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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

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Abbreviations

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

P	postposition	TRNS	transitive
PEJ	pejorative	TRNSR	transitivizer
PERF	perfect(ive)	UNSPEC	unspecified
PHR	phrase	V	verb, vowel
PL	plural	VIS	visible
PN	proper name	VR	verbalizer
PNCT	punctual	WH	'who', 'where', 'when', etc.
PNP	possessed noun phrase	WHQ	WH question
POS	positive	WHW	WH word
POSSD	possessed	YNQ	yes/no question
POSSR	possessor	1P	first person
POT	potentive, potential	2P	second person
PRED	predicate	3P	third person
PRES	present	-	morpheme boundary
PROG	progressive	=	clitic boundary
PRON	pronoun	#	word boundary
PROX	proximal	[clause boundary (initial)
PRSNTV	presentative]	clause boundary (final)
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		

TETELCINGO NAHUATL

David H. Tuggy

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INTRODUCTION

Tetelcingo Nahuatl is spoken in the town of Tetelcingo and its two colonies, Cuauhtémoc and Lázaro Cárdenas, in the municipality of Cuautla, Morelos, Mexico, about fifty miles southeast of Mexico City. There may be as many as 3,000 speakers. There are very few monolinguals left; many speakers are more proficient in Spanish than Aztec.

Tetelcingo Nahuatl differs from neighboring Aztec dialects in having converted the old vowel length distinction into a distinction of tenseness or phonetic placement, and in its elaborate honorific system. The speakers call their language *mošiewatl*, which doubtless derives from the classical word *maaseewalli*, which meant *plebeian* or *vassal*.

Previous study of Tetelcingo Aztec was done by Richard S. Pittman and Forrest and Jean Brewer, all of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The author of this sketch has been studying Tetelcingo Aztec (between interruptions) for five years.

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Pittman and the Brewers for their personal help and encouragement and for the materials they provided for me to work with. Especially helpful in preparing the present work have been the Brewers' *Vocabulario Mexicano de Tetelcingo* and a concordance of texts collected by them which was produced at the Oklahoma University Computing Center in May 1969. I am also indebted to many inhabitants of Tetelcingo who have taken time to teach me their language, especially Don Martín Méndez Huaxcuatitla, Don José Catonga, and my close friend Trinidad Ramírez, who has spent months with me trying to figure out the best ways to express different concepts in Aztec. Also I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my wife Joy, without whose love, encouragement, help, and cooking I would not have progressed as far as I have in the study of Tetelcingo Aztec, and to my Master, Jesus Christ, without whose motivation I would probably never have begun it.

All the errors, omissions, inaccuracies, overstatements, understatements, oversights, misleading comments, over-hasty generalizations, incorrect analyses, etc. which this sketch doubtless contains are solely my own fault.

I have used the abbreviations (P-G) and (P-NH) for reference respectively to Pittman's *Grammar* and his article *Nahuatl Honorifics* in the few instances where I have cited them.

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PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tl	c	č	k	k ^w	i	u	ɪ	o
			s	š			ie	ɔ	e	a
		l		r			<u>Tense</u>	<u>Lax</u>		
m	n						The tense-lax distinction corresponds to a historical long-short contrast.			
w				y		h				

Spanish Loan Phonemes

b d g
f
r

Phonetic Values of Phonemes

tl is completely voiceless.

r is a flap as in Spanish—it occurs predominantly in Spanish words.

t, d, and n are pronounced as in Spanish.

n is velar before velars and m. It is bilabial before p and b or β (w).

l is voiceless syllable final. For some speakers this does not hold true, especially in Spanish loans.

w is labial (β) before front vowels (alternating with b initially); it is voiceless following voiceless consonants (including l), and devoiced and delabialized (to h) preconsonantly.

ie is a diphthong indistinguishable phonetically from ye. In general I have written ye word initially and ie internally. However, ye and ie contrast in a few words, such as wal-yewa-ta-ya (hither-seated-DUR-IMPRF) *He was coming seated*, where l is voiceless, and tla-paliewt-a (UNSPEC:OBJ-help-PRES) *He helps*, where the l is voiced.

ɔ is also a diphthong, pronounced something like o^{a>}. In several contexts (e.g., word finally) it tends to neutralize with o; in other contexts (e.g., unstressed after labials) a tends to neutralize with it.

o is somewhat higher than Spanish o. In some contexts it approaches u.

ɪ and e tend to neutralize in certain contexts (e.g., before y); ɪ and i in other contexts (e.g., word finally).

ɪ is pronounced yɪ in stressed initial position; e is ye in initial position.

Stress

Stress is penultimate. The very rare exceptions are marked with an accent (').

Major Phonological Processes

V → ∅ stem-final in PERF verbs
and other constructions
calling for the PERF
(truncated) stem.

ki-matɪ knows it
it-know

o-ki-mat knew it
PAST-it-know
PERF

V → [+tns] in certain morphemes (mostly stems) before certain suffixes.

ni-ya I go.
I-go

ni-yɔ-s I will go.
I-go-FUT

tla-k^Wa-lo He HON eats,
UNSPEC-eat-HON
OBJ

tla-k^Wa-lu-ta-ya He HON was eating
UNSPEC-eat-HON-DUR-IMPRF
OBJ

V → ∅ / _ V with certain systematic exceptions.

[-str]

mo-polowa becomes lost
REFL-lose

m-iš-polowa becomes lost (to
REFL-eye-lose sight)

$\emptyset \rightarrow \epsilon / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\} C _ + C \\ C _ + C \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

with a few positive exceptions in some people's
speech.

ni-k-neki I want it.
I-it-want

ki-neki wants it
it-want

nen-k-asɪ You PL reach it.
you-it-reach
PL

nen-ki-neki You PL want it.
you-it-want
PL

k^Waw-ɬl tree
tree-ABS

k^Wah-me trees
tree-PL

ɛ → o in SUBJ prefixes (including IMP šɛ-) in some cases where the following vowel is o.
In some cases this rule is optional.

ni-k-wika I take it.
I-it-carry

no-k-om-wika I carry it away.
I-it-hence-carry

ti-mo-wika You HON go.
you-REFL-carry
HON

to-mo-wika You HON go.
you-REFL-carry
HON

$$y \rightarrow \text{ʒ} / - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [-\text{vd}] \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

tla-čiya *looks around, wakes up*
 UNSPEC-await
 OBJ

on-tla-čiš *woke up*
 PAST-UNSPEC-await
 (?) OBJ PERF

kı-čiš-tka *is awaiting it*
 it-await-PRES
 PROG

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / -\#$$

[+nas]

čon-tli *home, dwelling*
 home-ABS

no-čɔ *my home*
 my-home

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{w} \\ \text{h} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / -\#$$

kı-čiwa *does it*
 it-do

o-kı-či *He did it.*
 PAST-it-do
 PERF

p → k syllable final.

mo-k^wepa *turns around*
 REFL-turn

o-mo-k^wek *He turned around.*
 PAST-REFL-turn
 PERF

mo-k^wek-tka *is turning around*
 REFL-turn-PRES
 PROG

C → h before a homorganic consonant.

[+obs]

muc-maka *hits you*
 you-hit

muh-čiwt-lt-a *does it to you*
 you-do-APPLIC-PRES

o-kı-mat *found it out*
 PAST-it-know
 PERF

kı-mah-ta-ya *was aware of it*
 it-know-DUR-IMPRF

mo-k^wepa *turns around*
 REFL-turn

o-mo-k^weh-kı *They turned around.*
 PAST-REFL-turn-PL (see previous
 PERF rule)

Insofar as there are necessary orderings among these rules, they are reflected in the order given. Some of the rules mentioned in the description of phonetic values of the phonemes may precede some of these rules.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Order of major constituents is relatively fixed, in that changes in order usually signal emphasis or topicalization. The most neutral order seems to be as follows:

SUBJ (ADV) V (ADV) OBJ (ADV, P-PHR)

Introducers, time phrases, or any ADV phrases referring to material in previous sentence normally precede SUBJ.

Intransitive sentences often have the order V SUBJ. Quotative sentences also often have this order, probably as a stylistic variation. When the subject is a pronoun, it is normally there only to reflect some sort of emphasis or topicalization, so pronoun subjects do not follow the verb, except occasionally in quotative sentences.

Topicalization

Topicalization or emphasis is usually signalled by putting the emphasized or topicalized element first in the sentence, even if this gives an abnormal word order.

nočt i-tlankoč-wa o-kin-tepiewt-lt *He knocked out all his teeth.*
all his-tooth-POSSD PAST-them-scatter-APPLIC
 PL

naha komo ok n-cí-cíkt-ci nieč-kowa-lu-tiewa
I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM me-leave-HON-leave
Since I was still little, she would go and leave me.

ka meyak k^{werorɔ} o-kt-tlapɔ powielta *Very carefully he opened*
with much care PAST-it-open door the door.
 PERF

Particularly the topicalization is clear when the emphasized element precedes a question word.

taha tli-ka tɪ-k-maka-k *As for you, why did you hit him?*
you what-with you-him-hit-PERF
 why

yaha tli-ka tɪ-k-maka-k taha *Why did you hit him?*
he why you-him-hit-PERF you

The presence of a pronominal SUBJ or OBJ is redundant, since these are already marked pronominally on the verb. So their retention usually signals topicalization or emphasis of some sort. Occasionally, however, their function seems to be disambiguation of homophonous or nearly homophonous verb forms. (See the following section on Pronoun Copies.)

Topicalization is often signalled by vocal emphasis without any change in word order.

Pronoun Copies

Pronoun affixes agreeing in person and number with the subject and object of a clause must be copied onto the verb.* Thus, any time a noun is used to identify the subject or object, it is also represented pronominally in the verb.

sen-te tloka-tl (Ø)-ki-piya-ya sen-te puro *A man had a*
one-NUM man-ABS he-it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro donkey.

št-k-maka i-saka puro *Give the donkey his fodder.*
IMP-him-give his-fodder burro

Even when a noun is not needed to identify the subject or object, a free pronoun may take its place in certain situations. This mechanism is especially useful for topicalization or emphasis, but also has other uses. Sometimes it is used to disambiguate potentially ambiguous or nearly ambiguous verb constructions.

tehwa ti-k-neki *We want it.* taha ti-k-neki *You want it.*
we we-it-want you you-it-want

taha to-mo-kal-teč-ow-a *You move over.*
you you-REFL-house-next-VR-PRES
to

tehwa-ci to-mo-kal-teč-dwi-a *You HON move it over.*
you-HON you-HON-house-next-APPLIC-PRES
HON to

Sometimes a free pronoun serves to distinguish a true reflexive sense (SUBJ-OBJ) from a middle sense (SUBJ-IOBJ) or a passive sense.

yehwa-ci ne-maka-lu-k yehwa-ci mismo
he-HON REFL-give-HON-PERF he-HON same
HON HON HON

He HON gave himself. (not gave something for himself)

*There are some exceptions to this: e.g., the verb maka 'give' only marks the indirect object (see second example in this section), and ayt 'do something' has no object marked.

Sometimes it is used in a construction which specifies a reciprocal sense.

nemehwa	ne-mo-tlasohtla	entre	nemehwa	<i>You love each other.</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>you-REFL-love</i>	<i>among</i>	<i>you</i>	
PL	PL		PL	

A possessor pronoun is copied onto all possessed items and postpositions (with the frequent exceptions of *-pa at*, *-ka with*, and *-wa and, with*, and also excepting the cases where the P is affixed to a noun). This copying is done even when the possessor is overtly specified in the same phrase.

i-nomk	mali	<i>Mary's husband</i>
<i>her-husband</i>	PN	

yaha	in-u	no-waška	naha	<i>That's mine.</i>
<i>it</i>	DEM-DIST	<i>my-own</i>	<i>I</i>	

i-htek	no-kšl	<i>in my foot</i>
<i>its-inside</i>	<i>my-foot</i>	

A subject prefix is copied onto the head or the first constituent of a predicate noun or adjective construction. Sometimes it is copied onto both the head and its modifiers.

nemehwa	nen-ka-te	nen-k ^w ali	nen-tloka	<i>You are good men.</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>you-be-PL</i>	<i>you-good</i>	<i>you-men</i>	
PL	PL	PL	PL	

taha	ti-tlachki	laluwis	<i>You are very lazy.</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>you-lazy</i>	<i>very</i>	

taha	ti-k ^w ali	tloka-tl	<i>You are a good man.</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>you-good</i>	<i>man-ABS</i>	

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

This occurs in a structure resembling English dislocation.

in-u	tloka-tl	tli	o-k-hto	yaha	o-mo-pačo
DEM-DIST	man-ABS	that	PAST-it-say	he	PAST-REFL-bring near
<i>That man who said it, he approached.</i>					

Focus

Focus is often signalled by a strongly demonstrative construction such as *yaha in-u* (he DEM-DIST), with the focused element following the verb.

wa	o-ki-či	yaha	in-u	fransisko	<i>And it was Francisco who did it.</i>
<i>and</i>	<i>PAST-it-do</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>that</i>	PN	
	PERF	one			

Clefting also serves to indicate focus. This construction is likely a result of the influence of Spanish grammar.

o-yeyi sen-te lunes k^wɔk o-ti-ya-hki
 PAST-be one-NUM Monday when PAST-we-go-PERF
 IMPRF PL

It was Monday when we went.

o-yeyi yaha in-u pegro ɔki o-k-dito
 PAST-be he DEM-DIST PN who PAST-it-say
 IMPRF

It was Peter who said it.

Stylistic Apposition

Verbs of saying are sometimes placed in tandem before a quote, even when either one can introduce a quote by itself.

o-k-dito tie-k^wa-ni tli t-aš-tinemi
 PAST-it-say UNSPEC-eat-AG what you-be:busy-go:around
 H
 OBJ

"What are you doing?" said the mountain lion.

yul-kɔ-tl o-nɔwat tli-ka ti-nieč-k^wa-s
 live-NR-ABS PAST-reply what-with you-me-eat-FUT
 animal why

The animal replied, "Why are you going to eat me?"

ye-k^wɔk-in-u tloka-tl o-nɔwat o-k-dito k^wali
 already-when-DEM-DIST man-ABS PAST-reply PAST-it-say good
 then

Then the man replied and said, "Good."

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Introducers

wa	and	pero	but (Sp.)
(o) noso	or be it	(used to introduce one of a series of rhetorical questions)	
or or			
nuyhki	also	ɔʃɔ	now (often to signal a change in topic)
p ^{wes} , p(o)s	well, for (Sp.)	wieno p ^{wes}	well, then (Sp.)
		good	then
hki-u	thus (like that)	hki-yi	thus (like this)
be-DIST		be-PROX	
permanently			
así ((es de)ke)	so then (Sp.)	tos-tlo-hk-u	in that case
thus is of that		then-if-thus	
yaha i-ka	therefore, because of that	ka in-u	therefore (cf. Sp. por eso)
it its-with		with DEM-DIST	
por in-u	therefore		
by DEM-DIST			
de maneras ke	so then (Sp.)	intuneses, tu(n)ses, tos(es)	then (Sp.)
of manners that			
ye-k ^w ɔk-in-(uh)-u	then (after that, at that time)		
already-when-DEM-RDP-DIST			
i-pa in-u	tiempo at that time	sɔ-tie-pa	afterwards
its-at DEM-DIST time		just-UNSPEC-on	
		H	
		OBJ	

Adverbs

(See above for some adverbs which frequently introduce sentences.)

ye miero, ye mierito	in just a minute, almost (Sp. ya mero; ye already)
sa de repente	all of a sudden (Sp.)
sa sie trepiente	
just one suddenly	
weli-s	perhaps
possible-FUT	
a-wier-tlo	perhaps, I wonder if (Sp. a ver)
to-see-if	
ok	yet, still
turabea	still

Intensifiers

wel	very	(used preceding ADJ; negative amo wel is more common)
ka	very	(precedes ADJ or V)
ara ka, arga	very	(from <i>Sp. harto abundance?</i>)
asta	even	(<i>Sp.</i>)
laltwis	very much	(with ADJ or V; usually precedes, but may follow, especially if that will place it in final position)
tepuçi	a little bit	(with N, ADJ, or with V in temporal sense)
iş-	sort of, to look at, -ish	(with ADJ, from <i>iştelolo eye</i>)
sa	just	(with N, ADJ, ADV, or V)

Quotatives

ne-lı	they say	(disclaimer, used by some older speakers to introduce a direct quote)
UNSPEC-say		
REFL		
matı	evidently, I guess	
know		

Polarity

kiema	yes	(usually a complete utterance, occasionally used before a verb for emphatic affirmation)
amo	no, NEG	melɔwak true, truly
tiel	true	(less strong than melɔwak; often used in combination with it: tiel melɔwak really truly true)
motiel	isn't it so?	(tag question; from amo + tiel ??)
a-	NEG	
a-welı	impossible	
NEG-possible		
a-ye-welı	not yet possible	
NEG-already-possible		
ayehkɔk ^{Welı} , aihkɔk ^{Welı}	no longer possible	
ayık	never	
a-ye-mo	not yet	(ye already; a...mo NEG)
a-ye-k-mo	no longer	(k PERF?)
a-ye-k-mo	kiema	never again
		no longer when
ayok	not be present	(irregular; see BE)

nion	<i>not even</i>	(from Sp. <i>ni aún not even</i>)
nion-ōki	<i>nobody</i>	(compare with <i>amo ōki (there is) no one (who)</i>)

Modal

ma	<i>may, SBJNCT, EXHRT</i>	
ma-hk-amo	<i>may (it) not (be that)</i>	ma-hk-ayik <i>may (it) never (be that)</i>
EXHRT-be-NEG		EXHRT-be-never
	<i>permanently(?)</i>	<i>permanently(?)</i>
mač	COND(??)	(probably from <i>matl know</i>)
k ^w al	POT	kana(h) <i>perhaps, DUB</i>
good		

BE/HAVE/DO**BE**

Ø NP/ADJ

taha ok ti-pdalak-tli *You are still a lad.*
you yet you-lad-ABS

laliwis wēyī tie-tlasohit-lis *His HON love is very great.*
very big his-love-ABSTR
 HON

tka *is NP/ADJ/LOC/EXIST* Irregular; paradigms follow.

PRES	ni-(ka)-ka	ti-(kah)-ka-te*
	<i>I-RDP-be</i>	<i>we-RDP-be-PL</i>
	<i>I am</i>	<i>we are</i>
	ti-(ka)-ka	ne(n)-(kah)-ka-te
	<i>you-RDP-be</i>	<i>you-RDP-be-PL</i>
	<i>you are</i>	<i>PL</i>
		<i>you PL are</i>
	ti-mo-wec-tka**	ne-mo-wec-tka-te
	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES</i>	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES-PL</i>
	PROG	<i>PL PROG</i>
	<i>you HON are</i>	<i>you PL HON are</i>

*This PL is not used anywhere else except with the related aspect marker *-tka* PRES PROG.

***wec-tka* is also used in positional compounds: e.g., *iš-tlah-pač-wec-tka* (eye-down-approach-fall-PRES:PROG) *is (tying) face downwards*. *wec-tka* by itself means *is tying*.

	ika-(ka)* is-RDP he is	(kah)-ka-te RDP-be-PL they are
	ilowa-k** is-PRES HON he HON is	ih-ilowa-k RDP-is-PRES HON they HON are
FUT	ni-ye-s I-be-FUT I will be	ti-ye-s-ki we-be-FUT-PL we will be
	ti-ye-s you will be	ne(n)-ye-s-ki you PL will be
	ti-mo-wec-ta-s you-HON-fall-DUR-FUT you HON will be	ne-mo-wec-ta-s-ki you PL HON will be
	tye-s he will be	ye-s-ki they will be
	ilowa-s he HON will be	ih-ilowa-s they HON will be
IMPRF	(o)-ni-ye-ya PAST-I-be-IMPRF I was	(o)-ti-yeh-ye-ya PAST-we-RDP-be-IMPRF we were
	(o)-ni-yeyi PAST-I-be IMPRF I was	(o)-ti-yeh-yeyi PAST-we-RDP-be IMPRF we were

(There are similar alternative forms for the other non-HON persons, formed by substituting *yeyi* for *ye-ya*.)

*It is probably more correct to analyze this as *ti-(ka)-ka*, with the *ti* not being a morpheme but a vowel epenthesized to keep from having a one-syllable verb. This epenthesis would precede the reduplication. See also *tya goes*, *tye-s he will be*. (Cf. a similar proposal for nouns under BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, *Absolutive*.)

**Normally *-k* is a PERF marker—only here and in the obviously related 3P HON forms of *go* (*w-ilowa-(k)* and *wh-w-ilowa-(k)*) does it appear in the PRES, and in those cases it is retained in the perfect also.

	(o)-ti-ye-ya <i>you were</i>	(o)-ne-yeh-ye-ya <i>you PL were</i>
	(o)-ti-mo-wec-ta-ya <i>you HON were</i>	(o)-ne-mo-wec-ta-ya <i>you PL HON were</i>
	o-ye-ya <i>he was</i>	o-yeh-ye-ya <i>they were</i>
	(o)-ilowa-ya <i>he HON was</i>	(o)-ih-ilowa-ya <i>they HON were</i>
SBJNCT	ni-ye	ti-ye-ko
IMP	I-be	we-be-PL
	I be	SBJNCT
		we be
	ʃi-ye	ʃi-ye-ko
	IMP-be	IMP-be-PL
	Be!/you be	sbjnt
		Be PL!/you PL be
	ʃo-mo-wec-ta	ʃo-mo-wec-ta-ko
	Be HON!/you HON be	Be PL HON!/you PL HON be
	ye	ye-ko
	he be	they be
	ilowa	ih-ilowa
	he HON be	they HON be

ika does not occur with any aspect markers except those of contingency and the DUR -ta. In all these cases the suppletive ye stem is used.

taha ok ti-ka-ka	ti-pulalak-tli	<i>You are still a lad.</i>
<i>you yet you-RDP-be</i>	<i>you-lad-ABS</i>	(cf. first example)
ika i-pa i-ʃo		<i>He is at his house.</i>
<i>is its-at his-home</i>		
sa ʃi-ye-(ta)		<i>Shut up! / Sit still!</i>
<i>just IMP-be-DUR</i>		
yehwa-ci deus solamiente yehwa-ci ilowa-k		<i>God, He is the only one/</i>
<i>he-HON God only</i>	<i>he-HON is-PRES</i>	<i>only He exists.</i>
HON	HON HON	
ika dwi-tl		<i>It is a fiesta.</i>
<i>is fiesta-ABS</i>		

oya, uya *he was / there is* Existential. Possibly from o- PAST and ya go
(cf. Sp. *fué* *he went / he was*).

oye-s, uye-s FUT

a-ye-k-mo oye-s tie-tun-ie *There will be no more pain.*
no longer be-FUT UNSPEC-burn-VR
H
OBJ

yaha oya rey *He was king.*
he be king
PERF

onka *there is* Existential. Probably from om MED +
ka be.

onka-te PL

onkoyes FUT PRES and FUT only; IMPRF supplied by *ika*.

onka dwt-tl *There is a fiesta.*
there fiesta-ABS
is

sotiepa o-yeyt wiyt dwt-tl *Afterwards there was a big*
afterwards PAST-be big fiesta-ABS fiesta.
IMPRF

on-kon-ka *there is some*
MED-LOC-be (?)

ok onkonka tlaol-t *There is still some corn.*
yet there shelled-ABS
is corn

ayokok *there isn't any(thing) (anymore)*

ayokaka *there isn't anyone (ayok + ikaka)*

ayokahkate PL

antlei, antleyi *there isn't any (amo NEG + tli what?)*

ayok *isn't / wasn't (there/home/etc.)* Irregular; paradigms follow.

n-ayok *I am absent.*

I-be

absent

t-ayok-t* *We are absent.*

we-be-PL

absent

These do not permit an overt SUBJ: *amo onka* (NEG *there:is*) is used when SUBJ is specified.

*This PL is used elsewhere only with the irregular verb *wic* *come* and the aspect marker *twic*, and with the PERF of verbs taking *-k* PERF. Perhaps this *k* should also be analyzed as a PERF marker. Note that these forms do service for PERF meaning as well as PRES.

t-ayok *You are absent,*
you-be
absent

t-ayok-ci *You HON are absent,*
you-be-HON
absent

ayok *He is absent.*

ayok-ci *He HON is absent.*

nem-ayok-i *You PL are absent.*
you-be-PL
PL absent

nem-ayok-ci-ci *You PL HON are*
you-be-RDP-HON *absent.*
PL *absent*

ayok-i *They are absent.*

ayok-ci-ci *They HON are absent.*

čon-ti *lives, dwells*
home-VR

ih-tika *it stands, it is permanently, it is by moral right*

ihki *SBJNCT*

ihki-u ih-tika *That's how things are.*
be-DIST *be-PRES:PROG*
permanently *permanently*
thus

ma ihki *May it be so (without changing).*
EXHRT *be*
 permanently

ih-tika para ma to-tlasohtla-ko *We ought to love*
be-PRES:PROG *for* *EXHRT* *we-love-PL* *each other.*
permanently *REFL* *SBJNCT*

k^walc-ka *it is good, OK*

Locatives:

non-ka *Here (it) is. / It's this one.* LOC/PRSNTV (also used as DEM)
PROX-be

non-ka-te *PL*

om-pa-ka *There (it) is.*
MED-at-be

om-pa (kah)-ka-te *PL*
there *RDP-be-PL*

nie-pa-ka *There (it) is (over there).*
DIST-at-be

nie-pa (kah)-ka-te *PL*

nie-ka-ka *It's that one.*

DIST-be-be

that

one

i-tlan-ka *It's near him.*

his-near-be

nenk^wah-ka *It is by itself.*

apart-be

tlɔl-tuka *It is on the ground.*

ground-PRES

PROG

wec-tuka *It is lying.*

fall-PRES

PROG

ahkec-te-wec-tuka *is (lying) face upwards*

upwards-CONN-fall-PRES

(?) PROG

iš-tlah-pač-wec-tuka *is (lying) face downwards*

eye-down-approach-fall-PRES

PROG

For some older speakers, ka can affix freely to almost any locative word.

tie-mo-tlak-cin-ko-ka *It is in his HHON hand.*

his-hand-near-HON-LOC-be

HON

Questions:

kɔnen-ka *where is?*

where-be

kɔnt (kah)-ka-te *PL*

kɔtlime *Where are (they)? (tli what, -me PL)*

kɔtleyakɪ *Which ones (are they)?*

tlin-in-i-hi *What is this?*

what-DEM-PROX-PROX

tlin-in-u-hu *What is that?*

what-DEM-DIST-DIST

HAVE

kɪ-pɪya *has it*

it-have

sen-te tloka-tl kɛ-pɪya-ya sen-te puro *A man had a burro.*
one-NUM man-ABS it-have-IMPRF one-NUM burro

With **tlā- UNSPEC OBJ** or an incorporated object, **pɪya** means *guard, herd, keep, take care of*.

čiboh-pɪya *herds goats*
goat-have

tutuh-pɪya *keeps (birds out of) rice fields*
bird-have

With **-lɛ APPLIC**, **pɪya** is used with nouns of attitude or emotion to indicate feeling with reference to someone.

nieč-pi-lɛ-a konfyɔnsa *He has confidence toward me.*
me-have-APPLIC-PRES confidence

kɛ-pɪya is often used with **ke SUBR (Sp.)** or **para for (Sp.)** or occasionally alone, followed by a **FUT** verb (or a **PERF** verb with the additional meaning of *realized action*) to denote necessity or obligation. This construction parallels closely the **Sp.** usage.

kɛ-pɪya { $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{ke} \\ \text{para} \end{matrix} \right\}$ tyo-s *He has to go.*
it-have goes-FUT

o-kɛ-ptš on-ya *He had to go (and did).*
PAST-it-have DIRL-go
PERF(PAST?)

DO

kɛ-čiwa *does it, makes it*
it-do

kɛ-čh-čiwa *makes, constructs it*
it-RDP-do

mo-čiwa *happens* i-pa mo-čiwa *happens to him*
REFL-do his-on REFL-do

pasɔr-ɪwɪ *happens*
happen-VR
(INTRNS)

kɛ-pasɔr-ow-a *happens to him*
him-happen-VR-PRES
(TRNS)

produces (of crops)

ye o-mo-či šitoma-tl
already PAST-REFL-do tomato-ABS
PERF

The tomato crop is ripe.

tla-mo-čiwa abounds
UNSPEC-REFL-do
OBJ
(COLL?)

tla-mo-čiwa-lis-tl harvest
abound-ABSTR-ABS

becomes (with PRED N or ADJ)

o-mo-či tunto became, acted
PAST-REFL-do stupid stupid
PERF

o-mo-k^wek tunto became, acted
PAST-REFL-turn stupid stupid
PERF

mo-lukoh-k^wepa goes crazy
REFL-crazy-turn

ayt *do something, be busy (irregular)*

n-ayt I am busy. t-ah-ayt We are busy.
I-be we-RDP-be
busy busy

t-ayt You are busy. nem-ah-ayt You PL are busy.
you-be you-RDP-be
busy PL busy

tu-m-ayi-ti-a You HON are busy. ne-m-ayi-ti-a You PL HON are busy.
you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES
busy PL busy

ti-moi-li-a You HON are busy. ne-moi-li-a You PL HON are busy.
you-be-APPLIC-PRES you-be-APPLIC-PRES
busy PL busy
HON HON
(mo+ayt)

ayt He is busy. ah-ayt They are busy.
ayi-wa He HON is busy. ah-ayi-wa They HON are busy.
be-HON RDP-be-HON
busy busy

ayt is not precisely a transitive verb; as far as I know it does not ever appear with nominal or pronominal object, yet its most common use is a question *What are you doing?*. It does not appear in any tense but PRES, though it shows up in PRES PROG forms with a truncated stem.

tli t-aš-tika *What are you doing?* (usual non-HON greeting)
 what you-be-PRES
 busy PROG

tli ti-moi-lt-a *What are you HON doing?* (usual HON greeting)
 what you-be-APPLIC-PRES
 busy
 HON

ki-yek-tlōlt-a *fixes it*
 it-well-ground-TRNS
 VR
 put

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

Passive sense is sometimes expressed by means of a reflexive construction.

amo o-mo-hta-k desde in-u *He was not seen again after that.*
 NEG PAST-REFL-see-PERF since that
 mo-hto-a *it is said*
 REFL-say-PRES

o-mo-ih-te-tlapo *He had an abdominal operation.*
 PAST-REFL-belly-open

Sometimes an ambiguous 3P SG HON/3P PL form is used without contextual identification of the subject to give a quasi-passive sense.

o-ki-tepoc-toka-k-ka nowtyo o-ki-maka-k-problema-s
 PAST-him-iron-follow-PERF-PL everywhere PAST-him-give-PERF-PL problem-PL
 weapon
He was persecuted everywhere; (people) gave him troubles.

Some verbs seem to be inherently more 'transitive' than others and therefore more resistant to the reflexive passivization.

šmoč-tli para mo-tuka-s wa tla-k^Wa-l-para
 seed-ABS for REFL-bury-FUT and UNSPEC-eat-NR-ABS for
 OBJ
 o-ki ki-k^W-s *seed to be planted and food to be eaten*
 someone it-eat-FUT

Reflexive

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for a list of reflexive prefixes.)

For emphasis or to disambiguate reflexive from passive or middle (coreference of SUBJ and IOBJ) senses, the personal pronoun is repeated after the verb followed by *mismo the same* (Sp.).

šo-mo-hta-kə k^walɿ nemehwa mismo(-s) *Take a good look at yourselves.*
 IMP-REFL-see-PL good you same-PL
 SUBJCT PL

There are some verbs (including borrowed reflexive verbs from Spanish) that are always reflexive.

mo-mana (water) becomes muddy, (people) get in line
REFL-(?)

mo-keh-or-ow-a *He gripes.* (Sp. *quejarse*)
REFL-gripe-VR-PRES

Often the reflexive bears a reciprocal sense:

mo-lwi-a They tell each other.
REFL-say-PRES
to

mo-hta *They are friendly (to each other).*
REFL.-see

The reciprocal sense may be specified and/or emphasized by placing *entre among* (Sp.) and the personal pronoun after the verb, or by the phrase *sente ka oksente one with another* (from Spanish *unos con otros?*) in the same position.

o-mo-lw-hki sen-te ka ok-sen-te they said to each other
 PAST-REFL-say-PL one-NUM with yet-one-NUM
 to

The reflexive approximates the meaning of *-able* in some constructions.

k^walt mo-k^wɔ-s *It can be eaten. / It's edible.*
good REFL-eat-FUT
(POT)

The reflexive appears on some nouns that are derived from verbs:

mo-čamowa-ni braggart
REFL-praise-AG

mo-k^w ɔ-nɪ edible thing
REFL-eat-AG

There is a morpheme *-yɔhma-* (from *i-ɔhma his soul* ?) used in a couple of verbs to indicate a true reflexive.

mo-yɔhma-nu-nuca *talks to himself*
REFL-himself-RDP-call

mo-yɔhma-tlah-tlan-a *asks himself*
REFL-himself-RDP-ask-PRES

Unspecified Arguments

<i>tla-</i>	UNSPEC (NH) OBJ	} homophonous with (and probably historical source for) 3P HON OBJ, REFL
<i>tie-</i>	UNSPEC H OBJ	
<i>ne-</i>	UNSPEC REFL	

When affixed to a verbal root, these morphemes behave like part of the stem with respect to placement of other verbal elements. In most cases they seem to be fully lexicalized. Apparently at least *tla-* is still productive, however.

kt-tie-mok-ti-a *gives/hands it over (to someone)*
it-UNSPEC-hand-CAUS-PRES
H
OBJ

Contrast with:

tie-puwt-lt-a *tells it to him HON*
him-count-APPLIC-PRES
HON

kt-tla-k^wa-lt-a *feeds him*
him-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES
OBJ

kt-ne-kpa-č-ow-a *heaps it up*
it-UNSPEC-above-CAUS-VR-PRES
REFL (?)

These morphemes occur with derived nouns and adjectives and sometimes even postpositions. *tla-* appears with an especially large class.

tla-k^wa-ni *glutton*
UNSPEC-eat-AG
OBJ

tie-koko *pain, sickness*
UNSPEC-hurt
H
OBJ

tie-mah-ti *fearsome, scary, dangerous*
 UNSPEC-fear-CAUS (ki-mah-ti-a *It scares him.*)

H

OBJ

ne-šiku-lis-tli *envy (mo-šiko-a (REFL-bear-PRES) envies;*
 UNSPEC-bear-ABSTR-ABS *mo-šiko-o-nu (envy-AG) the devil)*
 REFL

tla-iš-pa *up front (išpa in front of)*
 UNSPEC-face-on
 OBJ

ɔki *one, anyone, who* (contrast with *yeka someone*)

k^wali ɔki ki-k^wɔ-s *One can eat it. / It's edible.*
good one it-eat-FUT
 (POT)

Two UNSPEC markers may appear in the same word.

tie-tla-k^wientah-ti-a *loans (things to people)*
 UNSPEC-UNSPEC-account-CAUS-PRES
 H OBJ
 OBJ

There are some vestiges of the historical passive/impersonal sense of -lo. Synchronically, it mostly functions as a 3P HON marker.

ne-nomk-ti-lu-yo *(woman's) marriage, wedding*
 UNSPEC-husband-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR
 REFL

ne-sowa-ti-lu-yo *(man's) marriage, wedding*
 UNSPEC-woman-CAUS-PASS-ABSTR
 REFL

tie-nuca-lo *(people) are called (by the church bell, to a*
 UNSPEC-call-PASS *wedding or a town meeting)*
 H
 OBJ

k-iš-mati-lo-a *won't let anyone see his eye**
 him-eye-know-PASS-PRES

yeh-yeka-wi-lo *child which is taken by evil spirits*
 wind-carry-PASS
 (evil
 spirit)

*Neighboring dialects have a NEG ʒ- verbal prefix. Other than this, I have no guess where the NEG might be in this verb.

k^w a-lo-miec-tl	<i>eclipse of the moon</i>
eat-PASS-moon-ABS	
miec- k^w a-lo	<i>child who is moon-eaten (i.e., with harelip,</i>
moon-eat-PASS	<i>because his mother failed to take proper precautions</i>
	<i>during a moon eclipse)</i>

tla- sometimes seems to have an INTNS function:

ki-teki	<i>cuts it</i>	tla-tek-tl	<i>all cut up, scarred</i>
it-cut		INTNS-cut-ABS	
ki-mutla	<i>hurls it</i>	ki-tla-mutla	<i>throws it out</i>
it-hurl		it-INTNS-hurl	
ki-hnek ^w _t	<i>smells it</i>	tla-hnek ^w _t	<i>smells very much</i>
it-smell		INTNS-smell	

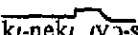
Sometimes it seems to indicate a generalized action or some other semantic shift.

tla-lwɪ-kiʃ-ti-a		throws (a) fiesta(s)	
UNSPEC-feast-emerge-CAUS-PRES			
OBJ			
petlonɪ	shines	tla-petlonɪ	(it) lightnings
ki-cilinɪ-a	clashes/clangs it	tla-cilinɪ	(bell) rings
it-clang-PRES		UNSPEC-clang	
		OBJ	
niesɪ	appears	tla-niesɪ	dawns
appear		UNSPEC-appear	
		OBJ	
tla-nieʃ-ti-a		illuminates/shines on/reveals things	
UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES			
OBJ			


QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions


A YNQ is marked by a somewhat different intonation pattern from that for the corresponding declarative sentence. Higher tone on the last two syllables seems to be the main factor. Often it is difficult to tell from intonation alone whether a sentence is declarative or a YNQ. Some people mark YNQ with a rising final intonation.


 ki-neki tyɔ-s
 it-want goes-FUT

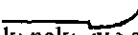
He wants to go.


 ki-neki tyɔ-s
 it-want goes-FUT

Does he want to go?


 ki-neki tyɔ-s
 it-want goes-FUT

Does he want to go?


 ki-neki tyɔ-s
 it-want goes-FUT

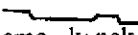
Does he want to go?

welis *perhaps* may be used at the beginning of a YNQ to express surprise at the mildly expected affirmative answer.

welis ki-neki tyɔ-s
perhaps it-want goes-FUT

Does he want to go, then?

YNQ are typically answered by *kiema yes* or *amo no*; by *kiema* or *amo* followed by the whole interrogative sentence (with declarative intonation); or, more usually, by *kiema* or *amo* followed by the main verb of the question sentence.


 amo ki-neki
 NEG it-want

No, he doesn't want to. (appropriate response
 to *Does he want to go?* above)

YNQ may also be answered by *kien-amo* (how-NEG) *of course* (cf. Spanish ¿cómo no?) or by *tlika amo* (why-NEG) *why not?*.

A YNQ with a NEG usually carries a mild expectation of a NEG answer.

amo ki-neki tyɔ-s
 NEG it-want goes-FUT




Doesn't he want to go, then?

ps amo
 well NEG

No, (he doesn't). (expected response)

Another common type of YNQ involves a declarative sentence followed by the tag *mo-tiel* (REFL(?)-truly) *Isn't that so?*, which can carry either declarative or question intonation. When declarative intonation is used, the question seems to be a simple request for confirmation without any doubt of the truth-value of the statement.

Question intonation implies a slight doubt.

kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>
<i>it-want goes-FUT</i>	<i>REFL-truly</i>		
kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>
<i>it-want goes-FUT</i>	<i>REFL-truly</i>		
kɪ-nekɪ ɪyɔ-s	mo-tiel		<i>He wants to go, doesn't he?</i>
<i>it-want goes-FUT</i>	<i>REFL-truly</i>		

WH Questions

ɔkɪ	<i>who?</i>	Other meanings:
tli	<i>what?</i>	<i>one, anyone, someone (who), who</i>
kɔnɪ	<i>where?</i>	<i>REL that, who</i>
kiema	<i>when?</i>	<i>the place where, any place where</i>
kienɪ	<i>how?</i>	<i>(homophonous with yes; kʷɔk when)</i>
kiehkič	<i>how many?</i>	<i>like (with V, ADJ)</i>
tli-ka	<i>why?</i>	<i>as many as, all those who</i>
<i>what-with</i>		<i>amo tlika for no particular reason</i>

(i-pampa (its-on:account:of) *because*)

tli para	<i>what for?</i>	
<i>what for</i>		
kɔtl-aha	<i>which one?</i>	
<i>which-he</i>		
kɔtl-ehwa	<i>which ones?</i>	
<i>which-they</i>		
kɔtl-i-me	<i>which ones?, Where are they?</i>	
<i>which-(?)-PL</i>		
kɔtleyakɪ	<i>which ones?, Where are they?</i>	
ɔkɪ-n-u	<i>which one?, who</i>	<i>anyone who, those who</i>
<i>who-DEM-DIST</i>	<i>is it (that)?</i>	
ɔkɪ-me-hu	<i>PL</i>	
<i>who-PL-DIST</i>		
kɔnen-ka	<i>Where is (it)?</i>	
<i>where-be</i>		

kiehku-tu ka wiewi how big? (ku-tu-n-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX) ka wiewi
 how-DIM with big about so big)
 many

kiehku-pa how many times?
 how-times
 many

kiesku-pa how many times? a few times
 few-times

The intonation of WHQ is like that of YNQ. Sometimes another intonation is used which maintains high pitch throughout the question and drops at the end.

tli-ka ti-k-neki ti-yo-s Why do you want to go?
 what-with you-it-want you-go-FUT

WH words tend to be initial. INTR normally precede them. Accompanying postpositions may also precede them: *ka* with, *pa* at, on, and the Spanish prepositions do so most commonly. *tli* seems to accept second position more readily than *oku* (compare their behavior as relatives under Oblique Relatives).

(i)-ka tli with what?
 its-with what

oku i-ka with whom?
 who his-with

de koni from where?
 from where

tos kien ti-k-čiwa-s-ki What shall we do, then?
 then how we-it-do-FUT-PL
 (INTR)

Some postpositions always advance to second position.

tli i-pampa o-ti-k-či Why did you do it?
 what its-on PAST-you-it-do
 account PERF
 of

A topicalized element may also precede a WH word.

taha tli-ka o-ti-wala Why did you come?
 you what-with PAST-you-come

A WH word may be a constituent of an embedded or even doubly embedded clause.

tli tɪ-k-nekɪ [ma nɪ-kɪm-d-wɪ [ma kɪ-čiwa-kɔ]]
what you-it-want EXHRT I-them-say-APPLIC EXHRT it-do-PL
SBJNCT

What do you want me to tell them to do?

noso *or* often follows a WH word with a meaning something like then or Spanish pues.

tli noso nɪ-k-čiwa-s *What shall I do, then?*
what or I-it-do-FUT

kienɪ noso t-asɪ-s-kɪ *How then will we arrive?*
how or we-arrive-FUT-PL

noso precedes the WHW when used as introducer for a rhetorical question. (This usually is done when the question is one of a series.)

welɪ-s k^walɪ tɪ-tlehu-s-kɪ kienamɪ komiʃɪ
possible-FUT good we-ascend-FUT-PL like lizard-ABS
perhaps (POT)
Perhaps we can crawl up like a lizard?

noso welɪ-s kaʃɪ k^walɪ tɪ-patlɔni-s-kɪ sana tutu-tl
or perhaps more good we-fly-FUT-PL like bird-ABS
Or better, maybe we can fly like a bird?

noso kienɪ tɪ-kisa-s-kɪ
or how we-emerge-FUT-PL
Otherwise, how will we get out?

IMPERATIVES

Positive Imperatives

Positive imperatives are marked by the prefix *ʃɪ-* on the SBJNCT verb in place of the 2P SUBJ marker.

ʃɪ-k-čiwa *Do it!*
IMP-it-do

ʃɔ-mo-wikɪ-lɪ-tiwecɪ *(You HON) take it quickly!*
IMP-HON-take-APPLIC-quickly

sa ʃɪ-ye-ta-kɔ *(You PL) shut up / sit still!*
just IMP-be-DUR-PL
SBJNCT

Occasionally, with a few verbs (especially when somewhat exasperatedly addressing a child), the naked verb stem is used as an IMP.

wala C'm'ere! / C'mon!
come

Negative Imperatives

Negative imperatives are marked by a NEG such as **amo** preceding the IMP verb. The EXHRT NEG **mahkamo** may also be used, giving a softened IMP sense.

amo šo-mo-čiwɪ-lɪ (You HON) don't do it!
NEG IMP-HON-do-APPLIC

a-ye-k-mo šo-mo-šiw-lt (You HON) stop doing it!
no longer IMP-HON-do-APPLIC

ma-hk-amo šo-mo-maki-lt pd-cin-tlt (*You HON*) (*please*) don't
EXHRT-be-NEG IMP-HON-hit-APPLIC child-DIM-ABS hit the child!
permanently(?)

Modal Imperatives

Optative sense is marked by *ohalá would that* (Sp.); or else it is marked by the forms *ni-k-neki-ska* (*I-it-want-would've*) *I wish* or *ni-k-neki-ska-ni* (*-ni IRR*) *I could wish* followed by *ma EXHRT* or its negative *mahkamo* and a SBJNCT verb, usually with an *IRR* suffix. Often an *EXHRT* construction will also bear this meaning.

ohalá ma nt-ye-nt nt-riko *Would that I were rich.*
OPTV EXHRT I-be-IRR I-rich

EXHRT is marked by **ma** (or **mahkamo**) followed by an independent **SBJNCT** verb.

ma ti-yɔ-kɔ Let's go.
EXHRT we-go-PL
 SBJNCT

ma-hk-amo tə-k-pensor-u-kɔ dʰktu Let's not think that way.
NEG EXHRT we-it-think-VR-PL thus
SBJNCT

This construction is used in several common phrases.

ma wala sta-tl *Please pass the salt.*
EXHRT come salt-ABS

ma dhkt-u tye OK, agreed.
EXHRT thus be

ma k^walt yowa-l-i *Good night.*
EXHRT good darken-NR-ABS

ma k^walt oh-tl (muc-mo-wikt-li) *Have a good trip.*
 EXHRT good road-ABS (you-HON-carry-APPLIC)
 OBJ

The FUT is sometimes used in an imperative sense, especially with NEG to express a prohibition.

amo ti-yɔ-s *Don't you go!*
 NEG you-go-FUT

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Forms marked by † are freely productive; other forms are usually non-productive, though some are at least marginally productive.

N + X = N

Affective Suffixes

-cin DIM/HON/endearment

-ci-cin PL

lama-ci (little) old lady
 female-DIM
 HON

ku-kušoh-ci* lame man
 RDP-lame-DIM

tloka-cin-tl lord (God or the
 man-HON-ABS President)

to-tɔ-tah-ci-ci our town idols
 our-RDP-father-RDP-DIM
 HON

Some nouns always have -cin, others always have it in their ABS forms. All vowel-final monosyllabic nouns seem to be in this class, except a few which reduplicate (e.g., tie-te-tu RDP-stone-ABS). Presumably this is to avoid a one-syllable noun (cf. BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Absolutive).

ye-cin-tl beans
 bean-DIM-ABS

i-ye-wa his beans
 his-bean-POSSD
 PL

korus-ci cross
 cross-HON

i-korus-ci his cross
 his-cross-HON

tle-cin-tl fire
 fire-DIM-ABS

tle-mukɪ is very hot
 fire-die

*Most nouns (particularly borrowed ones) for the lame, deaf, blind, dumb, etc. have the -ci suffix. Compare the Spanish use of the DIM in such words, e.g., coj-ito (lame-DIM) *lame man*.

pd-cin-tlč *child*
child-DIM-ABS

i-pd-wa *his children*
his-child-POSSD
PL

pd-an-ci-ci *children*
child-(?)-RDP-DIM

ɔ-cin-tlč *water*
water-DIM-ABS

-tun (-to-tu(n))

This reflex of the historical DIM -toon survives on a large class of nouns, but its DIM force is lost in most cases and it tends to function as an ABS.

ʒiʒi-tu *dog*
dog-ABS

ʒiʒi-me *dogs*
dog-PL

sowa-tl *woman*
woman-ABS

sowan-to-tu *girls (in some older*
woman-RDP-DIM *speakers' speech)*
 (?)

si-si-wan-tu *girl*
 [RDP] DIM
woman

siwan-to-tu *girls*
woman-RDP-DIM
 (?)

pd-alak-tlč *boy, youth*
child-(?)-ABS

pd-tun-tlč *boy, young lad*
child-DIM-ABS
 (?)

kiehkiʒ-tu ka *wieyɿ* *how big?*
how-DIM with big
much (?)

kiʒ-tu-n-t ka *wieyɿ* *about so big*
size-DIM-DEM-PROX with big
 (?) (?)

†-kone-ci DIM
 -ku-kone PL

čɔn-kone-ci *little house*
home-child-DIM

ʒiʒi-ku-kone *puppies*
dog-RDP-child

dawin-kone-ci *little David*
PN-child-DIM

†-wie-we AUG (cf. *wieyɿ* *big*, *wie-wen-ci* (*little*) *old (man)*)
 -wie-wen-to-tu PL

gerra-wie-we *great war*
war-RDP-big

koyu-wie-we *big coyote*
coyote-RDP-big

ʒok-wie-wen-to-tu
olla-RDP-big-RDP-DIM
 (?)

big ollas (pots)

If the suffix *-ci HON* is used, *wie-we* may be used as a prefix, presumably to avoid confusion with *-wie-wen-ci old*.

koyu-wie-we *big coyote*
coyote-RDP-big

koyu-wie-wen-ci *old coyote*
coyote-RDP-big-DIM
HON

wie-we-koyu-ci
RDP-big-coyote-HON

O honorable big coyote (addressed by the
flattering rabbit)

Place Suffixes

-tla *LOC*

ye-tla *bean patch*
bean-LOC

k^wasowa-tla *place of many*
cazaguatle-LOC *cazaguatle trees*

k^woh-tla *Cuautla*
tree-LOC

lalwís kulu-tla *place of very many*
very scorpion-LOC *scorpions*

-kamak *place full of*

šol-kamak *sandy place, beach*
sand-mouth
 (?)

k^woh-kamak *forest*
tree-mouth

k^wasowa-kamak *place of many cazaguatle trees*
cazaguatle-mouth

-ko *LOC*

kal-tien-ko *field*
house-rim-LOC

k^waw-tl-iš-ko *Cuautlixco*
tree-ABS-DIM-LOC
 (?)

Abstract/Collective

-yu/-yo *ABSTR/COLL, system of*

šw-tl *leaf*
leaf-ABS

i-šh-yo *its leafage, foliage*
its-leaf-COLL

šič-tl *witch doctor*
witch-ABS

šič-yu-tl *sorcery*
witch-ABSTR-ABS

naka-tl *meat*
meat-ABS

naka-yu-tl *(the) flesh*
meat-COLL-ABS

tohm-tl *feather*
feather-ABS

i-tohme-yo *its plumage, fur*
its-feather-COLL

ku-konie-tl *doll, mannikin*
 RDP-child-ABS

ku-konie-yo *embroidered hem*
 RDP-child-COLL

tla- *UNSPEC OBJ*

yuloh-tl *heart (of person,*
heart-ABS animal, etc.)

tla-yuloh-tl *center, heart*

Other

†-mñh-ki *corpse, dead*

†-lama *female*

†-karayu *male (PEJ?)*

†-wie-wen-ci *old (male)*

†-lama-ci *old female*

-ni *AG*

-pñl *appendage*

-iero *AG (Sp.)*

RDP no-konie *my son*
my-child

kukowñ *ox*
ox

Other

čiči-mñh-ki *dead dog*
dog-die-ADJR

čiči-lama *bitch*
dog-female

yegwa-lama *mare*
mare-female

čiči-karayu *male dog*
dog-male

čiči-wie-wen-ci *old dog*
dog-RDP-big-DIM
HON

čiči-lama-ci *old bitch*
dog-female-DIM
HON

čə-ni *householder*
home-AG

no-mah-pñl *my finger*
my-hand-child

no-kšə-pñl *my toe*
my-foot-child

i-k^wutla-pñl *its tail*
its-dung-child

əwul-iero *teacher (there is no*
school-AG parallel Spanish word)

ku-konie-tl *doll, mannikin*
RDP-child-ABS

k^wə-k^wah-čuka *(ox) moos*
head-RDP-cry
ox

V + X = N

†-ni	AG	tla-k ^W a-ni-me	gluttons
		UNSPEC-eat-AG-PL	
		OBJ	
		mo-šikow-ɔ-ni	the devil
		REFL-bear-PRES-AG	
		envy	
		čuka-ni	cry baby
		cry-AG	
-ki	characterized by (ADJ ending)		
-kɔ-ci-ci	PL		
tlowɔna	is drunk	tlowɔn-ki	drunkard
be(come)		be(come)-ADJR	
drunk		drunk	
teo-puš-kɔ-ci-ci		priests	(There is a large class of nouns with
god-have-ADJR-RDP-DIM:HON		-puš-ki.)	
tlah-mat-ki		wise man	
UNSPEC-know-ADJR			
OBJ			

UNSPEC OBJ (sometimes in connection with other things)

tie-koko	pain(ful)	tie-mk-ti	poison(ous)
UNSPEC-hurt		UNSPEC-die-CAUS	
H:OBJ		H:OBJ	kill
ki-picow-a	kisses her	tla-picu-l-i	kiss
her-kiss-PRES		UNSPEC-kiss-NR-ABS	
		OBJ	
ki-mati	knows it	tlah-mat-ki	wise man
it-know		UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ADJR	
mo-mɔ-kiš-tu-a	is rescued	ne-mɔ-kiš-tu-ls-tli	salvation
REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES		UNSPEC:REFL-rescue-ABSTR-ABS	

-ci DIM/HON

tla-k ^W a	eats	tla-k ^W a-ci	possum
UNSPEC:OBJ-eat		UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-DIM	
k ^W i-k ^W ika-yo-ci-ci	(kind of) crickets		
RDP-sing-ABSTR-RDP-DIM			

ABS tla-nieš-ti-a *illuminates*
 UNSPEC-appear-CAUS-PRES
 OBJ

tla-tuk-tli *planted field*
 UNSPEC-plant-ABS
 OBJ

ki-čkow-a *glues/sticks/*
it-stick-PRES learns it

tla-nieš-tli *light, splendor*
 UNSPEC-appear-ABS
 OBJ

sek^Wi-s-tli *volcano (snow-*
be-FUT(?) -ABS capped)
cold

k^Wah-čuk-tli *grafted shoot*
tree-stick-ABS

-l *object or result of V*

tuna *shines, is hot*
shine

tla-yowa *becomes dark*
 UNSPEC:OBJ-darken

tlaoa *shells corn*
shell:corn

ki-čiwa *does it*
it-do

čhča-l-i *spittle*
spit-NR-ABS

tuna-l-i *sun, day*
shine-NR-ABS

yowa-l-i *night*
darken-NR-ABS

tlaui-l-i *shelled corn*
shell:corn-NR-ABS

tla-čiwa-l-i *deed*
 UNSPEC:OBJ-do-NR-ABS

no-tla-k^Wa-l *my food/my eating*
my-UNSPEC-eat-NR ground (P-G-60,
 OBJ 10)

†-lis *ABSTR*

tla-čiwa-l-i *deed*
 UNSPEC-do-NR-ABS
 OBJ

ki-tieka *pours it out*
it-pour

mo-yul-siewi-a *feels peaceful*
 REFL-heart-rest-PRES

tla-čiwa-lis-tli *doing, deed*
 UNSPEC-do-ABSTR-ABS
 OBJ

tieki-lis-tli *diarrhea*
pour-ABSTR-ABS

ne-yul-siewi-lis-tli *peace*
 UNSPEC-heart-rest-ABSTR-ABS
 REFL

Some of the odd things that happen before -li APPLIC also occasionally happen before -lis. An a may change to i (as in the second example above, but not the first). A tla may change to ti and apicals may palatalize. (See STEMS, Other Phonological Changes.)

ki-yek-tie-niewa *praises him*
him-well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention

yek-tie-niewa-lis-tli *praise*
well-UNSPEC:H:OBJ-mention-ABSTR-ABS

yek-tie-niewt-lus-tli

praise

ki-tlasohtla

loves him

him-love

tlasohtl-lus-tli

love

love-ABSTR-ABS

ki-matli

knows it

it-know

no-mačt-s-ti-lus

my knowledge

my-know-FUT(?)·CONN:(CAUS?)·ABSTR

-s ABSTR

tla-tlaš

coughs

RDP-cough

tla-tlašt-s-tli

a cough, the grippé

RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS

-yu/-yo ABSTR, COLL

k^Wika-yu-tli

song

sing-ABSTR-ABS

k^Wika-tt-lus-tli

song

sing-CONN:(CAUS?)·ABSTR-ABS

tla-seh-sie-yo

shadow, shade

UNSPEC-RDP-rest/cool-ABSTR

OBJ

-ti-ero AG (Sp.)

ki-mačt-s-tt-a

warns, informs him

him-know-FUT(?)·CAUS-PRES

mačt-s-ti-ero

teacher

know-FUT-CAUS-AG

mkt-s-ti-ero

murderer

die-FUT-CAUS-AG

Ø

čtyowa

fat(ness), becomes greasy

kukowe/

ox (probably from k^Wɔ-k^Wa-wt (head-RDP-VR) is horned)k^WɔkoweADJ + X = N

-yu ABSTR

wie-wen-ci

old

RDP-big-DIM·HON

wie-weh-yu-tli

age(dness)

RDP-big-ABSTR-ABS

ši-pec-tt-k

naked

peeling-slippery-CONN-ADJR

ši-pec-yu-tli

misery

naked-ABSTR-ABS

riko	<i>rich</i>	i-rikoḥ-yu	<i>his wealth</i>
<i>rich</i>		<i>his-rich-ABSTR</i>	

-lu *PASS(?)*

k ^w ečɔwa-k	<i>humid, wet</i>	k ^w ečɔwa-lu-tl	<i>humidity, wetness</i>
<i>humid-ADJR</i>		<i>humid-PASS(?)-ABS</i>	

ADJ often function as N without any change in form. Sometimes some sort of nominal affix is added which nominalizes an ADJ which is already functioning as a N.

koh-kul-tu-k	<i>twisted</i>	koh-kul-ci	<i>lame man (with</i>
<i>RDP-twist-CONN-ADJR</i>		<i>RDP-twist-DIM</i>	<i>twisted feet)</i>

Other

tla-kpak	<i>above, up high</i>	nie-ka	<i>that one</i>
<i>UNSPEC-on: top:of</i>		<i>DIST-be</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>			

<u>tla-kpak-nie-ka-tl</u>	<i>man from the high country</i>
<i>above-DEM-ABS</i>	

VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-ti CAUS, become

ki-tlaken-ti-a clothes him
 him-clothing-CAUS-PRES

čarampeyoh-ti has measles
 measles-CAUS

ki-pd-wah-ti-a engenders children on her
 her-child-POSSD.PL-CAUS-PRES

ki-pah-ti-a doctors him, heals him
 him-medicine-CAUS-PRES

mo-nomik-tua (she) gets married
 REFL-husband-CAUS-PRES

ki-lukoh-ti-ti-a drives him crazy
 him-crazy-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES

-wi APPLIC

ki-pah-wi-a fumigates it
 it-medicine-APPLIC-PRES

ki-mačieteh-wi-a hits it with a machete
 it-machete-APPLIC-PRES

ki-mah-pd-wi-a points at/gestures to it
 it-hand-child-APPLIC-PRES
 finger

ki-soh-sok-wi-a muddies it
 it-RDP-mud-APPLIC-PRES

-ow-a TRNS VR

-twi/-iewi INTRNS VR

mo-šinoč-ow-a multiplies, increases
 REFL-seed-VR-PRES

puč-iewi becomes smoky,
 smoke-VR sooty

ki-čil-u-ti-a puts chile on it
 it-chile-VR(?) -CAUS-PRES:(TRNS)

compil-twi has a cold
 grippe-VR

ki-puč-iew-a smokes it up
 it-smoke-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

-a TRNS

-t INTRNS

tiem-t is full
 rim-INTRNS

ki-tlɔlt-a places/puts/seats it
 it-ground-PRES:(TRNS)

ki-tiem-a pours it out
 it-rim-PRES:(TRNS)

-yo

koko-lis-yo-hku *They were sick.*hurt-ABSTR-VR-PL

sickness PERF

ADJ + X = V-ɔw/-iew *become ADJ*čičil-iew-ɪ *reddens**red-VR-INTRNS*pico-nel-ɔw-ɪ *gets dirty*pig(?)-VR-INTRNS*filthy*k-ɪstɔk-iew-a *whitens it**it-white-VR-PRES:(TRNS)*wehkɔ-w-ɪ *takes a long time,**far-VR-INTRNS has been a long time*-ɪɪ *APPLIC*kɪ-čičɪɪ-ɪɪ-a *embitters it**it-bitter-APPLIC-PRES*kɪ-meyak-ɪɪ-a *increases it**it-much(?)*-APPLIC-PRESkɪ-sie-ɪɪ-ɪɪ-a *unites it**it-one-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES*k-ɪhyɔ-ɪɪ-ɪɪ-a *makes it stink**it-stinky-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES*kɪ-yek-ɪɪ-ɪɪ-a *sanctifies him**him-upright-CONN-APPLIC-PRES*
(CAUS?)kɪ-sen-te-ɪɪ-ɪɪ-a *joins it**it-one-NUM-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES*V + X = V

These endings are used with verbs taken from Spanish. They are fully productive.

-ow-a *TRNS VR*-ɔwɪ *INTRNS VR*pasɔr-ɔwɪ *happens**happen-VR*kɪ-pasɔr-ow-a *happens to him**him-happen-VR-PRES*

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

X + Y = ADJ

-(t)k ADJR, -(t)k-t PL

tlil-t soot
soot-ABS

kahwien-tt-k brown
coffee-CONN-ADJR

šikole-k-tt-k peeled
peel-PERF-CONN-ADJR
(?)

tiasoh-tt-k scarce, dear
love-CONN-ADJR

tlil-tt-k black
soot-CONN-ADJR

ši-šil-tt-k red
RDP-chile-CONN-ADJR

ye-tt-k-t heavy PL
bean-CONN-ADJR-PL
(?)

ADJ ending in *owa-k* (which are numerous) lose their final *a* before the PL ending. A few other ADJ similarly lose an *t*.

tomowa-k thick
thick-ADJR

wiel-t-k delicious
delicious-ADJR

toh-tomoh-k-t thick PL
RDP-thick-ADJR-PL

wiel-k-t delicious PL
delicious-ADJR-PL

-kt PERF PRTC (not freely productive synchronically)

-kɔ when non-final

comunt breaks
break

kašɔnt becomes soft,
become:soft loose

k^Weswt hurries
hurry

mih-kɔ-koyok-tt tomb
die-ADJR-cave-ABS
dead man

comun-kt broken
break-ADJR

kašɔn-kt soft, loose
become:soft-ADJR

k^Wesih-kt intelligent,
hurry-ADJR light-footed

Sometimes a PERF verb in an unmarked relative construction is used as an adjective. This form is sometimes offered as an alternative to the *-kt* PRTC form, perhaps with an active instead of passive sense.

i-mɔ o-wɔk his withered hand
his-hand PAST-dry:PERF

i-mɔ wɔh-kt his withered hand
his-hand dry-ADJR

UNSPEC OBJ

tie-mah-tɬ *frightful, scary*
 UNSPEC-fear-CAUS
 H:OBJ

tla-tek-tɬ *all cut up, scarred*
 UNSPEC-cut-ABS
 OBJ

ABS

tla-ši-pieh-tɬ *peeled*
 UNSPEC:OBJ-peeling-begin-ABS

-yo *ABSTR*

co-co-yo *hairy, furry, fuzzy*
 RDP-hair-ABST

ADJ + X = ADJ

iš- *-ish (productive)*

iš-k^wɔ-k^wal-ci *rather pretty, pretty*
face-RDP-good-DIM of face
pretty

iš-neš-tɬ-k *grayish*
 eye-gray-CONN-ADJR

-ci *DIM*

wieyt *big*
big

wie-weyɬ-ci *rather big, biggish*
 RDP-big-DIM

wie-wen-ci *old*
 RDP-big-DIM:HON

k^wɔ-k^wal-ci *pretty, beautiful*
 RDP-good-DIM

yek- *well, upright*

yeh-k^wal-tɬ-k *very good, perfect*
 well-good-CONN-ADJR

yek-melak-tɬ-k *completely straight,*
 well-straight-CONN-ADJR *truthful,*
righteous

RDP (see above examples)

k^walɬ *good*

k^wah-k^walɬ *very good/good PL*

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

<u>N + N = N</u>		
N ₁ characterizes N ₂	k ^w utla-cika-tl	<i>dung ant</i>
	<i>dung-ant-ABS</i>	
	kuska-čapol-ɪ	<i>collared grasshopper</i>
	<i>collar-grasshopper-ABS</i>	
N ₂ characterizes N ₁	mɪh-kɔ-tla-tlaʃtɪ-s-tlɪ	<i>whooping cough</i>
	<i>die-ADJR-RDP-cough-ABSTR-ABS</i>	
	<i>dead man cough</i>	
N ₂ is made of N ₁	i-cocoma-tatapa	<i>his ragged clothes</i>
	<i>his-cloth(es)-rag</i>	
	ye-mul-ɪ	<i>bean mole (soup)</i>
	<i>bean-mole-ABS</i>	
N ₂ is for N ₁	tle-mul-ɪ	<i>red mole (very picante)</i>
	<i>fire-mole-ABS</i>	
	tepos-tutu-tl	<i>airplane</i>
	<i>iron-bird-ABS</i>	
N ₂ is in N ₁	trenɪh-oh-tlɪ	<i>railroad</i>
	<i>train-path-ABS</i>	
	tlɔɪ-piko	<i>pick, mattock</i>
	<i>dirt-pick</i>	
N ₂ is in N ₁	k ^w ɔ-teʃ-tlɪ	<i>brains</i>
	<i>head-dough-ABS</i>	
	k ^w ɔ-teneʃ-tlɪ	<i>dandruff</i>
	<i>head-plaster:of:Paris-ABS</i>	
N ₁ causes N ₂	k ^w ah-pico-tl	<i>wild pig</i>
	<i>tree-pig-ABS</i>	
	cin-tatapah-tlɪ	<i>diaper</i>
	<i>bottom-rag-ABS</i>	
N ₁ causes N ₂	ʃiʃ-koko-lɪs-tlɪ	<i>sickness caused by</i>
	<i>witch-hurt-ABSTR-ABS</i>	<i>witchcraft</i>
	<i>sickness</i>	

N₁ is source of N₂

tutol-te-tl	egg
<i>bird-stone-ABS</i>	
i-yeka-tol-k ^w atl	his snot/mucus
<i>his-nose-tissue(?) -dung</i>	
i-čiči-wal-ɔ-yo	her breast milk
<i>her-suck-come(?) -water-ABSTR</i>	
breast	juice

N₂ is part of N₁

tutol-te-kakawa-tl	egg shell
<i>bird-stone-pod-ABS</i>	
egg	

coordinate

toma-čil-ɪ	tomato and chile sauce
<i>tomato-chile-ABS</i>	
i-tlɔka-tkɪ	his neighbor/fellow-man
<i>his-man-brother</i>	

ADJ + N = N

teson-capo-tl	mamey (fruit)	čil-tutu-tl	a variety of red bird
<i>raspy-zapote-ABS</i>		<i>red-bird-ABS</i>	
cohyo-k-šuč-tl	a variety of flower that smells burnt		
<i>stinky-ADJR-flower-ABS</i>			
kos-tl-k-atul-ɪ	yellow atole (gruel)	k ^w ieč-pah-tl	powdered medicine
<i>yellow-CONN-ADJR-atole-ABS</i>		<i>ground-medicine-ABS</i>	

N + ADJ = N

te-te-wie-wen-ci	boulder	tlɔl-man-kɪ	(a) plain
<i>RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM:HON</i>		<i>land-flatten-ADJR</i>	
old		flat	
tlɔl-neš-tl-k	a type of grayish clay	šulie-picɔh-k-ɪ	slender mushrooms
<i>dirt-gray-CONN-ADJR</i>		<i>mushroom-narrow-ADJR-PL</i>	

V + N = N

popuka-sitlal-ɪ	comet	popuka-tepie-tl	Popocatepetl
<i>smoke-star-ABS</i>		<i>smoke-mountain-ABS</i>	
tem ɔ-s-kal-ɪ	sauna bath house		
<i>steam-FUT-house-ABS</i>			
bathe			

N + V = N

k^Wah-cik-tli grafted shoot
 tree-stick.to-ABS
 ičpuč-kowa-l-i old maid
 daughter-remain-NR-ABS

N + V = N

šuči-k^Wa-l-i fruit
 flower-eat-NR-ABS
 (PASS?)

Verb CompoundsN + V = V

N = OBJ

kɪ-keč-pɔc-ow-a strangles it
 it-neck-squeeze-VR-PRES

kɪ-pah-k^Wa-lt-a poisons him
 him-medicine-eat-CAUS-PRES

kɪ-pɔkɪ-lus-maka makes him happy
 him-rejoice-ABSTR-give
 joy

ɔ-saka carts water
 water-cart

with OBJ

kɪ-sokɪ-nelow-a mixes it with mud
 it-mud-mix-PRES

N = LOC

kɪ-kama-pɪya has it in his mouth
 it-mouth-have

k^Wah-tlehko climbs a tree
 tree-ascend

origin

kɪ-mɔ-k^Wɪ snatches it from the hand
 it-hand-grab

kɪ-puro-tepešɪwt-a dumps it off a burro
 it-burro-dump-PRES

destination

kɪ-sokɪ-akɪ-a puts it into the mud
 it-mud-fit-PRES

kɪ-kšɪ-mutla shoots at his feet
 him-foot-hurl

relative
position

kɪ-nakas-ika-tieka lays it on its side
 it-ear-with-lay

kɪ-cin-yewal-tɪ-a places it around the base
 it-bottom-surround-CAUS-PRES

N = INSTR

kɪ-ihyu-tiema inflates it
 it-breath-fill

	<p> <i>ki-puk-tiem-ti-a</i> <i>fills it with smoke</i> <i>it-smoke-fill-CAUS-PRES</i> </p> <p> <i>ki-ihyu-mik-ti-a</i> <i>suffocates him</i> <i>him-breath-die-CAUS-PRES</i> </p> <p> <i>k-ɔ-ihyu-mik-ti-a</i> <i>drowns him</i> <i>him-water-breath-die-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>suffocate</i> </p>
	<p> <i>m-ɔ-kokow-a</i> <i>(plant) becomes sick from</i> <i>REFL-water-hurt-PRES</i> <i>too much water</i> </p> <p> <i>ɔpis-miki</i> <i>is very hungry</i> <i>famine-die</i> </p>
N = MAN	<p> <i>k-ɬknu-dta</i> <i>has pity on him</i> <i>him-orphan-see</i> </p> <p> <i>tu-mɔ-neh-nem</i> <i>crawls</i> <i>all(?) -hand-RDP-walk</i> </p> <p> <i>k^Wɬla-kisa</i> <i>comes gushing out</i> <i>dung-emerge</i> </p> <p> <i>bakieroh-kisa</i> <i>plays the part of a cowboy</i> <i>cowboy-emerge</i> </p> <p> <i>boka-čuka</i> <i>(cow) moos, lows</i> <i>cow-cry</i> </p> <p> <i>čk^Wa-tla-htow-a</i> <i>speaks evil, slanders,</i> <i>owl-UNSPEC-say-PRES</i> <i>blasphemes</i> <i>(?) OBJ</i> </p>
N = time	<p> <i>ti-tlahko-tla-k^Wɔ-s-ki</i> <i>We will eat at noon.</i> <i>we-half-UNSPEC-eat-FUT-PL</i> <i>OBJ</i> </p>
N = purpose	<p> <i>ki-keč-tekoyɔw-a</i> <i>cuts a neck-hole in it</i> <i>it-neck-pierce-PRES</i> </p>
N = SUBJ	<p> <i>con-te-ko-tlapɔn-ti</i> <i>has a (splitting) headache</i> <i>hair-CONN(?) -LOC(?) -split-INTRNS</i> <i>head</i> <i>open</i> </p> <p> <i>ih-te-čuka</i> <i>his stômach grows</i> <i>stomach-cry</i> </p> <p> <i>koč-kama-koyɔw-t</i> <i>yawns</i> <i>sleep-mouth-open-INTRNS</i> </p>

	kuku-posowt throat-swell	has a swollen throat
	miec-tuna moon-shine:brightly	(moon) shines brightly, it's a bright night
	mɔ-k ^W ah-tɪ <u>hand-wood-VR</u> tire	his hands tire
	<u>V + V = V</u>	
V ₁ = OBJ	k-htu-s-nekt it-say-FUT-want	means
	kočt-s-nekt sleep-FUT-want	is sleepy
V ₁ = MAN	čukt-s-wie-wecka cry-FUT-RDP-smile	smiles through tears
	kt-mah-kɔ-thta him-fear-MAN-see	looks at him fearfully
	kt-kuku-pɔc-mɪk-tɪ-a <u>him-throat-squeeze-die-CAUS-PRES</u> strangle kill	strangles him
	kt-koč-tie-mɪkt him-sleep-UNSPEC-die H <u>OBJ</u> dream	dreams of him
	tlasoh-kɔ-matɪ love-MAN-know	thank you
	<u>MOD + V = V</u>	
adjectival	kt-wieyt-čiwa it-big-make	makes it big
	kt-wehka-pano-a him-high-pass-PRES	elevates it, exalts him
	kt-wel-matɪ it-delicious-know	likes its taste
	mɔʃo-kisa tame-emerge	becomes tame
	kt-k ^W al-thta it-good-see	likes it

adverbial	pucoh-kɔ-sek ^w _t	has (malarial) chills
	ugly-MAN-be:cold	
	k-ičteka-nu-nuca	talks to him/her (lovers)
	him-secretly-RDP-call	secretly
	ki-meloh-kɔ-powa	testifies, affirms truthfully
	it-true-MAN-tell	

(See also INCORPORATION.)

Adjective Compounds

N + ADJ = ADJ

yul-tepic-ti-k	hard-hearted	yul-kašon-ki	tender-hearted
heart-hard-CONN-ADJR		heart-soften-ADJR	
yul-kapoc-ti-k	black-hearted, evil		
heart-black-CONN-ADJR			
k ^w ɔ-isto-k	white-haired, white	k ^w ɔ-pin-ti-k	sharp-pointed, oval
head-white-ADJR	hair	head-pointed-CONN-ADJR	
nakas-pačun-ti-k	long-haired, in need of a haircut		
ear-approach-CONN-ADJR			
iš-k ^w ɔ-k ^w al-ci	pretty of face, handsome, sort of pretty		
eye/face/sort:of-RDP-good-DIM			
	pretty		
iš-isto-k	whitish, cataracted eye		
eye/sort:of-white-ADJR			

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

-tl/-tl/-t

It is no longer possible to completely predict phonologically which form of the ABS will go on which stem. -t occurs mostly after l but also occasionally after c or ĉ; -tl occurs after all other consonants, and -tl after vowels (and the semivowels w and y, and some cases of m, on one analysis). The ABS is dropped from a noun when the noun is possessed, when it is pluralized, when any other suffix is added to it, when it is the first element in a compound, and (in most cases) when a postposition is added.

kak-tl	<i>sandal</i>	no-kak	<i>my sandal</i>
<i>sandal-ABS</i>		<i>my-sandal</i>	
kak-me	<i>sandals</i>	tlol-t	<i>earth, dirt</i>
<i>sandal-PL</i>		<i>earth-ABS</i>	
no-tlol	<i>my land</i>	tlol-pa	<i>on the ground</i>
<i>my-earth</i>		<i>earth-on</i>	
k ^w eya-tl	<i>frog</i>	k ^w eya-me	<i>frogs</i>
<i>frog-ABS</i>		<i>frog-PL</i>	
kumĉ-t	<i>mouse</i>	kt-kumĉ-te	<i>mice</i>
<i>mouse-ABS</i>		<i>RDP-mouse-PL</i>	
ĉiĉ-tl	<i>witch doctor</i>	ĉi-ĉiĉ-te	<i>witch doctors</i>
<i>witch-ABS</i>		<i>RDP-witch-PL</i>	

Quite a few nouns, most of which end in *w* or *y*, drop their final *t* along with the ABS. A number of nouns ending in *m* can be viewed as behaving similarly. One could propose a special ABS -tl for these cases or postulate the use of the -tl ABS and let the *t* be epenthesized (see Major Phonological Processes). See the next section for a different treatment of the nouns ending in *m-tl*.

šw-tl	<i>leaf</i>	šh-me	<i>leaves</i>
<i>leaf-ABS</i>		<i>leaf-PL</i>	
i-šh-yo	<i>its foliage</i>	k ^w aw-tl	<i>tree, wood</i>
<i>its-leaf-COLL</i>		<i>tree-ABS</i>	
k ^w ah-me	<i>trees</i>	k ^w ah-pico-tl	<i>wild pig</i>
<i>tree-PL</i>		<i>tree-pig-ABS</i>	
k ^w iey-tl	<i>skirt, dress</i>	i-k ^w ie	<i>her skirt</i>
<i>skirt-ABS</i>		<i>her-skirt</i>	
k ^w em-tl	<i>furrow</i>	k ^w e-me	<i>furrows</i>
<i>furrow-ABS</i>		<i>furrow-PL</i>	

tlakiem-tl <i>clothes-ABS</i>	<i>costume, dress, clothing</i>	i-tlakie <i>his-clothes</i>	<i>his costume, etc.</i>
tekol-i(tl) <i>coal-ABS</i>	<i>coal (of fire)</i>	tekol-me <i>coal-PL</i>	<i>coals</i>

Nouns ending in *tla* similarly lose their final *a* along with the ABS in the possessed forms, but not in the plural or compounding forms.

petla-tl <i>petate-ABS</i>	<i>petate (woven mat)</i>	i-petl <i>his-petate</i>	<i>his petate</i>
petla-me <i>petate-PL</i>	<i>petates</i>	k ^w tlā-tl <i>dung-ABS</i>	<i>dung</i>
i-k ^w tl <i>his-dung</i>	<i>his dung</i>	k ^w tlā-kisa <i>dung-emerge</i>	<i>gushes out</i>

At least one other word also loses a final *a* along with *-tl*:

con-te-koma-tl <i>hair-stone-gourd-ABS</i>	<i>head, skull</i>	to-con-te-ko <i>our-head</i>	<i>the human head, our heads</i>
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-tu (historically DIM) sometimes acts as an ABS.

čiči-tu <i>dog-ABS</i>	<i>dog</i>	čiči-me <i>dog-PL</i>	<i>dogs</i>
no-čiči <i>my-dog</i>	<i>my dog</i>		
tie-te-tu <i>RDP-stone-ABS</i>	<i>stone</i>	te-me <i>stone-PL</i>	<i>stones</i>
kaka-tu <i>toad-DIM(?)</i>	<i>toad</i>	kaka-to-tu <i>toad-RDP-DIM</i>	<i>toads</i>

-ci(n) DIM/HON also behaves like an ABS in some words.

puro-kone-ci <i>donkey-child-DIM</i>	<i>donkey foal</i>	puro-ku-kone <i>donkey-RDP-child</i>	<i>donkey foals</i>
i-puro-kone <i>his-donkey-child</i>	<i>his donkey foal</i>		

Quite a few nouns (Spanish loans in particular) do not have an ABS.

alošš	<i>orange</i>	čil-tekp <i>chile-(?)</i>	<i>(a very hot chile)</i>
peyu	<i>peon</i>	kašu	<i>box</i>

Obligatorily possessed nouns may also exceptionally appear with ABS.

ɪ-mɔ-tl *hand*
his(?) -hand -ABS

ɪ-knɪ-tl *brother*
his(?) -brother -ABS

The initial *ɪ* may best be treated as an epenthesis to avoid one-syllable nouns. (Cf. the third footnote under **BE** for a similar proposal for verbs. Note also that most monosyllabic nouns either have RDP in the singular (e.g., *tie-te-tu* RDP-stone-ABS) or have -*cin* DIM (see NOUN MORPHOLOGY, **N + X = N**.)

Sometimes -*tlɪ* shows up where -*tl* is expected, with a slight change of meaning.

tlɪ tloka-tlɪ ika-ka in-i *What sort of man is this?*
what man-ABS is-RDP DEM-PROX

Plural

-*me*/-*te*

It is no longer possible to predict completely which stems will take -*me* and which will take -*te*. Some can have either.

sitlal-ɪ	<i>star</i>	sitlal-te	<i>stars</i>
sitlal-me	<i>stars</i>		

Some speakers are beginning to try to differentiate meanings with different PL markers. For instance, according to one man:

tla-htu-l-ɪ	<i>word, language</i>	tla-htu-l-me	<i>words</i>
UNSPEC-say-NR-ABS		word-PL	
OBJ			
tla-htu-l-te	<i>languages</i>		
word-PL			

-*me* seems to have spread historically, yet -*te* seems presently more productive--it is the usual plural on Spanish loans, for instance. Some ADJ also seem to use this PL.

tuntōh-te	<i>idiots, stupid PL</i>	bōkah-te	<i>cows</i>
stupid-PL		cow-PL	

A very few nouns seem to take no PL ending but simply lose their ABS in the PL.

tloka-tl	<i>man</i>	tloka	<i>men</i>
man-ABS			
kumɪ-tl	<i>water pot</i>	kumɪ	<i>water pots</i>
water:pot-ABS			

šwmu-tl	<i>adobe</i>	šwmu	<i>adobes</i>
<i>adobe-ABS</i>			

All of the nouns in this category that I know of except *tlōka* end in *mu* like *kumu* and *šwmu*. However, for most speakers *ɪ* and *e* tend to neutralize in this context, and some speakers pronounce them as a definite *me*. So for these speakers it is probably best to analyze these cases as examples of the *-tl* ABS (whether or not a result of epenthesis; see under *Absolutive*) and *-me* PL, with *mm* reducing to *m*. Supporting this analysis is the fact that the possessed form of *tlakiem-tl* *clothing* is *i-tlakie* (*his-clothing*), not *i-tlakiemu* as one would expect if the stem were really *tlakiemu*.^{*} Note also *i-ku* *his water pot*. Also, compounded forms with these nouns do not have the *ɪ* in them.

šwom-tl	<i>cornstalk</i>	šwom-pehpena	<i>gathers cornstalks</i>
<i>cornstalk-ABS</i>		<i>cornstalk-choose</i>	
šwom-kal-ɪ	<i>shack made of</i>	šwom-teku	<i>cuts cornstalks</i>
<i>cornstalk-house-ABS</i>	<i>cornstalks</i>	<i>cornstalk-cut</i>	
šwmu-tl	<i>adobe</i>	šwom-kotok-tl	<i>piece of adobe</i>
<i>adobe-ABS</i>		<i>adobe-broken-ABS</i>	

-(e)s

A minority of Spanish loan words take this Spanish PL.

peyu	<i>peon</i>	peyun-es	<i>peons</i>
		<i>peon-PL</i>	
peyun-te	<i>peons</i>		
<i>peon-PL</i>			

Some nouns have the Spanish PL in their singular form, and use the Aztec PL to form the plural.

kalobos	<i>nail</i> (from Sp.	kalobos-te	<i>nails</i>
<i>nail</i>	<i>clavos nails</i>)	<i>nail-PL</i>	

-ku

A very few nouns use *-ku* as their PL. This is probably the same ending as *-k-ɪ* (ADJR-PL), which appears on almost all PL ADJ. (There is also a *-ku* PL used on PERF and FUT verbs.) This PL is pronounced *-ko* when it is not final.

kukowe	<i>ox</i>	kukoweh-ku	<i>oxen</i>
<i>ox</i>		<i>ox-PL</i>	

^{*}The final *m*, of course, deletes. Interestingly enough, Pochutla had parallel forms ending in *m-t*, where the *-t* was ABS, e.g., Poch. *atom-t* *louse*, Tetel. *atmt-tl* *louse*. This suggests that perhaps these forms arose historically from an epenthesis.

tlá-teki-pano *servant*
 UNSPEC-work-pass
 OBJ

tlá-teki-panoh-ki *servants*
 servant-PL

mo-tlá-teki-panoh-kɔ-ci-ci-wa *your HON servants*
 your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL

sie *one*
 one

se-ki *some, several, a few*
 one-PL

-t *ADJ PL*

weya-k *long*
 long-ADJR

wie-weya-k-t *long PL*
 RDP-long-ADJR-PL

čiči-k *bitter*
 bitter-ADJR

čiči-k-t *bitter PL*
 bitter-ADJR-PL

ADJ ending in *l-k* lose the *t* in the PL; ADJ ending in *ɔwa-k* lose the *a*.
 The *t* case could be accounted for by epenthesis of the *t*; the *a* case perhaps by
 epenthesis feeding a vowel harmony rule.

wiel-k *delicious*
 delicious-ADJR

wiel-k-t *delicious PL*
 delicious-ADJR-PL

copiel-k* *sweet*
 sweet-ADJR

copiel-k-t *sweet PL*
 sweet-ADJR-PL

čikɔwa-k *strong*
 strong-ADJR

čikɔh-k-t *strong PL*
 strong-ADJR-PL

picɔwa-k *thin*
 thin-ADJR

picɔh-k-t *thin PL*
 thin-ADJR-PL

-tie *QNT PL* (from -te PL tensed?)

meyak *much*
 much

meyak-tie *many*
 much-PL

noči *all*
 all

in-noč-tie *all of them*
 their-all-PL

mɔk^{wil}-tie *five of them*
 five-PL (in some older
 people's speech)

mɔk^{wil}-te *five of them*
 five-PL

-wa *POSSD PL*

no-mɔ *my hand*
 my-hand

no-mɔ-wa *my hands*
 my-hand-POSSD:PL

*This is probably etymologically related to *wiel-k*, though there is no *co-* morpheme I know of
 with an appropriate meaning. Cf. *ɔ-wiel-k* (water-delicious-ADJR) *watery-tasting, insipid*.

pərinoh-tl godfather
godfather-ABS

i-pərinoh-wa his godparents
his-godfather-POSSD:PL

In a few cases a POSSD noun will appear with RDP to indicate PL, and no -wa. A distributive or 'respective' meaning may be implied in these cases.

i-kič-tu his size
his-size-DIM(?)

to-kič-to-tu our (respective) sizes
our-size-RDP-DIM

čon-tl home, dwelling
home-ABS

in-čah-č their (respective) homes
their-RDP-home
DISTR(?)

RDP

Reduplication either of the type $C_1V_1 - C_1V_1 \times$ or $C_1V_1 - C_1V_1 \times$ or the
[ətns] [ətns]

(DISTR?) type involving an *h* after the RDP is used to indicate plurality. In a case or two it appears that a backwards (i.e., the RDP is on the right) RDP is used. A few stems are RDP, usually with -me or -te also used and several suffixes. Some ADJ are also RDP.

komiš-t lizard
lizard-ABS

ku-komiš-te lizards
RDP-lizard-PL

kumič-t mouse
mouse-ABS

ki-kumič-te mice
RDP-mouse-PL

i-nomik her husband
her-husband

in-nah-nomik-wa their husbands
their-RDP-husband-POSSD
DISTR(?) PL

i-si-si-wan-konie his daughter
his RDP child
woman

i-si-si-wan-ku-kone-wa his daughters
his-girl-RDP-child-POSSD
PL

kaka-tu toad
toad-DIM(?)

kaka-to-tu toads
toad-RDP-DIM

koruh-ci cross
cross-HON

koruh-ci-ci crosses
cross-RDP-HON

tlōka-cin-tl lord
man-HON-ABS

tlōka-ci-cin-te lords
man-RDP-HON-PL

uc-tl pregnant (woman)
pregnant-ABS

u-uc-te pregnant PL (women)
RDP-pregnant-PL

weya-k long
long-ADJR

wie-weya-k-t long PL
RDP-long-ADJR-PL

k^wah good
good

k^wah-k^wah very good, good PL
RDP-good

Several forms seem to involve loss of an initial RDP as part of the pluralization process, usually when another RDP is added towards the end of the word.

tie-te-tu stone
RDP-stone-ABS: DIM(?)

si-si-wan-tu girl
[RDP] DIM
woman

mu-moroh-ci dumb man
RDP-dumb-DIM

ci-cik-ci little
RDP-little-DIM

k^wɔ-k^wal-ci pretty
RDP-good-DIM

k^wɔ-pi-pi-ca-ci oval
head [RDP] DIM
thin

te-me stones
stone-PL

siwan-to-tu girls
woman-RDP-DIM

moroh-ci-ci dumb men
dumb-RDP-DIM

cik-ci-ci little PL
little-RDP-DIM

k^wal-ci-ci pretty PL
good-RDP-DIM

k^wɔ-pica-ci-ci oval PL
head-thin-RDP-PL

-ci DIM/HON behaves peculiarly with PL. Sometimes it disappears; usually it reduplicates (see above); sometimes it appears (is added) reduplicated; in at least one case it appears unreduplicated.

ku-kušoh-ci lame man
RDP-lame-DIM

puroh-kone-ci burro foal
burro-child-DIM

deus God

tlowon-ki drunk (man)
be:drunk-ADJR

monko mango

ku-kušoh-te lame men
RDP-lame-PL

puroh-ku-kone burro foals
burro-RDP-child

deus-ci-ci gods
god-RDP-HON

tlowon-kɔ-ci-ci drunks, drunk PL
be:drunk-ADJR-RDP-DIM

mɔ-monko-ci mangos
RDP-mango-DIM

Nouns with the suffix *wie-wen* *big, (old)* may be pluralized by adding the RDP form of the suffix *-tu*.

te-te-wie-wen-ci boulder
RDP-stone-RDP-big-DIM/HON
old

kaswiela-wie-we big cazuela
cazuela-RDP-big (serving dish)

te-wie-wen-to-tu boulders
stone-big-RDP-DIM
(?)

kaswiela-wie-wen-to-tu big cazuelas
cazuela-RDP-big-RDP-DIM

Suppletion

no-konie	<i>my son/child</i>	no-pl-wa	<i>my children</i>
<i>my-child</i>		<i>my-child-POSSD:PL</i>	

The fact that *pl* always occurs with *-wa* (except in compound and derived forms) is doubtless the explanation for the double occurrence of *-wa* in:

mo-pl-wan-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON children</i>
<i>your-child-POSSD-RDP-HON-POSSD</i>	
<i>PL</i>	<i>PL</i>

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor Affixes:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	mo-	nemo-/namo-
2P HON	mo-...-ci	nemo-/namo-...-ci
3P	i-	in(m)-
3P HON	tie-	tiein(m)-
3P HHON	tie-...-ci	tiein(m)-...-ci

A special PL -wa is used on POSSD forms; the -ci HON is also reduplicated to -ci-ci.

no-kni	<i>my brother</i>	namo-kni-ci-ci-wa	<i>your PL HON brothers</i>
<i>my-sibling</i>		<i>your-sibling-RDP-HON-POSSD</i>	
		PL	PL

A few nouns which are reduplicated in the PL do not take -wa. These constructions seem to have a DISTR or 'respective' sense. Other nouns may have both RDP and -wa.

in-čah-čō	<i>their (respective)</i>	to-kič-to-tu	<i>our (respective) sizes</i>
<i>their-RDP-home</i>	<i>homes</i>	<i>our-size-RDP-DIM</i>	
in-nah-nōmk-wa	<i>their husbands</i>		
<i>their-RDP-husband-POSSD:PL</i>			

Sometimes a noun is left singular when the 'respective' sense is intended. This parallels a Spanish construction.

in-šompliolo	<i>their (respective) hats</i>
<i>their-hat</i>	

to-our is sometimes used with a generalized sense referring to people in general or the people of Tetelcingo.

to-mō	<i>the human hand</i>	to-tō-ta-ci-ci	<i>the town idols (even</i>
<i>our-hand</i>		<i>our-RDP-father-RDP-HON</i>	<i>when referred</i>
			<i>to by an atheist)</i>

When used with a LOC postposition, the LOC -ko is usually added to forms with -ci HON.

mo-tlak-cin-ko	<i>near you HON</i>	tie-ka-cin-ko	<i>with him HHON</i>
<i>your-near-HON-LOC</i>		<i>his-with-HON-LOC</i>	
		HON	

The noun *child* behaves oddly with respect to possession. The POSSD SG form is suppletive:

pd-cin-tli	<i>baby, child</i>	no-konie	<i>my son/child</i>
<i>child-DIM-ABS</i>		<i>my-child:POSSD</i>	
no-pl-wa	<i>my children</i>		
<i>my-child-POSSD:PL</i>			

When PL occurs with a *-ci-ci* suffix, the POSSD PL marker *-wa(n)* is repeated twice.

mo-pl-wan-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON children</i>
<i>your-child-POSSD:PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL</i>	

Another form has PL marked twice, once with a non-POSSD and once with a POSSD PL.

mo-tla-teku-panoh-kɔ-ci-ci-wa	<i>your HON servants</i>
<i>your-servant-PL-RDP-HON-POSSD:PL</i>	

Syntax

POSSR affixes attach to nouns or to postpositions. When there is an explicit N or PRON POSSR, the POSSR affix remains on the POSSD N or P, and the explicit POSSR follows the POSSD nominal. Sometimes the Spanish preposition *de of* is also used:

i-ʒɔ	<i>mali</i>	<i>Mary's home</i>	tie-konie de ʒowa	<i>John's son</i>
<i>her-home PN</i>			<i>his-child of PN</i>	
			<i>HON</i>	

ɔku *one, someone*, however, always precedes its POSSD nominal, and normally so do all nominal question words, including ɔku *who?*

ɔku i-yulo	<i>one's heart</i>
<i>one his-heart</i>	
ɔku i-yulo (with Q intonation)	<i>whose heart?</i>
<i>who his-heart</i>	

Recursion occurs, usually with Sp. *de of* to help out.

yaha in-u	i-puro	de i-to-ta	pɔnʃo	<i>That's Pancho's daddy's</i>
<i>it DEM-DIST</i>	<i>his-burro</i>	<i>of his-RDP-father</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>burro.</i>

POSS PRON are formed by attaching POSSR affixes to *-wɔʃka*.

mo-wɔʃka-ci	<i>yours HON</i>	no-wɔʃka	<i>mine</i>
<i>your-own-HON</i>		<i>my-own</i>	

POSTPOSITIONS

P are mostly bound. They occur postposed to the appropriate POSSR PRON, preceding the N (or PRON) to which they refer.* In some cases they are postposed directly to the noun, but such combinations do not seem to be presently productive.

Related forms:

-pa	<i>on, at, in</i>	ka panu (with outside) <i>outwardly, on the surface</i>
-wa	<i>with (H)</i>	wa <i>and</i>
-pampa	<i>on account of, for the sake of, in place of</i>	i-pampa <i>because its-on:account:of</i>
-tlak	<i>near, next to</i>	
-teč	<i>up against, touching</i>	
-kpak	<i>on top of</i>	
-ka	<i>with, by, INSTR</i>	
-colo	<i>among</i>	
-wik	<i>against (archaic)</i>	

Complex P:

-iš-tla <i>face-LOC</i>	<i>in front of, before</i>	m-iš-tlan-ci/(ne)-m-iš-tlan-cin-ko <i>(you:PL)-HON-face-LOC-HON-LOC</i> <i>Excuse me, please.</i>
-iš-pa <i>face-at</i>	<i>in front of, before</i>	
-hte-k <i>belly-LOC</i>	<i>inside of, into</i>	
-hte-k-t	PL (archaic)	
-kš-tla <i>foot-LOC</i>	<i>at the foot of</i>	
-cin-tla <i>base-LOC</i>	<i>underneath, at the bottom of</i>	
-cin-teč <i>base-touching</i>	<i>at the bottom of</i>	

*An exception is the phrase yaha i-ka (it its-with) 'because of that, therefore, that's why', where yaha undoubtedly is in focus.

-k^wɔ-tɪ-kpak *on the top of*
head-CONN-on:top:of

-hte-ko-pa *inside of, on the inside of*
belly-LOC-at

-tien-ko *around, at the edge of*
lip-LOC

-tekt-pa *in place of*
work-at

-ne-tlak *very close to*
UNSPEC:REFL-near

-ne-wa *together* (Normally has no noun or pronoun following it.
 Occasionally you get something like:

on-ya-hkt in-ne-wa karlos ka šowa
 DIRL-go-PL *their-together* PN with PN
Charles and John went off together.

where it seems more probable that the proper names are
 SUBJ rather than P-OBJ.)

-tla-ko-pa *by means of* (archaic)
near-LOC-on

Free P include *wa and*, *pa on, at*, and *ka with* from the above list. These are
 preposed to their head noun. A number of Spanish prepositions have also been
 borrowed and are freely used.

de *of, from* (Sp.)
 para *for* (Sp.)
 sana *like*
 kiemu *like*
 kiemu ka *about, more or less*
like with

por *by, for, by means of* (Sp.)
 sin *without* (Sp.)
 sawek *similar to*
 kienamu *similar to*
 ka tie-wa *together with* (someone)
with UNSPEC-with
 H:POSSR

tla-tlahkɔ *in the middle*
RDP-half

asta *until, as far as* (Sp.)

por i-pa *(motion) over, along*
by its-on

para ka *as far as concerns, in the*
for with case of (Sp. *para con*)

There is evidence that *i-pa* (its-at) and perhaps *i-ka* (its-with) are being
 reanalyzed as unit prepositions:

mo-čiwa ipa to-noč-tie
REFL-do on our-all-PL
happen

It happens to all of us.

The expected form would be:

mo-čiwa	to-pa	to-noč-tie	<i>It happens to all of us.</i>
<i>REFL-do</i>	<i>our-on</i>	<i>our-all-PL</i>	

Also note:

i-yul-ipa	<i>in his heart</i>	ika	te-me	<i>with stones</i>
<i>his-heart-in</i>		<i>with</i>	<i>stone-PL</i>	

Some of these forms are phonologically bound to some extent to the noun to which they are preposed. Final *n* does not drop in these cases.

yey-t	ura	wan=tlahko	3:30
<i>three-ABS</i>	<i>hour</i>	<i>and=half</i>	
mok ^W il-t	wan-sie		six
<i>five-ABS</i>	<i>and-one</i>		
kiem	pan=tlahka		about noon
<i>like</i>	<i>at=half</i>		
i-pan=tlol-ti-kpak-tli			on earth
<i>its-on=ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS</i>			

Some *P* are used with UNSPEC markers in special ways or with (i)ka is postposed to them.

to-ne-wa	<i>we (usually two)</i>	in-ne-teč	<i>very close to each other</i>
<i>our-UNSPEC-with</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>their-UNSPEC-touching</i>	
<i>REFL</i>		<i>REFL</i>	
in-ne-tlak	<i>very close together</i>	tla-colo	<i>in the middle</i>
<i>their-UNSPEC-near</i>		<i>UNSPEC-among</i>	
<i>REFL</i>		<i>OBJ</i>	
tla-kpak	<i>up high</i>	i-tlan-ka	<i>It is near him.</i>
<i>UNSPEC-on:top:of</i>		<i>his-LOC-be</i>	<i>(This is the only use of</i>
<i>OBJ</i>			<i>-tlan LOC with a PRON.)</i>
tla-cin-tla	<i>down low</i>	i-pan-ka	<i>It is on it.</i>
<i>UNSPEC-base-LOC</i>		<i>its-on-be</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>	<i>underneath</i>		

Some remnants of the *CONN -ti-* can be found.

tlol-ti-kpak-tli	<i>the earth, world, universe</i>
<i>ground-CONN-on:top:of-ABS</i>	
i-k ^W o-ti-kpak	<i>on the top of</i>
<i>its-head-CONN-on:top:of</i>	

-pa is used with QNT (incl. NUMR) and a few nouns and ADJ with the meaning *times*:

sah-pa <i>one-times</i>	once	meyak-pa <i>much-times</i>	often, many times
mɔk ^w ɔl-pa <i>five-times</i>	five times	nočɛ-pa <i>all-times</i>	forever
ʃh-pa <i>leaf/-times</i> <i>year</i>	year	weh-ko-pa <i>big-LOC-times</i> <i>far</i>	long ago, (a little) later, in a while
mo-sie-pa-yewɛ <i>are of the same age</i> REFL-one-times-be:born (same)			

-tla LOC seems to bear the meaning *down* in some forms.

wehka-pa	tall	wehka-tla	very deep
far-on		far-down	
ka iš-tlah-pač	facing downwards		
with eye-down-approach			
ka tla-cin-tla	down-hill, down south, southwards	(The slope is from north	
with UNSPEC-base-down		to south.)	
ORI			

Noun-P combinations are no longer productive. Most such combinations involve LOC. (See the listing of place suffixes under NOUN MORPHOLOGY, $N + X = N$). A few more examples are given here.

tlɔl-pa <i>ground-on</i>	(on) the gound/floor
i-yul-ipa <i>his-heart-at</i>	in his heart
i-cim-pa <i>his-bottom-on</i>	his waist
i-mɔ-pa <i>his-hand-on</i>	in his hand

DEMONSTRATIVES

Basic Forms

The basic demonstrative elements seem to be -i PROX and -u DIST. Some adverbial demonstratives have come to be used as regular demonstratives also. Demonstratives function as 3P pronouns and can stand alone as nominals.

PROX	nɔ-nka	<i>this (one) (here)</i>
	<i>here-be</i>	
	nɔ-nka-te	<i>these (ones)</i>
	<i>here-be-PL</i>	
	nɔ-ilowak	<i>this (one) HON</i>
	<i>here-be:HON</i>	
	nɔ-ih-ilowak	<i>these (ones) HON</i>
	<i>here-RDP-be:HON</i>	
	in-i	<i>this, these</i>
	<i>DEM-PROX</i>	
	in-u	<i>that, those</i>
	<i>DEM-DIST</i>	
DIST	nie-ka	<i>that (over there)</i>
	<i>there-be</i>	
	nie-ka-te	<i>those (over there)</i>
	<i>there-be-PL</i>	

nɔ-nka is the usual presentative; it often means *here is*. nie-ka (or nie-ka-ka) often means *there (it) is*. nɔ *here* is occasionally used alone as a non-adverbial DEM.

nɔ	ki-mah-tuka	kiyawt-s	<i>This fellow is sure it's going to rain.</i>
	<i>here</i>	<i>it-know-PRES</i>	<i>rain-FUT</i>
		<i>PROG</i>	

Other Forms

ini nɔnka(te)			These doubled up forms are very common; they are especially
inu nieka(te)			likely to be used when the DEM stands alone.
yehwan-i	<i>these ones</i>	}	DEM forms of the definite pronoun. Often these form a complete utterance: <i>These are they</i> or <i>Those are they</i> .
<i>they-PROX</i>			
yehwan-u	<i>those ones</i>	}	
<i>they-DIST</i>			
noči-hi	<i>all these, all this</i>		
<i>all-PROX</i>			
noči-hu	<i>all those, all that</i>		
<i>all-DIST</i>			

noči-me-hu *all of those ones, all of them*
all-PL-DIST

nie-ka-hu *that (one over there) (alternate form of nie-ka)*
there-be-DIST

yaha in-i no-nka *this one here/This is the one.*
it DEM-DIST here-be

yaha in-u nie-ka *that one there/That's the one.*
it DEM-DIST there-be

The related question words often show the -i and -u morphemes.

tlin-in-i-hi *What's this here?*
what-DEM-RDP-PROX

tlin-in-u-hu *What's that there?*
what-DEM-RDP-DIST

kotl-aha *which one?*
which-it

 kotl-ehwa *which ones?*
 which-they

kotl-a-hu *which one (of those)?*
which-it(?) -DIST

 kotl-ehwa-w *which ones (of those)? **
 which-they-DIST

kotl-a-i *which one (of these)?*
which-it(?) -PROX

ɔki-n-u *who (is it that)?/Who is that?/whoever (it is that)*
who-DEM-DIST

 ɔki-me-hu *PL*
 who-PL-DIST

ɔki-n-u-hu *who (is it (that))/?/Who is that?*
who-DEM-RDP-DIST

ɔki-n-i-hi *Who is this?*
who-DEM-RDP-PROX

Perhaps the singular definite pronoun ending -aha could be analyzed as a reduplicated morpheme -a meaning unspecificity as to PROX-DIST, coordinate with -i-hi and -u-hu.

ni-ko *here* is sometimes used in a nearly DEM sense.

*This word is irregular either in not deleting a final w or in having antepenultimate stress (kotl^hehwaw).

ni-kɔ to-kni *our brother here*
 I(?))-LOC *our-sibling*

in-i and in-u are sometimes attached to the following word loosely; in these cases a final -n shows up.

in-in=tunal-i *this day* in-un=k^Wali tloka-tl *that good*
 DEM-PROX=sun-ABS DEM-DIST=good man-ABS *man*

DEM precede the N and its other modifiers.

in-u laltwis k^Wali tloka-tl *that very good man*
that very good man-ABS

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Location

PROX nɔ *here*

DIST nie *there*

These are used only with a few words.

nɔ=wic-i *Here they come.* nie-wic *There he comes.*
here=come-PL there-come

nɔ=loro *this side* nie=loro *that side*
here=side there=side

nɔ=ni-ya *Here I go.* nie-ka *There it is./that*
here=I-go there-be

PROX ni-kɔ *here, in this place, hither*
 I(?))-LOC

on-kɔ *around here, towards here*
 MED-LOC

on-kɔ-nka *There's some around here some place./*
 MED-LOC-be *Here's some.*

MED om-pa *there, in that place, thither*
 MED-on

on-kɔ-n-u *around there, over there*
 MED-LOC-DEM-DIST

DIST nie-pa *away over there, in Hell*
 DIST-on

Other forms:

nɔ-nka *Here it is./this one*
here-be

nɔ-nka-te *Here they are./these ones*
here-be-PL

nie-ka-(ka) *There it is./(non-RDP) that one*
there-be-RDP

om-pa-(h)u *at that place*
MED-on-DIST

WHW kɔnɪ *where?, where*

kɔne-nka *where is?*
where-be

kɔnɪ-n-u *over there*
where-DEM-DIST

kɔnɪ-n-u-hu *where (REL)*
where-DEM-RDP-DIST

Manner

ɬkɪ-u *thus, in that way*
be:permanently-DIST

ɬkɪ-i *thus, in this way*
be:permanently-PROX

kienɪ *how?*

Reason, Cause:

i-pampa-hi *therefore, because of this*
its-on-PROX
account:of

i-pampa-hu *therefore, because of that*
because-DIST

Time

pa nie-ka tiempo *at that time, back then, in the olden days*
at DIST-be time
that

ka ye nie-pa *away back when*
with already DIST-at
there

i-pa nie-ka-te tunal-te *in olden days, in those days*
its-on that-PL sun-PL

ye=k^wɔk=ɪn-u *then, after that happened*
already=when=DEM-DIST

k^wɔk=ɪn-u-hu *then, when that happened/happens*
when=DEM-RDP-DIST

kiema-nɪ-yo *some day, sometime*
when-(?)-ABSTR

kiemanɪya	}	(alternate forms)
kiemanɪ		
kiemanu		

entunes	then	
tuses	}	(alternate forms)
toses		
tos		

WHW kiema *when?*

Size

kɪʃ-tun-i* ka wieyɪ *about this big*
size-DIM(?)-PROX with big

kɪh-kɪʃ-tu ka wieyɪ *how big?*
(?)-size-DIM with big
how many

i-kɪʃ-tu *his size*
his-size-DIM

*Perhaps this should be divided thus: kɪʃ-tu-n-i (size-DIM-DEM-PROX).

QUANTIFIERS

Forms

- noči *all* (noči-ki is listed as plural in the Brewers' *Vocabulario*, but I have never heard it.)
- in-noč-tie(n) *all of them*
their-all-PL
- noč-aha *pure, straight (whiskey), heaped up*
all-it
- noči-pa *forever*
all-times
- meyak *much, many*
- meyak-tie(n) *many* -tie PL is used only here, on noči, and on some
much-PL NUMR in some old people's speech.
- mie-meyak-ci *a good number/amount of*
RDP-much-DIM
- mie-meyak-ci-ci *a good number of*
 RDP-much-RDP-DIM
- meyak-pa *often, many times*
many-times
- se-ki *some, several, a few*
one-PL
- ok-se-ki *others*
yet-one-PL
- kieski *a little bit (of), a few*
- kieski-te *a few*
few-PL
- tepi-ci *a little bit (of), somewhat, a little while*
little:bit-DIM
- nɔh-te *a little bit (of), a few*
4(?) -PL
- ci-ciki-l-ci *a little bit (of)* (cf. ci-ciki-ci *little*)
RDP-little-NR(?) -DIM
- tlahkɔ *half of*
- seme *always*
- semɨhak *eternally, forever*
- sem-dwi-tl *the livelong day* Usually noči *semdwɨl*.
always-fiesta(?) -ABS *all all day*

The main WHW corresponding to QNT is *kieh-kič* ((?)-size) *how much?*.

<i>kieh-kič-te</i> (?)-size-PL <i>how much</i>	<i>how many</i>	<i>kieh-kič-pa</i> <i>how:much-times</i>
<i>kieh-kič-tu ka wieyt</i> (?)-size-DIM with big		<i>how big?</i>
<i>kieh-kič tunal-t</i> <i>how much sun-ABS</i>		<i>how many days?, how long?</i>
<i>kiesku-pa</i> <i>a:few-times</i>		<i>how many times?</i>
<i>kieh-kič-t</i> <i>how:much-PL</i>		<i>how many? (for some speakers)</i>

Syntax

All the QNT can be used in certain circumstances without a head.

<i>se-ki tlah-tla-k^wa-ya</i> <i>one-PL RDP-UNSPEC-eat-IMPRF</i>	<i>se-ki koh-koč-ta-ya</i> <i>one-PL RDP-sleep-DUR-IMPRF</i>
<i>OBJ</i>	

Some were eating; some were sleeping.

<i>št-nieč-čiya tept-ci</i> <i>IMP-me-await little:bit-DIM</i>	<i>Wait a minute for me.</i>
---	------------------------------

<i>so ci-cku-l-ci</i> <i>just RDP-little-NR-DIM</i>	<i>št-nieč-maka</i> <i>IMP-me-give</i>	<i>Just give me a little.</i>
--	---	-------------------------------

QNT precede the noun they modify. Sometimes they are 'intrinsic' or distinctive properties of the noun; in such cases they may intervene between a noun and its possessor prefix.

<i>meyak hiente</i> <i>much people</i>	<i>lots of people</i>
<i>tie-meyak tlasohit-lis</i> <i>his-much love-ABSTR</i> <i>HON</i>	<i>his HON great love</i> (Note the N has no ABS because it is possessed.)

QNT more often than not precede the V in a predicate construction, in contrast to other ADJ, which usually follow. As other ADJ, they are marked with the appropriate (non-HON) subject pronoun (Ø for 3rd person).

<i>tehwa ti-meyak-tie ti-ka-te</i> <i>we we-much-PL we-be-PL</i>	<i>We are many.</i>
---	---------------------

The partitive construction involves the Spanish preposition *de of, from*. *noči* has its own construction in this sense.

meyak-tie de tehwa	<i>many of us</i>
<i>much-PL of we</i>	
to-noč-tie	<i>all of us</i>
<i>our-all-PL</i>	

NUMERALS

Basic Forms

sie/sente	<i>one</i>	mahtlak-tł*	<i>ten</i>
ume/unte	<i>two</i>	<i>ten-ABS</i>	
yeyı/yete	<i>three</i>	mahtlak-tł wan-sie	<i>eleven</i>
nɔwɪ	<i>four</i>	<i>ten-ABS and-one</i>	
mɔk ^W ɪł*	<i>five</i>	mahtlak-tł wan-ume	<i>twelve</i>
čık-wa-sie	<i>six</i>	mahtlak-tł wa yeyı	<i>thirteen</i>
<i>five-and-one</i>		mahtlak-tł wa nɔwɪ	<i>fourteen</i>
čık-ume	<i>seven</i>	kaštulı	<i>fifteen</i>
čık- ^W -ieyı	<i>eight</i>	kaštulı wan-sie	<i>sixteen</i>
<i>five-and-three</i>		etc.	
čık-nɔwɪ	<i>nine</i>	sem-poa-l-ı	<i>twenty</i>
		<i>one-count-NR-ABS</i>	
		etc.	

Above ten, Spanish numerals are more common. A few old people recall forms such as *uh-poa-l-ı* (two-count-NR-ABS) *forty*, etc. *Six* is occasionally given as *mɔk^Wɪł wan-sie*, *seven* as *mɔk^Wɪł wan-ume*, etc.

The *-ı* on most of these NUMR is probably well treated as an ABS; it usually disappears when *-pa times* or a PL is suffixed (see below). However, sometimes it doesn't.

čık- ^W -ieh-pa	<i>eight times</i>	čık- ^W -ieyh-pa	<i>eight times</i>
<i>five-and-three-times</i>			

*Both *mɔk^Wɪł* and *mahtlak-tł* are probably historically derived from *mɔ* or *mah* 'hand'. *mɔk^Wɪ-l-ı* (hand-grasp-NR-ABS) and *mah-tlak-tł* (hand-near-ABS) could be somewhat far-fetched synchronic analyses.

The difference in meaning between the two sets of forms listed for 1-3 is hard to describe. Often they seem to be interchangeable. The first set seems to mean something like *one in essence, essentially two*, etc., whereas the second set means *one in number*, etc., or some such thing. This difference comes out most strongly with the use of *sie* as against *sente*.

ok-sie	<i>a different</i>	ok-sen-te	<i>another</i>
yet-one		yet-one-NUM	
sie om-pa	<i>at the same place</i>	sie yaha	<i>the same one,</i>
one MED-at		one he	<i>he himself</i>
mo-sie-ti-lu-a	<i>unite themselves</i>	mo-sen-ti-ti-lu-a	<i>gather together</i>
REFL-one-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES		REFL-one-NUM-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES	
to-noč-tie ti-h-k ^W a sa sie tla-k ^W a-l-t	<i>We all eat the same kind of food.</i>		
our-all-PL we-it-eat just one	UNSPEC-eat-NR-ABS		
	<u>OBJ</u>		
	<i>food</i>		
to-noč-tie ti-h-k ^W a sa sen-te tla-k ^W a-l-t	<i>We all eat the same meal.</i>		
our-all-PL we-it-eat just one-NUM	food-ABS		

Syntax

NUMR precede the noun they modify and in general behave like other QNT with respect to position, agreement, the partitive construction, etc. (See QUANTIFIERS.)

yeyi aločwš	<i>three oranges</i>	i-sen-te konie	<i>his only son</i>
three orange		his-one-NUM son	(no ABS)
tehwa ti-nōwi-me			<i>We are four./the four of us</i>
we we-four-PL			

-pa on, at is used with NUMR (as other QNT) in the sense *times*.

sah-pa	<i>once</i>	mōk ^W il-pa	<i>five times</i>
one-times		čik-wa-sie-pa	<i>six times</i>
ok-sah-pa	<i>again</i>	čik-umeh-pa	<i>seven times</i>
yet-one-times		čik- ^W -ieh-pa/	<i>eight times</i>
uh-pa	<i>twice</i>	čik- ^W -ieyth-pa	
yeš-pa	<i>thrice</i>	mahtlak-pa	<i>ten times</i>
nōh-pa	<i>four times</i>		

-me/-te PL is used with NUMR to give a sort of partitive sense. This form is the one used in predicate adjective type constructions.

un-te-me	<i>(the) two of them</i>	mōk ^W il-te/	<i>(the) five of them</i>
two-NUM-PL		mōk ^W ilt-me	

ye-te-me	(the) three of them	čuk-ume-me	(the) seven of them
noči-me	(the) four of them		
ti-noči-me ti-ka-te	We are four.		
we-four-PL we-be-PL			
ti-ka-te ti-noči-me	We are four.		

Some older speakers use *-tie* PL (elsewhere used only on *noči* *all* and *meyak* *much*) instead of *-te* on the appropriate NUMR.

moč ^w il-tie	(the) five of them
mahtlak-tie	(the) ten of them
kaštul-tie	(the) fifteen of them

Derived forms

ka sie-sen-te	one by one	ka oh-ume	two by two
with RDP-one-NUM			
sie-sen	each one	(kara) se-sen	each, every single
RDP-one		each RDP-one	
sen-ti-tl	unique, only, complete		
one-NUM-ABS			
(sa) se-k-ni	(completely) alone together, united		
just one-ADJR(?)	-AG(?)		
se-ki	some, several, a few		
one-PL			
ye on-šie-ših-ti	is one year old, has been a year		
already DURL-one-year-VR	(Note sympathetic palatalization of sie.)		
(PAST?)			
uh-kɔ lɔro	both sides	uh-pa-pa	ki-powa repeats it
two-LOC side		two-RDP-times	it-(re)count

ADJECTIVES

Most ADJ are marked with a final *-k* ADJR; a majority have *-ti-* CONN preceding the *-k*. A large number end in *owa-k*.

ADJ are inflected for PL. The main pluralizer is *-t*. For examples of other PL markings see Plural under BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS.

koh-kul-ti-k *twisted*
RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR

koh-kul-ti-k-t *twisted PL*
RDP-twisted-CONN-ADJR-PL

Some of the main modifiers of ADJ are:

wel	<i>very</i>	laluws	<i>very</i>
tepi-ci	<i>somewhat (QNT)</i>	amo	<i>NEG</i>
<i>little:bit-DIM</i>			
amo wel	<i>not very, to a very little degree</i>		
laluws wel/wel laluws	<i>very</i>		

Predicate ADJ must bear the subject pronoun corresponding to their head; other ADJ usually do. (The 3P SUBJ PRON is of course \emptyset .) HON forms are not used. In IMP sentences, ξ - IMP usually acts as the SUBJ PRON.

nemehwan-ci-ci	[tli nen-k ^w al-ti-k-t	ne-mo-wec-tika-te]
<i>you-RDP-HON</i>	<i>that you-good-CONN-ADJR-PL</i>	<i>you-HON-fall-PRES-PL</i>
PL	PL	PL <u>PROG</u>
<i>you HON are</i>		

you HON who are good men

a-ye-k-mo	ξ -ye-k α	ξ -tuntoh-te	<i>Stop being so stupid!</i>
<i>no longer</i>	<i>IMP-be-PL</i>	<i>IMP-stupid-PL</i>	
SBJNCT			

ADJ (except QNT) follow their head noun unless they are considered to be in some sense 'intrinsic' or distinctive properties of the head noun, in which case they precede the noun and may even intervene between it and its possessor prefix.

sen-te	kal-t	wiey _t	<i>a big house</i>
<i>one-NUM</i>	<i>house-ABS</i>	<i>big</i>	
tie-laluws	wiey _t	tlasohtu-lu	<i>his HON very great love</i>
<i>his-very</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>love-ABSTR</i>	(Note that the noun has no ABS because it is possessed.)
HON			

'Restrictive' or distinctive ADJ very often appear as predicates in relative clauses.

no-konie	[tli kač _t wiey _t]	<i>my biggest son</i>
<i>my-child</i>	<i>that more big</i>	

no-konie kači wiewi
my-child more big

my biggest son (less usual)

laliwis *very* usually follows the ADJ it modifies in PRED constructions; otherwise it must precede.

in-u tloka-tl wiewi laliwis That man is very big.
DEM-DIST man-ABS big very

in-u tloka-tl laliwis wiewi that very big man
DEM-DIST man-ABS very big

COMPARATIVES

Comparisons of Inequality

kači more

ke than (Sp.)

$$X \text{ kači } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ADJ (N) (be)} \\ \text{QNT (N) (be)} \\ \text{V (OBJ)} \end{array} \right\} (\text{ke } Y)$$

yaha kači ki-tlasohtla i-sowa He loves his wife even more.
he more her-love his-woman

yaha kači wiewi (ika) ke taha He is bigger than you.
he more big is than you

onka-te kači meyak-tie tloka ke sowa-me There are more men than
there-PL more much-PL men than woman-PL women.
is

$$X \text{ V kači } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{QNT (N)} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right\} (\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ke} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\} \text{ lo ke tli V } Y)$$

yehwa-ci tieč-tlasohtla-lo kači laliwis meyak de lo ke
he-HON us-love-HON more very much of that that
HON (PRON) (SUBR)

tli tieč-tlah-tlasohtla-lo to-to-tah-wa
that us-RDP-love-HON our-RDP-father-POSSD
(REL) PL

He HON loves us much more than our parents do.

kači ADV V

entunses kači laliwís ki-neki-ya *Then he wanted it even more.*
 then more very it-want-IMPRF

kači mienos less
 more less

Comparisons of Equality

yaha úka ig^wól de wíeyi ka pegro *He is the same size as Pedro.*
 he is equal of big with PN

yehwa tieč-neki ig^wól ke in-u ok-se-ki *They like us as much as*
 they us-want equal that DEM-DIST yet-one-PL those others do.

Superlatives

yaha kači wíeyi úka ke to-noč-tie *He is the biggest of us all.*
 he more big is than our-all-PL
 all of us

yaha kači wíeyi úka de to-noč-tie *He is the biggest of us all.*
 he more big is of all of us

yaha kači wíeyi úka *He is the biggest.*
 (with emphatic stress and pitch on kači)

[lo ke tli kači k^wál] úka in-i nɔ-nka
 that that that more good is DEM-PROX PROX-be
 (PRON) (SUBR) (REL) this here
 that which
 The best thing is this.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

yeka *someone (I don't know who), some person*
 tla *something*
 pakí/pakís *sometimes, once in a while : (perhaps from -pa times + -ki PL ??)*
 kiemaneyu *some day (in the future) (kiema when?)*
 sie tunal- *one day (in the past)*
 one sun-ABS
 kahna *some place*

tli	something(s)	(Use very restricted in this sense. Also means what?, that which.)	
tli-mač	all sorts of stuff, what-not		
what-know			
sen-te	one, someone		
one-NUM			
yeka	o-ki-wika-k	Somebody took it.	
someone	PAST-it-carry-PERF		
pakus	ni-k-eliewi-a	kanah-utla	Sometimes I crave something or
sometimes	I-it-desire-PRES	DUB-something	other.

Negative

amo ɔki	no one
NEG who	
amo=yutla	nothing (at all)
NEG=something	
amo kahna	nowhere (in particular)
NEG somewhere	
amo tli	nothing OBJ (preceding the V)
NEG what	
ayik	never
a-ye-mo	not yet (ye already)
a-ye-k-mo	no longer
a-ye-k-mo kiema	never again
no longer when	
nion-tli	nothing (in particular)
not:even-what	
nion-ɔki	nobody (at all)
not:even-who	
nion sah-pa	not even once, never
not:even one-times	
antlei/antleyi	there is no(ne) (from amo NEG and tli what?)
amo ɔki o-nɔwat	Nobody answered.
NEG who PAST-reply:PERF	
amo tli o-nɔwat nion-tli	He didn't answer anything at all.
NEG what PAST-reply not:even-what	
PERF	

NEG INDF PRON sometimes act as QNT, modifying a N. They usually appear in an already NEG sentence in these cases. *yeka* also sometimes functions as a N modifier.

amo nɛ-k-pɛya niɔn-tli tlaɯ-l-i
 NEG I-it-have not:even-something shell:corn-NR-ABS
 I don't have any corn.

yeka sowa-tl o-ki-či Some woman did it.
 someone woman-ABS PAST-it-do:PERF

Any

ɔki one, someone (or other), anyone (also who?, who (REL))

ɔki-m-ehwa PL
 who-PL-they

kanah-yeka someone, anyone
 DUB-someone

kanah-utla something, anything
 DUB-something

kanah-kiema at some time or other, whenever
 DUB-when

ɔki ki-neki whoever (wants to), anybody (cf. Sp. *quienquiera*)
 who it-want

ɔki welɛ-tɛ-s whoever, anybody at all
 who possible-VR-FUT
 be able

kotl-aha welɛ-tɛ-s whichever one, any one
 which-it be:able-FUT

tli welɛ-tɛ-s whatever, anything at all
 what be:able-FUT

kɔnɛ welɛ-tɛ-s wherever, anywhere at all
 where be:able-FUT

ɔlgo anything, something
 something

Sometimes *noso* or *or* *noso tlo* or *if* followed by a question word gives a 'whatever' or 'some other' sense.

mul-i de ayoh-wač-tli noso tlo tli mole (soup) made of squash-
 mole-ABS of squash-seed-ABS or if what seeds or something or other

mktɛ-s de ombre noso kienu He will die of hunger or in
 die-FUT of hunger or how some other way.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
1P	naha	tehwa	(tehwān-te is an archaic form) we-PL
2P	taha	nemehwa/namehwa*	
HON	tehwa-ci you:HON-HON	nemehwan-ci-ci you:PL-RDP-HON	
3P	yaha	yehwa	
HON	yehwa-ci he:HON-HON	yehwan-ci-ci they-RDP-HON	

nemehwancici you PL HON may be used with godparental relations with the meaning you SG HHON. nemo-mawisoh-ci (your:PL-honor-HON) has been observed on ceremonial occasions, with the meaning you SG HHHON (P-NH-3.2).

wel very is used with 3P PRON to give the INTNS 'self' meaning.

wel-aha	he himself, the	wel-ehwa/wel yehwa	they themselves
very-he	genuine article	very-they very they	
wel-ehwa-ci/	he HON himself	wel-ehwan-ci-ci/	they HON
wel yehwa-ci		wel yehwan-ci-ci	themselves

DependentPossessor affixes (used also with P):

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	mo-	nemo-
HON	mo-...-ci	nemo-...-ci
3P	i-	in-
HON	tie-	tiēn -
HHON	tie-...-ci	tiēn-...-ci
HHHON	tie-mo-...-ci	

*Virtually all 2P PL forms have a similar variant with na- instead of ne-. Use depends on speaker preference; older speakers are more likely to prefer the na- forms. For simplicity, I will cite only the ne- forms throughout, except in some examples.

Reflexive:

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	no-	to-
2P	tu-...-mo-	ne(n)-...-mo-
HON	tu-...-mo-...-cinow	ne(n)-...-mo-...-cinow
3P	mo-	mo-
HON	ne-	ne-
HHON	mo-...-cinow	mo-...-cinow
HHON	ne-...-cinow	ne-...-cinow
UNSPEC (H)	ne-	

See SYNTACTIC MARKING for stem changes, PL marking, HON markings, etc. on the verb.

STEMS

Suppletion

A few verbs are suppletive for different tenses, aspects, etc.

- ka *be* is used in the present non-HON; *ye* is used in FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT, and forms with contingency or DUR aspect for non-HON forms. The only PERF is 3P SG non-HON *oya* or *uya*. *yei* is an alternative IMPRF form (instead of *ye-ya be-IMPRF*). (See paradigms under BE.)
- wic *come* is used in the present; *wala* in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT for non-HON forms. All present tense forms have irregular plurals. *w-ika-c* (take-be-come) *bring* is used (with REFL) for 2P HON and *w-ilowa-c* (take-be:HON-come) for 3P HON in the PRES; *wal-mo-w-ika* (hither-REFL/HON-take-be) for 2P HON and *wal-ilowa* (hither-be:HON) or *wal-w-ilowa* (hither-take-be:HON) for 3P HON in PERF, FUT, IMPRF, and SBJNCT.

wic-t	<i>They come.</i>	št-walɔ-kɔ	<i>(You PL) come!</i>
come:PRES-PL		IMP-come-PL:SBJNCT	

to-mo-w-ika-c	<i>You HON come.</i>
you-HON-take-be-come	
bring	

o-ti-wal-mo-w-ika-k	<i>You HON came.</i>
PAST-you-hither-HON-take-be-PERF	

wah-wal-w-ilowa-ya	<i>They HON were coming.</i>
RDP-hither-take-be:HON-IMPRF	

- ya *go* has *wiya* in SG non-HON SBJNCT.

št-wiya	<i>Go!</i>	ma	nɪ-wiya	<i>I'm going now.</i>
IMP-go		EXHRT	I-go	<i>Good-bye.</i>
SBJNCT:SG			SBJNCT:SG	

- hta *see* has *c* for DUR forms (including PRES PROG). The *c* tenses a preceding *t*.

ki-c-tuka	<i>He is watching it.</i>	nieč-hta	<i>sees me</i>
it-see:DUR-PRES:PROG		me-see	

ti-mo-c-ti-htuka	<i>You HON are watching it.</i>
you-HON-see-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES	
DUR	PROG

št-ki-c-ta	<i>Look at it!</i>
IMP-it-see:DUR-DUR	

The 3P HON for this verb in PRES PROG is hopelessly irregular:

ki-c-a-ta-lu-tka *He HON is watching it.*
it-see-PRES-DUR-HON-PRES
DUR (TRNS) PROG

mo-tlokt-a (REFL-ground-PRES:TRNS:VR) *sit down* is used for non-DUR;
 yewa for DUR forms.

šo-mo-tlokt-hcino *Please HON sit down.*
IMP-HON-ground-HON

wal-yewa-ta-ya *He was coming seated.*
hither-sit:DUR-DUR-IMPRF

kt-lt (him-tell) *told him* occurs only in the PERF and IMP. All other tenses and aspects are filled by its APPLIC form, kt-l-wt-a (him-tell-APPLIC-PRES) *tells it to him*, which can also appear in the PERF and IMP.

š-kt-lt *Tell him!* š-kt-l-wt *Tell him about it!*
IMP-him-tell IMP-him-tell-APPLIC

A few verbs are suppletive or partially suppletive for HON vs. non-HON forms:

ka/ye *be* uses wec-tka (fall-PRES:PROG) *be lying* for 2P HON, and ilowa-(k) (be:HON-PRES(?)) for 3P HON. See paradigms under BE.

wic/wala *come* (see above)

ya *go* uses w-ika (take-be) *take* (with REFL/HON) in 2P HON forms, and w-ilowa-(k) (take-be:HON-PRES(?)) for 3P HON forms.

to-mo-w-ika-ya *You HON were going.* w-ilowa-s *He HON will go.*
you-HON-take-be-IMPRF take-be:HON-FUT

ayt *do something, be occupied* usually has the related APPLIC form oi-lt-a (be:occupied:APPLIC(?)-APPLIC-PRES) *use* in 2P HON forms.

tli tti-m-oi-lt-a *What's up? (greeting)*
what you-HON-be:occupied-APPLIC-PRES

tli	t-ayt	<i>What's up?</i>	k-oi-lt-a	<i>uses it</i>
<i>what</i>	<i>you-be</i>	<i>(non-HON greeting)</i>	<i>it-be-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
	<i>occupied</i>		<i>occupied</i>	

k-oni *drink it* has m-it-a (REFL/HON-drink-PRES) for 2P HON forms.

št-k-oni	<i>Drink it!</i>	št-m-it	<i>HON Drink it!</i>
<i>IMP-it-drink</i>		<i>IMP-HON-drink</i>	

Reduplication

RDP is usually of one of four types: $C_1V_1-C_1V_1X$, $C_1V_1-C_1V_1X$,
 [- α tns] [α tns]
 or either of the above types with *h* following the reduplicated vowel.

<i>ki-nu-nuca</i>	<i>talks, chats with him</i>	<i>yɔ-ya</i>	<i>always goes, travels</i>
<i>him-RDP-call</i>		<i>RDP-go</i>	<i>*(around)</i>
<i>tlah-tla-htow-a</i>	<i>talks</i>	<i>pah-pɔku</i>	<i>is happy, rejoices</i>
<i>RDP-UNSPEC-say-PRES</i>		<i>RDP-be:happy</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>			

A few forms seem to have a backwards RDP (the RDP syllable is to the right of the basic one).

<i>ki-toka</i>	<i>follows him</i>	<i>to-tu-ka</i>	<i>hurries, goes quickly</i>
<i>him-follow</i>		<u><i>RDP</i></u>	
		<i>follow</i>	
<i>ki-šielow-a</i>	<i>spreads it</i>	<i>ki-šie-še-low-a</i>	<i>does it out, distributes</i>
<i>it-spread-PRES</i>		<i>it</i> <u><i>RDP</i></u> <i>PRES</i>	<i>it</i>
		<i>spread</i>	

Some forms have a double RDP.

<i>ki-tu-tu-toka</i>	<i>chases him</i>	<i>mo-tla-tlo-tla-ht-a</i>	<i>prays</i>
<i>him-RDP-RDP-follow</i>		<i>REFL-RDP-RDP-UNSPEC-ask-PRES</i>	
		<i>OBJ</i>	<i>for</i>
		<i>beg</i>	
		<i>pray</i>	

RDP often indicates repetitive or intensified action or some similar semantic shift. Sometimes the RDP and non-RDP meanings are only loosely related.

<i>tya</i>	<i>goes</i>	<i>yɔ-ya</i>	<i>always goes, travels</i>
<i>goes</i>		<i>RDP-go</i>	
<i>cahci</i>	<i>shouts, makes</i>	<i>cɔ-cahci</i>	<i>(hen) cackles</i>
<i>shout</i>	<i>animal's cry</i>	<i>RDP-shout</i>	
<i>ki-kɔwa</i>	<i>leaves it</i>	<i>ki-kah-kɔwa</i>	<i>abandons it</i>
<i>it-leave</i>		<i>it-RDP-leave</i>	
<i>ki-cak^wa</i>	<i>shuts it</i>	<i>ki-cah-cak^wa</i>	<i>jails him</i>
<i>it-shut</i>		<i>him-RDP-shut</i>	
<i>ki-čiwa</i>	<i>does/makes it</i>	<i>ki-čih-čiwa</i>	<i>makes/builds/fixes it</i>
<i>it-do</i>		<i>it-RDP-do</i>	<i>(esp. a complicated thing)</i>
<i>ki-nuca</i>	<i>calls him</i>	<i>ki-noh-nuca</i>	<i>(bridegroom's grand-</i>
<i>him-call</i>		<i>him-RDP-call</i>	<i>mother) asks (bride's</i>
			<i>father) for the bride</i>

<i>kɪ-ʃikow-a</i>	<i>bears it</i>	<i>kɪ-ʃɪ-ʃikow-a</i>	<i>outlasts (and thus beats)/</i>
<i>it-bear-PRES</i>		<i>him-RDP-bear-PRES</i>	<i>persuades him</i>
<i>nemɪ</i>	<i>lives</i>	<i>neh-nemɪ</i>	<i>walks</i>
<i>live</i>		<i>RDP-live</i>	

Often the difference in meaning between RDP and simple forms is almost negligible—they are practically synonymous. This RDP is probably often a result of the tendency to make verbs and nouns have at least two syllables and preferably three, often the RDP form is demanded for PERF (truncated) stems. (See note under **BE**, as well as the last paragraph under **Absolutive**.)

<i>ɪka/ɪkaka</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>m-ahwa/m-ah-ahwa</i>	<i>bawl each other out,</i>
		<i>REFL-bawl:out</i>	<i>quarrel loudly</i>
<i>pɔkɪ/pah-pɔkɪ</i>	<i>is happy</i>	<i>*o-pɔk/o-pah-pɔk</i>	<i>was happy, rejoiced</i>
		<i>PAST-RDP-be</i>	
			<i>happy:PERF</i>

Many verbs are most probably RDP but never appear in their non-RDP form. For the most part, we will treat them as unit stems.

<i>tlatlasɪ</i>	<i>coughs</i>	<i>kekelawɪ</i>	<i>is ticklish</i>
<i>cough</i>		<i>be:ticklish</i>	

Very often, especially with PRES and 3P HON forms where there is no PL suffix, RDP indicates plurality of the SUBJ. Some speakers will not permit this when the RDP form already has another meaning.

<i>ilowa-k</i>	<i>is HON</i>	<i>ih-ilowa-k</i>	<i>they are HON</i>
<i>be:HON-PRES(?)</i>		<i>RDP-be:HON-PRES</i>	
<i>kɪ-nekɪ</i>	<i>wants it</i>	<i>kɪ-neh-nekɪ</i>	<i>They want it.</i>
<i>it-want</i>		<i>it-RDP-want</i>	
<i>kɪ ʃɪh-ʃiwa</i>	<i>makes/constructs/fixes it; (for some speakers)</i>		<i>They do it/make it.</i>
<i>it-RDP-do</i>			

Occasionally, in a usage not really distinguishable from repetitive, a RDP might best be viewed as indicating plurality of the object.

<i>tla-mɪk-tɪ-a</i>	<i>kills</i>	<i>tlaɪh-tla-mɪk-tɪ-a</i>	<i>kills lots of things</i>
<i>UNSPEC-die-CAUS-PRES</i>		<i>RDP-UNSPEC-kill-PRES</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>		<i>OBJ</i>	
<i>kɪ-ʃielow-a</i>	<i>spreads it</i>	<i>kɪ-ʃie-ʃe-low-a</i>	<i>spreads them around,</i>
<i>it-spread-PRES</i>		<i>it [RDP] PRES</i>	<i>distributes it/</i>
		<i>spread</i>	<i>them</i>

UNSPEC markers are RDP, whereas other OBJ PRON are not. This seems to indicate that the UNSPEC markers are part of the stem. However, the stem may also be RDP following an UNSPEC marker.

tla-htow-a *speaks*
 UNSPEC-say-PRES
 OBJ

tlah-tla-htow-a *talks*
 RDP-UNSPEC-say-PRES
 OBJ

kɪ-tie-ɫ-wi-a *accuses him*
 him-UNSPEC-tell-APPLIC-PRES
 H:OBJ

kɪ-teh-tie-ɫ-wi-a *They accuse him.*
 him-RDP-UNSPEC-tell-APPLIC-PRES
 H:OBJ

kɪ-tla-kɪh-kɪʃ-tɪ-li-s *He will (INTNS) take things away from him.*
 him-UNSPEC-RDP-emerge-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT
 OBJ

Other Phonological Changes

Many verbs tense a vowel* in forms with CAUS or APPLIC or in the PERF.

tla-htow-a *speaks*
 UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

kɪ-tla-htu-ɫt-a *reads it*
 it-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-CAUS-PRES

kɪ-kowa *buys it*
 it-buy

kɪ-kuwɪ-ɫ-a *buys it for him*
 it-buy-APPLIC-PRES

o-kɪ-ku *bought it*
 PAST-it-buy:PERF

ɪ and o always tense before the 3P HON -lo, and ɪ also tenses before -wa 3P HON. a does not tense in these environments.

k-ɪhtow-a *says it*
 it-say-PRES

k-ɪhtu-lo *HON says it*
 it-say-HON

kɪ-ʃiwi-ɫ-a *does it to him*
 him-do-APPLIC-PRES

kɪ-ʃiwi-li-lo *HON does it to him*
 him-do-APPLIC-HON

ɪʃwi *is full*
 be:full

ɪʃwi-wa *HON is full*
 be:full-HON

pano *passes*
 pass

pano-wa *HON passes*
 pass-HON

*Many of the examples here analyzed as an ɪ or an o tensing are probably really a matter of ɛy and ɔw contracting to i and u in certain environments. However, it is not always clear if the w's and y's in these cases are really there. For instance, the many verbs interpreted here as ending in ow-a are listed in the Brewers' Vocabulario as ending in oa, and they may well be right.

Many verbs tense a vowel before the FUT -s, the PL SBJNCT -kɔ, the IRR marker -nɛ, and the aspect markers -to and -ko. APPLIC and CAUS tense their vowels in these situations; the VR -tɛ, though probably related to -tɛ CAUS, does not.

nɛ-ya	<i>I go.</i>	nɛ-yɔ-s	<i>I will go.</i>
<i>I-go</i>		<i>I-go-FUT</i>	
ma	tɛ-yɔ-kɔ <i>Let's go!</i>	kɛ-ʃiwi-li-to	<i>He went to do it to him.</i>
<i>EXHRT we-go-PL</i>		<i>him-do-APPLIC-went</i>	
	<i>SBJNCT</i>		
kɛ-ʃiwi-li-ɔ-nɛ	<i>(if) he had done it to him</i>		
<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR</i>			

But note:

mktɛ-s	<i>He will die.</i>	kɛ-ʃiwa-to	<i>He went to do it.</i>
<i>die-FUT</i>		<i>it-do-went</i>	
nɛ-k-pah-ti-s	<i>I will cure him.</i>	pah-tɛ-s	<i>He will get well.</i>
<i>I-him-medicine-CAUS-FUT</i>		<i>medicine-VR-FUT</i>	

Forms ending in *o* tense it before the aspect markers -ta DUR, -tka PRES PROG, and -tiewa *leave...ing*, and before the PERF -k.

pano	<i>passes</i>	panu-ta-ya	<i>was passing</i>
<i>pass</i>		<i>pass-DUR-IMPRF</i>	
panu-tka	<i>is passing</i>	o-panu-k	<i>passed</i>
<i>pass-PRES:PROG</i>		<i>PAST-pass-PERF</i>	
tla-k ^w a-lo	<i>HON eats</i>	tla-k ^w a-lu-tie	<i>HON left eating</i>
<i>UNSPEC-eat-HON</i>		<i>UNSPEC-eat-HON-leave</i>	
<i>OBJ</i>		<i>OBJ PERF</i>	

Verbs ending in *tla* change the *tla* to *tɛ* before APPLIC and, in some cases, before CAUS and before the ABSTR NR -lɛs.

kɛ-tlasohtla	<i>loves him</i>	to-mo-tlasohti-tɛ-a	<i>You HON love him.</i>
<i>him-love</i>		<i>you-HON-love-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
kɛ-patla	<i>changes it</i>	mo-patɛ-tɛ-a	<i>changes his clothes</i>
<i>it-change</i>		<i>REFL-change-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
kɛ-pɔtla	<i>stirs it</i>	kɛ-pɔtɛ-tɛ-a	<i>stirs it for him</i>
<i>it-stir</i>		<i>it-stir-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

Some verbs palatalize *s* to *ʃ*, and *t* or *c* to *ʃ*, before CAUS, APPLIC, TRNSR, or the ABSTR NR -lɛs. Some occurrences of *tɛ* that are derived from *tla* (see preceding paragraph) undergo this change. This palatalization is probably related to the fact that there is usually an *ɛ* (often derived from an *a*; see next to last paragraph

in this section) between the consonant in question and the ending. However, the *ɪ* is sometimes deleted, as in the last example here.

<i>kɪ-matɪ</i> <i>it-know</i>	<i>knows it</i>	<i>mačɪ-a</i> <i>know-TRNSR(?)</i>	<i>is known</i>
<i>kɪ-tepic-ow-a</i> <i>it-hard-VR-PRES</i>	<i>hardens it</i>	<i>to-mo-tepič-ɪwɪ-a</i> <i>you-HON-hard-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON harden it.</i>
<i>kɪ-titica</i> <i>it-stretch</i>	<i>stretches it</i>	<i>to-mo-titičɪ-lɪ-a</i> <i>you-HON-stretch-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON stretch it.</i>
<i>kisa</i> <i>emerge</i>	<i>emerges</i>	<i>kɪ-kš-tɪ-a</i> <i>it-emerge-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>brings it out</i>
<i>kɪ-tesɪ</i> <i>it-grind</i>	<i>grinds it</i>	<i>kɪ-tešɪ-lɪ-a</i> <i>her-grind-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>grinds it for her</i>
<i>kɪ-keca</i> <i>it-stand</i>	<i>stands it</i>	<i>to-mo-kečɪ-lɪ-a</i> <i>you-HON-stand-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON stand it.</i>
<i>kɪ-mutla</i> <i>it-hurl</i>	<i>hurls/shoots it</i>	<i>to-mo-mučɪ-lɪ-a</i> <i>you-HON-hurl-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>You HON hurl/shoot it.</i>
<i>kɪ-matt</i> <i>it-know</i>	<i>knows it</i>	<i>kɪ-mač-tɪ-a</i> <i>him-know-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>teaches him</i>

Verbs ending in *ɪ* palatalize the *s* in the 3P HON forms (as well as the 2P HON, which have CAUS or APPLIC).

<i>kɪ-tesɪ</i> <i>it-grind</i>	<i>grinds it</i>	<i>kɪ-tešɪ-wa</i> <i>it-grind-HON</i>	<i>HON grinds it</i>
<i>asɪ</i> <i>arrive</i>	<i>arrives</i>	<i>ašɪ-wa</i> <i>arrive-HON</i>	<i>HON arrives</i>

Most verbs drop their final vowel to form the PERF stem (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Tense).

For a large portion of the vocabulary, the generalization holds true that verbs ending in *ɪ* are INTRNS or stative and that verbs ending in *a* are TRNS or active. (Verbs ending in any other vowel are extremely rare.) There are a good many pairs where this difference shows up clearly—in some cases *-a* and *-ɪ* might be treated as separate morphemes with these meanings. *-ow-a* is the typical TRNS VR and *-ɪwɪ* or *-iewɪ* is the typical INTRNS VR. Many verbs have these endings, which are no longer clearly derived. Many verbs, especially those with CAUS or APPLIC or the VR *-ow*, have a PRES TRNS marker *-a* which appears in PRES and IMPRF but which drops elsewhere.

<i>kɪ-pol-ow-a</i> <i>it-lack-VR-PRES</i> (TRNS)	<i>loses it, is lacking</i> <i>to him</i>	<i>pol-ɪwɪ</i> <i>lack-VR</i> INTRNS	<i>is lacking</i>
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kɪ-kombenier-ow-a *is proper/good for him* (Sp. *le conviene*)
him-be:proper-VR-PRES:(TRNS)

kombenier-ɔwɪ *is proper*
be:proper-VR:INTRNS

kɪ-tlapɔn-a *breaks it*
it-break-PRES:(TRNS)

tlapɔn-ɪ *breaks*
break-INTRNS

kɪ-pɔka *washes it*
it-wash

pɔkɪ *rejoices*
rejoice

Exceptions:

k-asɪ *reaches it,*
it-reach grasps it

k-onɪ *drinks it*
it-drink

sawana/sawani *is hoarse*

The fact that a (TRNS) V stem ending in **a** will change to **ɪ** before APPLIC, etc., is undoubtedly related to this **-a TRNS/ɪ INTRNS** contrast. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Applicative.)

At least one verb uses the stative **ɪ** for the non-HON and the active **a** for the HON forms.

k^walɔnɪ *is angry*
be
angry:STAT

k^walɔn-owa/k^walɔna-lo *HON is angry*
be-HON be-HON
angry angry:ACT

to-mo-k^walɔna-lu-a *You HON are angry.*
you-HON-be-CAUS-PRES
angry:ACT

INCORPORATION

(See also VERB MORPHOLOGY.)

Directionalson- *hence*wal- *hither*

on- is probably related to the on- MED-DIST used in LOC DEM; wal- is related to the non-PRES form *wala come*.

These prefixes follow the specified SUBJ and OBJ and the REFL prefixes, except that wal- will precede mo- REFL (or HON), and both wal- and on- may precede the -*in** PL of *k-in them* or *tie-in them* HON. on- is pronounced *om-* in this case.

nu-wal-yewa-ta-ya *I was coming seated.*

I-hither-sit:DUR-DUR-IMPRF

št-wal-mo-titlan-ti *(You HON) send him/it hither!*

IMP-hither-HON-send-APPLIC

tie-mo-wal-mo-titlan-ti *He HHON (God) sent him HHON (Christ) hither.*

him:HON-HON-hither-HON-send-APPLIC

to-k-om-in-dhta-ti *We are going (away) to see them.*

we-him-hence-PL-see-go

k-wal-in-mo-kaš-ti-ti-ht-oya *He HHON went about causing them to come out.*

him-hither-PL-HON-emerge-CAUS-APPLIC-go-IMPRF

The meaning of -on is hard to pin down. Sometimes it seems to indicate motion away from the speaker; sometimes it indicates location away. Sometimes it implies immediacy of action. Sometimes, when initial, it seems to just mean PAST, perhaps as an alternative form of o- PAST (cf. English *went* and *Ved*, where *went* does not particularly imply movement). Pittman glosses it as *hence, immediately, now, and just* (P-G-42(a), D-1, 13 #1,3).

ye *o-tla-čiš* *He already woke up.*

already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at:PERF

ye *on-tla-čiš* *He already woke up.*

already DIRL:(PAST?)-UNSPEC:OBJ-look:at:PERF

*This seems to be what is happening in most cases with *om-in-* and *wal-in-*; other cases are rather baffling. Some verbs seem to like to have an *in-* preceding the stem in non-PRES tenses even besides the *-in-* of *k-in(m)-* 'them'. At other times *in-* seems to appear without a PL OBJ at all.

k-in-titlan-ti 'He sends them.'
them-send

k-in-in-titla 'He sent them.'
them-PL(?)=send:PERF

ni-k-wal-in-kiš-ti *tlin=amo* *k^walt* 'I came and got a bad thing.'
I-it-hither-(?)=emerge-CAUS *that=NEG* *good*

ye o-tla-nieš *It already dawned.*
already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF

(?) ye on-tla-nieš *It already dawned.*
already DIRL:-(PAST?)-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF

on-as-t-ko *He (just) arrived (here).*
DIRL-arrive-came (The *hence* meaning is impossible in this very
(PAST?):(just?) common case.)

on-wala *He (just) came.*
DIRL-come (Again, the *hence* meaning is impossible.)
(PAST?):(just?)

on-ya *he went* oya *he was*
PAST(?) -go *be:PERF*

In its PAST usage, *on-* may precede an OBJ prefix:

on-k-as-t-k *He grabbed it.* k-on-as-t-k *He went and grabbed it.*
DIRL:-(PAST?)-it-reach-PERF *it-DIRL-reach-PERF*

on- also seems to have honorific overtones in some cases. (This is a main function in some dialects, e.g., Sierra de Puebla.)

nieč-on-tlasohtla-lo *He HHON loves me.*
me-DIRL:-(HON?)-love-HON

on- usually causes vowel harmony in a preceding SUBJ PRON *nt-* *I*, *tt-* *you SG/we* or *š* *IMP*.

no-k-on-maka-k *I (went and) gave it to him.*
I-him-hence-give-PERF

Other

There are a number of incorporated elements indicating relative positions of the subject of intransitive verbs or the object of transitive ones.

ka iš-tlah-pač *facing downwards* iš-tlah-pač-weci *falls, lies face downwards*
with face-down-approach *face:downwards-fall*

ka ahk-ec *facing upwards* k-ahk-ec-te-tlah-kalı *throws it down on*
with raise-(?) *it-face-CONN(?)-UNSPEC-throw* *its back*
 upwards *OBJ*

mo-nakas-i-ka-tieka *lies, sleeps on his side*
REFL-ear-its-with-lay

Postpositions, adjectives, etc., are used in much the same way.

kt-wehka-panow-a *raises it, builds it up, brags about him, praises him*
it-far-pass-PRES:-(TRNS)

kɪ-wehka-tla-tlɔɪ-a *sinks it down deep*
it-far-down-earth-PRES
place

WHW and DEM may be incorporated, especially with -ka be (see BE, QUESTIONS, DEMONSTRATIVES).

yek- *well* (yek-tɪ-k (well-CONN-ADJR) *upright, righteous*)
nien- *in vain, for no reason, to no avail*
čɪk^Wa- *angrily, strongly, disrespectfully* (possibly related to čɪk^Wah-tɪ (owl-ABS)
owl, or čɪkɔwa-k (strong-ADJR) strong)
tla(h)- INTNS (UNSPEC OBJ)

kɪ-yek-wukšɪ-tɪ-a *cooks it well*
it-well-cook:(INTRNS)-CAUS-PRES

kɪ-yek-pɪya *saves it up*
it-well-have

kɪ-yek-nuca *speaks respectfully to him*
him-well-call

kɪ-nien-čiwa *does it in vain*
it-in:vain-do

kɪ-niem-pol-ow-a *loses it utterly, ruins it, murders him*
him-in:vain-lack-VR-PRES
lose

čɪk^Wa-kisa *surpasses, excels*
strong-emerge

čɪk^Wa-tla-htow-a *curses, slanders, uses strong language*
strong-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

tla-hnek^Wɪ *smells very strongly*
INTNS-smell

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal Elements

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS for listing.)

Pronominal elements on the verb usually come in the order SM-OM-STEM. Normally only one OBJ is marked by a verb prefix; almost always the indirect OBJ is marked if there is one, and the direct OBJ otherwise. The presence of a second object,

if it is 3P non-HON, is signalled by the APPLIC suffix.

<i>ki-čiwa</i>	<i>does it</i>	<i>nieč-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>does it to me</i>
<i>it-do</i>		<i>me-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
<i>ki-powa</i>	<i>tells it</i>	<i>tu-nieč-puwt-l-a</i>	<i>You tell it to me.</i>
<i>it-count</i>		<i>you-me-count-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

When neither OBJ is 3P, the indirect OBJ may not be marked on the verb, but may be specified by the preposition *ka with* and the appropriate independent pronoun.

<i>nieč-namaka-k-t</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tehwa-ci</i>	<i>They sold me to you HON.</i>
<i>me-sell-PERF-PL</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>you:HON-HON</i>	

Since the HON *mo-* is derived from a REFL, it acts as an OM and causes a 3P OBJ to be expressed only by the APPLIC. However, when the OBJ is 1P or 3P HON, the normal OM is used preceding *mo-*, and APPLIC is added anyway.

<i>to-mo-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>You HON do it.</i>	<i>tu-nieč-mo-ht-l-a</i>	<i>You HON see me.</i>
<i>you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>		<i>you-me-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

UNSPEC OBJ prefixes always remain, even when this means two or more OBJ are marked; they do not prevent a 3P non-HON OBJ from being marked. In other words, they act as if they were part of the stem.

<i>ki-tla-maka</i>	<i>feeds him</i>		
<i>him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give</i>			
<i>ti-tie-tla-k^wientah-ti-a</i>	<i>You loan things to people/to him HON.</i>		
<i>you-UNSPEC-UNSPEC-account-CAUS-PRES</i>			
<i>H</i>	<i>OBJ</i>		
<i>OBJ:(him HON)</i>			

In a few cases, a direct OBJ is represented by a verbal prefix, while a 3P non-HON indirect OBJ is represented only by the APPLIC.

<i>nočt i-tlankoč-wa</i>	<i>o-kun-tepiewt-li</i>	<i>He knocked all his teeth out of him.</i>	
<i>all his-tooth-POSSD:PL</i>	<i>PAST-them-knock:out-APPLIC</i>		<i>(P-G B 19)</i>

Honorifics

Second Person Honorifics

The basic HON marker for 2P forms is *mo-* (REFL). Since *mo-* is a sort of OM, a 3P non-HON OBJ will not be marked by a verbal prefix, but only by the APPLIC. However, a 1P or 3P HON OBJ will be marked by an OBJ prefix preceding the *mo-*, and an APPLIC is added anyway.

<i>tu-k-čiwa</i>	<i>You do it.</i>	<i>to-mo-čiwt-l-a</i>	<i>You HON do it. /</i>
<i>you-it-do</i>		<i>you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>	<i>(You do it to yourself.)</i>
		<i>(REFL)</i>	

ti-nieč-čiwł-lł-a You do it to me.
you-me-do-APPLIC-PRES

ti-tie-dhta You see him HON.
you-him:HON-see

to-mo-htu-lł-a You HON see him.
you-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES

to-mo-tie-mo-htu-lł-a You HON see him HHON. (Note that one of the mo-'s
you-HON-him:HON-HON-see-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES precedes the OM in this
case.)

ti-k-htow-a You say it.
you-it-say-PRES

ti-k-pensor-ow-a You think it.
you-it-think-VR-PRES

ti-nieč-mo-čiwł-lł-a You HON do it to me.
you-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

ti-tie-mo-htu-lł-a You HON see him HON.
you-him-HON-see-APPLIC-PRES
HON

to-mo-ht-awł-a You HON say it.
you-HON-say-APPLIC-PRES

to-mo-pensor-wł-a You HON think it.
you-HON-think-APPLIC-PRES

Many common verbs use CAUS instead of APPLIC when forming their 2P HON forms. In these cases it is easy to interpret the HON mo- as a REFL. Most INTRNS verbs form their 2P HON in this way.

ti-k-matł You know it.
you-it-know

to-mo-mačł-tł-a You HON know it. (lit. you cause yourself to know)
you-HON:(REFL)-know-CAUS-PRES

ti-k-nekł You want it.
you-it-want

ti-tla-htow-a You talk.
you-UNSPEC:OBJ-say-PRES

ti-tla-k^Wa You eat.
you-UNSPEC-eat
OBJ

šł-pano Pass! (Good-bye non-HON)
IMP-pass

t-asł You arrive.
you-reach

to-mo-nekł-tł-a You HON want it.
you-HON:(REFL)-want-CAUS-PRES

to-mo-tla-htu-lł-a You HON talk.
you-HON -UNSPEC-say-CAUS-PRES
(REFL) OBJ

to-mo-tla-k^Wa-lł-a You HON eat.
you-HON -UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES
(REFL) OBJ

šo-mo-panu-lł HON Pass! (Good-bye
IMP-HON-pass-CAUS HON)
(REFL)

ti-m-ašł-tł-a You HON arrive.
you-HON-reach-CAUS-PRES
(REFL)

PERF, FUT, etc., are formed as in other verbs which have APPLIC, CAUS, etc.

to-mo-čiwł-lł-ɔ-ya You HON were doing it. (You were doing it to
you-HON-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF yourself.)
(REFL)

ne-mo-nem-ti-s-ki *You PL HON will live.*
you-HON-live-CAUS-FUT-PL
PL (REFL)

ne-mo-nem-ti-hki *You PL HON lived.*
you-HON-live-CAUS-PL
PL (REFL) (PERF)

Some verbs take two APPLIC to form their 2P HON.

ti-h-kulow-a *You cut off his return.*
you-him-cut:off:return-PRES

ti-mo-kul-wi-ta *You HON cut off his return.*
you-HON-cut:off:return-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

Some verbs are suppletive for 2P HON forms (see STEMS).

ti-ya *You go.* to-mo-wika *You HON go.*
you-go *you-HON:(REFL)-carry*

The irregular verb *ayok be absent* has -ci (normally a nominal-type HON marker) as its 2P (and 3P) HON marker.

t-ayok-ci *You HON are absent.*
you-be:absent-HON

nem-ayok-ci-ci *You PL HON are absent.*
you:PL-be:absent-RDP-HON

nem-ayok-ti *You PL are absent.*
you:PL-be:absent-PL

Since the REFL *mo-* is already doing service as an HON marker, 2P HON reflexives use a special REFL HON -cinow.

ti-mo-kokow-a *You are sick.*
you-REFL-hurt-PRES

to-mo-kokoh-cinow-a *You HON are sick.*
you-HON-hurt-REFL:HON-PRES

mo-mač-ti-a *learns*
REFL-know-CAUS-PRES

ne-mo-mač-ti-hcinoh-ki *You PL HON learned.*
you:PL-HON-know-CAUS-REFL:HON-PL:(PERF)

For verbs that form their PERF by dropping the last vowel, -cinow almost always suffixes to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem, taking the form -hcinow following vowels (cf. above examples).

mo-tutica *stretches himself* o-mo-tutic *stretched himself*
REFL-stretch *PAST-REFL-stretch:PERF*

to-mo-tutih-cinow-a *You HON stretch yourself.*
you-HON-stretch-REFL:HON-PRES

o-to-mo-tutih-cino *You HON stretched yourself.*
PAST-you-HON-stretch-REFL:HON

mo-pah-ti-a *cures himself, gets well*
REFL-medicine-CAUS-PRES

št-mo-pah-ti-hcino *(You HON) get well!*
IMP-HON-cure-REFL:HON

But:

mo-tlahkal *lies down* o-mo-tlahkal *He lay down.*
REFL-dump *PAST-REFL-dump:PERF*

to-mo-tlahkal-hcinow-a *You HON lie down.*
you-HON-dump-REFL:HON-PRES

In at least one case -cinow seems to affix to a quasi-PERF stem, i.e., a stem formed by dropping the final vowel even though the verb in question forms its PERF in another way.

mo-tema *steam-bathes* mo-tema-k *He steam-bathed.*
REFL-steam:bathe *REFL-steam:bathe-PERF*

ti-mo-ten-cinow-a *You HON steam-bathe.*
you-HON-steam:bathe-REFL:HON-PRES

At least one REFL verb uses the CAUS -ti in the normal non-REFL construction for the 2P HON.

ti-mo-sie-pa-yewi-ti-a *you HON are the same age (as)*
you-HON-one-times-be-CAUS-PRES
(REFL) (at?) born

ne-sie-pa-yewi-wa *he HON is the same age (as)*
REFL:HON-one-times-be:born-HON

2P HON OBJ are marked by mo-, and the verb is given the APPLIC.

mic-pol-ow-a *It is lacking to you.* mic-mo-pol-wi-a *It is lacking to you HON.*
you-lack-VR-PRES *you-HON-lack-APPLIC-PRES*

mic-importor-ow-a *matters to you* mic-mo-importor-wi-a *matters to you HON*
you-matter-VR-PRES *you-HON-matter-APPLIC-PRES*

tamic-maka-s *I will hit you.* tamic-mo-maki-li-s *I will hit you HON.*
IP:you-give:(hit)-FUT *IP:you-HON-give-APPLIC-FUT*

2P PL HON forms may be used (e.g., with godparental relations) as extra-HON 2P SG forms.

na-mo-neki-ti-a You SG HHON/PL HON want it.
 you:PL-HON-want-CAUS-PRES

Third Person Honorifics

There are a couple of RDP REFL verbs ending in *kV* that take a 3P HON SUBJ marker *-o**, replacing the final *V*.

mo-mo-teh-teki	<i>cuts his (own) hand</i>	ne-mo-teh-tek-o	<i>HON cuts his (own) hand</i>
REFL-hand-RDP-cut		REFL:HON-hand-RDP-cut-HON	

And similarly all REFL compounds with a body part and *teh-teki*, but:

ki-teki-wa	<i>HON cuts it</i>	ki-mo-teh-teki-wa	<i>HON cuts his (another's)</i>
it-cut-HON		him-hand-RDP-cut-HON	<i>hand</i>

Also:

mo-mo-pah-poka	<i>washes his (own) hands</i>
REFL-hand-RDP-wash	
ne-mo-pah-pok-o	<i>HON washes his (own) hands</i>
REFL-hand-RDP-wash-HON	
HON	

but:

ki-poka-lo	<i>HON washes it</i>
it-wash-HON	

A few other verbs take the 3P HON *-owa*, which replaces the final vowel, i.e., affixes to a PERF or quasi-PERF stem.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
wie-wecka	wie-weck-owa	<i>smiles, laughs</i>
RDP-smile	RDP-smile-HON	
miki	mik-owa	<i>dies</i>
die	die-HON	
čuka	čuk-owa	<i>cries</i>
cry	cry-HON	

Some can use either *-owa* or the more common *-lo* or *-wa* suffixes.

It seems probable that all these 3P HON forms (-o*, *-owa*, *-wa*, *-lo*) derive from a single IMPERS or PASS **-lowa*. For instance, the IMPRF form is *-ɔya* instead of *-ya* following *-lo*, which suggests that there is a final *ɔ* or *a* associated with *-lo*.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
k ^w alɔn become angry (INTRNS)	k ^w alɔn-owa become-HON angry	gets angry
	k ^w alɔna-lo become-HON angry (TRNS)	gets angry
k ^w ah-tie-teki tree-RDP-cut	k ^w ah-tie-tek-owa tree-RDP-cut-HON	cuts down branches
	k ^w ah-tie-teki-wa tree-RDP-cut-HON	cuts down branches

A large number of verbs (mostly ending in *ɪ* or derived by the PRES TRNS marker -a from verbs ending in *ɪ*) take -wa for 3P HON. Almost all stems ending in *ɪ* take this ending.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
aki fit	aki-wa fit-HON	fits
k-aki-a it-fit-PRES:(TRNS)	k-aki-wa it-fit-HON	fits it in
ki-mati it-know	ki-mati-wa it-know-HON	knows it
pano pass	pano-wa pass-HON	passes

Other verbs take -lo as the 3P HON. -lo is pronounced -ro following rV. All verbs with APPLIC and almost all with CAUS take this ending. Usually -a PRES disappears before it, but sometimes not.

<u>Non-HON</u>	<u>HON</u>	
ki-čiwa it-do	ki-čiwa-lo it-do-HON	does it
ki-tlapow-a it-open-PRES	ki-tlapow-a-lo it-open-PRES-HON	opens it
ki-šikow-a it-bear-PRES	ki-šiku-lo it-bear-HON	bears it
ki-pensɔr-ow-a it-think-VR-PRES	ki-pensɔr-u-ro it-think-VR-HON	thinks it
ki-čiwi-li-a him-do-APPLIC-PRES	ki-čiwi-li-lo him-do-APPLIC-HON	does it to him

<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lti-a</i> <i>him-do-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lti-lo</i> <i>him-do-CAUS-HON</i>	<i>makes him do it</i>
<i>k-ɪʃwi-ti-a</i> <i>it-be-CAUS-PRES</i> <i>full</i>	<i>k-ɪʃwi-ti-lo</i> <i>it-be-CAUS-HON</i> <i>full</i>	<i>stuffs, overfeeds it</i>

But:

<i>tekt-ti</i> <i>cut-CAUS</i>	<i>tekt-ti-wa</i> <i>cut-CAUS-HON</i>	<i>works</i>
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ɪ and *o* tense before *-lo*; *ɪ* also tenses before *-wa*. (See STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; see also preceding examples.)

The irregular verb *ayok to be absent* takes *-ci* (normally a nominal HON constituent) as its 3P (as well as 2P) HON.

<i>ayok</i> <i>be:absent</i>	<i>is absent</i>	<i>ayok-ci</i> <i>be:absent-HON</i>	<i>HON is absent</i>
<i>ayok-ci-ci</i> <i>be-RDP-HON</i>	<i>They HON are absent.</i>		

Plural 3P HON forms are usually the RDP forms of the singular.

<i>kɪ-peh-pensɔr-u-ro</i> <i>it-RDP-think-VR-HON</i>	<i>They HON think it.</i>
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PERF and FUT 3P HON forms can be formed by the final suffix *-kɪ/-hki/-ɪ* (usually PL; see Number Agreement for distribution) added to the appropriate stem or affix. All these forms are ambiguous with non-HON PL forms.

<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-s-kɪ</i> <i>it-do-FUT-HON/PL</i>	<i>He HON will do it./They will do it.</i>
<i>o-kɪ-ʒih-kɪ</i> <i>PAST-it-do:PERF-HON/PL</i>	<i>He HON did it./They did it.</i>

Many verbs taking *-lo* as their 3P HON can also form the PERF and/or FUT by adding *-k* PERF or *-s* FUT to *-lo* (which tenses). A few verbs which take *-wa* can do the same, at least in the FUT.

(?) <i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lu-s</i> <i>it-do-HON-FUT</i>	<i>He HON will do it.</i> (Questionable; see alternative form above.)	
<i>kɪ-ʒiwa-lu-k</i> <i>it-do-HON-PERF</i>	<i>He HON did it.</i> (See alternative form above.)	
<i>koʒi-wa-s</i> <i>sleep-HON-FUT</i>	<i>He HON will sleep.</i>	
<i>koʒi-s-kɪ</i> <i>sleep-FUT-PL</i>	<i>They will sleep.</i> (not <i>He HON will sleep.</i>)	

Even when such forms seem to be questionable or unacceptable for independent use they may be demanded for combining forms.

k-htu-s-ki	He HON/They	*k-htu-lu-s	He HON will say it.
it-say-FUT-HON/PL	will say it.	it-say-HON-FUT	
k-htu-lu-s-neki	he HON means		
it-say-HON-FUT-want			

SBJNCT forms can be either the same as non-HON PL SBJNCT or, in some cases, identical with the PRES HON forms.

ma	ki-čiwa-ko	May he HON/they/they HON do it.
EXHRT	it-do-HON/PL:SBJNCT	
(?) ma	ki-čiwa-lo	May he HON/they HON do it.
EXHRT	it-do-HON	

IMPRF forms have -owɔ-ya for verbs taking -owa-, -wa-ya for those taking -wa-, and -lu-ɔya for those taking -lo.

čuk-owɔ-ya	He HON was crying.	ki-mati-wa-ya	He HON was aware of it.
cry-HON-IMPRF		it-know-HON-IMPRF	
ki-čiwa-lu-ɔya	He HON was doing it.		
it-do-HON-IMPRF			

Some verbs are suppletive with respect to 3P HON (see STEMS, Suppletion).

ɔka	is	ilowa-k	is HON
is		be:HON-PRES(?):(PERF?)	
ma	iloa	may he HON be	
EXHRT	be:HON		

Extra-HON forms may be formed by using the 2P HON forms minus the *ti-* or *ne-* SM, plus the 3P OM, if such has been dropped by the 2P HON form. These forms are normally used only for reference to Deity, or sometimes for reference to a godparental relative or the President of the Republic, particularly in the presence of such a person.

ki-neki-wa	HON wants it	to-mo-neki-ti-a	You HON want it.
it-want-HON		you-HON-want-CAUS-PRES	
ku-mo-neki-ti-a	HHON wants it	nem-owa	HON lives
it-HON-want-CAUS-PRES		live-HON	
to-mo-nemi-ti-a	You HON live.	mo-nemi-ti-a	HHON lives
you-HON-live-CAUS-PRES		HON-live-CAUS-PRES	

Sometimes both kinds of HON markers are used to give an ultra-HON sense.

nieh-čiwi-li-lo	HON does it to me
me-do-APPLIC-HON	

tu-nieč-mo-čiw-t-l-a *You HON do it to me.*
you-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

nieč-mo-čiw-t-l-a *HHON does it to me*
me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

nieč-mo-čiw-t-l-i-lo *HHHON does it to me*
me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-HON

The DIRL on- sometimes seems to have honorific tendencies.

nieč-on-tlashtla-lo *HHON loves me*
me-DIRL-love-HON

3P HON REFL are marked by the HON REFL OM ne- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC REFL OM). Since the SUBJ is still 3P HON, the normal markings for such a SUBJ are retained.

mo-kak-ti-a *puts on his (own) sandals*
REFL-sandal-CAUS-PRES

ne-kak-ti-lo *HON puts on his (own) sandals*
REFL:HON-sandal-CAUS-HON

3P HON OBJ are marked by the HON OM tie- (historically and still in some synchronic uses UNSPEC H OM) in the singular and tie-in(m) in the plural.

nt-tie-tl-wt-a *I tell him HON.*
I-him-say-APPLIC-PRES
HON

nt-tie-inm-tl-wt-a *I tell them HON.*
I-him-PL-say-APPLIC-PRES
HON

Non-Distinct Argument Markers

(See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

REFL: See DEFINITE PRONOUNS.

UNSPEC:

tie- UNSPEC H OBJ (also 3P SG HON OBJ)

ne- UNSPEC REFL OBJ (also 3P HON REFL)

tla- UNSPEC NH OBJ

Sentence Type

Imperative is marked by š- IMP with a SBJNCT verb. š- seems to be in some sense an IMP SM; it replaces the 2P SM and is copied, like other SM, onto PRED N and ADJ.

š-k-čiw-a *Do it!*
IMP-it-do

šo-mo-čiw-t-l *(You HON) do it!*
IMP-HON-do-APPLIC

amo ṣ̌i-ye-kɔ ṣ̌i-tuntoh-te *Don't be such idiots!*
 NEG IMP-be-PL:SBJNCT IMP-stupid-PL

Subjunctive verbs are usually marked by the exhortative *ma* preceding them. They are formed of the PRES form minus the *-a* PRES (TRNS), if any. The PL marker is *-kɔ*. For most speakers the 2P forms are marked with the IMP *ṣ̌i-* instead of the normal SM.

k-dhtow-a *says it* ma k-dhto *May he say it.*
it-say-PRES EXHRT *it-say*

kɪ-čiwa *does it/They do it.* ma kɪ-čiwa-kɔ *May they do it.*
it-do EXHRT *it-do-PL:SBJNCT*

nen-kɪ-čiwi-lɪ-a *You PL do it to him.*
you:PL-him-do-APPLIC-PRES

ma ṣ̌i-k-čiwi-li-kɔ *May you PL do it to him.*
 EXHRT IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL:SBJNCT

Some vowels tense before the SBJNCT PL *-kɔ*.

tɪ-ya-wɪ *We're going.* ma tɪ-yɔ-kɔ *Let's go!*
we-go-PL EXHRT *we-go-PL:SBJNCT*

ne-nieč-mo-čiwi-lɪ-lɪ-a *You PL HON do it to me.*
you:PL-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES

ma ṣ̌i-nieč-mo-čiwi-lɪ-li-kɔ *May you PL HON do it to me.*
 EXHRT IMP-me-HON-do-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL:SBJNCT

ya go has the special SBJNCT form *wɪya* for non-HON SG forms.

ṣ̌i-wɪya *Go!*
 IMP-go:SBJNCT

Number Agreement

RDP = PL in PRES, IMPRF, sometimes in SBJNCT(?), IMP, PERF, FUT (though in these latter cases the PL is elsewhere marked). This RDP marking is not obligatory, though it usually occurs if there is any danger of confusion with a SG subject, and it is usually suppressed in cases where RDP has another meaning with that stem.

kɪ-čiwa *He does it./* kɪ-ṣ̌h-čiwa *He makes/fixes it./*
it-do *They do it.* *it-RDP-do* *They make/fix it.*

n-asɪ *I arrive.* t-asɪ *You arrive./ (We arrive.)*
I-reach *you/(we)-reach*

t-ah-asɪ *We arrive.* ilowa-ya *he HON was*
we-RDP-reach *be:HON-IMPRF*

ih-ilowa-ya *they HON were*
RDP-be-IMPRF

-kɪ/-ɪ/-hki in PERF, FUT. -ɪ occurs after -k PERF; -kɪ after other consonants, including stem-final k and FUT -s; -hki after vowels*.

k-ɬta-k <i>it-see-PERF</i>	<i>He saw it.</i>	o-k-ɬta-k-ɪ <i>PAST-it-see-PERF-PL</i>	<i>They saw it.</i>
k-ɬta-s-kɪ <i>it-see-FUT-PL</i>	<i>They will see it.</i>	on-tla-ɕiʃ-kɪ <i>DIRL-UNSPEC-look-PL</i> <i>(PAST?) OBJ at:PERF</i>	<i>They woke up.</i>
o-pah-pək <i>PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF</i>	<i>He rejoiced.</i>	o-pah-pəh-kɪ <i>PAST-RDP-rejoice:PERF-PL</i>	<i>They rejoiced.</i>
kɪ-ɕiwi-ɪ <i>him-do-APPLIC</i>	<i>He did it to him.</i>	kɪ-ɕiwi-ɪ-hki <i>him-do-APPLIC-PL</i>	<i>They did it to him.</i>

-kɔ in SBJNCT, IMP.

-we with aspect markers -ti, -ki; with *ya go* for some speakers.

-wɪ with *ya go* in PRES.

-ɪ with *wic come* in PRES, with aspect marker -tɔwic, with *ayok be absent*. (Cf. -ɪ PERF PL, above, which is probably a different thing.)

-te with *ka be* in PRES, and with aspect marker -tka.

ma ʃt-k-ɕiwa-kɔ *May you PL do it.*
EXHRT IMP-it-do-PL:SBJNCT

kɪ-ɕiwa-ti-we *They are going (away) to do it.*
it-do-go-PL

tɪ-ya-we <i>we-go-PL</i>	<i>We're going.</i> <i>(some speakers)</i>	tɪ-ya-wɪ <i>we-go-PL</i>	<i>We're going.</i> <i>(other speakers)</i>
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om-wic-ɪ <i>MED-come-PL</i>	<i>There they come.</i>	kɪ-ɕih-tɔwic-ɪ <i>it-do-come-PL</i>	<i>They come doing it.</i>
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t-ayok-ɪ <i>we-be:absent-PL</i>	<i>We are not at home.</i>	tɪ-ka-te <i>we-be-PL</i>	<i>We are.</i>
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kɪ-ɕih-tka-te *They are doing it.*
it-do-PRES:PROG-PL

*Most if not all of these cases of -hki are probably really y and w becoming h preconsonantly. However, there are some problems for this analysis.

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-lti CAUS

-ti CAUS, VR (INCHO)

neh-nemi walks
RDP-walk

tla-k^Wa eats
UNSPEC-eat
OBJ

ki-wika carries it
it-carry

ki-neh-nemi-ti-a makes him walk
him-RDP-walk-CAUS-PRES

ki-tla-k^Wa-lti-a makes him eat
him-UNSPEC-eat-CAUS-PRES
OBJ

ki-wika-lti-a entrusts him
him-carry-CAUS-PRES

-lti affixes to the PRES stem (see above examples), and -ti often does. A final -a becomes -i before -ti (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes; also examples below). Often, however, -ti affixes to the (truncated) PERF stem or to a quasi-PERF stem formed by dropping the final vowel even when the verb in question forms its PERF in another way. There are several cases of verbs with two -ti CAUS forms with different stems and different meanings.

čuka cries
cry

ki-čuki-ti-a mourns him
him-cry-CAUS-PRES
(APPLIC?)

ki-pōki-ti-a It makes him happy.
him-be-CAUS-PRES
happy

ki-k^Walon-ti-a angers him
him-be:angry-CAUS-PRES

to-mo-k^Walon-a-lti-a You HON are angry.
you-HON-be:angry-TRNS-CAUS-PRES:(TRNS)

čuka-k cried
cry-PERF

ki-čuk-ti-a makes him cry
him-cry-CAUS-PRES

ki-pōk-ti-a He makes him happy/
him-be-CAUS-PRES gives him pleasure.
happy

In the case of the verb *mati* know, -ti is affixed to three different forms of the verb, including its FUT form.

ki-mati knows it
it-know

ki-mač-ti-a teaches him
him-know-CAUS-PRES

ki-mači-s-ti-a announces to him, informs him
him-know-FUT-CAUS-PRES

to-mo-mači-ti-a You HON know it.
you-HON-know-CAUS-PRES

Most cases of CAUS take -a PRES TRNS in the appropriate forms (see above examples), but some do not. These seem to include those in which the CAUS meaning is not pronounced.

teki-ti	works	weti-ti	is able (to)
cut-CAUS		possible-CAUS	

Some consonants palatalize before -ti or -liti, and some vowels tense (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

ki-mati	knows it	ki-mač-ti-a	teaches him
it-know		it-know-CAUS-PRES	
ki-tolow-a	swallows it	ki-tolu-liti-a	gives him the Host
it-swallow-PRES		him-swallow-CAUS-PRES (in Mass)	

-a PRES TRNS occasionally functions alone as a sort of CAUS.

aki	fits		
fit			
k-aki-a	makes it fit, packs it in, makes it comfortable in		
it-fit-PRES:TRNS			
tlamı	ends	ki-tlamı-a	finishes it
end		it-end-PRES:TRNS	

-wi APPLIC(?)

kočı	sleeps	ki-koč-wi-a	rocks him in his arms
sleep		him-sleep-APPLIC-PRES	

The CAUS meaning can also be expressed by the CAUS form of *do* followed by a SBJNCT verb.

tunıc-čiwa-lti-s	ma	ži-wıya	I will make you go.
1P:you-do-CAUS-FUT	EXHRT	IMP-go:SBJNCT	

Applicative

-lwi, -wi APPLIC. Occurs as the normal replacement for the VR -ow in APPLIC forms; it also replaces final *ow* in many verbs which synchronically show no other evidence of the presence of the VR. It also appears in a few other cases. It takes the form -wi after *l* or *r*.

ki-markɔr-ow-a	marks it	ki-markɔr-wi-a	marks it for him
it-mark-VR-PRES		it-mark-APPLIC-PRES	
ki-soso	pricks it	tu-mo-soso-lwi-a	You HON prick it.
it-prick		you-HON-prick-APPLIC-PRES	

kɪ-k^wesa half-cooks it
it-half:cook

kɪ-lɪ told him
him-tell

tɪ-mo-k^wesa-lwɪ-a You HON half cook it.
you-HON-half:cook-APPLIC-PRES

kɪ-l-wɪ-a tells it to him
him-tell-APPLIC-PRES

When -lwɪ occurs after a consonant other than l or r, either a, o, or ɪ occurs between them, the latter being more common. It is not possible to completely predict phonologically which vowel will be used.

kɪ-k^wah-pɪc-ow-a gives him gumption
him-wood-thin-VR-PRES
stiff

to-mo-k^wah-pɪc-alwɪ-a You HON give him gumption.
you-HON-stiff-APPLIC-PRES

kɪ-tlacow-a beats it (eggs)
it-beat-PRES

tɪ-mo-tlac-olwɪ-a You HON beat it (eggs).
you-HON-beat-APPLIC-PRES

k-ɪlakacow-a rolls it up
it-roll:up-PRES

tɪ-m-ɪlakac-ɔlwɪ-a You HON roll it up.
you-HON-roll:up-APPLIC-PRES

-lɪ APPLIC. This is the most common APPLIC and is used in all the cases except those mentioned above. Verbs ending in a (usually TRNS or ACT) will change the a to ɪ (INTRNS or STAT) and some verbs palatalize a consonant (see STEMS, Other Phonological Changes).

kɪ-čiwa does it
it-do

kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ-a does it to him
him-do-APPLIC-PRES

kɪ-wika carries it, marries him/her
it-carry

tɪ-mo-wikɪ-lɪ-a You HON carry it/marry
you-HON-carry-APPLIC-PRES him/her.

asɪ arrives, reaches (to)
reach

aʃɪ-lɪ-a is enough (for)
reach-APPLIC-PRES

As the above examples show, the APPLIC form is usually best derived from the PRES stem. However, in a few cases it appears to affix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem.

kɪ-pɔya has it
it-have

kɪ-pɪ-lɪ-a* guards it for him
it-have-APPLIC-PRES

A verb may have as many as three successive APPLIC morphemes.

tɪ-mo-htɪ-lɪ-lɪ-lɪ-a You HON note it in him.
you-HON-see-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES
note it
note it in him

*Actually this may be a case of a contraction of pɔyl to pɪ rather than a PERF formation.

ti-nieč-mo-pi-lt-lt-a respieto You HON respect me.
you-me-HON-have-APPLIC-APPLIC-APPLIC-PRES respect
guard it for (me)
have it towards (me)

The CAUS markers *-ti* and *-liti* sometimes seem to have a near APPLIC sense.

čuka	<i>cries</i>	ki-čuki-ti-a	<i>mourns him</i>
<i>cry</i>		<i>him-cry-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
k-thta	<i>sees it</i>	k-thti-ti-a	<i>shows it to him</i>
<i>it-see</i>		<i>him-see-CAUS:(APPLIC?)-PRES</i>	
ki-tuka	<i>plants it</i>	ki-tuki-lti-a*	<i>plants it for him</i>
<i>it-bury</i>		<i>him-bury-APPLIC (?) -PRES</i>	

Sometimes the APPLIC meaning is not exactly obvious.

ki-mati	<i>knows it</i>	ki-mačti-lu-a	<i>feels it</i>
<i>it-know</i>		<i>it-know-APPLIC-PRES</i>	
asu	<i>arrives, reaches (to)</i>	ašti-lu-a	<i>is enough</i>
<i>reach</i>		<i>reach-APPLIC-PRES</i>	

As the above examples demonstrate, the PRES TRNS marker -a is used with the appropriate APPLIC forms.

Some of the meanings associated with APPLIC can also be expressed in other ways, e.g., with prepositional or postpositional phrases.

niež-tlant-lt-a	<i>asks me for something on behalf of him</i>
me-ask-APPLIC-PRES	
niež-tlant-a para yaha	<i>asks me for something for him</i>
me-ask-PRES for him	

Some verbs might be treated as having an intrinsically APPLIC meaning.

nieč-maka gives me (it), (hits me)
me-give

Desiderative

A few verbs have a kind of compounding or affixation with *neku want*. The verb being compounded takes the FUT -s.

nu-tla-k^Wɔ-s-neki I am hungry./I want to eat.
I-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-want

*It is interesting and perhaps significant that -a changes to -t in this case as it normally does before APPLIC, but elsewhere does not before the CAUS -tu.

k-thtu-s-neki means (lit. *wants to say*; cf. Sp. *quiere decir*)
it-say-FUT-want

The first verb usually takes any 3P HON markings; all other suffixal markings go on the -neki.

k-thtu-lu-s-neki-skɔɔ-nɪ (if) *he HON had meant*
it-say-3P:HON-FUT-want-would've-IRR

For most verbs, desire is expressed by *ki-neki* (it-want) *wants it* as an independent verb, followed by the other verb in FUT.

nɪ-k-neki [nɪ-yɔɔ-s] *I want to go.*
I-it-want I-go-FUT

When the subjects of the two verbs are not coreferential, the second verb is SBJNCT.

ki-neki [ma nɪ-ya] *He wants me to go.*
it-want EXHRT I-go

The verbs that compound with -neki can also take this kind of periphrastic construction; there is usually a slight change in the meaning, however.

nɪ-k-neki [nɪ-kočɪ-s] *I want to go to sleep.*
I-it-want I-sleep-FUT

nɪ-kočɪ-s-neki *I am sleepy.*
I-sleep-FUT-want

Modal

Subjunctive

The SBJNCT form of the verb is the same as the PRES minus the -a PRES if any. The PL -kɔɔ is not used elsewhere. For many speakers the IMP *ʃɪ-* functions as the 2P SUBJ PRON even in non-IMP uses of the SBJNCT verb. Except in its IMP use the SBJNCT verb is preceded by the EXHRT/SBJNCT particle *ma* or its negative *ma-hk-amo* (may-be:permanently(?)-NEG).

ki-čiwɪ-lɪ-a *does it to him.*
him-do-APPLIC-PRES

ma ki-čiwɪ-lɪ *May he do it to him.*
EXHRT him-do-APPLIC

ma ʃɪ-k-čiwɪ-li-kɔɔ *May you PL do it to him.*
EXHRT IMP-him-do-APPLIC-PL.SBJNCT

ma-hk-amo ɛye *May it not be.*
NEG EXHRT be

Sometimes the *ma* is repeated twice: before a pre-verb SUBJ and again before the verb.

ma yaha ma wıya May he go.
EXHRT he EXHRT go:SBJNCT

The verb *ya go* has a special SBJNCT stem for non-HON SG forms (see above example).

Potentive

This construction is usually marked by *k^Walt good* preceding a future verb. Occasionally a different tense is permitted; a PERF tense gives the meaning *managed to*.

k^Walt nt-tlehku-s I can climb up.
good I-ascend-FUT

k^Walt tlehkow-a He can climb up (any time he wants to).
good ascend-PRES

k^Walt o-tlehku-k He was able/managed to climb up.
good PAST-ascend-PERF

Dubitative

This is marked by *kana(h) perhaps* preceding a FUT or contingent verb (see Contingency below). Usually this construction only occurs in if-clauses (see If-Clauses).

tlɔ kana kɣawɛ-s if it (happens to) rain
if perhaps rain-FUT

Aspect

Directionals, Movement:

*-ti	(PL -ti-we)	<i>goes to ...</i>
*-ki	(PL -ki-we)	<i>comes to ...</i>
*-to		<i>went to ...</i>
-t-ɔya	(IMPRF)	<i>was ...ing while going</i>
*-ko		<i>came to ...</i>
†-tiewa		<i>leave...ing (from tlɔ CONN + iewa get up)</i>
-tunemɛ		<i>go around ...ing (from tlɔ CONN + nemɛ walk, live)</i>
-tehko		<i>... upon arrival there (used only in SBJNCT and FUT; tenses to -tehku before -s FUT or -kɔ PL SBJNCT)</i>
-tɔwic	(PL -tɔwic-ɛ)	<i>comes ...ing (from tlɔ + wic come; used only in PRES)</i>

Manner

†-tškisa

†-tšweci

Manner*suddenly* (from *tš* + *kisa* *emerge*)*quickly* (from *tš* + *weci* *fall*)Durative

-tška (PL -tška-te)

-ta

DurativePRES PROG (from *tš* + *ka* *be*)

non-PRES DUR

(–tšnem: *go around ...ing* and –tšɔya *was ...ing while going* approximate a DUR meaning.)Contingency

*-nɛ

*-s-kɛ

Contingency

IRR

would have ...ed, was going to ...

(The –s- is the FUT marker; it tenses the same vowels as the FUT –s. However, I don't know what the –kɛ might come from.)

*-s-kɛɔ-ya IMPRF

*-s-kɛɔ-nɛ

*would have ...ed, was/had been going to ...**(if he) had ...ed (but he didn't, even though he had wanted to)*

Forms marked by * suffix to the present form of the verb, minus the –a PRES if there is any. –nɛ IRR, however, retains the –a.

kɛ-čɪwa *does it*
it-do

kɛ-čɪwa-to *He went to do it.*
it-do-went

kɛ-čɪwa-skɛɔ-ya *He would have done it/was going to do it.*
it-do-would've-IMPRF

kɛ-čɪwɛ-lɛ-a *does it to him*
him-do-APPLIC-PRES

kɛ-čɪwɛ-li-ki *comes to do it to him*
him-do-APPLIC-come

kɛ-čɪwɛ-lɛɔ-nɛ *he were to do it to him, (if) he had done it to him*
him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IRR

Other aspect markers suffix to the PERF (i.e., truncated) stem of verbs except for those verbs which take –k to form the PERF; they suffix to the PRES form of such verbs. In the cases where they suffix to the PERF stem, an *h* appears between them and a vowel* other than the *o* in –lo 3P HON, which tenses to *u*.

o-kɛ-čɪh-kɛ *They did it.*
PAST-it-do:PERF-PL

kɛ-čɪh-tiewa *leaves (here) doing it*
it-do-leave

š-k-čɪh-tšweci *Do it quickly!*
IMP-it-do-quickly

tɛ-k-čɪh-tška-te *We are doing it.*
we-it-do-PRES:PROG-PL

*These are probably really cases of a final *w* or *y* becoming *h* preconsonantly.

<i>kɪ-maka-k</i>	<i>hit him/gave him (it)</i>	<i>nieč-maka-tɪka</i>	<i>is hitting me/giving me</i>
<i>him-give-PERF</i>		<i>me-give-PRES:PROG</i>	<i>(it)</i>
<i>kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ-a</i>	<i>does it to him</i>	<i>nɪ-k-čiwɪ-lɪ-htɪka</i>	<i>I am doing it to him.</i>
<i>him-do-APPLIC-PRES</i>		<i>I-him-do-APPLIC-PRES:PROG</i>	
<i>kɪ-čiwa-lu-tɪka</i>	<i>HON is doing it</i>		
<i>it-do-HON-PRES:PROG</i>			

Forms marked with † lose their final vowel in their PERF use; other forms have no PERF unless a special one is given. Forms not marked with * take -s for their FUT unless specified not to occur with FUT. -to went, -ta non-PRES DUR, and -tɒnemɪ go around...ing also occur with -ya IMPRF.

<i>o-kɪ-čih-tie</i>	<i>He went out and did it.</i>
<i>PAST-it-do-leave-PERF</i>	
<i>tɪ-k-čih-tehku-s-kɪ</i>	<i>We will do it when we arrive.</i>
<i>we-it-do-upon:arrival-FUT-PL</i>	
<i>nɪ-k-čih-ta-ya</i>	<i>I was doing it (all along).</i>
<i>I-it-do-DUR-IMPRF</i>	

RDP often functions to give a HAB or REPET aspect (see STEMS, Reduplication).

<i>kɪ-čɪh-čiwa</i>	<i>does it REPET, makes/fixes it</i>
<i>it-RDP-do</i>	

Tense

-a	PRES	(on some verbs, esp. those with APPLIC or CAUS or ending in ow. This PRES marker is also retained in IMPRF (see below) and before the IRR marker -nt.)	
-s	FUT		
-ya	IMPRF	(The -a PRES stays here, usually as -ɔ.)*	
kɪ-čiwa it-do	does it/they do it	ma kɪ-čiwa EXHRT it-do	May he do it.
kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ-a him-do-APPLIC-PRES	does it to him/they do it to him	ma kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ EXHRT him-do-APPLIC	May he do it to him.
kɪ-čiwa-s it-do-FUT	He will do it.	kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ-s-kɪ him-do-APPLIC-FUT-PL	They will do it to him.
kɪ-čiwa-ya it-do-IMPRF	He was doing it.	kɪ-čiwɪ-lɪ-ɔ-ya him-do-APPLIC-PRES-IMPRF	He was doing it to him.

*Actually, -ɔya appears as the IMPRF form after the 3P HON ɪo and aspect marker to or ti, which do not take -a PRES, so perhaps -ɔya should be treated as another IMPRF marker, occurring after ɪo and to and such verbs as take -a in the PRES.

Since the plural markers are somewhat suppletive for tense, they also aid in identifying tense (see SYNTACTIC MARKING).

The prefix *o-* PAST and the particle *ye already*, singly or in combination, are used very often with PERF and IMPRF verbs. *o-* does not seem to be as closely bound phonologically to the verb as other prefixes. *ye* is also used sometimes with other tenses, with the *already* meaning in focus; with PERF and IMPRF verbs this meaning is often negligible—*ye* seems to just mark PAST.

ye o-ki-žiwa-ya He was (already) doing it.
already PAST-it-do-IMPRF

ye ti-y ɔ-s-ki We will already have gone./We are going now.
already we-go-FUT-PL

In at least one case a *-ti* CAUS (or *-ti-* CONN ??) appears with the FUT *-s* in the 2P HON forms.

ti-m-ɔ-ti-a You HON are doing something.
you-HON-be-APPLIC-PRES
occupied:HON

ti-m-ɔ-ti-ti-s You HON will be doing something.
you-HON-be-APPLIC-CAUS-FUT
occupied:HON

PERF is marked in several ways. Some stems do nothing (except perhaps add the *o-* PAST prefix, which is normally optional).

ki-k^Wa eats it o-ki-k^Wa He ate it.
it-eat PAST-it-eat

Many of these stems are now beginning to take *-k* PERF.

o-ki-k^Wa-k He ate it.
PAST-it-eat-PERF

Many stems take *-k* PERF. All stems ending in CCV take this PERF; also almost all stems ending in *ka*, (ga), *tla*, *sV*, or *k^WV* take *-k*.*

k-thta sees it o-k-thta-k He saw it.
it-see PAST-it-see-PERF

čuka cries čuka-k He cried.
cry cry-PERF

tla-yowa Night comes. tla-yowa-k Night came.
UNSPEC:OBJ-night UNSPEC:OBJ-night-PERF

ki-pthpt pulls it apart ki-pthpt-k He pulled it apart.
it-pull:apart it-pull:apart-PERF

*One could propose that all verbs take *-k* in the PL as part of the PL *-(h)kt*.

m-dhyu-cak^Wa suffocates himself
REFL-breath-shut

m-dhyu-cak^Wa-k suffocated himself
REFL-breath-shut-PERF

But:

kɛ-cak^Wa shuts it
it-shut

o-kɛ-cak He shut it.
PAST-it-shut:PERF

Most verbs drop their final V (including -a PRES) to form the PERF stem. Many final consonants then drop also by regular morphonemic rule (see PHONOLOGY).

ɕɪk^Wɪnɪ runs, jumps
run/jump

o-ɕɪk^Wɪ He ran/jumped.
PAST-run/jump:PERF

mo-keca stands up
REFL-stand

o-mo-kec-kɪ They stood up.
PAST-REFL-stand:PERF-PL

kɪ-ʒiwa does it
it-do

o-kɪ-ʒih-kɪ They did it.
PAST-it-do:PERF-PL

kɪ-tlapɔna opens it up
it-open

kɪ-tlap ɔn-kɪ They opened it up.
it-open:PERF-PL

kɪ-mɪk-tɪ-a kills him
him-die-CAUS-PRES

o-kɪ-mɪk-tɪ He killed him.
PAST-him-die-CAUS:PERF

Some forms which have already dropped -a PRES will also add -k PERF.

ne-tlɔɪ-hcinow-a He HHON sits down.
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PRES

ne-tlɔɪ-hcinu-k He HHON sat down.
REFL:HON-place-REFL:HON-PERF

PERF forms which would otherwise consist of only one syllable must take o-PAST; those which would otherwise be only two syllables almost invariably do. In longer forms the o- is usually optional.

mɪkɪ dies
die

o-mɪk He died.
PAST-die:PERF

tlamɪ ends
end

o-tla It ended.
PAST-end:PERF

kis-tiewa goes out (and away)
emerge-leave

o-kis-tie He went out (and away).
PAST-emerge-leave:PERF

kis-tieh-kɪ They went out (and away).
emerge-leave:PERF-PL

Several verbs seem to accept either of two PERF forms.

o-kɪ-k^wa-(k) *He ate it.*
PAST-it-eat-PERF

Some verbs which do not drop their final vowel to form the PERF do so when combined with certain affixes. We have termed these quasi-PERF stems.

čuka-k	<i>He cried.</i>	kɪ-čuk-tɪ-a	<i>makes him cry</i>
<i>cry-PERF</i>		<i>him-cry-CAUS-PRES</i>	

Some verbs which drop their final vowel also tense a stem vowel.

kɪ-kowa	<i>buys it</i>	o-kɪ-ku	<i>He bought it.</i>
<i>it-buy</i>		<i>PAST-it-buy:PERF</i>	

o-kɪ-kuh-kɪ *They bought it.*
PAST-it-buy:PERF-PL

Some speakers will often add a -k PERF to a verb that has already dropped its final vowel. This construction may imply an ultra-PERF 'over and done with' sense.

pasɔɾ-ɪwɪ	<i>happens</i>	o-pasɔɾ-ɪ	<i>happened</i>
<i>happen-VR</i>		<i>PAST-happen-VR:PERF</i>	
o-pasɔɾ-ɪ-k <i>happened</i>			
<i>PAST-happen-VR:PERF-PERF</i>			

There seems to be an -i PRES vs. -o PERF distinction in the aspect markers -ti and -ki (*go to ...* and *come to ...*), whose PERF versions are -to and -ko.

kɪ-čiwa-ti	<i>goes to do it</i>	kɪ-čiwa-to	<i>went to do it</i>
<i>it-do-go</i>		<i>it-do-go:PERF</i>	

The verb *kona* *grasp, take* has an irregular SG PERF form for some speakers. The tendency not to have two-syllable verbs may be involved.

o-kɔɔ	<i>He grasped it.</i>	o-kɔ	<i>He grasped it.</i>
<i>PAST-grasp</i>	<i>(some speakers)</i>	<i>PAST-grasp</i>	<i>(other speakers)</i>
<i>PERF</i>		<i>PERF</i>	

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The following hopefully covers most of the common cases.

Pre-Stem Elements

PAST - SM - OM - $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{DIRL} \\ \text{ADV} \end{array} \right]$ - UNSPEC - STEM
OM

REFL go in the same slot as the other OM, except that the REFL (or HON) *mo-* follows the DIRL *wal-*.

Post-Stem Elements

STEM - CAUS - APPLIC - $\left[\begin{array}{c} 3P \\ \text{HON} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{HON} \\ \text{REFL} \end{array} \right]$ - ASP - TNS
(several)

COORDINATION

.wa *and*

wa nuythki *and also*

noso *or*

o noso *or*

noso koš *or be it*

koš...koš *whether...or*

pero (poro) *but (Sp.)*

sino *but (Sp.)* *(NEG V sino V)*

kači *more, but, rather*

*[naha nɪ-tiek-tɪc] * wa [tɪmɪc-mɪk-ti-s]* *I am a viper and I will kill you.*
I I-viper-ABS and IP:you-die-CAUS-FUT

amo nɪ-k-matɪ [koš ok om-pa-ka] noso [koš ye on-ya]
NEG I-it-know whether yet MED-at-be or whether already hence-go
I don't know if he's still there or if he's already gone.

*Square brackets are used to mark conjoined clauses in this section.

[amo asɪ-to pan=tektɪ-tl] sino [asɪ-to sa asta kɔnɪ oh-tlɪ]
 NEG arrive-went at=work-ABS but arrive-went just until where path-ABS
He never got to work, but he got only as far as the road.

[kɪ-nekɪ-ya kɪ-pɪcu-skɪa] poro [nie-ka si-sɪ-wan-tu amo
 it-want-IMPRF her-kiss-would've but DIST-be RDP DIM NEG
 woman
She wanted to kiss that girl, but she wouldn't permit it.

o-mo-kɔ]

PAST-REFL-let:PERF

He wanted to kiss that girl, but she wouldn't permit it.

[welis nɪ-yɔ-s mieʃthko] noso [welis no-kɔwa-s nɪkɔ]
 perhaps I-go-FUT Mexico or perhaps I:REFL-leave-FUT here
Maybe I'll go to Mexico, or maybe I'll stay here.

[amo nɪ-yɔ-s] kaʃtɪ [no-kɔwa-s nɪkɔ]
 NEG I-go-FUT more I:REFL-leave-FUT here
I won't go, but rather I'll stay here.

Often two clauses are coordinated by juxtaposition, with intonation indicating that they are one sentence.

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

All complement clauses with the exception of some direct quotes seem to follow the main verb. The main verb is 3P SG SUBJ for SUBJ clauses, 3P SG OBJ for OBJ clauses. Markings of the subordinate clauses are discussed below.

Subject Complement Clauses

Usually these clauses are not marked; however, they may be marked with the Spanish SUBR *ke* *that*. Some cases will have EXHRT *ma* *may* with the SBJNCT.

niesɪ [(ke) ye on-ya-hktɪ] *It looks like they already left.*
 appear that already hence:(PAST?)>go-PL

kombenier-iwɪ [ma tɪ-k-ʒiwa-kɔ] *It is fitting that we do it.*
 be -VR EXHRT we-it-do-PL
 fitting (INTRNS) SBJNCT

Some cases show evidence of a subject copy to the main clause; the main verb has no *k*-it OBJ, as it would if the lower clause were an OBJ.

o-nɪ-pie [o-nɪ-tektɪ] *I began to work.*
 PAST-I-begin:PERF PAST-I-work:PERF

Object Complement Clauses

Object complement clauses are marked differently according to what type of main verb they have. The following observations are far from exhaustive. Note that the same verb used in different senses may take different types of subordinate OBJ clauses.

Volitional/Desiderative/Gustative

Marked with FUT for same subject; ma + SBJNCT for different subject.

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| ye | o-ni-k-desedir-o | [ni-yɔ-s] | <i>I have decided to go.</i> |
| already | PAST-I-it-decide-VR | I-go-FUT | |
| ni-k-neki | [ni-yɔ-s] | | <i>I want to go.</i> |
| I-it-want | I-go-FUT | | |
| ki-neki | [ma ni-ya] | | <i>He wants me to go.</i> |
| it-want | EXHRT I-go | | |
| ki-k ^W al-thta | [ki-čiwa-s] | | <i>He likes to do it.</i> |
| it-good-see | it-do-FUT | | |
| like | | | |
| amo ni-k-wel-mati | [ni-h-k ^W ɔ-s tiek-tli] | | <i>I do not like the taste of eating</i> |
| NEG I-it-delicious-know | I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS | | viper. (see TEXT, line (18).) |
| ni-kun-il-wi | [ma yɔ-kɔ] | | <i>I told (asked) them to go.</i> |
| I-them-say-APPLIC | EXHRT go-PL:SBJNCT | | |
| ti-k-pensɔr-ow-a | [ti-yɔ-s] | | <i>You are thinking to go.</i> |
| you-it-think-VR-PRES | you-go-FUT | | |

Quotative/Considerative

Usually marked with the Spanish SUBR ke.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| o-k-thto | [ke ye o-tla] | <i>He said that it was all over with.</i> |
| PAST-it-say that | already PAST-end:PERF | |
| ki-pensɔr-o-htika | [ke ok turabea on-kɔn-ka] | <i>He thinks there still</i> |
| it-think-VR-PRES:PROG | that yet still MED-LOC-be | <i>is some.</i> |

Some speakers use the QUOT *neli* to introduce an indirect quote; for other speakers *neli* seems to function only as a disclaimer of some sort, *they say* or *I heard that*.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------|
| o-nieč-il-wi | [neli ye o-mk pɔl-cin-tli] | |
| PAST-me-say-APPLIC | QUOT already PAST-die:PERF | child-DIM-ABS |
| <i>He told me the child was already dead. (some speakers)</i> | | |
| <i>He told me he had heard the child was already dead. (other speakers)</i> | | |

Direct quotes only exceptionally have *ke*; they are usually marked by a pause and also by the switch of person reference; they may precede the main verb.

[kiema] o-k-dto koyu-tl "Yes," said the coyote. (TEXT, line (7))
yes PAST-it-say coyote-ABS

Sensation

The complement clause may be unmarked or may use *ke*.

o-k-dta-k [(ke) ye on-ya] He saw that he had already gone.
PAST-it-see-PERF that already hence: (PAST?) -go

Others

Others are left unmarked or are marked in various ways.

št-k-segir-oh-ta [št-tektl-tl] Stick to your work!
IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS
work

kt-čiwa-lt-a [ke i-sowa čuka-s] He makes his wife cry!
her-do-CAUS-PRES SUBR his-woman cry-FUT
force

Oblique Complement Clauses

The normal 'because'-clause (see ADVERBIAL CLAUSES) is marked with the postposition *i-pampa its-on:account:of*, and may be viewed as a kind of oblique complement.

o-nl-ya i-pampa [ye nt-teoswt-ya] I went because I was
PAST-I-go its-on:account:of already I-be:hungry-IMPRF hungry.

The Spanish *para* for, in order to and *por* (ke) because of, for the sake of can be viewed as the same kind of thing.

o-nemieč-d-wt para [ma št-k-pya-kɔ k^weroro]
PAST-you:PL-say-APPLIC for EXHRT IMP-it-have-PL:SBINCT care
I told you PL so you will/would be careful.

nɔ kt-mah-tuka [ktyawt-s] por [ke k-on-d-wt copilu-tl]
PROX it-know-PRES rain-FUT by that him-DIRL-say-APPLIC buzzard-ABS
PROG

This fellow is sure it will rain because the buzzard told him so.

Oblique complements appear in some other constructions borrowed from Spanish.

št-h-kowa de [a-ye-k-mo št-k-maka-ta] Stop beating him! (Note that
IMP-it-leave of no longer IMP-him-hit-DUR the main verb is marked as for a
direct object complement.)

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

Embedded YNQ are marked by *tlo* *if* or *koš* *whether*. They almost always follow the main clause, even in cases where they are embedded subjects of a verb with an explicit object; they even follow the object.

amo nieč-d-wi [tlo tyɔ-s] *He didn't tell me if he's going.*
 NEG me-say-APPLIC if goes-FUT

solo deus [koš tyɔ-s] *God only (knows) whether*
 only God whether goes-FUT *he'll go.*

amo k-importɔ-ow-a no-tɔ-ta [tlo nɛ-yɔ-s] *It doesn't matter to*
 NEG him-matter-VR-PRES my-RDP-father if I-go-FUT *my father if I go.*

Especially with *koš* a tag *noso amo* or *not* is often included in the embedded question. The whole negated clause may be repeated after *noso*, or just *amo* and the verb, *tlo* or *koš* and the negative, etc.

amo mačta [tlo kɛ-čiwa-s noso (tlo) amo (kɛ-čiwa-s)]
 NEG is:known if it-do-FUT or if NEG it-do-FUT
Nobody knows if he'll do it or not.

tlo and *koš* with a *noso* construction are also used for embedded alternative questions.

amo mačta [koš yaha marta noso adelina]
 NEG is:known whether she PN or PN
I don't know whether that's Martha or Adeline.

amo nieč-d-wi [tlo tyɔ-s mustla noso wiktla]
 NEG me-say-APPLIC if goes-FUT tomorrow or day:after:tomorrow
He didn't tell me if he's going tomorrow or the day after.

Sometimes the *tlo* or *koš* is repeated after the *noso*.

amo mačta [koš yaha marta noso koš adelina]
 NEG is whether she PN or whether PN
 known
I don't know whether that's Martha or whether it's Adeline.

WH Questions

The construction of embedded WH questions is generally the same as that of independent ones. They usually follow the main clause.

solo deus [kienɛ nɛ-temu-s] *God only (knows) how I'll get down.*
 only God how I-descend-FUT

kɪ-k^Wienta-čih-tɪ [kiehkɪč tunal-tɪ pol-twɪ]
it-account-make-CAUS how sun-ABS lack-VR
many

He made an accounting of how many days were lacking.

amo mačɪa [de kɔnɪ on wala] *Nobody knows where he came*
NEG is:known of where DIRL-come from.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses are marked by the relative/question words *tli(n)* *that/what*, *ɔkɪ* *who*, and *kiehkɪč* *as many as/how many*. *tli* may be used with any head; *ɔkɪ* only with singular animate (and usually human) heads (even though in its use as a question word, it may refer to a PL noun); and *kiehkɪč* only with PL heads in restrictive clauses.

o-nieč-tɪ-wɪ nočɪ sɔ-san-tɪ [tɪ o-kɪ-hta-k]
PAST-me-say-APPLIC all RDP-just-ABS that PAST-it-see-PERF
things

He told me everything that he saw.

o-k-ah-wɪ-tɪ ka in-u o-cin-tɪ [tɪ
PAST-it-water-VR-APPLIC with DEM-DIST water-DIM-ABS that
k-om-wika-k]
it-hence-carry-PERF

He watered it with that water which he had brought (there).

ayok in-u umbre [ɔkɪ i-tlak nɪ-teku-tɪ-ya]
be:absent DEM-DIST man who his-by I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF
work

The man with whom I was working is not home.

ma walɔ-kɔ in-noč-tie [kiehkɪč kɪ-neh-nekɪ]
EXHRT come-PL:SBJNCT their-all-PL how:many it-RDP-want
May all those come that want to.

Some speakers rarely use *ɔkɪ* as a relative. Some rarely use *kiehkɪč*. The WHW *ɔkɪ-me-hu* (who-PL-DIST) *who are those ones?* is sometimes used by some speakers as an animate or human PL relative; it probably retains a DEM force.

o-ya-hkɪ in-u ombre-s [ɔkɪ-me-hu kɪ-k^Wɪ-to k^Waw-ɪtl]
PAST-go-PL DEM-DIST man-PL who-PL-DIST it-pluck-went tree-ABS
Those men who had gone to get wood went.

tlo if is sometimes used in an unusual construction that might be treated as a sort of relative; it may have concessive force.

entunes yaha [*tlo prinsesa*] o-ki-pico [*tlo poruwe*]
 then she if princess PAST-him-kiss if poor
Then she, the princess, kissed the poor man.

The Sp. SUBR *ke* may signal a relative; some speakers delete a *ki-* which follows it (at least in fast speech).

nie-ka-te tloka [*ke (ki-)pya ume in-šoyak*]
 DIST-be-PL men that it-have two their-face
those men who are hypocrites

Occasionally an unmarked relative is used.

sen-te [*ki-pya-ya pico-yeh-yeka-tl*] a man who had a demon
 one-NUM it-have-IMPRF ugly-RDP-wind-ABS
his withered hand
his-hand PAST-dry:PERF

A noun functioning as head of a relative clause rarely, and probably then only with a restrictive relative, when being introduced for the first time in a discourse, appears without some sort of modifier (DEM or QNT usually) preceding it. Possessed nouns, pronouns, and personal names are ordinarily exceptions to this rule, as they are usually already definite. However, they too may have such a modifier in cases where they are not definite or fully identified.

tloka [*tli ki-čiwa dhke-u*] people who do that sort of thing
 men that it-do thus (less common)
 noči tloka [*tli ki-čiwa dhke-u*] all people who do that sort of thing
 all men that it-do thus (more usual)
 in-u no-konie [*tli kači wiewi*] that son of mine that is the biggest.
 DEM-DIST my-child that more big

Some speakers use a headless or quasi-headless relative to represent a noun-cum-restrictive relative construction, with the noun overtly functioning in the relative clause.

noči [*tlin=k^waw-tli ki-mo-čiwa-lti-a*] [*tlin=amo-k^walt i-fruto*]
 all that=tree-ABS it-REFL-do-CAUS-PRES that=NEG-good its-fruit
grow
produce
any tree that produces bad fruit

Although relative clauses typically follow their head, restrictive relatives (especially when verbless) may precede it, particularly if no other modifier precedes it. This is doubtless a reflex of the fact that adjectives expressing an intrinsic or

restrictive quality will often precede their head. In some of these cases it may be best to analyze the construction as a headless relative (see preceding paragraph).

ʃu-kɪn-nuca [tlin=k^Wal-tɪ-k-ɪ] tloka Call (the) men that are
IMP-them-call that=good-CONN-ADJR-PL men good.

Another modifier may intervene between a relative and its head.

in-u tloka weh-weyɪ [tli on-wala-hkɪ] those big men that came
DEM-DIST men RDP-big that DURL:(PAST?)-come-PL

tie-ɔyɔ de no-tlo-ci [tli kemaʃ o-kɪ-kuh-kɪ]
his:HON-net of my-uncle-HON that barely PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON
my uncle's net that he just bought recently

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate pronominal affix on the relativized verb or the appropriate POSSR on a postposition.

taha [ɔkɪ tɪ-k-matɪ] you who know better
you who you-it-know

in-u tloka-tl [ɔkɪ i-ka nɪ-tektɪ-tɪ-ya]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF
the man I was working with work

If two coreferential nouns are constituents of the main clause and a relative clause respectively, the one in the relative clause is deleted if the one in the main clause is SUBJ. If the main clause constituent is not SUBJ, the relative clause constituent can often be deleted but may be pronominalized or even left overt to avoid confusion. The deleted noun, of course, is still represented by the appropriate verbal or postpositional affix.

no-tɔ-ta o-kɪ-k^Wa-hkɪ in-u naka-tl [tli
my-RDP-father PAST-it-eat-HON DEM-DIST meat-ABS that

k-om-wika-k-ɪ]
it-hence-carry-PERF-HON

My father ate the meat that he had brought (there).

yehwa tie-maka-k-ɪ no-tɔ-ta in-u naka-tl [tli
they him:HON-give-PERF-PL my-RDP-father DEM-DIST meat-ABS that

yehwa-ci o-kɪ-kuh-kɪ]
he:HON-HON PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON

They gave my father the meat that he had bought.

(yehwaci he HON serves to disambiguate the verb—otherwise it would mean the meat that they had bought in this case, because they is the SUBJ of the main clause and the lower verb is ambiguous between they SUBJ and he HON SUBJ.)

amo k-importɔr-ow-ɔ-ya poblo in-u sɔ-san-tlɛ [tli
 NEG him-matter-VR-PRES-IMPRF PN DEM-DIST things that
 kɛ-pasɔr-ow-ɔ-ya]
 him-happen-VR-PRES-IMPRF
The things that had been happening to Paul didn't matter to him.

Sometimes, however, if the main clause constituent is a POSSR, it may be represented only by a POSSR affix, while the relative clause constituent may be spelled out.

tie-ɔyɔ [tli kemač o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ no-tlɔ-ci]
 his:HON-net that barely PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON my-uncle-HON
my uncle's net that he just recently bought

Main clause subjects, objects, indirect objects, possessors, and postpositional and prepositional objects can all have relative clauses modifying them—only subjects and objects, however, can consist of a headless relative.

Subject Relatives

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate SUBJ pronoun prefix on the relativized verb. (See examples above.)

Object Relatives

The relativized noun is normally represented only by the appropriate OBJ pronoun prefix on the verb. Non-pronominalized subjects tend very strongly to follow the verb even in cases when ambiguity results. (Presumably this is because the relativized noun is almost always in focus; in those cases where it is not, the focused element will usually have been pronominalized. Since pronouns appear in this sort of situation only to indicate focus, they normally precede the verb.)

in-u ɔyɔ-tl [tli o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ no-tlɔ-ci]
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON my-uncle-HON
the net that my uncle bought

in-u ɔyɔ-tl [tli no-tlɔ-ci o-kɛ-kuh-kɛ]
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that my-uncle-HON PAST-it-buy:PERF-HON
the net that my uncle bought (questionable)

in-u ɔyɔ-tl [tli naha o-nɛ-h-ku]
 DEM-DIST net-ABS that I PAST-I-it-buy:PERF
the net that I bought

in-u sowa-tl [tli kɛ-kah-kɔ i-nɔmɔk]
 DEM-DIST woman-ABS that him/her-RDP-leave:PERF her-husband
the woman who left her husband/the woman whose husband left her

Oblique Relatives

The relativized noun is represented by the appropriate POSSR prefix on the postposition of which it is object or on the possessed noun it modifies. The definite pronoun is used following prepositions.

in-u k^wdu-tl [i-ka tli kɨ-maka-ta-ya]
 DEM-DIST stick-ABS its-with that him-hit-DUR-IMPRF
 the stick that he was beating him with

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɨ i-pa i-ʒɔ tɨ-yeh-yeyɨ]
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who its-at his-home we-RDP-were:IMPRF
 the man at whose house we were

nie-ka hiente [ɔkɨ para yehwa o-tɨ-k-ʒih-kɨ]
 DIST-be people who for them PAST-we-it-do-PL
 that PERF
 those people that we did it for*

In general, oblique relatives tend not to use *tli* when *ɔkɨ* can be used. Sometimes *ɔkɨ* is used with a PL animate or human referent in this type of construction, though otherwise it is used only with SG. This strong preference for *ɔkɨ* is especially noticeable in constructions where a POSSR is relativized.

in-u tlɔka [ɔkɨ pah-palɔn-kɨ in-ayoh-wa]
 DEM-DIST men who RDP-rot:PERF-PL their-squash-POSSD:PL
 those men whose squashes rotted

in-u tlɔka-tl [tli o-mɨk i-konie]
 DEM-DIST man-ABS that PAST-die:PERF his-child
 that man that his son died (very questionable)

As in the cases where the OBJ is relativized, a non-pronominal subject tends strongly to follow the verb. However, when the subject is the noun possessed by the relativized noun, it is often preposed to the verb.

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɨ o-mɨk i-konie]
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who PAST-die:PERF his-child
 that man whose son died

in-u tlɔka-tl [ɔkɨ i-konie o-mɨk]
 DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-child PAST-die:PERF
 that man whose son died

*The use of *ɔkɨ* here may be an example of the special use of *ɔkɨ* with a PL referent (see next paragraph), or it may be a result of the fact that *hiente* is ambiguous between singular and plural (as in the Spanish of the region). In this example it appears with the SG *nie-ka* instead of the PL *nie-ka-te*, yet the relativized pronoun is PL. Such confusion is common.

Some postpositions tend to precede the relativizer *tli* but not *aki*. The Spanish prepositions may precede both. (Compare this with their behavior as WH words under **WH Questions**).

in-u k^w[u-tl [i-ka tli kɪ-maka puro]
DEM-DIST stick-ABS its-with that it-hit donkey
the stick he hits the donkey with

in-u tloka-tl [ɔkt i-ka nt-tekt-tt-ya]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-with I-cut-CAUS-IMPRF
work

the man with whom I was working

yehwa-ci [por ɔki to-mɔ-kʂ-ti-a]
 he:HON-HON by who we:REFL-hand-emerge-CAUS-PRES
escape
save

he HON by whom we are saved

Other P (generally the longer and less used ones) follow both relativizers. Often, and always when subordinated by *tli*, these P will have a definite pronoun as their head besides the relativizer.

in-u tloka-tl [tli i-pampa yaha o-k-htoh-ku]
 DEM-DIST man-ABS that his-on:account:of he PAST-it-say:PERF-PL
 the man for whose sake they said it

in-u tɬɔka-tɬ [ɔkɪ i-pampa o-k-tɬɔh-kɪ]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who his-on:account:of PAST-it-say:PERF-PL
the man for whose sake they said it

When the Spanish prepositions occur after the relativizer, they must have a definite pronoun OBJ.

in-u tloka-tl [ɔkɛ para yaha o-n-t-k-wal-ka-k]
DEM-DIST man-ABS who for him PAST-I-it-bring-PERF
the man for whom I brought it

Headless Relatives

Quasi-headless relatives are very common. Usually a DEM or QNT (often with PRTV *de of* (Sp.)) represents the nominal from which the head has been deleted.

in-i-nɔn-ka [tli tɪ-k-wal-ka-k] this here that you brought
DEM-PROX-PROX-be that you-it-hither-carry-PERF
 this here

in-u [ɔku tla-lwɪ-kuʃ-tɪ-a]
DEM-DIST who UNSPEC:OBJ-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES
the one who is giving the fiesta

in-noč-tie [tli on-wala-hkɪ] *all that came*
their-all-PL that DIRL:(PAST?)-come-PL

A special relative, lo=ke=tli(n) *that* (SG) (from Spanish *lo que that which* and tli) is very common in these constructions with QNT, and also is the normal inanimate singular marker for true headless relatives.

meyak de [lo=ke=tli o-k-ɬta-k] *much of what he saw*
much of it=that=that PAST-it-see-PERF

[lo=ke=tli nɪ-k-nekɪ] ɪka ma a-ye-k-mo ʃɪ-tlah-tla-htu-kɔ
it=that=that I-it-want is EXHRT no longer IMP-RDP UNSPEC-say-PL
 OBJ SBJUNCT
What I want is that you no longer talk.

Sometimes tli marks a headless relative when it functions as OBJ in the main clause.

kɪ-toka [(lo=ke=)tlin=k^walɪ] *He follows the good.*
it-follow it=that=that=good

ɔkɪ is common as the relativizer of a headless relative, usually with the 'ever' sense.

ɔye-s tekɪ-yo para [ɔkɪ kɪ-nekɪ-s tlehku-s]
be-FUT work-ABSTR for who it-want-FUT ascend-FUT
difficult

It will be difficult for whoever will want to climb up.

[ɔkɪ tla-lwɪ-kʌʃ-tɪ-a] lalwɪs porube ka mo-hta
who UNSPEC-fiesta-emerge-CAUS-PRES very poor with REFL-see
 OBJ INTNS

Whoever gives a fiesta winds up very poor.

Sometimes a headless relative apparently has the head noun functioning in the relative clause. In some cases these could be analyzed as examples of a relative clause preceding its head (see RELATIVE CLAUSES, **General**).

nočɪ [tlin=k^waw-ɬl kɪ-wika [tlin=k^walɪ] i-fruto]
all that=tree-ABS it-carry that=good its-fruit
any tree that bears good fruit

Locative

They returned to the place where they had first left from.

The 'until' or 'as far as' meaning is given by the Spanish *asta until* in combination with *kōnɪ*.

on-ya-hkɪ [asta kōnɪ o-yeyɪ sen-te ɔ-m-ieya-l-tɪ]
 hence-go-PL until where PAST-be one-NUM water-REFL-rise-NR-ABS
 (PAST?) IMPRF

They went on until (they came to) where there was a spring.

nɪ-k-segɪr-oh-ta-s [asta kōnɪ nɪ-welɪ-ti-s]
 I-it-follow-VR-DUR-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT
 I will keep on as long as I am able.

Manner

These are usually marked by *kiemɪ* *like*. They usually follow the main verb.

ʃɪ-k-čiwa-kɔ [kiemɪ naha nɪ-k-čiwa]
 IMP-it-do-PL:SBJUNCT like I I-it-do
 (You PL) do as I do!

ʃɪ-k-cahɔɪ-lɪ thkɪ-u [kiemɪ nɪ-k-wal-ɬto]
 IMP-him-shout-APPLIC be-DIST like I-it-hither-say
 permanently
 thus (like:that)

Shout to him like I came and said to!

o-mo-maɬɪ-lɪ [kiemɪ tɔ o-ye-nɪ ɕkɔwa-k lalɔwɪs]
 PAST-REFL-know-APPLIC like if PAST-be-IRR strong-ADJR very
 He felt as if he were very strong.

The question word *kiemɪ* *how?* is sometimes used in this sense (usually with a 'however' emphasis), as are also *san kiemɪ* *just how*, *san kiemɪ ka* *just how* INTNS, and *kienamɪ* *just like*.

[san kiemɪ ka nɪ-k-ɬta-k] thkɪ-u kɪ-čiwa-ya
 just how INTNS I-it-see-PERF thus it-do-IMPRF
 He was doing it just as I saw.

ʃɪ-k-čiwa [kienamɪ mɪc-nawat] *Do just as he advised you.*
 IMP-it-do just:like you-advise:PERF

Very often the manner clause is apposed to an ADV DEM *thus*.

o-kɪ-či ihkɪ-yi [kienamɪ nemieɕ-ɬti-tɪ-htuka] *He did it just like I'm*
 PAST-it-do be-PROX just:like you-see-CAUS-PRES showing you PL.
 PERF permanently PL PROG
 thus (like:this)

TemporalSimultaneous

Many simultaneous when-clauses are marked with $k^w\text{ok}$ *when*. These clauses tend to follow the main clause, but may sometimes precede it, especially if the occurrence of the main verb logically depends on the occurrence of the subordinate verb.

[$k^w\text{ok}$ walɔ-s] nɛ-tla-cdini-s *When he comes, I will ring the bells.*
when come-FUT I-UNSPEC:OBJ-clang-FUT

noči mo-čiwa šošok-tt-k [$k^w\text{ok}$ kɛyawɛ]
all REFL-do green-CONN-ADJR when rain
become
Everything becomes green when it rains.

nɛ-k-ɬta-k [$k^w\text{ok}$ on-kis]
I-him-see-PERF when hence:(PAST?)-emerge:PERF
I saw him when he came out.

mientras *while* (Spanish) is also used often followed by the Spanish SUBR *ke* *that*. Its clauses tend to precede the main clause. It is often used with its clause deleted and followed by a strong pause, with the meaning *meanwhile*.

[*mientras* *ke* amo nɛ-k-čiwa] amo yɔ-s-ku
while that NEG I-it-do NEG go-FUT-PL
They won't go as long as I don't do it.

[*mientras*] taha št-k-segir-oh-ta št-tekt-tu
meanwhile you IMP-it-follow-VR-DUR IMP-cut-CAUS
work

Meanwhile, you keep on working.

The 'until' meaning is given by the Spanish preposition *asta*, often in combination with $k^w\text{ok}$ *when*. Sometimes *asta* is used with *kɔnu* *where* to give a temporal sense (see above).

neh-nen-ta-ya neh-nen-ta-ya [asta $k^w\text{ok}$ ah-asɛ-to]
RDP-live-DUR-IMPRF walk-DUR-IMPRF until when RDP-reach-went
walk

kɔnu o-yeyɛ sen-te $k^w\text{aw}$ -ttɬ wiewɛ]
where PAST-be:IMPRF one-NUM tree-ABS big
They walked and walked until they arrived where there was a big tree.

nɛ-k-štku-s [asta kɔnu nɛ-welt-ti-s]
I-it-bear-FUT until where I-possible-VR-FUT
I will bear it as long as I can.

Sequence

Subordinate sequential time clauses are usually marked by *k^wok* *when*, often with *ye* *already* modifying the subordinate verb. They almost always precede the main verb. At times it is difficult to distinguish between sequential and near-simultaneous usages.

[k^wok ye o-tla-nieš] o-mo-kec
when already PAST-UNSPEC:OBJ-appear:PERF PAST-REFL-stand:PERF
When it dawned, he got up.

[k^wok o-tlapɔ] o-kim-dta-k
when PAST-open:PERF PAST-them-see-PERF
When it had opened, he saw them.

so-tie-pa (just-UNSPEC:POSSR-at) *afterwards* followed by *de ke* *of that* (Sp.) is also used in this sequential sense; also so is *so-tie-pa de k^wok*.

[so-tie-pa de k^wok ye o-mik] ye piewa čoh-čuka
afterward of when already PAST-die:PERF already begin RDP-cry
After he is dead, they begin to mourn.

Often a sequential time clause is apposed to *entunes* *then* (Sp.) or some other ADV DEM meaning *then* more or less.

entunes [k^wok ye o-mo-či] ti-ya-wi to-čɔ
then when already PAST-REFL-do we-go-PL our-home
happen:PERF
Then, when it's already happened, we go home.

Sometimes a reverse sequential time clause occurs, marked by *kačto* *first, earlier* followed by *de ke*. These clauses can also follow the main verb. Often the subordinate verb will bear an IRR marker or one of the contingency markers.

[kačto de ke on-wala i-tah-ci] yaha o-k-il-wi
first of that DIRL:({PAST?})-come his-father-HON he PAST-her-say-APPLIC
i-non-ci
his-mother-HON
Before his father came, he told his mother.

yaha in-u o-mo-či [kačto de ke o-mo-čiwa-ni
it DEM-DIST PAST-REFL-do:PERF first of that PAST-REFL-make-IRR
tɔl-tu-kpak-tle
world-ABS
That happened before the world was made.

If-Clauses

tlɔ if usually marks if-clauses, sometimes with DUB kana *perhaps*; tlɔ k-dtu-s (if it-say-FUT) *if it should be (that)* is also common. These clauses usually precede the main clause.

[tɬo kana amo dʰkɪ] ma tɔ-h-korrehir-u-ko
if DUB NEG be:permanently EXHRT we-it-correct-VR-PL:SBJNCT
If (perchance) it's not right, let's correct it.

[tɬo ye k^Wali] tɬo-yo-s-ki *If it's ready, we will go.*
if already good we-go-FUT-PL

Often the main clause is introduced by *entuneses then*.

wa [tɬo nɛ-ya] entunses nɛ-kam-d-wi-s tɬkɛ-u
and if I-go then I-them-say-APPLIC-FUT thus
And if I go, I will speak thus to them.

mas though (probably from Spanish *mas but*), *mas=ke* (though=SUBR), and *mas tlo* are all used in the 'even if' sense, often with *kana perhaps*. These clauses tend to follow rather than precede the main clause. (See ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Other.)

amo tieč-kowa-lu-s [mɔs tlamɛ-s. tlɔl-tu-kpak-tlu]
 NEG us-leave-HON-FUT though end-FUT ground-CONN-on-ABS
 _____ top:of
 earth

He HON will not leave us even though the world should end.

ni-wa-lo-s [mos tlo kana kiyawit-s] *I will come even if it should*
I-come-FUT though if DUB rain-FUT rain.

mos=ke is often used with the rest of the clause deleted, with a meaning like *anyway* or *in any case*.

koš *whether* often gives a near-‘if’ sense.

ku-saka para i-kni-wa noso [koš ok-se-ki wic-i]
it-cart for his-sibling-POSSD or whether yet-one-PL come-PL
 PL others

He carts it for his brothers or for if others should come.

k-wal-teh-tiek_{PL} in-u pah-tlu [koš o-cin-tlu]
him-hither-RDP-pour-APPLIC DEM-DIST medicine-ABS whether water-DIM-ABS
HON

He comes sprinkling that medicine on him if it is liquid.

[koš k-iknu-pu-wi] noso [koš ki-tokɔr-o swerte] yaha
whether him-luck-child-APPLIC or whether him-touch-VR luck he

ki-maka-k	tomi	<i>If he was lucky, or if luck came his way,</i>
him-give-PERF	money	<i>he gave him money.</i>

por *by, for, for the sake of* (Sp.) is used, often with *tlɔ*, sometimes alone, and occasionally with *ke that* SUBR (Sp.), in the 'in case' sense. (*por*) *tlakaso* (from Spanish *por si acaso in case* with *tlɔ* substituted for the Spanish *si if*) may sometimes also be used in this way; more often it appears without a clause following it.

o-ki-cah-cak *por* [tlɔ kɪyawi-s]
 PAST-it-RDP-close *for if rain-FUT*
 PERF

He closed it in case it would rain.

Verb forms with IRR, FUT, IMPRF, SBJNCT, and the forms constructed with *skia would've* (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspect) often turn up in *if*-clauses with varying semantic effects.

ika-ka sen-te desperdisio laltwɨs [tlɔ sa to-mo-maka-
 is-RDP one-NUM waste very *if only you-REFL-give*
 HON

-cinu-skɔɔ-ya k^wienta]
 REFL:HON-would've-IMPRF account
It is a great waste, if you HON would only realize it.

[tlɔ sa ki-neki-skɔɔ-nɛ p^wieblo] nieč-consentir-u-s
if only it-want-would've-IRR town me-put:up:with-VR-FUT
If the town only wanted to, it would put up with me.

Sometimes *tlɔ* is used in a quasi-concessive (?), almost relative sense.

yaha [tlɔ prinsesa] o-ki-pico in-u pɔlak-tɬ
she if princess PAST-him-kiss:PERF DEM-DIST lad-ABS
She, the princess, kissed the lad.

tlɔ tli if what is used in the sense of 'whatever'.

ki-maka-k atul-t de kakawa-tl noso [tlɔ tli]
him-give-PERF gruel-ABS of cacao-ABS or if what
She gave him gruel of cacao or something or other.

Because-Clauses

Because-clauses are marked by the postposition *i-pampa its-on:account:of* or by the Spanish *por (ke) for (SUBR) = because*. They follow the main clause. *por* clauses may precede the main clause.

o-mo-k^wek i-pampa [ki-polo i-šompliɛlo]
 PAST-REFL-turn:PERF its-on:account:of it-lose his-hat
He turned back because he had lost his hat.

amo on-wala *por* [ke mo-kokow-a-ya]
 NEG DIRL:(PAST?)-come for that REFL-hurt-PRES-IMPRF
He didn't come because he was sick.

por [taha ti-wala] ye ni-wal-temu-k
 for you you-come already I-hither-descend-PERF
Because you came, I've managed to get down here.

sam-por just because, for no reason, to no avail, just (from san just and por for (Sp.)) is occasionally used as a because-clause marker. These clauses usually precede the main clause, perhaps because they are usually in focus.

sam-por [o-ni-k-nek] o-ni-kis
 just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF
Just because I wanted to, I came out.

sam-por o-ni-k-nek o-ni-kis
 just-for PAST-I-it-want:PERF PAST-I-emerge:PERF
I wanted to leave for no particular reason.

Therefore-constructions are usually separate sentences; the second will be introduced by por in-u by DEM-DIST, yaha i-ka (it its-with) because of that, ka in-u (with DEM-DIST) since that is so, or i-pampa-hu (its-on:account:of-DIST) because of that. Occasionally a because-clause is topicalized and preposed to the main clause. In these cases, the main clause is usually marked as in a therefore-construction, and the two clauses are separated by a strong pause.

i-pampa [amo nieč-neki wa de porsi amo k^walı]
 its-on:account:of NEG me-want and of naturally NEG good

por in-u nieč-il-wı ıhki-u
 for DEM-DIST me-say-APPLIC thus

Because he doesn't like me and he's just intrinsically bad, that's why he talked to me like that.

kienı how?, kiemi like, and komo how?, how (Sp.) are all used in a sort of 'being that' sense in a construction reminiscent of Spanish usage. Clauses marked by them usually precede the main verb. Often they act almost as relatives.

naha [komo ok ni-ci-ciki-ci] no-nona nieč-koh-ki
 I as yet I-RDP-little-DIM my-mommy me-leave-HON
Since I was still little, my mother left me.

in-u tloka-tı [kiemi amo ki-mati-ya] on-ya
 DEM-DIST man-ABS like NEG it-know-IMPRF hence:(PAST?) -go
Being that he didn't know, that man went.

Purpose Clauses

These clauses are marked by the Spanish preposition para for or para ke for SUBR. The subordinated verb is usually FUT or SBJNCT with EXHRT ma; occasionally some other inflections occur with varying semantic effects. These clauses usually follow the main clause.

o-ki-či tle-cin-tli para [wiksi-s naka-tli]
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-FUT flesh-ABS
He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-ki-či tle-cin-tli para [ma wiksi naka-tli]
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for EXHRT cook flesh-ABS
He made a fire so the meat would cook.

o-ki-či tle-cin-tli para [wiksi-k naka-tli]
 PAST-it-make:PERF fire-DIM:HON-ABS for cook-PERF flesh-ABS
He made a fire so the meat cooked.

In the case of the verb *ya go*, a subordinated verb in a parallel tense simply juxtaposed to *ya* gives the 'in order to' meaning.

ni-ya [ni-teki-ti] *I am going to work.*
 I-go I-cut-CAUS
 work

para tlo for *if* or *para tlakaso* (from *tlo* + a *kaso* perhaps (Sp.)) or either of these with *por* for instead of *para*, is used with the meaning 'in case'. (See If-Clauses.)

o-ki-tloli tla-k^wa-l-i para [tlo walɔ-skɔ-ya]
 PAST-it-ground UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-NR-ABS for if come-would've-IMPRF
She put out food in case they were going to come.

Other

Although-clauses are marked by *mɔs* *although* (from Spanish *mas* *but*) or some construction thereof (*mɔs=ke* (*mɔs* + *ke* *that* SUBR) or *mɔs* + *tlo* *if* (see also under If-Clauses)). These clauses may precede or follow the main clause.

[mɔs yaha teki-ti-ya] i-nɔn-ci seme k-ah-ahwa-ya
 though he cut-CAUS-IMPRF his-mother-HON always him-RDP-scold-IMPRF
 work

Though he worked hard, his mother always bawled him out.

tɛmɛ-čiwi-li-s [mɔs amo tɛ-k-neki-s]
 IP:you-do-APPLIC-FUT though NEG you-it-want-FUT
I will do it to you even though you will/might not want it.

Sometimes *mɔs* is combined with *wa* *and*. This seems to give an 'even though' sort of twist. (Cf. TEXT, line (15).)

ki-wika-c-i [wa mɔs amo tli ki-čiwa]
 him-carry-bring-PL and though NEG what it-do
They are bringing him, and (they are doing it) even though he hasn't done anything.

Often the main verb is marked with Sp. *pero* *but*.

[mos-ke amo k-thta-ya] pero ki-mat-ta-ya ke om-pa
though-SUBR NEG him-see-IMPRF but it-know-IMPRF SUBR MED-on
 o-yeya
PAST-be-IMPRF
Although he couldn't see him, he knew he was there.

Until-clauses are marked with the Spanish *asta* *until*, usually with *ke* *SUBR*. They usually follow the main clause.

ki-tu-tu-toka-t-nem-ta asta [ke o-mo-kš-t-k^wah-ti]
him-RDP-RDP-follow-go-IMPRF until that PAST-REFL-foot-wood-VR
around become:tired
He chased him around until his feet were tired out.

Without-clauses are marked with the Spanish *sin* *ke* *without* *SUBR*. The subordinate clause is almost always negated, especially in past tenses. These clauses almost always follow the verb.

o-ti-kis-ki sin [ke amo o-mo-maka-k k^wienta]
PAST-we-emerge-PL without that NEG PAST-REFL-give-PERF account
PERF
We went out without his realizing it.

ti-kisa-s-ki sin [ke mo-maka-s k^wienta]
we-emerge-FUT-PL without that REFL-give-FUT account
We will go out without his realizing it.

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

koyu-tl wa sth-tli
covote-ABS and jackrabbit-ABS

- One day, when a very big coyote was very hungry,
 ye sie tunal-t k^wok lalwus teoswi-ya sen-te koyu-tl
already one day-ABS when very be:hungry-IMPRF one-NUM coyote-ABS
 he was chasing a jackrabbit around
 lalwus wiewt ki-tu-tu-toka-tnem-ya sen-te sh-tl
very big her-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around-IMPRF one-NUM jackrabbit-ABS
 in a corn field.
 i-htek sen-te mil-t
its-inside one-NUM corn:field-ABS
- The jackrabbit was very frightened, but she knew
 sh-tl lalwus mah-k^o-muk-ya kači yaha ki-mah-ta-ya
jackrabbit-ABS very fear-MAN-die-IMPRF more she it-know-DUR-IMPRF
 that she could no longer keep on running because
 ke a-wel kači mo-mer^o-wa-s i-pampa
that NEG-possible more REFL-run-FUT its-on:account:of
 she was already very old, and her feet
 ye lalwus ye lama-ci wa i-kšt-wa
already very already old:female-DIM:HON and her-foot-POSSD:PL
 were no longer strong.
 a-ye-k-mo wel-tt-ya
no longer possible-VR-IMPRF
- So the jackrabbit suddenly stopped
 wa ka in-u sh-tl sa trepiente o-mo-kec-tukis
and with DEM-DIST jackrabbit-ABS just of PAST-REFL-stand-suddenly
a:sudden PERF
 and looked back sideways to see the coyote.
 wa o-nakas-tlačiš para k-htas koyu-tl
and PAST-ear-look:PERF for it-see-FUT coyote-ABS
- The jackrabbit said to the coyote, "Stop a minute.
 sh-tl o-kt-l-wi koyu-tl šo-mo-keca tep-ci
jackrabbit-ABS PAST-it-say-APPLIC coyote-ABS IMP-REFL-stand little-DIM
bit

5. Why are you chasing me around?
 tli-ka t-nieč-tu-tu-toka-tnem
what-with you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-go:around
6. Do you want to eat me?"
 ti-k-neki ti-nieč-k^Wɔ-s
you-it-want you-me-eat-FUT
7. "Yes," said the coyote.
 kiema o-k-htō koyu-tl
yes PAST-it-say:PERF coyote-ABS
8. "I want to eat you."
 nē-k-neki tamuc-k^Wɔ-s
I-it-want IP:you-eat-FUT
9. Replied the jackrabbit, "Don't eat me, because if
 o-nōwat sūh-tli amo š-t-nieč-k^Wa i-pampa tli
PAST-reply:PERF jackrabbit-ABS NEG IMP-me-eat its-on:account:of if
 you eat me, you will die.
 ti-nieč-k^Wɔ-s taha ti-mikt-s
you-me-eat-FUT you you-die-FUT
10. You think that I am a jackrabbit, but I am
 taha ti-k-mati ke naha nē-ka-ka nē-sūh-tli kačē naha nē-ka-ka
you you-it-know that I I-RDP-be I-jackrabbit-ABS more I I-RDP-be
 a viper, and when you eat me, my poison-juice
 nē-tiek-tli wa k^Wok taha ti-nieč-k^Wɔ-s nō-tlāk-ɔ-yo
I-viper-ABS and when you you-me-eat-FUT my-(?)-water-ABSTR
 juice
 will kill you."
 mē-muk-ti-s
you-die-CAUS-FUT
11. Asked the coyote, "If that's how it is, what shall I eat?"
 o-tlah-tla koyu-tl tli-ħk-u tli k^Walt nē-ħ-k^Wɔ-s
PAST-RDP-ask coyote-ABS if-be-DIST what good I-it-eat-FUT
permanently
thus (like that)
12. "Eat these berries that I picked.
 š-t-ħ-k^Wa in-i-nōn-ka kapol-t tli naha o-nē-ħ-k^Wth-k^Wtk
IMP-it-eat DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS that I PAST-I-it-RDP-pluck-PERF
13. I was carrying these here berries in
 naha nē-k-wika-ya in-i-nōn-ka kapol-t i-htek
I I-it-carry-IMPRF DEM-PROX-here-be berry-ABS its-inside

my basket to my house to eat them there.

no-čiki asta no-čɔ para om-pa nɪ-h-k^Wɔ-s
my-basket until my-home for MED-on I-it-eat-FUT

14. Then you started chasing me."

ye-k^Wɔk-m-u taha o-tɪ-pie tɪ-nieč-tu-tu-toka-(k)
already-when-DEM-DIST you PAST-you-begin you-me-RDP-RDP-follow-PERF
PERF

15. Said the coyote, "Jackrabbits eat berries, but

o-k-ɬto koyu-tɪ sie-sɪh-te kɪ-k^Wa kapol-ɪ pero
PAST-it-say coyote-ABS RDP-jackrabbit-PL it-eat berry-ABS but

vipers can't eat berries, so

kapol-ɪ a-welɪ kɪ-k^Wa tiek-tɪ wa ka in-u
berry-ABS NEG-possible it-eat viper-ABS and with DEM-DIST

you are a jackrabbit, even though you string me a line.

taha tɪ-ka tɪ-sɪh-tɪ wa mɔs tɪ-mač tɪ-nieč-ɪ-wi-s
you you-be you-jackrabbit-ABS and though what-ever you-me-say-APPLIC-FUT

16. You fool yourself, but you can't

taha tɪ-m-iš-kah-kayɔwa sie taha pero naha a-welɪ
you you-REFL-eye-RDP-deceive one you but I NEG-possible

fool me.

tɪ-nieč-kah-kayɔwa-s
you-me-RDP-deceive-FUT

17. How nice that you are a jackrabbit.

lalɔwis k^Walɪ ke taha tɪ-ka-ka tɪ-sɪh-tɪ
very good that you you-RDP-be you-jackrabbit-ABS

18. Jackrabbits are good to eat, but I don't like the taste

sie-sɪh-me k^Walɪ mo-k^Wɔ-s-kɪ pero amo nɪ-k-wel-matɪ
RDP-jackrabbit-PL good REFL-eat-FUT-PL but NEG I-it-delicious-know

of eating viper."

nɪ-h-k^Wɔ-s tiek-tɪ
I-it-eat-FUT viper-ABS

19. And with that the coyote up and ate the jackrabbit

wa ka in-u koyu-tɪ sɔ-sa o-kɪ-k^Wa sɪh-tɪ
and with DEM-DIST coyote-ABS RDP-just PAST-her-eat jackrabbit-ABS

even though she had wanted to deceive him.

wa mɔs yaha kɪ-nekɪ-ya kɪ-kah-kayɔwɔs
and though she it-want-IMPRF him-RDP-deceive-FUT

20. Also he ate the berries that she had had in her basket.

nuyhki o-kɪ-k^Wa kapol-t tli kɪ-pɪya-ya i-htek ʃɪkɪw-ɪtl
also PAST-it-eat berry-ABS that it-have-IMPRF its-inside basket-ABS

21. And when the coyote had eaten the jackrabbit's berries,

wa k^Wɔk koyu-tl o-kɪ-k^Wa i-kapol sɪh-tlɪ
and when coyote-ABS PAST-it-eat her-berry jackrabbit-ABS

he went and sat down under a tree,

o-mo-tlɔli-to i-cin-tla sen-te k^Waw-ɪtl
PAST-REFL-place-went its-bottom-LOC one-NUM tree-ABS

and there he died forthwith.

wa om-pa o-mɪk sa nima
and MED-on PAST-die:PERF just immediately

22. Those berries were poisonous.

in-u kapol-t o-ye-ya yaha tie-mɪk-tɪ
DEM-DIST berry-ABS PAST-be-IMPRF it UNSPEC:H:OBJ-die-CAUS