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**Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

**Volume 3
Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches**

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Foreword

This is the third of a set of four volumes dealing with Uto-Aztecan grammar. The grammatical descriptions in these volumes grew out of a Summer Institute of Linguistics Uto-Aztecan workshop that was held in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, Mexico from January through April 1976. I was invited to be guest director of that workshop and supervised the participants in the preparation of grammatical sketches of the various Uto-Aztecan languages on which they were working. At the end of the workshop it was agreed that the sketches would be revised for publication, resulting in this series. Volume 1 of the series consists of my own *Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar*, which is based on the lecture material I presented during the workshop and provides fundamental information concerning the Uto-Aztecan language family (including both synchronic structure and diachronic evolution) and relevant grammatical concepts. Volume 2, *Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches*, contains sketches of Tetelcingo Nahuatl by David H. Tuggy, North Puebla Nahuatl by Earl Brockway, Huasteca Nahuatl by Richard and Patricia Beller, and Michoacán Nahuatl by William R. Sischo. The present volume contains three sketches (rather than five as originally planned): Northern Paiute represents the Numic subfamily, the northernmost within Uto-Aztecan; Papago and Northern Tepehuan are both members of the Pimic (or Tepiman) subfamily found in Arizona and northern Mexico. Volume 4 will contain sketches of Western Tarahumara by Don Burgess and of Cora by Eugene Casad.

The purpose of these sketches is to provide Uto-Aztecan scholars, linguists generally, and other interested people with reasonably comprehensive basic information about a variety of Uto-Aztecan languages. To facilitate understanding and comparison, we have adopted fairly uniform transcriptions, abbreviations, and formats. These four volumes are to be considered an integral unit. The *Overview* constituting Volume 1 provides the background necessary for appreciation of the individual sketches in Volumes 2-4, which in turn serve to exemplify the points covered in the *Overview* and to make possible ready comparison of the languages treated.

RWL

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Organization

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

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Abbreviations

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

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

NORTHERN TEPEHUAN

Burton Bascom

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INTRODUCTION

Northern Tepehuan is spoken by approximately 8,000 people in the state of Chihuahua in northern Mexico. It belongs to the Tepiman (Pimic) subfamily of Uto-Aztecán. The Tepehuan live scattered around a large area of the Sierra Madre Occidental where Chihuahua borders Sinaloa and Durango. The Baborigame dialect is the larger of two major dialects; the other is spoken in and around Nabogame.

The author has spent over half of the past thirty years living with and translating the New Testament for the Tepehuanes. The principal Tepehuan translator has been Narcisa Molina de Herrera. Nepomuceno Bueno helped during the preparation of this sketch. Others who have helped in years past, or whose stories or letters or other taped materials have been used in the analysis and as illustrative examples, are Celestino Carrillo, Adelaido Bueno, José Valencia, and Hermenejildo Carrillo.

The only extant grammar of Northern Tepehuan is Benito Rinaldini's *Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana*, Mexico 1743. Current linguistic studies are: K.L. Pike, R.P. Barrett, and B. Bascom's 'Instrumental Collaboration on a Tepehuan (Uto-Aztecán) Pitch Problem', *Phonetica* 3.1-22 (1959); Burt Bascom's 'Tonomechanics of Northern Tepehuan', *Phonetica* 4.71-88 (1959); Bascom's unpublished dissertation, *Proto-Tepiman (Tepehuan-Piman)*, University of Washington, 1965; and Nancy Woo's 'Tone in Northern Tepehuan', *IJAL* 36.18-30 (1970).

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tʸ	k
b	d	dʸ	g
v	s	ʃ	h*
m	n	ɱ	
		ɛ	

i	ɨ	u
	o	
	a	

Vowel length is interpreted as geminate clusters.

l

Tone: there are two tones, high tone /´/ and low tone (unmarked).

r

*Note that h stands for the velar fricative [x].

Stress is noncontrastive. It is freely fluctuation in many words. ě is found in relatively few words. In most of these ě fluctuates with š or tʸ or both. Nonfluctuating: čffki a few vs. šiffki how many?.

Intonation, when marked, will be indicated by a raised arrow: ↗.

Major Phonological Processes

Allophonic Variation

Stops, fricatives, and nasals have long allophones following #(C)V̄.

Velars have back variants preceding o or a.

n or ñ becomes ŋ before velars.

Vowels become voiceless before pause.

Morphophonemic Alternation

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \\ s \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t^y \\ d^y \\ \tilde{n} \\ \tilde{s} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{adjacent to } l, \text{ š, } \tilde{n}$$

Exceptions include:

tasíána	in the sun	(cf. táσαι sun)
kāšiat íí	he already went	
mianíóma	closer	(cf. míánai close)
miadíáva	he <u>did</u> come in	(cf. míadí come in)

Loss of velar consonants and d is frequent following a high-toned syllable. vtgí-kíd + > vígííd + the red ones.

Loss of word final vowel(s) or syllable occurs in fast speech. vóorai who? > vóor góó who is that?; kífga good, well > kíff máátí he knows very well.

v > p in reduplicated forms. váák + enter > vapák + enter repeatedly. For some speakers vapák + > papák +.

Vowel harmony is not infrequent. tatáka roots / tatákírii it is getting roots; áálitʸu to cause to become small / áálitʸírii it is shrinking.

For a more complete phonemic statement see Bascom's
Proto-Tepiman.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Normal word order for sentences in descriptive discourse is as follows: Major (i.e., nuclear) constituents are V S O. Only V is obligatory. Peripheral constituents are somewhat free as to their order.

INTR TIME MAN LOC V S O LOC COM BEN INSTR

dal saapáto-ko čivuaavúá-fā^yiri 1h-1 aatfnt
and Saturday-TEMP PN-from RDP-went we
PL

meehko amákoga
PN towards
And on Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

takávo savfll piid^yúru itmádu ándrtšl mui ffkoll
yesterday bought PN with PN many orange

šán Im-vttárt gi-tumfñšl-ga-ktdt
me me-for their-money-POSSD-with
Yesterday Peter and Andrew bought many oranges for me
with their own money.

Topicalization

A constituent may be emphasized by placing it before the V.

piid^yúru=a-t savfll go-ffkoll
PN=B=COMPL bought the-orange
Peter bought the oranges.

aánt ffgi glñ-gtfgt
I alone REFL-hit
I alone hit myself.

navšit^yi yffi gñ-gir-du-ktdt
corn drink RDP-big-QNT-AG
liquor PL
Adults drink corn liquor.

Pronoun Copies

A subject clitic occurs following the first constituent of an independent clause. The subject clitic co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

g̃ti=á=n=t ááñt̃
feil=B=I=COMPL I
I feil.

An object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

plid^Yúru iñ-g̃t̃fg̃t̃ ááñt̃
PN me-hit me
Peter hit me.

An indirect object pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

ááñt̃ giñ-máá f̃gai imó f̃fkoli
me me-gave he one orange
He gave me an orange.

The set of object pronoun prefixes occurs also with post-positional elements (locative, comitative, benefactive, etc.).

tán dāha go-dáí-karoi ááñt̃ iñ-t̃bt̃gi
here sit the-sit-INTR me me-behind
Here's the chair behind me.

A possessor pronoun occurs prefixed to a noun (except for 3P POSSR, which is a suffix) and co-occurs with an optional independent pronoun.

kavámi kōko ááñt̃ giñ-t̃^Yoóna
hard hurt my my-knee
My knee really hurts.

A reflexive pronoun occurs prefixed to the verb and co-occurs with an independent pronoun.

f̃f̃gi g̃t̃-g̃t̃fg̃t̃ f̃gai
alone REFL-hit him
He hit himself.

f̃f̃gi f̃gai g̃t̃-g̃t̃fg̃t̃ f̃gai
alone he REFL-hit him
He hit himself.

f̃f̃gi ááñt̃ giñ-g̃t̃fg̃t̃ ááñt̃ cf. plid^Yúru giñ-g̃t̃fg̃t̃ ááñt̃
alone I REFL-hit me PN me-hit me
I hit myself. Peter hit me.

The subject pronoun clitic occurs also preceding WH words and conjunctions and co-occurs with an independent pronoun. The conjunction and the WHW occur first in the clause, the independent pronoun following the verb.

n=ai ntid^yi-ña áání kíámo-ko
 I=and saw-PAST I morning-TEMP
 DUR

And I saw (them) in the morning.

n=oor áání

I=who I
 Who am I?

A slightly different set of subject pronoun clitics occurs following a verb preceding ágai *INTEN* will, gonna or agáftadai *IMPRF INTEN*. These pronoun clitics co-occur with an independent pronoun.

imi=á=iñ ágai áání
 go=B=I will I
 I'm going to go.

Presumptive and Resumptive Pronoun Constructions

A presumptive pronoun construction is attested with pronominalized numerals or quantifiers.

vff gooká-tai bir-íímti †-kí-kffli
 all two-PRONR this-come the-RDP-man
 way PL PL

Here come the two men.

Adverbial constructions relating to location and time (and manner) all display presumptive "pronoun" constructions.

Location constructions with adverbial demonstratives:

vófbid^yi aatfnt gáámo báág †bfgi
 went we there eagle behind
 around
 We went around behind Eagle Mountain.

A discontinuous adverbial demonstrative construction:

tán dáha áání glñ-kil-f-rí
 here sit I my-house-LOC-in
 Here I am in my house.

A resumptive pronoun construction:

áid^Y+ši vúsai vuaána áid^Y+ agosto †r gfi
 when came PN then PN be big
 out

bait^Yf křáá-kam!-ka-tadai room-f-r†
 ahead stand-AG-STAT-PAST PN-LOC-in
 chief CONT

When John was born, then Augustus was the Emperor in Rome.

Clefting

The cleft sentence construction involves a subject followed by a pronoun which translates as *X is the one*. This expression is followed by *and* plus a clause. The whole sentence is translated as *X is the one who did Y*.

piid^Yúru fgai dal b†f go-úúnu-l
 PN he and grasped the-corn-ABS
 Peter is the one who took the corn.

adeláido-av fgai dald^Y+ asav†li go-ffkoli
 PN-AFF he and bought the-orange
 Adelaido is the one who bought the oranges.

Apposition

When two nouns occur in apposition, the second further identifies (modifies) the first.

vá† tasá-†-k†d† d^Y†viaid^Y+ †-k†l†-ódamí
 three day-ABS-with came the-male-person
 old man

kuná-d† řiank† só† mášš†† l†d^Yu†
 husband-her one bad appear did
 who evil

After three days the old man, husband of her-who-did-bad, came.

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

dal	and	INTR	SS
tal	and	INTR	DS
dɨmos ~ dɨɨ	but	INTR	
ɨtmádu	and, with		(joins two nouns to form compound SUBJ/OBJ)
ʒɨfpɨ ~ ʒɨf	or		(joins nouns, phrases, or clauses)
dant ~ dan	and	INTR	

See COORDINATION for a more detailed discussion and examples of conjunctions.

Adverbs

tɨdo ~ tɨdu	well, then
fpɨ	also
ɨpɨpɨ/ɨpámu ~ ɨpá	again
vɨʒkɨrɨ ~ vɨf	still, yet, nevertheless
mos-	just, only
áɨd ^y ɨʒɨ	at that time
áɨd ^y ɨ	then
amááʒɨ	when
káʒɨ ~ ká=	already, now
kɨá	yet

ɨmɨda-n̄ t^yɨdo
go-IMP then
Go then!/Well, go on!

áán fpɨ tɨgɨt^yo ɨmóko
I also need one
I need one too.

ʒɨáɨd^yɨ-ko ɨpá nóra
next-TEMP again go
day back
The next day he went back again.

vɨʒkɨrɨ toóʒɨ va-páki-i toma-ʒɨáá-dɨrɨ
still rabbit RDP-enter-PRES any-where-from
REPET
Still Rabbit kept getting in anywhere!

mos-imó pá-díri va-páki-i toóši
just-one where-from RDP-enter-PRES rabbit
REPET

Rabbit kept getting in at just one place.

amáši tiváni-kai ka=vff navámu-a-n táda ááni
then get-when already=all drunk-STAT-might feel I
off

When I got off I felt like I was drunk.

kaši=a=t íí pílli dímos mai=kíá d^yívia dulíansa
already=B=PERF went PN but not=yet come PN
Phillip has gone but Lencho has not come yet.

Polarity

†hf	yes
čúu/čóo/číúu	no
mai	NEG (preposed to AUX)
par†	NEG, not yet
-ava	EMPH, AFF (SF to verbs, nouns, pronouns)
d ^y í	EMPH (occurs at end of sentence)
gíá	AFF, really
alíf	very
maiší	not very, not really
bai	a bit
palípi	a little bit
váá	the very one

†hf	cf.	BIRD	18; also COY 9.
mai	cf.	BIRD	2, 3, 15, 19, 21, 25; COY 3, 10, 18, 20, 21.
d ^y í	cf.	BIRD	3, 5; also COY 12, 17, 20, 22, 23.
gíá	cf.	BIRD	9, 25; also COY 19, 21, 24, 25.
alíf	cf.	BIRD	10.
maiší	cf.	BIRD	19.
váá	cf.	BIRD	11.
bai	cf.	COY	3.
čúu	cf.	COY	10.
-ava	cf.	COY	17, 22.

par† tígít^yo ááni
not need I
yet
I don't need it yet.

mai t^yígít^yo ááni kíá
not need I yet
I don't need it yet.

dagít^yo-ñi ši=d^yuvá-na palípi
leave-IMP SUBR=rot-POT a
little

Let it rot a little.

go-toóš'i alířši a-ř+ří-d^yi tłígi
the-rabbit very UNSPEC-rob-APPLIC wheat
OBJ

The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

Modal

=ši Question (cf. QUESTIONS)
 =sa~s= Quotative

The QUOT clitic =sa occurs as the final element of the QUOT clitic group which is: =SUBJ:PRON=s_a. The QUOT clitic group may occur following the verb or following other elements which precede the verb.

imf-na=př=s_a
go-POT=you=QUOT
He says you should go.

gáámo=a=př=s_a imf-na
there=B=you=QUOT go-POT
He says you should go there.

s= QUOT occurs preposed to CNJ and WHW. See COORDINATION and QUESTIONS.

ři=~iř= SUBR (if, so that)

řgal óóha iř=maakřdř áági-d^yi áa iř=maakřd=řr
he wrote SUBR=that told-APPLIC others SUBR=who=be
which

nřihá-da-mi
see-APPLIC-NR
He wrote what others who were witnesses told him.

See sections on complex sentences for further examples.

Subject Clitics

	SG	PL
1P	n ~ an ~ iñ	t ~ ti ~ tit
2P	p ~ pt ~ pi	m ~ mt
3P	∅	

See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for a more detailed analysis of the pronouns.

Tense/Aspect

TNS/ASP morphemes are suffixes except in verb Stem III, the PERF(ECTIVE) stem, where they are treated as clitics:

=ta	Completive
=t ^y iki	Completive Definite
=t ^y i	Completive Indefinite

See also NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION.

Auxiliary

The auxiliary group is a group of clitics phonologically bound to the first constituent of an independent clause. The BASE drops out in some cases. The structure of the auxiliary group is:

BASE=SUBJ=NEG=TNS/ASP/MDL

The AUX group occurs as enclitic to verbs, pronouns, and adverbs.

gíi=á=n=ta
fell=B=I=COMPL
 I fell.

ááni=a=n=t íí
I=B=I=COMPL went
 I went.

káši=a=n=t íí
already=B=I=COMPL went
 I already went.

káši=a=n=mai=ta imt-da
now=B=I=NEG=COMPL go-?
 (any more)
 I'm not going to go now.

gíí=ñ=t^yiki
fell=I=COMPL
 DEF
 I fell.

gíí=ñ=ši
fell=I=Q
 Did I fall?

imf-na=pt=sa
 go-POT=you=QUOT
 He says you should go.

gáámo=a=pt=sa imf-na
 there=B=you=QUOT go-POT
 He says for you to go there.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

∅ Stative or existential, signalled by juxtaposition of noun-noun, noun-pronoun, quantifier-noun, WHW-pronoun, adverb-adjective, adjective-noun.
 tʸíípu NEG existential (can occur with mai not) there isn't any
 oidʸága POS existential (can occur with mai not) to live, there are
 -ka STAT
 naáto to become
 -tu to become (probably related to naáto)
 ír to be
 dáha/daráha to sit SG/PL
 kifka/guúka to stand SG/PL
 kaát/vuúttf to lie SG/PL
 víí to remain
 -mu~-mt to be

kifli áánť
 man I
 I am a man.

múí-dʸu kif-ki
 many-QNT RDP-house
 PL
 There are lots of houses.

gf-do i-áki
 big-QNT this-stream
 This stream is big.

sťlíf-kđđ uuži-ga móval
 straight-with tree-ADJR there
 It's really woodsy there.

v=66r g66val
 3P=who that
 Who is that?

alí t66ñi
 very hot
 It's very hot.

kítgádo flídʸi áánť iš=gi-oohí-dʸa-gł
 good thought I SUBR=you-write-APPLIC-UNR
 I thought it was good that I write you.

šⁱ=ffki-du-ka-tadai
Q=how-QNT-STAT-PAST
many CONT
 How many were there?

t^yiípu tomali imóko
there not one
isn't even
any
 There isn't even one.

t^yiipú-ka-tadai
there-STAT-PAST
isn't CONT
any
 There weren't any.

oid^yága múl-d^yu kíí-ki
there many-QNT RDP-house
are PL
 There are many houses.

go-vosíki naáto naakámuli
that-mouse become bat
 The mouse becomes a bat.

ka=kílí-t^yu áán† ka=óóñ-t^ya iñ-†ííd^yi
already=man-become I already=wife-make REFL-want
 Now that I'm a man I want to get married.

šán=†r kííli
I=be man
 I am a man.

váá dáha pailíši
where sit PN
 Where's Feliz?

kii-d^y-án kííka g†-sóí-ga gogóóši
house-his-at stand your-DOM-POSSD dog
 Your dog is outside.

dulíansa kli-d^y†-r† guúka g†-so-sóí-ga góógoši
PN house-his-at stand your-RDP-DOM-POSSD dogs
PL PL
 Your dogs are at Lencho's house.

mo kaát† i-gí kai
there lie that-plow
 There's the plow.

g†n-áádunu-mu fgai
RCPR-relatives-be those
 They are married couples/
 relatives/companions.
 (cf. adúñi relative)

mo vuff†† g†r-so-sóí-ga šⁱ-šⁱvatu
there lie our-RDP-DOM-POSSD RDP-goat
PL PL PL
 There are our goats.

g†n-šⁱ-šⁱ††-m† fgai
their-RDP-sibling-be those
RCPR PL
 They are siblings/cousins.

vuañí-ka-m víí giñ-kií
clean-STAT-NR remained my-house
My house is clean.

HAVE

∅ *to have is signalled by the juxtaposition of noun-noun, noun-pronoun, adjective-noun, NP-NP, etc. If the possessed noun ends in -i, the -i becomes -t.*

víáa *to have*
 óí^d *to follow*
 t^yíípu *there is not, there are not*

gííka go-kííli	móo áánt
<i>plow the-man</i>	<i>head I</i>
<i>The man has a plow.</i>	<i>I have a head.</i>

díí=pt=ší
mother=you=Q
Do you have a mother?

t-takúku gíá áána mai=šíú nóvi
the-chicken AFF wing not=no hand
A chicken has wings, not hands.

óódami gíá t^fnt mai=šíú úusu
people AFF mouth not=no beak
People have a mouth, not a beak.

t-ffst-kami t^lígi maa-mára góóka ááli
the-plant-AG wheat RDP-child two little
PL ones
The owner of the wheat field has two little children.

alí tumíñši-ga t-gáágar-dami
very money-ADJR the-sell-AG
The merchant has lots of money.

úurugi mai=t^ya fsai tomali mai víáa gin-troohó-ga
birds not=COMPL plant not not have their-store-POSSD
INDEF even own house
Birds don't plant, nor do they have storehouses.

iñ-óí^d sósoi dal tóík-d^yagai
me-follow cold and hot-ABSTR
I have a cold and a fever.

The following sentences represent BE (-ka STAT) or HAVE (Ø).

†-kóóyi	duukát†	aimfrai	{ mai t ^Y iipú-ka-tai f-fkaso-d† not there-STAT-while RDP-leg-his isn't PL any }
the-snake	how	get around	
			{ mai f-fkaso-ka-tai not RDP-leg-STAT-while PL }

How does a snake get around, { not having any any legs?
since he is legless? }

mai	díí-ka-mi	go-áli
not	mother-STAT-NR	the-little
	AG	one

The child has no mother./The child is motherless.

DO

dúúnui	to make, do
†pi-dúúnui	to happen (also-do)
ivuááyi	to do (used only in IMPRF)
-tai	to make

tumá	dúñi	ágai	áápi	štóro-ko
what	do	will	you	tomorrow-TEMP

What are you going to do tomorrow?

duñí-mu	áán†	†mó	asárai	kurúí-k†d†
make-FUT	I	one	basket	palm-with

I'm going to make a basket with palm leaves.

káši	†pi-duí	vííši	íš=t ^Y umááši	giñ-áági-d ^Y i	†gai
already	happen	all	SUBR=what	me-told-APPLIC	that
					one

íš=†pi-duñí	á	agáí-t ^Y adai
SUBR=happen	will	will-PAST
		CONT

All that he told me would happen has already happened.

tumá	vúááyi
what	do

What are you doing?

mff kóíd^Ya ga-vaakí-t^Yai giñ-t^Yuúba
 there below UNSPEC-house-make my-father
 INDOBJ -in-law
 My father-in-law is building a house down below.

NONDISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Reflexive

There are four reflexive pronoun prefixes, as seen below. (Second person singular and plural have merged with third person singular and plural respectively.)

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ-	(g) tr-
2P/3P	(g) t-	(g) tn-

The reflexive pronouns may co-occur with subject pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are used for simple reflexive, reciprocal, or for the passive. A few verbs always occur with the reflexive prefix.

giñ-ñfíd^Yi áánt ntid^Yá-karol-któt
 myself-see I see-INSTR-with
 I see myself in the mirror.

vffš-ka-tal gtn-gt-gffgt aipá-koga
 all-STAT-PRONR themselves-RDP-hit all-towards
 PL directions
 They all hit each other.

ffgi áánt giñ-gffgt áánt
 alone I myself-hit I
 I hit myself.

káši=a=pt=t gt-ši šáp! gt-yúúkuš!
 already=B=you=COMPL yourself-put you your-clothes
 on
 You already put on your own clothes.

plid^Yuru gi-kíffstmai ffgi fgai
 PN himself-scratched alone he
 Peter scratches only himself.

Passive

Passive is always marked with a reflexive prefix:

gi-aag-áva iñ-š=imí-ági
 REFL-must-AFF I-SUBR=go-UNR
 I ought to go.

Cf. áágai as used with the whole set of reflexive pronouns, in which case it means *to be needed*:

alí-ši iñ-áágai ááni vavfli-ana
 very-INTNS REFL-need I PN-in
 I'm really needed in Baborigame.

alí-ši ír-áágai aatímt vavfli-ana
 very-INTNS REFL-need we PN-in
 We're really needed in Baborigame.

Verbs which always occur with reflexive prefixes:

giáágai to begin (cf. COY 16)
 giááhagti to begin
 gitóúmadai to get well

dai amááší káši iñ-t^Yóúmada-n táda ááni
 and then already REFL-feel-POT felt I
 better
 And by that time I felt better.

suúši víááka-tadai pari imó kóbai dan balvušt^Yááma
 Jesus have-PAST about one twenty and ten
 CONT

uumígi áíd^Yíši gi-áágai gi-aadúíñ-d^Yaga
 years when REFL-began his-work-ABSTR
 Jesus was thirty years old when his work was begun.

Unspecified Arguments

ga- UNSPEC POSSR/INDOBJ/OBJ of VERB/OBJ of P
 m+= ~m= UNSPEC SUBJ

The unspecified possessor pronoun *ga-* is prefixed to nouns. It co-occurs with the suffix *-ga* POSSD.

ga-ma-mááti-tul-d^ya-dami-ga
 UNSPEC-RDP-know-BEN-APPLIC-AG-POSSD
 REPET
 someone's teacher

mo dáha ga-sóí-ga (gogóóší)
 there sit UNSPEC-DOM-POSSD dog
 There's someone's dog.

The unspecified indirect object pronoun *ga-* is prefixed to ditransitive verbs.

ga-óótoš-d^yi áán† imó takúku kaayá-mu
 UNSPEC-sent-APPLIC I one chicken street-to
 I sent a chicken to the village.

To see the function of *ga-*, compare the preceding sentence with the following:

óótoš-d^yi áán† vúáána †mó takúku
 sent-APPLIC I PN one chicken
 I sent John a chicken.

The unspecified object pronoun *ga-* is prefixed to transitive verbs. Since *ga-* sometimes occurs along with an explicit object, the meaning of UNSPEC here must be qualified. *ga-* is not used with a specified object when that object is made emphatic or is contextually identified as the specific center of interest or comparison. Note the contrast in the following sentences.

mo daráha mui óódami ga-yff-i (naváit^yi)
 there sit many people UNSPEC-drink-PRES corn
 PL liquor
 There are a lot of people drinking (corn liquor).

yff-i vííba-i ááli naváit^yi yff-i
 drink-PRES milk-ABS children corn drink-PRES
 liquor

gf-gír-du-k†d†
 RDP-bíg-QNT-AG
 PL
 Children drink milk, adults drink corn liquor.

The use of *ga-* with a specified object may convey some type of partitive notion as seen with verbs such as *eat* and *drink*. With verbs such as *burn* or *curse* which resist a partitive interpretation, *ga-* does not co-occur with a specified object.

fgai mfhi eskúéla
he burned school
He burned down the school.

go-kfíli kffda-i gí-ooñí-ga
the-man cursed-PRES his-wife-POSSD
own
The man cursed his own wife.

Swallow a pill contrasts with *eat* and *drink* in that *pill-swallowing* tends to be an all-or-nothing affair; thus *ga-* cannot be used in the following sentence where the object is specified:

fgai baá imó doad^{yí}-gami pastíya
he swallowed one cure-AG pill
He swallowed a pill.

But *ga-* does occur with *baá* in the following sentence where the object is not specified.

go-óódami ga-ti-tfñi-a-ki-d^{yí}
the-people UNSPEC-RDP-mouth-STAT-TRNSR-APPLIC
REPET VR

ga-baá dan vúááyi
UNSPEC-swallow ? do/make
People open their mouths wide to swallow.

The unspecified postpositional object *ga-* is prefixed to postpositions.

ga-báít^{yí} dáha ga-tbfgl dáha
UNSPEC-in sit UNSPEC-behind sit
front of It's behind someone.
It's in front of someone.

The unspecified subject pronoun *mí=* occurs as a proclitic to conjunctions and *WHW*.

mí=tai tfhai t-óódami sai ímí-na šíááko vuvááha
UNSPEC=and order the-people that go-POT where come
SUBJ PL PL PL

mt=sal fkaId^Ya-na
 UNSPEC=BO count-POT
 SUBJ that

And they ordered the people to go to the place where they were born so that they might count them.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

=š̌i	Q
ǝ	Q
↗rising intonation	Q
mal=š̌iǝ	not=no TAG Q

=š̌i always occurs preceded by a SUBJ pronoun clitic. The Q CLT group occurs either following a verb or following certain particles which precede the verb. It also occurs following nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and adverbs.

kóí=pi=š̌i
 slept=you=Q
 Did you sleep?

kóí=pi=š̌i
 snake=you=Q
 Are you a snake?

vi+ñí-ga=ǝ=š̌i
 tasty-ADJR=it=Q
 Is it good tasting?

*mal=ǝ=š̌i íd^Yi utú dai=ǝ=š̌i
 another=it=Q this new=it=Q
 Is this another one, is it new?

††gí=pi=š̌i dáhá
 alone=you=Q sit
 Are you alone? (cf. also BIRD 1; COY 7, 8.)

ǝ always occurs at the end of the clause with extra-high tone (intonation).

áápi ǝ
 And you? (response to *How are you?*)
 (cf. also BIRD 4; COY 8.)

Rising intonation on the final syllable of the last word or particle in a clause is another way of indicating a question.

káakā
taste

Q

How does it taste?

mááši góó
appear that

Q

What does it look like?

(cf. also BIRD 7, 17.)

čigíá mááši go-yóóšigai mai=šíú
pretty appear the-flower not=no
The flower is pretty, isn't it?

Some verbs occur in interrogative sentences with no overt marker.

mááši go-tišívagai
appear the-lizard
What does the lizard
look like?

úuvai góóvai
smell that
one
What does it smell like?

túíga go-óódami
character the-person
What kind of a person is he?

WH Questions

máášktđđ ~ maaktđđ	which one?
duukátaí ~ dúúka ~ dúú	how?
túíga-ko	when? (at what particular time)
tuí=ši ~ tuí	why?
tumáá=ši ~ tumá	what?
v=óórai ~ vóór	who?
v=aakoga ~ vááko ~ váá	where?
v=ítkí	when? (past)
v=ffkid ^Y u ~ vffki ~ vff	how many?
v=ffšíga ~ vffsi ~ vff	how much?
v=ffš-kidđ	when? (future)
v=úíd ^Y uru	what size?
v=uu	what time?

Question words occur initially in the sentence. In embedded clauses they are preceded only by the subordinating proclitic ši= ~ iš=.

The first two WHW are single morphemes.

mááktđđ áága-i
which want-PRES
one
Which one does he want?

dúú taapáni-na go-ááyí ffgí
how break-POT the-olla alone
How could the olla break by itself?

túíga-ko occurs with the temporal suffix -ko.

túíga-k=+r tasá-ga-dí
when-TEMP=be day-POSSD-his
When is his saint's day (birthday)?

The next two WHW occur with the Q CLT =ši.

tuf=pt=ši iñ-gffgt
why=you=Q me-hit
Why did you hit me?

tumáá=ši góó dai ód dán káátí
what=Q that and rock on lie
What's that on the rock?

The remaining WHW occur with subject pronoun clitics plus a set of aspect clitics, in the following order: SUBJ=ASP=WHW.

	SUBJ		ASP
	SG	PL	
1P	n ~ an ~ iñ	tít ~ tí	t COMPL s QUOT ši DUB
2P	p ~ pí	m ~ mí	
3P	v ~ Ø		

n, p, v, tít, m occur before a vowel.
 an, pí, Ø, tí, mí occur before a consonant.
 iñ occurs before š.

n=óór áánt
I=who I
Who am I?

p=óór áápi
you=who you
Who are you?

v=óór góóvai
he=who he
Who is he?

tít=óór aatfnt
we=who we
Who are we?

m=óór aapímt
 you=who you
 PL PL
 Who are you PL?

Ø=t=óór dáívusai t+kíápo
 he=COMPL=who passed earlier
 Who went by earlier?

dai aapímt ǫ m+káft^Yi an=s=óór áání
 and you Q you=say I=QUOT=who I
 PL
 And you PL? Whom do you PL say that I am?

ší=óór máátí iš=t^Yumáá=ší-ka-mu góóval
 DUB=who know SUBR=what=Q-STAT-FUT he
 Who knows what he will turn out to be?

p=áá	imí ágai	pi=t=t+kí	d ^Y ívia
you=where go will		you=COMPI=when came	
Where are you going?		PAST	
		When did you come?	

Ø=ší=ííš-k+dí imí-mu góó
 he=DUB=how-with go-FUT he
much
 when
 FUT

When will he go?

v=úíd^Yuru gí-sóí-ga miišít^Yu
 he=what your-DOM-POSSD cat
 size
 What size is your cat?

v=úú dúúku šívi
 it=how time now
 much
 What time is it now?

By this analysis vff preceding dúúku > vuu by vowel harmony. Some of the WHW take verbalizing suffix -ka plus verb inflections and auxiliary verbs ágai *is going to* and agáítadai *was going to*. Cf. the example above involving išt^Yumáášíikamu *What will he be?*

vúáána tfftti gin-mára
 PN call your-child
 PL

Your wife will have a child and you PL will call him John.

Either of the two nonperfective verb stems, and Stem I plus
 -i PRES, can be used for the imperative (cf. STEMS).

bái bífkai go-doad^Yi-ga-mi
 this carry the-cure-ADJR-NR
 way
 Bring the medicine here!

bái im-bíí-d^Ya go-so-sóna-karoi
 this me-carry-APPLIC the-RDP-tap-INSTR
 way REPET
 Bring me the hammer!

vífškiri bái vúáapi lffči kúá-daga-i
 still this bring a eat-ABSTR-ABS
 way little
 Bring me some food anyhow!

náa
 here
 Here (take this)!

For an example of NEG IMP, cf. COY 10.

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-š <i>i</i>	DIM
-karo	deceased
-baro	used to be mine
-dad <i>t</i>	PRSNR

ki*t*li-š*i*
male-DIM
little boy

imó kaho*o*ñi-*f*-ri-ri mi=t*t*=tff glñ-oogá-karo
one box-LOC-in UNSPEC=COMPL=laid my-father-deceased
SUBJ

They laid my deceased father in a coffin.

bir-ími-i glñ-ooñi-baro daid^Y*t* kiisá-tugal
this-come-PRES my-wife-former and put-coming
way on

glñ-vanámo-baro dai dán dá*f*-t^Yugal glñ-soi-gá-baro
my-hat-former and on mounted-come my-DOM-POSSD-former
Here comes my ex-wife, wearing my old hat, riding the
burro that used to be mine.

ookí-á <i>d</i> <i>t</i>	ookí-á <i>d</i> <i>i</i>
woman	man
female (cf. óóki woman)	male (cf. kífli man)

V + X = N

-karo	INSTR, place where action occurs, -able
-baro	has been Ved
-gai/dagai/ragai	ABSTR
-dad <i>t</i>	PRSNR
-mi	NR
-di	NR

dai m*u*í-d^Y*u* t*t*-t*f*vi-karo-i š*í*ááko ga-t*t*-t*f*v*t*i
and many-QNT^T RDP-play-INSTR-ABS where UNSPEC-RDP-play
CONT^T PL

ááli

little

ones

And there were many playthings where children play.

młłi-karo-i

run-INSTR-ABS

a row of adobes

dai úuru tudái-karo-na mos-šikóli vopóyi uh-úru
and bird jump-INSTR-at just-around run RDP-bird
PL PL

And at the airport the planes just circled around.

mai-t^y=ir tıtgı-karo-i i-súñali

not=COMPL=be see-INSTR-ABS the-spirit

The spirit is not visible.

mfi-baro

burn-has

been

ash residue from burning

šivi úš kóódyı-rı dáha iñ-d^yagıt^yo-baro
now wood dead-in sit my-leave-has

been
ex-wife

My ex-wife now lives in Deadwood.

bó-dırt sóı máá taáta múı-d^yu bíúgi-gai
here-from poor appear feel much-QNT hungry-ABSTR
that-from suffer
time

From that time on he suffered much hunger.

čeno gıá=ir íıva-tıra-ka-mi dımos mai=šıú óbai
PN AFF=be play-CHAR-STAT-NR but not=no Mestizo
AG

tudái-d^yagı-rı vittárt

dance-ABSTR-at for

Cheno is really a musician, but he does not play for
Mestizo dances.

i-kúági ñamf-ga imó kóbai vúáapa-ragai dai imó
the-firewood pay-ABSTR one twenty bring-ABSTR and one
worth

kóbai dŭíñ-d^Yagai
twenty make-ABSTR

Firewood costs twenty cents to bring and twenty cents to make.

dai múf-d^Yu bíúgikoi-d^Yad† ga-gáágai-t^Yadai aadŭíñ-d^Yagai
and many-QNT hungry-PRSNR RDP-look-PAST work-ABSTR
 PL CONT for CONT

And many hungry people were looking for work.

The nominalizing suffix *-mi* combines with verbal or adjectival morphemes to form the three agentive suffixes: *-dami*, *-gami*, and *-kami*. *-da-mi* APPLIC-NR seems to focus on one who is doing or can do V; *-ga-mi* ADJR-NR appears to focus on one who is characterized by doing or being V or ADJ; *-ka-mi* seems to focus on one who does V for a living, all the time, or very well, or on the thing to which V is done.

†sá-dami
plant-AG
planter

soomá-dami
sew-AG
one who sews

t†-t†v†-ku-dami
RDP-play-CHAR-AG
 CONT
gambler

-kami AG has an alternate form *-k†d†* (probably from *-ka-d†* STAT:VR-NR by vowel harmony) which occurs in a discourse. At the first reference to a *one who...* *-kami* is used, in all subsequent references to this same person or thing the form *-k†d†* is used.

†š†-d^Ya-kami
plant-APPLIC-AG
planter
(one's vocation)

†š†-kami
plant-AG
a planting
(that which is planted)

†s†-kami
plant-AG
one who owns a planting

v††g†-kami
red-AG
one which is red

kó†-hara-kami
down-?-AG
a downriver man

valká-du-k†-d†
three-QNT-STAT-NR

VR
 AG
The Three (Orion's Belt)

ADJ + X = N

- mi NR (cf. V + -mi = N for comment on -gami as agentive)
 -dad† PRSNR (this may be two morphemes)
 -p† NR (p† < pa < vaa < váákoga where)

tudáf-tira-ga-mi
 dance-CHAR-ADJR-NR
 AG

dancer

íva-tira-ga-mi
 play-CHAR-AG
 music

one who likes to play music

bfí-vuli-gami
 grab-CHAR-AG
 thief

parf-gami
 lazy-AG
 lazy person

mo kifka go-kffli omáli-gami i-ttká-ra-kami saagíd^{ya}
 there stand the-man mean-AG the-up-?-AG among
 upriver
 people

There stands the mean man among the upriver people.

imó kffli maa-mára-ka-tadai góoka k†-kffli t-aid^{y†}
 one man RDP-child-STAT-PAST two RDP-male DS-then
 PL CONT

i-gookí-fr-dad† po-t†-tfdai g†-óoga
 the-two-ORD-PRSNR thus-RDP-said his-father
 DUR

A man had two sons and the younger one said to his father...

vff gooká-tai víáa báá-baki gooká-p†-r†
 all two-PRONR have RDP-house two-where-in
 PL

Both of them have houses in two places.

VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-ta	to make a N
-ka	STAT
-piga	PRIV
-sa	to hit with N
-rt	to become N or Ned
-mada	put on
-da	VR

mo dáha giñ-úli ga-súáá-ta-i
there sit my-mother's UNSPEC-blanket-make-PRES
mother INDOBJ
There's my grandmother making a blanket!

ka k††lí-ka paranšíšiko
already man-STAT PN
Frank is a man now. (cf. COY 22)

óótoma óda-piga-ñi go-bávi dai idYóra
quickly rock-PRIV-IMP the-beans and cook(them)
Clean the rocks out of the beans quickly and cook them.

ší=úú dúúku g†n-ko-kóda-i †-š†-š†vatu š††li
DUB=how time RCPR-RDP-fight-PRES the-RDP-goat straight
much DUR PL

gu-gúúka-i vu-púí-dY††† g†n-koová-í-ša-i
RDP-stand-PRES RDP-eye-from RCPR-forehead-ABS-hit-PRES
DUR up PL
PL

*When goats fight they stand up straight facing each other
 and butt one another.*

ka ta-tákt-rt-i go-yatóvara
already RDP-root-become-PRES the-potato
PL

The potato is getting roots.

dáí-karo-mada-i	kukúruš-dYa-ñi
<i>sit-INSTR-put-PRES</i>	<i>cross-VR-IMP</i>
<i>saddle on</i>	<i>PL</i>
<i>He saddles it.</i>	<i>Make the sign of the cross.</i>

ADJ + X = V

-ka	STAT
-rĭ	become
-mada	put on
-da	VR
-i	VR
-to	VR

dář-na áánĭ šĭ=řřšĭ=tr kĭřgáĭ-ka-na
fly-POT I DUB=how=be good-STAT-POT
much
How good it would be if I could fly.

řřko-rĭ-i go-vřřba-i
sour-become-PRES the-milk-ABS
The milk is getting sour.

šĭvi go-áálli gĭ-gřřlli toháli-mada-l gĭñ-kĭř
today the-little RDP-boy white-put-PRES my-house
PL on
The little boys whitewashed my house today.

vĭřř tása-l vaamĭ-óma to-tóřř-d^ya-rĭ-i
all day-ABS more-COMPAR RDP-hot-VR-become-PRES
CONT
Every day it keeps getting hotter.

vuaamá-ř-mi	tĭřřgĭ	tĭdóř-t ^y o	gĭñ-masávi-ga
<i>yellow-VR-PROG</i>	<i>wheat</i>	<i>black-VR</i>	<i>my-finger-POSSD</i>
	<i>PRES</i>		<i>and</i>
	<i>The wheat is getting yellow.</i>		<i>blue</i>
			<i>My finger got black and</i>
			<i>blue.</i>

ADV + X = V

∅	VR
-ka	VR (STAT)

mitká-vřř (cf. mitkášřiga/mitkášři/mřřka
far-IMP far, far away)
PL
Go PLI

sĭřřlĭ-ka-mĭ
straight-STAT-NR
laws, position of authority, just, right

giñ-maá t̄mō s̄t̄l̄l̄-ka-mi
me-gave a straight-STAT-NR
position
of
authority

He gave me a position of authority.

ka=mai víáá áán̄t̄ s̄t̄l̄l̄-ka-mi iš̄=tr
already=not have I right-STAT-NR SUBR=be

gi-mará-ka-gi
your-child-STAT-UNR
I no longer have the right to be your son.

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

ADJ + X = ADJ

-ga

ADJR

weerō-ga go-áli
fair-ADJR the-little
SP one
The child is fair.

t̄d̄ō-pora-ga
blue/-light-ADJR
green
light blue/green

N + X = ADJ

-ga

ADJR

-daga

ADJR

al̄f̄ taiš̄ōli-ga go-áli
very pig-ADJR the-little
one
That kid is really dirty.

vaam̄f̄-ōma óf̄-d̄yaga t̄-návo-i š̄l̄t̄ t̄-aasáñi
more-COMPAR needle-ADJR the-cactus-ABS than the-organ
cactus
The prickly-pear cactus is more prickly than the
organ cactus.

V + X = ADJ

-ga ADJR
-daga ADJR

tíkáka-míli-ga
ask-run-ADJR
questions
curious, inquiring

bíí-vuúli-ga
grab-CHAR-ADJR
thieving

alí navá-mu-daga go-naváít^yi
very corn-die-ADJR the-corn
liquor liquor
drunk

Corn liquor is inebriating.

alí tonó-mo-daga gíít^yu-dagai
very hot-die-ADJR cut-ABSTR
thirsty wood
Cutting wood makes one very thirsty.

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

These compounds are tightly bound:

$N_1 + N_2 = N$

N_1 place of N_2 :

tíñí-vo-dí
mouth-body-his
hair
his beard

tíñí-d^yt
vópoi
his mouth
body hair,
fur, wool

tagí-po-dí
chest-body-his
hair
his chest-hair

tági
chest

N_2 place of N_1 :

uk-oid^yígi-rí
pine-country-in
highlands

úkuj
oid^yígi
pine
world, unin-
habited place

N_1 kind of N_2 :

ook-ódami
woman-person
older woman, woman with
children

óóki *woman*

kííí-ódami
man-person
older man

óódami *person,*
Tepehuan

N_2 part of N_1 :

uk-áága
pine-leaf
pine needles

aagá-d† *it's leaf,*
horn

un-ku-kúga
corn-RDP-point/tip
PL
corn fodder

úúnuí *corn*
 kugá-d† *it's point,*
tip

$N + ADJ = N$

vúí-kovali-ga
eye-thick-ADJR
blind in one eye

vúí-bit^yu-li-ga
eye-excrete-ADJR
matter which comes out of
the eye

$ADJ + N = N$

moi-ñóli-ga-d†
soft-crooked-POSSD-his
soft palate

móíka *soft*
 nolííi *crooked*

avok-únuí
soft-corn
soft corn

avóka *soft*

These compounds are loosely bound:

$N_1 + N_2 = N$

N_1 kind of N_2 :

úš gáto-i
wood bow-ABS
bow

úúši
gátoi
vaiñómi
tree, wood
bow, gun
iron, metal

vaiñóm gáto-i
metal bow-ABS
gun

N₁ place of N₂:

vavásk-ir únúi
canyon-in corn
hot corn
(canyon corn)

vavásk-iri canyon

úúši-an bávi
pole-on beans
pole beans

bávi beans

N₁ POSSR of N₂:

{ tása-i } f-vo-d†
tás
sun-ABS ?-body-its
hair
rays of sun shining
through clouds

tásai sun
fvod† his eyebrow

tás fvod† sun's rays illustrates the first step in the process of forming compounds from compound-like noun phrases; that is, the final V(V) of N is lost. The next step is the loss of high tone on N, resulting in a true compound. Thus I would predict *tasfvod† rays of sun* to develop soon if it does not already exist in the speech of some Tepehuanes.

ADJ + N = N

ko-kóma bávi
RDP-gray beans
PL
gray beans

komági gray

v†-p† úkui
RDP-red pine
PL
red pines

v†fgi red

tu-tú kuráátu
RDP-black woodpecker
PL
black woodpecker

túku black

ADV + N = N

út bakúli
under pants
underpants

dáám vasáragai
over shirt
shirt

Verb Compounds

These compounds are tightly bound:

N + V = V

kííí-mu
man-die
to get old

múú to die
SG PERF

tonó-koi
rays-die
of PL
sun
to be thirsty

tonóli tásaí sun's rays

bi-úúgi-mu
feed-eat-die
/food
to be hungry

bíái food
bíí fed

V + V = V

kooší-mu
sleep-die
be sleepy

kóóso he sleeps

naakí-mu
like-die
food
want to eat

náák+i he likes
(food)

ííí-mu
breath(e)-die
(?)
be tired

ííí+k+i he breathes

báá-mu ?-die be angry	bágai	he scolds
sa-sáf-míra-i RDP-stick-run-PRES REPET he stutters	sáf	to stick, get stuck PERF
tíkáka-míli-ga ask-run-ADJR talkative	tíkákai	to ask a question
bañí-míra-i ?-run-PRES he crawls	mírai	he runs

ADJ + V = V

gíf-koi
fat-die
PL
fatten (PL OBJ)

soigá-mu
poor-die
/sad
be sad

gígi
gíf
lard
fat
(ADJ)

soit^yígami
soogígi
poor person
poor (ADJ)

Other

DEM + DEM = DEM

id^yi-gfmai
this-other
one
this other one

í-gáa
those-others
those other ones

go-gfmai
that-other
one
that other one

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

The absolutive suffix *-i* occurs on noun stems ending in a vowel other than *-i*, such as:

óda-i	rock
óna-i	salt
kúpa-i	hair (on head)
vópo-i	body hair
úúnu-i	corn
vanámo-i	hat

-i ABS drops off with the following suffixes:

-ga	POSSD
-d†	3P SG POSSR
-aba	on (right next to, attached to)
-baro	used to be mine
-piga	PRIV

gĩñ-oná-ga	kupá-d†
<i>my-salt-POSSD</i>	<i>hair-his</i>
<i>my salt</i>	<i>his hair</i>

g†-vanámo-aba dáha imó nakástrai
your-hat-on sit one scorpion
There's a scorpion on your hat.

baigó im-bf†-d ^Y a	gĩñ-vanámo-baro
<i>this me-bring-APPLIC</i>	<i>my-hat-used</i>
<i>way</i>	<i>to</i>
	<i>be</i>

Bring me the hat that used to be mine!

odá-piga-ñi go-bávi
rock-PRIV-IMP the-beans
Clean the rocks out of the beans!

Plural

Plurals are formed by (1) reduplication of initial (C)V(V); (2) lengthening of V; (3) shortening of V. Associated changes involve a shift of tone; *v > p*; or some combination of the above processes. (4) Some forms manifest no change. (5) Some

borrowed forms (and possibly one native word) reduplicate medially and/or have some of the other pluralization features listed above. A complete analysis of the morphophonemic rules will simplify the rules for pluralization.

RDP of \acute{V} > VV in RDP and remains \acute{V} in stem

gi-ñóvi
my-hand
my hand

gi-ñoo-nóvi
my-RDP-hand
my hands

giñ-káhi
my-leg
my leg, thigh

giñ-kaa-káhi
my-RDP-leg
my legs, thighs

bána-i
coyote-ABS
coyote

baa-bána-l
RDP-coyote-ABS
coyotes

RDP of $V\acute{V}$ > VV in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

giñ-d^yaáka
my-nose
my nose

gír-daa-dáka
our-RDP-nose
our noses

gi-ñaáka
my-ear
my ear

gí-naa-náka
our-RDP-ear
our ears

RDP of $V\acute{V}$ > V in RDP and $V\acute{V}$ in stem

ímó kffli
one man
a man

múi kt-kffli
many RDP-man
many men

ímó gffli
one boy
a boy

múi gí-gffli
many RDP-boy
many boys

RDP of $V\acute{V}$ > $V\acute{V}$ in RDP and V in stem

giñ-kií
my-house
my house

giñ-kií-ki
my-RDP-house
my houses

giñ-d^yíí
my-mother
my mother

giñ-d^yíí-dí
my-RDP-mother
my parents

RDP of v > p and tone shift forward one syllable

vanámol	va-pánamol
hat	hats

RDP of v > p and \acute{V} > VV in RDP and remains \acute{V} in stem

vúhi	vu-u-púhi
eye	RDP-eye
	eyes

vávoi	vaa-pávull
cliff	RDP-cliff
	cliffs

RDP of v > p and V > VV and tone shift forward one syllable

giñ-kotáva	giñ-koo-kótapa
my shoulder	my-RDP-shoulder
	my shoulders

vavfhi	vaa-pávihi
swamp	RDP-swamp
	swamps

RDP of v > p and VV > VV in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

vooká-dt	voo-póka-dt
his stomach	RDP-stomach-their
	their stomachs

vooká-dt	poo-póka-dt
its stomach (a cow's)	their stomachs (cows')

RDP of v > p and $\acute{V}\acute{V}$ > VV in RDP and \acute{V} in stem

giñ-voóka	gir-voo-póka
my stomach	our-RDP-stomach
	our stomachs

RDP and other changes

kahí-d ^Y t	kaa-káf-d ^Y t
his thigh	RDP-thigh-his
	his thighs

vuhí-d ^Y t	vu-u-púí-d ^Y t
his eye	RDP-eye-his
	his eyes

	puu-púí-d ^Y í <i>RDP-eye-his</i> <i>sleet</i>
vááki <i>house</i>	báá-baki <i>RDP-house</i> <i>houses</i>

RDP: C^Yí > CV-C^Yí and V^Yí > Vh-V^Yí

táíšoli <i>pig</i>	ta-táíšoli <i>RDP-pig</i> <i>pigs</i>
súímali <i>deer</i>	su-súíímali <i>RDP-deer</i> <i>deer PL</i>
bíí-karo-i <i>grasp- INSTR- ABS</i> <i>pliers</i>	bt-bíí-karo-i <i>RDP-grab- INSTR</i> <i>pliers PL</i>
áít ^Y i <i>flat rock</i>	ah-áít ^Y i <i>RDP-flat</i> <i>rock</i> <i>flat rocks</i>

RDP: #V^Y > #Vh in RDP and V^YV^Y in stem

†mó óyi <i>a needle</i>	múí oh-óóyi <i>many RDP-needle</i> <i>many needles</i>
----------------------------	--

RDP: #V^YV^Y > Vh in RDP and V^YV^Y in stem

†mó ááyí <i>an olla</i>	múí ah-ááyí <i>many RDP-olla</i> <i>many ollas</i>
†mó óóyí <i>a bone</i>	múí oh-óóyí <i>many RDP-bone</i> <i>many bones</i>

V^Y > V^YV^Y

áki <i>stream</i>	á-áki <i>RDP-stream</i> <i>streams</i>
----------------------	--

áli <i>child</i>	á-áli <i>RDP-little</i> <i>one</i> <i>children</i>
V > VV	
adúñi <i>relative</i>	á-áduñi <i>RDP-relative</i> <i>relatives</i>
giñ-onóma <i>my rib</i>	giñ-ó-ónoma <i>my-RDP-rib</i> <i>my ribs</i>
gogóóš i <i>dog</i>	góógoš i <i>dogs</i>
kokóñi <i>crow</i>	kóókoñi <i>crows</i>
kaváyu <i>horse</i>	káápayu <i>horses</i>
No Change	
óna-i <i>salt</i>	čtřki óna-i <i>little salt-ABS</i> <i>bit</i> <i>a little salt</i>
	mú i óna-i <i>many salt</i> <i>a lot of salt</i>
tíma-i <i>squash, squashes</i>	úúnu-i <i>corn</i>
óóki <i>woman, women</i>	
RDP for both SG and PL	
bobókoš i <i>squirrel(s)</i>	mímřvai <i>bee(s)</i>
RDP of second syllable	
nuváli <i>fly</i>	nu-vá-přli <i>flies</i>

ašñít^Yu
burro

ašñi-ñí-t^Yu
burros

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor affixes:

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ- <i>my</i>	(g) ñr- <i>our</i>
2P	(g) ñ- <i>your</i>	(g) ñn- <i>your</i>
3P	-dñ	<i>his, their</i>
UNSPEC	(g) a-	<i>someone's, the</i>

In addition to the possessor pronouns there is a suffix -ga occurring with domesticated animals, persons, and alienable things.

giñ-kíí
my-house
my house

dñ-dñ
mother-his
his mother

ga-ma-mááti-tul-d^Ya-dami-ga
UNSPEC-RDP-know-CAUS-APPLIC-AG-POSSD
someone's teacher

gi-mára ñpfga-dadñ tñgíd^Yu adelaido bueno doubles daid^Yñ
my-child first-PRSNR be PN and
named

go-tó-r-dadñ tñgíd^Yu rosario bueno doubles dai
two-?-ORD-PRSNR be PN and
named

ga-dñ vuañita doubles kiñones
UNSPEC-mother PN
POSSR

My first child is named Adelaido Bueno Dubles; my second child is named Rosario Bueno Dubles; their mother is named Juanita Dubles Quiñones.

mo ím̄t-i go-áali ta-táíʃoli dff-di
there go-PRES the-little RDP-pig mother-their
 PL PL
There goes the mother of the little pigs.

giñ-maá piid^yúru gi-baví-ga
me-gave PN his/-beans-POSSD
 your
Peter gave me his/your own beans.

bor-ím̄t-i doróli gi-ooñí-ga ítmádu
this-go-PRES PN his/-wife-POSSD with
 way your
Here comes Dolores with his/your wife.

bor-ím̄t-i doróli ooñí-ga-dí fmal ffmádu
this-go-PRES PN wife-POSSD-his another with
 way
Here comes Dolores with another's wife.

bor-ím̄t-i doróli ga-ooñí-ga ítmádu
this-go-PRES PN UNSPEC-wife-POSSD with
 way POSSR
Here comes Dolores with someone else's wife.

Syntax

In a possessive noun phrase the POSSR pronoun prefixes are obligatory. An independent pronoun may also occur as the first constituent of the possessive noun phrase. Possessed domesticated animals do not take the possessive affixes directly. They are preceded in the noun phrase by *sóíga*, which takes the POSSR pronouns and the POSSD suffix *-ga*. This construction may occur in place of the possessed animal.

áán iñ-ʒóí-ga aʒñft^yu
my my-DOM-POSSD burro
 my burro

fgai giñ-ffʒi tmo giñ-ʒóí-ga kaváyu
he me-stole one my-DOM-POSSD horse
 He stole one of my horses.

go-kíflí kífda-i giñ-šóí-ga
the-man curse-PRES my-DOM-POSSD
That fellow curses my mule (or any animal I own).

Inanimate objects may take the possessive affixes directly or they may be preceded by túf^ya, which, if present in the construction, takes the POSSR pronouns and the POSSD suffix -ga. This construction may stand alone in place of the possessed object.

ka=mií áán iñ-t^yúf^ya-ga vááki
already=burned my my-INAN-POSSD house
My house already burned.

ka=mií áán im-vááki ka=mií im-vááki
My house already burned. My house already burned.

ka=mií áán iñ-t^yúf^ya-ga
Mine already burned.

Recursion is allowed:

stílí-kídi čí-gíá mááši piid^yúru ooñf-ga-dí
straight-with INTNS-EMPH appear PN wife-POSSD-his

mará-dí soi-gá-dí maa-mára-dí moo-mó-dí
child-her DOM-POSSD-his RDP-offspring-his RDP-head-their
PL PL
Peter's wife's child's pet's offsprings' heads are really cute.

POSTPOSITIONS

There are free postpositions and bound postpositions. The free postpositions occur following the object. When a free postposition occurs with an object pronoun, the object pronoun is attracted to it as a prefix.

Free postpositions include simple forms and complex forms. Some complex forms are composed of body parts plus postpositions. Others are composed of a locative base plus a postposition or other combinations.

Simple Free Postpositions

úta	under
daáma	over, above, on
†imádu	with (accompaniment)
šikóli	around
saagíd ^Y a	among, in
vittá†	for
bait ^Y fki	ahead of
†bfgi	behind

múá-vurai go-tá†šoli dai mo dtv†rai úta yáása
kill-IMP the-pig and there ground under bury
 PL

Kill the pig and bury it under the ground!

mo kurárai daáma dáha go-piš†li
there fence on sit the-chipmunk
There's the chipmunk sitting on the fence.

múi óódami gin-†mpagi †-paavóra šikóli
many people RCPR-gathered that-PN around
Many people gathered around Paul.

móvai go-úún saagíd^Ya aim†rai †-takúku
there the-corn in walk the-chicken
 around

The chickens are walking around there in the cornfield.

sav†li áán† vá†k ímai giñ-ooñí-ga vittá††
bought I three squash my-wife-POSSD for
I bought three squash for my wife.

vááki †bfgi kaá†† †-kúági
house behind lie the-wood
The wood is behind the house.

Complex Free Postpositions

Some complex postpositions are composed of body parts plus -na in, at, -d††† away from, or -pi in.

taagí-ña	vui-d ^Y †††
chest-at	eye-away
in front of	from
	in front of (facing)

vúí-t^ya-pi cf. tasá-pi in the sun
 eye-?-in ítká-pi in the shade
 in front of,
 in presence of

vááki t^yaagí-nā kaátí t-laapíši
 house in lie the-pencil
 front
 of

The pencil is in front of the house.

vffíši óódamí vúí-t^ya-pi ga-níí
 all people eye-?-in UNSPEC-sang
 in presence of OBJ
 He sang in the presence of all the people.

Other complex postpositions are composed of a locative base plus -ana at, in, -írtí in, at, or -aba on (attached to).

ab-ána ír-ába
 right-on inside-on
 next inside, between, middle
 to
 beside (touching),
 on (attached to)

sonó-ána
 near-at
 beside, next to

alí kahóñí ab-án dáha go-ráadio
 little box beside sit the-radio
 The radio is beside the box.

giñ-kóko giñ-onóma ímóko giñ-ír-ába
 me-hurt my-rib one me-inside
 One of my ribs hurts inside of me.

túku vuhí-dí ír-ána
 black eye-his inside
 The middle of his eye is black.

vááki sonó-án kaátí t-vaakáši
 house beside lie the-cow
 The cow is lying beside the house.

Two complex postpositions appear to be composed of N plus -ana in, at and N plus -írtí in, at. The analysis of one of these is ambiguous. It could be a locative use of *gookífrt*

second, in second place, behind. More likely it is from
gookí-d† his footprint.

ki-d^Yí-g-ana /ki-d^Y-ana
house-his-POSSD-at house-his-at
outside

gookí-fr†
footprint-in
behind

ugí-d^Y-ana
finish-his-at
at the edge of

dal vavfli ugí-d^Y-ana víáá
and wild at left
fig edge
of

And they left him on the outskirts of Wild Fig Village.

A postposition may occur preceding the object and may be
discontinuous. This may be for focus or it may be to avoid
piling up postpositions after the object.

vffšl šlkóli íf kurárai ugí-d^Yi-a-mu
all around went fence edge-LOC-to
He went all around the edge of the fence.

bait^Yki íf áánt giñ-šukúli
ahead went I my-younger
sibling
I went ahead of my little brother.

kid^Yána kaát† go-laapíši go-kahóñi
outside lie the-pencil the-box
The pencil is outside of the box.

trána vááki koší-mu alí gffli
inside house sleep-FUT little boy
The baby is going to sleep inside the crib.

The above postpositions occur with the object pronoun pre-
fixes. The resultant form is optionally preceded by the
corresponding independent pronoun.

giñ-taagíña
me-in
front
of
in front of me

giñ-ibfgi kaátì áán iñ-šóíga
me-behind lie my my-pet
My dog is behind me.

áápi gi-sonóáñ yóma kaátì go-sáruí
you you-next more lie the-hoe
to
The hoe is closer to you.

gim-pu-púí-d^ytrí guúka ši-šíñora
RCPR-RDP eye-away stand RDP-lady
from PL
facing
The ladies are facing each other.

giñ-gookífrí ímí vitiši giñ-šu-súkuli
me-behind go all my-RDP-younger
PL PL sibling
All of my younger brothers and sisters are walking
behind me.

áán iñ-šikóli daráha múi ááli
me me-around sit many children
PL
Many children are around me.

vúša áání ímó íšt^yumááší áápi gi-vítítáí
brought I one something you you-for
I brought something for you.

gír-saagíd ^y a	ga-íimádu
<i>us-among</i>	<i>UNSPEC-with</i>
<i>among us</i>	<i>OBJ</i>
	<i>with someone</i>

Some of the free postpositions occur with RDP, lengthening of V, and tone shift (cf. BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Plural) to agree with the plural object.

gín-so-sónoan ímí-i	gín-áában guúka go-úúši
<i>RCPR-RDP-near go-PRES</i>	<i>RCPR-close stand the-tree</i>
<i>PL PL</i>	<i>beside PL</i>
<i>They are walking close</i>	<i>The trees are standing</i>
<i>together.</i>	<i>right next to each other.</i>

gín-vu-púíd^ytrí guúka go-ki-kííli
RCPR-RDP-facing stand the-RDP-man
PL PL PL
The men are standing face to face.

There are a number of location words which are free postpositions but do not take the object pronouns. A complete description of these forms would involve a careful study of all location words. The following are illustrative:

amákoga	towards
amádírí	from
apákoga	towards
apádírí	from
taiákoga	upwards
utanákoga	downwards
tapákoga	this way
koid'amákoga	downstream

saapátu-ku dáán dúúku čivuavúáñ-dírí íhi aatími
Saturday-TEMP over time PN-from went we
noontime

meehíko amákoga
PN towards
On Saturday we left Chihuahua for Mexico.

bífkát^yi ááni kóági giñ-kíí amádírí
carry I firewood my-house from
I carry firewood from my house.

ga-óhai ááni ogíš apádírí siilíš apákoga
UNSPEC-write I left from right towards
INDOBJ
I write from left to right.

kóko giñ-t^yoóna tai-ákoga
hurt my-knee up-towards
(My leg) hurts from my knee up.

mai kóko giñ-t^yoóna uta-n-ákoga
not hurt my-knee down-at-towards
It doesn't hurt from my knee down.

Some complex postpositions occur as possessed nouns and combine with other elements to form compounds.

giñ-trána-ga
my-inside-POSSD
my insides

giñ-utána-ga
my-under-POSSD
my underclothes

giñ-yúúkuži utána-ga
my-clothes under-POSSD
my underclothes

giñ-yúúkuži daamána-ga
my-clothes over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-d^yáám vasára-ga
my-over shirt-POSSD
my shirt

daamána-ga-d† naváit^yi
over-POSSD-his corn
liquor
head on corn liquor/beer

sonfr gúúka-kami
near stand-AG
PL
lesser chiefs

†ran-úku
middle-week
(?)
midweek, Wednesday

giñ-daamána-ga
my-over-POSSD
my outer clothing

giñ-út bakúli
my-under pants
my underpants

utána-ga-d† gígi
under-POSSD-his lard
lard settlements

bait^yí kíáá-kami
ahead stand-AG
chief, leader

ki-t^yaagíña
house-in
front
of
doorway

†rán tukári
middle night
midnight

Bound Postpositions

Bound postpositions occur suffixed to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and free postpositions.

-a	LOC (SF on places)
-ba	on, attached to
-na	in, at, on
-ri	in, at
-mu	to
-ákoga	towards
-d††	from
-aiñd ^y ††	from, at
-pa	place
-ko	at the edge of (cf. kóvai forehead)

uuš†-á-ba šišápi †gai go-papéli
tree-LOC-on nailed he the-paper
He nailed the paper to the tree.

uuší-á-na dáha go-mí-mfva-i kíí-d^yí
tree-LOC-on sit the-RDP-bee-ABS house-their
 PL

The beehive is on the tree.

uuší-f-rí vaaší-d^yí go-klávo
tree-LOC-in put-APPLIC the-nail
 into

He put the nail into the tree.

ímf-mu áánt giñ-kli-á-mu
go-FUT I my-house-LOC-to
 I'm going to my house.

áán iñ-kli-áíñ-d^yí+rí d^yívla
I my-house-at-from came
I came from my house.

páá-dír ímí-i
where-from come-PRES
 Where are you coming from?

mtíká-dírí
far-from
 from a long ways off

tomali ímó apíá-dírí
not one place-from
 even
 from nowhere

múl-a-pí-rí
many-LOC-place-in
 in many places

tal-kó dáha /taí kóval dáha
fire-next sit fire next sit
 to to
 He sits next to the fire.

go-ááli tohá-li-mada-l giñ-vááki daamá-dírí
the-little white-?-put-PRES my-house above-from
 ones on

uta-n-ákoga mai=šíú utá-dír tai-ákoga
below-at-towards not=no below-from up-towards
 The kids are whitewashing my house from top to bottom,
 not from bottom to top.

óđ ut-áíñ-d^yí+rí vúsai í-kóđyi
rock under-at-from came the-snake
 out
 The snake came out from under the rock.

ód daam-áíñ-d^Yířř daí t-úúřugi
 rock on-at-from flew the-bird
 The bird flew from on top of the rock.

-kidř with, in, on occurs with nouns, pronouns, quantifiers, and adverbs.

giñ-kířřsoma-i áánt odá-í-kidř
 REFL-scratch-PRES I rock-ABS-with
 I scratch myself with a rock.

go-kušřřui iš=amáákidř i-kidř gúřkuta áánt babářd^Y;
 the-knife SUBR=which that-with cut I meat
 one
 the knife with which I cut meat

gi-too-tóna-kidř kuikřsa
 his-RDP-knee-with kneel
 own PL
 He is kneeling.

imó išt^Yumáášř išt^Yú-kidř óš-t^Yuda-i
 one something which-with drip-CAUS-PRES

doa-d^Yí-ga-mi
 cure-APPLIC-ABSTR-NR
 a thing with which one drops medicine

ipř-ráš-kidř
 another-little-with
 See you later. (Lit.: in a little bit)

iš=imá-du-tai šřáá řřá-da-gi aanř-kidř
 řř=one-QNT-PRONR ? blood-APPLIC-UNR me-with
 ashamed
 If anyone is ashamed of me...

d^Yřřvia áánt úš koid^Y-áíñ-d^Yířř tará-kidř
 came I wood die-at-from foot-on
 PL
 Deadwood
 I came from Deadwood Village on foot.

When -kidř occurs with adverbs or with adjectives, it can be interpreted as -kidř with or -ki-dř AG.

STAT-NR

*go-ikúšř řřřřř-kidř
 the-cloth red-with/AG
 the red cloth

This could be:
 the-cloth with-redness
 the-cloth the-one-which-
 is-red

sɪɪlɪ-kɪdɪ
straight-with/AG
really

This could be:
with straightness
that which is straight

DEMONSTRATIVES

There are five demonstrative pronouns. All function as third person independent pronouns and may stand alone as the subject or object of a sentence. They indicate distance from the speaker ranging from proximal to distal.

	SG/PL	
PROX	ɪd ^y i	<i>this one, these</i>
↓	gɔ ^v ai	<i>that one, those (nearby)</i>
DIST	fɔ ^v ai	<i>that one, those (far)</i>
	(g) fmai	<i>the other one</i>
	(g) áa	<i>others</i>

Truncated forms of the first three serve as definite articles. They are prefixed to nouns.

PROX	i-	} <i>the</i>
↓	go-	
DIST	ɪ-	

Six complex demonstrative pronouns are derived by combining each of the first three with (g) fmai *the other one* and áa *the others*.

PROX	ɪd ^y i-gfmai	<i>this other one</i>	ɪd ^y i-gáa	<i>these others</i>
↓	go-gfmai	<i>that other one</i>	go-gáa	<i>those others</i>
DIST	ɪ-gfmai	<i>that other one</i>	ɪ-gáa	<i>those others</i>

sɪɪlɪ-kɪdɪ vɪtɪɪlɪ-ga ɪd^yi fɪkɔli
straight-with flavor-ADJR this orange
really

This orange is really tasty.

ɪd^yi-gfmai mai=ʃɪ kɪtɪgá-du
this-other not=INTNS good-QNT
one

This other one is not very good.

alí gffli d^yíarí kittgá-du i-móó-di
little boy devil good-QNT the-head-his
The little boy, devil that he is, has a good head.

go-gfmai vaam-yóma namf-ga
that-other more-COMPAR pay-ABSTR
one
The other one is worth more.

go-toóš*i* alí*f*-š*i* a-*t*tš*i*-d^y*i* t*l*l*g*l
the-rabbit very-INTNS UNSPEC-steal-APPLIC wheat
OBJ
The rabbit was really stealing wheat.

go-gáa fp*f*ⁿ
those-others also
Those others too?

imó g*t*-d^y yóma i-gfmai alí-d^y yóma
one big-QNT COMPAR that-other small-QNT COMPAR
one
one bigger and the other smaller

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Adverbial demonstratives include those elements referring to manner, time, and location. For each of these classes we will list the WHW and the *any* form corresponding to the members of the class.

Manner

duuká <i>t</i> ai ~ dúú <i>k</i> ai ~ dúú <i>k</i> a ~ dúú	<i>how?</i> (cf. QUESTIONS for inflection of these forms)
tomašduuká <i>t</i> ai	<i>however</i>
póva <i>l</i> ~ póva ~ pov- ~ po-	<i>thus</i>
po-dúú <i>k</i> ai	<i>this way</i>
a-dúú <i>k</i> ai	<i>this other way</i>
imá dúú <i>k</i> ai	<i>another way</i>
ipán dúú <i>k</i> ai	<i>like, in the way</i>
<i>again how</i>	

duukátaí iduuñí-mu áánt íd^Yi aa-dúfñ-d^Yaga-i
 how do-FUT I this ?-make-ABSTR-ABS
 /do
 work

How shall I do this work?

fígi pí=š=d^Yuukátaí ipíífd^Yi
 alone you=DUB=how want
 /only
 just as you'd like to

toma-š-d^Yuukátaí
 even-DUB-how
 however (you may want to)

póvai íñ-t^Yt-tfda-i
 thus me-RDP-say-PRES
 CONT
 thus he said to me
 (that's what he said to me)

po-dúú gíá žúu a-dúúkaí gíá
 thus-how EMPH no this-how EMPH
 other
 way

That way NO! (Do it) this way.

tmá dúúkaí íd^Yuí fgai
 one how did he
 other
 He did it another way!

íd^Yuuñí-ñi áápi po-dúúkaí íš=d^Yúúkaí g†-tfha-i áánt
 do-IMP you thus-how SUBR=how you-order-PRES I
 Do it as I told you to.

Time

when? involves a variety of forms and occurs as first element in the clause. It occurs with person and TNS/ASP clitics.

vítíkd ^Y †	<i>when?</i> PAST
vffškad†	<i>when?</i> FUT
vúú dúúku	what time is it?
túígako	<i>when?</i> FUT (at what particular time)

The temporal adverb *when* also has forms for PAST, FUT, and time of day, some of which correspond to the WHW for *when?*.

áí ^y ĩš ⁱ	when	PAST	(at the time)
ší ^f š ^k ad ^t	when	FUT	(at any time)
ší ^ú dúúku	when	FUT	(at what specific hour)
túí ^g ako	when	FUT	(at the time expected)
tomaš ⁱ í ^f áí ^y ĩ	whenever	FUT	(within a given period)
tomaš ⁱ í ^f š ^k ad ^t	whenever	FUT	(anytime)
tomaš ⁱ í ^ú dúúku	whenever	FUT	(at whatever time of day)
tomaš ^t úí ^g ako	whenever	FUT	(at whatever time expected)

There is a group of related introducer elements ranging from temporal adverbs to conjunctions with no clear dividing line between these two classes.

áí ^y ĩš ⁱ	when	PAST	(at the time, an INTR in time clauses)
áí ^y ĩ	then	PAST	(at that time, an INTR in a time clause, referring to the time specified by áí ^y ĩš ⁱ in the preceding clause)
dai	and		
dai áí ^y ĩ	and then		
dáí ^y ĩ	and		(contraction of dai áí ^y ĩ)

All of the above forms take PERS and TNS/ASP clitics. Enclitic =šⁱ, which may be DUB (cf. proclitic šⁱ= DUB with WHW) attracts the PERS markers to enclitic position. Other PERS and TNS/ASP markers are proclitics.

Proclitics

n=áí ^y ĩ	then I	an=t=áí ^y ĩ	then I	PAST
p=áí ^y ĩ	then you	pí=t=áí ^y ĩ	then you	PAST
v=áí ^y ĩ	then he, they	Ø=t=áí ^y ĩ	then he, they	PAST
tí=t=áí ^y ĩ	then we	tí=t=áí ^y ĩ	then we	PAST
m=áí ^y ĩ	then you PL	mí=t=áí ^y ĩ	then you PL	PAST
an=s=áí ^y ĩ	then I	QUOT		
pí=s=áí ^y ĩ	then you	QUOT		
Ø=s=áí ^y ĩ	then he, they	QUOT		
tí=s=áí ^y ĩ	then we	QUOT		
mí=s=áí ^y ĩ	then you PL	QUOT		

Enclitics

áí ^y ĩ=ñ=š ⁱ	when I
áí ^y ĩ=pí=š ⁱ	when you
áí ^y ĩ=Ø=š ⁱ	when he, they
áí ^y ĩ=tí=š ⁱ	when we
áí ^y ĩ=mí=š ⁱ	when you PL

The following paragraph illustrates several varieties of áid^Yí at that time.

áid^Yí=ši vúúsa-i vúáána áid^Yí augústo ir gff
 at=DUB come-PRES PN at PN be big
 the that
 time time
 When John was born, Augustus was

bait^Yí kíásá-ka-mi-ka-tadai room-frí dai fgai tfha-i
 ahead stand-STAT-NR-STAT-PAST PN-in and he order-PRES
 chief CONT
 emperor in Rome. And he ordered

gí-son-frí gúúka-ka-mi-ga s=ai
 his-near-in stand-STAT-NR-POSSD QUOT=at
 PL that
 lieutenants time
 his lieutenants to count

ífkal-d^Ya-na í-óódami dai óóha-na íš=t^Yí-tfgid^Yu
 count-APPLIC-POT the-people and write-POT SUBR=RDP-named
 PL
 the people and to write down their names.

áid^Y=ítr túkami-d^Yíri-ka-tadai mí=ši=ífkal-d^Y
 at=be first-from-STAT-PAST UNSPEC=SUBR=count-APPLIC
 that first CONT SUBJ
 time time
 This was the first time that they had counted

ágai vííši óódami oid^Yí d^Yaána óíd^Ya-kami áid^Yí=mí=ši
 INTEN all people world on live-AG at=UNSPEC=DUB
 the SUBJ
 time
 all the people in the world. When they

ífkali í-óódami áid^Yí í-siréñio ir káígi-ka-tadai
 counted the-people then the-PN be governor-STAT-PAST
 CONT
 counted the people Sirenio was governor

siilí-ána mí=t=ai tfha-i í-óódami s=ai
 PN-in UNSPEC=COMPL=at tfha-i order-PRES the-people QUOT=at
 SUBJ that time that
 time time
 in Syria. At that time they ordered the people

í-ímt-na ší=ááko vuvááha mí=s=ai
 RDP-go-POT DUB=where come UNSPEC=QUOT=at
 PL out SUBJ that
 PL time

to go to the place where they were born so that they

ffkal-d^ya-na
 count-APPLIC-POT
 might count them.

áí^yi=ši kaf áánt mí=ši=glñ-víšá^ttuli t=ai
 when=DUB heard I UNSPEC=SUBR=me-greeted COMPL=then
 SUBJ

máát^t kaf áánt v=áí^y=tr pílli
 know heard I he=that=be PN
 When I heard someone greet me, I knew it was Phil.

toma-ší-áí^yt d^yí^vla fgai (tumíño-ko) vffškir^t kítgá-du
 ever-DUB-when come he (Sunday-TEMP) still good-QNT
 Whenever he comes (on Sunday), it's O.K.

Location

In the locative system there are forms indicating distance from the speaker ranging from proximal to distal. There are also positional and directional locatives. Details of the system have yet to be worked out.

Positional

PROX ↑ ↓ DIST	tamáši	right here (ši seems to indicate a specific spot.)
	tanáši	right here
	támi	here (in general area)
	tánai	here
	bóvai	there (in a hole, in a pipe, in the distance)
	mováši	right there
	móvai	there
	maffši	right over there
	nováši	right out there (outside)
	nóvai	out there
	mítkáši	way over there (in a certain place)
	mffkai	way over there

tamá-ši an-daasa šánť gim-vanámoi
 here-SPEC here-put I my-hat
 I put my hat right here.

támi vakúána-i šánť †-ah-šásokoli
 here wash-PRES I the-RDP-dish
 PL
 I wash the dishes here.

mová-ši dáha gim-bakúli dáí-karo-i daáma
 there-SPEC sit my-pants sit-INSTR-ABS on
 My pants are right there on a chair.

bai mĩtká-ši ímĩ aatfĩt
 quite far-SPEC go we
 PL
 We were going a long ways.

Directional

PROX	baigóvai	this way
↕	maigóvai	that way
DIST	naigóvai	outside (speaking from inside)

PROX	tabíádĩrť	from here
↕		
DIST	mĩtkádĩrť	from way over there

b-aigó im-bfí-d^ya go-sáru-i
 this-DIRL me-bring-APPLIC the-hoe-ABS
 way
 Bring me the hoe.

s=aí áíd^yipt n-aigó ímĩ-i tmó bána-i
 QUOT=and after out-DIRL go-PRES one coyote-ABS
 a side
 bit

And after a while a coyote was passing by.

t=aída	m-aigó	imf-kai	a-úú=nt	šfáád ^y i
COMPL=then	that-DIRL	go-having	UNSPEC-ate=I	dawn
	way		OBJ	next
				day

kfáámo-ko
 morning-TEMP
 And having gone on down the road I ate early the next morning.

mitká-dir b-aigo-vákoga mai=štúú tabíá-dir
there-from this-DIRL-towards not=no here-from
way

m-aigo-vákoga
that-DIRL-towards
way

From over there towards this way, not from here to there.

Locatives participate in the presumptive pronoun copy construction; the prolocational adverb precedes the adverb construction and may be discontinuous.

gtr-vaíd^Yáha-i a-mífka ší=ááko íími ir-agáí-t^Yugai
us-take/-PRES LOC-over DUB=where go REFL-INTEN-take
invite there PL

He took us along over there to where he was taking us.

mitkáš-d^Yir d^Yivi ááni valuupí-á-ñ-d^Yirí
way-from came I PN-LOC-at-from
over
there

I came from way over there at Guadalupe y Calvo.

QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers precede the noun they modify and may be preceded by NEG/INTNS and may stand alone in their pronominalized forms. When they occur as the subject of a sentence, they follow the verb. They show agreement in number with the noun they modify and with the verb they relate to as subject or object.

imó	<i>a, one</i>
imóko	<i>one, once</i>
íimoko	<i>some, sometimes</i>
imádu	<i>one (counting out items)</i>
imádu tai	<i>someone, anyone, some animal</i>
íimadutai	<i>some people, animals</i>
imápirí	<i>in a place</i>
íimápirí	<i>in some places</i>
múí	<i>many</i>
múí d ^Y u	<i>many</i>
múí d ^Y utai	<i>many people, animals</i>
múí yápirí	<i>in many places</i>

múiyoko	many times
čffki	a few
čffkid ^y u	a few
čffkiatai	a few people, animals
čffč+kiatai	in groups of a few
čffkloko	a few times
čffkiapir†	a few places
vífš <i>i</i>	all
vífš <i>k</i> †	always
vífš <i>k</i> atai	everyone
vífš <i>i</i> apir†	everywhere, in all places
láš <i>č</i> i	a little bit
lff <i>č</i> i	a very little bit
pal <i>f</i> pi	a little bit (sick, warm, sad)
ká <i>á</i> ki	that many

WHW

vffkid ^y u	how many?
vífš <i>i</i> ga	how much?
vffkloko	how many times?
vffkiapir†	how many places?
vffkiatai	how many people, animals?

QNT take a number of suffixes, some of which appear in the forms cited above.

-du	QNT
-tai	PRONR
-oko	number of times
-apir†	in X places
-kid†	with
-íóma/yóma	COMPAR
RDP	PL
RDP	DISTR

†mó unrúnu-ko	mos-íim†-i	mos-íim†-i
one afternoon-TEMP	just-go-PRES	just-go-PRES
	PL	PL

One whole afternoon we just kept going and going.

dai †móko	†gai	saagd ^y -a-iñ-d††
and one	he	among-LOC-at-from
And one of them...		

maaká-ñi go-ááli f-fm-oko ffkoli
give-IMP the-children RDP-one-number orange
 DISTR of
 times

Give the children one orange each.

dai iŝ=+má-du-tai g+n-aagí-d^ya-gi mī=s=ai
and if=one-QNT-PRONR you-say-APPLIC-UNR you=QUOT=at
 PL that
 time

mai=upána-na
NEG=Loose-POT
 And if anyone tells you PL that you shouldn't let it
 loose...

f-fma-pi-ri daráha giñ-maa-mára th-ffgi
RDP-one-where-in sit my-RDP-child RDP-alone
 DISTR PL PL

ai-pá-koga daráha
various-where-away sit
 /different from PL
 here

My children are in several places; i.e., each one
 is in a different place.

f-fma-piki-ri mos-f-fmo saagíd^ya múi-ya-pi-ri
RDP-one-where-in just-RDP-one among many-LOC-where-in
 PL PL

mai=ŝfúú vffŝi
not=no all
 "In several places" means "a few among many places",
 not "all places".

todián dúú tff=ní múi-d^yu kuu-kúdagí
suddenly how saw=I many-QNT RDP-light
 PL

Suddenly I saw many lights.

dai bait^yfki yóma tíf aatfmi múi vaam-íóma kuu-kúdagí
and on COMPAR saw we many more-COMPAR RDP-light
 ahead PL
 And further on down the road we saw many more lights.

dai vffš-ka-tai iš=maaktd+ kaí iš=maaktd+ šága-i
and all-STAT-PRONR SUBR=who heard SUBR=that say-PRES
which

t-kí-kfíli
the-RDP-men
 PL

And all those who heard what the men were saying...

kíšá nt-nfraka-mu šánt íp+ čífkí tása-i
yet RDP-wait-FUT I another few day-ABS
 DUR

I'm going to wait a few more days.

mo-ími-i číf-č+ki-a-tai óídami
there-go-PRES RDP-few-STAT-PRONR people
 PL

There go the people a few at a time.

dai bo lášči-ktd+ íh-i
and ? a-with RDP-go
little PL
 bit

And after a bit they left.

mos-láš-lači áta vúšáyi šánt
just-RDP- a ? do I
 DISTR little work
 bit

I work a little at a time.

vffkl úúši-ktd+ kurár-ta-mu šápi iš=múí-ktd+
how log-with fence-make-FUT you SUBR=many-with
many

i=šit čífkí-ktd+ íp+
SUBR=or few-with also
How many logs will you need to build the fence, a
whole lot or just a few?

ivógiamai vffši-ktd+ áí-mu tífá=nt go-úúši
barely all-with reach-FUT believe=I the-log
/think

go-kurára-i vittárt
the-fence-ABS for
I think there will just barely be logs enough for the
fence with all of them.

p=íffki tígít^Yo áápi i-kaáki go-kaáki iš=maíffši daráha
you=how need you this-many the-many SUBR=right sit
many there PL
How many do you need? This many. The amount (of
those which are) right there.

Quantifiers may stand alone as a complete sentence when occurring with the verbalizing suffix -ka plus the accompanying verbal inflections.

ší=íffki-a-tai-ka-tadai
SUBR=how-STAT-PRONR-STAT-PAST
many CONT
How many were there?

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

ímóko	one
góóka	two
váíka	three
maakóva	four
taáma	five
naadámi	six
kuvárahama	seven
maamáková	eight
tuvuš ^Y táma	nine
baivušt ^Y áma	ten
baivušt ^Y áma dan ímóko	eleven
ímó kóbai	twenty
ímó kóbai dan baivušt ^Y áma dan tuvuš ^Y táma	thirty-nine
góó kóbai	forty
váík kóbai	sixty
maakó kóbai	eighty
ímó síénto	one hundred

mo-vúíffti góóka laapíši
there-lie two pencil
PL
There are two pencils over there.

tomali t̄mó imí-d^yaga mai=íí áánt úúš kóí-d^ya-mu
 not one go-ABSTR not=went I tree die-STAT-to
 even PL
 I've never been to Deadwood.

Derived Forms

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix -ir̄t̄ in or on. They are used only for referring to days of month, not for first, second, third child, or other listing.

umó̄k-ir̄t̄	first (acceptable but not preferred)
túkam-ir̄t̄	first (preferred)
gook-fr̄t̄	second
vaik-fr̄t̄	third
maakóv-ir̄t̄	fourth
taam-fr̄t̄	fifth
naadāmi-ir̄t̄	sixth
kuvárahāmi-ir̄t̄	seventh
maamákov-ir̄t̄	eighth
tuvušt ^y aam-fr̄t̄	ninth
baivušt ^y aam-fr̄t̄	tenth

íímia r=ágai aatf̄m̄t̄ maakóv-ir̄t̄ maayó-ko
 go we=INTENT we four-on May-TEMP
 PL
 We are going on May fourth.

When counting out units of measurement the first five numbers occur with the QNT suffix -du, numbers 6-10 are identical with the basic forms.

t̄imá-du	one
gooká-du	two
vaiká-du	three
maakóá-du	four
taamá-du	five

Number of times an action is carried out is indicated by suffix -oko ~ -ko ~ -aha ~ -oho.

t̄m-óko	once
gokó-áha	twice
vaik-óho	thrice
maakóva-ko	four times
tamá-ko	five times
naadāmi-ko	six times
kuvárahāmi-ko	seven times

maamáko ^y va-ko	eight times
tuvušt ^y amá-ko	nine times
baivušt ^y amá-ko	ten times

íí-ñl áápl góó-goha pastíya gokó-áha tmo tásai
drink-IMP you RDP-two pill two-time one day
 DISTR

Take two pills twice a day.

In X places: -pírtí ~ -píkírtí.

ímá-pí-rtí	in one place
gooká-pí-rtí	in two places
valká-pí-rtí	in three places
makóva-pí-rtí	in four places
taamá-pí-rtí	in five places
naadámí-pí-rtí	in six places
kuvárahámí-pí-rtí	in seven places
mamááko ^y va-pí-rtí	in eight places
tuvušt ^y ataamá-pí-rtí	in nine places
baivušt ^y ataamá-pí-rtí	in ten places

duukátai aatfmí f-fmadu-tai kaf ffgi gtr-ñíóóki
how we RDP-one-PRONR hear alone our-talk
 DISTR PRTV

d^yivíá-kai f-fma-píktí-r-aiñd^yiri méhiko
come-having RDP-one-where-in-from PN
 DISTR

How is it that each one of us hears his own language,
 since we have come from many parts of Mexico?

Pronominalizer, partitive -tai is used with persons or animals. Follows -du in *someone* and *some people*.

ímá-du-tai	one, someone
ffma-du-tai	some people, some animals
gooká-tai	two people, two animals
vaiká-tai	three people, three animals
maakóá-tai	four people, four animals
taamá-tai	five people, five animals
naadámí-t ^y ai	six people, six animals
kuvárahámí-t ^y ai	seven people, seven animals
maamáko ^y va-tai	eight people, eight animals
tuvušt ^y aamá-tai	nine people, nine animals
baivušt ^y aamá-tai	ten people, ten animals

Distributive is signalled by RDP of initial V, CV, CVV with other accompanying changes described in BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS.

f-fmoko	one at a time
g66-goha	two at a time
váá-vaika	three at a time
máá-makova	four at a time
táá-tama	five at a time
náá-nadami	six at a time
kúú-kuvarahami	seven at a time
mamááková	eight at a time
túú-tuvuš t ^y áá-tama	nine at a time
báá-baiš t ^y áá-tama	ten at a time
ta-taúkami	half at a time (cf. taúkami half)

maaká-ñi váá-vaika vff taamá-tai
give-IMP RDP-three all five-PRONR
DISTR PRTV
 Give all five of them three each.

ADJECTIVES

Morphology

Some adjectives consist of only a stem:

váági	wet
gáki	dry
vfftt	heavy
t6ñi	hot
ffpfd ^y i	cold
t6ha	white
túku	black
vifgi	red
vúááma	yellow
tidd6gi	green/blue
gíff	fat
gaakíñi	skinny
utúdaí	new

There is a group of adjectives which end in -li. This morpheme (?) has not been otherwise identified. Since it also occurs on a number of nouns we hesitate to call it "adjective" or "adjectivalizing."

vigĩĩ-li	<i>fine, small</i>
suusũku-li	<i>tender</i>

Others which take -li will appear below with additional suffixes.

Some adjectives take the stative suffix -ka.

yũsa-ka	<i>rough</i>
kavõra-ka	<i>round</i>
dapã-ka	<i>smooth</i>
mõf-ka	<i>soft</i>
kavã-ka	<i>hard</i>
guvũ-ka	<i>strong</i>
kavũ-li-ka	<i>short</i>
komã-li-ka	<i>thin</i>

Some adjectives take the QNT suffix -du.

gf-du	<i>big</i>
alĩ-dũ	<i>little</i>
kĩgã-du	<i>good</i>
tĩvũ-du	<i>long</i>

-ga is an adjective or an adjectivalizing suffix occurring with words which appear to be basically adjectival, with nouns, with verbs, and with borrowed adjectives.

omã-li-ga	<i>mean</i>		
parĩ-ga	<i>lazy</i>		
tĩkava-ga	<i>tall, high</i>		
uusĩ-ga	<i>woody</i>	cf. úũĩ	<i>tree</i>
áit̃ ^y -ga	<i>flat-rocky</i>	cf. áit̃ ^y	<i>flat rock</i>
oh-õda-ga	<i>rocky</i>	cf. oh-õdai	<i>rocks</i>
namf-ga	<i>expensive</i>	cf. namfki	<i>to pay</i>
tĩtĩvi-ga	<i>playful</i>	cf. tĩtĩvui	<i>to play</i>
tĩkãka-mĩli-ga	<i>talkative</i>	cf. tĩkãkai	<i>to ask a question</i>
ask-run-ADJR		mĩfrai	<i>to run</i>
ivã-baro-ga	<i>played (i.e., one that has been played)</i>	cf. ivai	<i>to play an instrument</i>
		-baro	<i>used</i>
klaarũ-ga	<i>clear</i>	cf. claro SP	<i>clear</i>
muudũ-ga	<i>dumb</i>	cf. mudo SP	<i>dumb</i>
weerõ-ga	<i>light-skinned</i>	cf. huero SP	<i>light-skinned</i>

Colors take the suffix -pora light.

siŋlíkiđi vúáám-pora-ga íd^yi yóóšiga-i
truly yellow-light-ADJR this flower-ABS
This flower is truly light yellow.

Adjectives reduplicate the initial (C)(V)V to show agreement with the noun they modify.

vaamí-óma vi-pffgi íd^yi yúúkuši ši=góvai
more-COMPAR RDP-red these materials than=that
PL
These materials are redder than those.

Adjectives occur with suffixes -ka-mi STAT-NR to form participles which occur as attributives following the nouns they modify. (They also occur as subject or object of a sentence, cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY, V + X = N; and RELATIVE CLAUSES.)

títđóí-kami	green		
kapára-kami	flat		
íra-kami	bloody	cf. frai	blood
taká-kami	rooted	cf. taká-d†	its root
kuupí-kami	closed	cf. kuúpai	he closes
totóptda-kami	boiled	cf. totóptki	he boils

vuf fgai váíka vaa-pása-raga-i k†-kffga-du-kami
took he three RDP-put-ABSTR-ABS RDP-good-QNT-PRTC
PL in _____ PL
shirt

tít-tfdoi-kami úútudai mai=šíúú ááda-baro-kami
RDP-green-PRTC new not=no put-used-PRTC
PL on
He took three good, green, new shirts--not used ones.

Long modifying expressions may be built up.

mo vúffti góóka laapíši kff múú-mua-kami
there lie two pencil well RDP-sharpen-PRTC
PL PL

too-tóá-kami tít-tfvi-du-kami gff-g†r-du-kami
RDP-white-PRTC RDP-Long-QNT-PRTC RDP-big-QNT-PRTC
PL PL PL
There lie two big, long, white, well-sharpened pencils.

Syntax

Adjectives occur in two distinct syntactic relationships: as the complement in a VERB-COMP-SUBJ sentence in which the verb is zero (cf. BE/HAVE/DO, BE); and as an attributive in a noun phrase, preceding the noun it modifies. Particles which precede and modify adjectives include: *alí* *very*, *-ši* INTNS, *bái* a *little bit*, *siílikidi* *really, truly*, *palípi=óma* (*a little bit=COMPAR*) *less*, *vaamí=óma* (*more=COMPAR*) *more*. Adjectives as complements occur in their basic form: unmarked, or with *-li*, *-ka*, *-lika*, *-du*, or *-ga*.

takávo alí tíldógi go-váso-i dai šívi alí gáki
yesterday very green the-grass-ABS and today very dry
Yesterday the grass was very green and today it is very dry.

alí vigíštli íd^yi váso-i dai alí kaváka góvái
very fine this grass-ABS and very hard that
This grass is very fine and that grass is hard.

bái gído góvái dai omáliga
a big that and mean
bit one
He is a bit large and mean.

A few adjectives occur before the noun they modify in a NP. There are others which occur before the noun in names of types of corn, beans, trees, etc. These latter appear to be loosely bound compounds.

ipíga digávusa-i aatfmi go-gíí áki dai go-tó-rí
first pass-PRES we the-big stream and second?-in
 PL

go-alí áki
the-little stream
First we crossed the big stream and afterwards the little stream.

kavá vásoi	<i>hard grass</i>
vípf úkui	<i>red pine</i>
tuutú úkui	<i>black pine</i>
totó úkui	<i>white pine</i>
vípf úúnui	<i>red corn</i>
títíído úúnui	<i>blue corn</i>
tuutú bávi	<i>black beans</i>

COMPARATIVES

yóma	COMPAR
š-íóma (ši INTNS, yóma COMPAR)	<i>much more, very much, well, very well</i>
baiyóma	<i>better</i>
ADV/PRTC yóma...ši=	ADV/PRTC-er than X
ši-ffši X modúúkai Y	X as well as Y
ši-ffši X +kááší Y	X as much as Y
ímádugan dúúkai	<i>the same</i>
ímáduga mffši	<i>the same</i>
ipfá	<i>like, just like, same</i>

Comparisons of Inequality

yóma COMPAR occurs following adverbs and participialized adjectives, and combines with particles to form adverbs of degree which modify adverbs or adjectives.

vaas-+kí=óma ótol yóma gíff go-táíšoli
before-early=COMPAR less COMPAR fat the-pig
The other day the pig was not as fat.

gf-du-kíd^y yóma áán iñ-šóí-ga tuúru ši-šápi
big-QNT-PRTC COMPAR my my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

g+-sóí-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.

p+=t=ff š-íón koí
you=COMPL=how INTNS-COMPAR slept
much well
How did you sleep?

š-íóma
INTNS-COMPAR
Very well.

š-íón gf-du gliñ-šóí-ga tuúru ši-šápi
INTNS-COMPAR big-QNT my-DOM-POSSD bull than=you

g+-sóí-ga
your-DOM-POSSD
My bull is bigger than yours.

šíííšši fsai ándirišši †-kááši fsai pailišši
 how plant PN that-much plant PN
 much
 Felix plants as much as Andrew.

šíííšši išt^Yutúí^Yi áápi iš=vañí-d^Ya-gi áánt
 how can you SUBR=lift-APPLIC-UNR I
 much

†-kááši f†
 that-much also
 I can lift as much as you can.

šíííšši óóki †-ki-kííli f† †-kááši ohóí^Yi
 how women the-RDP-man also that-much like
 much PL

tuudáí-d^Yagai
 dance-ABSTR
 Men like to dance as much as women.

There are three ways to say the same.

ímá-du-ga-n dúúkaí ípfá
 one-QNT-ADVR-? how same, like
 the same

ímá-du-ga m=íííši
 one-QNT-ADVR UNSPEC=how
 SUBJ much
 the same

d^Yíúúši mos-ímádugan dúúkaí níí^Yi óódami
 God just-came see people
 God sees all people as equal.

kítgá-ki-r níí^Yi mos-ímáduga míííši víííš-ka-tai
 good-STAT-on see just-one how all-STAT-PRONR
 much
 He looks good on everyone just like they're all
 the same.

f-fpta-na-ka-mi aatf†
 RDP-also-at-STAT-NR we
 PL
 We are just the same age.

go-maakidi ipfán dúuka fsai yatóvara ipfán dúú iibái-t^yai
that-which also how plant potato like fruit-make
like

The (food) that is planted like potatoes, it yields like (potatoes).

tpfá mās-maši go-ásíi
also RDF-appear those-little
 PL ones

Those kids look alike.

tpfán úíd^yuru vff gooká-tai
also size all two-PRONR
 The two of them are the same size.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

tmóko*	someone (of a group)	vóorai	who?
ffmoko*	some (of a group)		
tmádutai*	someone		
ffmadutai*	some people		
tmó išt ^y umáási	something	tumáási	what?
šibákoga	somewhere	váškoga	where?
tmó imíd ^y agai	sometime	vffškad ^t	when?

miká-r imi-i tmóko
there-at go-PRES someone
 There comes someone.

bfkata-i fgal tmó išt^yumáási gi-noví-ri
carry-PRES he one thing his-hand-in
 He is carrying something in his hand.

mos-ši-bí-á-koga as=kffka ašńíft^yu
just-DUB-?-LOC-where QUOT=stand burro
 It is said there was a burro somewhere.

tmó imf-d^yagai dad^yí-mu aatfmi dai mai máští ší=ffkad^t
one go-ABSTR come-FUT we but not know DUB=when
 We will come sometime, but we don't know when.

* See NUMERALS.

Negative

Negative forms are derived by adding tomali NEG to the positive forms.

tomali im ^o ko	not one (of them)
tomali im ^a du ^{tai}	no one
tomali im ^o išt ^y umááši	nothing
tomali im ^a pí ^á koga	nowhere
tomali im ^o imí ^d agai	never

tomali im^a-du-tai mai dad^yí-mu
 not one-QNT-PRONR not come-FUT
 No one will come.

fgai mai vúáápa tomali im^o išt^yumááši
 he not bring not one thing
 He didn't bring anything.

mai-t^ya=n ími ááni tomali im^a pí-á-koga
 not-COMPL=I go I not one in-LOC-where
 I'm not going anywhere!

tomali im^o imí-d^yagai mai íí ááni vualuupí-á-mu
 not one go-ABSTR not went I PN-LOC-to
 I never went to Guadalupe y Calvo.

ANY

tomaš išt ^y umááši	anything, whatever
tomaš duuká ^{tai}	however
tomaš íóórai	anyone, whoever
tomaš íáákoga	anywhere, wherever
tomaš íííškadi	anytime, whenever
tomaš mááškidi	anyone, whichever
tomaš íáánkidi	anyone, whichever

tomaš-išt^yumááši giñ-vúááplagi ááni gíá ugí-mu
 ever-what me-bring I AFF eat-FUT
 I'll eat whatever you bring me.

tomaš-íóórai mai áta vuááyi fgai gíá mai ugí-mu
 ever-who not ? do he AFF not eat-FUT
 Anyone who doesn't work won't eat.

toma-šfááko lmí-á ip+líáda áápi áán† gíá lmí-mu
any-where go-are want you I AFF go-FUT
going
I'll go anywhere you want to.

toma-šfífškad† dáda gir-ááduñi baig-fr-tíid^Yi aatfmi†
any-when come our-relatives happy-REFL-think we
PL
Whenever our relatives come we will be happy.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

The independent pronouns may occur as the sole marker of the subject or as the optional pronoun copy of any of the dependent pronouns (cf. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE, Pronoun Copies).

	SG	PL
1P	aán† I	aatfmi† we
2P	áápi you	aapími† you
3P	DEM	

In the normal order of elements in the sentence the subject pronoun follows the verb. Where the subject is in focus it comes first in the sentence. In complex sentences the subject pronoun occurs with one clause and may be dropped from the other clause or clauses as long as the subject remains the same.

ka ugí-mu áán†
already eat-FUT I
I'm going to eat now.

aáni-v fgai dai ñíóóka-i mai=šíú fmai fgai dai
 I-EMPH he and speak-PRES not=no another he and

ñíóóka-i
 speak-PRES

I am the one who is talking, not someone else.

áíd^yiši miká-r vuváka áíd^yi kítgá-kt-r ímíi aatímt
 when there-at left then good-STAT-in go we
 PL PL

dai kítgá-kt-rí ááyí šlaako ímia r=ágai
 and good-STAT-in arrived where go we=INTEN
 PL

On leaving there we travelled in good shape and arrived in good shape where we were going.

Dependent

There are two sets of subject clitics which occur as proclitics to WHW and CNJ. Set I occurs before vowels, and Set II before consonants (iñ= before a palatalized C).

SET I	SG	PL
1P	n= I	tít= we
2P	p= you	m= you they UNSPEC
3P	v= he, they	

SET II	SG	PL
1P	an=/iñ= I	tí= we
2P	pí= you	mí= you they UNSPEC
3P	∅ he, they	

pt=š=mai=t^yi kíkíva nt=kapíña imóko
 you=if=not=COMPL get I=slap one
 INDF out
 If you don't get out of the way I'll slap you.

Set IV are prefixed to the verb. First and second person singular and first person plural have been observed.

SET IV	SG	PL
1P	an- I	tí- we
2P	ap- you	?

masádi vusáí-ko an-imí-ági takú kúí-ko an-d^yíví-ági
 moon come-TEMP I-go-UNR rooster crow-TEMP I-come-UNR
 out
 I'll go when the moon rises, I'll return when the rooster
 crows.

tí-gaága taí sabáí tígáá-na
 we-look fire see find-POT
 for if
 Let's look for fire and see if we might find it.

aapímt o mt-káft^yi an=s=óor aantí
 you Q you-say I=quot=who I
 You? whom do you say that I am?

One other set of subject pronoun clitics occurs as enclitics to the AUX BASE preceding auxiliary verbs, and as proclitics to the auxiliary verb when the AUX BASE is not present.

SET V	SG	PL
1P	=iñ I	=ír we
2P	=pt you	=m you
3P	∅ he, they	
UNSPEC	=m they	

imí=á=iñ ágai
 go=B=I INTEN
 I'm going to go.

imí=á=iñ agáí-tadai
 go=B=I INTEN-PAST
 CONT
 I was going to go.

íimi=a=r ágai
 go=B=we INTEN
 PL
 We are going to go.

Object pronouns occur prefixed to verbs and postpositions.

	SG	PL
1P	(g) iñ- me	(g) t̄r- us
2P	(g) t̄- you	(g) t̄n- you
3P	∅	
UNSPEC	(g) a- someone	

áánt gíá giñ-óígt̄da-i giñ-áámu
 I AFF me-love-PRES my-boss
 My boss really loves me.

áán t̄pt̄ ga-tikáka-i iš=d^yukátaí t̄pt̄-duí
 I also UNSPEC-ask-PRES SUBF=how also-did
 I too asked what had happened.

giñ-bait^yíki ímt̄-i gí-sukúli
 me-ahead go-PRES your-younger
 of brother
 Your younger brother is walking ahead of me.

ga-íbt̄gi dáha
 UNSPEC-behind sit
 It's behind someone.

Possessor pronouns occur affixed to the possessed noun (see POSSESSIVES); reflexive pronouns occur prefixed to verbs.

		SG	PL
POSSR and REFL	1P	(g)ĩñ- my, myself	(g)tr- our, ourselves
	2P/3P	(g)†- your, yourself, his own, himself	(g)†n- your, yourselves, their own, themselves
POSSR	3P	-d†	his, their
UNSPEC POSSR		ga-	someone's, the

káši=a=n=ta giñ-aí (áán†) giñ-yúúkuši
already=B=I=COMPL myself-put I my-clothes
on
I already put on my clothes.

káši=a=ta g†-aí (góvai) g†-yúúkuši
already=B=COMPL himself-put he his-clothes
on own
He already put on his own clothes.

káši=a=ta g†-aí (góvai) g†-šiffgi yúúkuši-d^y†
already=B=COMPL herself-put she her-older clothes-her
on own sister
She already put on her older sister's clothes.

Certain verbs always take the REFL prefix:

g†-áágai to be needed
 g†-ááhag†† to begin
 g†-táúmadai to get well

alíf-ši g†-áágai góvai vav†li-ana
very-INTNS REFL-need he wild-at
fig
He is really needed in Baborigame.

káši g†r-ta-táúmadai-m† aat†m†
already REFL-RDP-get-PROG we
PL well
We are already getting well.

REFL PF is used for passive:

kífga gí-máátí lš=ír vávoi
good REFL-know SUBR=be true
It's well known that it's true.

STEMS

Verb stems undergo suppletion and/or reduplication to indicate plural subject or object and also for REPET/CONT/DUR action. In some verbs the suppletion is complete, in others it is partial, and in still others suppletion and reduplication combine. Intransitive verbs reduplicate for plural subject. Transitive verbs reduplicate for plural object.

Number

Suppletion in intransitive verbs:

SG SUBJ	PL SUBJ	
múúkui	kóóyi	<i>die</i>
kaátí	víítí	<i>lie down</i>
kííka	gúúka	<i>stand up</i>
d'ívia	dáda	<i>come</i>
mírai	vóópoi	<i>run</i>
aimírai	aihópai/ahíópai	<i>walk around</i>
gíístí	suulígí	<i>fall</i>
dáívusai	dígávusai	<i>pass by</i>
dáha	daráha	<i>be seated</i>
dáíva	daráíva	<i>sit</i>
vańígi	vaapáígi	<i>get up</i>
tisádaí	títííd'ái	<i>go up</i>

Suppletion of second element of compound form:

SG SUBJ	PL SUBJ	
bíúgi-mu	bíúgi-koi	<i>be hungry</i>
kooşí-mu	kooşí-koi	<i>be sleepy</i>
tonó-mo	tonó-koi	<i>be thirsty</i>
navá-mu	navá-koi	<i>be drunk</i>
ibí-mu	ibí-koi	<i>be tired</i>
uvá-mu	uvá-koi	<i>be cold</i>
baá-mu	baá-koi	<i>be angry</i>

Suppletion in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ	PL OBJ	
múááyi	kóódai	<i>kill</i>
bʰtʰj	vúúkaí	<i>grasp</i>
bʰíídʷai	vúúíídʷai	<i>bring</i>
bʰkaítʷai	vúúkaítʷai	<i>carry</i>
tʰkíídʷai	totóíídʷai	<i>bet</i>
divíídʷai	dadʷíídʷai	<i>visit</i>

Reduplication in verbs is similar to RDP in plurals of nouns and adjectives in that a shift of tone and *v > p* accompany the reduplication of initial syllables.

Reduplication in intransitive verbs:

SG SUBJ	PL SUBJ	
ímti	íímti	<i>go</i>
uutúvʷi	úútvʷi	<i>trip</i>
oidʷága	óíídʷaga	<i>live</i>
gʷlbfʰstʷai	gʷtʰfbʰstʷai	<i>rest</i>
váftʷvtʷi	vapáftʷvtʷi	<i>bathe</i>
tudákʷi	tuutúdakʷi	<i>dance</i>

Reduplication in transitive verbs:

SG OBJ	PL OBJ	
bʰíídʷai	bibíídʷai	<i>feed</i>
kusúvi	kukúúsptʷi	<i>load</i>
savʷdai	sáptʷdai	<i>buy</i>
dʷgárai	dʷdʷfgarsai/dʷdʷfársai	<i>dig</i>

Aspect

Reduplication for REPET-CONT-DUR action of verbs:

Nonrepetitive	Repetitive	
váákʷi	vapáákʷi	<i>enter</i>
gʷffraí	gʷtʰgʷffraí	<i>grow</i>
bʰkaítʷai	bʰbʰkaítʷai	<i>grasp</i>
bʰíídʷai	bibííádai	<i>feed</i>
kóósoi	kokóósoi	<i>sleep</i>

vřřš t^Yása-i mo va-pákt ááni
all day-ABS there RDP-enter I
 REPET
Every day I go in there.

vřřš t^Yása-i g+gřřra-i go-áki
all day-ABS RDP-grow-PRES the-stream
 REPET
Every day the stream rises.

cf. vřřš t^Yása-i gřřli-mi go-tilígi
all day-ABS grow-PROG the-wheat
Every day the wheat grows.

mai=t^Yi fpíd^Yi bī-břřkait^Yai
not=COMPL quit RDP-grasp
 INDF REPET
He doesn't quit holding on to it.

mai bi-břřá-da-mudai áápi mai gī+řřlī-muda góvai
not RDP-feed-APPLIC-had you not grow-had he
 REPET
If you hadn't fed him he would not have grown.

Some verbs always occur reduplicated. These verbs are inherently durative/continuative/repetitive.

totópkīi	boil
ninřřrakai	wait for
tīřřdai	say to him (used before and after quotation)
gīgřřsīi (SG)	swim cf. gřřsīi fall (SG)
susúřřligīi (PL)	swim cf. suulřřgīi fall (PL)

One other type of suppletion involves different forms for PERF vs. IMPRF and PRES/HAB vs. other TNS/ASP: *vúááyi* to do and *kúááyi* to eat are found only in the PRES/HAB tense-aspect. For other tenses and aspects of to do and to eat the verbs *dúúnui* to do, make and *úúgai* to eat, finish are used.

tumá vuááyi	tumá duuřřī-mu áápi
what do	what do-FUT you
What are you doing?	What are you going to do?

i-óódami kúááyi bávi vřřš t^Yása-i
the-people eat beans all day-ABS
Tepihuans eat beans every day.

vffši úú fgai tumáit^yi
all ate he tamales
He ate all of the tamales.

d^yivia to come never occurs in the PRES tense. The verb ími to come/go is used as to come in the PRES tense.

šíóro-ko d^yiví-mu fgai
tomorrow-TEMP come-FUT he
He will come tomorrow.

ka d^yivia
already came
He already came.

bír-ími-i
this-come-PRES
way
Here he comes.

Stem Alternates

The following sets of forms represent a large class of verbs (Class I) which have three stem alternates. The formulas illustrate how Stems II and III are predictable from Stem I. Each of these stems occurs with a certain set of suffixes.

Stem I	... (C)(V)VCV-	IMPRF
Stem II	... (C)(V)VCI-	IMPRF/PERF
Stem IIIa	... (C)VV	PERF
Stem IIIb	... (C)Vi	PERF

Stem II is predictable from Stem I by V > i. Stem III is predictable from Stem I by loss of CV and by (V)V > VV or Vi.

Class I verbs will be subclassified by the different ways in which their Stem III is formed. Class Ia verbs use Stem IIIa: (C)VV.

mááka-l	<i>he gives (him)</i>
maakí-mu	<i>he will give (him)</i>
maá	<i>he gave (him)</i>

sóóma-i	<i>she sews</i>
soomí-mi	<i>she is sewing</i>
soó	<i>she sewed</i>

bííd ^y a-j	<i>he feeds (him)</i>
im-biid ^y í-tul-d ^y a-ŕi	<i>feed (him) for me</i>
bíí	<i>he fed (him)</i>

mífra-i	he runs
mílí-mu	he will run
míf	he ran
yáři-i	it rolls
yalí-mu	it will roll
yaá	it rolled
ími-i	he goes
imí-mu	he will go
íí	he went
mu-múúku-i	someone dies (every day)
RDP	
REPET	
muukí-mu	he will die
muú	he died

Class Ib verbs use Stem IIIb: (C)Vi.

dáása-i	he puts
daaší-mu	he will put
daí	he put
dááni-i	he requests, pleads
daañí-mu	he will plead
daí	he pled
gífsi-i	he falls
gííší-mu	he will fall
gíí	he fell
bíhi-i	he grasps
bíhi ágai	he is going to grasp
bíí	he grasped
ísi-i	he plants
íší-mu	he will plant
íí	he planted

Class Ic verbs use Stem II as IMPRF/PERF.

así-i	he laughs
aší-mi	he is laughing
áši	he laughed

INCORPORATION

A noun or an adjective (not always identifiable) may be used as the first element of a verb to indicate the instrument of an act.

Nouns:

máíšai	throw rocks (cf. mataka palm of hand)
máíñai	throw rocks (cf. PAP: ma'i object from hand)
máíkarsai	throw rocks, shoot
máíšapai	throw in to person
kííšanai	bite (cf. PAP: ki'i teeth)
k+kí-šapai	hold in teeth
móí-t ^y ukasai	hit with head, butt (cf. mooyi head)
kfí-t ^y ukasai	kick (as mule kick)(cf. PAP: kií foot)
kfí-kakarai	kick (a football)
kíí-šai	step on

Adjectives:

va-kúánai	wash (cf. vagi wet)
vá-ft ^v í	bathe
va-kfa	wring out
va-kát ^t	soak corn
va-ráí ^d ya	put water on food
va-ší ^b ai	dip
va-gú ^g í ^d ya	rinse
va-hú ^r ai	sweat
vá-gai	irrigate
va-sú ^d ai	blister

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal elements on the verb include a set of SUBJ prefixes; a set of DIR/INDOBJ prefixes; a set of REFL prefixes; and a set of POSSR affixes. See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Nonsubordinating grammatical suffixes include -ava AFF; -ñi IMP SG; -vurai IMP PL. On verbs which do not show SG vs. PL by suppletion or RDP (cf. STEMS) this suppletive suffix pair serves to distinguish SG vs. PL SUBJ.

así-áva
laugh-AFF
Yes, he's laughing.

kooso-áva
sleep-AFF
Yes, he's sleeping.

giñ-vúáápi-d^Ya-ní
me-bring-APPLIC-IMP
(You) bring it to me.

giñ-vúáápi-d^Ya-vurai
IMP
PL
(You PL) bring it to me!

-vurai has alternate forms =avir, which is attached to the element preceding the verb, and virai, which acts like a CNJ.

mal=t^Ya=vir oiñí-á-da
not=COMPL=IMP move?-APPLIC
PL
Don't (you PL) move!

mó=a=vir iñ-d^Yaráš-d^Ya aapímt
there=B=IMP me-put-APPLIC you
PL PL PL
You PL put it there for me!

íimi-vurai dai gáága i-alf šíffmi dai m+=ší=ffš-kadí
go-IMP and look the-little baby and you=DUB=how-?
PL PL for PL much

tigí-ági virai dadá-kai giñ-aagí-d^Ya n=ai áání
find-UNR IMP come-having me-tell-APPLIC I=at I
PL PL that
time

fpí mti šíáá dúú túd-agi
also there ? *-UNR*
worship

You PL go look for the child and when you find him and come back let me know so that I can go and worship him too.

Subordinating suffixes on verb include:

-kai/-tai *while, as, when, since*
 -na *POT*
 -gi/-agi *UNR*

Cf. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Temporal Clauses; NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspectual.

NONSYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-da ~ -d ^y i	APPLIC (VR/TRNSR/DITRNSR) suffixed to Stem II (with some exceptions)
-tuda ~ -tud ^y i ~ -tu	CAUS/ <i>put on</i>
-tuida ~ -tuid ^y i ~ -tull	BEN/CAUS
-mada ~ -mad ^y i	<i>put on</i>
-ka	STAT
-oko	REV

Several of these forms I analyze as complex units whose second element is -da APPLIC. Listing each of these with -da and with their stem alternates reflects the view that each is probably derived from a verb in Proto-Tepiman or P-UA.

-da as verbalizer:

kovó-ha-da-i	dapákadai
<i>thick-STAT-VR-PRES</i>	<i>smooth, make smooth</i>
<i>swell, become thick</i>	(cf. <i>dapáka smooth</i>)
(cf. <i>kovóka thick</i>)	

kukúrušd^yai
make the sign of the cross
 (cf. *kurúši cross SP*)

-da as transitivizer:

mu-múka-da-i kuugá-d† laapíši
RDP-die-TRNSR-PRES point-its pencil
 REPET
He is sharpening the pencil. (cf. múkui die)

to-tópiš-d^ya aatín gǫpi suudági
RDP-boil-TRNSR we lots water
 REPET of
We will boil lots of water. (cf. totópiš†i boil)

Note also the following set of intransitive vs. transitive verbs:

INTRNS

d ^y ívia	come
m ^f h ⁱ	burn
n ⁿ f ⁿ ai	see
úúvai	smell
aatágai	converse
úkai	warm

TRNS

d ^y iví ^d ya	visit
m ^f í ^d ya	burn
n ^f í ^d ya	look at
uvápid ^y a	smell
aatágid ^y a	converse
ukáda	warm

-da as ditransitivizer:

ka	mai	tí-tfga-i	dúkai	gaagí-d ^y a	gi-maa-mára
already	not	RDP-find-PRES	how	look-DITRNSR	my-RDP-child
		REPET		for	PL
				provide	
				for	

I can't figure out how to provide for my children.
(cf. gáágai look for)

TRNS

fsai	plant
áágai	tell
ñíóó ^k ai	talk

DITRNS

tší ^d yaí	plant for someone
aagí ^d ai	tell to someone
ñíóókid ^y ai	talk to someone
ñiokí ^d ai	slander

-tuda CAUS, put X on, apply X to:

šikóli	imí-t ^y u-da-i	go-vanámo-i
around	go-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES	the-hat-ABS
He is twirling the hat.		

ka	kí ^t lí-t ^y u	áán ^t	ka	óóñ-t ^y a	iñ-tí ^d yaí
now	man-CAUS	I	now	wife-make	REFL-want
Now that I'm a man I want to get married.					

su-súsaka-tu-da-i	fgai	mu-múúra
RDP-saddle-put-APPLIC-PRES	he	RDP-mule
PL	on	PL
He is shoeing the mules.		

-mada put on, suffixed to nouns:

dáí-karo-ma-da-i	ívfli-madai
sit-INSTR-put-APPLIC-PRES	wind-put
	on
<u>saddle</u>	He is fanning.
He is saddling (a horse).	

kókol1-madai be burned with chili
 tohā11-madai whitewash
 vuiirú-madai be fooled

-tulid^ya ~ -tulid^yi ~ -tuli BEN/CAUS, suffixed to verbs:

i-ñfóðki-tul-d^ya-ñi áapi
 me-speak-BEN-APPLIC-IMP you
 You speak for me!

kfíga maatf-tul1 áán1 kášk1d1 áápi ištutúfd^yi
 good know-CAUS I therefore you can
 teach

iš=kífga maatf-tul-d^yi-agi áa
 SUBR=good know-CAUS-APPLIC-UNR other
 teach

I taught you well; therefore, you can teach others well.

-ka STAT:

kaatf-ka-tadai
 lie-STAT-PAST
 down CONT
 He was lying down.

vas-umí-r1 old^yá-ka-tadai fgai vavfli-ir1
 before-year-in live-STAT-PAST he PN-in
 last CONT
 year
 Last year he lived in Baborigame.

-oko REV:

kupí-óko-ñi	somí-óko-ñi
shut-REV-IMP	sew-REV-IMP
Open it!	Unsew it!

Adverbial

-tuga	go/come/take Ving DUR
-m1ra	to run around Ving HAB (m1ra1 = run)
-r1	become

-tuga ~ -tugi DUR:

bíúgimu-tuga-i
be-come-PRES
hungry
He comes hungry.

takávo aadái-tugai fgai tmó vaakáši
yesterday chase-take he one cow
Yesterday he took the cow running.

kóko-tygai he comes sick
 toñí-t^yugai he comes hot
 ibímu-tugai he comes tired
 giñ-aagí-t^yugai he comes talking to me

-mtra ~ -mili HAB:

tikáka-mtraí	sa-sái-mtra-i
<i>ask-run</i>	<i>RDP -get-run-PRES</i>
<i>questions</i>	<i>REPET stuck</i>
<i>he runs around asking</i>	<i>he stutters</i>
<i>questions</i>	

tai-kó-mili-ga t-gogóóši
fire-by-run-ADJR the-dog
The dog enjoys being close to the fire.

-ri become suffixed to nouns, adjectives, or verbs:

ta-tákt-ri-i	á-áli-t ^y i-ri-i
<i>RDP-root-become-PRES</i>	<i>RDP-small-CAUS-become-PRES</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>CONT</i>
<i>it is getting roots</i>	<i>it is shrinking</i>
<i>(tatáka roots)</i>	<i>(alí-dYu small)</i>

imó tasá-í-kídtí ši=ípt góó tasá-í-kídtí
one day-ABS-with DUB=also two day-ABS-with
or

kavá-ka-ri-i go-seménto
hard-STAT-become-PRES the-cement
In a day or two the cement hardens.

úva-ri-i go-to-tóóši
smell-become-PRES the-RDP-rabbit
PL
The rabbits are mating.

Volitional

-ku want to, DESID, occurring only along with -mu:

ííñá-mu-ku go-óóki víáá-ka-tai aílí šíííñi dai
eat-die-want the-woman have-STAT-while little child and
certain
food

íš=mai ugí-ági sítíí-kidí muukí-ági
if=not eat-UNR straight-with die-UNR
A pregnant woman wants a certain food and if she doesn't
get it she'll die.

ííñá-mu-ku ááñt
shout-die-want I
I want to shout.

go-táíšoli mai kff gi-mú-ku-ri-i
the-pig not good fat-die-want-become-PRES
The pig doesn't want to fatten very well.

-vuli CHAR
-suli CHAR
-tira CHAR

imí-vuli-ga
go-CHAR-ADJR
a roamer

imí-šuli-ga
go-CHAR-ADJR
a roamer

bíí-t^ytira-ga-mi
grasp-CHAR-ADJR-NR
a thief

Aspectual

In addition to suppletion and reduplication of verb bases (which signal SG vs. PL SUBJ/OBJ and repetitive action) and alternation of verb bases (which signal PERF/IMPRF), there are several tense-aspect suffixes in Northern Tepehuan. They will be listed by their order and by the stem alternate with which they occur.

Order 1

Suffixes occurring with Stem I:

- i PRES The present tense suffix is used for present tense, habitual or repeated action, and for the past tense in narratives.

mo ími-i
there go-PRES
There he goes.

vífš t^yása-i vakúána-i yúúkuši t-óódamí
all day-ABS wash-PRES clothes the-people
The Tepehuanes wash clothes every day.

dí-dífgara-i divírai dai vupúí^yir daráíva
RDP-dig-PRES earth and facing sit
PL hole PL PL
OBJ
They dug holes and sat down facing one another.

Suffixes occurring with Stems I and II:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| -mu | FUT (used in PAST TNS context as well as future) |
| -imi ~ -mi | PROG/INCEPT (cf. ími-, Stem II of verb <i>to go</i>) |
| -muda ~ -mud ^y i | PAST PERF |
| -na | POT |
| -gi | UNR |

-mu FUT

gi-taañí-t^yul-d^ya-mu ááni
you-ask-BEN-APPLIC-FUT I
I'll ask for it for you!

agí-mu go-kíva-i šíóro-ko
melt-FUT the-snow-ABS tomorrow-TEMP
The snow will melt tomorrow.

gaagá-mu=šíi vaakáš*i*
look-FUT=Q cow
for
Did he go look for the cow?

-ími PROG/INCEPT

divá-ími
rot-PROG
It is rotting.

kítlí-mu-ími
man-die-PROG
He is getting old.

g+iłf-mi
grow-PROG
He is growing.

tšf-mi
plant-PROG
He is beginning to plant.

-muda ~ -mud^yi PAST PERF

yová-muda
harvest-PAST
PERF
He would have harvested.

mai tšf-muda
not plant-PAST
PERF
He would not have planted
it.

mai adáf-mud^yi
not chase-PAST
PERF
He would not have chased it.

-na ~ -ña POT

pari váika tukági óótosa-i fgai i-gff-du-kidit alí
about three nights send-PRES he the-big-QNT-AG little

gfłli s=ai mff nu-núkada-i tošši mai ugá-na
boy QUOT=at there RDP-watch-PRES rabbit not eat-POT
that time CONT

tılıgi
wheat
For about three nights he sent the big boy to watch for
Rabbit so that he might not eat wheat.

ašf-ña=pt=sa
laugh-POT=you=QUOT
He says for you to laugh (that you should laugh).

-gi ~ -agi UNR

pt=š=mai kíkiva-gi
you=if=not get-UNR
out of
way
If you don't get out of the way...

vffkiadi iñ-gagáali-agi
how me-sell-UNR
much
For how much will you sell it to me?

Suffixes occurring with Stems II and III:

-to *finish* (cf. *naáto to finish*)

ka ugí-t^Yo áání
already eat-finish I
I already finished eating.

káši=a=n=t íí-t^Yo
already=B=I=COMPL drank-finished
I already finished drinking.

cf. káši=a=n=t nááto íí
already=B=I=COMPL finished drink
I already finished drinking.

Order 2

Order 2 suffixes occur following -i PRES or -ka STAT:

-tadai PAST CONT
 -ña PAST REPET/HAB/DUR

así-í-t^Yadai
laugh-PRES-PAST
 CONT
He was laughing.

vííš suvíši-ko apašíáru-i-ña aatín
all Thursday-TEMP go-PRES-HAB we
 SP for
 ride
Every Thursday we go for a ride.

áání mai vukát^Yi-ka-tadai áíd^Yí tumíñši
I not carry-STAT-PAST at money
 CONT that
 time
 ...I wasn't carrying any money at that time.

Clitics occurring with Stem III:

=t^Yi COMPL INDF
 =t^Yiki COMPL DEF
 =ta COMPL
 -tadai PAST CONT

The first three of these TNS/ASP clitics combine with subject pronoun clitics and the AUX base to form the auxiliary group (cf. PARTICLES AND CLITICS). The AUX group attaches phonologically to the first element of a clause.

šíá imf-da aapí [ší=mai=t^Yi kukú-n áán†]
where go-? you SUBR=not=COMPL eat-POT I
 INDF

Where could you go so that I might not eat you?

vúú=ñ=t ^Y iki	ka	ii=á=n=ta
<i>tie=I=COMPL</i>		<i>already drink=B=I=COMPL</i>
<i>up DEF</i>		<i>I already drank.</i>
<i>I tied it up (I remember doing it).</i>		

káš*i*=a=n=t íí
already=B=I=COMPL drank
I already drank.

ka yóga kuú-tadai f*gai*
already almost close-PAST they
 CONT
They were about to close it.

There is another set of subject pronouns which occur as enclitics to Stem III verbs. These may be phonologically determined variants of those listed as part of the AUX base. The AUX base subject pronouns may occur only word medial and the other set only word final.

=n <i>t</i>	I
=p <i>i</i>	you
=t <i>im</i> †	we

ka úú=n*t*
already ate=I
I already ate.

ka úú=p*i*
already ate=you
You already ate.

bí*f*=t*im*† autovus
took=we bus
We took the bus.

The question clitic =š*i* was treated under QUESTIONS. Further examples here will illustrate how =š*i* (along with the SUBJ PRON) occurs with any form of the verb.

a-kúmu-l=Ø=šǀ
 UNSPEC-eat-PRES=he=Q
 OBJ countable
 things
 Is he eating?

báí^Yd^Ya-mu=Ø=šǀ fgai go-kúáá-daga-i
 cook-FUT=he=Q he the-eat-ABSTR-ABS
 Is he going to cook the food?

imf-í-t ^Y adaí=pi=šǀ	í-ímt-na=ti=šǀ
go-PRES-FAST=you=Q	RDP-go-POT=we=Q
CONT	PL
Were you going by (earlier)?	Should we go?

ih-í=mi=šǀ
 RDP-go=you=Q
 PL PL
 Did you PL go?

The QUOT clitic =sa is preceded in the verb by a SUBJ PRON. These clitics occur postposed to the verb, following -na POT. The variant s= QUOT occurs preceding WHW, introducers, and conjunctions. (See PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Modal).

imf-na=pi=sa
 go-POT=you=QUOT
 He said that you should go.

kodá-na=pi=sa káít^Yi
 kill-POT=you=QUOT said
 PL
 OBJ
 He said that you should
 kill them.

gáámo=a=pi=sa imf-na
 there=B=you=QUOT go-POT
 He says you should go there.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliary verbs follow the main verb. They never occur apart from the main verb. They occur with a set of subject pronoun clitics (cf. DEFINITE PRONOUNS, Dependent, Set V), which precede them as proclitics except when the AUX BASE is present. The AUX BASE attracts the subject pronoun to it as an enclitic.

ágai INTEN
agáí-t^yadai PAST INTEN

imí=á=iñ ágai
go=B=I INTEN
I'm going to go.

imí ágai fgai
go INTEN he
He's going to go.

kood=á=iñ ágai
kill=B=I INTEN
PL
OBJ
I'm going to kill them.

dai ipámu suúli vavfllí-amu gáága ágai
and again fell PN-to look INTEN
 PL
returned
And they returned to Baborigame to look for him.

mai=t^ya í-íva agáí-t^yadai
not=COMPL RDP-play INTEN-PAST
 DUR instrument CONT
He wasn't going to play.

ga-í-íva=ti=ši í=agáí-t^yadai aatfmi
UNSPEC-RDP-play=we=Q we=INTEN-PAST we
INDOBJ DUR CONT
Were we going to play (the instrument)?

<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Stem</u>			<u>INFL SF Stems I, II</u>		<u>Clitics</u>
	<u>RDP</u>	<u>Base</u>	<u>DER</u>	<u>TNS/ASP/MODE</u>		
SUBJ:PRON	PL	I...(C)(V)VCV-	REV APPLIC	PRES	PAST:CONT	SUBJ:PRON Q
OBJ:PRON	REPET	II...(C)(V)Vci-	CAUS		PAST:REPET	QUOT
		IIIa...(C)VV	BEN	FUT		
		IIIb...(C)Vi	DUR	PROG		
			HAB	PAST:PERF		
			STAT	POT		
			<i>become</i>	UNR		
			<i>put on</i>	IMP		
				<i>when</i>		
				<hr/> <hr/>		
				<u>INFL SF/CLITICS Stem III</u>		
				SUBJ:PRON	COMPL:INDF	
					COMPL:DEF	
					COMPL	
					PAST:CONT	
					<i>finish Ving</i>	

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

COORDINATION

Conjunctions

dai	and, but	SAME SUBJ
tai	and	DIFF SUBJ
tai	so that, in order to	PAST
vai	so that, in order to	NON-PAST
sai	so that, in order to	QUOT
amááʒi	then	
dimos	but	
ʒifpi ~ ʒif	or	
dáni	and	
ʒimádu	and, with	
mos-	just	
fpi	also	

Syntax

Introducer particles occur as the first element of a clause. In addition to PAST, NON-PAST, and QUOT clitics, *so that* takes SUBJ PRON clitics (cf. ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES for a set of temporal introducers which take the same set of clitics). The remaining conjunctions either introduce clauses or join elements in a syntactic construction.

The following account contains illustrations of various introducers and conjunctions. / indicates end of sentence.

ʒmó ʒmí-dʸaga apaʒfáru-l áánʒ ʒimádu daníél dai ááy|
 one go-ABSTR take-PRES I and PN and arrived
 a
 walk

aatfmi mʒʒ ʒiaako kifka ʒmó motór dai vía ʒmó úúrug| /
 we there where stand one motor and have one airplane/

dai v=áídʸʒ ikáitʸʒ daníél áánʒ áa namʒí-dʸa-na ʒmó
 and he=then said PN I ? cost-APPLIC-POT one
 pay

píʒʒu p=ai dáiva go-motorí-ába/ ʒ-motór ʒ-íón
 peso you=so get the-motor-on / the-motor INTNS-COMPAR
 that on

kavámi aimfra-i ʒi=ʒmó úúrug| / dai ʒikóli aimfra-i
 fast go-PRES than=one airplane/ and around go-PRES

tíkavi dai ipán tšápani-i/ tšsi ááni tškavi tai áa
 up and again go-PRES / went I high and others
 down up DS

daráíva mítána/ ipá tšsa mítán dará-ktdí a=n=t=ai
 sit down / again go below sit-AG B=I=COMPL=then
 PL below up PL

ááni tšvai/ amááši tivánt-kai ka vřř navámu antáda
 I went / then get-when already all be seemed
 down down drunk

ááni/ mos-šikóli aimřř dantáda oid^yřřgi/
 I / just-around go seemed world /
 One time Daniel and I went for a walk, and we came to
 where there was a motor which had an airplane. And then
 Daniel said, "I'll pay a peso so that you can ride the
 motor." The motor went faster than an airplane. And it
 went around and around, going up and coming down again.
 I went up high and others were sitting down below. Those
 who were down below went up again and I went down. When
 I got down, I felt drunk. It seemed like the world was
 spinning.

mo-gúúka múř-d^yu vo-póóhi too-tóá-hami dai
 there-stand many-QNT RDP-bear RDP-white-PRTC and
 PL PL PL

tu-túú-hami
 RDP-black-PRTC
 PL

There were many white and black bears there.

suulř-gi agář-t^yai á-ága-dř dai křř vii-přř-ka-na
 fall-UNR going-when RDP-leaf-its and good RDP-red-STAT-POT
 PL to PL

When the leaves are going to fall it (the tree) gets
 very red.

vřřki úúšř-ktdř kurár-ta-mu áápi iš=múř-ktdř i=šřř
 how log-with fence-make-FUT you SUBR=many-with SUBR=or
 many

čřřki-kidř řpt
 few-with also

How many logs will you need to build the fence, a whole
 lot or just a few?

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Subject Complement Clauses

Unmarked

-na POT
 ši= /išk...-gi SUBR= (preposed to first element of clause)...
 -UNR (suffixed to verb)

alí gfpl-ga křva-i ivógia mááši [káátř kurára-ł]
very much-ADJR snow-ABS scarcely appear lie fence-ABS
There was lots of snow. The fence was barely visible.

The foregoing example of an unmarked subject complement is probably derived from:

[išk=mo káátř imó kurára-ł]
SUBR=there lie one fence-ABS
that a fence was there

[dáf-na áánt] šiřřřši=řr křgář-ka-na
fly-POT I how=be good-STAT-POT
much
If I could fly, how good it would be.

alí doad^yřmudaga [ši=imř á aagáda-gi úřrugi-řřř]
very scary SUBR=go INTEN want-UNR airplane-in
Going in an airplane is scary.

Split subject complement:

[vřřřř go-óódami kóó-kokol-d^yadř] gř-áágai
all the-people RDP-sick-PRSNR REFL-necessary
PL

[išk=řřřmi-agi v=ai nřřřd^ya-gř go-do-dóád^yř-gami]
SUBR=go-UNR he=in see-UNR the-RDP-cure-AG
PL order PL
to

dai řřmoko mai ahřópai
but some not go
PL

*All the sick Tepehuanes ought to go see the doctors,
 but some don't go.*

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

WH Questions

Unmarked

Marked by clitic *iš=* SUBR

The embedded question follows the main clause and has the same internal order as the corresponding question.

mai máát† áán† [šíááko oid^yága góvai]
not know I where live he
I don't know where he lives.

cf. šíááko oid^yága góvai
where live he
Where does he live?

t=†m† n†-n††-d^yi [šíááko kí† áápi t-moono]
we-go RDP-see-APPLIC where stood you the-doll
DUR up
Let's go see where you stood up the doll.

v††š† šikóli í† kurára-i uugíd^yi-a-mu n†-n††d^yi [šíáá
all around went fence-ABS edge-LOC-to RDP-see where
CONT

s††li pa-páki-i toóš†i]
straight RDP-enter-PRES rabbit
REPET

*All around the edge of the corral he went looking to see
 where exactly Rabbit kept getting in.*

Clitic *iš=* SUBR is preposed to the first element of the clause, and =š† Q is deleted from WHW.

dúú maat†-ka-na áán† [iš=t^yumá púáápa góvi] †
how know-STAT-POT I SUBR=what bring they Q
How could I know what they would bring?

cf. tumáá=š† vúáá góvai
what=Q bring they
What did they bring?

gin-aag†-d^ya-mu áán† [iš=t^yumá vúáayi aat†m†]
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I SUBR=what do we
I'll tell you what we are doing.

g+n-aagí-d^Ya-mu áánt [iš=t^Yúíga gá-mu imi=á=iñ
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I SUBR-when there-to go=B=I
 FUT

á] [iš=máá tas-í-rí míf d^Yívia iñ=ágal]
 INTEN SUBR=which day-LOC-on there come REFL=INTEN

[ší=ká maatf-ka-mu aapími]
 SUBR=already know-STAT-FUT you
 PL

*I'm going to tell you PL when I'll be going there,
 what day I'll be arriving there, so that you PL
 will know.*

Yes/No Questions

Embedded yes/no questions take the proclitic iš= SUBR, delete =ší Q from the verb, and change the intonation.

kífga mááti áánt [iš=giñ-yaatágt-i giñ-mára] [iš=čó fpt]
well know I SUBR=me-lie-PRES my-child if=not also
 if

I know very well if my child is lying to me or not.

cf. giñ-yaatágt-i=ší fgáí^{↑↑}
me-lie-PRES=Q he
Is he lying to me?

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses occur following the nouns which they modify.

Finite

The finite relative clause is introduced by the proclitic iš= ~ ší=, which occurs on the relative pronoun (the first element of the relative clause). There are three relative pronouns: iš=mááktí ~ iš=mááktí *the one who, which*; ší=ánkídtí ~ ší=ánkí *the one who, which*; iš=t^Yumááší *the one which*. The first two are either animate or inanimate, the third is only inanimate.

káši=a=n=t íí áán† go-pastí^Ya [iš=másákt†
 already=B=I=COMPL drank I the-pill SUBR=which

giñ-más fgal]

me-gave he

I already took the pill which he gave me.

s=aid^Y† ka duaad^Yímu †-óóki [ši=ank† kóóyi
 QUOT=then already scared the-woman SUBR=who snake

gi-nááto]

REFL-became

Then the woman who had become a snake was frightened.

vi†šiafkatal [iš=t^Yumásáši iñ-t^Ytkáka-i fgal] áán† vffš†
 everything SUBR=what me-ask-PRES she I all

aag†-d^Yi

told-APPLIC

I told her everything she asked me.

Some headless relative clauses are quasi-headless; i.e., there is a pronoun outside the relative clause to which the relative pronoun refers. In the following example this pronoun is the POSSR PRON -d† her, which occurs suffixed to the noun preceding the relative clause.

s=ai váik tasá-í-kid† d^Yíviaid^Y† †-ktlídami
 QUOT=then three day-ABS-with came the-old
 man

kuná-d† [ši=ank† sóí másáši id^Yuí]
 husband-her SUBR=one bad did
 who

Then after three days the old man, husband of the one who did bad, came.

Here is an example of an oblique relative:

ka ááy† i-šíśá duu-dágal [iš=t^Yúíga-ko
 already arrived the-respect-ABSTR SUBR=when-TEMP
 holy
 days

g†-kuaa-dá-na †-kapirotáda]
 REFL-eat-APPLIC-POT the-capirotada
 SP

The time for the fiesta during which the capirotada is eaten has arrived.

maatf=mi=ši aapfimt úúrugl [gff kii-frt oid^Yá-kami]
 know=you=Q you bird big house-in live-PRTC
 PL PL

Do you PL know the bird that lives in the big house?

Note the contrast in:

[gff kii-frt oid^Yá-kami] úúrugl áánt gá nfid^Yi
 big house-in live-PRTC bird I AFF saw
 I really saw the bird that lives in the big house.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Some temporal clauses are formed like finite relatives. They take the subordinating proclitic *iš=*/*ši=* and may occur with a head which it follows. The first example shows how location words double as time words.

ka=ááyi imó fkall [ši=amf-f-rt mai
 already=arrived one week SUBR=here-LOC-in not
 since

ko-kóós-i áánt]
 RDP-sleep-PRES I
 DUR
It's now been a week since I've slept.

kíá kóoso ał gffli [iš=d^Yfvia oogá-d+]
 already sleep little boy SUBR=came father-his
 /still when
The boy was still asleep when his father arrived.

The *how* clause is like a relative clause in that it has a head preceding it and a relator element *dukátai how* as the first element of the clause. The proclitic *iš=* SUBR occurs with this clause.

ásgi-d^Yi ig-fmai kíłfódami ñfóóki [iš=d^Yuukátai
 told-APPLIC he-the old word SUBR=how
 other man
 one

id^Yuñf-á fgai]
 do-UNR he
The other old man gave him advice on what he should do.

Temporal Clauses

-kai ~ -tai* when/while/after/having/because

Temporal clauses may immediately precede or follow the head which they modify (the head is optional). They are not relative clauses since the clauses include no relator element.

dai asta šfáád^Yi [vuusáí-kai tása-i] vāñi
and until next come-having sun-ABS got
day out up
 ... And the next day when the sun came up, I got up.
 (Taken from a first person account of a trip in which
 the larger context identifies the subject as 'I'.)

dai [ka maaší-d^Ya-tai] íí i-kffli ámi
and already appear-APPLIC-having went the-man there
downed

vavfli-a-iñdī-rī
wild-LOC-from-at
fig
 ... And as it was getting light, the man left Wild
 Fig Valley.

[ka=ibí-kai úunu-i] d^Yúúki ógai oid^Yígi
already=yielding-when corn-ABS rain stop world
When the corn has ripened, it will stop raining.

mááko tása-i lī-līči iñ-kī-kfš-d^Ya-ñā fgai
four day-ABS RDP- little me-RDP- put-APPLIC-PAST they
REPET bit REPET on DUR

iñ-íkáso [iñ-dúfñ-d^Ya-kai]
my-leg me-make-APPLIC-having
For four days they put my leg on for a little while,
after having made it for me.

For other examples of -kai ~ -tai, cf. COY 1, 28.

* -kai has a punctiliar connotation; -tai has a continuous connotation. Cf. vāávoit^Yudakai *having believed (at a certain time)* and vāávoit^Yudatai *having believed (and still continuing to believe)*.

Locative Clauses

Locative clauses are like relatives in that they have a relator element *šíááko* ~ *šíáá* *where* which occurs first in the clause. They are all finite and occur with a head which usually precedes the clause but may also follow it. The locative complex may include as many as three elements: first, the prolocative *here, there, far away*; second, a location such as *in the woods*; and third, a relative clause which either further specifies the head it modifies or defines the head. Either of the first two elements may occur alone; the third may occur with either of the first, but not alone.

íí *t-kííli* *bai* *mítkáši* *oid^yíg-a-na* [*šíááko* *mai*
went the-man quite far uninhabited-LOC-in where not
place

oid^yága óódami]

live people

The man went quite far into the uninhabited area where
no one lives.

dai *abf* [*šíáá pa-pákt-i toóši*] *abf*
and there where RDP-enter-PRES rabbit there
REPET

kt^yaagí-ña *kíí*
house-ahest-at stood
doorway up

And there where Rabbit kept getting in, there in the
passageway he stood it up.

[*šíáá daráha aatímt*] *ámi* *tr* *íšmíkiłpř-rt*
where sit we here be PN-in
PL

Here where we live is Ixmiquilpan.

If Clauses

These may be marked by rising intonation on final syllable of last word of clause.

Rising intonation is indicated by ↗ :

[*tší-d^ya-ka* *ígaí[↗]*] *parí* *bi-bíúgada* *fgai*
plant-APPLIC-STAT he-if not RDP-hungry he
CONT

If he were a good planter, he would not be hungry.

Other markers include:

ṣ̌i= ~ ṣ̌=	SUBR (proclitic to clause)
ṣ̌i=...-gi	SUBR=(proclitic to clause)...-UNR (verb suffix)
-na	POT
-gi	UNR
-mudai	PAST PERF

ṣ̌i= *if* attracts the subject pronoun clitic, which is preposed to it:

[pi=ṣ̌=s+i+lí-k+d+ išt^yutúíd^yi] [iṣ̌=id^yuñí-ági
you=if=straight-with can SUBR=do-UNR
really

go-máāṣ̌i]] d^yí id^yuñí-ñi
the-thing EMPH do-IMP

If you really can do that, then do it!

(cf. COY 11, 13)

-na:

[iñ-dagít^yó-na giñ-ooñí-ga] ffgi áán+ giñ-múáa
me-leave-POT my-wife-POSSD alone I me-kill
If my wife leaves me, I'll kill myself.

-gi:

[maatf-gi íva-raga-i] alíí-ṣ̌i amáít^yi tumíñṣ̌i
know-UNR play-ABSTR-ABS very-INTNS earn money
how instrument
If he knew how to play an instrument, he'd really
make money.

iṣ̌=:

[iṣ̌=ótoma fṣ̌i ágai] gígída íbífí-d^yíri vuváki íṣ̌í-d^yí
SUBR=soon plant INTEN Holy behind-from come plant-his
Week before out
If he plants soon, his crop will sprout before
Holy Week.

-muda:

[mai bi-bíá-da-muda áápi] mai giííí-muda góvái
not RDP-feed-APPLIC-had you not grow-had he
REPET
If you had not fed him, he would not have grown.

bfi-ni [v=ai mai imf-na]
grab-IMP he=so not go-POT
that
Grab it, so that it can't go!

TEXTS

A Coyote and a Rabbit

†mó bānal ††mádu †mó toóšl
 one coyote with one rabbit

1. Once upon a time when a big coyote was very hungry
 †mó imí-d^yagal †mó bāna-l gfdo-ka-mi alí b^lúgl-mu-kal
 one go-ABSTR one coyote-ABS big-STAT-NR very eat-die-when
 hungry

he was chasing a rabbit out in a field.

adáim† †-toóšl míf dthú-ána
 chase the-rabbit there field-at

2. The rabbit was scared stiff.

alí duaad^yí-mu †-toóšl
 very scared-die the-rabbit

3. And the rabbit knew very well that he could not run
 dai mos-kff maí †-toóšl iš=bai t^ytvf-pl-k†d†
 and just-good knew the-rabbit SUBR=a long-AMNT-with
 little

very long.

mai=t^y išt^yutúíd^yl iš=mlí-ágl
 not=COMPL could SUBR=run-UNR
 INDF

4. The rabbit was old and his legs were tired.

alí ktlí-mu fgai dai libí-mu f-fkaso-d† kášk†d†
 very man-die he and breathe-die RDP-leg-his that's
 old tired PL why

5. And so all of a sudden the rabbit stopped and
 dai kášk†d† todíán dúúkal k†kíva †-toóšl dai
 and that's sudden how stood the-rabbit and
 why

faced the coyote.

vul-d^yfr† k†kíva †-bāna-l
 eye-away stood the-coyote-ABS
 from
 in front of

6. And said: "Stop!" he said.
 daid^yi it^yitfdai ktkíva-ñi as-titfdai
 and said stand-IMP QUOT-said
7. "Why do you chase me?
 tuí=pt=ší giñ-adáímt áápi
 why=you=Q me-chase you
8. Are you going to eat me?" he said.
 giñ-uugí-mu=pt=ší=š^o as-titfdai
 me-eat-FUT=you=Q=Q QUOT-said
9. And the coyote said: "Yes, I am going to eat you,"
 daid^yt t-bána-i it^yitfdai thf gt-ugí-ági=a=na
 and the-coyote-ABS said yes you-eat-UNR=B=I
 he said.
 as-titfdai
 QUOT-said
10. And the rabbit said: "No, forgive me,
 daid^yt t-toóš-i it^yitfdai šóo iñ-óígida-ñi
 and the-rabbit said no me-love-IMP
 don't eat me.
 mai=t^yi giñ-úga
 not=COMPL me-eat
 INDF
11. If you eat me you will surely die.
 i=š^yi=giñ-úgi áápi sítlí-kidt muukí-mu áápi
 SUBR=if=me-eat you straight-with die-FUT you
 surely
12. You just think that I'm a rabbit, but I'm
 mos-pov-íld^yi áápi iñ=š^yi=áán=tr toóš-i áán=tr
 just-thus-think you I=SUBR=I=be rabbit I=be
 really a rattlesnake.
 adága-i d^yi
 rattlesnake-ABS EMPH
13. And if you eat me my poison will kill you,"
 dai š^yi=giñ-úgi áápi gt-muáá-mu giñ-ponsooñíá-ga
 and if=me-eat you you-kill-FUT my-poison-POSSD

said the little old rabbit.
 as-titfdai t-alí toóš! k+lí-mu-dad†
 QUOT-said the-little rabbit man-die-PRSNR

14. And the coyote said, "What should I eat then?",
 daid^y† i-bána-i it^y†itfdai tumá ugí-mu íd^ya-na
 and the-coyote-ABS said what eat-FUT ?-POT

he said.
 as-titfdai
 QUOT-said

15. And the little rabbit said: "Eat these little
 daid^y† i-alí toóš! it^y†itfdai ugá-ní íd^yi alí
 and the-little rabbit said eat-IMP these little

berries (fruit) which I picked earlier.
 úúš! ibíá-d† iš=maaškid† imápagi áán† i†kíápo
 plant fruit-its SUBR=which gathered I earlier

16. I was already carrying these in my basket to my house
 ka bffkat^y† áán† íd^yi iñ-asár†-r† glñ-kí†
 already carrying I these my-basket-in my-house

to eat them when you began
 amákoga daid^y† a-ugí=á=iñ ágai aid†š! g†-áága áápi
 towards and UNSPEC-eat=B=I will when REFL-began you
 OBJ

chasing me."
 daid^y† iñ-adáim†-i
 and me-chase-PRES

17. And the coyote said: "The rabbit is really
 daid^y† it^y†itfdai i-bána-i t-toóš!-av ígai d^y†
 and said the-coyote-ABS the-rabbit-AFF he EMPH

the one who eats the little fruit.
 daid^y† akúá-da-na go-alí úúš! ibíá-d† d^y†
 and eat-APPLIC-POT the-little plant fruit-its EMPH

18. The rattlesnake does not eat fruit.
 go-adága-i mai=t akúá-i úúš! ibíá-d†
 the-rattlesnake-ABS not=COMPL eat-PRES plant fruit-its
 INDF

19. *The rabbit really does eat them," he said.*
 i-toóš'i gíá akúá-i as-títfdai
the-rabbit really eat-PRES QUOT-said
20. *"Actually you're a rabbit even though you tell me*
 sítíí-kít+i r toóš'i áápi d'í tomaš'i giñ-áági-d'í
really=be rabbit you EMPH even me-tell-APPLIC
though
- that you are not a rabbit.*
 áápi iš=mai=t'ir toóš'i
you SUBR=not=COMPL=be rabbit
21. *You may very well be able to*
 áápi gíá kffga išt'utúfd'í
you really good can
- keep on fooling yourself but*
 iš=gí-vuirú-mada-da-gi ífgi d'i-mos
SUBR=REFL-foolishness-put-APPLIC-UNR alone and-just
on
- you can't keep on fooling me.*
 mai=t'í išt'utúfd'í iš=giñ-vuirú-mada-da áápi
not=COMPL can SUBR=me-foolishness-put-APPLIC you
INDF on
22. *It's really good you are a rabbit!*
 kítgá-du-ava d'í ši=i r tooš'i-ka áápi
good-QNT-EMPH EMPH SUBR=be rabbit-STAT you
23. *Rabbits really are food.*
 i-toóš'i gíá=i r kúáá-dagai d'í
the-rabbit really=be eat-ABSTR EMPH
24. *Rabbit is really good to eat.*
 i-toóš'i gíá kítgá-du mí=š'i=ugí-ági
the-rabbit really good-QNT UNSPEC=SUBR=eat-UNR
SUBJ
25. *And I just don't really like to eat rattlesnakes,"*
 dai mos-ááni gíá mai ñáák-i adága-i
and just-I really not like-PRES rattlesnake-ABS
- said the coyote.*
 as-títfdai i-bána-i
QUOT-said the-coyote-ABS

26. *And nevertheless the coyote ate the rabbit who
 dai vffškiri i-bána-i uú i-toóši
 and still the-coyote-ABS ate the-rabbit*

really tried to trick him.

gu-gúšmí-ktdí vu-púíru-mada-i fgai
 RDP- great-with RDP-foolishness-put-PRES he
 REPET effort REPET on

27. *And the coyote ate the little fruit
 daid^yi i-bána-i ga-uú i-aií úúši ibíá-dí
 and the-coyote-ABS UNSPEC-ate the-little plant fruit-its
 OBJ*

also which was there in little rabbit's basket.

fpí iš=maakidí mo dáha alí toóši asára-dí-rí
 also SUBR=which there sit little rabbit basket-his-in

28. *And as soon as he had eaten Rabbit's fruit,
 dai mos-uugá-kai i-toóši libái-d^yaga-dí
 and just-eat-having the-rabbit bear-ABSTR-his
 fruit*

*the coyote up and died also, while sitting there
 i-bána-i mo ótoma muú fpí mo úúši
 the-coyote-ABS there quickly died also there tree*

under a tree.

úta dááka-tai
 under sitting-while

29. *The fruit was poisonous, that's why.
 go-úúši ibíá-dí víša ponsóñio kášktdí
 the-plant fruit-its had poison that's
 why*

30. *And that's all.
 dai mos-tkáší
 and just-that
 much*

The Bird Who Lives in the Big House

†-úurugi gff kii-†-r† oid^{yá}-kami
the-bird big house-LOC-in live-AG

1. CHENO:

Do you know the bird who lives in the big house
 maatf=mi=šl aapim† úurugi gff kii-†-r† oid^{yá}-kami
know=you=Q you bird big house-LOC-in live-AG
 PL

whose nest cries when his egg moves?
 dai ófñ†-i nonó-d† dai súááka-i kosá-d†
and move-PRES egg-his and cry-PRES nest-his

2. *I think you are probably not going to know (guess) that.*
 bait^{yó}ma mai maatf-mu gób áána iñ=†líd^{yí}
almost not know-FUT that I I=think
 (guess)

3. ANGEL:

What could it be? I sure don't know yet.
 tumááši gíí áán† mai=kíá mai d^{yí}†
what could I not=yet know EMPH
 be

4. CHENO: *How come you're laughing?*
 dúúkai ást-l áápl-d^{yí}† ó[♂]
how laugh-PRES you-? Q

5. ANGEL: *You say his nest moves!*
 ófñ†-i kosá-d† káít^{yí} áápl d^{yí}†
move-PRES nest-his say you EMPH

6. CHENO:

I said his egg moves and his nest cries.
 ófñ†-i nonó-d† an=káít^{yí} áán† dai súááka-i kosá-d†
move-PRES egg-his I=say I and cry-PRES nest-his

7. ANGEL: *His nest cries?*
 súááka-i kosá-d†
cry-PRES nest-his

8. CHENO: *The bird who lives in the big house.*
 gff kil-f-rt oid'á-kami úúrugí
big house-LOC-in live-AG bird
9. *I've seen it.*
 áánt gíá nfid^yi
I AFF saw
10. *It has its name too and you'll know it very soon.*
 víáa gi-nómbre-ga fpt dít alif óótoma mááti á aapími
have his-name-POSSD also but very soon know will you
 SP PL
11. *Everybody here they all heard it today for sure,*
 vffší tánai vff kaf šívl d^yí
all here all heard today EMPH
- that very one!*
 fgai vää
that very
 one
12. *All the people hear it, Mexicans too, you too.*
 vffší óódami vffší kaf óbai vffší dai aapími vffší
all people all hear Mexicans too and you too
 PL
13. *But he lives in the big house that bird,*
 gff kil-f-rt tuu oid'ága-i-d^yt fgai t-úúrugí
big house-LOC-in but live-PRES-? he the-bird
- and he moves.*
 dal óíñi-i
and move-PRES
14. *What is it?*
 tumááši íd^yi fgai
what this that
15. *I'll tell you in a little bit if*
 gín-aagí-d^ya-mu áánt líš-k+d^t líš=ka=mai
you-tell-APPLIC-FUT I little-with if=already=not
- you don't guess it.*
 mááti á aapími
guess will you
 PL

16. *That's the way I heard it, and it's true.*
 áání po-dúú káí=ní aatági dít vávua tudúfíd^y†
 I thus-how heard=I conversation and true then
17. ANGEL: *A bird?*
 úúrugí
 bird
18. CHENO: *Yes. One who lives in the big house.*
 iwí gff kúí-f-rí oíd^yá-kami
 yes big house-LOC-in live-AG
19. ANGEL: *It must not be a bird.*
 mai=ší=ír úúrugí
 not=DUB=be bird
20. CHENO: *Well, they say it's a bird...bird...*
 úúrugí áága-i túdu úúrugí ff
 bird say-PRES well bird alone
- that's exactly how I learned it from those other*
 po-dúú máí=ní níóóki
 thus-how knew=I word
- people.*
 ígáá-kdt†
 them-with
21. *You haven't guessed it.*
 ka=mai máí aapímt†
 already=not guessed you
 PL
22. ANGEL: *I'm almost figuring it out.*
 bait^yóma ma-máát†-r†-i áání
 almost RDP-know-become-PRES I
 CONT
23. CHENO: *In Wild Fig Village up high is the thing*
 vavfíí-i-r† mo tfkavi maak†
 wild-LOC-in there up that
 fig high which
- that the fiscales hit.*
 gfva-i pl-píškali
 hit-PRES RDP-fiscales
 PL

24. *It's the bell that's it.*
 góval kapána †gí-á túdu
that bell that-AFF well
25. *But it doesn't look like a bird.*
 dt† gíá, máf úúrugí mááši tudúú gó
but AFF not bird look then that
like one
26. *But, uh, they move the little, uh, the thing that hangs*
 dt† gíí oiñí-d^yi go-aií gíí maak† ságl†
but uh move-APPLIC the-little uh that hang
which
down, the little round metal thing, that's the egg.
 aií kavóra-ktd† vaiñómi fgai †r nonó-d†
little round-one metal that be egg-his
which
27. *And the part that is outside the big thing,*
 dáid^y† gó kii-d^yí-ga-na gí-du-ktd†
and that house-his-POSSD-at big-QNT-one
which
that's the nest.
 fgai †r kosá-d†
that be nest-his