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Uto-Aztecan Grammar

Volume 2

Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches

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Foreword

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

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

RWL

Contents

v FOREWORD

ix ABBREVIATIONS

1 TETELCINGO NAHUATL
David H. Tuggy

141 NORTH PUEBLA NAHUATL
Earl Brockway

199 HUASTECA NAHUATL
Richard and Patricia Beller

307 MICHOACÁN NAHUAL
William R. Sischo

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive
ABSTR	abstract
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
ADJR	adjectivalizer
ADV	adverb
AG	agent
AN	animate
ANP	additive noun phrase
AP	adjective phrase
APNP	apposition noun phrase
APPLIC	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
ASSOC	association
AUG	augmentative
BEN	benefactive
BP	benefactive phrase
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CHAR BY	characterized by
CNJ	conjunction
CNTRFCT	contrafactual
COLL	collective
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONN	connective
CP	comparative phrase
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DESID	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct
DIRL	directional
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DP	demonstrative phrase
DUB	dubitative
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EXHRT	exhortative
EXIST	existential
FUT	future
GNP	general noun phrase
H	human
HAB	habitual
HHHN	ultra-honorific
HHN	extra-honorific
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPOT	impotentive
IMPRF	imperfect(ive)
INAL	inalienable
INAN	inanimate
INCHO	inchoative
INCORP	incorporated
INDF	indefinite
INSTR	instrumental
INTNS	intensifier
INTR	introducer
INTRNS	intransitive
INVIS	invisible
IOBJ	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
LP	locative phrase
MAN	manner
MED	medial (intermediate between proximal and distal)
MOD	modifier
N	noun, nominal
NEG	negative
NH	non-human
NNP	name noun phrase
NP	noun phrase
NR	nominalizer
NUM	number
NUMR	numeral
OBJ	object
OM	object marker (verbal affix)
OPTV	optative

P	postposition
PEJ	pejorative
PERF	perfect(ive)
PHR	phrase
PL	plural
PN	proper name
PNCT	punctual
PNP	possessed noun phrase
POS	positive
POSSD	possessed
POSSR	possessor
POT	potentive, potential
PRED	predicate
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximal
PRSNTV	presentative
PRT	particle
PRTC	participle
PRTV	partitive
PUR	purpose
PURP	purpose phrase
Q	question
QNT	quantifier
QUOT	quotative
RAP	relator axis phrase
RDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative, relativizer
REM	remote
REPET	repetitive
RSLTV	resultative
SBJNCT	subjunctive
SF	suffix
SG	singular
SM	subject marker (verbal affix)
SNP	series noun phrase
Sp.	Spanish loan
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subject
SUBR	subordinator
TEMP	temporal
TNS	tense
TRNS	transitive
TRNSR	transitivizer
UNSPEC	unspecified
V	verb, vowel
VIS	visible
VR	verbalizer
WH	'who', 'where', 'when', etc.
WHQ	WH question
WHW	WH word
YNQ	yes/no question
1P	first person
2P	second person
3P	third person
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
#	word boundary
[	clause boundary (initial)
]	clause boundary (final)

MICHOACÁN NAHUAL

William R. Sischo

CONTENTS

311 **INTRODUCTION**
311 **PHONOLOGY**
Phonemes
312 Major Phonological Processes
313 **BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE**
Word Order
314 Topic
Pronoun Copies
315 Resumptive Pronoun Construction
Focus
315 **PARTICLES**
Conjunctions and Adverbs
317 Polarity
318 Modal
Aspect
319 Other
319 **BE/HAVE/DO**
BE
321 HAVE
DO
322 **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**
Passive
324 Reflexive
Unspecified Arguments
325 **QUESTIONS**
Yes/No Questions
WH Questions
327 **IMPERATIVES**
Positive Imperatives
Exhortatives
328 Negative Imperatives
329 **NOUN MORPHOLOGY**
N + X = N
V + X = N
330 Locative Nouns
332 **VERB MORPHOLOGY**
SM + X = V
N + N + X = V
333 ADV + X = V
333 **ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY**
V + X = ADJ
334 N + X = ADJ
Miscellaneous
334 **COMPOUNDS**
Noun Compounds
335 Verb Compounds
336 **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**
Absolutive
338 Plural
340 **POSSESSIVES**
Morphology
Syntax
341 **PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS**
General
342 Frozen Forms
343 Free Prepositions
344 **DEMONSTRATIVES**
345 **ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES**
345 **QUANTIFIERS**
346 **NUMERALS**
347 **ADJECTIVES**
349 **COMPARATIVES**
349 **INDEFINITE PRONOUNS**
Positive
350 Negative
ANY
351 **DEFINITE PRONOUNS**
Independent
Dependent

352 **STEMS**
Defective Stems
Reduplication
352 **INCORPORATION**
Instrumental Prefixes
353 **SYNTACTIC MARKING**
354 **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**
Causative
355 Applicative
Aspectual
Tense
356 **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**
Order
357 Auxiliary Verbs
358 Contraction
359 **COORDINATION**
360 **COMPLEMENT CLAUSES**
Subject Complement Clauses
Object Complement Clauses
361 **EMBEDDED QUESTIONS**
Yes/No Questions
WH Questions
362 **RELATIVE CLAUSES**
Relative Pronouns
Subject Relatives
364 Object Relatives
Oblique Relatives
Headless Relatives
366 **ADVERBIAL CLAUSES**
Adverbial Relative Clauses
367 Conditional Clauses
369 Other
372 **TEXTS**
Hunting Chacalacas for my Parents
377 The Coyote and the Rabbit

INTRODUCTION

This dialect of Nahual is spoken by about a thousand to fifteen hundred people, almost all of whom occupy four villages and their environs in the Pacific coastal region of the state of Michoacán in Mexico. The four villages are Ostula, Coire, Pómaro, and San Pedro Naranjestil. Of the four, Pómaro is the only one in which all of the inhabitants speak Aztec, and it is in this village that I have been studying the language during various field trips since October 1960.

Many of the speakers of this dialect of Aztec have aided me in learning the language, principally the following: Nicolasa Padua de Papas, Zenaido Aquino Campanela, Fortino Ortiz (now deceased), Ricarda Isidro vda. de Ortiz, Gabriel Flores, Eliseo Juan, Anastasio Aquino, and Maximino Gaitán.

Speakers of this dialect are descendants of a large group, who even before the Spanish arrived had been subjugated by the Tarascan Indians. (Pómaro, incidentally, is a Tarascan name, not Aztec.) The domain had extended from present-day Apatzingan, in the vicinity of which remain many vestiges of the ancient civilization of these people, to the Pacific coast. Through the centuries their numbers have dwindled until today only these thousand or so speakers of the dialect still preserve their identity through the language.

Monolingualism is non-existent among them. Notwithstanding, Aztec is preferred as the medium of communication, especially in Pómaro.

There is a great admixture of Spanish loan words in the vocabulary, and most utterances of any length contain Spanish words. There has also been some influence of Spanish grammar brought to bear on Aztec grammar, as will be seen in the following grammatical sketch.

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	c	č	k	k^w	'	i			u
(b)	(d)			(g)				e	o	
	s		š			h			a	
m	n		(ñ)							
	l	(r)								
w			y			W				
						Y				

Stress falls on the penultimate syllable except in verbals in which the final two syllables are contracted into one syllable, and then the stress falls on the ultimate syllable. It is usual for speakers to say the contracted form: tomáwak → tomák 'fat'; úyak → úk 'he went'; nimicmáka → nimicmá 'I give it to you'. There are also some locative words with ultimate stress that is invariable, but through comparison with words in other dialects they are found to be probable contractions of two syllables originally. One can only guess at the sounds that were dropped: *lasiwakan, *lasiwayan (?) now always heard as lasiwán 'shade'; probably the former form is the correct one.

No word in this dialect occurs with an initial vowel nor with initial W or Y. Symbols in parentheses are allophones or sounds occurring in loan words. A d occurs only after n except when it occurs word initially, and then the n even there may be heard faintly: da, nda 'if'. The symbol b is used for a voiced bilabial stop or fricative, the variation reflecting its Spanish source. Word-initial glottal stops are not written.

Major Phonological Processes

A p becomes k when followed by t, even in loan words: mo-k^{W}epa (REFL-return) 'he returns', mo-k^{W}ek-ti-ka (REFL-return-CONN-be) 'he is returning'. An a is raised slightly when occurring in a final unstressed syllable. In unstressed syllables, i and e fluctuate as do also u and o, the higher vowels predominating. In some words, w disappears in an unstressed syllable following a stressed syllable whose vowel is a front one. The w reappears, of course, if the stress changes to its syllable or is otherwise lost from the preceding stressed syllable with the front vowel: i-kšían 'his foot', i-kšiwá-hmes 'his feet'; péwa or péa 'he begins', ki-pewa-lti-a (it-begin-CAUS-PRES) 'he begins it'.

A c becomes s when followed by t, weci 'he falls', wes-ti-ka (fall-CONN-be) 'he is falling'.

A ' becomes k in a few cases: *ma 'amo becomes ma kamo 'let not'; *k-ah-'aWa becomes k-ah-kaWa (him-RDP-scold) 'he scolds him bitterly'. The tl of most Aztec dialects occurs as l in this dialect; l in turn changes to d when occurring after n (see above), except in the case of one verb k-anlani-a (him-give: charge:to-PRES) 'he gives him a charge to fill'. Or the l becomes t, so that instead of *mosla, the form is mosta 'tomorrow'; ki-pala 'he changes it' becomes ki-pati-li-a (him-change-APPLIC-PRES) 'he changes it for him'. A k^{W} occurs in only one word syllable-finally, never word-finally: nek^{W}li 'honey'.

A syllable-final w becomes h when followed by another consonant: ki-kuw-a (it-buy-PRES) 'he buys it', ki-kuh-ti-ka (it-buy-CONN-be) 'he is buying it'; from k^{W}awil 'tree', *k^{W}aw-lan becomes k^{W}ah-lan 'forest'.

An affricate becomes h if followed by an affricate or s: nič-copini-k (me-prick-PERF) becomes nih-copini-k 'it pricks me'.

A k becomes h if followed by another k, whether within a word or between word boundaries: *u-ya-k k-ana-k (PERF-go-PERF it-get-PERF) becomes u-ya-h k-ana-k 'He went to get it'; *ni-k-kuw-a (I-it-buy-PRES) becomes ni-h-kuw-a 'I buy it'. This is true also if k is followed by g.

In verb stems whose final syllable begins with s, the s becomes š on the affixation of the causative or applicative suffixes: ahsi 'arrive', k-ahši-lti-a (it-arrive-CAUS-PRES) 'he places it at, causes it to contact'; ki-lasa 'he throws it', ki-laši-li-a (him-throw-APPLIC-PRES) 'he throws it at him'; kisa 'he goes out', ki-kiš-ti-a (it-go: out-CAUS-PRES) 'he removes it'.

In verb stems whose final syllable is ya, the a drops and the y changes to š if followed by a t-initial suffix: ki-piya 'he has it', ki-piš-ti-ka (it-have-CONN-be) 'he is having/holding it'. Otherwise an š is attached to the ya in front of the t-initial suffix: lašokuya 'he makes a sour face', lašokuyaš-ti-ka 'he is making a sour face'.

Loan words from Spanish with an initial fl become words with an initial pl in Aztec: fleča becomes pleča 'arrow'; flakito becomes plakito 'thin'.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Transitive sentences have a tendency to place the subject first. The preference in intransitive sentences is for the subject to follow the verb. The order of the other constituents is loosely fixed, some constituents more loosely than others. Emphasis is effected through change in order, likewise topicalization. Here is a tentative design for a neutral order:

INTR	TEMP	PRT	NP (SUBJ)	PRT	V	ADV	NP (DIR OBJ)	NP (DAT)

Only V is obligatory. The introducer slot includes conjunctions and subordinators. The particle after the temporal position is usually the Spanish loan word pues 'so/then'. The particle before V is amo 'not', ayamo 'not yet', or yahmo 'no more'; or it may be the hortatory particle ma (which may be negated by placing the negative particle immediately after, i.e., kamo, which is the form used after the hortatory, following the morphophonemic rules set forth in the section on phonology). The adverbial is usually one of manner or location.

wan ašan pwes newal ni-mic-ihk^{w}ilui-li-h-ti-ka resio
and now then I I-you-write-APPLIC-(h)-CONN-be intensely

se amal pa tewal
a paper for you
'And now, then, I am furiously writing a letter to you.'

Topic

Emphasis of a constituent may be effected by placing it before the verb:

wan tata no-nobia len ti-ya-lo ti-k-maka-lo
and papa my-fiancée what we-go-PL we-her-give-PL
'And Dad, my fiancée, what are we going to give her?'

in bwey amo ni-k-mik-ti-k de gusto
the ox NEG I-it-die-CAUS-PERF of pleasure
'I did not kill the ox for fun.'

wan san in masal kim-panawi-k
and only the doe them-pass-PERF
'And only the doe passed them.'

In the above, the addition of the particle san before the subject serves to emphasize.

wan in se nepa unka kiči ši-šíl ya unka nikan
and that one there is how:many RDP-year already is here
'How many years has that one there been here already?'

tel animal-ito ti-iš-la-k^{W}a-li-ta-t-aya
you animal-DIM you-me-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-APPLIC-CONN:be-(?)-PAST

ni-ya ni-mic-a-lti-a ka al tibiy-ito
I-go I-you-water-CAUS-PRES with water tepid-DIM
'You, you little beastie who ate up my crop for me always, I'm going to bathe you with tepid water.'

In the above example, the grammatical function of the t that precedes the PAST suffix -aya is unknown. Therefore, a question mark is used in the gloss.

Pronoun Copies

Even though the pronoun subject and object prefixes obligatorily appear in the verb, explicit subjects and objects may co-occur:

tewal ti-k-cayana-s k^{W}awil 'You will split wood.'
you you-it-split-FUT wood

Emphasis may be achieved through use of a pronoun copy:

unka no-siwak^{W}ak^{W}a newal 'It's my cow.'
is my-cow I

In the above example the emphasis is more intense than if the pronoun preceded the possessed item, as it does in the following example:

newal no-nobia 'my fiancée'
I my-fiancée

Postpositional expressions, although rather rare, may also take pronoun copies:

i-pan in lakal his-on the man	'on the man'
no-pan newal my-on I	'on me'

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

wan in ok sekin laka-mes pos yewanten mo-keca-he nohe
and the yet some man-PL why they REFL-stand-PERF:PL also
'And the other men stood up, also.'

wan in hente yewanten amo siawi-lo-aya
and the men they NEG tire-PL-PAST
'And the men were not tiring.'

Focus

Clefting: may take ka 'be' or not, with nothing to mark subordination.

[ni-k-palewi-k] ka-t-aya in lunes
I-him-help-PERF be-(?)-PAST this Monday
'It was this Monday I helped him.'

There are other focus devices:

wan ya una bes amwanten amo an-ye-s unidos tič-kiš-ti-a
and now once you:PL NEG you:PL-be-FUT united us-leave-CAUS-PRES

pero por amwanten amo por elegobierno
but because:of you:PL NEG because:of government
'And now once you are not in agreement, he expels us, but because of you, not because of the government.'

PARTICLES

Conjunctions and Adverbs

wan 'and' (INTR) (Primary meaning is actually 'with' (in the associative sense); otherwise acts as a coordinating conjunction.)

wan gabriel u-ya-he* 'Did he go with Gabriel?'
with PN PERF-go-PERF:PL

yohe/yohke 'thus' (If followed by pwes 'then', it means 'therefore'.)

k^{W}akín/k^{W}akinon 'then' (sequential)

ašan/aškan 'now, today'

*The prefix u- is a vestigial perfective which occurs only with the verb ya 'go'.

pero 'but' (Spanish)

nuso An expletive used after verbs, connotes impatience or anger:

ši-ya nuso 'Go, for crying out loud!'
IMP-go then

da/nda 'if' (Also in certain contexts, used initially in a clause, denotes strong affirmation or negation.)

sinda 'if' (Apparently a wedding of the Spanish si 'if' with the corresponding Nahual particle, always meaning 'if'.)

pampa 'because, that' (Latter as complement clause subordinator. It can be inflected with pronoun possessive markers—first, second, and third; singular and plural. When used thus, it is always preceded by the Spanish loan por 'through' (INSTR).)

por i-pampa 'by reason of him/it'
through his-because

len 'what' (Used as subordinator. Also used as an expletive followed by amo NEG plus verb to register something unexpected or shocking.)

ni-k-ita-k in tel len nič-laši-li-k
I-it-see-PERF the rock what me-throw-APPLIC-PERF
'I saw the rock that he threw at me.'

mente Adverb used preceding a positive verb to register intensity.

mente cik^{W}ini-he i-tenko in prinsesa
simply jump-PERF:PL her-edge the princess
'They simply jumped round about the princess.'

amalá Probably a contraction, but it is impossible to guess at the full form since it is always heard in this form. The first part may be the negative amo merged into the etymologically indeterminate -alá. The sense is something like 'Be careful not to...'. It is always used immediately preceding the verb.

sangá/hangá 'lest' (Used with or without NEG without any apparent change in meaning.)

ma kamo yawi hangá mo-k^{W}alti-ti-kisa-s len animal
EXHRT NEG go lest REFL-maul-CONN-hurry-FUT some animal
'Don't let him go, lest some animal suddenly maul him.'

ni-mic-ili-a san yohe amo hangá
I-you-say-PRES just so lest

ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-s
you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT
'I say it to you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself.'

Polarity

kema	'yes' (POS) (As an affirmative, is usually preceded by the particle ho.)
neli	'truly'
no	'no' (Spanish) (Also an expletive to introduce an explanation.)
amo	NEG
ayamo	'not yet'
yahmo	'no more'
kil	QUOT
wil	POT
miak	'much'
nadita	'a little'
se tipičin	'a little'
len	'some, a certain' (INTNS) (Used with NEG for positive effect.)

wan da amo ki-walika-k kema o wala ka kabayo o
and if NEG him-bring-PERF POS either come with horse or
wala por lanča
come by boat
'And if he didn't bring him, it's certain he'll either come by horse or by boat.'

ho ke(ma) ni-ya ni-k-ana tulin pa pelal
yes I-go I-it-get tulin:grass for mat
'Yes, I'm going to get tulin for a grass mat.'

k-ihtu-k pampa kema yawi-aya k^{W}ahmilu
it-say-PERF that yes go-PAST do:fieldwork
'He said that yes, he was going to work in the field.'

ka-t-aya kil hente mas maldito
be-(?)-PAST QUOT people more wicked
'It is said they were a more wicked people.'

ki-maka-k nadita al
him-give-PERF little water
'She gave him a little water.'

la-htu-a miak
UNSPEC:OBJ-talk-PRES much
'He talks a lot.'

len animal ki-k^{W}ah-k^{W}a-k
some animal him-RDP-bite-PERF
'Some animal bit him.'

Modal

k^{W}ahnesi	'perhaps'	
wehtika	'perhaps'	
san/han/ha	'just, only'	(The forms ha and han never occur except preceding what they modify, whereas san may either precede or follow.)

ha in san (Said at termination of discourse.)
just this only

k-ihtu-a san pampa dios
it-say-PRES only because God
'He only says "Thank you".'

k^{W}ahnesi ti-k-ita-ski mosta
perhaps we-it-see-FUT:PL tomorrow
'Perhaps we'll see it tomorrow.'

Aspect

ya 'already, now' (Spanish) (PERF)

In texts there are examples of this particle used with most tenses, but it seems to be used principally with the present and perfect tenses to mark completive action or to reinforce completed action.

k^{W}ando ya kisa-s no-kompadre
when already leave-FUT my-compadre
'...when my compadre will have left'

wan de umpa ya mo-keca sehpa
and from there already REFL-rise again
'...and then she is up again'

wan i-kompadre ya ki-pi-aya nawi o mak^{W}ili tonali-hmes
and his-compadre now it-have-PAST four or five day-PL

ki-temuh-ti-nemi-aya i-bwey
it-search-CONN-walk-PAST his-ox
'And his compadre had walked for four or five days searching for his ox.'

With durative aspect, perfective sense cannot be assumed when this particle is used:

ši-k-ita padrino mo-bwey ya ti-h-k^{W}ah-ti-ka-te i-nakal
IMP-it-see godfather your-ox already we-it-eat-CONN-be-PL its-meat
'Look, godfather, we are now eating the meat of your ox.'

Other

ho An expletive observed only in two contexts:

ho kema/ho ke 'yes' (Or perhaps 'That's it precisely'.)

ho k^{W}akín 'well, then' (Meaning: 'If that's the way you feel about it...'.)

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

∅ The subject-marking prefix, normally occurring on verbs, attaches to N, ADJ, or ADV in this construction. Note that the third person prefix is zero. The tense may be considered present or timeless.

ni-lakal 'I'm a man.'
I-man

ti-čikawak 'You are strong.'
you-strong

amo ni-kinami inon 'I am not like that.'
NEG I-like that

kuwal 'It's a snake.'
snake

no-dedo čik^{W}enta isai i-dedo 'My toe is like Isai's finger.'
my-toe like PN his-finger

An overt subject noun can occur:

kokoški in siwal 'The woman is sick.'
sick the woman

in lakal k^{W}ahtik se lamaštini 'That tall man is a teacher.'
that man tall a teacher

ka 'be'

In all the above examples this root for 'be' can be substituted, if the speaker so prefers, to render the present tense. For all persons of the singular and for the second person plural, the stem is unka. In the first and third persons plural, it is kate.

ya unka bweno 'Now it is good.'
now is good

ti-ka-te mičeros 'We are fishermen.'
we-be-PL fishermen

an-unka koh-kokoški 'You all are sick.'
you:PL-are RDP-sick

All other tenses of course require ka or ye in their corresponding form; otherwise tense would be indistinguishable. Often the meaning of ka corresponds to the transitory sense of the Spanish estar.

Following are examples from all tenses with ka, excepting present.*

se kompadre ka-t-aya bwena hente
one compadre be-(?)-PAST good person
'One compadre was a good sort.'

kal-ihtik ka-ta-lo-aya 'They were in the house.'
house-inside be-(?)-PL-PAST

amo ka-ya-si nikan 'They will not be here.'
NEG be-(?)-FUT:PL here

ya ti-ka-ya-lo-ski-aya miak tonali nepa pa yiwal
already we-be-(?)-PL-FUT-PAST many day there so:that he

tič-palewi-ski-aya
us-help-FUT-PAST
'We would have liked to have been there many days for him to have helped us.'

ka-ya-k se kasion kisa-k de pa i-čan in točin
be-(?)-PERF one occasion leave-PERF from at his-home the rabbit
'It was on one occasion that the rabbit left his home.'

For the remote past tense there are two stems, and there seems to be no distinguishing feature to determine when to use one or the other.

ti-ka-ya-ni moči semilwil pin k^{W}ahlan
you-be-(?)-REM:PAST all day in woods
'Back then you were all day in the woods.'

ti-ka-ta-ni-hme pa yina moči tonalko alamar
we-be-(?)-REM:PAST-PL to time:past all dry:season seashore
'Long ago we spent all the dry season at the seashore.'

ye 'be'

This stem seems to denote permanent state, like the Spanish ser 'to be'. It does not occur in the present indicative tense, although it does occur in the hortatory and imperative. Nor does it occur in the past nor in the remote past. Speakers say there is no difference in meaning between the two roots ka and ye, but there is obviously a subtle difference which may be being lost among the younger speakers.

amo ši-ye tonto 'Don't be silly.'
NEG IMP-be silly

yohe ma ye 'May it be thus.'
thus EXHRT be

wan ti-ye-k gwače 'And you were a soldier?'
and you-be-PERF soldier

*In the gloss, the morpheme in parentheses cannot be translated.

len ye-s la-k^{W}a nikan 'What must it be that eats here?'
what be-FUT UNSPEC:OBJ-eat here

ma kamo ye-kan yohe 'Let them not be like that!'
EXHRT NEG be-EXHRT:PL thus

ni-k-neki-k pa ye-ski-aya lamaštini
I-it-want-PERF that be-FUT-PAST teacher
'I wanted him to be a teacher.'

HAVE

-pia 'have'

This stem becomes piš- when followed by -ti (CONN); it becomes pi- when followed by -li (APPLIC):

ki-pi-aya se šolol prinsesa 'He had a daughter princess.'
her-have-PAST an offspring princess

da ti-k-pi-li-a gusto in lakal leka amo
if you-him-have-APPLIC-PRES pleasure this man why NEG

ti-k-ili-a kema
you-him-say-PRES yes
'If you find the man to your liking, why don't you tell him "yes"?'

ašan ki-piš-ti-ka-te miak lakilyo
now it-have-CONN-be-PL much fruit
'They are having a lot of fruit now.'

DO

-čiwa 'do, make'

The stem usually appears as -čia in all persons except the plural of first and third persons, when it is -čiwa. This holds true for all tenses except past and remote past, where it is -čiwa throughout. The stem becomes -čih when -ti (CONN) is affixed:

ki-čia se kali 'He builds a house.'
it-make a house

ti-k-čiwa-lo-aya in kali 'We built that house.'
we-it-make-PL-PAST that house

ki-čih-ti-ka-te in-trabahito 'They are doing their chores.'
it-do-CONN-be-PL their-chore

Reduplication of the stem connotes repairing or decoration, etc.

ki-čih-čiwa-hke inmin-kali wal ki-šitini-k in iYekal
it-RDP-do-PERF:PL their-house that it-destroy-PERF the wind
'They repaired their house that the wind destroyed.'

The reflexive form of the verb means 'become':

mo-čia-k lakal 'He became a man.'
REFL-do-PERF man

This stem is homophonous with the stem -čia 'wait', except in the plural first and third persons of the tenses mentioned above, wherein the difference becomes plain when the w reappears in -čiwa 'do' according to the rules mentioned in the section on phonology. Also, the stem -čia 'wait' becomes altered to -čiš when followed by -ti (CONN).

ki-čih-ti-ka it-do-CONN-be	'He is doing it.'
ki-čiš-ti-ka it-wait-CONN-be	'He is awaiting it.'
ki-čia it-do/await	'He does it.'/'He awaits it.'
ki-čiwa-lo it-do-PL	'They do it.'
ki-čia-lo it-wait-PL	'They await it.'

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

The passive suffix -lo of Classical Nahuatl serves other purposes in dialects of today, and so the passive sense is rendered in other ways. One frequently used way is with the reflexive construction. The prefix mo- (REFL), already observed in some examples, also serves to express the reciprocal sense:

han se kʷišito mo-iti-li-k just one lizard REFL-see-APPLIC-PERF	'Just one lizard was seen.'
mo-neki pa yiwal ya-s REFL-want that he go-FUT	'It is necessary that he go.'
in kuyol mo-konbenseru-k the coyote REFL-convince-PERF	'The coyote was convinced.'

myentras mo-aorkaruh-ta-t-aya in kuyol
meanwhile REFL-strangle-CONN:be-(?)-PAST the coyote
'Meanwhile the coyote was being strangled.'

The context will readily show if the reciprocal sense is intended with a reflexive verb in the plural.

wan moči mo-ili-he mehor ma ti-ya-kan pa to-čan
and all REFL-say-PERF:PL better EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL to our-home
'And everyone said to one another, "We'd better go home".'

The passive sense can also be expressed by an impersonal use of the third person plural.

kinm-inbitaru-he pan se fiesta ka entero i-siwa wan i-šolo-meš
them-invite-PERF:PL to a fiesta with all his-wife and his-kid-PL
'He was invited to a party with his wife and kids.'

A less impersonal substitute for the passive is with the use of the third person singular with the indefinite pronoun se 'one'.

k^{W}ando se ki-neki ki-čia tapalkal 'When it is desired to make pottery...'
when one it-want it-make pottery

When the nominalizing suffix -li (NR) is added to a verb stem, the resulting form with some verbs may be used as a noun having passive sense.

cawa-li 'spun thread'
spin-NR

More frequently the prefix la- (UNSPEC OBJ) is added to the stem to form a participle which is used as an adjective, less often as a noun, either alone or in a periphrastic construction to express the passive sense. In none of these constructions has there ever been observed an agent included in the same clause. Lacking such features that are expected of passive constructions, it seems proper not to refer to this type of construction as a true passive, but rather as something approaching a predicate nominative or predicate adjective construction, when the verb ka appears in the construction, at least.

pa yina ti-laken-ti-ni-hme san la-čiwa-li
at yesteryear we-blanket-CAUS-REM:PAST-PL just UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR
'Years ago we dressed only in clothes that were handmade.'

ti-k-pia-lo la-posuni-li in al
we-it-have-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-boil-NR the water
'We have the water boiled.'

unka la-toka-li in k^{W}ahmili ka ayohli
is UNSPEC:OBJ-sow-NR the field with squash
'The field is sown to squash.'

ya unka la-'ahoki-li
now is UNSPEC:OBJ-raise-NR
'Now it is raised.'

ti-mo-čiwi-li-ni-hme de la-čiwa-li he
we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL of UNSPEC:OBJ-make-NR a

tukuru rayado
tucuru:garment striped
'We used to make ourselves a striped tucuru garment of homespun.'

In the example immediately preceding, it will be noted that a Spanish past participle is used, a frequent practice. These participles are used in quite the same manner as the nominalized forms of the verbs illustrated above. There are even hybrid participles with Nahual stems with or without the nominalizer plus the Spanish suffix -ado. More often these hybrid forms have only the Spanish suffix.

mo-kawa-k čarraskado in kuyol
REFL-remain-PERF čamuskado the coyote
scorched
'The coyote got permanently scorched.'

wan moh-mosta ka-t-aya pampa lah-la-k^{w}a-li-ado
and RDP-morrow be-(?)-PAST that RDP-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR-PRTC
i-čilar
his-chili:field
'And every day it was that his chili field was devoured.'

Reflexive

Some verbs are inherently reflexive.

mo-lalu-a 'He runs.'
REFL-run-PRES

Others are not.

ka tiolak ni-mo-conteki-k pa no-kšian
with afternoon I-REFL-cut-PERF on my-foot
'In the afternoon I cut myself on my foot.'

Naturally the reciprocal sense only occurs with plural forms, but they can be made clearly reciprocal by adding the phrase se wan ok se 'one and another'.

mo-palewih-ti-yawi-lo-aya se wan ok se
REFL-help-CONN-go-PL-PAST one and yet one
'They went along helping one another.'

Unspecified Arguments

The unspecified object prefixes la- and te-, referring to inanimate and animate unspecified objects respectively, have suffered semantic alterations so that nowadays the animate and inanimate distinction has become an all but forgotten entity in this dialect, la- being employed practically to the exclusion of te-, which mostly survives through a number of frozen verb forms.

la-pah-ti-nemi 'He goes about doctoring people.'
UNSPEC:OBJ-doctor-CONN-walk

te-koku 'it hurts'
UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-hurt

ki-te-maka-k i-kni ka i-kontrarios
him-UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-give-PERF his-brother with his-enemies
betray
'He betrayed his brother to his enemies.'

te-k^{W}a-ni 'jaguar'
UNSPEC:AN:OBJ-eat-NR
living-thing eater

la-palewi-ni 'helper'
UNSPEC:OBJ-help-NR

There is some evidence of a tendency on the part of speakers to merge the unspecified object prefix la- into one syllable with the initial syllable of a verb stem that also happens to be la, so that instead of *la-lahlani-a one usually hears lahlani-a (question-PRES) 'he questions'; or lala-lti-a (burn-CAUS-PRES) 'he kindles' instead of *la-lala-lti-a.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Marked only by rising intonation. When someone asks another for a favor or anything, it is often if not usually asked for in the negative, possibly because a positive response is desired.

ti-ya ti-k-wika ka tel 'Are you going to take it with you?'
you-go you-it-take with you

amo ti-k-pia he botita pa t-ič-maka-s
NEG you-it-have a can that you-me-give-FUT
'Don't you have a tin can to give me?'

amo t-ič-maka-s nadita al
NEG you-me-give-FUT little water
'Will you not give me a little water?'

WH Questions

The WH word is usually initial. An introducer may precede it, or a phrase specifying something unspecified in the question itself may precede it.

aki 'who' (akinohen PL)

kapa 'where'

kapik 'to where' (ka kapik also 'to where')

ka len 'with what'

kalia 'which'

kiman 'when'

kiči	'how much'
kinami	'how'
leka	'why'
pa len	'why'
len	'what'

aki tewal — 'Who are you?'
who you

kapa unka no-paša — 'Where is my sash?'
where is my-sash

kapik ti-ya — 'Where are you going?'
to:where you-go

ka len ti-k-počina in ičkal — 'What do you card the cotton with?'
with what you-it-card the cotton

kalia no-koton ni-mic-maka-s — 'Which shirt of mine shall I give you?'
which my-shirt I-you-give-FUT

kiči kostaru-a — 'How much does it cost?'
how:much cost-PRES

kiman ti-ya-s pa mo-lali — 'When will you go to your country?'
when you-go-FUT to your-country

kinami ti-mo-toka — 'What is your name?'
how you-REFL-name

kinami pwes ti-k-mati-ski len kim-panu-k to-šolo-mes
how then we-it-know-FUT:PL what them-happen-PERF our-kid-PL
'How shall we know then what happened to our children?'

leka ti-yawi-aya ti-mo-mik-ti — 'Why were you going to kill yourself?'
why you-go-PAST you-REFL-die-CAUS

pa len ki-čiwa-hke inon — 'What did they do this for?'
for what it-do-PERF:PL this

len ti-k-neki — 'What do you want?'
what you-it-want

IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Marked by the prefix ši- on the stem for the second person singular, with the addition of the suffix -kan (used in both true imperative and exhortative constructions) for the second person plural.

ši-mo-kawa mic-kaki-s in lakal
IMP-REFL-stay you-hear-FUT the man
'Hush up; the man will hear you.'

ši-kisa-kan pa yohe wil koči-s
IMP-leave-EXHRT:PL so thus POT sleep-FUT
'Go out so he'll be able to sleep.'

The future may also be used in an imperative sense.

moči an-mo-deteneru-s pa an-ni-mic-ili-s kapik ti-ya-si
all you:PL-REFL-stop-FUT so OM-I-OM-say-FUT to:where we-go-FUT:PL
you PL
'You all will stop so I may tell you where we will go to.'

Exhortatives

Occur in first and third persons, singular and plural. Marked by the particle ma placed before the verb, whose subject markers are the same as those of the indicative tenses. As in the imperative, the plural forms are marked by the suffix -kan.

ma ni-ya 'that I may go'
EXHRT I-go

ma ti-ya-kan 'Let's go.'
EXHRT we-go-EXHRT:PL

ma kin-k^{W}a in oso nek^{W}lero
EXHRT them-eat the bear honey:hunter
'Let the honey bear eat them.'

ma tekipanu-kan moči semilwil
EXHRT work-EXHRT:PL all day
'Let them work all day.'

In one situation the exhortative particle ma is used with the first person plural indicative of go. This form sounds less peremptory than the exhortative form, besides giving the hint of an exclusive we, and so guests when taking leave prefer to dismiss themselves therewith.

ma ti-yawi-lo 'We'll be going now.'
EXHRT we-go-PL

In all singular forms of the exhortative and the imperative, only the stem of the verb appears, the stem being obvious only in such verbs as end in ia or ua, in which the majority drop the final a to reveal the stem. Furthermore, in a sequence of two singular verbs forming a phrase in the past tense, the second verb appears with only the subject marker and the verb stem.* This is invariable. In the present and remote past tenses the same phenomenon can occur, but not invariably.

k-ahoki-a it-lift-PRES	'He lifts it.'
ši-k-ahoki IMP-it-lift	'Lift it.'
panu-a pass-PRES	'He passes by.'
ši-panu IMP-pass	'Pass on.'
ma ni-k-mik-ti EXHRT I-it-die-CAUS	'Let me kill it.'
yawi-aya panu go-PAST pass	'He was going to pass by.'
ni-k-ŋeki ni-panu I-it-want I-pass	'I want to pass.'
ni-yawi-ni ni-panu I-go-REM:PAST I-pass	'I was going to pass back then.'

Negative Imperatives

The negative particle amo appears immediately before the imperative verb.

amo ši-nawa-ti NEG IMP-word-CAUS	'Don't talk.'

According to the rules set forth in the phonology section, the negative particle becomes kamo, as it appears immediately following the exhortative particle.

ma kamo ki-k^{w}a miak EXHRT NEG it-eat much	'Let him not eat much.'

*But in the first and third persons, the plural suffix -lo is of course added to the second verb when the subject is plural. Note that čia 'wait' and pia 'have', although ending in ia, are stems, so the final vowel does not drop in these constructions.

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-cin/-cinde DIM -cician/-cicinde PL

i-pelo-cinde — 'his doggie' (or 'dear pet')
his-dog-DIM

i-pelo-cicinde — 'his dear pets'
his-pet-DIM:PL

i-tah-cician — 'his/her parents'
his-father-PL:HON(vestigial)

-yo COLL

i-saka-yo — 'its leaves, foliage' (sakal 'green growth')
its-green:growth-COLL

i-lakil-yo — 'its fruit'
its-fruit-COLL

-ero Spanish loan, meaning one having to do with the thing represented by the noun to which it is affixed.

masal-ero — 'deer hunter'
deer-SF

mič-ero — 'fisherman' (mičin 'fish'; mičeros 'fishermen')
fish-SF

-era Spanish loan, with altered meaning 'abundance'.

siwal-era — 'a lot of women'
woman-abundance

-ahe Spanish loan -aje, meaning same as above.

tiškal-ahe — 'a lot of stones'
stone-abundance

V + X = N

-loni INSTR

la-čih-čika-loni — 'electric shaver' (Word coined on the spot when seeing an electric shaver in use.)
UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-scrape-INSTR

-lisli ABSTR

lamašti-lisli — 'pedagogy'
teach-ABSTR

-ni AG

lamašti-ni teach-AG	'teacher'
lahtu-ni speak-AG	'speaker'

-li Designates object of the verb's action.

la-k^{W}a-li UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR	'something to eat, something eaten'
cawa-li spin-NR	'something spun, thread'
la-malina-li UNSPEC:OBJ-turn:twists-NR	'something twisted like the fibers in rope'

-kil Designates non-agentive subject. (Consists of perfective -ki (see ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY) plus absolutive -l.)

mih-kil die-NR	'corpse' (miki 'die'; k → h / __k)
lašukoya-h-kil look:sour-(h)-NR	'sourface'

Locative Nouns

Certain suffixes added to nouns and verbs form them into locative nouns, so-called because some can receive possessive pronoun prefixes and/or serve as objects of prepositions, besides serving as locative words in a clause. The following derive locative nouns from other nouns.

-pan 'on'

šali-pan sand-on	'on the sand' (i.e., 'beach')

-tilan 'among'

saka-tilan green:growth-among	'weedy place'
tiška-tilan stone-among	'stony place'

-lan (-dan if/n___) 'place'

k^{W}ah-lan* tree-place	'woods'

*With the examples for -tilan should be included k^{W}ah-tilan (tree-among) 'woods', although perhaps -tilan connotes denseness here in contrast to -lan (k^{W}ah- is the radical of k^{W}awil 'tree').

i-cika-lan 'his armpit'
his-armpit-place

i-kiš-lan 'his neck'
his-neck-place

-dan 'place' (cf. -lan)

i-cin-dan 'its underside'
its-bottom-place

la-cin-dan 'any place below'
UNSPEC-bottom-place

The following derive locative nouns from verbal elements.

-yan 'time or place location'

i-pewa-yan 'its beginning'
its-begin-time

-n It is impossible to tell for sure if this is a contracted form of -kan 'place', or -yan, since it always occurs in contracted words.

temuá-n 'place of descent'
descend-place

la-siwá-n 'shady place'
UNSPEC:OBJ-shade-place

-kan 'time location'

k^{W}al-kan 'just before dawn'
(?)-time

-kal 'place'

la-istih-kal 'cold area' (istik 'cold'; k → h / __k)
UNSPEC-be:cold-place

lal-molun-kal 'dusty area' / 'cloud of dust'
soil-boil:up-place

VERB MORPHOLOGY

SM + X = V

As noted in BE/HAVE/DO, stative predicates can be formed by adding a subject marker to otherwise non-verbal elements.

amo ni-kinami inon — 'I'm not like that.'
NEG I-like that

ni-lakal — 'I'm a man.'
I-man

ni-kokoški — 'I'm sick.'
I-sick

N + X = V

-arua — Consists of Spanish infinitive marker -ar plus Nahual verbalizer -u plus Nahual present indicative marker -a.

laškali-arua — 'She makes tortillas.'
tortilla-VR

Note the following for justification of the proposed segmentation:

ili-ar-u-k — 'He wound it.'
hilar-VR-PERF
spin/wind

-lti — CAUS

m-a-lti-a — 'He bathes himself.'
REFL-water-CAUS-PRES

-ti — CAUS

čan-ti-a — 'He dwells.'
home-CAUS-PRES

-wia

mahpil-wia — 'He points with the finger.'
finger-VR

kʷah-kʷa-wia* 'She gets wood.'
RDP-tree/wood-VR

ADV + X = V

-ti CAUS

ki-pan-ti-a 'She shapes it (by adding clay [in pottery
it-on-CAUS-PRES making]).' / 'She builds it up; she adds
to it.'

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

V + X = ADJ

-ki PERF

kʷalan-ki 'soreheaded'
be:angry-PERF

palan-ki 'rotten'
rot-PERF

toton-ki 'hot'
heat-PERF

-k PERF

picawa-k 'narrow'
be:narrow-PERF

waki-k 'dry' (Usually pronounced wáik.)
dry-PERF

-udo Spanish loan suffix, added to certain adjectives in a pejorative sense.

kʷalan-k-udo 'evilly disposed'
be:angry-PERF-ADJR

-ado Spanish loan; used only on Spanish loan words, whether unaltered or altered to Nahual patterns.

ili-ado 'wound' (Probably from Spanish hilado.)
wind-ADJR

*In the above example it would rightfully seem that the pronunciation should be kʷakʷawia because of the morphophonemic rules concering a radical ending in w which resolves into the sound h when followed by a consonant; i.e., kʷawil 'tree, wood' becomes *kʷaw- (radical), which becomes kʷah- in this dialect and then, being followed by -wia (VR), might be pronounced as indicated above. But it is not so pronounced, so that one considers the feasibility of positing a radical *kʷawi- for kʷawil and -a as VR. The difficulty here is, however, that there is no other example where -a serves as a verbalizer.

N + X = ADJ

-udo Loan from Spanish, meaning abundance in a pejorative sense.

condi-udo hair-ADJR	'hairy'

Miscellaneous

ADJ = ADJ

k^{w}ali	'good'
we	'big'

All adjectives may be made negative by placing the negative amo before them. All adjectives derived from transitive verbs lose the object marker.

COMPOUNDS

Compounding is no longer as productive a feature of this dialect of Nahual as it is in others, but there are numerous frozen forms to illustrate its erstwhile productivity.

Noun Compounds

N + N = N

ten-conde mouth-hair	'beard'	(N_2 located on N_1)
kočo-k^{w}al parrot-tree	'parrot tree'	(N_2 for N_1)
tepos-tepel metal-hill	'Ironhill'	(place name) (N_2 made of N_1)
k^{w}aw-ayohli tree-squash	'tree squash'	(N_2 part of N_1)
tutol-tel bird-stone	'bird's egg'	(pronounced tutóltil) (N_2 from N_1)
mas-atemil deer-louse	'deer louse'	(N_2 from N_1)
mela-pili grindstone-child	'metapil'	(N_2 as if from N_1)

ADJ + N = N

čiči-k^{w}al bitter-wood	'bitter wood bark'
picak-ihyul narrow-breath	'whooping cough'

N + V = N

tepos-mo-lalu-a metal-REFL-run-PRES it runs	'car'	(Word was coined by one language helper. Others would likely use Spanish word.)

N + PRTC = N

k^{w}ah-maš̌ali wood-crotched	'forked post'

Verb Compounds

N + V = V

kal-panu-a house-pass-PRES	'He passes from house to house.'
ki-k^{w}a-ya-teki-a him-head-water (?)-work-PRES	'He baptizes him.'
amo š̌i-mo-tem-paka NEG IMP-REFL-mouth-wash	'Don't rinse out your mouth.'
ni-k-tol-packa-k I-him-throat-squeeze-PERF	'I strangled him.'

In all the above examples N is the object of V.

kuyol-pica coyote-blow	'He howls.'
ki-ma-toka it-hand-follow	'He touches it.'
ti-k-iš̌-namiki-a you-him-face-meet-PRES	'You confront him.'
ni-lank^{w}a-k^{w}eca I-knee-bend	'I kneel.'

In the above examples N is the subject of V.

V + V = V

ki-wal-ika it-come-take	'He brings it.' (The w disappears from wika 'take'.)
teki-panu-a work-pass-PRES	'He works.'

ADV + V = V

ni-pan-kisa I-on-go:out	'I climb (a hill).'
ki-cin-k^{W}epa it-bottom-return	'He turns it bottom side up.'
ni-k-nel-toka I-it-truly-follow	'I believe (obey) it.'
ši-mo-cin-kiš-ti-a IMP-REFL-bottom-go:out-CAUS-PRES	'Slide over (on the chair).' (Generally pronounced: šimočinkištia)

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-l
-li
-n
-en
Ø

The absolutive suffix -l disappears when the plural suffix -mes or the possessed plural -wan is added; it also disappears in certain words when possessed, but this rule is not always observed by some speakers. Likewise, with the possessed plural -wan, it is not always dropped, in certain words, that is. There seems to be a trend toward regularization of plurals among younger speakers, and thus the forms that are encountered less frequently suffer. And whereas in the Michoacán dialect some words are never encountered except possessed, in other dialects many of these same words occur in a free form with the absolutive.

siwa-l woman-ABS	i-siwa his-woman	'his wife'	(Only word known at the present time in which the absolutive disappears when possessed. Many pay no attention to this rule.)
siwa-mes woman-PL		'women'	
in-siwa-wan their-woman-PL		'their wives'	

With many nouns, -l or -li remains when the noun is plural or possessed; it might be considered part of the stem.

i-lawika-l her-husband-ABS	'her husband'
in-lawika-l-wan their-husband-ABS-PL	'their husbands'

tiška-li stone-ABS	'stone'	tiška-li-mes stone-ABS-PL	'stones'
tiška-l-tilan stone-ABS-among		'among the stones' (Cf. tiška-tilan 'stony place'.)	

These absolutives may however drop in compounds.

k-a-tok-ti-k him-water-sow-CAUS-PERF drown	'She drowned him.' (al 'water')
a-ten-ko water-mouth-in edge	'water's edge' / 'brook'
siwa-k^{w}ak^{w}a female-horn	'cow' (siwal 'woman')
šoko-k^{w}al round:fruit-tree	'guava-like fruit' (šokol)

They also disappear in reduplicated nouns.

koyun-ki-l hole-NR-ABS	'hole'	koh-koyun-ki RDP-hole-NR	'holes'

∅

kali house	'house'	i-kali his-house	'his house'
kali-mes house-PL	'houses'	i-kali-mes his-house-PL	'his houses'

According to the preference of the speaker, he will use one of two forms for the plural, -mes or -hmes. There does not seem to be much rhyme or reason in his choice.

pelo-hmes dog-PL	'dogs'
i-kni his-sibling	'his/her brother/sister'
i-kni-an his-sibling-PL	'his brothers' (The w of -wan disappears according to morphophonemic rule.)

-en

totol-en hen-ABS	'hen'	totol-mes hen-PL	'hens' (ABS drops.)

-n

miči-n	'fish'	miči-(h)mes	'fishes'
fish-ABS		fish-PL	

Spanish loans use on occasion the Nahual plural -mes or -hmes, but drop no sounds.

to-abwelo-hmes	'our elders'
our-elder-PL	

Plural

Marked by reduplication. All adjectives are pluralized by reduplication if they are pluralized at all, unless they are loans from Spanish or unless Spanish loan suffixes are added to the Nahual word, in which cases they are pluralized in the Spanish way, if at all. But reduplication, according to context, may also mean intensification of meaning, just as with verbs.

čikawak	'hard'	čih-čikawak	'very hard'
hard		RDP-hard	
gordito-s	'fat ones'		

Locative nouns may also be pluralized by reduplication.

i-tenko	'its edge'	i-teh-tenko	'its edges'
its-edge		its-RDP-edge	
wahcinko	'morning'	wah-wahcinko	'mornings'/'every morning'

Some diminutivized nouns are pluralized through reduplication of the diminutive suffix. However, the Spanish plural -s is affixed finally as if to really insure plurality.

tuto-cinde	'little bird'	tuto-ci-cinde-s	'little birds'
bird-DIM		bird-RDP-DIM-PL	

Some nouns are reduplicated, but the reduplication no longer carries the plural meaning as it still does for the same word in other dialects.

i-ma	'his hand'	i-mah-ma	'his hand'
his-hand		his-RDP-hand	
i-mah-ma-Wan	'his hands'		
his-RDP-hand-PL			

Marked by the plural -mes/-hmes.

laka-l	'man'	laka-mes	'men'
man-ABS		man-PL	
kimičin	'mouse'	kimiči-hmes	'mice'
mouse		mouse-PL	

Marked by the possessed plural suffix -wan/-Wan/-an. (Second form affixed to stems that end in h; third form to stems that end in stressed front vowels.)

in-lawikal-wan their-husband-PL	'their husbands'
i-kni-an his-sibling-PL	'his siblings'

In many contexts, speakers are quite indifferent as to the use of the plural where there is no likelihood of misunderstanding. One instance of an obviously plural form (obvious from comparison with other dialects) being used as a singular form is:

i-kši-an his-foot	'his foot' (Other dialects: i-kši 'his foot'.)

When this word is pluralized, it becomes in effect a double plural, and the w of -wan reappears because the preceding front vowel is no longer stressed (see section on PHONOLOGY); and since the n of -wan now finds itself in the absolutive position, it must disappear to accommodate the plural -hmes.

i-kši-wa-hmes his-foot-PL-PL	'his feet'

Marked by the Spanish loan -era, having come to mean a collective plural. It is affixed without dropping the absolutive of the noun (though -li may reduce to -l).

siwal-era woman-PL	'a lot of women'
tiškal-era stone-PL	'a lot of stones'

Marked by -yo (COLL PL).

lakil-yo fruit-PL	'fruit'	i-saka-yo its-herbage-PL	'its leaves'

Marked by the convenient Spanish loan -s.

terikni-s form:of:cotton-PL		'bunches of cotton for spinning'	
sendi ear	'ear of corn'	sendi-s ear-PL	'ears of corn'

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor prefixes:

no- /nu-	to- /tu-
mo- /mu-	anmo- /anmu-
i-	in- /inm- /inmin-

Only in stressed syllables does one clearly hear the distinction between o and u. Consequently it is only on two-syllable words in which the possessor prefix is the stressed one that the distinction is noticed, and on most of these the quality is u, especially among the younger speakers. In unstressed syllables the quality is slightly lower than that of u.

The third person plural prefix has three forms, the first and third of which are used with consonant-initial stems. For example, 'their home' can be either in-čan or inmin-čan.

Body parts are inalienably possessed, likewise most words denoting kinship, and also the word for 'home'. The word for 'husband' is inalienably possessed, but the word for 'wife', being the word for 'woman' also, is not always possessed, obviously. In other than these cases just mentioned, possession is alienable.

i-lawikal her-husband	'her husband'
siwal woman	'woman'
i-siwa his-wife	'his wife'

Syntax

Possessive pronouns are formed by prefixing a possessor morpheme to the inalienable stem -yaška 'possession' (cf. mo-yaškah-ti-a (REFL-possession-CAUS-PRES) 'he takes possession of something').

in no-yaška *this my-possession*	'This is mine.'
no-siwa my-woman	'my wife' (Note that the absolutive is dropped. This happens very infrequently.)

When the possessor is mentioned, it can either immediately precede or follow the possessed noun. However, if it follows, the Spanish preposition de 'of' often intervenes, especially if the possessor is the third person.

newal no-kali I my-house	'my house'

i-lahketili de rikarda 'Ricarda's loom'
her-loom of PN

Recursion is somewhat rare in the texts available, the possessor more often being preceded by de 'of' following the Spanish pattern. But it is suspected that in ordinary conversation it is not so rare, especially among older speakers.

i-cocomahli (de) mo-tah-cin 'your father's clothes'
his-clothes of your-father-HON

The phrase can be reversed so that the possessor occurs first, and de is no longer permitted.

mo-tah-cin i-cocomahli 'your father's clothes'
your-father-HON his-clothes

u-ya-k k-ita-k no-nan-cita* i-nan-cin yial
PERF-go-PERF her-see-PERF my-mother-HON her-mother-HON her
'My mother went to see her own mother (i.e., my grandmother).'

PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

General

All postpositions are bound, whereas all prepositions are free. These last are mainly loans from Spanish with the exceptions of pani 'on', pan 'on/for (the purpose of)', obviously derived from the postpositive locative -pan which is bound, and the perhaps hybridized pin (thought to be a fusion of para (Spanish) and in 'this', first shortened to pa in, then to pin 'inside of'). The preposition ka 'with' (both associative and instrumental) never has the possessive pronoun prefixes as in other dialects, and wan, meaning 'and' ordinarily, serves in one construction as a preposition meaning 'with' (association). Two postpositions (-pan and -pampa) are attached to the same pronominal bases as possessed nominals: no-, mo-, i-, to-, anmo-, and in-, with all their variant forms. In the present stage of the language, nouns with postpositional suffixes occur mostly in frozen forms, whereas the postpositions with pronoun prefixes remain productive.

šali-pan 'beach' kali-ka 'wherewith'
sand-on which-with

por i-pampa inon 'because of this' (Always occurs with
by its-cause this Spanish por.)

---

*The form no-nan-cita is an illustration of hybrid suffixation. The Nahual suffix -cin (HON) is fused with the Spanish suffix -ita 'endearment' to form -cita, contracted from *-cinita. Other Spanish suffixes may also be hybridized, e.g., in-nan-cota 'their big old mother' (said of a snake that was slithering about the timbers of the house), contracted from *-cin-ota.

Frozen Forms

kal-ihtik house-inside	'inside the house'	la-ihtik UNSPEC-inside	'inside'
k^{W}ah-lan tree-place	'woods'	k^{W}ah-tilan tree-among	'among the trees'
k^{W}al-kan (?)-where	'before dawn'	a-ten-ko water-mouth-in edge	'brook'

-teč 'in' survives no longer as a postposition even in frozen forms in this dialect; it survives only in the verb -teč-kuni-a (in-drink-PRES) 'absorb'.

With the exception of the frozen forms, some of which are given above, the postpositions are suffixed to the possessor prefixes listed further above.

-pan 'on'

-nák/-nawak 'beside'

-cindan 'under'

-pampa 'by cause of, by means of' (Always preceded by the Spanish loan por.)

-tepockon 'behind'

ma kiawi mu-pan EXHRT rain your-on	'May it rain upon you.'
ši-nehnemi no-nawak* IMP-walk my-beside	'Walk beside me.'
unka i-cindan is his-under	'It is under him.'
nič-panu-k por mo-pampa me-happen-PERF by your-cause	'It happened to me because of you.'

The pronoun copy construction is possible with noun or pronoun object in either order, but there have been no cases of discontinuity observed.

mo-lali-a nel no-nák REFL-sit-PRES me my-beside	'He sits beside me.'
mo-lali-a no-nawak nel REFL-sit-PRES my-beside- me	'He sits beside me.'

*The form heard most frequently is no-nák.

Free Prepositions

Spanish loans:		Nahual Prepositions:	
de	'of, from'	pani	'on, over'
pa(ra)	'for, in order to, at, into, to'	pin	'in'
		pan	'for (the purpose of), on'
por	'through' (INSTR)	ka	'with' (INSTR, ASSOC)
antes de	'before'	wan	'with' (ASSOC)
despwés de	'after'		
serka de	'near to'		

se lami pa i-čan 'One dies at his home.'
one finish at his-home

in ti-k-wiki-li-lo pa in nana 'This we take for the mother.'
this we-it-take-APPLIC-PL for the mother

in barko yawi pani in al 'The boat goes on the water.'
the boat go on the water

de pin kalihtik 'from inside the house'
from in inside:house

u-ya-k pa lamar 'He went to the ocean.'
PERF-go-PERF to ocean

wan gabriel ya-he 'Did Gabriel go with him?'
with PN go-PERF:PL

ni-ya pan k^{w}awil 'I'm going for wood.'
I-go for wood

wan ya ni-yawi-ni pin bulto de sakal ka miak tiškali
and now I-go-REM:PAST in bunch of weeds with many stone
'And then I went into a clump of weeds, taking many stones with me.'

amo ni-k-ita-k in akač-kuwal no-tepockon pin in koyunkil
NEG I-it-see-PERF the rattle-snake my-behind in the hole
'I did not see the rattlesnake in the hole behind me.'

DEMONSTRATIVES

There is a near demonstrative with singular and plural forms, the plural more frequently standing alone as a nominal than as a noun modifier. The sense is also quite often more like an article than a demonstrative. Both function as third person pronouns and can stand alone as nominals. There is also a singular near particularizing-demonstrative, but no corresponding plural for it is known.

SG	PL	
in	innoh(k)en	'this, these'
nihkin	[no textual examples]	'this same'

Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify.

in lamaštini 'the/this teacher'
this teacher

in se 'this one'
this one

innohen laka-mes 'these men'
these man-PL

ni-wala-s mosta ka nihkin oras
I-come-FUT tomorrow with these:same hours
'I'll come tomorrow at this same time.'

Far demonstratives are rendered by contracted verb phrases.

nepunka (from nepa unka) 'that one there'
there:he:is

umpunka (from umpa unka) 'that one yonder'
yonder:he:is

nepuka and unpuka are occasionally heard.

ninunka (nikan unka) 'this one here'
he's:here

wan nepunka kiči tonali mo-kawa-s
and that:one how:many day REFL-stay-FUT
'And how many days will that one stay?'

If the nominal referred to by these phrases must be mentioned, it must include the near demonstrative, and the whole phrase precedes the verb-phrase demonstrative.

wan in lakal umpunka kiči tonali mo-kawa-s
and that man he's:there how:many day REFL-stay-FUT
'And that man over there, how many days will he stay?'

There is a form of the near demonstrative which never serves to modify but always stands alone: inon 'this one'. There is no corresponding far demonstrative, and so this one form serves both senses, although examples of its use in the far sense are so rare as to render it an open question, almost, whether it should be so interpreted.

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms include:

k^{W}akinon/k^{W}akín	'then, at that time'	umpa	'yonder'
ašan/aškan	'now'	lakpak	'up there' (Some say lakpan.)
yohe/yohke	'thus'		
nikan	'here'	punta	'up above'
nepa	'there'		

Adverbial demonstrative phrases include:

ka ník(ik) with here	'to here'	ka yohe with thus	'to the other side'
ka umpek with there	'to there'	de umpa from there	'then'
ka kapik with where	'to where?'	pa punta to above	'toward above'

QUANTIFIERS

se	'one' (person or any unit), 'someone', 'a'
sekin	'some'
miak	'many'
moči	'all'
muštin	'all'
nadita	'a little' (Spanish loan meaning probably 'a little nothing'.)
naditas	'a few'
tipitun/tipičin	'little'

All quantifiers can stand by themselves, but when modifying a noun, they precede it and follow the demonstrative or article, if any, in the phrase, provided the demonstrative modifies both the quantifier and the noun. If the demonstrative

modifies only the noun, then the quantifier precedes the demonstrative also.

wala-k in se kin-piš-ta-t-aya čibos
come-PERF this one them-have-CONN:be-(?)-PAST goats
'This one came having some goats with him.'

miak amo ki-neki-lo-aya pa ti-k-čia-ski-aya ok se kali
many NEG it-want-PL-PAST for you-it-make-FUT-PAST yet one house
'Many did not want for you to build another house.'

k-ihtu-lo sekin ti-k-akop-aru-lo pa tu-čan
it-say-PL some we-it-use-PL for our-home
'Some say we use it for our home.'

ya u-ya-he muštin
now PERF-go-PERF:PL all
'All have gone.'

han yohe tipitun mo-mati ki-neki to-dios
just thus little REFL-know it-want our-God
'Just a little thus it seems God wants it.' (Answer to greeting.)

ši-č-maka nadita
IMP-me-give little
'Give me a little.'

amo kiman ki-mati se len yawi ki-panu-a
NEG when it-know one what go him-happen-PRES
'One never knows what's going to happen to him.'

NUMERALS

se	'one'	čik^{W}ase	'six'
ome	'two'	čikome	'seven'
ye	'three'	čik^{W}e	'eight'
nawi	'four'	čiknawi	'nine'
mak^{W}ili	'five'	mahlakli	'ten'

Numerals always precede nouns but can stand alone in a clause.

There are special forms for 'two', 'three', and 'four' when the set is considered as a unit, used always in reference to persons.

omenten	'a twosome'
yeyenten	'a trio, threesome, troika'
nawenten	'a foursome'

There is one suffix that occurs only with the number one: -hpa se-hpa 'at one/ once'.

Used in combination with the particles ok or han:

tewanten	han	se-hpa	ašan	'We are just at one now.' (Said of those
we	just	one-time	now	who have stopped quarreling.)
ši-k-čiwi-li		ok	se-hpa	'Do it to him again.'
IMP-him-do-APPLIC		yet	one-time	

Numerals may be reduplicated to give a distributive meaning, but the forms generally are spoken twice in a phrase wherein the two forms are connected by the Spanish loan word por.

seh-se	por	seh-se	'one by one'
RDP-one	by	RDP-one	
'oh'ome	por	'oh'ome	'two by two'
RDP-two	by	RDP-two	

In no text at hand is there found any phrase in which other than these two numbers are used, but there is every likelihood that any number may appear in this construction when called for. The occurrence of the reduplicated form of the number by itself is exceedingly rare.

ADJECTIVES

Most adjectives are derived from verbs and as such are identified by the stative or perfective suffix -k(i) and might be also called stative verbs. There are also adjectives that appear identical in form to nouns, having suffixes identical to the absolutive suffixes of some nouns.

se	kali	k^{W}ali	wan	k^{W}ahti-k	'a good and tall house'
a	house	good	and	tall-PERF	

Just as in Spanish, an adjective used attributively follows the noun, as shown in the above example.

Here are adjectives that resemble nominals, although some are derived from verbs.

šilan-ki	'long'	toton-ki	'hot'
long-PERF		heat-PERF	
šiwin-ki	'rough'	tipičin	'small'
rough-PERF			
we	'big'	bunč-ito	'short' (Never occurs except
		short-DIM	in this form.)

Adjectives may be used predicatively with or without 'be'. In the present tense it is more commonly used without 'be'.

kokoš-ki	in	siwal	'The woman is ill.'
sick-PERF	the	woman	

An adjective is reduplicated indifferently when used attributively to a plural noun. No cases have been seen in which the adjective is pluralized without the noun's so being, even when the adjective is used predicatively. But absence of reduplication when occurring with plural nouns is quite common.

kali-mes	k^{W}ah-k^{W}ahti-k	'tall houses'
house-PL	RDP-tall-PERF	

Qualifiers include niman 'very', amo NEG, and nadita 'a little'. They always immediately precede the adjective.

niman	čawa-k	'very greasy'
very	greasy-PERF	
amo	toton-ki	'not hot'
NEG	heat-PERF	
nadita	isti-k	'a little cold'
little	cold-PERF	

More than one adjective can be used to modify a nominal. The adjectives are then connected by wan 'and' (see the first illustration in this section).

COMPARATIVES

Comparatives and superlatives are patterned after the Spanish manner, constructed with Spanish loan words.

mas	we	'bigger'		in	mas	we	'the biggest'
more	big			the	more	big	

For 'more...than' comparatives, the pattern is likewise similar to Spanish, and the same words are used just as in Spanish.

Wan unka mas k^{w}ahti-k ke newal 'John is taller than I.'
PN is more tall-PERF than I

i-pelo-hmes amo ki-k^{w}ah-k^{w}a-lo-aya tanto mas k^{w}ali
his-dog-PL NEG her-RDP-eat-PL-PAST so:much more well

k-iš-mati-lo-aya ke antes
her-face-know-PL-PAST than before
'His pets didn't bite her, so much better they knew her than before.'

For 'as...as' comparatives, one construction renders it thus:

wan kinami yiwal ki-pia miak ganas pa tekipanu-s han yohe newal
and as he it-have much liking so:that work-FUT just so I
'And as he likes to work so much, just so am I.'

Or it is also possible to say it thus:

tanto ki-pia miak ganas de tekipanu-s kinami nel
so:much it-have much liking of work-FUT like I
'He has as much liking to work as I.'

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

se	'one'	kapa	'somewhere'
aki	'someone'	kiman	'sometime'
len	'something'	kahkapa	'various indefinite places'

amo wil k-ita se 'One cannot see it.'
NEG POT it-see one

aki unka 'Who is it?'
who is

unka len i-cin-dan no-lapešli
is something its-bottom-place my-bed
'There is something under my bed.'

ni-k-ita-s	kapa	'I'll see it somewhere.'
I-it-see-FUT	somewhere	
ahsi-k	de kiman	'He arrived some time ago.'
arrive-PERF	of sometime	
weci-aya	kah-kapa mo-laluh-ti-ka	'Running, he fell in places.'
fall-PAST	RDP-where REFL-run-CONN-be	

The words aki, len, kapa, and kiman more often serve as interrogative pronouns.

Negative

There are negative forms derived by adding amo NEG to some of the positive forms.

amaki (from *amo aki)	'no one'	amaki unka 'Nobody's home.'
		no:one is
nindeno	'nothing'	amo neč-í-k nindeno
		NEG me-say-PERF nothing
		'He said nothing to me.'
amo len	'nothing'	amo ni-k-čih-ti-ka len
		NEG I-it-do-CONN-be what
		'I ain't doin' nothin'.'

Quite often amo len is used as an answer in itself by one to whom thanks is expressed, or to the question 'What are you doing?'.

ANY

Perhaps the nearest equivalent to this idea is rendered by a phrase consisting of the indefinite pronoun plus the future of the verb ye 'be'.

kapa	ye-s 'anywhere'	len	ye-s 'anything'
where	be-FUT	what	be-FUT
kiman	ye-s 'any time'	aki	ye-s 'anyone'
when	be-FUT	who	be-FUT
kinami	ye-s 'anyhow'		
how	be-FUT		

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Used for subjects or objects:

newal /nel	tewante /tewanten
tewal /tel	amwante /amwanten
yiwal /yial	yiwante /yiwanten

Dependent

Subject prefixes (may be prefixed to nouns and other elements as well as verbs):

ni-	ti- (plus plural suffix)
ti-	an-
∅	∅ (plus plural suffix)

Possessor prefixes (also serve as base for attachment of postpositions):

no- /nu-	to- /tu-
mo- /mu-	anmo- /anmu-
i-	in- /inm- /inmin-

Object prefixes (prefixed to verbs only):

nič-	tič-
mic-	anmic-
k- /ki- /-h-	kinm- /kin- /kinmin-

The second person plural object marker is discontinuous when the first person subject markers appear in conjunction with it.

an-ni-mic-	'I-you'	an-ti-mic-	'we-you'
OM-I-OM		OM-we-OM	
you PL		you PL	

Reflexive prefixes:

mo- /m- (both singular and plural for all persons)

STEMS

Defective Stems

There is no restriction on any verb, whether transitive or intransitive, as to which tense it may appear in, with the exceptions of the two stems for 'be', viz., ka and ye. Neither is used with an aspectual verb suffixed to it by means of the connective suffix -ti, nor does ye occur in the present indicative, nor in the past -aya form, nor in the remote past -ni form, whereas ka occurs in these forms, even having two stems for the remote past tense; there seems to be no rule as to which one to choose when speaking.

ka-ta-ni	or:	ka-ya-ni	'He was at that time.'
be-(?)-REM PAST		be-(?)-REM PAST	

The occurrence of ka with the perfective suffix -k/-hki is rather rare.

Reduplication

In any stem in which reduplication has not come to denote a completely different meaning of the stem, reduplication of the initial syllable generally indicates intensification of the meaning. The pattern of this reduplication is CVh-. The CV reduplication pattern occurs in frozen forms, is never used optionally, and is therefore rather rare.

nič-aWa-k me-scold-PERF	'He scolded me.'
nič-ah-'aWa-k me-RDP-scold-PERF	'He read the riot act to me.'
to-toka in al de in tečo RDP-follow the water from the roof	'The water runs off the roof.'

INCORPORATION

Instrumental Prefixes

Some instrumental prefixes for verb stems are no longer recognizable as independent nouns, but basically they are nouns whose meaning can be determined historically or by comparison with other dialects. Among such are:

il-	probably 'mind'	ih-	'mind'
k^{W}il-	Exact meaning unknown. (ki-k^{W}il-paču-a (it-(?)-cover-PRES) 'He bends it.')		

The following instrumental prefixes do not exist as independent nouns, but they are semantically transparent:

tu-	'god' (from teo-)
k^{W}a-	'head'

tem-	'mouth'
cin-	'underside'
tol-	'throat'

The following instrumental prefixes are roots of independent nouns:

iš-	'face'	yol-	'heart'
ma-	'hand'	k^{W}ah-	'wood'
lan-	'tooth'	tepos-	'metal' (rare)
nakas-	'ear'	lal-	'earth'
lank^{W}a-	'knee'	a-	'water'

ki-ma-toka it-hand-follow	'He touches it.'
lan-kakica tooth-squeak	'He whistles.'
ki-nakas-teka it-ear-lay	'He lays it on its side.'
ki-lal-paču-k him-earth-cover-PERF	'He buried him.'

SYNTACTIC MARKING

There is a series of subject pronominal prefixes and a series of object pronominal prefixes for marking these elements on the verb stem. There is one prefix for marking reflexive action.

SM		OM	
ni-	ti-	nič-	tič-
ti-	an-	mic-	anmic-
∅	∅	ki-/k-/-h-	kin-/kinm-/kinmin-

REFL	UNSPEC OBJ
mo-	la- (See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

Only on certain verb stems may the object marker occur followed by the reflexive prefix, with the applicative suffix obligatory. See the next section for an explanation of applicative suffix.

mic-mo-lati-li-k you-REFL-hide-APPLIC-PERF	'He hid himself from you.'

ni-k-mo-lank^{W}a-k^{W}eci-li-aya 'I knelt before him.'
I-him-REFL-knee-bend-APPLIC-PAST

The regular plural suffix for verbs is -lo. There is also one prefix for marking imperatives and one suffix that serves to pluralize the imperative and the exhortative, viz., ši- IMP and -kan IMP/EXHRT PL.

ši-mo-kawa 'Shaddup!'
IMP-REFL-stay

ši-k-maka-kan 'Give it to him.'
IMP-him-give-EXHRT:PL

In exhortative sentences, the exhortative particle is obligatory and only occurs with the first and third persons singular and plural. In negative exhortations, the negative particle is kamo.

ma ni-ya 'May I go.'
EXHRT I-go

ma ki-pilu-kan pan i-yakacol 'Let them hang it on his nose.'
EXHRT it-hang-EXHRT:PL on his-nose

yohe ma kamo ye 'Let it not be thus.'
thus EXHRT NEG be

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-ti CAUS (For consonant-final stems.)

-lti CAUS (For vowel-final stems.)

Both forms serve also as transitivizers as well as causatives when suffixed to intransitive verbs.

ni-h-koč-ti-aya 'I put him to sleep.'
I-him-sleep-CAUS-PAST

ki-k^{W}alan-ti-aya 'He made him mad.'
him-be:angry-CAUS-PAST

t-ič-panu-lti-k in kokolisli 'You passed the illness to me.'
you-me-pass-CAUS-PERF the sickness

Following are transitive verbs with CAUS.

an-nih-čiwa-lti-k 'You all forced me into it.'
you:PL-me-do-CAUS-PERF

k-a-tok-ti-k 'She drowned him.'
him-water-bury-CAUS-PERF

Applicative

-li APPLIC (Acts also as transitivizer when suffixed to an intransitive stem.)

š-ih-čiwi-li se fabor 'Do me a favor.'
IMP-me-do-APPLIC a favor

kin-k^{W}alani-li-a i-paračitos in lapačuani
them-be:angry-APPLIC-PRES her-chickens the brood:hen
'The mother hen defends her chickens.'

-lti APPLIC (In at least one verb it acts as APPLIC instead of CAUS.)

nič-namaki-lti-he se koyamil 'They sold me a pig.'
me-sell-APPLIC-PERF:PL a pig

Aspectual

Consists of two suffixes, first a connective (CONN) -ti, the second a verb stem immediately following, of which there are four. Note that the aspectual verb stem, while in each case related to an independently occurring verb, contributes a sense that represents an extension of the basic meaning of the independent verb (particularly in the case of kisa 'go out, leave').

-ti-nemi 'go about Ving'

-ti-ya 'go on Ving'

-ti-ka 'be Ving'

-ti-kisa 'quickly, suddenly Ving'

mo-laluh-ti-nemi 'He runs about.'
REFL-run-CONN-walk

kin-laloš-ti-ti-ya 'He goes on making them run.'
them-run-CAUS-CONN-go

ašan amo ki-nek-ti-ka tekipanu-a
today NEG it-want-CONN-be work-PRES
'He's not wanting to work today.'

lenča ši-wala-ti-kisa 'Lencha, come quickly.'
PN IMP-come-CONN-hurry

Tense

The plural tense suffixes can of course be segmented into a plural component and a tense component, but there is considerable irregularity.

SG	PL
∅ /-a	-lo PRES
-aya/-ya	-loaya PAST (-ya occurs with stems ending in a.)

SG	PL
-k	-he/-hke PERF
-s	-si/-ski FUT
-skiaya	-loskiaya FUT PAST (Sometimes -siaya and -losiaya.)
-ni	-nihme REM PAST

The past tense can be used as the irrealis modal in a sequence of two clauses, each of which is in the past and one of which, usually the first, bears the particle da 'if'.

da amo ti-tič-k^{w}idaru-aya pos ti-miki-lo-aya
if NEG you-us-care:for-PAST why we-die-PL-PAST
'If you didn't take care of us, we would die.'

The future past tense is sometimes used in a desiderative sense.

ni-mo-kuwi-li-skiaya se musika
I-REFL-buy-APPLIC-FUT:PAST a victrola
'I'd like to buy me a victrola.'

The second person plural takes the same tense endings as the singular because its unduplicated subject prefix obviates the addition of a plural marker, whereas in the first and third plural, the subject prefixes are duplicated in the second singular and third singular forms respectively, and therefore confusion would result but for the addition of the plural tense suffixes.

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Order

The verb root, with or without reduplication, serves as a verb stem. Pre-stem elements are ordered thus:

SM—{OM / REFL / UNSPEC}—STEM (Cf. DEFINITE PRONOUNS concerning the second person plural OM.)

Post-stem elements are ordered thus for past and future past tenses:

STEM—CAUS—APPLIC—CONN—ASP—PL—TNS
V

A slight alteration in order occurs in the other tenses:

STEM—CAUS—APPLIC—CONN—ASP—TNS—PL
V

These orderings take into account the (sometimes problematic) segmentation of the plural tense endings listed under NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION into a tense component and a plural component.

When APPLIC is contiguous to CONN, an h intervenes.

ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ti-ka 'I'm making it go for you.'
I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN-be

If the foregoing example were in the past, having the same aspectual verb ka, an alteration would be necessary. The CONN -ti and the ASP V ka would merge into one syllable -ta, so that instead of *ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ti-ka-t-aya, the form would be ni-mic-nemi-lti-li-h-ta-t-aya, (I-you-walk-CAUS-APPLIC-(h)-CONN:be-(t)-PAST) 'I was making it go for you'. (The morpheme in parentheses has not been semantically determined.)

Auxiliary Verbs

This grammatical device, apparently borrowed from Spanish, has completely displaced the directional suffixes met with in most if not all other dialects. The auxiliary most often found is yawi 'go'.

ni-yawi-aya ni-k-ita 'I was going to see her.'
I-go-PAST I-her-see

Notice that although the auxiliary is in the past tense, the principal verb appears in its stem form. This consistently happens in this tense: ni-yawi-aya ni-k-ihtu (I-go-PAST I-it-say) 'I was going to say it'. If the auxiliary is in the present tense, the principal verb occurs in its stem form, although not as consistently as in the former case: ni-ya ni-k-ihtu (I-go I-it-say) 'I'm going to say it'. In other tenses both auxiliary and principal verb receive the same tense markers, with the possible exception of the remote past, where occasionally the principal verb appears in the stem form: ti-ya-k ti-k-ita-k (you-go-PERF you-it-see-PERF) 'Did you go to see it?'; ya ni-yawi-ni ni-mawilti-ni (already I-go-REM:PAST I-bathe-REM:PAST) 'Then at that time I went to bathe'; wan ya ni-yawi-ni ni-k-lali in laso (and now I-go-REM:PAST I-it-lay the snare) 'And then at that time I went to lay the snare'.

Since verbs in combination with this auxiliary are used often as a variety of future tense, as its counterpart in Spanish is, this auxiliary is heard most frequently. But wala 'come' is also used as an auxiliary denoting motion towards: wala-k k-ita-k (come-PERF him-see-PERF) 'He came to see him'. The desiderative also uses an auxiliary verb construction, being marked by the verb neki 'want' appearing as an auxiliary before the principal verb, as in Spanish: ki-neki mo-kuwi-li cocomahli yank^{w}ik (it-want REFL-buy-APPLIC clothes new) 'He wants to buy himself some new clothes'.

The potential, more often marked by the particle wil, which is itself derived from the verb stem wili, is sometimes marked by this as an auxiliary: wan siempre newal ni-wili-ti-aya ni-kin-čok-ti-aya no-kni-an siwa-mes (and always I I-could-CAUS-PAST I-them-cry-CAUS-PAST my-sibling-POSSD:PL female-PL) 'And always I could make my sisters cry'.

Contraction

Verbs, and adjectives derived from verbs, quite normally contract their last two syllables into one, so that the stress then falls on the last syllable instead of the penultimate where it regularly falls. The contraction is primarily the result of the disappearance of the initial consonant of the final syllable. If the vowels of the two final syllables are the same, they merge into one vowel of similar length to that of a vowel in any stressed syllable. If the vowels are different, the last one is usually i, which becomes an offglide of the first vowel. The consonants that have the tendency to disappear are k, w, y, and l.

š-ič-maka se koyunki IMP-me-give a hole	→ š-ič-má se koyunki	'Give me a doughnut.'
ši-kin-čikawa muštin IMP-them-strengthen all	→ ši-kin-čiká muštin	'Greet them all.'
nih-čiwi-li-k se fabor me-do-APPLIC-PERF a favor	→ nih-čiwí-k se fabor	'He did me a favor.'
miki-k yalwa die-PERF yesterday	→ mí-k yalwa	'He died yesterday.'
yawi-aya pa lamar go-PAST to ocean	→ yawi-á pa lamar	'He went to the ocean.'
ni-k-ahoki-k I-it-raise-PERF	→ ni-k-ahói-k	'I raised it.'
unka picawa-k is narrow-PERF	→ unka picá-k	'It is narrow.'
ni-pewa-k I-begin-PERF	→ ni-péa-k (or: ni-pé-k)	'I began.'

The auxiliary ya 'go' often disappears completely.

ni-ya ni-k-lali se laso I-go I-it-lay a snare	→ ni ni-k-lali se laso	'I'm going to set a snare.'

COORDINATION

wan	'and'	(Primitive meaning apparently 'with'.)
nohe	'also'	(Almost completely replaced by Spanish 'también'.)
pero	'but'	(Spanish)
o	'or'	(Spanish)
∅	(juxtaposition)	

The element wan 'and' serves as introducer particle more frequently than it serves as coordinator.

wan umpa ki-temuh-ti-nemi 'And there he goes about seeking him.'
and there him-seek-CONN-walk

With DIFFERENT SUBJ:

se ka-t-aya bwena hente wan in ok se ka-t-aya mala hente
one be-(?)-PAST good people and the yet one be-(?)-PAST bad people
'One was a good sort and the other was a bad sort.'

With SAME SUBJ:

wan ora sí pos in kuyol k-ita-k totonki wan al ratito
and now AFF why the coyote it-see-PERF hot and at trice
íhole mente cik^{W}ini-k
wow just jump-PERF
'And now the coyote felt how hot it was and—wow!—did he ever jump right then!'

ya ma ti-h-kawa-kan pwes pero in čikote
now EXHRT we-him-let-EXHRT:PL then but the whip
ti-mo-wiki-li-lo
we-REFL-take-APPLIC-PL
'Now let's leave him alone, then, but the whip we take with us.'

Reductions are allowed; in fact, as regards o 'or' they are much more common.

umpa ya ti-k-ana-lo ti-k-ahoki-lo pan len mesa o pan len tabla
then now we-it-get-PL we-it-lift-PL onto some table or onto some board
punta pa ti-k-belaru-lo asta mo-namiki-a oras k^{W}ando lami-k
atop for we-it-watch-PL´ until REFL-meet-PRES hours when finish-PERF
'Then we take it and lift it atop some table or board to watch it until the hours that he died come around again.'

But juxtaposition is by far the most common way of indicating coordination.

ti-lami-lo ti-k-teka-lo ti-h-kiš-ti-lo ti-k-paka-lo
we-finish-PL we-it-lay:down-PL we-it-go:out-CAUS-PL we-it-wash-PL

ti-k-posuni-lo ti-k-lali-li-lo tešli
we-it-boil-PL we-it-put-APPLIC-PL corn:dough
'We finish laying it down, we take it out, wash it, boil it, and we put corn dough in it.'

in lomo ti-k-waca-lo ti-k-čiwa-lo sesinas
the loin we-it-roast-PL we-it-make-PL jerky
'The loin we roast, and we make jerky out of it.'

de umpa ya ni-krusaru-a ni-lakisa ni-krusaru-a
from there now I-cross-PRES I-finish I-cross-PRES
'Now from there I cross, and I finish, and I cross again.'

u-ya-k ki-temu-k i-šolol nohe wan i-siwa u-ya-he
PERF-go-PERF him-seek-PERF his-son also with his-wife PERF-go-PERF:PL
'He went to look for his son; also his wife went with him.'

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Subject Complement Clauses

This type is quite common in narratives.

ye-k [kikiški inmin-lomo] 'It must have been that their back itches.'
be-PERF itch their-back

Object Complement Clauses

ni-k-ihtu-k [ti-yawi-aya ti-kisa mosta]
I-it-say-PERF you-go-PAST you-leave tomorrow
'I thought you were going to leave tomorrow.'

an-ki-kaki-k [ni-cahci-k] 'You all heard me yell.'
you:PL-it-hear-PERF I-yell-PERF

len amo umpek ki-kah-kawa-k pa k^{w}ahlan
what NEG to:there him-RDP-leave-PERF in woods

[las-ti-ka pan se saka-tilan]
toss-CONN-be on a weed-among
'If she didn't leave him in the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.'

ni-h-kaki-h [k-ihtu-a [pampa aki ki-mik-ti-a
I-it-hear-PERF it-say-PRES that whoever it-die-CAUS-PRES

in sierpe mo-namik-ti-a ka no-šolol]]
the serpent REFL-meet-CAUS-PRES with my-child
'I heard he said that whoever kills the serpent marries my daughter.'

ni-k-neki [ni-mo-šima] 'I want to cut my hair.'
I-it-want I-REFL-shear

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

ma ni-mo-kiš-tí * se pwes de pan tapalkal a ber
EXHRT I-REFL-go:out-CAUS:APPLIC one then from in pot to see

[da unka bweno]
if is good
'Let me take one out of the pot to see if it is good.'

WH Questions

tewal ti-k-mati [kapa wan len oras temu-a]
you you-it-know where and what hours descend-PRES
'You, do you know where and what time it comes down?'

de umpa ti-wala-lo asta tiolak a ber [len ti-k-ita-lo ka umpek]
then we-come-PL until evening to see what we-it-see-PL there
'Then we come at evening to see what we see there.'

ti-k-mati [kapa unka se parte ki-kuh-ti-ka-te tinešli]
you-it-know where is a place it-buy-CONN-be-PL lime
'Do you know where there's a place where they are buying lime?'

yahmo ni-k-mati-ni [kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nancin]
no:more I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-calm-CAUS-FUT my-mother
'I no more knew at that time how I would calm down my mother.'

wan ni-mic-lah-lan-ti-ya [kinami ti-unka]
and I-you-RDP-ask-CONN-go how you-be
'And I go on asking you how you are.'

wan ši-k-ili [kiči yawi kostaru-a]
and IMP-him-say how:much go cost-PRES
'And tell him how much it's going to cost.'

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*Here CAUS and APPLIC merge into one syllable.

amo ni-k-mati [len ni-k-čia ka in kokolisli]
NEG I-it-know what I-it-do with this illness
'I don't know what to do about this illness.'

kinami yiwal ki-mati-aya [pa kiman ya yawi-aya lakati i-šól]...
as she it-know-PAST for when already go-PAST be:born her-child
'As she knew when her child was going to be born...'

ti-mo-ilih-ti-ka-te [de kinami ti-yawi-lo
we-REFL-say-CONN-be-PL of how we-go-PL

ti-k-nankili-lo in wal ti-ya t-ič-ili-a]
we-it-answer-PL this that you-go you-us-say-PRES
'We're saying to ourselves how we're going to answer what you're going to say to us.'

umpa mo-kawa-lo se ratito ki-pensaruh-ti-ka-te
there REFL-stay-PL a while it-think-CONN-be-PL

[pa lakeca-si o len lo ke ya-lo lakeca-lo]
for talk-FUT:PL or what what go-PL talk-PL
'There they stay awhile thinking about what to talk of or what they are going to talk about.'

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative Pronouns

Relative pronouns serve as subordinators. Aside from these pronouns introducing a relative clause, there is nothing to distinguish a relative clause from another clause. The relative pronouns are:

wal	'who/which/that'	len yul	'that which' (very rare)
yul	'who/which/that'	wal aki	'who'
len	'which/that'	aki wal	'someone who'

Subject Relatives

in indios [wal čan-ti-ni-hme pin išlawa-hmes]
the Indians who home-CAUS-REM:PAST-PL in plain-PL

kin-temu-ni-hme
them-hunt-REM:PAST-PL
'The Indians who lived then on the plains used to hunt them.'

čan-ti-ti-ka pin kali [wal unka pa yohe in lado de in pweblo]
home-CAUS-CONN-be in house that is on thus the side of the village
'He's living in a house on the other side of the village.'

wan de umpa in lakal [wal k-ihtu-k siempre de
and then the man who it-say-PERF always of

ki-čia-ski-aya] siempre ki-lali-k in trampa
it-do-FUT-PAST indeed it-lay-PERF the trap
'And then the man who always talked of doing it did indeed lay the trap.'

Non-restrictive clauses:

ni-čan-ti-ti-ka pa i-čan tačo [wal nič-makawi-lti-k
I-home-CAUS-CONN-be at his-home PN who me-let-CAUS-PERF

pa ni-čan-ti-s nepa]
so:that I-home-CAUS-FUT there
'I'm living at Tacho's house who let me live there.'

in oso ki-walika-he de amerika in [wal unka pin
the bear it-bring-PERF:PL from America this that is in

kapa ka-te ok sekin animales]
where be-PL yet some animals
'The bear they brought from America, this one which is in where other animals are.'

In the above example, the discontiguity of the object of the main clause from its relative clause is remedied by the insertion of the demonstrative just before the relative.

Some relative clauses have no subordinating pronouns.

yawi-aya se i-kni kimičin [ki-mati-aya mo-maš-ti responso]
go-PAST one his-brother mouse it-know-PAST REFL-know-CAUS liturgy
'A brother-mouse went, who knew how to read liturgy.'

ka-t-aya se mwačito islakati [čan-ti-aya alamar]
be-(?)-PAST a boy he:lies home-CAUS-PAST ocean
'There was a boy liar who lived at the ocean.'

A noun phrase that serves as a relative clause head may be repeated as a pronoun immediately before the relative clause.

[wal aki ki-mati] nikan unka se lakal masalero yiwal [wal yawi
who who it-know here is a man deer:hunter he who go

nič-nes-ti-li kapa unka]
me-appear-CAUS-APPLIC where is
'He who knows is a deer hunter here, it's he who's going to show me where she is.'

A relative clause may precede the main clause.

[wal amo ki-pia ya] in yawi mo-temači-a ka
who NEG it-have now that:one go REFL-reciprocate-PRES with

i-prohimo 'Whoever doesn't have it will certainly reciprocate with his
his-neighbor neighbor (when he does have it).'

Object Relatives

kapa unka in tortuga [wal ti-h-kiš-ti-k] 'Where is the turtle you caught?'
where is the turtle that you-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF

The demonstrative pronoun can be substituted for a noun phrase or a noun which is the head of a relative clause, but it is only included obligatorily with the head if the head is remotely discontiguous with the relative clause itself (as in a previous example under Subject Relatives above).

ši-k-ita amigo ya in [wal ki-kawa-he] ya moči pa tewanten
IMP-it-see friend now this that it-leave-PERF:PL now all for us
'Look, friend, all this that they left is now ours.'

in [wal amo ki-pi-aya tomin] mo-lami-li-k
this who NEG it-have-PAST money REFL-finish-APPLIC-PERF

[len ki-k^{w}a-s]
what it-eat-FUT
'This one who had no money ran out of what he should eat.'

The above example is of a complex sentence in which occur both subject and object relative clauses, the object relative being of the headless type.

Oblique Relatives

Wherein the relativized noun is a possessor in the relative clause:

unka se čapulin [wal kis-ti-ka al pa i-kamak
is a grasshopper who go:out-CONN-be water at its-mouth

wan pa i-barba]
and at his-chin
'There's a grasshopper from whose mouth and chin water is coming out!'

Headless Relatives

Headless finite relative clauses may occur initially in a complex sentence, their antecedents even occurring finally in the main clause.

[wal amo ki-lakamati-s] yiwal ki-mati kapa yawi ki-tilani-a
who NEG him-obey-FUT he it-know where go him-send-PRES
'He knows where he's going to send whoever will not obey him.'

An ellipsis with inference from an immediately preceding clause characterizes this headless relative clause:

kasiones ki-čiwa-lo fandango de semilwil [wal a̍mó́ ki-čiwa-lo
sometimes it-do-PL dance of daytime who NEG it-do-PL

de semilwil] asta tiolak
of daytime until evening
'Sometimes they have a dance in the daytime; those who do not do it in the daytime (wait) until evening.'

pos es ke [wal ki-pia kuči tomawak] ma tih-ti-h-k^{W}a-kan
well it:is that who it-has pig fat EXHRT RDP-we-it-eat-EXHRT:PL
'Well, it's like he who has a fat pig (says), "Let's gobble it up".'

ti-k-lašpani-li-lo-aya [wal k-ahsi-aya]
we-him-sweep-APPLIC-PL-PAST who it-get-PAST
'We swept it for him who got it.'

[wal t-ič-ili-k] pa ni-k-namaka-ski-aya in tinešli
that you-me-say-PERF that I-it-sell-FUT-PAST the ashes

in ni-ya-k ni-k-namaka-k
this I-go-PERF I-it-sell-PERF
'That which you told me, that I should sell the ashes, (well), I went and sold them.'

al kabo amwanten an-ki-mati [aki wal ki-mati ki-čia kali]
in end you:all you:PL-it-know one who it-know it-make house

mo-čih-čiwi-li-a i-čan k^{W}altičin wan de
REFL-RDP-make-APPLIC-PRES his-home nice and of

amo panu-s al wan amo la-išika-s
NEG pass-FUT water and NEG UNSPEC:OBJ-leak-FUT
'After all's said and done you all know that anyone who knows how to build a house makes his home nice for himself and so that the water will not pass through and the house will leak.'

wan k-ita-s [len ni-ya-s ni-k-maka-s]
and it-see-FUT what I-go-FUT I-him-give-FUT
'And he'll see what I'll be going to give to him.'

Here are some examples of the 'ever' construction, rendered by a relative pronoun (aki, len, or kalia 'which') followed by the future of ye 'be':

[aki ye-s ki-k^{W}a-k] miki-k
who be-FUT it-eat-PERF die-PERF
'Whoever ate it died.'

ki-laši-li-k [kalia ye-s pelo kalaki-k]
it-throw-APPLIC-PERF which be-FUT dog enter-PERF
'He threw it at whichever dog entered.'

ki-mayawi-a i-pan [aki ye-s panu-a i-cindan]
it-drop-PRES his-on who be-FUT pass-PRES his-beneath
'He drops it on whoever passes beneath him.'

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

'When' clauses seem to be of two varieties, those that are introduced by the Spanish loan cuando and those juxtaposed to the main clause. One or two speakers of of this dialect have said that the native word kiman 'when' is also used to introduce 'when' clauses, but there are no texts in which it does occur as relator, nor have I heard it used in this way. Its use seems to be confined almost exclusively to questions.

[k^{W}ando ya čikawa] ya puni semiya
when already harden then burst seed
'When it hardens, the seed bursts.'

[ti-lami-he ti-h-kiš-ti-he] ya ti-k-lali-he in
we-finish-PERF:PL we-it-go:out-CAUS-PERF:PL now we-it-put-PERF:PL the

kopra pan kostal-es
copra in bag-PL
'When we finish taking it out, then we put the copra in bags.'

Usually these clauses appear first in a sentence, but they may succeed the main clause.

de pronto in mo-maš-ti-ni-hmes k-ihtu-he a ke bweno
of quickly the REFL-know-CAUS-NR-PL it-say-PERF:PL how good

kiah-ti-ka [k^{W}ando han ahnaškan tuyawi-k miak al]
rain-CONN-be when just now spill-PERF much water
'Quickly the pupils said, "Ah, how nice, it's raining," when suddenly much water poured in.'

A 'when' relative clause may follow another initial subordinate clause.

para yohe amo ti-mo-enfadaru-si [k^{W}ando ya lami-s
for thus NEG we-REFL-be:lonely-FUT:PL when now finish-FUT

he to-kni kristiano] diario ti-k-maka-si kompañia
a our-sibling human daily we-him-give-FUT:PL company
'So in order that we may not get lonely when one of our fellows dies, we keep him company daily.'

'Where' clauses usually follow the main clause, introduced by kapa 'where', kapik 'to where', and ka kapik 'to where' also. They also may appear within the main clause. There is generally no change in syntax or anything to distinguish them from the main clause, save the introductory relational words mentioned.

ya wala-k [kapa ki-kawa-he in difuntos]
now come-PERF where it-leave-PERF:PL the dead:ones
'Now he came to where the dead ones left it.'

pero ti-ya-s pa ok se amo [kapa ti-ya-k ašan]
but you-go-FUT to yet one NEG where you-go-PERF today
'...but you will go to another (place) not where you went today.'

If the relative 'where' clause precedes the main clause, a definite locational word precedes the relator locational.

ya umpa [kapa k^{W}ah-k^{W}awi-k] umpa ki-čičinu-k
now there where RDP-wood-PERF there it-burn-PERF
'Now there where he gathered wood, he burned it there.'

If the verb in a 'where' clause is be, it may be omitted.

wan ok se tonali u-ya-k pašalu-k [kapa i-čan in lakal]
and yet one day PERF-go-PERF visit-PERF where his-home the man
'And the next day she went to visit where the man's home (was).'

An adverbial clause can be embedded in another adverbial clause; it can also function as prepositional object.

wan ya [k^{W}ando u-ya-he de [kapik wala-he]]
and now when PERF-go-PERF:PL from to:where come-PERF:PL
'And now when they went from where they had come to... .'

The meaning of kapik 'to where' is differentiated from kapa 'where' in that the former bespeaks a changing location.

in mwačito nohe umpa ki-toka-ti-ya-k atrás
the boy also there him-follow-CONN-go-PERF behind
[kapik yawi-lo-aya in sekin]
where go-PL-PAST the others
'The boy went following behind there where the others were going.'

Conditional Clauses

In most cases, 'if' clauses precede the main clause. Like all other clauses, there is nothing peculiar to them except the use of 'if', even though they might follow the main clause. Some speakers say da, others say nda, and sometimes the younger ones, especially, combine the Spanish loan si and append it to the native word, thus making the form sinda, all meaning 'if'.

[da ki-neki] ki-čia ha palawito o ki-lai-li-a i-kišlan
if it-want it-make just slightly:wide or it-put-APPLIC-PRES its-neck
'If he wants to, he makes it just a little wide, or he puts a neck on it.'

ašan š-ič-ili [da newal amo ni-k-pia derečo in mákina]
now IMP-me-say if I NEG I-it-have right this machine
'Now tell me if I did not have the right to this machine.' (Meaning: 'I surely have the right to this machine.')

The verb and da 'if' may be discontiguous.

wan [da wahcinko amo ti-lakisa] ni-mic-mik-ti-a
and if tomorrow NEG you-finish I-you-die-CAUS-PRES
'And if you're not finished by tomorrow, I'll kill you.'

There may be several 'if' clauses in succession; the first two in this next example function as embedded yes/no questions.

wan a ber [da ni-ya ni-k-segirui-li-a] [da nič-ahsi
and to see if I-go I-it-continue-APPLIC-PRES if me-arrive

tiempo] wan [sinda no] ya umpa ni-h-kawa
time and if not now there I-it-leave
'And we'll see if I'm going to continue, if I have time, and if not, I'll leave it at that.'

The particle da may be used to reinforce a positive statement, or, in combination with the negative amo to which it is fused into one, damo, it reinforces the negative statement.

yewanten k-ihtu-a pampa ka-t-aya se león pero damo
they it-say-PRES that be-(?)-PAST a lion but not:really

ka-t-aya león san ka-t-aya in koneho larahero
be-(?)-PAST lion just be-(?)-PAST the rabbit orange:picker
'They thought that it was a lion, but really it wasn't a lion; it was only the orange-picking rabbit.' (Cf. section on modals.)

'Because' clauses are introduced by pampa 'because' without pronominal inflections (see section on Conjunctions/Adverbs under PARTICLES for its use with pronominal inflection). But since pampa serves also as a subordinator meaning 'that', many speakers use the Spanish loan porque 'because' to assure the distinction between the two senses.

leka siah-ti-ka no-kote [pampa ni-yewa-ta-t-aya nikan]
why tire-CONN-be my-lower:backbone because I-sit-CONN:be-(?)-PAST here
'Why is my lower spine tiring? Because I was sitting here.'

pos ehsa-he ya lak^{W}alispan [pampa ki-maka-ta-t-aya
well wake-PERF:PL now noon because it-give-CONN:be-(?)-PAST

tonali]
sun
'Well, they awakened; noon it was already, because the sun was beating down.'

k-ita-k [pampa ye kimiči-hmes amo čoka-ta-ta-lo-aya]
it-see-PERF that three mouse-PL NEG weep-CONN:be-(?)-PL-PAST
'He saw that three mice were not crying.'

The combination da pampa 'if that' also occurs, rendering a subtlety of meaing that has to date proved elusive. There seems to be no difference in meaning on the surface than if da were used by itself.

[da pampa amo wil ti-k-nankili-lo ok se welta] yawi
if that NEG POT we-him-answer-PL yet one time go

tič-witeki in lamaštini ok se welta
us-beat the teacher yet one time
'If we are not able to answer him again, the teacher is going to beat us again.'

Other

'Until' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan hasta.

de umpa pewa-k k-ana-k in cocomahli [asta milini-k]
from there begin-PERF it-get-PERF the clothes until flame-PERF
'Then it began to get at the clothes until they burst into flame.'

A less frequent, but more native, way to render the meaning of 'until':

ki-k^{W}a-k išul ki-k^{W}a-k išul ya pačiwi-k
it-eat-PERF beans it-eat-PERF beans now be:full-PERF
'He ate beans until he was full.'

'While' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan mientras.

ki-lali-he pan se karsel [myentras yawi-lo-aya
it-put-PERF:PL in a jail while go-PL-PAST

mo-namik-ti-lo in prinsesa]
REFL-meet-CAUS-PL the princess
'They put him in jail while the princess (and the hero) were going to be married.'

Sometimes the loan word cuando renders the idea of 'while'.

...pa mo-ká-s čipák pa kamo tanto ti-kihya-si
so:that REFL-stay-FUT clean so:that NEG so:much we-sicken-FUT:PL

[k^{W}ando ti-la-k^{W}ah-ti-ya-si]
when we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-CONN-go-FUT:PL
'...so that it will stay clean so that we will not get sick so much when we go along eating it.'

'As' clauses are marked by kinami 'like/how'.

wan [kinami in siwal ka-t-aya pinah-k-ud-ota]
and as the woman be-(?)-PAST shame-PERF-ADJR-AUG:PEJ

len amo* umpek ki-kah-kawa-k pa k^{W}ahlan
what NEG to:there it-RDP-leave-PERF in woods

*The phrase len amo is used to introduce a clause stating something shocking, or exciting, or unexpected.

las-ti-ka pan se saka-tilan
toss-CONN-be on a weed-among
'And as the woman was very ashamed, why if she didn't go and leave it there in the woods tossed on a clump of weeds.'

'Although' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan phrase mas que.

yiwal amo cucukal [mas ke moštin k-ihtu-lo pampa kema]
he NEG stingy although all it-say-PL that yes
'He is not stingy although everybody thinks so.' (Reverse order of clauses permitted.)

'After' clauses rendered by después de que, although consultants have said they are permissible, are seemingly absent in ordinary texts, or if not absent, are exceedingly rare. The Spanish loan después is also used, but one is not certain whether one should consider that it really subordinates the clause or that it serves as a time word in one of two juxtaposed independent clauses, at least in the following examples:

ya [despwés newal nič-maka-he se libro] nič-ili-he
now after me me-give-PERF:PL a book me-say-PERF:PL

pos in ti-k-agwardaru-a ok se martes ti-ya ti-k-estudiaru-a
now this you-it-keep-PRES yet one Tuesday you-go you-it-study-PRES
'Now after they gave me a book, they said to me, "Now this you keep, you are going to study it next Tuesday".'

The above could be rendered by omitting después in the first clause and adding k^{W}akinon or k^{W}akín 'then' in the second.

ya newal nič-maka-he se libro k^{W}akín nič-ili-he...

'Before' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan antes de or de antes de.

sekin ya [de antes de lami] se mo-cak^{W}a i-lahtol
some now of before of finish one REFL-close his-voice
'Concerning some, before one dies, his talking stops.'

'Without' clauses are, not surprisingly, marked by Spanish sin que 'without that'.

duraru-a kasiones kinse dias [sin ke k-uni se tragito de al]
last-PRES sometimes 15 days without that it-drink a swallow of water
'One lasts sometimes a fortnight without drinking one swallow of water.'

'In order to' clauses are marked by the Spanish loan para, more often shortened to pa 'in order to', and, unlike the subordinate clauses dealt with above, clauses of this type are of much more frequent occurrence. The tense employed in the subordinated clause depends on whether the action is viewed as completed or happening simultaneously or during the same stretch of time as the action in the main clause; or whether the action is viewed as incomplete or possibly taking place at some near or remote future time with respect to the time referred to in the main clause. In the former case,

the tense employed in the subordinate clause is the same as that of the main clause. In the latter, the tense is future for the subordinate clause when the main clause is in the present or future tenses or even past or perfect tense, although some speakers say that for past or perfect tenses in the main clause, the future past or conditional tense is the tense that should be used in the subordinate clause.

If the subordinate clause is negated, the negative particle generally follows immediately after the subordinating marker pa and appears as the particle kamo 'not', following the morphophonemic rule mentioned in the phonology section of this paper.

ya umpa ti-mo-kiš-ti-li-he nadita sentabito
now there we-REFL-go:out-CAUS-APPLIC-PERF:PL a:little cents

[pa ti-mo-palewi-he pa to-k^{w}ento kapa
so:that we-REFL-help-PERF:PL for our-account where

ti-ki-wiki-lih-ti-ka-te]
we-him-owe-APPLIC-CONN-be-PL
'So then we earned a little pin money in order to help us in our account where we are owing.'

ni-mic-maka k^{w}arenta sentabos [pa ti-ya-s
I-you-give forty cents so:that you-go-FUT

ti-k-šini-s pa i-tenko saka-tilan]
you-it-sprinkle-FUT at its-edge weed-among
'I'll give you forty centavos for you to go sprinkle it at the edge of the weeds.'

ki-maka-ya [pa kamo mo-mahti-ski-aya]
him-give-PAST so:that NEG REFL-fear-FUT-PAST
'He made him so that he would not be afraid.'

ya ki-pia la-yamani-li [pa ki-pan-ti-a]
now it-have UNSPEC:OBJ-soften-NR so:that it-build:on-CAUS-PRES
'Now she has it softened so that she might shape it.'

de pa yina [pa ti-mo-čiwi-li-ni-hme to-k^{w}i]
from long:ago so:that we-REFL-make-APPLIC-REM:PAST-PL our-dress

ti-k-ana-ni-hme in ikpal
we-it-get-REM:PAST-PL the thread
'In the old days, in order that we make our dresses, we used to get thread.'

TEXTS

Hunting Chacalacas for my Parents

ni-kin-temu-a čačalaka-hmes pa no-tah-ci-ci-an
I-them-hunt-PRES woodgrouse-PL for my-parent-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL

1. I used to like to snare the woodgrouses,
newal ni-k-iš-toka-ni ni-kin-kicki-s in čačalaka-hmes
I I-it-face-follow-REM:PAST I-them-catch-FUT the woodgrouse-PL
like

and if I came with a woodgrouse arriving where
wan da ni-wal-aya ka čačalaka ya ni-ahsi-aya kapa
and if I-come-PAST with woodgrouse now I-arrive-PAST where

my mother was, my mother would like to eat it,
no-nan-cin no-nan-cin k-iš-toka-ya pa ki-k^{W}a-ski-aya
my-mother-HON my-mother-HON it-like-PAST to it-eat-FUT-PAST

and my father too (would like to).
wan no-tah-cin
and my-father-HON

2. So then, one time I went to lay a snare.
ya k^{W}akinon se welta ni-ya-k pa ni-k-lali-ski-aya se laso
now then one time I-go-PERF to I-it-lay-FUT-PAST a lasso

3. When I climbed the tree and when I was
k^{W}ando ni-lehku-k in mata de anunas k^{W}ando nepa ni-ka-t-aya
when I-climb-PERF the tree of anonas when there I-be-(?)-PAST

up high there, if that branch didn't break and
punta len amo postek-ti-ya-k in rama de in anunas wan
above what NEG break-CONN-go-PERF the branch of the anonas and

I came to the ground myself with the branch;
len amo ni-wala-k pan lali ka entero in rama
what NEG I-come-PERF on ground with entirely the branch

we fell onto the ground!
ti-weci-he pan lali
we-fall-PERF:PL on ground

4. And since fortunately there were thick weeds, I fell into them.
wan hortuna ka-t-aya miak saka-tilan ni-weci-k pin saka-tilan
and fortunately be-(?)-PAST much weed-among I-fall-PERF in weed-among
since

5. I did not hurt myself, as I fell protected/padded (by the weeds).
amo ni-mo-koko-lti-k kinami ni-weci-k
NEG I-REFL-hurt-CAUS-PERF as I-fall-PERF

la-pi-piš-ti-li
UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-have-CAUS-NR

6. I didn't bang myself, but I did knock the wind out of me just a little.
amo ni-mo-golpearu-k pero ni-mo-yol-cak^{W}a-k nadita san
NEG I-REFL-hit-PERF but I-REFL-insides-shut-PERF little just

7. And I quickly got up and ran home;
wan ni-mo-kes-ti-kisa-k ni-mo-lalu-k pa no-čan
and I-REFL-rise-CONN-hurry-PERF I-REFL-run-PERF to my-home

I reached home, and I told my mother.
wan ni-ahsi-k ni-k-ili-k no-nan-cin
and I-arrive-PERF I-her-tell-PERF my-mother-HON

8. And as my mother must have been mad,
wan kinami no-nan-cin ye-s k^{W}alan-ta-t-aya
and as my-mother-HON be-FUT be:angry-CONN:be-(?)-PAST

she grabbed a rope and said to me, "And you,
k-an-ti-kisa-k se meka-l nič-ili-k wan tewal
it-grab-CONN-hurry-PERF a rope-ABS me-say-PERF and you

boy, why do you go on falling among the trees like that?
mwačito leka yohe ti-wes-ti-nemi pin in k^{W}awi-mes
boy why thus you-fall-CONN-walk in the tree-PL

9. So that you take care another time not
pa ti-k-pia-s k^{W}idado ok se welta pa kamo
so you-it-have-FUT care yet one time that NEG

to go about climbing...". ...pow! pow! pow!...she gave me just
ti-lehkuh-ti-nemi-s pau pau pau nič-maka-k san
you-climb-CONN-walk-FUT me-give-PERF just

three whacks and said to me, "You go climbing
ye baraso-s wan nič-ili-k ši-ya ši-lehku ok se welta in
three blow-PL and me-say-PERF IMP-go IMP-climb yet one time the

trees again, and you'll see I shan't scold;
k^{W}awi-mes wan ti-k-ita-s newal amo ni-mic-ili-a ka regañada
tree-PL and you-it-see-FUT I NEG I-you-say-PRES with scolding

I'll deal with you just this way lest you suddenly kill yourself!
ni-mic-ili-a san yohe amo sangá ti-mo-mik-ti-ti-kisa-s
I-you-say-PRES just thus NEG just you-REFL-die-CAUS-CONN-hurry-FUT
might
lest

10. But you, now, d'you not hear for sure? I'll beat you more so
pero tewal da amo t-ič-kaki-s ni-mic-witeki-s mas pa
but you if NEG you-me-hear-FUT I-you-beat-FUT more so

you'll hear!"
t-ič-kaki-s
you-me-hear-FUT

11. "I for sure will never climb trees again!.
wan newal amo ni-mo-k^{W}epa ni-lehku-a in k^{W}awi-mes
and I NEG I-REFL-return I-climb-PRES the tree-PL

12. Let me tell you, Mom, I was trying
ma ni-mic-ili-a nana newal ni-k-čih-ti-nemi-aya luča
EXHRT I-you-say-PRES* Mother I I-it-do-CONN-walk-PAST struggle

to get a woodgrouse for us to eat, but you
pa ti-h-k^{W}a-lo-ski-aya čačalaka pero tewal
so we-it-eat-PL-FUT-PAST woodgrouse but you

got mad... ."
ti-kisa-k ti-k^{W}alani-k
you-turn:out-PERF you-get:mad-PERF

13. "Hush up, or I'll whack you another three times!"
amo ši-nawa-ti porke amo hangá ni-mic-má-s ok sekin ye
NEG IMP-word-CAUS because lest I-you-give-FUT yet some three

14. And I said to her, "Mom, if you want to, beat yourself
wan newal ni-k-ili-k nana da ti-k-neki ši-mo-witeki
and I I-her-say-PERF Mother if you-it-want IMP-REFL-beat

on your foot!"
pa mo-kšian
on your-foot

15. "What did you say?"
len ti-k-ihtu-a
what you-it-say-PRES

*Here the PRES is used for politeness.

16. When I saw her get the stick, I ran
k^{W}ando ni-k-ita-k k-ana-k se bara ni-mo-lalu-k
when I-her-see-PERF it-grab-PERF a stick I-REFL-run-PERF

to an open space so that my mother wouldn't reach me.
pa lahkoti-yan pa kamo nič-ahsi-ski-aya no-nan-cin
to open-place so:that NEG me-reach-FUT-PAST my-mother-HON

17. I no more knew at that time how I would calm my mother,
yahmo ni-k-mati-ni kinami ni-k-lakawa-lti-s no-nan-cin
no:more I-it-know-REM:PAST how I-her-leave-CAUS-FUT my-mother-HON

and I kept thinking about how I would go about it.
newal ni-mo-kaw-aya ni-k-pensaruh-ti-ka kinami ni-ya-s
I I-REFL-leave-PAST I-it-think-CONN-be how I-go-FUT

18. "I'm going to go kill a dove or a mourning dove of some kind."
ma ni-ya ni-k-mik-ti len wilotita o len koko-cito
EXHRT I-go I-it-die-CAUS some dove or some mourning:dove-DIM

19. And so I went at that time into a clump of weeds with many stones
wan ya ni-yawi-ni pin bulto de saka-l ka miak tišk a-li
and now I-go-REM:PAST in clump of weed-ABS with many stone-ABS

where I saw at that time a mourning dove; I pursued it until
kapa ni-k-ita-ni se koko-cin ni-k-toka-ya asta
where I-it-see-REM:PAST a mourning:dove-DIM I-it-follow-PAST until

I killed it.
ni-k-mik-ti-aya
I-it-die-CAUS-PAST

20. "And now with this I'm going to calm down my mother."
wan ya ka inon ni-k-lakawa-lti-ti-ya no-nan-cin
and now with this I-her-leave-CAUS-CONN-go my-mother-HON

21. So when I arrived I asked her not to beat me;
ya k^{W}ando ni-ahsi-aya ni-k-ili-aya pa kamo nič-witeki-ski-aya
now when I-arrive-PAST I-her-say-PAST that NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST

I told my mother, "Mom, here I brought a dead mourning dove
ni-k-ili-aya no-nan-cin nana nikan ni-k-walika se koko-cin
I-her-say-PAST my-mother-HON Mother here I-it-bring a mourning-DIM dove

for us to eat."
pa ti-h-k^{W}a-si
that we-it-eat-FUT:PL

22. And she answered me, "My son, where did you get
wan yiwal niš-nankili-aya no-šolo-l kapa ti-k-ana-k
and she me-answer-PAST my-son-ABS where you-it-get-PERF

the little mourning dove?"
in koko-cito
the mourning:dove-DIM

23. "I killed it there."
nepa ni-k-mik-ti-k
there I-it-die-CAUS-PERF

24. "And why do you go about killing animals?"
wan leka ti-k-mik-ti-ti-nemi in animal-ito-s
and why you-it-die-CAUS-CONN-walk the animal-DIM-PL

25. And I answered her, "Why, so that we may eat it, Mom."
wan newal ni-k-nankili-k pos pa ti-h-k^{w}a-si nana
and I I-her-answer-PERF why so:that we-it-eat-FUT Mother

26. "Now then, I'm going to roast it."
orita pwes ni-ya ni-k-waca
now then I-go I-it-roast

27. In this way I dealt with her so that she would not beat me
in yohe ni-k-čiwi-li-k han pa kamo nič-witeki-ski-aya
this thus I-her-do-APPLIC-PERF just so NEG me-beat-FUT-PAST

and so that I might go on appeasing my mother.
pa ni-segiru-ski-aya ni-k-awi-lti no-nan-cin
so:that I-keep-FUT-PAST I-her-play-CAUS my-mother-HON

The Coyote and the Rabbit

in kuyo-l wan in koneho
the coyote-ABS and the rabbit

1. There was a big coyote, and one day when he was very hungry, he
ka-t-aya kil se kuyo-l we wan se tona-li k^{W}ando
be-(t)-PAST QUOT a coyote-ABS big and one day-ABS when

was chasing a rabbit in a field.
mayan-ta-t-aya niman miak ki-toh-tok-aya kil se
be:hungry-CONN:be-(?)-PAST very much him-RDP-follow-PAST QUOT a

koneho pan se k^{W}ahmili
rabbit in a field

2. The rabbit was very frightened, but he knew he could not
mo-mah-ti-aya miak in koneho pero ki-mati-aya pampa yahmo
REFL-fear-CAUS-PAST much the rabbit but it-know-PAST that no:more

keep running very long because he was old
wil segiru-aya mo-laluh-ti-ya miak tiempo pampa ya bieho
could keep-PAST REFL-run-CONN-go much time because now old

and his legs were tired.
yiwal wan siawi-lo-aya i-kšiwa-hmes
he and tire-PL-PAST his-feet-PL

3. So suddenly the rabbit stopped
yohe pwes mo-kes-ti-kisa-k in koneho mo-malina-k
so then REFL-stand-CONN-hurry-PERF the rabbit REFL-turn-PERF

and faced the coyote.
wan k-iš-namiki-k ka in kuyo-l
and him-face-meet-PERF with the coyote-ABS

4. "Stop!" he said.
ši-mo-keca kil k-ili-k
IMP-REFL-stand QUOT him-say-PERF

5. "Why are you chasing me?
leka t-ič-toh-toka-ti-ka
why you-me-RDP-follow-CONN-be

6. Are you going to eat me?"
ti-ya t-ič-k^{W}a newal
you-go you-me-eat me

7. "Yes," said the coyote.
ho kema k-ili-k in kuyo-l
yes him-say-PERF the coyote-ABS

8. "I am going to eat you."
ni-ya ni-mic-k^{W}a
I-go I-you-eat

9. "Do not eat me," answered the rabbit, "because if
amo š-ič-k^{W}a ki-nankili-k in koneho pampa da
NEG IMP-me-eat him-answer-PERF the rabbit because if

you eat me you will die.
t-ič-k^{W}a-s pos ti-miki-s
you-me-eat-FUT then you-die-FUT

10. You think I am a rabbit, but I am not.
ti-k-ihtu-a pampa newal ni-koneho pero damo ni-koneho
you-it-say-PRES that I I-rabbit but not:really I-rabbit

I am really a rattlesnake, and when you eat me you will die
newal ni-akač-kuwa-l wan k^{W}ando t-ič-k^{W}a-s ti-miki-s
I I-rattle-snake-ABS and when you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT

from my poison."
por i-pampa no-pahli
by its-cause my-poison

11. "What should I eat then?" asked the coyote.
pos len unka pa ni-h-k^{W}a-s ki-łah-łani-k in kuyo-l
then what is:there for I-it-eat-FUT him-RDP-ask-PERF the coyote-ABS

12. "Eat these zapotes that I picked.
ši-kin-k^{W}a in capo-mes wal ni-kim-peh-pena-k
IMP-them-eat these zapote-PL that I-them-RDP-pick-PERF

13. I was carrying them with me in this basket to my house to
ni-kin-man-ti-yawi-aya newal pin in čikiwi-l pa no-čan pa
I-them-carry-CONN-go-PAST I in this basket-ABS to my-home so:that

eat when you started chasing me."
ni-kin-k^{W}a-s k^{W}ando ti-pewa-k t-ič-toh-toka-k
I-them-eat-FUT when you-start-PERF you-me-RDP-follow-PERF

14. "Rabbits eat zapotes," said the
pos in koneho-s yewanten kin-k^{W}a-lo capo-mes k-ili-k in
now the rabbit-PL they them-eat-PL zapote-PL him-say-PERF the

coyote, "but zapotes are never eaten by rattlesnakes,
kuyo-l pero amo kiman kin-k^{W}a-lo capo-mes in akač-kuwa-mes
coyote-ABS but NEG when them-eat-PL zapote-PL the rattle-snake-PL
never

so you must be a rabbit despite what you say.
yohe pwes tel ti-ye-s koneho mas ke ti-k-ihtu-a pampa no
thus then you you-be-FUT rabbit more that you-it-say-PRES that not
therefore although not

15. You may fool yourself, but you cannot fool me.
k^{W}ahnesi ti-mo-k^{W}ah-k^{W}amana pero newal amo wil t-ič-k^{W}ah-k^{W}amana
perhaps you-REFL-RDP-deceive but I NEG can you-me-RDP-deceive

16. It is good that you are a rabbit.
unka k^{W}ali tewal ti-koneho
it:is good you you-rabbit

17. Rabbits can be eaten, but I do not like
in koneho-s wil kin-k^{W}a se pero amo ni-k-iš-toka
the rabbit-PL can them-eat one but NEG I-it-face-follow
like

to eat rattlesnakes."
ni-kin-k^{W}a akač-kuwa-mes
I-them-eat rattle-snake-PL

18. So the coyote ate the rabbit who had tried
pos in kuyo-l ki-k^{W}a-k in koneho wal ki-čia-k in luča
so the coyote-ABS him-eat-PERF the rabbit who it-do-PERF the battle
tried

to fool him.
de ki-k^{W}ah-k^{W}amana-s
of him-RDP-deceive-FUT

19. He also ate the zapotes that were in
kin-k^{W}a-k nohe in capo-mes wal ka-ta-lo-aya pin
them-eat-PERF also the zapote-PL that be-(?)-PL-PAST in

the rabbit's basket.
i-čikiwi-l in koneho
his-basket-ABS the rabbit

20. Having eaten the rabbit's zapotes, the coyote soon
lami-k kin-k^{W}a-k i-capo-mes in koneho al ratito
finish-PERF them-eat-PERF his-zapote-PL the rabbit to short:time

died, while sitting
miki-k in kuyo-l k^{W}ando mo-lali-h-ta-ta-ya
die-PERF the coyote-ABS when REFL-sit-(h)-CONN:be-(?)-PAST

under a tree.
i-cin-dan se k^{W}awi-l
its-bottom-place a tree-ABS

21. The zapotes were poisonous, so the coyote died.
ki-pia-lo-aya pah-li in capo-mes pampín miki-k
it-have-PL-PAST poison-ABS the zapote-PL because:of:this die-PERF

in kuyo-l
the coyote-ABS

22. That's the end.
ha in san
just this only