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Uto-Aztecan Grammar

Volume 2
Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches

Ronald W. Langacker
University of California, San Diego

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1979
Foreword

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

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

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Richard and Patricia Beller
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INTRODUCTION

Huasteca Nahuatl (HN) is spoken by 350,000 Indians in Mexico in the states of San Luis Potosí, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and a relatively small area in the northern tip of Puebla. It divides itself into two major dialects, with the major dividing line running (from northeast to southwest) from east of Platon Sanchez, Veracruz down to Tianguistengo, Hidalgo. When there is a contrast we will use (W) for the Western dialect and (E) for the Eastern dialect. Most of our time has been spent in the area of Huautla, Hidalgo and Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí. From 1970 until 1976 we have averaged living about five months a year as the only outsiders in an Aztec village. We speak the language daily with a constant stream of Indian visitors. Most of the other months of these six years have been spent doing intensive study with a native speaker outside of the village.

The principal language consultant for this present work is Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés of Cuatenahuatl, a village near Huautla, Hidalgo. Zacarías Hernández Antonio from Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí helped as needed for examples from the W dialect.


Two texts are included at the end of these data. The first was translated with the help of Ezequiel Alvarado Cortés. The second is a spontaneous text which was recorded by magnetic tape. The speaker is Aurelio Alvarado Mojica, also from Cuatenahuatl. The text ‘The Coyote and the Jackrabbit’ is abbreviated COYOTE, and ‘I was Horse-Thrown on the Road’ is abbreviated HORSE.
Phonology

The phonemes of Huasteca Nahuatl are:

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<td>W</td>
<td>glottal fricative</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>nasal fricative</td>
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This phonemic inventory includes eighteen consonants, four short vowels, and four long vowels. This does not include phonemes that are only in borrowed words. The stops /p t k/ and affricates /č č/ each have an aspirated and an unaspirated allophone. The aspirated allophone occurs in syllable coda position. Although glottal stop /W/ is a phoneme, most occurrences are predictable. It occurs before all vowel-initial words and between any two vowels that have a morpheme break between them. It also occurs final in a phonological phrase. Only occurrences other than these will be written. The /g/ is rare but is in native words. The /l/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless allophone occurs in syllable coda position. The /tl/ is voiceless. The /m/ is voiced. The /n/ is voiced, and has alveolar and velar allophones; the velar allophone occurs before velar stops. The /y/ is voiced. The /w/ has a voiced and a voiceless allophone; the voiceless occurs after /l/. There is also a /W/. The /h/ has allophones [x], [N], [M], [Y], [W], and [h]. The [x] occurs syllable onset between vowels; [NMYW] occur before their voiced counterpart. The allophone [h] takes the shape of the preceding vowel when occurring in coda position phrase medially, but it is realized as a glottal fricative when occurring in onset position: /nihciwas/ [nihciwas] 'I will do it'. Notice in the following example that /h/ is the plural morpheme and occurs final on the verb, but phonologically it becomes onset of the first syllable of the object because the latter is a vowel-initial word: /toWanti tihe leased etl/ [to.Wantil ti.Nne.ki. hetl] 'We want beans'.
The short vowels are /i e a o/, and the long vowels are /ii ee aa oo/. Long vowels seem to be disappearing. They are very difficult to hear except in minimal pairs, and we are rarely corrected about them. Because of the difficulties of accurately writing them, length is ignored in writing up data.

Stress is on the penultimate syllable except for a few rare exceptions. In these exceptions stress will be written.

**Major Phonological Processes**

The major phonological processes are listed below. The final vowel of the present tense stem of the verb drops before a tense marker is suffixed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w} & \rightarrow \text{h} \quad \text{before stops} \quad \text{pewa} \quad \text{He starts.}' \\
& \quad \text{peh-tok} \quad \text{He has started.}' \\
& \quad \text{start- PRES} \quad \text{PERF} \\
\{\text{k}\} & \quad \text{miki} \quad \text{He is dying.}' \\
\{\text{k}^\text{w}\} & \rightarrow \text{h} \quad \text{before k} \quad \text{mih-ki} \quad \text{He died.}' \\
& \quad \text{die-PAST} \\
\{\text{w}\} & \quad \text{ki-ilwiya} \quad \text{He says it.}' \\
\{\text{y}\} & \rightarrow ' \quad \text{word finally} \quad \text{ki-ilwi}' \quad \text{He said it.}' \\
& \quad \text{it-say} \quad \text{it-said} \\
\text{m} & \rightarrow \text{n} \quad \text{before stops} \\
& \text{tlami} \quad \text{He finishes.}' \quad \text{tlan-ki} \quad \text{He finished.}' \\
& \quad \text{finish-PAST} \\
\text{h} & \rightarrow \text{k} \quad \text{before vowels} \\
& \text{ni-h-walika-s} \quad \text{I will take it.}' \\
& \quad \text{I-it-take-FUT} \\
& \text{ni-k-on-walika-s} \quad \text{I will take it there.}' \\
& \quad \text{I-it-there-take-FUT} \\
\text{l} & \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \text{after l} \\
& \text{no-kal} \quad \text{my house}' \\
& \text{my-house} \\
& \text{kal + li = kal-i} \quad \text{house}' \\
& \text{house + ABS}
\end{align*}
\]
BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

The normal order of certain parts of the HN clause is debatable because it varies greatly. However, other parts of the clause are relatively fixed. The introducer always occurs initial in a clause and the quotative occurs final. If there is no introducer, the quotative can occur initially. The quotative is manifested by inflections of ki-ih-towa and tle-towa 'he says'. The predicate, subject, indirect object, and object occur most commonly in that order. Other possible orders are SUBJ-PRED-IOBJ-OBJ and PRED-IOBJ-OBJ-SUBJ. Notice that IOBJ comes before OBJ in all orders. It is unusual for SUBJ, OBJ, and IOBJ to all occur simultaneously in a clause. The benefactive, time, manner, and locative constituents are almost completely free in order. The purpose constituent normally occurs as the last constituent before the quotative. Any two of these five peripheral constituents seem to be the natural limit. The normal order for an entire clause is:

INTR  PRED  SUBJ  IOBJ  OBJ  BEN  TIME  MAN  LOC  PUR  QUOT

wahka  ki-kow-lej'  rober-ro  is-iwa  seh  pico  yalaway  nepa  tian-kis  tle-towa
therefore  it-buy-APPLIC  PN  his-wife  one  pig  yesterday  there  market  says
PAST

'Therefore Robert bought his wife a pig yesterday there at the market, so he says.'

Topic

A constituent may be topicalized by a change of word order. An adverbial clause, verb, pronoun, question word, or other introducer can change order and act as pivot to topicalize the constituent occurring before it.

An adverbial clause occurring as an element of the main clause can occur directly after the subject to topicalize it.

ne  tle-ta-tl  [kema  tian-ki  i-teki]  yah-ki  tian-kis
that  man-ABS  when  finish-PAST  his-work  go-PAST  market

'That man, when he finished his work, went to market.'

If the verb in a hortative expression comes after the subject, it topicalizes the subject. Notice this causes the noun to be in the middle of the verb phrase.

ma  to-teki  mic-tio-ćiwa
EXHRT  our-boss  you-god-do

'May God bless you.'

A subject pronoun occurring immediately after the subject topicalizes it.

nop-a  siwa-tl  yahaya  ki-ći-h-ki
that  woman-ABS  she  it-do-PAST

'That woman, she did it.'

A question word often topicalizes the constituent before it.

Wan  imoWanti  tlački  in-ki-ćiwa-h  ama  'And you all, what will you do now?'
and  you:PL  what  you:PL-it-do-PL  now
An introducer of a subordinate clause can topicalize what occurs before it.

Wan towantli [intla ti-h-čiwa-s-eh tlen kwal-i]
and we if we-it-do-FUT-PL REL good-ADJR
ti-kisa-s-eh kwal-i
we-leave-FUT-PL good-ADJR
‘And we, if we do what is good, we will come out well.’

Pronoun Copies

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by pronoun affixes. They must agree with the free constituent in person and number with the exception that plural inanimate objects are often copied with a singular object pronoun affix in the verb.

Agreement between free and bound subjects in person and number:

na kena ni-yah-ki nohkia ‘I, yes, I went too.’
I yes I-go-PAST also

Agreement between free and bound objects in person and number:

kin-ita-k yaWanti nepa tiankis ‘He saw them there in town.’
them-see-PAST them there town

Agreement between free and bound inanimate objects in person only:

ki-piya miak kwata-nih
it-have many wood-INAN:PL

‘He has many trees.’

Agreement between free and bound indirect objects in person and number:

kin-kowi-lih-ki i-kone-wa seh pico
them-buy-APPLIC-PAST his-child-POSSD:PL one pig
‘He bought his children a pig.’

A free possessor must be copied onto the possessed object by a pronoun prefix (see NOUN PHRASES, Possessed Noun Phrase). The free possessor is optional and adds emphasis or clarification.

na no-aška nopa ama-tl ‘That paper is mine.’
I my-possession that paper-ABS

The yaWanti in the following example is redundant and adds emphasis (see also POSTPOSITIONS).

Wan tekiti-yaya inin-waya yaWanti ‘John was working with them.’
PN work-VR-PAST:DUR their-with them

The free possessor adds clarification in the following:

i-čiši čučo mih-ki ‘Chucho’s dog died.’
his-dog PN die-PAST
Presumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur preceding the constituent for which they stand:

imoWanti tata-meh nana-meh ıt-wallah-kah nikani
you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL IMP-come-IMP:PL here
‘You all, fathers, mothers, you all come here.’

The adverbial demonstrative pronoun is often discontinuous with its specifier.

nopano ti-h-pan-ti-to-h seh kowa-tl i-pan no-mila
there we-it-pass-CAUS-went-PL one snake-ABS its-place my-field
find
‘There we went and found a snake in my field.’

For an example of the adverbial demonstrative occurring in the middle of the prepositional phrase, see sentence 21 of HORSE.

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

Pronouns and adverbial demonstratives can occur following the constituent for which they stand:

to-teko yahaya to-te-ma-kiš-tih-ka
our-boss he our-UNSPEC-save-leave-CAUS-POSSD
take out AG
save by taking out
‘The Lord, he is our savior.’

i-pan to-kal-liht-i-k nikani peh-ki nopa tii-tl
its-place our-house-stomach-place here start-PAST that fire-ABS
inside
‘Inside our house here the fire started.’

Focus

Focus can be indicated by a subordinate clause marked by the relative țlen, making a cleft sentence construction.

kena yahaya [țlen ki-miš-ti’ i-ikni]
yes he REL it-die-CAUS his-brother
PAST
killed
‘Yes, he is the one that killed his brother.’

A negative can focus what occurs before it.

roberto aș Wan ki-wika-k mo-tomin
PN NEG PN it-take-PAST your-money
‘It was Robert, not John, that took your money.’
Apposition

Apposition is very common in HN. Any clause constituent (or non-constituent) can have a second constituent in apposition to it.

kema walah-ki kema ahsi-ko nikani neč-maka-k
when come-PAST when arrive-came here me-give-PAST
‘When he came, when he arrived here, he gave it to me.’

See the HORSE text for other examples of apposition: for temporals, sentences 1 and 28; verbs, sentence 30; and object, sentence 5.

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

The following conjunctions are particles and occur clause initial unless otherwise stated. To occur second means to occur after another conjunction, e.g., Wan wahka ‘and then’.

Wan
‘and’ (See COYOTE title and sentences 2, 3, 8, and HORSE 5, 6, 8, 9 (3), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 (4), 21 (2), 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 (2), 32, 33, 36, 37.)

wahka
‘therefore, then, well’ Occurs clause initial, second, or final. (See COYOTE 3, 13, 17.)

nohkia, no
‘also’ Occurs clause initial, second, medial, or final. (See COYOTE 18 and HORSE 20 (2), 34, 35, 36.)

yeka
‘for that previously stated reason’ Occurs initial or second. (See HORSE 18, 27, 28, 32.)

teipa
‘afterwards’ Occurs initial, second, medial, or final in the clause. (See HORSE 14, 15.)

pero
‘but’ Spanish loan. (See COYOTE 2, 8, 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4, 11, 18, 24.)

pampa
‘because’ Occurs initial or second in clause. (See COYOTE 2, 7 and HORSE 11, 15, 16, 18, 27, 29 (2), 32, 34 (2).)

yonke
‘even though’ Occurs initial or second in clause. (See HORSE 24.)

niyoni
‘not even’ Occurs initial or second in clause.

aš neč-maka-k tleno niyon seh točo
NEG me-give-PAST anything not:even one stale:tortilla
‘He didn’t give me anything, not even a stale tortilla.’

ihkino
‘so’ Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 5, 22, 24, 30, 35, 38.)
kehki ‘since’ Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See HORSE 11.)
maske ‘even though’ Spanish loan. Occurs initial or second in a clause. (See COYOTE 13.)

Adverbs

The following adverbs are particles. They occur anywhere in the clause unless otherwise stated.
isokapa ‘quickly’ (See COYOTE 3.)
tlawel ‘really’ (See HORSE 1, 27.)
nelia ‘really’ (See COYOTE 1, 2, 8, 13, 20 and HORSE 1, 34.)
kana ‘anywhere’ Occurs only second or medial in a clause that has a negative. (See HORSE 3, 31.)
kanaya ‘in parts’ (See HORSE 11.)
k'Wali ‘well’ (See HORSE 26.)
nika ‘here’ (See HORSE 21.)
ači ‘a little’ (See HORSE 24.)
nima ‘right away’ (See HORSE 37.)
ama ‘now’ (See HORSE 1, 28.)
san ‘just, only’ Occurs anywhere except final in a clause. (See HORSE 1, 3, 4, 10, 18, 28.)
nopano ‘over there’ (See HORSE 14, 21, 25, 30.)
nepa ‘there’ (See HORSE 7.)
sampa ‘again’ (E) (See HORSE 15, 24, 30, 33, 37.)
sempa ‘at one time’ (E); ‘again, at one time’ (W)

śi-h-tolo ni eyi pastiyas san sempa
IMP-it-take these three pills just at:one:time
‘Take these three pills at one time.’
kema ‘when’ This cannot occur clause final. (See COYOTE 1, 8, 11, 12, 19 and HORSE 35, 36.)

weyi ‘greatly, well’
nopa tlaka-tl tlen weyi koko-tok mih-ki
that man-ABS REL well hurt-PRES:PERF die-PAST
‘That severely injured man died.’
waksa ‘suddenly’

Wan waksa ni-k-itā:k seh kowa-tl
and suddenly I-it-see-PAST one snake-ABS
‘And suddenly I saw a snake.’
Demonstratives

All demonstratives are particles. They occur before the noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASE) or can take the place of the noun. (See also DEMONSTRATIVES.)

ni ‘this, these (visible)’ (See COYOTE 10, 11 and HORSE 1, 28.)
ne ‘that (visible)’ (See COYOTE 1, 10, 19.)
nopa ‘that (out of sight)’ (See COYOTE 2, 3 (2), 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 17 (2), 18 (2), 19 (2), 20 and HORSE 2 (2), 4, 5, 10, 11 (2), 12 (2), 13, 15, 18, 25, 27 (2).)
ini ‘this (emphatic)’
ti-h-neki ini
you-it-want this
‘Do you want this one?”
ino ‘that (emphatic)’
kena ino
yes that
‘Yes, that exact one.’

Relative Markers

Relative markers are particles and occur initial in the subordinate clause they introduce.

tlen ‘who, that’ E and W dialects. (See COYOTE 12, 16, 17, 18 and HORSE 2.)
katli ‘who, that’ Used only occasionally in the W dialect.
ni-h-pa-ni’ nopa ama-tl katli ni-h-temo-yaya
l-it-pass-CAUS:PAST that paper-ABS that l-it-look:for-PAST:DUR
found
‘I found that paper that I was looking for.’

Prepositions

Prepositions are particles (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS) and occur initial in the relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES, Relator Axis Phrases.)

keh ‘like, as’ (See HORSE 29.)
asta ‘until, to’ Spanish loan. (See HORSE 14, 32, 34.)
para ‘for’ Spanish loan. (See HORSE 2, 9 (2).)
kampa ‘where’ (See HORSE 10, 18, 28.)
keniki ‘as many as’
ma ki-tiwa keniki ki-tih-ki achtowi ‘Let him make as many EXHRT it-do as:many it-do-PAST first as he made before.’
Pronouns

The independent singular pronouns are particles. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.)

na 'I' (See COYOTE 8 and HORSE 3, 20, 36 (2.).)
ta 'you' (See COYOTE 8, 13, 14, 15.)
yə 'he' (See HORSE 18.)

Polarity Items

The following polarity items are particles.

kena 'yes' (See COYOTE 6.)
amo 'no'. This is both the response to questions and the general negative in the W dialect. It is the hortative and imperative negative in the E dialect. (See COYOTE 7.)
ašle 'no'. This is the response to questions in the E dialect.
ti-yə-s ašle aš ni-ya-s
you-go-FUT no NEG I-go-FUT
'Are you going?' 'No, I'm not going.'
aš 'no, not'. This is the general negative for the E dialect. (See COYOTE 12, 14, 16 and HORSE 4 (2), 8, 11, 13, 15 (2), 16, 18, 27.)
adaka 'no one' (E)
adaka walah-ki 'No one came.'
nə:one come-PAST
amo aka 'no one' (W)
amo aka ki-neki 'No one wants it.'
nə:one it-want
ašlono 'nothing' (E)
ašlono neč- małe-k 'He didn't give me anything.'
nothing me-give-PAST
amo lono 'nothing' (W)
amo lono ki-ilwa' 'He didn't say anything.'
nothing it-said

The following polarity items are a combination of the negative with a clitic. (See Clitics for examples.)

aya 'still not' (E)
ayamo 'still not' (W)
ayok 'no longer' (E) (See COYOTE 2 and HORSE 2, 3, 23, 31.)
ayakmo 'no longer' (W)
Modals

The following modals are particles:

ma 'let, have, EXHRT'

ma wala-kah 'Let them come.'
EXHRT come-IMP:PL

intla, tla 'if'

ni-ya-s intla ni-weli-s 'I will go if I can.'
I-go-FUT if I-able-FUT

Clitics

The only two clitics in HN are =ya/=.a 'already' and =nok/=.yok/=.ok 'again'. They count as part of the word for determining penultimate stress. These are found as postclitics on verbs, negatives, time words, and numbers. When they both occur, they occur in the order given. The morpheme =a is found after an s or a k, and the =ya occurs elsewhere. The morpheme =ok occurs after any consonant, the =nok after a, and the =yok after front vowels or i. The two clitics can fuse and show up as =vak (W).

wala-s-ch=ya=nok come-FUT-PL=already=again
'Already they will come again.'

walah-ki sampa=ya=nok come-PAST again=already=again
'He already came again.'

Compare:

seh 'one'
se=ya nok 'another one'

sekin 'some'
sekin=ok 'some others'

sekin=ok walah-ke-h
some=again come-PAST-PL
'One=again come-PAST
'Some others came.'

When clitics occur in the negative, they act differently in each dialect. In the E dialect they are postclitics; the full negative is a=.

a=y=ok tla-i NEG=already=again UNSPEC-drink
'He doesn’t drink any more.'

a=ya ki-tla=stla=ki NEG=already him-pay-PAST
'He hasn’t paid him yet.'

In the W dialect the negative is amo and the clitics go in the middle of the morpheme.

a=ya=k=mo tla-i NEG=already=again NEG UNSPEC-drink
'He doesn’t drink any more.'

a=ya=mo ki-tla=stlah=ki NEG=already=NEG him-pay-PAST
'He hasn’t paid him yet.'
The morpheme *ya* ‘already’ can also occur preceding the verb and other clause constituents. Since it does not change the stress except when it is a postclictic, it is debatable as to whether it is an independent form or a proclitic. There are some verbs that end in -ya (e.g., *ilwiyə* ‘to say’) that cannot co-occur with postclictic =ya, and the ya= then precedes the verb as a proclitic (see Stem Classes, Class II). The case in the HORSE sentence 8 (ya=tiotələk ‘already late’) is more debatable but may also be considered a proclitic. This proclitic can occur before any constituent except an introducer. The clitic =ok cannot occur as a proclitic. For other examples of these clitics, see COYOTE 2 (2) and HORSE 2, 3, 8, 16, 20, 23, 30 (2), 31.

**BE/HAVE/DO**

The ‘be’, ‘have’, and ‘do’ verbs in HN have very regular stems and tenses. However, they are somewhat irregular as to meaning, limited to certain tenses, and distinguished for animate versus inanimate.

**BE**

The verb *el* has two basic meanings. With animate subjects it means ‘be’ or ‘become’, but with inanimate subjects it means ‘to be located’. The present tense is never used, the Ø morpheme (see below) or the stative being preferred.

‘Be’ or ‘become’ used of professions:

ki-neki eli-s seh te-pah-tih-ke-tl  
It wants to be FUT one UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS  
‘He wants to be a doctor.’

noha el-tok seh tla-mač-tih-ke-tl  
Still be-STAT one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS  
‘He is still a teacher.’

‘To be located’ of an object. The stative, which is the same as present perfect, is always used when you would expect the present.

el-tok e-tl nepa no-mila  
‘There are beans there in my field.’

be-STAT bean-ABS there my-field

el-tok no-tomin i-pan mesah  
‘My money is on the table.’

be-STAT my-money its-place table

The verb *entətok* ‘to be arranged, to be seated’ is used with animate and inanimate subjects. The present tense, which should be *entə*, is never used and is not accepted by native speakers as a possible form. The stative is used as present tense. The same is true of *tekpəntək* ‘to be arranged one after the other’ and *ıkətok* ‘to be located’. Observe, however, that the present tense can occur with the imperative prefix.

ten-tok-ch tła-naeh i-pan saka-tl  
‘The men are seated on the grass.’
The verb tekpantok ‘to be arranged one after the other’ is used of objects and people.

tekpan-tok-eh miak ama-tl i-pan biblioteka
arranged-STAT-PL many book-ABS its-place library

‘Many books are in the library in ordered arrangement.’

The verb ictok means ‘to be’, ‘to be located’, or ‘to be in the state of’, and with each meaning it can only occur with an animate subject. The present and past tenses are never used.

With the first meaning of ‘to be’ or ‘to be located’ it cannot occur with the general negative aš (E) or amo (W); the verb aš aki (E) or amo aki (W) replaces ictok with this negative meaning (see below).

ic-tok-eh miak tosa-meh i-pan no-mila
be-STAT-PL many mole-AN:PL its-place my-field located

‘There are many moles in my field.’

ic-tok mo-wewe ‘Is your husband here?’
be:located-STAT your-husband

kena ic-tok ‘Yes, he’s here.’
yes be:located-STAT

When the verb ictok means ‘to be in the state of’, it may occur with the general negative.

ya=ic-tok kwał-i ‘He is already all right.’
already=be:state-STAT good-ADJR

aš ic-tok kwał-i ‘He isn’t well.’
NEG be:state-STAT good-ADJR

With the imperative, the present tense stem icto is used.

ści-icto i-ka yeh-yek-ci ‘Live happily.’
IMP be its-place RDP-pretty-DIM

The verb aš aki (E) or amo aki (W) ‘to not be present’ are used with animate subjects and only occur with negative sense. aš aki is often used in questions. There is the semantic limitation of first and second persons not being used in present tense, but all persons occur with all other tenses.

aš aki mo-nana aštle aš aki
NEG be:here your-mother no NEG be:here
‘Is your mother here?’ ‘No, she isn’t here.’
ic-tok mo-tata aštle aš aki
be:located-STAT your-father no NEG be:here
‘Is your father here?’ ‘No, he isn’t here.’
The verb onka means ‘there are in existence’ and it is used only with inanimate subjects. There is the semantic limitation of not occurring with imperative, but there are no tense limitations.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{onka pah-tl} & \quad \text{onka miak teki-tl} \\
\text{be medicine-ABS} & \quad \text{be much work-ABS} \\
\text{‘There is medicine.’} & \quad \text{‘There is much work.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The Ø morpheme meaning ‘is’ is used with animate and inanimate subjects. It always means present tense. The person pronouns can become prefixes on a noun, adjective, or pronoun.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na ni-tlaka-tl} & \quad \text{na ni-yahaya} \\
\text{I I-man-ABS} & \quad \text{I I-he} \\
\text{‘I am a man.’} & \quad \text{‘I’m he.’} \\
\text{ya=ti-wey-i} & \quad \text{weh-ka-pan-ti-k} \\
\text{already=you-big-ADJR} & \quad \text{big-place-pass-CAUS-ADJR} \\
\text{‘Already you are big.’} & \quad \text{find} \\
\text{tall} & \quad \text{‘He is tall.’}
\end{align*}
\]

This last is an example of the third person singular Ø occurring on an adjective.

The following have a Ø stative equating the two main constituents.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wan seh tlaka-tl} & \quad \text{nikani seh kw a-wi-tl wey-i} \\
\text{PN one man-ABS} & \quad \text{here one tree-(?)-ABS big-ADJR} \\
\text{‘John is a man.’} & \quad \text{‘Here is a big tree.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The verb ega ‘to originate, be native of’ is used only of animate subjects.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kanke ti-ewa} & \quad \text{‘Where are you from?’} \\
\text{where you originate} & \quad \\
\text{In the verb mo--čiya ‘to become a ____’, a noun is compounded into the} & \quad \\
\text{verb stem. It has no tense limitations.} & \quad \\
\text{mo-tata-čih-ki=ya} & \quad \text{‘He became a father already.’} \\
\text{REFL-father-make-PAST=already} & \quad \\
\text{aš weh-ka-wa-s mo-tlaka-čiya-s} & \quad \\
\text{NEG big-place-INTRNS-FUT REFL-man-make-FUT} & \quad \text{to be long} \\
\text{‘It won’t be long before he will become a man.’} & \quad \text{‘It won’t be long before he will become a man.’}
\end{align*}
\]

**HAVE**

The verb piya ‘to have’ is the only verb of this class, and it has not been formed into a derivational suffix.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki-piya miak tomin} & \quad \text{‘He has a lot of money.’} \\
\text{it-have much money} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]
ki-piya i-nakas weh-wey-i  ‘He has big ears.’
it-have his-ears RDP:PL-big-ADJR

**DO**

The verb *ciwa* ‘to do, to make’ can have the initial syllable reduplicated (see STEM, Reduplication) to vary its meaning.

ki-ciwa miak teki-tl
it-do much work-ABS
‘He does a lot of work.’

ki-cihi-kh seh tlape-i-tli
it-make-PAST one bed-ABS
‘He made a bed.’

The verb *senkawa* ‘to fix, to make’ is often used of a broken object.

ki-sen-kawa-s mo-radio
it-one-leave-FUT your-radio
fix
‘He will fix your radio.’

ki-sen-kah-ki seh tla-kWa-lis-tli
it-one-leave-PAST one UNSPEC-eat-ABSTR-ABS
meal
‘She fixed a meal.’

The verb *kWaalali* ‘to fix up, to put in order’ is used to describe the improvement of something.

ti-h-kWa-al-tlali-s to-komun-mili
we-it-good-put-FUT our-community-field
fix
‘We will fix up our town’s field.’

The verb *pano* ‘to happen to’ is identical with ‘to happen’.

tec-pano-k miak kWesol-i
us-happen-PAST much sadness-ABS
‘Many sorrows have happened to us.’
Non-Distinct Argument Phenomena

Reflexive

The verb prefix mo- can be either reflexive or reciprocal, but we label it reflexive consistently. The following are examples of the reflexive use:

ni-mo-tlati'  'I burned myself.'
I-REFL-burned

ti-mo-ita-s-eh  i-pan  teska-tl  'We will see ourselves in the mirror.'
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL  its-place  glass-ABS

The following are examples of the reciprocal use:

ti-mo-ita-s-eh  mostla  'We will see each other tomorrow.
we-REFL-see-FUT-PL  tomorrow

mo-maki-li-s-ch  'They will hit each other.'
REFL-hit-APPLIC-FUT-PL

The reflexive has also been reanalyzed as part of the stem of some verbs (see Incorporation). This reanalysis can be clearly seen when such a stem occurs with a reflexive prefix.

as  mo-mokwitlawi-s  'He will not take care of himself.'
NEG  REFL-take:care-FUT

'Myself,' 'himself,' etc. are expressed by the reflexive.

mo-mik-iti-kh  'He killed himself.'
REFL-die-CAUS-PAST

'My own,' 'his own,' etc. are expressed by an independent pronoun with or without the relative pronoun tlen.

i-tlawilol  ya  'his own writing.'
his-writing  he

ki-ita-k  yahaya  i-chi  'He saw his own dog.'
it-see-PAST  he  his-dog

ki-ita-k  tlen  yahaya  i-chi  'He saw his own dog.'
it-see-PAST  REL  he  his-dog

The 'by myself', 'by himself', etc. concepts that speak of a figurative location (i.e., responsibility) are expressed by inflections of -selti (from seh 'one') or by an independent pronoun.

ni-h-chi-h-ki  no-selti  'I did it by myself.'
I-it-do-PAST  my-self

na  ni-h-chi-h-ki  na  'I did it by myself.'
I  I-it-do-PAST  I
The 'by myself', 'by himself', etc. concepts that speak of a literal location are expressed only by inflections of -selti.

ic-tok     i-selti       'She lives alone (by herself).'
b-e-STAT   her-self

Passive

There is no true passive in HN, but an indefinite subject 'they' is sometimes used to express a passive idea.

seh    to-tlayi   ki-mik-tih-tok-eh       'They killed a man.'/'A man was
one   our-uncle   him-die-CAUS-PRES-PL    murdered.'
a  man
PERF

A few verbs use the reflexive to express the passive.

§í-mo-kW-a-ltí          'Baptize yourself.'/'Be baptized.'
IMP-REFL-head-water-VR

Neither of these methods of expressing a passive is used very frequently; an indefinite subject usually expresses a passive idea.

Unspecified Objects

There are two unspecified object prefixes in HN; they cannot co-occur with the direct and indirect object markers except on those verbs (discussed under INCORPORATION) where these unspecified objects have been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, and the verb cannot occur without them. (For order see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

The morpheme tla- 'non-human unspecified object' is used very frequently.

tla-kWah-ki    'He ate.'
UNSPEC-eat-PAST

The morpheme te- 'human unspecified object' is used less than tla- and has been reanalyzed less frequently as part of the verb stem.

te-ikneliya       'He loves people.'
UNSPEC-love

Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -ke 'agent' plus the absolutive -tl.

te-teki-panoh-ke-tl    'servant'
UNSPEC-work-pass-AG-ABS
serve

tla-mač-tih-ke-tl      'teacher'
UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS
teach
A very few nouns are formed by a verb plus -loni 'instrument'.

tla-teki-loni "knife, machete"

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus -yo ABSTR plus the absolutive -tl. Many of these have -ka before the -yo. This -ka may be related to the agent suffix -ke or to the verb ka 'be' of classical Nahuatl. Here we somewhat arbitrarily gloss it 'be'.

tla-sotla-ka-yo-tl 'love'

love-be-ABSTR-ABS

tla-copel-ka-yo-tl 'fruit'

UNSPEC-sweet-be-ABSTR-ABS

k'wäl-tla-ka-yo-tl 'favor'

good-UNSPEC-be-ABSTR-ABS

te-ikneli-ka-yo-tl 'pity'

UNSPEC-love-be-ABSTR-ABS

to pity
QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Positive and negative yes/no questions display two kinds of intonation. When the answer is really unknown and a yes or a no answer is equally probable, a level intonation that rises gradually until it reaches its peak on the last syllable is used. When the conversation has already given a clue as to what the answer will be, the intonation rises sharply and reaches its peak and then lowers rapidly. In such cases a negative yes/no question expects a negative answer, and a positive yes/no question, a positive answer.

Negative Yes/No Questions:

a$ ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s
NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT

‘Don’t you want to buy it?’
(Implied: I don’t know if you do or not.)

a$ ti-h-neki ti-h-kowa-s
NEG you-it-want you-it-buy-FUT

‘Don’t you want to buy it?’
(Implied: You are saying you don’t want to buy it.)

This second type of question is often preceded by wahka ‘then, therefore’.

wahka a$ ti-h-neki ya-s
then NEG you-it-want go-FUT

‘Then you don’t want to go?’
(Implied: You already implied you don’t, but here’s another chance to change your mind.)

Positive Yes/No Questions:

\[\text{ti-ya-s} \quad \text{you-go-FUT}\]

‘Are you going?’
(Implied: I don’t know if you are or not.)

\[\text{teki-ti} \quad \text{work-VR}\]

‘Is he working?’
(Implied: You are saying he’s working.)

Yes/No Answers:

The answer to a yes/no question is usually followed by a restatement of the question.

a$tle a$ ni-h-neki ni-h-kowa-s
neg NEG l-it-want l-it-buy-FUT
kena teki-ti
yes work-VR

‘No, I don’t want to buy it.’

‘Yes, he’s working.’
Alternative Questions

Alternative questions have a rising intonation that peaks on the last syllable of the first alternative and then falls rapidly on the second alternative.

yahaya seh tla-mač-thi-ke-tl o seh
he one UNSPEC-understand-CAUS-AG-ABS or one
teach

te-pah-thi-ke-tl
UNSPEC-medicine-VR-AG-ABS
treat

'Is he a teacher or a doctor?'

Tag Questions

The tag is aške 'isn't that true'. The first part of the question functions as a positive yes/no question and can have either type of intonation. But the tag can only have rising intonation and is always after the main question.

hosé teki-ti kwali aške
hosé teki-ti kwali aške
PN work-VR well true

'Joe works well? Isn't that true?'

WH Questions

The question word occurs first in a clause. There may be a rising intonation on the question word but not elsewhere.

ahkeya 'who'

ahkeya ki-koh-ki nopa kal-i 'Who bought that house?'
who it-buy-PAST that house-ABS

kehaca 'how'

kehaca ti-ic-tok 'How are you?'
how you-be-STAT

kenikaca 'in what way, how'

kenikaca yah-ki kwahtla 'In what way did he go to Cuajtla?'
what:way go-PAST sparrow:hawk-place

tlački 'what'

tlački ti-h-neki 'What do you want?'
what you-it-want
kanki, kanke ‘where’
kanki ti-yah-ki
where you-go-PAST

kema ‘when’
kema kis-ki
when leave-PAST

keski ‘how many’
keski ti-h-neki
how:many you-it-want

katlia ‘which one’
katlia teki-ti mas kWal imas
which:one work-VR more well

Tlen ‘which, what’
Tlen tonal ti-h-toh-ki
what day you-it-plant-PAST

Para Tlen ‘why’
Para Tlen až yah-ki
for what NEG go-PAST

Ahekayawante ‘who are they’
Ahekayawante nopa israelitas
who:they those Israelites

Ika tlački ‘with what’
I-ka tlački ki-mik-ti’
its-with what it-die-CAUS:PAST

Ahekeya i- ‘whose’
Ahekeya i-ča
who his-house

WH words preposed from subordinate clause:
Tlački ki-lihto [ki-čiwa-s] ‘What did he say he would do?’
what it-said it-do-FUT
Tlački ti-mo-ilwiya [ti-h-toka-s] ‘What do you think you will plant?’
what you-REFL-say you-it-plant-FUT think
Positive Imperatives

The imperative ši- comes before the verb and substitutes for the second person subject marker. When the command is to plural subjects, the verb has a suffix -kah that is used only with imperative and hortative constructions. (See OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE for order.)

ši-ya mo-ča  "Go home!"
IMP-go your-home
ši-neš-tla-kaki-kah  "You all listen to me."
IMP-me-UNSPEC-hear-IMP:PL
listen to

Negative Imperatives

The negative imperative is amo for the E dialect, which is the same as the negative that the W dialect uses exclusively.

amo ši-neš-istlakati  "Don’t lie to me."
NEG IMP-me-lie
 amo ši-ya-kah  "Don’t you all go."
NEG IMP-go-IMP:PL

Modal Imperatives

The modal imperative is ma and it cannot co-occur with the imperative ši-. The particle ma comes before the negative. It carries the meaning of the permissive ‘let’ or the exhortative ‘have’. The subject of modal imperatives is first or third person.

ma wala  "Have him come."
EXHRT come
 ma ni-h-čiwa  "Let me do it."
EXHRT I-it-do

When the subject is plural, the imperative plural suffix -kah is the marker.

ma ti-ya-kah  "Let’s go."
EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL
NOUN MORPHOLOGY

\[ N + X = N \]

-ci ‘diminutive’, -cici PL:

kone-ci child-DIM

miak konicici many child-DIM:PL

‘a little child’ (3 or 4 years old)

‘many little children’ (3 or 4 years old)

The morpheme pil ‘little’ can be affixed as a prefix or a suffix or as both.

pil-kone-ci little-child-DIM

siwa-pil woman-little

pil-siwa-pil little-woman-little

‘baby’ (less than 6 months old)

‘girl’ (up to 14 years old)

‘little girl’ (up to 4 years old)

A noun plus an absolutive -tl, -tli, or -li (I → Ø after I) form most nouns.

tlaka-tl ‘man’

tlepos-tli ‘a thing of metal’

komal-i ‘griddle’ (for cooking tortillas)

Perhaps -mitl is an absolutive in its entirety instead of just the -tl on these words. We cannot identify the -mi and it drops off when the word is possessed as the absolutive does. It represents a large group of words. Note the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>komitl</td>
<td>‘water pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlamapamitl</td>
<td>‘hall, eve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoyomitl</td>
<td>‘cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlaispamitl</td>
<td>‘altar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-ko</td>
<td>‘my water pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-tlamapa</td>
<td>‘my eve, my outside hall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-yoyo</td>
<td>‘my cloth, my clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-tlaispa</td>
<td>‘my altar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns are formed by a noun plus a postpositional. (See Postpositions for a more complete listing.)

a-pa ‘spring, well’

water-place

kalika ‘behind the house’

house-behind

mil-teno ‘edge of the field’

field-edge:of
A noun plus -meh ‘person from, inhabitant of’ forms a noun.

kWatl-a-meh ‘people from Huautla’
Huautla-people:from

tla-tekpa-meh ‘humans, people of the world’
earth-people:from

In the E dialect a noun plus a plural suffix -meh ‘animate plural’, -tinih ‘inanimate plural’, or ∅ ‘inanimate plural’ forms a noun.

tlaka-meh (E & W) ‘men’
man-AN:PL

kal-tinih (E) ‘houses’
house-INAN:PL

The absolutive is not dropped when the plural ∅ is used.

tla-peč-tli (E & W) ‘beds’
bed-ABS

In the W dialect the plural marker -meh is inanimate or animate. The -tinih is not used and there are very few ∅ plurals.

kal-meh (W) ‘houses’
house-PL

PRED + X = N

Many nouns are formed by a verb or adjective plus -lis ‘abstract’ plus the absolutive -tli, which always comes after a consonant.

paki-lis-tli ‘happiness’
happy-ABSTR-ABS
čikawa-lis-tli ‘power’
strong-ABSTR-ABS
tla-sewi-lis-tli ‘peace’
UNSPEC-rest-ABSTR-ABS
koko-lis-tli ‘sickness’
hurt-ABSTR-ABS

Many nouns are formed by a verb plus the absolutive -tli, -tl, or -li.

kWalan-tli ‘anger’
be:angry-ABS
wiki-tl ‘song’
sing-ABS
tla-kWå-li ‘food’
UNSPEC-eat-ABS
tla-čîwa-li ‘deed, act’
UNSPEC-do-ABS
Some nouns are formed by an adjective (a noun plus an adjective marker) plus an absolutive. (See ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY.)

\[ kw\text{-}a\text{-}titla\text{-}mitl \]
\[ \text{wood-CHAR:BY-ABS} \]
\[ \text{woody} \]

\[ sak\text{-}a\text{-}titla\text{-}mitl \]
\[ \text{grass-CHAR:BY-ABS} \]
\[ \text{grassy} \]

For nouns derived by -ke AG, -loni INSTR, and -yo ABSTR, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Nominalizations with Unspecified Arguments.

**VERB MORPHOLOGY**

\[ N + X = V \]

Various verbalizing suffixes are used: -ti, -tiya, -wiya, -owa (perhaps to be analyzed further as -ti, -ti(\(y\))a, -wi(\(y\))a, and -o(w)\. Semantically they cluster around the senses 'make, cause, get'. (Cf. NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Causative.)

- teki-ti
  - work-VR
  - 'to work'

- kama-ti
  - mouth-VR
  - 'to talk'

- mo-sok\text{-}tiya
  - your-possession-VR
  - 'to cause it to be your own'

- teki-wiya
  - work-VR
  - 'to use'

- mo-sok\text{-}wiya
  - REFL-mud-VR
  - 'to get dirty'

- tla\text{-}skal-owa
  - tortilla-VR
  - 'to make tortillas'

- kamanal-owa
  - word-VR
  - 'to speak'
ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

In the language as it is spoken today, the stem of most adjectives cannot be identified. They are adjectives in form and function. All adjectives can function as stative verbs or as modifiers of the head in a noun phrase. (See NOUN PHRASE.)

For a complete treatment, see ADJECTIVES.

N + X = ADJ

Nouns plus an adjective marker (see ADJECTIVES) form an adjective.

kama-wak |
---|
te-tik |

mouth-ADJR |
---|
rock-ADJR |

‘humid’ |
---|
‘hard’ |

t-e-yo |
---|
soki-titla |

rock-ADJR |
---|
mud-CHAR:BY |

‘rocky’ |
---|
‘muddy’ |

V + X = ADJ

Verbs plus an adjective marker form an adjective.

tlatekiwiya |
---|
tlatekiwa-li |

‘He uses things.’ |
---|
’used’ |

tlapani |
---|
tlapan-keca |

‘It breaks.’ |
---|
’breakable’ |

Adverbs

The following adverbs are derived from adjectives. They do not change in form, but the function changes from that of modifying a noun to modifying a verb.

kWali |
---|
‘good’ ADJ |

‘well’ ADV |

aš tēki-ti kWali |
---|
NEG work-VR well |

’He doesn’t work well.’ |

cika-wak |
---|
‘strong’ ADJ |

‘fast’ ADV |

cikawak motlalowa |
---|
fast run |

’He runs fast.’ |

nelia |
---|
‘true’ ADJ |

‘really’ ADV |

nelia ki-ma ti miak |
---|
really it-know much |

’He really knows a lot.’
There are very few adverbs that aren’t derived from adjectives; they include:

- iyolik  ‘slowly’
- waksa  ‘suddenly’
- isokapa  ‘quickly’
- tlawel  ‘very’

**COMPOUNDS**

**Noun Compounds**

Noun compounds are used so extensively in HN that the following types are likely not exhaustive. All compounds are very closely bound phonologically. The absolutive drops on all except the word-final noun.

\[ N + N = N \]

- piyo-pah-tli
  - chicken-medicine-ABS
  - \( N_1 \) is used for or in place of \( N_2 \). The chicken is used for, or in place of, medicine. The chicken is offered as a sacrifice on the hill to appease the spirit, and the patient is thus cured.

- tepos-meka-tl
  - metal-rope-ABS
  - \( N_2 \) is made of \( N_1 \).

- tlaškal-yoyo-mitl
  - tortilla-cloth-ABS
  - \( N_2 \) is made for \( N_1 \).

- kowa-k\textsuperscript{Wečma}
  - snake-rattle
  - \( N_2 \) describes \( N_1 \).

- okič-čiči
  - male-dog
  - \( N_1 \) describes/modifies \( N_2 \).

- tlaštekpa-tlaka-tl
  - earth-man-ABS
  - \( N_2 \) is located at \( N_1 \).

- tlo-pan-kal-i
  - god-place-house-ABS
  - \( N_1 \) is located at \( N_2 \) or \( N_2 \) is for \( N_1 \).
RICHARD AND PATRICIA BELLER

šőči-mili
flower-nilpa
N₂ is made up of N₁.

N + N + N = N
ma-keč-kos-tli
hand-neck-necklace-ABS
‘bracelet’
tepos-wic-meka-tl
metal-thorn-rope-ABS
‘barbed wire’

N + N + N + N = N
tok-sin-owa-kal-i
plant-corn-cane-house-ABS
‘house of corn stalks’

N + N + V = N

tio-čikawal-nešti-li
god-power-show-ABS
‘miracle’

ADJ + N = N

to-wei-teko
our-big-boss
‘our Lord’

ADJ + N + N = N

oselo-kʷa-toči
grey-wood-rabbit
‘jackrabbit’

NEG + ADJ + N = N

aš-kʷal-tlaka-tl
NEG-good-man-ABS
‘the devil’

NUMR + N = N

cičon-tepe-k
seven-hill-place
‘seven hills’

There are some nouns that are both compounds and postpositional expressions because the morpheme functioning as a postposition is a complete noun. (See also PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS.)

kal-ihti-k
house-stomach-place
‘inside the house’
Verb Compounds

Verb compounds are used extensively in HN. They are all closely bound phonologically. The following examples do not likely exhaust the types.

MOD + V = V

ki-k^w^al-tlali
  it-good-put
  ‘He fixes (puts good) it.’

ki-sen-kawa
  it-one-leave
  ‘He fixes (leaves one) it.’

ki-weyi-čiwa
  him-big-make
  ‘He praises him.’

ki-iyoka-tlali
  it-apart-put
  ‘He separates it.’

nel-k^w^alani
  really-be:mad
  ‘He really gets mad.’

N + V = V

a-tla-k^w^iti
  water-UNSPEC-bring-go
  ‘She will go get water.’

N is OBJ of V.

mo-yol-k^w^ep-ki
  REFL-heart-turn:around-PAST
  ‘He repented.’

N is SUBJ of V.

piyo-pah-tiya
  chicken-medicine-VR
  treat
  ‘He treats with a chicken.’

N is instrument of V.

mo-siya-kawa
  REFL-chair-leave
  ‘to rest’

N is location of V.

mil-tekiti
  field-work
  ‘He does field work.’

N is location of V.

es-kisa
  blood-leave
  ‘He is bleeding.’

N is SUBJ of V.

išik-tlašikutowa
  feet-tire
  ‘The feet are tiring.’

N is SUBJ of V.
mec-tona 'The moon is shining.'
moon-shine

N is SUBJ of V.

ki-tio-čiwa 'He blesses him (does like God).'
him-god-do

N is model of V.

a-miki 'He is thirsty.'
water-die

(Lack of) N is cause of V.
tlatlakol-eh-ki 'He was born characterized by sin.'
sin-be:born-PAST

V is characterized by N.

V + V = V

ki-pa-kaki 'He likes to hear it.'
it-happy-hear

ki-ma-kištiya 'He saves by taking out.'
it-save-take:out

wal-temo 'He comes while lowering (from heaven).'
come-lower

ki-kw'as-neki 'He wants to eat it.'
it-eat-FUT-want

ki-noca-ti-wala 'He calls as he comes.'
him-call-CONN-come

ni-wala-ti-weci 'I come for a minute.'
I-come-CONN-fall

ni-tlakowa-ti-ya-s 'I buy as I go.'/’I go and buy.’
I-buy-CONN-go-FUT

ni-h-čiwa-ti-nemi 'I habitually do it.'
I-it-do-CONN-walk

P + V = V

pan-kisa 'It breaks out (as boils, pimples, rash).'
on-leave

N + N + N = V

ni-kw'a-č-yoli 'I am getting white-headed.'
I-head -cotton-seed
get white
NOUN PHRASES

There is a great difference between noun phrases (NP) heard in everyday conversation or seen in texts and the length and complexity of NP that can be elicited. In the following NP types comments will be made about those where the expansions are seldom used.

Adjective Phrase

The adjective phrase (AP) occurs in the modifier slot of a general noun phrase (GNP), a possessed noun phrase (PNP), a name noun phrase (NNP), an additive noun phrase (ANP), or a stative sentence. It has a maximum of four positions in its expansion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>INTNS</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aš</td>
<td>nelia</td>
<td>weyi</td>
<td>šokʷeci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>crippled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The INTNS and ADJ are the limit of the expansion of the AP when it occurs in a GNP that has other pre-noun constituents.

General Noun Phrase

The general noun phrase (GNP) is characterized by a noun head and its modifiers. It occurs as the subject, object, indirect object, or locative of a clause. It has five subtypes (described below). This formula describes the order of its possible constituents:

INTNS LIMITER QNT DEM NUMR AP₁ N AP₂ RAP₁ CNJ RAP₂ . . .

nelia san şekin nopa mahtlak-tli yankʷi-k kalandarios
really just some those ten-ABS new-ADJR calendars
‘really just some of those ten new calendars’

ne wey-i tlaka-meh kʷa-kʷal-ci tlen walah-ki mēhiko
that big-ADJR man-AN:PL RDP-good-ADJR REL come-PAST Mexico
‘those big good men who came from Mexico’

ne čiši yayawi-k tlen šokʷe-ci Wan tlen kʷekʷe-ci
that dog black-ADJR REL crippled-ADJR and REL small-ADJR
‘that small, black, crippled dog’

In texts the GNP is limited to three constituents before the noun, and only rarely do AP₁ and AP₂ both occur. When two qualities of a noun are being discussed, one occurs as AP₁ or AP₂ and the other in a relator axis phrase (RAP) introduced by the relative subordinator tlen. More than two descriptive constituents can occur. The adjectives that occur in AP₁ are usually kʷali ‘good’ and weyi ‘big’. Other adjectives are preferred after the noun.

ne wey-i kal-i tlen čipa-wak ‘that big white house’
that big-ADJR house-ABS REL white-ADJR
Possessed Noun Phrase

The possessed noun phrase (PNP) is a subtype of the GNP. All pre-noun constituents are the same, but the head is a possessed noun and a possessor nominal may occur after it. If there are no pre-head constituents other than the demonstrative, the possessor NP can occur before the head. If the possessor NP occurs after the head, AP₂ cannot occur. Very seldom is there a pre-head element when the possessor NP occurs.

\[
\text{ne eyi } \text{nelia yehyek-ci } \text{i-kali-wa } \text{hosé}
\]
\[
\text{those three really pretty-ADJR } \text{his-house-POSSD } \text{PN}
\]
\[
\text{DEM } \text{NUMR } \text{AP} \text{ HEAD } \text{POSSR}
\]
\`
\text{those three really pretty houses of Joe'}
\`

Examples found in texts are usually restricted to HEAD + POSSR or HEAD + AP₂. These occur more frequently than any pre-head constituent except the DEM.

\[
\text{ne i-kone } \text{Wan}
\]
\`
\text{that child of John'}
\`

\[
\text{that his-child } \text{PN}
\]
\[
\text{i-ća } \text{yehyek-ci}
\]
\`
\text{his pretty house'}
\`

\[
\text{his-house pretty-ADJR}
\]

The possessor is manifested by a GNP; however either the head or the possessor GNP is limited in complexity when they co-occur.

\[
\text{ne eyi } \text{çıći-meh ne wey-i } \text{tlaka-il}
\]
\[
\text{those three dog-AN:PL that big-ADJR man-ABS}
\]
\`
\text{those three dogs of that big man'}
\`

Pronoun Phrase

The pronoun phrase (PP) is another subtype of the GNP. It is characterized by a pronoun head and the absence of AP.

\[
\text{san eyi imoWanti}
\]
\`
\text{just three of you'}
\`

\[
\text{just three you:PL}
\]
\[
\text{nelia miak yaWanti tlen yayawi-k}
\]
\`
\text{really a lot of them that are black'}
\`

\[
\text{really many they } \text{REL black-ADJR}
\]

Demonstrative Phrase

The demonstrative phrase (DP) is a subtype of the GNP characterized by a pointer constituent, a head manifested by a DEM, and by the absence of any other demonstrative or modifier constituent.

\[
\text{INTNS LIMITER QNT NUMR POINT DEM RAP}
\]
\[
\text{noći ya } \text{ni tlen } \text{ćići-tik}
\]
\`
\text{all POINT DEM REL red-ADJR}
\`
\`
\text{all this that is red'}
\`
Name Noun Phrase

The name noun phrase (NNP) is a subtype of GNP characterized by two obligatory heads that have itoka ‘named; called’ either stated or implied between them. The first head can have SNP, APNP, or any type of GNP manifesting it. The second head is manifested most commonly by a name but can also be manifested by any GNP except DP.

nopa wey-i tla-nawa-tih-ke-tl itoka dabid that big-ADJR UNSPEC-rule-CAUS-AG-ABS called PN ‘that big ruler named David’

Additive Noun Phrase

The additive noun phrase (ANP) is a GNP characterized by an obligatory additive constituent with mas ‘more’. The mas can occur on either side of the head, replacing an AP.

miak mas kone-meh k\textsuperscript{Wek}e-ci ‘many more small children’
many more child-AN:PL small-ADJR

eyi tlaka-meh mas ‘three men more’
three man-AN:PL more

Series Noun Phrase

The series noun phrase (SNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by three obligatory constituents, a head, a CNJ, and a second head. Either or both heads may be manifested by an AP, APNP, or any type of GNP. These can be preceded by other optional heads; the maximum found in texts is four.

sin-tli \textsuperscript{t}ankaka e-tl Wan čil-i corn-ABS panela bean-ABS and pepper-ABS ‘corn, panela, beans, and peppers’

Apposition Noun Phrase

The apposition noun phrase (APNP) differs from all types of GNP because it is characterized by two obligatory heads occurring contiguously that are in apposition one to the other. The heads are manifested by locative expressions, temporal expressions, SNP, or any type of GNP. The second head can be manifested by a relative clause introduced by tlen.

imo\textsuperscript{Wanti} tata-meh nana-meh telpoka-meh šepoka-meh you:PL father-AN:PL mother-AN:PL fellow-AN:PL young-AN:PL lady
okič-pil-meh siwa-pil-meh ši-walah-kah boy
girl
‘You all—fathers, mothers, fellows, young ladies, boys, girls—come!’
no-wewe  tlen  imo-teko  'my husband, your PL boss'
my-husband REL your:PL-boss

Relator Axis Phrase

Relator axis phrases (RAP) have as relator the relative marker tlen or katli, a preposition or a postposition on a noun, or possessor pronoun plus postposition functioning as a preposition-type unit (see PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS). They divide themselves into subtypes on the basis of where they occur in the clause and whether their axis can be a NP, a clause, or either.

Locative Phrase

The locative phrase (LP) functions as the locative constituent of the clause. Its relators include: i-pan ‘in, on’, asta ‘to’, i-tekpak ‘above’, kampa ‘where’, kanke ‘where’, tla-cin-tla ‘below’, and yawaltik ‘around’. The axis can be any GNP, a SNP, an AP, a RAP, or a locative expression. The relator kanke can also take a clause as its axis.

  i-pan  noči  ni  to-tlal  'in all this our land'
  its-place all this our-land

  kanke  in-ic-toya  'where you all were'
  where you:PL-be-PAST:PERF

Temporal Phrase

The temporal phrase (TP) occurs in the time position of a clause. The relators include i-pan ‘in, on’, para ‘for’, asta ‘till’, and keha ‘like’. The axis of a TP may be a temporal expression, a GNP, a NP, a SNP, or an APNP with a time word as head. asta ‘till’ can have a clause as axis.

  i-pan  eyi  tonati  (W)  'in three days'
  its-place three day

Associative Phrase

The associative phrase (ASP) has a possessor pronominal prefix with the postposition -ka as its relator and has as axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause. It occupies the manner position of the clause.

  i-ka  ne  seki=nok  'with those others'
  its-with those some=again
  with

  i-ka  seh  wey-i  mačete  'with a big machete'
  with one big-ADJR machete

  i-ka  tlen  ki-maka-k  'with what he gave him'
  with REL him-give-PAST
Objective Phrase

The objective phrase (OP) occupies the subject or object position of a clause or the RAP of a DP. The relators include tlen 'who, that, about', katli 'who, that', and tlački 'what'. The axis is AP, SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause.

ni-h-temiki' tlen čikomeh wakaš-meh
I-it-dreamed about seven cow-AN:PL
'I dreamed about seven cows.'

neč-pak-ki tlen ki-tšihi-ki
me-happy-CAUS:PAST REL it-do-PAST
pleased
'What he did pleased me.'

Comparative Phrase

The comparative phrase (CP) has relators that include kenike 'as many as', kenikac 'like', and kewa 'like', and as its axis SNP, APNP, any GNP, or a clause.
It can occur as object if kenike is the relator. Otherwise it occurs as manner or comparative constituent of the clause.

št-i-kowa iWikal kenike ti-h-koh-ki čikwey-ya
IMP-it-buy same as:many you-it-buy-PAST eight-ago
'Buy the same amount as you bought last week.'

ni-h-walika-k seh kewa ti-h-neki
I-it-bring-PAST one like you-it-want
'I brought one like you want.'

Benefactive Phrase

The benefactive phrase (BP) can have para 'for' or a possessor pronoun prefix with the postposition -pampa 'because of' as its relator. The axis is SNP, APNP, or any GNP. The BP occurs as benefactive of the clause.

para no-siwa
for my wife

no-pampa na
because of me

my-because I

Purpose Phrase

The purpose phrase (PURP) has para 'for' as relator and a clause as axis and occurs in the purpose constituent of the clause.

neč-maka-k para ti-h-wika-s
me-give-PAST for you-it-take-FUT
'He gave it to me for you to take.'
BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Nouns in HN are not inflected for nominative, accusative, or genitive.

Absolutive

The absolutives are -tl, which occurs after vowel-final stems; -tli, which occurs after consonant-final stems; -li, which occurs after all l-final stems (the l of the absolute becomes ø after l), and on nouns derived from verbs; -ci 'diminutive'; and ø. Many nouns end in -mi-tl, of which the -tl is clearly an absolute and the -mi is unidentifiable: voyo-mi-tl 'cloth'. When a word ending in -mitl is possessed, the entire syllable drops off instead of just the -tl: no-yoyo 'my clothes'. Therefore we are considering -mitl an absolute. The few nouns that end in -yitl also drop the entire ending when possessed: kływâyitl 'skirt', no-kwał yitl 'my skirt'. Nouns that end in -witl are numerous; however, only some of them drop the entire ending when possessed: kławâyitl 'tree', no-kwał 'my tree'; śiwitl 'rb', no-kwi 'my herb’. These require further study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>HN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tlaka-tl</td>
<td>tla-is-pa-mitl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-ABS</td>
<td>UNSPEC-face-place-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>'altar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mec-tli</td>
<td>komal-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg-ABS</td>
<td>griddle-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'leg'</td>
<td>'griddle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla-kwł-a-li</td>
<td>kone-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSPEC-eat-ABS</td>
<td>child-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'food'</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absolutive drops when the noun is inflected. In compounds the absolutive drops on all non-final nouns. Only the - of the -li absolutive drops for possession and postpositions, but the -li remains when Class I plurals are added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>HN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-tlaka</td>
<td>'my man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-tlašpa</td>
<td>'my altar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-mec</td>
<td>'my leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-komal</td>
<td>'my griddle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-tlakwł</td>
<td>'my food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-kone</td>
<td>'my child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

In the E dialect the nouns divide themselves into five classes on the basis of their plural. Class I includes all animate nouns (that do not have -ci when singular), and they occur with -meh 'animate plural'. Class II end in -ci 'diminutive absolute' in the singular and form their plural by reduplication of the absolute, yielding -cici 'diminutive plural'. Class III are inanimate nouns that are pluralized by suffixing -tinin 'inanimate plural'. Class IV are inanimate nouns that are identical in singular and plural, that is to say, they suffix ø. Class V consists of animate nouns that are derived from verbs and that end in -ke-tl (AG-ABS). They either form their plural by dropping the entire -ketl and adding -ml (after vowels) or -ani (after consonants),
or they drop only the absolutive and add -meh. Notice in the examples below that Class I, III, and IV do not have any particular absolutive that characterizes them. The absolutive -di does not drop before -meh is added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class I -meh</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlaka-tl</td>
<td>tlaka-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toto-tl</td>
<td>toto-l-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekpi-mitl</td>
<td>tekpi-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesoh-tli</td>
<td>pesoh-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pico</td>
<td>pico-meh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Class II -cici**|               |
| ayoh-ci           | ayoh-cici       | ‘turtle’       |
| tata-ci           | tata-cici       | ‘priest’       |
| pil-kʷa-ci        | pil-kʷa-cici    | ‘little tree’  |

| **Class III -tinih** |               |
| tepe-tl           | tepe-tinih     | ‘hill’         |
| kal-i             | kal-tinih      | ‘house’        |
| macah-tli         | macah-tinih    | ‘pineapple’    |
| kʷaco-mitl        | kʷaco-n-tinih  | ‘stump’        |
| lalas             | lalas-tinih    | ‘orange’       |

| **Class IV -∅**   |               |
| šōči-tl           | šōči-tl        | ‘flower’       |
| tlapeč-tli        | tlapeč-tli     | ‘bed’          |
| yoyo-mitl         | yoyo-mitl      | ‘cloth’        |
| tlakʷa-li         | tlakʷa-li      | ‘food’         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Class V -(a)ni / -meh</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kokos-ke-tl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlamačti-ke-tl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The W dialect uses -meh for animate and inanimate nouns. They do not have the plural -tinih. They have the plurals that characterize Class I, II, IV, and V, but the members of each class differ some from the members in the E dialect.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kal-tinih</td>
<td>kal-tinih</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kal-meh</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ayoh-cici</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>‘turtles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ayoh-meh</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>‘turtles’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The animate plural -meh also occurs on some quantifiers and numerals. (See QUANTIFIERS and NUMERALS.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Command Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noči-meh</td>
<td>čikwase-meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ali-AN:PL</td>
<td>six-AN:PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'all of them'</td>
<td>'six living things'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vocative**

The vocative form can occur on a few nouns, changing the final vowel to e, and can optionally change the stress to the final syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Command Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nana</td>
<td>nané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata</td>
<td>tató</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>'woman!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>'father!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## POSSESSIVES

### Possessor Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor Markers</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>(E) imo-, (W) amo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>in-, inin-, ini-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessor prefixes occur initially on the noun or postposition. The third person plural forms are identical in meaning. The absolutive always is dropped when the possessive is added.

### Possessed Markers

The vast majority of singular possessed items are unmarked. Singular nouns that are derived from verbs by the agentive -ke-tl are marked with -ka when possessed.

- tlamačtiya: 'He teaches.'
- tlamačtih-ke-tl: 'teacher'
- no-tlamačtih-ka: 'my teacher'

In the E dialect, singular nouns that end in h, and are only one syllable long when the absolutive is dropped, add -wi when possessed.

- pah-tli: 'medicine'
- no-pah-wi: 'my medicine'

In the W dialect, singular nouns that end in h when the absolutive is dropped add -wi when possessed regardless of the number of syllables.

- macah-tli: 'pineapple'
- no-macah-wi: 'my pineapple'
All plural items that are possessed add -wa after dropping the absolutive.

tlaka-tl  'man'
no-tlaka  'my man'
no-tlaka-wa 'my men'
komal-i  'griddle'
no-komal  'my griddle'
no-komal-wa 'my griddles'

Nouns that end in -ke-tl 'agent' when unpossessed retain the -ka and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

tlamačtiya  'he teaches'
tlamačthi-ke-tl  'teacher'
no-tlamačthi-ka  'my teacher'
no-tlamačthi-ka-wa  'my teachers'

Plural nouns in the E dialect that end in h and are one syllable long after the absolutive is dropped retain the -wi from the singular possessed form and add -wa for the plural possessed form.

oh-tli  'road'
no-oh-wi  'my road'
no-oh-wi-wa  'my roads'

Plural nouns in the W dialect that end in h after the absolutive is dropped add the -wa 'plural possessed object', replacing the -wi 'singular possessed object'.

oh-tli  'road'
no-oh-wi  'my road'
no-oh-wa  'my roads'

Possessed words can be marked for inalienability by -yo/-o, but are not marked for alienability.

naka-tl  'meat'
no-naka-yo  'my flesh'
est-tli  'blood'
ode-es-o  'my blood'

The plural -wa is not commonly used when the -yo is used, but if it is, the order is -yo-wa.

no-omi-yo-wa  'my bones'
my-bone-INAL-POSSD:PL

**Syntax**

The possessed noun may be the head of a noun phrase, forming a possessed noun phrase (PNP) (see NOUN PHRASES). The possessor noun may be the head of a general noun phrase (GNP). When these come together, just the heads usually occur, and either order is acceptable.
Wan i-nana ‘John’s mother’
PN his-mother

i-nana Wan ‘John’s mother’
his-mother PN

If the POSSD NP is first and is expanded, the GNP indicating the possessor may not be expanded.

ne yehyek-ci i-kamanal to-teko ‘that pretty word of God’
that pretty-DIM his-word our-boss

If the POSSD NP is first and is not expanded, the possessor head of the GNP may be modified, causing discontinuity.

ini-čiči-wa ne eyi siwa-meh ‘those three women’s dogs’
their-dog-POSSD:PL those three woman-AN:PL

If the GNP indicating POSSR is first, the POSSD NP can only be expanded after the head.

ne eyi siwa-meh inin-čiči-wa wey-i
those three woman-AN:PL their-dog-POSSD:PL big-ADJR
‘those three women’s big dogs’

There is often recursion.

i-čiči i-ikni no-awi ‘my aunt’s brother’s dog’
his-dog her-brother my-aunt

Reflexive possessive is marked by a bound possessor and an independent pronoun with an optional ten REL preceding it.

no-čiči (ten) na ‘my own dog’
my-dog REL I

Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronoun is very common and is always possessed: -aška, aška-wa. It occurs as subject or object or in a stative sentence.

no-aška yah-ki ‘Mine went.’
my-possession go-PAST

ni-k-ita-k no-aška-wa ‘I saw my things.’
1-it-see-PAST my-possession-POSSD:PL

ni čiči no-aška ‘This dog is mine.’
this dog my-possession

It can also be inflected as a verb.

mo-aška-tih-ki ‘He took possession of it.’
REFL-possession-VR-PAST
Spanish loans are possessed as other nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Loan</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mesah</td>
<td>'table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-mesah</td>
<td>'my table'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-mesah-wa</td>
<td>'my tables'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Obligoratily Possessed Nouns**

All kinship terms, body parts, and a limited group of other nouns are always possessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no-awi</td>
<td>'my aunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-ma</td>
<td>'my hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-ča</td>
<td>'my house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS**

**Prepositions**

Prepositions are independent words and occur as relator to a relator axis phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asta</td>
<td>'to, until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para</td>
<td>'for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampa</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawaltik</td>
<td>'around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keha</td>
<td>'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wehka</td>
<td>'far from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nečka</td>
<td>'near to, close to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenike</td>
<td>'as many'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-motlaloh-ki asta mo-ča</td>
<td>'I ran to your house.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-run:PAST to your-house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-mik-ti' seh piyo para imoWanti</td>
<td>'He killed a chicken for you all.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-die-CAUS:PAST a chicken for you:PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ši-h-tlali kampa pwerta</td>
<td>'Put it at the door.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP-it-put where door</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el-tok a-tl yawaltik no-ča</td>
<td>'There is water around my house.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-STAT water-ABS around my-house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-či-k’ miak keha yaWanti</td>
<td>'I waited a lot like they (did).'&lt;/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-wait-PAST many like they</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yah-ki wehka i-tlal</td>
<td>'He went far from his land.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-PAST far:from his:land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ic-tok-eh tokon-cici nečka no-mila</td>
<td>'There are tejones close to my field.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-STAT:PL tejon:PL close:to my:field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ma ki-čiwa-kah i-Wikal kenike i-miak-a adobes EXHRT it-make-EXHRT:PL same as :many its-many-POSSD:PL adobes
‘Have them make the same number of adobes.’

Postpositions

Postpositions are suffixed to the end of possessor pronoun prefixes or a noun. They may occur with any possessor pronoun prefix, but the third person singular is most frequently used. Postpositions may function as the relator of relator axis phrases, and the possessor prefix is a pronoun copy of the head of the axis and agrees in person and number. (See NOUN PHRASES.)

Postpositions that occur with possessor pronoun prefixes:

-waya ‘with’
-pa, -pan ‘on, in’
-ka ‘with’
-pampa ‘because of’
-cala ‘underneath, among’
-teki ‘in place of’
-cin-tla ‘below’
-con-pak ‘above’
-neč-ka ‘beside’
-ika ‘behind’
-teno ‘beside, against’
-iš-ko ‘top of’

yahaya yah-ki inin-waya i-ikni-wa
he go-PAST their-with his-brother-POSSD:PL
‘He went with his brothers.’

ni-h-kah-teh-ki i-pan na tlapeč-tli
l-it-leave-leaving-PAST its-place that bed-ABS
‘I left it on that bed.’

ki-koh-ki i-ka i-torni ya
it-buy-PAST its-with his-money he
‘He bought it with his own money.’

yahaya mih-ki no-pampa na
he die-PAST my-because I
‘He died for me.’

ni-h-pintar-o i-cala ne mesah
l-it-paint-VR:PAST its-bottom that table
‘I painted the underneath of the table.’

teki-ti-s i-pan no-teki na
work-VR:FUT its-place my-place I
‘He will work in place of me.’
wec-ki i-cin-tla ne siya
fall-PAST its-bottom-place that chair
'it fell below that chair.'

kl-temo-wi-k-eh i-con-pak hesós
him-lower-TRNS-PAST-PL his-head-place PN
'They lowered him above Jesus’ head.'

ki-panti’ i-neč-ka na kawi-tl
it-found its-near-place that tree-ABS
'He found it beside that tree.'

ic-toya seh čiči no-ika
be-PAST:PERF one dog my-behind
'There was a dog behind me.'

ki-ita-k i-teno nopa altepe-tl
it-see-PAST its-beside that town-ABS
'He saw it at the edge of that town.'

seh mīš-tli ki-cah-ki nopa tepe-tl i-iš-ko
one cloud-ABS it-close-PAST that hill-ABS its-face-place
'A cloud covered the top of that mountain.'

Simple postpositions that can occur with nouns,

-teno ‘outside of, edge’
-cala ‘among’
-ika ‘behind’
-tla ‘at, place’
-teč ‘corner of’
-ko ‘place’
-ka ‘place’ (on special verbs and adverbs)
-pa ‘place’

After the absolutive drops, the postpositions are added to nouns and the entire noun can then be possessed. Possessor prefixes alone indicate possession, but possessed suffixes are never added.

el-tok kal-teno
be-STAT house-outside
'It is outside.'

šì-h-talí no-kal-teno
IMP-it-put my-house-outside
'Put it outside my house.'

ki-talí-to aka-cala a-ten-tli
him-put-went reed-among water-edge-ABS
'she put him among the reeds at the edge of the water.'

ni-h-kah-teh-ki kal-ika
'I left it behind the house.'

I-it-leave-leaving-PAST house-behind
amo šì-ya ne soki-tla
NEG IMP-go that mud-place
'Don’t go to that muddy place.'
\[\text{ši-h-tlali no-kal-teč} \quad \text{‘Put it in the corner of my house.’}\]
\[\text{IMP-it-put my-house-corner}\]
\[\text{ti-mo-panti-k-eh nepa a-mel-ko} \quad \text{‘We met at the spring.’}\]
\[\text{we-REFL-find-PAST-PL there water-spring-place}\]
\[\text{-ka on verbs (not derived from -ketl):}\]
\[\text{eyi metro i-wehkah-ka} \quad \text{‘Its length is three meters.’}\]
\[\text{three meter its-far-place}\]
\[\text{ši-h-čiwa i-k\textsuperscript{W}a-ca-ka} \quad \text{‘Make its roof.’}\]
\[\text{IMP-it-do its-head-close-place}\]

Complex postpositions that can occur with nouns:
\[\text{-ihti-k} \quad \text{‘inside of’ (stomach-place)}\]
\[\text{-cin-tla} \quad \text{‘below’ (bottom-place)}\]
\[\text{-ma-pa} \quad \text{‘hand of’ (hand-place)}\]
\[\text{-con-pak} \quad \text{‘above’ (head-place)}\]
\[\text{-iš-pa} \quad \text{‘front of’ (face-place)}\]
\[\text{-iš-ko} \quad \text{‘top of’ (face-place)}\]
\[\text{-tla-teno} \quad \text{‘edge of’ (place-side)}\]
\[\text{-tla-pa} \quad \text{‘place’ (place-place)}\]

\[\text{mo-neki seh piso tio-pan-kal-ihti-k} \quad \text{REFL-want a floor god-place-house-stomach-place}\]
\[\text{‘A floor is needed inside the church.’}\]
\[\text{ne médiko ki-tlačilih-ki i-nakas-ihti-k} \quad \text{that doctor it-look-PAST his-ear-stomach-place}\]
\[\text{‘That doctor looked inside his ear.’}\]
\[\text{koč-ki k\textsuperscript{W}a-cin-tla} \quad \text{‘He slept below the tree.’}\]
\[\text{sleep-PAST tree-bottom-place}\]
\[\text{ni-teki-tl-ya ya i-kal-ma-pa} \quad \text{‘I was working under the eave of his house.’}\]
\[\text{I-work-VR-PAST his-house-hand-place}\]
\[\text{ki-tleko-k kal-con-pak} \quad \text{‘He climbed above the house.’}\]
\[\text{it-climb-PAST house-head-place}\]
\[\text{mo-keca-ya ya no-kal-iš-pa} \quad \text{‘He was standing in front of my house.’}\]
\[\text{REFL-stand-PAST:DUR my-house-face-place}\]
\[\text{ne barko neh-nen-ki a-iš-ko} \quad \text{‘That boat walked on top of the water.’}\]
\[\text{that boat RDP-walk-PAST water-face-place}\]
\[\text{ni-yah-ki a-tla-teno} \quad \text{‘I went to the edge of the water.’}\]
\[\text{I-go-PAST water-place-side}\]
\[\text{ki-koko-wa i-k\textsuperscript{W}i-tla-pa} \quad \text{‘His back hurts.’}\]
\[\text{him-hurt-TRNS his-dung-place-place}\]
Notice that this postposition is attached to a verb, miki ‘to die’.

aš ya-s mik-tla
NEG go-FUT die-place

‘He won’t go to hell.’

DEMONSTRATIVES

ni
ne
nopa
ini
ino
ya ni
ya ne
ya nopa
ahkeya
imoWanti

‘this’ (in sight)
‘that’ (in sight, more distant)
‘that’ (out of sight)
‘this’ (emphatic, in sight)
‘that’ (emphatic, in sight)
‘this’ (emphatic, in sight)
‘that’ (emphatic, in sight)
‘that’ (emphatic, out of sight)
‘who, which’ (question word)
‘you all’

Demonstratives indicate proximal and distal contrasts, visible and invisible, and emphasis. The emphatic form is the third person singular subject pronoun, occurring with the simple demonstratives. Demonstratives precede the head noun, and nothing outside the noun phrase can occur between the demonstrative and the head noun. A numeral and a modifier can optionally occur between the demonstrative and the head noun (see NOUN PHRASES). Demonstratives are not inflected.

ki-h-wika ni ama-tl
IMP-it-take this paper-ABS

‘Take this paper.’

ni-h-wika-s ne ama-tl
1-it-take-FUT that paper-ABS

‘I will take that paper.’

nopa wey-i kal-i tlaltla-k
that big-ADJR house-ABS burn-PAST

‘That big house burned.’

ini siwa-pil-meh owi-k-eh
these woman-DIM-AN:PL difficult-ADJR-PL handle.

‘These little girls are difficult (to handle).’

kena ino tlaka-tl
yes that man-ABS

‘Yes, that man.’

ino tlaka-tl tlawilan-ki
that man-ABS fight-PAST

‘That is the man that fought.’

The emphatic demonstratives more commonly stand alone replacing the head of a general noun phrase (GNP).

ni-h-koh-ki ya ni
I-it-buy-PAST it this

‘I bought this.’

this:EMPH
aš' ni-h-neki ya ne 'I don’t want that.'
NEG I-it-want it that
that:EMPH:VIS

ni-h-kah-teki ya nopa 'I left that.'
I-it-leave-left it that
that:EMPH:INVIS

They can also modify a noun head.

ni-h-neki ya ni komal-i 'I want this griddle.'
I-it-want it this comal-ABS
this:EMPH

Other things that function like demonstratives:

ahke-ya tlaka-tl yah-ki 'Which man went?'
which-he man-ABS go-PAST

imoWanti siwa-meh ši-tlašpana-ti-h tiankis
you:PL woman-AN:PL IMP-sweep-go-PL plaza
'You all women go sweep the plaza.'

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adverbial demonstratives are not inflected or modified.

nikani (E) 'here’ (in sight)
nika (W) 'here’ (in sight)
nepa 'there'
neka 'over there'
nopano (E) 'there’ (emphatic)
nopona (W) 'there’ (emphatic)
keha ni 'in this manner’ (‘like this’)
keha ne 'in that manner’ (‘like that’)
keha nopa 'in that manner’ (‘as discussed’)
aman 'now'
amanci 'right now'
wahta ‘then’
kanke 'where’ (question word)
kehaca 'how’ (question word)
keha 'when’ (question word)

ši-h-tali nikani (E) 'Put it here.'
IMP-it-put here

ni-walah-ki nika yalowa (W) 'I came here yesterday.'
I-come-PAST here yesterday
kena ni-yah-ki nepa yes I-go-PAST there
'stay-PAST there'
ši-h-kalaki neka kal-hti-k IMP-it-enter over:there house-stomach-place
'Put it over there inside the house.'
nikani 'Here?'
here
nika 'Here?'
here
ši-h-čiwa keha ni IMP-it-do like this
'do it this way.' (visible proximal)
amo ši-h-čiwa keha ne NEG IMP-it-do like that
'don't do it that way.' (visible distal)
ni-h-senkah-ki keha nopa I-it-fix-PAST like that
'i fixed it like that.' (in the manner
discussed but not seen)
walah-ki ama come-PAST now
'he came now (this day).' now-DIM IMP-go your-home
ki-koh-ki seh ači tlahl-i Wan wahka ki-chih-ki i-ča
it-buy-PAST a little land-ABS and then it-make-PAST his-home
'he bought land, and then he made his home.'
kanke in-yah-k-eh yalwaysa 'Where did you all go yesterday?'
where you:PL-go-PAST-PL yesterday
kehaca ti-k-i-k mo-pah-wi how you-it-take-PAST your-medicine-POSSD
'how did you take your medicine?'
kema mih-ki mo-kone when die-PAST your-child
'when did your child die?'

QUANTIFIERS

Morphology

Quantifiers are generally not inflected; however some can occur with a clitic, a possessor pronoun prefix, or a plural suffix.

miak 'many, much, most'
noči 'all'
seh seh 'each'
seh ome 'some' (inanimate)
san 'only'
sekin 'some' (animate)
ači
noči-pa
keski
miak wakaš-meh
many cow-AN:PL
noči yaWanti
all they
seh seh imoWanti
one one you:PL
seh ome lalaš
one two orange
san ne ama-tl
just that paper-ABS
sekin siwa-pil-meh
some woman-little-AN:PL
ači tomi
a:little money
ti-ic-tos-eh para nočipa
we-be-FUT:DUR-PL for always
keski lalaš ti-h-neki
how:many orange you-it-want

All quantifiers can be negated with aš (or amo (W)) occurring before them.

aš miak tlaka-meh walah-k-eh 'Not many men came.'
NEG many man-AN:PL come-PAST-PL

Some quantifiers can occur with the clitic =ok 'again'.

sekin=ok
some=again
ači=yok
a:little=again
keski=yok
how:many=again

The quantifier noči can occur with the animate plural -meh.

noči-meh mih-k-eh 'Everyone (living) died.'
all-AN:PL die-PAST-PL
Syntax

The quantifier miak ‘many’ can be used as a predicate.

miak i-tomi
much his-money

‘He has a lot of money.’

The quantifiers ači, miak, and noči can be intensified with nelia before them.

nelia ači neč-maka-k
really a:little me-give-PAST

nelia miak wec-ki
really many fail-PAST

nelia noči tlaka-meh miki-s-eh
really all man-AN:PL die-FUT-PL

‘She really gave me a little.’
‘Really a lot fell.’
‘Really all men will die.’

The quantifier miak ‘many’ can be possessed.

ši-h-čwa ḫWikal keniki i-miak-a
IMP-it-make same as its-many-POSSD:PL adobes

adobes

‘Make the same number of adobes (as before).’

The quantifiers occur modifying a noun or pronoun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES) with the following order:

QNT DEM NUMR ADJ N

sekin nop a mahtlak-tli weh-vey-i tlaka-meh
some those ten-ABS RDP:PL-big-ADJR man-AN:PL

‘some of those ten big men’

Quantifiers can replace the head noun.

miak yah-k-eh
many go-PAST-PL

‘Many went.’

Partitive constructions have tlen ‘of’ between the quantifier and the noun. In that case sekin ‘some’ takes the place of the head noun, and the remaining phrase is a relator axis phrase.

sekin tlen nop a tlaka-meh
some of those man-AN:PL

‘some of those men’

sekin tlaka-meh
some man-AN:PL

‘some men’

Some constructions inherently mean ‘some of those’. Quantifiers before pronouns or numbers often carry this sense. However tlen ‘of’ can be inserted if there is emphasis.

sekin imoWanti
some you:PL

‘some of you’
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sekine mahtlak-tli tlaka-meh  'some of those ten men'
some those ten-ABS man-AN:PL
sekine tlen imoWanti  'some of you'
some of you:PL

NUMERALS

Elements

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<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
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<td>se</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ome</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyi</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nauwi</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makWi-li</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-wa-seh</td>
<td>six  (five-and-one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-ome</td>
<td>seven (five-two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-w-eyi</td>
<td>eight (five-and-three)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čik-nauwi</td>
<td>nine (five-four)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahtlak-tli</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahtlak-tli wan seh</td>
<td>eleven (ten and one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kašto-li</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kašto-li wan seh</td>
<td>sixteen (fifteen and one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sempwa-li</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphology

The numerals 'five', 'ten', 'fifteen', and 'twenty' have an absolutive that only drops before -meh animate plural. 'Five' makWi-li comes from 'hand' (no-ma 'my hand'); afterward čik means 'five'. 'Twenty' is sem-pwali 'one count'.

Numerals can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes, animate plural -meh, -ya 'ago', the clitic =ya 'already', =ok 'again, more', -pa 'times', -kak 'place', -ci/ćici 'just'.

Any numeral can occur with a subject prefix.

ti-ome-h  'We are two.'
we-two-PL

ti-ome-h ti-yah-k eh  'We two went.'
we-two-PL we-go-PAST-PL

in-nauwi si-ya-kah nepa  'You four go there.'
you:PL-four IMP-go-IMP:PL there
The numerals 'five', 'six', and 'ten' can occur with animate plural suffix -meh. These occur when the referent is known, and the numeral becomes the head of the noun phrase.

makWIil-meh walah-k-eh 'Five (living things) came.'
five-AN:PL come-PAST-PL
ic-tok-eh san Cik-wa-seh-meh 'There are just six (living things).'
be-STAT-PL just five-and-one-AN:PL

The numerals 'eight' and 'fifteen' can be inflected with -va '(days) ago'. When they occur in the time position of the clause with Ø, they mean 'days from now'.

Cik-we-yi-ya ni-yah-ki Cikon-tepek
five-and-three-ago I-go-PAST seven-hill
'Eight days ago (a week ago) I went to Chicontepec.'
kaštlo-li-ya tlakat-ki no-kone
fifteen-ABS-ago be:born-PAST my-child
'My child was born two weeks ago.'
ni-ya-s Cik-w-eyi I-go-FUT five-and-three
ni-h-tlam-s kaštlo-li 'I will finish it in fifteen days.'
1-it-end-FUT fifteen-ABS

Numerals occurring with the clitic =ya 'already':
ki-piya ome=ya i-kone-wa 'He already has two children.'
it-have two=already his-child-POSSD:PL

Numerals can occur with the clitic =ok 'again, more' (see Clitics).
se=yok one=again
makWIi-li=yok lalaš 'five more oranges'
five-ABS=again orange

Numerals occurring with -pa 'times' have various meanings.
Ši-h-tolo ni ome san sem-pa 'Swallow these two at the same time.'
IMP-it-swallow these two just one-time
sam-pa Ši-wala one-time IMP-come 'Come again.'

We are considering sam to be 'one' because some speakers use sampa to mean 'again' and 'at the same time'. Other speakers divide them as the examples do. The word for 'just' is san. The W dialect uses sempa to mean 'again' and 'at the same time'.

Ši-h-tolo seh pastiya eš-pa 'Take one pill three times a day.'
IMP-it-swallow one pill three-time
ya=om-pa ni-walah-ki ‘Already I came twice.’
already=two-time I-come-PAST

Numerals with -kak ‘places’:
seh mačete tlen tla-teki on-kak ‘a two-edged sword’
one machete that UNSPEC-cut two-place
ni-yah-ki es-kak ‘I went three places’.
I-go-PAST three-place

Limited numerals:
seh-ci ‘just one’
one-DIM
omen-ci-ci ‘just two’
two-RDP-DIM
eyi-ci-ci ‘just three’
three-RDP-DIM

The initial CV is reduplicated or the initial vowel is reduplicated with an h after it to show distribution.
se-sen-ci-ci ‘one by one’
RDP-one-RDP-DIM
oh-ome-ci-ci ‘two by two’
RDP-two-RDP-DIM
eh-eyi-ci-ci ‘three by three’
RDP-three-RDP-DIM

The suffix -pa on a numeral indicates an ordinal in the numerals ‘two’ and upward. The numeral ‘one’ has a completely different ordinal form, ačtowi ‘first’.
ačtowi ‘first’
i-om-pa-ka=ya ‘second time’
its-two-time-place=already
i-es-pa-ka=ya ‘third time’
its-three-time-place=already
ne tIaka-til ačtowi ‘that first man’
that man-ABS first
ne i-om-pa tIaka-til ‘that second man’
that its-two-time man-ABS
ne i-es-pa tIaka-til ‘that third man’
that its-three-time man-ABS
The numerals seh ‘one’ and ome ‘two’ are often used with special significance.

i-sel-ti
his-one-VR
‘alone, by himself’

ki-maka-k seh sen yaWanti
him-give-PAST one one them
‘He gave it to each one of them.’

noči ome yaWanti yah-ki
all two they go-PAST
‘Both of them went.’

seh-ko
one-place
‘together’

san eyi tlaka-meh
just three man-AN:PL
‘just three men’

Numerals compounded with nouns for place names:
čik-on-tepe-k
five-two-hill-place
‘seven hills (Chicontepec)’

Syntax

Numerals occur after the demonstrative and before the modifier and noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES).

ne eyi wey-i tlaka-meh
those three big-ADJR man-AN:PL
‘those three big men’

Numerals can act as the head of the noun phrase.

noči eyi yah-ki
all three go-PAST
‘All three went.’

eyi tlen imoWanti
three of you:PL
‘three of you’

Adjectives

Adjective Markings

Adjectives consist of a stem plus an adjective marker. The adjective markers are -k, -tik, -wak, -ci, -li, -tok, -ka, -wa, -yo, -i (after l and y), -tita, and -keca. Some of these can be inflected for plural.

The suffix -k occurs after vowel-final adjective stems and -tik occurs after consonant-final stems or single-syllable stems. These adjectives add -eh for plural.

seh wapal-i weweya-k
one plank-ABS long-ADJR:(SG)
‘a long plank’
miak wapal-i  weweya-k-eh  ‘many long planks’
many plank-ABS long-ADJR-PL

Other adjectives with these markers include:
alaš-tik, alaš-tik-eh  ‘smooth’
cilin-tik, cilin-tik-eh  ‘hard, solid’ (as oak)
te-tik,  te-tik-eh  ‘hard’ (as rock)
rock-ADJR  rock-ADJR-PL

We are considering -wak a marker in its entirety instead of considering just the
-k of these adjectives as the marker. Adjectives marked with -wak suffix -eh for plural.
Compare the following with the words that are marked by -k.
tila-wak, tila-wak-eh  ‘thick’
patla-wak, patla-wak-eh  ‘wide’
kama-wak, kama-wak-eh  ‘humid’

Adjectives marked with -ci are pluralized by reduplicating the -ci to form -cici.
These forms are identical to the diminutive that occurs on nouns (see NOUN
MORPHOLOGY).
seh ičpoka-tl yeheyek-ci  ‘a pretty girl’
one girl-ABS pretty-ADJR
miak ičpoka-meh yeheyek-ci-ci  ‘many pretty girls’
many girl-AN:PL pretty-RDP:PL-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -ci include:
kokoške-ci, kokoške-ci-ci  ‘thin’
k'wek'we-ci, k'wek'we-ci-ci  ‘small’

Adjectives with -li are identical for singular and plural. They consist of
tla + VERB + li (UNSPEC:OBJ + V + ADJR).
ki-namaka yoyo-mitl tla-teki-wi-li  ‘He sells used clothes.’
it-sell cloth-ABS UNSPEC-work-VR-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -li include:
tla-kowi-li  ‘bought’
UNSPEC-buy-ADJR
tla-sen-kawi-li  ‘fixed’
UNSPEC-one-leave-ADJR
fix
Adjectives marked with -tok add -eh to form -tokeh for plural. This is the present perfect or stative form of the verb, but on many verbs this form functions as an adjective.

wakiya 'It is drying.'
seh tlal-i wak-tok 'a dry land'
one land-ABS dry-ADJR

Other adjectives with the marker -tok, and the verbs they are derived from, include:

tlapani 'It is breaking.'
tlapan-tok 'broken'
šoloni 'It is getting wet.'
šolon-tok 'wet'

Adjectives marked with -ka are identical for singular and plural.
cocotla-ka ne nek-tli 'That honey is sticky.'
sticky-ADJR that honey-ABS
tlapopo-ka i-kal-ihtik moh-mostla
UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR his-house-inside RDP-tomorrow
daily
'It's always smoky inside his house.'

Only a few adjectives are marked with -wa. The singular and plural forms are identical.
tla'ala-wa ni soki-tl 'This mud is slippery.'
slippery-ADJR this mud-ABS

Adjectives marked with -yo are identical in singular and plural.
soki-yo noči ni yoyo-mitl 'All these clothes are dirty.'
mud-ADJR all these cloth-ABS

Other adjectives with the marker -yo include:
te-yo 'rocky'
rock-ADJR
pok-yo 'smoked'
smoke-ADJR

Only a few adjectives are marked with -i after 1 and y. The plurals of these are formed by reduplicating the initial CV or by reduplicating the CV and adding h.
ni-h-koh-ki seh čamaro tlen kWal-i 'I bought a good jacket.'  
I-it-buuy-PAST one jacket REL good-ADJR
ya wey-i mo-kone 'Your child is already big.'
already big-ADJR your-child
ne kʷa-h-kʷa-l-i siwa-meh 'those good women'
those RDP:PL-good-ADJR woman:AN:PL

sekin weh-wey-i tlaka-meh 'some big men'
some RDP:PL-big-ADJR man:AN:PL

The suffix -titla, which is only locative in other dialects, has predominantly an
adjectival function in HN. However, in town names it has retained its older locative
function, and occasionally in other occurrences.
yah-ki kʷa-titla 'He went to the woods.' (locative)
go-PAST wood-place

nepa nelia kʷa-titla 'There it is really woody.' (adjectival)
there really wood-CHAR:BY

The word kʷa-titla is used in either a locative or an adjectival sense. However, the
other examples given below only carry the adjectival sense. The locative for these words
is expressed by the morpheme -tla: saka-tla 'a place of grass', soki-tla 'a place of mud',
a-tla 'a place of water'. Compare these with the examples below.
ti-teki-ti-s-eh kampa saka-titla
we-work-VR-FUT-PL where grass-CHAR:BY
'We will work there where it is grassy.'

tlawel soki-titla ama
really mud-CHAR:BY today
'It is really muddy today.'
ti-h-toka-h arós kampa a-titla
we-it-plant-PL rice where water-CHAR:BY
'We plant rice where it is watery.' (refers to water in a big area above ground)

To see how kʷa-titla and saka-titla function with the absolutive suffix, see NOUN
MORPHOLOGY.

The adjective marker -keca is identical for singular and plural. It is suffixed to
some verb stems and is like our -able suffix in English.
tlapan-ki 'It broke.'

ne komi-tl tlapan-keca (W) 'Those pots are breakable.'
those pot-ABS break-ADJR
tlan-ki i-teki 'His work ended.'
finish-PAST his-work
tlan-keca lalaš (W) 'Oranges are seasonal.'
finish-ADJR orange
Color Terms

All color terms are marked by either -k or -tik, but some differ as to the animate and inanimate plural with which they occur. Some color words always have reduplication. The adjective marker -k or -tik is the singular form for animate or inanimate, or it is the plural inanimate form. For the plural animate, the suffix -eh is added.

nopa siwa-meh ki-piya inin-yoyo ŋošowi-k
those woman-AN:PL it-have their-clothes green-ADJR
'Those women have green dresses.'

nopa ŋošowi-k-eh siwa-meh
those green-ADJR-AN:PL woman-AN:PL
'those green ladies' (dressed in green at the hospital)

Other color words that always have reduplication include:

yayawi-k 'black'
čičil-tik 'red'

Some color words have reduplication of their initial CV to form an inanimate plural and also form the animate plural by adding -eh to the marker. The reduplication optionally occurs with this animate plural form.

no-k We čipawa-k
my-skirt white-ADJR

ni či-či pawa-k pastiyas these white pills
these RDP:PL-white-ADJR pills
to-kone-meh čipawa-k-eh 'our white children'
our-child-AN:PL white-ADJR-AN:PL
miak enfermeras či-čipawa-k-eh 'many white nurses'
many nurses RDP:PL-white-ADJR-AN:PL

Other color words that form their plurals in the same way include:

kos-tik 'yellow'
čokoš-tik 'grey'
morado-tik (Spanish loan) 'purple'
kafen-tik (Spanish loan) 'brown'
asul-tik* (Spanish loan) 'blue'

Color words that begin with the morpheme iš- or iša-, which means ‘light, pale’, reduplicate the first CV of the stem for their inanimate plural form.

ne ŋoši-tl iša-kos-tik 'that light yellow flower'
that flower-ABS light-yellow-ADJR

*The word asultik 'blue' reduplicates its first vowel and adds h making ahasultik for inanimate plural.
miak ʃoĉi-tl  iša-ko-kos-tik 'many light yellow flowers'
many flower-ABS light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR

miak tlaka-meh iša-kos-tik-eh 'many light yellow men' (Orientals)
many man-AN:PL light-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL

miak tlaka-meh iša-ko-kos-tik-eh 'many light yellow men'
many man-AN:PL light-RDP:PL-yellow-ADJR-AN:PL

Other color words that begin with iš- or iša- include:

iš-macah-tik 'pink'
iša-kili-tik 'light orange'

**Morphology**

Some adjectives always have reduplication.

weweyak 'long'
cocotlaka 'sticky'
cocoltik 'soft'
sosolṭik 'old'
yehyekoi 'pretty'
totoniḳ 'hot'

Most adjectives consist of an adjective stem and an adjective marker. That is to say that the stem cannot be recognized as having been derived from another source.

Of the adjectives discussed above in this section, the following roots can be identified:

RDP + ADJ STEM + ADJR = ADJ

we-weya-k 'long'
N + ADJR = ADJ

te-tik (rock-ADJR) 'hard'
te-yo (rock-ADJR) 'rocky'
soki-yo (mud-ADJR) 'dirty'
soki-titla (mud-ADJR) 'muddy'
kʷa-titla (tree-ADJR) 'woody'
saka-titla (grass-ADJR) 'grassy'
a-titla (water-ADJR) 'watery'
kama-wak (mouth-ADJR) 'humid'
popo-ka (smoke-ADJR) 'smoky'
N + N + ADJR = ADJ

kʷa-te-tik (head-rock-ADJR) 'dumb'

V + ADJR = ADJ

tlan-keca (finish-ADJR) 'seasonal'
tla-pa-keca (break-ADJR) 'breakable'
wak-tok (dry-ADJR) 'dry'
tlapan-tok (break-ADJR) ‘broken’
šolon-tok (wet-ADJR) ‘wet’
alaš-tik (smooth-ADJR) ‘smooth’

UNSPEC + V + ADJR = ADJ

tla-kowi-li (UNSPEC-buy-ADJR) ‘bought’
tla-senkawi-li (UNSPEC-fix-ADJR) ‘fixed’
tla-popo-ka (UNSPEC-smoke-ADJR) ‘smoked’

The adverb nelia ‘really’ can be compounded into an adjective.
nel-čipawak ‘really white’
nel-yehyekci ‘really pretty’
nel-k⁵ali ‘really good’

Some nouns can be compounded.
k⁵a-čo-čokoš-tik ne siwa-tl ‘That woman is grey-headed.’
head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR that woman-ABS
k⁵a-čo-čokoš-tik-eh ne tlaka-meh ‘Those men are grey-headed.’
head-RDP:PL-grey-ADJR-AN:PL those man-AN:PL

Syntax

Adjectives may occur before and/or after the head noun in the noun phrase (see NOUN PHRASES) or as the predicate in a stative clause. An adjective can occur as subject or object when it is the axis of the relator tlen ‘that which is’, which makes the adjective the predicate of a stative clause.

seh k⁵al-i okič-pil ‘a good boy’
one good-ADJR boy-DIM

ne wey-i tlaka-tl šok⁵-c-ci ‘that big crippled man’
that big-ADJR man-ABS crippled-ADJR

neč-pak-tiya* tlen čipawa-k ‘The white one pleases me.’ / ‘I like the
me-happy-CAUS REL white-ADJR please

ši-neč-maka tlen yehyek-ci ‘Give me the pretty one.’
IMP-me-give REL pretty-ADJR

yehyek-ci ne kal-i ‘That house is pretty.’
pretty-ADJR that house-ABS

*p-tiya is the only verb we have found that can have an adjective as subject.
Adjectives can be inflected with subject pronoun prefixes.

ni-we-wen-ci  ‘I am old (with years).’
L-RDP-old-ADJR

ti-wey-i  ‘You are big.’
you-big-ADJR

When the third person Ø morpheme occurs as subject, the form is identical with the adjective that is predicate of a stative clause.

toma-wak  ‘He is fat.’
tomato-ADJR

toma-wak no-kone  ‘My child is fat.’
tomato-ADJR my-child

Adjectives are negated by the occurrence of the general negative aš (E) or amo (W) before them.

aš  tla-tekkiwi-li  (E)  ‘It isn’t used.’
NEG  UNSPEC-use-ADJR

amo  tlapan-keca  (W)  ‘It isn’t breakable.’
NEG  break-ADJR

Only one adjective can occur before and after the head without a tlen
(see NOUN PHRASES). When more adjectives are in sequence, the relator tlen must
be used before them.

ni-k-iš-mati se tlaka-tl tlen nelia koto-ci tlen nelia toma-wak
L-it-face-know a man-ABS REL really short-DIM REL really tomato-ADJR

Wan tlen nelia kʷal-i
and REL really good-ADJR
‘I know a man that is very short, very fat, and very good.’
COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

The 'more...than' type of comparative is mas, borrowed from Spanish. It is often used in a construction with tlen 'than'. The tlen usually occurs after the dimension compared, but may occur before the mas in a relative construction. It can be negated with the aš (amo W dialect) occurring before the mas.

Comparison of Adjectives:

Wan mas wey-i (tlen raul) 'John is bigger (than Raul).'
PN more big-ADJR than PN

Wan tlen mas wey-i 'John is he that is bigger.'
PN than more big-ADJR

Wan aš mas kWekW-e-ci tlen raul 'John isn't smaller than Raul.'
PN NEG more small-ADJR than PN

Comparison of Quantities:

yahaya ki-piya mas tomi 'He has more money.'
he it-have more money

ic-tok-eh mas okiš-pil-meh tlen siwa-pil-meh
be-STAT-PL more male-little-AN:PL than woman-little-AN:PL
'There are more boys than girls.'

yahaya ki-piya mas čikawa-lis-tli 'He has more power.'
he it-have more strength-ABSTR-ABS

Comparison of Verbs:

yahaya tekiti mas tlen Wan 'He works more than John.'
he work more than PN.

(Notice the verb tekiti cannot be repeated after Wan.)

Comparison of Adverbs:

yahaya ki-čiwa mas aš kW-ali tlen na 'He does worse than I do.'
he it-do more NEG well than I

Full comparison need not be given.

yahaya tekiti mas iyilik 'He works slower.'
he work more slow

The comparison (i.e. item after tlen) can be a noun or an embedded clause if the clause does not contain a repetition of the main verb. If the verb in the subordinate clause is a repetition of the main verb, it is omitted.
yahaya mas wekapan-tik tlen Wan 'He is taller than John.'
he more tall-ADJR than PN

yahaya mas wehwey-i tlen i-patlaka i-tlakeč
he more long-ADJR than its-wide-POSSD his-bed

'He is longer than his bed’s width.'

With two items in mind, you can make a 'more...than' comparison by stating a positive and negative. This may be more Aztec than the mas...tlen borrowed idea.

wey-i Wan aš wey-i raul
big-ADJR PN NEG big-ADJR PN

'John is big.' 'Raul isn't big.'

The comparative mas may be the head of the noun phrase.
ni-h-neki mas 'I want more.'
1-it-want more

The mas can be modified by ači 'a little' or miak 'a lot'.

neč-maka-k miak mas tlen yalwaya 'He gave me a lot more than yesterday.'
me-give-PAST lot more than yesterday

ama ači mas tla-seseya 'It is colder today.'
today little more UNSPEC-cold

The 'less...than' idea is expressed by kenci tlen.
mic-maka-k kenci tlen yalwaya 'He gave you less than yesterday.'
you-give-PAST little than yesterday

kenci also occurs as head of the GNP.
mic-maka-k kenci 'He gave you a little bit.'
you-give-PAST little

Comparisons of Equality

The 'as...as' type construction obligatorily has a form of 'like'. Sometimes iWikal 'the same' is used before it for emphasis. There seems to be little difference in the speaker's mind between the first two examples below.

ši-h-čiwa i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya
IMP-it-do its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday

'Make as many adobes as yesterday.'

ši-h-čiwa iWikal keniki i-miak-a adobes keha yalwaya
IMP-it-do same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes like yesterday

'Make as many (the same amount of) adobes as yesterday.'

yahaya wey-i keha na 'He is as big as I am (we are the same).'/
he big-ADJR like me 'He is big like me (we are similar).'
The two ideas expressed by this third example seem to be the same in Nahuatl.

raul ki-kwa nohkia i-miak-a keha i-tata
PN it-eat also its-many-POSSD:PL like his-father
‘Raul eats as much as his father.’

The keha cannot be omitted, although the construction seems complete without it.

Other

The superlative idea is expressed with a mas construction followed by tlen noči
‘than all’. It can also be expressed with a tlen before the mas.

yahaya mas yehyek-ci tlen noči ‘She is prettiest of all.’
She more pretty-ADJR than all

yahaya mas wey-i ‘He is bigger / biggest.’ (The context
he more big-ADJR determines which is indicated.)

The ‘so’ concept is expressed by the position of the dependent clause.

onka-yaya miak poh-tli wahka aš ni-welt-yaya
be-PAST:DUR lot smoke-ABS therefore NEG I-able-PAST:DUR
ni-hyö-tilana
I-breath-pull
‘There was so much smoke I couldn’t breathe.’

‘Like’, describing state of being, is expressed by kenikaca or a shortened form, keha.

kenikaca ic-tok-eh mo-familia ‘How is your family?’
how be-STAT-PL your-family

‘Like’, meaning ‘as many, as much’, is expressed by keniki.

neč-ilwi’ keniki i-pati ni kafe
me-told how:much its-worth this coffee
‘He told me how much this coffee cost.’

ma ki-čiwa-h iWikal keniki i-miak-a adobes
EXHRT it-make-PL same like its-many-POSSD:PL adobes
‘Have them make the same amount of adobes (as before).’

‘Like’, describing comparison, is expressed by a noun or a pronoun after keha.

ni-h-čih-ki keha ta ‘I did like you.’
I-it-do-PAST like you

ni-h-neki seh keha Wan ‘I want one like John (has).’
I-it-want one like PN
INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

When there are two forms, either form can be used unless otherwise indicated.

se tlake, se tlakia  
  ki-maka-k seh tlake  
  him-give-PAST a something  
  ‘something’

seki, se akahya  
  seki neč-kišti-lih-ki no-mačete  
  ‘Someone took my something’

seki  
  some me-take-APPLIC-PAST  
  my-machete machete  
  ‘someone, somebody’

sekinaš  
  yah-k-eh  
  go-PAST-PL  
  ‘Some didn’t go.’

sekinaš  
  ki-ih-ko  
  some=again it-said no  
  ‘some other’ (usually of a different kind)

sekanok, sekoyok  
  wag-wu yah-ki  
  se-ka=nok pero aš ni-h-mati kanki  
  my-husband go-PAST one-place=again but NEG l-it-know where  
  ‘My husband went somewhere, but I don’t know where.’

kenWeli  
  ‘anyway’

aš ki-čiḥ-ki kʰali san ki-čiḥ-ki kenWeli  
  NEG it-do-PAST well just it-do-PAST anyway  
  ‘He didn’t do it well, he just did it any old way.’

akin weli, akhkeya weli, katlia weli (W)  
  ‘anyone, anybody (people)’

akahya weli  
  tlen ki-piya tomi weli-s tla-kowa i-pan tiankis  
  anyone able that it-have money able-FUT UNSPEC-buy its-place market  
  ‘Anyone who has money can buy in the market.’

ahkehya weli  
  ‘everybody’

ahkeh-ya weli tlen ki-neki ya-s-eh ma ya-kah  
  who-he able that it-want go-FUT-PL EXHRT go-IMP:PL  
  ‘Everybody who wants to go, let them go.’

tlen onka, tlen nesi  
  ‘anything (objects)’

balači ti-h-kʰa-s tlen onka  
  what you-it-eat-FUT REL exist  
  ‘What will you eat?’  ‘Anything.’

balači pan-ci ni-mic-maka-s tlen nesi  
  what bread-DIM I-you-give-FUT REL appear  
  ‘Which bread shall I give you?’  ‘Any one.’
noči-meh  ‘everyone, everybody’
noči-meh misaweh-k-eh  i-pan  a-tl
all-AN:PL drown-PAST-PL its-place water-ABS
‘Everyone drowned in the water.’

seh tonal, seh ora  ‘sometime’
seh tonal ti-ya-s-eh  tamacončale
a day we-go-FUT-PL Tamazunchale
‘Some day we will go to Tamazunchale.’

tlen weli ora, tlen weli tonal  ‘any time’
tlen weli ora ti-h-neki ti-ya-s-eh
REL able hour you-it-want we-go-FUT-PL
‘Any time you want, we will go.’

kehaca weli  ‘somehow, anyway’
san ki-čh-ki  kehaca weli
just it-do-PAST like able

kampa weli  ‘anywhere, everywhere’
ši-h-tlali  kampa weli i-pan mesah
IMP-it-put where able its-place table
‘Put it anywhere on the table.’

yaWanti  yah-k-eh  kampa weli  ‘They went everywhere.’
ty they go-PAST-PL where able

katli weli, katli weli  ‘whichever’
ši-neč-maka  katli weli čiči
IMP-me-give who able dog

noči tlamančli  ‘everything’
yahaya ki-neki  noči tlaman-tli
he it-want all thing-ABS

lwa  ‘whatever’
ši-neč-maka tlen weli lapis  ‘Give me whatever pencil.’
IMP-me-give what able pencil

Question words (see QUESTIONS for examples) include:

ahkeya  ‘who’
ahkeyawanti  ‘who they’
kehaca  ‘how’
tlački  ‘what’
kanki  ‘where’
kema  ‘when’
keski  ‘how many’
katli  ‘which one’
tlen  ‘what, which’
para tlen  ‘why’
ika tlački  ‘with what’
ahkeya i-  ‘whose’
kánika  ‘to where’
Indefinite pronouns are not inflected for case or number. Most bear some relation to a question word.

**Negative**

There can only be one negative in the clause. Sometimes the forms are discontinuous.

*aš* aka

*aš* aka ki-neki ya-s

NEG anyone it-want go-FUT

*aš* yah-ki i-waya aka

NEG go-PAST his-with anyone

*aš* kema

*aš* kema ki-neki tekiti-s

NEG when it-want work-FUT

*aš* kana

*aš* kana ni-yah-ki yalwaya

NEG where I-go-PAST yesterday

*aš* tleno

*aš* tleno neč-maka-k

NEG anything me-give-PAST

*aš* neč-maka-k tleno

NEG me-give-PAST anything

**Other**

*ši-neč-maka* seh

IMP-me-give one

*ši-neč-maka* ya ni

IMP-me-give EMPH this

*ši-neč-maka* ya ne

IMP-me-give EMPH that

*ši-neč-maka* (ne) čičil-tik

IMP-me-give that red-ADJR with demonstrative.

*ši-neč-maka* tlen el-tok i-pan mesah

IMP-me-give REL be-STAT its-place table

*aš* neč-maka-k niyon seh

NEG me-give-PAST not:even one
DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns are optional in a clause.

Eastern Dialect:

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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>1P</td>
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<td>toWanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>taha, ta</td>
<td>imoWanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P HON</td>
<td>tawal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>yaha, yahaya, ya</td>
<td>yaWanti</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Western Dialect:

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<td>towanti</td>
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<tr>
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<td>taya, ta</td>
<td>amowanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>yaya, ya</td>
<td>ininwanti</td>
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Verb Prefixes

Subject pronoun prefixes are first order prefixes.

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<tbody>
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<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>(E) in-, (W) an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direct and indirect objects are second order prefixes occurring after subject prefixes:

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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>teč-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mic-</td>
<td>(E) inmeč-, -meč- (W) ammeč-,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-h-, ki-, -k-</td>
<td>kin-, kinin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Co-occurrence of subject and object prefixes is spelled out in the following chart. V stands for a vowel-initial stem, and forms from the W dialect are underscored when they differ from the E dialect.

- ši-neč-maka
  IMP-me-give
- ti-neč-ilwhi-kí kena
  you-me-tell-PAST you
- mic-čiwi-lih-kí
  you-do-APPLIC-PAST

'Give it to me.'
'You told me yes.'
'He did it for you.'
### PERSON OF OBJECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON OF SUBJECT</th>
<th>1P-SG</th>
<th>2P-SG</th>
<th>3P-SG</th>
<th>1P-PL</th>
<th>2P-PL</th>
<th>3P-PL</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1P SG</strong></td>
<td>ni-mo-</td>
<td>ni-mic-</td>
<td>ni-h-</td>
<td>ni-teč-</td>
<td>ni-mec-</td>
<td>ni-kin-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ni-k-V</td>
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<td>ni-kinin-</td>
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<td>ti-mo-</td>
<td>ti-h-</td>
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<td>ti-k-V</td>
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<td><strong>IMP</strong></td>
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<td>ši-mo-</td>
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<td>ši-teč-</td>
<td>ši-mec-</td>
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<td>mic-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>teč-</td>
<td>inmeč-</td>
<td>kin-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>mo-</td>
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<td>kinin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1P PL</strong></td>
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<td>ti-mic-</td>
<td>ti-h-</td>
<td>ti-mo-</td>
<td>ti-mec-</td>
<td>ti-kin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ti-k-V</td>
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<td>ti-kinin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2P PL</strong></td>
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<td>in-teč-</td>
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<td>an-kinin-</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3P PL</strong></td>
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<td>mic-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
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<td>mo-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(REFL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The **3P SG** h- occurs after vowels and before a consonant.

ni-h-maka-k
I-him-give-PAST

The **ki-** occurs after 3P Ø subjects and after 2P PL in-.

ki-ita-k
He saw it.
it-see-PAST

ki-neki-h ači tomi
They want a little money.
it-want-PL little money
in-ki-neki-h pan-ci
you:PL-it-want-PL bread-DIM

'Do you all want bread?'

The k- occurs intervocally.

ni-k-ahsi-s
I-it-arrive-FUT

'I will get it.'

The (W) anmeč and (E) inmeč occur after 3P Ø subject.

anmeč-ita-k
you:PL-see-PAST

'He saw you all.'

The kin- and kinin- are identical in meaning and use.

kin-maka-k miak tomi
them-give-PAST much money

'He gave them a lot of money.'

ni-meč-ilwi-s tlen melawak
I-you-tell-FUT REL truth

'Ve will tell you the truth.'

The W dialect has the following fusions (the E dialect has none):

\begin{align*}
\text{ši} & + \text{neč} \rightarrow \text{teč} \\
\text{ši} & + \text{teč} \rightarrow \text{teč}
\end{align*}

\text{teč-ilwi} tlen pano-k
IMP:me/us-tell REL happen-PAST

'Tell me/us what happened.'

\begin{align*}
\text{ti} & + \text{neč} \rightarrow \text{teč} \\
\text{ti} & + \text{teč} \rightarrow \text{teč}
\end{align*}

\text{teč-maka-k} san seh
you:me/us-give-PAST just one

'You gave me/us just one.' (Same form as for 'He gave us just one'.)

Possessor Prefixes

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
1P & no- & to- \\
2P & mo- & (E) imo- & (W) amo- \\
3P & i- & in-, inin-, ini-
\end{tabular}

The usage of in-, inin-, and ini- seems identical, and all occur in both dialects. These forms are also used with postpositions.
STEMS

Suppletion

Only two stems are suppletive for number. They are both intransitive and depend on the number of the subject.

- yawa 'go' (singular subject)
- yawi 'go' (plural subject)
- walawa 'come' (singular subject)
- walawi 'come' (plural subject)

ni-yawa no-ča 'I’m going home.'
l-go my-home
ti-yawi-h=ya to-ča 'We are going to our home.'
we-go-PL=already our-home

The third person singular for the verb ‘go’ is an exception in that it can take either stem. The yawi is most common.

- yawa i-ča
- go his-home
  'He is going home.'
- yawi i-ča
- go his-home
  'He is going home.'

Another kind of suppletion is seen in the verb ‘to be located’ (see BE/HAVE/DO).

The positive animate stem is ic(to)-.* It cannot be negated.

ic-tok-eh miak tlaka-meh nepa be:located-STAT-PL many man-AN:PL there
'There are many men there.'

The negative animate stem is aki, which is always negated.

aš aki no-wewe 'My husband isn't here.'
NEG be:located my-husband

The inanimate stem is el(to)-.

el-tok eyi pesos i-pan ne mesah be:located-STAT three pesos its-place that table
'There are three pesos on that table.'

Reduplication

Reduplication is most commonly used to give the verb a new meaning that is more intense. (See also ADJECTIVES.)

*The to of ic(to)- and el(to)- drops before the ending -tok.
Compare ‘follow’ versus ‘pursue’.

neč-toka-yaya  
me-follow-PAST:DUR 'He was following me.'
neč-toh-toko-yaya  
me-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR pursue 'He was pursuing me.'

Compare ‘He made it’ versus ‘He created it’.

ki-čih-ki se mesah  
it-make-PAST a table 'He made a table.'
to-teko ki-čih-čih-ki tla-tek-pak-tli
our-boss it-RDP-make-PAST ground-(?)-place-ABS create world
'God created the world.'

Compare ‘call’ with ‘speak to’ (in the sense of communicate with someone).

ši-h-noca mo-wewe  
IMP-him-call your husband 'Call your husband.'
yayok neč-noh-noca
no:more me-RDP-speak:to
'She does not speak to me any more.'

Reduplication can also indicate a plural object.

ki-čih-čih-ki  
it-RDP-make-PAST many thing-ABS
miak tlaman-tli 'He made many things.'

ki-piya tomi
it-have money
'the has money.'

tlapipiya miak tlaman-tli
UNSPEC-RDP-have many thing-ABS
'He has many things.'

Reduplication also can indicate repeated action on some verbs in which repeated action is inherent.

tla-co-cona i-ka se gitara  
UNSPEC-RDP-play its-with a guitar
'He plays a guitar.'

ši-kWe-kWelpačo ne yoyo-mitl
IMP-RDP-fold those cloth-ABS
'Fold those clothes.'

There are two methods of reduplication.

1. \( C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2V_2 \), as in ki-kWelpačo-s (it-fold-FUT) 'She will fold it', ki-kWelpačo-s 'She will repeatedly fold them'.

2. \( C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1h C_1V_1 C_2V_2 \), as in tlani 'to earn', ki-tlah-tlani 'He asks him'.
Stem Types

HN verb stems are simple, derived (see VERB MORPHOLOGY), or compounded (see Verb Compounds).

A simple stem is piya ‘have’.

ki-piya miak tomin
it-have much money

‘He has a lot of money.’

The verb stem tlapal ‘to paint’ is derived from the noun tlapali ‘paint’, to which the -owa verbalizer is added.

ki-tlapal-owa i-ča (W)
it-paint-VR his house

‘He paints his house.’

A compounded verb stem is piyopahtiya ‘to chicken-cure’.

yahaya noči-pa mo-piyo-pah-tiya
he all-place REFL-chicken-medicine-VR always cure
chicken-cure

‘He always cures himself by means of a chicken.’

Stem Classes

All verb stems divide themselves into three classes on the basis of how they form their past tense. The present tense form is the basic stem form. All the tenses in HN also divide themselves into three groups on the basis of the initial phoneme in the tense morpheme. Future -s, past durative -yaya, and conditional -skia all begin with continuants. Past -k or -ki begins with -k, and present perfect -tok, past perfect -toys, present durative -tika, future durative -tos, and irrealis -toskia with +.

Class I verb stems form their past tense by adding -k for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. It is the smallest class of verb stems. In contrast to the other two classes, Class I retains the present tense stem completely when occurring with continuant-initial tenses and both types of stop-initial tenses.

tekiti ‘He works.’
čoka ‘He cries.’
tekiti-k ‘He worked.’
čoka-k ‘He cried.’
tekiti-tok ‘He has worked.’
čoka-tok ‘He has cried.’
tekiti-s ‘He will work.’
čoka-s ‘He will cry.’
tekiti-yaya ‘He was working.’
čoka-yaya ‘He was crying.’

Other members of class I are:

ahki ‘He swims.’
ki-oni ‘He drinks it.’
ahsi ‘He arrives.’
ki-maka ‘He gives it to him.’
ki-ita* ‘He sees it.’
istlaki ‘He tells a lie.’
pano ‘He passes.’
ki-nelto ‘He believes him.’
ki-aWa ‘He scolds him.’
ki-maga ‘He hits him.’

*iita is irregular in that the final vowel of the stem drops and i→e before all t-initial tenses: ki-ic-tok (it-see-PRES:PERF) ‘He has seen it’.
Class II verb stems form their past tense by adding -ki for singular subjects and -keh for plural subjects. However, before past tense -ki or -keh is added to multisyllable stems, the final vowel of the present tense stem drops and the following changes affect stem-final consonants: \( w \rightarrow h, k \rightarrow h, k^w \rightarrow h, m \rightarrow n, \) and \( y \rightarrow ን \) (compare with Class III). Class II verbs change \( w \rightarrow h, k^w \rightarrow k, m \rightarrow n, \) and \( y \rightarrow ን \) before t-initial tense suffixes (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toskia). The present tense stem is retained in its entirety before all continuant-initial tenses.

koči  'He sleeps.'
koč-ki  'He slept.'
koč-tok  'He has slept.'
koči-s  'He will sleep.'
koči-yaya  'He was sleeping.'
miki  'He dies.'
mik-ki  'He died.'
mik-tok  'He has died.'
miki-s  'He will die.'
miki-yaya  'He was dying.'
pewa  'He starts.'
peh-ki  'He started.'
peh-tok  'He has started.'
pewa-s  'He will start.'
pewa-yaya  'He was starting.'
ki-čiya  'He waits for him.'
ki-čiš-ki  'He waited for him.'
ki-čiš-tok  'He has waited for him.'
ki-čiya-s  'He will wait for him.'
ki-čiya-yaya  'He was waiting for him.'

Compare the intransitive tlami 'to finish' with the transitive ki-tlamiya 'He finishes it' in Class III.

tlami  'He finishes.'
tlan-ki  'He finished.'
tlan-tok  'He has finished.'
tlami-s  'He will finish.'
tlami-yaya  'He was finishing.'

Other members of Class II are:
mok\(^W\)epa  'He returns.'
ki-čiwa  'He does it.'
nehnemi  'He walks'
tlanokiya  'He has diarrhea.'
waki  'It dries.'
ki-kawa  'He leaves it.'
ki-kowa  'He buys it.'
totoniya  'It is hot (weather).'
ki-neki  'He wants it.'
kisa  'He leaves.'

Observe that none of Class I and few of Class II end with the -ya in present tense that characterizes Class III A. The ones that do not have -ya in the present tense can occur with past clitic =ya ‘already’, making the forms somewhat homophonous with some members of Class III A; however the meaning is different. Compare tlami=ya (finish=already) ‘He already finishes’ and ki-tlamiya (it-finish) ‘He finishes it’. All forms in Class II and III A that end in -ya in the present tense can also occur with the clitic =ya, but it becomes a proclitic ya=ki-tlamiya (already=it-finish) ‘Already he finishes it’.
Class III verb stems are divided into two parts. Class IIIA is made up only of verbs that end in -iya in the present tense, which include all stems that end in -tiya (CAUS: PRES), -iya (APPLIC: PRES), and -wiya (VR: PRES). Class IIIB is made up only of verbs that end in -owa. Notice that while these classes are exclusively -iya and -owa, they do not represent all the -iya and -owa verbs (see Class II). All Class III verbs have two methods of forming past tense for singular subjects. They drop the final a from the present tense stem and either w → ' and y → ' word-finally or w → h and y → h before past tense -ki. (Compare with y → $ before k in Class II.) With plural subjects there is only one method of forming past tense, with w or y becoming h before -keh. Before initial tenses (-tok, -toya, -tika, -tos, -toska), the final vowel of Class IIIA and IIIB stems is dropped, and w or y becomes h. Before continuant-initial tenses, the final vowel is dropped, and w or y becomes Ø. This is the largest class of verb stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwiya</td>
<td>'He tells him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-tya</td>
<td>'He kills it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwi</td>
<td>'He told him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-tyi</td>
<td>'He killed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwilhi</td>
<td>'He told him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-tih-ki</td>
<td>'He killed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwilhi-tok</td>
<td>'He has told him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-tih-tok</td>
<td>'He has killed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwi-s</td>
<td>'He will tell him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-ti-s</td>
<td>'He will kill it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ilwi-yaya</td>
<td>'He was telling him.'</td>
<td>ki-mik-ti-yaya</td>
<td>'He was killing it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphemes in ki-mik-tya are (it-die-CAUS:PRES), 'He causes it to die' or 'He kills it'.

Other members of Class IIIA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki-sewiya</td>
<td>'He rests it.'</td>
<td>mitoniya</td>
<td>'He sweats.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'He puts it out (fire).'</td>
<td>ki-tlaštlawiya</td>
<td>'He pays him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-pantiya</td>
<td>'He finds it.'</td>
<td>ki-copiniya</td>
<td>'He injects him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-palewiya</td>
<td>'He helps him.'</td>
<td>ki-tlašiya</td>
<td>'He places it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-oliniya</td>
<td>'He moves it.'</td>
<td>ki-apičiya*</td>
<td>'He sprays it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-neštiliya</td>
<td>'He shows it.'</td>
<td>all verbs with -iya applicative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-štamiya</td>
<td>'He finishes it.'</td>
<td>all verbs with -tiya causative**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class IIIB verbs end exclusively in -owa and form all tenses the same as Class IIIA except they have two forms for the past durative. In addition to w → Ø before continuants, Class IIIB can keep the entire present tense stem before the past durative -yaya form.

---

*Compare with ėya in Class II.

**There are some stems that are derived from nouns and have the causative incorporated into the stem and cannot take -ya in the present tense and do not occur in Class IIIA, e.g., teki-ti (work-VR) 'He works' and kama-ti (mouth-VR) 'He talks'.
ki-ihtowa    'He says it.'    ki-temowa    'He looks for it.'
ki-ihto'     'He said it.'    ki-temo'    'He looked for it.'
ki-ihtoh-ki  'He said it.'    ki-temoh-ki  'He looked for it.'
ki-ihtoh-tok 'He has said it.'    ki-temoh-tok  'He has looked for it.'
ki-ihto-s    'He will say it.'    ki-temo-s    'He will look for it.'
ki-ihto-yaya 'He was saying it.'    ki-temo-yaya 'He was looking for it.'
ki-ihtowa-yaya 'He was saying it.'    ki-temowa-yaya 'He was looking for it.'

Other members of Class IIIB are:

ki-tolowa    'He swallows it.'    ki-alašowa    'He makes it smooth.'
tlehtowa     'He says.'    ki-tlalpačowa    'He buries it.'
ki-tlapowa    'He opens it.'    ki-ihk'Willowa    'He writes it.'
mopolowa     'He gets lost.'    ki-k'Wapilowa    'He hangs it.'
motlalowa    'He runs.'    ki-k'Welpačowa    'He folds it.'

Transitive/Intransitive

The only set of contrastive pairs that is really productive is -wa for intransitive and -wiya for transitive. This does not imply, however, that all verbs that end in -wa are intransitive.

pina-wa  'He is embarrassed.'
be:embarrassed-INTRNS

ki-pina-wiya    'He is ashamed of her.'
it-be:embarrassed-TRNS

tlaštla-wa  beinte 'He pays twenty (a day).'
pay-INTRNS  twenty

ki-tlaštla-wiya    'He pays him twenty (a day).'
it-pay-TRNS  twenty

However many transitive verbs end in -wa.

ki-čiwa  tlen  k'Wal-i 'He does what is good.'
it-do  REL  good-ADJR

The suffix -wiya also transitivity other intransitive verbs.

kama-ti    'He talks.'
mouth-VR

ki-kama-wiya    'He talks with her.'
her-talk-TRNS
INCORPORATION

There is incorporation of certain morphemes into the verb stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE, Stem). They are pre-stem.

Prefix k\textsuperscript{wa}- ‘head’:

amo xi-mo-k\textsuperscript{wa}-totoni Neg IMP-REFL-head-get:hot ‘Don’t worry about it/be bothered/go to the trouble.’

mo-REFL has been reanalyzed as part of some stems. These stems can never occur without it, and they can co-occur with object markers, and with the prefix tla-.

mok\textsuperscript{witlawi}
take:care

\textsuperscript{s}i-mo-mok\textsuperscript{witlawi}
IMP-REFL-take:care

\textsuperscript{t}la-mok\textsuperscript{witlawi} i-pa i-\textsuperscript{c}a UNSPEC-take:care its-place her-home ‘She cares for her household.’

mo-\textsuperscript{n}e\textsuperscript{c}-ka-wih-\textsuperscript{ki} REFL-near-leave-CAUS-PAST draw near

\textsuperscript{ki}-mone\textsuperscript{c}kawih-\textsuperscript{ki} it-draw:near-PAST ‘He drew near to it.’

\textsuperscript{t}la- UNSPEC INAN OBJ has been reanalyzed as part of many stems and can then occur with an object, which it can’t do otherwise.

tlapowa ki-tlapowa
open it-open ‘to open’ ‘He opens it.’

\textsuperscript{s}i-ne\textsuperscript{c}-tlapohpolwiya IMP-me-forgive forgive ‘to forgive’ ‘Forgive me.’

tlanesi tlanes-ki dawn dawn-PAST ‘to dawn’ ‘It dawned.’

\textsuperscript{n}e\textsuperscript{n}- is incorporated into a number of stems, but it is hard to gloss. Sometimes it has the meaning of ‘habitually’ and is similar to the North Puebla Nahuatl, and other times it has the meaning of ‘in vain’ and is similar to the Tetelcingo Nahuatl. The habitual idea would be easily seen as a derivative of \textsuperscript{n}e\textsuperscript{mi} ‘to walk’.

\textsuperscript{ki}-\textsuperscript{n}e\textsuperscript{n}-pale\textsuperscript{wiya} ‘She helps her continually.’
her-habitually-help ki-nen-pol\textsuperscript{i}-\textsuperscript{ti}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{c}} it-in:vain-lose-CAUS-PAST ‘He caused it to be lost in vain.’
(The man plants alfalfa and then when it begins to grow, decides he wants to plant corn, so he has the alfalfa turned under with a plow and plants corn.)

ki-nen-polo-ki       i-tomi      'He lost his money in vain.'
it-in:vain-lose-PAST  his-money

(A drunk borrows money and goes and spends it on drink and has nothing to show for his money.)

Locatives wal- 'come' and on- 'there':

ni-k-on-ita-s
I-him-there-see-FUT

on-mih-ki
there-die-PAST

wal-temo-s elwikak
come-lower-FUT heaven

'She will come lowering from heaven.'

Intensive notion nel- 'really':

ki-nel-neki
it-really-want

'She really wants it.'

SYNTACTIC MARKING

(For ordering of verb affixes, see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE.)

Pronominal Prefixes

Subject prefixes precede object prefixes and agree in person and number with any overt subject on the clause level:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>(E) in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>ꞑ-IMP</td>
<td>ꞑ-IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a verb has both a direct and an indirect object, the direct object is understood and the indirect object is indicated according to the following chart. Although some verbs like maka 'give' are inherently applicative, most verbs add the suffix -li APPLIC when the overtly marked item is an indirect object: neč-kowi-li-s 'He will buy it for me'. Only one object (direct, indirect, reflexive, or unspecified) can be overtly marked on the verb. (See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for co-occurrence charts.) The object prefix on the verb agrees in person and number with any direct or indirect object on the clause level.
### Unspecified Objects

Unspecified objects **tl-a** (for things) and **te-** (for people) may be part of the stem, as seen in INCORPORATION. Only when part of the stem can they co-occur with an object prefix.

- tla-kʷa  
  - **kʷali**  
  - UNSPEC-eat well
- te-kʷa-ni  
  - **te-kʷa**  
  - 'People eaters (lions, tigers) eat people.'

### Sentence Types

- Imperative **ši-** occurs in place of the subject prefix.
  - ši-ya  
    - **mo-ča**  
    - IMP-go your-home
  - ši-h-čiwa  
    - tlen  
    - kʷal-i  
    - IMP-it-do REL good-ADJR

- Hortative or permissive **ma** is a particle.
  - ma  
    - **ti-ya-kah**  
    - EXHRT we-go-IMP:PL
  - ma  
    - amo  
    - ki-čiwa  
    - EXHRT NEG it-do

### Number Agreement

Number agreement with a plural subject is of various kinds.

#### Suppletion (see STEMS):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yawa</td>
<td>yawi</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walawa</td>
<td>walawi</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Variation in tense suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAST: -ki</td>
<td>-keh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES DUR: -tika</td>
<td>-tikateh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The plural affix (\textit{-eh} after consonants and \textit{-h} after vowel) marks plural subjects in all other tenses.

\begin{align*}
mik-tok & \quad 'He is dead.' \\
die-STAT & \\
mik-tok-eh & \quad 'They are dead.' \\
die-STAT-PL & \\
koči-yaya & \quad 'He was sleeping.' \\
sleep-PAST:DUR & \\
koči-yaya-h & \quad 'They were sleeping.' \\
sleep-PAST:DUR-PL & \\
\end{align*}

Exhortatives and imperatives with plural subject use \textit{-kah}.

\begin{align*}
štša-kah & \quad a-pa \quad 'You all go to the water hole.' \\
IMP-go-IMP:PL & \quad water-place \\
ma & \quad ti-yah-kah \quad amanci \quad 'Let's go right now.' \\
EXHRT & \quad we-go-IMP:PL \quad right:now \\
\end{align*}

\section*{NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION}

\subsection*{Causative}

The causative \textit{-tiya} occurs after consonants, and \textit{-liya} occurs after vowels. (See STEMS, Class III).

\begin{align*}
miki & \quad 'to die' \\
ki-mik-tiya & \\
it-die-CAUS & \\
ni-pewa-s & \quad 'I will begin.' \\
I-begin-FUT & \\
ni-h-pewa-lti-s & \\
I-it-begin-CAUS-FUT & \\
\end{align*}

The applicative \textit{-tiya} causes an object prefix to be indirect rather than direct; \textit{a} \textit{→ i} before \textit{1}.

\begin{align*}
ni-h-kowa-s & \quad 'I will buy it.' \\
I-it-buy-FUT & \\
štš-neč-kowi-li & \\
IMP-me-buy-APPLIC & \\
ki-walika-s & \\
it-bring-FUT & \\
\end{align*}
neč-waliki-li-s  'He will bring it for me.'
me-bring-APPLIC-FUT

neč-namaki-Iti-li-s  'He is going to sell it to me.'
me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT

Adverbial

The directionals are seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incomplete</th>
<th>Complete</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>'toward/come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>'away from/go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

śli-pano  si-mo-sewi-ki  'Pass, come sit down.'
IMP-pass  IMP-REFL-sit-come

ni-h-namaka-ko  e-tl  cikweyi-ya  'I came and sold beans last week.'
I-it-sell-came  bean-ABS  eight-ago

śli-neč-kowi-li-ti  seboyas  'Go buy onions for me.'
IMP-me-buy-APPLIC-go  onions

mil-teki-ti-to  field-work-VR-went

The directive is sometimes doubly marked.

yah-ki  ki-namaka-to  'He went to sell it.'
go-PAST  it-sell-went

When a second verb occurs connected to the first one, the tense marking is on the second verb.

-ti-nemi  'habitually'
-ti-wala  'on the way toward'
-ti-ya  'as he goes'
-ti-kisa  'quickly, right away'
-ti-weci  'for a minute'

wika-ti-nemi  'He habitually sings.'
sing-CONN-walk

wika-ti-nemi-yaya  'He was always singing.'
sing-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR

cikW'in-ti-wala  'He jumps on the way here.'
jump-CONN-come

kin-namaka-ti-ya-s  'He will sell them as he goes.'
them-sell-CONN-go-FUT
Volitional

There are no desiderative affixes. The desiderative is expressed by two independent verbs or by a compound. The independent verb ki-neki ‘want it’ is followed by a second verb which has future tense. Notice that transitive verbs each take the object prefix, showing that there are two verbs, not one. The first one may take any tense marker.

- ki-neki ki-čiwa-s tlen kʷal-i ‘He wants to do what is good.’
- it-want it-do-FUT REL good-ADJR
- ki-neki-yaya ya-s ‘He was wanting to go.’
- it-want-PAST:DUR go-FUT

The desiderative compound is formed by attaching the stem neki ‘want’ to another verb with future tense. Any tense can occur on the neki.

- ki-čiwa-s-neki tlen kʷal-i ‘He wants to do what is good.’
- it-do-FUT-want REL good-ADJR
- ya-s-neki-toya ‘He had wanted to go.’
- go-FUT-want-PAST:PERF

‘Can’ or ‘able’ is also expressed by an independent verb at the front of the verb phrase.

- kena welli ki-čiwa ‘Yes, he can do it.’
- yes able it-do

The future tense on the verb welli usually expresses possibility.

- welli-s ki-wika-s ‘Perhaps he will take it.’
- able-FUT it-take-FUT

Modal

For exhortative, permissive, and imperative see SYNTACTIC MARKING.

Irrealis describes an action in the past that is contrary to fact.

- mĩk-toskia intla aš ti-h-wika-toskia-h kampa médiko die-IRR if NEG we-him-take-IRR-PL where doctor
- ‘He would have died if we hadn’t taken him to a doctor.’
- yah-toskia pero mih-ki i-nana go-IRR but die-PAST his-mother
- ‘He would have gone, but his mother died.’
The conditional is -skia.

ki-kowa-skia intla ti-h-neki 'He would buy it if you want (him to).
it-buy-would if you-it-want

The exhortative is ma.

ki-neki ma ni-h-ciwa 'He wants me to do it.'
it-want EXHRT I-it-do

Aspect

Stative and present perfect are both indicated by -tok.

wec-tok ne kokoške-tl 'The sick one is in bed ('fallen').'
fall-STAT that sick-AG-ABS
wak-tok ne yoyo-mtl 'That clothing is dry.'
dry-STAT that cloth-ABS
ya walah-tok
he come-PRES:PERF

Compleitive =ya/=a is a clitic meaning 'already' that goes on various types of words (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS) expressing the compleitive idea. It occurs after the tense.

yah-ki=ya 'He already went.'
go-PAST=already
el-tos=a lalaš 'There will already be oranges.'
be-FUT:DUR=already orange

The repetitive is expressed by =nok/=ok meaning 'again'. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS.)

wala-s=ok 'He will come again.'
come-FUT=again

Many aspectual ideas are expressed by a limited list of verbs that are connected to the main verb by -ti-. The tense occurs at the end of the second verb.

Habitual:

tla-namaka-ti-nemi 'He is always selling things.'
UNSPEC-sell-CONN-walk

Momentary (also 'quickly'):

ni-wala-ti-weci-s 'I will come for a minute.'
I-come-CONN-fall-FUT

‘On leaving’ / ‘and leave’ / ‘quickly’:

ni-h-wika-ti-kisa-s 'I will take it on leaving.'
I-it-take-CONN-leave-FUT
'On the way toward':

ni-h-walika-ti-walah-ki 'I brought it as I came.'
I-it-bring-CONN-come-PAST

'As one goes':

ni-h-namaka-ti-ya-s 'I will sell it on the way.'
I-it-sell-CONN-go-FUT

Tense

Present tense is represented by ḧ; with Class III verbs, present tense is indicated by retention of -ya or -wa (see STEMS, Stem Classes). Present tense also is used for present progressive action except in the rare cases where present durative -tika is used (see below).

ki-čiwa ama 'He is doing it now.'
    it-do now
ki-neštiliya 'He shows it to him.'
    him-show
ki-tolowa i-pastiyas 'He swallows his pills.'
    it-swallow his-pills

Past tense is ḧ, -k, or -ki in singular and -keh for plural. (See STEMS, Stem Classes for complete description.)

Future tense is marked by the suffix -s added to the stem (see STEMS, Stem Classes).

wala-s mostla 'He will come tomorrow.'
    come-FUT tomorrow

Tense/Aspect

The past durative is -yaya, and it often carries an idea of interruption ('He was doing it, but something happened').

pano-yaya ne kal-i Wan wec-ki
pass-PAST:DUR that house-ABS and fall-PAST
'He was passing that house and he fell.'

The past perfect is -toya.

ya yah-toya i-ča kema ni-ahsi-ko
he go-PAST:PERF his-house when I-arrive-came
'He had gone to his house when I arrived (here).'

The present durative is singular -tika and plural -tikateh. It is very rarely used. The present also carries with it the idea of continuing and is used most commonly.

ni-h-kaki wecka-tika mo-kone 'I hear your child laughing.'
I-it-hear laugh-PRES:DUR your-child
The future durative is -tos 'will be...ing'.

ni-ahki-tos  mostla  tlahko-tona  'I will be swimming tomorrow at noon.'
I-swim-FUT:DUR  tomorrow  half-sun

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The overall structure of the HN verb can be seen in the following charts. Forms are from the E dialect; the W dialect differs slightly in the form of certain pronominal prefixes (see DEFINITE PRONOUNS).

The HN verb consists of a stem, affixes, and clitics. The stem consists in turn of at least one base or other stem and an optional aspectual verb. The base consists of a root and various other optional elements.

Verb

The pre-stem items are listed in the first chart. UNSPEC OBJ and OBJ cannot co-occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>DIM</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>UNSPEC OBJ STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>neč-</td>
<td>pil-</td>
<td>wal-</td>
<td>tla-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>mic-</td>
<td></td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>te-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-k, ki-, -h-</td>
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<td>ti-</td>
<td>teč-</td>
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<td>in-</td>
<td>-meč-, inmeč-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>kin-, kinin-</td>
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<tr>
<td>ši-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The post-stem suffixes and clitics are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>TNS/ASP</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>'already'</th>
<th>'again'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-eh</td>
<td></td>
<td>=(y)a</td>
<td>= (y)ok</td>
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<tr>
<td>-tok</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>= nok</td>
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<td>-tos</td>
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<tr>
<td>-k, -ki, Ô</td>
<td>-(k)eh</td>
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<td>-tika</td>
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<td>-yaya</td>
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<td>-h</td>
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<td>-toya</td>
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</table>

**MODAL**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-skia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-toskia</td>
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</table>

**DIR**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ô</td>
<td>-kah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{si-neê-waliki-li-kah}\]
IMP-me-bring-APPLIC-IMP:PL
\[\text{'(You PL) bring it to me.'}\]

\[\text{ki-pil-on-k^Wa-ki}\]
it-DIM-there-eat-PAST
\[\text{'He ate a little of it there.'}\]

\[\text{pil-on-tla-k^Wa}\]
DIM-there-UNSPEC-eat
\[\text{'He eats a little there.'}\]

\[\text{ki-noca-ko-h=ya=nok}\]
him-call-came-PL=already=again
\[\text{'They already came and called him again.'}\]

\[\text{yah-toya-h=ya=nok}\]
go-PAST:PERF-PL=already=again
\[\text{'They already had gone again.'}\]

**Stem**

A verb stem consists of at least one base or another stem, followed optionally by an aspectual verb linked to it by -t(i)-, -ka-, -s-, FUT, or Ô.

\[\text{ni-k^Wa-iê-yoli-s-neki}\]
I-head-cotton-seed-FUT-want
\[\text{'I am getting (want to get) white-headed.'}\]
wika-ti-wala  'He comes singing.'
wika-t-ewa  'He leaves singing.'
wika-ti-nemi  'He habitually sings.'
wika-ti-ya  'He sings as he goes.'
wika-ti-kisa  'He sings as he leaves.'
wika-s-neki  'He wants to sing.'
wika-ti-weci  'He sings for a moment.'
mowika-ka-neki  'He pretends to sing.'

wika-teh-ti-nemi  'He habitually leaves singing.'
sing-leave-CONN-walk
     habitually

Base
The base consists of a root together with optional preceding or following elements. Following elements include one of a set of characteristic verbal or verbalizing endings, the causative suffix, and the applicative suffix. Preceding elements include an unspecified or reflexive object marker which has been reanalyzed as part of the base, reduplication, and an incorporated root possibly with a connective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>RDP</th>
<th>INCORP</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>CONN</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>VR</th>
<th>CAUS</th>
<th>APPLIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tla-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ka-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-(l)tiya</td>
<td>-liya</td>
<td></td>
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<td>mo-</td>
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<td>-wa</td>
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<td>-owa</td>
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<td>-ca</td>
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<tr>
<td>ki-tla-powa</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'He opens it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-UNSPEC-open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-tla-peh-pen-ki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'He chose him.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| him-UNSPEC-RDP-pick-PAST
  choose | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
| ki-chi-chiwa | |        |      |      |        |    |      | 'He does it.' |
| it-RDP-do | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
| kWalan-ka-ita   | |        |      |      |        |    |      | 'He looks with anger.' |
| anger-CONN-see | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
| ni-h-cayana-s no-yoyo | |        |      |      |        |    |      | 'I will tear my clothes.' |
| I-it-tear-FUT my-clothes | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
| cayani no-yoyo | |        |      |      |        |    |      | 'My clothes tear.' |
| tear my-clothes | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
| ni-tlaxtlawa beinte pesos | |        |      |      |        |    |      | 'I pay twenty pesos.' |
| I-pay twenty pesos | |        |      |      |        |    |      |        |
ni-h-tlaštlawi beinte pesos  ‘I pay him twenty pesos.’
I-him-pay twenty pesos

tlaškal-owa amanci  ‘She is making tortillas now.’
tortilla-VR now

tla-ka-kapaca no-siwa-pil i-pan mesah
UNSPEC-RDP-pat my-woman-little its-place table
‘My little girl is patting her hands on the table (as drum beating).’
paki
happy
neč-pak-tiya  ‘It makes me happy.’
me-happy-CAUS

neč-namaki-li-li-s  ‘He will sell it for me.’
me-sell-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT

Root

Roots can be of several kinds:

Simple Verb Root piya  ‘to have’
Spanish Verb Root pensar  ‘to think’
Stative Verb Root kwal  ‘good’
nel  ‘true’
Noun Root ma  ‘hand’
ikši  ‘foot’
teki  ‘work’
Adjective Root čipa  ‘clean’

COORDINATION

i-waya*  ‘and’  (joins noun phrases)
ika  ‘and’  (joins noun phrases and predicates)
Wan/iWan  ‘and’  (joins clauses with same or different subjects, nouns, and predicates)
péro  ‘but’  (joins clauses with same or different subjects)
o  ‘or’  (joins nouns, predicates, or clauses in questions or statements)
niyon  ‘not even’  (joins clauses)

*-waya can be inflected with all possessor prefixes.
I-waya

ki-koh-ki sin-tli i-waya e-tl 'He bought corn and beans.'
it-buy-PAST corn-ABS its-with bean-ABS

Wan i-waya i-ikni yah-k-eh mehiko
PN his-with his-brother go-PAST-PL Mexico
'John and his brother went to Mexico.'

no-nana ya-s no-waya 'My mother will go with me.'
my-mother go-FUT my-with

ikan

mo-ma-teh-ki i-ka i-mače-te 'He cut his own hand with his machete.'
REFL-hand-cut-PAST its-with his-machete

maria ika Wana yah-k-eh pašlo-to-h 'Mary and Juana went visiting.'
PN and PN go-PAST-PL visit-went-PL

Wan

ni-h-namaka-k kʷašlo-tl Wan no-wewe ki-namaka-k kafe
I-it-sell-PAST banana-ABS and my-husband it-sell-PAST coffee
'I sold bananas and my husband sold coffee.'

pero

ni-h-neki-yaya ni-ya-s pero aš ni-wel-ki
I-it-want-PAST:DUR I-go-FUT but NEG I-able-PAST
'I was wanting to go but I couldn't.'

o

ti-h-neki se lalaš o oton-lalaš 'Do you want an orange or a tangerine?'
you-it-want a orange or autumn-orange

niyon

aš neč-maka-k tleno ni-h-kʷa-s niyon aš neč-maka-k se točo
NEG me-give-PAST anything I-it-eat-FUT not:even NEG me-give-it a stale
tortilla

'She didn’t give me anything to eat; she didn’t even give me a stale tortilla.'

nohkia, no

ni-h-kowa-s sin-tli nohkia e-tl
I-it-buy-FUT corn-ABS also bean-ABS
'I will buy corn, and beans also.' (somewhat of an afterthought)
wahka

...wahka san ya nopa ni-k-htowa
so just it that I-it-say
'So just that I say.' (end of discourse)

wahka ni-mic-ilwi se ome k\textsuperscript{W}entos
then I-you-tell one two stories
'So I will tell you a story or two.'
(beginning of story—joins request for
story to story)

yeka

ne\textsuperscript{C}-noc-k-eh yeka ni-yah-ki
'me-call-PAST-PL therefore I-go-PAST
'They called; therefore I went.'

teipa

ni-h-namaka-k sin-tli Wan teipa ni-h-koh-ki kafe
I-it-sell-PAST corn-ABS and afterward I-it-buy-PAST coffee
'I sold corn, and afterward I bought coffee.'

sampa

ni-yah-ki biernes sampa ni-yah-ki s\textsuperscript{A}bado
I-go-PAST Friday again I-go-PAST Saturday
'I went on Friday; again I went Saturday.'

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses as a subject or object occur at the end of a clause. They are
not marked and are finite.

Subject Complement Clauses

nesi [mokokowa-yaya]  
'show be:sick-PAST:DUR

k\textsuperscript{W}al-i [walah-ki i-tata]  
good-ABS come-PAST his-father

'I know he went.'

'I want to go.'

Object Complement Clauses

ni-h-mati [yahaya yah-ki]  
'I know he went.'

ni-h-neki [ni-ya-s]  
'I want to go.'

ni-h-temiti' [mih-ki no-nana]  
'I dreamed my mother died.'

I-it-dreamed die-PAST my-mother
EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Embedded questions do not differ in any way from main clause questions or subordinate clause sentences, except that embedded yes/no questions employ the conjunction intla/tla 'if', whereas independent yes/no questions have no introducer. (See Yes/No Questions.)

Embedded questions can function as subject and may precede or follow the main verb.

[tlački ki-čih-ki] neč-kʷa-totonih-ki
what it-do-PAST me-head-get:hot-PAST
'What he did bothered me.' (i.e., the fact that he did what he did, or the thing he did)
neč-paktih-ki [kanke ni-yah-ki]
me-please-PAST where I-go-PAST
'I liked where I went.' (i.e., that I went where I did, or the place where I went)

Embedded questions can function as object and then follow the main verb.

neč-ilwí [kanke ya-s]  'He told me where he is going.'
me-told where go-FUT
aš ki-mati [tlački ni-h-čiwa-s]  'He doesn't know what I will do.'
NEG it-know what I-it-do-FUT
aš ni-h-mati [intla ya-s o ašle] 'I don't know if he is going or not.'
NEG I-it-know if go-FUT or no

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Any noun in a sentence (subject, object, indirect object) can be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause normally follows the noun it modifies, but there is at least one example in the E dialect of the relative preceding the noun (the W dialect will not accept the example). Noun heads with relatives are reinforced with a demonstrative, quantifier, or numeral. Pronoun heads aren't reinforced. The relative marker is always tlen in E. The W dialect also has kati as an alternate relative marker. The relative pronoun may function as subject, direct object, indirect object, or object of postposition in the relative clause.

Direct Relatives

nopa tlaka-tl  [tlen ki-neki no-kawayo]  'that man that wants my horse'
that man-ABS REL it-want my-horse
nopa pah-tl  [tlen ki-koh-ki]  'that medicine that he bought'
that medicine-ABS REL it-buy-PAST
no-siwa [tlen ni-h-kowi-lih-ki seboyas]
my-wife REL I-her-buy-APPLIC-PAST onions
‘my wife that I bought onions for’
i-čiči ne tlaka-tl [tlen walah-ki yalwaya] mih-ki
his-dog that man-ABS REL come-PAST yesterday die-PAST
‘The man who came yesterday’s dog died.’

Oblique Relatives

The oblique relative retains the object as a pronoun to which the postposition is
attached. The tlen and postposition occur contiguous to each other, but either may be
initial in the relative clause.

nikani ni mačete [i-ka tlen ki-mik-tl’ nopa kowa-tl]
here this machete its-with REL it-die-CAUS:PAST that snake-ABS
‘Here is the machete with which he killed that snake.’
ši-h-wika nopa cika-tl [tlen i-pan ti-atli-s-eh]
IMP-it-take that jug-ABS REL its-place we-drink-FUT-PL
‘Take that jug from which we will drink.’

Headless Relatives

Headless relatives occur as subject or object of the clause. Headless relatives also
occur when a demonstrative replaces the head noun.

ni-k-ita-k [tlen ki-čih-ki]
I-it-see-PAST REL it-do-PAST
‘I saw what he did.’
nopa [tlen ki-koh-ki]
that REL it-buy-PAST
‘that which he bought’

Question words can be used in place of the relative subordinator when the head
is absent. The resulting clauses are identical with embedded questions.

aš ni-k-ita-k [tlački ki-čih-ki] ‘I didn’t see what he did.’
NEG I-it-see-PAST what it-do-PAST
yahaya ki-mati [ahkeya yah-ki] ‘He knows who went.’
he it-know who go-PAST

The ‘ever’ forms are usually identical to the WH words. (See WH Questions.) The
concept of ‘ever’ can be expressed by onka ‘there is/be’ or weli ‘able’ or nesi ‘appear’
if a different form is used.

ni-h-seli-s [tlen onka ki-kowa-s] ‘I will receive whatever he buys.’
I-it-receive-FUT REL be it-buy-FUT
ki-koh-ki noči [tlen weli ki-neki-yaya]
it-buy-PAST all REL able it-want-PAST:DUR
‘He bought whatever he wanted.’
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Si-neč-maka [tlen nesi]  ‘Give me whichever one.’
IMP-me-give REL appear

Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial clauses are usually after the main clause, but they may be initial. They begin with the relator or the question word. Locative and manner clauses have a relator that is different from the question word, but the question word can also be used. tlen is used with oblique constituents. The ‘when’ clauses often omit the question word. They are not marked in any special way.

Locative:

yahaya teki-ti [kampa ic-tok]  ‘He works where he lives.’ (not the he work-VR where live-STAT question word)
aš ni-h-mati [kanke teki-ti]  ‘I don’t know (the place) where he works.’
NEG I-it-know where work-VR (question word)
teki-ti nečka [kampa el-tok at-l]
work-VR near where be-STAT water-ABS
‘He works close to where the water is.’
nenen-ki [asta kampa el-tok i-mila]
walk-PAST to where be-STAT his-field
‘He walked to where his field is.’ (Relator can be used for questions.)
ki-lihkʷeni [tlen i-pa ni-mo-sewi-yaya]
it-move REL its-place I-REFL-sit-PAST:DUR
‘He moved that which I was sitting on.’ (question words)

Manner:

ni-h-čih-ki iWikal [kehə no-tata neč-ilwi]
I-it-do-PAST same like my-father me-told
‘I did just like my father told me.’
aš ni-h-mati [kshaca ti-pano-s eh]  ‘I don’t know how we will get by.’
NEG I-it-know how we-pass-FUT-PL
nes-ki [kehə tlatla-yaya]  ‘It looked like it was burning.’
appear-PAST like burn-PRES:DUR
Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses can occur before or after the main clause. Clauses meaning ‘before’ have aya negative ‘not yet’ as an introducer:

neød-tlapen-ki [aya pewa tialtekpak-tli] me-choose-PAST not:yet start world-ABS
‘He chose me before the world began.’

A Ø subordinator is most common for ‘when’ clauses.

ni-mo-ilwi’ neød-aWa-s [ni-ahsi-ti no-ča] I-REFL-said me-fuss:at-FUT I-arrive-go my-house
‘I thought she would fuss at me when I arrived home.’

The kema ‘when’ subordinator (same as question word) can be used.

[kema ni-walah-ki] yahaya yah-ki ‘When I came, he left.’
when I-come-PAST he go-PAST

The ‘while’ idea can be expressed by Ø.

[ni-wala-yaya i-pan oh-tli] ni-k-itak seh tli-tl I-come-PAST:DUR its-place road-ABS I-it-see-PAST a fire-ABS
‘While I was coming down the road, I saw a fire.’

The ‘while’ idea can be emphasized by kema noha ‘while still’.

ni-k-ihkWiloh-ki ne ama-tl [kema noha ni-wec-toya i-pan tlapoe-tli] I-it-write-PAST that paper-ABS when still I-fall-PAST:PERF its-place bed-ABS
‘I wrote that letter while I was still in bed.’

Other

‘If’, ‘even if’, ‘because’, ‘therefore’, ‘in order to’, and ‘until’ clauses are marked by an introducer that is clause initial. These subordinate clauses can go before or after the main clause and any tense can occur in them unless otherwise specified.

‘If’ clauses are marked by the introducer tla or intla.

[intla Wan yah-ki yalwaya] maria ya-s mostla if PN go-PAST yesterday PN go-FUT tomorrow
‘If John went yesterday, Mary will go tomorrow.’

mik-toskia [tla aš yah-toskia kampa médiko] die-IRR if NEG go-IRR where doctor
‘He would have died if he hadn’t gone to the doctor.’

ya-s mohmostla [intla well-s] ‘He will go daily if he can.’
go-FUT daily if able-FUT
'Even if' clauses are marked by the introducer *yonke*.

\[\text{aš ny-a-s ospitál [yonke ni-miki-s]}\]
\(\text{NEG I-go-FUT hospital even:if I-die-FUT}\)

'I will not go to the hospital even if I die.'

'Because' clauses are introduced by *pampa*.

\[\text{aš neč-paktiya i-tlamačtihi-ka [pampa aš tlamačtiya kwali]}\]
\(\text{NEG me-please his-teacher-POSSD:AG because NEG teach well}\)

'I don't like his teacher because she doesn't teach well.'

'Therefore' clauses are introduced by *yeka*.

\[\text{ni-mokokowa-yaya [yeka aš ni-yah-ki]}\]
\(\text{I-sick-PAST:DUR therefore NEG I-go-PAST}\)

'I was sick; therefore I didn't go.'

'In order to' clauses are marked by the introducer *para*, which is borrowed from Spanish. Only incompletive tenses and aspects occur in a *para* clause.

\[\text{ni-h-mokítlawih-ki i-kone [para weli ya-s tlačikweni-s]}\]
\(\text{I-it-take:care:of-PAST her-child in:order:that able go-FUT wash-FUT}\)

'I took care of her child so that she could go wash.'

'Until' clauses are marked by the introducer *asta*, which is borrowed from Spanish.

\[\text{neč-aWa-k miak [asta ni-kis-ki]}\]
\(\text{me-scold-PAST much until I-leave-PAST}\)

'She scolded me a lot until I left.'

The introducer *asta* 'until' occurs with *kema* 'when' following it.

\[\text{ni-teki-ti-yaya [asta kema peh-ki tla'aweci]}\]
\(\text{I-work-VR-PAST until when start-PAST rain}\)

\(\text{DUR}\)

'I was working until it started to rain.'
TEXTS

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

ne koyo-čiči Wan ne oseło-kwa-toči
that outsider-dog and that grey-wood-rabbit
coyote jackrabbit
(E dialect)

1. One day when a big coyote was really hungry,
seh tonal kema seh wey-i koyo-čiči nelia mayana-yaya
one day when one big-ADJR coyote really hungry-PAST:DUR
he was chasing a jackrabbit there in the woods.
kɨ-tōh-toka-yaya seh oseło-kwa-toči ne kwa-titla
it-RDP-follow-PAST:DUR one jackrabbit there wood-CHAR:BY
chase

2. That jackrabbit was really afraid, but he knew
nelia mah-mawi-yaya nopa oseło-kwa-toči pero kɨ-mati-yaya
really RDP-fear-PAST:DUR that jackrabbit but it-know-PAST:DUR
he couldn’t run far
a=yo=ok well-yaya motlalowa weh-ka
NEG=already=again able-PAST:DUR run big-place
no longer far
because he was already old and his feet were tired.
pampa ya=we-wen-ci Wan ikɨ-tlašikowa-yaya
because already=RDP-old-DIM and foot-be:tired-PAST:DUR

3. Therefore suddenly that jackrabbit stopped
wahka isokapa nopa oseło-kwa-toči mo-til-kec-ki
therefore suddenly that jackrabbit REFL-stop-stand-PAST
and faced that coyote.
Wan mo-ɨš-tlaš-lih-ki i-waya nopa koyo-čiči
and REFL-face-look-APPLIC-PAST his-with that coyote

4. “Stop!” said that jackrabbit.
sci-mo-til-keca kɨ-hto’ nopa oseło-kwa-toči
IMP-REFL-stop-stand it-said that jackrabbit

“When are you chasing me?
para tlen ti-neč-toh-toka
for what you-me-chase
why
5. Are you going to eat me?"
   ti-neč-kwa-s
   you-me-eat-FUT

6. "Yes," said that coyote, "I will eat you."
   kena ki-ihto' nopa koyo-čiči ni-mic-kwa-s
   yes it-said that coyote I-you-eat-FUT

7. "Don't eat me," answered that jackrabbit,
   amo ši-neč-kwa' ki-nanki-li' nopa oselo-kwa-toči
   NEG IMP-me-eat it-(?)-APPLIC:PAST that jackrabbit
   answered

   "because if you eat me, you will die.
   pampa intla ti-neč-kwa-s ti-miki-s
   because if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT

8. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am really
   ta ti-mo-ilwiya na ni-oselo-kwa-toči pero nelia na
   you you-REFL-say I I-jackrabbit but really I
   think

   a rattlesnake, and when you eat me, my poison
   ni-kowa-ščma Wan kena ti-neč-kwa-s no-pah-yo
   I-snake-rattle and when you-me-eat-FUT my-poison-INAL

   will kill you."
   mic-mik-ti-s
   you-die-CAUS-FUT
   kill

9. "Therefore what shall I eat?" asked
   yeča tlački mo-neki ni-h-kwa-s mo-tlah-tlan'i
   therefore what REFL-want I-it-eat-FUT REFL-RDP-earned
   asked

   that coyote.
   nopa koyo-čiči
   that coyote

10. "Eat these little fruits that
    ši-h-kwa' ni pil-tla-copel-ka-yo-tl tlen
    IMP-it-eat these DIM-UNSPEC-sweet-be-ABSTR-ABS REL
    fruit
    I picked," said that jackrabbit.
    ni-h-peh-pen-ki ki-ihto' ne oselo-kwa-toči
    I-it-RDP:PL-pick-PAST it-said that jackrabbit
11. "I was carrying them home in my little basket
ni-h-wika-yaya no-ča i-pan ni no-pl-čiki
I-it-carry-PAST:DUR my-home its-place this my-DIM-basket in
to go eat them when you started chasing me."
para ni-h-kʷa-ti kema ti-peh-ki ti-neč-toh-toka
for I-it-eat-go when you-start-PAST you-me-chase

12. "Jackrabbits eat fruit,"
ose-lo-kʷa-toči-meh ki-kʷa-h tla-copel-ka-yo-tl
jackrabbit-AN:PL it-eat-PL fruit
said the coyote, "but snakes that are rattlers
ki-ihto' nopa koyo-čiki pero kowa-meh tlen kʷečma-meh
it-said that coyote but snake-AN:PL REL rattler-AN:PL
never eat fruit.
as kema ki-kʷa-h tla-copel-ka-yo-tl
NEG when it-eat-PL fruit

13. Therefore really you are a jackrabbit even though you say no.
wa-hka nelia ta ti-oselo-kʷa-toči maske ti-k⁻ihtowa asčle
therefore really you you-jackrabbit even:though you-it-say no

14. You can fool yourself but you can’t fool me.
well-s ti-mo-kahkayawa-s pero ta as well-s ti-neč-kahkayawa-s
able-FUT you-REFL-fool-FUT but you NEG able-FUT you-me-fool-FUT

15. It is good you are a jackrabbit.
kʷal-ti-tok ta ti-oselo-kʷa-toči
good-CONN-STAT you you-jackrabbit

16. Everybody likes to eat jackrabbits,
noči-meh kin-pak-tiya-h ki-kʷa-s-eh oselo-kʷa-toči-meh
all-AN:PL them-happy-CAUS-PL it-eat-FUT-PL jackrabbit-AN:PL please
but I don’t like to eat snakes that are rattlers."
pero as neč-pak-tiya ni-kin-kʷa-s kowa-meh tlen kʷečma-meh
but NEG me-please I-them-eat-FUT snake-AN:PL REL rattler-AN:PL

17. Therefore that coyote ate that jackrabbit
wa-hka nopa koyo-čiki ki-kʷah-ki nopa oselo-kʷa-toči
therefore that coyote it-eat-PAST that jackrabbit
that was trying to fool him.
tlen ki-neki-yaya ki-kahkayawa-s
REL it-want-PAST:DUR him-fool-FUT
18. Also he ate that little fruit that was
nohkiia ki-k\textsuperscript{W}ah-ki nopa pil-tla-copel-ka-\textsuperscript{Yo-tl} tlen el-toya
also it-eat-PAST that DIM-fruit REL be:located-PAST:PERF

in the little basket of the jackrabbit.
i-\textsuperscript{Pan} i-pil-\textsuperscript{C}ikl nopa oselo-k\textsuperscript{W}a-to\textsuperscript{Ci}
in his-DIM-basket that jackrabbit

19. When that coyote ate the fruit of that
kema nopa koyo-\textsuperscript{Ci}i ki-k\textsuperscript{W}ah-ki i-pil-tla-copel-ka-\textsuperscript{Yo} nopa
when that coyote it-eat-PAST his-DIM-fruit that

jackrabbit, right away he died at the foot of the tree.
oselo-k\textsuperscript{W}a-to\textsuperscript{Ci} niman-ci mih-ki ne k\textsuperscript{W}a-cin-tla
jackrabbit quick-DIM die-PAST that wood-buttocks-place

20. That fruit was very poisonous.
nopa tla-copel-ka-\textsuperscript{Yo-tl} nelia ki-\textsuperscript{Pi}ya-yaya i-pah-\textsuperscript{Yo}
that fruit really it-have-PAST:DUR its-medicine-INAL
I was horse-throw on the road
ni-mo-kawa-tepešwi i-pan oh-til
I-REFL-horse-throw its-place road-ABS
(E dialect)

1. Now this season, April and May, there are spring fields,
aman tonali ni abril mayo onka tonal-mili
now these days this April May be sun-fields
really a lot of pure birds are there.
tlawa nelia san toto-meh ic-tok-eh
really really just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL

2. Those birds didn’t allow us
a=yok teš-kawi-liya-h nopata toto-meh para toWanti
no:longer us-leave-APPLIC-PL those bird-AN:PL for we
allow
to eat that young corn that is in the field.
ma ti-kwa-kah nopate elo-ti
tlen el-tok mila
EXHRT we-eat-IMP:PL that young:corn-ABS REL be-STAT field

3. I can no longer go anywhere; I just guard my field.
na a=yok welikan ni-ya san ni-h-mokšišlawiya no-mila
I no:longer able anywhere I go just I-it-guard my-field

4. It isn’t big; it’s just a little thing, but
aš wey-i san seh pil-ken-ci pero
NEG big-ADJR just a DIM-little-ADJR but
I don’t want to let those birds eat that corn.
aš ni-h-neki ma ki-kwa-kah toto-meh nopate elo-ti
NEG I-it-want EXHRT it-eat-IMP:PL bird-AN:PL that young:corn-ABS

5. And so I was guarding my field, that corn.
Wanihkašni h-mokšišlawi no-mila nopate elo-ti
and so I-it-guarded my-field that young:corn-ABS

6. And I went to buy.
Waniy-ki nitala-kowa-to
and I-go-PAST I-UNSPEC-buy-went

7. I went there to Chapopote to get kerosene.
ni-yah-ki nepa Chapopote ni-h-kwi-to has
I-go-PAST there tar (PN) I-it-get-went gas
8. And it was already late when I left my field;
   Wan ya=tioat ik ni-kis-teh-ki no-mila
   and already=late I-leave-leave-PAST my-field

   I couldn't leave them I was spying on.
   aš well-yaya ni-kin-kah-tewa ni-tla'-piya-yaya
   NEG able-PAST:DUR I-them-leave-leave I-UNSPEC-spy-PAST:DUR

9. And I went and got on leaving my horses,
   Wan ni-yan-ki ni-kin-k'ih-teh-ki no-kawayoh-wa
   and I-go-PAST I-them-get-leave-PAST my-horse-POSS:PL

   and I took one for the load,
   Wan seh ni-h-wika-k para tlamamal-ı
   and one I-it-take-PAST for load-ABS

   and one I took to ride on.
   Wan seh ni-h-wika-k para i-pan ni-yah-ki
   and one I-it-take-PAST for its-place I-go-PAST
   on (it)

10. And I was going along just on the road where those oilmen were fixing.
    Wan ni-yawi-yaya san i-pan oh-tli kampa ki-k'awal-tlali-yaya-h
    and I-go-PAST:DUR just on road-ABS where it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL

    nopa petroleros
    those oilmen

11. But since in places the road was bad,
    pero kehki kanaya aš k'awal-ı nopa oh-tli
    but since in:places NEG good-ADJR that road-ABS

    they were fixing it because it had rained
    ki-k'awal-tlali-yaya-h pampa wec-ki a-tli
    it-good-put-PAST:DUR-PL because fall-PAST water-ABS

    and damaged that road.
    Wan ihtlakah-ki nopa oh-tli
    and damage-PAST that road-ABS

12. And my horse saw those oilmen were working
    Wan nopa no-kawayoh ki-ita-k teki-ti-yaya-h nopa petroleros
    and that my-horse it-see-PAST work-VR-PAST:DUR-PL those oilmen

    putting in (a tube).
    ki-tlali-yaya-h
    it-put-PAST:DUR-PL
13. And my horse did not want to pass.
Wan aš ki-neh-ki pano-s nopa no-kawayo
and NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT that my-horse

14. And after that there I waited some time,
Wan teipa nopa no-kawayo seh one oras
and afterwards there I-wait-PAST time
some

I was watching them for an hour.
ni-kin-tlačilih-tok asta pano-k seh ora
I-them-watch-PRES:PERF until pass-PAST one hour

15. And afterwards I returned again; I didn’t pass
Wan teipa sampa ni-mo-kʷep-ki aš ni-pano-k
and afterward again I-REFL-return-PAST NEG I-pass-PAST

because my horse didn’t want to pass.
pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-neh-ki pano-s
because that my-horse NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT

16. And I already was made because he didn’t want to pass.
Wan ni-kʷalan-ki=ya pampa aš ki-neh-ki pano-s
and I-angry-PAST=already because NEG it-want-PAST pass-FUT

17. Therefore I hit him with the whip.
Wan ni-h-tlali-li’ kʷawasas-tli
and I-hit-APPLI:C:PAST whip-ABS

18. But because my horse didn’t have a bridle,
pero pampa nopa no-kawayo aš ki-wika freno
but because that my-horse NEG it-carry bridle

just a rope, therefore he took me
san i-ka meka-tl yeka neč-wika-k
just its-with rope-ABS therefore me-carry-PAST
with

where he wanted to go.
kampa ya ki-neh-ki ya-s
where he it-want-PAST go-FUT

19. And I hit him with a whip.
Wan ni-h-tlali-li’ seh kʷawasas-tli
and I-him-put-APPLI:C:PAST one whip-ABS
20. Also I was already mad, and he left quickly
no ni-kalan-ki=ya Wan kis-ki čikawa-k
also I-angry-PAST=already and leave-PAST strong-ADJR

and he jumped to one side,
Wan mo-makah-ki seh lado
and REFL-throw-PAST one side

and I also went on one side, and I went falling.
Wan na no ni-yah-ki i-pan seh lado Wan ni-weci-to
and I also I-go-PAST on one side and I-fall-went

21. And there I went falling, and I hurt myself a little here on my shoulder.
Wan nopano ni-weci-to Wan kenci ni-mo-koko’ i-pan nika no-ahkol
and there I-fall-went and a:little I-REFL-hurt on here my-shoulder

22. And then I stood up.
Wan ihkino ni-mo-kec-ki
and then I-REFL-stand-PAST

23. I couldn’t ride the horse any more;
a=yok welli-yaya ni-kawa-tlehko-k
no:longer able-PAST:DUR I-horse-climb-PAST

my shoulder was hurting me.
neč-kokowa-yaya no-ahkol
me-hurt-PAST:DUR my-shoulder

24. And then again I rode even though I had hurt myself a little,
Wan ihkino sampa ni-tlehko-k yonke ači ni-mo-kokoh-ki
and then again I-climb-PAST even:though a:little I-REFL-hurt-PAST

but I circled around; a big circle I made.
pero ni-h-maka-k welta wey-i welta ni-tlali’
but I-it-give-PAST turn big-ADJR turn I-put:PAST

25. And there I went running down the road.
Wan nopano ni-mottaloh-ti-nen-ki i-pan nopah oh-tli
and there I-run-CONN-walk-PAST on that road-ABS
habitually

26. I had really hurt myself.
k’ali ni-mo-koko’
well I-REFL-hurt::PAST

27. And then I thought, it’s nothing else but
Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwi’ aš tlahki se=yok tlaman-tli
and then I-REFL-said NEG nothing one=vet thing-ABS
another
I hurt myself because of those birds that are in the field,  
ni-mo-koko' pampa nopa toto-meh ic-tok-eh mila  
I-REFL-hurt:PAST because those bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL field  
those birds really damaging the young corn.  
nopa toto-meh tlawel ki-ih-tlakoh-k-eh elo-tl  
that bird-AN:PL really it-damage:PAST-PL young:corn-ABS  

28. And so now at this time, this April just birds are there  
Wan yeka ama ni tiempo ni abril san toto-meh ic-tok-eh  
and so now this time this April just bird-AN:PL be-STAT-PL  
where the field is.  
kampa onka mila  
where be field  

29. And I returned; I came like I had been punished because  
Wan ni-mo-k-wep-ki ni-wala keha ni-mo-tlacak-Wiltih-tok pampa  
and I-REFL-turn-PAST I-come like I-REFL-punish-PRES:PERF because  
I was dirty and I was hurt  
ni-sokiyo-tok Wan ni-mo-kokoh-tok  
I-dirty-STAT and I-REFL-hurt-STAT  
because I was horse-thrown.  
pampa ni-mo-kawa-tepešiwih-ki  
because I-REFL-horse-throw-PAST  

30. So I came towards my field; again I arrived at my field;  
ihkino ni-wala-ko para no-mila sampa ni-ahi-ko no-mila  
so I-come-came for my-field again I-arrive-came my-field  
there I came and remained already again.  
nopano ni-mo-kawa-ko=ya=nok  
there I-REFL-leave-came=already=again  
stay  

31. I can’t go anywhere any more.  
g=yok well kana ni-ya  
no:longer able anywhere I-go  

32. And then I thought until I laughed at myself because  
Wan yeka ni-mo-ilwiya asta no ni-mo-wecki-liya pampa  
and then I-REFL-say until also I-REFL-smile-APPLIC because  
think laugh at  
I went around being horse-thrown.  
ni-mo-kawa-tepešiwiti-nemi-yaya  
I-REFL-horse-throw-CONN-walk-PAST:DUR  
habitually
33. And also I wanted to eat.
Wan sampa ni-h-neki ni-tla-ka\textsuperscript{W}a
and again I-it-want I-UNSPEC-eat

34. Until also I smile because really we returned
asta no ni-paki pampa nelia ti-mo-tali-yaya-h
until also I-happy because really we-REFL-put-PAST:DUR-PL
travel
\text{fast because we wanted to eat.}
\text{čikawa-k pampa ti-h-neki-h ti-tla-ka\textsuperscript{W}a-tos-eh}
\text{strong-ADJR because we-it-want-PL we-UNSPEC-eat-FUT:DUR-PL}

35. So I had an injury when also
\text{ihkino ni-h-piš-ki se tla-koko-ka-yo-tl kema no}
so I-it-have-PAST a UNSPEC-hurt-be-ABSTR-ABS when also
\text{injury}
I was horse-thrown.
ni-mo-kawa-tepeššiwi’
I-REFL-horse-throw:PAST

36. My horse threw me, went running, and I also
nopa no-mačo kema neč-makah-ki motlalowa-ya-to Wan na no
that my-horse when me-throw-PAST run-go-went and I also
stood and left; I ran; I went.
ni-mo-kec-ti-kis-ki na ni-motlalo’ ni-yah-ki
I-REFL-stand-CONN-leave-PAST I-Iran I-go-PAST

37. Again I went and grabbed him, and quickly
sampa ni-k-icki-to Wan ni-ma
again I-it-grab-went and right:away
I climbed (on him) again.
sampa ni-tiehko-k
again I-climb-PAST

38. Thus we went running down the road.
\text{ihkino ti-motlaloh-ti-nen-k-eh i-pan oh-tli}
thus we-run-CONN-walk-PAST-PL on road-ABS
\text{habitually}