i gai haa'no i t+managa-ki-pana] n+ u-ma u timi-k^Wi
 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 *wa'ni('yu)* *be like* or *tabi'a* *apparently* or both. One can also occur in the matrix clause.

usu [ka naac[-na] ada]uhu-ŋa na-zo-k^wina [o u
he ACC boy-SUBR crow grease-with REFL-head-rub DEM it

tɪ mani-wa'ni]

UNSPEC do-be

like

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

usu [mɪ mu-mua-tɪpɪ nɪmɪ oka u matabui tabi'a
he these RDP-old-EMPH people that it make apparently

k^wa'ni-su] u matabu'i

be-ADVR it make

like *DUR*

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

[ka tui-hau-tui maka i matabui tabi'a] ka
ACC any-thus-any that me do apparently ACC
EMPH

togi'yu-kɪti

dislike-BEN

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

[tui-hau maka saa tabi'a] nɪ gal a tɪka-wa'ni'yu
any-thus that cook apparently I not some eat-can/will
EMPH

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

nɪ [tui-hau-tui maka ɪ plɪzabi tabi'a-k^wa'ni] a matabui
I any-thus-any that you like apparently-be it fix
EMPH *like*

tabi'a-k^wɪ

apparently-POT

I will fix it any way you want.

Other

The adverbial clauses expressing the idea of *without* all begin with *gai* *not* and end with *-pana* *UNR* and contain no other subordinator. They do not show case switch.

PAPAGO

Dean Saxton

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INTRODUCTION

General

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

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

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

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

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

The primary focus of the paper is Papago.

Notation

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

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

aañi'i/aañii	<i>I</i>	aapi'i/aapii	<i>you</i>
hooho'id/hoohoid	<i>to like</i>	higa'i/higai	<i>that</i>
ma'ispi'ok/ma'ispiok	<i>to uncover</i>		

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

čukhug/čuhug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uuhum	<i>back, home</i>
wawhia/wahia	<i>well</i>	wabš/waš	<i>just</i>

Other dialects delete h following a voiceless noncentral oral consonant:

čukhug/čukug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uupam	<i>back, home</i>
--------------	--------------	--------------	-------------------

Other dialects also exclude central disparate $\hat{V}_1(G)V_2$ phonetically by backing V_1 following a noncentral nonglottal C and/or decentralizing:

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

The following special grammatical abbreviations are used:

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

Certain other special notations are employed in this paper.

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

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

In text, truncation is marked X and labeled *PERF*:

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

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

šo-'o	wa'i	s=gīwk	w-a-n-t	wo	ñt-i
X-MD	X	AFF=strong	X-MD-I-TNS	X	look-APPLIC
quite			FUT		
He's quite strong.			I'll see him.		
wo-'o	wabš	†	iattog-id		
X-MD	X	REFL	lie-APPLIC		
just					
He's just deceiving himself.					
gogs			go-go-gs		
dog			X-RDP-X		
dog			dog		
			dogs		

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

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

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

g kɪl-ŷ g huan
ART house-GEN ART PN
the house of Juan

g huan kɪi
ART PN house
GEN
Juan's house

g mɪl-i-ŷ g huan
ART run-GER-GEN ART PN
the running of Juan

g huan mɪl
ART PN run
GER
GEN
Juan's running

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

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes	p	t	ʈ	k	
	b	d	ɟ	g	ʔ
	m	n	ɱ	ŋ	
		s	ʂ		h
		l	ɖ		
	w	y			
	i	ɨ		u	
		a	o		

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

ɨʂ to plant
čɪho cave
waɪd to invite

s=ɱ=kɨɨ'id
AFF=me=hate
to hate me

mo'o head
kaam cheek
s=kɨɨg be good
AFF=good

gogs dog
agʂp steep down

biščk-č-x	oimmiđ	walk about
sneeze-APPLIC-PERF	olopo	walk about PL
cause to sneeze		

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

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

aŋhił	angel	waŋko	bank	pa=yaaso	clown
-------	-------	-------	------	----------	-------

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

Phonological Processes

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

[kuí]	mesquite	[wuf]	toward
[káı]	seed	[wái]	invite
[wuá]	do	[máščam]	teach
[číkpn]	work	[hú]	REM
[hímhowa]	must	[híms]	ought
[hí]	on one hand	[híg]	how about
[wá]	as mentioned	[pi áp]	not good
		NEG good	
[pí o káa]			
NEG MD hear			
He doesn't hear.			

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

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

[máʃčàm]	to teach	[hímhòwà]	must
[kúđùt]	to trouble	[wò]	FUT
[híkuč]	to cut	[híkià]	whole
[dáapiùn]	to smoothe	[àlig]	domain
[táčcuì]	will	[ʃíɡòì]	greasewood
[fpài]	also	[àntq]	go to do

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

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

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

Change ʃ to d preceding t:

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

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

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

Delete h following unstressed V:

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

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

[úʃ _u gid _a]	to shake	[húđ _u ñ _i]	to descend
[íđ _a gid _a]	to own	[húuč _i]	hoof
[náa ^h k _a]	ear	[čík _a p _a n _a]	to work
[čík _a p _a]	work		

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

č́íkàpàna	to work	[č́íkapa-X]	work
		work-PERF	
húḡḡḡi	to descend	ḡḡagḡda	to own
[ḡḡagḡ-X']	find	[ḡḡwḡḡ-m-hùn]	encourage
		strong-ADVR-APPLIC	

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

[káA]	hear	[kóI]	yet
[šḡḡḡI]	greasewood	[hḡkià]	whole
[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[č́ḡhO]	cave	[mó'O]	head
[č́íkApàNA]	to work	[ḡḡwḡḡA]	earth

Devoice C if not followed by voiced segment:

[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[č́íkApàNA]	to work	[ḡḡwḡḡA]	earth
[húḡḡḡI]	to descend		

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

[dá'GItòh]	to leave	[č́ḡhkaPàhNA]	to work
[ḡóohkI]	tracks	[ḡḡwḡḡ'DA]	earth (Totoguañ)
		[ḡḡwḡḡh'DA]	earth (other)

Delete unstressed V if flanked by permitted CC:

ḡá-ḡa-ha/ḡá-ḡ-ha	kó-ko-š-ò/kó-k-š-ò
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X-REPET</u>
sit	sleep
sitting PL	sleep REPET

š́úudagi-kàḡi/š́úudag-kàḡi
 liquid-INST
 by water

Delete unstressed first V of disparate central VV:

č́ḡ-č́t-oḡi/č́ḡ-č́-oḡi	dó-do-a/dó-d-a
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X</u>
man	live
men	live PL

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

číkApànA/číkəpànə

work

si=wřčĩ-mà/sə=wřčə-mà

AFF=heavy-ADVR

heavily

tá-a-tə-dà-jĩ/tá-a-tə-dà-jə

X-RDP-RDP-X-GEN

foot

feet

tóobĩ

cottontail

dág-I-tò

hand-GER-COMPL

leave

híkUčə

cut

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

*naad-'ĩ-ŋ/*naad-ĩ-ŋ

fire-PERF-you

Make fire!

*d-'o/d-o

EQ-MD

it is

*mĩd-'ĩ-ŋ/*mĩd-ĩ-ŋ

run-PERF-you

Run!

wà 'fɔ/wá-'ap

REF also

likewise

wò 'ip/wó-'op

FUT time

until

tà 'ò/tó-'o

UNSPEC-MD

UNSPEC it

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

*naad-i-ŋ/naaj-i-ŋ

fire-PERF-you

Make a fire!

*mĩd-i-ŋ/mĩl-i-ŋ

run-PERF-you

Run!

hain-i/haiŋ-i

crack-GER

cracked

*koos-i-ŋ/koos-i-ŋ

sleep-PERF-you

Sleep!

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

da-d-ha/[da-d-ha]
X-RDP-X

sit
Be sitting PL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'am hu/'ahmu]
LOC REM
there

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

Assimilate h to preceding tense stop:

či-č-hia/či-č-ča
X-RDP-X
girl

young female

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

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

Morphological Processes

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

him/hii-X	move	miḡ/miḡ-X	run
ho'igṭ'ṭlid/		ta'ibiḡim/	
ho'igṭ'ṭl-X	pity	ta'ibiḡ-X	pass around

Optionally delete previous VC in certain untruncated verb stems:

ho'igṭ'ṭlid/ho'igṭ'ṭid	pity
ta'ibiḡim/ta'ibim	pass around

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

ban/ ba-a-ba-n coyote <u>X-RDP-RDP-X</u> coyote coyotes	gogs/go-go-gs dog <u>X-RDP-X</u> dog dogs
him/hi-hi-m go <u>X-RDP-X</u> go go DISTR	wuuṣad/ wuṣ-ṣa-d deliver <u>X-RDP-X</u> deliver deliver
miḡ/mi-m-ḡ-a run <u>X-RDP-X-DISTR</u> run run repeatedly	člipia/či-č-p-l-a-ḡ move <u>X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR</u> move move camp repeatedly
giṭṣ/gi-g-ṣ-ṣ-ṭ fall <u>X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR</u> fall fall repeatedly	kow/ko-o-ko-w dig <u>X-RDP-RDP-X</u> dig dig repeatedly

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

wui/wu-'u-wu-i to <u>X-RDP-RDP-X</u> to to DISTR	daam/da-'a-da-m on <u>X-RDP-RDP-X</u> on on DISTR
---	--

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

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

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

čiidagi/či-hi-dagi
green X-RDP-X
green
green DISTR

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

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

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

nawuŋ/ nawu-pu-ŋ/nau-pu-ŋ
friend X-RDP-X
friend
friends (Pima)

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

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

na-'a-na-u-pu-ŋ
X-RDP-RDP-X-RDP-X
friend
friends DISTR

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

General

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

ñt̥t̥ m̥d̥ o g gogs See, the dog is running.
EXCLM run AUX ART dog

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

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

p̥gii oig paanču čikpna-ñ	p̥gii čikpna-ñ paanču
INTJ INTJ PN work-you	INTJ work-you PN
IMP	
Well okay, Pancho, work!	Well then, work, Pancho!

The clause consists of (INTR) PRED ARG¹⁻³ MODⁿ. Modifiers are prepositional, temporal, manner phrases, and may be preposed in part or whole to the predicate (see later sections). The arguments are ordered and ranked SUBJ ((DAT)OBJ), and consist of article plus noun phrase:

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

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

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

k ñt̥id g čtoʃ [m̥-o m̥d̥ g gogs]
INTR see ART man SUBR-MD run ART dog
And the man sees the dog running.

k čt̥ig-id g paanču g huan [m̥-o am q̥aha
INTR find-APPLIC ART PN ART PN SUBR-MD LOC sit

g piliwo]

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:

miɖ o g ɕtoɟ

run AUX ART man

The man is running.

pi o miɖ g ɕtoɟ

NEG AUX run ART man

The man isn't running.

ɕum o pi miɖ g ɕtoɟ

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:

miɖ o-ki g ɕtoɟ

run MD-MDL ART man

The man is evidently running.

miɖ-X a-t-ɕ g ɕtoɟ

run-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART man

The man reportedly ran.

miɖ a-ñ a-a-ñi-'i

run MD-I I

I'm running.

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

ku-ñ miɖ aañi'i

INTR-I run I

And I'm running.

k miɖ g ɕtoɟ

INTR run ART man

MD

And the man is running.

ɖ-o paanču

EQ-MD PN

It's Pancho.

Nonemphatic PRON is deleted:

miɖ a-ñ

run MD-I

I'm running.

maak a-ñ g gogs g ɕuukhug

give MD-I ART dog ART meat

I'm giving the dog meat.

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

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

am wŷtma-ŷ hŷga'i
 LOC with-GEN that
 with that one

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

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

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

am ha wŷtŷm hŷgam
 LOC them with those
 with those

am ha wui hŷgam
 LOC them to those
 to those

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

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

(aapi'i)

you

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

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

luulsi

candy

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

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

I'm washing the shirts for you.

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

I'm washing you the shirts.

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

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

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

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

g kil-ɣ g huan
ART house-GEN ART PN
the house of Juan

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

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

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

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

Subordinate nonrelative clauses have independent contour:

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

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

Emphasis

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

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

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

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

husi o ko'la g /ko'okol
 PN MD eat ART chili
 It's José who eats chili. (SV0; SUBJ is TOP and FOC)

Topicalization is superimposed on focus raising:

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

Any number of phrases may be topicalized:

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

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

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

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

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

ht-ki hu s /htma g k|li g t wos-mađ g
 RA-time REM MDL one ART man ART REFL grand-child ART
 w|p|a-i mašcam
 hunt-GER teach
 Long ago, reportedly, a man was teaching his grandchild
hunting. (SS-LL-227)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contrasting referent precedes question referent:

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

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

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

higai čtoŷ [m-o gi't-ŷ] / higai [m-o gi't-ŷ] čtoŷ
that man SUBR-MD big-be that SUBR-MD big-be man
 that man who is big

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

higai čtoŷ [m-o gi't-ŷ] o s=ap čikpan/higai ...
that man SUBR-MD big-be MD AFF=well work that

[m-o gi't-ŷ] čtoŷ o s=ap čikpan
SUBR-MD big-be man MD AFF=well work
 That man who is big works well.

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

Presumptive Pronoun Construction

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

čikpan o higa-m čt-č-oŷ / higam o čikpan čt-č-oŷ
work MD that-PL X-RDP-X those MD work men
man

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

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

ha'i-ŷŷ o am čikpan hɨgam č̣i-č̣-oŷ
 some-PRTV MD LOC work those men
 Some of those men work there.

am o čikpan gooka-ŷŷ hɨgam č̣i-č̣-oŷ
 LOC MD work two-PRTV those men
 Two of those men work there.

gooka-ŷŷ o am čikpan hɨgam č̣i-č̣-oŷ
 two-PRTV MD LOC work those men
 Two of those men are working there.

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

čikpan o hɨga'i č̣toŷ/hɨg o čikpan č̣toŷ
 work MD that man that MD work man
 That man works./That's the man that works.

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

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

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

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

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

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

čikpan o am ṭda hɨga'l kii/ am o čikpan hɨg ṭda kii
 work MD LOC in that house LOC MD work that in house
 He works in that house./That's the house he works in.

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

am o čikpan ha'i g či-č-oj/am o ha'i 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'i 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 iđ 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 čtoj (higa'i) [ma-t wa mīa-X g
 EQ-MD that man he SUBR-TNS REF kill-PERF ART

huaw!]

mule

deer

That man is he who killed the mule deer.

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

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

m=ñi-X]

you=see-PERF

It will be tomorrow when I see you.

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

čikp-X]

work-PERF

When will it be that you will start work?

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

wo čikpna-d]

FUT work-IMPRF

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

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Polarity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article

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

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

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

Syntactic Connectives

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

čikpan o g huan č ñt'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 ñt'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 ñt'-i
MDL-MD-MDL work ART PN CNJ MD-MDL just sing
Maybe Juan is working, or maybe he's just singing.

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

Semantic Connectives

<i>(w/h)abšaba/šaba</i>	<i>but</i>
<i>o! wa</i>	<i>yet, then</i>

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

id higi
this REF
How about this?

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

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

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

Tense/Aspect

Tense is signalled in the AUX.

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

am a-s kii g ki-ki-l
LOC MD-QUOT live ART X-RDP-X
 man

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

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

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

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

am g bi-i
LOC MD get-PERF
 IMP
Get it there!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

am a-t miṭ-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 bihi-d
 LOC MD *get-IMPRF*
Be getting it!

am o biht
 LOC MD *get*
He's/is/was getting it.

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

am o miḍ g huan č 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 *+* (harmonizing with stem vowel), *ḍ*, *ʂ*, or *w*. Distributive aspect marks repetition or an increment in a continuing action. Reduplication is effected in the final morpheme.

da-d-'-t
 X-RDP-X-DISTR
 jump
 jump repeatedly

t-'t-s-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-t
 X-RDP-X-DISTR
 reach
 catch up with

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

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

ok PAST PERF
 ahim PAST IMPRF

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introducer

na- YNQ
 ma- SUBR
 ku- CONN

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

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

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

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

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

Auxiliary

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

Mood distinguishes imperative and nonimperative.

g IMP
 a non-IMP

am g čikpan
 LOC MD work
 Work there!

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

Mood marker a becomes o preceding # or modal ki.

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

The mood marker deletes between ku and # or ki.

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

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

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

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

In the nonimperative, person and number are fused.

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

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

∅	pre-experiential
č	REM PAST
t	contemporary

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

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

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

Alveopalatals assimilate to the position of a following dental.

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

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

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

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

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

Modality is signalled in the AUX in two adjacent modals. Modal₁ indicates the source of the information of the proposition.

ki evidential
 § quotative
 Ø experiential

am a-t-ki	Yuu-X	am a-t-§	Yuu-X
LOC MD-TNS-MDL ₁	rain-PERF	LOC MD-TNS-MDL ₁	rain-PERF
It evidently rained there.		It reportedly rained there.	

am a-t Yuu-X
 LOC MD-TNS rain-PERF
 It rained there.

Modal₂ indicates conditionality in contrast to Ø nonconditional.

p assumptive
 s dubitative

Modal₂ occurs primarily in subordinate sentences, s for the unknown₂ in the complement of negative polarity predicates of knowledge, p elsewhere.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s wo Yuu-X]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
 I don't/didn't know if it is/was going to rain.

na-p s-maač [ma-s wo Yuu-X]
 Q-you AFF-know SUBR-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
 Do you know if it will rain?

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

pi a-n-t wo hii-X [ma-t-p wo Yuu-X]
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
 I won't go if (assuming that) it rains.

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

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

Modal₁ and modal₂ co-occur in the combinations s-p and kl-s.

ku-s-p	am	juuk	ku-kl-s	am	juuk
INTR-MDL ₁ -MDL ₂	LOC	rain	INTR-MDL ₁ -MDL ₂	LOC	rain
Presumably it's reportedly			Oh, so it might be rain-		
raining there.			ing there.		

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

ki'a-ga-ñ
yet-MD-you
Wait!

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

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o
X-RDP-X-PERF-FUT-MD-PL
quit
You PL quit DISTR!

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

him-i-ñ
go-PERF-you
You go!

hi-hi-m-i-o
X-RDP-X-PERF-PL
go
You PL go!

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

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

h+!+ñ-o
take-you-PL
You PL take it!

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o
X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-you-PL
sit
You PL sit down!

da-d-ha-i-wu-i-o
X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL
sit

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

ba-p-t wo čt-i
thus-you-TNS FUT say-PERF
You'll say this.
 (cf. hab *thus*)

baa-p kii
where-you live
Where do you live?
 (cf. hiba'i *where*)

šaa-p i wua
what-you REFL do
What are you doing?
 (cf. has *what*)

đoo-p ñtid
who-you see
Who do you see?
 (cf. hida'i *who*)

ša-'a-n-t-a'i tonom-X
X-MD-I-TNS-X thirsty-PERF

very
I got very thirsty.
 (cf. ša'i *very*)

wa-'a-ñ-abš him
X-MD-I-X

just
I'm just walking.
 (cf. wabš *just*)

w-a-n-t-o ñii
X-MD-I-TNS-X

FUT
I'll see him. (cf. wo will)

The first vowel of a flanking morpheme assimilates to the following vowel.

šo-'o-wa'i s-toñ
X-MD-X AFF-hot

very
It's very hot.

wo-'o-wabš s-huuk
X-MD-X AFF-warm

just
It's just warm.

Mood marker *a* optionally assimilates to a preceding vowel.

pi i-n-t čti-X
NEG MD-I-TNS find-PERF
I didn't find it.

čti-X t-n-t
find-PERF MD-I-TNS
I found it.

Besides bound modals, there are free modal constituents. These precede the verb except when AUX MDL is duplicated. Those indicated obligatorily co-occur with *wo FUT*. Certain free modal constituents co-occur with certain epistemology modals. Modals which occur with \emptyset epistemology modal are:

wo	<i>POT, FUT</i>
wo am hu	subjunctive, <i>might</i>
čum	impotentive, <i>try, would, to no avail, suddenly</i>
gi	unexpected
hig/higi	polite, <i>how about, let</i>
hihab	concessive, <i>even though</i>
himho wo wa	necessitative, <i>certainly, must</i>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I'll certainly go./I must go.

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

has	<i>how should</i>
hms	<i>maybe, should have</i>
hu i	<i>optative, hope</i>
ptigia	<i>pretend</i>
sa	<i>if</i>

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

[illegible]

pi a-n-t wo m=namkid [ma-p-t-p wabʂ
NEG MD-I-TNS FUT you=pay SUBR-you-TNS-COND just
pithgia čikpan]
pretend work
I won't pay you if you are just pretending to work

pi a-n-t wo hli-X [ma-t-p wo ʃa ʒuu-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, <i>even though</i>
čum...hims	conditional, concessive, <i>even if</i>
haspk	<i>why shouldn't</i>
hims hi	<i>I thought</i>
hu	remote possibility, improbability
na	<i>maybe</i>

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

n-t wo žikp-X [čum a-s hms 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 žikp-X
INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF
Why shouldn't he work?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Clitics

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

s=amičud
 AFF=understand
 understand

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

s=ap-'ĩ
 AFF=right-be
 be right

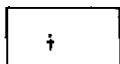
s=ap
 AFF=right
 right

s=ĩñ-ga
 AFF=CLSF-AL
 to own much

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Person markers displace s= AFF forward:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

huana o (Ø) + soo-so-m-j+l-id g i-'i-pud
 PN MD them REFL sew-BEN-APPLIC ART skirts
 Juana is sewing skirts for herself.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

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

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

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

g+ 'i-j
 big-be
 is big

so-pol-k
 short-be
 is short

s=ap-'i
 AFF=good-be
 is good

s=hi+pi-d
 AFF=cold-be
 is cold

s+li-ñ
 short-be
 is straight

s=toñ
 AFF=hot
 is hot

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

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

k	has-č <u>u</u>	wu <u>đ</u> hi <u>ga</u> 'i	ho'id-ka-m	o wu <u>đ</u>
INTR	what-thing	EQ that	stick-STAT-PRTC	MD EQ
	What's that?		It's ironwood.	

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

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

Existential verbalizer is -g:

gi'ti o čtho-g ama'i
 big MD cave-be there
 A big cave is there.

gi'ti o čtho-g-k-ahim ama'i
 big MD cave-be-STAT-PAST there
 A big cave was there.

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

Locational verb of being consists of demonstrative adverb or preposition:

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

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

Demonstrative adverb and response may be topicalized:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stance verbs are animate or inanimate:

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

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

HAVE

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

na-p *gɪ* go-go-gs-ga

Q-you POS X-RDP-X-AL

dog

Do you have dogs?

na-p ha'l go-go-gs-ga

Q-you some dogs-AL

Do you have some dogs?

pia'a pi a-ñ ha gogs-ga

no NEG MD-I any dog-AL

No, I don't have any dog.

na-p *gɪ* kil

Q-you POS house

Do you have a house?

htu'u *gɪ* a-ñ kil

yes POS MD-I house

Yes, I have a house.

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

ɪdgid a-ñ g lliwa

possess MD-I ART coat

I have a coat.

ɪdagi-X a-n-t g lliwa

possess-PERF MD-I-TNS ART coat

I acquired a coat.

DO

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

n-o hab wua g ɪ čikpan

Q-MD thus do ART REFL work

Is he doing his work?

na-t hab juu-X g ɪ čikpan

Q-TNS thus do-PERF ART REFL work

Did he do his work?

huan a-t hab wo wua-d g ɪ čikpan

PN MD-TNS thus FUT do-IMPRF ART REFL work

Juan will be doing his work.

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

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

n-t wo ha'i 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, *+* self, selves, own are employed for noun phrases coreferential to the subject. Arguments are ranked in the order SUBJ, BEN, DAT, OBJ. Reflexive pronoun *hi+j+i* self, *hi-hi'+i+j+i* (self-RDP-X) selves is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

(hi+j+i) o + wa-kon g al-i
 self MD REFL water-INST ART child-SG
 wash

The child is washing himself.

hi+j+i o + wa-koñ-id g kotoñ
 self MD REFL wash-APPLIC ART shirt
 He's washing himself a shirt.

wa-kon o g al-i g (hi+j+i) + iñ-ga
 wash MD ART child ART self REFL CLSF-AL
 The child is washing his own clothes.

wa-kon o g al-i g iñ-ga (hi+j+i) + wi+hi+j+d
 wash MD ART child ART CLSF-AL self REFL for
 The child is washing clothes for himself.

wa-kon o g huana g iñ-ga g (hi+j+i) + mađ
 wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL child

wi+hi+j+d
 for

Juana is washing clothes for her own child.

wa-kon o g huana g iñ-ga g (hi+j+l) t wi+nag
 wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL sister

maq wi+hi+j+d
 child for

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

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

aačim a-č hi-hi'+t-ji+l t=ñi+d
 we MD-we X-RDP-X REFL=see
 self

We see ourselves.

aañi'i kč aapi'i a-č hi-hi'+t-ji+l t=ñi+d
 I and you MD-we selves REFL=see
 You and I see ourselves.

hi-hi'+t-ji+l o t ñi+d g a-'a-l
 selves MD REFL see ART X-RDP-X
 child

The children see themselves.

hi-hi'+t-ji+l o t ñi+d g huan č husi
 selves MD REFL see ART PN and PN
 Juan and José see themselves.

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

b-o mas-ma mi+d g kawiu-ga-j g huan [m-o
 that-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD

(hab mas-ma mi+d) g wi+nga-j (g kawiu-ga-j
 that like-ADVR run ART sibling-GEN ART horse-AL-GEN

g huan)]/ [m-o g t wi+nag]
 ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL sibling
 Juan's horse runs like its sibling.

b-o mas-ma mi+d g kawiu-ga-j g huan [m-o (...)
 SUBR-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD

g wiinga-ŋ (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
 └───┘
 horse
Juan has as many horses...

[m-o (ha'a-kia ka-ka-wiu-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 + oog]
SUBR-MD REFL father
...as his father.

In reciprocal clauses, the arguments are only nondistinct if conflated. Reciprocal adverb *aigo*, *a'ai(go)* is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

ab o (aigo) ñtid g huan g husi
LOC MD across look ART PN ART PN
Juan is looking at José.

ab o (aigo) ñtid g husi g huan
LOC MD across look ART PN ART PN
José is looking at Juan.

ab o (a-'a-i) † ñid g huan č husi
LOC MD across-RDP-X REFL look ART PN and PN
Juan and José are looking at each other.

am o čikpan g huan č husi a-'a-i i wiithjid
LOC MD work ART PN and PN across REFL 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:

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

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

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

† a-t mia-X g huan
 REFL MD-TNS kill-PERF ART PN
 Juan killed himself.

† a-t ñ†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=toñ o	hiw†d o
AFF=hot MD	blow MD
It's hot.	It's windy.

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

Stative unspecified argument markers are ta agentive and ču objective:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unspecified object is marked by pronoun copy ha:

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

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

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

Unspecified subject and object pronoun copies co-occur:

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

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

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

na-p čikpan
Q-you work
Do you work?

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

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

hi'u'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=hiłpi-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=hiłpi-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 hił wiho
Q-MD REF true
Is that right?

WH Questions

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

ha-s
what-MAN
what?

has-č'u'u
what-thing
what thing?

has-č'u-kaŵ
what-thing-INSTR
with what thing?

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
what-ADVR X-RDP-X-ADVR
 what
what direction(s)?

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

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

hi-ki-d
what-time-ADVR
when?

idañ
at this time of cycle

hi't-kia
what-NUM
how many?

hi'l-kia-ču
what-NUM-thing
what numbered thing?

ha-b
that-MAN
that, thus

hi-ga-'i
RA-DIST-SG
that thing

hi-g hi-kaŵ/hi-kaŵ hi-ga-'i
RA-DIST INSTR INSTR RA-DIST-SG
with that thing

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
that-ADVR X-RDP-X-ADVR
 that
that/those direction(s)

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

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

i-da /winog
then then
then

ha'a-kia
that-NUM
that many

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

hɪ'ɪ-kki-o what- <i>NUM</i> -time how many times?	ha'a-kki-o that- <i>NUM</i> -time that many times
hɪ'ɪ-k-pa what- <i>NUM</i> -place how many places?	ha'a-k-pa that- <i>NUM</i> -place that many places
hɪ'ɪ-s what- <i>QNT</i> how much?	ha'a-s that- <i>QNT</i> that much
hɪ'ɪ-s-čũ /hɪ-hɪ'ɪ-s-čũ what- <i>QNT</i> -thing what- <i>RDP-X-QNT</i> -thing what size thing(s)?	
ha'a-s-čũ /ha-ha'a-s-čũ that- <i>QNT</i> -thing/that- <i>RDP-X-QNT</i> -thing that size thing(s)	
hɪ'ɪ-s-ko what- <i>QNT-ADVR</i> how far?	ha'a-s-ko that- <i>QNT-ADVR</i> that far

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

k hɪ-dɑ-'i am čikpan <i>INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC work</i> Who's working there?	
k hɪ-dɑ-'l am i čikpan <i>INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC DEF work</i> Which one is working there?	
k hɪ-bɑ-'i čikpan <i>INTR RA-neutral-NUM work</i> Where is he working?	
k hɪ-bɑ-'l i čikpan <i>INTR RA-neutral-NUM DEF work</i> Which place is he working?	
hɪ'ɪ-kia o ma-a-ma-d g gogs what- <i>NUM MD child-RDP-RDP-X ART dog</i> How many pups does a dog have?	
hɪ'ɪ-kia o i ma-a-ma-d g gogs what- <i>NUM MD DEF children ART dog</i> How many pups does the dog have?	

hɪ'ti-s o gɪ't-ɟ g al=huandii
 what-QNT MD big-be ART X=X
 elephant

How big is an elephant?

hɪ'ti-s o i gɪ't-ɟ g al=huandii
 what-QNT MD DEF big-be ART elephant
 How big is the elephant?

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

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

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

Any phrase without an embedded phrase may be question word:

t hɪ-da-'i soɪ-ga hab ɟuu-X
 TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL thus do-PERF
 Whose animal did it?

t hɪ-da-'i tɳ-ga-ka-m hab ɟuu-X
 TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC thus do-PERF
 Whose owner did it?

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

hɪ'ti-kia-ɟɟ o i ɕikpan hɪgam ɕi-ɕ-oɟ
 what-NUM-PRTV MD DEF work those X-RDP-X
 man

How many of those men are working?

ha'a-kia-ɟɟ o ɕikpan hɪgam ɕi-ɕ-oɟ
 that-NUM-PRTV MD work those men
 That many of those men are working.

hɪ'ti-si-ɟɟ o i s=kɪga-ɟ hɪga'i o'oɟ
 what-QNT-PRTV MD DEF AFF=good-be that sand
 How much of that sand is good?

k hɪda'i i ʃikpan hɪgam ʃi-ʃ-o
 INTR who DEF work those men
 Which of those men are working?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Demonstrative is copied from complement for questioning or defining:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

na-p hɪg hab ɪlid [ma-t hɪg hab wo ɟuu-X]
Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that thus FUT do-PERF
Is that the one you think will do it?

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

ʂaa-ɕu-kaɟ a-p hab i ɪlid [ma-p-t hɪg
what-thing-INSTR MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that

hɪkaɟ wo kɪi-t]
using FUT house-VR
With what do you think you will build the house?

baa-p hab i ɪlid [ma-p-t am wo kɪi-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 kɪi-t [ma-n-t hɪ'i-s wo
that-QNT MD-I-TNS FUT house-VR SUBR-I-TNS what-QNT FUT

i taɕɕua-d]
DEF want-IMPRF
I'll make the size house I want.

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

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

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

i taččua]

DEF want

I'll give you how many you want.

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

doo-'o has-č'u'u has wua

who-MD what-thing what do

Who does what?

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

na-p am i ñtid g has čtig-i

Q-you LOC DEF see ART what name-GER

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

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

hiča'i i

who DEF

Which one?

has-č'u'u i

what-thing DEF

What thing?

hi-ba-'i i

what-place-NUM DEF

What place?

IMPERATIVES

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

kl'a-ga-ñ
yet-MD-you
IMP
Wait!

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

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
Work!

hi'i-ñ
take-you
IMP
Take it!

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

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

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o
~~X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-you-PL~~
sit IMP
You PL sit down!

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

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

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

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

him-i-ñ
go-PERF-you
IMP
Go!

hi-hi-m-i-o
~~X-RDP-X-PERF-PL~~
go IMP
You PL go!

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

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

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o
X-RDP-X-PERF-MD-PL
quit IMP
 You PL quit DISTR!

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

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

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

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

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
 Work!

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

čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
 You PL work!

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

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

am g čikpan
LOC MD work
IMP
 Work there!

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

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

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

am a-p-t hab wo ʔuu-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 ʔuuñ
 thus-MD do
 IMP
 Do it!

ba-g wo ʔuuñ
 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.

bɪtɪ
 get
 get

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

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

You PL get it there!

bi'a
 serve
 serve

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

hiɪm
 go
 go

am g hiɪm
 LOC MD go
 PERF
 IMP
 Go there!

miɖ
 run
 run

am g miɖɪ
 LOC MD run
 PERF
 IMP
 Run there!

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

bɪh-l-ñ
get-PERF-you
Get it!

bɪh-l-o
get-PERF-PL
You PL get it!

bi'-i-ñ
serve-PERF-you
Serve it!

hV is also deleted before k:

bɪh-l-ñ k ñɪd/ bɪ k ñɪd
get-PERF-you and see get and see
IMP IMP IMP IMP
Get it and see it!

*ɖaha-ka-d > ɖa-ka-d
sit-STAT-IMPRF
will be sitting

In DEF__V-PERF, IMP may be deleted:

l g bɪɪ-'i / l bɪɪ-'i
DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF
 IMP IMP
Bring it!

l g waak-i / l 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 bɪɪ-'i g ɪ waakus k-X gm hu hlim
LOC IMP get-PERF ART REFL bedroll CNJ-PERF LOC REM go
 IMP IMP
Take your bedroll and go!

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

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

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

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

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-baḍ	defunct, detached, deceased, former, dead
-ḍag/-lig (or -aḍag/-alig)	ABSTR NR
-ga/-ka/-g	POSSD 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)
-j+g	hole, aperture of N
-kuḍ	ABSTR, INSTR
-maḍ	child relation
-la	abnormal
-po/-wo	hair of

ku'i-baḍ
tree-detached
harvest stick

ho'i-baḍ
thorn-detached
needle

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

woog-baḍ
road-defunct
defunct road

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

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

uuw-a-lig
smell-GER-ABSTR
odor

kaïs-t-a-lig
rich-VR-GER-ABSTR
riches

ñ=uus-ga
me=tree-AL
my tree

ñ=usa-ga
me=stick-AL
my gavel

ñ=wuu-pu-i

me=X-RDP-X

eye

my eyes

ñ=paali-g

me=minister-AL

my minister

nai-pi-jju-gim

X-RDP-X-group

friend

members of friend group

baa-b/ba-b-i

mother's father or

male sibling

wosk/woj-l

father's father or

male sibling

kli-jig

house-hole

doorway

ñtid-a-kud

see-GER-INSTR

mirror

bi-i-kud

get-GER-INSTR

handle

mo'o-la

head-abnormal

abnormal-headed one

ñ=ka'a-mađ

me=grand-child

my (sister's) grandchild

čiñ-wo

mouth-hair

moustache

ñ=wuu-pu-i-ga

me=eye-AL

my glasses

apapa-gam/apki-gam

father-group

members of coyote moiety

kaa-k/ga-g-i

father's mother or

female sibling

oks-i

mother's older female

sibling

ho'i-bađ-jig

thorn-dead-hole

needle

eye of needle

kti hin-a-kud

dance-GER-INSTR

dance floor

iibdag-la

heart-abnormal

heart patient

ñ=ba'a-mađ

me=grand-child

my (brother's) grandchild

ts-po

chin-hair

beard

V + X = N

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

maači-g
know-NR
knowledge

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

kuup-i
close-GER
closed/closing

ñ=mtl
me=run
GER
my running

kii-t-a
house-VR-GER
building

juuk-i
rain-GER
rain

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

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

him-da-m
go-IMPRF-PRTC
goer

doa-ka-g
live-STAT-NR
soul

him-da-g
go-IMPRF-NR
ways

haiñ
crack
GER
cracked/cracking
 lawu-i
spill-GER
slop

kfi-šp-a
foot-contact-GER
pace

naato-i
make-GER
creation

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

kii-ka-m
dwel-STAT-PRTC
dweller

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

MOD + X = N

-ču'u/-ču (Totoguañ/Ko=lodi)

s=čuk-ču'u
AFF=black-NR
black one

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

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

ha'a-s-ču'u
that-QNT-NR
that size one

VERB MORPHOLOGY

V + X = V

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

aad-č
hang-RSLTV
to have around neck

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

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

kuup-č
close-RSLTV
to have closed

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have finished

maač-čulid
know-CAUS
 to cause to know

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

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

him-him
go-PROG
 ambling, wandering

kuup-i
close-RSLTV
 closed

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

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

šoom-ȳilid
sew-BEN
 to sew for

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

wul-'ok
tie-PRIV
 to untie

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

s=iḍa-stk
AFF=shame-endure
 to be able to endure shame

hiḡg-čulid
happy-CAUS
 to cause to be pleased

kai-čug
listen-continue
 to continue listening to

ȳiḡñ-gid
smoke-CAUS
 to cause to smoke, discuss

maak-him
give-PROG
 going along giving

bid-šp-i
adobe-contact-RSLTV
 plastered

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

maak-ȳilid
give-BEN
 to give for

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

bid-šp-i'ok
mud-contact-PRIV
 to un plaster

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

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

him-i-d-ta-him
go-able-GER-become-PROG
learning to walk

wañ-čk-wua
pull-INSTR-move
to pull along

mł-i-d-t a-t
run-able-GER-become MD-TNS
He learned to run.

ha wañ-č-sulig
them pull-INSTR-move
 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
 -dad, dag to put N on
 -g existential, N is, exists
 -gid APPLIC, to shake N
 -gfw to move N constantly
 -hajn, -hai-š INSTR, to hit with N
 -hin, -hi-š INSTR, to hit with N
 -hog to be expected to
 s=...-hog to be displeased by
 -hun APPLIC
 -kkan, -kka-š INSTR, to hit with N
 -kon, -ko-š INSTR, to hit with glancing blow of N
 -mad to apply N
 -mtd/-op MOT of purpose, to go for N
 -mun INSTR, to disturb with N
 -pig PRIV, to remove
 -sid to mimic the action
 -s RSLTV, PASS (second rank argument replaces
 -šp INSTR, to make contact with N highest)
 -šan, -ša-d to act along a surface
 -šun, -šu-d, -šu-š INSTR, to crush with N
 -t to make N
 -wln, -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
another-APPLIC
to treat like another

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

a'an-čud
feather-APPLIC
to feather

hogi-ɖad
leather-put
on
to saddle, have saddled

am o čiho-g
LOC MD cave-be
A cave is there.

am o ha'iču-g
LOC MD something-be
It (something) is there.

mo-o-m-gid
head-RDP-RDP-APPLIC
to shake heads

ma-giw
hand-swing
to swing arm

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

ma-'i-hin
object-GER-INSTR
from
hand
to hit with thrown object

mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give

s=ka-i-hog
AFF=hear-GER-displeased
to be displeased by hearing

bid-hun
mud-APPLIC
to contaminate

ñ=kili-čud
me=house-APPLIC
to make me a house

iñ-ga-ɖad
CLSF-AL-put
on
to put on, have on (clothes)

s=kui-g
AFF=mesquite-be
to be many mesquites

mo'o-gid
head-APPLIC
to shake head

bahi-gid
tail-APPLIC
to switch tail

mo'o-giw
head-swing
to have head tremors

ton-hain
knee-INSTR
to hit with knee

soñ-hi-s
object-INSTR-DISTR
in
hand
to hit repeatedly with held
object

mī'-a-hog
kill-GER-expected
to be expected to kill

s=tam-hog
AFF=tooth-displeased
to consider a nuisance

ho'igi'id-a-hun
bless-GER-APPLIC
to pray

kɪ-i-kkan <i>foot-INTR</i> to kick	mo'o-kka-s <i>head-INTR-DISTR</i> to bunt heads repeatedly
čɪl-kon <i>rough-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to scratch off	dap-kon <i>smooth-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to slip
ki-'i-kon <i>teeth-GER-INTR</i> to gnaw clean	on-mad <i>salt-apply</i> to salt
ko'okol-mad <i>chili-apply</i> to chili	miɪs-mad <i>mass-apply</i> to practice religion on
čikpn-a-mɪd/čikpn-op <i>work-GER-MOT/work-MOT</i> PL to go for work	ču'a-mun <i>point-INTR</i> to tamp/poke
dag-i-mun <i>hand-GER-INTR</i> to massage	sɪl-mun <i>edge-INTR</i> to hoe/mash
maɪ-pig <i>offspring-remove</i> to remove fruit	wɪɪpɪdho-pig <i>testicles-remove</i> to castrate
juñ-sɪd <i>do-imitate</i> to imitate the action of	ñtok-sɪd <i>talk-imitate</i> to imitate the speech of
aag-a-s <i>say-GER-RSLTV</i> to be told	bɪ-l-s <i>get-GER-RSLTV</i> to be gotten
naato-l-s <i>finish-GER-RSLTV</i> to be finished	čɪñ-s <i>mouth-INTR</i> to take in the mouth
kɪ-l-s <i>foot-GER-INTR</i> to step on	kɪ-i-s-č <i>foot-GER-INTR-RSLTV</i> to have underfoot
juk-sɪp <i>rain-INTR</i> to rain on	kɪ-i-s-sa-p <i>foot-GER-X-RDP-X</i> INSTR to step on repeatedly

čtɪl-ʂan
rough-INSTR
surface
to rub off

čtk-ʂan
point-INSTR
to mark a line

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

kii-t
house-make
to make a house

kɪh-i-win
foot-GER-INSTR
to thresh

mo'o-win
head-INSTR
to clean horns

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

i'o-ʂan
breath-INSTR
to clear throat

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

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

ʂoñ-wia
object-INSTR
in
hand
to pound apart

mo'o-wua
head-bump
to bump head

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

ADJ + X = V

-d/-'ɪ/-ʂ/-k/-ñ/∅ be

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

gɪ't-ʂ
big-be
to be big

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

s=ap-'ɪ
AFF=good-be
to be right/good

ʂopol-k
short-be
to be short

s=baabagi
AFF=slow
to be slow

Other

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

ali-čud
child-APPLIC
to treat like a child

hima-čud
other-APPLIC
to treat like another

hima-ko-čud/-jid
one-APPLIC
to unite

gook-čud
two-APPLIC
to make two

daam-čud
over-APPLIC
to put over

wičo-čud
under-APPLIC
to put under

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

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

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

AFF is deleted if negated:

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

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

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

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

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

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

good

s=moik /s=mo-mo-ik
AFF=soft AFF=X-RDP-X
soft

soft

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

hard

s=g+wk /s=g+u-p-k
AFF=strong AFF=X-RDP-X
strong

strong

s=bilagi/s=bi-b-tagi
AFF=dirty AFF=X-RDP-X
dirty

dirty

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

s=čt+dagl/s=čt-hi-dagl
AFF=green AFF=X-RDP-X
green

green

s=kt+g /s=kt-hi-g
AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X
good

good, nice

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

s=ju-mal/s=ju-'u-ju-mal
AFF=low AFF=X-RDP-RDP-X
low

low

šopol/šo-'o-š-poł
short X-RDP-RDP-X
short

short

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

constricted

wadadk/wa-'a-p-dadk
shiny X-RDP-RDP-X
shiny

shiny

ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

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

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

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

s=ap
AFF=good
well, rightly

g'tt-'j
big-be
to be big, great

g'tt
big
much, greatly

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

s=wiink
AFF=difficult
to be difficult

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

s=moik
AFF=soft
to be soft

s=moika-m
AFF=soft-ADVR
softly

gakol-k
crooked-be
to be crooked

gakoli-m
crooked-ADVR
crookedly

ʃtli-ñ
straight-be
to be straight

ʃtli-ñi-m
straight-be-ADVR
straightly

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

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

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

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

amičud-a
 understand-GER
 understanding

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

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

bih-i
 get-GER
 the gain

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

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

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

a]i-ma
 thin-ADVR
 thinly

maas
 like
 to be like

mas-ma
 like-ADVR
 like

s=hiłpi-d
 AFF=cold-be
 to be cold

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

s=moik
 AFF=soft
 to be soft

s=moi-ma
 AFF=soft-ADVR
 softly

s=oam
 AFF=brown
 to be brown, yellow

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

s=wɪtʃ
 AFF=heavy
 to be heavy

s=wɪtʃ-ma
 AFF=heavy-ADVR
 heavily

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

s=baabagi mɪd
 AFF=s low run
 running slowly

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

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

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

Numeral adverb consists of numeral plus ADVR -ho:

hɪm-ho
 one-ADVR
 once

gok-ko
 two-ADVR
 twice

hɪtas-p-o
 five-ADVR
 five times

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

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

has-ko
 that-ADVR
 that direction

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

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

hɪjɪl-ko
 alone-ADVR
 in a lonely place

s=toñ-ko
 AFF=hot-ADVR
 in the heat

jɪwɪd-o
 ground-ADVR
 on the ground

do'ag-o
 mountain-ADVR
 on a mountain

Count place adverb consists of quantifier plus ADVR -pa:

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

hɪma-k-pa
 one-NUM-ADVR
 in one place

hɪ'ɪ-k-pa i
what-NUM-ADVR DEF
what number of places

Time adverb consists of time plus ADVR -d:

hɪ-kɪ-d
RA-time-ADVR
sometime

ʃuu-ʃ-ka-d
X-RDP-X-ADVR
night
nightly

hu-hu-duka-d
X-RDP-X-ADVR
evening
evenings

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

daam ʃu-ʃ-ʃ-u-d
above sun-RDP-RDP-DISTR-ADVR
noons

Adverb consists of noun plus ADVR -kaʃ like:

ban-kaʃ
coyote-ADVR
coyote-like

ba'ag-kaʃ
eagle-ADVR
eagle-like

ɪ aamo-kaʃ
REFL boss-ADVR
like his own boss

COMPOUNDS

Single-Stress Compounds

N + N = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

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

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

wa-maɖ
water-child
snake

ma-g^hiw
hand-swing
to swing arm

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

on-a-m^hid
salt-GER-MOT
to go for salt

kii-t
house-make
to make house

k^hhi-win
foot-INSTR
to thresh

čĩn-wua
mouth-bump
to bump mouth

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

mo'o-g^hiw
head-swing
to swing head

ton-hain
knee-INSTR
to hit with knee

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

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

k^hhi-wia
foot-INSTR
to thresh

ton-wua
knee-bump
to bump knee

nak-pig
ear-remove
to earmark

ADJ + PROG + APPLIC = N

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

V + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-bim/-bi^h (bi^him to go around) to go around, pass
ta'i- (ta'i back, up) to back out, to rise
-h^him (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
-nod (nod to turn) to turn while Ving
-muk, -ko'o (muuk, ko'o to die) to be dying of
-to (naato finish) COMPL, to finish Ving
-wua (wua do) INCEPT, to assume a stance
-wua, -šulig (wua, šulig to throw away) to V away

ñt'i-bim
run-pass
 to run around

ta'i-wuṣ
back-emerge
 to come out

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

hiṭpi-i-him
cold-INCHO-PROG
 to get cold

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

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

s=bṭh-imk
AFF=get-DESID
 to want to get

s=ñt'id-amk
AFF=see-DESID
 to want to see

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

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

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

ta'i-biḵ
back-pass
 PERF
 to pass around

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

čtggia-him
fight-PROG
 to go along fighting

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

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

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

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

mṭl-i-nam
run-GER-meet
 to meet running

mṭl-i-nod
run-GER-turn
 to turn running

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V + ADV = V

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

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

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

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

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

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

daam-ŷtq
above-from
from above

ga hu-ŷtq
there REM-from
from over there

m+tk-ŷtq
far-from
from far

pi'a-ŷtq
NEG-from
from nowhere

Multiple-Stress Compounds

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

h+g a-t q wo tqa=hug-ka-m=o'odham-k
that MD-TNS EQ FUT in=end-STAT-PRTC=Indian-STAT
He'll be Half-Indian.

h+g a-t tqa hug-ka-m q 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 :

hu'ul=naagi
grandmother=skirt
moth

čuuwi=taq-po
rabbit=foot-hair
owlclover

ñ=wos-ma=ji'ti
me=grand-child=mother
my daughter-in-law/
grandchild's mother

ho'ok=waa'o
ogress=tongs
nightblooming cereus

utko=ji'ti
soapweed=mother
stalk
soapweed

ñ=wo-p-s-maq=ha-ji'ti
me=X-RDP-X-child=their-mother
 grand
my grandchildren's mother

N_2 is made of N_1 :

uus=gaat
wood=weapon
bow

wainomi=woog
metal=road
railroad

wainomi=gaat
metal=weapon
gun

N_2 is used for N_1 :

li'al=kii
money=house
purse, wallet

huhul-ga=kli
menstruation-AL=house
menstrual house

N_2 is characterized by N_1 :

gogs=o'odham
dog=man
monkey

N_2 is secretion of N_1 :

čukud=šoša
owl=snout
date

N_2 acts on N_1 :

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

N_2 is accomplished by N_1 :

hoochi=i-'t-s
mourning=X-RDP-X
 dove plant:GER
 gold poppy

htwtl=i-'t-s
wind=plant
 GER
 scarlet bugler

N_2 is effected on N_1 :

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

kušo=dag-šp-a
occiput=hand-contact-GER
 grasp occiput

ADJ + N = N

on-k=aki-mtl
salt-STAT=arroyo-run
 GER
 Salt River

aŷ=wainomi
narrow=metal
 telephone

gi=šuudagi
great=water
 sea

uugk=da'a-da-m / uugk=him-da-m
high=fly-IMPRF-PRTC *high=move-IMPRF-PRTC*
 airplane

PRON + N = N

hiŷiti=mtl-i-čud-da-m
alone=run-GER-APPLIC-IMPRF-PRTC
 automobile

N + ADJ = N

čuu^hkhug=s=gaki
flesh=AFF=dry
dried meat

hiwč^u=wigi
groin=red
black widow spider

V + N = N

da-d-p-k=wašai
X-RDP-X-STAT=grass
smooth
side oats

QNT + N = N

w^ts=t=ma-a-m
all=us=finger-RDP-RDP
ten

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

The inflectional suffixes are NUM $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{AL} \\ \text{HON} \} \\ \text{ABS} \end{array} \right\}$ GEN.

Number

NUM suffixes are plural/reversative. Plural is -m following pronoun stem, Ø otherwise:

hi-ga-m
that-PL
those

i-i-da-m
this-PL
these

hi-da-m
who-PL
who PL

a-a-pl-m
you-PL
you PL

Reversative is -i/Ø; i dissimilates to a in stems with i INTNS. Reversative is SG with PRON stems and certain N stems, PL with other N stems, and neutral with ADV stems. Certain N stems reduplicate in the plural. The first V of certain stems geminates under reduplication.

hi-ga-'i
that-SG
that

hi-da-'i
who-SG
who

i-i-a-'a
here-NUM
here

a-l-
child-SG
child

ki-l-i
male-SG
mature male

oks
female
mature female

ʃisk
aunt
aunt

mo'o
head
head

gogs
dog
dog

maɟ
child
woman's child

i-i-da-'a
this-SG
this

a-a-pl-'i
you-SG
you

a-ma-'i
there-NUM
there

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

ki-ki-l
X-RDP-X
male
mature males

o-'o-k-l
X-RDP-X-PL
female
mature females

ʃi-ʃ-s-i
X-RDP-X-PL
aunt
aunts

mo-o-m-i
head-RDP-RDP-PL
heads

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

ma-a-ma-d
X-RDP-RDP-X
child
children

Certain senior kin N stems reduplicate in live reference and/or truncate in the SG, supplete by reduction of geminate V and substitution of voiced for voiceless consonant in the HON, delete SG otherwise:

ñ=ka'a-bad
me=grandmother-deceased
my deceased grandmother

ñ=kaa-k
me=grandmother-RDP
my grandmother

ñ=ga-g-i-i
me=grandmother-RDP-SG-HON
my honorable grandmother

ñ=kaa-ka-'a
me=grandmother-RDP-X
my grandmothers

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:

ñ=paali-g
me=minister-AL
my minister

ñ=kili-ga
me=maie-AL
my old man

ñ=kun
me=husband
my husband

Genitive is -j/∅ with partitive function in QNT, -j/∅ (nonpartitive) otherwise, marking the predicate of a complex phrase as any argument of a proposition:

ha'i-j hīgam čt-č-oj
some-GEN those X-RDP-X
 man
some of those men

hīma hīgam čt-č-oj
one those men
GEN
one of those men

am wiima-j g huana
LOC company-GEN ART PN
there in the company of
Juana

am wui-j g huana
LOC direction-GEN ART PN
there in the direction of
Juana

am daam g hodai
LOC above ART rock
there on the rock

g kli-j g huana
ART house-GEN ART PN
the house of Juana

g kɪl-i-ga-ŷ g huana
 ART male-SG-AL-GEN ART PN
 the old man (husband) of Juana

The genitive marker of a phrase predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it. Constituents preposed to their predicate are incorporated in its pitch contour:

g kɪl-i-ŷ g huana/g huana kɪl
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
 Juana's house

am wɪtma-ŷ g huana/am huana wɪtm
 LOC with-GEN ART PN LOC PN with
 with Juana

g ñ=kɪl
 ART me=house
 my house

g huana kɪl-i-ga
 ART PN male-SG-AL
 Juana's man

Detached parts have unspecified argument and are alienable to another argument:

nɪma-ŷ
 liver-GEN
 liver

ñ=nɪma-ŷ-ga
 me=liver-GEN-AL
 my liver of something

ñ=nɪm
 me=liver
 my liver

When the predicate of possession is preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i, -ŷ is replaced by -ɖ:

am ɪɖa g kɪl-i-ŷ g huan/am kɪl-i-ɖ ɪɖ g huan
 LOC in ART house-GEN ART PN LOC house-GEN in ART PN
 in the house of Juan

ab kɪl-i-ɖ am-ŷɪɖ g huan
 LOC house-GEN there-from ART PN
 from the house of Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i. ABS is -k following indefinite pronouns and certain nouns, otherwise -t before a and -ʒ before i:

ab ha'ičũ-k ab
LOC something-ABS on
on something

am s=toñ-k tđ
LOC AFF=heat-ABS in
in the heat

am s=čuhugam-k tđ
LOC AFF=dark-ABS in
in the dark

am pi ap-'i-ka-m-k tđ
LOC NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC-ABS in
in evil

ab kil-t am-ŷtđ
LOC house-ABS there-from
from the house

am kil-č tđ
LOC house-ABS in
in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrases from possessed noun phrases in which GEN has been deleted because of a preposed constituent:

hima kil-č tđ
one house-ABS in
in a house

hima kil tđ
someone house in
in someone's house

ab san=piiwlo kilhim-t am-ŷtđ
LOC PN=STEM village-ABS there-from
from San Pedro village

ab san=piiwlo kilhim am-ŷtđ
LOC PN=STEM village there-from
from San Pedro's village

The locative suffix -ko/o substitutes for preposition *am* at or on.

am ŷtđ-ko
LOC opening-LOC
there outside

am has-ko
LOC INDF-LOC
there somewhere

am ŷtwtđ-o
LOC earth-LOC
there on the ground

am kil-ŷtđ-o
LOC house-opening-LOC
there at the door

POSSESSIVES

A possessed noun phrase is predicate, marked by genitive -j and preceding its argument, possessor noun phrase, in basic order:

g	kli-j	g	huan	g	kli-j	hɨga'i	ʃtoj
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	ART	house-GEN	that	man
	the		house of Juan		the		house of that man

g	kli-j	g	ooga-j	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	father-GEN	ART	PN
	the		house of the father		of Juan

The genitive marker of the predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it:

g	huan	kli	hɨg	kli	ʃtoj
ART	PN	house		that	house man
	Juan's	house		that	man's house

g	kli-j	g	huan	oog	g	ooga-j	kli	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	father	ART	father-GEN	house	ART	PN
	the		house of Juan's	father		the		father's-house	of Juan

g	huan	oog	kli
ART	PN	father	house
	Juan's	father's	house

The genitive marker of the preposed argument is not deleted, but is replaced by ɟ, preceding preposition beginning in t or a:

am	tɟa	g	kli-j	g	huan/am	kli-ɟ	tɟ	g	huan	
LOC	in	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	in	ART	PN
	in		the house of		Juan					

ab	amjɟ	g	kli-j	g	huan/ab	kli-ɟ	amjɟ	g	
LOC	from	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	from	ART

huan
PN
from the house of Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition starting with t or a. The absolutive is -k following indefinite pronoun, s=čuhuga-m (AFF=night-PRTC) dark,

pi ap-*t*-ka-m (NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC) evil, and s=toñ (AFF=hot) hot; otherwise it is -t before a and -č before *t*:

has-ču-k *t*đ
what-thing-ABS in
what in?

ab ab g kii /ab kii-t ab
LOC at ART house LOC house-ABS at
at the house

am *t*đa g kii /am kii-č *t*đa
LOC in ART house LOC house-ABS in
in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrase from possessed noun phrase in which GEN is deleted because of a preposed constituent (see BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Possession, for examples).

The pronoun copies of possessor argument are identical to those of object arguments:

<i>ñ</i> =	<i>t</i> =	REFL:	<i>ñ</i> =	<i>t</i> =
<i>m</i> =	<i>t̃m</i> =		<i>t̃</i>	
∅	ha			

Pronoun copies are preposed to the predicate dominating the argument of which they are constituent, triggering deletion of genitive marker:

g *ñ*=kii aañi'i
ART me=house I
my house

g *t*=kii aačim
ART us=house we
our house

g *m*=kii aapi'i
ART you=house you
your house

g *t̃m*=kii aapim
ART you=house you
PL PL
your PL house

g ha kii hiġam
ART them house those
their house

g *t̃* kii
ART REFL house
your/his/their own house

Nouns are alienable or inalienable. Inalienable nouns signify body parts, man-made articles, kin, and abstract concepts. Alienable nouns occur with classifier in contrast with inalienable nouns. Classifier is *soi-* if noun is animate, *t̃ñ-* 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-ŋ g huan
what-thing CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN
What kind of animal of Juan?

g gogs ʂoi-ga-ŋ 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-ŋ g huan/g huan gogs-ga
ART dog-AL-GEN ART PN ART PN dog-AL
the dog of Juan/Juan's dog

It is the noun that is classified, since the same object may have alienable and inalienable lexemes:

ñ=kun	/ñ=kɪli-ga	ñ=maɖ	/ñ=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-ŋ g haiwañ
gut-GEN ART cow
gut of cow

hihi-ŋ
gut-GEN
tripe

hihi-ŋ-ga-ŋ g huan
gut-GEN-AL-GEN ART PN
the tripe of Juan

huan hihi-ŋ-ga
PN gut-GEN-AL
Juan's tripe

PREPOSITIONS

Forms

Prepositions are identical in singular and plural, but most have a distributive formed by reduplication. Certain PREP reduplicate stressed V as well as initial CV.

ab	at, on the near side of
am	at, on the far side of, UNSPEC
an	at, on the edge of
aigo, a'ai(go)	across, back, RCPR
amjtd, a'amjtd	from, about, ABLATIVE
baašo, babšo	along, in front of (baašo breast)
ba'ič, bab'aič	beyond, in front of, more
daam, da'adam	above, on
tđa, i'tđa	in, in the midst of
gahi, gaaghai	across
oidam, o'oidam	during
šaagid, ša'ašagid	between, among
taagio, ta'atagio	in the way of/direction of, before
wičo, w'i'wīčo	under
wtībig, w'i'wībig	behind, around (Ko=lloodi dialect)
wtīgaĵ, w'i'wīgaĵ	behind, around (other dialects)
wiithjtd, w'i'wīthjtd	for, BEN
wiīm, w'i'wīīm	with
wipo, w'i'wīppo	like
wui, wu'uwui	to, DAT (wuhi eye, wuhi-oša face)

The following verbs have participles with suffix -č/k which function as prepositions:

miabid, mīmiabid	be near, approach
oid, o'oid	follow, go through
wīinad, w'i'wīinad	put with

The participle agrees with the main verb in perfectivity.

ku-ki am oid-č hlm g kii
 INTR-EV LOC through-CNJ go ART house
 He's going through the house.

ku-t-ki am oid-k hii-X g kii
 INTR-TNS-EV LOC through-CNJ go-PERF ART house
 He went through the house.

Syntax

The preposition is predicate, preceding its argument in neutral order and marked by genitive in some forms:

wiima-ŷ g huan
with-GEN ART PN
with Juan

wul-ŷ g kli
to-GEN ART house
to the house (Pima)

gahi-ŷ g woog
across-GEN ART road
across the road (Pima)

As is the case with nouns, genitive is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to the preposition:

huan wiim
PN with
with Juan

hig wiim čtoŷ
that with man
with that man

kli wui
house to
to the house

hima wul g kli
one to ART house
to a house

hima wiim g čtoŷ
one with ART man
with a man

Pronoun copies preposed to preposition are identical to those of other object arguments:

ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
m=	†m=			
Ø	ha		†	

ñ=wiim aañi'i
me=with I
with me

ha wi-†-wi-m higam č†-č-oŷ
them X-RDP-RDP-X those X-RDP-X
 with man
with those scattered men

Two prepositions may co-occur, with nonablative preposed to ablative, and thus in the same contour, and ablative optionally reducing to -j†q:

am daam amj†q g kli /am daam-j†q g kli
LOC over from ART house LOC over-from ART house
from over the house

am wɪʔo-ʔɪd g kɪi-ʔ g ooga-ʔ 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 amʔɪd/mia-ʔɪd
 near from near-from
 from near

ga hu-ʔɪd
 LOC REM-from
 from over there

hɪbai-ʔɪd /baa-ʔɪd
 where-from
 from where?

pi-'a-ʔɪd
 no-place-from
 from nowhere

has-ko-ʔɪd /ʂaa-ko-ʔɪd
 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, hɪ unspecified/indefinite, ha'a unspecified quantity, hɪ'ɪ indefinite quantity. In demonstratives, a PROX assimilates to the following vowel.

Intensive is i, occurring with specified range and indicating extremity of range.

Specifiers are specific to the class.

Quantifier is m plural, i unspecified (singular, mass, locational). Quantifier l dissimilates to a from word-initial i.

Demonstratives and adverbs of one syllable or two open syllables supplete when individually forwarded for topicalization. The suppletion is effected by deleting unstressed vowels, except after y, when not essential for distinguishing range.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns indicate range and quantity. The deictic is proximal or unspecified. The intensifier occurs with specified deictic. The specifier is *da* proximal, *ga* distal.

i-i-da-m
PROX-INTNS-PROX-PL
these

i-i-da-'a
PROX-INTNS-PROX-UNSPEC
this, this stuff

hi-ga-m
UNSPEC-DIST-PL
those

hi-ga-'i
UNSPEC-DIST-UNSPEC
the, that, that stuff

The suppletive forms are *id* *this* and *hi-g* *that*.

i-d *a-n̄* *hab* *aag čtoŋ*
PROX-PROX MD-I thus say man
This (is the) man I mean.

hi-g *a-n̄* *hab* *aag čtoŋ*
UNSPEC-DIST MD-I thus say man
That (is the) man I mean.

Quantifying demonstratives consist of deictic (plus intensifier?) plus quantifier. The deictic is unspecified/indefinite.

ha('a) *UNSPEC*
hi('i) *INDF*

The quantifier is number/quantity.

kia *NUM*
s *QNT*

ha'a-kia
UNSPEC-NUM
so many

hi'i-kia
INDF-NUM
how many

ha'a-s
UNSPEC-QNT
so much

hi'i-s
INDF-QNT
how much

Number demonstrative co-occurs with *ču* *things*, *ho* *times*, *pa* *places*.

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

hɪ'i-kia-ču
INDF-NUM-thing
what numbered thing

ha'a-kki-o
UNSPEC-NUM-times
that many times

hɪ'i-kki-o
INDF-NUM-times
how many times

ha'a-k-pa
UNSPEC-NUM-places
that many places

hɪ'i-k-pa
INDF-NUM-places
how many places

Quantifying demonstrative co-occurs with ču thing, ko distance.

ha'a-s-ču
UNSPEC-QNT-thing
that size thing

hɪ'i-s-ču
INDF-QNT-thing
what size thing

ha'a-s-ko
UNSPEC-QNT-distance
that far

hɪ'i-s-ko
INDF-QNT-distance
how far

Syntax

DEM precedes noun and agrees in number:

i-i-da-m kii-ki
this-PL house-RDP
these houses

i-i-da-'a kii
this-SG house
this house

Quantifier and/or adjective and/or participle may intervene:

i-i-da-m gɪ-'t-gɪ-d kii-ki
these X-RDP-RDP-X house-RDP
 big
these big houses

i-i-da-m ha'i gɪ-'t-gɪ-d kii-ki
these few big house-RDP
these few big houses

i-i-da-m s=wa-pa-gim-am žikpan-da-m žɪ-ž-oj
these AFF=X-RDP-X-ADVR work-IMPRF-PRTC X-RDP-X
 industrious man
these industrious working men

Partitive quantifier is the determiner, preceding the pronoun.

hɪma hɪ-ga-m čt-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-jj hɪ-ga-m čt-č-oj a-t am wo hɪ-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:

hɪma a-t ha mɪa-X hɪ-ga-m čt-č-oj
 one MD-TNS them kill-PERF those men
 PRTV
 He killed one of those men.

hɪma a-t-t wo hii-X a-a-čɪ-m
 one MD-we-TNS FUT go-PERF we
 PRTV
 One of us will go.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i g ñ=nawoj
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I ART me=friend
 PL

wiim
 with
 We drove there, I with my friend.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i kč i-i-da-'a
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I and this
 PL
 We drove there, I and this one.

Article g/hɪg (Papago/Pima, respectively) introduces argument. ART is deleted before pronoun, after ART/LOC, and clause initially:

g kɪi-j hɪ-ga-'i čtoj
 ART house-GEN that man
 the house of that man

g kɪi-j g huan/ g huan kɪi
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
 house of Juan/Juan's house

am daam g kii /am kii daam
 LOC above ART house LOC house above
 above the house

mĩđ o g huan/huan o mĩđ
 run MD ART PN PN MD run
 Juan is running.

ART is likewise absent in discontinuous phrase when locative is forwarded:

an o kĩk kii daam
 LOC MD stand house on
 He's standing there on the house.

Relative clause requires DEM:

n-t wo ñti-X hĩ-ga-'i čioj [m-o am kĩk]
 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 hĩ-ga-'i čioj [ma-t wo čikp-X]
 I-TNS FUT pay the man SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF
 PERF
 I'll pay the man that works.

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Like simple demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives consist of deictic-(intensifier)-specifier-quantifier. The deictic indicates range.

a	PROX
ga	DIST
hĩ	INDF

The intensifier is i, indicating extremity of range, and assimilating to the previous vowel in ga. PROX a assimilates to the following vowel.

	non-INTNS	INTNS
PROX	a-	i-i-
DIST	ga-	ga-a-
INDF		

The specifier in ADV DEM indicates the direction the object is facing with respect to the observer, or vice versa.

m	object facing away or behind the observer
n	object facing across or beside the observer
b	object facing toward or in front of the observer

The quantifier is unspecified i, dissimilating from intensive i when co-occurring with it. DURL b is deleted following i.

	away	across	toward	
PROX-INTNS	i-i-ma-'a	i-i-na-'a	i-i-a-'a	here
PROX	a-ma-'i	a-na-'i	a-ba-'i	there
DIST	ga-ma-'i	ga-na-'i	ga-a-ba-'i	over there
DIST-INTNS	ga-a-ma-'i	ga-a-na-'i	ga-a-ša-ŋ	way over there

Demonstratives i-i-a-'a and a-ma-'i are also employed for neutral direction. UNSPEC DURL is ɬa after ga and ba after hi.

ga-ɬa-'i	hi-ba-'i
RA-DURL-QNT	RA-DURL-QNT
there out of range	somewhere, where

Demonstratives delete INTNS i and QNT but retain stress when fronted for topicalization. Final vowel is reduced by phonetic rule.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	i-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

Demonstrative Adverbs

Demonstrative adverbs indicate range and attitude, employing proximal and distal deictic, intensifier, specifier, and unspecified quantifier. Where the previous vowel does not assimilate to the intensifier, the intensifier assimilates to the previous vowel.

The specifier in demonstrative adverbs indicates attitude or direction of motion of either the observer or the referent of a term with respect to the other or the referent of another term: ma away, na across, ya/ba/ša toward.

		away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	here	i-i-ma-'a	i-i-na-'a	i-i-ya-'a
PROX	there	a-ma-'i	a-na-'i	a-ba-'i
DIST	over there	ga-ma-'i	ga-na-'i	ga-a-ba-'i
DIST-INTNS	way over there	ga-a-ma-'i	ga-a-na-'i	ga-a-ša-ŋ

Demonstratives *iiya'a* and *ama'i* are also employed for neutral attitude. Specifier may indicate level, *ma* *below*, *na* *eye-level* or *above*. The demonstrative adverbs supplete as follows.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	i-m	i-n	i-a
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b
DIST	ga-m	ga-n	ga
DIST-INTNS	ga-a-m	ga-a-n	ga-a-ŋ

Specifier *ga* indicates out of range, and does not specify attitude or level, *ga-ŋa-'i/gaŋ* *there out of range*.

Reduced demonstratives contrast in stress with unstressed locative particles:

	away	across	toward	
PROX(INTNS)	i-m	i-n	i-a	<i>here facing</i>
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b	<i>there facing</i>
DIST	g-m	g-n		<i>over there facing</i>
			g-ŋ	<i>there UNSPEC</i>

Reduced demonstratives and locational particles contrast with PREP:

am at an along ab against

Whether attitude of speaker or subject is in view may be disambiguated by preposition:

im o kɪk ñ-baaŋo	im o kɪk ñ-witgaŋ
ADV MD stand me-before	ADV MD stand me-behind
He's standing in front of me	He's standing behind me
(facing away from me).	(thus I'm facing away from him).

ADV DEM and their question correlates are:

a-ma-'i	hi-ba-'i
that-DIRL-NUM	what-DIRL-NUM
there, at that place	where
ha-b	ha-s
that-MAN	what-MAN
that	what
has-ko	has-ko/ŋaa-ko
that-direction	what-direction
that direction	what direction

ha'a-s
that-QNT
that much

ha'a-s-čū
that-QNT-thing
that size thing

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

ha'a-kia
that-NUM
that number

ha'a-kia-čū
that-NUM-thing
that number thing

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

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

hī'i-s
what-QNT
how much

hī'i-s-čū
what-QNT-thing
what size thing

hī'i-s-ko
what-QNT-far
how far

hī'i-kia
what-NUM
what number

hī'i-kia-čū
what-NUM-thing
what number thing

hī'i-kki-o
what-NUM-times
what number times

hī'i-k-pa
what-NUM-places
what number of places

hīmu	at this time	
īḡa/wīnog	at that time	hīkid at what time
īdañ	at this time of cycle	

Demonstratives co-occur with stative marker to form predicate:

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

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

A demonstrative is obligatory with a relative clause:

am a-n-t wo čīkpna-d [ma-n-t hība'i wo
ADV MD-I-TNS FUT work-IMPRF SUBR-I-TNS where FUT
kīi-ka-d]
live-STAT-IMPRF
There I'll work where I'll be living.

QUANTIFIERS

Forms

Quantifiers are count/measure (MEAS), definite/indefinite. Indefinite quantifiers are:

COUNT		MEAS	
hima	<i>a, one</i>	sa	<i>a bit</i>
ha'i	<i>some number</i>	ha	<i>some amount</i>
mu'i	<i>many</i>	gi't	<i>much</i>
wiis	<i>all</i>	wiis	<i>all</i>

With WH, definite is -kia NUM with count N, -s QNT otherwise:

ha'a-kia	ha'a-s
<i>that-NUM</i>	<i>that-QNT</i>
<i>that number</i>	<i>that amount</i>

Otherwise, definite quantifier is: himako *one*, gook *two*, waik *three*, gi'ik *four*, hitasp *five*, čuudp *six*, wiwa'ak/wiwkam *seven*, gi'ik *eight*, humukt/humuĵkam *nine*, wiis-t=maam *ten*, etc.

Number NUM co-occurs with suffixes -ču'u *thing*, -ho *time*, -pa *place*, and measure QNT co-occurs with -ču'u *thing*, -ko *distance*:

ha'a-kia-ču'u	ha'a-s-ču'u
<i>that-NUM-thing</i>	<i>that-QNT-thing</i>
<i>that numbered thing</i>	<i>that size thing</i>
ha'a-k-kio (ha'a-ki-ho)	ha'a-k-pa
<i>that-NUM-time</i>	<i>that-NUM-place</i>
<i>that number of times</i>	<i>that number of places</i>
ha'a-s-ko	gook-ču'u
<i>that-QNT-distance</i>	<i>two-thing</i>
<i>that much distance</i>	<i>number two</i>
gok-ko	gook-pa
<i>two-time</i>	<i>two-place</i>
<i>twice</i>	<i>two places</i>

ha'i-ŷŷ a-t wo ha u-i hɪgam ka-ka-wiu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PL
He'll get some of those horses.

Otherwise, alternate neutral position of a QNT is preposed to the predicate word:

t wo ha'i ha u-i g ka-ka-wiu
TNS FUT some them get-PERF ART horses
 PL
He'll get some horses.

t wo ha bɪ-i g o'od
TNS FUT some get-PERF ART sand
He'll get some sand.

If a nonpartitive quantifier is preposed to the predicate word, the remainder of the noun phrase may be preposed to the predicate for topicalization, forming a resumptive pronoun construction:

ka-ka-wiu a-t wo ha'i ha u-i
horses MD-TNS FUT some them get-PERF
 PL
Some horses he'll get.

The predicate word agrees in number with the highest rank determiner in the rank order PRTV QNT, PRON, N:

hɪma a-t wo ha bɪ-i hɪgam ka-ka-wiu
one MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PRTV
He'll get one of those horses.

ha'i-ŷŷ a-t wo ha u-i hɪgam ka-ka-wiu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PL
He'll get some of those horses.

am hɪma ha iɢa hɪgam kɪi-kɪ
LOC one them in those houses
 PRTV
there in one of those houses

am ha'i-ŷŷ ha i-'i-ɢa hɪgam kɪi-kɪ
LOC some-PRTV them X-RDP-X those houses
 in
there in some of those houses

Quantifier may occur without head:

ab o h¹ma him
LOC MD one go
Someone is coming.

da-t wo gook-k
EQ-TNS FUT two-STAT
There'll be two.

h¹t-kia a-t d wo k
what-NUM MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT
How many will there be?

gook a-t d wo k
two MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT
Two is what there will be.

Definite quantifier co-occurs with wa'i just, only:

gook a-t ab wa'i hi-hi-X g čt-č-oj
two MD-TNS LOC only go-RDP-PERF ART men
Only two men came.

ha'a-kia o ab wa'i hi-hi-m
that-NUM MD LOC only X-RDP-X
go
Only so many are coming.

h¹t-kia o ab wa'i i hi-hi-m
what-NUM MD LOC only DEF go
Just how many are coming?

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede (participle plus) noun:

htgam g¹t-'t-g¹-d čikpan-da-m čt-č-oj
those X-RDP-RDP-X work-IMPRF-PRTC X-RDP-X
big man
those adult working men

Adjectives agree in number with noun:

g¹t hodai g¹t-'t-g¹-d ho-ho-dai
big stone big X-RDP-X
big stone stone
big stones

Unreduplicated noun may be collective:

gi-'i-gi-d hodai
big stone
course gravel

gi-'i-gi-d haiwañ
big bovine
mature cattle

Adjectives may occur without noun:

ab o him g gi't
LOC MD go ART big
There comes the chief.

an o miḍ g s=koomagi
LOC MD run ART AFF=gray
The gray is running along there.

Headless adjectives may occur with other noun modifiers:

ab o hi-hi-m hīgam gi-'i-gi-d
LOC MD X-RDP-X those big
go
There come those adults.

ab o hi-hi-m g gi-'i-gi-d čikpan-da-m
LOC MD go ART big work-IMPRES-PRTC
There come the adult working ones.

Relative clause may occur in modifying slot following DEM:

hīgam [m-o pi am hu i si gi-'i-gi-da-] a-'a-l
those SUBR-MD NEG DEG big-be X-RDP-X
child
those children who are not very big

hīgam [m-o am ha'i-č'u-g naanko maas] hīma]kam
those SUBR-MD LOC some-thing-be different like person
COLL
those different kinds of people present

Relative clause may be trimmed as modifier by deletion of subordinator, auxiliary, and verbalizer:

hīgam pi am hu i si gi-'i-gi-d a-'a-l
those NEG DEG big children
those not very big children

Adjectives may be conjoined:

hīga'i gi't kč s=koomagi kawiu
that big and AFF=gray horse
that big gray horse

Demonstratives agree with ADJ in manner and quantification and co-occur with manner or quantity gesture:

am o da-d-ha g ha'a-kla mu'i himaɣkam (gesture)
 LOC MD X-RDP-X ART that-NUM many person
 sit
 COLL

ha'a-s gɪ't (gesture)
that-QNT big
that big

ha-ha-'a-s gi-'i-gi-d (gesture)
X-RDP-X-QNT big
 that
 that big PL

ha-b maas himaɣkam (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'iḥ *past*, wipo *even with*:

ba'ič i čiw
past DEF long
longer

ba'lic i mu'i
past DEF many
more numerous

ba'ič | mtiik
past DEF far
farther

wipo maas
equal like
identical

Main and complement clause adjectives agree as manner or quantitative and may be verbalized or adverbialized. The ADV in the complement is DEM:

ba'lič o i čtwa-ŋ g al-i [m-o g čum
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-l-kud ha'a-s s=tadañ]
 bed that-QNT AFF=wide
 The child is longer than a small bed is wide.

ba'ič o i s=hoota-m mīḡ g al-i [m-o g
past MD DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

ooga-ŷ ha'a-s s=hoota-m him]
father-GEN that-QNT AFF=rush-ADVR walk
The child runs faster than his father walks.

When a redundant predicate is pruned, the SUBJ of the SUB CL replaces the CL as main clause complement. Thus a subject stranded by pruning of POSSR is REFL:

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-l-kud (ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]
bed that-QNT long-be
The child is longer than a small bed (is long).

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g † oog
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father

(ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]
that-QNT long-be
The child is taller than his father.

The main clause ADV in equational comparatives is DEM. Demonstratives agree with adjectives as manner or quantitative:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma him m-o g † oog
child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR walk SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child walks like his father.

ha'a-s o čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g † oog
that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child is as tall as his father.

ha'a-kia o mu'i-ŷ g a'-a-l m-o g †
that-NUM MD many-be ART X-RDP-X SUBR-MD ART REFL
child

ŷi-†-ŷ
mother-RDP-RDP
The children are as many as their parents.

A redundant argument is pruned:

ha'a-s o s=tadañ g mīsa [m-o hʔʔʔ-s i
 that-QNT MD AFF=wide ART table SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF

čʔwa-ŋ]

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-kīa o (mu'i) a-a-l-ga g pliwlo m-o g ʔ
 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 (mʔʔk) hii-X g pliwlo ma-t
 that-QNT-far MD-TNS far walk-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

g ʔ oog

ART REFL father

Pedro walked as far as his father.

ha'a-k-pa a-t (mu'i-k-pa) kii-ki-t
 that-NUM-place MD-TNS many-NUM-place house-RDP-make

g pliwlo ma-t g ʔ oog
 ART PN SUBR-TNS ART REFL father

Pedro built houses in as many places as his father.

Less than comparatives employ hug-ka-m (end-STAT-PRTC)
 end:

ʔda hug-ka-m o čʔwa-ŋ g al-i m-o g ʔ
 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 čʔwa-ŋ g al-i m-o
 NEG MD LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD

g ʔ oog

ART REFL father

The child is not as tall as his father.

Preceding ba'ič, the ADV is REM/NUMR plus QNT:

ha'a-s o ba'ič i čiwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
 that-QNT MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† oog (gesture)

REFL father

The child is that much taller than his father.

ha'a-kia o ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ g a-'a-l m-o g
 that-NUM MD past DEF many-be ART children SUBR-MD ART

† ŷi-ŷi-ŷ (gesture)

REFL mother-RDP-RDP

The children are that many more than their parents.

gook tađ o ba'ič i čiwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
 two foot MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† wiŋnag

REFL sibling

The child is two feet taller than his sibling.

gok-ko o ba'ič i čiwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
 two-times MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† wiŋnag

REFL sibling

The child is twice as tall as his sibling.

The stranded SUBJ of a manner complement may be raised to replace ADV:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma(-kaŷ) him m-o g †
 child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR-like walk SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog /al-i o † oog-kaŷ him
 father child-SG MD REFL father-like walk
 The child walks like his father.

† aamo-kaŷ o da-d-'†
 REFL master-like MD jump-RDP-REPET
 He rides like his master.

Reciprocal manner comparative sentences employing PREP wipo may be conflated:

Double comparisons have also been observed employing PREP wui to:

či-či-no o ha'a-kia ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ am ha wui g
X-RDP-X MD that-NUM past DEF many-be LOC them to ART
Chinese

india hīmaŷkam [m-o g india hīmaŷkam ha'a-kia mu'i-ŷ
 PN people SUBR-MD ART PN people that-NUM many-be

am ha wui g laaša hīmaŷkam]
 LOC them to ART PN people
*The Chinese are as much more numerous to the India people
 as the India people are numerous to the Russian.*
 (Field Notes 1963, Albert Alvarez)

The complement clause ADV may also be question word:

ha'a-s o čiwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum
 that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-i-kud hī't-s i s=tađaň
bed what-QNT DEF AFF=wide
The child is however long a small bed is wide.

b-o mas-ma čičwi g a-'a-] [m-o g ha
 MAN-MD like-ADVR play ART children SUBR-MD ART them

ŷi-i-ŷ ha-s i mas-ma čikpan]
 mother-RDP-RDP what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work
 GEN
Children play however their parents work.

A complement clause with question word may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hī't-s i s=tađaň g čum wo'-i-kud] k
 SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF AFF=wide ART small bed INTR

g al-i ha'a-s čiwa-ŷ
 ART child-SG that-QNT long-be
However wide a small bed is, the child is that long.

[m-o ha-s i mas-ma čikpan g ha
 SUBR-MD what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work ART them

ŷi-i-ŷ] k g a-'a-] ha-b mas-ma čičwi
 mother INTR ART children that-MAN like-ADVR play
However their parents work, children play like that.

The superlative is expressed by comparison with a total:

al=huand | o wiis ha ba'ič i gi't-] g ha'i-ču
elephant MD all them past DEF big-be ART some-thing

doa-ka-m

live-STAT-PRTC

The elephant is bigger than all the animals.

All permitted combinations of YNQ, NEG, EQ, IMP occur in comparative sentences:

n-o ba'ič i s=hoota-m mīđ g gogs m-o g
Q-MD past DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog SUBR-MD ART

miistol

cat

Does the dog run faster than the cat?

n-o pi am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m mīđ g gogs
Q-MD NEG LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog

m-o g miistol

SUBR-MD ART cat

Doesn't the dog run as fast as the cat?

n-o pi am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m d mīđ-da-m g
Q-MD NEG LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC ART

gogs m-o g miistol

dog SUBR-MD ART cat

Isn't the dog as fast a runner as the cat?

ba'ič g i s=hoota-m mīł m-o hīga'i

past IMP DEF fast run SUBR-MD that

Run faster than him!

pi g am hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m d mīđ-da-m
NEG IMP LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC

m-o hīga'i

SUBR-MD that

Don't be as fast a runner as he.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns and corresponding question forms are:

hīma	someone, another	hīda'i/hīdam	who?
ha'ičū	something	hasču'u	what?
hība'i	somewhere/sometime	hība'i	where?/when?
hīkid	sometime	hīkid	when?

Indefinite pronouns hīma, ha'i-čū are usually preposed to the verb:

n-t wo ñī-i-X hīma /n-t wo hīma ñī-i-X
 I-TNS FUT see-PERF someone I-TNS FUT someone see-PERF
 I'll see someone.

n-t wo bī-i ha'ičū /n-t wo ha'ičū bī-i
 I-TNS FUT get-PERF something I-TNS FUT something get-PERF
 I'll get something.

ba-n-t wo čī-i ha'ičū /ba-n-t wo ha'ičū
 that-I-TNS FUT say-PERF something that-I-TNS FUT something

čī-i
 say-PERF
 I'll say something.

n-t wo m=ñī-i-X hība'i
 I-TNS FUT you=see-PERF somewhere/sometime
 I'll see you somewhere/sometime.

The question form of indefinite pronoun co-occurs with negative and any construction, and is preposed to the predicate:

pī a-n-t hīda'i wo ñī-i-X
 NEG MD-I-TNS anyone FUT see-PERF
 I won't see anyone./I'll see no one.

pī a-n-t hasču/ha'ičū wo bī-i
 NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT get-PERF
 I won't get anything./I'll get nothing.

pī a-n-t has(ču hab) wo čī-i
 NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT say-PERF
 I won't say anything./I'll say nothing.

pi a-n-t hi:kid wo ñii-X
 NEG MD-I-TNS any time FUT see-PERF
 I won't see him any time./I'll never see him.

Indefinite pronouns co-occur:

pi a-t hi:da'i hasču has wo juu-X
 NEG MD-TNS anyone anything anything FUT make-PERF
 No one will make anything.

Any construction employs wabş just plus čum IMPOT plus
 INDF PRON:

wabş čum hi:da'i a-t wabş čum hi:kid wabş čum has
 just IMPOT who MD-TNS just IMPOT when just IMPOT what

wo i juu-X
 FUT REFL do
 PERF

Anyone will do anything at any time.

pi a-t wabş čum hasču has wo juu-X
 NEG MD-TNS just IMPOT what what FUT do-PERF
 He won't do just anything.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Pronoun consists of range, (intensive), specifier, number. Subject and object pronouns are identical and may be deleted if nonemphatic. In personal pronouns, the specifier indicates person. The intensifier *i* becomes *a* before person.

	SG	PL
1P	a-a-ñi-'i	a-a-či-m
2P	a-a-pi-'i	a-a-pi-m
PROX	i-i-da-'a	i-i-da-m/i-da-m
DIST	hi-ga-'i	hi-ga-m

Reflexive object:

hi-ŷ+i hi-hi-'i-ŷ+i DISTR

Dependent

	SUBJ		OBJ/POSSR		REFL	
1P	-ñ	-č	ñ=	t=	ñ=	t=
2P	-p	-m	m=	†m=	†	
3P	∅	∅	∅	ha		
UNSPEC	-m		ha			

STEMS

Stems consist of verb roots, or of various roots with appropriate suffixes of fixed productivity and order, plus outer suffixes of freer productivity and order, preceding inflectional suffixes.

There is an inner sequence of adjective plus copula plus inchoative. The copular suffix is -'i, -d, -ŷ, -k, ∅ to have the quality following the appropriate adjectives.

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

gi't-j
big-be
to be big

s=moik
AFF=soft
to be soft

s=ht+pi-d
AFF=cold-be
to be cold

siko-k
round-be
to be round

The copula is -dag to have the quality following stance verb plus gerund.

s=dah-i-dag
AFF=sit-GER-be
to be good at riding

s=mi-l-i-dag
AFF=run-GER-be
to be good at running

Inchoative suffix is -ta, deleting C after most adjectives and assimilating V to the preceding V or to V preceding k and otherwise deleting V at word boundary. Initial AFF and final ag or SF -d are deleted.

ap-'i-t
good-be-INCHO
to become good

baga-t
angry-INCHO
to get angry

ht+pi-i
cold-INCHO
to become cold

mi-l-i-d-t
run-GER-be-INCHO
to learn to run

paq-t
bad-INCHO
to become spoiled

gi't-d-a
big-be-INCHO
to get big

čuk-u
black-INCHO
to become black

hi-m-i-d-t
go-GER-be-INCHO
to learn to walk

There is an inner sequence of incorporated object plus suffix -gid to shake N, -giw to have tremors of N, -wua to bump N.

mo'o-gid
head-shake
to shake the head

mo'o-giw
head-tremor
to have head tremors

mo'o-wua
head-bump
 to bump the head

There is an inner sequence of incorporated instrument or action plus gerundive suffix plus instrumental suffix, forming a transitive verb. The gerundive suffix is -i following an incorporation or following a vowel, -a otherwise. Instrumental suffixes are -čk to *press on with N*, -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/şad to *act along a surface with N*, -şun/şud to *crush with N*, -şp to *contact with N*, -to to *finish an action*, -win/wia to *pulverize with N*.

mo'o-čk
head-push
 to push on with the head

wonami-dad
hat-don
 to don a hat

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

ma-'i-hin
object-GER-hit
 to hit with a thrown object

mo'o-kkan
head-pound
 to bunt

ma-'i-kon
object-GER-glance
 to glance an object off of

on-mad
salt-apply
 to salt

dag-i-mun
hand-GER-disturb
 to massage

nak-pig
ear-remove
 to earmark

č+i-šan
rough-act
 to rub off

ma-'i-şun
object-GER-crush
 to crush with a thrown object

ma-'i-şp
object-GER-contact
 to cover with an object from the hand

dag-i-to
hand-GER-COMPL
 to drop

k+h-i-win
foot-GER-pulverize
 to thresh

Suffix -wua (SG), -şulig (PL) to *move object along* co-occurs with instrumental -čk.

mo'o-čk-wua	mo'o-č-sulig
<i>head-press-move</i>	<i>head-press-move</i>
to push along with the head	to push objects along with the head.

Suffix -i'ok to reverse action co-occurs with instrumental -sp.

ma-'i-sp-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	k+k-i-wua
<i>sit-GER-INCEPT</i>	<i>stand-GER-INCEPT</i>
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 before gerund, and is replaced by a benefactive suffix.

kii-t
house-make
 to make a house

Outer derivational suffixes may follow a verb root or inner derivational suffixes. The outer suffixes occur in the order:

APPLIC GER $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{MOT} \\ \text{PROG} \\ \text{RSLTV} \end{array} \right\}$ DESID APPLIC

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
<i>move-CAUS</i>	<i>over-CAUS</i>
to cause to move	to cause to be over
ap-'i-čud	g+'i-d-a-jid
<i>good-be-(INCHO)</i>	<i>big-be-INCHO-CAUS</i>
to fix <i>CAUS</i>	to enlarge
maac-čulid	h+ig-čulid
<i>know-CAUS</i>	<i>happy-CAUS</i>
to cause to know	to please or praise

Benefactive suffix is -čud when replacing -ta or after the causative suffix -čud, and -jɪlid, -jɪd, -ɪd otherwise in the appropriate environments.

kii-čud
house-(make)
BEN
to make a house for

maak-jɪlid
give-BEN
to give to for

wakon-ɪd
wash-BEN
to wash for

ap-'i-čud-a-čud
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-BEN
CAUS
to fix for

gɪ't-d-a-jɪd-jɪlid
big-be-INCHO-CAUS-BEN
to enlarge for

ma-'i-ʃp-ɪd
object-GER-contact-BEN
to cover it for

The motion suffix -mɪd (SG), -op (PL) to go to do or get follows certain noun or verb stems and requires the gerundive suffix. The benefactive suffix may follow a transitive verb.

on-a-mɪd
salt-GER-MOT
to go get salt

ku'ag-a-mɪd
wood-GER-MOT
to go for wood

čikpn-op
work-MOT
PL
to go to work PL

ku'ag-id-a-mɪd
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

ñɪd-a-čug
see-GER-PROG
to keep a watch

aag-id-a-him
say-BEN-GER-PROG
to go along telling

maak-him
give-PROG
to distribute

aag-a-him
say-GER-PROG
to go along saying

ñɪd-a-him
see-GER-PROG
to go along seeing

him-him
move-PROG
to wander along

ap-'t-ta-him
good-be-INCHO-PROG
becoming right

baga-ta-him
angry-INCHO-PROG
getting angry

hɪpi-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 -kč to have in a state. GER is obligatory with -s following a transitive verb stem, and second rank argument is advanced to first rank.

him-s
move-RSLTV
to be in a state of going

aag-a-s
say-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spoken state

ap-'t-čud-a-s
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-RSLTV
CAUS
to be in a corrected state

naato-i-s
finish-GER-RSLTV
to be in a finished state

ma-'i-šp-i'ok-a-s
object-GER-contact-PRIV-GER-RSLTV
to be in an uncovered state

ab a-č maak-s g doakag
LOC MD-we give-RSLTV ART life
We are given life.

la-wu-i-s
drop-INCEPT-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spilled state

The suffix -kč deletes k after a consonant.

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have in a finished state

kuup-č
close-RSLTV
to have in a closed state

ab o t=maak-č g doakag
LOC MD us=give-RSLTV ART life
He gives us life.

There are two desiderative suffixes, -imk and -mk/kk. DESID -mk/kk indicates SG/PL, respectively, co-occurring with a limited set of nonproductive stems.

tono-mk
drink-DESID
water
 to want to drink water

ton-kk
drink-DESID
water PL
 to want to drink water PL

DESID -imk co-occurs with s= AFF and productive verb stems, with plural marked in the stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

s=him-imk
AFF=move-DESID
 to want to go

s=hi-hi-m-imk
AFF=X-RDP-X-DESID
 |
 move
 to want to go PL

s=ku'ag-imk
AFF=get-DESID
 wood
 to want to get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-amk
AFF=you=get-BEN-DESID
 wood
 to want to get wood for you

s=ku'ag-a-mil-imk
AFF=get-GER-MOT-DESID
 wood
 to want to go get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-a-mil-imk
AFF=you=get-BEN-GER-MOT-DESID
 wood
 to want to go get wood for you

s=kli-t-amk
AFF=house-make-DESID
 to want to build a house

s=m=kli-čud-amk
AFF=you=house-(make)-DESID
 BEN
 to want to build a house
 for you

s=m=on-mad-ŋilid-amk
AFF=you=salt-apply-BEN-DESID
 to want to salt it for you

s=m=ma-'i-sp-i'ok-id-amk
AFF=you=object-GER-contact-PRIV-BEN-DESID
 to want to uncover it for you

An applicative following a desiderative suffix must be causative, and is blocked by any previous applicative. An applicative suffix cannot follow a motion suffix.

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

s=ñ=ku'ag-a-mł-im-čud
 AFF=me=get-GER-MOT-DESID-CAUS
 wood
 to cause me to want to go
 get wood

INCORPORATION

Nouns may be incorporated as instrument of action in compound verb, usually co-occurring with GER 'i. The following instrumental nouns no longer occur as independent nouns:

čik-	<i>pointed object</i>
čil-	<i>rough object</i>
ču'a-	<i>sharp object</i>
dag-i-	<i>hand</i>
how-i-	<i>inhalation</i>
kth-i-	<i>foot</i>
ki-'i-	<i>teeth</i>
ma-'i-	<i>thrown object</i>
ñu-'i-	<i>hand (or unspecified) away</i>
soñ-	<i>held object</i>
wa-, wa-'i-	<i>liquid</i>
wañ-	<i>hand toward</i>
wi-'i-	<i>non-solid</i>
wus-	<i>exhalation</i>

The following independent nouns occur as instrumental nouns, with geminate-V reduction:

čiñ	<i>mouth</i>
hon	<i>body</i>
kaam/kam-	<i>cheek</i>
mo'o	<i>head</i>
naak/nak-	<i>ear</i>
taatami/tam-	<i>tooth</i>
toon/ton-	<i>knee</i>

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
Keep working!

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
You PL keep working!

Number Agreement

Number agreement is ergative, marked by Ø, suppletion, or reduplication:

čikpan o g čtoŷ/čt-č-oŷ
work MD ART man /X-RDP-X
man

The man/men are working.

mtq o g čtoŷ
run MD ART man
The man is running.

wo-o-po o g čt-č-oŷ
run-RDP-RDP MD ART men
PL
The men are running.

ml-i-čud o g maagina
run-GER-APPLIC MD ART machine
He's running a machine.

ho o wo-o-po-'i-čud g ma-m-gina
them MD run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X
PL machine
He's running machines.

him o g čtoŷ
go MD ART man
The man is walking.

hl-hl-m o g čt-č-oŷ
X-RDP-X MD ART men
go
The men are walking.

There is also distributive agreement with temporal or locational:

am a-t wo hl-h-hl-ma-d si-sl-'al-ma-d
LOC MD-AGR FUT X-RDP-RDP-X-IMPRF X-RDP-X-IMPRF
go morning
He'll be going there each morning.

ha'a-k-pa o čl-č-kpan
that-NUM-place MD X-RDP-X
work
He's working in that many places.

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-č/-kč	RSLTV		
-čud/-čulid	APPLIC		
-jīd/-īd, -jīlīd	APPLIC		
-gīd	APPLIC		
-hun	APPLIC		
-s/-d	CAUS		
kī-i-s-č		daa-s-č	
stand-GER-contact-RSLTV		sit-APPLIC-RSLTV	
to have object underfoot		to have object sitting	
kī-i-s-č		naato-kč	
stand-APPLIC-RSLTV		finish-RSLTV	
to have object standing		to have object finished	
da-i-s-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	
hīm-i-čud		hīg-čulid	
go-GER-APPLIC		happy-APPLIC	
to cause to walk		to cause to be happy	
gīwk-a-jīd		šoom-jīlīd	
strong-INCHO-APPLIC		sew-BEN	
to strengthen		to sew for	
čikpañ-id			
work-APPLIC			
to work for			
jīñ-gīd		mo'o-gīd	
smoke-APPLIC		head-APPLIC	
to lecture, discuss		to shake the head	
ho'igī'id-a-hun		bid-hun	
bless-GER-APPLIC		clay-APPLIC	
to pray		to contaminate, plaster	

kii-š
stand-CAUS
to cause to stand

daa-š
sit-CAUS
to cause to sit

woo-d
lie-CAUS
to cause to lie

Adverbial

-mīd, -opo/-op go for, MOT
-nam meet
-nođ turn

čikpn-a-mīd
work-GER-MOT
to go for work

čikpn-op
work-MOT
PL
to go for work PL

on-a-mīd
salt-GER-MOT
to go for salt

mtl-i-nam
run-GER-meet
to run meet

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

mtl-i-nođ
run-GER-turn
to run turn

wo'-i-nođ
run-GER-turn
PL
to run turn PL

Volitional

-hog be expected to
-id be able to
s=...-hog reject
s=...-da-g be proficient at
s=...-imk want to

bi-i-hog
get-GER-expected
to be expected to get

mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give

s=mtl-i-d-ka-m
 AFF=run-GER-able-STAT-PRTC
 a good runner

mtl-i-d-ta-him
 run-GER-able-INCHO-PROG
 becoming able to run

s=ka-i-hog
 AFF=hear-GER-reject
 to reject hearing

s=mtl-i-da-g
 AFF=run-GER-able-be
 be proficient at running

s=mtl-imk
 AFF=run-DESID
 want to run

s=tam-hog
 AFF=tooth-reject
 to reject (tasting)

Aspectual

-čug	CONT	carry on action
-him	PROG	going along Ving
-'i	PERF	
-ka'i (-ka-'i)		V and go
-to	COMPL	finish Ving
-wua	INCEPT	assume a stance

aag-a-čug
 say-GER-CONT
 keep saying

aag-a-him
 say-GER-PROG
 go along saying

ɣuk-i-to
 rain-GER-COMPL
 finish raining

bɪ-ka'i
 take-go
 take it and go

ɖah-i-wua
 sit-GER-INCEPT
 PERF
 sit down

ɖa-ɖ-ha-i-wu-i-o
 sit-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
 IMP
 You PL sit down!

ka-i-čug
 hear-GER-CONT
 keep listening

ñt'-i-him
 sing-GER-PROG
 go along singing

ko'-i-to
 eat-GER-COMPL
 PERF
 finish eating something

ɖa-ɖ-ha-i-wua
 X-RDP-X-GER-INCEPT
 sit PERF
 sit down PL

wo-o-p-i-wu-i-o
lie-RDP-RDP-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL lie down!

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The verb is a constituent of the predicate in the order MDL NEG V AUX. The constituents of V are AFF STEM NUM DISTR STAT ASP TNS CNJ.

Pre-Stem Elements

AFF is s=:

s=maač	s=toñ	s= ial-ga
AFF=know	AFF=hot	AFF=money-AL
know	be hot	have much money

AFF is deleted if negated, but not if INTNS is negated.

pi o toñ	pi o si s=toñ
NEG MD hot	NEG MD INTNS AFF=hot
It isn't hot.	It isn't really hot.

Argument markers are preposed to the stem, displacing AFF.

s=ñ=maač o	s=ha o maač
AFF=me=know MD	AFF=them MD know
He knows me.	He knows them/someone.

s=i o maač
 AFF=REFL MD know
 He's skilled.

OBJ copies are preposed to the stem in the order direct-indirect benefactive, and only if not preceded by a bound or unspecified copy:

huana o ha wa-p-kon	g ko-k-toñ
PN MD them water-RDP-INSTR	ART <u>X-RDP-X</u>
	shirt

Juana is washing shirts.

Number

The verb is ergative, certain V suppletting and/or reduplicating in agreement with plural determiner of lowest rank argument in the order SUBJ, benefactive OBJ, indirect OBJ, direct OBJ. Intransitive V suppletes and/or reduplicates with plural nonaggregate SUBJ:

hi-ma o am mi-d hi-gam čt-č-oj
one MD LOC run those X-RDP-X
min

One of those men is running there.

ha'i-ŋŋ o am wo-o-po hi gam či-č-oŋ
some-PRTV MD LOC run-RDP-RDP those men
PL

Some of those men are running there.

am o mid higam himaŋ-ka-m
 LOC MD run those people
 Those people are running there together.

am o wo-o-po hitgam himaŋ-ka-m
 LOC MD run-RDP-RDP those people
 PL
 Those people are running there.

am o mɪd̥ g ʃuudagi	am o him g <u>himaɟ-ka-m</u>
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 hi-ma^y-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 bi-i g čtoj am a-t bi-i g muuñ
 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 bɪ-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 čɪ-č-oɣ
 LOC MD-TNS them get-PERF ART men
 PL
 He got the men there.

am a-t hɪma ha bɪ-i hɪgam čɪ-č-oɣ
 LOC MD-TNS one them get-PERF those men
 He got one of those men there.

am a-t u-i g lɪal
 LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART money
 PL
 He got the money there.

am a-t ha u-i g lɪal
 LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART money
 PL
 He got some of the money there.

am o mɪl-čud g maagina
 LOC MD run-APPLIC ART motor
 He's running the motor there.

am o ha wo-o-po-'i-čud g ma-m-gina
 LOC MD them run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X
 PL motor
 He's running the motors there.

am o hɪma ha mɪl-čud hɪgam ma-m-gina
 LOC MD one them run-APPLIC those motors
 He's running one of the motors there.

Distributive

DISTR in V stems marks repeated action or an increment or stage in a continuing action. DISTR is -s/-d replacing final C in INSTR, -d with certain stems effecting reduplication, -w with certain roots, -ɪ otherwise:

ma-'i-kon /ma-'i-ko-s
 hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-INSTR-DISTR
 glancing a thrown object off of

ki-'i-şun /ki-'i-şu-ş
 teeth-GER-INSTR teeth-GER-INSTR-DISTR
 crushing with the teeth

čik-şan /čik-şa-d
 sharp-INSTR sharp-INSTR-DISTR
 making a line

naato /nat-to-d
 finish finish-RDP-DISTR
 finishing

to'a /to'a-w
 place place-DISTR
 placing objects,
 pouring mass

dada /da-i-w
 arrive arrive-GER-DISTR
 arriving PL

DISTR -i effects reduplication of the first CV of the closest morpheme in monosyllabic and polymorphemic stems, of post-initial CV otherwise, and is deleted following polymorphemic stems and certain monomorphemic stems:

da'a/da-d-'i
 fly X-RDP-X-DISTR
 fly
 flying

biht/bi-b-h-t
 get X-RDP-X-DISTR
 get
 getting

dah-i-wua /dah-i-wu-p
 sit-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
 sitting

da-d-ha-i-wua /da-d-ha-i-wu-p
 X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
 sit
 sitting PL

on-amtđ /on-am-mi-d
 salt-MOT salt-X-RDP-X
 MOT
 going for salt

wuuşad /wuş-şa-d
 deliver X-RDP-X
 deliver
 delivering

taatam/tat-ta-m
 touch X-RDP-X
 touch
 feeling, touching

mił-iw /mił-opa
 run-arrive run-arrive
 DISTR
 arriving at a run

wo-'iw /wo-'i-opa
 run-arrive run-arrive-DISTR
 PL PL
 arriving at a run PL

ma-'i-šp /ma-'i-š-ša-p
 hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-X-RDP-X
 INSTR
 covering

ku'ag-op/ku'ag-op-p-o
 get -go get -go-RDP-DISTR
 wood for wood for
 PL PL
 going for wood PL

DISTR -i harmonizes with stem V except after G, dissimilating from i 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-i
 end X-RDP-X-DISTR
 end
 ending

baha /ba-b-h-i
 ripen X-RDP-X-DISTR
 ripen (REPET)
 ripening

iš /i-'i-š-a
 plant X-RDP-X-DISTR
 plant
 planting

čitg/čt-č-g-a
 find X-RDP-X-DISTR
 find
 examining

ilit /i-'i-t-a
 scoop X-RDP-X-DISTR
 scoop
 scooping

kooš /ko-k-š-o
 sleep X-RDP-X-DISTR
 sleep
 sleeping

maač/ma-m-č-i
 know X-RDP-X-DISTR
 know
 investigating

ñitn /ñt-n-n-a
 waken X-RDP-X-DISTR
 waken
 wakening

muuk/mu-m-k-u
 die X-RDP-X-DISTR
 die
 be sick

ko'o/ko-k-'-o
 sick/X-RDP-X-DISTR
 PL sick PL
 be sick PL

ʃuuk/ʃu-ʃ-k-u
 rain/X-RDP-X-DISTR
 rain
 raining

Certain stems reduplicate initially and noninitially:

him/hi-h-hi-m
 go X-RDP-RDP-X
 go
 going

ñtid/ñt-ñ-ñt-ld
 see X-RDP-RDP-X
 see
 seeing

giti/gi-g-ʃ-ʃ-t
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR
 fall
 falling

člipia/či-č-p-pi-a-d
 move X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR
 move
 moving camp

Certain polysyllabic stems reduplicate the first V in the DISTR. The V reduplicates as hV if initial CV is not reduplicated:

wamig/wa-ha-m-mi-g
 rise X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 rise
 rising

wiima-ʃ/wi-hi-m-ma-ʃ
 with-be X-RDP-X-RDP-be
 with
 be with

ʃulig/ʃu-hu-l-l-g
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 fall
 falling PL

tonoq/to-ho-n-no-q
 shine X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 shine
 shining

s=čtidagi/s=čt-hi-dagi
 AFF=blue AFF=X-RDP-X
 blue
 be blue/green

s=ktiga-ʃ /s=kt-hi-ga-ʃ
 AFF=good-be AFF=X-RDP-X-be
 good
 be pretty

Derived stems mark distributive identically to their root, thus exhibiting reduplication of first CV and first V when derived from certain attributives and prepositions. V reduplicates as 'V if first CV is reduplicated:

čiwa-ʃ /či-'t-čt-wa-ʃ
 long-be X-RDP-RDP-X-be
 long
 be long

daam/da-'a-da-m
 over X-RDP-RDP-X
 over
 be over

Tense/Aspect

STAT marker is -k (see BE/HAVE/DO).

ASP is PERF following nondurative V stem, IMPRF following STAT, PERF/IMPRF otherwise. PERF is -'i, IMPRF is -d:

am g	bɪt-'i		am g	bɪtɪ-d
LOC IMP	get-PERF		LOC IMP	get-IMPRF
	IMP			IMP
Get it!			Be getting it!	

IMPRF is optionally deleted following STAT:

am g	gɪt'-j-ka-d	/am g	gɪt'-j-k
LOC IMP	big-be-STAT-IMPRF	LOC IMP	big-be-STAT
	IMP		
Be big!			

Morphemes delete ' after C-:

ab g	i	ɳ=maak-i		pɪ g	hab	ɪ	aag-i
LOC IMP	DEF	me=give-PERF		NEG IMP	thus	REFL	say-PERF
		IMP					IMP
Give it to me!				Don't think it!			

PERF deletes ' and replaces previous V in VV- -V:

da-d	ha-i-wua	/da-d	ha-i-wu-i-o
X-RDP-X	GER-INCEPT	sɪt-GER-INCEPT	PERF-PL
	sɪt		
You PL	sit down!		

PERF is deleted word finally following polysyllabic V stem, in VV- -C, and before CNJ:

am g	ɖah-i-wua		am a-t	aa'ad
LOC IMP	sɪt-GER-INCEPT		LOC MD-TNS	send
	IMP			He sent him there.
Sit down there!				
ia a-t	ɣiwi-a		ɖah-i-wua-ɳ	
LOC MD-TNS	arrive		sɪt-GER-INCEPT-you	
	PERF		Sit down!	
He came here.				

Certain V delete IMPRF if not before PL or CNJ:

hi-hi-m-d-o
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-IMPRF-PL}$
walk
 You PL walk!

ñtok-him o am hima-d-č
talk-PROG MD LOC walk-IMPRF-CNJ
 He's talking while walking there.

am o hima-d č ñtok-him
LOC MD walk-IMPRF CNJ talk-PROG
 He's walking there and talking.

am o him g huan č ñtok-him
LOC MD walk ART PN CNJ talk-PROG
 Juan is walking there and talking.

All other V delete IMPRF if not before PL:

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
 You PL work!

ñtok o am čikpan-č
talk MD LOC work-CNJ
 He's talking while working there.

am o čikpan č ñtok
LOC MD work CNJ talk
 He's working there and talking.

am o čikpn-ahim
LOC MD work-PAST
 He was working there.

bt-b-h-i-him
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-DISTR-PAST}$ *IMPRF*
get
 was repeatedly getting

Tense is signalled in the auxiliary (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS). Time previous to specified tense is marked by verb suffixes -ahim, -ok, co-occurring with IMPRF/PERF respectively.

am a-ñ čikpn-ahim
LOC MD-I work-PAST
IMPRF
 I have been working there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ahim
LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
IMPRF
 I had been working there.

am a-n-t čikpn-ok
LOC MD-I-TNS work-PAST
PERF
 I have worked there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ok
LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
PERF
 I had worked there.

am a-n-t hii-X bth-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
<i>seem to move</i>	<i>seem to be moving</i>

s=gí'í-ŷ-ka-d-ma
 AFF=big-be-STAT-IMPRF-IRR
seem to be big

FUT, STAT, and ASP are employed in the derivation of participles:

wo=ha=hoon-ta-m
 FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC
groom

ɖa-t wo wo=ha=hoon-ta-m-k
 EQ-TNS FUT FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC-STAT
He'll be the groom.

čikpan-da-m
 work-IMPRF-PRTC
worker

ɖa-t wo čikpan-da-m-ka-d
 EQ-TNS FUT work-IMPRF-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a worker.

doa-ka-m
 live-STAT-PRTC
animal

ɖa-t wo doa-ka-m-ka-d
 EQ-TNS FUT live-STAT-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a living thing.

Conjunctions

CNJ is -kč *and*/CONN, aha/o *or*, ni *nor*. The CNJ kč truncates in PERF-TNS___ except when employed in conflation of same-predicate clauses (see COORDINATION), or reduces to č in C____. PERF is deleted in ____CNJ:

čt̥g-i-to-kč
find-GER-COMPL-CNJ
as he's thinking

čt̥g-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 d̥ u'uwhig
LOC MD-TNS fly CNJ-PERF MD-EV EQ bird
It flew by and was evidently a bird.

an o da'a-d č o-ki d̥ u'uwhig
LOC MD fly-IMPRF CNJ MD-EV EQ bird
It's flying by and is evidently a bird.

Other

In the imperative, an AUX following a verb is also a verb constituent.

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
You work!

čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
You PL work!

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
You be working!

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

PL is preposed to non-clause-initial or nonimperative V:

am g čikpan
LOC IMP work
IMP
Work there!

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

am g čikpna-d
LOC IMP work-IMPRF
IMP
Be working there!

am g wo čikpna-d
LOC IMP PL work-IMPRF
IMP
You PL be working there!

am a-p-t wo čikpna-d
 LOC MD-you-TNS FUT work-IMPRF
 You will work there.

Certain monosyllabic verbs supplete and/or partially supplete in the PERF. Certain of those occurring with pro-ADV supplete:

wua/ɣuñ	kaiɣ/čt't
do do	say say
doing/do	saying/say

Imperative CVGV delete G in ____PERF#:

hab čt't	ba-g čt't-'i
thus say	thus-IMP say-PERF
saying	IMP
	Say it!
btht	am g bti-'i
get	LOC IMP get-PERF
getting	IMP
	Get it!
u'u	am g ha uu-'i
get	LOC IMP them get-PERF
PL	PL
getting PL	IMP
	Get them!
m't'a	am g m'ta-'i
kill	LOC IMP kill-PERF
kill	IMP
	Kill it!

Imperative CVC geminate V in ____PERF#:

hab ɣuñ	ba-g ɣuñ
thus do	thus-IMP do
do	IMP
	Do it!
him	am g hilm
walk	LOC IMP walk
walk	IMP
	Go there!

miḡ
run
run

si g miḡ
INTNS IMP run
IMP
Run hard!

naad
fire
make fire

am g naaḡ
LOC IMP fire
IMP
Make a fire!

Imperative CVGV delete V in ____ PERF AUX/FUT if stem V are identical, delete PERF otherwise:

bihi
get
get

bihi-i-ñ
get-PERF-you
IMP
Get it!

bihi-i-o
get-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL get it!

u'u
get
PL
get

u'-i-ñ
get-PERF-YOU
PL
IMP
Get them!

u'-i-o
get-PERF-PL
PL
IMP
You PL get them!

mi'a
kill
kill

mi'a-ñ
kill-you
IMP
Kill it!

mi'o-wo
kill-PL
IMP
You PL kill it!

bi'a
serve
serving

bi'a-ñ
serve-you
PERF
Serve it!

bi'a-wo
serve-PL
PERF
You PL serve it!

Nonimperative verbs supplete and/or truncate in ____ PERF. Series verbs reduplicate first CV, geminate first V, and truncate final segment and PERF:

giw
beat
beating

kuum
gnaw
gnawing

gi-i-g-X
beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
beat

ku-u-k-X
gnaw-RDP-RDP-PERF
gnaw

In ____ (č/d/ñ/š) PERF#, nonimperative CVGV and CVVC delete second V and truncate final segment:

*(b+h-i)	>	b+h-i	>	b+h-i)	>	bi-i	get it
*(u'u-i)	>	u'-i	>	u'-i)	>	u-i	get them
*(maač-i)	>	mač-i	>	mač-i)	>	ma-i	learn
*(naad-i)	>	nad-i	>	naǰ-i)	>	na-i	make fire
*(taaň-i)	>	taň-i	>	taň-i)	>	ta-i	ask
*(koos-i)	>	koš-i	>	koš-i)	>	ko-i	sleep
STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF	

IMP g may be deleted in DEF ____V:

i g bti-i /i bti-i
DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF
Bring it!

i hiim
DEF walk
IMP
Come!

i waak-i
DEF enter-PERF
IMP
Enter!

V stems of CVhV delete hV before CNJ:

bti
get
get

bt k-X
get CNJ-PERF
get and

a-k-X
arrive-CNJ-PERF
when he arrived

bi-k-X
get-CNJ-PERF
when he got

aha
arrive
arrive

a k-X
arrive CNJ-PERF
arrive and

COORDINATION

Coordination of Sentences

Coordination of sentences is marked by semantic coordinator and/or deletion of connective introducer and/or forwarding of contrasting phrase. Semantic coordinators are *ɪɖa* yet, *ɪpai* also, *oi wa* yet, *wabɕaba/ɕaba* but:

am a-t čikpn-a-m-X g huan čuk=son wui
 LOC MD-TNS work-GER-MOT-PERF ART PN PN to
 Juan went to Tucson to work.

k ɪɖa g huana čum ɕoobid
 INTR yet ART PN MDL prevent
 Yet Juana tried to prevent him.

t g husi am ɪpai čikpn-a-m-X
 TNS ART PN LOC also work-GER-MOT-PERF
 And José also went to work there.

t oi wa g husi pi am hu hab ɣuu-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 ɕaba pi hɪɖa'i čikpan-č
 TNS but NEG anyone work-APPLIC
 But no one put him to work.

Coordination Within a Sentence

Coordination of grammatically equivalent constructions within the sentence is marked by conjunction. The constructions conjoined are any clause or phrase type. The CNJ is verb-final constituent, connective, or alternative. Connective CNJ *kč* marks connection of same subject clauses. When a same-subject relative deletes its subordinator, its connection to the main clause is indicated by CNJ.

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-kč g ñ=ču'ičig]
 this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ ART me=fault
 This I say, remembering my faults.

The CNJ is truncated in perfective verb when connecting clauses:

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-k-X g ñ=ču'ičig]
 this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF ART me=fault
 This I say, having remembered my faults.

The CNJ is detached and moved to initial position in a following connected clause:

s=čig-i-to a-ñ [ma-t has † yuu-X]
 AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF

kč m=aag-id
 and you=say-APPLIC
 I remember what happened, and tell you.

s=čig-i-to a-n-t [ma-t has † yuu-X]
 AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I-TNS SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF

k-X m=aag-id
 and-PERF you=say-APPLIC
 I remembered what happened, and tell you.

[ma-t-p wo si mtd] k-X wo ha gti
 SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run CNJ-PERF FUT them defeat
 If he runs hard, he'll defeat them.

[ma-t-p wo si mti-X g huan] k-X wo
 SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF FUT

ha gti
 them defeat
 If Juan runs hard, he'll defeat them.

Alternative CNJ conjoins following dubitative and/or negative clause. Alternative CNJ is aha initiating a question:

n-t wo m=gigos-X aha na-p-t pl bi-hug-im-X
 I-TNS FUT you=feed-PERF or Q-you-TNS NEG food-eat-DESID-PERF
 I'll feed you, or didn't you get hungry?

na-p ha taččua g ko'okol aha na-p g muuñ
 Q-you some want ART chili or Q-you ART beans
 Do you want some chili or some beans?

na-'a-s am čikpan aha n-o pi am hu ha'i-čū-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 dāha
 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 dāha
 NEG MD LOC REM work nor MD-MDL LOC sit
 He isn't working there nor is he staying there.

The CNJ is employed to conjoin any corresponding phrases with different referents when two or more parallel clauses are conflated. Conflation deletes constituents with redundant referent and conjoins nonidentical constituents:

am o dāha g huana LOC MD sit ART PN Juana is sitting there.	}	am o dā-d-ha g huana LOC MD <u>X-RDP-X</u> ART PN sit
---	---	---

*am o dāha-kč g huan LOC MD sit-CNJ ART PN Juan is sitting there.	}	kč huan and PN There sit Juana and Juan.
---	---	--

am o čī-č-pan aho kč hilla=wīln-t am
 LOC MD X-RDP-X PN and PN=STEM-ABS PREP
 work
 They're working in Ajo and Gila Bend.

na-'a-s taččua g ko'okol o g muuñ
 MDL-MD-MDL want ART chili or ART beans
 Maybe he wants chili or beans.

pi o taččua g ko'okol ni g muuñ
 NEG MD want ART chili nor ART beans
 He wants neither chili nor beans.

n-o s=ap o pi ap ñtok
 Q-MD AFF=good or NEG good talk
 Is he talking well or poorly?

CNJ may be deleted in a series:

o'odham o ko'a g ko'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):

ñtok a-ñ aañi'i <i>talk MD-I I</i> <i>I'm talking.</i>	}	ñt-ñ-ok a-č aačim/ X-RDP-X MD-we we <i>talk</i> <i>We're talking.</i>
ñtok(-kč) a-p aapi'i <i>talk-CNJ MD-you you</i> <i>You're talking.</i>		ñt-ñ-ok a-č aañi'i kč aapi'i <i>talk MD-we I and you</i> <i>I and you are talking.</i>

The CNJ kč deletes k after C (see PHONOLOGY):

miḍa-d-č
run-IMPRF-CNJ
while running

am o ḍa-d-ha g huan č huana
LOC MD sit ART PN and PN
There sit Juan and Juana.

If not employed in conjoining phrases, the CNJ kč is truncated in perfective verbs:

am o čikpan [am miḍ-k-X]
LOC MD work LOC run-CNJ-PERF
He's working there, having run there.

am a-t miḍ k-X am čikpan
LOC MD-TNS run CNJ-PERF LOC work
He ran there and is working there.

[ma-t-p hiḍa'i wo i čikp-X hiṁu] k-X wo
SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work-PERF now CNJ-PERF FUT

† namk-id
REFL meet-APPLIC
Whoever works now will be paid.

AUX is postposed to CNJ, but deleted if modal is ∅:

n-t am wo m+q k-X a-n-t-ş am wo čikp-X
 I-TNS LOC FUT run CNJ-PERF MD-I-TNS-QUOT LOC FUT work-PERF
 I'll run there and will reportedly work there.

[ma-t-p hiđa'i wo i čikpan] k-X a-t-ş
 SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-QUOT

wo † namk-id
 FUT REFL meet-APPLIC
 Whoever works, it is said, will be paid.

s=ta a-n-t ††bida-m ha'i-čü wo gahi
 AFF=UNSPEC MD-I-TNS fearsome-ADVR some-thing FUT through
 SUBJ

wuusañ k-X hiđ hiđaj ñ=kuđut
 exit and-PERF that reason REFL=trouble
 I'm going to go through something dangerous and therefore
 am troubled.

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Position

Subordinate constructions are introduced by SUBR ma-, follow the body of the sentence in neutral order, and include comparative (treated previously), complement, relative, and adverbial. Sentence body and/or subordinate construction may be multiclausal or multisentential. We begin with complement constructions.

Subject complements:

s=ap-† o [m-o čikpan g huan]
 AFF=good-be MD SUBR-MD work ART PN
 It's good that Juan works.

n-o s=ap-† [m-o čikpan]
 Q-MD AFF=good-be SUBR-MD work
 Is it good that he works?

pl o ap-† [m-o čikpan]
 NEG MD good-be SUBR-MD work
 It's not good that he works.

s=ñ=hoocho'id-a-čud o [m-o čikpan]
 AFF=me=like-GER-APPLIC MD SUBR-MD work
 It pleases me that he works.

Object Complements:

s=hoocho'id a-ñ [m-o čikpan]
 AFF=like MD-I SUBR-MD work
 I like it that he's working.

na-p ñtid [m-o-ki s=ap čikpan]
 Q-you see SUBR-MD-MDL AFF=good work
 Do you notice that he works well?

pl a-t wo † nako-X [ma-t wo čikp-X]
 NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF
 He can't (bear to) work.

ha a-ñ tačču-id g ñ=a-'a-l-ga [ma-t
 them MD-I want-APPLIC ART me=X-RDP-X-AL SUBR-TNS
 └────────┘

s=ap wo čikp-X]
 AFF=good FUT work-PERF
 I want my children to work well.

Finite CMPL is obligatorily extraposed:

s=ap-'† o ha wi†h††††† g a-'a-l [ma-t wo
 AFF=good-be MD them for ART children SUBR-TNS FUT

čikp-X]
 work-PERF
 It's good for children that they work.

ñtid a-ñ am hima-d-č ñ=kiil wui [m-o am čikpan]
 see MD-I LOC go-IMPRF-CNJ my=house to SUBR-MD LOC work
 I saw as I was going to my house that they were working
 there.

Modification

Syntactic marking is deleted in reduction of finite CMPL to nonfinite:

s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha withtjtd [ma-t wo
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for SUBR-TNS FUT

t wo-o-po-'i-č-X]
 REFL run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-PERF
 PL

It's good for children that they race.

s=ap-'i o g wo-o-po-'i-čud-a g a-'a-l
 AFF=good-be MD ART run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER ART children
 PL

ha withtjtd
 them for
 Racing is good for children.

Nonfinite CMPL may be displaced by constituent forwarded
 for focus:

s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha withtjtd g
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for ART

wo-o-po-'i-čud-a
 run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER
 PL
 Racing is good for children.

Emphatic phrase in CMPL is copied in mentation matrix,
 second or both reducing to pronoun:

huan a-ñ hab tld [ma-t htg wo čikp-X]
 PN MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
 (he)

Juan is the one I think will work.

htg a-ñ hab tld [ma-t htg wo čikp-X]
 that MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
 He's the one I think will work.

am a-ñ hab tld [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.

tga a-ñ hab tld [ma-t tga 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-ñ hab ðlid [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+í-s a-p hab i ðlid [ma-t ha'a-s wo
what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT
 čikp-X]
work-PERF
How long a period do you think he'll work?

h+kid a-p hab ðlid [ma-t ðda wo čikp-X]
when MD-you thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF
When do you think he'll work?

baa-p hab i ðlid [ma-t am wo čikp-X]
where-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF
Where do you think he'll work?

goo-p hab ðlid [ma-t h+g wo čikp-X]
who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
Who do you think will work?

h+í-s-ko a-p hab i ðlid [ma-t ha'a-s-ko
what-QNT-far MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT-far
 wo hii-X]
FUT go-PERF
How far do you think he'll go?

Emphatic phrase copy cannot be questioned in YNQ matrix:

na-p h+g hab ðlid [ma-t h+g wo čikp-X]
Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
Is that the one you think will work?

Marking

Quote complement employs epistemology MDL § if the subject of its matrix is non-first person, other MDL otherwise:

ba-ñ kaij [m-o ñ=aag-id g husi [ma-n-t-§
thus-I say SUBR-MD me=say-APPLIC ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT
 wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]]
FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
I said that José told me to tell you that I'm working here.

First person quote matrix is deleted unless emphatic. Unemployed subordinator is deleted:

...ñ=aag-id o g husi [ma-n-t-§ wo
me=say-APPLIC MD ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT FUT
m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]
you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
José told me to tell you I'm working here.

Any quote matrix not employing § QUOT may be deleted:

...n-t-§ wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia clkpan]
I-TNS-QUOT FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
I reportedly am to tell you I'm working here.

The introducer of a direct quote complement may be deleted:

ba-č kaij [...t-t wo čikp-X]
thus-we say we-TNS FUT work-PERF
We said, "We'll work."

A quote matrix may be copied after its complement. Only the first sentence of a complement is subordinate:

k hab kaij g ha gi't-ji-g
INTR thus say ART them big-be-NR
And their leader said,
[[ma-t-t has hlg wo juu k-X wo mta-X]
SUBR-we-TNS what how FUT do CNJ-PERF FUT kill-PERF
about
"What can we do to kill him?
ku-t hab pi ip wo t čig-i-to]
INTR-TNS thus NEG again FUT REFL find-GER-COMPL
Thus he will not revive again."
b-o kaij g ha gi't-ji-g
thus-MD say ART them big-be-NR
Thus said their leader.

The subject may be raised from a mentation complement but not from a quote:

kaa a-ñ [m-o ab him g huan]/kaa a-ñ g huan
hear MD-I SUBR-MD LOC walk ART PN hear MD-I ART PN

[m-o ab him]
 SUBR-MD LOC walk
 I hear Juan coming.

kaa a-ñ [m-o hab kai] g husi [ma-s ab him
 hear MD-I SUBR-MD thus say ART PN SUBR-MDL LOC walk

g huan]]/kaa a-ñ g husi [m-o hab kai] [ma-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 † a-'a-l-ga
 them MD-MDL hear ART PN ART REFL children-AL

[m-o ab him]
 SUBR-MD LOC walk
 Juan reportedly heard his children coming.

The complement of volitional propositions is infinitive:

na-p-t † nako-X [ma-p-t hab wo]uu-X]
 Q-you-TNS REFL able-PERF SUBR-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 Were you able to do it?

na-p hlg-id-a-s [ma-p-t wo čikp-X]
 Q-you trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-you-TNS FUT work-PERF
 Are you allowed to work?

ab o ñ=čthañ [ma-n-t hab wo]uu-X]
 LOC MD me=order SUBR-I-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 He ordered me to do it.

The negative volitional complement optionally employs modal s
 IRR:

pi a-n-t ñ=nako-X [ma-ñ-s hab wo
 NEG MD-I-TNS REFL=able-PERF SUBR-I-IRR thus FUT

ñ=]uu-X]
 REFL=do-PERF
 I wasn't able to do it.

pi a-ñ hiwg-id-a-s [ma-ñ-s wo žikp-X]
 NEG MD-I trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-I-IRR FUT work-PERF
 I'm not allowed to work.

pi o ab hu ñ=žithañ [ma-ñ-s has wo ñ=yu-X]
 NEG MD LOC REM me=order SUBR-I-IRR what FUT REFL=do-PERF
 He's not ordering me to do anything.

Thought complement also employs s IRR:

ba-ñ ñ=aag [ma-s žikpan]
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-IRR work
 I thought, mistakenly, that he was working.

ba-ñ ñ=aag [m-o(-kl) žikpan]
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-MD-MDL work
 I thought, appropriately, that he was working.

The complement of a knowledge verb employs modal s, indicating the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition:

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
 I don't know whether he knows (and I don't know) whether you're working.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I don't know whether he knows (as I know) that you're working.

pi a-ñ maač [m-o s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MD AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I didn't know (but now know) he knew that you were working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-ť [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
 I asked him whether he knew whether you were working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-ť [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I asked him whether he knew that you are working.

[na-p s=maač [ma-s žikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kal
 Q-you AFF=know SUBR-DUB work ART PN thus-I say
 "Do you know whether Juan is working?" I said.

[na-p s=maač [m-o čikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kai]
Q-you AFF=know SUBR-MD work ART PN thus-I say
"Do you know that Juan is working?" I said.

Complements employing MDL s also entertain alternatives:

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s čikpan o a-s am wabš daha]
LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB work or MD-DUB LOC just sit
I asked whether he was working or just staying there.

pi a-t wo † nako-X [ma-s wo čikp-X o
NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-IRR FUT work-PERF or

a-s has wo † juu-X]
MD-IRR anything FUT REFL do-PERF
He won't be able to work or do anything.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses co-occur with generic pronoun or demonstrative. The neutral position of relative is following head word. Nonrestrictive relative is considered deviant. Subject, object, and oblique object relatives are treated alike and may occur in any noun phrase of the sentence. Redundant phrases are deleted, but pronoun copy retained:

Subject Relatives:

g†-†-g†-†a-] o h†gam a-'a-l [m-o am čičwi]
X-RDP-RDP-X-be MD those X-RDP-X SUBR-MD LOC play
big child
Those children that are playing there are big.

ha a-ñ taččua h†gam a-'a-l [m-o am čičwi]
them MD-I need those children SUBR-MD LOC play
I need those children that are playing there.

ha a-n-t maa-X g luulsi h†gam a-'a-l [m-o
them MD-I-TNS give-PERF ART candy those children SUBR-MD
am čičwi]
LOC play
I gave candy to those children that are playing there.

am a-n-t ha wui hii-X hɨgam a-'a-] [m-o am
 LOC MD-I-TNS them to go-PERF those children SUBR-MD LOC

ʒiɕwi]

play

I went to those children that are playing there.

Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-ɣ o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-n ha ɳi-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-ɣ o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-n-t ab ha
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I-TNS LOC them

maa-X g luulsi]

give-PERF ART candy

Those children I gave the candy to are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Oblique Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-ɣ o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-n ha wiɰhiɰd
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I them for

hidoɣ]

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:

hɨgam waik a-'a-l [m-o am gɨ-g-ok]
 those three children SUBR-MD LOC X-RDP-X
stand

those three children that are standing there

The REL may, however, be postposed to the pronoun:

gɨ't-] o hɨga'i [m-o am kɨk] kil-i o'odham
 big-be MD that SUBR-MD LOC stand old-SG person
male

That old man standing there is big.

t wo i gɨ't-d-a hɨga'l [ma-t s=ap wo
 TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT

ɨ gɨgos-ida-d] a-l
 REFL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF child-SG
 A child that eats well will get big.

Head word may be deleted:

hɨgam waik [m-o am gɨ-g-ok]
 those three SUBR-MD LOC stand
PL
 those three that are standing there

All parts of the noun phrase precede a complement:

n-t ab wo im=čtha-X aapim [ma-m la gɨ-g-ok]
 I-TNS LOC FUT you=order-PERF you SUBR-you LOC stand
PL PL PL PL

[ma-m-t has wo ɨ]uu-X]
 SUBR-you-TNS what FUT REFL do-PERF
PL

I'm going to tell you who are standing here what to do.

Relatives may co-occur:

am a-n-t wo ha aa'ad hɨgam [m-o am gɨ-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 higa'i [m-o am kɪk] lida'a
I-TNS FUT give-PERF that SUBR-MD LOC stand this

[ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF
I'll give the one standing there this that you gave me.

n-t wo maa-X lida'a [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
I-TNS FUT give-PERF this SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

higa'i [m-o am kɪk]
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:

ld a-n-t wo maa-X [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
this MD-I-TNS FUT give-PERF SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

higa'i [m-o am kɪk]
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 ñi-id g a-'a-l higa'i [m-o am kɪk]
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:

mɪa-X a-n-t g ʂol-ga-ʃ g al-i-ga-ʃ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

higa'i ʂtoʃ [m-o am kɪk]
that man SUBR-MD LOC stand
I killed the pet of that child of that man standing there.

mɪa-X a-n-t g ʂol-ga-ʃ higa'i al-i-ga-ʃ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN that child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am ʂiɕwi]
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC play
I killed the pet of that child of Juan playing there.

m̥a-X a-n-t h̥ga'i ʒoi-ga-ŷ g al-i-ga-ŷ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS that CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am kaač]
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC lie
I killed that pet of the child of Juan lying there dead.

A REL may occur in each conjoined phrase:

ḍ-o ñwi-p-nag iida'a [m-o ia ḍaha] kč
EQ-MD me=X-RDP-X this SUBR-MD LOC sit and
sibling

h̥ga'i [m-o ab k̥ik]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
This one sitting here facing us and that one standing
there facing us are my siblings.

A nongeneric REL may be deleted if redundant, or replaced by gesture:

gi'i-ŷ o h̥ga'i al-i (redundancy/gesture)
big-be MD that child-SG
That child is big.

Form

The REL of a generic sentence employs an attributive and/or FUT, and co-occurs with a nondemonstrative 3P pronoun. A generic sentence is potential, employing *wo* FUT:

t wo ha gi'i-g-X h̥ga'i al-i [ma-t
TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS

wo gi'i-ŷ-k]
FUT big-be-STAT
The child that's big will win.

t wo i gi'i-d-a h̥ga'i [ma-t s=ap wo
TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT

i 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 nondemonstrative PRON reduced to *g* ART:

t wo i gi'-t-d-a g s=ap † g†gos-id-da-m
 TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO ART AFF=good REFL eat-APPLIC-

(a1-i)

IMPRF-PRTC child-SG

A good eater (child) will get big.

A relative may contain a question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X h†ga'i [m-o h†da'i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that SUBR-MD who

i si m†d]

DEF INTNS run

That one who is really running will win.

A REL may be included in forwarded topic, since the first contour or first stressed word is forwarded:

h†gam [m-o h†da-m i si wo-o-po] a-t wo
 those SUBR-MD who-PL DEF INTNS run-RDP-RDP MD-TNS FUT
 PL

iib-k

breathe-DESID

Those who are really running will get winded.

h†gam a-t wo iib-k-X [m-o h†da-m i
 those MD-TNS FUT breathe-DESID-PERF SUBR-MD who-PL DEF

si wo-o-po]

INTNS run-RDP-RDP

PL

Those who are really running will get winded.

An unforwarded DEM may be deleted preceding a question-word REL:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [m-o h†da'i si m†d]
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-MD who INTNS run
 He who is really running will win.

Ever relatives employ modal -p with question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [ma-t-p h†da'i i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL who DEF

si m†d]

INTNS run

Whoever it is that's running hard will win.

A headless REL not forwarded with DEM may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hasču'u am i kaač] n-t (hīg) wo bī-i
 SUBR-MD what LOC DEF lie I-TNS that FUT get-PERF
 That which is lying there is what I'll get.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX and FUT:

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīda'i wo
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT
 i si mī-t-X]
 DEF INTNS run-PERF
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīda'i i si
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS
 mī-d-k-X]
 run CNJ-PERF
 [ma-t hīda'i wo i si mī-d] k-X wo ha
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-CNJ-PERF FUT them
 gī-t-g-X
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
 He who runs fast will win.

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīda'i wo i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF
 si mīda-d]
 INTNS run-IMPRF
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīda'i i si
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS
 mīda-d-č]
 run-IMPRF-CNJ
 [ma-t hīda'i wo i si mīda-d] č wo ha
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-IMPRF CNJ FUT them
 gī-t-g-X
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
 He who keeps running fast will win.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial relatives co-occur with and follow demonstrative:

t wo čikp-X g huan ama'i [ma-t g husi am
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN there SUBR-TNS ART PN LOC

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work there where José will work.

Redundant time demonstrative is usually deleted:

t wo čikp-X g huan (tɬa) [ma-t g husi tɬa
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN then SUBR-TNS ART PN then

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work then when José will work.

In a resumptive construction, the forwarded DEM is usually truncated:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t g husi
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS ART PN

am wo čikp-X]

LOC FUT work-PERF

There is where Juan will work, where José will work.

Adverbial relatives may employ question words:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m hɨba'i
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNPSEC where

i kli-t]

DEF house-VR

There where they are building a house is where Juan will work.

t wo i čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t hɨkid
TNS FUT DEF work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS when

wo i kli-t]

FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will begin to work when they begin the house.

Ever clauses employ modal -p with question word:

t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t-p hɪkɪd
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL when

wo i kii-t]

FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will work whenever they are going to build.

am a-t čikpn-am-X g huan [ma-m-t-p
there MD-TNS work-MOT-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL

hɪba'i i aa'ad]

where DEF send

There's where Juan will go to work, wherever they sent him.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX:

{ ba-t i ʔuu-X (ɪɖa) [ma-t gm hu wo hii-X]
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF then SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT go-PERF
ba-t i ʔuu-X [gm hu wo him-k-X]
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF LOC REM FUT go-CNJ-PERF
[ma-t (ɪɖa)gm hu wo him] k-X hab i
SUBR-TNS then LOC REM FUT go CNJ-PERF thus REFL
ʔuu-X
do-PERF
He did it as he was about to leave. }

FUT is also deleted in reduced generic relative:

{ t wo naato [ma-t hɪɖa'i wo i čikp-X
TNS FUT finish SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF
wiɪs taʂ-kaɣ]
all time-INSTR
t wo naato [hɪɖa'i i čikpan-k-X wiɪs taʂ-kaɣ]
TNS FUT finish who DEF work-CNJ-PERF all time-INSTR
[ma-t hɪɖa'i wo i čikp-X wiɪs taʂ-kaɣ]
SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF all time-INSTR
k-X wo naato
CNJ-PERF FUT finish
The one who works all the time/every day will finish. }

{ am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t
 there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

 h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d]
 where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF

 am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [h̄ba'i
 there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN where

 kii-ka-d-č]
 dwell-STAT-IMPRF-CNJ

 [ma-t h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d g
 SUBR-TNS where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF ART

 huan] č am wo čikp-X]
 PN CNJ LOC FUT work-PERF
 There where he'll be living is where Juan will work. }

A REL with unspecified subject may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, but is not connected with CNJ:

{ n-t wo i čikp-X [ma-t ga hu wo
 I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT

 i]uu-X]
 DEF sit-PERF

 n-t wo i čikp-X [ga hu i]uuk]
 I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF LOC REM DEF sit

 [ma-t ga hu wo i]uu-X] n-t
 SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT DEF sit-PERF I-TNS

 wo i čikp-X
 FUT DEF work-PERF
 I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there. }

A reduced REL with unspecified subject may be forwarded within the clause:

{ n-t [ga hu i]uuk] wo i čikp-X
 I-TNS LOC REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF

 [ga a-n-t hu i]uuk] wo i čikp-X
 LOC MD-I-TNS REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF
 I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there. }

If Clauses

If clauses employ modal -p and/or ʃa:

t wo bi-hug-im-X g al-i [ma-t-p
TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF ART child-SG SUBR-TNS-MDL

pi ha'i-ču wo huu-X]
NEG some-thing FUT eat-PERF
The child will get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

t wo bi-hug-im-X [ma-t(-p) wo ʃa pi
TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT if NEG

ha'i-ču huu-X]
some-thing eat-PERF
He'll get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

n-t pi wo ñi-i-X [ma-t hĩms wo ʃa
I-TNS NEG FUT look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if

hii-X]
go-PERF
I wouldn't see him if he were to go.

pi a-t wo ñ=ñi-i-X [ma-t hĩms wo
NEG MD-TNS FUT me=look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT

ʃa hii-X]
if go-PERF
He wouldn't see me if he were to go.

Forwarded if clauses optionally delete SUBR:

[(ma-)t-p wo ʃuu-X] n-t pi wo hii-X
SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT rain-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT go-PERF
If it rains, I won't go.

[(ma-)t hĩms wo ʃa hii-X] n-t pi wo
SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT

ñi-i-X
look-APPLIC-PERF
If he were to go, I wouldn't see him.

[(ma-)t hɪms wo ʂa him] k-X a-t-ki pi wo
 SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-MDL NEG FUT

ñ=ñt-i-X

me=look-APPLIC-PERF

If he were to go, he evidently wouldn't see me.

Other

Purpose clauses are unmarked, FUT, and cannot be preposed to the main clause:

am a-t hɪi-X g huan [ma-t wo ñt-i-X g
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS FUT see-PERF ART

husi]

PN

Juan went to see José.

Reason clauses are the CMPL of DEM plus hɪkaʃ for this/
 that reason:

am a-t hɪi-X g huan hɪg hɪkaʃ [ma-t
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN that reason SUBR-TNS

ñt-i-X g husi]

see-PERF ART PN

Juan went because he saw José.

pi o ʂikpan g huan hɪg hɪkaʃ [m-o ʃuuk]
 NEG MD work ART PN that reason SUBR-MD rain
 Juan is not working because it's raining.

pi o ha'i-ʂu t-i-s-a g huan hɪg hɪkaʃ
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN that reason

[m-o pi ʃuuk]

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 ʂikpan g huan [n-o pi ʃuuk]
 NEG MD work ART PN Q-MD NEG rain
 Juan isn't working because it's raining (for
 isn't it raining?).

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o pi pi]uuk]
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD NEG NEG rain
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

A double negative may reduce to positive gi:

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o gi]uuk]
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD POS rain
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

TEXT

The Coyote and the Jack Rabbit

ban	č	čuuwi
coyote	and	jack rabbit

1. One time, it is said, there was a big coyote,
 ʃ am hu hɬba'i hɪma d ɡi'ti ban
 QUOT LOC REM sometime one EQ big coyote

and he got hungry and was chasing a jack rabbit.
 Č am i bi-hug-im k-X g čuwl hu-hu-'ld
 and LOC DEF food-eat-DESID and-PERF ART rabbit X-RDP-X

2. It is said the jack rabbit was truly frightened, chase
 ʃ wabʃ wtho'i t tods-X g cuuwi
 QUOT just truly REFL frighten-PERF ART rabbit

but he knew he could not
 k-X wabšaba s=maač ma-t-š pi wo
 CNJ-PERF but AFF-know SUBR-TNS-QUOT NEG FUT

† *nako-X*
REFL able-PERF

run long because he was old
ma-t taş wo mii-X na-ş pi mu'i d ahi-dag
SUBR-TNS time FUT run-PERF Q-QUOT NEG many EQ cycle-ABSTR

and his legs were very tired.
 § g ka-k-io-ŋ si giw-p-k-o
 QUOT ART X-RDP-X-GEN INTNS X-RDP-X-PRIV
 lea strong

3. It is said the jack rabbit turned to the coyote
 ʃ ab sikol i k+k-i-wua g čuwi ban wui
 QUOT LOC around DEF stand-GER-COMPL ART rabbit coyote to

and said, "Stop chasing me.
 k-X a-s hab kai] ha'asa g ñ=hu-hu-'id
 and-PERF MD-QUOT thus say stop IMP me=chase

4. Or are you going to eat me and is that why you're chasing me?"
 aha na-p-t wo ñ=hug k-X hab ñ=hu-hu-'id
 or Q-you-TNS FUT me=eat and-PERF thus me=chase

5. It is said the coyote said, "Yes, I'm going to eat you."
 ʃ hab kai] g ban h+u'u n-t wo m=huu-X
 QUOT thus say ART coyote yes I-TNS FUT you=eat-PERF

6. It is said the jack rabbit said, "Don't eat me,
 ʃ hab kai] g čuuwi pi g am ñ=huug-l
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit NEG ART LOC me=eat-PERF
 IMP

because you will surely die.

na-p-t pi himho wo wa muu-X
 Q-you-TNS NEG X FUT X die-PERF
 surely

7. You presumably think I'm a jack rabbit.
 ba-p-t-p ñ=tlid ma-ñ d čuuwi
 thus-you-TNS-MDL me=think SUBR-I EQ rabbit

8. Yet I am really a rattlesnake.
 ñ i-da d g+ ko'owi
 I yet EQ POS rattlesnake

9. And my poison will kill you."
 t g ñ=ko'ok-dag wo m=nia-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 high wo huu-X ba-ʃ kai] g
 I-TNS what-thing then FUT eat-PERF thus-QUOT say ART

ban
 coyote

11. It is said the rabbit said, "This fruit is what you will eat,
 ʃ hab kai] g čuuwi id a-p-t wo huu-X
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit this MD-you-TNS FUT eat-PERF

ha'l-ču bali-dag
 some-thing ripe-ABSTR

that I have gathered and am carrying.
 ma-n-t u-'u k-X lit-a-čug
 SUBR-I-TNS take-RDP and-PERF gather-GER-carry
 PL

12. I was going to take them to my house
 n-t wo čum u-'u-k am ñ=kil wui
 I-TNS FUT MDL take-RDP-go LOC me=house to
 PL GEN

and thus am carrying them stowed in this basket.
 hab ia to'a-him id t̥da haʂda
 thus LOC store-PROG this in basket

13. Then you chased me."

p-t t̥da ñ=hu-hu-'i-X
 you-TNS then me=chase-PERF

14. It is said coyote said, "The truth is
 ʂ hab kaij g ban wthoo o wa
 QUOT thus say ART coyote true MD REF

that rabbits eat vegetation.
 m-o g čuwi ko'a g ha'i-ču bahi-dag
 SUBR-MD ART rabbit eat ART some-thing ripe-ABSTR

15. But a rattlesnake doesn't eat it.

k wabʂaba g ko'owi pi ko'a
 INTR but ART rattlesnake NEG eat

16. So you evidently are really a jack rabbit

ku-p-ki wa wthoo d čuwi
 INTR-you-EV REF true EQ rabbit

despite what you say.
 čum a-p-s has wo kaij-čl-d
 MDL MD-you-MDL what FUT say-RSLTV-IMPRF

17. You will not at all be able

pi a-p-t wo ʂa'i t nako-X
 NEG MD-you-TNS FUT DEG REFL able-PERF

to trick me.
 ma-p-t wo ñ=ban-mad
 SUBR-you-TNS FUT me=coyote-apply

18. It's good you're a rabbit,

s=ap-'t o ma-p d čuwi
 AFF=good-be MD SUBR-you EQ rabbit

because rabbit is edible.
 n-o pi s=ta hug-ma g čuwi
 Q-MD NEG AFF=UNSPEC eat-able ART rabbit
 SUBJ

19. I don't like to eat rattlesnake."

pi a-ñ naak g koo-k-'ow!
 NEG MD-I like ART X-RDP-X
 rattlesnake

20. *He then indeed ate the jack rabbit*
 t oi wa wiho am i huu-X higa'i čuuwi
TNS then true LOC DEF eat-PERF that rabbit

that tried to deceive him.

ma-t čum iattog-i-X

SUBR-TNS MDL lie-APPLIC-PERF

21. *He also ate the fruit*
 t hīg t̥p huu-X ha'i-ču bahi-dag
TNS that also eat-PERF some-thing ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit was carrying,

m-o iit-a-čug g čuuwi

SUBR-MD gather-GER-carry ART rabbit

and afterward sat down under a mesquite tree somewhere

k-X amj̥iḍ am hu h̥ba'i i ḍah-i-wua

and-PERF after LOC REM somewhere DEF sit-GER-COMPL

kui wičo

tree under

and suddenly died,

k-X haha wabṣ muu-X

and-PERF then just die-PERF

because the fruit was just poison

n-o-ki p̥l ḍ wabṣ h̥alwu-i h̥iga'i ha'i-ču

Q-MD-EV NEG EQ just poison-GER that some-thing

bahi-dag

ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit got.

ma-t-ki u-i g čuuwi

SUBR-TNS-EV take-PERF ART rabbit

PL

(For additional texts, see Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians.)

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, Adelaido Bueno, José Valencia, and Hermenejildo Carrillo.

The only extant grammar of Northern Tepehuan is Benito Rinaldini's *Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana*, Mexico 1743. Current linguistic studies are: K.L. Pike, R.P. Barrett, and B. Bascom's 'Instrumental Collaboration on a Tepehuan (Uto-Aztecan) Pitch Problem', *Phonetica* 3.1-22 (1959); Burt Bascom's 'Tonomechanics of Northern Tepehuan', *Phonetica* 4.71-88 (1959); Bascom's unpublished dissertation, *Proto-Tepiman (Tepehuan-Piman)*, University of Washington, 1965; and Nancy Woo's 'Tone in Northern Tepehuan', *IJAL* 36.18-30 (1970).

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tʸ	k
b	d	dʸ	g
v	s	ʃ	h*
m	n	ɱ	
		ʒ	

i	ɨ	u
	o	
	a	

Vowel length is interpreted as geminate clusters.

l

r

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. ě is found in relatively few words. In most of these ě fluctuates with š or tʲ or both. Nonfluctuating: ěffki a few vs. šíffki 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)V.

Velars have back variants preceding o or a.

n or ñ becomes ŋ before velars.

Vowels become voiceless before pause.

Morphophonemic Alternation

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \\ s \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t^y \\ d^y \\ \tilde{n} \\ \tilde{s} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{adjacent to } i, \check{s}, \tilde{n}$$

Exceptions include:

tasíána	in the sun	(cf. táσαι sun)
kāšiat íí	he already went	
mianíóma	closer	(cf. míánai close)
miadíáva	he <u>did</u> come in	(cf. míádíi come in)

Loss of velar consonants and d is frequent following a high-toned syllable. vtgí-kídt > vtgídt the red ones.

Loss of word final vowel(s) or syllable occurs in fast speech. vóorai who? > vóor góó who is that?; kífga good, well > kíff máátí he knows very well.

v > p in reduplicated forms. váákíi enter > vapákíi enter repeatedly. For some speakers vapákíi > papákíi.

Vowel harmony is not infrequent. tatáka roots / tatákírii it is getting roots; áálitʲu to cause to become small / áálitʲírii 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 čivuaavúá-íñd^yiri íh-i aatfmi
and Saturday-TEMP PN-from RDP-went we
PL

meehíko amákoga
PN towards
And on Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

takávo savíli piid^yúru ítmádu ándrtíši múi fíkkoll
yesterday bought PN with PN many orange

šán ím-vítítárt gi-tumíñši-ga-kídt
me me-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.

piid^yúru=a-t savíli go-fíkkoll
PN=B=COMPL bought the-orange
Peter bought the oranges.

aánt fígi glñ-gífgi
I alone REFL-hit
I alone hit myself.

naváit^yi yífi gí-gir-du-kídt
corn drink RDP-big-QNT-AG
liquor 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.

gʔi=ǎ=n=t áánʔ
fell=B=I=COMPL I
I fell.

An object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

plid^yúru iñ-gʔfɡʔ áánʔ
PN me-hit me
Peter hit me.

An indirect object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

áánʔ giñ-maá ʔgai imó ʔʔkoli
me 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.).

tán dáha go-dǎʔ-karoi áán iñ-ʔbʔgi
here sit the-sit-INST 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.

kavámi kóko áánʔ giñ-t^yoóna
hard hurt my my-knee
My knee really hurts.

A reflexive pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an independent pronoun.

ʔʔgi gʔ-gʔfɡʔ ʔgai
alone REFL-hit him
He hit himself.

ʔʔgi ʔgai gʔ-gʔfɡʔ ʔgai
alone he REFL-hit him
He hit himself.

ʔʔgi áánʔ giñ-gʔfɡʔ áánʔ cf. plid^yúru giñ-gʔfɡʔ áánʔ
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 WHW occur first in the clause, the independent pronoun following the verb.

n=ai niid^{YI}-ĩña áání kíámo-ko
I=and saw-PAST I morning-TEMP
DUR
And I saw (them) in the morning.

n=oor áánt
I=who I
Who am I?

A slightly different set of subject pronoun clitics occurs following a verb preceding *ágai INTEN* will, *gonna* or *agáftadai IMPRF INTEN*. These pronoun clitics co-occur with an independent pronoun.

imi=a=iñ ágai áánt
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.

vff gookā-tai bir-ímti t-kí-kffli
all two-PRONR this-come the-RDP-man.
way PL PL
Here come the two men.

Adverbial constructions relating to location and time (and manner) all display presumptive "pronoun" constructions. Location constructions with adverbial demonstratives:

vóíbid^yi aatf^mt gáámo báág tbfgi
went we there eagle behind
around
We went around behind Eagle Mountain.

A discontinuous adverbial demonstrative construction:

tán dáha áán† giñ-kil-í-rí
here sit I my-house-LOC-in
Here I am in my house.

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

da	and	INTR	SS
ta	and	INTR	DS
d+mos~d+	but	INTR	
+tmādu	and, with	(joins two nouns to form compound SUBJ/OBJ)	
šifp+~šif	or	(joins nouns, phrases, or clauses)	
dan+~dan	and	INTR	

See COORDINATION for a more detailed discussion and examples of conjunctions.

Adverbs

tfdo~tūdu	well, then
fp+	also
tpfp+/tpāmu~tpā	again
vřřřkřř+~vřř	still, yet, nevertheless
mos-	just, only
á d ^y tš	at that time
á d ^y t	then
amāšš	when
kāš ~kā=	already, now
kíá	yet

imfda-ñ t^yfdo
go-IMP then
Go then! / Well, go on!

áán fp+ t t g t^y o t m š ko
I also need one
I need one too.

š|á d^y i-ko tpā nōra
next-TEMP again go
day back
The next day he went back again.

vřřřkřř| tošš| va-páki-i toma-š|á š-dřři
still rabbit RDP-enter-PRES any-where-from
REPET
Still Rabbit kept getting in anywhere!

mos-tmó pá-díř va-páki-i toóši
just-one where-from RDP-enter-PRES rabbit
 REPET

Rabbit kept getting in at just one place.

amááši tívánt-kai ka=vff navámu-a-n táda áánt
then get-when already=all drunk-STAT-might feel I
 off

When I got off I felt like I was drunk.

kaši=a=t íí piíli dímos mai=kíá d^yívia dulíánsa
already=B=PERF went PN but not=yet come PN
Phillip has gone but Lencho has not come yet.

Polarity

thf	yes
čúu/čóo/číúu	no
mai	NEG (preposed to AUX)
parř	NEG, not yet
-ava	EMPH, AFF (SF to verbs, nouns, pronouns)
d ^y í	EMPH (occurs at end of sentence)
gíá	AFF, really
alíf	very
maiší	not very, not really
bai	a bit
palřpi	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 ^y í	cf.	BIRD	3, 5; also COY 12, 17, 20, 22, 23.
gíá	cf.	BIRD	9, 25; also COY 19, 21, 24, 25.
alíf	cf.	BIRD	10.
maiší	cf.	BIRD	19.
váá	cf.	BIRD	11.
bai	cf.	COY	3.
čúu	cf.	COY	10.
-ava	cf.	COY	17, 22.

parř tígít^yo áánt
not need I
 yet
I don't need it yet.

mai t^yígít^yo áánt kíá
not need I yet
I don't need it yet.

dag1t^yo-ñi ši=d^yuvá-na pal1pi
 leave-IMP SUBR=rot-POT a
 little

Let it rot a little.

go-toóši al1fši a-11š1-d^yi t11gi
 the-rabbit very UNSPEC-rob-APPLIC wheat
 OBJ

The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

Modal

=ši Question (cf. QUESTIONS)
 =sa~s= Quotative

The QUOT clitic =sa occurs as the final element of the QUOT clitic group which is: =SUBJ:PRON=s_a. The QUOT clitic group may occur following the verb or following other elements which precede the verb.

imf-na=p1=s_a
 go-POT=you=QUOT
 He says you should go.

gáámo=a=p1=s_a imf-na
 there=B=you=QUOT go-POT
 He says you should go there.

s= QUOT occurs preposed to CNJ and WHW. See COORDINATION and QUESTIONS.

ši=~iš= SUBR (if, so that)

fgal óóha iš=maak+d1 áágl-d^yi áa iš=maak+d1+r
 he wrote SUBR=that told-APPLIC others SUBR=who=be
 which

n1ihá-da-mi
 see-APPLIC-NR
 He wrote what others who were witnesses told him.

See sections on complex sentences for further examples.

Subject Clitics

	SG	PL
1P	n ~ an ~ iñ	t ~ tñ ~ tñt
2P	p ~ pñ ~ pi	m ~ mñ
3P	Ø	

See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for a more detailed analysis of the pronouns.

Tense/Aspect

TNS/ASP morphemes are suffixes except in verb Stem III, the PERF(ECTIVE) stem, where they are treated as clitics:

=ta	Completive
=t ^y iki	Completive Definite
=t ^y i	Completive 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.

gñi=á=n=ta
fell=B=I=COMPL
I fell.

káši=a=n=t íí
already=B=I=COMPL went
I already went.

gñi=ñ=t^yiki
fell=I=COMPL
DEF
I fell.

ááni=a=n=t íí
I=B=I=COMPL went
I went.

káši=a=n=mai=ta imt-da
now=B=I=NEG=COMPL go-?
(any more)
I'm not going to go now.

gñi=ñ=ši
fell=I=Q
Did I fall?

imf-na=pt=sa
 go-POT=you=QUOT
 He says you should go.

gáámo=a=pt=sa imf-na
 there=B=you=QUOT go-POT
 He says for you to go there.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Ø	Stative or existential, signalled by juxtaposition of noun-noun, noun-pronoun, quantifier-noun, WHW-pronoun, adverb-adjective, adjective-noun.	
tʸíípu	NEG existential (can occur with mai not)	
oidʸága	there isn't any	
	POS existential (can occur with mai not)	
	to live, there are	
-ka	STAT	
naáto	to become	
-tu	to become (probably related to naáto)	
ír	to be	
dáha/daráha	to sit	SG/PL
kííka/guúka	to stand	SG/PL
kaátí/vuúftí	to lie	SG/PL
víí	to remain	
-mu~-mí	to be	

kííli áání
 man I
 I am a man.

múí-dʸu kíí-ki
 many-QNT RDP-house
 PL
 There are lots of houses.

gí-do í-áki
 big-QNT this-stream
 This stream is big.

sííí-kíí-dí uuší-ga móval
 straight-with tree-ADJR there
 It's really woodsy there.

v=66r g66val
 3P=who that
 Who is that?

alí t66ñi
 very hot
 It's very hot.

kíígado ííí-dʸí áání íš-gí-oohí-dʸa-gí
 good thought I SUBR=you-write-APPLIC-UNR
 I thought it was good that I write you.

ši=ffki-du-ka-tadai
Q=how-QNT-STAT-PAST
many CONT
How many were there?

t^yiīpu tomali imóko
there not one
isn't even
any
There isn't even one.

t^yiipú-ka-tadai
there-STAT-PAST
isn't CONT
any
There weren't any.

oid^yaga múf-d^yu kíí-ki
there many-QNT RDP-house
are PL
There are many houses.

go-vosíki naáto naakámuli
that-mouse become bat
The mouse becomes a bat.

ka=kíí-t^yu áán† ka=óóñ-t^ya íñ-†íí-d^yi
already=man-become I already=wife-make REFL-want
Now that I'm a man I want to get married.

áán=†r kííli
I=be man
I am a man.

váá dáha pailíši
where sit PN
Where's Feliz?

kii-d^y-án kííka g†-sóf-ga gogóóši
house-his-at stand your-DOM-POSSD dog
Your dog is outside.

dulíansa kii-d^y-†-r† guúka g†-so-sóf-ga góógoši
PN house-his-at stand your-RDP-DOM-POSSD dogs
PL PL
Your dogs are at Lencho's house.

mo kaát† í-gííkaí
there lie that-plow
There's the plow.

g†n-áádunu-mu fgai
RCPR-relatives-be those
*They are married couples/
 relatives/companions.*
(cf. adúñi relative)

mo vufft† g†r-so-sóf-ga ši-šívatu
there lie our-RDP-DOM-POSSD goat
PL PL PL
There are our goats.

g†n-ši-šíf†-m† fgai
their-RDP-sibling-be those
RCPR PL
They are siblings/cousins.

vuañí-ka-m víí glñ-kií
clean-STAT-NR remained my-house
My house is clean.

HAVE

Ø *to have is signalled by the juxtaposition of noun-noun, noun-pronoun, adjective-noun, NP-NP, etc. If the possessed noun ends in -i, the -i becomes -t.*

víáa *to have*
 óí^dí *to follow*
 t^yíípu *there is not, there are not*

gííka go-kííli	móo áání
<i>plow the-man</i>	<i>head I</i>
<i>The man has a plow.</i>	<i>I have a head.</i>

díí=pt=íí
mother=you=Q
Do you have a mother?

í-takúku gíá áána mai=ííú nóvi
the-chicken AFF wing not=no hand
A chicken has wings, not hands.

óódami gíá títí mai=ííú úúsu
people AFF mouth not=no beak
People have a mouth, not a beak.

í-ííí-kami	tííígi	maa-mára	góóka	ááli
<i>the-plant-AG wheat</i>	<i>RDP-child</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>little</i>	
	<i>PL</i>		<i>ones</i>	

The owner of the wheat field has two little children.

alí tumííí-ga í-gáágar-dami
very money-ADJR the-sell-AG
The merchant has lots of money.

úúrugí mai=t^ya ísai tomali mai víáa gín-troohó-ga
birds not=COMPL plant not not have their-store-POSSD
INDEF even own house
Birds don't plant, nor do they have storehouses.

íí-óí^dí sósóí daí tóíí^k-d^yagai
me-follow cold and hot-ABSTR
I have a cold and a fever.

The following sentences represent BE (-ka STAT) or HAVE (Ø).

†-kóóyi	duukát†	aimfrai	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mai } t^Y \text{lipú-ka-tai} \quad f\text{-fkaso-d†} \\ \text{not there-STAT-while RDP-leg-his} \\ \text{an't} \quad \text{PL} \\ \text{any} \end{array} \right\}$
the-snake	how	get around	
			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mai } f\text{-fkaso-ka-tai} \\ \text{not RDP-leg-STAT-while} \\ \text{PL} \end{array} \right\}$

How does a snake get around, { not having any any legs?
since he is legless? }

mai díf-ka-mi go-áli
not mother-STAT-NR the-little
AG one

The child has no mother./The child is motherless.

DO

dúúnui	to make, do
††-dúúnui	to happen (also-do)
ivuááyi	to do (used only in IMPRF)
-tai	to make

tumá dúñi ágai áápi šíóro-ko
what do will you tomorrow-TEMP
What are you going to do tomorrow?

duñí-mu áán† ímó asárai kurúf-k†d†
make-FUT I one basket palm-with
I'm going to make a basket with palm leaves.

káši ††-duí v†fš† íš=t^Yumááši giñ-áági-d^Yi †gai
already happen all SUBR=what me-told-APPLIC that
one

íš=††-duñí á agá†-t^Yadai
SUBR=happen will will-PAST
CONT

All that he told me would happen has already happened.

tumá vúááyi
what do
What are you doing?

mff k6fda ga-vaakf-t'yal giñ-t'yu6ba
 there below UNSPEC-house-make my-father
 INDOBJ -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.)

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ-	(g) tr-
2P/3P	(g) +-	(g) tn-

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.

giñ-ñfíd^yl áánt ntld^yá-karol-ktdt
myself-see I see-*INSTR*-with
I see myself in the mirror.

vfiš-ka-tal gin-gi-gffgt aipā-koga
all-STAT-PRONR themselves-RDP-hit all-towards
 PL directions
They all hit each other.

fɪgɪ ʂánt ɡlĩ-ɡfɪgɪ ʂánt
alone I myself-hit I
I hit myself.

káši=a=p+^t=t g+^t-ái šáp! g+^t-yúúkuš!
already=B=you=COMPL yourself-put you your-clothes
on
You already put on your own clothes.

plid^yuru gi-kífstmai ffigi fgai
 PN himself-scratched alone he
 Peter scratches only himself.

Passive

Passive is always marked with a reflexive prefix:

gi-aag-áva iñ-š=imí-ági
 REFL-must-AFF I-SUBR=go-UNR
 I ought to go.

Cf. áágai as used with the whole set of reflexive pronouns, in which case it means *to be needed*:

alí-ši iñ-áágai ááni vavfli-ana
 very-INTNS REFL-need I PN-in
 I'm really needed in Baborigame.

alí-ši ir-áágai aatímt vavfli-ana
 very-INTNS REFL-need we PN-in
 We're really needed in Baborigame.

Verbs which always occur with reflexive prefixes:

giáágai to begin (cf. COY 16)
 giááhagti to begin
 gitóumadai to get well

dai amááší káši iñ-t^yóúmada-n táda ááni
 and then already REFL-feel-POT felt I
 better
 And by that time I felt better.

suúši víááka-tadai parí imó kóbai dan balvušt^yááma
 Jesus have-PAST about one twenty and ten
 CONT

uumígi áíd^yíši gi-áágai gi-aadúíñ-d^yaga
 years when REFL-began his-work-ABSTR
 Jesus was thirty years old when his work was begun.

Unspecified Arguments

ga- 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.

ga-ma-mááti-tul-d^Ya-dami-ga
UNSPEC-RDP-know-BEN-APPLIC-AG-POSSD
REPET
someone's teacher

mo dáha ga-sóí-ga (gogóóšl)
there sit UNSPEC-DOM-POSSD dog
There's someone's dog.

The unspecified indirect object pronoun *ga-* is prefixed to ditransitive verbs.

ga-óótoš-d^Yi áání imó takúku 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:

óótoš-d^Yi áání vúáána imó 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.

mo daráha mui óódami ga-yff-i (naváit^Yi)
there sit many people UNSPEC-drink-PRES corn
PL liquor
There are a lot of people drinking (corn liquor).

yff-i vííba-i ááli naváit^Yi yff-i
drink-PRES milk-ABS children corn drink-PRES
liquor

gí-gír-du-kídi
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.

fgai mfhi eskúála
he burned school
He burned down the school.

go-kfíli kffda-i gí-ooñí-ga
the-man cursed-PRES his-wife-POSSD
own
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:

fgai baá imó doad^yí-gamí pastíya
he swallowed one cure-AG pill
He swallowed a pill.

But *ga-* does occur with *baá* in the following sentence where the object is not specified.

go-óódami ga-tí-tíñí-a-kí-d^yí
the-people UNSPEC-RDP-mouth-STAT-TRNSR-APPLIC
REPET VR

ga-baá dan vúááyí
UNSPEC-swallow ? do/make
People open their mouths wide to swallow.

The unspecified postpositional object *ga-* is prefixed to postpositions.

ga-báít ^y †	dáha	ga-tbfgí	dáha
UNSPEC-in	sit	UNSPEC-behind	sit
	front		It's behind someone.
	of		
It's in front of someone.			

The unspecified subject pronoun *mí=* occurs as a proclitic to conjunctions and WHW.

mí=tai	tíhai	†-óódami	sai	íími-na	šíááko	vuvááha
UNSPEC=and	order	the-people	that	go-POT	where	come
SUBJ				PL		out
						PL

mt=sal fkald^ya-na
 UNSPEC=so 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

=šl	Q
ǝ	Q
↗rising intonation	Q
mal=šlǝ	not=no TAG Q

=šl 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.

kóí=pt=šl
slept=you=Q
Did you sleep?

kóí=pl=šl
snake=you=Q
Are you a snake?

vi+ñí-ga=ǝ=šl
tasty-ADJR=it=Q
Is it good tasting?

#mal=ǝ=šl íd^yl utúdai=ǝ=šl
another=it=Q this new=it=Q
Is this another one, is it new?

††gí=pt=šl dáhā
alone=you=Q sit
Are you alone? (cf. also BIRD 1; COY 7, 8.)

ǝ always occurs at the end of the clause with extra-high tone (intonation).

áápl ǝ
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.

káakā

taste

Q

How does it taste?

máášī góó

appear that

Q

What does it look like?

(cf. also BIRD 7, 17.)

čigíā máášī go-yóóšigai mai=šíŭ

pretty appear the-flower not=no

The flower is pretty, isn't it?

Some verbs occur in interrogative sentences with no overt marker.

máášī go-tišívagai

appear the-lizard

What does the lizard
look like?

úuvai góóvai

smell that

one

What does it smell like?

túíga go-óódami

character the-person

What kind of a person is he?

WH Questions

máášktđi ~ maakđi

which one?

duukátaí ~ dúúka ~ dúú

how?

túíga-ko

when? (at what particular time)

tuí=ši ~ tuí

why?

tumáá=ši ~ tumá

what?

v=óórai ~ vóór

who?

v=aakoga ~ vááko ~ váá

where?

v=ítkí

when? (past)

v=ffkídu ~ vífki ~ víf

how many?

v=ffšiga ~ vffsi ~ vff

how much?

v=ffš-kíđi

when? (future)

v=úídu

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 WHW are single morphemes.

máákđi áága-i

which want-PRES

one

Which one does he want?

dúú taapáni-na go-ááyí ffgí
how break-POT the-olla alone
How could the olla break by itself?

túíga-ko occurs with the temporal suffix -ko.

túíga-k=tr tasá-ga-dí
when-TEMP=be day-POSSD-his
When is his saint's day (birthday)?

The next two WHW occur with the Q CLT =ši.

tuf=pt=ši iñ-gífgí
why=you=Q me-hit
Why did you hit me?

tumáá=ši góó dai ód dán káátí
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.

	SUBJ		ASP
	SG	PL	
1P	n ~ an ~ iñ	tít ~ tí	t COMPL
			s QUOT
2P	p ~ pí	m ~ mí	ši DUB
3P	v ~ Ø		

n, p, v, tít, m occur before a vowel.
 an, pí, Ø, tí, mí occur before a consonant.
 iñ occurs before š.

n=óór áánt
I=who I
Who am I?

p=óór áápi
you=who you
Who are you?

v=óór góóvai
he=who he
Who is he?

tít=óór aatfmi
we=who we
Who are we?

m=óór aapímt
 you=who you
 PL PL
 Who are you PL?

Ø=t=óór dáívusai t+kíápo
 he=COMPL=who passed earlier
 Who went by earlier?

dai aapímt ō mī=káft^Yi an=s=óór áání
 and you Q you=say I=QUOT=who I
 PL
 And you PL? Whom do you PL say that I am?

ší=óór máátí iš=t^Yumáá=ší-ka-mu góóval
 DUB=who know SUBR=what=Q-STAT-FUT he
 Who knows what he will turn out to be?

p=áá	imí ágai	pí=t=ítkí	d ^Y ívia
you=where	go will	you=COMPI=when	came
Where are you	going?		PAST
		When did you	come?

Ø=ši=ííš-k+dí imí-mu góó
 he=DUB=how-with go-FUT he
much
 when
 FUT

When will he go?

v=úí^Yuru gí-sóí-ga miišít^Yu
 he=what your-DOM-POSSD cat
 size
 What size is your cat?

v=úú dúúku šívi
 it=how time now
 much
 What time is it now?

By this analysis vff preceding dúúku > vuu by vowel harmony. Some of the WHW take verbalizing suffix -ka plus verb inflections and auxiliary verbs ágai *is going to* and agáítadai *was going to*. Cf. the example above involving išt^Yumáášíikamu *What will he be?*

*t*i=*t*=*f*f*k*i-*d*^y-*u*-*k*a-*t*a*d*a*i* *aat**f*m*t* takávo
we=COMPL-how-QNT-STAT-PAST we yesterday
many *CONT*

How many of us were there yesterday?

ʃɪ-ʃʃɪa-ka-mudai ɔna-i ɪn=ʃ=maɪ ʌʃt^ya-mudai ʌʃnɪ
DUB-how-STAT-PAST salt-ABS I=if=not spill-PAST I
many PERF PERF
How much salt would there have been if I had not spilled
it?

How many and *how much* also are reduplicated for distributive:

m=fh-tk! áága-i aapim̐t dólse
you=RDP- how want-PRES you candy
PL DISTR many PL
How many candies do each of you want?

IMPERATIVES

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*.

-ñi	IMP SG
-vurai	IMP PL
virai	IMP PL
nāa	An interjection used for <i>Here (take this)!</i> . Can be used alone or preceding a verb.

kikíva-ní tabíá-diri	íími-vurai aapími
<i>stand-IMP here-from</i>	<i>go-IMP you</i>
<i>up</i>	PL PL PL
<i>Get out of here!</i>	<i>You go!</i>

The plural imperative particle *virai ~ vir* appears as the first element of a clause or as an enclitic to the first element.

gi-ooñi-ga maráá-t ágal tmo alí gffli viraí
your-wife-POSSD child-make will one little boy IMP
PL

vúáána tffttí gín-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).

bái bífkai go-doad^yí-ga-mi
 this carry the-cure-ADJR-NR
 way
Bring the medicine here!

bái im-bífí-d^ya go-so-sóna-karoi
 this me-carry-APPLIC the-RDP-tap-INSTR
 way REPET
Bring me the hammer!

vífškiri bái vúáapi lffči kúá-daga-i
 still this bring a eat-ABSTR-ABS
 way little
Bring me some food anyhow!

náa
 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
-dad†	PRSNR

ki†li†-ši
male-DIM
little boy

imó kahooní-f-r† m†=t†=tff glñ-oogá-karo
one box-LOC-in UNSPEC=COMPL=laid my-father-deceased
SUBJ

They laid my deceased father in a coffin.

b†r-ími-i glñ-ooní-baro daid^{y†} ki†sá-tugai
this-come-PRES my-wife-former and put-coming
way on

glñ-vanámo-baro dai dán dái-t^yugai glñ-soi-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.

ookí-ád†	ki†li†-ádi
woman	man
female (cf. óóki woman)	male (cf. ki†li man)

V + X = N

-karo	INSTR, place where action occurs, -able
-baro	has been Ved
-gai/dagai/ragai	ABSTR
-dad†	PRSNR
-mi	NR
-di	NR

dai mú†-d^yu t†-tfvi-karo-i šiááko ga-t†-tfv†i
and many-QNT^T RDP-play-INSTR-ABS where UNSPEC-RDP-play
CONT PL

kóbai dūfĩ-d^yagai

twenty make-ABSTR

Firewood costs twenty cents to bring and twenty cents to make.

dai mūf-d^yu bífugikoi-d^yadĩ ga-gáágai-t^yadai aadūfĩ-d^yagai
and many-QNT hungry-PRSNR RDP-look-PAST work-ABSTR
PL CONT for 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.

tsá-dami

plant-AG

planter

soomá-dami

sew-AG

one who sews

tĩ-tfvi-ku-dami

RDP-play-CHAR-AG

CONT

gambler

-kami AG has an alternate form -kĩdĩ (probably from -ka-dĩ 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 -kĩdĩ is used.

tsĩ-d^ya-kami
plant-APPLIC-AG
planter
(one's vocation)

tsĩ-kami
plant-AG
a planting
(that which is planted)

tsĩ-kami
plant-AG
one who owns a planting

vĩgĩ-kami
red-AG
one which is red

kóf-hara-kami
down-?-AG
a downriver man

valká-du-kĩ-dĩ
three-QNT-STAT-NR

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)
 -p† NR (p† < pa < vaa < váákoga where)

tudáf-tira-ga-mi
dance-CHAR-ADJR-NR
 AG

dancer

íva-tira-ga-mi
play-CHAR-AG
 music

one who likes to play music

bíí-vuli-gami
grab-CHAR-AG
 thief

parf-gami
lazy-AG
 lazy person

mo kífka go-kffli omáli-gami i-ttká-ra-kami saagíd^Ya
there stand the-man mean-AG the-up-?-AG among
 upriver
 people

There stands the mean man among the upriver people.

imó kffli maa-mára-ka-tadai góóka k†-kffli t-aid^Y†
one man RDP-child-STAT-PAST two RDP-male DS-then
 PL CONT

i-gookí-fr-dad† po-t†-tfdai g†-óóga
the-two-ORD-PRSNR thus-RDP-said his-father
 DUR

A man had two sons and the younger one said to his father...

vff gooká-tai víáa báá-baki gooká-p†-r†
all two-PRONR have RDP-house two-where-in
 PL

Both of them have houses in two places.

VERB MORPHOLOGY

$$N + X = V$$

-ta	to make a N
-ka	STAT
-piga	PRIV
-sa	to hit with N
-rɪ	to become N or Ned
-mada	put on
-da	VR

mo dáha giñ-úúli ga-súáá-ta-i
there sit my-mother's UNSPEC-blanket-make-PRES
mother INDOBJ
There's my grandmother making a blanket!

ka k+i+l-i-ka paranš+iš-iko
already man-STAT PN
Frank is a man now. (cf. COY 22)

óótoma óda-piga-ñi go-bávi dai idʷóra
quickly rock-PRIV-IMP the-beans and cook(them)
Clean the rocks out of the beans quickly and cook them.

$\xi f = \text{DUB}$ $d\ddot{u}ku$ $g+n-ko-k\acute{o}da-i$ $i-\xi i-\xi i'vatu$ $sffli$
DUB=how much time RCPR-RDP-fight-PRES the-RDP-goat straight

gu-gúúka-i vu-púí-d^yírt gtn-koová-í-ša-i
RDP-stand-PRES RDP-eye-from RCPR-forehead-ABS-hit-PRES
DUR up PL
PL

When goats fight they stand up straight facing each other and butt one another.

ka ta-tákt-rí-i go-yatóvara
already RDP-root-become-PRES the-potato
PL
The potato is getting roots.

dái-karo-mada-i	kukúruš-d ^y a-ñi
<i>sit-INSTR-put-PRES</i>	<i>cross-VR-IMP</i>
<i>saddle on</i>	<i>PL</i>
<i>He saddles it.</i>	<i>Make the sign of the cross.</i>

ADJ + X = V

-ka	STAT
-rĩ	become
-mada	put on
-da	VR
-i	VR
-to	VR

dáf-na áánĩ ší=fíši=tr kitgáí-ka-na
 fly-POT I DUB=how=be good-STAT-POT
 much
 How good it would be if I could fly.

ffko-rĩ-i go-vfíba-i
 sour-become-PRES the-milk-ABS
 The milk is getting sour.

šívi go-ááli gĩ-gffli toháli-mada-i gĩñ-kíí
 today the-little RDP-boy white-put-PRES my-house
 PL on
 The little boys whitewashed my house today.

vĩtš tása-i vaamf-óma to-tóíñ-d^ya-rĩ-i
 all day-ABS more-COMPAR RDP-hot-VR-become-PRES
 CONT
 Every day it keeps getting hotter.

vuaamá-í-mi	tíílgí	tídóí-t ^y o	gĩñ-masávi-ga
yellow-VR-PROG	wheat	black-VR	my-finger-POSSD
	PRES		and
The wheat is getting yellow.		blue	
		My finger got black and	
		blue.	

ADV + X = V

Ø	VR
-ka	VR (STAT)

mitká-vir (cf. mitkášiga/mitkáši/mířka
 far-IMP far, far away)
 PL
 Go PLI

stííí-ka-mí
 straight-STAT-NR
 laws, position of authority, just, right

giñ-maš tmo s+li-ka-mi
 me-gave a straight-STAT-NR
 position
 of
 authority
 He gave me a position of authority.

ka=mai víáá áánt s+li-ka-mi iš=tr
 already=not have I right-STAT-NR SUBR=be

gi-mará-ka-gl
 your-child-STAT-UNR
 I no longer have the right to be your son.

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

ADJ + X = ADJ

-ga	ADJR	
weeró-ga	go-áli	tídó-pora-ga
fair-ADJR	the-little	blue/-light-ADJR
SP	one	green
The child is fair.		light blue/green

N + X = ADJ

-ga	ADJR	
-daga	ADJR	
alí	tailšóli-ga	go-áli
very pig-ADJR	the-little	
	one	
That kid is really dirty.		
vaamí-óma	óí-d'aga	t-návo-i
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

tíkáka-míli-ga
ask-run-ADJR
questions
curious, inquiring

bíí-vuli-ga
grab-CHAR-ADJR
thieving

alí navá-mu-daga go-naváí^yi
very corn-die-ADJR the-corn
liquor liquor
drunk

Corn liquor is inebriating.

alí tonó-mo-daga gíí^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 :

tíñí-vo-dí
mouth-body-his
hair
his beard

tíñí-d^yí
vópoi *his mouth*
body hair,
fur, wool

tagí-po-dí
chest-body-his
hair
his chest-hair

tági *chest*

N_2 place of N_1 :

uk-oid^yígi-rí
pine-country-in
highlands

úkuj
oid^yígi *pine*
world, unin-
habited place

N_1 kind of N_2 :

ook-ódami
woman-person
older woman, woman with
children

óóki *woman*

kííí-ódami
man-person
older man

óódami *person,*
Tepehuan

N_2 part of N_1 :

uk-áága
pine-leaf
pine needles

aagá-dí *it's leaf,*
horn

un-ku-kúga
corn-RDP-point/tip
PL
corn fodder

úúnui *corn*
 kugá-dí *it's point,*
tip

$N + \text{ADJ} = N$

vúí-kovali-ga
eye-thick-ADJR
blind in one eye

vúí-bit^yu-li-ga
eye-excrete-ADJR
matter which comes out of
the eye

$\text{ADJ} + N = N$

moi-ñóli-ga-dí
soft-crooked-POSSD-his
soft palate

móíka *soft*
 nolíñi *crooked*

avok-únui
soft-corn
soft corn

avóka *soft*

These compounds are loosely bound:

$N_1 + N_2 = N$

N_1 kind of N_2 :

úš gáto-i
wood bow-ABS
bow

úší
gátoi
valñómi
tree, wood
bow, gun
iron, metal

valñóm gáto-i
metal bow-ABS
gun

N₁ place of N₂:

vavásk-ir únúi
canyon-in corn
hot corn
(canyon corn)

vavásk-irí canyon

úší-an bávi
pole-on beans
pole beans

bávi beans

N₁ POSSR of N₂:

{ tása-i } f-vo-dí
{ táś }
sun-ABS ?-body-its
hair
rays of sun shining
through clouds

tásai
fvodí
sun
his eyebrow

tás fvodí 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 tasfvodí rays of sun to develop soon if it does not already exist in the speech of some Tepehuanes.

ADJ + N = N

ko-kóma bávi
RDP-gray beans
PL
gray beans

komági gray

ví-pí úkui
RDP-red pine
PL
red pines

vífigi red

tu-tú kuráátu
RDP-black woodpecker
 PL
black woodpecker

túku *black*

ADV + N = N

út bakúli
under pants
underpants

dáám vasáragai
over shirt
shirt

Verb Compounds

These compounds are tightly bound:

N + V = V

kúli-mu
man-die
to get old

múú *to die*
 SG PERF

tonó-koi
rays-die
of PL
sun
to be thirsty

tonóli tásaí *sun's rays*

bi-úúgi-mu
feed-eat-die
/food
to be hungry

bíái *food*
 bíí *fed*

V + V = V

kooší-mu
sleep-die
be sleepy

kóóso *he sleeps*

naakí-mu
like-die
food
want to eat

náák+i *he likes*
 (food)

ibí-mu
breath(e)-die
 (?)
be tired

ibfk+i *he breathes*

báá-mu ?-die be angry	bágai	he scolds
sa-sáf-míra-i RDP-stick-run-PRES REPET he stutters	sáf	to stick, get stuck PERF
tíkáka-míli-ga ask-run-ADJR talkative	tíkákai	to ask a question
bañí-míra-i ?-run-PRES he crawls	mírai	he runs

ADJ + V = V

gíf-koi fat-die PL fatten (PL OBJ)	gífgi gíf	lard fat (ADJ)
soigá-mu poor-die /sad be sad	soit ^y ígami soogígi	poor person poor (ADJ)

Other

DEM + DEM = DEM

id ^y i-gfmai this-other one this other one	go-gfmai that-other one that other one
í-gáa 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
úúnu-i	corn
vanámo-i	hat

-i ABS drops off with the following suffixes:

-ga	POSSD
-dɪ	3P SG POSSR
-aba	on (right next to, attached to)
-baro	used to be mine
-piga	PRIV

glĩ-oná-ga	kupá-dɪ
my-salt-POSSD	hair-his
my salt	his hair

gɪ-vanámo-aba dáha imó nakástrai
 your-hat-on sit one scorpion
 There's a scorpion on your hat.

baigó im-bfí-d ^Y a	glĩ-vanámo-baro
this me-bring-APPLIC	my-hat-used
way	to
	be

Bring me the hat that used to be mine!

odá-piga-ñi go-bávi
 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 \acute{V} > VV in RDP and remains \acute{V} in stem

gi-ñóvi
my-hand
my hand

gi-ñoo-nóvi
my-RDP-hand
my hands

giñ-káhi
my-leg
my leg, thigh

giñ-kaa-káhi
my-RDP-leg
my legs, thighs

bána-i
coyote-ABS
coyote

baa-bána-i
RDP-coyote-ABS
coyotes

RDP of $V\acute{V}$ > VV in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

giñ-d^yaáka
my-nose
my nose

gír-daa-dáka
our-RDP-nose
our noses

gi-ñaáka
my-ear
my ear

gí-naa-náka
our-RDP-ear
our ears

RDP of $\acute{V}\acute{V}$ > V in RDP and $\acute{V}\acute{V}$ in stem

ímó kffli
one man
a man

múi kt-kffli
many RDP-man
many men

ímó gffli
one boy
a boy

múi gt-gffli
many RDP-boy
many boys

RDP of $V\acute{V}$ > $V\acute{V}$ in RDP and V in stem

giñ-kií
my-house
my house

giñ-kií-ki
my-RDP-house
my houses

giñ-d^yíí
my-mother
my mother

giñ-d^yíí-dí
my-RDP-mother
my parents

RDP of $v > p$ and tone shift forward one syllable

vanámol	va-pánamol
hat	hats

RDP of $v > p$ and $\acute{V} > VV$ in RDP and remains \acute{V} in stem

vúhi	vu-u-púhi
eye	RDP-eye
	eyes

vávoi	vaa-pávu11
cliff	RDP-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

vavfhi	vaa-pávihi
swamp	RDP-swamp
	swamps

RDP of $v > p$ and $VV > VV$ in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

vooká-d†	voo-póka-d†
his stomach	RDP-stomach-their
	their stomachs

vooká-d†	poo-póka-d†
its stomach (a cow's)	their stomachs (cows')

RDP of $v > p$ and $V\acute{V} > VV$ in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

giñ-voóka	gir-voo-póka
my stomach	our-RDP-stomach
	our stomachs

RDP and other changes

kahí-d ^y †	kaa-káf-d ^y †
his thigh	RDP-thigh-his
	his thighs

vuhí-d ^y †	vu-u-púí-d ^y †
his eye	RDP-eye-his
	his eyes

puu-púí-d^Yí
RDP-eye-his
sleet

vááki
house

báá-baki
RDP-house
houses

RDP: C^Yí > CV-C^Yí and V^Yí > Vh-V^Yí

táíšoli
pig

ta-táíšoli
RDP-pig
pigs

súímalí
deer

su-súímalí
RDP-deer
deer PL

bíí-karo-i
grasp-INTR-ABS
pliers

bí-bíí-karo-i
RDP-grab-INTR
pliers PL

áí^Ytí
flat rock

ah-áí^Ytí
RDP-flat
rock
flat rocks

RDP: #V^Y > #Vh in RDP and V^Y in stem

ímó óyí
a needle

múí oh-óóyí
many RDP-needle
many needles

RDP: #V^Y > Vh in RDP and V^Y in stem

ímó ááyí
an olla

múí ah-ááyí
many RDP-olla
many ollas

ímó óóyí
a bone

múí oh-óóyí
many RDP-bone
many bones

V^Y > V^Y

áki
stream

á-áki
RDP-stream
streams

áli
child

á-áli
RDP-little
one
children

V > VV

adúñi
relative

á-áduñi
RDP-relative
relatives

giñ-onóma
my rib

giñ-ó-onoma
my-RDP-rib
my ribs

gogóóši
dog

góógoši
dogs

kokóñi
crow

kóókoñi
crows

kaváyu
horse

káápayu
horses

No Change

óna-i
salt

čtřki óna-i
little salt-ABS
bit
a little salt

múi óna-i
many salt
a lot of salt

tíma-i
squash, squashes

úúnu-i
corn

óóki
woman, women

RDP for both SG and PL

bobókoši
squirrel(s)

mimřvai
bee(s)

RDP of second syllable

nuváli
fly

nu-vá-płi
flies

ašñít^Y_u
burro

ašñi-ñí-t^Y_u
burros

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor affixes:

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ- <i>my</i>	(g) t̃r- <i>our</i>
2P	(g) t̃- <i>your</i>	(g) t̃n- <i>your</i>
3P	-d̃t̃	<i>his, their</i>
UNSPEC	(g) a-	<i>someone's, the</i>

In addition to the possessor pronouns there is a suffix -ga occurring with domesticated animals, persons, and alienable things.

giñ-kíí
my-house
my house

d̃t̃f-d̃t̃
mother-his
his mother

ga-ma-máátt̃-tul-d^Ya-dami-ga
UNSPEC-RDP-know-CAUS-APPLIC-AG-POSSD
someone's teacher

gi-máa t̃p̃fga-dad̃t̃ t̃t̃gíd^Y_u adelaido bueno doubles daid^Y_{t̃}
my-child first-PRSNR be PN and
named

go-t̃ó-r-dad̃t̃ t̃t̃gíd^Y_u rosario bueno doubles dai
two-?-ORD-PRSNR be PN and
named

ga-d̃t̃f vuañíta doubles kiñones
UNSPEC-mother PN
POSSR

My first child is named Adelaido Bueno Dubles; my second child is named Rosario Bueno Dubles; their mother is named Juanita Dubles Quiñones.

mo ím+í go-ááí ta-táíšoli díí-dí
there go-PRES the-little RDP-pig mother-their
 PL PL
There goes the mother of the little pigs.

giñ-maá píld^yúru gí-baví-ga
me-gave PN his/-beans-POSSD
 your
Peter gave me his/your own beans.

bor-ím+í doróli gí-ooñí-ga ímádu
this-go-PRES PN his/-wife-POSSD with
 way your
Here comes Dolores with his/your wife.

bor-ím+í doróli ooñí-ga-dí ímal ímádu
this-go-PRES PN wife-POSSD-his another with
 way
Here comes Dolores with another's wife.

bor-ím+í doróli ga-ooñí-ga ímádu
this-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 *sóíga*, which takes the POSSR pronouns and the POSSD suffix *-ga*. This construction may occur in place of the possessed animal.

áán iñ-šóí-ga ašñft^yu
my my-DOM-POSSD burro
my burro

fgai giñ-ffší tmo giñ-šóí-ga kaváyu
he me-stole one my-DOM-POSSD horses
He stole one of my horses.

go-kíflí kífda-i giñ-šóí-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 túí^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.

ka=mií áán iñ-t^Yúí^Ya-ga vááki
already=burned my my-INAN-POSSD house
My house already burned.

ka=mií áán im-vááki ka=mií im-vááki
My house already burned. My house already burned.

ka=mií áán iñ-t^Yúí^Ya-ga
Mine already burned.

Recursion is allowed:

stílí-kídi čí-gíá mááši piid^Yúru ooñf-ga-dí
straight-with INTNS-EMPH appear PN wife-POSSD-his

mará-dí soi-gá-dí maa-mára-dí moo-mó-dí
child-her DOM-POSSD-his RDP-offspring-his RDP-head-their
PL PL
Peter's wife's child's pet'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
ítmádu	with (accompaniment)
šikóli	around
saagíd ^Y a	among, in
vittárt	for
bait ^Y fki	ahead of
íbfgi	behind

múá-vurai go-táíšoli dai mo dtvfrai úta yáása
kill-IMP the-pig and there ground under bury
 PL

Kill the pig and bury it under the ground!

mo kurárai daáma dáha go-pišfli
there fence on sit the-chipmunk
 There's the chipmunk sitting on the fence.

múi óódami gin-ímpagi í-paavóra šikóli
many people RCPR-gathered that-PN around
 Many people gathered around Paul.

móvai go-úún saagíd^Ya aimfrai í-takúku
there the-corn in walk the-chicken
 around

The chickens are walking around there in the cornfield.

savfli áánť váík ímai glñ-ooñí-ga vittárt
bought I three squash my-wife-POSSD for
 I bought three squash for my wife.

vááki íbfgi kaátí í-kúági
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, -dírt away from, or -pi in.

taagí-ña	vui-d ^Y frt
chest-at	eye-away
in front of	from
	in front of (facing)

vúí-t^ya-pi cf. tasá-pi in the sun
 eye-?-in ítká-pi in the shade
 in front of,
 in presence of

vááki t^yaagí-ña kaátí ì-laapíši
 house in lie the-pencil
 front
 of

The pencil is in front of the house.

vffíši óódami vúí-t^ya-pi ga-níí
 all people eye-?-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 -ana at, in, -írtí in, at, or -aba on (attached to).

ab-ána ír-ába
 right-on inside-on
 next inside, between, middle
 to
 beside (touching),
 on (attached to)

sonó-ána
 near-at
 beside, next to

alí kahóñi ab-án dáha go-rádio
 little box beside sit the-radio
 The radio is beside the box.

giñ-kóko giñ-onóma ímóko giñ-ír-ába
 me-hurt my-rib one me-inside
 One of my ribs hurts inside of me.

túku vuhí-dí ír-ána
 black eye-his inside
 The middle of his eye is black.

vááki sonó-án kaátí ì-vaakáši
 house beside lie the-cow
 The cow is lying beside the house.

Two complex postpositions appear to be composed of N plus -ana in, at and N plus -írtí in, at. The analysis of one of these is ambiguous. It could be a locative use of *gookírtí*

*second, in second place, behind. More likely it is from
gookí-d† his footprint.*

ki-d^Yí-g-ana /ki-d^Y-ana
house-his-POSSD-at house-his-at
outside

gookí-fr†
footprint-in
behind

ugí-d^Y-ana
finish-his-at
at the edge of

dai vavíli ugí-d^Y-ana víáá
and wild at left
fig 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.

vffšl šíkóli íí kurárai ugí-d^Yi-a-mu
all around went fence edge-LOC-to
He went all around the edge of the fence.

bait^Yíki íí áán† giñ-šukúli
ahead went I my-younger
sibling
I went ahead of my little brother.

kid^Yána kaát† go-laapíšl go-kahóñi
outside lie the-pencil the-box
The pencil is outside of the box.

trána vááki koší-mu alí gffli
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.

giñ-taagíña
me-in
front
of
in front of me

giñ-ibfgi kaátí áán iñ-šóíga
me-behind lie my my-pet
My dog is behind me.

áápi gi-sonóáñ yóma kaátí go-sáruí
you you-next more lie the-hoe
to
The hoe is closer to you.

gim-pu-púí-d^ytrí guúka ši-šíñora
RCPR-RDP eye-away stand RDP-lady
from PL
facing
The ladies are facing each other.

giñ-gookífrí ímíi vitiši giñ-šu-súkuli
me-behind go all my-RDP-younger
PL PL sibling
All of my younger brothers and sisters are walking
behind me.

áán iñ-šíkóli daráha múi ááli
me me-around sit many children
PL
Many children are around me.

vúša áánt ímó išt^yumááší áápi gi-vititáti
brought I one something you you-for
I brought something for you.

gtr-saagíd^ya
us-among
among us

ga-íimádu
UNSPEC-with
OBJ
with someone

Some of the free postpositions occur with RDP, lengthening of V, and tone shift (cf. BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Plural) to agree with the plural object.

gin-so-sónoan ímíi-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-vu-púíd^ytrí guúka go-ki-kííli
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 postpositions 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
amádíř	from
apákoga	towards
apádíř	from
taiákoga	upwards
utanákoga	downwards
tapákoga	this way
koid'amákoga	downstream

saapátu-ku dásn dúúku čivuavúáñ-díř íhi aatími
Saturday-TEMP over time PN-from went we
noontime

meehíko amákoga
PN towards
On Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

bífkat^yi ááni kóági giñ-kíř amádíř
carry I firewood my-house from
I carry firewood from my house.

ga-óhai ááni ogíř apádíř siłíř apákoga
UNSPEC-write I left from right towards
INDOBJ
I write from left to right.

kóko giñ-t^yoóna tai-ákoga
hurt my-knee up-towards
(My leg) hurts from my knee up.

mai kóko giñ-t^yoóna 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-írána-ga
my-inside-POSSD
my insides

giñ-utána-ga
my-under-POSSD
my underclothes

giñ-yúúkuši utána-ga
my-clothes under-POSSD
my underclothes

giñ-yúúkuši daamána-ga
my-clothes over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-d^yáám vasára-ga
my-over shirt-POSSD
my shirt

daamána-ga-d† naváit^yi
over-POSSD-his corn
liquor
head on corn liquor/beer

sonfr gúúka-kami
near stand-AG
PL
lesser chiefs

†ran-úku
middle-week
(?)
midweek, Wednesday

giñ-daamána-ga
my-over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-út bakúli
my-under pants
my underpants

utána-ga-d† gígi
under-POSSD-his lard
lard settlings

bait^yi kíáá-kami
ahead stand-AG
chief, leader

ki-t^yaagíña
house-in
front
of
doorway

†rán tukári
middle night
midnight

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
-ri	in, at
-mu	to
-ákoga	towards
-d††	from
-aiñd ^y ††	from, at
-pa	place
-ko	at the edge of (cf. kóvai forehead)

uušf-á-ba šišápi fgaí go-papéli
tree-LOC-on nailed he the-paper
He nailed the paper to the tree.

uušf-á-na dáha go-mt-mfva-i kíí-d^y†
 tree-LOC-on sit the-RDP-bee-ABS house-their
 PL

The beehive is on the tree.

uušf-f-r† vaašf-d^yi go-klávo
 tree-LOC-in put-APPLIC the-nail
 into

He put the nail into the tree.

imf-mu áán† giñ-kli-á-mu
 go-FUT I my-house-LOC-to
 I'm going to my house.

áán iñ-kli-áíñ-d^y†† d^yívla
 I my-house-at-from came
 I came from my house.

páá-d†r ím†-i
 where-from come-PRES
 Where are you coming from?

mtiká-d††
 far-from
 from a long ways off

tomali tmó apíá-d††
 not one place-from
 even
 from nowhere

múí-a-p†-†
 many-LOC-place-in
 in many places

tal-kó dáha /taí kóval dáha
 fire-next sit fire next sit
 to to
 He sits next to the fire.

go-ááli tohá-li-mada-i giñ-vááki daamá-d††
 the-little white-?-put-PRES my-house above-from
 ones on

uta-n-ákoga mai=šíú utá-d†r tai-ákoga
 below-at-towards not=no below-from up-towards
 The kids are whitewashing my house from top to bottom,
 not from bottom to top.

ód ut-áíñ-d^y†† vúsai †-kóóyi
 rock under-at-from came the-snake
 out
 The snake came out from under the rock.

ód daam-áíñ-d^Yíří daí t-úúrugí
 rock on-at-from flew the-bird
 The bird flew from on top of the rock.

-kíđí with, in, on occurs with nouns, pronouns, quantifiers, and adverbs.

giñ-kířsoma-i áánt odá-í-kíđí
 REFL-scratch-PRES I rock-ABS-with
 I scratch myself with a rock.

go-kušíruí iš=amáákiđí i-kíđí gúíkuta áánt babáí^Yi
 the-knife SUBR=which that-with cut I meat
 one
 the knife with which I cut meat

gi-too-tóna-kíđí kuikísa
 his-RDP-knee-with kneel
 own PL
 He is kneeling.

imó išt^Yumááši išt^Yú-kíđí óš-t^Yuda-i
 one something which-with drip-CAUS-PRES

doa-d^Yí-ga-mi
 cure-APPLIC-ABSTR-NR
 a thing with which one drops medicine

ipi-ráš-kíđí
 another-little-with
 See you later. (Lit.: in a little bit)

iš=imá-du-tai šíáá írá-da-gi aanf-kíđí
 if=one-QNT-PRONR ? blood-APPLIC-UNR me-with
 ashamed
 If anyone is ashamed of me...

d^Yívia áánt úš koid^Y-áíñ-d^Yíří tará-kíđí
 came I wood die-at-from foot-on
 PL
 Deadwood
 I came from Deadwood Village on foot.

When -kíđí occurs with adverbs or with adjectives, it can be interpreted as -kíđí with or -ki-đí AG.

STAT-NR

*go-ikúši viťgí-kíđí
 the-cloth red-with/AG
 the red cloth

This could be:
 the-cloth with-redness
 the-cloth the-one-which-
 is-red

siɪlɪ-kɪdɪ
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	ɪd ^y i	<i>this one, these</i>
↓	gɔval	<i>that one, those (nearby)</i>
DIST	ʔgal	<i>that one, those (far)</i>
	(g)ʔmai	<i>the other one</i>
	(g)ʔa	<i>others</i>

Truncated forms of the first three serve as definite articles. They are prefixed to nouns.

PROX	i-	} <i>the</i>
↓	go-	
DIST	ɪ-	

Six complex demonstrative pronouns are derived by combining each of the first three with (g)ʔmai *the other one* and ʔa *the others*.

PROX	ɪd ^y i-gʔmai	<i>this other one</i>	ɪd ^y i-gʔa	<i>these others</i>
↓	go-gʔmai	<i>that other one</i>	go-gʔa	<i>those others</i>
DIST	ɪ-gʔmai	<i>that other one</i>	ɪ-gʔa	<i>those others</i>

siɪlɪ-kɪdɪ vɪtɪɲɪ-ga ɪd^yi ʔʔkɔli
straight-with flavor-ADJR this orange
really

This orange is really tasty.

ɪd^yi-gʔmai mai=ʃɪ kɪtɪgá-du
this-other not=INTNS good-QNT
one

This other one is not very good.

alí gffli d^yíárit kttgá-du i-móó-di
little boy devil good-QNT the-head-his
The little boy, devil that he is, has a good head.

go-gfmai vaam-yóma namf-ga
that-other more-COMPAR pay-ABSTR
one
The other one is worth more.

go-toóši alíí-ši a-ttíí-d^yi ttiígl
the-rabbit very-INTNS UNSPEC-steal-APPLIC wheat
OBJ
The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

go-gáa fpfⁿ
those-others also
Those others too?

tmó gt-d^y yóma t-gfmai alí-d^y 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

duukátaí ~ dúúkaí ~ dúúka ~ dúú	how? (cf. QUESTIONS for inflection of these forms)
tomašduukátaí	however
póvaí ~ póva ~ pov- ~ po-	thus
po-dúúkaí	this way
a-dúúkaí	this other way
tmá dúúkaí	another way
fpán dúúkaí	like, in the way
again how	

duukátai iduuní-mu áánt íd^yi aa-dúfñ-d^yaga-i
 how do-FUT I this ?-make-ABSTR-ABS
/do
 work

How shall I do this work?

ffgi pī=š=d^yuukátai ipīlíd^yi
 alone you=DUB=how want
 /only
 just as you'd like to

toma-š-d^yuukátai
 even-DUB-how
 however (you may want to)

póval iñ-t^yi-tfda-i
 thus me-RDP-say-PRES
 CONT
 thus he said to me
 (that's what he said to me)

po-dúú gíá žúu a-dúúkal gíá
 thus-how EMPH no this-how EMPH
 other
 way

That way NO! (Do it) this way.

tmá dúúkal íd^yuí fgai
 one how did he
 other
 He did it another way!

íd^yuuní-ñi áápi po-dúúkal íš=d^yúúkal gí-tfha-i áánt
 do-IMP you thus-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.

vítikíd ^y i	when? PAST
vííškadt	when? FUT
vúú dúúku	what time is it?
túígako	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?*.

áí ^y dĩši	when	PAST	(at the time)
šifíškad†	when	FUT	(at any time)
šíúú dúúku	when	FUT	(at what specific hour)
túí ^y gako	when	FUT	(at the time expected)
tomašíáí ^y d†	whenever	FUT	(within a given period)
tomašíííškad†	whenever	FUT	(anytime)
tomašíúú dúúku	whenever	FUT	(at whatever time of day)
tomaštúí ^y gako	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.

áí ^y dĩši	when	PAST	(at the time, an INTR in time clauses)
áí ^y d†	then	PAST	(at that time, an INTR in a time clause, referring to the time specified by áí ^y dĩši in the preceding clause)
dai	and		
dai áí ^y d†	and then		
dáí ^y d†	and		(contraction of dai áí ^y d†)

All of the above forms take PERS and TNS/ASP clitics. Enclitic =ší, which may be DUB (cf. proclitic ší= DUB with WHW) attracts the PERS markers to enclitic position. Other PERS and TNS/ASP markers are proclitics.

Proclitics

n=áí ^y d†	then I	an=t=áí ^y d†	then I	PAST
p=áí ^y d†	then you	p†=t=áí ^y d†	then you	PAST
v=áí ^y d†	then he, they	Ø=t=áí ^y d†	then he, they	PAST
t†=áí ^y d†	then we	t†=t=áí ^y d†	then we	PAST
m=áí ^y d†	then you PL	m†=t=áí ^y d†	then you PL	PAST
an=s=áí ^y d†	then I	QUOT		
p†=s=áí ^y d†	then you	QUOT		
Ø=s=áí ^y d†	then he, they	QUOT		
t†=s=áí ^y d†	then we	QUOT		
m†=s=áí ^y d†	then you PL	QUOT		

Enclitics

áí ^y d†=ñ=ší	when I
áí ^y d†=p†=ší	when you
áí ^y d†=Ø=ší	when he, they
áí ^y d†=t†=ší	when we
áí ^y d†=m†=ší	when you PL

The following paragraph illustrates several varieties of áid^yí at that time.

áid^yí=ši vúúsa-i vúáána áid^yí augústo ír gff
 at=DUB come-PRES PN at PN be big
 the that
 time time
 When John was born, Augustus was

bait^yí kíáá-ka-mi-ka-tadai room-frí dai fgai tfha-i
 ahead stand-STAT-NR-STAT-PAST PN-in and he order-PRES
 chief CONT
 emperor in Rome. And he ordered

gí-son-frí gúúka-ka-mi-ga s=ai
 his-near-in stand-STAT-NR-POSSD QUOT=at
 PL that
 lieutenants time
 his lieutenants to count

ífkai-d^ya-na í-óódami dai óóha-na íš=t^yí-tfgid^yu
 count-APPLIC-POT the-people and write-POT SUBR=RDP-named
 PL
 the people and to write down their names.

áid^y=ír túkami-d^yíri-ka-tadai mí=ši=ífkai-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

ágai vífíši óódami oid^yí d^yaáma óíd^ya-kami áid^yí=mí=ši
 INTEN all people world on live-AG at=UNSPEC=DUB
 the SUBJ
 time
 all the people in the world. When they

ífkali í-óódami áid^yí í-siréñio ír káígi-ka-tadai
 counted the-people then the-PN be governor-STAT-PAST
 CONT
 counted the people Sirenio was governor

siilí-ána mí=t=ai tfha-i í-óódami s=ai
 PN-in UNSPEC=COMPL=at order-PRES the-people QUOT=at
 SUBJ that that
 time time
 in Syria. At that time they ordered the people

í-ímt-na ší=ááko vuvááha mī=s=ai
 RDP-go-POT DUB=where come UNSPEC=QUOT=at
 PL out SUBJ that
 PL time
 to go to the place where they were born so that they

ffkal-d^ya-na
 count-APPLIC-POT
 might count them.

áí^yi=ši kaí áánt mī=ši=glñ-víáátuli t=ai
 when=DUB heard I UNSPEC=SUBR=me-greeted COMPL=then
 SUBJ

máátí kaí áánt v=áí^y=tr pííli
 know heard I he=that=be PN
 When I heard someone greet me, I knew it was Phil.

toma-ši-áí^yi d^yívla fgai (tumíño-ko) vífškirí kítgá-du
 ever-DUB-when come he (Sunday-TEMP) still good-QNT
 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

PROX	tamáši	right here (ši seems to indicate a specific spot.)
	tanáši	right here
	támi	here (in general area)
	tánai	here
	bóvai	there (in a hole, in a pipe, in the distance)
	mováši	right there
	móvai	there
	maffši	right over there
	nováši	right out there (outside)
	nóvai	out there
	mitkáši	way over there (in a certain place)
DIST	mffkai	way over there

tamá-ši an-daasa šánť gim-vanámoi
 here-SPEC here-put I my-hat
 I put my hat right here.

támi vakúána-i šánť t-ah-šásokoli
 here wash-PRES I the-RDP-dish
 PL
 I wash the dishes here.

mová-ši dáha gim-bakúli dáí-karo-i daáma
 there-SPEC sit my-pants sit-INTR-ABS on
 My pants are right there on a chair.

bai mitká-ši ímí aatímt
 quite far-SPEC go we
 PL
 We were going a long ways.

Directional

PROX	baigóvai	this way
↕	maigóvai	that way
DIST	naigóvai	outside (speaking from inside)

PROX	tabíádírt	from here
↕		
DIST	mitkádírt	from way over there

b-aigó im-bfí-d^ya go-sáru-i
 this-DIRL me-bring-APPLIC the-hoe-ABS
 way
 Bring me the hoe.

s=aí áí^yípt n-aigó ímí-i tmó 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=aída	m-aigó	imí-kai	a-úú=nt	šíáád ^y i
COMPL=then	that-DIRL	go-having	UNSPEC-ate=I	dawn
	way		OBJ	next day

kíáámo-ko
 morning-TEMP
 And having gone on down the road I ate early the next morning.

miiká-dir b-aigo-vákoga mai=šíúú tabíá-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.

gír-vaíd^yáha-i a-mífka ší=ááko íími ír-agáí-t^yugai
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.

miikáš-d^yír d^yivi ááni valuupí-á-ñ-d^yírí
way-from came I PN-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 preceded 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	<i>a, one</i>
imóko	<i>one, once</i>
íimoko	<i>some, sometimes</i>
imádu	<i>one (counting out items)</i>
imádu tai	<i>someone, anyone, some animal</i>
íimadutai	<i>some people, animals</i>
imápirí	<i>in a place</i>
íimápirí	<i>in some places</i>
múi	<i>many</i>
múídu ^y	<i>many</i>
múídu ^y tai	<i>many people, animals</i>
múíyápirí	<i>in many places</i>

múiyoko	many times
čfíki	a few
čfíkid ^y u	a few
čfíkiatai	a few people, animals
čfíč+kiatai	in groups of a few
čfíklóko	a few times
čfíkiapíř+	a few places
vííši	all
vííškíř+	always
vííškatai	everyone
vííšiapíř+	everywhere, in all places
lááči	a little bit
lííčl	a very little bit
palípi	a little bit (sick, warm, sad)
kááki	that many

WHW

vííkid ^y u	how many?
vííšiiga	how much?
vííklóko	how many times?
vííkiapíř+	how many places?
vííkiatai	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
-apíř+	in X places
-kíř+	with
-íóma/yóma	COMPAR
RDP	PL
RDP	DISTR

ímó unrúnu-ko	mos-íími-i	mos-íími-i
one afternoon-TEMP	just-go-PRES	just-go-PRES
	PL	PL

One whole afternoon we just kept going and going.

dai ímóko ígai	saagíř ^y -a-íñ-díř+
and one he	among-LOC-at-from

And one of them...

dai vffš-ka-tai iš=maaktd+ kaí iš=maaktd+ áága-i
 and all-STAT-PRONR SUBR=who heard SUBR=that say-PRES
 which

í-ki-kfíli
 the-RDP-men
 PL

And all those who heard what the men were saying...

kíáá nt-nfraka-mu áánt íp+ čífkí tása-i
 yet RDP-wait-FUT I another few day-ABS
 DUR

I'm going to wait a few more days.

mo-ími-i číf-č+ki-a-tai óídami
 there-go-PRES RDP-few-STAT-PRONR people
 PL

There go the people a few at a time.

dai bo lááči-ktd+ íh-i
 and ? a-with RDP-go
 little PL
 bit

And after a bit they left.

mos-láá-lači áta vúááyi áánt
 just-RDP- a ? do I
 DISTR little work
 bit

I work a little at a time.

vffki úúši-ktd+ kurár-ta-mu áápi iš=múí-ktd+
 how log-with fence-make-FUT you SUBR=many-with
 many

i=šl+ čífkí-ktd+ íp+
 SUBR=or few-with also
 How many logs will you need to build the fence, a
 whole lot or just a few?

ivógiamai vffši-ktd+ áí-mu ílíá=nt go-úúši
 barely all-with reach-FUT believe=I the-log
 /think

go-kurára-i vttárt
 the-fence-ABS for
 I think there will just barely be logs enough for the
 fence with all of them.

tomali t^mo imⁱ-d^yaga mai=íí áánt úúš kóí-d^ya-mu
 not one go-ABSTR not=went I tree die-STAT-to
 even PL
 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	first (acceptable but not preferred)
túkam-irí	first (preferred)
gook-frí	second
vaik-frí	third
maakóv-irí	fourth
taam-frí	fifth
naadámi-irí	sixth
kuvárahámi-irí	seventh
maamákov-irí	eighth
tuvušt ^y aam-frí	ninth
baivušt ^y aam-frí	tenth

íímia r=ágai aatímtⁱ maakóv-irí maayó-ko
 go we=INTENT we four-on May-TEMP
 PL
 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.

tímá-du	one
gooká-du	two
vaiká-du	three
maakóá-du	four
taamá-du	five

Number of times an action is carried out is indicated by suffix -oko ~ -ko ~ -aha ~ -oho.

t ^m -óko	once
gokó-áha	twice
vaik-óho	thrice
maakóva-ko	four times
tamá-ko	five times
naadámi-ko	six times
kuvárahámi-ko	seven times

maamáko ^y va-ko	eight times
tuvušt ^y amá-ko	nine times
baivušt ^y amá-ko	ten times

íí-ñl áápl góó-goha pastíya gokó-áha tmo tásai
drink-IMP you RDP-two pill two-time one day
 DISTR

Take two pills twice a day.

In X places: -pt^rt ~ -pt^krt.

t ^m á-pt ^r t	in one place
gooká-pt ^r t	in two places
vaiká-pt ^r t	in three places
makóva-pt ^r t	in four places
taamá-pt ^r t	in five places
naadám ^l -pt ^r t	in six places
kuvárahmi-pt ^r t	in seven places
mamááko ^y va-pt ^r t	in eight places
tuvušt ^y ataamá-pt ^r t	in nine places
baivušt ^y ataamá-pt ^r t	in ten places

duukátai aatfm^t f-fmadu-tai kaf ffgi gtr-ñf66kl
how we RDP-one-PRONR hear alone our-talk
 DISTR PRTV

d^yivíá-kai f-fma-pt^kt-r-aiñd^yiri méhko
come-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*.

t ^m á-du-tai	one, someone
ffma-du-tai	some people, some animals
gooká-tai	two people, two animals
vaiká-tai	three people, three animals
maakóá-tai	four people, four animals
taamá-tai	five people, five animals
naadám ^l -t ^y ai	six people, six animals
kuvárahmi-t ^y ai	seven people, seven animals
maamáko ^y a-tai	eight people, eight animals
tuvušt ^y aamá-tai	nine people, nine animals
baivušt ^y aamá-tai	ten people, ten animals

Distributive is signalled by RDP of initial V, CV, CVV with other accompanying changes described in BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS.

f-fmoko	one at a time
g66-goha	two at a time
váá-vaika	three at a time
máá-makova	four at a time
táá-tama	five at a time
náá-nadami	six at a time
kúú-kuvarahami	seven at a time
mamááakova	eight at a time
túú-tuvuš t ^y áá-tama	nine at a time
báá-baiš t ^y áá-tama	ten at a time
ta-taúkami	half at a time (cf. taúkami half)

maaká-ñi váá-vaika vff taamá-tai
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:

váági	wet
gáki	dry
vffft	heavy
t6ñi	hot
ffpfdYI	cold
t6ha	white
túku	black
viígi	red
vúááma	yellow
tííd6gi	green/blue
gíff	fat
gaakíñi	skinny
utúdaí	new

There is a group of adjectives which end in -li. This morpheme (?) has not been otherwise identified. Since it also occurs on a number of nouns we hesitate to call it "adjective" or "adjectivalizing."

vigíŕi-li	<i>fine, small</i>
suusúku-li	<i>tender</i>

Others which take -li will appear below with additional suffixes.

Some adjectives take the stative suffix -ka.

yúŕsa-ka	<i>rough</i>
kavóra-ka	<i>round</i>
dapá-ka	<i>smooth</i>
móŕ-ka	<i>soft</i>
kavá-ka	<i>hard</i>
guvú-ka	<i>strong</i>
kavú-li-ka	<i>short</i>
komá-li-ka	<i>thin</i>

Some adjectives take the QNT suffix -du.

gf-du	<i>big</i>
alí-d ^y u	<i>little</i>
kíigá-du	<i>good</i>
tívf-du	<i>long</i>

-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	<i>mean</i>		
parí-ga	<i>lazy</i>		
tíkava-ga	<i>tall, high</i>		
uuŕí-ga	<i>woody</i>	cf. úúŕí	<i>tree</i>
áít ^y a-ga	<i>flat-rocky</i>	cf. áít ^y i	<i>flat rock</i>
oh-óda-ga	<i>rocky</i>	cf. oh-ódai	<i>rocks</i>
namí-ga	<i>expensive</i>	cf. namíki	<i>to pay</i>
títívi-ga	<i>playful</i>	cf. títívi	<i>to play</i>
tíkáka-míli-ga	<i>talkative</i>	cf. tíkákai	<i>to ask a question</i>
ask-run-ADJR		mírai	<i>to run</i>
ivá-baro-ga	<i>played (i.e., one that has been played)</i>	cf. ívai	<i>to play an instrument</i>
		-baro	<i>used</i>
klaarú-ga	<i>clear</i>	cf. claro SP	<i>clear</i>
muudú-ga	<i>dumb</i>	cf. mudo SP	<i>dumb</i>
weeró-ga	<i>light-skinned</i>	cf. huero SP	<i>light-skinned</i>

Colors take the suffix -pora light.

stílikidí vúám-pora-ga íd^yi yóóšiga-i
truly yellow-light-ADJR 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-pffgi íd^yi yúúkuši ši=góvai
more-COMPAR RDP-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.)

títódí-kami	green		
kapára-kami	flat		
fra-kami	bloody	cf. frai	blood
taká-kami	rooted	cf. taká-dí	its root
kuupí-kami	closed	cf. kuúpai	he closes
totópí-da-kami	boiled	cf. totópí-kí	he boils

vuf fgai váíka vaa-pása-raga-i kí-kffga-du-kami
took he three RDP-put-ABSTR-ABS RDP-good-QNT-PRTC
PL in shirt PL

tít-tídoi-kami úútudai mai=šíúú ááda-baro-kami
RDP-green-PRTC new not=no put-used-PRTC
PL on
He took three good, green, new shirts--not used ones.

Long modifying expressions may be built up.

mo vúffti góóka laapíši kff múú-mua-kami
there lie two pencil well RDP-sharpen-PRTC
PL PL

too-tóá-kami tít-tívi-du-kami gíff-gítr-du-kami
RDP-white-PRTC RDP-long-QNT-PRTC RDP-big-QNT-PRTC
PL 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: *alí* very, *-ši* INTNS, *bái* a little bit, *si+li+kidí* really, truly, *pal+pi=óma* (a little bit=COMPAR) less, *vaamí=óma* (more=COMPAR) more. Adjectives as complements occur in their basic form: unmarked, or with *-li*, *-ka*, *-lika*, *-du*, or *-ga*.

takávo alí tildógi go-váso-i dai šiívi alí gáki
yesterday very green the-grass-ABS and today very dry
Yesterday the grass was very green and today it is very dry.

alí vigíštli íd^yi váso-i dai alí kaváka góvái
very fine this grass-ABS and very hard that
This grass is very fine and that grass is hard.

bái gído góvái 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.

ipfiga digávusa-i aatfmi go-gíí áki dai go-tó-rí
first pass-PRES we the-big stream and second?-in
PL

go-alí áki
the-little stream
First we crossed the big stream and afterwards the little stream.

<i>kavá vásoi</i>	<i>hard grass</i>
<i>vípí úkui</i>	<i>red pine</i>
<i>tuutú úkui</i>	<i>black pine</i>
<i>totó úkui</i>	<i>white pine</i>
<i>vípí úúnui</i>	<i>red corn</i>
<i>títíído úúnui</i>	<i>blue corn</i>
<i>tuutú bávi</i>	<i>black beans</i>

COMPARATIVES

yóma	COMPAR
š-íóma (ši INTNS, yóma COMPAR)	<i>much more, very much, well, very well</i>
baiyóma	<i>better</i>
ADV/PRTC yóma...ši=	ADV/PRTC-er than X
ši-ťťši X modúúkai Y	X as well as Y
ši-ťťši X +kááší Y	X as much as Y
ťmádugan dúúkai	<i>the same</i>
ťmáduga mťťši	<i>the same</i>
ťpíá	<i>like, just like, same</i>

Comparisons of Inequality

yóma COMPAR occurs following adverbs and participialized adjectives, and combines with particles to form adverbs of degree which modify adverbs or adjectives.

vaas-+kí=óma ótol yóma gíťť go-táišoli
before-early=COMPAR less COMPAR fat the-pig
The other day the pig was not as fat.

gí-du-kíd^y yóma áán iñ-šóí-ga tuúru ši-ášápi
big-QNT-PRTC COMPAR my my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

gí-sóí-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.

pí=t=ťť š-íón koí
you=COMPL=how INTNS-COMPAR slept
much well
How did you sleep?

š-íóma
INTNS-COMPAR
Very well.

š-íón gí-du gíñ-šóí-ga tuúru ši-ášápi
INTNS-COMPAR big-QNT my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

gí-sóí-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.

šíííšši fsai ándírtši t-káášši fsai pailíši
 how plant PN that-much plant PN
 much
 Felix plants as much as Andrew.

šíííšši íšt^yutúí^yi áápi íš=vañí^y-d^ya-gi áán†
 how can you SUBR=lift-APPLIC-UNR I
 much

t-káášši fp†
 that-much also
 I can lift as much as you can.

šíííšši óóki t-ki-kííli fp† t-káášši ohóí^yi
 how women the-RDP-man also that-much like
 much PL

tuudáí^y-d^yagai
 dance-ABSTR
 Men like to dance as much as women.

There are three ways to say the same.

ímá-du-ga-n dúúkai ípíá
 one-QNT-ADVR-? how same, like
 the same

ímá-du-ga m=íííši
 one-QNT-ADVR UNSPEC=how
 SUBJ much
 the same

d^yíúúši mos-ímádugan dúúkai níí^yi óódami
 God just-same see people
 God sees all people as equal.

kiígá-ki-r níí^yi mos-ímáduga míííši víííš-ka-tai
 good-STAT-on see just-one how all-STAT-PRONR
 much
 He looks good on everyone just like they're all
 the same.

f-fpí-a-na-ka-mi aatí^ym†
 RDP-also-at-STAT-NR we
 PL
 We are just the same age.

go-maakidi ipfán dúúka fsai yatóvara ipfán dúú iibái-t^yai
that-which also how plant potato like fruit-make
like

The (food) that is planted like potatoes, it yields
 like (potatoes).

tpfá mās-mašl go-ásll
also RDP-appear those-little
 PL ones

Those kids look alike.

tpfán úíd^yuru vff gooká-tai
also size all two-PRONR
 The two of them are the same size.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

tmóko*	someone (of a group)	vóorai	who?
ffmoko*	some (of a group)		
tmádutai*	someone		
ffmadutai*	some people		
tmó išt ^y umáásšl	something	tumáásšl	what?
šib+ákoga	somewhere	vášškoga	where?
tmó imíd ^y agai	sometime	vffšškad+	when?

mká-r imi-i tmóko
there-at go-PRES someone
 There comes someone.

bfkata-i fgai tmó išt^yumáásšl gi-noví-ri
carry-PRES he one thing his-hand-in
 He is carrying something in his hand.

mos-ši-b+á-koga as=kffka ašñíft^yu
just-DUB-?-LOC-where QUOT=stand burro
 It is said there was a burro somewhere.

tmó imf-d^yagai dad^yí-mu aatfmi dai mai māsiti ší=ffkad+
one go-ABSTR come-FUT 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 t̃mōko	not one (of them)
tomali t̃mādutai	no one
tomali t̃mō išt̃ ^y umāāš̃i	nothing
tomali t̃mā p̃fākoga	nowhere
tomali t̃mō im̃f̃d ^y agai	never

tomali t̃mā-du-tai mai dad^yí-mu
 not one-QNT-PRONR not come-FUT
 No one will come.

fgai mai vūšāpa tomali t̃mō išt̃^yumāāš̃i
 he not bring not one thing
 He didn't bring anything.

mai-t^ya=n ími ááñt tomali t̃mā p̃f-á-koga
 not-COMPL=I go I not one in-LOC-where
 I'm not going anywhere!

tomali t̃mō im̃f̃-d^yagai mai íí ááñt vualuup̃f-á-mu
 not one go-ABSTR not went I PN-LOC-to
 I never went to Guadalupe y Calvo.

ANY

tomaš̃išt̃ ^y umāāš̃i	anything, whatever
tomaš̃ duukātai	however
tomaš̃íóórai	anyone, whoever
tomaš̃íáákoga	anywhere, wherever
tomaš̃íííškadi	anytime, whenever
tomaš̃māš̃k̃k̃idi	anyone, whichever
tomaš̃íáánk̃idi	anyone, whichever

tomaš̃-išt̃^yumāāš̃i giñ-vūšāplagi ááñt gíá ugí-mu
 ever-what me-bring I AFF eat-FUT
 I'll eat whatever you bring me.

toma-š̃íóórai mai áta vušāyi fgai gíá mai ugí-mu
 ever-who not ? do he AFF not eat-FUT
 Anyone who doesn't work won't eat.

toma-šfááko lmí-á ip+líáda áápi áán† gíá lmí-mu
any-where go-are want you I AFF go-FUT
going

I'll go anywhere you want to.

toma-šfífškad† dáda gir-ááduñi baig-fr-tíid^yi aatfmi†
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).

	SG	PL
1P	áán† I	aatfmi† we
2P	áápi you	aapími† you
3P	DEM	

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 ugí-mu áán†
already eat-FUT I
I'm going to eat now.

aáni-v fgai dai ñíóóka-i mai=šíú fmai fgai dai
 I-EMPH he and speak-PRES not=no another he and

ñíóóka-i
 speak-PRES

I am the one who is talking, not someone else.

áíð^Yiší miká-r vuváka áíð^Yi kítgá-ki-r ímíi aatími
 when there-at left then good-STAT-in go we
 PL PL

dai kítgá-ki-rí ááyí šlaako ímíia r=ágai
 and good-STAT-in arrived where go we=INTEN
 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 proclitics to WHW and CNJ. Set I occurs before vowels, and Set II before consonants (iñ= before a palatalized C).

SET I

SG

PL

1P	n= I	tít= we
2P	p= you	m= you they UNSPEC
3P	v= he, they	

SET II

1P	an=/iñ= I	tí= we
2P	pí= you	mí= you they UNSPEC
3P	Ø he, they	

pt=š=mai=t^yi kíkíva nt=kapíña imóko
 you=if=not=COMPL get I=slap one
 INDF out
 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.

SET IV	SG	PL
1P	an- I	tí- we
2P	ap- you	?

masádti vusáí-ko an-imí-ági takú kúí-ko an-d^yíví-ági
 moon come-TEMP I-go-UNR rooster crow-TEMP I-come-UNR
 out
 I'll go when the moon rises, I'll return when the rooster
 crows.

tí-gaága taí sabáí tígáá-na
 we-look fire see find-POT
 for if
 Let's look for fire and see if we might find it.

aapímt o mt-káft^yi an=s=óór aantí
 you Q you-say I=Quot=who I
 You? Whom do you say that I am?

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.

SET V	SG	PL
1P	=iñ I	=fr we
2P	=pt you	=m you
3P	Ø he, they	
UNSPEC	=m they	

imí=á=iñ ágai
 go=B=I INTEN
 I'm going to go.

imí=á=iñ agáí-tadai
 go=B=I INTEN-PAST
 CONT
 I was going to go.

íimi=a=r ágai
 go=B=we INTEN
 PL
 We are going to go.

Object pronouns occur prefixed to verbs and postpositions.

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ- me	(g) t̥r- us
2P	(g) t̥- you	(g) t̥n- you
3P	Ø	
UNSPEC	(g) a- someone	

áánt gíá giñ-óígt̥da-i giñ-áámu
 I AFF me-love-PRES my-boss
 My boss really loves me.

áán t̥pt̥ ga-tikáka-i ɬ̥s=d^yukátai t̥pt̥-duí
 I also UNSPEC-ask-PRES SUBF=how also-did
 I too asked what had happened.

giñ-bait^y f̥ki t̥mt̥-i g̥t̥-sukúli
 me-ahead go-PRES your-younger
 of brother
 Your younger brother is walking ahead of me.

ga-t̥b̥f̥gi dáha
 UNSPEC-behind sit
 It's behind someone.

Possessor pronouns occur affixed to the possessed noun
 (see POSSESSIVES); reflexive pronouns occur prefixed to verbs.

REFL PF is used for passive:

kífga gí-máátí íš=tr vávoi
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:

SG SUBJ	PL SUBJ	
múúkui	kóóyi	<i>die</i>
kaátí	víítí	<i>lie down</i>
kííka	gúúka	<i>stand up</i>
díívia	dáda	<i>come</i>
mírai	vóópoi	<i>run</i>
aimírai	aihópai/ahíópai	<i>walk around</i>
gíístí	suulígí	<i>fall</i>
dáívusai	dígávusai	<i>pass by</i>
dáha	daráha	<i>be seated</i>
dáíva	daráíva	<i>sit</i>
vańígi	vaapáígi	<i>get up</i>
tísádai	títtííd'ái	<i>go up</i>

Suppletion of second element of compound form:

SG SUBJ	PL SUBJ	
bíúgi-mu	bíúgi-koi	<i>be hungry</i>
kooşí-mu	kooşí-koi	<i>be sleepy</i>
tonó-mu	tonó-koi	<i>be thirsty</i>
navá-mu	navá-koi	<i>be drunk</i>
ibí-mu	ibí-koi	<i>be tired</i>
uvá-mu	uvá-koi	<i>be cold</i>
baá-mu	baá-koi	<i>be angry</i>

Suppletion in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ	PL OBJ	
múááyi	kóódai	<i>kill</i>
bʰtʰi	vúúkaí	<i>grasp</i>
bʰíɖʷai	vúíɖʷai	<i>bring</i>
bʰkaítʷai	vúúkaítʷai	<i>carry</i>
tʰkíɖʷai	totóíɖʷai	<i>bet</i>
divíɖʷai	dadʷíɖʷai	<i>visit</i>

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	
ímti	íímti	<i>go</i>
uutúvʷi	úútvʷi	<i>trip</i>
oldʷaga	óíɖʷaga	<i>live</i>
gʷlɓʰstʷai	gʷtʰɓʰstʷai	<i>rest</i>
váftʰvʷl	vapáftʰvʷl	<i>bathe</i>
tudákʰi	tuutúdákʰi	<i>dance</i>

Reduplication in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ	PL OBJ	
bʰíɖʷai	bibíɖʷai	<i>feed</i>
kusúvi	kukúúspʰi	<i>load</i>
savʰɖai	sáɓʰɖai	<i>buy</i>
ɖígárai	ɖíɖígarsai/ɖíɖíársai	<i>dig</i>

Aspect

Reduplication for REPET-CONT-DUR action of verbs:

Nonrepetitive	Repetitive	
váákʰi	vapáákʰi	<i>enter</i>
gʷfʰraí	gʷtʰgʷfʰraí	<i>grow</i>
bʰkaítʷai	bʰbʰkaítʷai	<i>grasp</i>
bʰíɖʷai	bibíáɖai	<i>feed</i>
kóósoí	kokósoí	<i>sleep</i>

vířš t^yása-i mo va-pákt ááni
all day-ABS there RDP-enter I
 REPET

Every day I go in there.

vířš t^yása-i gt-gřřra-i go-áki
all day-ABS RDP-grow-PRES the-stream
 REPET

Every day the stream rises.

cf. vířš t^yása-i gřřli-mi go-tilígi
all day-ABS grow-PROG the-wheat
Every day the wheat grows.

mai=t^yi fpíd^yi bt-břřkait^yai
not=COMPL quit RDP-grasp
 INDF REPET

He doesn't quit holding on to it.

mai bi-břřá-da-mudai áápi mai gitiłí-muda góvai
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/replicative.

totópřki	boil
ninřřrakai	wait for
títřdai	say to him (used before and after quotation)
gigřřs+i (SG)	swim cf. gřřs+i fall (SG)
susúłlig+i (PL)	swim cf. suulígi+i fall (PL)

One other type of suppletion involves different forms for PERF vs. IMPRF and PRES/HAB vs. other TNS/ASP: vúáyi *to do* and kúáyi *to eat* are found only in the PRES/HAB tense-aspect. For other tenses and aspects of *to do* and *to eat* the verbs dúúnui *to do, make* and úúgai *to eat, finish* are used.

tumá vuáyi	tumá duuñí-mu áápi
<i>what do</i>	<i>what do-FUT you</i>
<i>What are you doing?</i>	<i>What are you going to do?</i>

i-óódami kúáyi bávi vířš t^yása-i
the-people eat beans all day-ABS
Tepehuanes eat beans every day.

víʃʃi úú fgai tumáitʸi
all ate he tamales
He ate all of the tamales.

dʸívia to come never occurs in the PRES tense. The verb ími to come/go is used as to come in the PRES tense.

ʃíʃro-ko dʸiví-mu fgai
tomorrow-TEMP come-FUT he
He will come tomorrow.

ka dʸívia
already came
He already came.

bír-ími-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)Vi	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.

mááka-l	<i>he gives (him)</i>
maakí-mu	<i>he will give (him)</i>
maá	<i>he gave (him)</i>

sóóma-i	<i>she sews</i>
soomí-mi	<i>she is sewing</i>
soó	<i>she sewed</i>

bíídʸa-j	<i>he feeds (him)</i>
im-bíídʸí-tul-dʸa-ʔi	<i>feed (him) for me</i>
bíí	<i>he fed (him)</i>

míra-i	he runs
míí-mu	he will run
míí	he ran
yáí-i	it rolls
yáí-mu	it will roll
yáá	it rolled
ími-i	he goes
ímí-mu	he will go
íí	he went
mu-múúku-i	someone dies (every day)
RDP	
REPET	
muukí-mu	he will die
muú	he died

Class Ib verbs use Stem IIIb: (C)Vi.

dáása-i	he puts
daaší-mu	he will put
daí	he put
dááni-i	he requests, pleads
daańí-mu	he will plead
daí	he pled
gíísi-i	he falls
gííší-mu	he will fall
gíí	he fell
bíhi-i	he grasps
bíhi ágai	he is going to grasp
bíí	he grasped
ísi-i	he plants
íší-mu	he will plant
íí	he planted

Class Ic verbs use Stem II as IMPRF/PERF.

así-i	he laughs
aší-mi	he is laughing
áší	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:

máíšai	throw rocks (cf. mataka palm of hand)
máíñai	throw rocks (cf. PAP: ma'i object from hand)
máíkarsai	throw rocks, shoot
máíšapai	throw in to person
kííšanai	bite (cf. PAP: ki'i teeth)
kíí-šapai	hold in teeth
móí-t ^y ukasai	hit with head, butt (cf. mooyi head)
kíí-t ^y ukasai	kick (as mule kick) (cf. PAP: kií foot)
kíí-kakarai	kick (a football)
kíí-šai	step on

Adjectives:

va-kúánai	wash (cf. vagi wet)
vá-ft ^y v ^y í	bathe
va-kfa	wring out
va-kát ^y	soak corn
va-ráí ^y a	put water on food
va-ší ^y baí	dip
va-gú ^y gí ^y a	rinse
va-húrai	sweat
vá-gai	irrigate
va-súdai	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; -ñi IMP SG; -vurai 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-áva
laugh-AFF
Yes, he's laughing.

kooso-áva
sleep-AFF
Yes, he's sleeping.

giñ-vúáápi-d^Ya-nĩ
me-bring-APPLIC-IMP
(You) bring it to me.

giñ-vúáápi-d^Ya-vurai
IMP
PL
(You PL) bring it to me!

-vurai has alternate forms =avir, which is attached to the element preceding the verb, and virai, which acts like a CNJ.

mal=t^Ya=vir oĩñí-á-da
not=COMPL=IMP move-?-APPLIC
PL
Don't (you PL) move!

mó=a=vir iñ-d^Yaráš-d^Ya aapímt
there=B=IMP me-put-APPLIC you
PL PL PL
You PL put it there for me!

tĩmi-vurai dai gáága i-alí šíffmĩ dai m+=ší=ffš-kadĩ
go-IMP and look the-little baby and you=DUB=how-?
PL PL for PL much

tĩgĩ-ági virai dadá-kai giñ-aagĩ-d^Ya n=ai áánĩ
find-UNR IMP come-having me-tell-APPLIC I=at I
PL PL that
time

fpi mti šíáá dúú túd-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
-gi/-agi	UNR

Cf. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Temporal Clauses; NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspectual.

NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-da ~ -d ^y i	APPLIC (VR/TRNSR/DITRNSR) suffixed to Stem II (with some exceptions)
-tuda ~ -tud ^y i ~ -tu	CAUS/put on
-tuida ~ -tuid ^y i ~ -tulli	BEN/CAUS
-mada ~ -mad ^y i	put on
-ka	STAT
-oko	REV

Several of these forms I analyze as complex units whose second element is -da APPLIC. Listing each of these with -da and with their stem alternates reflects the view that each is probably derived from a verb in Proto-Tepiman or P-UA.

-da as verbalizer:

kovô-ha-da-i	dapâkadai
<i>thick-STAT-VR-PRES</i>	<i>smooth, make smooth</i>
<i>swell, become thick</i>	(cf. dapâka smooth)
(cf. kovôka thick)	

kukûrušd^yai
make the sign of the cross
 (cf. kurûši cross SP)

-da as transitivizer:

mu-mûûka-da-i kuugâ-dî laapîšî
RDP-die-TRNSR-PRES point-its pencil
REPET
He is sharpening the pencil. (cf. mûûkui die)

to-tôpiš-d^ya aatîŋ gîpi suudâgi
RDP-boil-TRNSR we lots water
REPET
of
We will boil lots of water. (cf. totôpikîi boil)

Note also the following set of intransitive vs. transitive verbs:

INTRNS

d ^y ívia	come
m ^f híi	burn
n ^t n ^f nai	see
úúvai	smell
aatágai	converse
úkai	warm

TRNS

d ^y iví ^d ya	visit
m ^f í ^d ya	burn
n ^f í ^d ya	look at
uvápid ^y a	smell
aatágid ^y a	converse
ukáda	warm

-da as ditransitivizer:

ka	mai	tí-tfga-i	dúkai	gaagí-d ^y a	gi-maa-mára
already	not	RDP-find-PRES	how	look-DITRNSR	my-RDP-child
		REPET		for	PL
				provide	
				for	

I can't figure out how to provide for my children.
(cf. gáágai look for)

TRNS

fsai	plant
áágai	tell
ñíóó ^ó kai	talk

DITRNS

tší ^d yaí	plant for someone
aagí ^d ai	tell to someone
ñíóókid ^y ai	talk to someone
ñiookí ^d ai	slander

-tuda CAUS, put X on, apply X to:

šikóli	imí-t ^y u-da-i	go-vanámo-i
around	go-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES	the-hat-ABS
He is	twirling	the hat.

ka	kí ^t lí ^t -t ^y u	áán ^t	ka	óóñ-t ^y a	iñ-tí ^d yí
now	man-CAUS	I	now	wife-make	REFL-want
Now	that	I'm	a man	I want	to get married.

su-súsaka-tu-da-i	fgai	mu-múúra
RDP-sandle-put-APPLIC-PRES	he	RDP-mule
PL	on	PL
He is	shoeing	the mules.

-mada put on, suffixed to nouns:

dáí-karo-ma-da-i	ívfli-madai
sit-INSTA-put-APPLIC-PRES	wind-put
	on
saddle	He is fanning.
He is saddling (a horse).	

kókoli-madai	be burned with chili
toháli-madai	whitewash
yuiirú-madai	be fooled

-tulid^y_a ~ -tulid^y_i ~ -tuli BEN/CAUS, suffixed to verbs:

i-ñíóóki-tul-d^ya-ñi áapi
me-speak-BEN-APPLIC-IMP you
You speak for me!

kʰfga maatʰ-tult ʔáant káʃkʰdt ʔápi lʃtutʰfɔdʲ
good know-CAUS I therefore you can
teach

iš=kiŋga maatf-tul-d^yi-agi ǵa
SUBR=good know-CAUS-APPLIC-UNR others
teach

I taught you well; therefore, you can teach others well.

-ka STAT:

kaatf-ka-tadal
lie-STAT-PAST
down CONT
He was lying down.

vas-umí-rt oid^yá-ka-tadai fgaí vavfli-írt
before-year-in live-STAT-PAST he PN-in
 last
 year
 Last year he lived in Baborigame.

-oko REV:

kupí-ǫko-ñi
shut-REV-IMP
Open it!

somí-óko-ñí
sew-REV-IMP
Unsew it!

Adverbial

-tuga go/come/take Ving DUR
-mtra to run around Ving HAB (mfra! = run)
-rit become

-tuga ~ -tugi DUR:

bíúgimu-tuga-i
be-come-PRES
hungry
He comes hungry.

takávo aadái-tugai ígai imó vaakáši
yesterday chase-take he one cow
Yesterday he took the cow running.

kóko-tygai	he comes sick
toñí-t ^y ugai	he comes hot
ibímu-tugai	he comes tired
giñ-aagí-t ^y ugai	he comes talking to me

-míra ~ -míli HAB:

tikáka-mírai	sa-sái-míra-i
ask-run	RDP -get-run-PRES
questions	REPET stuck
he runs around asking	he stutters
questions	

tai-kó-míli-ga í-gogóóši
fire-by-run-ADJR the-dog
The dog enjoys being close to the fire.

-rí become suffixed to nouns, adjectives, or verbs:

ta-táki-rí-i	á-áli-t ^y í-rí-i
RDP-root-become-PRES	RDP-small-CAUS-become-PRES
PL	CONT
it is getting roots	it is shrinking
(tatáka roots)	(alí-dYu small)

imó tasá-í-kídi ši=íptí góó tasá-í-kídi
one day-ABS-with DUB=also two day-ABS-with
or

kavá-ka-rí-i go-seménto
hard-STAT-become-PRES the-cement
In a day or two the cement hardens.

óúva-rí-i go-to-tóóši
smell-become-PRES the-RDP-rabbit
PL
The rabbits are mating.

Volitional

-ku want to, DESID, occurring only along with -mu:

ííñá-mu-ku go-óóki víáá-ka-tai alí šííííñi dai
eat-die-want the-woman have-STAT-while little child and
certain
food

íš=mai ugí-ági sítíí-kíđí muukí-ági
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.

ííñá-mu-ku ááñt
shout-die-want I
I want to shout.

go-táíšoli mai kff gi-mú-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
-tira CHAR

imí-vuli-ga
go-CHAR-ADJR
a roamer

imí-šuli-ga
go-CHAR-ADJR
a roamer

bíí-t^ytira-ga-mi
grasp-CHAR-ADJR-NR
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 1

Suffixes occurring with Stem I:

- 1 PRES The present tense suffix is used for present tense, habitual or repeated action, and for the past tense in narratives.

mo ími-i
there go-PRES
There he goes.

vířš t^yása-i vakúána-i yúúkuři t-óódamí
all day-ABS wash-PRES clothes the-people
The Tepehuanes wash clothes every day.

díi-dígará-i dívřrál dái vupúíd^yir daráíva
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. ími-, Stem II of verb to go) |
| -muda ~ -mud ^y i | PAST PERF |
| -na | POT |
| -gi | UNR |

-mu FUT

gi-taańř-t^yul-d^ya-mu áánř
you-ask-BEN-APPLIC-FUT I
I'll ask for it for you!

agí-mu go-křva-i řřóro-ko
melt-FUT the-snow-ABS tomorrow-TEMP
The snow will melt tomorrow.

gaagá-mu=ři vaakářři
look-FUT=Q cow
for
Did he go look for the cow?

-imi PROG/INCEPT

dívá-ími
rot-PROG
It is rotting.

kiřří-mu-imi
man-die-PROG
He is getting old.

g+ilí-mi
grow-PROG
He is growing.

tší-mi
plant-PROG
He is beginning to plant.

-muda ~ -mud^yi PAST PERF

yová-muda
harvest-PAST
PERF
He would have harvested.

mai tší-muda
not plant-PAST
PERF
He would not have planted it.

mai adáí-mud^yi
not chase-PAST
PERF
He would not have chased it.

-na ~ -ña POT

pari váika tukági óótosa-i fígai i-gíí-du-kidí alí
about three nights send-PRES he the-big-QNT-AG little

gííli s=ai míf nu-núkada-i toóší mai ugá-na
boy QUOT=at there RDP-watch-PRES rabbit not eat-POT
that time

tíílgí
wheat
For about three nights he sent the big boy to watch for Rabbit so that he might not eat wheat.

aší-ña=pí=sa
laugh-POT=you=QUOT
He says for you to laugh (that you should laugh).

-gi ~ -agi UNR

pí=š=mai kíkíva-gi
you=if=not get-UNR
out of way
If you don't get out of the way...

vííkiadi iñ-gagááli-agi
how me-sell-UNR
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} áání
already eat-finish I
I already finished eating.

káši=a=n=t íí-t^{yo}
already=B=I=COMPL drank-finished
I already finished drinking.

cf. káši=a=n=t nááto íí
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

así-í-t^{yo}adai
laugh-PRES-PAST
CONT
He was laughing.

vííš suivíši-ko apašíáru-i-ña aatín
all Thursday-TEMP go-PRES-HAB we
SP for
ride
Every Thursday we go for a ride.

áání mai vukát^{yo}i-ka-tadai áíd^{yo}í tumíñši
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^{yo}i COMPL INDF
 =t^{yo}iki 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.

šíá imf-da aapí [ší=mai=t^Yi kukú-n áánt̃]
 where go-? you SUBR=not=COMPL eat-POT I
 INDF

Where could you go so that I might not eat you?

vuú=ñ=t ^Y iki	ka	ii=á=n=ta
tie=I=COMPL		already drink=B=I=COMPL
up DEF		I already drank.
I tied it up (I remember doing it).		

káší=a=n=t íí
 already=B=I=COMPL drank
 I already drank.

ka yóga kuú-tadai fgai
 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.

=nt̃	I
=pi	you
=t̃im̃	we

ka úú=nt̃
 already ate=I
 I already ate.

ka úú=pi
 already ate=you
 You already ate.

bíí=t̃im̃ autovus
 took=we bus
 We took the bus.

The question clitic =ší was treated under QUESTIONS. Further examples here will illustrate how =ší (along with the SUBJ PRON) occurs with any form of the verb.

a-kúmu-l=Ø=š!
 UNSPEC-eat-PRES=he=Q
 OBJ countable
 things
 Is he eating?

báí^yd^ya-mu=Ø=š! fgai go-kúáá-daga-i
 cook-FUT=he=Q he the-eat-ABSTR-ABS
 Is he going to cook the food?

imí-í-t ^y adaí=pi=š!	í-ímt-na=tí=š!
go-PRES-FAST=you=Q	RDP-go-POT=we=Q
CONT	PL
Were you going by (earlier)?	Should we go?

ih-í=mi=š!
 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 s= QUOT occurs preceding WHW, introducers, and conjunctions. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Modal).

imí-na=pi=sa
 go-POT=you=QUOT
 He said that you should go.

kodá-na=pi=sa káít^yi
 kill-POT=you=QUOT said
 PL
 OBJ
 He said that you should
 kill them.

gáámo=a=pi=sa imí-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.

ágai
agáí-t^yadai

INTEN
PAST INTEN

imí=á=iñ ágai
go=B=I INTEN
I'm going to go.

imí ágai fgai
go INTEN he
He's going to go.

kood=á=iñ ágai
kill=B=I INTEN
PL
OBJ
I'm going to kill them.

dai ípámu suúli vavfíi-amu gáága ágai
and again fell PN-to look INTEN
PL
returned
And they returned to Baborigame to look for him.

mai=t^ya í-íva agáí-t^yadai
not=COMPL RDP-play INTEN-PAST
DUR instrument CONT
He wasn't going to play.

ga-í-íva=ti=xi ír=agáí-t^yadai aatímt
UNSPEC-RDP-play=we=Q we=INTEN-PAST we
INDOBJ DUR CONT
Were we going to play (the instrument)?

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Stem</u>			<u>INFL SF Stems I, II</u>		<u>Clitics</u>
	<u>RDP</u>	<u>Base</u>	<u>DER</u>	<u>TNS/ASP/MODE</u>		
SUBJ:PRON	PL	I...(C)(V)VCV~	REV APPLIC	PRES	PAST:CONT	SUBJ:PRON Q
OBJ:PRON	REPET	II...(C)(V)VCi-	CAUS		PAST:REPET	QUOT
		IIIa...(C)VV	BEN	FUT		
		IIIb...(C)Vi	DUR	PROG		
			HAB	PAST:PERF		
			STAT	POT		
			<i>become</i>	UNR		
			<i>put on</i>	IMP		
				<i>when</i>		
<hr/>						
<u>INFL SF/CLITICS Stem III</u>						
				SUBJ:PRON	COMPL:INDF	
					COMPL:DEF	
					COMPL	
					PAST:CONT	
					<i>finish Ving</i>	

COORDINATION

Conjunctions

dai	and, but	SAME SUBJ
tai	and	DIFF SUBJ
tai	so that, in order to	PAST
vai	so that, in order to	NON-PAST
sai	so that, in order to	QUOT
amááʒi	then	
dímos	but	
ʒíʒpi ~ ʒíʒ	or	
dáni	and	
íimádu	and, with	
mos-	just	
fpi	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.

ímó imí-dʸaga apaʒíáru-l áání íimádu daníél dai ááyí
 one go-ABSTR take-PRES I and PN and arrived
 a
 walk

aatími míf ʒíaaako kíʒka ímó motór dai vía ímó úúrugí /
 we there where stand one motor and have one airplane/

dai v=áídʸí ikáítʸí daníél áání áa namíí-dʸa-na ímó
 and he=then said PN I ? cost-APPLIC-POT one
 pay

píʒʒu p=ai dáíva go-motorí-ába/ í-motór ʒ-íón
 peso you=so get the-motor-on / the-motor INTNS-COMPAR
 that on

kavámi aimfra-i ʒi=ímó úúrugí / dai ʒikóli aimfra-i
 fast go-PRES than=one airplane/ and around go-PRES

tíkavi dai ipán tšápani-i/ tšsi áánt tškavi tai áa
 up and again go-PRES / went I high and others
 down up DS

daráíva mttána/ ipá tšsa mttán dará-kdt a=n=t=aí
 sit down / again go below sit-AG B=I=COMPL=then
 PL below up PL

áánt tšvai/ amááši tivánt-kai ka vff navámu antáda
 I went / then get-when already all be seemed
 down down drunk

áánt/ mos-šikóli aimfr dantáda old^yígi/
 I / just-around go seemed world /
 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.

mo-gúúka muf-d^yu vo-póóhi too-tóá-hami dai
 there-stand many-QNT RDP-bear RDP-white-PRTC and
 PL PL PL

tu-túú-hami
 RDP-black-PRTC
 PL

There were many white and black bears there.

suulí-gi agái-t^yai á-ága-dí dai kff vii-píí-ka-na
 fall-UNR going-when RDP-leaf-its and good RDP-red-STAT-POT
 PL to PL
 When the leaves are going to fall it (the tree) gets
 very red.

vffki úúši-kdt kurár-ta-mu áápi iš=múi-kdt i=šit
 how log-with fence-make-FUT you SUBR=many-with SUBR=or
 many

čfíki-kdt ípt
 few-with also
 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
 ši= / i ši = ... -gi SUBR= (preposed to first element of clause)...
 -UNR (suffixed to verb)

alí gfpí-ga kíva-i ívógia mááši [káátí 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:

[i ši = mo káátí ímó kurára-í]
 SUBR=there lie one fence-ABS
that a fence was there

[dáf-na áánt] šiíffši=ír kítgáí-ka-na
fly-POT I how=be good-STAT-POT
much
If I could fly, how good it would be.

alí doad^yímudaga [ši=imí á aagáda-gi úúrugí-í-í-í]
very scary SUBR=go INTEN want-UNR airplane-in
Going in an airplane is scary.

Split subject complement:

[vffši go-óódami kóó-kokol-d^yadí] gí-áágai
all the-people RDP-sick-PRSNR REFL-necessary
 PL

[i ši = íími -agi v=ai nífí d^ya-gí go-do-dóád^yí-gami]
 SUBR=go-UNR he=in see-UNR the-RDP-cure-AG
 PL order PL
 to

dai íímkó mai ahíópai
but some not go
 PL

*All the sick Tepehuanes ought to go see the doctors,
 but some don't go.*

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

WH Questions

Unmarked

Marked by clitic *iš*= SUBR

The embedded question follows the main clause and has the same internal order as the corresponding question.

mai máat+ áán+ [šíááko oid^yága góvái]
 not know I where live he
 I don't know where he lives.

cf. šíááko oid^yága góvái
 where live he
 Where does he live?

t=ímt ní-ní-d^yi [šíááko kíí áápi t-moono]
 we=go RDP-see-APPLIC where stood you the-doll
 DUR up
 Let's go see where you stood up the doll.

vííší šikóli íí kurára-l uugíd^yi-a-mu ní-ní-d^yi [šíáá
 all around went fence-ABS edge-LOC-to RDP-see where
 CONT

sííli pa-páki-l toóší]
 straight RDP-enter-PRES rabbit
 REPET

All around the edge of the corral he went looking to see
 where exactly Rabbit kept getting in.

Clitic *iš*= SUBR is preposed to the first element of the clause,
 and =ší Q is deleted from WHW.

dúú maatf-ka-na áán+ [iš=t^yumá púáápa góv] ō
 how know-STAT-POT I SUBR=what bring they Q
 How could I know what they would bring?

cf. tumáá=ší vúáá góvái
 what=Q bring they
 What did they bring?

gin-aagí-d^ya-mu áán+ [iš=t^yumá vúáayi aatímt]
 you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I SUBR=what do we
 I'll tell you what we are doing.

gín-aagí-d^Ya-mu áán† [iš=t^Yúíga gá-mu imi=á=iñ
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I SUBR-when there-to go=B=I
FUT

á] [iš=máá tas-í-r† míf d^Yívia iñ=ágal]
INTEN SUBR=which day-LOC-on there come REFL=INTEN

[šl=ká maatf-ka-mu aapímt]
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 =šl Q from the verb, and change the intonation.

kífga máát† áán† [iš=glñ-yaatág†-i giñ-mára] [iš=čó fpt]
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. giñ-yaatág†-i=šl fgáí^{↑↑}
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= ~šl=, which occurs on the relative pronoun (the first element of the relative clause). There are three relative pronouns: iš=máák†d† ~iš=máák† the one who, which; šl=ánk†d† ~šl=ánk† the one who, which; iš=t^Yumáášl the one which. The first two are either animate or inanimate, the third is only inanimate.

káši=a=n=t íí áánt go-pastí^Ya [iš=máákídtí
already=B=I=COMPL drank I the-pill SUBR=which

giñ-máá fgai]

me-gave he

I already took the pill which he gave me.

s=aid^Yt ka duaad^Yímu t-óóki [ši=anki kóóyi
QUOT=then already scared the-woman SUBR=who snake

gi-nááto]

REFL-became

Then the woman who had become a snake was frightened.

vi+šiafkatal [iš=t^Yumááší iñ-t^Ytkáka-i fgai] áánt vífší
everything SUBR=what me-ask-PRES she I all

aagí-d^Yi

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 -dt her, which occurs suffixed to the noun preceding the relative clause.

s=ai váik tasá-í-kídt d^Yíviaid^Yt t-ktíódamí
QUOT=then three day-ABS-with came the-old
man

kuná-dt [ši=ankt sóí mááší id^Yuí]
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 ááyí t-šííáá duu-dágal [iš=t^Yúíga-ko
already arrived the-respect-ABSTR SUBR=when-TEMP
holy
days

gt-kuaa-dá-na t-kapirotáda]
REFL-eat-APPLIC-POT the-capirotada
SP

The time for the fiesta during which the capirota is eaten has arrived.

maatf=mi=ši aapímt úúrugí [gff kii-frí oid^yá-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 kii-frí oid^yá-kami] úúrugí áánt gíá nfid^yi
 big house-in live-PRTC bird I AFF 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.

ka=ááyí imó fkall [ši=amí-frí mai]
 already=arrived one week SUBR=here-LOC-in not
 since

ko-kóósí-i áánt]
 RDP-sleep-PRES I
 DUR
It's now been a week since I've slept.

kíá kóóso alí gfflí [iš=d^yfvia oogá-dí]
 already sleep little boy SUBR=came father-his
 /still 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^yi ig-fmai kílíódami níóóki [iš=d^yuukátai]
 told-APPLIC he-the old word SUBR=how
 other man
 one

id^yuñí-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 šíáád^Yi [vuusáí-kai tása-i] vāñi
 and until next come-having sun-ABS got
 day out up
 ... 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 i-kfíli ámi
 and already appear-APPLIC-having went the-man there
 dawned

vavfíli-a-iñdī-rī
 wild-LOC-from-at
 fig
 ... And as it was getting light, the man left Wild
 Fig Valley.

[ka=ibí-kai úúnu-i] d^Yúúki ógai oid^Yígi
 already=yielding-when corn-ABS rain stop world
 When the corn has ripened, it will stop raining.

mááko tása-i lī-līčī iñ-kī-kfš-d^Ya-ña fgai
 four day-ABS RDP- little me-RDP- put-APPLIC-PAST they
 REPET bit REPET on DUR

iñ-íkáso [iñ-dúfñ-d^Ya-kai]
 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 punctiliar connotation; -tai has a continuous connotation. Cf. váávoit^Yudakai having believed (at a certain time) and váávoit^Yudatai having believed (and still continuing to believe).

Locative Clauses

Locative clauses are like relatives in that they have a relator element *šíááko* ~ *šíáá* *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.

íí t-kííli bai mti^ykáši oid^yí^yg-a-na [šíááko mai
 went the-man quite far uninhabited-LOC-in where not
 place

oid^yága óódami]

live people

The man went quite far into the uninhabited area where
 no one lives.

dai abí [šíáá pa-pákt-i toóši] abí
 and there where RDP-enter-PRES rabbit there
 REPET

kit^yaagí-ña kíí
 house-chest-at stood
 doorway up

And there where Rabbit kept getting in, there in the
 passageway he stood it up.

[šíáá daráha aatímt] ámi tr íšmíkiłpí-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 ↗ :

[tší-d^ya-ka fgaí↗] parí bi-bíúgada fgaí
 plant-APPLIC-STAT he-if not RDP-hungry he
 CONT

If he were a good planter, he would not be hungry.

Other markers include:

ši= ~š=	SUBR (proclitic to clause)
ši=...-gi	SUBR=(proclitic to clause)...-UNR (verb suffix)
-na	POT
-gi	UNR
-mudai	PAST PERF

ši= if attracts the subject pronoun clitic, which is preposed to it:

[pi=š=siti-lf-kid+ išt^yutúid^yi [iš=id^yuñf-ági
you=if=straight-with can SUBR=do-UNR
really

go-máášii]] d^yf id^yuñf-ñi
the-thing EMPH do-IMP
If you really can do that, then do it!
 (cf. COY 11, 13)

-na:

[iñ-dagít^yó-na giñ-ooñf-ga] ffigi áánt giñ-múáa
me-leave-POT my-wife-POSSD alone I me-kill
If my wife leaves me, I'll kill myself.

-gi:

[maatf-gi íva-raga-i] alíf-ši amáit^yi tumíñši
know-UNR play-ABSTR-ABS very-INTNS earn money
how instrument
If he knew how to play an instrument, he'd really
make money.

iš=:

[iš=ótoma fši ágai] gígída íbíf-d^yirí vuváki íšf-d^yt
SUBR=soon plant INTEN Holy behind-from come plant-his
Week before out
If he plants soon, his crop will sprout before
Holy Week.

-muda:

[mai bi-bíá-da-muda áápi] mai giiti-lf-muda góvái
not RDP-feed-APPLIC-had you not grow-had he
REPET
If you had not fed him, he would not have grown.

Other

kāškid̥ ~ kākid̥ ~ kāki	because, that's why, therefore
-tai ~ -kai	having, while, because

kāškidi may occur as the first or the last element in a reason clause. (Cf. COY 4, 5.)

śānīṁ gīś giñ-ōīg+da-i giñ-śāmu [kākī kīga giñ-ōīd^y]
 me AFF me-love-PRES my-master that's well me-give
 why

kúáádagai] [kákì gííí]
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.

si:li:ki:di: bai gi:ñ~:li:di:^Y áán: [ʧʰki tása-i ví:ŋa
really happy I few day-ABS lack

[iʃ=gámu imíá áánt] kák+dt]
SUBR=there go I that's
why

I'm really happy because it lacks only a few days until I'll be going there.

s=aid^yi ašnít^yu mai imí-d^yaga [gakĩni-ka-tai]
 QUOT=then burro not go-ABSTR skinny-STAT-because
 And burro does not go fast, because he's skinny.

ʒi= so that
 v=ai...-na he=so that...POT

Both of these elements occur first in the clause.

túĩši mosi-ši-íí kífda-i gĩ-áámu [ši=mos-íí
 why just-DUB-how look-PRES your-master so=just-how
 much down that much
 on

gakĩñi áápi]
skinny you
Why does your master look down on you so much,
so that you are so skinny?

bíí-ñi [v=ai mai imf-na]
grab-IMP he=so not go-POT
 that
Grab it, so that it can't go!

faced the coyote.
vul-dyfrt ktkiva t-bána-l
eye-away stood the-coyote-ABS
from
in front of

6. And said: "Stop!" he said.
 daid^yi it^yitfdai ktkíva-ni as-titfdai
 and said stand-IMP QUOT-said
7. "Why do you chase me?
 tuí=pt=ši giñ-adáímt áápi
 why=you=Q me-chase you
8. Are you going to eat me?" he said.
 giñ-uugí-mu=pt=ši=O as-titfdai
 me-eat-FUT=you=Q=Q QUOT-said
9. And the coyote said: "Yes, I am going to eat you,"
 daid^yt i-bána-i it^yitfdai thf gt-ugí-ági=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^yi i-toóši it^yitfdai čóo iñ-óígida-ni
 and the-rabbit said no me-love-IMP
 don't eat me.
 mai=t^yi giñ-úga
 not=COMPL me-eat
 INDF
11. If you eat me you will surely die.
 i=ši=giñ-úgi áápi stílf-kidt muukí-mu áápi
 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-ílf^yi áápi iñ=ši=áán=tr toóši áán=tr
 just-thus-think you I=SUBR=I=be rabbit I=be
 really a rattlesnake.
 adága-i d^yi
 rattlesnake-ABS EMPH
13. And if you eat me my poison will kill you,"
 dai ši=giñ-úgi áápi gt-muáá-mu giñ-ponsooñfá-ga
 and if=me-eat you you-kill-FUT my-poison-POSSD

said the little old rabbit.
 as-titfdai +-alí toóš! k+lí-mu-dadí
 QUOT-said the-little rabbit man-die-PRSNR

14. And the coyote said, "What should I eat then?",
 daid^{yí} i-bána-i it^{yí}itfdai tumá ugí-mu íd^{yí}a-na
 and the-coyote-ABS said what eat-FUT ?-POT

he said.
 as-titfdai
 QUOT-said

15. And the little rabbit said: "Eat these little
 daid^{yí} i-alí toóš! it^{yí}itfdai ugá-ní íd^{yí}í alí
 and the-little rabbit said eat-IMP these little

berries (fruit) which I picked earlier.
 úúš! ibíá-dí iš=maaškidí imápagi áán! i+kíápo
 plant fruit-its SUBR=which gathered I earlier

16. I was already carrying these in my basket to my house
 ka bífkat^{yí} áán! íd^{yí}í iñ-asá-rí glñ-kíí
 already carrying I these my-basket-in my-house

to eat them when you began
 amákoga daid^{yí}í a-ugí=á=iñ ágai aidíš! gí-áága áápi
 towards and UNSPEC-eat=B=I will when REFL-began you
 OBJ

chasing me."
 daid^{yí} iñ-adáími-i
 and me-chase-PRES

17. And the coyote said: "The rabbit is really
 daid^{yí} i it^{yí}itfdai i-bána-i +-toóš!-av ígai d^{yí}í
 and said the-coyote-ABS the-rabbit-AFF he EMPH

the one who eats the little fruit.
 daid^{yí}í akúá-da-na go-alí úúš! ibíá-dí d^{yí}í
 and eat-APPLIC-POT the-little plant fruit-its EMPH

18. The rattlesnake does not eat fruit.
 go-adága-i mai=t akúá-i úúš! ibíá-dí
 the-rattlesnake-ABS not=COMPL eat-PRES plant fruit-its
 INDF

19. The rabbit really does eat them," he said.
 i-toóši gíá akúá-i as-títfdai
 the-rabbit really eat-PRES QUOT-said
20. "Actually you're a rabbit even though you tell me
 sítíí-ktdt=i toóši áápi d'í tomaši giñ-áági-d'í
 really=be rabbit you EMPH even me-tell-APPLIC
 though
 that you are not a rabbit.
 áápi iś=mai=t=i toóši
 you SUBR=not=COMPL=be rabbit
21. You may very well be able to
 áápi gíá kffga išt'utúfd'í
 you really good can
 keep on fooling yourself but
 iś=gí-vuirú-mada-da-gi ffigi dī-mos
 SUBR=REFL-foolishness-put-APPLIC-UNR alone and-just
 on
 you can't keep on fooling me.
 mai=t' išt'utúfd'í iś=giñ-vuirú-mada-da áápi
 not=COMPL can SUBR=me-foolishness-put-APPLIC you
 INDF on
22. It's really good you are a rabbit!
 kítgá-du-ava d'í ši=i toóšf-ka áápi
 good-QNT-EMPH EMPH SUBR=be rabbit-STAT you
23. Rabbits really are food.
 i-toóši gíá=i kúáá-dagai d'í
 the-rabbit really=be eat-ABSTR EMPH
24. Rabbit is really good to eat.
 i-toóši gíá kítgá-du mī=ši=ugí-ági
 the-rabbit really good-QNT UNSPEC=SUBR=eat-UNR
 SUBJ
25. And I just don't really like to eat rattlesnakes,"
 dai mos-ááni gíá mai ñáák-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 vffšktři i-bána-i uú i-toóšl
and still the-coyote-ABS ate the-rabbit

really tried to trick him.

gu-gúšmł-křdř vu-púřru-mada-i fgał
 RDP- great-with RDP-foolishness-put-PRES he
 REPET effort REPET on

27. *And the coyote ate the little fruit*
 daidři i-bána-i ga-uú i-alř úúšl ibřš-dř
and the-coyote-ABS UNSPEC-ate the-little plant fruit-its
 OBJ

also which was there in little rabbit's basket.

řpt řš=maakřdř mo dáha alř toóšl asára-dř-rř
also SUBR=which there sit little rabbit basket-his-in

28. *And as soon as he had eaten Rabbit's fruit,*
 dai mos-uugš-kal i-toóšl iibřř-dřaga-dř
and just-eat-having the-rabbit bear-ABSTR-his
 fruit

the coyote up and died also, while sitting there

i-bána-i mo ótoma muú řpt mo úúšl
the-coyote-ABS there quickly died also there tree

under a tree.

úta dáška-tal
under sitting-while

29. *The fruit was poisonous, that's why.*
 go-úúšl iibřa-dř vřša ponsóóňlo kššktřdř
the-plant fruit-its had poison that's
 why

30. *And that's all.*
 dai mos-tkššl
and just-that
 much

The Bird Who Lives in the Big House

†-úúrugí gǫǫ kii-ǫ-r† oid^Yá-kami
 the-bird big house-LOC-in live-AG

1. CHENO:

Do you know the bird who lives in the big house
 maatǫ=mi=šǫ aapímt úúrugí gǫǫ kii-ǫ-r† oid^Yá-kami
 know=you=Q you bird big house-LOC-in live-AG
 PL

whose nest cries when his egg moves?
 dai óíñ†-i nonó-d† dai súááka-i kosá-d†
 and move-PRES egg-his and cry-PRES nest-his

2. I think you are probably not going to know (guess) that.
 bait^Yóma mai maatǫ-mu góó áána iñ=†líd^Yi
 almost not know-FUT that I I=think
 (guess)

3. ANGEL:

What could it be? I sure don't know yet.
 tumáášǫ gíí áán† mai=kíá maí d^Yǫ
 what could I not=yet know EMPH
 be

4. CHENO: How come you're laughing?
 dúúkai ást†-l áápl-d^Y† ǫ
 how laugh-PRES you-? Q

5. ANGEL: You say his nest moves!
 óíñ†-i kosá-d† káít^Yi áápl d^Yǫ
 move-PRES nest-his say you EMPH

6. CHENO:

I said his egg moves and his nest cries.
 óíñ†-i nonó-d† an=káít^Yi áán† dai súááka-i kosá-d†
 move-PRES egg-his I=say I and cry-PRES nest-his

7. ANGEL: His nest cries?
 súááka-i kosá-d†
 cry-PRES nest-his

8. CHENO: *The bird who lives in the big house.*
 gff kii-f-r+ oid'á-kami úúrugí
big house-LOC-in live-AG bird
9. *I've seen it.*
 áánt gíá nfid^yi
I AFF saw
10. *It has its name too and you'll know it very soon.*
 víáa gi-nómbre-ga fpt dtt alif óótoma máátí á aapímt
have his-name-POSSD also but very soon know will you
 SP PL
11. *Everybody here they all heard it today for sure,*
 vffší tánai vff kaf šívl d^yí
all here all heard today EMPH

that very one!
 fgai váá
that very
 one
12. *All the people hear it, Mexicans too, you too.*
 vffší óódami vffší kaf óbai vffší dai aapímt vffší
all people all hear Mexicans too and you too
 PL
13. *But he lives in the big house that bird,*
 gff kii-f-r+ tuu oid'ága-i-d^yí fgai t-úúrugí
big house-LOC-in but live-PRES-? he the-bird

and he moves.
 dal óíñi-i
and move-PRES
14. *What is it?*
 tumááší íd^yi fgai
what this that
15. *I'll tell you in a little bit if*
 gtn-aagí-d^ya-mu áánt lřš-k+dt lř=ka=mai
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I little-with if=already=not

you don't guess it.
 máátí á aapímt
guess will you
 PL

16. *That's the way I heard it, and it's true.*
 áán† po-dúú ka†=n† aatági d†† vávua tudú†d†
 I thus-how heard=I conversation and true then
17. ANGEL: *A bird?*
 úúrugí
 bird
18. CHENO: *Yes. One who lives in the big house.*
 iw† g†† kli-†-r† oíd†á-kami
 yes big house-LOC-in live-AG
19. ANGEL: *It must not be a bird.*
 mai=š†††r úúrugí
 not=DUB=be bird
20. CHENO: *Well, they say it's a bird...bird...*
 úúrugí áága-i túdu úúrugí ††
 bird say-PRES well bird alone

that's exactly how I learned it from those other
 po-dúú ma†=n† ††óóki
 thus-how knew=I word

people.
 †gáá-k†d†
 them-with
21. *You haven't guessed it.*
 ka=mai ma† aap†m†
 already=not guessed you
 PL
22. ANGEL: *I'm almost figuring it out.*
 bait†óma ma-máá††-r†-i áán†
 almost RDP-know-become-PRES I
 CONT
23. CHENO: *In Wild Fig Village up high is the thing*
 vav†li-†-r† mo ††kavi maak†
 wild-LOC-in there up that
 fig high which

that the fiscales hit.
 g†va-i pl-p†škali
 hit-PRES RDP-fiscales
 PL

24. *It's the bell that's it.*
 góval kapána †gí-á túdu
that bell that-AFF well
25. *But it doesn't look like a bird.*
 d†† gíā mǎí úúrugí mǎāší tudúú gó
but AFF not bird look then that
like one
26. *But, uh, they move the little, uh, the thing that hangs*
 d†† gíí oiñí-d'í go-aií gíí maak† sāgí†
but uh move-APPLIC the-little uh that hang
which
down, the little round metal thing, that's the egg.
 aií kavóra-k†d† valñómi fgai †r nonó-d†
little round-one metal that be egg-his
which
27. *And the part that is outside the big thing,*
 dáid† gó kii-d'í-ga-na gí-du-k†d†
and that house-his-POSSD-at big-QNT-one
which
that's the nest.
 fgai †r kosá-d†
that be nest-his