

**STUDIES IN  
UTO-AZTECAN  
GRAMMAR**

Edited by  
**Ronald W. Langacker**

**Volume 4**

**Southern Uto-Aztecan  
Grammatical Sketches**

**SIL**

(inside of front cover)

**STUDIES IN**  
**UTO-AZTECAN**  
**GRAMMAR**

**Volume 4**

**Southern Uto-Aztecan  
Grammatical Sketches**

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**Studies in  
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

**Volume 4  
Southern Uto-Aztecan  
Grammatical Sketches**

Ronald W. Langacker

*University of California, San Diego*

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## FOREWORD

This is the last in a series of four volumes dealing with Uto-Aztecan grammar. The grammatical descriptions in these volumes grew out of a Summer Institute of Linguistics Uto-Aztecan workshop that was held in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, Mexico from January through April 1976. I was invited to be guest director of that workshop and supervised the participants in the preparation of grammatical sketches of the various Uto-Aztecan languages on which they were working. At the end of the workshop it was agreed that the sketches would be revised for publication, resulting in this series. Volume 1 of the series consists of my own Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar, which is based on the lecture material I presented during the workshop and provides fundamental information concerning the Uto-Aztecan language family (including both synchronic structure and diachronic evolution) and relevant grammatical concepts. Volume 2, Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches, contains sketches of Tetelcingo Nahuatl by David H. Tuggy; North Puebla Nahuatl by Earl Brockway; Huasteca Nahuatl by Richard and Patricia Beller; and Michoacán Nahuatl by William R. Sisco. Volume 3, Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches, includes sketches of Northern Paiute by Allen Snapp and John and Joy Anderson; Papago by Dean Saxton; and Northern Tepehuan by Burton Bascom. The present volume contains sketches of Western Tarahumara and Cora, both from the southern branch of the family.

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

RWL





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## ORGANIZATION

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

- Introduction
- Phonology
- Syntax of Simple Sentences
  - Basic Sentence Structure
  - Particles and Clitics
  - Special Sentence Types
    - BE/HAVE/DO
    - Non-Distinct Argument Phenomena
    - Questions
    - Imperatives
- Derivational Morphology
  - Noun Morphology
  - Verb Morphology
  - Adjective Morphology
  - Compounds
- Nominal Constituents
  - Noun Inflection
    - Basic Inflectional Elements
    - Possessives
    - Postpositions
  - Noun Modifiers
    - Demonstratives
    - Adverbial Demonstratives
    - Quantifiers
    - Numerals
    - Adjectives
    - Comparatives
- Pronouns
  - Indefinite Pronouns
  - Definite Pronouns
- Verbs
  - Stems
  - Incorporation

- Syntactic Marking
- Non-Syntactic Affixation
- Overall Verb Structure
- Complex Sentences
  - Coordination
  - Subordination
    - Complement Clauses
    - Embedded Questions
    - Relative Clauses
    - Adverbial Clauses
- Texts

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABS = absolutive	EXHRT = exhortative
ABSTR = abstract	EXT = extensive
ACC = accusative	FUT = future
ACT = active	HAB = habitual
ADJ = adjective	HON = honorific
ADJR = adjectivalizer	IMP = imperative
ADV = adverb	IMPOT = impotentive
AFF = affirmative	IMPRF = imperfect(ive)
AN = animate	IMPRS = impersonal
APPLIC = applicative	INAN = inanimate
APPROX = approximate	INCEPT = inceptive
ART = article	INDF = indefinite
ASP = aspect	INSTR = instrumental
ASSR = assertive	INTNS = intensifier
AUG = augmentative	INTR = introducer
AUX = auxiliary	IOBJ = indirect object
CAP = capacitative	IRR = irrealis
CAUS = causative	LOC = locative
Cf. = compare	MOT = motion
CNJ = conjunction	N = noun/nominal
COLL = collective	NARR = narrative
COMPL = completive	NEG = negative
CONCR = concrete	NONREFL = non-reflexive
COND = conditional	NONRESTR = non-restrictive
CONN = connective	NONSPEC = non-specific
CONT = continuous/continuative	NP = noun phrase
DEF = definite	NR = nominalizer
DEIC = deictic	NUMR = numeral
DEM = demonstrative	OBJ = object
DER = derivational	OPTV = optative
DESID = desiderative	P = postposition
DIM = diminutive	PASS = passive
DIRL = directional	PERF = perfect(ive)
DIST = distal	PF = prefix
DO = direct object	PL = plural
DUB = dubitative	PN = proper name
DUR = durative	PUNCT = punctual
EMPH = emphatic	POSS = possessive
EV = evidential	POSSR = possessor
EXCLM = exclamation	PRED = predicate

PRES = present  
PREV REF = previous reference  
PRIV = privative  
PRON = pronoun  
PRSNTV = presentative  
PRT = particle  
PRTC = participle  
PS = pausal  
Q = question  
QNT = quantifier  
QUOT = quotative  
RCPR = reciprocal  
RDP = reduplication  
REFL = reflexive  
REM = remote  
REPET = repetitive  
RESTR = restrictive  
RQ = rhetorical question  
SEQ = sequential  
SF = suffix  
SG = singular  
SIMUL = simultaneous  
Sp. = Spanish  
SPEC = specific/specifier  
STAT = stative  
SUBJ = subject  
SUBR = subordinator  
SUPP = supplicative  
TEMP = temporal  
TNS = tense  
UNR = unrealized  
UNSPEC = unspecified  
V = verb  
VOC = vocative  
1/2/3P = first/second/third person  
-/# = morpheme/clitic/word boundary  
[ ] = clause boundaries  
/ = change of speaker

# **WESTERN TARAHUMARA**

**Don Burgess**





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## INTRODUCTION

Western Tarahumara is spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the southwestern part of the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. The Western Tarahumara are bordered on the west by the Guarijio Indians, to the North by the Pima, and to the east by the Central dialect of Tarahumara. The changes between the two Tarahumara dialects are gradual and no exact line can be drawn separating the two, but the differences are most noticeable within a rough triangle formed by the Urique, Oteros, and Chinipas canyons.

The author has spent about half of the past fourteen years living in the Western Tarahumara area at a place called Roco-roibo.

The Western Tarahumara man who worked with the author on the main part of this study was Albino Mares Trias, native of Bacusinare, municipio of Guazapares. The phonology included here was basically analyzed in 1968 with the help of Encarnación Velasquillo under the guidance of Eunice Pike. (Burgess, Don. 'Tarahumara Phonology', in Studies in Language and Linguistics, 1969-70:45-65. The University of Texas at El Paso, 1970.) An initial analysis of the discourse was made with Cruz Velasquillo in 1969 at a workshop directed by Robert Longacre. A more in-depth analysis of certain aspects was done in 1978, again at a workshop directed by Robert Longacre, some of which is included here. (Burgess, Don. 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence in Western Tarahumara Narrative Discourse', in Linda Jones (ed.), Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages, Vol. I 171-88, Vol. II 87-93. Arlington: SIL, UT Arlington, 1979.)

A study of Western Tarahumara colors was done in cooperation with the World Color Survey, an NSF-sponsored collaborative project of the University of California at Berkeley and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. NSF grant BNS 78-15900, Experimental Semantics, supported computer analysis of Tarahumara colors done by Willett Kempton. (Burgess, Don, Willett Kempton, and Robert MacLaury, 'Tarahumara Color Modifiers: Category Structure Presaging Evolutionary Change', American Ethnologist 10.133-49, 1983.)

The following is a linguistically analyzed Western Tarahumara text: Burgess, Don. 1978. 'Rabbit Steals Coyote's Bladder', in William Bright (ed.), Coyote Stories, 178-83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, IJAL-NATS Monograph No. 1.

The majority of the examples given in the present paper were taken from texts which have been printed in the following books:

- Burgess, Don (compiler). 1973. Ralámuli Huicala (Canciones de los Tarahumaras). ILV.
- . 1971. Anayābari Ra'ichāriara Jipe Nerúgame Ra'ichari (Cuentos de Antes y Hoy). ILV.
- , and Cruz Velasquillo Tria. 1970. Ra'icha Rarámuri-Yorí (Frases Tarahumara-Castellano). ILV.
- Mares Trías, Albino. 1975. Jena Ra'icha Ralámuli Alué 'Ya Muchígame Chiquime Níliga (Aquí Relata la Gente de Antes lo que Pasaba en su Tiempo). Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- . 1974. Regā Me'líame Ju Ye Ajāgame (Como Cazamos y Pescamos). Mexico: ILV.
- . 1972. Hue'cā E'carúgame Nehualíame Ju Imé (Hacemos Muchas Cosas con el Mezcal). ILV.

In using the above books, which were done as bilingual literacy materials for the Tarahumara schools, one should remember the following: The Spanish translations are free and do not always exactly follow the Tarahumara. The last two listed were done with the help of Tarahumaras who could not read or write and my transcriptions of what they said were not always exact. In all of the books, the sentence breaks are not always correct. Often they are more like clause breaks.

I also drew examples from a manuscript on Tarahumara plant foods, and other unpublished texts, as well as using elicited examples.

Grammatical analysis and dictionaries on the Tarahumara language (although not specifically on the Western dialect), which offered considerable help, include the following:

- Brambila, David. 1953. Gramática Rarámuri. Mexico: Editorial Buena Prensa.
- , José Vergara Bianchi, and Luis González. Diccionario Rarámuri-Castellano. (unpublished)
- Gathings, Jerry Baylies. 1972. A Grammatical Statement of Tarahumara. Thesis. University of Texas at El Paso.
- Hilton, Simón. 1959. Vocabulario Tarahumara. Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Lionnet, Andrés. 1972. Los Elementos de la Lengua Tarahumara. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1968. 'Los Intensivos en Tarahumara', in Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia: 135-46. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Thord-Gray, I. 1955. Tarahumara-English, English-Tarahumara Dictionary (and introduction to Tarahumara grammar). Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.

Also helpful was Wick Miller's 'Preliminary Notes on the Guarijío Language' (unpublished, 1977). The analysis done here is not considered final. A great deal more can be said than is presented here and more study will certainly change some of the present analysis. Further breakdowns of some of the morphemes will likely be possible.

### PHONOLOGY

#### Phonemes

p	t	č	k	'	i	u
b			g		e	o
	s			h	a	
m	n					
		l				
		r				
w		y				

Stress occurs on every word and is phonemic. There is also a phrase stress which does not necessarily co-occur with word stress and thus far is limited to specific morphemes.

**b** and **g** are typically fricatives, but they have voiced (fluctuating to voiceless) lenis stop allophones which occur phrase initially. **g** has a voiced stop allophone when following **n**.

The voiced alveolar retroflexed lateral **l** is difficult for a non-native speaker of Tarahumara to distinguish from the alveolar retroflexed vibrant **r**. Initially I analyzed **l** as a rare phoneme, writing mostly **r**'s instead of **l**'s, but I later found that **l** was quite common and I had to change many of the **r**'s to **l**'s. The difference is easier to distinguish with some speakers than with others. Dialect changes are also responsible for some of the difficulties. The phoneme **r** has both trilled and forward-flapped allophones. Phrase initially either allophone may occur, but the trill is the most frequent. Occasionally the initial allophones

have a retroflexed stop onset. Elsewhere a retroflexed forward flap occurs. For the Central dialect, Brambila distinguishes two phonemic *r*'s as well as an *l*. Lionnet states that *l* and *r* are variations of the same sound.

### Major Phonological Processes

In a stressed syllable the glottal stop is optionally followed by a transitional vocoid of the same quality as the preceding vowel when preceding *r*, *b*, or *g*.

Nonstressed vowels are lengthened in a phrase-initial syllable unless preceding *h*, *'*, or another vowel.

A word-final stressed vowel optionally ends with a voiceless offglide when preceding a stop or affricate in the onset of a stressed syllable.

A phrase-final vowel may or may not have a voiceless offglide in accordance with its relationship to intonation and final pause.

In fast speech, a nonstressed word-initial (but not phrase initial) sequence of vowel-*h* is actualized as a portmanteau phone, a voiceless vocoid of the quality of the vowel involved.

A sequence of a nonstressed vowel followed by *h* which occurs between *č* and a following stop is optionally actualized as a portmanteau phone.

A word initial *a* becomes *ə* when between a stressed high vowel and *'*.

*i* has a more open allophone which occurs in nonstressed, non-initial syllables.

Vowels occurring in nonstressed syllables are frequently lost in fast speech.

When the sequence nasal-vowel-stop occurs in nonstressed, non-initial syllables, the vowel is lost even in slow speech.

For a more detailed analysis, which also includes larger phonological groups, see Burgess, 'Tarahumara Phonology'.

## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

The most neutral word order is **SOV**. This is the order which leaves the least doubt as to who the actor is.

**huāni hosé ča'pí-le**  
 PN PN grab-PAST  
 'John grabbed Joe.'

When a sentence has an indirect object, its most neutral position seems to be sentence final:

**huāni muní 'yā aluē lusía**  
 PN bean give that PN  
 'John gave beans to Lucy.'

The most neutral position of temporals and locatives appears to be sentence final, but there is a tendency to move temporals to the front. A sentence where both locatives and temporals appear and where one or the other was not preposed for emphasis would be difficult to find.

**be'á be'lí huāni ro'čí ča'pí-le alē**  
 early morning PN fish grab-PAST there  
 'John caught a fish there early in the morning.'

The introducer **'líge** 'and then' usually occurs clause initial but can also follow the verb:

**'líge melénalo be'á simí-le-ke-'e 'líge aluē yolí**  
 then next early go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that Mexican  
 morning

'The Mexican went early the next morning.'

(For other introducers such as question words and conditionals, see appropriate sections.)

Equative sentences, which are the most common type of sentence in explanatory texts, normally consist of  $S_1VS_2$ :

**huāni hū aluē rió**  
 PN is that man  
 'John is that man.'

Emphasis

Word order in sentences is one way of signaling emphasis or topicalization. **SWO** gives emphasis to the subject and is perhaps the second clearest as to which part of the sentence is the actor, although with isolated sentences there is sometimes hesitation on the part of the person being questioned. This order is quite common in texts written by Albino Mares, who seems to be developing a more formal, written style. He might be leaning towards the Spanish construction.

**huāni ča'pī-le hosé**  
 PN grab-PAST PN  
 'John grabbed Joe.'

**OVS** gives emphasis to the object, and in many of the narrative texts this is the most commonly found order. In all of these, intonation and context are important.

**ge'walí bahí-le né**  
 esquiate drink-PAST I  
 'I drank esquiate (a corn drink).'

**VOS**, in questioning people as to its clarity, was not acceptable unless it contained emphatic words and intonation which helped give a clue as to who the subject was:

**wé go'-nāle čulugí alué sinowí**  
 much eat-want bird that snake  
 'The snake really wanted to eat the bird.'

**VSO** is also a commonly used word order.

A subject or object can also be emphasized in a sentence final position by intonation, emphatic particles, and emphatic words.

The following are ways other than word order which help to recognize a subject or object:

- (1) In some sentences, such as 'The woman made tortillas', there is no doubt as to which is the subject.
- (2) Context.
- (3) The accusative **-č'i** which appears on **ne** 'I'.
- (4) The subject emphatic **-ka**.
- (5) Intonation.
- (6) The use of singular and plural forms of nouns and verbs, especially when the subject is not specifically mentioned.

An indirect object can be moved to the head of a sentence for emphasis:



ne-'čí muni 'yá  
I-ACC bean give  
'Give me the beans!'

Locatives and temporals may also be moved to the head of a sentence for emphasis:

'régana simí-le below go-PAST 'He went down below.'	'ma simí-le now go-PAST 'He has already gone.'
---	--

Normally the temporal *mā* does not have a glottal, but it is added when it is being emphasized. It should not be confused with '*mā* 'run'.

A type of emphasis is also seen in the following change of order in an equative sentence:

alué rió huáni hú  
that man PN is  
'That man is John.'

Emphasis can also be obtained through a discontinuous construction, moving an adjective or an adverb to sentence-final position and giving it emphatic intonation:

'lige alé wikóči napai-ka piēsta  
then there PN gather-EMPH fiesta  
olá-le-ru-ga-ra wa'lú  
do-PAST-PASS-STAT-QUOT big  
'I am told that then they gathered there at Huicochi and  
a fiesta was held, a big one.'  
awé-ga go'á-le alé 'wé  
roast-CONT eat-PAST there much  
'Roasting (the meat) there we ate a lot.'

(Note the addition of the emphatic glottal to *we*.)

The word *a'lige* 'and then', when used in its full form instead of the short form *'lige*, signals an emphasis of the sentence it is connected with:

a'lige bo'éro na'ná norí-ka hā-ga  
then sheep:herder LOC ridge-EMPH stand-CONT  
aní-ke-'e sinā  
say-QUOT-EMPH shout  
'Then the sheep herder was standing there on the ridge  
shouting.'

The two forms of **a'lige** can be used together to give an emphasis along with the meaning 'at the same time'.

**'lige a'lige simí-le čigó**  
 then then go-PAST also  
 'They went at the same time (but not together).'

A non-emphasized phrase might take on a reduced form:

**pě riōsi ní-le-ga-ra a'lige aluě (rió)**  
 just god be-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that (man)  
 'Actually he (that man) was god.'

### Pronoun Copies

A subject pronoun suffix can co-occur with an explicit subject:

**pě ani-ā mučí-ru-ka ramuě-ka arēgimi**  
 just say-CONT be:PL-we-EMPH we-EMPH LOC  
 'That is what we were saying there.'

Another type of copy is where the subject is repeated by use of a pronoun:

**basáčí-si 'lige rowí-si 'lige aluě napaí-ka**  
 coyote-also then rabbit-also then they gather-EMPH  
 together  
**mučí-me ka-rā-e ehperē-ga hāmi**  
 be:PL-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB live-CONT wilds  
 'The coyote and the rabbit were living together in the wilds,  
 they say.'

A presumptive pronoun construction is seen with the adverbial demonstratives **arēgana 'mí** 'there below', where only part of the locative phrase is moved to the stressed position.

**alē-gana 'mí bo'yā kí-ke-'e gayēna-gana**  
 there-below there fall do-QUOT-EMPH ridge:side-below  
 'It fell there below on the side of the ridge.'

### Focus

Focus is a type of emphasis such as 'this very one' or 'he himself is the one'.

**aluě mukí tabilé nakí ně yé 'nalí-na nakí ně**  
 that woman NEG want I this very:one-LOC want I  
 'I don't want that woman, I want this one.'

**yé' 'nalí ní-le-ke-'e**  
 this very:one be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
 'This was the one.'

A continuous construction can be compared with a discontinuous one in the following examples:

**ně bo'ně si-méla**  
 I myself go-FUT  
 'I myself will go.'

**bo'ně simí-ka=ne**  
 myself go-EMPH=I  
 'I myself went.'

By itself, **bo'ně** means 'he'.

### Apposition

Two nouns or noun phrases which have similar grammatical functions can come next to each other with the second further explaining the first:

**'líge aluě riō lufsi morío ani-lí-me**  
 then that man PN say-PASS-PRTC  
 'That man named Luis Morillo...'

A type of apposition is also seen in the following example involving a possessive pronoun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun:

**aluě ně ba'čí-la-ka**  
 that my older:brother-POSS-EMPH  
 'he (that one) my older brother'

Related to apposition is a means of giving emphasis by repeating a sentence in slightly different terms. This often marks the climax of a narrative discourse.

**ně-ka a'lá če'wā-ke-'e gara-bě nahká-la ili-gā**  
 I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-DIM ear-POSS stand-CONT  
**alě čewā-ka ně na'nalí alě-ge 'mā-ro-či**  
 there hit-EMPH I very:one there-side run-pass:by-when  
 'I hit him about on the ear. I myself hit him when he ran by on the side of the ridge.'

## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

### Conjunctions/Adverbs/Prepositions

See **COORDINATION** and the various sections on subordination. A clitic is considered to be an element which sometimes acts as an independent word with stress, and at other times as an affix without stress.

<b>pé</b>	'just/really/but' (in comparisons)
<b>pé elegá</b>	'but/nevertheless'
<b>arigá</b>	'nevertheless/still/thus/until'
<b>kóma</b>	'either...or' (when two things are equal)
<b>ó</b>	'or' (from Spanish)
<b>=rema</b>	'or/perhaps'
<b>a'lige/'lige</b>	'and then' (to keep the flow of discourse moving)
<b>abiéna</b>	'yes/also/still'
<b>ábe</b>	'also' (mostly heard in the area of Churo near the Central dialect)
<b>-tiri</b>	'also'
<b>=si</b>	'also/and/together with'
<b>apusí</b>	'until' (I won't quit until I can't take any more.)
<b>-go</b>	'well/then' (Then go on.)
<b>arekére</b>	'because of that'
<b>napurigá</b>	'in order to/like'
<b>rekó</b>	'even though'
<b>'yúga</b>	'with'
<b>'yúriga</b>	'mixed with'
<b>=čigo</b>	'also'
<b>aminámi</b>	'there/also/in addition to'

### Polarity

#### Positive

**hú** 'yes' (in answer to a question)

<b>galí-rale</b>	<b>si-méa mué</b>	<b>hú</b>
house-place	go-FUT you	'Yes.'
'Are you going to the house?'		

At least four suffixes can be added to **hú**: **-we**, **-li**, **-go**, and **-ba**. **-we** comes from **wé** 'much/EMPH' and adds emphasis. **-li** comes from the verb **ilí** 'be/stand' and is used in response to a direct invitation:

<b>go'yā asā remē</b>	<b>hū-li</b>
eat sit tortilla	yes-be
'Sit down and eat tortillas!'	'Alright.'

**-go** IRR and **-ba** EMPH are used together in response to a statement. The **h** of **hū** has been lost here.

<b>'ā si-mēa=ne</b>	<b>ū-go-ba</b>
now go-FUT=I	yes-IRR-EMPH
'I am going now.'	'Alright.'/'It appears so.'

**abiēna** 'yes/still/also'

**umugī-tiri abiēna čigō-ame ka-rā-e 'yā-ko**  
 women-also also rob-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB before-EMPH  
 'Long ago they were also robbers of women, it is said.'

**abiēna** is also used as an affirmative answer to a question.

**'aingō** 'alright' (in response to a command)

From **abiēna** 'yes' and **-go** IRR. Note **ayēna** 'yes' from the Central dialect.

<b>be'li be'ā simi-bō-ka</b>	<b>'aingō</b>
tomorrow early go-IMP-EMPH	
'Go early tomorrow!'	'Alright.'

**a'lā/'lā** 'yes/good/very'

**wē a'lā hū**  
 very good is  
 'That is good.'

**'lige 'lā ta'mē bewārigi-či ni-sa 'lige aluē we'é**  
 then very NEG hard-place be-if then that dirt

**'lige 'lā we'kā hō-pua 'lige aluē gičiwā**  
 then very many dig-FUT then that guichihua  
 'If the dirt is not very hard, then very many guichihua  
 (a root) can be dug.'

**garā** 'yes/good'

I've only heard this used occasionally and in exaggerated situations where a person seems to be imitating the speech of the other dialect, where **garā** is in common usage. I have one example of **garā** in text. (See **BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE**, Apposition.)

**=si** 'also/and/together with/yes/AUG'  
 The clitic **=si** sometimes acts like the Spanish **sí** 'yes'.

**alē mināmi nāpu ma'čfna-le aluē rehpōsi alēmi=si**  
 there further where come-PAST that mole there=yes  
 out

**rewā-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē rowī ralā-la**  
 see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that rabbit track-POSS  
 'There further on from where the mole came out he found  
 the rabbit's tracks.'

### Negative

**tabilē/tā** NEG (**tabilē** consists of **tā** NEG and **bilē** 'one'.)

In a statement, the choice of using either the long or the short form seems to be one of emphasis. **tā** is more often seen in dependent constructions. In questions where a negative is used as a question, **tā** is always used. (See **QUESTIONS**.)

**tabilē če'wā-ka aluē-ka**  
 NEG hit-EMPH they-EMPH  
 'They did not hit it.'

**resī oliā ramuē tā hebēni-ga-me kā osa-gā**  
 poor/bad happen us NEG know-STAT-PRTC be write-CONT  
 PL  
 'Bad things happen to us not knowing how to write.'

**tabilē** combines with various numeral, adjective, and adverb-type words to form different meanings.

**tabilē sinē/tā sinē**  
 NEG once  
 'never/not once'

**'līge bilē ralāmuli-ka tabilē sinē pā-me ka-rā**  
 then one person-EMPH NEG once fall-PRTC be-QUOT

**'līge alē**  
 then there  
 'A person never falls there, they say.'

**'līge tabilē sinē rawē rekīna-le 'līge aluē basačī**  
 then NEG once day return-PAST then that coyote

**alē 'lēgana wičī**  
 there below land  
 'The coyote never arrived (returned) at the land there  
 below.' (The wind blew him away.)

**tabilē 'mē/ta'mē** 'not much' (Perhaps **'mē** comes from **wē** 'much'. Also note **mehkā** 'far'.)

**tabilē 'mē mači-rū-'e**  
 NEG much know-we-EMPH  
 'We do not know (him) very well.'

**tabilé siné 'mé/tā siné 'mé**  
 NEG once much  
 'almost never'

**tabilé siné 'mé etē-ru-'e**  
 NEG once much see-we-EMPH  
 'We hardly ever see (him).'

**tabilé 'čō/ta'čō**  
 NEG yet  
 'still not'  
 (Perhaps the most complete form  
 is **tabilé=čigo** 'not also'.)

**tabilé 'čō sēba**  
 NEG yet arrive  
 '(He) has not arrived yet.'

**tabilé 'čō 'mé/ta'čō 'mé**  
 NEG yet much  
 'still not much'

**ta-'čō 'mé iwasi**  
 NEG-yet much ripe  
 'It still isn't very ripe.'

**tabilé 'wēsi tābiri**  
 NEG have thing  
 'not anything' (-si could possibly mean 'time/once'.)

**tāse** NEG (Probably from **ta** NEG and **siné** 'once'.)  
 Used in comparisons, or when opposite  
 statements or possibilities are con-  
 cerned.

**'lige tabilé rewé-ga-me ka-rā-tu alué ralāmuli**  
 then NEG name-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC those people

**tāse napurigā hīpe rió-ga-me**  
 NEG like today men-STAT-PRTC  
 'They say those people did not have names, not like  
 people do today.'

**pēča 'wēsi**  
 NEG have  
 'not have'

**pēča 'wēsi nōča-me hū**  
 NEG have work-PRTC be  
 'There are not any workers.'

### Emphatic

Emphatic suffixes occur word finally. In narrative texts they  
 are often found in the climax, as well as other emphatic places.

**-ka** EMPH (occurs on subject and verb)

**'lige mué-ka yē pāri nolī-lī simi-bóa-ka 'lige**  
 then you-EMPH this LOC ridge-steep go-IMP-EMPH then  
 'You go up on top of this steep ridge.'

In narrative discourse, **-ka** can be used to mark the main  
 participant.

An example of **-ka** being incorporated into a word is seen in the following:

wé 'much' plus **-ka** became we'kā 'many'.

**-ko** EMPH

**-ko** occurs on many of the temporal words and acts almost like a temporal marker. In narrative texts, it marks important temporal changes.

**hŋpe-ko**

today-EMPH

'today'

In some cases **-ko** has been incorporated into the base of the word:

**rapāko**

'yesterday'

**rukó**

'night'

In some cases **-ko** adds to the meaning of the word:

**'yā-ko**

before-EMPH

'long ago'

**'lī-ko**

later-EMPH

'then'

(to keep a story going)

**-ba/-pa** EMPH

This emphatic often co-occurs with phrase stress and can be added to a word which already has an emphatic suffix:

**ganīri-ba**

content-EMPH

(response to a greeting)

**'yā-ko-ba**

before-EMPH-EMPH

'long ago'

**ariōsi-ba**

bye-EMPH

'good-bye'

**-pa**, for the most part, is phonologically determined, occurring contiguous to a glottal, **h**, or nasal, but there are exceptions. It seems that **-pa** is sometimes chosen instead of **-ba** because of the explosive quality which can be given to it. **-ba** cannot be given this quality since **b** is a fricative. A study of how **-ba/-pa** are used in discourse should clear up some of the problems. They are especially numerous in hortatory texts, such as the **sermoni** 'sermons' given at fiestas.

**aliēri hū-pa aluē sinowí alē ba'wi-čī**

thus is-EMPH that snake there water-place



**behtë-ga-me hâmi**

live-STAT-PRTC wilds

'That's the way that snake is that lives in the water place  
in the wilds.' (ending of snake story)

**bi'lê-pi onorûgame nehkû-ru-sa 'la nî-ma-pa bi'lê-pi**  
only-EMPH father help-us-may good be-FUT-EMPH only-EMPH  
one god one

**eyerûgame nehkû-ru-sa 'la ku-rû-ba semârega-ba**  
mother help-us-may good be-IMPRS-EMPH beautiful-EMPH  
god

'May the only father-god help us, that will be good, may  
the only mother-god help us, that will be good, beautiful.'  
(from a sermon given at a race)

**-'e** EMPH

**alarigâ-'e**

thus-EMPH

'That's the way it is indeed.'

When **-'e** co-occurs with another EMPH, it follows the first  
emphatic and carries the phrase stress.

**alečirûbi alaregâ-riga hû-pa-'e ra'iča-li-ka**  
only thus-EMPH is-EMPH-EMPH talk-PRTC-EMPH  
this

'This is all of the talk.'

**-'e** most commonly occurs in narrative texts following **-ke**  
QUOT. (For the use of **-'e** as a prominence marker in narrative  
texts, see Burgess, 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence in Western  
Tarahumara Narrative Discourse'.)

**'lige aluē mukî-ka tabilē mukû-le-ke-'e 'lige alē**  
then that woman-EMPH NEG die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there  
'That woman didn't die there.'

**-če** EMPH/'again' (probably from **učē** 'again')

**be'li-pa-če**

tomorrow-EMPH-again

'Until tomorrow.'

**-če** often carries the phrase stress.

**yolf hu**

mestizo be

'Is it a mestizo?'

(Rising intonation shows  
question.)

**yolf hû-če**

mestizo be-EMPH

'It is a mestizo indeed.'

In texts, **-če** often occurs in situations where two people or animals are trying to be polite to each other.

**čanigā go'-mé olā-če mué-ka ne-čī āka né-ka hēna**  
 why eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH I-ACC RQ I-EMPH here

**ahtī-pa-če yē gawī rakibū-ga mā na'mīni-li-ame yē**  
 be-EMPH-EMPH this hill push-CONT now fall-STAT-PRTC this

**gawī**

hill

'Why do you want to eat me? Aren't I here holding up this hill that's falling over?'

Note in the above example that **-če** occurs on the second verb in a double-verb construction.

**-pi** EMPH/REFL/'only' (Also see **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA AND NUMERALS.**)

**bi'lē-pi**  
 one-EMPH  
 'only one'

**bo'nē-pi**  
 he-REFL  
 'himself'

**-ri** STAT/RCPR/EMPH

The STAT/RCPR **-ri** can also be used to intensify something:

**čā-ti**  
 ugly-ADJR  
 'ugly/bad'

**čā-ti-ri**  
 bad-ADJR-EMPH  
 'very ugly/bad'

**čā-ti-ri ohī-ki**  
 bad-ADJR-EMPH bear-EMPH  
 'you bad bear'

The following are words which carry an emphatic meaning:

**hēpale/hēpa** 'Hey you!' (from Spanish **épale**, an expression of greeting used by local Mexicans)

**hō** 'What's that?' (a reply when someone shouts at you from a distance and you are not quite sure what he said)

**hā** (same as **hō** but for a shorter distance)

**wahā/huahā** 'Just look!'

**huahā-guru-ba čikī-čane-kuru-ba aluē riō**  
 look-truth-EMPH happen-noise-truth-EMPH that man  
 'Just look what happened to that man!'

**mué-ri-go**  
 you-APPLIC-DUB  
 'Hey you!' (**-go** could be an IMP or EMPH)

**muérigo** is used to get someone's attention when he is at a distance. It may precede a noun as in the following:

**muē-ri-go ompáli mā ne-'čī gosiba-la o'pōlin-ko**  
 you-APPLIC-DUB compadre now I-ACC bladder-POSS pull-EMPH  
 'Hey you compadre, you pulled out my bladder!' (shouted  
 the coyote to the rabbit)

Reduplication of certain morphemes can be used to get a type of emphasis also.

<b>hu-húma</b>	<b>ma-'ma</b>
RDP-run	RDP-run
'run around'	'flee'

**alué we a'lā-la 'nāti-li**  
 that very good-RDP think-PRTC  
 'the very best thoughts' (-la could be possessive.)

### Modal

(Also see **QUESTIONS** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Sentence Type.)

**siné kāči**  
 once APPROX  
 'perhaps'

'lige tā ma'čī-na-sa-ka 'lige ya'má muku-mēla-'e 'lige  
 then NEG out-MOT-if-EMPH then quick die-FUT-EMPH then

**alué basačī alé pačā asa-gā siné kāči**  
 that coyote there inside sit-CONT once APPROX  
 'If that coyote does not come out from there inside, he  
 will quickly die perhaps.'

**siné kāči** can occur sentence initial or final. (For another example of **kāči**, see **QUANTIFIERS**.)

**hēe** 'doubt' (This is said in response to what someone says that you doubt. The pitch drops on the second e.)

(For **hā** and **hō** see Polarity.)

**mayē** 'think/believe/doubt' (Perhaps from **mačī** 'know' plus DUB.)

**né-ka 'la bihčīā mayē**  
 I-EMPH good truth think  
 'I think it's the truth.'

**-re** 'doubt'/DUB

**alarigā hū-re-ke**  
 thus be-DUB-QUOT  
 'I think it is that way.'

Note the combination of **sinē kāči** 'perhaps', **bihčičiā** 'truth' and **-re DUB** in the following:

**alarigā-riga ruyā-čini ye ralāmuli aluē 'ya**  
 thus-thus explain-noise these people those before

**mučī-ga-me sinē kāči bihčičiā ke-ré-ko aluē**  
 be-STAT-PRTC once APPROX truth be-DUB-IRR that

**ra'iči-li**

talk-PRTC

'Thus explained those people who lived before. I think perhaps that talk is true.'

**-we** 'appear to/doubt' (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal.**)

**wihčī-méa ka-wé aluē rehté**  
 fall-FUT be-DUB that rock  
 'It appears that rock is going to fall.'

**-go/-ko/-o** 'pretense'/'appear'/'doubt'/IRR (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal**, and **SYNTACTIC MARKING, Sentence Type.**)

**-nale** DESID (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal.**)

**-e** DUB/IMPOT (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal.**)

## BE/HAVE/DO

### BE

The following are temporal states of being that are often translated 'be'. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE** for their use in single- and double-verb constructions and in discourse.)

**ilī** 'stand' (SG), **ha** (PL)  
**asā** 'sit/live' (SG), **umučī** (PL)  
**bo'f** 'lie down' (SG), **bi'tf** (PL)  
**ahtī** 'be' (SG), **mučī** (PL)  
 (Note Guarijio **kahtī** 'sit'.)  
**čukū** 'be' (SG), **učū** (PL)  
 (Refers to something four-footed.)  
**manī** 'be' (Refers to something in a container.)  
**rehpf** 'remain' (SG), **ehtebī** (PL)  
**enā** 'walk' (SG), **e'inā** (PL)

## Examples:

wa'lú ba'wí ilí-ga-čí kóče asá alué rió  
 big water stand-STAT-place where live that man  
 'lake' 'Where does that man live?'

alé bo'í rió alé ahtí alué rió  
 there lie man there be the man  
 'The man is lying down there.' 'There is the man.'

'líge alué gawé alé ba'wi-čí alé čukú-le-ga-ra  
 then that horse there water-place there be-PAST-STAT-QUOT

'líge ma muku-gā  
 then now die-PERF  
 'The horse was there in the water dead.'

čuku-gā enā  
 be-CONT walk  
 'crawling'

go'yā asá remé hēmi maní  
 eat sit tortilla here are  
 'Sit down and eat tortillas, here they are (in a con-  
 tainer).'

'líge alué bo'á-ka wé ra'sálaga rehpí-le-ke-'e  
 then that sheep-EMPH very happy remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'líge alé  
 then there  
 'Then that sheep was very happy there.'

'líge bilé rió ayó-ga enā-sa alué ohí 'yúga 'líge  
 then one man mad-CONT walk-when that bear with then

alúe ohí yáti ayó-me hū-ke-'e čigó 'líge  
 that bear quick mad-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH also then  
 'When a man gets mad at a bear then the bear quickly gets  
 mad too.'

In the following example, note the idiomatic use of **enā** 'walk'. Also note the consecutive use of four verbs.

'lá asíriga enā kā-me gayéna-me ka-rā-če  
 good really walk be-PRTC become-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH

alué-ka  
 it-EMPH  
 'It (fermented drink) really becomes strong.'

ilí 'stand' and **enā** 'walk' also act as suffixes.

-li STAT/PASS/PRTC (See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.**)

huāni ani-li-ame hū aluē riō  
 PN say-PASS-PRTC be that man  
 'That man's name is John.'

'lige aluē mukī pē kulī sinē etēa aluē riō sinowī  
 then that woman just before once see that man snake

etē-le-ke-'e 'lige napurigā bilé riō nāpu  
 see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then like one man who

nī-ga-me nī-li-ge 'yā bačā=rawē nāpu 'lige  
 be-STAT-PRTC be-STAT-PERF:CONT before first=day when then

bihī bi'nēli kã aluē mukī  
 still alone be that woman  
 'When the woman first saw the snake-man, she saw him as  
 if he were (in the form of) the man who was her boyfriend  
 before, when she was still not married.'

-na seems to indicate movement, activity, or direction.  
 There does not ever seem to be an object involved when -na is used  
 and thus -na could perhaps be called an intransitivizer.

'lige aluē mukī aluē kobīsi bahī-sa 'lige wē 'yāti  
 then that woman that pinole drink-when then very quick

serā-ka-me e'nē-na-ra 'lige busī-la  
 red-INTNS-PRTC see-MOT-QUOT then eye-POSS  
 'They say that when the woman drank the pinole (ground  
 corn), her eyes quickly became very red.'

In the following example -na acts like a verbalizer as well:

wanipāsio bahčā ma'čī-na-ke-'e  
 PN first outside-MOT-QUOT-EMPH  
 'Boniface came out first.'

The following are 'be' verbs which express a quality that is  
 of a more permanent nature. They are usually found in explanatory  
 texts as opposed to narrative.

ni 'be/have/own' (perfect)

wa'lú-la nī-ma aluē riō  
 big-INSTR be-FUT that man  
 'He will be a chief.'

ni is also used as a stative suffix:

'lige aluē ralāmuli aluē piēsta olā-me nī-le wē  
 then those people that fiesta make-PRTC be-PAST much

**ehebē-ni-ga-me      nī-le-ke-'e      'līge aluē piēsta**  
 know-STAT-PRTC-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that fiesta

**ola-gá**  
 make-CONT

'Those people, those fiesta makers, they really knew how to put on a fiesta.'

**nī** also appears in reflexive- and possessive-type constructions:

**'iwī nī**  
 breath be  
 'pant'

**romi-nī**  
 fold-be  
 'double up/bend over'

**nē nī-la mukī**  
 I be-POSS woman  
 'my wife'

**hū** 'be' (present)

**'ā rawilī hū**  
 now noon be  
 'It is noon.'

**wē semāti hū**  
 very pretty be  
 'It is very pretty.'

**muē aka-lā wē o'čēra-me hū**  
 you sandal-POSS very old-PRTC is  
 'Your sandals are old.'

In the following example **hū** is used in a locative construction which has a sense of permanency.

**kōče hū aluē galē**  
 where is that house  
 'Where is that house?'

**ke/-ge** 'be' (past imperfect)

**nē umūri-la-ka wē a'lā ruyā-me kē-pue 'yā**  
 my great-POSS-EMPH very good explain-PRTC be-EMPH before  
 grandfather

'Before, my great grandfather was a very good giver of advice.' (Implies that now he is not.)

**kā** 'be'

The choice of whether to use **-ka** or **hū** seems to be one of emphasis, **ka** being used in the less emphatic situations. **hū** might appear in the climax of a paragraph whereas **kā** might appear in the rest of the paragraph. **kā** can be used in past tense situations as well as present. In a discourse, **hū** might be used to express something that could be happening at that time. It has a sense of immediacy. **kā** would be used when the teller switches to a more

general description or to a past happening which explains the first part. Note the following example:

**pé a'pili rió 'lá bené-ga-me hú-tu alué**  
 just some men good know-STAT-PRTC be-NONSPEC that  
**nahāta-ga alué samigéli ani-li-ame rió wé**  
 follow-CONT that PN say-PASS-PRTC man much  
**bené-ga-me ka-rā-tu 'yā-ko alué se'wali**  
 know-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC before-TEMP that bee  
**nahāta-ga**  
 follow-CONT

'Just some men know how to follow (bees). There was a man named San Miguel who used to know how to follow bees.'

'**ini** 'be' (PL of **ni**?)

'**ini** seems to be used in the present tense like **hú**, but with a specialized use. I only find it in statements which are reinforcing or supporting another statement such as 'It's cold. It's like ice water', or 'It's sour. It's not sweet'.

**wé a'lā wasi-sā-ka alué imé 'lige alué sugí**  
 very good roast-when-EMPH that maguey then that beer  
**nawā-li wé a'lā ra'i-ga-me gayēna-me hú-tu**  
 make-PASS very good tasty-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-NONSPEC  
**'lige 'lá tabilé čikigó-li-ga-me gayēna-me 'ini-li**  
 then good NEG raspy-STAT-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-STAT  
**alué sugí**  
 that beer

'When the maguey plant is roasted really good, then the beer that is made from it turns out very tasty. It doesn't turn out raspy.' (It goes down smooth.)

The supporting statement does not have to directly follow the other statement. It might be several paragraphs away, such as when you say, 'I cut the tree down', and then after you explain how you cut it down, you say 'But I shouldn't have cut it down'.

#### HAVE

**bukú** 'own' (animals and sometimes an adopted child)

**alé učú-le-ke-'e čibā we'ká metfbo merási bukú-la**  
 there be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH goat many PN own-POSS  
 'Many goats of Metibo Meras were there.'

**né bukú-la hú o'kočí**  
 I own-POSS be dog  
 'I own a dog.'



ta'mé wé suwábaga ralámuli buk-é-tu aluē  
 NEG many all Tarahumara own-have-NONSPEC those

čiwí

turkey

'Not all Tarahumaras own turkeys.'

ni 'be/have/own'

mué ní rehté

you have rock

'You have a rock.'

né ní-la mukí

I have-POSS woman

'my wife'/'I own a woman.'

(said in jest)

tiénta ní-ga-me ka-bā aluē mukí ralámuli gosinéro

store own-STAT-PRTC be-EMPH that woman Tarahumara cook

aluē ní-ga rehpí-ga-ra-'e aluē tiénta a'lige

she be-POSS remain-STAT-QUOT-EMPH that store then

'That woman Tarahumara cook was owner of the store. She

remained with (was owner of) the store then.'

-ga POSSESSIVE/STATIVE (See POSSESSIVES and NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

rolō-ga

trachea-POSS

'trachea'

In some cases -ga has been incorporated into the root:

čitogā-la

elbow(curve)-POSS

'elbow'

ahā-ga-me

live-STAT/POSS-PRTC

'live animal/animal who has

life'

rehté makó-ga

rock hand-POSS

'have rock in hand'

-la POSSESSED

mué si'pūča-la wé nuébo hú

you dress-POSS very new is

'Your dress is new.'

né 'yū-la mukí

I with-POSS woman

'my wife'

-e 'have'

gal-é

house-have

'have a house' (galí 'house')

**okā maht-ē-ga-me**                      **hū nē**    (also: **okā mahtā nī nē**  
 two metate-HAVE-STAT-PRTC be I                      two metate be I )  
 'I have two metates.'

**mahtā** 'metate/corn grinder' is the only word I have found so far where there is a difference between the singular 'have' and the plural. The singular keeps the original form **mahtā**.

**bilē mahtā-ga-me/**                      **maht-ā-ga-me**                      **hū nē**  
 one metate-STAT-PRTC metate-have-STAT-PRTC be I  
 'I have one metate.'

**mā ran-ē**                      **aluē mukī / mā ran-ē-ga-me**                      **hū aluē**  
 now child-have that woman    now child-have-STAT-PRTC be that  
**mukī**  
 woman  
 'That woman had a child.'

**i'tē/'tē**                      'have' (**i'tē** could possibly be a plural form.)

**tabilē 'tē enomī**  
 NEG    have money  
 'I don't have any money.'

#### DO

**newā**                      'make'

**aluē-ka tabilē newa-lī-ame**                      **hū sawā-la iwīa**  
 that-EMPH NEG    make-PASS-PRTC be leaf-POSS rope  
 'Rope is not made from that leaf.'

**-ra**                      'make'

**gema-rā-le**  
 blanket-make-PAST  
 'made a blanket'

**ino-rā-le**  
 child-make-PAST  
 'had children'

**gali-rā-me**  
 house-make-PRTC  
 'one who makes a house'

**-ra**                      'put on'/POSS

**ahka-rā-wa**  
 sandal-put-IMP  
 'Put on the sandal!'

To say 'make a sandal', you have to use **newā** 'make'.

In the following example, *-ra* could mean 'make', 'put on', or 'give':

'lige a'kināna aluē balé nawā-sa 'lige  
then later that priest come-when then

rewa-rā-lí-ga-ra 'lige aluē 'yé gawf bočf-gi-mi  
name-give-PASS-STAT-QUOT then that these hill all-LOC-LOC  
over

nāpu ečū rewé-ga-me hū 'yé gawf hípe  
which be name-STAT-PRTC be these hill today  
'Later when the priest came, names were given to these hills  
everywhere, those which have names today.'

**-ta** 'make' (seems always to be used in the past  
tense)

wihtā-ta=ne  
excrement-make=I  
'I went to the bathroom.'

aluē ohí ani-lí-me ahā-ga-me wě  
that bear say-PASS-PRTC live-STAT-PRTC much

bosó-ta-me ka-rā-tu 'lige aluē awaf  
posole-make-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that cedar

rakā-la  
fruit-POSS  
'Those animals named bears make a lot of cedar fruit  
posole.'

gema-rā-ta=ne  
blanket-make-make=I  
'I made a blanket.'(?)

Ø 'make'

remé=ne  
tortilla=I  
'I am making tortillas.'

wihtā=ne  
excrement=I  
'I am going to the bath-  
room.'

But 'basket I' is not acceptable for 'I am making a basket',  
and 'blanket I' (**gemā nē**) means 'cover myself with a blanket'.

FUT (A future suffix can also carry the meaning of 'make'.)

remé-ma  
tortilla-FUT  
'I am going to make tortillas.'

(You can also say **remé newā-ma nē**, but it is not as common.)

**wihta-mēa=ne**  
 excrement-FUT=I  
 'I am going to go to the  
 bathroom.'

**na'i-mēa=ne**  
 fire-FUT=I  
 'I am going to make a fire.'

To say, 'I am going to make a blanket', both the future and the 'make' suffix must be used:

**gema-rā-ma=ne**  
 blanket-make-FUT=I  
 'I am going to make a blanket.'

An alternate analysis would be to say that zero and not the future carries the meaning of 'make'. In fact, if **-ra** could be analyzed as POSS instead of 'make', zero could be said to carry the meaning of 'make' in all of the above examples which have **-ra** as well.

**-ya** 'make'

**na'-yā čukú ně**  
 fire-make be I  
 'I am making a fire.'

You could say that the **i** of **na'i** 'fire' is lost when adjacent to **y**, or possibly that **-ya** is actually **-ra** which becomes **-ya** after **'i**.

**olā** 'do/think'

**tačiri olā re'ě-ka**  
 what do play-EMPH  
 'What are you playing?'

**'lige pě ohī-čo ka-rā 'lige aluě piěsta olā-me**  
 then just bear-only be-QUOT then that fiesta do-PRTC

**alē**  
 there  
 'There were just bears having that fiesta there.'

The word **olā** is often translated 'think'. In the case of 'God thought', it means 'he thought it and it happened immediately'.

**ikī** 'happen'

**čirikō ikī-le**  
 when happen-PAST  
 'When did it happen?'

**buhě/-bu** 'take off'

**ahka-bū-wa**  
 sandal-take-IMP  
           off  
 'Take off the sandal!'

### NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

#### Passive and Related Notions

The notions passive, impersonal, stative, participial, 'be', and reflexive are all related in Western Tarahumara. Different glosses are used in this paper, but the distinctions are not always clear. The verb **ilí/-lí** 'stand/be' marks all of the above notions and also appears in locatives, temporals, question words, etc.

**'líge alémi bowí-či-mi            alémi uhče-lí-ame**  
 then there trail-place-LOC there put-PASS-PRTC

**ka-rā-tu            'líge alué trāmpa alué iwíá trāmpa**  
 be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that trap that rope trap  
 'A trap, a rope trap, is put there in the trail.'

**huāni ani-lí-ame    hú**  
 PN say-PASS-PRTC be  
 'His name is John.'/'He is called John.'

**čā mahā-li-ga-me            alué ohí**  
 bad fear-PASS-STAT-PRTC that bear  
 'He was really scared of the bear.'

<b>ra'íči-lí</b>	<b>iwé-lí</b>
talk-PRTC	hard-PRTC
'talk' (noun)	'mountain people'

(referring to the Tarahumaras who live in the mountains, **iwéračí**, the first place to get dry after the flood)

**alé nāpu ilí-le alué mukí**  
 there where be-PAST that woman  
 '...there where that woman was/stood.'

**bí'né-lí**  
 one/he-REFL  
 'alone'

Certain instances of **-ri** and **-ti** may be related to **ilí**:

**čiče-ri**  
Q-STAT  
'who'

**čiče-ti**  
Q-STAT  
'what/how/what state'

**gawi-čiči-ti**  
hill-place-steep  
'on the steep (standing) hill'

**napičiče-ri**  
who-be  
'resemble'

**sewā-ri=ne**  
flower-make=I  
'I am making a flower.' (bring into being)

An applicative-type meaning can be seen in the following:

**o'tō-ri-wa**  
carry-APPLIC-IMP  
'Take (something) to him!'

**-tiri** 'also/and' (used in lists) (Also see **NON-SYN-TACTIC AFFIXATION, Causative.**)

The following are possible examples of **ilī** which have been incorporated into words:

**alī** 'late'  
**a'lige** 'and/and then'  
**arigā** 'thus'  
**tačīli** 'what'

Similar notions are expressed by **-ru** and **-tu**:

**-ru** PASS/IMPRS/STAT/REFL/APPLIC

**alué riō-ka me'-lī-le-ru ohī-te**  
that man-EMPH kill-PASS-PAST-PASS bear-by  
'That man was killed by the bear.'

**wé reče-rū-ga-me ka-rā-če alué**  
very clever-STAT-STAT-PRTC be-QUOTE-EMPH that

**ahā-ga-me čigō**  
live-STAT-PRTC also  
'Those animals are also very clever.'

**-tu** NONSPECIFIC

**-tu** is used when time is not in focus. Thus it occurs in texts where the author is simply explaining something. In narrative texts, it helps to identify background or parenthetical materials as opposed to the main thread of the discourse. It acts in a similar way to **-ru**, and might be an alternate form, although it seems to carry other meanings as well. **-tu** becomes **-te** when followed by **-e** EMPH.

**aharē čigō apičiče-ri wilū aličiče-ri hū-tu**  
some also like-STAT vulture thus-STAT be-NONSPEC  
'Some (hawks) are similar to vultures.'

Reflexive

Reflexive and reciprocal notions are seen in the following:

- bo'ně** 'he'/REFL  
**bo'ně me'tē=ne / ně bo'ně me'tē**  
 REFL cut=I I REFL cut  
 'I cut myself.'  
**bo'ně me'tē**  
 REFL cut  
 'He cut himself.'

To say 'I cut him', the demonstrative **alué** would be used instead of **bo'ně**. In plural constructions, the plural pronoun is used:

- a'bō-pi**  
 they-RCPR  
 'among themselves'

- a'nagú** 'back and forth'

**a'nagú** is probably a composite of three locative morphemes: a 'here', **-na** 'near'/RCPR, and **guāna** 'behind'.

- re'mali a'nagú-mi wilfro-ga sinā-čane**  
 youth RCPR-there go:in:circles-CONT shout-noise  
 'the young man going back and forth, turning around shouting' (Tarahumara song)

- pi** RCPR/'only' (also see NUMERALS)

- 'lige wē rukē-me 'lige alué a'bō-pi tačili**  
 then much ask-PRTC then DEM they-RCPR what

- remú-li-ga alué bilé**  
 dream-STAT-PERF DEM one  
 'Then they asked among themselves what each one had dreamed.'

- 'émi a'bō-pi naki bo'ně-pi me'tē=ne**  
 you:PL PRON:PL-RCPR want PRON-RCPR cut=I  
 'You only like each other.' 'I cut myself.'  
 'I only cut myself.'

- a'nagú-pi ra'iča**  
 back:and:forth-RCPR talk  
 'They just talk among themselves.'

- na-** RCPR (note the locative **na**)

- na-pa-bā**  
 RCPR-throw-EMPH/APPLIC  
 'They are throwing at each other.'

## Participials

We have seen a gradation between passive/stative-type notions on the one hand and participial/nominalizing-type notions on the other. Thus it will be convenient to discuss the ubiquitous participial expressions with **-ame** in this section, though other places might be at least as appropriate (see also **NOUN MORPHOLOGY**).

**-ame** PRTC

**-ame** (often shortened to **-me** after a vowel) generally--but not always--derives from a verb (or verbalized stem) a noun that is co-referential to the subject of the verb. Thus it is basically an active or agentive nominalizer/participial, but the following examples show that it may also have repetitive or passive participial force:

**rekú-me**  
drink-PRTC  
'drink often/drun kard'

**ne-'čī gu'īro-me**  
I-ACC help-PRTC  
'my helper/one who helps me'

**čigō-ame**  
rob-PRTC  
'thief'

**go'ā-me**  
eat-PRTC  
'food'

Participials with **-ame** occur in a variety of constructions:

**čekī rió hēna osā-me**  
how:many man here write-PRTC  
'How many men here are writers?'

**čigō-ame hū aluē rió**  
rob-PRTC be that man  
'That man is a thief.'

**aliéri ka-rā-tu 'līge aluē basačī-ka nabí**  
thus be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that coyote-EMPH always

**me'-ti-āme ka-rā-tu 'līge**  
kill-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then  
'That's the way that coyote was, always killing (always was the one who killed).'

**umugī-tiri abiēna čigō-ame ka-rā-e 'yā-ko**  
women-also also rob-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB before-TEMP  
'They say that before he also robbed women.'

**-ame** often follows **-ga**, glossed **STATIVE** but for which it is difficult to find an exact meaning. The areas of meaning include possessive, continuative, stative, and imperative. (See appropriate sections for examples.) Here I will consider only its use with **-ame**. For the most part, **-ga** and **-ame** occur together on state-type words, such as 'fear', 'be', 'hot', 'fierce', etc. The word they occur on, then, usually modifies another word. The following two examples show them occurring on noun modifiers:



**mā mukú-pa aluē sinowī opa-rū-ga-me**  
 now die-EMPH that snake fierce-STAT-STAT-PRTC  
 'That fierce snake died.' (the one which was fierce)

**rehtē rahtā-ga-me**  
 rock hot-STAT-PRTC  
 'hot rock' (the one which was hot)

The following shows them in an adverbial construction:

**wehpā-le-ga-ra iwē-ga-me o'kō-le-ga-ra**  
 hit-PAST-STAT-QUOT strong-STAT-PRTC hurt-PAST-STAT-QUOT  
 'They say he hit him hard and it hurt.'

In the following examples, equative-type sentences, the word ending in **-ga-me** could be considered a noun, or possibly an adjective:

**we'kā up-é-ga-me hū aluē rió**  
 many wife-have-STAT-PRTC be that man  
 'That man has many wives/is a many wived-one.'

**čā wa'lú nī-li-ga-me aluē sinowī**  
 very big be-STAT-STAT-PRTC that snake  
 'The snake was very big.'

The following example shows two consecutive words with **-ga-me**, the first modifying the second:

**barā-ko wē a'lā iwē-ga-me čigō-li-ga-me**  
 food-TEMP much good strong-STAT-PRTC rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC  
 time  
**ka-rā**  
 be-QUOT  
 'They say that during the time of food, they really rob a lot.'

The following shows a series of three adjectives modifying the word 'pencil', only the last of which has **-ga-me**.

**yē bilé lāpisi hū we'li wē semā-ti wē**  
 this one pencil be long very pretty-ADJR very  
**čupē-ga-me**  
 point-STAT-PRTC  
 'This pencil is long, very pretty, and very pointed.'

A few words on which **-ga-me** occurs no longer leave any doubt that they are nouns. These include **ahāgame** 'live things/animals', **eyerūgame** 'mother god', **onorūgame** 'father god', and **e'karūgame** 'things'.

**alarigā me'ā-me nī-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē ralāmuli**  
 thus kill-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those people

**aluē wē 'yā ehperē-ga-me aluē e'wēle**  
 those much before live-STAT-PRTC those big

**ahā-ga-me hāmi ehperē-ga-me**  
 live-STAT-PRTC wilds live-STAT-PRTC  
 'Thus those people who lived long ago killed those  
 big animals that lived in the wilds.'

When **-ga-me** occurs with the verb **go'ā** 'eat', it yields **go'yame** 'food'.

## QUESTIONS

### Yes/No Questions

Rising intonation may carry the complete question meaning:

**semā-ti hū**  
 pretty-ADJR is  
 'Is it pretty?'

Yes/no questions which have question particles may also be marked by a rising intonation on the final syllable(s). In more complex constructions the pitch of the last part may drop.

The negative **ta** (short form of **tabilē**) is used in several yes/no constructions:

**ta** NEG/Q  
**ta go'-nāre muē**  
 Q eat-want you  
 'Do you want to eat?'

**ta-'lā** Q  
**ta-'lā hū yē go'ā**  
 Q-good be this eat  
 'It is alright to eat this?'

**tā-la** Q  
**tā-la nakī muē yē o'koči**  
 Q-good want you this dog  
 'Do you want this dog?'

**tā-ča** Q

In my examples, **tāča** always occurs in imperative-type constructions.

**tā-ča 'lā e'wā-sa nī-li muē hēna pe'wēra**  
 NEG-Q good favor-IMP be-STAT you here short  
 time

**tečóniliči yé gawí**

hold this hill

up

'Won't you please hold up this hill for a moment?'

**tāča** seems to be used in formal situations and is sometimes almost rhetorical. In the following example, no answer was given in the text.

**tā-ča 'lā umabā-wa wé aluē sinowí me'ā alé**  
NEG-Q really win-IMP much that snake kill there

**ba'wi-čí behté-ga-me**  
water-place live-STAT-PRTC

'Can't we conquer that snake, kill that one who lives in the water?'

**pā-la** Q/'let's see if/'/perhaps'

**pāla** is sometimes close to being a rhetorical question marker (RQ), but whereas **āka** RQ does not receive an answer, **pāla** often does.

**pā-la simā-wa**

Q-good go-IMP

'Shall we go?'

**pā-la** is also used in embedded questions.

**'lige simí-le-ke-'e 'lge alé nāpu suwí-le aluē**  
then go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there where end-PAST that

**we'é e'né-mia alé ili-gā pā-la asé 'yēni-ga alé**  
land look-FUT there stand-CONT Q-good be walk-CONT there

**boičí-mi aluē baikiā čulugí**  
trail-LOC that three bird

'Then he went there where the ground ended looking to see if those three birds were walking there.'

**akobā né e'né-ra pā-la aluē-ka**

allow I look-QUOT Q-good he-EMPH

'Allow me to see if it is him.'

**pāla** is further used in a tag construction.

**mué mači-ā-la alé ahti-gó pā-la bihčiā hū**

you know-CONT-good(?) there be-DUB Q-good true is

'You know he is there. Isn't that true?'

Yes/no questions are usually answered by the long form of 'no' **tabilé**, or 'yes' **hū/húwe/abiéna/húle**, or 'that's good', **'lā hū**, or 'who knows', **sagó**. Note the following conversation.

**wihtā-ta né**

excrement-do I

'I went to the bathroom.'

**wihtā mué**

excrement you

'You went to the bathroom?'

(rising intonation)

**hū-we**  
yes-much  
'Yes.'

More complete answers, in which most of the question is repeated, can also be given to yes/no questions.

'līge muē basačī-ka go'-mē olā 'līge ne-'čī  
then you coyote-EMPH eat-FUT do then I-ACC  
'You coyote, are you going to eat me?'

**hū go'-mē olā-ke=ne muē**  
yes eat-FUT do-QUOT(?)=I you  
'Yes, I'm going to eat you.'

### WH Questions

A WH question may have a level or falling pitch on the last syllable. In a somewhat exaggerated situation, the pitch of the next to last syllable might drop, as in the following example:

**tačīli e'ne-gā čukū**  
what look-CONT be  
'What are you looking at?'

WH question words occur with an optional locative (**ko-**) or negative (**ta-**) prefix, a question root (**če/čī/ča/sa**), an optional suffix (**-ki/-ni/-ri/-ti** or the double form **-ni-ga**), and an optional temporal emphatic suffix (**-ko**). **č** occurs in all of the WH question words and could be called the marker for that category. The value of the non-temporal suffixes is problematic, so they will simply be labeled SF.

**če-ki** 'what/how much/how many'

(Lionnet calls **-ki** a numerical quality.)

<b>če-ki nahtē-ame hū aluē</b>	<b>če-ki riō alē</b>
Q-SF cost-PRTC be that	Q-SF men there
'How much does that cost?'	'How many men are there?'

<b>če-ki-lī-si asi-mēla muē ma'čī</b>
Q-SF-STAT-TEMP be-FUT you outside
'How long will you be outside?'

**čekilīsi** is probably a fusion of **čekī** with **līi** 'stand/be' plus the temporal marker.

**čē-ni/čē-na** 'what'

<b>čē-na 'la hū aluē bowē</b>
Q-SF good be that trail
'What condition is the trail in?'

**čēna** sometimes acts almost like a yes/no question marker, but it requires more than a simple yes/no answer.

**čē-na semā-ti hū**  
 Q-SF pretty-ADJR be  
 'It is pretty?'  
 (What prettiness is it?)

**wē semā-ti hū**  
 very pretty-ADJR be  
 'It's very pretty.'

**čē-ni-ko** 'when'

**čē-ni-ko sē-ba mū**  
 Q-SF-TEMP arrive-APPLIC you  
 'When did you arrive?'

**kō-če** 'where'

**kō-če ahtī aluē riō**  
 LOC-Q be that man  
 'Where is that man?'

**čiē-ti** 'what/how/what state'

**čiē-ti hū aluē**  
 Q-SF be that  
 'What color is that?'/ 'What is that like?'

(Context has to give the clue as to what is being discussed--color or state of something.)

**čiē-ti ahtī muē hīpe-ko**  
 Q-SF be you today-TEMP  
 'How are you today?'

**čiē-ri** 'who'

**čiē-ri hū aluē riō**  
 Q-SF be that man  
 'Who is that man?'

**čī-ri-ko** 'when'

**čī-ri-ko nawā=mu**  
 Q-SF-TEMP come=you  
 'When did you come?'

**či-ri-gā** 'how' (note **arigā** 'thus')

**či-ri-gā anī**  
 Q-SF-SF say  
 'How do you say...?'

**ta-čī-ri** 'what'

**ta-čī-ri hū yē**  
 NEG-Q-SF be this  
 'What is this?'

(The negative usually appears in yes/no questions.)

**če** occurs with the back velar **k** and the alveolar nasal **n**. **či** occurs with the dental **t**, the dental spirant **s**, and the alveolar

retroflexed vibrant *r*. A transitional vocoid is sometimes heard with **č(i)ēniko** 'when' and is more permanent in **čiēti** 'what' and **čiēri** 'who'.

In the following two examples, **či(ri)** has become a loosely bound prefix or perhaps part of a compound word.

<b>či-ri-kāči</b>	<b>o'kō</b>	<b>či-'siā</b>	<b>ahtī muē</b>
Q-SF-APPROX	hurt	Q-doing be	you
'What, more or less, hurts?'		'What are you doing?'	
('Where does it hurt?')			

**čā** 'what' (**čā** is tightly bound to the following verb.)

<b>čā an-e-lī-ame</b>	<b>hū muē</b>
Q say-APPLIC-PASS-PRTC	be you
'What are you called?'	

**ča-ni-gā** 'why'

<b>'līge nē-ka</b>	<b>ča-ni-gā</b>	<b>tabilē</b>	<b>'lā</b>	<b>bi'ē-če</b>	<b>'līge</b>
then	I-EMPH	Q-SF-SF	NEG	good clean-EMPH	then

<b>anapurigā</b>	<b>bi'ē-le</b>	<b>'ēmi</b>
like	clean-PAST	you:PL
'Why can't I get clean like you guys got clean?'		

Question words are normally initial. The subject precedes it in the above example for emphasis.

#### Other

**ča-lā**, 'perhaps' from **če** Q and **olā** 'do/make' (or 'la 'good'), is found in a couple of special question types:

<b>alarigā ča-lā</b>	<b>hū</b>	<b>alarigā</b>	<b>hū</b>
thus	Q-do be	thus	be
'Is that what happened?'		'Thus is.' (answer)	

<b>u'ku-ā</b>	<b>ilī</b>	<b>gepā-ča-la</b>	<b>ilī</b>
rain-CONT	be	snow-Q-make be	
'Is it raining or snowing?'			

There is a special form of response question:

<b>kōče</b>	<b>eyēna</b>	<b>ro'kolō-bo</b>	<b>eyēna</b>	<b>nē</b>
where	walk	madron-place	walk	I
'Where are you coming from?'		'I'm coming from Rocoroibo.'		

<b>mue-gō</b>	<b>sa-gō</b>
you-EMPH	Q-IRR
'And you?'	'Who knows?'
(rising intonation)	

The word **āka** appears in rhetorical-type questions and can be considered a rhetorical question marker (RQ). Tarahumaras often

translate it as an emphatic or 'since'. There seems to be a sense of politeness connected with its use.

**čanigā go'-mē olā-če muē-ka ne-'čī āka nē-ka hēna**  
 why eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH I-ACC RQ I-EMPH here

**ahtī-pa-če yē gawī rakibū-ga mā na'mīni-li-ame yē**  
 be-EMPH-EMPH this hill push-CONT now fall-STAT-PRTC this

**gawī**

hill

'Why do you want to eat me? Aren't I here holding up this mountain that is falling?' (I'm here holding up this mountain./Since I'm here holding up this mountain.)

**āka učé 'yā-wa-'e 'līko aluē sa'pā nāpu mué wé**  
 RQ again search-IMP-EMPH then that meat which you much

**iyā-ga anī-le rowī**  
 like-CONT say-PAST rabbit

'Then shouldn't we look again for that meat which you like?', said the rabbit.' (Well then, let's look again for...)

A form of the rhetorical question marker is used with the meaning 'allow me to'. It occurs sentence initial.

**ako-bā nē a'bē simi-gā e'nē-ra**

RQ-EMPH/APPLIC I near go-CONT see-to

'Allow me to go near in order to see.'

The *-ra* of *e'nēra* is probably a shortened form of *-mala* FUT, which is sometimes used to mean 'in order to'.

## IMPERATIVES

### Positive Imperatives

Ø IMP

The basic form of the verb can be used for some singular commands.

**go'ā remé**  
 eat tortilla  
 'Eat a tortilla!'

**hēna asā**  
 here sit  
 'Sit here!'

**-ga** SG IMP

**asa-gā**  
sit-IMP  
'Sit down!'

**simi-gā**  
go-IMP  
'Go!'

The singular imperative **-ga** is sometimes used with the plural form of the verb. This could be a polite way of saying 'Each of you sit down!' as opposed to 'All of you sit down!'. Or it could possibly mean that you are referring to the group as a single unit. If you were mad, you would not use the singular imperative with a plural verb form (**muči-ga** 'Sit down!') but rather the plural imperative (**muči-si**).

**-si** PL IMP

**hē-ka simā-si**  
here-towards come-IMP:PL  
'Come here!'

**o'wētī hā-si**  
straight stand:PL-IMP:PL  
'All of you stand up!'

**-boa/-wa** IMP/FUT/EXHRT

The first person plural future endings **-boa** (which becomes **-poa** following glottal) and **-wa** can be used as either singular or plural command forms and seem to usually have an exhortative meaning. The **a** of **-boa** is lost immediately preceding a voiceless stop.

**go'-pōa-guru yē masāna**  
eat-IMP-EMPH this apple  
'Eat this apple!'

**tabilē go'-pō-ka o'kolī**  
NEG eat-IMP-EMPH chile  
'Don't eat chile!'

**čā-tiri ohī-ki čigō-li-ga-me arē-wa**  
bad-EMPH bear-EMPH rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC leave-IMP

**aluē beséro**  
that calf

'You bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!'

The use of **-boa** with **gemā** 'blanket' (**gemabōa**) gives the meaning 'Cover yourself!'.  
**-go** EMPH/IMP/DUB

**-go** often carries the phrase stress.

**hē-ka o'to-gō**  
here-towards carry-IMP  
'Give it here!'

**go'ā-go hēna ahtī-kuru sa'pā wasigā**  
eat-IMP here be-truth meat cooked  
'Eat, here is some cooked meat!'

**-ri** IMP/VR

**'yē-ri**  
door-IMP  
'Close the door!'

**rehpō-ri**  
greet-IMP  
'Greet him!'



**mué-ri-go**  
you-IMP-IMP/DUB  
'Hey you!'

**-gi** IMP/EMPH

**ne-čfi rari-gf**  
I-ACC sell-IMP  
'Sell it to me!'

**'émi ramué rari-gf**  
you:PL us sell-IMP  
'You all sell it to us!'

**-bu** 'take off'/IMP (from **buhé** 'take off')

**gema-bū**  
blanket-remove  
'Take off the blanket!'

**rahki-bū**  
push-IMP  
'Push!'

**-ba** EMPH/PL/APPLIC/IMP

In the following example, **-ba** acts like an imperative. One could say that zero acts as the imperative and that **-ba** is simply an emphatic; however, **na** does not occur by itself as an imperative expression.

**na-bā**  
walk-IMP  
'Let's go!'

**na** probably comes from **enā** 'walk'; it could also be a locative. (But cf. **ma-bā** 'Let's go!' from the Central dialect, suggesting **mā** 'now' or '**mā** 'run'.)

Replies to **nabā** include the following:

**na-bā-go**  
walk-IMP-IMP  
'Let's go then!'  
(phrase stress on **-go**)

**na-bā-go-ba**  
walk-IMP-IMP-EMPH  
'Let's go then!'  
(phrase stress on second **-ba**)

**ako-bā** 'allow me to' (See **QUESTIONS**, Other.)

The following are examples of what could be interpreted as double imperatives (also note the preceding examples of **nabā**):

**rari-gf-wa**  
sell-IMP-IMP  
'Let's sell!'

**'wé-ri-ga**  
much-IMP-IMP  
'Hurry!'

**čě-čigo siné aní-ri-go**  
again-also once say-IMP-IMP/DUB  
'Say it again!'

**-sa** 'when'/'if'/OPTV/EXHRT

**bahčabé go'-sā go'-āme 'lge bahf-wa-ka 'yowf**  
first eat-IMP eat-PRTC then drink-IMP-EMPH medicine  
'First eat and then drink the medicine.' (When you have eaten, then drink the medicine.)

**ně wé riko ní-sa 'lá ní-me**

I very rich be-IMP good be-PRTC

'Would that I were rich.' (If I were rich, that would be good.)

**tāča 'lá buwé-sa ní-li mué pe'wéra aní-le 'lige**

NEG good wait-IMP be-STAT you short say-PAST then  
time

**alué bo'á 'lige pe'tā abé i'libé-ko 'la go'-méla**  
that sheep then shortly more later-TEMP good eat-FUT

**mué ne-'čí**

you I-ACC

"Shouldn't you wait a little", said the sheep. "A little later it would be alright to eat me."

When double verbs occur in an imperative expression, the first seems to always have the continuative *-ya* (which could be considered an imperative, since continuatives sometimes act as imperatives), and the second verb carries the imperative marking.

**go'-yá mučí-si**  
eat-CONT sit/be:PL-IMP:PL  
'Eat PL!'

**go'-yá asá-Ø**  
eat-CONT sit-IMP  
'Eat!'

(This is not translated 'Sit down and eat!') The following example shows a double-verbed imperative along with a double imperative:

**aba'wé yawi-yá mučí-wa-go 'émi ralámuli tabilé**  
much dance-CONT be:PL-IMP-IMP you:PL people NEG

**siné aré-wa-ka alué yawi**  
once leave-IMP-EMPH that dance

'You people dance a lot. Never stop having dances.'

### Negative Imperatives

In negative imperatives, the negative occurs initially. Word order changes are sometimes noted as compared to a positive command.

<b>héna asá</b>	becomes	<b>tabilé asá héna</b>
here sit		NEG sit here
'Sit here!'		'Don't sit here.'

In the above negative construction, the FUT/IMP *-boa* can be added to *asá* (*asi-bôa*), but not the CONT/IMP *-ga* (*asa-gā*).

<b>ne-'čí rari-gí</b>	becomes	<b>tāse rari-gí ne-'čí</b>
I-ACC sell-IMP		NEG sell-IMP I-ACC
'Sell it to me!'		'Don't sell it to me.'

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

Locatives (See LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS.)

**-ti** 'on'

**gawi-č̣i-ti**  
hill-place-on  
'on the hill'

**-mi** 'there'

**gomf-č̣i-mi**  
gully-place-there  
'there at the gully'

**ulí-mi**  
canyon-there  
'there at the canyon'

**-č̣ókata** 'next to'

**gawi-č̣ókata**  
hill-next  
to  
'next to the hill'

**-gi** 'edge'

**ba'ē-gi-č̣i**  
water-edge-place  
'edge of the water/shore'

Place names are formed by adding a place name ending to a noun (which is the most common) or a verb. The word and ending selected give some characteristic of the place.

**-č̣i** 'place where something is found'

**wahō-č̣i**  
mosquito-place  
'mosquito place'

**reč̣ō-č̣i**  
storehouse-place  
'storehouse place'

**-č̣i** also appears with body parts:

**seka-č̣i**  
hand-place  
'hand'

**sekā-1a-č̣i**  
hand-POSS-place  
'his hand'

**-bo** 'plain/flat place/valley' (from **epō** 'plain')

**ro'kolō-bo**  
madron-plain  
tree  
'Rocoroibo/madron plain'

**remōe-bo**  
frog-plain  
'frog plain'  
(**remō** 'frog')

(The **e** could be considered a transitional vowel, or else from **epō** 'plain'.)

**-rale** 'under/inside'

The Western Tarahumara place names which carry this ending have the characteristic of being under something or having some kind of covering.

**maté-rale**

fir-under

'place under the fir tree'

(**matéo** 'fir')

**okó-rale**

pine-under

'place under the pine tree'

This usually refers to a close-growing bunch of young pines which form a canopy.

Also note the following:

**galí-rale**

house-under

'house'

**pačā-rale**

inside-under

'inside'

Lionett lists **-raRe/-raRi/-taRi/-tiRi** 'in/at/among'.

**-raso** 'many' (Perhaps related to the augmentative (**r**)**asíriga**.)

**ganó-raso**

giant-many

'place of many giants'

**awé-raso**

soap many

plant

'place of many soap plants'

The ending a Western Tarahumara chooses for a place name is a matter of focus. **wasā-či** 'grass place' is a plain but the focus is not on the flatness but rather on it being a place where a certain grass grows. On the same plain is a small area called **remōe-bo** 'frog plain' where the focus is more on the flatness. **rohā-či** 'oak place' would be chosen if the focus is simply on the place where certain trees are located. **rohā-rale** 'place under the oak tree' would be chosen if the focus is on the way the trees grow close together to form a canopy.

With place names which have been in use for many years, the focus is sometimes hard to determine since physical characteristics are constantly changing. Also, through long use, the phonetics of some words have changed and their meaning is now hard to reconstruct. For example, the people think that **rehpagē-bo** refers to a flat place where the plant **rehpisō** grows, but they are not sure.

Other place names which do not have endings are used by the Tarahumaras. Some are descriptive words such as **noríge** 'on the ridge' and **rekuāta** 'look-out place'. Others come from Spanish, such as **pinosáito** 'Pinos Altos' and **san rapēli** 'San Rafael'.

Other

-la POSS (See POSSESSIVES.)

nahkā-la  
ear-POSS  
'his ear'riō-la  
man-POSS  
'husband'

-ero 'one who' (from Spanish)

rabil-éro  
violin-one  
who  
'violin player'  
(from rabēli 'violin')gital-éro  
guitar-one  
who  
'guitar player'  
(from gitāla 'guitar')

-čo 'just/only'

'līge pē aluē umugī-čo 'yēna-le-ke-'e 'līge  
then only those women-only walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH thenalēmi  
there  
'Those women walked alone there.'

Diminutives of peoples' names are usually made by dropping certain letters from the name. Occasionally the Spanish diminutive **-ito** is added.

rehīna > hīna 'Regina'  
antōnio > ton-īto 'Anthony'

I once heard a four year old boy named Toribio referred to as Totoribio, which is a play on the word o'torī 'chicken'. A small boy might be referred to as towī rohī 'boy acorn', which has a rhyme to it.

Emphatics may also occur on a noun (see **PARTICLES AND CLITICS**, Polarity). In the following example, the subject emphatic **-ka** occurs on the last noun in a series:

'līge aluē wilū 'līge aluē gonōli 'līge aluē golāči-ka  
then that vulture then that black then that crow-EMPH  
vultureya'mā wē mehkā 'yēna-le-ke-'e  
now very far walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and  
the crow were now very far away.'ADJ + X = N

-āme/-me PRTC

sewē-ame  
sad-PRTC  
'one who is sad all the time'či'mā-me  
pretty-PRTC  
'one who is pretty'

-la INSTR/POSS

**wa'lū-la**  
big-INSTR  
'big one/chief'

**yé hū aluē a'lā-la**  
this be that good-INSTR  
'This is that good one.'

**ba'či-lā**  
first-POSS  
'older brother'

-li PRTC/STAT

**iwē-li**  
firm-PRTC  
'mountain people'

V + X = N

-ame PRTC

**'yōa-me**  
cure-PRTC  
'doctor'

**go'ā-me**  
eat-PRTC  
'food'

**mukū-ame**  
die-PRTC  
'dead person'

-la INSTR

**sū-la**  
sew-INSTR  
'sewing machine'

**osī-la**  
write-INSTR  
'pencil'

**wičō-la**  
wash-INSTR  
'washing machine'

**rihpu-lā**  
cut-INSTR  
'axe'

A Spanish word referring to the same thing might precede the Tarahumara word:

**mākina wičō-la**  
machine wash-INSTR  
'washing machine'

**lāpisi osī-la**  
pencil write-INSTR  
'pencil'

**lāpisi osi-li newā-la**  
pencil write-PRTC make-INSTR  
'letter-maker pencil'

-ga-me STAT-PRTC

**ahā-ga-me**  
live-STAT-PRTC  
'animals'

**'yā muči-ga-me**  
before be:PL-STAT-PRTC  
'ones who lived before'

-li PRTC/STAT

**yé ra'iči-li bilé ra'iči-li hū aluē uhpā 'lge aluē**  
this talk-PRTC one talk-PRTC be that skunk then that

**basáčĭ**

coyote

'This story is a story about a skunk and a coyote.'

**-li-ame** STAT-PRTC**gale-li-ame**

like-STAT-PRTC

'one who likes someone a lot'

**-rale** 'under/inside' (place-name ending)**gočĭ-rale**

sleep-under

'sleep place'

This is the name of a place where a small sensitive-type plant grows whose leaves spread out like a palm. The plant is sometimes smoked during a race and the smoke blown into an opponent's face to make him sleepy.

**-čĭ** 'place'**yawi-yā-čĭ**

dance-make/do-place

'dancing place'

**bahisō-čĭ**

seepage-place

'seeping spring'

(from **bahĭ** 'drink' and **sō** 'mud')**bo'f-gĭ-čĭ**

lie-edge-place

down

'at the edge'

Incorporation

Most of the names of geographical features are formed by incorporation of nouns, verbs, locatives, etc. The following are examples of a few of the possible combinations.

**resočĭ** 'cave' (from **rehté** 'rock', **ewasō** 'hole',  
-čĭ 'place')

**sikóčĭ** 'cove' (from **sikā** 'arm', -čĭ 'place')

**čabāčĭ** 'narrow gorge' (from **čā** 'ugly/bad', **ba'wĭ**  
'water', -čĭ 'place' (bad water  
place))

**wihčĭmōba** 'world' (from **wihčĭ** 'dirt', **amōba** 'on top  
of')

Some of the stems of body parts apparently come from locative-directionals, or vice versa. Other stems involve nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

**mo'ō** 'head' (from **amōba** 'on top of')

**rehpōpa** 'back' (from **re'pā** 'up/high', **epō** 'flat place')

**ečabóa** 'whiskers' (from **e-** PL, **čā** 'ugly', **-bo** 'elongation/tubelike', **-la** POSS) (Note the word for outsider: **čabōčī**.)

**ču'á** 'mouth'

Note the following words which contain **ču**: **ču'égame** 'bird bill', **čurugī** 'bird', **ču'měa** 'kiss', **ču'mugā** 'sucking', **čulě** 'coati mundi' (an animal with a long snout).

Other nouns have also been formed by incorporation. Note the parts which the following have in common which seem to mean 'go in circle/return'. Also note the word **kū** 'again'.

**narākuri** 'snail'  
**nakurīwa** 'exchange'  
**kurīmara** 'spindle'

#### VERB MORPHOLOGY

##### N + X = V

**-ru** 'become'

**ba'i-rū-le**  
 water-become-PAST  
 'became watery'

**yoli-rū-le**  
 mestizo-become-PAST  
 'became a mestizo'

**-ya** 'make'

**na'-yā=ne**  
 fire-make=I  
 'I made a fire.'

**-ri** 'make'

**sewā-ri=ne**  
 flower-make=I  
 'I am making a flower (like embroidery).'

**-ye** 'put more/mix'

**na'-yé-wa**  
 fire-put-IMP  
 more  
 'Build up the fire!'

**-ra** 'make/put on'



<b>gema-rā-le</b> blanket-make-PAST 'made a blanket'	<b>'yāti aka-rā-wa</b> quick sandal-put on-IMP 'Quickly put on the sandal!'
--	---

(To say 'make a sandal', the verb **newā** 'make' is used.)

**-ta** 'put on'

<b>o'pačā-ta-ma</b> clothes-put-FUT on 'I am going to put on my clothes.'	<b>go'yā-ta-wa</b> hat-put-IMP on 'Put on the hat!'
---	--

∅ The noun 'blanket' can be used without any ending in a construction which means 'cover oneself'.

**gemā=ne**  
blanket=I  
'cover myself'

**-boa** IMP/FUT

When the word 'blanket' is used with **-boa**, a type of reflexive is formed.

**gema-bōa**  
blanket-IMP  
'Cover yourself!'

**-bu** 'take off' (from **buhē** 'take off/push')

**gema-bū**  
blanket-take off  
'Take off the blanket!'

**-e/-re/-le** 'have'

<b>gal-ē</b> house-have 'have a house' ( <b>galī</b> 'house')	<b>up-ē</b> wife-have 'have a wife' ( <b>upī</b> 'wife')
--	---

**'līge aluē basačī abē we'lī-ko kū**  
then that coyote more later-EMPH again

**busi-rē-le-ke-'e**  
eye-have-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
'Later the coyote could see again.' (have sight)

Some nouns will not take the above suffixes but demand the full verb, such as the following Spanish loan word:

**buhē-wa bantarōni**  
take-IMP pants  
off  
'Take off the pants!'

**-ki** 'sing' (note **gi'sû** 'singing of an animal/howl')

See examples below.

**-we** 'play by striking' (from **wehpī** 'hit')

**gita-wē-ki**  
guitar-strike-sing  
'play the guitar'

**gita-wē-me**  
guitar-strike-PRTC  
'guitar player'

(Also note **wepisōki** 'play the drum'.)

**-si** 'play by stroking' (from either **simē** 'go/play/make go' or **sikā** 'hand')

**rabe-sī-ki**  
violin-stroke-sing  
'play violin'  
(**rabēri** 'violin')

**rabe-sī-me**  
violin-stroke-PRTC  
'violin player'

You can also say:

**simē gitāra**  
go guitar  
'play the guitar'

**simē rabēri**  
go violin  
'play the violin'

**sikarē(ki)** 'play the violin'

**sukarē(ki)** 'play the guitar' (Note **sutū** 'fingernail'.)

**-riga** 'thus/by means of'

**wihčī-riga**  
dirt-by  
'go by foot'

### ADJ + X = V

**-le** 'appear/evidence of'

**go'-lē-le**  
eat-evidence-PAST  
'There is evidence that he ate.'  
(Such as when it can be seen that an animal got  
into the garden.)

**wahō-le**  
dry-become  
'appear to dry up/  
become smaller'  
(including a waning moon)

**gawī-le**  
thin-appear  
'appear to become thin'

**-ba** 'become'

**-ba** takes on various meanings, including 'become', APPLIC, EMPH, and PL. For an example of PL, see V + X = V.

**rata-bá-so**  
hot-become-when  
'when it becomes hot'

-ra 'make'

**čirigā-riga 'la iwé-ra-ma-če yé gawí**  
how-thus good firm-make-FUT-again this hill  
'How can this hill be made firm (not muddy) again?'

### V + X = V

-ye 'mix/put more'

**go'-yē-wa**  
eat-mix-IMP  
'Eat two things together!'

-bu 'take off/push'

**rahki-bū**  
push-push  
'push'

-ba PL

**alué wilú 'lige alué gonóli 'lige alué goláči alué**  
the vulture then the vulture then the crow those  
red-headed black-headed

**baikiá čulugí simí-ba-le-ke-'e 'lige u'bā-wa alé**  
three bird go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then bathe-FUT there

**gomíči ba'wé-gi-či**  
gully water-edge-place  
'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and the  
crow, those three birds went to bathe there in the gully by  
the edge of the water.'

-na MOT/'walk'

**'lige mā suwé-na-sa 'lige alué piésta alé**  
then now finish-MOT-when then that fiesta there  
'When the fiesta was over...'

### Incorporation

It can be seen that historically many verbs came from common roots. Some were old compounds which became one word. Note that all of the following words have **me** in common, which could have meant 'hit'.

<b>me'á</b>	'kill'
<b>'méra</b>	'scare off'
<b>'méka</b>	'care for' (by keeping animals away)
<b>me'čóra</b>	'stick used to break up dirt clods'

<b>me'táčala</b>	'Be careful.' (Don't get hit.) ( <b>ta</b> NEG, <b>ča</b> 'hard')
<b>wagi me'čórigame</b>	'dry pine pecked full of holes by a woodpecker'

The stems **rahtā** 'hot', **rahā** 'burn', and **rayēna** 'sun' all have **ra** 'hot(?)' in common. Also the name which the Tarahumaras call themselves, **ralāmuli** (Central dialect--**rarámuri**). The commonly accepted division of this word is **ralā** 'foot', **-mu** from **hūma** 'run', and **-li** "a particle" (actually a participle). I would suggest that **ra** comes from **rayēna** 'sun' and that the word possibly means something like 'children of the sun-god'.

The following words all have **-ča** in common.

<b>gičā</b>	'open and close mouth like when eating or clicking teeth together' ( <b>gi</b> 'teeth', <b>ča</b> 'hard')
<b>nočā</b>	'stroke'
<b>sināčane</b>	'shout/crow like a rooster' ( <b>sinā</b> 'shout', <b>ča</b> 'hard', <b>anē</b> 'say to him')
<b>roróčane</b>	'grunt like a pig' ( <b>roró</b> 'trachea')

### ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

#### Basic

<b>wa'lú</b>	'big'
<b>asíriga wa'lú hū yé</b>	really big be this
	'This is really big.'
<b>u'tā</b>	'small'
<b>u'tā riō</b>	small man
	'small man'
<b>'lā/a'lā/ba'lā</b>	'good'
<b>wé a'lā riō hū yé</b>	very good man be this
	'This is a very good man.'
<b>če'tí</b>	'thin' (Cf. <b>ča</b> 'ugly', <b>-ti</b> STAT.)

The following are not adjectives, strictly speaking, but occur in nominal expressions and are conveniently listed here.

**aliéti** 'type' (-ti STAT)

**alué aliéti nóča**  
that type work  
'that kind of work'

**pe'tā** 'small quantity' (From **pe** 'little' and **u'tā** 'small'.)

**sugí pe'tā 'yúriga**  
beer small mix:with  
'mixed with a little beer'  
(Also see **QUANTIFIERS** and **NUMERALS**.)

**wé** 'much'

**wé riō hū**  
much man be  
'He's really a man.'

**pé** 'only/small amount'

**alué-ka pé kostāli hū**  
that-EMPH only gunny be  
sack  
'That's only a gunny sack.'

Nouns may also act as modifiers:

**sunū kobisi**  
corn pinole  
'corn pinole'  
(toasted, ground corn)

**riō sinowī**  
man snake  
'snake that becomes a man'

**sa'pā čomalí**  
meat deer  
'deer meat'  
(See **COMPOUNDS**.)

### Derived

**-ga-me** STAT-PRTC (See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**,  
Participials.)

**sa'p-é-ga-me**  
meat-have-STAT-PRTC  
'fat'

**-čari** 'mixed'

**aka-čāri-ga-me**  
sweet-mix-STAT-PRTC  
'mixed sweet and sour/  
should be sweet but it  
is somewhat sour'

**čīpu-čāri-ga-me**  
sour-mix-STAT-PRTC  
'mixed sour and sweet'

**ra'i-čāri-ga-me**  
 talk-mix-STAT-PRTC  
 'talks mixed/tells lies'

(The **ča** of **ra'fča** 'talk' and that of **-čari** 'mixed' show haplology.)

**-ti** ADJECTIVALIZER (**-ti** also acts similar to a PRTC.)

**čā** 'ugly/bad' (ADV)  
**čā-ti** 'ugly/bad' (ADJ)

**čā re'pā**  
 bad high  
 'very high'

**čā wa'lū**  
 bad big  
 'very big'

**wē čā-ti hū aluē riō**  
 very bad-ADJR be that man  
 'That man is very bad.'

**rehtë-ti**  
 rock-ADJR  
 'rock-like/hard dirt'

**'lā abē ra'f-ga-n-ti nī-li-ge-če aluē sa'pā**  
 good more tasty-STAT-PRTC-ADJR be-STAT-(?)-EMPH that meat  
 'That meat was really tasty.'

**nāpu hīpe une-lf-a aluē-ka se'winā-ti**  
 that today use-PASS-CONT that-EMPH different-ADJR  
 which

**hū-ke-'e**  
 be-QUOT-EMPH  
 'The one being used today is different.'

(Also see **-tiri** 'also' under **COORDINATION**.)

**-sini** 'produced in'

**bahčī ulī-sini**  
 squash canyon-produced  
 'canyon squash'

**bahčī iwēri-sini**  
 squash mountain-produced  
 'mountain squash'

**-be** AUGMENTATIVE

**yā wa'ru-bé hū**  
 now big-AUG be  
 'He is bigger now.'

## COMPOUNDS

Compounds consist of two words which act as one, at least to the point of having only one accent between them. Some have developed to where the original forms of the two words are difficult to recognize. There are other words which are similar to compounds but which carry separate accents, such as:

**riō sinowī**  
man snake  
'snake-man'

(Also see **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS** and Incorporation under **NOUN MORPHOLOGY** and **VERB MORPHOLOGY**.)

Noun Compounds**N + N = N**

Except for the last example, the first noun characterizes the second.

**gusī + imē = gusīme**  
brush maguey  
'brush maguey'

**galī + imē = galīme**  
house maguey  
'house maguey'

**ohkō + imē = ohkōme**  
pine maguey  
'pine maguey'  
(grows where pines are)

**čukurá + munī = čukurāmini**  
woodpecker bean  
'woodpecker bean'

**bahčī + rakā = bahčīriga**  
squash seed  
'squash seed'  
(a prepared food)

**riō + galī-či = riōgači**  
man house-place  
'house/town'  
(-ga could be STAT/POSS.)

**riō + ramuēra-me = riōrame**  
man loud-PRTC  
'a loud, boisterous person/machismo'

**ADV + N = N**

**be'ā + rukō = be'āriko**  
early night  
'last night'

**'yā + aniwī = 'yaniwī**  
before two  
days  
'day before yesterday' (aniwī  
by itself means 'day after  
tomorrow'.)

## V + N = N

**če'lā + so'pilí = če'lasópilí**  
 dawn star  
 'early morning star'

Verb Compounds

**pé larigā bami-bā-sime hū nabí rawé**  
 just thus year-become-go be every day  
 'That's the way it goes every year.'

**alé paní gomí-či-po bokuí-simi-'e**  
 there LOC gully-place-LOC hide-go-EMPH  
 'He hid up there in the gully.'

Also note **sináčane** 'shout', from **sinā** 'shout' plus **čane**, the latter decomposable into **čā** 'hard' and **anē** 'say'.

## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Plural

The plurals of some nouns are formed by phonological changes and additions (cf. **STEMS**).

<b>mukí</b>	'woman'	<b>umugí</b>	'women'
<b>re'malí</b>	'young man'	<b>temāri</b>	'young men'
<b>iwé</b>	'young woman'	<b>i'wé</b>	'young women'
<b>očérame</b>	'old one'	<b>o'čérame</b>	'old ones'

Many nouns are uninflected for plural, but the plurality is recognized by the addition of words which express a quantity, or through the use of plural inflections in related words, or through context.

<b>bilé riō</b>	<b>we'kā riō</b>
one man	many man
'a man'	'many men'

**ramué ralāmuli**  
 we Tarahumaras  
 'we Tarahumaras/people'

**'yā muči-ga-me ralāmuli**  
 before be:PL-STAT-PRTC people  
 'the people who lived before'

**mué aka-lā wé o'čéra-me hū**  
 you sandal-POSS very old-PRTC be  
 'Your sandals are very old.'



**mā simí-ba-le alué ralámuli**  
 now go-PL-PAST those people  
 'Those people left.'

(**alué** and **ralámuli** can both be either SG or PL.)

In the following example, an uninflected demonstrative and two pluralized adjectives are used with an uninflected noun:

**aní-le-ga-ra 'líge alué umugí i'wé wilū**  
 say-PAST-STAT-QUOT then those women young vulture  
 ladies  
 '...they say those young lady vultures said.'

### Accusative

An object marker, both direct and indirect, can be seen in the suffix **-'čí**. It is found only on the first person singular pronoun **nē** 'I'. The normal position of **ne-'čí** as direct object seems to be sentence final, whereas its normal position as indirect object seems to be more sentence initial.

**čanigā go'-mé olā mué ne-'čí**  
 why eat-FUT do you I-ACC  
 'Why are you going to eat me?'

**'líge nē abiéna bí'nélí hū čigó tabilé 'wési**  
 then I also alone be also NEG never

**gun-é-ga-me hū nē napurigā neséro-ma ne-'čí**  
 husband-have-STAT-PRTC be I so care-FUT I-ACC  
 that

'I also am alone and have never had a husband to care for me.'

**ne-'čí rari-gí**  
 I-ACC sell-IMP  
 'Sell it to me.'

**nē** is sometimes acceptable without **-'čí**:

**nabā nē/ne-'čí behté-la-čí**  
 let's I I-ACC live-INSTR-place  
 go  
 'Let's go to my house.'

Here are some examples of **ne-'čí** in complex sentences:

**mué-ka ne-'čí me'-li-mé olā 'líge go'-méa ne-'čí**  
 you-EMPH I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT I-ACC  
 'You are going to kill me then eat me.'

**mué-ka mayé-le-ke ne-'čí ba'lawísi-ko**  
 you-EMPH think-PAST-QUOT I-ACC rabbit-EMPH  
 'You thought I was a jackrabbit.' (You thought of me as a jackrabbit.)

Absolutive

The suffix **-či**, as it appears in the word **go'yāči** 'hat', appears to be intrinsic to the noun. That is, **go'yā** never appears by itself with the meaning 'hat'. **-či** has lost the meaning it probably formerly had of 'place'. Also, when other suffixes are added to 'hat', **-či** is dropped. This suffix can therefore be regarded as an absolutive.

**-ri** sometimes also appears to act as an absolutive:

**rabēri**  
'violin'

**rabe-sī-ki**  
violin-stroke-sing  
'play violin'

**-ri** probably used to be **-li** PRTC, such as is found in **ra'ičali** 'talk' and **iwēli** 'mountain people'.

## POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possession is expressed either by the suffix **-la** (occasionally a remnant of a possessive, **-ga**, is used), verbal constructions, or combinations of the two. (See **BE/HAVE/DO** for verbal possessives.) A pronoun or noun may precede the possessed word.

It appears that all body parts can add the possessive **-la**, and most can have the locative **-či** either without the possessive or in combination with it (**-lači**). At least five of the body parts have the possessive **-ga** either as a part of the root or as a suffix. The words for 'backbone' and 'rib' can have the suffix **-li**.

In all of the two syllable roots, when the locative **-či** is added to the root, the stress shifts to the **-či**, with the exceptions of **gupā** 'hair' and **elā** 'blood', which keep the stress on the second syllable. The stress stays on the second syllable of the root when **-la** or **-lači** are added, except for the following:

<b>elā</b>	'blood'	<b>elalā</b>	<b>ela-lā-či</b>
<b>ramē</b>	'tooth'	<b>rame-lā</b>	<b>ramē-la-či</b>
<b>siwā</b>	'intestine'	<b>siwā-la</b>	<b>siwa-lā-či</b>
<b>wemā</b>	'liver'	<b>wema-lā</b>	<b>wema-lā-či</b>
<b>inā</b>	'tongue'	<b>ina-gā</b>	<b>ina-lā-či</b>

Other examples of body parts:

<b>mo'ō</b>	'head'	<b>mo'o-či</b>	<b>mo'ō-la</b>
		<b>mo'ō-la-či</b>	

<b>sulagōma</b>	'heart'	<b>sulagōma-či</b>	<b>sulagōma-la</b>
<b>rehpōpa</b>	'back'	<b>sulagōma-la-či</b>	<b>rehpogā-la-či</b>

(Apparently **-ga** became **-pa** following the stressed syllable **pō**.)

<b>a'čigāli</b>	'rib'	<b>a'čigāli-la</b>	<b>a'čigāli-la-či</b>
<b>rolōga</b>	'windpipe'	<b>rolōga-la</b>	<b>rolōga-la-či</b>

The following two examples act as if an absolutive is involved:

<b>o'tabōči</b>	'backbone'	<b>o'tabō-li</b>	<b>o'tabō-li-la</b>
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(I was unable to elicit **o'tabō**.)

<b>čitōči</b>	'elbow'	<b>čito-gā-la</b>	<b>čito-gā-la-či</b>
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(For the composition of some of the roots, see **NOUN MORPHOLOGY, Incorporation**.)

### Syntax

<b>nē aka-lā</b>	<b>nē 'yū-la mukí</b>
I sandal-POSS	I with-POSS woman
'my sandal'	'my wife/the woman I am
(Note shift of stress	with'
from <b>akā</b> .)	

<b>'līge aluē mukí aluē kantelārio upí-la alé</b>
then that woman that PN wife-POSS there

<b>galí-rale ahtí-ga-me bihčí-ga-me ní-le-ke-'e</b>
house-place be-STAT-PRTC believe-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

<b>'līge napurigā aní-le aluē riō-la</b>
then like say-PAST that man-POSS
'Then that woman, Candelario's wife who was there at the house, believed what her husband said.'

**-la** may also occur on verbs. In such cases, it could be that **-la** is acting as a participial or instrumental.

<b>nē ní-la mukí</b>	<b>nē bukú-la hū o'kočf</b>
I be-POSS woman	I own-POSS be dog
'my wife'	'I own a dog.'

The following example shows a series using the possessive **-la**.

<b>akasí mué ba'čí-la amigo-la bukú-la</b>
cow you older-POSS friend-POSS own-POSS
brother

'The cow belongs to a friend of your older brother.'

### POSTPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS

The ideas 'with', 'by', and 'like', which connect nominal constructions with the rest of the sentence, are expressed with both free and bound forms. Some free forms, such as 'with', occur following the noun. Others, such as 'like', occur preceding. The bound forms occur as suffixes on nouns.

#### Free Forms

##### 'yū-ga

with-STAT/POSS

'with/at'

'līge aluē riō tabilē ayō-ga ahtī-le-ke-'e 'līge  
then that man NEG mad-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

aluē sinowī riō 'yū-ga  
that snake man with-STAT

'The man was not mad at/with the snake-man.'

'yūga always follows the noun. In the following example, the postposition is discontinuous from its object:

'līge aluē mukī ralāmuli mā 'yū-ga  
then that woman people now with-STAT

mo'i-bā-si-ga-ra 'līge  
go-PL-TEMP-STAT-QUOT then

'They (the snakes) went with the people-woman.'

'yūga can also take the participial suffix -ame.

okā umugī 'yū-ga-me nī-le  
two women with-STAT-PRTC be-PAST

'He was married to/with two women.'

##### 'yū-ri-ga

with-mix-STAT

'together with/mix/for'

a'līge munī gesō 'yū-ri-ga go'-sūga abe-čigō yāti  
then bean cheese with-mix-STAT eat-when more-also quick

rusū-me ka-rā ramé  
rot-PRTC be-QUOT tooth

'When you eat beans with cheese the teeth quickly rot.'

rūlse 'yū-ri-ga nakurī-wa yē ga'wā  
candy with-mix-STAT exchange-IMP this egg

'Exchange this egg for candy.'

(n)apiéri/napuyéri 'resemble/like' always precedes the noun.

'līge apiéri o'koči aliéri hū-tu 'līge aluē basači  
 then like dog thus be-NONSPEC then that coyote  
 'The coyote resembles a dog.' (is like a dog)

Locatives (See LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS):

a'mbē/a'mibē/be'bē	'near'
pačā	'inside'
korī	'on the other side'
amōba	'on top of'
re'lē	'below'

#### Bound Forms

(See LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS and NOUN MORPHOLOGY,  $N + X = N$  for locative endings that might be considered postpositions.)

-te/-re 'with/by'

'līge aluē riō mā me'ā-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē geyōči  
 then that man now kill-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that fox

aluē igū-te wehpi-gā  
 that stick-with hit-CONT  
 'Then the man killed the fox hitting it with a stick.'

An agentive postpositional phrase with a passive form of the verb can be seen in the following:

'līge aluē gusī gapō-so 'līge aluē riō wē  
 then that stick break-when then that man much

i'kī-le-ru-ke-'e 'līge aluē ohī-te  
 bite-PAST-PASS-QUOT-EMPH then that bear-by  
 'When the stick broke, the man was really bit by the bear.'

mačēta-re siki-ame hū sawā-la  
 machete-with cut-PRTC be leaf-POSS  
 'He cut the leaves with the machete.'

(At least in this case, -te becomes -re following an unstressed syllable which begins with t.)

When a nominalized adjective follows a noun, -te moves to the adjective.

rihpu-lā o'čēra-me-te  
 cut-INSTR old-PRTC-with  
 'with an old axe'

The following example expresses the idea of 'have in the fingers (hand)':

hā-le-ke-'e ramuē-ka rehtē makō-ga alē-ka  
 stand:PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH we-EMPH rock hand-POSS there-DIRL

**'mā-či**

run-CONT

'We stood there with rocks in our hands as (the deer) came running from there.'

Locative-Directionals (See **LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS.**)**gali-mōpa**

house-on

top

'on top of the house'

**gali-čōkata**

house-next

to

'next to the house'

**gali-rale**

house-inside

'inside the house'

**simi-ro**

go-by

'go by'

**rēbo-ka**

other-from

side

canyon

'come from other side of canyon'

Other

Some preposition-like ideas are inherently expressed in certain verbs such as:

**pabē** 'carry on shoulder'**mutū** 'carry in arms'

Some preposition-like ideas are left unexpressed:

**nabā ro'kolōbo**

let's PN

go

'Let's go to Rocoibo.'

**čeki bamí ahtí mué eskwēla**

how year be you school

many

'How many years have you been in school?'

**se'wí alē**

get there

away

'Get away from there!'

**wé bemō-ka-me če'lā-le**

much mist-STAT-PRTC dawn-PAST

'Dawn came with lots of mist.'

## DEMONSTRATIVES

Two demonstratives are noted which center on proximity (**yé**) or distance (**alué**). Both are either singular or plural. They function along a continuum with article-type use at one end and pronoun-type use at the other. Here are some examples of the former:

**alué wilú 'lige alué gonóli 'lige alué goláči alué**  
 that vulture then that vulture then that crow those  
 red-headed black-headed

**baikiā čulugí simí-ba-le-ke-'e**  
 three bird go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
 'The red-headed vulture, the black-headed vulture, and the crow, those three went...'

**yé ra'iči-li bilé ra'iči-li hú alué uhpá 'lige basači**  
 this talk-PRTC a talk-PRTC be that skunk then coyote  
 'This story is a story about the skunk and the coyote.'

(Note that the article does not occur with 'coyote'.)

There are certain occasions when articles are not used as much, such as when talking about people or plants in general as opposed to certain ones.

**a'kināna čē rihpūna-me kā-me ralāmuli 'liko**  
 later again cut-PRTC be-PRTC people then  
 'Later people will cut them again.'

Another occasion is in an exciting narrative:

**pākana 'mā čomarí-ka**  
 down run deer-DIRL  
 'The deer ran downhill.'

The styles of different story tellers come into play also. Occasionally it appears that the article is omitted from use with a word like 'deer' or 'coyote' because the word is being used as a proper name.

Sometimes a text will begin with **yé** but the rest of the text will use **alué**. This seems to make the story a little more intimate or personal.

**yé rió marsiāl ani-lí-me imé me'čí-ame... 'lige**  
 this man PN named maguey cut-PRTC then

**alué rió-ka**  
 that man-EMPH  
 'This man named Marcial was a maguey cutter...then that man...'

A modifier may occur between the article and the noun:

**alué we'ká ahā-ga-me**  
 those many live-STAT-PRTC  
 'those many animals'

**'līge anī-le-ga-ra alué umugī wilú**  
 then say-PAST-STAT-QUOT those women vulture  
 '...they say that those women vultures said'

The modifier may also follow the noun:

**alué sa'pā čomāī**  
 that meat deer  
 'that deer meat'

A modifier may precede the noun with another following the noun:

**alué umugī wilú i'wé**  
 those women vulture young  
 ladies  
 'those young women vultures'

Note the use of a double article in the following:

**'līge a'kināna alué balé nawā-sa 'līge**  
 then later that priest come-when then  
**rewarā-le-ga-ra 'līge alué yé gawī bočīgimi nāpu**  
 name-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that this hill all which  
**ečū rewé-ga-me hū yé gawī hīpe**  
 be name-STAT-PRTC be this hill today  
 'Later when the priest came, he named all the hills  
 that have a name today.'

Here are some examples of demonstratives used as pronouns:

<b>alué hū</b>	<b>yé hū</b>
he be	this be
'He/that is the one.'	'He/this is the one.'

**yé-ka baikiā pēso nahtigī**  
 this-EMPH three peso cost  
 'This one cost three pesos.'



## LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Locative words are composed of particles having to do with the categories of distance, boundary (distance not involved), slope, and movement. Different combinations of particles within categories and with other categories are possible. As many as four particles may combine into a word and at least two words may combine to form a longer construction. Locative particles also combine with geographical names, temporals, quantifiers, and indefinite pronouns.

Distance

Distance is relative to the speaker's point of view. There appear to be two general points of reference. One refers to a relatively close area, which I have called on-stage. The particles referring to this area end in either -e or -i. The other point of reference refers to a more distant area, which I have called off-stage. These particles end in -a. Off-stage sometimes corresponds to the idea of out-of-sight, but not always. Each of these two general areas can be divided into three smaller areas--here, there, and over there. Taking into account morphophonemics, the initial letter could mark which smaller area is referred to.

here	{	hē (on-stage)
		na/hā (off-stage)
there	{	alē (on-stage)
		'a (off-stage) (initial a lost)
over there	{	'mī (on-stage)
		wa (off-stage)

Each of the above six areas can be divided into two smaller areas by adding either the particle na 'here', to add a meaning of 'near', or 'mī 'there', to add a meaning of 'far'.

on-stage (-e/-i)	{	here (hē)-----	{ near (na) (hē-na)
			{ far ('mī) (hē-mi)
		there (alē)-----	{ near (#) (alē)
		{ far ('mi) (alē-mi)	
		over there ('mi) -	{ near (#) ('mī)
			{ far ('mi) ('mī-mi)

off-stage ( 'a )	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{here (na/ha) -----} \\ \text{there ('a)-----} \\ \text{over there (wa)---} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near (na) (na-'nā)} \\ \text{far ('mi) (na-'mī/hā-mi)} \end{array} \right.$
		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near (#) ('ā)} \\ \text{far ('mi) (a-'mī)} \end{array} \right.$
		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{near (na) (?)} \\ \text{far ('mi) (wa-'mī)} \end{array} \right.$

Distance, then, includes the ideas of here/there/over there, on-stage/off-stage, and near/far.

Three of the above single particle forms are independent--**alē**, **'mī**, and **'ā**.

Some combinations of locatives take on other than strictly locative meanings. **hā-mi**, for example, also means 'out in the woods/wilds/brush'. **amināmi** is used as the connective 'also'.

'līge e'karū-ga-me ahā-ga-me ra'iča-me ka-rā-e  
then thing-STAT-PRTC live-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB

'līge amināmi

then also

'Many kinds of animals talked also.'

When the final **-mī** of **amināmi** is replaced with **-čo** 'also', the meaning becomes 'more and more'. Replacing the final **-mī** with the diminutive **-be** gives a meaning of 'a little less'. **amināmi** 'also' sometimes co-occurs in the same sentence with the suffix **-tiri** 'also'.

Distance particles may be repeated as a kind of emphasis:

**wa-'mī-mī**

over-there-there

there

'way over there'

A sequence of distance words, as opposed to a compound-type word, can also be analyzed as a type of emphasis:

**alē 'mī**

there over

there

'there' (as opposed to **alēmi**)

It could also be argued that in some cases the first word in a series is a demonstrative which is explained by the second.

**alē 'mī-mī**

there over -over

there there

'over there far on-stage'

**alē 'nā-ka**

there here-towards

off-stage

'there on-stage coming  
from off-stage'

(For an explanation of **-ka**, see Movement.)

Judging by its frequency, **alē** seems to sometimes be used as a general-type locative where specific distance is not in focus.

The distance word **mehkā** 'far' seems to be a composite of 'mí 'over there' with the emphatic-numerical marker **-ka**, which also occurs in words such as **we'ká** 'many'. The augmentative **-be** may be added to **mehkā**, which becomes **mehkabé**. **-be** may also be added to other distance words, for example **a'bé** 'close'. In the following example, note the use of **-be**, the additional use of the emphatic **-ka**, and the use of the adverb **pé** 'just/a little'.

'lge aluē muki ralāmuli e'ne-gā lli-le-ke-'e  
then that woman people look-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'lge alē pé mehkā-ka táse nawā-le-ke-'e  
then there just far-EMPH NEG come-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'lge a'bé-ka  
then near-EMPH

'The people-woman was standing there looking a little bit far off, she didn't come close.'

### Slope

Three concepts are closely related in the Western Tarahumara idea of slope: the slope of the land, the direction water flows, and where the sun rises and sets. They are not always easily distinguishable, especially since the Western Tarahumara live along the western slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental where downstream, downhill, and where the sun sets are all basically the same direction.

Flow of water:

**tú** 'downstream/towards where the sun sets'

**'ó** 'upstream'

Slope of land:

towards the top

**pā** 'uphill'

towards the bottom

**-'le**

in the slope

**re-** 'slope' Used for near the top or near the bottom. Note the following:

**re-'pā** 'up towards the top'  
slope-uphill

**re-'lé** 'down towards the bottom'  
slope-bottom

**-ri/-li/-ti** 'steep uphill' (from **ilī** 'stand')  
**-ni** 'slope, not too steep'

Examples:

<b>rē-'tu</b> slope-down 'downwards more or less far/ downhill towards where the sun sets'	<b>pā o'wē-ti</b> up straight-steep 'straight up'
--	---

**tū o'wē-tu**  
towards straight-towards  
sunset sunset  
'flat towards where the sun sets'

<b>re-'pā-li</b> slope-up-steep 'high and steep'	<b>pā-mi</b> up-there 'there above'
--	---

**tū-mi/'mī 'tu**  
towards-there  
sunset  
'there below where the sun sets'

### Boundary

Boundary can be looked at in relation to a mass. For the most part, the boundary particles appear to come from body parts. Note **amōba** 'on top of' and **mo'ō** 'head'.

Free Forms:

<b>pačā</b>	'inside'
<b>mačī</b>	'outside'
<b>amōba</b>	'on top of'
<b>korī</b>	'on the other side of'
<b>suwē</b>	'edge'

Bound Forms:

<b>-bo</b>	'opposite side of (canyon)'
<b>'rē-bo</b>	'other side towards bottom'
<b>-čoka</b>	'next to'
<b>gali-čōka</b>	'next to the house'
<b>-rale</b>	'inside/underneath'
<b>galī-rale</b>	'inside the house'
<b>-gi/-ki</b>	'edge/side/where two things come together'
<b>čōni-gi-či</b>	dark-edge-place 'just dark/dusk'



**hé-ka simí**  
 here-towards go  
 'Come here!'

**kóče-ka eyéna**  
 where-from walk  
 'From where are you coming?'

**pá-ka-na 'má čomarí-ka**  
 up-from-here run deer-EMPH  
 'The deer came running from up there.'

**wačina-ga guána simā-wa gu-ačina-ga**  
 straight-away back go-IMP back-straight-away  
 'Go straight back!' 'Go straight back!'

**a-ki-nā simí**  
 there-towards-here go  
 'Come here!'

Combinations of locative particles (a verb may or may not be expressed):

**na-'mi-ní**  
 here-over-transverse  
 off there  
 stage on-stage  
 'going transverse'

**alé-mi**  
 there-over  
 there  
 'There it goes.' (as you would say when a tree is falling  
 or when throwing a ball)

### Syntax

The most neutral position for a locative is to precede the verb.

**'lge alué rowí-ka pá-ri-mi simí-le-ga-ra**  
 then that rabbit-EMPH up-steep-there go-PAST-STAT-QUOT  
 'Then the rabbit went up there, it is said.'

The subject of the sentence may come between the locative and the verb:

**'mí-mi bilé rió bokuí-simi-'e alué keré-ko nāpu**  
 there-there a man hide-go-EMPH that think-EMPH whom  
 one

**mué nahāto**  
 you look  
 for  
 'A man is hiding over there, the one, I think, whom you are  
 looking for.'

The locative may follow the verb for emphasis:

'lĭge aluĕ uhpā simĭ-le=ĉigó 'lĭge minā-mi  
then that skunk go-PAST=also then further-there  
on

'Then the skunk went further on.'

'lā enā-ma=ne pā-ri-mi  
good walk-FUT=I up-steep-there  
'I'll be going up there.' (Said as a leave-taking.)

The most emphatic position seems to be sentence initial:

'ó-ri-mi bokuf-simĭ-'e bilĕ rió aluĕ kerĕma  
upstream-steep-there hide-go-EMPH a man that think  
one

aluĕ nāpu muĕ 'yāri  
that whom you look:for  
one

'Upstream there a man is hiding, the one, I think, the one  
whom you are looking for.'

In the following example, the locative follows the verb in the first sentence, and precedes the verb in the second:

'lĭge alĕ simĭ-sā aluĕ basaĉĭ 'lĭge séba-le 'lĭge  
then there go-when that coyote then arrive-PAST then  
alĕ 'mĭ-mĭ bilĕ-na nāpu ĉukú-le aluĕ bilĕ rió...  
there there-far one-place where be-PAST that one man

'lĭge aluĕ basaĉĭ alĕ séba-ga nāpu ĉukú aluĕ  
then that coyote there arrive-CONT where be that

ohĉĭ...

grasshopper

'When the coyote went there he arrived at another place where  
there was a man...Then arriving there where the grasshopper  
was...'

In the following example, the locative is discontinuous from the verb. In questions and answers, the locative usually comes sentence final.

tāse nawā bilĕ rió hēna	tāse nawā-we hē-mi-ka
NEG come one man here	NEG come-EMPH here-far-EMPH
'Didn't a man come right here?'	'He didn't come around here.'

ĉukĭ-ga-me hū-ko muĕ-ka alĕ banaĉĭ  
what-STAT-PRTC be-EMPH you-EMPH there cheek  
happen

'What's the matter with your cheek?'

Within a locative phrase, the locative normally precedes the noun:

**hē-na wičimóba**  
 here-close world  
 'here in this world'

**'līge alē pa rehkuāta moinā-sa ill-gā**  
 then there up look climb-when stand-CONT  
 out

**sinā-le-ga-ra 'līge aluē rowī-ka**  
 shout-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that rabbit-EMPH  
 'When he had climbed up on the look-out point, the rabbit  
 stood there and shouted.'

But the locative may be discontinuous and follow the noun:

**nē-ka a'lā če'wā-ke-'e gara-bē nahkā-la ill-gā**  
 I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-AUG ear-POSS stand-CONT  
**alē**  
 there

'I hit it right on it's ear that was sticking straight up.'

The locative may be repeated:

**alē minā-mi nāpu ma'čīna-le aluē rehpoši alē-mi**  
 there further-there where come-PAST that mole there-far  
 on out

**si rewā-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē rowī ralā-la**  
 yes(?) see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that rabbit track-POSS  
 'There further on where the mole came out, there he found the  
 rabbit's tracks.'

**'līge aluē wilū alē arē-sa 'līge aluē basači alē**  
 then that buzzard there leave-when then that coyote there

**nāpu ne-rū-le aluē piēsta...**  
 where be-IMPRS-PAST that fiesta  
 'When the buzzards left the coyote there, there where the  
 fiesta was...'

The locative can be repeated on the noun:

**'līge 'mī-mi boičī-mi**  
 then there-there trail-there  
 'Going along there on the trail...'



'lɪge aluɛ muki wɛ wehčá-ga-me ka-rá-tu  
 then that woman much sore-STAT-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC

'lɪge alɛ bočɪ-gi-mi seka-čɪ-mi rono-čɪ-mi  
 then there all-edge-there hand-place-there leg-place-there  
 over

'That woman had sores all over on her hands and legs.'

Emphatics may be added to locatives. The following was said in response to the question, "Does Lupe live there?".

alɛ-'e  
 there-EMPH  
 'Right there.'

### Directions

Western Tarahumaras occasionally adapt the use of locatives to express the idea of north, east, south, and west. It fits in with the geography of the area where the mountain range runs north and south. Two systems have been noted:

'ɔ-mi	tū-mi
upstream-there	downstream-there
'east'	'west'

'mɪ-mi  
 there-there  
 'north/south'

ga-ɔ-na	simɪ nolɪ
hill-upstream-here	go cloud
	off-stage

'The clouds are going up the mountain/east.'

i-tū-na	simɪ nolɪ
REPET-downstream-here	go cloud
	off-stage

'The clouds are going downstream/west.'

gayéna simɪ nolɪ  
 side go cloud  
 of:hill  
 'The clouds are going along the side of the mountains/north/  
 south.'

## TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS

### Forms

A temporal word may consist of an independent stem or a stem plus affixes. Several temporal words may occur in a sequence to form a temporal phrase. Temporals play an important part in showing prominence in discourse structure.

### Stems

A stem may consist of a single particle or a compound-like construction:

**ā si-méa nē-ba**  
 now go-FUT I-EMPH  
 'I am going now.'

**mā čo-na**  
 now dark-LOC  
 'Now it is dark.'

**yā a'lā hū**  
 now good be  
 'It's alright now.'

**kulī** (**ku** 'again', **ilī** 'be')  
 'later (a short time)'

**alī** ('a 'now', **ilī** 'be/stand')  
 'afternoon/later'

**be'lī** (**be**'a 'early', **ilī** 'be')  
 'tomorrow'

**čoŋa** (**čo** 'black', **nā** LOC)  
 'dark'

**hīpe**  
 'today'

**ya'mā** (**yā** 'before', **mā** 'now')  
 'immediately'

**rawilī** (**rawé** 'day', **ilī** 'stand/be')  
 'noon'

**be'āriko** (**be'ā** 'early', **rukō** 'night')  
 'evening'

**yabé** (**yā** 'now', **be'ā** 'early')  
 'a little before'

**be'bé** (**be'ā** 'early', and **be'ā** 'early' or **-be** AUG)  
 'early/a short time before'

**če'lā** (učē 'again', a'lā 'good')  
           ↑  
           'dawn'

### Affixes

Temporal words may have up to three suffixes.

=si AUG

**hpe=si-ko**

today=AUG-EMPH  
 'today'

**we'li=si**

tall=AUG  
 'a long time'

**ale=si-ko**

there=AUG-EMPH  
 'from that time'

-bí DIM

**čo-bí-na bí'í-bi**

black-DIM-LOC  
 'dusk'

clean-DIM

'crack of dawn'

-na LOC/'here off-stage'

**čo-na**

black-LOC  
 'just dark'

-li 'stand'/'be'/STAT/PRTC

**rawe-li**

day-stand  
 'noon'

**tarā-li**

count-PRTC  
 'week'

-ko EMPH (Occurs on temporals and verbs.)

**'yā-ko**

before-EMPH  
 'long ago'

-pi DIM (Same as -bi? Note pē 'a little'.)

**kulí-pi**

later-DIM  
 'a little later'

-če 'again'

**be'li-pa-če**

tomorrow-EMPH-again  
 'until tomorrow'

### Phrases

A temporal word may be modified by another temporal, a locative, a negative, or a quantifier.

**nabí rawé**

every day  
 'everyday'

**'yā kulí**

before later  
 'a little earlier'

**'yā anuwí/'yanuwí**  
 'day before yesterday'

**anuwí/aniwí** by itself means 'day after tomorrow'.

**'mī bamī**  
 there year  
 'next year'

**ta-čō rawilf**  
 NEG- still noon  
 'just before noon'

**nasīpa rukō**  
 half night  
 'midnight'

**abē a'kināna**  
 more later  
 'still later'

As seen in the above examples, the modifier usually precedes the head of the phrase.

A temporal phrase may have up to at least five temporal words.

**'līge hīpe a'kināna we'ká bamf kāči alaki-sāo aluē**  
 then today later many year APPROX happen-when that

**riō alē**  
 man there

'Then today many years after that happened to that man there...' (Note the use of 'today' in a general sense.)

**'lā nī-mala-ba be'lf aniwí-tiri riōsi elā-so**  
 good be-FUT-EMPH tomorrow day-also god want-when  
 after

'That will be good tomorrow and the day after, if god wills.'

### Clauses

Color words may also be used in temporal expressions, in this case relating to the time of day. They occur in a double verb construction. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, Double Verbs, Group I. Also see **ADJECTIVES**, Color Words.)

**rosabōča-ga ilf**  
 gray-CONT be/stand  
 'getting dark in the evening'/  
 'getting light in the morning'

**sehtā-na-ga ilf**  
 red-DIM-CONT be  
 'when sun just went down'

**ulā-na-ga ilf**  
 brown-DIM-CONT be  
 'almost dark'

**čō-na-ga ilf**  
 black-DIM-CONT be  
 'dark at night'/  
 'dark with clouds'

**siyō-na-ga ilf**  
 blue/green-DIM-CONT be  
 'when no clouds in sky' (weather expression)

In fast speech, which is common, **ilí** fuses with the preceding word to become one word, such as the following:

**siyónaga ilí > siyónagilí**

Others

**romō**

'winter' (This refers to the way rains fall in the winter, which is usually a slow drizzle. The word **romō** is also used to describe drizzly rains which occur in the summer.)

**guwé**

'dry season'

**we'lí guwé-sa-me**

long dry-times-PRTC  
season

'It's a long dry season.'

**bamunū**

'rainy season'  
(Note **ba'wí** 'water'.)

**balá**

'fall'

**a'líge/líge**

'and then'  
(Keeps a story moving.)

**a'lí-ko**

late-EMPH  
'then'/RESULT

**wé a'lā repū-ka go'-pōa-ra sunū tabilē 'lū-ka**  
very good care-EMPH eat-FUT-QUOT corn NEG throw-EMPH

**hāmi a'líko 'lā nabí rak-ē-me ka-rā**  
out then good always seed-have-PRTC be-QUOT  
there

'Take good care of corn for eating and don't throw it around, then the corn will always give fruit.'

**a'kināna**

'later'  
(See Discourse Function.)

**í'libē**

'later'  
(See Discourse Function.)

**apuči biēniko**

'anytime'

**pe'wēla**

'in a short time'

**í'sínimí**

'from time to time' (í'- REPET, **siné** 'once', and -mí 'there')

Discourse Function

The most emphatic place for a temporal is sentence initial.

**sinē-čigo ro'kolóbo ké-ke-'e**

once-also PN was-QUOT-EMPH

'Once this also was (happened) in Rocoroibo.'

**siněčigo** is sometimes used to begin a story, sort of like 'once upon a time'.

A sentence initial temporal may be preceded by 'līge 'and then', which keeps the story moving.

'līge pē abē i'libē-ko mā we'kā-ga-ra 'līge aluē  
then just more later-EMPH now many-STAT-QUOT then that

**rolō**

bull

'Then a little later, the bull was lost.'

The following example shows a temporal word in an initial position, but following both 'līge and a connecting-type word.

'līge alekēre hīpe we'kuā ani-gā gusū-me ka-rā  
then for today we'kuā say-CONT shout-PRTC be-QUOT  
that

'līge aluē golāči

then that crow

'Because of that, today the crow cries out "we'kuā".'

A less emphatic position is sentence final.

arekēre wē gomīči ka-rā hīpe-ko  
for many gully be-QUOT today-EMPH  
that

'Because of that there are many gullies today.'

The temporal **mā** 'now' sometimes acts as a result or summary marker:

'līge aluē riō mā me'ā-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē geyōči  
then that man now kill-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that fox

aluē igū-te wehpa-gā  
that stick-with hit-SIMUL

'Then the man killed the fox, hitting it with the stick.'

(The result was...)

At least three levels of prominence are noted with temporals. The lowest is marked by 'līge 'and then'. Since 'līge appears in procedural and expository discourse, as well as narrative, it might just be a logical connector. Different story-tellers use it with different degrees of frequency. One person uses it at least twice in every sentence--initially and after the verb. Another uses it at the beginning of each paragraph. The second person, then, is using 'līge to mark larger chunks than the first person. There is another factor also involved here. The first story-teller, when he originally began to work with me, did not use 'līge with such frequency. Only when he started writing the stories, as opposed to telling them, did he begin to use them with such frequency. This suggests a written style as opposed to an oral style.

The second level is marked by temporal words such as 'later', 'today', etc. Each of these is used in interesting ways to mark certain things in discourse. For example, there are two words which translate 'later'. **i'libē** helps to advance the sequence of the story: 'He did this, then later he did that'. **a'kināna** is used where there is a major time break of considerable length. It might occur in a closure which said: 'Many years later, that kind of thing did not happen any more'. Or in a paragraph which says something like: 'He liked her. Many years later he still liked her'. Or it might occur as a connective between two discourses where there is a time difference, in a series of connected discourses.

In the third or highest level of prominence are the time changes which the author chooses to give special prominence to. These are marked with the particle **-ko** being added to the time word. It might be found at the initiating point of a story and other prominent points where there is a time change.

## QUANTIFIERS

### Forms

#### Adjectival

**bilē** 'one/a/someone'

'**l'ige bilē rawē be'á be'l'í anf-le-ga-ra aluē**  
then one day early early say-PAST-STAT-QUOT those

**ahā-ga-me go'ā-me go'-gā**  
live-STAT-PRTC eat-PRTC eat-CONT  
animals food

'Then one day early in the morning, those animals eating food said...'

**bilē** can also be used in an indefinite sense:

**bilē rawē** 'some/one day'

**če=bilē**  
again=one  
'another'

**pé če=bilē riō 'yūga newī-le-ke-'e 'l'ige aluē**  
just again=one man with marry-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

**mukí**

woman

'That woman just married another man.'

**halé** 'some'**halé ralámuli**

some people

'some people'

**halé-na-mi**

some-place-there

'there in some places'

**če=halé**

again=some

'some others'

**alué če=haré ahā-ga-me**

those again=some animals

'the other animals'

**'līge alué če=haré-la abé nōči-li kā-me**  
then those again=some-POSS more work-PRTC be-PRTC**hū-tu**

be-NONSPEC

'Some others are more work.'

**učé** 'again' **učé** can be used in the sense of 'more'.**tā učé go'-nāle=mu**

NEG again eat-want=you

'Do you want to eat more?'

**we'kā** 'many' (**wé** 'much', **e'karū** 'things')**we'kā simī-ba-le**

many go-PL-PAST

'Many went.'

**pe'kā-bi**

little-DIM

'only a little'/'only a few'

(**pē** 'few', **e'karū** 'things')**hīpe-ko nawésa-wa-ba 'līge amičī-pua pe'kā-bi 'līge**  
now-EMPH sermon-IMP-EMPH then pray-IMP little-DIM then**rabēli simé-wa 'līge bakiā**

violin play-IMP then three

'Now give sermons, pray a little (few prayers), and play three violin songs.'

**u'tā** 'small'/'not much' (**kučī** PL)**u'tā riō**

small man

'small man'

**u'kā-bi**

few-DIM

'only a few' (**u'tā**'small', **e'karū** 'things')**asīriga u'kā-bi učū-ri-ke hīpe-ko**  
really few-DIM be:PL-PASS-QUOT today-TEMP  
'Only a few will be left today.'



**kāči** 'more or less'/'about'/APPROX

**čekí óra kāči sebā-wa**  
 how hour about arrive-FUT  
 many

'In how many hours, more or less, will we arrive?'

**e'karú** 'many things/kinds'

'lige e'kalú-ga-me ahā-ga-me ra'iča-me ka-rā-e 'lige  
 then kinds-STAT-PRTC animals talk-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB then

**amināmf**

also

'There were many kinds of animals that talked also.'

**nabí** 'every/all the time'

**nabí rawé**

every day

'every day'

**suwābaga** 'all'

**hipe-ko 'émí** ahā-ga-me suwābaga suwi-méla tabilé 'wési  
 now-EMPH you:PL animals all die-FUT NEG any

**rehpí-ga**

remain-CONT

'Now all of you animals will die, not one remaining.'

A verbal construction may also be used to express the idea of 'all'.

**tabilé séba-le 'yā-ru-ka=ne**

NEG arrive-PAST give-PASS-EMPH=I

'I was not given the complete (change).'

#### Adverbial

**wé** 'much/very'

**wé rulā**

very cold

'It is very cold.'

**wa'lú** 'big/much' (wa'lú may also be an adjective:  
wa'lú rió 'big man'.)

**wa'lú go'á**

big eat

'Eat a lot!'

**amulí** 'almost'

**amulí bosā=ne**  
almost full=I  
'I am almost full.'

**pé** 'a little/just'

**pé abé i'libé-ko**  
little more later-EMPH  
'a little bit later'

**pe'tā** 'a little bit' (**pé** 'a little', **u'tā** 'small')

**pe'tā gepā-le hípe**  
little snow-PAST today  
'It snowed a little today.'

**we'sā** 'many times' (**wé** 'much', **-sa** REPET)

**wé we'sā símí-le**  
very many go-PAST  
'He went many times.'

**aliéna** 'so much/this much'

**čanigā aliéna ayonō muē basačī ne-'čī 'yúga**  
why so mad you coyote I-ACC with  
much  
'Why are you so mad at me, coyote?'

**če=rapé** 'more/again'

**če=rapé go'ā**  
again=more eat  
'Eat more!'

**rapé-ba**  
more-EMPH  
'I'm O.K.' (Cf. **ra-** AUG, **pé**  
'a little'.)

(In response to the question 'Are you full?', and implies you could have eaten more.)

**(r)asíriga** 'really (am)' (=sí AUG,  
**-riga** 'thus')

**asíriga wa'lú hú yé**  
really big be this  
'This is really big.'

The word by itself is sometimes used in response to the question "Are you full?".

**rasí-ga-me**  
more-STAT-PRTC  
'more than'

**bilé eliá rasí-ga-me**  
 one score more-STAT-PRTC  
 'more than twenty'

**abé** 'more'

**alué bilé ralámuli abé sa'p-é-ga-n-ti ní-sa**  
 that one people more meat-have-STAT-PRTC-ADJR be-if

**alué me'a-gá go'-yá-me ka-rā-e**  
 that kill-CONT eat-CONT-PRTC be-QUOT-DUB  
 'If a person was somewhat fat, then they killed and ate him.'

### Syntax

The quantifier may follow the noun (see the example for **suwábaga** 'all' above). It may also precede the noun and article.

**we'ká alué ralámuli**  
 many those people  
 'those many people'

It may also precede the noun directly.

<b>alué we'ká ralámuli</b>	<b>we'ká rió</b>
those many people	many man
'those many people'	'There are many men.'

A quantifier may also be modified.

**čā wa'lú rió**  
 very big man  
 'very big man'

**'yá mučí-ga-me ralámuli o'čēra-me-ka wé we'ká**  
 before be:PL-STAT-PRTC people old-PRTC-EMPH very many

**e'kalú-ga-me ra'íča-me 'ini-li alué 'yá**  
 things-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC be:PL-STAT those before

**nerú-ga-me ra'íči-li**  
 be-STAT-PRTC talk-PRTC  
 'The old people who lived before told me very many stories, stories about long ago.'

A quantifier may be discontinuous from the noun for emphasis:

**'lige alé wičúči napaf-ka piésta olā-le-ru-ga-ra**  
 then there PN gather-EMPH fiesta do-PAST-PASS-STAT-QUOT

**wa'lú**

big

'(The people) gathered there at Huichúachi and a fiesta was held, a big one.'

Negatives may be involved in quantifier constructions.

**'lige tabilē sinē rawē re'kīna-le 'lige aluē basačī**  
 then NEG once day go-PAST then that coyote  
 back

'The coyote never made it back down there to earth.'

**ne-'čī rari-gī bolēto abē ta'mē nahtē-ame**  
 I-ACC sell-IMP ticket more NEG cost-PRTC  
 'Sell me the cheapest ticket.' (not costly)

## NUMERALS

### Basic Forms

The basic Western Tarahumara numerals reflect a combination of perhaps three systems. One system is based on ten, perhaps introduced by the Spaniards. 'Nine' is 'ten minus one'. 'Twenty' (one form) is 'two tens'.

The second system is based on four. Note that 'eight' is 'two fours', and 'twenty' (a second form) is 'one score' (or one something, perhaps body). For 'nine', I once heard a Tarahumara say 'two fours plus one'.

A third system, based on two, could possibly be involved as well. Note that the odd numbers three, five, seven, and nine each have either *gī* or *kī* involved, which in the case of nine means 'less'.

<b>bilē</b>	'one'	<b>o-sā</b>	<b>nō</b>	'eight'
<b>okā</b>	'two'	two-times four (sometimes acts like a compound word)		
<b>baikiā/bakiā</b>	'three'	<b>gi-makoē</b>	'nine'	
<b>naō</b>	'four'	(less-ten)		
<b>marīgi</b>	'five'	<b>makoē</b>	'ten'	
<b>usāni</b>	'six'	<b>makō bilē</b>	'eleven'	
<b>gičāo</b>	'seven'	(minā/aminā		'add')

The words for 'five' and 'ten' come from the proto \*ma 'hand'. Note the Western Tarahumara **makúsa** 'finger'.

### Derived Forms

**-sa** 'times'

**bilé eliá / o-sá makoé**  
one score two-times ten  
'twenty'

**bai-sá makoé**  
three-times ten  
'thirty'

**oká eliá / naó-sa makoé**  
two score four-times ten  
'forty'

**marígi-sa makoé**  
five-times ten  
'fifty'

**usáni-sa makoé**  
six-times ten  
'sixty'

**gičáo-sa makoé**  
seven-times ten  
'seventy'

**o-sá nó-sa makoé**  
two-times four-times ten  
'eighty'

**gi-makó-sa makoé**  
less-ten-times ten  
'ninety'

**bilé siénto/ makó-sa makoé**  
one hundred ten-times ten  
'one hundred'

**bilé siénto miná bilé**  
one hundred add one  
'one hundred one'

**bilé siénto aminá nasípa**  
one hundred add half  
'one hundred fifty'

**gi-makoé siénto miná usáni-sa makoé miná gi-makoé**  
less-ten hundred add six-times ten add less-ten  
'nine hundred sixty-nine'

**-sa** is also used in statements such as 'He went twice'. It does not, however, occur in 'once'.

**siné** 'once'

**'líge a'kinána nawá-ga-ra 'líge alué riósi čé=čigo**  
then later come-PERF-QUOT then that god again=also

**siné**  
once  
'Later god came once again.'

**'yá kulí siné**  
before early/late once  
'once before'

**siné** is used with other meanings as well.

**sinē=čigo**  
 once=also  
 'one (day)/once upon a time'

**o-sā**  
 two-times  
 'twice'

**bai-sā**  
 three-times  
 'three times'

**naō-sa**  
 four-times  
 'four times'

**maŕgi-sa**  
 five-times  
 'five-times'

**usāni-sa**  
 six-times  
 'six times'

**sinē=kači**  
 once=APPROX  
 'perhaps'

**gičāo-sa**  
 seven-times  
 'seven times'

**osā naō-sa**  
 twice four-times  
 'eight times'

**gi-makoē-sa**  
 less-ten-times  
 'nine times'

**makoē-sa**  
 ten-times  
 'ten-times'

**makō bilē-sa**  
 ten one-times  
 'eleven times'

Note in the above examples that the **a** of **naō** 'four' and the **e** of **makoē** 'ten' often drop out.

**-na** 'place'

**bilē-na**  
 one-place  
 'in one place'

**oka-nā**  
 two-place  
 'in two places'

**baiki-nā**  
 three-places  
 'in three places'  
 (a is lost)

**nao-gā-na**  
 four-(?)-place  
 'in four places'

**maŕgi-na**  
 five-place  
 'in five places'

From six on, **-na** is not used.

Other locatives may also occur with **-na**, such as:

**bilē-na-mi**  
 one-place-there  
 'there in one place'

The clitic **če** can also be used:

**če=bilē-na**  
 again=one-place  
 'another place'

**če=bilē-na-mi**  
 again=one-place-there  
 'there in another place'

When **čebilēna** is modified by **we'kā** 'many', both words have **-na**. Note the shift in stress:

**we'ka-nā**    **če=bilē-na**  
 many-place again=one-place  
 'many other places'

**-čo** 'also' appears in statements such as 'two by two'. It does not, however, appear in 'one by one'.

**i'-pīle**  
 RDP-one  
 'one by one'

The voiced **b** of **bilē** becomes voiceless next to the glottal.

**i'-pīle mo'i-le**    **galī-rale**  
 RDP-one enter-PAST house-inside  
 'One by one they entered the house.'

**okā-čo**  
 two-also  
 'two by two'

**baikiā-čo**  
 three-also  
 'three by three'

**naō-čo**  
 four-also  
 'four by four'

**-pi**    'only'    Occurs word final. (Also see **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**.)

**bi'lē-na-pi**  
 one-place-only  
 'only one place'

**-tiri**    'also'

**okā-tiri**  
 two-also  
 'two also'

**-ni**    'be/same'

**'līge pé**    **okā-ni-ka**    **wē**    **rali-āme**    **hū-tu**    **'līge aluē**  
 then    just two-be-EMPH much sell-PRTC be-NONSPEC then they  
 'Those two are both very salable.'

**-ni** also occurs in the plural form of 'alone'.

**'o-ni**  
 two-be  
 'alone PL'

The singular of 'alone' is expressed with a form of **bilē** 'one' and **-li** 'be/stand'.

**bi'nē-li ahtī**  
 one-be be  
 'He is alone.'

Other numeral-type words:

**bahčā** 'first/before'

**'līge bahčā ta'čō o'wīna aluē piēsta**  
 then first still begin that fiesta  
 not  
 'Then first, before the fiesta began...'

**bahča-bē**  
 first-AUG  
 'first'

The word for older brother comes from **bahčā**.

**ba'či-lā**  
 first-POSS  
 'older brother'

**bahčā** may also be used to express the idea of 'long ago/before'. In the following it acts like a compound word with **rawē** 'day'.

**'yā bahčā=rawe nāpu 'līge bihī bi'nēli kā aluē mukī**  
 before first=day when then still alone be that woman  
 'before when she was still single'

**nihubā** 'second/behind/later'

Locatives or **-pi** 'only' may be added.

**'līge aluē sa'pā bahčā lū-le-ga-ra 'līge alēgana**  
 then that meat first throw-PAST-STAT-QUOT then down  
 there

**'līge bo'nē-ko pē nihubā-gana o'počī-le-ga-ra 'līge**  
 then he-EMPH just behind-down jump-PAST-STAT-QUOT then  
 'He first threw the meat there below, then he jumped right  
 behind.'

**pe'tā nihubā-pi**  
 little later-only  
 'a little later'





## ADJECTIVES

Syntax

The distinction between adjective and noun is not always clear, as many adjectives have a participial or stative ending; 'the red egg', for example, might well be translated 'the red-one egg'.

With some adjectives there is number agreement:

<b>we'li</b> 'tall' (i'wēli PL)	<b>če'ti</b> 'skinny' (e'čēti PL)
<b>sa'p-ē-ga-me</b> meat-have-STAT-PRTC 'fat' (a'sabēgame PL)	

The adjective usually precedes the noun, as in the first examples below. It may, however, follow the noun, even discontinuously, as in the second example below, which contains a series of adjectives:

<b>wē</b>	<b>a'lá rió hū</b>
very good	man be
'He is a very good man.'	
<b>yé</b>	<b>bilē lāpisi hū we'li wē</b>
this one	pencil be long very pretty-ADJR very
<b>čup-ē-ga-me</b>	
point-have-STAT-PRTC	
'This pencil is long, pretty, and pointed.'	

A noun phrase with an adjective can act as a clause.

<b>wa'lú gawī</b>
big mountain
'The mountain is big.'/'It is a big mountain.'

A predicate use of an adjective can be seen in the following.

<b>wa'lú hū aluē gawī</b>
big be that mountain
'That mountain is big.'

In the following example, a noun is modified by a participialized noun.

**imē ohkō-me ta'mē ra'ī-ga-me hū**  
 maguey pine-PRTC NEG tasty-STAT-PRTC be  
 'Pine maguey is not tasty.'

### Color Words

Six basic color roots have been noted in Western Tarahumara. Only 'black' and 'white' have plural forms.

**rosā**  
 'white'  
 (o'tosā PL)

**sehtā**  
 'red'

**sa'warō**  
 'yellow'

**čō**  
 'black'  
 (o'čō PL)

**siyō**  
 'blue/green' (The focal point for most speakers is in the blues.)

**ulā**  
 'brown'

The roots never occur by themselves. Suffixes which express the ideas of 'lighter', 'darker', 'focal', 'non-focal', 'becoming', 'barely', and 'approximate', as well as a participial ending and a verbal ending, may be added to the basic roots. (Considerable variation has been noted between speakers in regard to the range of color which each root and suffix covers.) A general formula for the non-verbal forms can be given as follows:

+ ROOT + DIM + DIM/AUG + PRTC + APPROX  
 -bi -na -ka -ame -ti  
 -bo -ga  
 -ča

**-bo** comes from the future **-boa** and carries the idea of 'becoming'. **-bi** means 'barely' and perhaps also carries the meaning of 'becoming'. **-ga** occurs only in **sa'warōgame** 'yellow', and **-ča** occurs only in **rosabōčame** 'gray'. **-ti** might be equated with **-ti** ADJR.

Examples:

**rosa-bō-č-an-ti**  
 white-becoming-AUG-PRTC-APPROX  
 'grayish'

**čō-k-ame**  
 black-AUG-PRTC  
 'very black/dark black'

**čō-n-ame**  
 black-DIM-PRTC  
 'not very black/light black'

**čō-k-an-ti**  
 black-AUG-PRTC-APPROX  
 'blackish'

**rosa-bí-n-an-ti**  
white-DIM-DIM-PRTC-APPROX  
'whitish'

**rosa-bō-č-ame**  
white-becoming-AUG-PRTC  
'whitish/becoming white'

A type of compound color word can be formed by putting two color words together. Normally the first word modifies the second, but if the modifier is expressing an extreme case of lightness or non-focality, then the modifier occurs in the second position.

Three ways have been noted in which compounds are constructed. The most common is where the complete form of the color word appears in each part of the compound:

**čókame siyókame**  
'blackish-blue'

**čóname siyókame**  
'blackish-blue' (less strong  
black than the preceding  
example)

The second is where the participial ending **-ame** is dropped from the first or modifying part:

**siyóna čóname**  
'bluish-black'

**rosāka sa'warōgame**  
'whitish-yellow'

A third type is where one part of the compound consists of either a loan word or a word such as 'shiny'.

**rosāname čokolāte**  
'whitish chocolate'

**siyóname rahpāme**  
'shiny blue'

Examples show that the ending **-ti** APPROX may appear on either the final part of both. An exception is found where the first part is the word for 'water moss', **banagā**, which is also used to express a color (moss-green). Then the **-ti** may appear only on the first part.

**siyókame čónanti**  
'blackish-blue'

**siyónanti rosabōčanti**  
'grayish-blue'

**banagāti siyókame**  
'mossy-green'

The exact meanings of the above variations is not yet certain.

A color phrase may be further expanded by the use of adverbs such as the following:

**pē**  
'a little/not dark/ non-focal'

**wē**  
'much/dark/focal'

**pē amulí**  
'almost'

**se'wināti**  
'other'

The adverbs usually precede the color word, but may follow the word or else appear in both places. A formula for the color phrase may be written as follows:

+ ADV + Color Word/Compound + ADV

Examples:

**sehtā-n-ame siyō-n-an-ti pē**  
 red-DIM-PRTC blue-DIM-PRTC-APPROX little  
 'a little bit bluish-red'

**pé rosā-k-ame**  
 little white-AUG-PRTC  
 'a little bit white'

The following are examples of noun phrases which contain certain color words:

**siyō-k-ame ga'wā-la mo'ō-la sehtā-k-ame**  
 green-AUG-PRTC egg-POSS head-POSS red-AUG-PRTC  
 'green egg' 'red head'

**'līge alē nasīpa ena-gā-ra 'līge aluē sinowī**  
 then there middle walk-CONT-QUOT then that snake

**čō-k-ame wa'lū**  
 black-AUG-PRTC big  
 'There in the middle went the big black snake.'

All of the basic colors may be made into a double-verb construction. (See **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, Double Verbs, Group I.)

**čō-na-ga ilī sehtā-na-ga ilī**  
 black-DIM-CONT be red-DIM-CONT be  
 'being black' 'being red'

This verbal expression includes all of the variations of a basic color.

For a further study of Tarahumara colors, for both the Central and Western dialects, see Burgess, Kempton, and MacLaury, 'Fuzzy Sets and Tarahumara Color Categories'.

## COMPARATIVES

(See also RELATIVE CLAUSES, Finite.)

Comparisons of Equality

**napuyéri/napiéri/apiéri** 'looks alike'

**'líge apiéri o'kočí aliéri hū-tu** 'líge alué basači  
then like dog thus be-NONSPEC then that coyote  
'That coyote looks like a dog.'

**napurigá** 'like'

**wé čigō-ri-ga-me** hū alué riō napurigá basači  
much rob-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC be that man like coyote  
'That man is a thief like a coyote.'

Some comparisons are stated in non-comparative terms. Instead of saying 'He thinks like the devil', they might say 'He is a follower of the devil'.

**wé oyēru-me** hū remōnesi  
much follow-PRTC be devil  
'He is a follower of the devil.'

**a'nāri** 'same size'

**a'nāri a'-sa-bē-ga-me** hū  
same RDP-meat-ĀUG-STAT-PRTC be  
'They are the same fatness.'

**aliēna** 'same'

**aliēna semā-ti** hū **aliēna mehkā hū**  
same pretty-ADJR be same far be  
'They are the same prettiness.' 'They are the same  
distance.'

**a'čigō** 'same'

**a'čigō aliēna semā-ti** hū  
same same pretty-ADJR be  
'They are just the same prettiness.'

The use of two comparatives in the above example suggests a type of intensification.

**a'čigō aliéri sawē-ga-me hū**  
 same thus leaf-STAT-PRTC be  
 'The leaves are alike.'

**kōma** 'either' (when two things are equal)

**anačā-sa migēli o karnasiōni kōma**  
 last-if PN or PN either  
 '...if either Miguel or Encarnaciōn lasts.'

**o** 'or' (from the Spanish) (See above example.)

A type of comparative is also seen in the use of 'thus'.

**alarigā** 'thus'

**alarigā newā-le**  
 thus do-PAST  
 'That's the way he did it.'

**aliéri/abaliéri** 'thus' (a characteristic)

**aliéri hū**  
 thus be  
 'That is the way he is.'

**wē čāti ra'iča aluē riō abaliéri hū aluē riō**  
 very bad talk that man thus be that man  
 'That man talks bad. That's the way that man is.'

### Comparisons of Inequality

**abē** 'more'

**aluē mukí abē semā-ti hū**  
 that woman more pretty-ADJR be  
 'That woman is prettier.'

**aluē riō abē ta'mē a'lā riō hū**  
 that man more NEG good man be  
 'That man is worse.'

**čerapē** 'more/again'

**čerapē abē rahtā-ga-me hū ulí tāse napurigá hēna**  
 more more hot-STAT-QUOT be canyon NEG like here

**iwéra-či**

mountain-place

'The canyon is hotter than here in the mountains.'

(The canyon is hot, not like here in the mountains.)

**amulí** 'almost'

**amulí a'nári aliéna semā-ti hū**

almost same same pretty-ADJR be

'They are almost the same prettiness.'

**tāse** NEG (used in comparatives)

**alué rió wé ní-ga-me hū tāse napurigā né**

that man very be-STAT-PRTC be NEG like I

'That man is richer than I am.'

'That man is very rich, not like me.'

**ta'mé** 'not much'

**ta'mé bené-ga-me hū nōča-ga tāse napurigā né**

NEG know-STAT-PRTC be work-CONT NEG like I

'He doesn't know how to work as good as I do.'

**migéli wé a'lā rió hū hūlio ta'mé ('la rió hū)**

PN very good man be PN NEG good man be

'Miguel is a better man than Julio.'

(Note that the final 'lā rió hū is optional. Also tāse NEG could be used instead of ta'mé.)

∅ Comparison by juxtaposition. However, the emphatic -ka might be helping to express comparison in the following examples:

**alué rió wé ní-ga-me hū né-ka wé pōbre hū**

that man very be-STAT-QUOT be I-EMPH very poor be

'That man is very rich. I am very poor.'

**neyúra** 'win'

**bi'néli neyúra-ga sa'p-é-ga-me hū**

alone win-CONT meat-have-STAT-PRTC be

'He is the fattest of them all.'

(He alone beats the others at being fat.)

**bi'néli** 'alone'

**bi'néli gawi-yā-či-li hū alué rió**

alone skinny-CONT-LOC-PRTC be that man

'That man is the skinniest of them all.'



## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

<b>haré</b>	'some' (PL)
<b>haré=čigo</b>	'someone' (PL)
<b>biré=čigo</b>	'someone' (SG)
<b>bilé</b>	'one'/INDF PRON (SG)
<b>i'sínimi</b>	'sometimes'
<b>tābiri</b>	'thing'
<b>e'karū</b>	'different things'
<b>apiépiri</b>	'anyone'
<b>apanāpuri</b>	'anywhere'
<b>apuči biéniko</b>	'anytime'

## Examples:

**mā simí-ba-le haré**  
 now go-PL-PAST some  
 'Some of them went.'

**i'sínimi oyā-me hū né**  
 sometimes go-PRTC be I  
 'Sometimes I go.'

**e'karū-ga-me ne-rū hēna**  
 things-STAT-PRTC be-STAT here  
 'There are many kinds of  
 things here.'

**apanāpuri simā-wa**  
 anywhere go-IMP  
 'Let's go anywhere!'

**bilé rawé si-mēa né**  
 one day go-FUT I  
 'Someday I will go.'

**we'kā tābiri nōča né**  
 many thing work I  
 'I do many things.'

**apiépiri owí-pua**  
 anyone invite-IMP  
 'Invite anyone!'

**pé apuči biéniko elā=ne**  
 just any time want=I  
 'Any time you want.'

Negative

**tabilé 'wési/ta-'wési**  
 NEG have  
 'no one'

**tabilé asé/ta-sé**  
 NEG sit  
 'no place'

**tabilé tābiri**  
 NEG thing  
 'nothing'

**tabilé 'wesí tābiri**  
 NEG have thing  
 'not anything'

**tabilé siné/ta-siné**  
 NEG once  
 'never'

Examples:

**tabilē 'wēsi sī**

NEG have arrive

'No one arrives.'

(**ta'wēsi** can be used in questions, but not the complete form.)

**tabilē asē gomīči ka-rā napurigā enā-ma ba'wī**

NEG sit gully be-QUOT so walk-FUT water  
that

'There were not any gullies for the water to run off.'

**tabilē sinē oyā-me hū nē**

NEG once go-PRTC be I

'I never go.'

**tabilē tābiri nōča=ne**

NEG thing work=I

'I don't do anything.'

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

### Independent

<b>nē</b>	'I'
<b>muē</b>	'you'
<b>bo'nē</b>	'he/she'
<b>ramuē</b>	'we/us'
<b>'ēmi</b>	'you PL'
<b>a'bōe</b>	'they'

The demonstratives **aluē** and **yē** are also used for the third person, both singular and plural.

Note the pronouns of the Central dialect: **nihē** 'I', **muhé** 'you', **binōi** 'he/she', **tamuhē** 'we', **'yēmi** 'you PL', **abōni** 'they', and the demonstrative **ēči** 'this'.

Endings that occur on pronouns:

- 'či** ACC (occurs on **nē** 'I') (See **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Accusative.**)
- ba** EMPH (**PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Polarity.**)
- ka** EMPH (Used to mark main participants in discourse.)

Pronouns are not overly abundant in texts. One reason is that singular and plural forms of verbs are sometimes used to keep participants straight instead of pronouns. Also, some authors have a strong tendency to use the name of the animal or person, or

phrases like 'that man', instead of the pronoun. Pronouns occur mostly in actual quotes.

**'ā si-mēa nē-ba**  
 now go-FUT I-EMPH  
 'I am going.'

**muē-ka ne-'čī me'-li-mē olā 'līge go'-mēa**  
 you-EMPH I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT  
 'Are you going to kill me and eat me?'

### Dependent

**=ne** 'I' (When **nē** occurs following a verb, it sometimes carries stress and sometimes does not.)  
**=mu** 'you'  
**-ru** 'we'

### Examples:

**ta'lā o'to-mēla=mu ne-'čī**  
 Q carry-FUT=you I-ACC  
 'Will you take me?'

**tabilé čē iki-mēla=ne hēna**  
 NEG again happen-FUT=I here  
 'Nothing will happen to me here.'

**asřiga bosā-ga sebā-ru galī-rale**  
 really full-CONT arrive-we house-LOC  
 'We arrived at the house really full.'

## STEMS

Number

Some verb stems change form for the plural while others do not. Most of the changes involve describable phonological processes, which include the following:

voiceless to voiced changes  
 shift of stress  
 addition of a glottal  
 inversion of sounds  
 reduplication of vowels with an h or glottal after the initial vowel  
 vowel assimilation  
 flap r becomes stop t

Examples:

SG

uhpé  
 rehpí  
 eyéna  
 čukú  
 čokíla  
 upé  
 re'kí  
 bakí  
 ahtí  
 asá

PL

hubé	'marry'
ehtebí	'remain'
e'yéna	'walk'
učú	'be'
ohčokíla	'blame'
uhubě	'have a wife'
e'tegí	'get down'
mo'í	'enter'
mučí	'be'
umučí	'sit'

Classes

Division into classes can be made on the basis of verbs which take the future forms **-ma**, **-mia**, **-mala**, and **-wa**, and those which take the future forms **-me(?)**, **-mea**, **-meia**, and **-boa**. In the second group, the stress which was on the stem shifts to the first syllable of the future suffix: **yawí** 'dance' becomes **yawi-méa** 'will dance'. In the first group, the stress remains on the stem: **enā** 'walk' becomes **enā-ma** 'will walk'.

<u>-ma</u>		<u>-mea</u>	
mučf-ma	'be PL'	si-méa	'go'
we'ká-ma	'forget'	yawi-méa	'dance'
nehī-ma	'give'	wehpi-méa	'hit'
enā-ma	'walk'	muku-méa	'die'
'mā-ma	'run'	baki-méa	'enter'
etē-ma	'see'	rewi-méa	'see'
newā-ma	'make'	osi-méa	'write'
če'wā-ma	'tear'	ani-méa	'say'
pabē-ma	'carry'	ča'pi-méa	'catch'
rehpī-ma	'remain'	suwi-méa	'finish'
nawā-ma	'come'	muku-méa	'die'
ruyé-ma	'explain'		
mahā-ma	'scare'		
ayō-ma	'mad'		

The following examples from the -ma group involve other changes as well, such as an addition of a syllable, and stress or other phonological changes within the stem:

<u>STEM</u>	<u>FUT</u>	
ilí	ili-bā-ma	'stand'
sēba	sebā-ma	'arrive'
ma'čf	ma'čf-na-ma	'leave'
behté	behté-la-ma	'live'
'nāta	'natā-ma	'think'

In the -mea group, all of the stems (when they have the future suffix) end in either u or unstressed i. The only exception is go'ā/go'-méa 'eat', which involves a glottal. In the -ma group, all of the stems (when they have the future suffix) end in any vowel except u or unstressed i.

With the stems that take -mea, the stress shifts for other suffixes also. For a subclass of this group, the stem changes when "unrealized" affixes are added. (Unrealized includes future, imperative plural, desire, and conditional. Realized includes past tense, participles, etc.)

<u>Realized</u>	<u>Unrealized</u>	
osā	osi-	'write'
rewā	rewi-	'see'
wehpā	wehpi-	'hit'
suwā	suwi-	'finish'
me'ā	me'li-	'kill'
go'ā	go'- (go'-méa)	'eat'

## SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

=ne	'I'
=mu	'you'
-ru	'we'

The examples I have so far are all subject related. (See **DEFINITE PRONOUNS.**)

Sentence Type

Imperatives (See **IMPERATIVES** for a list of suffixes with imperative force.)

Quotatives (Also see **PARTICLES AND CLITICS, Modal.**)

**-ke** and **-ra**

For a discussion of first and second hand information markers and how they are used in narrative to mark the thread of the discourse, background information, etc., see Burgess, 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence...'. Included in that study are **-ke** 'first hand information/QUOT/thread of discourse marker', and **-ra** 'second hand information/QUOT/background marker'. They are referred to in the article as 'source'. Also included in the study are the emphatic suffixes **-e** and **-e**, which are used to verify if something is true (**-e** referring to truth and **-e** to doubt). They are referred to in the article as 'verity'.

Examples:

**alué hū-ke-'e**  
 he be-QUOT-EMPH  
 'That's him indeed.'  
 (speaker sees him)

**alué hu-rā**  
 he be-QUOT  
 'They say it is he.'

The idea of whether or not the second hand information is true can be expressed by adding **-guru** or **-e**.

**rahā-ra-guru**  
 burn-QUOT-truth  
 'They say he burned it and  
 it is probably true.'

**simī-le-ga-ra-e**  
 go-PAST-STAT-QUOT-DUB  
 'Someone said he went  
 but he did not.'

-ra can also be used as an observation with a warning, such as when telling a child that something is going to happen to him but you do not want to be too bossy.

**raha-rā**

burn-QUOT

'(I think) you're going to  
burn yourself.'

**wihči-rā**

fall-QUOT

'(I think) you're going  
to fall.'

**-o/-go/-ko**

IRR

The suffix **-o/-go/-ko** is directly related to indirect speech. It usually occurs in sentences with such verbs as 'think', 'know', 'realize', etc. It normally occurs on the verb in the clause expressing the content of the indirect speech.

'lŋe aluē sinowí mači-le-ke-'e 'lŋe  
then that snake know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

aluē rió čebilē mukí naki-ō 'lŋe  
that man another woman want-IRR then

'The snake knew that the man wanted (thinking about)  
another woman.'

In the above example, the indirect quote follows the introductory quotative clause. In the following example, the introductory quotative is discontinuous, with part of it coming in the middle of the indirect quote.

'lŋe ralāmuli aluē sinowí mukū-li-go mayé 'lŋe  
then people that snake die-STAT-IRR think then

alé-mi

there-there

'The people think the snake died there.'

In the following example, the word 'think' is not directly stated:

'lŋe aluē basači-ka wē tónto ní-le-ke-'e 'lŋe  
then that coyote-EMPH much fool be-PAST-STAT-EMPH then

simi-ó olā-le-ke-'e 'lŋe aluē gawí  
go-IRR do-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that hill

'That coyote was foolish. (He thought) the hill was falling.'

The following example shows the IRR suffix occurring on the indirect speech formula verb (as opposed to the verb expressing the content of the indirect speech).

**simí-le keré-ko**  
 go-PAST believe-IRR  
 'It appears that he went.'

Note the use of **-go** in the following question:

**pála simí-go-ba yě gawí**  
 Q go-IRR-EMPH this hill  
 'Could this hill be moving?'

In the following, **-go** also occurs in the sentence used in response to a question.

**sa-gō**  
 Q-IRR  
 'Who knows?'

In narrative texts, IRR often occurs in commentary-type statements such as 'That's why the people knew (thought/figured out) the snake killed the man'.

A possible explanation of the phonological differences among **-o/-go/-ko** could be related to stress. In my examples, **-o** (with one exception) occurs in a stressed syllable, **-ko** in a syllable contiguous to stress, and **-go** in a syllable with at least one unstressed syllable between it and stress. Also note that **-go** occurs following **-li**.

<b>mukú-li-go</b> die-STAT	<b>keré-ko</b> believe	<b>naki-ō</b> want
<b>u'kú-li-go</b> rain	<b>kān-ko-tu</b> be-IRR-NONSPEC	<b>ani-ō</b> say
<b>o'tō-li-go</b> carry		<b>simi-ō</b> go
<b>sēba-li-go</b> arrive		<b>ayō-mi-o</b> mad-FUT

### Number Agreement

For singular and plural forms of stems, see **STEMS**.

For singular and plural imperatives, see **IMPERATIVES**.

The suffix **-ba** has PL for one of its values; see **VERB MORPHOLOGY**.

See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Tense/Aspect, for number-marking with the future suffixes.

### Subordination

Several different subordinating suffixes may occur on the



verb. They include the following, which are discussed under **ADVERBIAL CLAUSES**.

Antecedent ('when')

-sa  
-so  
-siga  
-suga

Purpose ('in order to')

Future Markers

Simultaneous ('when')

-ga } see **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Tense/Aspect.  
-a }  
-ame PRTC  
-či

### NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

#### Causative

-e APPLIC/CAUS/POSS

an-é  
say-APPLIC  
'say to him'

wak-é=ne o'pāča  
dry-CAUS=I shirt  
'I am drying the shirt.'

up-é-ga-me  
wife-POSS-STAT-PRTC  
'have a wife'

sim-é rabēri  
go-CAUS violin  
'play the violin'

sim-é-me  
go-CAUS-PRTC  
'driver' (one who causes  
a car to go)

-i/-ri/-li APPLIC

o'tō-i-ma  
carry-APPLIC-FUT  
'will take something to him'

o'tō-ri-wa  
carry-APPLIC-IMP  
'Take (something) to him!'

**-ba** CAUS/'become' (See **VERB MORPHOLOGY.**)

**né ahčá-ba ra'iča ilī-ga-či**  
I stop-CAUS talk be-STAT-CONT  
'I made him stop talking.'

**rula-bā-či**  
cold-CAUS-CONT  
'making it cool'

**né simī rekā-ba aluē riō**  
I go push-CAUS that man  
'I made him fall.'

**-sa** CAUS/IMP (See **IMPERATIVES.**)

**né ma'čī pa-sā**  
I out throw-CAUS  
'I made him leave.'

### Modal

**-o/-go-ko** IRR (Also see **SYNTACTIC MARKING, Sentence Type.**)

**tabilē aluē newā-le-go mayē=ne aluē galī**  
NEG he make-PAST-IRR think=I that house  
'I have my doubts that he made the house.'

**-nale** DESID

**wé go'-nāle=ne**  
much eat-DESID=I  
'I really want to eat.'

**-e** DUB/IMPOT (Also see **SYNTACTIC MARKING, Sentence Type.**)

**ča'pi-nāle-ra-e**  
grab-DESID-QUOT-IMPOT  
'They say he wanted to grab but could not.'

**rekō simi-nāli-e=ne tabilē gayēna-ka=ne**  
although go-DESID-IMPOT=I NEG able-EMPH=I  
'Although I wanted to go I could not.'  
(-nale becomes -nali preceding -e.)

**-we** 'appear'

**simī-le ka-wé**  
go-PAST be-appear  
'It appears that he went.'

**wihčī-me ka-wé aluē rehtē**  
fall-PRTC be-appear that rock  
'It appears that that rock is going to fall.'

**-le** 'appear/evidence'

**go'-lé-le**

eat-evidence-PAST

'The evidence is that he ate.'

(Such as when an animal has been in the garden.)

For a discussion of 'should', see **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE, Double Verbs, Group III.**

### Tense/Aspect

**Ø** PRES/REC PAST

**Ø** includes not only the present, but the recent past when referring to something the speaker saw. In narrative discourse, it normally occurs in materials which are not the main thread of the discourse. (See Burgess, 'Verbal Suffixes of Prominence...'; also for **-le** PAST.)

**'lige aluē riō ralāmuli mayé-Ø** 'lige aluē sinowí  
then that man people think-PRES then that snake

**mukí-la 'yúga nawā-li-go 'lige alē**  
woman-POSS with come-APPLIC-IRR then there  
'The people-man thinks that the snake-woman came  
with him there.' (came with the snake-man)

**-le** PAST

**-le** is a general past tense marker but is used for the immediate past only when referring to something the speaker did not see. In narrative discourse, **-le** usually occurs in the main body of the text and is a distinguishing mark of narrative as opposed to expository or other types of texts.

**tabilē sinē séba-le-ke-'e** 'lige kú  
NEG once arrive-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then again

**behtē-la-či**  
live-INSTR-place  
'He never arrived again at his house.'

**-ma/-mea/-mia** FUT (See **STEMS.**)

The **a** of **-mea** is lost preceding a voiceless stop and certain vowels.

**muē-ka ne-'či me'-li-mé olā 'lige go'-mēa ne-'či**  
you-EMPH I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT I-ACC  
'You are going to kill me and then eat me.'

It appears that a more exact analysis is possible, such as:

**-ma/-me** FUT PNCT

**-mea/-mia** FUT CONT (-a CONT)

For the use of the future to mean 'in order to', see **ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Purpose**. For the use of the future in imperatives, see **IMPERATIVES**.

**-mala/mela** INDF FUT

**-la** is added to **-ma/-mea** to form an indefinite future suffix.

**'lĭge aluē luĭsi owĭ-le-ke-'e** **'lĭge aluē čebilē**  
then that PN invite-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that other

**rió napurigā si si-mēla 'lĭge aluē ro'čĭ wehĭ-mēa**  
man to also go-FUT then that fish catch-FUT

'Luis invited that other man to also go catch fish.'

(The final syllable of the root **simf** 'go' merges with the future **-mela**.)

The indefinite future often carries the meaning of 'may', as in the following example:

**'lĭge pe'tā abē i'libē-ko go'-mēla muē ne-'čĭ**  
then little more later-TEMP eat-FUT you I-ACC  
'A little bit later you may eat me.'

The indefinite future often occurs in negative constructions:

**tabilē čē ili-mēla=ne hēna**  
NEG again happen-FUT=I here  
'Nothing will happen to me here.'

**-boa/-poa** 1P PL FUT Occurs with the **-mea** class of verbs.  
**-poa** occurs following glottal or **h**, **-boa** following **i**.

**hēna mačĭ-bōa čĭkĭ-me nĭ-ĭĭ-ga ralāmuli**  
here see-FUT happen-PRTC be-STAT-CONT people

**wē 'yā**

much before

'Here we will see what happened to people long ago.'

**'ā go'-pōa**

now eat-FUT

'Let's eat.'

**-wa** PL FUT Occurs with the **-ma** class of verbs.

alué baikiā čulugí simí-ba-le-ke-'e 'lǐge u'bā-wa  
 those three bird go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then bathe-FUT  
 alé gomíči  
 there gully  
 'Those three birds went there in the gully to bathe.'

-ge PAST CONT/PERF CONT/SUBR

'lǐge alué rió-ka ma'čfna-le-ke-'e 'lǐge alé  
 then that man-EMPH come-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there  
 out

reso-či ahti-gé  
 cave-place be-PERF:CONT  
 'Then the man came out of the cave where he had been.'

'lǐge alé 'yěni-ge 'mā-le-ke-'e 'lǐge  
 then there walk-PERF:CONT run-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

o'wē-ka alé nāpu asā-le alué basači  
 straight-EMPH there where sit-PAST that coyote  
 'Having walked there, he ran straight to where  
 the coyote sat.'

'lǐge alué sinowí mukū-le-ke-'e 'lǐge pé  
 then that snake die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then just

boičí-mí ena-gé 'lǐge  
 trail-there walk-PAST:CONT then  
 'Then that snake died going on the trail.'

-ge often occurs in subordinating clauses with the subordi-  
 nator nāpu.

'lǐge pe'tā nihubāpi 'lǐge simí-le-ke-'e 'lǐge učé  
 then little later then go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then again

siné 'yā-si-a alué učé haré nāpu 'yúga  
 once search-AUG-CONT those again some who with

enā-li-ge  
 walk-STAT-PERF:CONT  
 'A little later he went searching again for those others  
 whom he had been walking with.'

When -ge occurs in a double-verb construction, it appears on  
 the second verb.

'lǐge wé ganí-li-ga mučí-ge alué sinowí ta'čō  
 then much happy-STAT-CONT be-PAST:CONT that snake NEG

**nawā-či alē**

come-SUBR there

'They were very happy when that snake had still not come there.' (before the snake came there)

**-a/-ya** SIMUL/CONT/SUBR

**-a/-ya** is used in generalized present tense statements. For its use in double-verb constructions, see **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE, Double Verbs.**

**muku-ā**

die-CONT

'just dying'

**'līge bilē mukī sī-le-ke-'e 'līge wičō-a alē**  
then one woman be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then wash-SIMUL there

**gomiči okā kūči 'yúga**

gully two kid with

'A woman was there in the gully washing with two children.'

**'līge aluē golāči ta'mē umēba-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē**  
then that crow NEG able-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

**ronō-la pagō-a**

leg-POSS wash-CONT

'The crow was not able to wash his leg.'

**-ga** SIMUL/PERF/CONT/STAT/IMP

**-ga** seems to be used in more specific statements than **-a** and sometimes carries perfect or past meaning:

**'līge aluē gawē alē ba'wi-či alē čukú-le-ga-ra**  
then that horse there water-place there be-PAST-STAT-QUOT

**'līge mǎ muku-gā**

then now die-PERF

'The horse was there in the water now dead.'

In the following example, **-ga** expresses the idea of 'simultaneous':

**'līge aluē basači 'a we'li-si asa-gā 'līge alē aluē**  
then that coyote now long-time sit-SIMUL then there that

**gawī rakibū-ga / 'līge aluē basači wē resibā-le-ke-'e**  
hill push-SIMUL then that coyote much tire-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

**'līge aluē gawī rakibū-ga asa-gā alē**  
then that hill push-SIMUL sit-SIMUL there

'The coyote was sitting there a long time pushing against the hill. He got tired sitting there pushing.'

-ga can also be future-oriented:

'lɪge aluē riō rālāmuli benē-le-ke-'e 'lɪge aluē bilē  
then that man people learn-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that one

tābiri nōča-ga 'lɪge napurigā aluē riō sinowī tabilē  
thing work-CONT then so that man snake NEG  
that

mači-mēla 'lɪge alē sebā-li-či  
know-FUT then there arrive-STAT-when

'That people-man learned how to do a work so that the  
snake-man would not realize when he arrived there.'

rālāmuli ra'iča-ga beni-nāle=ne

Tarahumara talk-CONT learn-want=I

'I want to learn how to talk Tarahumara.'

tā benē muē osa-gā

NEG learn you write-CONT

'Do you want to learn how to write?'

For the use of -ga in double verb constructions, see **OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE**, *Double Verbs*. For other uses of -ga, see **NON-DIS-TINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**, *Participials*; **IMPERATIVES**; and **BE/HAVE/DO, HAVE**.

-ro 'come and go/pass by/always'

'lɪge alē o'lɪge simi-ro-ga-ra 'lɪge aluē  
then there PN go-pass-CONT-QUOT then it  
by

'It went by Oribo.'

mā simi-ro-le nasīpa rukō  
now go-pass-PAST half night  
by

'Mid-night has passed.'

aluē basači alēmi bo'i-ro-či  
that coyote there fall-pass-SUBR  
by

ma-'mā-si-li-ga-ra-'e 'lɪge mehkā mināmi  
RDP-run-AUG-STAT-CONT-QUOT-EMPH then far there  
REPET

'The coyote was running around falling all over the  
place way over there.'

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

### Single Verbs

Active-type single verbs (as opposed to stative-type 'be' verbs) may consist of a root plus up to at least seven suffixes and one prefix. One to three suffixes is most common. Some stems have both singular and plural forms (see **STEMS**). Considering  $\emptyset$  as present tense, a verb must have at least one suffix. When participialized verbs occur as single verbs, they occur in subordinated clauses and the participial ending acts as the subordinator. The following chart includes most of the affixes which can appear on active-type single verbs.

RDP-STEM-APPLIC-TENSE-ASPECT-SUBR-QUOT-EMPH-EMPH						
(EMPH/	STAT	DESID	PRTC	IRR	TRUTH	
REPET)	MOTION	IMP			INDF	
					DUB	

### Co-occurrence Restrictions:

1. For occurrence of certain FUT forms with certain stems, see **STEMS**.
2. Subordinated verbs take fewer affixes than non-subordinated. In my examples of subordinated verbs, only **APPLIC**, **TENSE**, and **SUBR** occur.
3. Imperatives usually occur only with the stem and possibly an **EMPH**.
4. A participialized verb does not occur with **IMP**.

Single stative-type 'be' verbs have less inflection than do active-type verbs. With the present tense 'be' verb **hū**, only the quotatives **-ke** and **-ra**, and **-tu** **NONSPEC** have been noted. With **nī** 'be', the tense markers occur as well as the subordinators, quotatives, and emphatics, in the same order as above. The past imperfect **kā** 'be' can have the past continuous **-ge** as well as quotatives and emphatics.

### Double Verbs

Three auxiliary-type verb constructions have been noted. In narrative texts, they appear in materials which are not the main thread of the discourse.



Group I

In the first group, the initial verb consists of a stem plus a continuative. The verb which follows consists of a stem which is an active-type 'be' verb, plus endings such as tense/-aspect, quotatives, and emphatics.

<u>Content</u>			<u>Auxiliary</u>					
(STEM	+	CONT)	(STEM	+	TNS/ASP	+	QUOT	± EMPH)
ayō	'mad'	-ga	asā	'sit'	∅	PRES	-ke	'e
hō	'dig'	-a	ki	'bite'	-ga	STAT/CONT		
anī	'say'	-ya	čukū	'crawl'	-le	PAST		
ganīli	'happy'		enā	'walk'	-ge	PAST CONT		
nī	'be'		ilī	'stand'				
			bo'f	'lie'				
			ahtf	'be'	(no focus on position)			

The above is not exhaustive.

The 'be' verbs in Group I express an active idea. The choice of 'be' verb depends on what is actually happening (position of subject) and is related to the idea expressed in the initial verb. The ideas in the final verb include 'sit' (asā), which is expanded to include utensils sitting on a shelf, as well as 'living' ('He sits/lives there'); 'stand' (ilī), which includes actual standing positions and a body of still water; 'crawl' (čukū), which includes crouched-over position as well as being on all fours; and 'bite' (ki), which includes falling into something, etc. A general active-type 'be' verb which does not focus on position is found in ahtf. Tarahumaras, when translating the above into Spanish, usually say *estar* 'be', with no reference to position.

Certain content verbs fit automatically with certain auxiliary verbs. 'Dig' will almost always go with 'crawl/bent over'. 'Fall' will go with 'bite/fall into'. Others could go with more than one. 'Look', for example, could go with 'sit', 'stand', etc., whatever the position happened to be that the person was looking from.

Examples:

'līge amināmi aluē bo'nē 'yū-la mukī 'yūga tabilē  
then also that his with-POSS woman with NEG

ayō-ga asā-le-ke-'e  
mad-CONT be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
'Also, he did not get mad at his wife.'

'līge bilē hō-a čukū-ga-ra  
then one dig-CONT be-CONT-QUOT  
'One was digging.'

Usually the content verb is active, but the stative-type verb **nī** also appears in examples:

**'līge aluē nāpu nī-le aluē rió pé aluē-čo nī-ga**  
 then that which be-PAST that man just that-also be-CONT

**rehpī-le-ke-'e**

remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'He also remained with that which belonged to him.'

### Group II

Group II deals with a more permanent characteristic than Group I. The participial **-ame** occurs on the content verb and the auxiliary verb is always a stative-type 'be' verb such as **hū**, **kā**, or **nī**, which are similar to the Spanish **ser**. The suffixes **-li** STAT, **-ga** STAT, and **-ba** 'become' may also appear on the content verb.

<u>Content</u>			<u>Auxiliary</u>			
(STEM	+ STAT + PRTC)	+ (STEM + TNS/ASP	+ QUOT	+ EMPH)		
<b>me'čī</b> 'cut'	<b>-li -ame</b>	<b>kā</b> 'be'	<b>-le</b> PAST	<b>-ke</b>	<b>-e</b>	
<b>me'ā</b> 'kill'	<b>-ga -li</b>	<b>hū</b> 'be'	<b>-ga</b> SIMUL	<b>-ra</b>	<b>-e</b>	
<b>nī</b> 'be'	<b>-ba</b>	<b>nī</b> 'be'	<b>-∅</b> PRES			
<b>ahtī</b> 'be'			<b>-ge</b> PERF CONT			
			<b>-li</b> STAT			

The above is not exhaustive.

As in Group I, the stative-type 'be' verb **nī** can also appear as the content verb:

**etē-le-ke-'e 'līge napurigā bilē rió nāpu nī-ga-me**  
 see-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then like a man who be-STAT-PRTC

**nī-li-ge 'yā bačā=rawe nāpu 'līge bihī bi'nē-li**  
 be-STAT-CONT before first=day when then still alone-STAT

**kā aluē mukī**

be that woman

'She saw him as if he were the man whom he was before (her boyfriend) when she was still single.'

The final verb does not always have to be expressed:

**nīmokue aluē čā e'wéle čibā pabé-ro-me aluē basačī**  
 of that very heavy goat carry-pass-PRTC that coyote  
 course by

'Of course it can, that coyote can carry a very heavy goat.'

Below is an example of a triple-verb construction which is a combination of Groups I and II. The first verb has **-ga** CONT, the second verb has the participial **-ame**, and the third verb is one of the stative-type 'be' verbs:

**pabé-ga simí-me ká-re-'e alué minámi mehka-bé**  
 carry-CONT go-PRTC be-DUB-EMPH that there far-AUG  
 'It carries it a long way off.'

The difference between Group I and II and between the use of **ká** and **ní** is related to discourse. In narrative discourse both groups are used in background materials as opposed to the mainline verbs which have no auxiliary or participle to downplay their importance. Within background there also seems to be different levels, the more active Group I being foregrounded relative to Group II. In Group II, one difference between **ká** and **ní** seems to be that **ká** is used in materials which are stuck in, or added to a discourse, such as an outside comment or a closing remark. **ní** might be used in background information within the flow of the discourse, and **ká** might be used in background information which is not relevant to the flow of the discourse.

### Group III

A type of auxiliary-verb construction can also be seen in the use of 'should'. Only a few examples have been noted and a more exact analysis has not been done. Note that in two of the examples the initial verb does not have any suffix. The other two examples contain verbs which have continuatives of Group I. No attempt has been made to break down the word. (Compare the following with the Central dialect **térikopačé** 'until later'.)

**mué eté térigi=pače**  
 you see should  
 'You should have seen it.'

**tabilé čé orá tériga=pače**  
 NEG again do should  
 'should not do bad things'

**simi-á té=pače rowémi-a**  
 go-CONT should race-CONT  
 'He should go race.'

**áka go'-yá té=pače tá go'-sá-ka muku-méla**  
 RQ eat-CONT should NEG eat-if-EMPH die-FUT  
 'He should go eat, because if he doesn't he will die.'



**né-ka go'á-me rari-nāle 'lige 'yówí 'yūriga**  
 I-EMPH eat-PRTC buy-DESID then medicine mix  
 with

'I want to buy food and medicine.'

**wē 'lá rió hū aluē čigō-ga eyéna-me hū 'lige**  
 very good man be he rob-CONT walk-PRTC be then  
 'He is a very good man but he goes around robbing.'

It is not always easy to tell at what level 'lige is functioning (sentence or discourse). Perhaps both at the same time. Juxtaposition could be functioning in the above examples also.

'līko/a'līko 'then' (alí 'late' plus the temporal -ko)

'līko and a'līko function in reason-result type constructions. In discourse, they mark a high level contrast such as a sudden change in what is happening, the arrival of an important participant whose arrival changes things, death of a participant, etc. a'līko appears to be more emphatic than 'līko. They occur sentence initially or nearly so.

**'lige a'līko tabilē ayō-me nī-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē**  
 then then NEG mad-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

**ohí aluē rió 'yuga / 'lige alekēre aluē rió tabilē**  
 bear that man with then because that man NEG  
 of:that

**maha-lē-ga-me nī-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē ohí**  
 fear-have-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that bear  
 'The bear then did not get mad with the man. Because  
 of that the man was not afraid of the bear.'

**'lige yā a'līko bihí ta'čō i'tē-le-ke-'e 'lige**  
 then before then still NEG have-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

**aluē ra'nā-me oli-ā / alekēre 'larigā me'ā-me**  
 that shoot-PRTC do-CONT for thus kill-PRTC  
 this

**nī-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē čomalí**  
 be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that deer

'Before when they still did not have guns, that's the way they killed deer.' (Before they did not have guns. That's why they killed deer that way.)

**-tiri** 'also/and' Occurs on nouns, especially in lists.

**riósi newā-le-ga-ra rewagā we'é-tiri mečā-tiri**  
 god make-PAST-STAT-QUOT sky land-also moon-also  
 'God made the sky, the land, and the moon.'

=sī 'also/and/together with/yes'

'līge aluē arānī 'līge aluē ēba=sī wē ganī-li-ga  
then that PN then that PN=also very happy-STAT-CONT

muči-le-ke-'e 'līge alē elēna-bo  
be:PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there PN-plain  
'Then Adam and Eve were very happy there in Eden.'

pě 'just/really/but'

'līge nē-ka 'līge pě wilú kolā-tu 'līge aluē  
then I-EMPH then just vulture thought-NONSPEC then it

pě aluē a'wē nī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē  
just that hawk be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then it  
'I thought it was just a vulture but it was a hawk.'  
(I thought it was just a vulture. It was just a hawk.)

pě elegā 'but/however'

Occurs initially in the second part of a comparative construction.

yē munī rosabōčame wē ra'f-ga-me hū-tu=čigo  
this bean gray very tasty-STAT-PRTC be-NONSPEC=also

go'ā pě elegā ralāmuli ta'mē wē ehčā-me hū-tu  
eat but people NEG much plant-PRTC be-NONSPEC  
'This gray bean is also very tasty to eat, but people  
do not plant it much.'

pě elegā probably comes from pě 'just' and arigā 'nevertheless/thus'.

kōma 'either...or' Used when two things are equal.

'mē-pua-re-ke we'lī anačā-sa migēli o karnasiōni kōma  
win-FUT-DUB-EMPH long last-if PN or PN either  
'We will win if either Miguel or Encarnacion lasts.'

ō 'or'

From Spanish. Note the example above.

A type of coordination can be seen in the following example through the use of amināmi 'also/in addition to', =čigo 'also', -tiri 'also', and 'līge 'then'. amināmi occurs either sentence initial or following 'līge 'then'.

alē o'lībo wē oyā-me ka-rā-tu 'līge aluē  
there PN many walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that

**čomali / amināmi alē bakusnili-mi wē oyā-me**  
 deer also there PN-there many walk-PRTC  
**ka-rā-tu 'līge čomali / 'līge alē čulūbo-mi wē**  
 be-QUOT-NONSPEC then deer then there PN-there many  
**oyā-me ka-rā-tu=čigo 'līge / amināmi alē**  
 walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC=also then also there  
**repawēči-mi wē oyā-me ka-rā-tu=čigo 'līge...**  
 PN-there many walk-PRTC be-QUOT-NONSPEC=also then  
**'līge amināmi aluē čomali-tiri tabilē oyā ka-wē=čigo**  
 then also that deer-also NEG walk be-DUB=also

**'līge hīpe-ko**

then today-TEMP

'There at Oribo they say there were many deer. Also at Bacusiniri they say there were many deer. Then there at Chulubo they say there were also many deer. Also there at Repawechi they say there were many deer also...Also there do not seem to be many deer today (nor bear, etc.).'

=**čigo** 'also' may be used in various ways, which are discussed below. It may occur with verbs, numerals, negatives, and adverbs.

When appearing with a verb, =**čigo** retains the meaning 'also'.

**'ā simi-le=čigo**

now go-PAST=also

'He also went.'

=**čigo** combines with numerals to form indefinite-type words:

**bilē=čigo** 'someone' (SG)

**harē=čigo** 'someone' (PL)

**sinē=čigo** 'at one time'/'once upon a time'

**'līge sinē=čigo ka-rā-e alē wasāči**

then once=also be-QUOT-DUB there PN

'Once this was (happened) there at Wasachi.'

The following example shows =**čigo** with a negative. In English, it would not be translated here.

**'līge tabilē=čigo alē nī-le-ko nāpu aluē bakā**

then not=also there be-PAST-EMPH where that cane

**rahā-le**

burn-PAST

'He wasn't there where the cane burned.' (Perhaps =**čigo** could add a meaning such as 'He wasn't even there...'.)

In the following example, =čigo combines with čě 'again'.

'līge abé a'kināna čě=čigo siné natépa-le-ga-ra  
then more later again=also once meet-PAST-STAT-QUOT

'līge aluē mukī aluē ohī alé napigō  
then that woman that bear there PN  
'Once later, that woman encountered the bear again there  
at Napigō.'

#### Juxtaposition

Coordination can also be shown by placing two clauses next to each other without coordinator words or affixes. Juxtaposition can mean 'and', 'but', 'because', or 'or'.

né bilé galī nī wa'lū  
I a house be/have big  
'I have a house (and) it is big.' (This could be interpreted as 'I have a big house.')

'līge bilé towī nī-le-ke-'e 'līge 'līge bilé mukī  
then a boy be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then then a woman

nī-le-ke-'e 'līge  
be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
'There was a boy (and) there was a woman.'  
( 'līge could be acting as a coordinator, but since both clauses are exactly the same, juxtaposition is suggested. Also, each clause could stand alone.)

tabilé če'wā-ka aluē-ka nē-ka a'lā če'wā-ke-'e gara-bě  
NEG hit-EMPH they-EMPH I-EMPH good hit-QUOT-EMPH good-AUG

nahkā-la ili-gā alé  
ear-POSS stand-CONT there  
'They did not hit it (but) I hit it right on the ear.'

okā baikiā kilómetro  
two three kilometer  
'two (or) three kilometers'

Items being expressed in coordination may all be specific, as in some of the above examples, or they may go from generic to specific, or specific to generic, or, as in the following example, generic to specific to generic. A participial ending is often involved in the generic part.

'līge e'karū-ga-me aluē sikolī 'līge aluē behtōli  
then things-STAT-PRTC that pot then that dish

aluē suwābaga alé 'lū-le-ke-'e  
those all there throw-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
'Many things, the pot, the dish, all of those he threw there.'



The following examples go from specific to generic and make use of the connectives 'lġge 'and then' and abiġna 'yes/ also'.

'lġge aki-rŭ-me ka-rā 'lġge sinā-me aluġ o'tolġ  
 then hear-PASS-PRTC be-QUOT then shout-PRTC that rooster  
 alġ repoċġi ċabāċġi 'lġge aluġ berġko abiġna anġ-me  
 there PN gorge then that parrot also say-PRTC  
 ka-rā 'lġge gusŭ-a alġ 'lġge aluġ o'koċġi abiġna 'lġge  
 be-QUOT then shout-CONT there then that dog also then  
 aluġ mġsi abiġna suwābaga aluġ nāpu ikġ lŭ-le aluġ  
 that cat also all that which be throw-PAST that  
 riŭ alġ ewā-gi-ċġi  
 man there hole-edge-place  
 'The rooster was heard crowing there in the inner-gorge  
 at Tepochġ, the parrot they say was also there shouting,  
 the dog also, the cat also--all those which the man  
 threw into the deep hole.'

### COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

#### Non-Quotational

##### Subject

wġ 'lā hŭ [okā kostāli ne-rŭ-ga]  
 very good be two sack be-STAT-CONT  
 'It is good that there are two sacks.'

'lā bihċġi-ā [o'kŭ-le ronŭ-la] tabilġ 'yġgi-le  
 good true-CONT hurt-PAST foot-POSS NEG lie-PAST  
 'It is true his foot hurt, he did not lie.'

##### Object

aluġ-ka nakġ [napurġgā noċā-ma nġ]  
 he-EMPH want that work-FUT I  
 'He wants me to work.'

nġ tabilġ akġ [rolŭ-ċġi] be'ārġko  
 I NEG hear snore-SUBR last  
 night  
 'I did not hear you snoring last night.'  
 (When you snored last night I did not hear you.)

Discontinuous object complement clauses can be seen in the following examples:

[**nā-ka**            **enā-ga-me**]            **rewā-le-ga-ra**            [**bilē**  
 here-towards walk-STAT-PRTC see-PAST-STAT-QUOT a

**riō o'čēra-me**]

man old-PRTC

'They saw an old man walking towards them.'

**hūma=si-ga-ra-'e**            **a'lige** [**nā-ka**            **enā-ga-me**]  
 run=AUG-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then            here-towards walk-STAT-PRTC

**rewi-sā** [**o'čēra-me riō**]

see-when old-PRTC man

'They ran when they saw the old man walking toward them.'

### Direct Quotes

Direct quotes in oral texts differ somewhat from those which a Tarahumara has written. In oral texts, quotation words (such as 'he said') do not have to be used as much since intonation can show the listener that someone is being quoted. So, in oral texts, quotation words occur only after the quote, whereas in written texts, they are usually put both before and after. In a long quote, they may also be inserted in the middle of the quote. A type of discourse has also been noted in which the speaker gives both sides of a conversation without any quotation words. I have called this type dramatic discourse. A single speech act, without any quotation words, may also occur in the peak of a discourse.

The most common word found in speech formulas is **anī** 'say', even when a question is being asked. Question words within the actual speech leave no doubt as to whether or not a question is being asked. In the answer to a question, the speech formula which precedes the quotation usually contains **nehē** 'answer', and the speech formula which follows uses **anī**. In one example, however, **anī** is used both prior to and following the quote. The following example shows a combination of **anī** 'say' with **rukē** 'ask'.

'**lige** **aluē rowī**    **rukē-le-ke-'e**            '**lige** **aluē sa'pa**  
 then    that rabbit ask-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then    that meat

**kōki-sa**    **aluē basačī pāla 'lā iyā-gi-li-ga**            '**lige**  
 take-when that coyote if    good like-edge-STAT-CONT then

**aluē sa'pā** / '**lige** **basačī 'lige anī-le-ke-'e**            '**lige**  
 that meat    then coyote then say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

**ruke-lí-a**            '**lā 'abē ra'í-ga-n-ti**  
 ask-STAT-CONT good more like-STAT-PRTC-ADJR

**ní-li-gi-če**            **aluē sa'pā nāpu muē nehí=si-e**  
 be-STAT-bite-EMPH that meat    which you give=AUG-EMPH

**aní-le-ke-'e** 'líge alué basačf  
 say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote  
 'Then when the coyote took the meat, the rabbit asked him  
 if he liked it. Then the coyote said asking, "I really  
 like that meat which you gave me", said the coyote.'

Double quotation verbs may also be used, which I consider as a type of emphasis. These include such phrases as 'he answered said', 'he explained said', and 'said asking', as in the above example. The connective 'líge 'then' usually separates the two verbs. The following conversation illustrates this point, as well as others which will be discussed later. A slash denotes change of speaker.

'líge aní-le-ga-ra 'líge alué bo'á 'líge mué-ka  
 then say-PAST-STAT-QUOT then that sheep then you-EMPH  
**ne-'čf me'-li-mé olá 'líge go'-mēa ne-'čf aní-le**  
 I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT do then eat-FUT I-ACC say-PAST  
 'líge alué bo'á 'líge alué basačf natepā-sa 'líge alé-mi /  
 then that sheep then that coyote meet-when then there-LOC  
 'líge alué basačf nehé-le-ke-'e 'líge aní-le hú  
 then that coyote answer-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then say-PAST yes  
 go'-mé olá né mué aní-le alué basačf / 'líge alué bo'á  
 eat-FUT do I you say-PAST that coyote then that sheep  
 čerapé ra'iča-le-ke-'e 'líge aní-le pé hípe  
 more talk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then say-PAST just now  
 yāti-ka tabilé me'-li-mēla mué ne-'čf aní-le bo'á  
 quick-EMPH NEG kill-APPLIC-FUT you I-ACC say-PAST sheep  
 'líge pe'tā nihubāpi aní-le 'líge alué bo'á tāča  
 then little later say-PAST then that sheep perhaps  
 'lá buwē-sa ní-li mué pe'wēra aní-le 'líge alué  
 good wait-should be-STAT you little say-PAST then that  
 time  
 bo'á 'líge pe'tā abé i'libē-ko 'lá go'-mēla mué ne-'čf  
 sheep then little more later-EMPH good eat-FUT you I-ACC  
 āka 'mí hēna asā-ri-go pe'wēra 'líge alé así-sā  
 RQ there here sit-STAT-IRR short then there sit-when  
 time  
 'líge pé nihubāpi 'lá olá-ma mué 'líge ne-'čf anāpu čibi  
 then just near good do-FUT you then I-ACC what bad  
 olá-sa ní-li mué ne-'čf me'-li-mēla mué ne-'čf  
 do-when be-STAT you I-ACC kill-APPLIC-FUT you I-ACC  
 ahā-ga-me arē-ma mā mué ne-'čf  
 live-STAT-PRTC leave-FUT now you I-ACC

'Then they say the sheep said: "You want to kill and eat me?" said the sheep when he encountered the coyote out there. / Then the coyote answered and said: "Yes, I want to eat you", said the coyote. / Then the sheep spoke more and said: "Don't kill me right away", said the sheep. Then a little later the sheep said: "Shouldn't you wait a little?" said the sheep. "Then a little later you can eat me, having sat here a little. When you have sat there a little later you can do whatever bad thing you want to do to me. You can kill me or leave me alive."'

A common way for conversation in coyote stories to be handled is for there to be one or more speech exchanges which end in a proposal followed by a non-speech act. For example, the coyote and an animal begin a conversation, the animal realizes he is going to get eaten and he then makes a proposal to counter that. At that point the conversation stops and a description continues of what took place.

In the speech formula which precedes the quote, the name of the speaker may either precede the speech verb (or occur in the preceding sentence) or follow it. Fronting gives emphasis to the speaker. In the speech formula which follows the speech, the name of the speaker always occurs following the verb, although it occasionally does not occur at all.

The following suffixes have been noted on speech formula verbs:

**-e** 'to him'/APPLIC TNS/ASP QUOT EMPH

All of these may occur on the single, pre-quote verb, and on the first verb of a double construction. On the second verb of a double construction, only the past-tense/mainline verb marker **-le** has been noted. On the post-quote verb, all of the above suffixes have been noted, but the most common pattern is to use only **-le**.

When **-e** 'to him' occurs, it comes either in the initiating speech of a conversation or at a point where there is a switch of dominance. For example, the coyote might have everything going his way up to a point and then the rabbit gets control of the scene. At that point **an-é** 'say to him' might occur. It may also occur in the peak of a discourse, as in the following example:

**'lige alué mukí ne'óča-le-ke-'e 'lige alué ohí**  
 then that woman shout-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that bear  
**an-é-le-ke-'e čā-ti-ri ohí-ki**  
 say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH bad-ADJR-EMPH bear-EMPH  
**čígō-ri-ga-me aré-wa alué beséro**  
 steal-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC leave-IMP that calf

an-ē-le-ke-'e                    'līge  
 say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
 'Then the woman shouted at the bear and said to him, "You  
 bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!" she said to him.'

The actual words spoken by participants in texts are of two kinds. In one there are speech exchanges between two participants. In the other a speech act is uttered by only one participant. This speech act might repeat something which was just reported. It might comment on something which was just reported. It might also be a rhetorical question or a command. The example given earlier in this section about the bear includes both a command and a statement: 'You bad bear, thief, leave that calf alone!' This is followed by: 'When the bear heard that, he quickly left it'. As stated earlier, single speech acts are most often used in high points of the story, such as a peak, but they may also occur early in a story and in the final comments. They serve as a literary device for making a story more interesting and as a type of emphasis. An example of a rhetorical question is given below:

anī-le-ke-'e                    'līge tāča 'lā umabā-wa wē aluē sinowī  
 say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then Q    good able-IMP much that snake  
 me'ā alē    ba'we-čī    behtë-ga-me    anī-le-ke-'e  
 kill there water-place live-STAT-PRTC say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH  
 'They said, "Can't we kill that snake that lives there  
 in the water?"'

A direct quote may also be given of what someone thinks. In such a case the verb 'lā 'think' always appears in the speech formula. It implies a quote.

'līge 'lā-le-ke-'e                    'līge yē mukī pē aluē  
 then think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then this woman just that  
 sinowī hū-pa-ku-e-čigō                    'lā-le  
 snake be-EMPH-again-DUB=also think-PAST  
 'Then he thought, "This woman is just a snake too", he  
 thought.'

The following is an example taken from a dramatic discourse text:

kufra / ganīri-ba / asa-gā pačā-mī  
 hello happy-EMPH sit-IMP inside-LOC  
 'Hello.' (speaker one) 'Happy to see you.' (speaker two)  
 'Sit down inside.' (speaker one)

In dramatic discourse, intonation plays an important part.

Indirect Speech

(Also see SYNTACTIC MARKING, Sentence Type.)

Indirect speech involves such verbs as 'think', 'believe', 'realize', 'say', 'explain', and 'invite'. These often work in combination with the suffix **-o/-go/-ko** IRR/INDIRECT QUOTE. Indirect speech is used in texts to give a summary or to make a comment on something. It usually occurs in the closure of a text or near the beginning.

Two verbs are involved in indirect speech which can be translated with the English 'think'. **'nāta** is used in summary statements and always infers that some kind of action is going on.

**'lige aluē ralāmuli wē a'lā 'nāta-le-ke-'e 'lige**  
 then those people much good think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
**aluē sinowī me'-li-mēa 'lige**  
 that snake kill-APPLIC-FUT then  
 'The people thought (did) very good in killing that snake.'  
**'lige aluē riō-ka 'nāta-le-ke-'e 'lige napurigā**  
 then that man-EMPH think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then so  
 that  
**aluē mukī alē muku-mēla**  
 that woman there die-FUT  
 'Then that man thought (did) in order that (how that)  
 that woman might die.'

The verb **mayē** means 'think' in the sense of 'believe'. It usually occurs in background materials where some comment is being made on a matter. In my examples, it always occurs in the same sentence as **-go** IRR.

**'lige aluē ralāmuli mayē 'lige aluē sinowī alē čabāči**  
 then those people think then that snake there gorge  
**repočī sēba-li-go**  
 PN arrive-STAT-IRR  
 'Those people think that the snake arrived there at Tepochī gorge.'

In the following example, note the combination of **'la** 'think' with **-go** IRR and **mayē** 'believe'. Also note the mid-quote position of **mayē**.

**'lige aluē ralāmuli aluē etē-sa 'lige alē-mi**  
 then those people there see-when then there-LOC  
**'lā-le-ke-'e 'lige wa'lú u'kú-li-go**  
 think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then big rain-STAT-IRR

**mayē-le-ke-'e 'lige alē iwēra-či**  
 think-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there mountain-place  
 'Then when those people saw, they thought, "It rained a  
 lot", they believed, "there in the mountains."' (I am  
 unsure of the quotes.)

The normal order of an indirect speech sentence is for the  
 speech formula clause to come sentence initial. The following  
 example shows one that is discontinuous. Also note the use of  
 'say' in indirect speech.

**'lige aluē ralāmuli-ka aluē sinowī o'tō-li-go mayē**  
 then those people-EMPH that snake carry-APPLIC-IRR believe  
**'lige aluē riō alawā-la / alekēre mukū aluē riō anī**  
 then that man soul-POSS for die that man say  
 that  
 'The people believe that snake took that man's soul. Be-  
 cause of that he died, they say.'

The following example of indirect speech involves the verb  
**mači** 'know/realize'.

**'lige aluē riō sinowī mači-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē**  
 then that man snake know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that  
**mukī naki-ō 'lige čebilē riō**  
 woman want-IRR then other man  
 'Then that snake-man knew that that woman wanted another  
 man.'

The following two-sentence example involves the verbs **ruyā**  
 'explain', and **buyā** 'invite'.

**'lige aluē riō ruyā-ra 'lige we'kā čuku-gā-ra-e**  
 then that man explain-QUOT then many be-CONT-QUOT-DUB  
**'lige aluē ro'čī alē ba'wi-či / 'lige aluē riō mā**  
 then those fish there water-place then that man now  
**we'kā buyā-na-ri-a-ra-e 'lige aluē ro'čī**  
 many invite-MOT-APPLIC-CONT-QUOT-DUB then those fish  
 times  
**u'pō-ga**  
 catch-CONT  
 'That man explained, they say, that there were many fish  
 there in the water hole. The man invited him many times  
 to go fishing.'

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

WH Questions

**ruwī [tačiri-te newā]**  
 explain what-with do  
 'Explain what he did it with.'

**tabilé mači né [čéri=si enā-li-ge-rā]**  
 NEG know I who=also walk-APPLIC-PAST:CONT-QUOT  
 'I do not know who he went with.'

**nē-ka tabilé mači [areké=si simī-le-ga]**  
 I-EMPH NEG know with=also go-PAST-CONT  
 who  
 'I do not know who he went with.'

Yes/No Questions

**pāla** 'if'/'to see if'/Q

**alué ruké [pāla uku-gā rapāko]**  
 he ask if rain-CONT yesterday  
 'He asked me if it was raining yesterday.'

**'yāti ruwī [pāla newā-mala=mu tabilé čelā]**  
 quick explain if make-FUT=you NEG able  
 'Quickly explain if you will do it or not.'

**'līge aluē ralāmuli-ka 'līge alē nolīge ahtī-ame**  
 then those people-EMPH then there ridge be-PRTC

**hū-ke-'e 'līge aluē se'wā buwe-gā [pāla asē**  
 be-QUOT-EMPH then that bee wait-CONT if arrive

**simī-ro-ra 'lā]**  
 go-pass-QUOT good  
 ' by

'The people are there on the ridge waiting to see  
 if a bee goes by.'

**'līge aluē ralāmuli 'līge alē pačā-rale ahtī-ame**  
 then those people then there inside-under be-PRTC

**ka-rā-tu 'līge aluē a'wē buwe-gā [pāla**  
 be-QUOT-NONSPEC then that hawk wait-CONT if



asé nawā-ra alé 'lā]  
 arrive come-QUOT there good  
 'The people are there inside waiting to see if a hawk  
 lights there.'

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### Participial

A clause which contains a verb with the participial *-ame* can be used to modify a head. The relative clause in the first example modifies the subject, and in the second, it modifies the object.

yé rió [marsial ani-li-ame] imé me'čfi-ame  
 this man PN say-PASS-PRTC agave cut-PRTC

ka-rā-tu  
 be-QUOT-NONSPEC  
 'They say this man called Marcial was a cutter of  
 agave (maguey).'

mačfi né bilé rió [rono-čfi o'kó-me]  
 know I a man leg-LOC hurt-PRTC  
 'I know a man whose leg hurts.'

The relative clause may precede the head:

'larigā me'ā-me ka-rā-če [yā mučfi-ga-me]  
 thus kill-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH before be:PL-STAT-PRTC

ralāmuli-ka napulige bihf ta'čó ne-rú-ga-či yé  
 people-EMPH when still NEG be-STAT-STAT-SUBR this

trāmpa nāpu hípe ne-rú  
 trap which today be-STAT  
 'That is the way people who lived before killed it  
 when there still were not those traps which we  
 have today.' (yā mučfigame could also follow  
 ralāmuli.)

The head is sometimes repeated:

aliéri ka-rā-e aluē rió [rebúrsio merino ani-li-me]  
 thus be-QUOT-DUB that man PN PN say-PASS-PRTC

**riō**

man

'That is the way that man called Tiburcio Merino was.'

In the following example note the part in brackets which acts more like an amplified repeat of the subject than a relative clause:

**alarigā me'ā-me nī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē ralāmuli**  
 thus kill-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those people

**aluē [wē 'yā ehperē-ga-me] ralāmuli aluē e'wēle**  
 those much before live:PL-STAT-PRTC people those strong:PL

**ahā-ga-me hāmi ehperē-ga-me**  
 live-STAT-PRTC wilds live:PL-STAT-PRTC

'That is the way those people, those people who lived before, killed those wild animals.'

### Finite

Relative clauses can also be marked by the word **nāpu**, a general relative subordinator having numerous English translations.

#### Where

**'līge alē 'yēni-ge 'mā-le-ke-'e 'līge**  
 then there walk-PAST:CONT run-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

**o'wē-ka alē [nāpu asā-le aluē basačī]**  
 straight-DIRL there where sit-PAST that coyote  
 'Then he ran straight to where that coyote sat.'

The locative word can precede **nāpu** as in the above example or follow it, interrupting the relative clause, as in the following example:

**'līge aluē basačī-ka alē 'lē-gana nalīna**  
 then that coyote-EMPH there below-LOC there

**o'pačī-li-ga-me 'līge [nāpu] alē [re'pā nī-le]**  
 jump-STAT-STAT-PRTC then where there high be-PAST  
 'The coyote jumped there below where it was high (over a cliff).'

The locative word can be discontinuous from the relative clause:

**'līge alē sebā-sa 'līge aluē baikiā čulugī [nāpu]**  
 then there arrive-when then those three bird where

**alué ba'wí ne-rú-le]**

that water be-STAT-PAST

'When the three birds arrived there where the water was...'

Who

**'líge pe'tá nihubá-pi 'líge simí-le-ke-'e 'líge učé**  
then soon behind-RCPR then go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then again

**siné 'yā-si-a alué učé haré [nāpu 'yúga**  
once search-also-CONT those again others who with

**enā-li-ge]**

walk-APPLIC-PERF:CONT

'Soon, he went looking for those others he had been walking with.'

**'líge alué rió [nāpu alué luísi kompaniéro-la**  
then that man who that PN companion-POSS

**ní-li-ge]**

be-APPLIC-PAST:CONT just there-LOC edge-edge-there

**eyēna-le-ke-'e 'líge e'nē-ni-ga čikī-le**  
walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then look-MOT-CONT what-PAST  
happen

**alué rió ani-gā**

that man say-SIMUL

'That man who was Luis' companion was just there on the edge looking, asking what happened.'

Which/What

The following example shows the relative clause discontinuous from the head:

**yé ra'iči-li wé 'yā ne-rú-ga-me hú [nāpu**  
this talk-PRTC much before be-STAT-STAT-PRTC be which

**ruwí-le alué nē umúli-la]**

explain-PAST that my grandfather-POSS

'This talk which my grandfather told me is about long ago.'

**'líge alué rió-ka pé alué oká kúči 'yúga**  
then that man-EMPH just those two kid with

**rehpí-le-ke-'e 'líge / 'líge alué [nāpu ní-le**  
remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then then that which be-PAST

**alué rió] pé alué-čo ní-ga rehpí-le-ke-'e 'líge**  
that man just that-also be-CONT remain-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

'That man just remained with the two kids and with that which was his--just that did he remain with.'

**nāpu** 'what' (also 'when', below) also occurs in headless constructions:

[**nāpu ruwī aluē**] **tabilé 'lā hū**  
 what explain he NEG good be  
 'What he explains is not good.'

[**nāpu nočā-nale mué**] **wé 'lā hū**  
 what work-DESID you very good be  
 'What you want to do is O.K.'

When

'**lige** [**nāpu 'lā iki-le aluē ralāmuli alé**] **pé**  
 then when good happen-PAST those people there just

**kulī ka-rā-e 'lige 1971 kāči nī-le-ke-'e 'lige**  
 before be-QUOT-DUB then 1971 about be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
 'When that happened to those people was not long ago,  
 about 1971.'

[**nāpu iki-sā simi-sā alé gomīči**] '**lige nabī**  
 when happen-when go-when there gully then always

**we'ká a'pā-me ka-rā-'e 'lige aluē mukī aluē ro'čī**  
 many carry-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH then that woman those fish  
 'When that happened, when she went to the creek, she  
 always brought back many fish.'

**nāpu** also forms a part of several complex words and clitics:

**napu='lige**  
 when=then  
 'when'

**nāpu** combines with '**lige** to form a word which can best be explained at the discourse level. It might begin a story, signal a change in location, a change in topic, or a climax.

**napu=lige aluē baikiā čulugī simi-ba-le alé 'lige aluē**  
 when those three bird go-PL-PAST there then that

**basačī pé alé a'bé asā-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē o'čī**  
 coyote just there near sit-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that bone

**gi'sú-a alé-mi lūti-ga-me**  
 chew-CONT there-LOC lick-STAT-PRTC  
 'When the three birds left, the coyote was just there  
 close chewing and licking a bone.'

**napurigā** 'like/in order that'

-*rigā* comes from *arigā* 'thus'. Comparisons using *napurigā* can be comparisons of either equality or inequality.

*o'kō-le ronō-la a'čigōriga napurigā nē*  
hurt-PAST foot-POSS same like I  
'His foot hurt just like mine.'

In the following example, *napurigā* occurs sentence initial:

*napurigā o'kō-le nē ronō-la a'čigōriga o'ko-lā čigō*  
like hurt-PAST I foot-POSS same hurt-PRTC also

*alué*

he

'Like my foot hurt, his hurts the same.'

*alué ronō-la čerapē o'kō-le tāse napurigā nē*  
that foot-POSS more hurt-PAST NEG like me  
'His foot hurt more than mine.' (not like mine)

The following example, taken from a text on advice given to children, contains seven purpose clauses. The first purpose clause and the last two are introduced with *napurigā* 'in order that'. In the middle four, *napurigā* is implicit.

*kūči-ka wē a'lā utuyē-li-re-'e ābe=čigo napurigā*  
kid-EMPH much good advise-STAT-PAST-EMPH more=also so  
that

*tā čibi noko-gā e'yēna-mala hāmi tabilē apā-ka tābiri*  
not bad do-CONT walk-FUT out not throw-EMPH thing  
there

*tabilē čigō-ga tabilē nakō-ga tabilē inīla-ga e'yēna-ma*  
not rob-CONT not fight-CONT not with-CONT walk-FUT  
women

*napurigā 'lā e'wā-mala nule-li-a napurigā tabilē*  
so good do-FUT command-STAT-CONT so not  
that that

*čigō-ga e'yēna-ma*  
rob-CONT walk-FUT

'We give very good advice to the children so they will not go around doing bad things out there (away from home), so that they will not throw things, so that they will not be robbing, or fighting or going around with women, so that they will do as commanded, so that they will not go around robbing.'

*napuyēri/apiēri/napiēri* 'appearance like'

'līge apiéri o'kočī aliéri hū-tu 'līge aluē basači  
 then look dog thus be-NONSPEC then that coyote  
 like  
 'Like a dog is the way that coyote looks.'

**panāpuriga** 'wherever/anywhere'

pa- is probably a locative as is na- of nāpu. -riga comes from arigā 'thus'.

'līge pē panāpuriga ga'wā-me ka-rā-če 'līge aluē  
 then just anywhere egg-PRTC be-QUOT-EMPH then that  
 čiwī  
 turkey  
 'The turkey lays her eggs anywhere.'

### Oblique Relatives

A type of oblique relative clause seems to be present in the following examples:

'līge wē yāti ča'pī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē bilē igū  
 then very quick grab-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that a stick  
 [wehpi-mēa aluē geyōči mukī]  
 hit-FUT that fox woman  
 'He quickly grabbed a stick with which to hit that fox woman.'

'līge aluē riō wē mahā-ga 'yā-le-ke-'e 'līge  
 then that man much scare-CONT search-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
 bilē igū [aluē geyōči wehpi-mēa]  
 a stick that fox hit-FUT  
 'That man being very scared looked for a stick with which to hit the fox.'

tā nakī muē bilē ra'nēla [čomali  
 NEG want you a rifle deer

me'-li-ā-me/me'-li-la]  
 kill-APPLIC-CONT-PRTC/kill-APPLIC-INSTR  
 'Do you want a rifle with which to kill deer?'

Some of these examples might be analyzed as purpose clauses rather than oblique relatives (see **ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Purpose**).

## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Four types of adverbial clauses are presented here--those that express the idea of something preceding the other (antecedent), those which express purpose, those which express a simultaneous action, and those which express result ('therefore/thus'). (For location clauses, see **RELATIVE CLAUSES, Finite.**)

Antecedent

There are four versions of the antecedent subordinator 'when/having': **-sa**, **-so**, **-siga**, and **-suga**. The forms with **ga** mark the subordinate verb as passive or impersonal. **-so** may indicate switch reference, but **-sa** can be used whether the main and subordinate clause subjects are the same or different; however, in the great majority of cases with **-sa** the subjects are identical.

**-sa** 'when/having'

In most cases, the dependent clause with **-sa** precedes the main clause. When it does come first, the subject is sometimes named in the dependent clause and is not repeated in the main clause, as in the following example:

[**'lŋe aluē riō ralāmuli aluē sinowī wi'čī-lā buhē-sa**]  
 then that man people that snake skin-POSS take-when  
 off

**'lŋe wē yāti simī-le-ke-'e 'lŋe kū alē**  
 then very quick go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then again there

**galf-rale**  
 house-LOC

'When the people-man took off some of the snake skin, he quickly went again to the house.'

In the following example, the subject is repeated in the main clause:

[**'lŋe alē sebā-sa 'lŋe aluē baikiā čulugī nāpu**  
 then there arrive-when then those three bird where

**aluē ba'wī ne-rū-le] 'lŋe čohkī-le-ke-'e 'lŋe**  
 that water be-STAT-PAST then begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

**ŭba aluē baikiā čulugī**

bath those three bird

'When the three birds arrived there where the water was,  
the three birds began to bathe.'

In the following example, the subject is not named in either clause because it was named in the preceding sentences:

**['līge alé-mi napai-sa] 'līge čohkī-le-ke-'e**  
then there-LOC meet-when then begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

**'līge ra'iča alé-mi hā-ga**  
then talk there-LOC stand-SIMUL

'When they met there, they began to talk standing there.'

The following example shows a change in the subjects between the dependent and main clauses. Note that the subject is mentioned twice in the main clause.

**['līge mā suwé-na-sa 'līge aluē piēsta alē] 'līge**  
then now finish-MOT-when then that fiesta there then

**pē abē i'li-bē-ko simī-ba-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē**  
just more late-AUG-TEMP go-PL-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then those

**baikiā čulugī kŭ hē-ka-na wihčī aluē baikiā**  
three bird again here-towards-MOT land those three

**čulugī**  
bird

'When the fiesta was over, just a little bit later, those  
three birds came back down here to earth.'

The dependent clause with **-sa** occasionally comes last in a construction; note also the existence of 'when'-clauses marked by the basically locative ending **-či** (see Simultaneous below):

**'līge aluē basačī tabilē sayē-le-ke-'e 'līge [aluē**  
then that coyote NEG feel-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

**rowī aluē gosība-la o'po-či / 'līge wē-čigo**  
rabbit that intestine-POSS take-when then much-also

**o'kō-li-ga-me 'līge [aluē wehčā-te**  
hurt-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC then that thorn-with

**so'i-sā]**  
stick-when/having

'The coyote did not feel anything when the rabbit took his  
intestine. (Because) he hurt a lot having been stuck with a  
thorn.'



**-sa** is also used in a construction meaning 'Won't you do me the favor of...'. Perhaps it means, 'Having had this happen to me, won't you please...'. Polite commands often employ devices that elsewhere subordinate things or express removal from direct reality.

**nē-ka mā so'i-ke-'e / tāča 'lā so'-pu-sa**  
I-EMPH now stick-QUOT-EMPH NEG good stick-pull-IMP

**nī-li mué / so'i-ke=ne hēna muya-čf guwāna-ka**  
be-APPLIC you stick-QUOT=I here rump-place behind-EMPH  
'I got stuck with a sticker. Won't you please pull it out? I'm stuck here in my rear-end.'

An interesting triple use of **-sa** is seen in the following sentence. Note that the independent clause is not expressed until the end of the sentence.

**[napu=lige bilē sinowī behtë-la-sa alé bahisō-čf**  
when a snake live-POSS-when there seepage-LOC

**hāmī] ['lige wé rasā-me nī-sa 'lige aluē wesogā**  
wilds then very soft-PRTC be-when then that mud

**alē] ['lige aluē bilē akasf alē-mi sf-sa 'lige aluē**  
there then that one cow there-LOC be-when then that

**gasalā go'-yā] 'lige aluē ronō-la alé re'lē**  
grass eat-CONT then that foot-POSS there deep

**mo'i-me ka-rā 'lige**  
enter-PRTC be-QUOT then

'When a snake lives in a seepage there in the wilds, and when the mud there is very soft, then when a cow is eating grass, his feet go in real deep.'

**-so** 'when'

**['lige aluē rehtë mā rata-bā-so] 'lige**  
then that rock now hot-become-when then

**čohkī-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē piēsta olā**  
begin-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that fiesta do  
'When the rocks became hot then the fiesta began.'

**['lige aluē gusf gapō-so] 'lige aluē rió wé**  
then that stick break-when then that man much

**i'kī-le-ru-ke-'e 'lige aluē ohf-te**  
bite-PAST-PASS-QUOT-EMPH then that bear-by  
'When the stick broke, the man was bitten a lot by the bear.'

In the following example, the subordinate clause comes between the subject and the verb of the main clause:

'līge aluē ralāmuli [a'-mā ekā-na-so-ko wē  
 then those people now-now blow-MOT-when-EMPH very  
 a'wā-ga-me] 'līge mo'ī-le-ke-'e 'līge alē  
 strong-STAT-PRTC then enter-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there  
 abē pačā-mi alē resoči napurigā tabilē  
 more inside-LOC there cave so NEG  
 that

o'wī-na-ma aluē ekā  
 catch-MOT-FUT that wind  
 'Those people, when the wind began to blow hard, went further  
 inside the cave so that the wind would not catch them.'

**-siga** 'when + PASS/IMPRS'

['līge aluē gulasī elē-siga] 'līge yāti kilī  
 then that cross move-when then quick quiet

asī-ba-ga-ra 'līge aluē ekā  
 be-become-STAT-QUOT then that wind  
 'When the cross is moved then the wind quickly becomes  
 quiet.'

The following sentence contains six subordinated clauses with **-siga**. The first clause is general and the other five are specific.

[bilē tābiri nočā-nili-siga] [re'lōe napī-nili-siga]  
 one thing work-need-when potato weed-need-when  
 [sunū-tiri napī-nili-siga] [munī-tiri napī-nili-siga]  
 corn-also weed-need-when bean-also weed-need-when  
 [tegō-nili-siga] [yē-nili-siga] 'līge owlīgī-me  
 wall-need-when fence-need-when then invite-PRTC  
 hū we'kā ralāmuli  
 be many people  
 'When some work needs to be done, when the potatoes need to  
 be weeded, when the corn also needs to be weeded, when the  
 beans also need to be weeded, when a rock wall needs to be  
 made, when a wood fence needs to be made, invite over many  
 people.'

In a series of passive clauses, such as 'when it is boiled and then washed...', the initial subordinators always seem to be **-sa** and the last **-siga**. The meaning could be 'When you boil it and when it is washed...'

[basú-sa] [wé pagó-siga] wé a'lá 'ini-li  
 boil-when much wash-when much good be-stat  
 'When you boil it and when it is washed, it is  
 very good.'

['lige mahi-sa] ['lige alué mesagóli nawá-siga] wé  
 then bake-when then that cake make-when very  
 ahká-ga-me gayéna-me hū-tu 'lige alué imé  
 sweet-STAT-PRTC become-PRTC be-NONSPEC then that maguey  
 'When maguey (agave) is baked and made into cakes it  
 becomes very tasty.'

The following example is intransitive/impersonal:

['lige alé pačā sebā-siga] 'lige tabilé  
 then there inside arrive-when then NEG

čóna-ga ili-me ka-rā 'lige  
 dark-CONT be-PRTC be-QUOT then  
 'When (someone) arrives there inside, it is not dark.'

-suga 'when + PASS'

[a'lige muní gesó 'yúriga go'-súga] ábe čigó yāti  
 then bean cheese mix eat-when yes also quick  
 with

rusú-me ka-rā ramé  
 rot-PRTC be-QUOT tooth  
 'After beans are eaten with cheese, your teeth will  
 quickly rot.'

['lige okā rawé nihubā-pi eči-súga] 'lige mā če'lā-me  
 then two day after-only plant-when then now come-PRTC  
 up  
 'Two days after having been planted, the seed has come up.'

### Purpose

Several forms of the future and *napurigā* can be used to express 'in order to'.

-mea FUT

'lige alué geyóči alé gemā-rale bakí-le-ke-'e  
 then that fox there blanket-under enter-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'lige [alué rió 'yúga goči-méa alé]  
 then that man with sleep-FUT there  
 'Then the fox got under the blanket to sleep with the man.'

'lige alué rió wé mahā-ga 'yā-le-ke-'e 'lige  
 then that man much fear-CONT search-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then

**bilé igú [alué geyóči wehpi-méa]**

a stick that fox hit-FUT

'Then the man being scared looked for a stick in order to hit the fox.'

**pě 'yāti simí-le ['yo-méa] o'ko-sā ronó-la**

just quick go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-when foot-POSS

'He went quickly to be cured when his foot hurt.'

**simí-le ['yo-méa] o'kó-me ní-li-ga-me ronó-la**

go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-PRTC be-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC foot-POSS

'He went to be cured (because) his foot was hurting.'

The following example shows a *-mea* construction in a question followed by the answer:

(Q) **čanigā simí-le 'yo-méa**

why go-PAST cure-FUT

'Why did he go to be cured?'

(A) **simí-le-ke-'e o'kó-me ní-li-ga-me**

go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH hurt-PRTC be-APPLIC-STAT-PRTC

**ronó-la**

foot-POSS

'He went (because) his foot was hurting.'

**-mia** FUT

It appears that *-mia* occurs with the same class of verbs as does *-ma* (as opposed to the class which *-mea* occurs with).

**'líge ča'pí-le-ke-'e 'líge bilé ra'ně-la**

then grab-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then a noise-INSTR

**[a'táni-mia aluě sinowí alé bo'i-ga-me rasúka-ga**

shoot-FUT that snake there lie-STAT-PRTC sun-CONT

bathe

**a'bě nāpu mukú-le aluě tewě]**

near where die-PAST that girl

'Then he grabbed a rifle in order to shoot the snake lying there in the sun near where the girl died.'

**'líge simí-le-ke-'e 'líge alé mawě-či [e'ně-mia]**

then go-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there field-place look-FUT

'Then she went there in the field to look.'

The *-mia* clause usually occurs after the main clause, but the following is an exception.

**'líge aluě rió [aluě sa'ó pabě-mia] enā-le-ke-'e**

then that man that palm carry-FUT walk-PAST-QUOT-EMPH

'lige alē sonōra alē sotāti-či ani-lī-či  
 then there PN there PN-place say-PASS-place  
 'That man had gone to Sonora, there at a place called  
 Sotati, to bring palm.'

Other forms of the future occur in clauses introduced by **napurigā** 'in order to/in order that'.

'lige né abiēna bi'nēli hū čigō tabilé 'wēsi  
 then I also alone be also NEG any

gun-é-ga-me hū né [napurigā neséro-ma ne-'čī]  
 wife-have-STAT-PRTC be I so care-FUT I-ACC  
 that

'I am also alone and do not have a wife to care for  
 me.'

alarigā 'sí-le-ke-'e aluē uhīni [napurigā aluē basači  
 thus be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH that bug so that coyote  
 that

tabilē me'-li-mēla aluē uhīni] [napurigā 'lā neyūsi-ma]  
 NEG kill-APPLIC-FUT that bug so good win-FUT  
 that

'That's the way that bug did so that the coyote would not  
 kill him, so that he (the bug) would win.'

In the above example, **alarigā** connects the closing sentence of the story to the rest of the discourse.

pē elegā 'lā an-ē-le-ke-'e 'lige aluē basači  
 just thus good say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote

[napurigā tā<sup>1</sup> me'-li-bōa aluē basači-te]  
 so NEG kill-PASS-FUT that coyote-by  
 that

'He just said that to the coyote so that he would not be  
 killed by the coyote.'

### Simultaneous

The subordinator **-či** 'when' expresses the idea of simultaneity, as do the continuatives **-a** and **-ga**.

[o'kō-ga-či rono-či] 'lige simí-le 'yo-mēa  
 hurt-STAT-when foot-place then go-PAST cure-FUT  
 'When his foot was hurting, then he went to be cured.'

'lige melēnalo [ta'čō ma'či-na-či 'lige aluē rayēnali]  
 then morning still come-MOT-when then that sun  
 not out

'lĭge go'-lĕ-ke-'e 'lĭge aluĕ go'-ame remĕ  
 then eat-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that eat-PRTC tortilla  
 food

'The next morning when the sun still had not come out,  
 they ate tortillas.'

simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa [rono-ĉĭ o'kō-a]  
 go-PAST cure-FUT foot-place hurt-CONT  
 'He went to be cured when his foot was hurting.'

[nabĭ o'kō-a ronō-la] 'lĭge simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa  
 all hurt-CONT foot-POSS then go-PAST cure-FUT  
 time  
 'All the time his foot was hurting he went to be cured.'

### Result

Therefore-type clauses can be expressed by the use of  
**alekĕre** 'therefore'.

rono-ĉĭ o'kō-le arekĕle simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa  
 foot-place hurt-past therefore go-PAST cure-FUT  
 'He hurt his foot. Therefore he went to be cured.'

o'kō-me nĭ-le-ga-me arekĕle simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa  
 hurt-PRTC be-PAST-STAT-PRTC therefore go-PAST cure-FUT  
 'He was hurting. Therefore he went to be cured.'

Reason-result can also be expressed through a participial-  
 juxtaposed construction, with the meaning of 'because'.

simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa o'kō-me nĭ-le-ga-me ronō-la  
 go-PAST cure-FUT hurt-PRTC be-PAST-STAT-PRTC foot-POSS  
 'He went to be cured. (Because) his foot was hurting.'  
 (Note the use of the PRTC to express a continual action.)

A resultant-type action can also be expressed with **arigā**  
 'thus'.

wĕ o'kō-le rono-ĉĭ arigā simĭ-le 'yo-mĕa 'lĭge  
 much hurt-PAST foot-place thus go-PAST cure-FUT then  
 'His foot hurt a lot so he went to be cured.'

## TEXT

The Coyote and the Jackrabbit

**bilé basačí 'līge bilé ba'lawísi**  
 a coyote then a jackrabbit

1. One day a coyote was very hungry, they say.  
**bilé rawé bilé basačí 'wé e'lowí-le-ga-ra-'e 'līge**  
 one day a coyote much hungry-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then
2. Then he began to chase a jackrabbit, encountering him in the  
**'līge bilé ba'lawísi me'-lī-si-le-ga-ra-'e**  
 then a jackrabbit chase-APPLIC-AUG-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH  
 wilds.  
**'līge hāmi nahtépa-ga 'līge**  
 then wilds meet-CONT then
3. The jackrabbit was really scared.  
**'līge alué ba'lawísi wé mahā-le-ga-ra-'e 'līge**  
 then that jackrabbit much fear-PAST-STAT-QUOT-EMPH then
4. The jackrabbit knew that he would not last very long running  
**'līge alué ba'lawísi 'lā mačí-le-ke-'e 'līge tabilé**  
 then that jackrabbit good know-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then NEG  
 because the jackrabbit was very old.  
**we'lī=si sapū-mia 'mā-ga 'līge alué ba'lawísi wé**  
 long=AUG last-FUT run-CONT then that jackrabbit much  
**očéra-me nī-le-ke-'e**  
 old-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH
5. The jackrabbit's legs were very tired.  
**'līge 'wé risi-bā-ča-me nī-le-ke-'e 'līge**  
 then very tired-become-STAT-PRTC be-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then  
**alué ba'lawísi ronō-la**  
 that jackrabbit leg-POSS
6. Because of that, the jackrabbit stopped.  
**'līge alekére čuhkí-ba-le-ke-'e 'līge alué ba'lawísi**  
 then because stop-CAUS-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit  
 of:that

7. Then the jackrabbit looked at the coyote.  
 'līge aluē ba'lawīsi e'nē-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē basači  
 then that jackrabbit look-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote
8. Then he said to him, "You, coyote, stop over there," said the  
 'līge an-ē-le-ke-'e 'līge alē ili-bā-wa  
 then say-APPLIC-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then there stand-APPLIC-IMP  
 jackrabbit.  
 muē basači anī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē ba'lawīsi  
 you coyote say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit
9. "You, why are you following me?  
 muē-ka čanigā nahāto ne-'či  
 you-EMPH why follow I-ACC
10. Are you going to eat me?" said the jackrabbit.  
 go'-mē olā=mu ne-'či anī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē  
 eat-FUT do=you I-ACC say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that  
 ba'lawīsi  
 jackrabbit
11. Then the coyote said, "Yes, I am going to eat you,"  
 'līge aluē basači-ka anī-le 'līge hū go'-mē  
 then that coyote-EMPH say-PAST then yes eat-FUT  
 said the coyote.  
 olā-ke=ne muē anī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē basači-ka 'līge  
 do-QUOT=I you say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote-EMPH then
12. Then the jackrabbit said, "Why do you want to eat me?  
 'līge aluē ba'lawīsi anī-le-ke-'e čanigā ne-'či  
 then that jackrabbit say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH why I-ACC  
 go'-mē olā-če muē-ka  
 eat-FUT do-EMPH you-EMPH
13. If you eat me you will die," said the jackrabbit.  
 ne-'či go'-sā-ka muē muku-mēla muē basači  
 I-ACC eat-if-EMPH you die-FUT you coyote  
 anī-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē ba'lawīsi  
 say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit
14. Then the jackrabbit said, "You think I am a jackrabbit, but  
 'līge anī-le ba'lawīsi muē-ka mayē-le-ke ne-'či  
 then say-PAST jackrabbit you-EMPH think-appear-QUOT I-ACC  
 I am just a rattlesnake.  
 ba'lawīsi-ko nē-ka pé bilē sinowī sayāwi hū-kuru  
 jackrabbit-EMPH I-EMPH just a snake rattler be-truth



15. If you eat me you will die from my poison," said the  
**mué ne-'čí go'-sā-ka muku-méla mué alué ne-'čí čučalā-te**  
 you I-ACC eat-if-EMPH die-FUT you that I-ACC poison-with  
 jackrabbit.  
**anī-le-ke-'e 'līge alué ba'lawīsi**  
 say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit
16. "What will I eat then?," said the coyote.  
**tačīri go'-mēla-če=ne 'līge anī-le-ke-'e 'līge alué**  
 what eat-FUT-EMPH=I then say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that  
**basači**  
 coyote
17. Then the jackrabbit said, "Eat this fruit that I picked.  
**'līge alué ba'lawīsi anī-le-ke-'e 'līge yé iwasi**  
 then that jackrabbit say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then this fruit  
**go'-pō-guru nāpu né 'wī-le**  
 eat-FUT-truth which I pick-PAST
18. I walk along putting the fruit here in this basket.  
**hēna kanāsta-či ahča-gā enā-kuru=ne yé iwasi**  
 here basket-place put-CONT walk-truth=I this fruit
19. You were following me as I carried this fruit," said the  
**'līge mué né yé iwasi o'kā enā-ga-či 'līge nahāto**  
 then you I this fruit carry walk-CONT-when then follow  
 jackrabbit.  
**mué 'līge ne-'čí anī-le-ke-'e 'līge alué ba'lawīsi**  
 you then I-ACC say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that jackrabbit
20. Then the coyote said, "Jackrabbits eat fruit, but  
**'līge anī-le 'līge alué basači alué ba'lawīsi-ka alué**  
 then say-PAST then that coyote that jackrabbit-EMPH that  
 rattlesnakes do not eat fruit," said the coyote.  
**iwasī go'-yā-me īni-li-ri-'e 'līge alué**  
 fruit eat-STAT-PRTC be-STAT-APPLIC-EMPH then that  
**sayāwi-ka péča go'-yā-me hū-ko alué iwasi**  
 rattler-EMPH NEG eat-STAT-PRTC be-IRR that fruit  
**anī-le-ke-'e 'līge alué basači**  
 say-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote
21. "You are a jackrabbit.  
**'līge mué pé ba'lawīsi hū-kuru 'līge sí-ka ani-ā**  
 then you just jackrabbit be-truth then be-EMPH say-CONT

22. You cannot fool me.

'līge muē-ka umubā-me olā-le-ke 'līge ne-'čī 'yēgi-a  
 then you-EMPH win-PRTC do-PAST-EMPH then I-ACC lie-CONT

23. I will not believe it even though you say it.

'līge nē-ka pēča bihči-ga-ma 'līge rekō muē-ka  
 then I-EMPH NEG believe-STAT-FUT then even you-EMPH  
 though

ala-nī-či 'līge  
 good-say-CONT then

24. You are just a jackrabbit, in spite of what you say, and

pē ba'lawīsi kē sī-ka anī muē 'lā hū-le-ke  
 just jackrabbit be be-EMPH say you good be-appear-QUOT

it will be good to eat you.

muē go'ā  
 you eat

25. I like to eat jackrabbit."

nē-ka 'wē go'-yā-me kā-me 'līge aluē ba'lawīsi  
 I-EMPH much eat-STAT-PRTC be-PRTC then that jackrabbit

26. Then the coyote ate the jackrabbit which was there

'līge aluē basači mā go'-lē-ke-'e 'līge aluē  
 then that coyote now eat-appear-QUOT-EMPH then that

telling lies.

ba'lawīsi nāpu 'yē-ga asā-li-ge alē  
 jackrabbit which lie-CONT sit-STAT-PAST:CONT there

27. Then when the coyote ate the jackrabbit, that fruit which the

'līge aluē basači aluē ba'lawīsi go'-sā 'līge aluē iwasi  
 then that coyote that jackrabbit eat-when then that fruit

jackrabbit was carrying that he had been putting there in the

nāpu o'kā enā-li-ge aluē ba'lawīsi alē  
 which carry walk-STAT-PAST:CONT that jackrabbit there

basket, he ate that also (there is evidence that he ate it

ganāsata-či ahča-gā aluē iwasi aluē mā 'yūriga  
 basket-place put-CONT that fruit that now mix

with

along with the jackrabbit).

go'-lē-ke-'e=čigo 'līge  
 eat-appear-QUOT-EMPH=also then

28. The the coyote quickly died when he ate that fruit, because

'līge aluē basači pē 'yāti mukū-le-ke-'e 'līge aluē  
 then that coyote just quick die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that

that fruit was poisonous.

**iwasí go'sá 'līge 'līge apigíti aluě iwasi-ka sowé**  
 fruit eat-when then then because that fruit-EMPH poison

**nī-li-ga-me 'līge**  
 be-STAT-STAT-PRTC then

29. The coyote died seated by a big oak tree that was there.'

**alé wa'lú rohā ilī-ga-či alé asa-gā**  
 there big oak stand-CONT-when there sit-CONT

**mukú-le-ke-'e 'līge aluě basači**  
 die-PAST-QUOT-EMPH then that coyote



# **CORA**

**Eugene Casad**



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## INTRODUCTION

Cora is a Southern Uto-Aztecan language spoken by approximately 15,000 people in the northeastern part of the state of Nayarit, Mexico. There are five principal dialect areas. The data in this sketch come from the dialect of El Nayar, which is spoken in the town of Jesús María and in numerous *rancherías* scattered southwards along the Río Jesús María to the *ranchería* Los Gavilanes. The second main dialect, that of Mesa del Nayar, is spoken to the southwest of Jesús María, beginning with the *rancherías* around Mesa del Nayar and extending on to the foothills near San Pedro Ixcatan. The third principal dialect area consists of the towns of Dolores and Santa Teresa, along with various *rancherías* between them in the northern section of the Cora area. The other two dialects are fairly small: San Juan Corapan, near San Pedro Ixcatan, and San Francisco, near Jesús María.

The first published linguistic description of Cora consisted of a Cora-Spanish vocabulary and an introduction to various characteristics of Cora pronunciation. This was written by the Jesuit priest Joseph de Ortega in 1732; it was later reprinted in Tepic in 1888. Pimentel (1874-75) included some Cora data in his three volume *Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de Las Lenguas Indígenas de México*. The best-known materials on Cora are those from Jesús María published by Preuss. They include a collection of religious texts (1912), a grammar (1932), and a dictionary (1935).

Additional published studies include some notes on grammatical patterns by Gomez (1935) and a short book of texts written by Raymundo Díaz Flores, published by the Escuela Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City (1945). Studies of Cora carried out by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics include a Cora-Spanish vocabulary compiled by McMahon and McMahon (1959). McMahon also published a phonemic analysis of Cora in *IJAL* (1967). These latter two studies are based on materials collected from speakers in the area of Presidio de Los Reyes, San Pedro Ixcatan.

Under auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, we initiated further studies of Cora in 1971. We have spent approximately two years residing in the village of Jesús María. We have spent another two years with various language consultants at SIL workshop centers in Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo and Mitla, Oaxaca. Thus we have had fairly close contact with Cora speakers during a considerable part of the time since 1971. I have also collected a

large body of tape recorded materials which have been invaluable both for learning to speak Cora and for doing continuing linguistic analysis.

Many Cora friends have contributed in various ways to our learning Cora and collecting data about it. Fidel de Jesús Serrano, Matías de Jesús Bernabé, Juan Celestino Laureano, Profesor Eusebio Zeferino Enriquez, Profesor Aurelio Canaré Medina, Santos de Jesús Rosas, and Justo Flores have all provided me with text materials and numerous insights into the semantics of their language. I would like to thank them very much; I would not have been able to learn Cora without them. I trust that the publishing of data related to their language will directly feed into the ability of SIL to make a substantive and positive contribution to the Cora community, which is under increasing strain as it faces head-on an ever advancing technological society. Finally, the inconsistencies and erroneous analyses found in the grammar are due to my own human foibles.

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\*Special abbreviations used in this sketch include the following: CAP = capacitative; CONCR = concrete; DEIC = deictic; DO = direct object; EXT = extensive; PREV REF = previous reference; PS = pausal; SEQ = sequential; SIMUL = simultaneous mode; SUPP = applicative mode.

Preuss, Konrad Theodor. 1912. Die Nayarit-Expedition, Textaufnahmen und Beobachtungen unter Mexicanischen Indianern, Vol. I. Leipzig.

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### PHONOLOGY

#### Phonemes

Consonant phonemes:

p	t <sup>y</sup>	t	k	'
		c		
	č <sup>y</sup>	č		
		s	š	
m	n <sup>y</sup>	n		
		r		
		l	h	
w		y		

Vowel phonemes:

i	ɨ	u
e	a	

Vowel length is contrastive.

Tone is phonemic and operates partly independently of stress, which can be analyzed into primary and secondary degrees.

Major Phonological ProcessesVowel Epenthesis

Alternations involving  $t^y i'$ -DISTR and  $wā$ - 'their' illustrate a vowel epenthesis rule that inserts an "echo" vowel between a glottal stop and the initial consonant of the following syllable:

$t^y i' i-n^y a$ -kana  
DISTR-my-guitar  
'my guitars'

$t^y i'$ -a-kana  
DISTR-your-guitar  
'your guitars'

$wā'a$ -kana  
their-guitar  
'their guitar'

$wā'$ -ana  
their-feather  
'their feather'

A second vowel epenthesis rule copies a high-toned vowel after a following  $h$  and preceding the non-apical (?) consonant of a following post-tonic syllable.

$kāh^i ve$   
'road runner'

$kāhvē-t^y e$   
-PL  
'road runners'

$vūh^u ra'i$   
'wilota bird'

$hāh^i wa$   
'He is yelling.'

Vowel Harmony

The prefix  $t^y i'$ - harmonizes to the vowel of the reflexive possessor prefix  $uh$ -.

$ru$ -kanā  
his-guitar  
'his own guitar'

$t^y ū'$ -uh-kana  
DISTR-his-guitar  
'his own guitars'

It also harmonizes with the locative prefixes  $an$ - 'on top of',  $ah$ - 'out in the slope', and  $a$ - 'outside'.

$an-tā$ - $mī$ - $mī$   
on-straight-be-RDP  
top close  
'It has a sharp edge.'

$t^y a'$ - $an-tā$ - $mī$ - $mī$   
DISTR-on-straight-be-RDP  
top close  
'They have sharp edges.'

Various suffixes show other forms of vowel harmony. When the applicative  $-e$  is affixed to the causative  $-ta$ , the resultant configuration is  $-t^y e'e$ :

$n^y e$ - $t^y i' i$ - $kī$ ša'- $uh$ - $ta$   
I-DISTR-gourd-make  
'I am making a gourd canteen.'

$n^y e$ - $t^y i' i$ - $m^y a$ - $kī$ ša'- $uh$ - $t^y e$ - $e$   
I-DISTR-you-gourd-make-APPLIC  
'I am making you a gourd canteen.'

The stative *-i* ablauts a stem-final vowel to *i*.

**t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yu'uša**  
DISTR-outside-write  
'He is writing.'

**t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yu'usi-'i**  
DISTR-outside-write-STAT  
'It is written down.'

The non-reflexive third person singular possessor *-ara'an/-hra'an* ablauts a stem-final vowel to *a*.

**kanāri**  
'guitar'

**kanarā-ara'an**  
guitar-POSSR  
'his guitar'

The postposition *-e* 'at a particular location' changes a stem-final vowel to *e*.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wāri**  
my-back  
'my back'

**yēh n<sup>y</sup>a-ware-'e**  
here my-back-on  
along  
slope  
'right here in the middle  
of my back'

#### Laryngeal Deletion

Glottal stops that otherwise occur at various morpheme boundaries fail to appear in the environment of a high tone, as seen in the following pairs of contrasting examples.

With *-i* STAT:

**t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yu'usi-'i**  
DISTR-outside-write-STAT  
'The things are written down.'

**t<sup>i</sup>'i'si-i-wa-ka-n**  
grind-STAT-PASS-PRTC  
'Having been ground up...'

With *-ki'* 'deceased':

**ya'ak<sup>w</sup>āh-ki'i'-ta'a-n**  
grandmother-deceased-POSSR-ABS  
'his deceased grandmother'

**ya'up<sup>w</sup>a-ki'i'-ta'an**  
father-deceased-POSSR-ABS  
'his deceased father'

With tone attraction to DISTR or ART:

**n<sup>y</sup>é-it<sup>y</sup>a'ih**  
my-fruit  
tree  
'my fruit tree'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e-'it<sup>y</sup>a'ih**  
DISTR-my-fruit  
tree  
'my fruit trees'

**n<sup>y</sup>é-~~im~~<sup>w</sup>e'e**  
my-seed  
'my planting seed'

**ĩ n<sup>y</sup>e-'im<sup>w</sup>e'e**  
ART my-seed  
'the planting seed of mine'

Vowel Deletion

There are two main categories of vowel deletion in Cora. The most general case involves prefixes with the canonical shape CV, such as **n<sup>y</sup>a-** 'me', losing their vowel before a vowel-initial morpheme which is followed by a glottal stop:

**n<sup>y</sup>-ā-ʔ-ri-'iri-'i**  
me-outside-carry-make-APPLIC-STAT  
'Take my hat off of me.'

The second class involves the loss of low-toned **a** and **i** following nasals in word-final position:

**hiya'a wā-kʔ-i-mā**  
here COMPL-teeth-chew  
'Here it is. Eat it up!'

**mā-h-kʔ-i-ma-ka**  
they-UNSPEC-teeth-chew-HAB  
OBJ  
'They eat it.'

**mā-h-kʔ-i-n**  
they-UNSPEC-teeth-chew  
OBJ  
'They are eating it.'

This process also seems to affect **a** word-medially in post-tonic syllables, for example in **n<sup>y</sup>a-** 'myself':

**nu-'uri n<sup>y</sup>a-sa'upe-'e**  
I-now REFL-rest-APPLIC  
'Now I'm resting myself.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wā-n-sa'upe**  
I-COMPL-REFL-rest:PAST  
'I rested myself.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-n-sa'upe-'e**  
I-REFL-rest-APPLIC  
'I'm resting myself.'

r-Metathesis

The reflexive possessor **ru-** is realized as **-ur** before vowel-initial noun stems whenever **t<sup>y</sup>i-** DISTR occurs to indicate plurality of possessed noun:

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>a-'ana**  
DISTR-my-feather  
'my feathers'

**t<sup>y</sup>ū'-ur-ana**  
DISTR-REFL-feather  
POSSR  
'his own feathers'

The distributive singular **ra-** undergoes vowel deletion and metathesizes with stem-initial **h**.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a-hašu'u-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
I-DISTR-you-wall-make-APPLIC  
'I'm building you a wall.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-rašu'u-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 I-DISTR-DISTR-wall-make-APPLIC  
 SG  
 'I'm building a wall for him.'

r-Softening

Syllable-final **r** becomes **h** when it precedes a consonant. The **-uh** form of reflexive **ru-** before consonant-initial stems shows that **r**-softening must follow metathesis.

**ru-'anā**  
 REFL-feather  
 POSSR  
 'his own feather'

**t<sup>y</sup>ū'-ur-ana**  
 DISTR-REFL-feather  
 POSSR  
 'his own feathers'

**ru-kanā**  
 REFL-guitar  
 POSSR  
 'his own guitar'

**t<sup>y</sup>ū'-uh-kana**  
 DISTR-REFL-guitar  
 POSSR  
 'his own guitars'

Vowel Shortening

Open-syllable long vowels of various lexical items shorten when other rules render these syllables closed; they remain slightly longer than regular short vowels in word final position.

**an-hāana m̄ visaaru'u**  
 on-carry ART calf  
 top  
 'Take the calf away.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-rā-'a-han m̄ visaaru'u**  
 I-DISTR-outside-carry ART calf  
 SG  
 'I'm leading the calf away.'

A word-final  $V_1V_1$  sequence shortens to a laryngealized vowel slightly longer than an ordinary short vowel.

**kūcapa'a-ra'an**  
 gourd-POSSR  
 bowl  
 'his gourd bowl'

**kūcapé**  
 'gourd bowl'

Word-final sequences of unlike vowels are shortened to diphthongs.

**an-ta-yāuu-kan**  
 on -straight-be-PRTC  
 top ahead wide  
 'being wide and long'

**an-ta-yāw**  
 on -straight-be  
 top ahead wide  
 'It is wide and long.'

Vowel Spirantization

In a few nouns long vowels are shortened and partially replaced by a word-final **h**.

<b>karīi-ra'an</b>	<b>karīh</b>
bone-POSSR	'bone'
'its bone'	

t-Flapping

In fast speech, both apical **t** and laminal **t<sup>y</sup>** are subject to a flapping rule which converts them into **r**:

<b>mahtāwa'a</b>	<b>mahrāwa'a</b>	'again'
<b>wat<sup>y</sup>āsku'iwa</b>	<b>warāsku'iwa</b>	'Yes, indeed!'

Diphthongization

Diphthongization occurs when two unlike short vowels come together across morpheme boundaries.

<b>ta-it<sup>y</sup>a'ih</b>	<b>tāit<sup>y</sup>a'ih</b>	'our fruit tree'
our-fruit		
tree		

As noted earlier, diphthongs are also formed in word-final position following final vowel (or syllable nucleus) shortening.

<b>haračūīi-se</b>	<b>harač<sup>w</sup>i</b>
fox-PL	'fox'
'foxes'	

i-Lowering

The vowel **i** changes to **a** preceding a high-toned **a**.

<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'-a-kana</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>ā-hā'am<sup>w</sup>a-kana</b>
DISTR-your-guitar	DISTR-your:PL-guitar
'your guitars'	'you people's guitars'

e-Raising

For some speakers, **e** (/e/) can be raised to **e** before **i** or in word-final closed syllables preceding **n**.

<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e'e-va-ka</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e'i-mi'i</b>
DISTR-dance-HAB-HAB	DISTR-dance-DESID
'He knows how to dance.'	'He wants to dance.'

<b>ya=va'a=k-āa-n<sup>y</sup>e</b>
here:outside=coming=down-COMPL-pass
over by
'He came down by here.'



**n<sup>y</sup>a-tt'ih** u-ve'ε-n<sup>y</sup>e-n  
 I-when:SUBJ inside-coming-pass-ABS  
   over by  
 '...when I get back from over there.'

#### Modifications of a

The possessor prefix vowel **α** (/a/) becomes slightly raised and fronted to **a** following the laminal **n<sup>y</sup>-** of the 'my' form:

**n<sup>y</sup>α-kūcape'e** → **n<sup>y</sup>a-kūcape'e**  
 'my gourd bowl'

The prefix **n<sup>y</sup>a-** becomes **n<sup>y</sup>e-** preceding consonant-initial stems whose first vowel is **i** or whose initial consonant is palatal.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-sīiku'u**  
 my-shirt  
 'my shirt'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>ēih**  
 my-axe  
 'my axe'

Also note the following alternations:

**n<sup>y</sup>-eyān**  
 I-thus  
 'in this way'

**ayān**  
 thus  
 'in this way'

**p-eri**  
 you-already  
 '(when) you now...'

**ari**  
 already  
 '(when) he already...'

The vowel **a** is generally raised slightly to an open, tense variant when followed by **i** in vowel-initial morphemes.

**ta-itā** → **tʌ-'itā**  
 our-mat  
 'our mat'

Before stems beginning with **ɨ**, the prefix vowel **a** is raised to a schwa-like vowel **ə**.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ɨp<sup>w</sup>ā** → **n<sup>y</sup>ə-'ɨp<sup>w</sup>ā**  
 my-chair  
 'my chair'

This also happens before syllable-final **n**.

**ka'anākan** → **ka'anākən**  
 'rapidly, quickly'

Before **u**, **a** is rounded and slightly backed to an **o**-like quality.

**wā'-k<sup>w</sup>a'a** → **wā'ak<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 them-eat  
 'He is eating them.'

**wā'-u-k<sup>w</sup>a** → **wō'uk<sup>w</sup>a**  
 them-COMPL-eat  
 'He ate them.'

### u-Lowering

The vowel **u** is lowered to **o** when followed by (')**a**.

**hītu'ah** → **hīto'ah**  
 'bird nest'

**an-čūā** → **ančoā**  
 on-carry  
 top  
 'Carry it off.' (long, rigid object)

### Neutralization of m

The consonant **m** neutralizes to **n** in word-final position.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-čuumi**  
 I-UNSPEC-machete  
 OBJ  
 'I have a machete.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-čūn**  
 my-machete  
 'my machete'

### Allophonics of n

Word-final nasals that follow non-front vowels (also **e** for some speakers) assimilate to **ŋ**.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-čūn** → **n<sup>y</sup>ečūŋ**  
 my-machete  
 'my machete'

Word-medially, syllable-final **n** assimilates to **m** before the consonants **p** and **v**.

**an-pīi** → **ampīi**  
 on-carry  
 top  
 'Take it away.'

It is realized as **ŋ** before nasals and back consonants.

**an-hāana** → **aŋhāana**  
 on-carry  
 top  
 'Take it away.' (an animal on a rope)

It is realized phonetically as **n** word-medially before apical consonants.

**an-tʃi** → **antʃi**  
 on-carry  
 top  
 'Take it away.'  
 (small, round things)

It is palatalized word-medially before vowel-initial stems, resulting from a rule of glide insertion.

**an-fʰi** → **an<sup>y</sup>fʰi**  
 on-carry  
 top  
 'Take it away.' (a flat thing)

### Alternations

s and š:

**t<sup>y</sup>ē'-e-yu'uša**  
 DISTR-outside-write  
 'He is writing.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ē'-e-yu'usi-'i**  
 DISTR-outside-write-STAT  
 'It is written down.'

š and h:

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ā'-a-we'iška-n**  
 I-DISTR-outside-fry-PRTC  
 'I am frying something.'

**i tʃ wē'ihči-'i**  
 ART SUBR fry-STAT  
 'that which is fried'

s and h:

**pis-t<sup>y</sup>i**  
 be-mass  
 hot  
 'It is hot.' (liquid)

**pih-čī-ra-'a**  
 be-(?)-make-DUR(?)  
 hot  
 'It is hot.' (discrete object)

A few stems illustrate an alternation between w and v:

**čī'i pū=taawa**  
 house SUBJ=make  
 'He is building a house.'

**taavi-hwa**  
 make-PASS:COMPL  
 'It is made.'

### Vowel Nasalization

Before nasals in closed syllables, vowels (especially non-front ones) are somewhat nasalized.

**pe-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e-mi-n** → **pe<sup>y</sup>t<sup>y</sup>i'in<sup>y</sup>emjŋ**  
 you-DISTR-me-feed-DUR(?)  
 'You are going to feed me supper.'

**kʃŋ** → **kʃŋ**  
 'with' (pre-verbal position)

The vowels of long-high-toned syllables are nasalized following syllable-initial *m* and *n*.

*n<sup>y</sup>a-mfisi* → *n<sup>y</sup>amfisi*  
 my-beard  
 'my beard'

*n<sup>y</sup>ūuka-ri* → *n<sup>y</sup>ūkari*  
 word-ABS  
 'word, language'

#### Vowel Laryngealization

Vowels are laryngealized both before and after glottal stop. As noted earlier, word-final sequences of *V<sub>1</sub>'V<sub>1</sub>* tend to become shortened to a laryngealized vowel.

*hā'akɨ'ɨ* → *hā'akɨ̰*  
 'fresh water lobster'

*kū'uku'u-se* → *kū'úkú'úse*  
 snake-PL  
 'snakes'

*t<sup>y</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>āara'i* → *t<sup>y</sup>akwāará'í*  
 'chicken'

#### Vowel Retroflexion

Vowels are slightly retroflexed before the retroflexed flap *r*.

*hitá-ri* → *hitāri*  
 mat-ABS  
 'straw mat'

With long vowels there is a perceptible glide into the retroflexed (or rounded) phonetic quality:

*see-ri* → *seəri*  
 cold-ABS  
 'frost'

#### Vowel Devoicing

Short, low-toned vowels optionally become breathy to voiceless word-finally following (generally) voiceless consonants.

*kāica* → *kāicA*  
 'bule tree'

Vowels are also optionally devoiced following voiced consonants when there is an intervening low-toned syllable between the low-toned syllable they occur in and a high-toned syllable earlier in the word.

*tāi-šɨ'ɨ-me* → *tāišɨ'ɨmE*  
 burn-disperse-PRTC  
 'perspiration'

ToneTone Attraction

Nouns and many other lexical items pronounced in isolation with a single high tone lose this high tone when various grammatical elements are preposed to the noun to form a noun phrase. Such elements include definite articles, locative particles, and the distributive plural morpheme **t<sup>y</sup>i'**:-

<b>c<sup>f</sup>i'</b> 'dog'	<b>m<sup>f</sup> ci'i</b> ART dog 'that dog over there'
<b>čāhta'a</b> 'town'	<b>ū čahta'a</b> LOC town PRTC 'there in town'
<b>wā'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b> 'two/twice'	<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'i=wa'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b> DISTR=two 'There are two things.'

Morphophonemic Functions of Tone

Morphophonemically, tone signals several kinds of distinctions in the grammar of Cora. For a small class of animate nouns, singular and plural forms are distinguished by tone placement.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
<b>cē'epē</b>	<b>ce'epē</b>	'gnat'

There is another class of animate nouns for which the tone shifts from the initial syllable in the singular form to the second syllable in the plural form. (This is related to rules of Uto-Aztecan. See Nancy Woo, 'Tone in Northern Tepehuan', *IJAL* 36:18-30, 1970, and Jeffrey Heath, 'Uto-Aztecan Morphophonemics', *IJAL* 43:27-36, 1977).

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
<b>m<sup>w</sup>āhye</b>	<b>m<sup>w</sup>ahyēt<sup>y</sup>e</b>	'mountain lion'

It is likely that the first class of nouns has been derived from the second one by the loss of the final syllable. In fact, Jesús María speakers differ among themselves as to whether they use a shortened form or long one for certain examples, e.g. **tu'ukā** ~ **tu'ukāhce**, 'spiders'.

Tone placement in a few other cases signals grammatical class.

<b>m<sup>f</sup>i'tči</b> 'He's dead.'	<b>m<sup>i</sup>i'tči</b> 'A dead person.'
---	---

In a few forms tone is used to maintain semantic distinctions.

**há'íh**  
'kind of ant'

**ha'íh**  
'your wife'

Finally, tone functions in stem formation processes, helping to distinguish perfective and imperfective stems for numerous verbs.

**kanúraseih**  
'I don't see him.'

**kanúraaséih**  
'I didn't see him.'

### BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

#### Word Order

A simple sentence in Cora can consist of a sentence introducer, various kinds of particles, one of a set of quotative morphemes, as well as a main verb with several kinds of noun phrases and an adverb. This is probably their most neutral linear order in single simple sentences:

INTR	PRT	QUOT	V	NP (SUBJ)	NP (IOBJ)	NP (OBJ)	NP (LOC)	ADV
------	-----	------	---	--------------	--------------	-------------	-------------	-----

The introducer can be a procomplement, locative particle, main or subordinating conjunction, question morpheme, or dubitative particle:

**ayāa pū nū'u t<sup>y</sup>ū--hu'-u-ríh**  
thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do  
'This, they say, is what happened.'

**āh=tū=wa-rā'a-kí**  
in=we=EXT-around-leave  
slope corner  
'We came back from off there in the slope.'

**ahtā šāa hí-(y)ā'-u-raa í hīita'a**  
CNJ AFF NARR-away-COMPL-leave ART woman  
'And indeed, the woman went away.'

**tí p<sup>w</sup>ā-'a p-ā'-u-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
SUBR ASSR-then you-away-COMPL-leave-FUT  
COND SUBR  
'If you go...'

**n<sup>y</sup>i ma-kái=ya=rā'a**

Q they-IRR=here=arrive  
'Haven't they arrived here?'

**t<sup>y</sup>i pe-n<sup>y</sup>ú'u-ka-mí'í**

DUB you-respond-HAB-DESID  
'It seems as though you are angry.'

The particle element includes such things as subject particles, a sequential/resultative morpheme, the evidential particle, a group of tightly-knit morpheme sequences I will call an 'auxiliary', and some affirmative elements.

**nacāri pū=nu'u ānt<sup>y</sup>awaa**

earring SUBJ=QUOT be  
named  
'Its name is Earring.'

**ma-tf'ih nū'u m-í šúušu'u**

they-then QUOT they-RSLTV flower  
CNJ

**ra-ta-pfi-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a**

DISTR-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC  
SG PAST  
'And then, they say, they were giving him a flower.'

**a'anāh n<sup>y</sup>āh kū=t<sup>y</sup>ú-hū'-u-vaí m<sup>w</sup>ayahtúum<sup>w</sup>a'a**

once SUBR:I EV=DISTR-NARR-COMPL-help majordomo

**kime'e ta-yā'u hemi**

as our-father with  
'...that once, as you all know, I performed  
as a majordomo in service to our Father.'

**nu-'urí=t<sup>y</sup>i'í-k<sup>w</sup>a'a**

I-already=DISTR-eat  
AUX

'I'm now eating.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ih p-aučān=t<sup>y</sup>ú'-u-k<sup>w</sup>a**

DUB you-hardly=DISTR-COMPL-eat  
AUX

'It seems that you've just eaten.'

**ka=mú=n<sup>y</sup>ā'u wāap<sup>w</sup>a'a**

NEG=they=AFF endure  
'Well, they couldn't take it.'

**ahtā šāa ā'-u-raa f hīta'a**

CNJ AFF away-COMPL-leave ART woman  
'And, indeed, the woman went away.'

This and previous examples illustrate the quotative morphemes:

ha'in<sup>y</sup>i wī pa-na'a  
 how QUOT you-be  
 'How are you?'

In neutral word order verbs (and adjectives) precede their nominal arguments and agree with these arguments by means of prefixes:

hīwah-ve † puuru'u	t <sup>y</sup> ē-het <sup>y</sup> ē-hme it <sup>y</sup> an
bray-HAB ART donkey	we-heavy-COLL we
'The donkey is braying.'	'We are heavy.'

ra-a-hē'ika	† fidel †	t <sup>y</sup> aska
DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill ART PN	ART	scorpion
'Fidel killed the scorpion.'		

se-t <sup>y</sup> i-ta-a-mi	it <sup>y</sup> ehmi
you:PL-DISTR-us-COMPL-feed us	
'You all fed us.'	

Numerous factors lead to non-neutral word order both in ordinary conversation and in narrative text. Foregrounding processes such as topicalization and focus explain most of these. Sentences with pre-verbal nominal constituents are marked differently from sentences with post-verbal constituents in various ways. For one, various elements of noun phrases and free pronominal forms are truncated when these constituents occur pre-verbally. For example, the definite article deletes from noun phrases in pre-verbal position:

wā-ye'i-ve † n <sup>y</sup> i-yauh	n <sup>y</sup> i-yāuh pū=wā-ye'i-ve
EXT-walk-HAB ART my-son	my-son SUBJ=EXT-walk-HAB
'My son walks.'	'My son walks.'

Demonstratives serving as third person pronouns truncate, and initial *i* drops from first person pronouns:

k <sup>w</sup> ēina-ra-'a ā†hna † kuaašu
white-make-DUR DEM ART heron
'That heron is white.'

ā† pū=k <sup>w</sup> ēina-ra-'a † kuaašu
DEM SUBJ=white-make-DUR ART heron
'As for that heron, he is white.'

mā-ta-a-sēih ā†me
they-us-COMPL-see DEM
'They saw us.'

a† mū=ta-a-sēih
DEM they=us-COMPL-see
'Those people, they (are the ones who) saw us.'



**n<sup>y</sup>a-sfɬ-či-ra-'a**      **in<sup>y</sup>aa**  
 I-striped-ABS-make-DUR I  
 'I am striped.'

**n<sup>y</sup>aa nū=sɪɬ-či-ra'a**  
 I      I=striped-ABS-make-DUR  
 'I am striped.'

Verbs in Cora can be marked to agree with the subject with either a subject prefix or a subject particle:

	PREFIX		PARTICLE	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-</b>	<b>ta-</b>	<b>nu</b>	<b>tu</b>
2P	<b>pa-</b>	<b>sa-/ša-</b>	<b>pa</b>	<b>šu</b>
3P	<b>∅</b>	<b>ma-</b>	<b>pu</b>	<b>mu</b>

A prefix marks agreement when the verb precedes its nominal arguments; when a nominal argument precedes the verb (even a non-subject), a particle is used.

**se-yāana**      **m<sup>w</sup>ān**  
 you:PL-smoke you:PL  
 'You are all smoking.'

**m<sup>w</sup>ān**      **šū=yaana**  
 you:PL you:PL=smoke  
 'You all are smoking.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka**      **ɬ maanku**  
 I-UNSPEC-eat-HAB ART mango  
 OBJ  
 'I (like to) eat mangos.'

**māanku**      **nū=k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka**  
 mango I=eat-HAB  
 'Mangos I do eat.'

Subject particles also appear when constituents such as quantifiers and adverbs are preposed to the verb in main clauses.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wāči**      **hēiwa**  
 I-skinny lots  
 'I'm very skinny.'

**hēiwa**      **nū=wāči**  
 lots I=skinny  
 'I'm really skinny!'

Free subject, direct object, and indirect object nominals can all occur together in a single sentence, as in the following example:

**na-a-ta-tɬh**      **in<sup>y</sup>eeci**      **ɬ ha'atɬ**      **ɬ čuaašari**  
 me-COMPL-PERF-give me      ART someone ART pipe  
 'Someone gave me the pipe.'

Usually, however, if there are three overt nominals in a simple sentence, one of them will be preposed to the verb.

**čuaašari**      **pū=na-a-ta-tɬh**      **ɬ ha'atɬ**      **in<sup>y</sup>eeci**  
 pipe      he=me-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone me  
 'A pipe (is what) someone gave to me.'

Topic

There are three kinds of topicalization processes: they can be termed subject fronting, object fronting, and dislocation. As noted in the previous section, subject fronting is accompanied by various other changes. In addition, the fronted nominal becomes part of a single intonation contour that includes at least the subject particle along with the nominal.

t<sup>y</sup>i'i-šairi-p<sup>w</sup>a mī n<sup>y</sup>a-huu  
 DISTR-trash-break ART my-younger  
 brother  
 'My kid brother is thrashing around in the brush pile.'

n<sup>y</sup>a-huu pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-šairi-p<sup>w</sup>a  
 my-younger SUBJ=DISTR-trash-break  
 brother  
 'My kid brother is thrashing around in the brush pile.'

Object fronting is characterized by the same things as subject fronting, with the additional factor that verb-object agreement is suspended when an explicit object nominal immediately precedes the main verb.

n<sup>y</sup>e-y-ā'-u-raii f̄ n<sup>y</sup>e-čun  
 I-it-away-COMPL-lose ART my-machete  
 'I lost my machete.'

n<sup>y</sup>e-čun nū=hā'-u-raii  
 my-machete I=away-COMPL-lose  
 'My machete (is what) I lost.'

hā'am<sup>w</sup>a-seih f̄ ha'atī m<sup>w</sup>éhmi  
 you:PL-see ART someone you:PL  
 'Someone sees you all.'

m<sup>w</sup>éhmi pū=seih f̄ ha'atī  
 you:PL SUBJ=see ART someone  
 'You all are (what) someone sees.'

The third topicalization process, dislocation, is highly marked and does not show the changes associated with subject and object fronting. Topicalized elements, which can include subject, direct object, and indirect object noun phrases, as well as pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, relative clauses, and participles, may be preposed to CNJ, usually a sentence introducer. In such cases, the topicalized element always signals a major structural break in the discourse, such as shifts from strict narration to a stretch of explanatory material, change of setting, or the introduction of a new participant.

**āi-n ahtā nū'u puēerta het<sup>y</sup>e a'-a-r-āhka**  
 DEM-ABS CNJ QUOT door under away-outside-facing-be  
 out sitting  
 'And that one, they say, was sitting in a hole beneath the door.'

These examples show that a dislocated noun phrase does not lose its definite article, carries an intonation contour of its own, and fails to suspend verb-object agreement:

**ī rodriigu, siiku'u-ri pū=t<sup>y</sup>i-ča'i**  
 ART PN shirt-ABS SUBJ=UNSPEC-have  
 OBJ  
 'As for Rodrigo, a shirt (is what) he has.'

**mī siiku'u-ri rodriigu pū=rā-a-nana-i**  
 ART shirt-ABS PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-buy-STAT  
 'As for the shirt, Rodrigo is the one who bought it.'

Focus

In Cora, focus has an identifying function, and presents new information as though it were only one of a set of possible comments that could have been chosen. It is associated with several distinct grammatical structures, frequently involving discontinuous elements. One construction includes a sentence-initial pronoun or demonstrative (the topic), some form of the verb **pīrīkī** 'be', and a nominalized clause following **pīrīkī** (the comment). The nominalized clause is introduced by a sequence consisting of the article **ī** plus a subordinating particle that agrees with the subject.

**āih pī=hī'i-rīkī ī tī ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 DEM ASSR=NARR-be ART SUBR DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC  
 'That one is the one whom she knows.'

Sometimes the idea in focus is stated negatively. In this case the AUX sequence occurs sentence-initially.

**ka-pū=čē'e=tā āi-n pī=hī'i-rīkī**  
 NEG-SUBJ=CONT=afterwards DEM-ABS ASSR=NARR-be  
**ī tī ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 ART SUBR DISTR:SG-know-make-APPLIC  
 'She is no longer (like) that one that she knows.'

Sometimes the comment precedes **pīrīkī**:

**n<sup>y</sup>āa nū šū'um<sup>w</sup>avi'ika n<sup>y</sup>-āi-n pī=rīkī**  
 I I black:one I-DEM-ABS ASSR=be  
 'I am the one painted black (you were talking about).'

There is a pre-verbal focus position for nominals that contrasts with a pre-verbal topic position. The pre-verbal topic position is further removed from the verb than the pre-verbal focus position is, and with dislocation, the topicalized noun phrase does not undergo article deletion, as noted earlier. In the first example, the subject has undergone dislocation, while the object is in pre-verbal focus position:

**ī dionisiya icā-ri pū=t<sup>y</sup>i-ča'ī**  
 ART PN loom-ABS SUBJ=UNSPEC-have  
 OBJ

'As for Dionisia, a loom (is what) she has.'

In the next example, the object nominal has undergone dislocation, while the subject occurs in pre-verbal focus position:

**mī ica-ri dionisiya pū=rā-h-ča'ī**  
 ART loom-ABS PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-(?)-have  
 'As for the loom, Dionisia (is who) owns it.'

The final example shows subject fronting, in which the subject noun phrase does undergo article deletion in pre-verbal position. The object nominal is in pre-verbal focus position. In contrast to the earlier examples, focus position follows the subject clitic, and there can be a slight pause between the subject clitic and the focused nominal:

**dionisiya=pū icā-ri t<sup>y</sup>i-ča'ī**  
 PN=SUBJ loom-ABS UNSPEC-have  
 OBJ

'Dionisia has a loom.'

### Presumptive and Resumptive Pronoun Constructions

One resumptive construction consists of a topicalized element and an enumerated elaboration on the topic. The topic occurs first, followed by the focused elaboration, which may consist entirely of a numeral or be a full noun phrase of the form NUMR + N. The topic always occurs in pre-verbal position while the focused phrase may occur either pre- or post-verbally. Commonly, the verb is deleted from such sentences, which may follow each other as though they were presenting items in a list.

**t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a t<sup>y</sup>ū-hū'-u-k<sup>w</sup>aa k<sup>w</sup>ašp<sup>w</sup>ā sēih**  
 lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-eat plum one  
**pū=r-a-'i-tā-k<sup>w</sup>aa ahtā pīst<sup>y</sup>e'e**  
 SUBJ=DISTR-outside-across-PERF-eat CNJ atole  
 SG trajectory

sēih ahtā wē'ira'a wa'ap<sup>wá</sup>

one CNJ meat two

'And he really ate a lot. As for plums, he ate one bowl. And atole, one. And meat, two.'

n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā-wa'a nū=t<sup>y</sup>-a-'u-pf<sup>st</sup><sup>y</sup>e sēi šā'ari

I-CNJ-beyond I=DISTR-outside-COMPL-atole one jar

nu'u šāa n<sup>y</sup>-i=ku ahtā hām<sup>w</sup>e'i sēi sikiri

I:PS indeed I-be=EV CNJ tortilla one basket

ahtā mūhme sēi kasueela ahtā arrōs sēi kasuella

CNJ beans one bowl CNJ rice one bowl

'And I also made corn gruel. One large jar, as you well know. And tortillas, one basket. And beans, one large bowl. And rice, one large bowl.'

Discontinuous presumptive pronoun constructions can involve locative particles, demonstratives, and quantifiers.

ū=a'-u-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>ā ru-čē

there=away-inside-around-arrive REFL-house  
horiz corner

'He returned back there to his own house.'

amf pū=hu'-u-tā-n<sup>y</sup>uu-sin † t<sup>y</sup>aaku

DEM SUBJ=NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR ART toad

'This toad will be responding.'

m-ahtā-wa'a sēih wa-tā-it<sup>y</sup>-a-ka'a

they-CNJ-beyond one COMPL-PERF-send-APPLIC-PERF  
PAST

kū'uku'u t<sup>f</sup> ahtā wā-ye'i-ve

snake SUBR CNJ COMPL-walk-HAB

'Once again they sent another snake to go.'

Focused quantifiers apparently can also occur in pre-verbal position. In such cases, preposing the quantifier foregrounds the degree of intensity or quantity implied by the particular quantifier used.

haru šā'ičū'i nū=wa-rūh

but barely I=COMPL-get

well

'But I just barely got well.'

The distinction between topic and focus is not always clear. As the next example shows, a focused quantifier can even be preposed to the sentential conjunction, which is usually a sentence-initial constituent.

ka'anakan mu=m-ahta=ra-a-ta-he'ika

quickly they=they-CNJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-kill

'And right away they killed him, too.'

## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions

Conjunctions typically occur in sentence- or clause-initial position. Several of them are marked for person and number of the subject of the sentence. Some can occur as either main or subordinate clause introducers.

One set of coordinate conjunctions groups together around semantic notions such as sequential, resultative, and additional or repeated activity (see COORDINATION):

**āh=pū=nu'u=hī ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-ta-hē**  
CNJ=he=QUOT=SEQ thus DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

**tīkīn ka-pā yēe a-yein<sup>y</sup>-a**  
QUOT NEG-you QUOT REFL-cry-PRTC  
'And then he said to her, "Don't fret about it."'

**n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā taišī'i**  
I-CNJ sweat  
'And I was sweating also.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-tī'ih=n<sup>y</sup>-i ra-a-hī-st<sup>y</sup>e**  
I-CNJ=I-SEQ DISTR-COMPL-wake-APPLIC:PAST  
SG  
'Then I woke him up.'

**tī'ih=tā='i a=va'a-kāa-n<sup>y</sup>e**  
CNJ=afterward=SEQ away=coming-down-pass  
across by  
'Then he went down there.'

**tī'ī-kī wa-tā-ur-a'a**  
CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-give  
in  
'And then he gave in to them.'

**m-ah=tā=wa'a séih wa-tā-it<sup>y</sup>a-ka'a kū'uku'u**  
they-CNJ=and=beyond another COMPL-PERF-sent-PAST snake  
PERF  
'Again they sent another snake (off to do it).'

One class of subordinating conjunction marks temporal relations between subordinate and main clauses (cf. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES, Temporal Clauses):

**afhnā hu'-u-tā-ur-iika-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a**  
that NARR-COMPL-PERF-REFL-load-make:APPLIC-PRTC

**t<sup>i</sup>'t-ri ra-a-hē'ika**  
SIMUL-already DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill  
'She was loading up for herself that thing she had already killed.'

**ma-t<sup>i</sup>'ih nū'u m-erī hē'ita'a u-hū'u-n mu'u-ri**  
they-CNJ QUOT they-now halfway inside-go:PL-PRTC they-now

**ra-tā-'asi ha'u-t<sup>f</sup>**  
DISTR:SG-straight-reach where-SUBR

**a'-a-vā'a-namī'i**  
away-outside-covering-be

enclosed

'When they are now about halfway through, they are already reaching the place where she is hidden.'

The subordinators **t<sup>i</sup>ik<sup>n</sup>** and **yee** are used to introduce either direct or indirect discourse (cf. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES, Marking):

**t<sup>f</sup>'ih=nū'u=hi ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-wa'-u-tā-'i-ša**  
CNJ=QUOT=SEQ thus DISTR-them-COMPL-REFL-towards-say

**t<sup>i</sup>ik<sup>n</sup> pu'u-rī 'i-ku**  
QUOT SUBJ:PS-now be-EV

'Then, they say, he thus spoke to them, "Clearly, it's all over now."

**ka-mū m-ahtā a'ih t<sup>y</sup>i-ta-a-tā-'i-ša**  
NEG-them they-CNJ something DISTR-us-COMPL-PERF-tell

**yee t<sup>y</sup>ā+t<sup>y</sup>e mū=seih-re-'e siluu animaalis**  
QUOT people they=see-make-APPLIC rather animals

**t<sup>y</sup>-ah nu'u ū=a'-u-sēih**  
we-SUBR QUOT there=away-COMPL-see

'And they did not say anything to us about people being seen there, only that we would see animals there.'

Several conjunctions are used to convey notions related to 'or'; see COORDINATION, Conjunctions:

<b>siluu</b>	'but rather'
<b>na'arii</b>	'or otherwise...'
<b>o</b>	'or'
<b>ka'ih</b>	'or maybe(?)'
<b>nusuu</b>	'or'

Polarity

The basic affirmative particle is **hēe**. It may be made emphatic by adding either the clitic **šāa** or **wī'i**.

**tikin hee**

QUOT yes

INTR

'Yes.'

**hēe šāa n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ayēh t<sup>y</sup>ī'-ayāhna**

yes EMPH AFF thus DISTR-be

correct

'Yes, indeed, now, that's the way it is.'

**hēe wī'i n<sup>y</sup>ē-'ik<sup>w</sup>a n<sup>y</sup>ā'u**

yes EMPH I-be AFF

hungry

'Yes, indeed, I am hungry, to be sure.'

Three morphemes can be labelled interjections: **hawī**, a nonemphatic sentence introducer; **hūumpi** (cf. Spanish **hombre**), an emphatic introducer; and **ēpāt**, an exclamation of surprise.

**huumpi šāa ka-nū ā'ih rī-n<sup>y</sup>i**

man AFF NEG-I something do-FUT

'Man I'm really serious. I can't do a thing.'

**hawī tī nū'u ayān t<sup>y</sup>ū-hū'-u-rīh**

INTR SUBR QUOT thus DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do

'Well, this is what they say took place.'

**ēpāt a'in<sup>y</sup>i p-i-htā t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-n<sup>y</sup>e-n<sup>y</sup>eeče**

hey why you-SEQ DISTR-me-threaten

'Hey! Why are you threatening to shoot me?'

The morphemes **n<sup>y</sup>ā'u** FINAL ASSENT and **pī-** ASSERTIVE MODE link sentences uttered by speaker A back to an earlier sentence uttered by speaker B. **n<sup>y</sup>ā'u** can either be a mild affirmation of another person's statement, or it can mean that the present speaker is finished speaking for the moment.

**tikin n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ī-hī'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i n<sup>y</sup>ā'u**

QUOT I-DISTR-NARR-be well

INTR

sick

'He said, "I'm sick, that's all."

Negation is marked by the first position clitic **ka** in main clauses or in fully sentential finite complement clauses.

**ka-nū wāpī'ī wa-nāšua n<sup>y</sup>i ka-nū wāpī'ī**

NEG-I lots COMPL-salivate nor NEG-I lots



**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-'ah-kase**

EXT-in-vertically-be

middle swollen

'I did not salivate a lot, nor was I swelled up a lot all over my body.'

Negation is also marked by the bimorphemic sequence **kāi** to indicate contrary-to-fact situations.

**čé'e yée kāi ā'-a-taa-ka**

EXHRT QUOT IRR away-outside-burn-HAB

'Don't let that fire keep burning off over there.'

Several particles are used to indicate whether the speaker is the immediate source of the material being recounted. Secondhand events are marked by **nu'u**, whereas secondhand direct discourse is marked by **yée**, **wī**, or **yēewi**.

**ayāa pū nū'u t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-r̄h**

thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do

'This is, they say, what took place.'

**ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an<sup>y</sup>e yée héice'e**

you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-exert QUOT more

'Pour on the coals, you all, harder!'

**ka-nū wī kū-'i ā'ih t<sup>y</sup>i-m<sup>w</sup>a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-va'ir-i**

NEG-I QUOT EV-SEQ something DISTR-you-UNSPEC(?)-help-STAT  
OBJ

'I really cannot do you any good.'

The clitic **ku**, the sequence **iku**, and the variant **kū'i** are all used by the speaker to emphasize the veracity of the content of his utterances.

**a'ačū ku r̄f'i na-a-r̄h**

somewhat EV well me-COMPL-do

'It made me a little better.'

**pu-'urī 'i-ku**

SUBJ-already be-EV

'Obviously, that's all.'

**kū-'i šāa m̄ p<sup>w</sup>aari**

EV-SEQ AFF ART priest

'Oh, man! That poor priest!'

Finally, the clitics **tā'uh** and **cāa** are used to convey an element of surprise or irony.

**aī tā'uh p-ih-tā t<sup>y</sup>i-'i-šah-ta-ve**

DEM DUB you-SEQ-PERF DISTR-say-make-HAB

'How is it that you can talk this way?'

**n<sup>y</sup>i cāa pe-rī waa-yé'i pā'arī'í**

Q no you-now EXT-walk child  
fooling

'And, on top of everything else, are you now walking, child?'

### Modal

Yes/no questions are marked by the first position particle **n<sup>y</sup>i**.

**n<sup>y</sup>i sā-uh-sa'upe'e**

Q you:PL-REFL-rest  
'Are you all resting?'

Exhortative mode is also marked by a first position clitic **čē'e** (or **ičē'e**), which can be further marked for subject-verb agreement.

**n<sup>y</sup>i-čē'e hā'-u-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**

me-EXHRT away-COMPL-leave-FUT  
'Let me leave. I'm going now.'

**čē'e yēe kái hā'-a-taa-ka**

EXHRT QUOT IRR away-outside-burn-HAB  
'Don't let the fire over there be burning.'

Conditional mode is marked by the sentence-initial clitic complex **tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a**.

**tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a ma-kāi t<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>u-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-waa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n-čē'e**  
SUBR COND they-IRR DISTR-me-inside-in-cure-make-APPLIC  
middle -PRTC  
-COND

**ayēh n<sup>y</sup>a-'ase n<sup>y</sup>a-mī'í-n<sup>y</sup>i-čē'e nū**

thus me-seem I-die-FUT-COND I  
'If they had not have given me medicine, it seems  
to me that I would have died.'

Dubitative mode is marked by another clause-initial particle, **t<sup>y</sup>i**.

**t<sup>y</sup>i yēe ū=p-ā'-u-ye'i-mī pēh**  
DUB QUOT there=you=away-COMPL-go-DESID you:SUBR

**t<sup>y</sup>a-ha'-u-tā-vatī-re-'e-n**  
DISTR-away-COMPL-PERF-help-make-APPLIC-FUT(?)  
'...if you want to go help off there.'

**ya'ak<sup>w</sup>ēi yēwi í ham<sup>w</sup>e'i t<sup>y</sup>ih yēwi p-āu-hi-'ik<sup>w</sup>a**  
here:PS QUOT ART tortilla DUB QUOT you-LOC-NARR-be  
BASE hungry

'Here, take these tortillas, if by chance you are still hungry.'

Optative mode is marked by the sentence-initial complex consisting of a subject prefix and two locative prefixes **a** and **uu** ('away' and DIRECTIONAL), which I refer to as the locative base.

**n<sup>y</sup>-āuh mī'i wā-n-sā'upe'e-n**  
 I-LOC first COMPL-REFL-rest-PRTC  
 BASE  
 'First, I would like to rest myself.'

Two modal particles can occur in sentence-final position. Both **sēin** EV and **cī-t<sup>y</sup>e'e** AFF are at least related to main verbs.

**ah pū-'i hā'a=hi-(y)a'-a-kāa-va-cī**  
 then SUBJ-SEQ be=NARR-away-outside-down-fall-PAST  
 LOC

**sēin ī t<sup>y</sup>aška**  
 EV ART scorpion  
 'Apparently the scorpion dropped down from there.'

**hēe-cī-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 yes-be-make-APPLIC  
 certain  
 'That's for sure.'

**ka-pū cī-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 NEG-SUBJ be-make-APPLIC  
 certain  
 'That's for sure not the case.'

**yā'ušū pū n<sup>y</sup>ā'u pī=hī'i-rīh-kaa cī-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 possum SUBJ well ASSR=NARR-do-HAB be-make-APPLIC  
 certain  
 'Sure enough, a possum is responsible.'

### Pronominal

There are four classes of subject markers in Cora. They include a series of bound prefixes, a semi-independent series of particles, a series of pausal forms, and a series of emphatic independent pronouns.

In many constructions that include an auxiliary sequence, both a tightly bound subject prefix and a more loosely bound subject particle can occur. The subject particles tend to occur when various nominal and adjectival and adverbial elements become preposed to the verb.

The pausal forms consist of a subject particle plus a following glottal stop and a copy of the particle vowel, which (except for second person singular) is always **u**. Pausal forms are always pronounced with final intonation.

Finally, for the first person forms of the free pronouns, there is an alternation between *i*-initial and *C*-initial stems. The *i*-initial forms tend to occur utterance-finally, as objects of postpositions and in reduced constructions of the form CNJ-PRON. The *C*-initial stems tend to occur pre-verbally.

The series of SUBJ markers are as follows:

<u>PF</u>		<u>PRT</u>	
n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-	nu	tu
pa-	sa-/ša-	pa	šu
∅	ma-	pu	mu

#### Pausal Forms

nu'u	tu'u
papu'u	šu'u
pu'u	mu'u

n<sup>y</sup>a-wāči  
I-be  
skinny  
'I'm skinny.'

ka-nū=wači  
NEG-I=skinny  
'I'm not skinny.'

ka-nu=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i n<sup>y</sup>a-wāči nu'u  
NEG-I=DISTR-be I-be I:PS  
sick skinny

'I'm not sick. I'm just skinny, that's all.'

#### Independent Forms

(j)n <sup>y</sup> aa	(j)t <sup>y</sup> an
m <sup>w</sup> aa	m <sup>w</sup> aan
DEMONSTRATIVE	

hēiwa nū=wači  
lots I=be  
skinny  
'I'm very skinny.'

#### Clitic Sequences

There are several tight-knit sequences of clitics that are only loosely tied to the main verb in a clause. Frequently constituents such as LOC noun phrases, OBJ noun phrases, SUBJ noun phrases, quantifiers, and adverbs occur between a clitic sequence and the verb. Some of these clitic sequences can be post-posed to the verb or even be used as free forms, especially in answer to a question. Finally, in subordinate constructions it is possible to find two distinct clitic sequences occurring together. It is convenient to classify all such clitic sequences under the category AUXILIARY.

The various elements that can occur in auxiliary clitic sequences include subject prefixes and particles, the locative base *āū*, negative and modal clitics, adverbial subordinators, and certain conjunctions.

The following examples illustrate various tight-knit clitic sequences. Usually, the sequence occurs sentence-initially and contributes some adverbial meaning to the entire clause. Additional ideas include that of realized versus non-realized activity.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>-āuu=čē'e=šāamī'ī</b> I-LOC=CONT=be BASE cold 'I'm still cold.'	<b>nu'u-rī=šāamī'ī</b> I:PS-now=be cold 'I'm already cold.'
<b>ka-nū=(čē'e)=šāamī'ī</b> NEG-I=(CONT-)be cold 'I'm not cold (any longer).'	<b>ka-šfi-nū=šāamī'ī</b> NEG-IMPOT-I=be cold 'I'm not yet cold.'
<b>ma-tī'ih-tā=m-ī</b> they-when-afterwards=they-be	<b>māih-nā f t<sup>y</sup>aakū</b> they-DEM ART toad
<b>a-u-tā-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree-ri-'i</b> away-horizontal-PERF-know-APPLIC-STAT 'Then they thought to call on toad.'	

Question formation, subject and object topicalization, and other things related to the formation of complex sentences frequently put clitic sequences into a non-initial position within a sentence.

<b>rum<sup>w</sup>ā pū ari-'i-tā</b> zapote SUBJ now-SEQ-afterwards	<b>hi-rā-'a-k<sup>w</sup>a'a</b> NARR-DISTR:SG-away-eat
<b>āihna f ya'ušu</b> DEM ART possum 'And so it is that that possum is now eating a zapote.'	
<b>tī=p<sup>y</sup>ā'ah p-eri-'i-tā=mē'e=(y)a'-u-sēih</b> SUBR=COND you-now-SEQ-afterwards=LOC=away-COMPL-see PS 'Whenever you now see him anywhere around...'	
<b>me=n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā yēe n<sup>y</sup>-erī hī-'ik<sup>w</sup>a</b> as=I-CNJ QUOT I-now NARR-be for hungry 'And as for me, I am now hungry.'	
<b>n<sup>y</sup>ī pa-kāi-čē'e=šāamī'ī</b> Q you-IRR-CONT=be:cold 'Are you not cold any longer?'	

## BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Cora has several basic uses of verbs that mean 'be'. Existential sentences may consist of a nominal subject and a zero predicate. Other existential constructions use either some form of the stem **hēen<sup>y</sup>a** or the stem **pīrīkī**.

**hēiwa mū=šahčeh**

many they=dung  
beetles

'There are lots of dung beetles.'

**cankā pū=pū-een**

sugar SUBJ=ASSR-be

'It's crude brown sugar.'

**n<sup>y</sup>i a-yī'ī pīrīkī**

Q your-skirt be

'Is this your skirt?'

The notion 'be' is closely tied to ideas about location and position. Both the verbs **hēen<sup>y</sup>a** and **šuaavi** are used to express the occurrence of something in a general area.

**utān hece mū=hā'a hē'ita'a hēen**

other at they=be in be  
side located middle

'They are off yonder on the far side of the river.'

**n<sup>y</sup>i wā-šuaa ī yuuri hā'u pē-hē'e-če**

Q EXT-be ART corn where:SUBR you-be-live  
located

'Is there any corn off there where you live?'

The stem **pīrīkī** also names a location when it is marked by the seventh position prefix **ā'** 'away', which is related (historically, at least) to the stem **he'e**.

**tu-'urī akatlan pī-hā'a-rīkī**

we-now PN ASSR-away-be

'We're now in Acatlān.'

The stem **hē'e** (or **hā'a**) also appears to indicate generalized locality.

**ha'un<sup>y</sup>i p-ūh-me-'en hē'e meehiku**  
 where ASSR-REFL(?) -go-PRTC be PN  
 located  
 'Mexico City is located off in which direction?'

**ka=pū mē'e=hē'e t<sup>y</sup>i'iti**  
 NEG=SUBJ there=be something  
 PS located  
 'There was nothing off there outside.'

Another stem, **wā'a** 'later on, beyond' is used to reinforce the meaning of **he'e** 'be located'. This construction apparently only occurs in negative sentences.

**ka=pū=ya-kā'a=hā'a-wa'a**  
 NEG=SUBJ=here-lay=be-beyond  
 located  
 'There is nothing down here.'

A set of posture verbs is used for describing particular locations in which particular kinds of objects are found. The stems of this set and their meanings are given below.

<b>vee</b> (SG)/ <b>yū</b> (PL)	'to be standing' (tall object)
<b>ka</b> (SG)/ <b>t<sup>y</sup>i</b> (PL)	'to be seated' (equidimensional object)
<b>pīi</b>	'to be lying down' (flat but flexible object)
<b>kā'a</b>	'to be lying down' (long, rigid object)
<b>m<sup>w</sup>aa</b>	'to cover an area' (flat, rigid object)

The following are typical examples:

<b>wa-t<sup>y</sup>-ēh-vee</b>	<b>m<sup>w</sup>a-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-uu</b>
EXT-up-along-be	they-EXT-in -be
edge standing	middle standing
'He is standing up.'	'They are standing up.'
<b>yā=nū=wā-ka</b>	<b>yā=mū=wa-t<sup>y</sup>i</b>
here=I=EXT-be:seated	here=they=EXT-be:seated
'I am here.'	'They are here.'

**na'a** is not restricted to locative predications:

<b>ayāa mū=če'e-tā</b>	<b>ma-na'a wā-uh-ruu</b>
thus they=CONT-afterwards	they-be COMPL-REFL-alive

t<sup>y</sup>a-tīh it<sup>y</sup>an

we-like we

'They are of the same race as us.'

The existential stem **hēen<sup>y</sup>a** 'be' takes both sentential and verbal complements.

yāa pū=heen kumu m<sup>w</sup>ašā hi'isi

thus SUBJ=be like deer eyes

'It is like the eyes of a deer.'

n<sup>y</sup>i me-yān hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a wā-šuaa ɸ kawaayu'u

Q they-thus be-DUR:PRTC EXT-exist ART horse

'Are there really horses like this in some place?'

The suppletive tense stems of the verb 'go' occur as complements to **hēen<sup>y</sup>a**. Semantically, they add an aspectual sense to the meaning of the entire sentence; i.e. they are auxiliary verbs.

ayāa pū=hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a hā'a-raa

thus SUBJ=be-DUR be-leave

PRTC located

'And this is how it came out.'

ayāa pū=hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a hā'a-ye'i

thus SUBJ=be-DUR be -walk

PRTC located around

'And this is how it has come out.'

ayāa pū=hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a hā'a-me

thus SUBJ=be-DUR be-go

PRTC located

'And this is how it will come out.'

### HAVE

Both individual verb stems and incorporated possessed object nouns figure among the various locutions used to express the notion 'have' in Cora. One such construction consists of a possessed nominal as the subject of the verb **pīrīki** 'be'.

n<sup>y</sup>i-yauh pū=pīrīki

my-son SUBJ=be

'He is my son.'

ā-'ara'a-n

inanimate -NONREFL-ABS

pū=pīrīki amfina

SUBJ=be DEM

possession POSSR

'This thing is his.'

Possessed nouns can be used as the predicate in a clause.



ha'atāan<sup>y</sup>i ra-yauu-ka  
 who DISTR:SG-son-HAB  
 'Whose son is it?'

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-yuuri  
 I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-corn  
 'I have corn.'

In some incorporated possessed object constructions, the possessor is marked by direct object pronouns or by an accusative form of the third person demonstrative pronoun.

n<sup>y</sup>ēeci pū=n<sup>y</sup>a-'a  
 me SUBJ=my-inanimate  
 possession  
 'It's mine.'

The suppletive forms *kīi* (SG) and *ya'am<sup>w</sup>a* (PL) mark possession of domestic animals. (See POSSESSIVES for discussion of the classification of possessed nouns.)

n<sup>y</sup>ēeci pū=n<sup>y</sup>a-kīi ī waaka  
 me SUBJ=my-animal ART cow  
 'It's my cow.'

n<sup>y</sup>ēeci mū=n<sup>y</sup>i-yā'am<sup>w</sup>aa ī waaka-si  
 me they=my-animal:PL ART cow-PL  
 'They are my cows.'

With inanimate possessed objects, distributive *t<sup>y</sup>i'*- is used to mark plural.

n<sup>y</sup>ēeci pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>a-'a  
 me SUBJ=DISTR-my-inanimate  
 possession  
 'They are my things.'

Cora has an overt main verb *ča'ī*, which means roughly 'to possess X'. It frequently occurs with a preceding derivative element *āh*, which is probably a locative particle.

ha'atāan<sup>y</sup>i ta'u-t<sup>y</sup>ē mē=hē'e=ča'īh  
 who egg-PL there=be=have  
 located  
 'Who anywhere around would have eggs (to sell)?'

Possessive constructions distinguish between definite possessed objects and indefinite possessed objects.

kūko pū=ra-kana  
 PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-guitar  
 'Cuco owns the guitar.'

**ĩ kuko sēih pū=t<sup>y</sup>ĩ-kana**  
 ART PN one SUBJ=UNSPEC-guitar  
 OBJ  
 'Cuco owns a guitar.'

**ka-nū=r-āh-ča'ĩ sāpun**  
 NEG-I=DISTR:SG-(?)-have soap  
 'I don't have the soap.'

**fidél pān pū=t<sup>y</sup>ĩ-ča'ĩ**  
 PN bread SUBJ=UNSPEC-have  
 OBJ  
 'Fidel has bread.'

Specific locations may be mentioned regarding the position of the possessed object.

**n<sup>y</sup>ĩ pu-'an-tā-tameh**  
 Q you-on-across-teeth  
 top  
 'Do you have a lot of teeth?'

**ru-'u-k-āh-ča'ih ĩ ru-ka'an<sup>y</sup>ĩ cahta'a**  
 DISTR:SG-inside-down-(?)-have ART his-bag inside  
 'He has it in his shoulder bag.'

**hāh m<sup>w</sup>aa āh-na**  
 water be there-PREV  
 spread REF  
 out  
 'There was a pool of water there.'

**pūuru'u ha-uu-kā'a**  
 donkey away-horizontally-be:laying  
 'A donkey was stretched out on the ground.'

Finally, the main verb **na'a** 'be' indicates the idea of being in a particular condition or of a given quality.

<b>ha'in<sup>y</sup>ĩ ma-na'a</b>	<b>kū šuée hīrīh na'a</b>
how they-be	EV seem hill be
'How are they?' or	'It looks like a mountain.'
'What are they like?'	

**n<sup>y</sup>ĩ amīĩ na'a**  
 Q DEM be  
 'Is that all of it?'

The existential stem **na'a** 'be' can occur with an adverbial and an embedded sentential complement in a structure that can be paraphrased 'It is there in X location that Y nominal occurs in a given posture'.

**mā'a=na'a ūh-vee m̄ kʃa'uri m̄ mēesa hap<sup>wa</sup>**  
 there:PS=be inside-stand ART bottle ART table on  
 slope

'The thermos bottle is standing up there on top  
 of the table.'

**mā'a=na'a ūh-ka m̄ telefono m̄ mēesa hap<sup>wa</sup>**  
 there:PS=be inside-sit ART telephone ART table on  
 slope

'The telephone is sitting there up on top of the table.'

The stem **he'e** 'be located' can be used in the above construction, substituting for **na'a**:

**n<sup>y</sup>i ya=hā'a vēhli'i ha'-u-t<sup>y</sup>-ēh-vee**  
 Q here=be nearby away-EXT-up-along-be  
 located edge standing

'Is he standing around somewhere close to here?'

**r-a-'i-r-āh-ča'ih i t<sup>y</sup>asta'a**  
 DISTR-outside-across -facing-(?)-have ART cave  
 SG trajectory out

'He has it in the cave.'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ēe-či'i**  
 EXT-be-house  
 extended

'He has a house.'

## DO

Cora has several main verbs that express ideas related to 'do'. One stem **taawa** has an alternate form **taav-** when occurring with the applicative suffix **-e**. It means, variously, 'make', 'fabricate', or 'build'.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-taawa šāhm<sup>wa</sup>'ari**  
 DISTR-make net

'He's making a fish net.'

**sēih pā-na-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-taav-e-hsin i turuump<sup>wa</sup>'a**  
 one you-me-COMPL-UNSPEC-make-APPLIC-DUR ART drum  
 OBJ(?)

'You will make me a drum.'

The stem **rī** can mean either 'do' or 'happen'.

**ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-rī-n<sup>y</sup>a-ka**  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-do-come-HAB  
 around

'This is what happens.'

pu-'urí é'ih p<sup>w</sup>á'a wa-ríh  
 SUBJ-now something bad COMPL-do  
 'It broke down.'

ha'in<sup>y</sup>i t<sup>y</sup>a-rí-n<sup>y</sup>i  
 what we-do-FUT  
 'What will we do?'

The stem **ruura** means to do something to someone, to fashion something out of something else, or to happen to someone.

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i-na-ā-ruu  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-me-COMPL-happen  
 'This is what happened to me.'

ayāa nū=ra-ruu-re  
 thus I=DISTR:SG-do-CAUS:APPLIC  
 'This is what I'm doing to it.'

Cora has several derivative suffixes that can be glossed as 'make' or 'become'. They have the phonological shapes **-ta**, **-ra**, **-ca**, and **-ri**, respectively. With some verb stems they have become fused with the applicative suffix **-e**, and thus show additional shapes such as **-t<sup>y</sup>e'e**, **-re'e**, and **-ce'e** (see **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Causative).

t<sup>y</sup>i'i-hata'uh-ta  
 DISTR-bag-CAUS  
 'She is making a woven shoulder bag.'

t<sup>y</sup>apí-ce'e m̄t̄ c̄t̄t̄  
 fleas-CAUS:APPLIC ART dog  
 'The dog has fleas.'

wa-t<sup>y</sup>é-yu'uša-ra  
 COMPL-PERF-various-CAUS  
 colors  
 'It's going to turn all sorts of colors.'

n<sup>y</sup>i=kí wā-ye'i-ri  
 Q=INDF EXT-walk-IMPRF  
 CAUS  
 'Is it becoming walkable on?'

## NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Passive

Cora has a true passive suffix with three forms: *-i*, *-hwa*, and *-iwa*. It is possible that the longer form is really bimorphemic. Stem-final vowels ablaut to *-i* when the passive suffix is added.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**

DISTR-sow-make-APPLIC

'He is sowing seed.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t<sup>y</sup>i-'i**

DISTR-sow-make-STAT

'It is sown.'

**an-t<sup>y</sup>i-šīci-'iwa-hmee m̄ našai-ra'a-n m̄ puuru'u**  
 on-up-slice-PASS-COLL ART ear-NONREFL-ABS ART donkey  
 top POSSR

'This donkey's ears are cut short.'

**t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yaaca**

DISTR-outside-cook

stew

'She's cooking.'

(cf. *yāacari* 'stew')

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-yeeci-hwa**

DISTR-cook-PASS

stew

'The things are cooked.'

All of the active examples above involve unspecified objects. From the following example, it might seem that an agentive phrase can occur with a passive verb.

**an-kā-cu'u-ta'i-ri-'i † it<sup>y</sup>a'ih † tāih kime'e**  
 on-down-break-burn-make-STAT ART spoon ART fire with  
 top

'The edge of the head of the spoon is burned off by a fire.'

However, animate nouns cannot be the object of the postposition in such constructions.

**\*kist<sup>y</sup>ihwa † bēta kime'e**

be ART PN with

braided

'It was braided by Betty.'

(This last phrase is taken to mean that Betty is braided along with the other materials that the braided object consists of.)

Finally, there is a passive causative morpheme *-re*.

**wa-mě'e-re**  
 COMPL-kill-make:PASS:APPLIC  
 'He got killed.'

### Reflexive

There are four reflexive verb prefixes. Third person singular and second and third person plural have all merged to **ru-**. The **r-**initial forms occur word-initially and at stress group boundaries. Before vowel-initial stems, **ru** metathesizes to **ur**. The first person singular form shows up as **-n-** when it follows certain prefixes such as **wa-** COMPL and **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- DISTR.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-</b>	<b>ta-</b>
<b>a-</b>	<b>ru-</b>
<b>ru-</b>	<b>ru-</b>

These reflexive prefixes, for one, serve to indicate the simple case where subject and object are coreferential, as the following examples show.

**nu-'urī=n<sup>y</sup>a-pīs-te-'e**  
 I-now=myself-warm-make-APPLIC  
 'Now I'm warming myself.'

**pa-pu'urī=a-pīs-te-'e**  
 you-now=yourself-warm-make-APPLIC  
 'Now you are warming yourself.'

**pu-'urī=ru-pīs-te-'e**  
 he-now=himself-warm-make-APPLIC  
 'Now he is warming himself.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wā-n-pīs-teh**  
 I-COMPL-myself-warm-make:APPLIC  
 'I warmed myself.'

**wā-uh-pīs-teh**  
 COMPL-REFL-warm-make:APPLIC  
 'He warmed himself.'

The **h** associated with the **u**-forms results from consonant softening (see **PHONOLOGY**.)

The reflexive prefixes may be reinforced by either the reflexive pronoun (**sāih** SG; **hīim<sup>w</sup>a'a** PL) or the reciprocal pronoun **-šā'a**. The reflexive pronoun conveys the idea of the participants involved doing something without the intervention of anybody else. It also has an emphatic use.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-wā-n-pīs-t<sup>y</sup>eh</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-sāih</b>
I-COMPL-myself-warm-make:APPLIC	I-self
'I warmed myself up all by myself.'	

**ma-wā-uh-t<sup>y</sup>a'aših**                      **ru-híim<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 they-COMPL-themselves-quarrel REFL-selves  
 'They quarreled among themselves.'

The reciprocal pronoun reinforces the notion that the action participant A had on B is the same as B had on A.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>-uh-t<sup>y</sup>á'aših**    **ru-šā'ah**  
 they-up-REFL-rebuke REFL-equally  
 'They rebuked each other equally.'

An additional use of the plural reflexive in Cora is to express the notion of reciprocal activity among participants.

**t<sup>y</sup>ē-t<sup>y</sup>a-ta-va'ara**                      **ma-wā-ur-i-ša**  
 we-in-REFL-beat                      they-COMPL-REFL-facing-talk  
    middle                      'They talked it over  
 'We're beating each other up.'    among themselves.'

The reflexives also can appear as the objects of postpositions, usually resulting in a reciprocal meaning.

**ru-cāhta'a pū=n<sup>y</sup>ee-re-'i**  
 REFL-inside SUBJ=be-make-STAT  
    light  
 'It is lighted up within itself.'

**t<sup>y</sup>-ahtā hē'eyan**                      **ta-wārita'a**  
 we-CNJ subsequently REFL-behind  
 'And, subsequently, back we go by the way we came.'

**ru-hece šu=rā-a-wauu-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 REFL-in you=DISTR-COMPL-look-FUT  
    PL SG                      for  
 'Look for it within your very own selves.'

Reflexives also appear on certain verb-like forms that have an adverbial function in a sentence.

**se-yaana ru-šāawa**  
 you-smoke yourselves-contentedly  
 PL  
 'You all are smoking to your heart's content.'

### Unspecified Arguments

There are several constructions in Cora that use affixes that indicate an underlying unspecified object. The distributive plural morpheme **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- has this as one of its functions. Note the following contrasting sentences:

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 I-DISTR-eat  
 'I am eating.'

**maangū nū=k<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 mango I=eat  
 'I am eating a mango.'

Certain possessive constructions of the form N<sub>1</sub> POSSESSES N<sub>2</sub> illustrate the contrast between specified possessed objects and unspecified possessed objects. These constructions basically consist of a prefix and an incorporated possessed noun. In the case of a specified possessed noun, the prefix selected is **ra-**. For unspecified (or indefinite) possessed nouns, the prefix is **t<sup>y</sup>i-** in the singular and either **t<sup>y</sup>-** or **h-** in distributive plural forms. (**t<sup>y</sup>-** occurs preceding vowel-initial stems and **h-** before consonant-initial stems.)

**ra-sfiku'u f̄ rodrigu**  
 DISTR:SG-shirt ART PN  
 'Rodrigo owns the shirt.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-siiku'u f̄ rodrigu**  
 UNSPEC-shirt ART PN  
 OBJ  
 'Rodrigo owns a shirt.'

The following examples show the alternation between **t<sup>y</sup>-** and **h-** in distributive plural possessed forms.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-irih hēiwa**  
 DISTR-UNSPEC-feather lots  
 OBJ shaft  
 'He has lots of feather shafts.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>eih hēiwa**  
 DISTR-UNSPEC-hatchet lots  
 OBJ  
 'He has lots of hatchets.'

There are certain derived adjective forms which also reflect an unspecified object. Most of these forms involve the distributive plural prefix **t<sup>y</sup>i-** (see **SYNTACTIC MARKING**). They also may include the reflexive **ru-**. The identification of **u-** in these forms is questionable since there is a **u-** allomorph of **wa-** COMPLETIVE, which is more likely present in these forms.

**t<sup>y</sup>ú'-u-kuhmi-st<sup>y</sup>e'-e**  
 DISTR-COMPL-be-make-APPLIC  
 sleepy  
 'sleep-inducing'

**ru-ča-cā**  
 REFL-bite-(?)  
 'It really has a bite  
 to it.' (strong distilled  
 drink)

**t<sup>y</sup>ú'-u-če'e-va-ka**  
 DISTR-COMPL(?) -bite-HAB-HAB  
 'It bites.' (an insect)



**rū-'ik<sup>w</sup>a-ta-ve-'e**  
 REFL-be-make-HAB-APPLIC  
           hungry  
 'One gets hungry.'

**t<sup>y</sup>-ū-'ik<sup>w</sup>a-ste-'e**  
 DISTR-COMPL-be-make-APPLIC  
           hungry  
 'hunger-inducing'

### QUESTIONS

#### Yes/No Questions

The usual yes/no question marker is **n<sup>y</sup>i**, which occurs first in a sentence unless another constituent is topicalized. It may be followed by the morpheme **ki** to indicate doubt on the speaker's part in asking the question.

**n<sup>y</sup>i pē-'ik<sup>w</sup>a**  
 Q you-be  
           hungry  
 'Are you hungry?'

**hari m<sup>w</sup>āa n<sup>y</sup>i p-erī-hi'ik<sup>w</sup>a**  
 CNJ you Q you-now-be  
                           hungry  
 'As for you, are you hungry now?'

**n<sup>y</sup>i kī wā-ye'i-ri**  
 Q INDF EXT-walk-IMPRF  
                           CAUS  
 'Is it becoming walkable on?'

A simple yes/no question can be answered by a single affirmative particle or some auxiliary sequence; the verb or a synonym can optionally be included in the response. There also may be some explanation of or qualification to the original question along with the response particle, or another question seeking some clarification of the original.

**Q: n<sup>y</sup>i hēe**  
 Q AFF  
 'Is it really so?'

**A: hēe wii**  
 AFF EMPH  
 'It sure is!'





unsaid. The expressed constituents include both nominal and auxiliary elements, as well as postpositional phrases. Sometimes even Q is deleted.

harí ĩ tĩ ā-ham<sup>w</sup>ān  
 CNJ ART SUBR you-with  
 'And (where is) your husband?' (Lit., the one who  
 accompanies you.)

harí kĭ wĭ ĩ n<sup>y</sup>a-mūuku'u hece  
 CNJ INDF QUOT ART my-hat in  
 'Or, (how about catching it) in my hat?'

n<sup>y</sup>ĭ p-āūu-ĉe'e  
 Q you-LOC-CONT  
 BASE  
 'Do you want any more?'

### WH Questions

The WH question words of Cora all include the basic question marker *n<sup>y</sup>ĭ* or the indefinite ending *-ki*, which has a subjunctive or dubitative meaning. These WH words normally come first in a sentence unless some constituent other than WH is topicalized. Indefinite pronouns differ in form from the WH words only by the final *-n<sup>y</sup>ĭ* or *-ki*. The two WH words *ha'atān<sup>y</sup>ĭ* 'who' and *tyi'itān<sup>y</sup>ĭ* 'what AN/INAN' have distinct forms for subject and object when they are singular. These two WH words also have distinct plural forms for which the subject/object distinction is not made.

ha'atān <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'who'	(DEF, SG, SUBJ)
ha'atākĭ	'who'	(INDF, SG, SUBJ)
ha'atāhn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'who'	(DEF, SG, OBJ)
ha'atāhkĭ	'who'	(INDF, SG, OBJ)
ha'at <sup>y</sup> ānn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'who'	(DEF, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
ha'at <sup>y</sup> ānkĭ	'who'	(INDF, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
tyi'itān <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'what'	(DEF, SG, SUBJ)
tyi'itākĭ	'what'	(INDF, SG, SUBJ)
tyi'itāhn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'what'	(DEF, SG, OBJ)
tyi'itāhkĭ	'what'	(INDF, SG, OBJ)
tyi'it <sup>y</sup> ānn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'what'	(DEF, AN, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
tyi'it <sup>y</sup> ānkĭ	'what'	(INDF, AN, PL, SUBJ/OBJ)
ha'anāhn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'when'	(DEF, REM)
ha'anāhkĭ	'when'	(INDF, REM)
ha'acāhn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'when'	(DEF, DIST)
ha'acāhkĭ	'when'	(INDF, DIST)
ha'un <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'where'	(DEF)
ha'ukĭ	'where'	(INDF)
ha'in <sup>y</sup> ĭ/he'in <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'how'	(DEF)
ha'ikĭ/he'ikĭ	'how'	(INDF)
ha'aĉūn <sup>y</sup> ĭ	'how much'	(DEF)
ha'aĉūkĭ	'how much'	(INDF)

ha'atān<sup>y</sup>i ra-a-hē'ika  
 who:DEF DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill  
 'Who killed him?'

ha'atāhkī wa-hē'ika  
 whom:INDF COMPL-kill  
 'Whom might he have killed?'

ha'at<sup>y</sup>ānkī ma-ra-a-tā-'išaa  
 who:PL:INDF they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell  
 'Who might they have been who told him?'

t<sup>y</sup>i'itān<sup>y</sup>i pī-rīkī  
 what:DEF ASSR-be  
 'What is it?'

t<sup>y</sup>i'itāhkī wā-maara-ka'a  
 what:INDF COMPL-dream-PAST  
 'What might he have dreamed?'

t<sup>y</sup>i'it<sup>y</sup>ānn<sup>y</sup>i mah pī-rīkī  
 what:PL:DEF they ASSR-be  
 SUBR(?)  
 'What are those bugs called?'

ha'anāhn<sup>y</sup>i pa-n-ūu-m<sup>w</sup>aari-n  
 when:DEF you-me-horizontally-visit-FUT(?)  
 'When are you going there to visit me?'

ha'un<sup>y</sup>i p-ē'e-če m<sup>w</sup>āa  
 where:DEF you-be-home you  
 located  
 'Where do you live?'

ha'ačūkī ra-nahči  
 how DISTR:SG-cost  
 much:INDF  
 'How much might it cost?'

There are a number of complex WH forms. These involve combinations such as demonstrative + affix, WH word + predicate, and WH word + postpositional phrase.

aī tā'uh	'What on earth...?'
ha'ačūn <sup>y</sup> i mā-p <sup>w</sup> a'am <sup>w</sup> a	'How many?' (AN)
ha'ačūn <sup>y</sup> i t <sup>y</sup> i'i-p <sup>w</sup> a'an	'How many?' (INAN)
ha'in <sup>y</sup> i ēen kīn	'For what reason...?'
ha'in <sup>y</sup> i t <sup>y</sup> i'itīh kīn	'For what reason...?'

aī tā'uh t<sup>y</sup>i'itīh t<sup>y</sup>a-ruu-re-n  
 DEM EXCL what:OBJ we-do-make-FUT(?)  
 'What on earth shall we do?'

ha'ačün<sup>y</sup> ma=p<sup>w</sup>a'a-m<sup>w</sup>ā m<sup>w</sup>a-a-raa-t<sup>y</sup>āh-turaa  
 how they=amount-AN they-COMPL-facing-in-stay  
 many:DEF to away middle  
 'How many people were they that stayed behind?'

ha'in<sup>y</sup> ēen kīn pa-kāi ā'ih  
 how be with you-IRR something

t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-tā-'iśaa  
 DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say  
 'Why did you not tell me anything about that (in  
 the first place)?'

ha'in<sup>y</sup> t<sup>y</sup>i'it<sup>h</sup> kīn m<sup>w</sup>ā-a-k<sup>w</sup>anam<sup>w</sup>a  
 how thing:OBJ with you-COMPL-lie  
 'For what purpose did he feed you a line?'

Some WH words occur in combination with postpositions. The objective forms of t<sup>y</sup>i'itan<sup>y</sup> 'what' and ha'atan<sup>y</sup> 'who' appear in these combinations, and the postpositions retain their high tone.

ha'un <sup>y</sup> hecē where at 'In what direction...?'	t <sup>y</sup> i'itāhn <sup>y</sup> het <sup>y</sup> ē what:OBJ below 'Below what thing...?'
t <sup>y</sup> i'itāhn <sup>y</sup> hap <sup>w</sup> ā what:OBJ on 'On top of what thing...?'	t <sup>y</sup> i'itāhn <sup>y</sup> wārita'a what:OBJ behind 'Behind what...?'
ha'atāhn <sup>y</sup> hemī whom:OBJ with 'Where who is...?'	

A postposition can be moved with its question-word object to clause-initial position.

ra-'an-t<sup>y</sup>-ē-iča'ah-rā'a f̄ t<sup>y</sup>et<sup>y</sup>ē het<sup>y</sup>e  
 DISTR-on-up-away-excavate-REM ART rock beneath  
 SG top PAST  
 'He had dug the hole beneath the rock.'

ha'un<sup>y</sup> hecē y-e'-en-t<sup>y</sup>-ē-iča'ah-raa  
 where at it-away-on-up-at-excavate-REM  
 top edge PAST  
 'Where at did he dig a hole?'

ān=nū=hā-'asa-ka f̄ sāantos hemī  
 on=I=away-stay-HAB ART PN with  
 top  
 'I generally stay up there at Santos' place.'

ha'atāhn<sup>y</sup> hemī p-ā-'asa-ka  
 who:OBJ with you-away-stay-HAB  
 'With whom do you generally stay?'

The following examples also show material being advanced along with the question word.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'itāhn<sup>y</sup>i puēerta-ra'a het<sup>y</sup>ē ha-'a-r-āh-ka**  
 what:OBJ door-NONREFL beneath there-outside-facing-in-sit  
 † POSSR(?) away slope  
 'Under which door was he sitting?'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'itāhn<sup>y</sup>i wāatari-ra'a an-t<sup>y</sup>i-'i**  
 what:OBJ medicine-NONREFL on-up-drink  
 POSSR(?) top  
 'What medicine did he take?'

## IMPERATIVES

### Positive Imperatives

#### Subject Marking

The singular forms of positive imperatives are unmarked for subject. The plural forms, however, are marked with a subject particle or prefix.

**wā-wau-wau**  
 COMPL-RDP-look  
 for  
 'Look for it.'

**se-t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-wau-či**  
 you:PL-DISTR-COMPL-look-IMP  
 for  
 'Look around, you all.'

Subject pronouns can occur with positive imperative forms for emphasis.

**haisf m<sup>w</sup>āa waa-ta-vāh**  
 look you COMPL-PERF-follow  
 'Let's see, you follow her.'

#### Stem Marking

The simplest imperative forms are those with a singular subject that consist only of **wa-** COMPL plus a verb stem.

**wa-k<sup>w</sup>ā'a**  
 COMPL-eat  
 'Eat!'

Frequently, the stem is also marked by the participial suffix **-a**, which ablauts the stem vowel.

**wa-yā'-a**  
 COMPL-drink-PRTC  
 'Drink the water.'

**wa-čū'eva'-a**  
 COMPL-wait-PRTC  
 'Leave it sit a while.'

Numerous other affixes occur in the imperative forms of verbs, but for the most part it is not necessary to illustrate them here. The perfective prefix **ta-**, however, often occurs with **wa-** COMPL and seems to be an integral part of imperative verb forms.

**wa-ta-šāh**  
 COMPL-PERF-say  
 'Speak up.'

**wa-ta-pī'i-st<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 COMPL-PERF-branch-make-APPLIC  
 'Flog him.'

There are several stems for which the imperative form ends with the morpheme **-či** or **-si**.

**wa-tā-n<sup>y</sup>uu-či**  
 COMPL-PERF-respond-IMP  
 'Answer him.'

**ah-če-si**  
 outside-move-IMP  
 'Get up.'

Two morpheme sequences that occur clause-initially in imperative clauses indicate the subject's movement either toward or away from the location where the activity is to take place. The adverb **īya'a** 'here' summons the subject's (addressee's) movement to the speaker's location; the locative base **hauu** 'straight off to there' indicates that the addressee is to leave the speaker's location and perform an activity elsewhere. The final example shows that the two notions can be combined in the same sentence, i.e. the speaker calls an addressee to his own location and sends the addressee off somewhere else.

**īya'a an-t<sup>y</sup>i-yā'-a**  
 here on-up-drink-PRTC  
 top  
 'Come and have a drink  
 of water.'

**āūu-na'ara**  
 LOC -make  
 BASE fire  
 'Go and build a fire.'

**īya'a ū=t<sup>y</sup>ā-a'-u-k<sup>w</sup>ā'-a**  
 here there=DISTR-away-COMPL-eat-PRTC  
 'Come on (so you can) go off there to eat.'

A numeral can be discontinuous from its head in an imperative.





Verbs which can be reflexivized take the appropriate singular or plural form.

**wā-'a-sa'upe-'e**  
COMPL-REFL-rest-APPLIC  
'Rest yourself.'

**ša-wā-uh-sa'upe-'e**  
you:PL-COMPL-REFL-rest-APPLIC  
'Rest yourselves.'

As the following examples show, third person singular direct object is marked by **ra-** DISTR SG in negative imperative sentences. Following the distributive plural prefix **t<sup>y</sup>i'**-, third singular direct object is marked by **h-**.

**ka-pah-rā-'an-vi'iti-či-wa-'an**  
NEG-you-DISTR-carry-IMP-PASS-PRTC  
SG off  
'Don't take him<sub>1</sub> away for him<sub>2</sub>.'

**ka-peh-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-tui-ra**  
NEG-you-DISTR-DISTR:SG-carry-make  
'Don't sell them to him.'

### Stem and Suffix Changes

There are numerous stem and suffix differences between positive and negative imperative forms. In the data I have collected thus far, the positive imperative forms can take the applicative suffix **-e** and the aspectual past distributive suffix **-š<sup>t</sup>i'**, neither of which appears to occur in negative imperative forms. As for negative imperatives, they are frequently marked by the participial suffix **-an**. The participial suffix may be accompanied by the habitual morphemes **-ka** and **-ve**, by the passive **-wa**, by the causative **-ra**, or by the remote past sequences **-kara'a** and **-awa'a**. Except for the causative **-ra**, none of these suffixes seem to appear on positive imperative forms. These differences are illustrated by the following pairs of verb forms.

**-t<sup>y</sup>e'e** and **-awa'an**

**u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-muuku'us-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
inside-in-hat-make-APPLIC  
middle  
'Put his<sub>1</sub> hat on him<sub>1</sub>.'

**ka-pah-ru-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-mu'uku'us-t<sup>y</sup>a-wa-'an**  
NEG-you-DISTR-inside-in-hat-make-PASS-PRTC  
SG middle  
'Don't put his<sub>1</sub> hat on him<sub>1</sub>.'



Vowel alternations between declarative forms and their corresponding imperative forms may affect either a stem or suffix vowel and they show up in both positive and negative imperative forms. They are due to the marking of imperative stems with the ablauting active participial suffix -a.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-yē'e**

I-drink

'I am drinking.'

**wa-yā'-a**

COMPL-drink-PRTC

'Drink up.'

**pu-'urī n<sup>y</sup>e-hē-'e-čū'eve'e i n<sup>y</sup>i-nāana**  
 SUBJ-now me-away-outside-wait ART my-mother  
 for

'My mother is already off there waiting for me.'

**na-a-čū'eva'-a**

me-COMPL-wait-PRTC

for

'Wait for me.'

### Modal Imperatives

The modal imperatives of Cora include both exhortative and optative constructions. In addition there is a use of an auxiliary sequence that results in a continuative imperative construction. Finally, there is a periphrastic use of the future for the imperative.

Exhortative is expressed by a morpheme **če'e**. It is also inflected for person and number of the subject. The subject prefix vowel is **i**. Although a complete paradigm is possible, some speakers object to the use of 2P SG and 2P PL subject forms. The exhortative mode is marked for perfective aspect.

**n<sup>y</sup>i-čē'e-wā-n-pis-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n**

I-EXHRT-COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC

'Let me warm myself up.'

**čē'e-wā-uh-pis-t<sup>y</sup>e-'en-n**

EXHRT-COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC

'Let him warm himself up.'

Optative is expressed by inflecting, for person and number of subject, the basic locative base of the auxiliary element. The tone shift on the verb stem in the following paradigm shows that it is marked for imperfective aspect stem in contrast to exhortative, which is marked for perfective aspect stem.

**n<sup>y</sup>-āuh=mi'i=wā-n-pis-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n**

I-LOC=first=COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC

BASE

'First, I would like to warm myself.'

**č-āuh=mi'i=wā-uh-pfs-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n**  
 EXHRT-LOC=first=COMPL-REFL-warm-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 BASE

'...he would first like to go warm himself.'

The continuous imperative construction inflects locative base for person and number and pairs it with **če'e** CONT.

**p-āuu-če'e=t<sup>y</sup>i'-a-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>e**  
 you-LOC-CONT=DISTR-REFL-know-make  
 BASE APPLIC

'Keep on studying.'

The periphrastic future construction is limited to second person subjects.

**p<sup>w</sup>a-a-mē'e-n**  
 you-COMPL-go-PRTC  
 'Get on your way.'

The periphrastic future may include the use of the SUBR **ta'a** 'purpose'. In this case the imperative sentence is cast as a purpose clause, which takes the future tense.

**haisi pa-ta'a n<sup>y</sup>ā'u yēe t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-ka-n hēiwa**  
 let's you-so:that well QUOT DISTR-COMPL-cut-PRTC lots  
 see wood  
 'Well, let's see, you should cut a lot of firewood.'

(In this example, **haisi** INTR conveys a performative notion in its own right, and this may carry some of the impact of an imperative idea.)

**fih peh yēewi rā-h-ki'i-ci ka'anākan**  
 now you QUOT DISTR-in-finish-PAST quickly  
 SUBR SG(?) slope(?)  
 'Right now, finish this quickly.'

The final example both shows a probable instance of the periphrastic future as a modal imperative and illustrates the use of **če'e** in a subordinate clause.

**pā-ra-a-tā-'i-šaa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n**  
 you-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-facing-tell-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
**i n<sup>y</sup>i-tāata če'e m<sup>w</sup>a-'an<sup>y</sup>-fi-re-'e-n**  
 ART my-father EXHRT you-on-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 top  
 'You will tell my father that he should take it for you.'

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-kî'î	'deceased'
-ta'a	'place where N is'
-ša'a	'like'
-(a)na	'those from LOC'
-(a)ka	'one from LOC'/'those from LOC'
-si(?)	'those from LOC'
-ci	DIM (remnant from honorific system)
-si	HON
-(ri)st <sup>y</sup> a	HON

N + -kî'î

n<sup>y</sup>i-yā'up<sup>w</sup>a  
my-father  
'my father'

n<sup>y</sup>a-hūu  
my-younger  
brother  
'my kid brother'

n<sup>y</sup>i-yā'up<sup>w</sup>a-kî'î  
my-father-deceased  
'my deceased father'

n<sup>y</sup>a-hūu-ci-kî'î  
my-younger-DIM-deceased  
brother  
'my deceased younger brother'

N + -ta'a

seh  
'sand'  
čeh  
'place of residence'

sāa-ta'a  
'sandy place'  
čāh-ta'a  
'town'

N + -ša'a

hā'î  
'ant'

n<sup>y</sup>i-yāuh  
my-son  
'my son'

hā'î-ša'a  
ant-like  
'large wasp'

n<sup>y</sup>i-yāuh-ša'a  
my-son-like  
'my adopted son'

N + -(a)na (SG/PL)

yāuhke'e  
'Mesa del Nayar' (town)

**yāuhka'a-na**

'Meseño' (one from Mesa del Nayar)

**k<sup>w</sup>ēimaruuse'e**

'Santa Teresa' (town)

**k<sup>w</sup>ēimaruusa'a-na**

'Tereseño' (one from Sta. Teresa)

**čuišet<sup>y</sup>e**

'Jesús María' (town)

**čuišet<sup>y</sup>ā-ana**

'Mariteco' (one from Jesús María)

**martin čah-na**

PN home-those

from

'Martin's household'

**n<sup>y</sup>i a-čē-na pa-ra-a-tā-it<sup>y</sup>i-'i**

Q your-home-those you-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-send-STAT

from

'Do you not write home to your family?'

N + -(a)ka (PL)**yāuhka'a-ka**

'Meseños'

**čuišet<sup>y</sup>ā-aka**

'Maritecos'

N + -si (PL)**k<sup>w</sup>ēimaru-si**

'Tereseños'

Honorific

Certain forms that show up in the plurals of nouns that indicate kinship, ritual, or social ties are part of an honorific system. These include **-si**, **-ci**, **-rist<sup>y</sup>a**, and **-st<sup>y</sup>a**. There is a definite connection between some of these forms and their (former?) use as absolutes.

**n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>āuh**

my-uncle

'my uncle'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kuum<sup>w</sup>āa**

my-child's

godmother

'my child's godmother'

**n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>āuu-si-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**

my-uncle-HON-PL

'my uncles'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kuum<sup>w</sup>āa-rist<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**

my-child's-HON-PL

godmother

'my children's godmothers'

Other

A few nouns are derived by suffixing an element to a verb or to an adjective stem. The most productive of these suffixes is **-ra'a/-hra'a**.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>f'i-n<sup>y</sup>e'i-sin**  
they-DISTR-dance-DUR  
'They are going to dance  
the mitote.'

**n<sup>y</sup>é'i-ra'a**  
dance-NR  
'dance of the mitote'

**n<sup>y</sup>é-h-že'eve-'e**  
I-DISTR:SG-want-APPLIC  
'I want it.'

**ru-žē'evi'i-ra'a**  
REFL-want-NR  
POSSR  
'his will'

**ru-ka'an<sup>y</sup>é**  
REFL-be  
strong  
'He is strong.'

**ka'an<sup>y</sup>ih-ra'a**  
be-NR  
strong  
'strength'

The active participial suffix **-kan** (which may be bimorphemic) is a fairly productive nominalizing suffix which derives nouns from adjectives or noun stems. The following are typical noun forms derived with the suffix complex **-kan**.

**hāhk<sup>w</sup>a**  
'new' (ADJ)

**hāhk<sup>w</sup>a-kan**  
new-PRTC  
'a new one'

**t<sup>y</sup>am<sup>w</sup>ēih**  
'youth'

**t<sup>y</sup>am<sup>w</sup>ēis-ta-kan**  
youth-make-PRTC  
'a youthful one'

**rū'i**  
'uncooked/green'

**rū'i-kan**  
raw-PRTC  
'uncooked stuff'

**k<sup>w</sup>āpe'est<sup>y</sup>i**  
'watered-down'

**k<sup>w</sup>āpe'est<sup>y</sup>i-kan**  
watery-PRTC  
'watered-down stuff'

Derived nominal forms with **-kan** cannot be used as subject in a sentence.

**\*tī'sī-iwa-kan pū=pfrtkī**  
grind-PASS-PRTC SUBJ=be  
'It's a ground-up thing.'

These derived forms are used as objects in a sentence, however.



**na-'a-rāa-nahči k<sup>w</sup>asī-kan**  
 me-on -facing-meet cook-PRTC  
 edge away

'I like cooked ones.'

**k<sup>w</sup>asī-kan nū ∅-wā-k<sup>w</sup>aa † muhme**  
 cooked-PRTC I DO:∅-COMPL-eat ART beans  
 'I ate cooked beans.'

In the last example, the participle functions as direct object (this is shown by the zero verb agreement, characteristic of objects immediately preposed to the verb), and the noun phrase following the verb is appositional.

A suffix **t†** is used on a few adjectives and quantifiers to derive nouns that function as the subjects of their sentences.

**mu'u-rī m<sup>w</sup>i'i-t† wā-k<sup>w</sup>ii t†irīi**  
 they-already many-PRTC COMPL-die children  
 PS SUBJ PL  
 'Many children have already died.'

There is another participial suffix **-vi'i** that also forms derived nouns from adjective stems. It can occur when the derived nominal functions as either subject or non-subject, taking **-n** in the latter case.

**čī'i ā=a'-u-ta-kā'a va'a-t† t<sup>y</sup>ēe-vi'i**  
 house there=away-EXT-across-lay big-PRTC extended-PRTC  
 SUBJ

'A house was standing there, a big long one.'

**rū'aara-vi'i-n pū=t<sup>y</sup>ā-šam<sup>w</sup>e'i**  
 green-PRTC-ABS SUBJ=in-leaves  
 (mass) middle

'It has green leaves.'

**k<sup>w</sup>ēiina-vi'i-n pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ēe-ča-n**  
 white-PRTC-ABS SUBJ=DISTR-up-EXT(?)=cover-PRTC  
 'She dressed in white.'

Syntactically, **-vi'i** is probably nothing more than a suppletive variant of **-kan**.

In the final example, a noun is derived from an adjective by the process of tone shift.

**m††-čī**  
 dead-ABS  
 'He is dead.'

**m††-čī**  
 dead-ABS  
 'He is a spirit of the dead.'  
 or 'It is a cadaver.'

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

ADJ + X = V

∅	'be ADJ'
-re'e (CAUS + APPLIC)	'make something into ADJ'
-ri	'be becoming ADJ'
-ra	'make to become ADJ'

ADJ + ∅

<b>sāh-ta'a pū</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'i-het<sup>y</sup>e</b>	<b>yāa pū=yau</b>
one-at	SUBJ DISTR-be	thus SUBJ=be
	heavy	round
'It is heavy on one side.'		'It is this big in diameter.'
<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-yāuh-ka'a</b>		
I-be -PERF		
round PAST		
'I was round.'		

ADJ + -re'e

<b>pā'u</b>	<b>m-f'i-wā-uh-pā'u-re-'e-n</b>
'red'	they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-red-make-APPLIC-PRTC
	'They paint themselves red.'
<b>hāh<sup>w</sup>a</b>	<b>m-f'i-wā-u-hāh<sup>w</sup>a-re-'e-n</b>
'new'	they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-new-make-APPLIC-PRTC
	'They make themselves new.'

ADJ + -ri

<b>vē'e</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>ē-ve'e-ri</b>
'big'	in-big-make:IMPRF
	middle
	'He's making himself big
	(i.e. ruffling up his
	feathers).'
<b>hū'ura</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>ā-ur-u'ura-ri</b>
'round'	in-REFL-round-make:IMPRF
	middle
	'He keeps curling up in
	a ball.'

ADJ + -ra

**yu'uša**  
'be painted'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>é-yu'uša-ra**  
COMPL-in -be-make  
middle painted  
'It's going to turn many  
colors.'

**sūhca'an<sup>y</sup>i**  
'be torn'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-i-n<sup>y</sup>a-suhca'an<sup>y</sup>i-ra-n**  
DISTR-me-tear-make-PRTC  
'My shirt pocket is tearing  
off.'

N + X = V

**-e** APPLIC ('be affected by  
something')

**-ce'e** 'have a case of N'

**-pe'e** 'remove N from something'

**-ta** 'become N'

**-t<sup>y</sup>a'a** (CAUS + APPLIC) 'write down' (belongs in  
compounds)

**-t<sup>y</sup>e'e** (CAUS + APPLIC) 'apply X for me'

**-∅** 'possesses N/do with N/become N'

N + -e

**hīča'uri**  
'leaf-cutter ant'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-hīča'ure-'e**  
I-ant-APPLIC  
'I'm bitten up by leaf-  
cutter ants.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ašu'aari**  
'large bedbug'

**n-u-'i-t<sup>y</sup>é-t<sup>y</sup>ašu'aare-'e**  
I-inside-facing-in-bedbug-APPLIC  
middle  
'I've got welts on my side from big bedbug bites.'

N + -ce'e

**k<sup>w</sup>iin<sup>y</sup>i**  
'scabies bug'

**k<sup>w</sup>iin<sup>y</sup>i-ce-'e**  
scabies-CAUS-APPLIC  
bug  
'He has a case of the  
scabies.'

**čā'ahka**  
'tree with  
allergenic sap'

**čā'ahka-ce-'e**  
tree-CAUS-APPLIC  
sap  
'He has a skin irritation  
from ča'ahka sap.'

N + -pe'e**k<sup>w</sup>así**

'tail'

**t<sup>y</sup>a-rā-a-k<sup>w</sup>asi-pe**      **ī cī'ī**we-DISTR-COMPL-tail-PRIV ART dog  
SG PAST

'We chopped off the dog's tail.'

**at<sup>y</sup>éh**

'louse'

**ra-'at<sup>y</sup>éh-pe'-e**

DISTR:SG-louse-remove-APPLIC

'He's plucking lice from the other's hair.'

N + -ta**n<sup>y</sup>aap<sup>w</sup>éih**

'mestizo'

**wa-tā-uh-n<sup>y</sup>aap<sup>w</sup>éih-ta-ka'a**COMPL-PERF-REFL-mestizo-make-PAST  
PERF

'He turned mestizo.'

**čūéh**

'dirt'

**wa-tā-uh-čueh-ta**

COMPL-PERF-REFL-dirt-make

'It becomes dirt.'

N + t<sup>y</sup>a'a**p<sup>w</sup>éerta**

'door'

**pa-r-a-'u-p<sup>w</sup>éerta-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šī'ī-n**you-DISTR-away-COMPL-door-make-APPLIC-PAST-PRTC  
SG DISTR

'Make a drawing on the ground like a door.'

N + t<sup>y</sup>e'e**ka'akai**

'sandals'

**na-'ah-tā-n-ka'akaii-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**I-edge -straight-REFL-sandal-make-APPLIC-DUR  
slope up

'I'm going to put on my sandals.'

**kīyē**

'stick, wooden sword'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-n-kiye-t<sup>y</sup>-e**

I-DISTR-REFL-stick-make-APPLIC

'I'm making my wooden sword.'

**šú'uwa'a**

'spines of prickly pear'

**t<sup>y</sup>ú'-u-šú'uwa'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e**      **f naka**

DISTR-COMPL-thorn-make-APPLIC ART cactus

'The cactus apple pricks you when you touch it.'

N + Ø**čf'i**

'house'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ée-či'i**

EXT-in-house

middle

'He has a house.'

**hf'i**

'eye'

**wa-tā-hf**

COMPL-PERF-open

eyes

'He woke up.'

**kūhca'ana**

'kind of plant bark'

**r-a-kā-kuhca'an**

DISTR:SG-on-down-skin

edge

'He's skinning an animal.'

**sāutari**

'kind of flower'

**ka-nu=t<sup>y</sup>e'-en-t<sup>y</sup>i-sa'uta**

NEG-I=DISTR-on-up-flower

top

'I am not going to make an

offering of flowers.'

**k<sup>w</sup>ē'icī'ip<sup>w</sup>a**

'fishhook'

**n<sup>y</sup>-āuu-če'e=k<sup>w</sup>ē'icī'ip<sup>w</sup>a**

I-LOC-CONT=fishhook

BASE

'I'm still fishing with hook  
and line.'Other**tīka'a**

'night'

**pu-'urī=wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tīka'a-ri**

SUBJ-now=COMPL-in-night-make:IMPERF

middle

'Now it's getting dark.'

**čuitā**

'excrement'

**čū'ita**

'He's defecating.'

## ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

-i	'be' (STAT)
-či	APPLIC (?)
-ra'a	APPLIC/ABS (?)
-ni	PL (?)
-tyi	PL/MASS NOUN
ø	PL
RDP	PL
t'i'i-	DISTR
-mee	COLL

The morpheme -i 'be' (STAT) is very productive in deriving adjectives from verbs. A comparison of verbal forms with corresponding stative adjectives shows that -i ablauts the stem-final vowel to which it is attached.

t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yu'uša

DISTR-on-write

edge

'He is writing.'

t<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e

DISTR-be-make-APPLIC

scattered

'He is planting.'

t<sup>y</sup>é'-e-yu'usi-'i

DISTR-on-write-STAT

edge

'It is written down.'

t<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t<sup>y</sup>i-'i

DISTR-be-make-STAT

scattered

'The things are planted.'

There are several other derivational processes that affect ADJ. They mainly involve the morphemes -či, -ra'a, -ni, and -tyi. The meaning of -či is not clear. In some cases it is used to derive an adjective from a verb.

mí'i-či

die-ABS(?)

'He is dead.'

m<sup>w</sup>áh-či-'i

hand-(?)-STAT

'He is greedy.'

Most commonly, -či appears in combination with -ra'a on the singular forms of adjectives that refer to count-nouns. The combination appears to be frozen. The morpheme -ra'a/-re'e also appears on ADJ in the same contexts as the -čira'a series. The morphemes -ni and -tyi each mark either plural or mass nouns. t<sup>y</sup>i'i- DISTR marks inanimate plural and frequently occurs in combination with -mee COLL. Finally, reduplication appears in two ways. For a few adjectives, a verb stem is reduplicated to derive

an adjective stem. For a few others an adjective stem in the singular form is reduplicated to form the plural. Adjectives can thus be arranged in classes based roughly on the kind of elements that mark singular and plural.

Adjective class 1 is marked by **-čira'a** in the singular and by **-tʸi** in the mass and plural forms.

**ta'ah-čī-ra'a**

flat-(?)-SG

'It is thin and flat.'

**tʸi'i-ta'as-tʸi**

DISTR-flat-PL

'The things are thin and flat.'

**ma-ta'as-tʸi**

they-flat-PL

'They are thin and flat.' (mojarra fish)

Adjective class 2 is marked by **-čira'a** in the singular and by **-nʸi** in the mass and plural forms.

**pe'e-čī-ra'a**

rotten-(?)-SG

'It is rotten.'  
(count noun)

**tʸi'i-pe'e-nʸi**

DISTR-rotten-PL

'They are rotten.'  
(count noun)

**pe'e-nʸi**

rotten-PL

'It is rotten.' (mass noun)

Adjective class 3 is marked by either **-ra'a** or **-re'e** in the singular forms and is unmarked in the mass and plural forms.

**yū'uša-re'e**

variegated-SG

coloring

'It has variegated coloring.' (count noun)

**yū'uša**

'It has a printed flower design.' (mass noun)

**tʸi'i-yū'uša**

DISTR-variegated

coloring

'They have a printed flower pattern.' (count noun)

**me-yū'uša**

they-variegated

coloring

'They have a variegated coloring.' (animate)

Adjective class 4 is unmarked for number.

**hāhk<sup>wa</sup>**  
 'It is new.'  
 (count/mass noun)

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-hāhk<sup>wa</sup>**  
 DISTR-new  
 'They are new.'  
 (count noun)

**ma-hāhk<sup>wa</sup>**  
 they-new  
 'They are initiates.' (animate)

Adjective class 5 is unmarked in the singular and is reduplicated for mass and plural forms. Plural forms may also be marked with the collective morpheme.

**vē'e**  
 'It is big.'  
 (count noun)

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-vi-vēh-mee**  
 DISTR-RDP-big-COLL  
 'The things are big.'  
 (count noun)

**me-vi-vēh-mee**  
 they-RDP-big-COLL  
 'They are big.' (animate)

Adjective class 6 is marked by the reduplicated stem of a verb in the singular forms. Plural forms are marked by the collective suffix.

**tī-tī'ih**  
 RDP-long  
 'It is long and upright.' (count noun)

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-tī-tī'ih-mee ī kiye**  
 DISTR-RDP-long-COLL ART pole  
 'The bunch of poles is long and upright.' (count noun)

**ma-'ah-tī-tī'ih-mee**  
 they-edge-RDP-long-COLL  
 slope  
 'The bunch of people are tall.' (animate)

Adjective class 7 is unmarked in the singular forms. It is marked for plural by the collective suffix.

**w-ih-pit<sup>y</sup>i**  
 inside-facing-be  
 toward pointed  
 'It has a neck like a bottle.' (count noun)

**t<sup>y</sup>i-e-'ih-pit<sup>y</sup>ii-mee ī kiša'u-ri**  
 DISTR-inside-facing-be-COLL ART gourd-ABS  
 toward pointed  
 'The gourds have bottle-like necks.' (count nouns)



Adjective class 8 consists of a hodge-podge of forms.

**m<sup>w</sup>āri-se'e-e**  
run-(?)-APPLIC  
off  
'It is frightened.'

**ma-cap<sup>w</sup>ātuu-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
they-be-PL(?)  
short  
'They are short and stocky.'

**c<sup>f</sup>in<sup>y</sup>i-'ire-'e**  
afraid-APPLIC-APPLIC  
'frightening'

**cap<sup>w</sup>ātun**  
'He is short and stocky.'

**c<sup>f</sup>in<sup>y</sup>i-'i-si-'i**  
afraid-(?)-DUR-STAT  
'fearful/afraid'

**nā'anāi-si-'i**  
laugh-DUR-STAT  
'It's funny.'

## COMPOUNDS

### Noun Compounds

There are at least three classes of noun compounds in Cora. The first class is fairly small and consists of tightly-knit sequences such as noun + verb + absolutive or noun + absolutive + postposition. These compounds consist of a single stress group. Noun + verb compounds usually mean 'N is for X purpose'.

**k<sup>f</sup>ci-ve'e-ri**  
smoke-hang-ABS  
'incense burner'

**cu'u-mēh**  
nose-go(?)  
'It leaves the nose.'/'mucous'

**mūu-ku'u-ci**  
head-(?)-ABS  
'hat'

There can be layerings that consist of a derived noun + postposition.

**mū'u**  
'head'

**mu'u-ci-ta'a**  
head-ABS-in  
'the high mountain country'

**mū'u-ci**  
head-ABS  
'pillow'

The second class of noun compounds consists of noun + noun sequences. Each noun constitutes a single stress group, but the high tone of the first noun attracts the high tone of the second. In addition, the second noun takes the ending **-ra'a**. The sequence  $N_1 + N_2$  has the general meaning 'N<sub>1</sub> is the material from which N<sub>2</sub> is fashioned'.

**m<sup>w</sup>éiisa'a ipurih-ra'a**  
 maguey ball-(?)  
 fiber  
 'a ball of ixtle'

**navih ka'an<sup>y</sup>i-ra'a**  
 leather bag-(?)  
 'a leather shoulder bag'

**k<sup>y</sup>éh čuumi-ra'a**  
 wood machete-(?)  
 'wooden sword'

The third class of noun compounds consists of  $N_1 + N_2$  sequences that mean 'N<sub>2</sub> pertains to, or is part of, N<sub>1</sub>'. These sequences are bound together phonologically in the same way that items in the previous compound class are; i.e. the second noun in the sequence loses its high tone.

**véh k<sup>w</sup>asi**  
 jay tail  
 feather  
 'tail feather of a jay-type  
 bird' (urraca)

**m<sup>w</sup>ašāh čuita**  
 deer excrement  
 'excrement of a deer'  
 (Holy Week song)

In some cases the stem of N<sub>2</sub> is marked by a suffix, which may or may not ablate the final stem vowel. Frequently, the suffix is **-e** 'in, on'; sometimes it is **-i**.

**k<sup>y</sup>é**  
 'tree trunk'

**nakāh k<sup>y</sup>e'e**  
 cactus trunk  
 'trunk of the nopal cactus'

**šam<sup>w</sup>ā**  
 'leaf'

**ičāh šam<sup>w</sup>e'i**  
 brazil leaf  
 'leaf of the brazil tree'

**šāīri**  
 'trash'

**kū'uku'u šāīre'e**  
 snake skin  
 'dried out snakeskin'

Verb Compounds

Verbal compounds fall into three broad classes: modifier + verb = verb; noun + verb = verb; and verb<sub>1</sub> + verb<sub>2</sub> = verb. Although my data are rather limited, there appear to be modifier-verb compounds in which the modifier can be either locative noun, quantifier, or adjective.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-hē'iwa=hē'ika**

me-hurt=kill

'It hurts and ends up killing me.'

**ma-ra-a-vē'-esi-hri-'i**

they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-big-arrive-APPLIC-STAT

'They raised him up to an adult.'

**me-čī'i-ve'e**

they-house-cover

'They are putting a roof on the house.'

Commonly, noun + verb compounds are those in which the noun is instrument/source of the verb.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>aa<sup>r</sup>ih-rē'e**

I-in-turtle-produce

middle

'I smell like a turtle.'

**wa-ra'a-hāa-tu'a-n**

EXT-around-water-hit-PRTC

corner

'Having sprinkled all around ...'

Object nouns also occur productively in compounds with verbs.

**ru-'u-wa-rā'a-hašu'u-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-sin**

DISTR:SG-inside-EXT-around-wall-lay-DUR

corner flat

'He is plastering all the walls inside the house.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-šatiri-p<sup>w</sup>a**

DISTR-trash-flatten

'He's thrashing around in the dry leaves.'

The most productive category of verb compounds consists of verb<sub>1</sub> + verb<sub>2</sub> sequences. These sequences represent several semantic relations, including the following: 'V<sub>2</sub> is an aspect of V<sub>1</sub>'; 'V<sub>1</sub> is simultaneous with V<sub>2</sub>'; and 'V<sub>2</sub> precedes V<sub>1</sub>'.

The class of aspect compounds basically view the central verb in terms of either starting point, ongoing activity, or finishing point. Starting point is marked by **-(t<sup>+</sup>)-raa** 'CONN-left', ongoing activity by **-t<sup>+</sup>-ye'i** 'CONN-walk:around', and finishing point by **-š<sup>+</sup>/-š<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>** 'finish, disperse'.

**t<sup>y</sup>i-hi'i-h-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ti-*raa***  
 DISTR-NARR-UNSPEC-eat-CONN-left  
 OBJ

'He began to eat.'

**a-kā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'arifi-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-hraa**  
 on-down-REFL-frighten-make-APPLIC-left  
 edge

'She became pallid with fright all over her body.'

**ān pū nū'u t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'a-ka-n<sup>y</sup>ā'a-ti-ye'i**  
 there SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-down-dance-CONN-go  
 around

'He was up there on top of the thing, dancing around.'

**t<sup>ʃ</sup>i<sup>h</sup> nu'u hi aihna ʃ kauh<sup>n</sup>ari**  
 CNJ QUOT SEQ DEM ART rope

**hi-r-a-'i-rā'a-wa'a-ših**  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-on -facing-around-toss-PAST  
 edge toward corner

'Then he threw the rope over the limb.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-hāra'a-š<sup>ʃ</sup>i<sup>ʃ</sup>**  
 lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-vomit-finish  
 'He really vomited.'

Compounds formed with **š<sup>ʃ</sup>/š<sup>ʃ</sup>i<sup>ʃ</sup>** frequently contribute a distributive-like meaning to the main verb in the compound.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'u-kā-kalsetine-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-š<sup>ʃ</sup>i<sup>ʃ</sup>-sin**  
 I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR  
 'I am going to put his socks on him.'

In some  $V_1 + V_2$  compounds,  $V_1$  has adverbial force and is simultaneous with  $V_2$ .

**mu-w-i-(y)a'-a-ra-sa<sup>ʃ</sup>i-*ra*'-a-hrā'a**  
 there=they-NARR-there-on -facing-one-make-APPLIC-arrive  
 edge away

**ʃ ru-yauh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 ART REFL-son-PL  
 POSSR

'She came along, gathering up all of her sons.'

**a'-u-tāiīča-hraa**  
 away-COMPL-run-leave  
 'He left out of there running.'

Examples where  $V_2$  precedes  $V_1$ :

**ahtā nū'u aihnā a'-u-tū'as-tī-rā'a**  
 CNJ QUOT DEM away-COMPL-hit-CONN-arrive  
 'Getting there, he chased it off with stones.'

**wa'a-n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>ē-ihkah-t<sup>y</sup>-a-wa'-an**  
 them-RDP-arrive-load-CAUS-HAB-REM-PRTC  
 back up PAST  
 'He would show up back home with them all packed up.'

The final set of examples shows a few combinations of **ankurā'a** 'receive' + verb. The derived meaning is likely to be idiosyncratic.

**ra-'ankūrē'e-vī'ira**  
 DISTR:SG-receive-grab  
 'Receiving it, he took it.' = 'He snatched it up.'

**āa nu=wī=hā'a n<sup>y</sup>-ēyan kāh**  
 there I=QUOT=there:PS I-thus ACC

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'-ankurā'a-nam<sup>w</sup>a-hri-'i**  
 DISTR-away-receive-hear-APPLIC-STAT  
 'There off yonder, receiving something, I heard it.'  
 = 'I overheard it.'

**ka-nū=ra-'ankūrā'a-rī'ī-re**  
 NEG-I=DISTR:SG-receive-right-make:PASS  
 'I can't pronounce it.'

These last examples show another instance of the piling up of compounding processes on top of derivational ones. The verb 'receive' consists of **an-** 'LOC-on top of' + **ku-** 'LOC-around' + **rā'a** 'LOC-back and forth'. The verb **rī'īre** 'learn' consists of **rī'ī** 'ADV-well' plus **-re** 'CAUS/make', i.e. 'I can't make it be received right'.

## BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

### Absolute

There are four ABS suffixes that appear on nouns: **-ri**, **-ci**, **-či**, and **-i**. the first, **-ri**, is by far the most productive. There does not seem to be any consistent semantic basis for the choice or lack of ABS.

N + ABS

**čufika-ri**  
song-ABS  
'song'

**yfi-i-či**  
skirt-ABS  
'skirt'

**kfi-ru'u-ci**  
backbone-ABS  
'backbone'

**tū'un<sup>y</sup>-i**  
pants-ABS  
'pants'

N + Ø

**hūre'e**  
'slingshot'

**t<sup>y</sup>et<sup>y</sup>é**  
'rock'

**ka'an<sup>y</sup>i**  
'carrying bag'

The absolutive drops out with a non-third person possessor prefix:

**kīša'u-ri**  
gourd-ABS  
'gourd canteen'

**kīstā-ri**  
braid-ABS  
'braided thing'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kīša'uh**  
my-gourd  
'my gourd canteen'

**a-kīsta**  
your-braid  
'your braided thing'

For a number of nouns the absolutive suffix has been reanalyzed by Cora speakers to become part of the noun stem itself, as seen from the fact that the absolutive suffix does not delete when possessor prefixes are added. This is most commonly the case with nouns that refer to religious paraphernalia, but as the following examples show, it affects a much broader class.

**hū'u-ri**  
shuttle-ABS  
'shuttle of a loom'

**tak<sup>w</sup>ā-ci**  
ball-ABS  
'ball'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-hū'u-ri**  
my-shuttle-ABS  
'my shuttle'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-tak<sup>w</sup>ā-ci**  
my-ball-ABS  
'my ball'

In possessive constructions with the third-person singular non-reflexive possessor marker -(a)ra'an the absolutive suffix is dropped with some forms and retained with others. The statistical preference seems to be to retain it.

**it<sup>y</sup>a'i-ri**  
fruit-ABS  
tree  
'fruit tree'

**ayafi-ri**  
jawbone-ABS  
'a jawbone'

**ip<sup>w</sup>ā-ri**  
chair-ABS  
'chair'

**hīna-ri**  
spindle-ABS  
'spindle'

**hīna-ra-'ara'an f dioniisia**  
spindle-ABS-NONREFL ART PN  
POSSR  
'Dionisia's spindle'

**it<sup>y</sup>a'i-ra'an f saantos**  
fruit-NONREFL ART PN  
tree POSSR  
'Santos's fruit tree'

**ayafi-ra'an f waaka**  
jawbone-NONREFL ART cow  
POSSR  
'cow's jawbone'

**ip<sup>w</sup>a-rā-ara'an f saantos**  
chair-ABS-NONREFL ART PN  
POSSR  
'Santos's chair'

The absolutive suffix universally drops from possessed nouns when the possessor noun immediately precedes.

**f wāaka ica'ap<sup>w</sup>a**  
ART cow rib  
'the cow's rib'

**sāantos ip<sup>w</sup>āh pū=p<sup>w</sup>ēen**  
PN chair SUBJ=be  
'It is Santos's chair.'

If an absolutive occurs on the possessor noun of such phrases, it is retained; only the absolutive on the possessed noun drops out. In addition, in isolation or in phrase-final position the second noun in the sequence loses its high tone.

**kfša'u-ri hitu'up<sup>w</sup>a**  
gourd-ABS cork  
'a corncob cork of a gourd canteen'

The deletion of absolutive allows speakers to properly distinguish between equative statements of the form possessor noun + possessed noun (be) and noun<sub>1</sub> (be) noun<sub>2</sub>, respectively. Note the following pair of examples.

**f dioniisia hīna pū=p<sup>w</sup>īr<sup>k</sup>k<sup>t</sup>**  
ART PN spindle SUBJ=be  
'It is Dionisia's spindle whorl.'

**ʔ dionisia hīna-ri pū=ʔrɪkʔ**  
 ART PN spindle-ABS SUBJ=be  
 'Dionisia is a spindle whorl.'

The absolutive suffix deletes from possessive sentences of the form noun<sub>1</sub> possesses noun<sub>2</sub>.

<b>dionisia pū=ra-hīna</b>	<b>saantos pū=ra-'ata'uh</b>
PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-spindle	PN SUBJ=DISTR:SG-bag
'Dionisia owns the spindle whorl.'	'Santos owns the small carrying bag.'

There is a strong statistical preference for the absolutive to delete from nouns when they combine with various prefixes or suffixes to form verbs.

<b>tʔi'i-hata'uh-ta ʔ dionisia</b>	<b>tʔi'i-hīna ʔ dionisia</b>
DISTR-bag-make ART PN	DISTR-spindle ART PN
'Dionisia is weaving a small hand bag for somebody.'	'Dionisia is weaving.'

There are occasional compounds in which the absolutive is retained, probably because were it not there, there would be too much ambiguity with similar sounding verb stems.

<b>tʔi-'iʔa-ri-ta ʔ saantos</b>
DISTR-chair-ABS-make ART PN
'Santos is making a chair.'
<b>tʔi'i-yi'i-či-ta ʔ dionisia</b>
DISTR-skirt-ABS-make ART PN
'Dionisia is making a dress.'

For those nouns that enter into noun<sub>1</sub> + noun<sub>2</sub> + derivational suffix compounds which mean 'N<sub>2</sub> + DER-SF is the object made from the material specified by N<sub>1</sub>', the absolutive suffix is retained, regardless of whether it appears on N<sub>1</sub> or N<sub>2</sub>.

<b>karih ayati-rih-ra'a</b>	<b>takih kista-rih-ra'a</b>
bone jaw-ABS-DER	palm braid-ABS-DER
SF	SF
'a jaw made of bone'	'a thing braided from palm'

Absolutive is retained in postpositional phrases, which, in the simplest case, are of the form noun + postposition.

<b>kīša'u-ri cahta'a</b>	<b>kistā-ri hece</b>
gourd-ABS inside	braid-ABS on
'inside the gourd'	'(tied onto) on the braided thing'



Plural

Plural marking per se is restricted to animate nouns. Non-human animate nouns can be marked for plural by any one of the following suffixes: **-tʸe**, **-ci**, **-se**, **-si**, **-ri**, **-ce**, **-kʰ**, **-ʂʰ**, **-ka**, **-h**, tone.

Of the above suffixes, the first three are the most productive. Concomitant with the multiplicity of plural suffixes is the fact that speakers from the same dialect area frequently differ among themselves as to which plural suffix goes with which noun. I have recorded the following forms of the word 'spider', for example. Other plural forms follow.

**tū'uka**  
**tu'ukā**  
'spider'

**tu'ukā**  
**tu'ukāhci**  
**tu'ukaʰse**  
'spiders'

**cāap<sup>w</sup>a-tʸe**  
mojarra-PL  
'mojarra fishes'

**unā-ci**  
mosquito-PL  
'mosquitos'

**kū'uku'u-se**  
snake-PL  
'snakes'

**hʰ'i-si**  
eye-PL  
'eyes'

**wāave'e-ri**  
coyote-PL  
'coyotes'

**veh-cē**  
jay-PL  
'urraca jays'

**ci'i-kʰ**  
dog-PL  
'dogs'

**nāwa'ari-h**  
robber-PL  
'robbers'

Usually the high tone on a noun occurs on the same syllable in the plural form as it does in the singular. There is a class of animate nouns, however, for which the high tone shifts from the first or second syllable of a singular form to a more right-hand syllable in the plural. As noted earlier (**PHONOLOGY**), this probably reflects a penultimate stress rule from an earlier stage of Cora.

**tʸāška**  
'scorpion'

**tʸāškā-tʸe**  
scorpion-PL  
'scorpions'

Some movable stress nouns have apparently lost the word-final syllable from the plural forms, giving rise to an occasional pair of nouns whose plural form is distinguished from the singular only by tone placement.

šā'iru  
'fly'

ša'irū  
'flies'

Some of these nouns have alternate pronunciations that contain some other overt marking for plural. For the Jesús María and San Francisco dialects, I have recorded the following forms, respectively, of 'fly'.

ša'irū-h  
fly-PL  
'flies' (Jesús María)

ša'irū-ci  
fly-PL  
'flies' (San Francisco)

As for human nouns, there are two main ways for marking plural. There is a small set of 'people' nouns for which plural is marked by partial or full suppletion of the noun stems. In some cases the marking appears to be a form of reduplication.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
pā'ari'i	tī'irji	'child'
t <sup>y</sup> am <sup>w</sup> ēih	t <sup>y</sup> āam <sup>w</sup> a	'young person'
t <sup>y</sup> āata'a	t <sup>y</sup> ēt <sup>y</sup> aka	'man'
hīta'a	hūuka	'woman'
vāsta'a	vāuhsi	'elder'
vāstakira'i	vāuhsikira'i	'old man'

The other plural marker is -m<sup>w</sup>a'a, which is restricted to kinship nouns. I am using this term to apply both to natural and ritual kinship terms.

n<sup>y</sup>i-yaašūh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a  
my-grandfather-PL  
'my grandfathers'

n<sup>y</sup>i-yāuh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a  
my-son-PL  
'my sons'

While the normal kinship plural suffix is -m<sup>w</sup>a'a (which both loses the glottal stop and gets shortened in a high-toned word-final syllable), there are other complications. In a number of cases there is multiple marking on the plural form. In addition to -m<sup>w</sup>a'a, these forms may include -st<sup>y</sup>a, -ri(ABS)+st<sup>y</sup>a, -ta'a, -ta, and -ci. The -ri of -rist<sup>y</sup>a sequences is the absolutive marker being retained for plural, as examples below illustrate.

n<sup>y</sup>i-yā'uve'e-ri-st<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>a'a  
my-brother-ABS-CAUS-PL  
in-law  
'my brothers-in-law'

n<sup>y</sup>a-wāakīšā'ah-t<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>a'a  
my-ancestor-CAUS-PL  
'my great-grandfathers'

In almost every case the relationship signalled by a kinship noun term that takes some form of -t<sup>y</sup>a signals a relationship that at





ha'ačūn<sup>y</sup>i ma-p<sup>w</sup>a'am<sup>w</sup>a m<sup>w</sup>a-a-raa-t<sup>y</sup>āh-turaa  
 how they-amount they-COMPL-facing-(?)-be  
 many to away left  
 'How many people stayed behind?'

ha'ačūn<sup>y</sup>i p<sup>w</sup>a'am<sup>w</sup>ā-ka w-i-h-mu'u  
 how amount-ACC inside-facing-UNSPEC-head  
 many to OBJ  
 'How many heads does it have?'

Accusative is less consistently marked on other kinds of modifiers, but it still occurs with such ones as *he'ikah* 'a few', *mu'i* 'many', and *naihmi'i* 'all'. Note the following contrastive sentences.

mu'u-rī mu'i-tī m-āu-n  
 they-now many-PRTC they-there-ABS  
 SUBJ

ā'-u-kī'ī-mi-hwa-ka'a  
 away-COMPL-teeth-chew-PASS-PAST  
 DUR

'There had already been many who had been devoured in that place.'

pu'u-rī mu'i-kā-ka wā-k<sup>w</sup>ii tī'irīi  
 SUBJ-now many-(?)-ACC COMPL-kill children  
 'It has already killed a lot of the children.'

Finally, a quantifier comparison construction is marked for accusative in the second clause of the construction when the direct objects of both clauses are coreferential.

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-wā'-u-ta-p<sup>w</sup>eihve ha'ačū n<sup>y</sup>ah kāh  
 I-DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-give however I:SUBR ACC  
 much

t<sup>y</sup>i-wā'-u-kupi  
 DISTR-them-COMPL-photograph:PAST

'I gave them just as many pictures as I had taken of them.'

### Vocative

The only vocative marking I have found thus far on nouns consists of a tone shift from the neutral position in a kin term to the possessor prefix.

n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>āuh  
 'my uncle' (neutral form)

n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>auh  
 'Oh, my Uncle!' (VOC)

n<sup>y</sup>e-'iwaāra'a  
 'my relative' (neutral form)

n<sup>y</sup>é-'iwaara'a  
 'Oh, my Brother!' (VOC)

## POSSESSIVES

Morphology

The following paradigms show the basic form of possessor elements: non-reflexive possessor affixes, reflexive possessor affixes (which are the same as the reflexive prefixes on verbs), and the possessor pronouns. All of the bound forms except for third person singular non-reflexive possessor are prefixes. There are two non-reflexive possessor suffixes, **-ra'an**, for non-human possessed nouns, and **-me'en** for plural human possessed nouns. The second and third person plural forms of the non-reflexive possessor affixes carry high tone, the other non-reflexive possessor affixes and all of the reflexive possessor affixes have low tone (or are inherently unstressed).

POSSESSOR AFFIXES		REFLEXIVE POSSESSOR AFFIXES	
	<u>SG</u>	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-	n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-
2P	a-	a-	ru-
3P	-ra'an	wā'-	ru-

POSSESSOR PRONOUN  
(actually OBJ PRON)

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	(j)n <sup>y</sup> eeci	(j)t <sup>y</sup> ehmi
2P	m <sup>w</sup> eeci	m <sup>w</sup> ehmi
3P		

## DEMONSTRATIVE

The first two paradigms illustrate the forms of the non-reflexive possessor affixes.

ka'an<sup>y</sup>i  
'shoulder bag'

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-ka'an <sup>y</sup> i	ta-ka'an <sup>y</sup> i
2P	a-ka'an <sup>y</sup> i	hā'am <sup>w</sup> a-ka'an <sup>y</sup> i
3P	ka'an <sup>y</sup> i-hra'an	wā'a-ka'an <sup>y</sup> i



The absolutive suffix interacts with the possessed forms of nominals in various ways; see **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Absolutive**.

A possessed noun can appear in a sentence as a full noun phrase.

<b>kīna-'ara'a-n</b>	<b>pū=pīrīkī</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-sīku'u</b>	<b>pū=pīrīkī</b>
husband-NONREFL-ABS	SUBJ=be	my-shirt	SUBJ=be
POSSR			
'It is her husband.'		'It's my shirt.'	

The third person possessor suffix does not occur when a possessor nominal appears as modifier to a possessed noun in a full noun phrase. The second nominal loses its high tone when the entire noun phrase occurs either as a single phonological phrase or as the last stress group in such a phrase.

<b>ī</b>	<b>kūuko</b>	<b>kucape'e</b>		
ART	PN	bowl		
'Cuco's gourd bowl'				
<b>āī</b>	<b>pū=p<sup>w</sup>éen</b>	<b>ī</b>	<b>wāakah</b>	<b>ica'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b>
DEM	SUBJ=be	ART	cow	rib
'That is the rib of a cow.'				

In these possessor noun + possessed noun noun phrases, the distributive suffix stays on the possessed noun to indicate the plural of the possessed item.

<b>ī</b>	<b>kūuko</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-vi'ika</b>
ART	PN	DISTR-planting
stick		
'Cuco's planting sticks'		

There is an inverted possessed noun + possessor noun noun phrase that occurs at least with third person singular nonreflexive possessor.

<b>āī</b>	<b>pū=p<sup>w</sup>éen</b>	<b>īp<sup>w</sup>a-rā-ara'a-n</b>	<b>ī</b>	<b>saantos</b>
DEM	SUBJ=be	chair-ABS-NONREFL-ABS	ART	PN
POSSR				
'That is Santos's chair.'				

The possessed noun of the inverted noun phrase can be topicalized, thus leading to a discontinuous construction.

<b>īp<sup>w</sup>a-rā-ara'a-n</b>	<b>pū=pīrīkī</b>	<b>ī</b>	<b>saantos</b>
chair-ABS-NONREFL-ABS	SUBJ=be	ART	PN
POSSR			
'The chair is Santos's.'			





The following examples show the distributive plural variant of the incorporated possessed noun construction. This particular construction seems to be ambiguous between definite and indefinite meanings.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>eih hēiwa**  
 DISTR-UNSPEC-hatchet lots  
 OBJ

'He has lots of hatchets.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ita hēiwa**  
 DISTR-UNSPEC-straw lots  
 OBJ mat

'He has lots of straw mats.'

The next pair of examples shows the contrast between possessed nouns functioning as full noun phrases and possessed nouns that are incorporated into a noun<sub>1</sub> possesses noun<sub>2</sub> construction.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-'iwāa-m<sup>w</sup>a'a mū p<sup>w</sup>-ēen**  
 my-relative-PL SUBJ ASSR-be  
 'They are my brothers and sisters.'

**wāiika-ka nū t<sup>y</sup>i-'iwaa-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 three-ACC I UNSPEC-relative-PL  
 OBJ

'I have three brothers and sisters.'

There is a kind of classification to the items that are incorporated into noun<sub>1</sub> possesses noun<sub>2</sub> constructions. The incorporated items can be classified into human, animate, and inanimate possessed object categories. The next pair of examples illustrates possessed animate objects both as full noun phrases and as incorporated nouns. It also illustrates the suppletive noun stem **kīi/ya'am<sup>w</sup>a** 'domestic animal'.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kīi pū pīriki in<sup>y</sup>eeci**  
 POSSR-animal SUBJ be mine  
 'It's my animal.'

**n<sup>y</sup>eeci pū n<sup>y</sup>a-kīi**  
 mine SUBJ POSSR-animal  
 'It's my animal.'

**ha-yā'am<sup>w</sup>a mū pīriki m<sup>w</sup>ēeci**  
 POSSR-animals they be yours  
 'They are your animals.'

**m<sup>w</sup>ēeci mū a-ya'am<sup>w</sup>a**  
 yours they your-animals  
 'They are your animals.'

The last category of possessed object is that of inanimate possessed object. It turns out that the marker for inanimate possessed object is *-a*. The following pair of sentences shows that *-a* is pronominal in nature. By comparing the second sentence with the first, it can be seen that *-a* in the second sentence corresponds to an incorporated noun in the first. In addition, in the second sentence, *-a* replaces a topicalized noun.

**ra-tasi f saantos**

SPEC-blanket ART PN

OBJ

'Santos owns the blanket.'

**m̄f tasi s̄aantos p̄u=ra-'a**

ART blanket PN SUBJ=SPEC-it

OBJ

'As for the blanket, Santos owns it.'

In the next set of examples, *-a* occurs by itself in a topicalized possessor construction. The topicalized possessor is a pronoun copy of the bound possessor.

**n̄yéeci p̄u n̄ya-'a**  
mine SUBJ mine-possession  
'It's mine.'

**m̄wéeci p̄u a-'a**  
yours SUBJ yours-possession  
'It's yours.'

**am̄f̄i p̄u ra-'a**  
his SUBJ OBJ-possession  
'It's his.'

**t̄yéhmi p̄u ta-'a**  
ours SUBJ ours-possession  
'It's ours.'

**m̄wéhmi p̄u h̄a'am̄w̄a-'a**  
yours:PL SUBJ yours:PL-possession  
'It's you all's.'

**āime p̄u w̄a-'a**  
theirs SUBJ theirs-possession  
'It's theirs.'

**n̄yéeci p̄u t̄ȳi'i-n̄ya-'a**  
mine SUBJ DISTR-mine-possession  
'They are my things.'

Finally, *-a* also shows up as a pronoun in an inverted possessor construction.

**h̄a-'ara'an f rodr̄iigu**

it-NONREFL ART PN

POSSR

'Rodrigo's thing'

**t̄ȳi'-a-ra'an f rodr̄iigu**

DISTR-it-NONREFL ART PN

POSSR

'Rodrigo's belongings'

## POSTPOSITIONS

Forms

Cora postpositions fall into three classes. There is a fairly small class of 'free' forms that productively occur with either a prefix base, a pronoun base, or a nominal base. There is a smaller class of bound postpositions that suffix to nouns and that are generally not very productive. Finally, there are a few forms that in some contexts function as though they were postpositional elements, but in other contexts function more like verbs or adverbs.

Free Forms

<b>hecé</b>	'in, against, towards, into, to, at, within'
<b>hap<sup>wā</sup></b>	'on, above, in behalf of'
<b>het<sup>yē</sup></b>	'below'
<b>hemj</b>	'where X is, pertaining to, with'
<b>ham<sup>wān</sup></b>	'together with, accompanying'
<b>kime'e</b>	'INSTR, by means of, of (objective genitive)'
<b>kūhta'a</b>	'following right behind'
<b>cāhta'a</b>	'inside of, among, mixed among'
<b>wārita'a</b>	'behind, in back of, backwards'

The postposition **kime'e** has three phonological shapes: **kime'e** (post-verbally), **kīn** (pre-verbally), and **kime'en** (in an absolutive sense).

**kāuhna-ri kime'e**  
 rope-ABS with  
 'with a rope'

**pu-'urī-'i wa'ap<sup>wā</sup>-kah kīn hī-rā-'a-vī'i-ta**  
 SUBJ-ADV-SEQ two-ACC with NARR-DISTR-outside-grab-make  
 'Now he is caught by both hands.'

**hēekan pū t<sup>yī</sup>-ru-'u-tā-k<sup>wē</sup>'i-sin f pā'arī'ī**  
 really SUBJ DISTR-DISTR-inside-PERF-eat-DUR ART child  
 SG

**kime'e**  
 with

'She is really going to make herself a meal of that child.'

**ma-tī'ih t<sup>yī</sup>-ra-'an-ta-ku kime'e-n**  
 they-CNJ DISTR-DISTR:SG-on-across-hollow with-ABS  
 top

**mu'u w-ii-raa-kĩ**

they:PS inside-trajectory-face-leave:PL

'Just as soon as they opened the door, they all came pouring out of the house.'

Three forms are analyzable as X + **-ta'a** 'place of', but the meanings of the X constituent for the first two are not yet clear to me. The third is derived from the noun **wari** 'back'.

**aĩ pũ wa-méh ĩ pũuru'u kuhta'a**

DEM SUBJ EXT-go ART donkey following

'He was going along, following after the donkey.'

**kĩša'u-ri cahta'a**

gourd-ABS inside

'inside the gourd canteen'

**yā-h**

here-vertical away-inside

horizontally corner

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wārita'a**

-around-be me-behind

'He's stretched out behind me back around the corner.'

#### Bound Forms

The bound postpositions, with the exception of those meaning 'inside of' and 'in the area of', are not nearly as productive as the free forms.

**-ta'a** 'inside of, the place of'

**-ta** 'inside of'

**-ce'e** 'at, in'

**-e** 'in'

**=remi** 'with' (INAN OBJ)

**=rece** 'at' (NUMR OBJ)

**ru-'u-rā-h-ča'ĩ**

DISTR-inside-facing-vertical-have there corral-inside  
SG away inside

'He has it penned up inside the corral.'

**r-u-'i-rā-h-ča'ĩ**

DISTR-inside-across -facing-vertical-have there  
SG trajectory away inside

**ru-čĩ'i-ta**

REFL-house-inside

'He has it in his house.'

**ha'in<sup>y</sup>ĩ pa-rĩkĩ n<sup>y</sup>a-huyēe-ce-'e**

how you-do my-path-ABS-in

'What are you doing in my way?'

**m-ān**      **a-t<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 there-on    your-mouth-in  
                  top  
 'there in your mouth'

**hā'anah=remi**  
 elephant=with  
 ears  
 'place of the elephant-  
 ear plants'

**anšī-vi-kah=recē**  
 five-ABS-ACC=times  
 'five times'

## Syntax

### Base Elements of Postpositional Phrases

A postpositional phrase can take either a pronominal prefix, an independent pronoun, or a noun phrase for its base. One set of prefix bases, except for third person singular, is identical to the set of non-reflexive possessor prefixes (see **POSSESSIVES**). The other is identical to both the reflexive possessor prefixes on nouns and the reflexive object prefixes on verbs (see **POSSESSIVES** and **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**).

**ka-pū**      **wā'a-hecē ru-še'eve'e**  
 NEG-SUBJ them-to    REFL-want  
 'It doesn't matter to them.'

**ru-hecē šu=rā-a-wau-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 REFL-in you=DISTR-COMPL-look-FUT  
                  PL    SG                    for  
 'Look for it right within your own selves.'

**ā'-u-ye'i-mī**      **m<sup>w</sup>ēeci ham<sup>w</sup>an**  
 away-COMPL-go-DESID you    with  
 'He wants to go with you.'

The unmarked order of postpositional phrases with a nominal as head is noun + postposition. Absolutive does not drop from the noun in this construction. The neutral position of postpositional phrases in a sentence is post-verbal.

**hi-ra-'a-t<sup>y</sup>āara**      **ī cāakuri hece**  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-outside-stuff ART basket in  
 'She stuffed him into the conical carrying basket.'

**mā'a=na'a ūh-vee**      **mī kīša'u-ri mī mēesa hap<sup>w</sup>a**  
 there=be    LOC-stand ART gourd-ABS ART table on  
 'The thermos bottle is standing there on the table.'

**ra-'an-t<sup>y</sup>-ē-ii-ča'ah-rā'a**      **ī t<sup>y</sup>et<sup>y</sup>ē het<sup>y</sup>e**  
 DISTR-on-up-outside-facing-dig-PAST ART rock    beneath  
 SG                    top  
 'Having gotten there, she dug a hole beneath the rock.'

a'anāh n<sup>y</sup>āh kū t<sup>y</sup>ū-hū'-u-vat m<sup>w</sup>ayahtūum<sup>w</sup>a'a  
 once I:SUBR EV DISTR-NARR-COMPL-help majordomo

kime'e ta-yā'u hemi  
 as our-father with  
 '...that I once surely helped as a majordomo  
 in service to our father.'

wā'a ham<sup>w</sup>ān mū t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-ša ɸ nawa'ari  
 them with SUBJ DISTR-talk ART bandits  
 'They talk together with the bandits.'

Third person postpositional object is marked by a suffix *-n* in the nonreflexive postpositional object paradigm. I analyze this *-n* as an absolutive synchronically.

ka-pū hecē-n ru-še'eve'e  
 NEG-SUBJ to-ABS REFL-want  
 'It doesn't matter to him.'

Third person postpositional object may also be marked by a demonstrative pronoun.

aɪhnā hap <sup>w</sup> a ɸ ku'uku'u	amɪhnā hemi ɸ saantos
DEM:DIST on ART serpent	DEM with ART PN
'on top of it, the serpent'	'where he is, Santos'

There is an inverted construction in which the postposition + -n precedes a noun phrase of the form ART + N.

hap <sup>w</sup> a-n ɸ ku'uku'u	hemī-n ɸ saantos
on-ABS ART serpent	with-ABS ART PN
top	'where Santos is'
'on top of the serpent, upon the serpent's back'	
het <sup>y</sup> ē-n ɸ kaana-ri	wārita'a-n ɸ č'i'i
under-ABS ART clothes-ABS	behind-ABS ART house
'under the dress'	'in back of the house'

#### Postpositions and Locative Particle

A postpositional phrase may combine with a locative particle in a construction of the form locative particle + object prefix + postposition. The high tone of the postposition is attracted to the locative particle.

yū n <sup>y</sup> a-warita'a	yū warita'a-n
here me-behind	here behind-ABS
'right here behind me'	'right here behind him'

yū hā'am<sup>w</sup>a-warita'a  
 here you:PL-behind  
 'right here behind all of you'

The following example shows that a postposition may take a locative particle base, however. Thus there is a contrast between postpositional phrases that take a locative particle base and those that occur with locative particles that are constituents of a higher-level phrase.

yū-hece p-ūh-me'e-n  
 here-towards ASSR-there-go-PRTC  
 'coming off to this side'

hū wārita'a-n e'-e-vē'e-vee  
 there behind-ABS away-outside-covering-stand

aḥna ḥ pa'arī'ī  
 DEM ART child  
 'That boy was standing there right behind her.'

The locative particle + object prefix + postpositional phrase shows up post-verbally in the neutral position. It can be followed by a free object pronoun of which the object prefix of the postpositional phrase is a copy.

n-ū-'u-k<sup>w</sup>i'ī yū n<sup>y</sup>a-cahta'a in<sup>y</sup>eeci  
 me-inside-EXT-hurt here me-inside me:ACC  
 inside  
 'It hurts me right here on the inside.'

Postpositions also play a role in forming oblique relative clauses. In the simplest case, an oblique relative clause consists of the sequence HEAD NP + SUBORDINATOR + POSTPOSITION -n + PREDICATE. (See **RELATIVE CLAUSES**, Oblique Relatives.)

ḥ čaanaka t<sup>y</sup>a hap<sup>w</sup>ā-n y-en hī'i-vauhse-'e  
 ART world we:SUBR on-ABS here-on NARR-grow:PL-APPLIC  
 top  
 'this world on which we have grown up'

### Discontinuity

Postpositional phrases can be discontinuous in complex sentences. Assuming that the neutral order for postpositional phrase is post-verbal, discontinuous constructions suggest the possibility of certain kinds of movement rules.

To begin, the neutral order of constituents in an oblique relative clause is HEAD NOUN PHRASE + SUBORDINATOR + POSTPOSITION -n + PREDICATE.



**č-áu ra-a-hā'usi-n ɨ tuša'a**  
 EXHRT-LOC DISTR-COMPL-wash-PRTC ART plate  
 BASE SG

**tɸ hecē-n t<sup>y</sup>-e-'i-tā-k<sup>w</sup>aa**  
 SUBR on-ABS DISTR-outside-across-PERF-eat  
 trajectory

'...may someone wash the dish from which she ate.'

One movement rule promotes the postposition to clause-initial position. The promotion may be attended by concomitant changes in the morphology of the oblique relative. For example, the subordinating particle, which is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the embedded verb, may be replaced by a subject particle. Thus the following oblique relative is introduced by the sequence POSTPOSITION + SUBJECT PARTICLE.

**ayāa mú ra-tɸh m-i**  
 thus they DISTR:SG-carry they-SEQ

**rā-'a-hu'u-n-č'e'e kɸn tū nu'u**  
 DISTR:SG-away-go-FUT-IMPOT with we QUOT

**hi'i-ta-vāɸɸ-ra-'a t-ā-'a-hu'u-n-č'e'e**  
 NARR-REFL-follow-CAUS-DUR we-away-outside-go-FUT-IMPOT  
 'And so they would have been coming here to carry off that  
 with which we would have been sustaining ourselves.'

A more common pattern of discontinuity involves a promoted postposition and its demonstrative pronominal base. The entire postpositional phrase is usually the instrument (or means) of the main clause. The demonstrative pronoun gets preposed to clause-initial position, whereas the postposition is moved to pre-verbal position and a subject particle ends up separating the postposition from its pronominal base.

**tɸ p<sup>w</sup>ā-'ah ha'atɸ wā-yana-m<sup>w</sup>a-n āɸh pú**  
 SUBR ASSR-CNJ someone COMPL-tobacco-put-PRTC DEM SUBJ

**kɸn kāh t<sup>y</sup>i-ru-'u-tā-k<sup>w</sup>e'i-sin**  
 with ACC DISTR-DISTR:SG-inside-PERF-eat-DUR  
 'If he cures somebody, by means of this (having cured  
 him) he shall be obtaining his sustenance.'

**aɸme tū t<sup>y</sup>-iɸh kɸn tɸn hu'-u-t<sup>y</sup>āa-ta'aru**  
 DEM we we-SEQ with almost NARR-COMPL-RDP-be  
 drunk  
 'We just about got stoned on those things.'

The shortening of the postposition **kime'e** to **kɸn** is an additional side-effect of movement rules that prepose postpositional phrases to verbs.

**ka-pu ra-a-hé'ika nāwaa kime'e**  
 NEG-SUBJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill knife with  
 'He did not kill him with a knife.'

**ka-pu nāwaa kīn ra-a-hé'ika**  
 NEG-SUBJ knife with DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill  
 'It was not with a knife that he killed him.'

### Quasi-Postpositions

A few adverbial items behave partly like postpositions and partly like something else. These include **véhli'i** 'near', **imf** 'far', and **hé'ita'a** 'in the middle'.

**ā nū véhli'i ū-ča-ših-sin**  
 there I close inside-stand-PAST-DUR  
 by  
 'I'm going to stop close by there.'

**ru-véhli'i pū t<sup>y</sup>-ūh-tutāh-mee**  
 REFL-close SUBJ up-REFL-curve-COLL  
 by  
 'Going up the hill, the road winds back and forth  
 close to itself.'

**ahtā ān he'ita'a wa-yēih-šī**  
 CNJ on in COMPL-sit-PAST  
 top middle  
 'And then it came to a rest, off there on top  
 in the middle of the lake.'

The adverb **imī** acts like a postposition to a locative head. It also enters into locative compounds.

<b>hā-'imī</b>	<b>āa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'imī</b> → <b>āat<sup>y</sup>ā'imī</b>
there-far	off -down-far
off	there river
'a long ways off, out there'	'way off there down river'

There are two stems **-n<sup>y</sup>ee** 'face/be visible' and **kīca** 'back-side of (buttocks)' that can be inflected for location and used similarly to postpositions.

**t<sup>y</sup>éyuh t-ā'-ih-n<sup>y</sup>ee**  
 church SUBR-away-trajectory-be  
 visible  
 'out there in front of the church' (visible location)

**a-čf'i t-a'-i-kāa-kīca**  
 your-house SUBR-away-trajectory-down-backside  
 'coming down from the backside of your house'

## DEMONSTRATIVES

### Forms

The demonstratives show systematic differences in shape depending on considerations such as number, case, and position in a clause with respect to the main verb. They are arranged according to a quasi-distance scale of three points whose meanings are roughly 'right here where speaker is', 'off there at speaker's reference point', and 'off there out of sight'. The eight sets of forms are as follows below. In the cases of inflected forms I have selected **p-** 2P SG and **m-** 3P PL to illustrate particular combinations of elements, except for SUBJ + ... ABS, where I show the full set.

	<u>ART</u>	<u>SUBJ Copy</u>	<u>+ ...ABS</u>
'here'	<b>i</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>-aīn</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>-aīn</b>
'there'	<b>mī</b>	<b>p-aīn</b>	<b>s-aīn</b>
'unseen'	<b>ī</b>	<b>aīn</b>	<b>m-aīn</b>
	<u>SUBJ SG</u>	<u>OBJ SG</u>	<u>OBJ PL</u>
	(Pre-Verbal)	(Pre-Verbal)	(Pre-Verbal/OBJ P)
'here'	<b>aī</b>	<b>aīh</b>	<b>aīme(h)</b>
'there'	<b>amī</b>	<b>amīh</b>	<b>amīme(h)</b>
'unseen'	<b>aī</b>	<b>aīh</b>	<b>aīme(h)</b>
	<u>SUBJ SG</u>	<u>OBJ SG</u>	<u>SUBJ PL/OBJ PL</u>
	(Post-Verbal)	(OBJ P/Post-Verbal)	(Post-Verbal)
'here'	<b>aīhna</b>	<b>paihna</b>	<b>mai hna</b>
'there'	<b>amīhna</b>	<b>pamīhna</b>	<b>mamī hna</b>
'unseen'	<b>aīhna</b>	<b>paīhna</b>	<b>maī hna</b>

As suggested above, the three definite articles indicate relative position of an object to the speaker. The form **i** is generally interpreted to mean 'the one right here in speaker's hand' or 'right by speaker's side'. The form **mī** means 'the one right there at speaker's point of reference', which roughly includes the speaker's range of vision. The third form **ī** means 'the one out of sight'.



The following patterns of permitted and non-permitted sequences show that there is agreement between a demonstrative and an article in noun phrases consisting of DEM + ART + N.

<b>āihna ī yu'uša-ri</b>	<b>*āihna † yu'ušari</b>
DEM ART book-ABS	
'this book right here'	
<b>m-amīhna mī naayeri</b>	<b>*mamīhna † naayeri</b>
SUBJ-DEM ART Cora	
'those Coras right there'	
<b>*mamīhna † naayeri</b>	

In Cora, all third person free pronouns are demonstratives. In the role of pronouns, then, demonstratives show up as subjects, direct objects, and objects of postpositions. There is an 'absolute' use of demonstratives in which they are the subjects of reduced sentences.

<b>am† pu n<sup>y</sup>ā'u tā-'i-ča'†</b>
DEM SUBJ AFF us-facing-care
toward for
'He (that one there) is taking care of us, then.'

**a†** 'that one' is sometimes used in an interpretive sense, meaning something like 'this means X' or 'this is the X group that...'. Thus, it retains its singular form even though it refers to a plural subject.

<b>a† pū t<sup>y</sup>i-wā'a-karih</b>
that SUBJ DISTR-their-bone
'Those are their bones (of the ancient people).'
<b>a† mū hēice'e wa-t<sup>y</sup>āa-ta'aru † mah</b>
DEM SUBJ more COMPL-RDP-be ART they:SUBR
drunk

<b>t<sup>y</sup>i-t<sup>y</sup>e'-en-t<sup>y</sup>-āh-ru-p†</b>	<b>āime kime'e † waatari</b>
RDP-DISTR-on-up-along-enter-PAST	DEM:PL with ART peyote
'This is the group of those who got the most drunk from those peyotes, those who received religious cargos.'	

In the following examples, the demonstrative is marked for accusative. In the first two examples, the accusative form of the demonstrative pronoun is coreferential with the possessor prefix on a possessed noun. In the other example, the demonstrative is coreferential to the nominal surface object.

<b>amīmeh mū wā'a-yauh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a</b>
DEM:ACC SUBJ their-offspring-PL
'They are the sons of those people there.'

āimeh pū wā'a-yauh  
 DEM:ACC ASSR their-son  
 'He is the son of those people right there.'

āih pū nū'u hī t<sup>y</sup>i-čū'eve'e †  
 DEM:ACC SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-wait ART  
 for

šaihn<sup>y</sup>u'uka-ra-'ara'a-n  
 heart-ABS-NONREFL-ABS  
 POSSR  
 'That is what he is waiting for, its heart.'

An objective demonstrative can be marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the sentence.

nu'u-r† r-a-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-yu'uša-ka'a n<sup>y</sup>-āihna  
 I-now DISTR-outside-COMPL-PERF-write-PAST I-DEM  
 SG PERF

'I already wrote that down.'

šu'u-r† ra-a-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-yu'uša-ka'a s-āihna  
 you-now DISTR-outside-COMPL-PERF-write-PAST you-DEM  
 PL SG PERF PL

'You all already wrote that down.'

The final example shows a full DEM + ART + N phrase occurring as the direct object of a verb.

ahtā ā†-n † pa'ari'† t<sup>y</sup>ú-hu'-u-hūura āihna  
 CNJ DEM-ABS ART child DISTR-NARR-COMPL-pick DEM

† haiici ahtā āihna † rum<sup>w</sup>a  
 ART yellow CNJ DEM ART black  
 zapote zapote

'And he, that boy, is picking that yellow zapote (fruit), and also that black zapote.'

The following examples show various demonstrative forms occurring as objects of postpositions.

me-t<sup>y</sup>i-hī-r-u-'u-tā-k<sup>w</sup>a  
 they-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-COMPL-PERF-eat

āihna kime'e † caap<sup>w</sup>a  
 DEM with ART mojarra  
 fish

'Then they made a meal of that old mojarra fish.'

ān-vi'it†-č†i āime hemi  
 on-carry-APPLIC DEM with  
 top

'Take him off to them.'



probably means that the noun phrase is in apposition to the topicalized demonstrative.

In discontinuous constructions involving a demonstrative and a postposition, the final *-na* of a singular demonstrative object of the postposition is truncated and the truncated form gets put into sentence-initial position.

**am̄h nū hecē r-a-'u-vī'ih-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 DEM I on DISTR-outside-inside-grab-make-APPLIC  
 ACC SG horizontally PAST  
 'I stuck it to that door over there.'

**āih šu'u wī kfn wa-tā-uh-vait-re-'e-n**  
 DEM you QUOT with COMPL-PERF-REFL-follow-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 ACC PL

**m<sup>w</sup>ān nāayeri**  
 you:PL Coras  
 'You Coras can maintain yourselves on this thing I've got in my hand.'

Plural demonstrative objects of postpositions do not get truncated when they are preposed to the verb.

**am̄meh pū hemī wā-ka**  
 DEM:ACC SUBJ with COMPL-be  
 sitting  
 'He stays with those people there.'

**afmeh pū n<sup>y</sup>ā'u hecē hi-ra-'u-tā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree-ri-'i**  
 DEM:ACC SUBJ AFF about NARR-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-REFL-know-  
 SG

APPLIC-STAT  
 'He thought of them (as though they were his parents).'

There are demonstrative topicalized copy constructions in which a sentence-initial free pronoun or demonstrative is singled out as the referent of an absolutive form of a demonstrative. In one type, there is no relative position agreement between a particular sentence-initial demonstrative and the absolutive subject demonstrative. In addition, the sentence-initial demonstrative can be singular even though the subject of the clause is plural.

<b>aī pū āi-n pīriki</b>	<b>am̄ pū āi-n pīriki</b>
DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be	DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be
'This one here is the one.'	'That one there is the one.'



**aʔ pũ aʔ-n pʔrɪkɪ**  
 DEM SUBJ DEM-ABS be  
 'That one is the one.'

In the second kind of construction, there is person and number agreement between the subject of the sentence and the absolutive form of the demonstrative.

**m<sup>w</sup>āa pā p-āi-n pʔrɪkɪ**  
 you SUBJ you-DEM-ABS be  
 'You are the one.'

**m<sup>w</sup>ān šū s-āi-n pʔrɪkɪ**  
 you:PL SUBJ you:PL-DEM-ABS be  
 'You all are the ones.'

**amʔ mũ m-āi-n pʔrɪkɪ**  
 they SUBJ they-DEM-ABS be  
 'They are the ones.'

The examples below show that the topicalized copy construction actually includes a subordinate clause. The examples given above are thus reduced versions of sentences similar to these next ones.

**n<sup>y</sup>āa nũ n<sup>y</sup>-āi-n pʔrɪkɪ n<sup>y</sup>ah m<sup>w</sup>a-a-nāwe'-iri-'i**  
 I SUBJ I-DEM-ABS be I:SUBR you-COMPL-rob-APPLIC-STAT  
 'I am the one who robbed you.'

**amʔ pũ āi-n pʔrɪkɪ tʔ m<sup>w</sup>a-a-nāwe-iri-'i**  
 he SUBJ DEM-ABS be SUBR you-COMPL-rob-APPLIC-STAT  
 'He is the one who robbed you.'

## ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms

Clitic locative elements in Cora reflect three basic orientations: boundary, distance, and slope. With reference to a boundary area, an object may be either inside or outside of it. There are three degrees of 'distance': here, 'speaker's location'; there, 'speaker's point of visual reference'; and off there, 'out of range of speaker's vision'. Slope orientation breaks down into 'horizontally at the foot of the slope', 'in the slope', and 'at the head of the slope'.

The following paradigms show the full set of locative particles that reflect this system. They are given in contrastive inside/outside sets which are further categorized under basic vs. slope orientation.

	<u>Basic</u>		<u>Foot of Slope</u>	
	<u>Inside</u>	<u>Outside</u>	<u>Inside</u>	<u>Outside</u>
'here'	<b>yu</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>yuu</b>	<b>yāa</b>
'there'	<b>mu</b>	<b>ma</b>	<b>muu</b>	<b>maa</b>
'off there'	<b>u</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>uu</b>	<b>aa</b>

  

	<u>In Slope</u>		<u>Head of Slope</u>
	<u>Inside</u>	<u>Outside</u>	<u>Outside</u>
'here'	<b>yuh</b>	<b>yah</b>	<b>yan</b>
'there'	<b>muh</b>	<b>mah</b>	<b>man</b>
'off there'	<b>uh</b>	<b>ah</b>	<b>an</b>

**yā p<sup>w</sup>a'ake**  
 here outside  
 'here outside'

**yū či'i-ta**  
 here house-inside  
 'here inside this house'

Many of these particles have come to acquire secondary meanings from discourse and thus no longer function as pure spatial locatives, but rather as conjunctions of various sorts. This is especially true of the particle series for 'outside, foot of the slope.'

**yāa pū nū'u t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-rīh**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do  
 'This is what happened, so they say.'

The following are typical examples of sentence-initial locative particles.

yū pū wā-uh-sa'upeh yū č'i-i-ta  
 here SUBJ COMPL-REFL-rest:PAST here house-inside  
 'He rested himself here inside the house.'

yā pū wā-uh-sa'upeh yā p<sup>w</sup>a'ake  
 here SUBJ COMPL-REFL-rest here outside  
 'He rested himself outside here.'

The locative particle elements combine with a set of six suffixes or complexes of suffixes to derive a set of locative adverbs which I usually refer to as 'river-oriented' adverbs. These adverbs have additional applications to other spheres of reference such as location on a human or animal body or location within a house. The suffixes and their meanings are as follows:

-t<sup>y</sup>e 'downstream'  
 -k<sub>i</sub> 'downslope'  
 -t<sup>y</sup>i(yi) 'upslope'  
 -t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>a 'upstream'  
 -ka'i(wa) 'over the ridge'  
 -ta(va)-n 'across the river'

The longer forms (indicated within parentheses) seem to represent synonymous variants of the shorter adverbial forms.

The following sets of forms are some of the actual sequences that occur. Each series of three forms is labelled to correlate with the sets of locative particles that are given above.

yuu-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 muu-t<sup>y</sup>e } 'inside, foot of slope, downstream'  
 uu-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 yee-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 mee-t<sup>y</sup>e } 'outside, foot of slope, downstream'  
 aa-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 yen-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 men-t<sup>y</sup>e } 'outside, on top, downstream'  
 an-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 yeh-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 meh-t<sup>y</sup>e } 'outside, in slope, downstream'  
 ah-t<sup>y</sup>e }  
 yeh-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>a }  
 meh-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>a } 'outside, in slope, upstream'  
 ah-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>a }

yen-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	} 'outside, on top, upstream'
men-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	
an-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	
yuh-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	} 'inside, in slope, upstream'
muh-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	
uh-t <sup>y</sup> ap <sup>w</sup> a	

The a/e alternation in these forms is morphophonemically determined.

There is a third class of adverbial demonstratives that, for want of a better term, I call locative demonstratives. These are formed from combining the locative base *a* 'outside' with the locative particle *y-* or *m-* on either an *a* vowel or *u* vowel base. Additional elements include the sequence *-h + -na, -n* (absolute), and the subject prefix series.

The locative demonstratives can be divided into several pairs of 'outside' versus 'inside' paradigms. Each paradigm reflects the 'here/there/out-of-sight' parameters. The pairs of paradigms are further divided into 'up on top' versus 'not up on top' groups. Finally, initial reference forms are divided into 'non-absolute' versus 'absolute'. The non-absolute forms are pro forms which cannot be inflected for person and number of the subject, while the absolute forms can be so inflected. The first person singular subject marker is shown for the forms that can be inflected. Nonpermissible forms are shown with an asterisk.

## INITIAL REFERENCE

	Non-Absolute (Non-Inflected)		Absolute	
	Inside	Outside	Inside	Outside
'here'	ayu	aya	n <sup>y</sup> -eyu-n	n <sup>y</sup> -eya-n
'there'	amu	ama	*n <sup>y</sup> -amu-n	n <sup>y</sup> -ama-n
'off there'	au	aa	n <sup>y</sup> -au-n	n <sup>y</sup> -a-n

## PREVIOUS REFERENCE

	Not on Top	
	Inside	Outside
'here'	n <sup>y</sup> -eyu-h-na	n <sup>y</sup> -eya-h-na
'there'	n <sup>y</sup> -amu-h-na	n <sup>y</sup> -ama-h-na
'off there'	n <sup>y</sup> -au-h-na	n <sup>y</sup> -a-h-na

## Up on Top

	Inside	Outside
	'here'	*n <sup>y</sup> -eyun-na
'there'	*n <sup>y</sup> -amun-na	n <sup>y</sup> -aman-na
'off there'	*n <sup>y</sup> -aun-na	n <sup>y</sup> -an-na

The following examples illustrate the locative demonstratives.

**a-y-āa tū**

LOC-here-outside we

BASE

'We will be seeing each other back here again.'

**a-ū pū t<sup>y</sup>i-'ih-taavi-hwa ah-t<sup>y</sup>ēe-vi'i**

LOC-inside SUBJ DISTR-UNSPEC-make-PASS along-long-PRTC

BASE

OBJ

slope

'Inside there was a thing constructed that was very tall and skinny.'

**ka-nū n<sup>y</sup>-eyū-n ha'-u-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>e y-ūh-ka'iwa**

NEG-I I-back-ABS away-COMPL-around-pass here-inside-over

here

corner by

slope hill

'I did not come back up around this way from over the hill.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ah nū'u w-ii-rā-h-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**

I:SUBR QUOT inside-trajectory-facing-vertical-leave-FUT

**n<sup>y</sup>-eyūh-na t<sup>y</sup>āsta'a**

I-inside-PREV cave

here

REF

'He says that I should get out of this cave.'

**pāh nū'u t<sup>y</sup>i-če-n<sup>y</sup>i p-eyān-na hiri hap<sup>w</sup>a**

you:SUBR QUOT up-move-FUT you-here-PREV hill on

REF

'He says you should get off from here up on top of this hill.'

**p-ahta p-ān-nā ha'-a-rā'a**

you-CNJ you-up- PREV away-outside-arrive

there REF

'And you also went there.'

There is a fourth class of adverbial demonstratives that I call deictic locatives. These adverbs have a performative function with respect to the addressee in a speech situation, in contrast to the basically pronominal type function of most of the locative adverbs discussed above. The deictic locatives make use of the basic **y-**, **m-**, and **∅** distance orientation and the **a/u** boundary orientation systems. All the deictic locative forms include a glottal stop plus a copy of either **a** or **u**, giving what might be called a pausal form of the deictic, analogous to the pausal forms of both the definite article and the subject pronouns. One more paradigm can be formed by suffixing **-k<sup>w</sup>i** EMPH to either the **a** or **u** forms given below.

$$\text{DEICTIC LOC} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{y-} \\ \text{m-} \\ \text{Ø} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{u} \end{array} \right\} + \text{'V}_x + (-\text{k}^{\text{wi}})$$

The following paradigms are presented as contrastive inside/outside pairs for pausal and emphatic deictic categories.

	PAUSAL DEICTIC		EMPHATIC DEICTIC	
	<u>Inside</u>	<u>Outside</u>	<u>Inside</u>	<u>Outside</u>
'here'	yu'u	ya'a	yu'u-k <sup>wi</sup>	ya'a-k <sup>wi</sup>
'there'	mu'u	ma'a	mu'u-k <sup>wi</sup>	ma'a-k <sup>wi</sup>
'off there'	u'u	a'a	u'u-k <sup>wi</sup>	a'a-k <sup>wi</sup>

The following examples illustrate typical uses of the deictic locatives.

**yū'u ūh-m<sup>waa</sup> čī'i-tā ā-'a-muuku'u**  
 here inside-lay house-inside ART(?)-your-hat  
 inside slope flat

**pāh ra-wau-wau**  
 you:SUBR DISTR:SG-RDP-look  
 for  
 'Your hat that you are going around looking for is  
 sitting on the floor right here inside the house.'

**mā'a māh wa-t<sup>yā</sup>-uu m̄ kaura-si pah**  
 there they:SUBR EXT-in-be ART goat-PL you:SUBR  
 outside middle

**wa-hā'-u-rai**  
 them-away-COMPL-lose  
 'Right off over yonder is where the goats are clustered,  
 the ones you lost way off somewhere.'

**yu'u-k<sup>wi</sup> wa-tā-m<sup>waa</sup> f tuša'a t<sup>yeh</sup>**  
 here-EMPH EXT-across-lay ART plate we:SUBR  
 inside

**y-ā'-u-raii-ka'a**  
 it-away-COMPL-lose-PAST  
 PERF  
 'The plate which we had lost is sitting  
 right here inside on top of the table.'

u'u-k<sup>wi</sup>    č'i-i-ta    ū    wa-tfka'a  
 there-EMPH house-inside there EXT-be  
 inside                    inside    dark  
 'It is dark all over off there inside that house.'

ma'a-k<sup>wi</sup>    m† t<sup>y</sup>i-'a-ya'am<sup>wa</sup>  
 there-EMPH ART DISTR-your-domestic  
 outside                    animals  
 'Right there are your animals.'

There is another small class of adverbial demonstratives that is based on two forms of the definite article: *i* 'the one right here' and *m†* 'the one right there'.

	ART		LOC PRT		EMPH
(a)	<i>ii</i>	+	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yah} \\ \text{yan} \\ \text{ya} \\ \text{yu} \end{array} \right\}$	+	(-k <sup>wi</sup> )
	ART		LOC PRT		EMPH
(b)	<i>m††</i>	+	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ma} \\ \text{man} \end{array} \right\}$	+	(-k <sup>wi</sup> )

Several of these forms will appear among the examples used to illustrate the syntax of adverbial demonstratives.

### Syntax

Adverbial demonstratives enter into various constructions with postpositions, postpositional phrases, adverbs, possessed nouns, and even with an existential predicate.

The following sets of examples show various locative particle constructions. The locative particle is the initial member in all these constructions. Locative particles can be the head of postpositional phrases.

yu    hecē    p-ūh-me'e-n  
 here toward SUBJ-inside-come-ABS  
 inside  
 'coming off to this side'

**ma-'imf**  
 there -far  
 outside off  
 'a bit removed from off there'

Locative particles combine with postpositions that have overt objects also.

<b>mě</b>	<b>čuaa-ta'a</b>	<b>yū</b>	<b>či'i-ta</b>
there	ground-in	here	house-inside
outside	area	inside	
'right there on the ground'		'right here inside the house'	

Locative particles can enter into complex adverbial clauses with a second, more specific adverb.

**ū**      **āt<sup>y</sup>e'e**  
 there along  
 inside river  
 'off there along the river'

Finally, locative particles can be in apposition to possessed noun forms which are themselves bound to a postposition.

<b>yū</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-hi'i-sīi-ta'a</b>	<b>yēh</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>ē-ica'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b>	<b>hece</b>
here	my-eye-PL-place-of	in	my-rib	against
inside		slope		
'right here in my eyes'		'right here in my ribs'		

There are two constructions in which a locative particle appears to be the head of a phrase that is the subject complement to a verb meaning 'be'. In one case, the main verb is **he'e/ha'a** 'be located somewhere'.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>i</b>	<b>yā=hā'a</b>	<b>vēhli'i</b>	<b>a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>-ēh-vee</b>
Q	here =be	close	away-EXT-up-along-be
	outside located by		slope standing
	'Is it standing up anywhere close by around here?'		

In the second construction, non-emphatic deictic locatives become prefixed to the existential stem **-na'a** to form a deictic element that takes a subject complement clause.





**ii-ya t-a'-u-pā'aca**

ART-here SUBR-outside-EXT(?) -be  
flat

'He says that they should remove themselves  
from here in the flat.'

Some adverbial demonstratives are inflected to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause, as the following schema shows.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>-aun</b>	}	<b>hi'i-rā'a</b> NARR-arrive PAST	'X arrived right here.'
'I'			
<b>p-aun</b>			
'you'			
<b>Ø-aun</b>			
'he'			
<b>t<sup>y</sup>-aun</b>			
'we'			
<b>s-aun</b>			
'you:PL'			
<b>m-aun</b>			
'they'			

Locative particles and demonstratives can serve as procomplements of various sorts. The possibilities include procomplement of location in space, location in time, manner, and content of quote. Some sentences even have double procomplements.

**ha'ačū a'-a-t<sup>y</sup>ēe-vi'i-ka āh nū n<sup>y</sup>-ī**  
somewhat away-outside-extend-PRTC-SIMUL along I I-SEQ  
slope

**ah-tā-n<sup>y</sup>-ī'ī**  
along-across-on-carry  
slope top  
'A little while went by, then I took my sandal off.'

**aū pū hi-ru-'u-wa-t<sup>y</sup>e-vī-'ira**  
there SUBJ NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-COMPL-PERF-grab-APPLIC  
horizontally  
'Right there inside he grabbed hold of it.'

**yāa pū yau**  
thus SUBJ be  
round  
'It's this big around.'

**ayāa pū nū'u hī t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-ki'īšī ru-'ī**  
thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-sing REFL-wife  
out





ĩ kiyé hap<sup>wa</sup>

ART board on

'Then afterwards the old woman sat down on the board.'

The preverbal part of a discontinuous construction is often a procomplement that can be inflected to mark the subject of the sentence.

n<sup>y</sup>i p-eyún a'-uh-n<sup>y</sup>éh y-úh-t<sup>y</sup>ivi

Q you-back away-inside-pass here-inside-uphill  
here slope by slope

'Did you not come by through here on top of this hill?'

tĩ'ĩ-kĩ ayān-nā hĩ-(y)ē'-eh-veh

CNJ-INDF thus-REV NARR-away-along-fall  
REF slope

mūu-ce-'e-n

head-ABS-in-ABS

'Then it fell right straight down on top of her head.'

## QUANTIFIERS

### Forms

The following are the most common quantifiers that occur in Cora.

sāth	'a/one/the other one'
sēika	'some (OBJ)/other ones (SUBJ)'
kīh	'a little bit'
kāh	'something'
ha'acú	'somewhat'
hēiwa	'much/many'
m <sup>w</sup> ĩ'i	'many'
nāin	'all (OBJ/OBJ P)'
nāihmi'i	'all together (STAT)'
nāihmi	'all together (PRED)'
nāihmi'ika	'all (ACC)'
he'ikāh	'some'
he'ikāka	'some of them (ACC)'
m <sup>w</sup> ĩ'ikāka	'many of them (ACC)'
saikē	'distinct/different'
tīn/tīm <sup>w</sup> a'a	'almost/just about'
t <sup>y</sup> ām <sup>w</sup> a'a	'a lot of'
hē'ita'a	'half of'
hēice'e	'more'



Some of the quantifiers can be used as full noun phrases. As such they can function either as the subject or direct object of a sentence or as the object of a postposition.

**sāh pū tʸi'i-kʷi'i**  
one SUBJ DISTR-sick  
'Another one is sick.'

**mē-tʸi-tʸ-āa-nana-i mʷi'ikā-ka**  
they-RDP-DISTR-COMPL-buy-STAT many-ACC  
'They bought up many of the animals.'

**pu-'urī-'i nain kfn hi-rā-'u-vi'i-ta-ka-'a**  
SUBJ-already-be all with NARR-DISTR-COMPL-grab-make-PAST-DUR  
SG  
'Now he was caught by all of his hands and feet.'

Quantifiers can be split off from the noun phrase they occur in and preposed to the main verb, thus giving rise to a discontinuous construction.

**sēika pāh tʸu'-u-tā-wauu-nʸi † wahkari**  
others you:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-PERF-look-FUT ART toy  
'You ought to ask for some other/more toys.'

**mu-'urī sēika a'-u-kfn † tʸaitʸe**  
they-already others away-COMPL-leave ART people  
'Other people have already left.'

The quantifiers **sāh** 'one/another one' and **sēika** 'some/other ones' are not inflected in any way to distinguish between subject and object. Thus, the sequence QNT + ART + N can correspond either to the sequence SUBJ + SUBJ or SUBJ + OBJ.

**pu-'urī wa-mʷi'† sāh † kauura**  
SUBJ-already COMPL-die one ART goat  
'Another goat has now died.'

**pu-'urī rā-'a-tt-nʸi sāh † yuuri**  
SUBJ-already DISTR-outside-carry-FUT one ART corn  
SG  
'The other guy will take the corn away.'

The quantifiers **he'ikaka** 'a few of them' and **mʷi'ikaka** 'many of them' perform a true partitive function in that they point to a particular subclass of a set of items. The two examples below illustrate the contrast between a partitive and a non-partitive quantifier.

**hēiwa pū wa-tā-wauu † waaka-si**  
many SUBJ COMPL(?) -PERF -ask ART cow-PL  
for  
'He asked for lots of cows.'

**m<sup>w</sup>i'ikā-ka pū wa-tā-wauu ī waaka-si**  
 many-ACC SUBJ COMPL-PERF-ask ART cow-PL  
 for  
 'He asked for lots of those cows.'

Other quantifiers can also enter into partitive constructions. The following example shows a partitive construction that consists of **saih** 'a/one' plus an independent pronoun.

**yāa pū wī ahtā t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-še'eve'e āihna ī maeestra**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT also DISTR-UNSPEC-want DEM ART teacher  
 OBJ

**tī wī saih m<sup>w</sup>an ī sah wi wa'ap<sup>w</sup>a naayeri**  
 SUBR QUOT one you:PL ART you:PL QUOT two Cora  
 SUBR

**tī wi saih ū ā'-u-me-'en ā-hā'a=wa'a**  
 SUBR QUOT one there away-COMPL-go-PRTC there-be=beyond  
 located

**nū'u t<sup>y</sup>apūusti'i tī a'-a-tā-n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>ei**  
 QUOT metal SUBR away-outside-across-RDP-appear  
 'This is the way this teacher here wants it, that one of you  
 Coras, who are two, that one go off yonder there to where the  
 metal thing shows up.'

Various quantifiers are used as predicates to indicate the quantity that is to be attributed to a given noun phrase.

**pu-'urī naihmi**  
 SUBJ-already be  
 all  
 'Now it's all gone.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>i'i mī kiyeh**  
 DISTR-many ART pole  
 'There are a lot of poles.'

**ma-m<sup>w</sup>i'i mī waaka-si**  
 they-many ART cow-PL  
 'There are a lot of cows.'

**m-i'i-m<sup>w</sup>i'i tī mā-'a**  
 they-NARR-many SUBR go-PRTC  
 'They were separated out  
 into distinct groups, each  
 of which contained a lot  
 of them.'

**seika** 'some' occurs in construction with the existential predicate **Ø-na'a** 'be'. Note the following example.

**ka-pū k<sup>w</sup>i-'i t<sup>y</sup>i'i-seikah=na'a**  
 NEG-SUBJ EV-be DISTR-some=be  
 'Really, it isn't just a few things (that we saw).'

The following forms are related in part to the quantifier **saih** 'another one/a'.



**ru-sāth**  
REFL-one  
'by himself'

**ru-sēe-n-ta-ka-n**  
REFL-one-ABS-make-HAB-ABS  
'being set apart by himself'

**ru-hīim<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
REFL-ones  
'by themselves'

**ru-sā-šui**  
REFL-one-individual  
'by themselves individually'

## NUMERALS

### Forms

There are distinct basic forms for the first five numerals and for 'ten'. All the other numerical forms are compounds. Numbers from 'six' to 'nine' are formed by prefixing a locative base **ha-ra** 'there outside-facing frontwards'/'in the face of' to each of the basic numerals 1-4. Although the indigenous numeral system has been largely replaced by the Spanish system, some people still remember certain forms of the indigenous pattern, so that most of the main points are clear. Multiples of twenty were formed by prefixing each of the first ten numerals to **-t<sup>y</sup>e** 'twenty'. Terms for multiples of one hundred are hardly used anymore. The first two numerals can each be prefixed to the stem **-vi'ira'a** 'thousand' to give the numbers 'one thousand' and 'two thousand'. There are two postpositional phrases that are used for the numbers 'twenty-five' and 'fifty'. They are based on the 'bits' system of counting introduced under Colonial Spanish rule.

The following list gives the inventory of cardinal number words I have found thus far.

<b>saf<sup>t</sup>i</b>	'one'	<b>sei<sup>y</sup>ā</b>	'twenty'
<b>wā'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b>	'two'	<b>wā'ap<sup>w</sup>a hece</b>	'twenty-five'
<b>wāika</b>	'three'	<b>wā'ap<sup>w</sup>at<sup>y</sup>e</b>	'forty'
<b>māk<sup>w</sup>a</b>	'four'	<b>māk<sup>w</sup>a hece</b>	'fifty'
<b>anš<sup>f</sup>vi</b>	'five'	<b>wāikat<sup>y</sup>e</b>	'sixty'
<b>arāhsevi</b>	'six'	<b>māk<sup>w</sup>at<sup>y</sup>e</b>	'eighty'
<b>arāawa'ap<sup>w</sup>a</b>	'seven'	<b>anš<sup>f</sup>t<sup>e</sup></b>	'one hundred'
<b>arāawaiika</b>	'eight'	<b>sei-vi'ira'a</b>	'one thousand'
<b>arām<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>a</b>	'nine'	<b>wā'ap<sup>w</sup>a-vi'ira'a</b>	'two thousand'
<b>tam<sup>w</sup>āam<sup>w</sup>ata'a</b>	'ten'		

The ordinal numbers are expressed in terms of a nominal phrase that consists of the sequence article + subordinator + cardinal numeral. The ordinals for the first ten numbers are as follows:



The inverted construction with postposition is the mechanism for deriving numeric phrases, which constitute the vast majority of 'number words'.

seit<sup>y</sup>ē hap<sup>w</sup>ān tam<sup>w</sup>āam<sup>w</sup>ata'a hap<sup>w</sup>ān anš<sup>f</sup>vi  
 twenty above ten above five  
 'thirty-five'

tam<sup>w</sup>āam<sup>w</sup>ata'a hap<sup>w</sup>ān harāhsevi  
 ten above six  
 'sixteen'

Numeric phrases of the form numeral + noun are commonly adverbial in character, specifying a limit on a particular activity. The number words, except for 'five', are not marked in any way in these constructions. The morpheme *-vi* drops from *anš<sup>f</sup>vi* 'five' in this environment.

anš<sup>f</sup>h šikā pa-pu'u p-i yāa rūuri p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me  
 five day you-SUBJ you-SEQ thus wet you-LOC-go  
 be  
 'For five more days you will thus remain alive.'

Numerals can function by themselves as full noun phrases, either as direct objects or as objects of postpositions. Number words except for 'one' and 'ten' are inflected for accusative case in these constructions. Subject noun phrases do not appear to occur in this context.

sēih nā-a-tui-iri-'i  
 one me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT  
 'Sell me one.'

t<sup>y</sup>i-nā-a-tui-iri-'i wa'ap<sup>w</sup>ā-ka  
 DISTR-me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT two-ACC  
 'Sell me two.'

pu-'urī'i wa'ap<sup>w</sup>ā-ka kfn hī-rā-'a-vi'i-ta  
 SUBJ-already two-ACC with NARR-DISTR-outside-stick-make  
 be SG  
 'He is now caught by both hands.'

wāika-kāh-recē mu=wa-m<sup>w</sup>ē'iti-če  
 three-ACC-at they=COMPL-gain-PASS  
 CAUS  
 'After three times they poop out.'

The following examples also show that while the sequence numeral + accusative + postposition + article + noun is permitted, \*numeral + accusative + article + noun + postposition is not.



sēih ī t<sup>y</sup>et<sup>y</sup>e tī vē'e  
 one ART rock SUBR big  
 'There is one rock that is big.'  
 'The rock that is big is one.'

There is an adverbial use of numerals which indicates the number of times that an event takes place. As in the use of numerals as subject noun phrases, the numerals here are not inflected. anš<sup>f</sup>vi 'five' retains the word-final syllable -vi.

wā'ap<sup>w</sup>a pū a-ii-tā-veh  
 two SUBJ outside-trajectory-PERF-fall  
 'He fell on his back twice.'

anš<sup>f</sup>vi pū ra-a-ta-tū'a  
 five SUBJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-hit  
 'He hit him five times.'

The use of a numeral with the postposition -recē 'at' indicates the point in a number of repetitions of one event at which a second event takes place, i.e. 'after'.

wāika-kah-recē mū wa-m<sup>w</sup>ā'itī-če  
 three-ACC-at they COMPL-gain-PASS  
 CAUS  
 'At three times around they pooped out.'

There is a postposition -e, which means 'position on an object'. It occurs in such phrases as the following two.

m-ān	a-t <sup>y</sup> en <sup>y</sup> e-'e	yēh	n <sup>y</sup> a-ware-'e
there-on	your-mouth-at	here-along	my-back-at
	top		slope
	'right there into your mouth'		'right here on my back'

Forms such as t<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>i 'mouth' and wari 'back' show that the stem-final vowel of the word that -e is suffixed to harmonizes with it. It turns out that there are combinations of numeral + ke'e which mean 'in X number of places'. Since numerals are inflected for the accusative case when they occur with a postposition, it is reasonable to analyze -ke'e into the sequence -ka ACC plus the harmonizing postposition -e 'position at X location'.

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-wās-t<sup>y</sup>-e wāika-ke-'e  
 I-DISTR-COMPL-plant-make-APPLIC three-ACC-at  
 'I planted in three different places.'

There are three constructions that are used to indicate that the repeated occurrence of an event involves all of the members of



**t<sup>y</sup>ɪ-wa'-u-rā'-i-t<sup>y</sup>-e**

DISTR-them-COMPL-around-carry-make-APPLIC

**sāšū'ih-mē-'en**

individually-COLL-PRTC

'Give them out one apiece to each of them.'

Numerals can also be used in participial constructions with **-mā'a**. When the construction refers to the subject of the main clause, it indicates that the subjects carry out a particular event in equally-sized and distinct groups that consist of a particular number.

**m-a'-u-kīh**

they-away-COMPL-leave

**me-t<sup>y</sup>ā-wa'ap<sup>w</sup>ah-mā-'a**

they-DISTR-two-COLL-PRTC

'They left in individual groups of two.'

When the participial construction with **-mā'a** refers to the direct object, the numeral that appears at the predicate of the participial clause is marked for accusative case. In addition, the participial **-an** is suffixed to **-me**. The construction means that the direct object of the main clause is affected in distinct and equally-sized groups that consist of a particular number of members.

**pa-r-a-'u-yū'uša**

you-DISTR-outside-inside-write  
SG

**m<sup>w</sup>āk<sup>w</sup>a-kah-mē-'en**

four-ACC-COLL-PRTC  
horizontally

'You will write it down, four times in each group.'

## ADJECTIVES

### Predicative

In their predicative use, adjectives can be marked for many of the categories that are marked on regular verbs. They can be inflected for person and number of subject by means of the same series of subject prefixes that occur on verbs.

**pé-het<sup>y</sup>é m<sup>w</sup>āa**

you-heavy you  
'You are heavy.'

**sē-het<sup>y</sup>é-hmee m<sup>w</sup>ān**

you:PL-heavy-COLL you:PL  
'You all are heavy.'

**sfi-či-ra'a āthna**

striped-ABS-make DEM  
'That guy is striped.'

**t<sup>y</sup>a-sfi-n<sup>y</sup>ɪ it<sup>y</sup>an**

we-striped-PL we  
'We are striped.'

They are marked with the distributive prefix to indicate plural for inanimate subjects.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>atúm<sup>w</sup>a aihna † t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>a-paan<sup>y</sup>u**  
 DISTR-purple DEM ART DISTR-my-handkerchief  
 'My handkerchiefs are purple.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-sikīira aihna † tutah**  
 DISTR-disc DEM ART cheese  
 shaped  
 'Those cakes of cheese are disc-shaped.'

Adjective stems commonly incorporate locative prefixes that describe the location, direction, or position of a characteristic described by the stem.

**na-'a-vā'a-pa'u**  
 I-outside-covering-red  
 'I'm red on the top of my head.'

**n-u-'i-t<sup>y</sup>-āa-pa'u**  
 I-inside-facing-up-EXT(?)—red  
 'I'm red in my cheek.'

**n-a-'i-t<sup>y</sup>-āa-pa'u**  
 I-outside-facing-up-EXT(?)—red  
 'I'm red all over my back.'

Various suffixes and sequences of suffixes occur with adjectives. For count nouns, singular is often marked by **-ra'a** 'make + (?)' or by **-čī + -ra'a** 'ABS + make + (?)'.

**pīh-čī-ra-'a † čun**  
 hot-ABS-make-(?) ART machete  
 'The machete blade is hot.'

**pe'e-čī-ra-'a aihna † kt<sup>y</sup>e**  
 rotten-ABS-make-(?) DEM ART pole  
 'That pole is rotten.'

The **-čī + -ra'a** or **-ra'a** sequences that appear on the singular forms of adjectives are replaced by **∅**, **-n<sup>y</sup>i**, or **-t<sup>y</sup>i** for non-singular forms.

**pe'e-n<sup>y</sup>i † yuuri**  
 rotten-PL ART corn  
 'The corn is rotten.'

**pīs-t<sup>y</sup>i mī hah**  
 hot-PL ART water  
 'The water is hot.'

Adjective stems sometimes occur with the stative suffix **-i**.



**tʃiʃpu-ri-'i**      **aihna ʃ**   **kʃa'u-ri**  
 dumbbell-make-STAT DEM ART gourd-ABS  
 shaped  
 'That gourd is dumbbell-shaped.'

**yū'usi-'i**  
 be-STAT  
 printed  
 'It is written down.'

In their use as predicates, adjectives can take the past perfective tense suffix.

<b>ta'a-čʃi-ra'a-ka'a</b>	<b>tāca-ka'a ʃ</b> <b>hah</b>
light-ABS-make-PAST	clear-PAST ART water
PERF	PERF
'It was light (to carry).'	'The water was clear.'

Some adjective forms suggest that an absolutive suffix can occur on adjective stems. These two examples show forms of the adjective 'be dead' which is derived from the verb **mʃi'ʃ** 'to die' by suffixing **-čʃi** to the verb stem.

**mʃi'ʃ-čʃi āihna ʃ**   **kaura**  
 die-ABS DEM ART goat  
 'That goat is dead.'

**ma-mʃi'ʃ-čʃi māihna ʃ**   **kaura-si**  
 they-die-ABS DEM:PL ART goat-PL  
 'Those goats are dead.'

Adjectives can also take the collective morpheme **-mee**, which means that a number of objects are viewed as a single group. The adjective stem may or may not be reduplicated.

<b>me-vi-vē-hmee</b>	<b>tʃihetʃē-hmee</b>
they-RDP-big-COLL	heavy-COLL
'They are big.'	'The things are all heavy.'

Reduplication can serve as an intensifier, contributing the notion 'very' to the meaning of the adjective stem.

<b>a-uu-pi-pʷa</b>	<b>tʃi-tʃi'ih āihna ʃ</b> <b>kauhna-ri</b>
outside-horizontally-RDP-skinny	RDP-long DEM ART rope-ABS
'He is very skinny around the waist.'	'That rope is very long.'

Reduplication of adjective stems correlates with plural subjects. Note that **-mee** COLL is not always obligatorily suffixed to a reduplicated stem.

vi-vā-a āihna ī kiye  
 RDP-big-PRTC DEM ART tree  
 'That tree is very big.'

me-vi-vē-hmee māihna ī m<sup>W</sup>aacu  
 they-RDP-big-COLL DEM:PL ART mule  
 'Those mules are all big.'

m<sup>W</sup>a-'an-t<sup>y</sup>i-m<sup>W</sup>ā-m<sup>W</sup>a'avi māihna  
 they-on-up-RDP-bare DEM:PL  
 top  
 'Those people are bare-headed.'

In their predicative use, adjectives may occur with an auxiliary sequence. Note the following example.

pu-'urī yau ī yak<sup>W</sup>ah  
 SUBJ-already wide ART mushroom  
 'The mushroom is now really big in diameter.'

Adjectives also occur as the predicates of relative clauses (see below). Finally, adjective stems can be marked with the participial suffixes.

āa pū t<sup>y</sup>apūust<sup>y</sup>i'i t<sup>y</sup>ā'-u-pu'u  
 there SUBJ iron DISTR-EXT-planted

ah-tf-tf'f-hmā-'a  
 along-RDP-long-COLL-PRTC  
 slope  
 'Off there were a bunch of metal things planted  
 in the ground. They were tall ones.'

čī'i pū nū'u a=a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>a-kā'a t<sup>y</sup>ēe-vi'i  
 house SUBJ QUOT there=away-EXT-in:middle-lay be-PRTC  
 extended  
 'They say there was a house situated there, it being  
 a long one.'

t<sup>y</sup>i-yāuh t<sup>y</sup>am<sup>W</sup>ēis-ta-kan hīta-kan  
 UNSPEC-offspring youth-make-PRTC woman-PRTC  
 OBJ  
 'He has a child, a teenage one, who is a female.'

### Attributive

Cora does have a noun modifier construction with the word order article + attributive + noun. In all cases, however, the attributive element is a possessor noun and the noun phrase of which it is a part has the meaning 'N<sub>1</sub> possesses N<sub>2</sub>'.





ayāa pū t<sup>y</sup>i'i-cū-cui † šaami t̄h ahtā † čeesu'u  
 thus SUBJ DISTR-RDP-thick ART brick SUBR CNJ ART cheese  
 'The mud brick is as thick as the cake of cheese.'

The conjunction **ahtā** can be optionally omitted from the comparative construction shown above.

ayāa pū t<sup>y</sup>i'i-vé'e ū teepi t̄h ū wahaaka  
 thus SUBJ DISTR-big inside Tepic SUBR inside Oaxaca  
 'Tepic is as big as Oaxaca.'

The examples above show that the adjective element in the comparative construction is normally deleted from the second clause of the construction. The following example shows that it is possible to repeat the adjective in the second clause of an 'as...as' comparative construction.

ayāa pū t<sup>y</sup>i'i-cū-cui † šaami t̄h  
 thus SUBJ DISTR-RDP-thick ART brick SUBR  
 t<sup>y</sup>i'i-cū-cui † čeesu'u  
 DISTR-RDP-thick ART cheese  
 'The mud brick is thick in this way as the cheese is thick.'

Under rather stringent conditions it is possible to conjoin non-identical adjective stems in 'X is as adjective as Y is adjective' constructions.

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>ee † čun t̄h an-ta-yāu † meesa  
 thus SUBJ=long ART machete SUBR on-across-wide ART table  
 top  
 'The machete is as long as the table is wide.'

The comparison of relative ages of people is accomplished by using the distributive morpheme **t<sup>y</sup>i'i** plus the proper noun stem in a predicate sense.

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-vasta'a † n<sup>y</sup>i-taata t̄h ahtā † vitooriu  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-old ART my-father SUBR CNJ ART PN  
 man  
 'My father is as old as Victor.'

Objects can be compared with respect to color and luster.

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>āni † liibru t̄h ahtā † šahm<sup>w</sup>a'a-ri  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-bright ART book SUBR CNJ ART thread-ABS  
 colored  
 'The book is as brightly colored as the embroidery.'

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-tā<sup>h</sup>ra-ra'a † kiša'u-ri  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-subdued-SG ART gourd=ABS  
 color

t<sup>h</sup>h ahtā † vaasu  
 SUBR CNJ ART cup

'The thermos bottle is as subdued a color as the cup is.'

Verbs can be productively employed for comparisons of the form 'A does C as B does C'. The comparison may mean (at least) either 'A does C in the same way as B does C' or 'A does C just as much as B does C'. Verbs differ as to whether they only allow one or the other of the two readings or whether they are ambiguous between them.

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>a'-a-kā-n<sup>y</sup>ee † vitooriu  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-outside-down-see ART PN

t<sup>h</sup>h ahtā † huuliu  
 SUBR CNJ ART PN

'Victorio looks just like Julio.' (manner)

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-nanaa-ve † yuht<sup>y</sup>ivii-na  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-UNSPEC-buy-HAB ART upland-place  
 OBJ of

t<sup>h</sup>h ahtā † wadaluupi  
 SUBR CNJ ART PN

'The Highlander buys up things just like Guadalupe does.'  
 (manner)

ayāa pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-wast<sup>y</sup>-a † ambroosiu  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR-plant-HAB ART PN

t<sup>h</sup>h ahtā † paanču  
 SUBR CNJ ART PN

'Ambrose plants crops in the same way as Pancho  
 does.' (manner)/ 'Ambrose plants just as many measures of  
 corn as Pancho plants.' (quantity)

Deletion of adjective from the second clause of a comparative construction may result in the pronominal subject of that clause being left as the only surface constituent of that clause, apart from the subordinator. The subordinator is marked with a pronoun copy of the pronominal subject.

ayāa nū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-cap<sup>w</sup>ātun pa-t<sup>h</sup>h m<sup>w</sup>āa  
 thus I=DISTR-be you-SUBR you  
 short

'I am as short as you are.'

ayāa nū=tʸi'i-kʷa'a-ka ma-tʰh mamʰna  
 thus I=DISTR-eat-HAB they-SUBR those  
 ones

'I eat just like those people there.' (i.e.  
 with fork, knife, and spoon)

ayāa nū=tʸi'i-ša-ša'a ma-tʰh māiʰna  
 thus I=DISTR-RDP-talk they-SUBR those  
 ones

'I talk just like those people.' (i.e. in the same language)

The subordinator of the second clause in the comparison takes a pronoun copy even when the subject of that clause is a full noun phrase. Certain kinds of verbs require number agreement between the subject of the first clause and the subject of the second one; both subjects must be either singular or plural.

ayāa pū=seih-re-'e tʰh mʷāhye  
 thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC SUBR lion  
 'It looks just like a lion.'

\*ayāa pū=seih-re-'e ma-tʰh mʷāhyé-tʸe  
 thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC they-SUBR lion-PL  
 'He looks just like lions do.'

In some cases, the verb associated with the second clause can appear on the surface.

ayāa pū=seih-re-'e † mʷāhye mʷahka'a tʰh hen  
 thus SUBJ=see-make-APPLIC ART lion hand SUBR be

† tʸévi mʷahka'a tʰ tʸā-ruu  
 ART person hand SUBR in -be  
 middle fat

'The lion's paw looks as if it were a fat human hand.'

There is another construction in which the direct object of the first clause is compared to the subject of the deleted verb in the second clause. In this construction the subordinator tʰh does not carry a pronoun copy corresponding to the subject of the second clause.

ayā-n rā-a-ruu-rā tʰh kawāayu'u  
 thus-ABS DISTR:SG-COMPL-do-APPLIC SUBR horse  
 'He had made it to look like a horse.'

ayāa pū=wā'-u-ruu-rā tʰh wāaka-si  
 thus SUBJ=them-COMPL-do-APPLIC SUBR cow-PL  
 'He made them all look like a bunch of cows.'

The following construction actually does have a verb associated with the second clause. The example also shows that the noun

phrase which follows the subordinator **tih** is subject of the second verb.

**ayāa pū=rā-a-ruu tih hen i kawaayu'u**  
 thus SUBJ=DISTR:SG-COMPL-do SUBR be ART horse  
 'He made it like a horse is.'

A variant manner comparison construction includes an auxiliary sequence **če'e-ta** CONT-PERF(?) along with the procomplement. This construction, like all the others treated so far, normally appears in an abbreviated form in which certain elements have been deleted from the second clause. Since the comparison involves an entire clause, rather than a single constituent of a clause, the subordinator **tih** is also deleted from the construction. The following example shows this manner comparison construction in its abbreviated form.

**ayāa pū=če'e-tā t'y'u'-u-šāh-ta-ka'a**  
 thus SUBJ=CONT-PERF DISTR-COMPL-say-make-DUR  
 'He said the same thing (as the first guy said).'

The next example shows this construction in its expanded version.

**ayāa pū=če'e-tā t'y'u'-u-šāh-ta-ka'a tih arī**  
 thus SUBJ=CONT-PERF DISTR-COMPL-say-make-PAST SUBR already  
 DUR  
**t'y-i-ra-a-šāh-ta-ka'a i saih**  
 DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-say-make-DUR ART other  
 SG one  
 'He said the same things as the other guy had said.'

It is not possible to conjoin distinct verb stems in this particular comparative construction. Thus, the first example below is well-formed while the second is not.

**ayāa tu=če'e-tā t'y'i'i-ye'est<sup>y</sup>-a ma-tih m-ahtā**  
 thus we=CONT-PERF DISTR-fiesta-HAB they-SUBR they-CNJ  
**t'y'i'i-ye'est<sup>y</sup>-a**  
 DISTR-fiesta-HAB  
 'We celebrate fiestas in the same way as they also  
 celebrate fiestas.'

**\*ayāa tū=če'e-tā t'y'i'i-h-ri'i-re ma-tih**  
 thus we=CONT-PERF DISTR-UNSPEC-good-make they-SUBR  
 OBJ

**m-ahtā t'y'i'i-ye'est<sup>y</sup>-a**  
 they-CNJ DISTR-fiesta-HAB  
 'We do it as a custom the same way as they observe the  
 fiesta.'



The final variant of the manner comparative construction shows that the auxiliary sequence **če'e-tā** CONT-PERF can occur cliticized to the existential stem **na'a** 'be'.

**ayāa pū=če'e-tā=na'a ra-ruu-re-n t̄h**  
 thus SUBJ=CONT-PERF=be DISTR:SG-do-make-PRTC SUBR

**wā'-u-ruu āt̄me**  
 they-COMPL-do them

'The same thing is going to happen to him as happened to them.'

There are four ways to form quantifier comparative constructions. The first uses a combination of the indefinite quantifier **ha'ačū** 'as many as' and a quantifier predicate **p<sup>w</sup>a'am<sup>w</sup>a** 'be many'. The indefinite quantifier precedes the subordinate pronoun, which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause.

**se-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-mihwa-ka ha'ačū sāh p<sup>w</sup>a'a-m<sup>w</sup>a**  
 you:PL-DISTR-work-HAB INDF you:PL:SUBR be-AN  
 QNT many

'You all know how to work, just as many as you all are.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-ta-šāh-ta ha'ačū mäh p<sup>w</sup>a'a-m<sup>w</sup>a**  
 they-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-make INDF they-SUBR be-AN  
 QNT many

'They all spoke, just as many as they were.'

When the direct object of the first clause is coreferential with the direct object of the second clause, the quantifier comparison construction is marked by the sequence indefinite quantifier + subordinating pronoun + accusative particle.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-wa'-u-ta-p<sup>w</sup>ēihve ha'ačū n<sup>y</sup>ah**  
 I-DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-give:PAST INDF I:SUBR  
 QNT

**kāh t<sup>y</sup>i-wā'-u-kupī**  
 ACC DISTR-them-COMPL-photograph

'I gave them just as many pictures as I had taken of them.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i-nā-a-tui-iri-'i ha'ačū mah**  
 they-DISTR-me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT INDF they:SUBR  
 QNT

**kāh t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-taawa-ka'a f ka'an<sup>y</sup>i**  
 ACC DISTR-COMPL-make-DUR ART bag

'They sold me as many shoulder bags as they had made.'

Another kind of comparative quantifier construction is marked by the subordinator **t̄h** 'like' and the numerative predicate **p<sup>w</sup>a'a-m<sup>w</sup>ā** 'be:many-AN(?)'. The subordinator is marked to agree in



The modal **kai**, which occurs as the first constituent of the second clause, takes a pronoun copy which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause. For a third person singular subject this pronoun copy is  $\emptyset$ .

**hēice'e nū=cap<sup>w</sup>ātun pa-kāi m<sup>w</sup>āa**  
 more I=be you:SUBR-IRR you  
 short  
 'I am shorter than you are.'

The comparison of inequality construction can be used for comparing the degree of color or luster predicated of an object.

**hēice'e pū=n<sup>y</sup>ant f yu'uša-ri t<sup>f</sup> nakām<sup>w</sup>a-ra'a kāi**  
 more SUBJ=brightly ART book-ABS SUBR violet-SG IRR  
 colored  
**f kiša'u-ri t<sup>f</sup> hām<sup>w</sup>ara-ra'a**  
 ART gourd-ABS SUBR gray-SG  
 'The violet book is more brightly colored than the  
 blue-gray thermos bottle.'

Nouns such as **pa'art<sup>f</sup>** 'child', **vasta'a** 'adult', and **vastak<sup>f</sup>ra'i** 'old man' can be used in a comparison of inequality statement to indicate that X is younger or older than Y.

**hēice'e nū=vasta'a kāi f seleriina**  
 more I=adult IRR ART PN  
 'I am older than Celerino is.'

Another comparison of inequality expresses the inequality of quantity of possession.

**hēice'e pēh t<sup>y</sup>i-yāuh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a ma-kāi māhna**  
 more you UNSPEC-son-PL they-IRR DEM  
 OBJ(?)  
 'You have more children than they do.'

Numerous verbs figure in an adverbial comparison of inequality. The construction is frequently ambiguous between at least two meanings: 'X does something to a greater extent than Y does', or 'X does something with a greater number of things than Y does it'.

**hēice'e pū=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t<sup>y</sup>-a f naayeri kāi**  
 more SUBJ=DISTR-plant-make-HAB ART Cora IRR  
**f n<sup>y</sup>aap<sup>w</sup>eth**  
 ART mestizo  
 'The Cora plants more than the mestizo does.' (extent)  
 'The Cora plants more kinds of things than the mestizo  
 does.' (quantity)

It is possible to quantify the degree of inequality between the items being compared. The quantifiers that are used in addition to *heice'e* (which makes the basic inequality) include *kʰ kāh* 'a little', *ha'acū* 'somewhat', *hēiwa* 'a lot', and *wāpʰi* 'really a lot'.

*hēice'e pū kʰh=kāh tʰé'-e-veh ʰ sikʰ-ri*  
 more SUBJ small DISTR-outside-fall ART basket-ABS  
 amount

*hece kái ʰ šā'arih cahta'a*  
 in IRR ART pot inside  
 'A little bit more fits inside the basket than fits inside the cooking pot.'

*hēice'e pū ha'acū āh-tʰee ʰ donaaldu kái*  
 more SUBJ somewhat along-long ART PN IRR  
 slope

*ʰ alviinu*  
 ART PN  
 'Don is somewhat taller than Alvino.'

*hēice'e pū hēiwa tʰi'i-h-nahči ʰ tuuru'u*  
 more SUBJ lots DISTR-UNSPEC-cost ART bull  
 OBJ

*kái ʰ waaka*  
 IRR ART cow  
 'A bull costs a lot more than a cow does.'

*hēice'e pū wāpʰi āh-tʰee ʰ donaaldu kái ʰ eheenyu*  
 more SUBJ really along-long ART PN IRR ART PN  
 lots slope  
 'Don is really a lot taller than Gene.'

The quantifier that indicates the degree of inequality between the compared items can occur in various positions within the first clause of the comparative construction. It can occur clause-initially, apparently as the main predicate in focus. This construction seems to mean 'It is by X amount that Y is more predicate than Z.'

*ha'acū pū hēice'e rā-tʰ-i-ci ʰ alviinu*  
 somewhat SUBJ more DISTR:SG-up-RDP-carry ART PN

*kái ʰ donaaldu*  
 IRR ART PN  
 'It is by a significant amount that Alvino can carry a heavier load of that than Don can.'

**wāpt'í pū hēice'e āh-t<sup>y</sup>ee † donaaldu kái † eheenyu**  
 really SUBJ more along-long ART PN IRR ART PN  
 lots slope  
 'It is by really lots that Don is taller than Gene.'

The most neutral order semantically is for the quantifier to immediately precede the predicate of the first clause.

**hēice'e pū kīh=kāh t<sup>y</sup>ī-rā-t<sup>y</sup>-ī-ci †**  
 more SUBJ TTTTte DISTR-DISTR:SG-up-RDP-carry ART  
 bit  
**donaaldu kái † alviinu**  
 PN IRR ART PN  
 'Don can carry a few more things than Alvino.'

The quantifier may also occur immediately following the predicate of the first clause. The quantifier seems to be emphatic in meaning when it occurs in this position.

**hēice'e pū=t<sup>y</sup>-ā'-u-veh hēiwa † kīša'u-ri**  
 more SUBJ=DISTR-away(?)-inside-fall lots ART gourd-Abs  
**cahta'a kái † limēeta cahta'a**  
 inside IRR ART bottle inside  
 'More things, that is, a lot more things, fit inside of a gourd than fit inside a medicine bottle.'

There is a kind of comparison that involves conjoining distinct predicates with **kai** IRR. The inequality is expressed by means of **heice'e** 'more', which occurs as the initial constituent of the first clause. In all cases, the predicate of the second clause is expressed in the punctiliar unrealized mode. In the following examples, the predicate of the first clause is expressed in the present habitual aspect. Some of these examples show that **kai** IRR may be optionally marked with a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the second predicate.

**hēice'e pā=ta-sa'awa-ka kái pah**  
 more you=straight-plow-HAB IRR you:SUBR  
**wā-'a-vi'i-re-'e-n**  
 COMPL-REFL-grab-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 'You plow the soil more than you burn off a corn patch.'  
**hēice'e pā=p<sup>w</sup>asa'aruv-i pa-kái pāh wā-wahka**  
 more you=go-HAB you-IRR you:SUBR COMPL-play  
 walking  
 'You stroll around more than you play.'



appropriate subject clitic and by the procomplement plus the absolutive suffix. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **t̥h** 'like'.

**ka-pū ayā-n t̥<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-see ayāhna t̥h**  
 NEG-SUBJ thus-ABS DISTR-COMPL-be right SUBR  
 cold here

**ū meehiku**  
 inside Mexico  
 City

'It does not get cold here like it does in Mexico City.' (manner/quantity)

**ka-pū ayā-n t̥<sup>y</sup>i'i-wā-uh-k̥h-me-'en ū čuisset<sup>y</sup>e**  
 NEG-SUBJ thus-ABS DISTR-EXT-REFL-down-go-PRTC there Jesús  
 hill María

**t̥h ū ha'anahremi**  
 SUBR there Elephant  
 Ears

'The terrain around Jesús María does not go downhill like it does at the ranch of Elephant Ear plants.' (manner)

The next negative comparative construction includes the indefinite quantifier **ha'ačū** 'however much' along with the negative particle in its markings within its first clause. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **t̥h** 'like', to which is attached a pronoun copy which agrees in person and number with the subject of the second clause. The construction has the meaning 'X does not PRED as much as Y'; i.e. 'X possesses less NP, is less PRED, or does less PRED than Y'.

**ka-mū ha'ačū t̥<sup>y</sup>i'i-was-t̥<sup>y</sup>-a ĩ n̥<sup>y</sup>aap<sup>w</sup>eih-se**  
 NEG-they as DISTR-plant-make-HAB ART mestizo-PL  
 much

**ma-t̥h ĩ naayeri**  
 they-SUBR ART Cora

'The mestizos do not plant as much as the Coras do.'

**ka-šū ha'ačū ru-na'anai-ve-'e t̥<sup>y</sup>a-t̥h it̥<sup>y</sup>an**  
 NEG-you:PL so REFL-laugh-HAB-APPLIC we-SUBR we  
 much

'You all do not laugh as much as we do.'

The third negative comparison construction is marked in its first clause by the negative particle plus the appropriate subject clitic. Its other marking in the first clause consists of an adverb + quantifier sequence **r̥ĭĭ wāp̥ĭĭ** 'well-superlative'. This construction is semantically ambiguous between the readings 'X is not so very much PRED as Y' and 'X is not so very many PRED in number as Y'. The second clause is introduced by the subordinator **t̥h** 'like'.

ka-pū rī'ī wāpī'ī t<sup>y</sup>i-t<sup>y</sup>-ēh-ya'am<sup>w</sup>a  
 NEG-SUBJ well really DISTR-in -UNSPEC-domestic  
 lots middle OBJ animal

ī fidel tīh ī agapiitu  
 ART PN SUBR ART PN

'Fidel does not have so very many animals as Agapito does.'

ka-pū rī'ī wāpī'ī vasta'a ī n<sup>y</sup>i-tāata tīh ī m<sup>w</sup>atiya  
 NEG-SUBJ well really old ART my-father SUBR ART PN  
 lots man

'My father is not nearly as old as Matías is.'

The superlative notion in Cora can be expressed by a nominalized clause which includes the sequence heice'e + predicate. The clause is introduced by the sequence ī tī ART-SUBR. The overall construction means 'the one who is the most PRED'.

aīh pīriki ī tī hēice'e wā-ye'i-ve ī a'arist<sup>y</sup>au  
 DEM be ART SUBR more EXT-walk-HAB ART PN  
 'Aristeo is the one who runs the fastest.'

aīh pīriki ī tī hēice'e ru-ka'an<sup>y</sup>e ī agapiitu  
 DEM be ART SUBR more REFL-be ART PN  
 strong  
 'Agapito is the guy who is strongest.'

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

### Positive

Indefinite pronouns are the base to which the question particles -n<sup>y</sup>i and -ki are added to form WH-question words. The indefinite animate pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms. In their singular forms, these two indefinite pronouns have independent and embedded forms. The singular forms are also marked for subject (Ø) or object (h).

ha'atf	'somebody'	(unembedded)
ha'atā	'somebody'	(embedded, subject)
ha'atāh	'somebody'	(embedded, object)
hā'at <sup>y</sup> ān	'some people'	
t <sup>y</sup> i'itī	'something'	(subject)
t <sup>y</sup> i'itīh	'something'	(object)
t <sup>y</sup> i'itā	'something'	(embedded, subject)
t <sup>y</sup> i'itāh	'something'	(embedded, object)







The indefinite pronoun **ā'ih** 'however' is used, along with the subordinator **t̄f̄**, to indicate the indefinite complement of verbs such as 'know' and 'be'.

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree a'ih t̄f̄ t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-m<sup>w</sup>a'ace**  
 I-UNSPEC-know-make however SUBR DISTR-think  
 OBJ  
 'I know what he is thinking about it.'

The manner demonstrative **yē'i** 'like this' is used in combination with **ā'ih** 'however' to indicate the indefinite manner in which something is done.

**ka-nū ra-a-yf'it̄i a'ih t̄f̄ yē'i**  
 NEG-I DISTR:SG-COMPL-understand however SUBR manner  
**t<sup>y</sup>f̄-hf-rā-'ah-taawa**  
 DISTR-PRSNTV-DISTR:SG-in-make  
 slope  
 'I do not know how it is done in order to build a house.'

The following examples show the contrast between indefinite manner clauses whose subjects are coreferential with the subject of the main clause and those whose subjects are not.

**ka-nū ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree ā'ih n<sup>y</sup>ēh yē'i**  
 NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-APPLIC however I:SUBR manner  
**wā-rī-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 COMPL-do-FUT  
 'I do not know in what way I should do it.'

**ka-nū ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree a'ih t̄f̄ yē'i**  
 NEG-I DISTR:SG-know-APPLIC however SUBR manner  
**hū'-u-rī-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 NARR-COMPL-do-FUT  
 'I do not know how it is done.'

### Negative

Negative forms are derived by adding the negative particle **ka-** and the appropriate subject clitic to the positive forms of the indefinite pronouns. Accusative marking apparently is added for the indefinite 'something', but not for the indefinite 'someone'.

**ka-pū ha'at̄f̄ wa-m̄f̄'ī**  
 NEG-SUBJ someone COMPL-die  
 'Nobody died.'

**ka-tū ha'at̄f̄ m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 NEG-we somebody know-make-APPLIC  
 'We do not know anybody.'

**ka-pū t<sup>y</sup>i'itf ra-a-ta-m<sup>w</sup>āri**  
 NEG-SUBJ something DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-scare  
 'Nothing scared it.'

**ka-pāh t<sup>y</sup>i'itfh wā-tuaa**  
 NEG-you something COMPL-sell  
 ACC  
 'You did not sell a thing.'

**ka-pū ā'ih t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a'ace**  
 NEG-SUBJ however DISTR-think  
 'He is thinking about nothing whatever.'

**ka-pū t<sup>y</sup>i'itfh ā'ih t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-maara-ka'a**  
 NEG-SUBJ something however DISTR-inside-dream-PAST  
 ACC DUR  
 'He did not dream about a single thing.'

Negative indefinite quantities and temporal notions are also expressed by the sequence negative particle + subject particle + indefinite.

**ka-pū ha'acū t<sup>y</sup>i-ka**  
 NEG-SUBJ so up-sit  
 much down  
 'It is not such a big pile.'

**ka-tū a'anāh ra-m<sup>w</sup>aare**  
 NEG-we sometime DISTR:SG-visit  
 'We never visit him.'

**ka-pū ya'a hā'a-wa'a**  
 NEG-SUBJ DEIC be-beyond  
 located  
 'There is nothing around anywhere outside here.'

#### ANY

Indefinite pronouns that carry the notion 'any' or 'ever' consist of the proper positive indefinite pronoun which is the head of a relative clause whose main verb is the existential -na'a 'be'. Constructions that use the indefinite a'atā 'someone' contribute a partitive meaning to the overall sentence when they are a constituent of a main clause whose subject is plural.

**ayāa tū t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-rt't-re a'atā tf na'a**  
 thus we DISTR-DISTR:SG-do-APPLIC someone SUBR be  
 'This is how anyone of us does it.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'itā tf na'a pū t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'in<sup>y</sup>i-ra-'a**  
 something SUBR be SUBJ DISTR-be-APPLIC-PRTC  
 sick  
 'Any animal can get sick.'

The 'any' indefinites of time, location, and quantity seem to automatically exclude partitive interpretations.

**wa-yé'ih ha'u tī na'a t̄ tuiišu**  
EXT-walk somewhere SUBR be ART pig  
around

'The pig wanders all over creation.'

**t̄y'i-mihwa-ka a'acāh t̄ na'a**  
DISTR-work-HAB some SUBR be  
hour

'He works at any hour of the day or night.'

**t̄y'i-mihwa-ka a'anāh t̄ na'a**  
DISTR-work-HAB sometime SUBR be  
'He works anytime, Sundays, too.'

**ū pū ya-'a-r-āh-t̄-n̄ȳi a'ačū pāh**  
inside you here-outside-facing-in-carry-FUT as you:SUBR  
out slope much

**pa-na'a rā-t̄y-īcī**

you-be DISTR:SG-up-carry

'You will bring however much it is that you can carry.'

**t̄yū'-uh-čeh-ve'e a'ih t̄ na'a**  
DISTR-REFL-put-cover however SUBR be  
on

'He puts on just any old shirt.'

If the subject of the subordinate clause of any construction is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the existential verb takes a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence. The subordinator also is selected to agree in person and number with the subject.

**se-t̄y'i-i-nanaa-ve a'ih sāh sa-na'a**  
you:PL-DISTR-buy-HAB however you:PL:SUBR you:PL-be

**t̄y'i-i-h-viik<sup>w</sup>e'i**  
DISTR-DISTR:SG-last  
out

'You all buy up whatever it is that you all have money for.'

The indefinite manner construction includes the exhortative particle with the existential **-na'a**, which receives a pronoun copy that agrees in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

**se-t̄y'i-i-was-t̄y-e ča'a sa-na'a**  
you:PL-DISTR-plant-make-APPLIC EXHRT you:PL-be  
'You all plant in just any old way you please.'



## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

	<u>SUBJ PF</u>		<u>SUBJ PRT</u>	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-	nu	tu
2P	pa-	sa-/ša-	pa	su
3P	∅	ma-	pu	mu
	<u>PAUSAL SUBJ</u>		<u>INDEPENDENT SUBJ</u>	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	nu'u	tu'u	(j)n <sup>y</sup> aa	(j)t <sup>y</sup> an
2P	papu'u	šu'u	m <sup>w</sup> āa	m <sup>w</sup> ān
3P	pu'u	mu'u	DEMONSTRATIVE	
	<u>OBJ PF</u>		<u>REFL OBJ/POSSR/P OBJ</u>	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-/na-	ta-	n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-
2P	m <sup>w</sup> a-	hām <sup>w</sup> a-	a-	ru-
3P	y-/∅	wā'-	ru-	ru-
	<u>NONREFL POSSR</u>		<u>NONREFL P OBJ</u>	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-	n <sup>y</sup> a-	ta-
2P	a-	hā'am <sup>w</sup> a-	a-	hā'am <sup>w</sup> a-
3P	-ra'an	wa'a-	-n	wā'a-
	<u>INDEPENDENT OBJ/IOBJ/POSSR</u>			
		SG	PL	
1P		(j)n <sup>y</sup> eeci	(j)t <sup>y</sup> ehmi	
2P		m <sup>w</sup> eeci	m <sup>w</sup> ehmi	
3P		DEMONSTRATIVE		

## STEMS

Suppletion

Stems can be suppletive for number of subject, number of object, or tense/aspect. The following intransitive stems are suppletive (or at least partially so) depending on whether the subject is singular or plural.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
tāiče	ryāāče	'run'
t'šče	t'āwih	'begin'
ik <sup>w</sup> a	tāhku	'be hungry'
imī'†	iku	'be thirsty'
če	wii	'change location'
wi'i	hi'	'lie down'
ye'i	kī'nye	'walk'
tawāh	ta'arū	'be drunk'
yeiša	ra'ase	'sit down'
vee	u	'be standing'
raa	k†	'leave'
ka	t'yi	'be seated'
me	hu'u	'go'
ča'akana	wa'ana	'walk around'
cuku	cuna	'jump'
vē'ese	vāuhse	'grow'
wakāi	wat'ē'en	'pass by'
mī'†	ku'i	'die'

The following transitive stems are suppletive depending on whether the object is singular or plural.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
hāana	hāhp <sup>w</sup> a	'lead away an animal'
čui	†	'carry a slender, rigid object'
t†s	tu'utu'u	'carry an equi-dimensional-shaped object'
††	††p††	'carry a flat thing'
he'ika	ku'i	'kill'
vē'esihra	vāuhsihra	'raise a child'
kīci	ya'am <sup>w</sup> a	'possess an animal'

Some stems are suppletive for tense/aspect.



REPET	<b>wa-ré'e-ye'ih</b> EXT-around-walk corner	'He keeps coming back.'
UNR	<b>wa-ré'e-me</b> EXT-around-go corner	'He is going to come back.'
PAST	<b>wa-rā'a-raa</b> EXT-around-leave corner	'He came back.'
PRES	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a-re-'e</b> I-DISTR-put-ABSTR-APPLIC flat	'I am working.'
HAB	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>h</sup>wa-ka</b> I-DISTR-work-HAB	'I work.'
PRES	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-yé'e</b> I-drink	'I am drinking water.'
PAST	<b>na-'i</b> I-drink:PAST	'I drank water.'

### Reduplication

Stems become reduplicated for several syntactic and semantic purposes. Reduplication may mark either repetitive or habitual mode, plural subject or object, or even past durative tense. In addition, some stems become reduplicated because the meaning of the stem itself carries a repetitive notion. Phonologically, reduplication may operate either leftward or rightward. It usually involves the initial syllable of the stem, although occasionally only the stem vowel is reduplicated. The reduplicated consonant is usually the same as the stem-initial one. The reduplicated vowel is also often identical to the stem vowel; at the very least it always agrees in rounding with the stem vowel.

The following data illustrate the various phonological patterns that reduplication follows when it marks either repetitive or habitual mode. Reduplication may be accompanied by other modification of the stem.

Leftward Operating: CV... → CV + CV...

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-š<sup>h</sup>t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**  
I-DISTR-finish-CONCR-APPLIC-DUR  
CAUS

'I'm getting rid of them.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-š<sup>i</sup>-š<sup>i</sup>-t<sup>y</sup>-a**  
I-DISTR-RDP-finish-CONCR-HAB  
CAUS

'I always get rid of them.'

Leftward Operating: CV' → CVh + CV'V

**tʸi'i-ki-i-ri**  
DISTR-crop- IMPRF  
yield CAUS

'It is yielding a crop.'

**tʸi'i-kĩh-ki'i-re**  
DISTR-RDP-yield-PERF  
crop CAUS

'It habitually produces a crop.'

Leftward Operating: CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> → CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> + CV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>

**nʸa-rā-a-wau**  
I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-look  
for

'I looked for it.'

**nʸā-h-wau-wau**  
I-DISTR:SG-RDP-look  
for

'I am going around looking for it.'

Leftward Operating: CV... → CVV + CV...

**nʸa-ra-a-tʸ-ēe-vi'i**  
I-DISTR-COMPL-up-horizontal-grab  
SG

'I grabbed it with my hand.'

**nʸē-h-vii-vi'i**  
I-DISTR:SG-RDP-grab

'I grab it repeatedly.'

Leftward Operating: CV → CV'V + CV

**tʸā-h-šika**  
in-DISTR:SG-sun  
middle

'It is hot.' (weather)

**tʸā-šii-šii-re**  
in-RDP-finish(?)-PASS  
middle CAUS

'It gets hot (in these parts).'

Rightward Operating: CV'V → CV'V + CV

**ā'-a-mi'i-nʸi**  
away-outside-die-FUT  
out

'The fire is going to die out.'

**ā'-a-mi'i-mi-ki**  
away-outside-die-RDP-HAB  
out

'The fire is always going out.'

The following examples illustrate three patterns of reduplication that are used to signal plural subject.

Leftward Operating: CV... → CV + CV...

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ku'i**  
I-DISTR-be  
sick  
'I am sick.'

**t<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ku-ku'i**  
we-DISTR-RDP-be  
sick  
'We are sick.'

Leftward Operating: CV → CV'V + CV

**na-'a-nā-n<sup>y</sup>-ih-ṣ̌i**  
I-outside-on-REFL-trajectory-finish  
boundary  
'I washed my hands off.'

**ta-'a-nā-ta-'ih-ṣ̌i'v-ṣ̌i**  
we-outside-on-REFL-trajectory-RDP-finish  
boundary  
'We washed off our hands.'

Rightward Operating: ...CVh → ...CV' + V

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kast<sup>y</sup>āh-wa**  
I-have-PASS  
cough  
'I have a cough.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kast<sup>y</sup>ā'-a-wa-ka**  
I-have-RDP-PASS-HAB  
cough  
'I always have a cough.'

I have found only one pattern of reduplication for plural object so far. It is a leftwards operating process of the form CV... → CV + CV....

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>-ēe-vi'i**  
I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-up-horizontally-grab  
'I grabbed it in my hand.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-wa'-u-vi-vi'i**  
I-them-inside-RDP-grab  
'I grabbed them.'

There are some verbs whose semantics include a repetitive notion. A few of these are also reduplicated. The examples I have found so far are all leftward reduplicating processes of the form CV... → CV + CV....

**ra-a-tā-vi-vaa-ra**  
DISTR:SG-COMPL-across-RDP-big-ABSTR  
CAUS  
'He is making an outline sketch.'

Repetitive

There is a large class of verbs whose stems exhibit various kinds of alternations between laryngealized and non-laryngealized vocalic sequences or between short and long vocalic sequences. The alternations occur between repetitive or habitual forms of the verbs and forms that express most any other tense, aspect, or mode. The processes responsible for forming the stem alternates may insert glottal stops or delete them. These processes may also make a long sequence short or a short one long. Verb stems thus fall into eight distinct classes, depending on the particular way a habitual or repetitive stem is related to a non-habitual one. The following examples illustrate verbs that fall into these classes. Statistically, members of the first four classes are by far the most numerous.

Class 1: Well-Behaved Stems**t<sup>y</sup>i-'ihka-ta**

DISTR-load-make

'He is loading up.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-'ihka-ta-ka**

DISTR-load-make-HAB

'He is always loading up.'

Class 2: V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> → V<sub>1</sub>'V<sub>1</sub>**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-caa-ra**

DISTR-put-make

'She is ironing.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ca'a-ra-ka**

DISTR-put-make-HAB

'She does the ironing.'

The alternation between V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>1</sub>'V<sub>1</sub> can occur within a syllable of an incorporated noun. As the next example shows, such incorporated nouns include loan words.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-taampuri-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**

DISTR-drum-make-APPLIC

'He is playing a drum.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ta'ampuri-t<sup>y</sup>-a**

DISTR-drum-make-HAB

'He plays the drum.'

There are some stems in which both the stem form and tone placement are distinct for habitual/repetitive forms.

**t<sup>y</sup>a-rā-'an-caawa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**

we-DISTR:SG-on -be-make-APPLIC-DUR

top fulfilled

'We are going to do what we are told.'

**t<sup>y</sup>a-ra-'an-cā'awa-t<sup>y</sup>-a**

we-DISTR:SG-on -be-make-HAB

top fulfilled

'We always do what we are told.'

Class 3:  $V_1V_2 \longrightarrow V_1'V_2$

**t<sup>y</sup>a-r-a-'u-rāuuna**

we-DISTR:SG-outside-horizontally-erase  
'We are going to erase it.'

**t<sup>y</sup>a-r-a-'u-rā'una-ka**

we-DISTR:SG-outside-horizontally-erase-HAB  
'We erase it every so often.'

**mu-rāii-p<sup>w</sup>a**

inside-toss-flat  
boundary  
'He is snoring.'

**mu-rā'i-p<sup>w</sup>a-ka**

inside-toss-flat-HAB  
boundary  
'He snores.'

There are three classes of alternations in which a process seems to be operating that takes a short segment and lengthens it.

Class 4:  $Vh \longrightarrow V_1V_1$

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>e-'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ā-nah-si-n**

I-INCEPT-away-trajectory-DISTR:SG-outside-boundary-DUR-UNR  
'I am going to close the door.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>e-'i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-naa-mi**

I-INCEPT-away-trajectory-in-boundary-(?)  
middle  
'I keep on closing the door.'

Class 5:  $V_1 \longrightarrow V_1'V_1$

**t<sup>y</sup>i-h<sup>s</sup>-ti**

up-be -STAT  
full CAUS

'It (river) is going to rise.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-h<sup>s</sup>'is-t<sup>y</sup>a-ka**

up-be -STAT-HAB  
full CAUS

'It rises every so often.'

Class 6:  $V \longrightarrow VV$

**n<sup>y</sup>ē-h-yamf**

I-DISTR:SG-scissor  
'I am cutting it with  
scissors.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ē-h-yaamf-ka**

I-DISTR:SG-scissor-HAB  
'I am cutting it repeated-  
ly with scissors.'

There are three small classes of stems with various kinds of long vocalic segments which are all made short. These segments are of the form  $VV$ ,  $V_1'V_1$ , and  $Vh$ . In all cases they become a single short vowel. This class provides the evidence for a rule of glottal deletion that follows a rule of vowel deletion.



**n<sup>y</sup>é-h-čú'eve'e**  
I-DISTR:SG-wait  
for

'I am waiting for him.'

**ka-nu-wā-m<sup>w</sup>aša-p<sup>w</sup>a-ka'a**  
NEG-I=COMPL-deer-break-PAST  
PERF

'I did not hunt for deer.'

**ā'-a-mi'í-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
away-outside-die-FUT

'The fire is dying out.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'í-n<sup>y</sup>e'e**  
they-DISTR-dance

'They are dancing.'

**na-a-tā-kast<sup>y</sup>ahwa**  
I-COMPL-PERF-have  
cough

'I am going to catch a cough.'

**m-úu-ta'aru-n**  
they-horizontally-be-PRTC  
drunk

'They are going off to get drunk.'

Mobile stress stems often carry high tone on the stem for habitual mode and for past perfective tense.

**ru-m<sup>w</sup>ā-'a-ye-ta**  
REFL -RDP -ACT  
CAUS  
lion

'He turns himself into a mountain lion.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>-a-'u-yú'uša-ka'a**  
I-DISTR-outside-horizontally-write-PAST  
PERF

'I wrote something down.'

Various stems show final high tone. As the following examples show, they may be on a single-syllable stem, on a suffix, or on the final stem in a compound.

**a-u-mí'í**  
away-horizontally-die

'The fire died out.'

**me-ce'e-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
they-nurse-UNR

'They are going to suckle.'

**ra-yana-m<sup>w</sup>ā**  
DISTR:SG-tobacco-put  
flat

'He is treating him with tobacco.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-mí**  
DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-feed

'He fed him.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-tu'í-t<sup>y</sup>-ā**  
me-carry-ACT-HAB  
CAUS

'He always gives it to me.'

In some cases, word-final high tone is a secondary result of word-final syllable truncation.





## INCORPORATION

Instrumental

Nouns used prefixally to indicate the instrument that is employed in carrying out some act are, for the most part, names of body parts which are still used productively as independent nouns. The following are typical examples, some of which may actually be N + V compounds.

**n-a-'i-kā-mu'u-vahra**

I-outside-along-down-head-follow  
trajectory

'I am nodding my head up and down.'

**ka-nu-čē'e-kū-'i ha-t<sup>y</sup>a-sā'akī-va'ara-'a**

NEG-I-CONT=EV-be outside-in-eyelid-follow-PRTC  
middle

'I was no longer blinking my eyes.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i-'i-hī'ī-ce-'eh-vee**

DISTR-eye-ABS-slope-be

standing

'He is keeping watch over him with his eye.'

**a-rā-uh-ayāh-na-šī**

outside-facing-REFL-jawbone-point-PAST  
out out

'He pointed it out with his lower jaw.'

Adverbial

Adverbial elements are the most productive lexical items which have been incorporated into the Cora verb. Some of these elements are loosely incorporated into the verb as clitics; others are more tightly incorporated as prefixes. [More extensive discussion of these adverbial elements can be found in Casad, Cora Locationals and Structured Imagery, San Diego, UCSD doctoral dissertation, 1982; and in Casad and Langacker, "Inside" and "Outside" in Cora Grammar', to appear in IJAL.]

In the first place, a verb may have a loosely incorporated locative particle.

**ka-nū yēewi in<sup>y</sup>āa šī yā=m<sup>w</sup>aa-taih-t<sup>y</sup>a-ka'a**

NEG-I QUOT I IMPOT here=you-send-make-PAST  
for PERF

'I did not send for you to come yet.'

ka-nū mū=m<sup>w</sup>aa-sēih

NEG-I there=you-see:PAST  
inside

'I did not see you right there in the corner.'

Verbs may also have a loosely incorporated pausal deictic.

n<sup>y</sup>-ān-nā hi'i=rā'a ān-tan

I-on -PREV PS=arrive on-across  
top REF DEIC top

'I arrived right there on top across the river.'

ka-pū mē'e=t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'-u-kai

NEG-SUBJ PS=DISTR-away-COMPL-cut  
DEIC wood

'He did not cut firewood anywhere.'

There are seventeen locative prefixes which combine with one another in various ways. The following list presents these morphemes and their glosses.

a'-	'away'
a-	'outside'
u-	'inside'
uu-	'inside, horizontally'
i-	'in trajectory, facing toward'
h-	'in the slope'
aŋ-	'on top of'
t <sup>y</sup> i-	'up'
t <sup>β</sup> -	'straight ahead, across'
t <sup>y</sup> a-	'in the middle, intersecting plane'
ra-	'facing away'
ka-	'down'
na-	'along the edge, at the perimeter'
ku-	'around the perimeter'
wa-	'all over, within an area'
ra'a-	'around a corner, back and forth'
va'a-	'coming this way, covering a surface'

The prefix a'- 'away' is the leftmost occurring tightly-bound locative prefix. Generally, a'- indicates that an event took place outside of the range of the speaker's vision. Note the following contrastive pair.

nu-'urī t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-kai

I-already DISTR-COMPL-cut  
firewood

'I have already cut the firewood (see it over there).'

**ka-pū mē'e=t<sup>y</sup>ā-hā'-u-kai**  
 NEG-SUBJ PS=DISTR-away-COMPL-cut  
 DEIC firewood  
 'He did not cut firewood anywhere.'

The meaning of the sequence **a'**- plus **āh**- 'outside in the slope' is approximately 'somewhere off there to one side in the slope'.

**ū=pū=ē'-eh-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**  
 there=SUBJ=away-along-be -ABSTR-STAT  
 inside slope visible CAUS  
 'The sky over there above the town is all lit up.'

The sequence **a'**- plus **uh**- 'inside the slope' means 'off there going upwards in the middle of the slope'.

**ā=pū=ā'-uh-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**  
 outside=SUBJ=away-inside-be -ABSTR-STAT  
 slope visible CAUS  
 'It is all lit up there going upwards in the slope.'

The directional **a**- 'outside, along the edge' may co-occur with **a'**- 'away'. It generally refers to location on the outer surface of an object visible to the speaker. The sequence **a**- plus **t<sup>y</sup>a**- 'in the middle' has the approximate meaning 'out in the middle of an exterior surface'.

**a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-kun**  
 outside-in -be  
 middle hollow  
 'There is a wide-mouthed well dug into the ground there.'

The sequence **a**- plus **ra**- 'facing away' refers to the front of the face when applied to human beings or animals. With verbs of motion and position, it refers to direction downstream or to some surface of an object that the speaker conceives of as being the front of that object.

**a-rā-kuun**  
 outside-facing-be  
 away hollow  
 'He has a hole in his eye.' (i.e. 'He is blind.')

**ū=pū=a'-a-rā-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**  
 there=SUBJ=away-outside-facing-be -ABSTR-STAT  
 inside away visible CAUS  
 'The morning light is lighting up the mountains reaching downriver to here.'

The sequence **a**- plus **ka**- 'downwards' can be glossed 'facing downwards' or 'covering the exterior surface of something'.



The sequence **u-** plus **h-** can be glossed 'going upwards'.

**ū-h-kuun**

inside-in -be  
slope hollow

'He has an upwards going hole (in the nostril, pubic, or anal area).'

The sequence **u-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed 'there inside a bounded area via an extensive opening'.

**u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-suuna šā'ari cahta'a**

inside-in-pour pot inside  
middle

'The water is pouring into the water jar.'

The sequence **u-** plus **ra-** 'facing away' can be glossed 'situated facing outwards from within a bounded area'.

**u-rā-hace-'e ĩ naka**

inside-facing-see-APPLIC ART cactus  
away apple

'The cactus apple is full of seeds.'

The sequence **u-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be glossed 'going downwards inside a bounded area'.

**u-kā-haa ĩ ru-šit<sup>y</sup>ē hece**

inside-down-be ART REFL-finger on  
swollen POSSR

'His finger is all swollen.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** 'all over' can be glossed 'covering the entire outer surface of a bounded area'.

**u-wā-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**

inside-area-be -ABSTR-STAT there =living-inside  
visible CAUS inside area

**ū=čah-ta'a**

'The whole town is lit up.'

The sequence **u-** plus **va'a-** 'covering a surface' can be variously glossed 'covering a back surface' or 'coming this way from a specific location' depending upon whether the verb is one of position or motion.

**nu-'u-vā-'aca**

me-inside-covering-be here=my-neck-in  
ulcerated inside

**yū=n<sup>y</sup>a-katu'uh-ta'a**

'I have sores right back here on the nape of my neck.'

**u-vā'a-suuna**

inside-covering-pour  
'The cow is urinating.'

The prefix **uu-** 'inside, horizontally' is preceded by **a-** 'outside, away' and immediately precedes **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane'. With reference to the human body this prefix applies to the armpit and external ear canal. It also appears to apply to the finger tips. In other areas of application it refers to direction straight off towards the edge of an area.

**n-u-'aca**

I-horizontally-be

**yū=n<sup>y</sup>a-našai-ta'a**

here=my-ear-inside

ulcerated inside

'I have a sore here in the external channel of my ear.'

**n-ūu-se'e-ri**

I-horizontally-be

**yēn=n<sup>y</sup>a-šit<sup>y</sup>é hece**

-STAT up=my-fingers on

frozen CAUS here

'The tips of my fingers freeze.'

The sequence **a-** plus **uu-** can be variously glossed 'going away horizontally to the edge', 'being horizontally outside', or 'going horizontally across the middle', depending upon the semantics of the stems it occurs with.

**ā-ūu-c<sup>w</sup>am<sup>w</sup>a**

away-horizontally-be

**m<sup>f</sup> mēesa hap<sup>w</sup>a**

ART table on

dirty

'The top of the desk is dusty.'

**mū**

there

**ā-ūu-kuun**

inside away-horizontally-be

hollow

'There is a hole there in the corner that goes off somewhere horizontally.'

The combination **u-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed 'going off horizontally into a large cavity'.

**u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-kuun**

inside

-intersecting-be

horizontally plane

hollow

'There is an entrance horizontally into a large cavity.'

(i.e. the doorway of a house)

The prefix **i-** 'in trajectory' is immediately preceded by **a-** 'away'. The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **h-** 'in the slope' can be glossed variously as 'following along the vertical axis of a tall standing object' or 'following along an uphill trajectory'.

**ē'-i-h-m<sup>w</sup>ē'it+č-e**

away-trajectory-in -give-APPLIC  
slope out

'Way off there in the middle of the road he pooped out.'

**hakāh mū=ū=e'-i-h-vēihč-e**

bamboo they=there=away-along -in-cut-APPLIC  
trajectory slope

'They went off there to cut down bamboo.'

The sequence **i-** plus **ta-** 'straight' can be glossed 'going straight ahead in the middle of a pathway'.

**nu-'urī=e'-i-ta-méh**

I-already=away-trajectory-straight-go

'Now I am going along in the middle of a straight road.'

The sequence **i-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be roughly glossed 'blocking a trajectory'.

**e'-i-t<sup>y</sup>ēe-yeih-š+**

**huyé hece**

away-along -in-sit-finish road in  
trajectory middle

'He sat down in the path.'

The sequence **i-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be glossed as 'downward along the pathway'.

**e'-i-kā-k<sup>w</sup>a'ana-š+**

away-along-down-become-finish  
trajectory tired

'Way off there in the path downslope from here he got tired.'

There are a few lexical items in which the sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **h-** occurs. It can be glossed 'coming out of a trajectory and going off into a slope'.

**w-ī-h-suuna**

inside-along

trajectory-slope-pour

'The water is pouring out of the end of a hose/pipe.'

**w-ī-h-pit<sup>y</sup>i**

inside-along

-be

trajectory-slope pointed

'It is shaped like the neck of a bottle.'

The locative prefix **i-** is preceded by both **a-** 'outside' and **u-** 'inside'. The sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **h-** can be glossed as 'going crossways within a slope'.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'i-h-cāh**  
 I-inside-across- -tear  
 trajectory slope off  
 'I pulled the chicken's head off.'

The sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>i-** 'up' can be glossed more or less as 'movement upwards with respect to the boundary of an enclosed area'.

**n-u-'i-t<sup>y</sup>i-n-čui**                      **ɨ n<sup>y</sup>e-siiku'u**  
 I-inside-across-up-REFL-carry ART my-shirt  
 trajectory  
 'I took my shirt off.'

The sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'in the middle' can be roughly glossed as 'facing against an inner surface'.

**w-i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-kuun**  
 inside-across -in -be  
 trajectory middle hollow  
 'He has a hole in his cheek.'

The sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **ra-** 'facing away' can be glossed as 'movement from within a bounded area to a location outside of that area'.

**w-ii-rāa-me**  
 inside-trajectory-facing-go  
 away  
 'He is going to leave the house.'

The sequence **u-** plus **i-** plus **ka-** 'down' indicates motion downward from or position beneath a bounded area.

**w-ii-kā-pā'u-vih-mee**  
 inside-trajectory-down-red-PRTC-COLL  
 'He is red all over his chin.'

**nu-'urī=w-ii-kāa-n<sup>y</sup>e**  
 I-already=inside-trajectory-down-come  
 'I have already left from the house and moved down here.'

Sequences of **a-** 'outside' plus **i-** 'across trajectory' commonly include the semantic notion 'facing toward observer'. For verbs of position such sequences frequently apply to a location on the lower back of a human body. The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **h-** 'in the slope' refers to position at or motion from the foot of a slope facing upwards to the observer's position at the head of the slope.



**ā-i-h-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**

outside-facing-slope-be -ABSTR-STAT  
toward visible CAUS

'From a source at the foot of the slope it is lit  
up all along the slope towards the observer's position  
at the head of the slope.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **ta-** 'straight, across' refers to position at or motion from one side of a boundary facing across to the observer's position at the other side of the boundary.

**a-ii-tā-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**

outside-facing-across-be -ABSTR-STAT  
toward visible CAUS

'From a source on the far side of the river it is lit up  
coming across the water towards the observer's position.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting plane' refers to a position on a person's back.

**n-a-'i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-'aca**

I-outside-facing-intersecting-be **yēh** **n<sup>y</sup>a-ware-'e**  
toward plane ulcerated in here my-back-on  
slope

'I have sores back here on my lower back.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **ra-** 'facing away' refers to something that projects out from a surface that faces the observer, such as a mask hanging on a wall, for example.

**a-ii-rā-t<sup>y</sup>ee**

outside-trajectory-facing-be  
away long

'It really sticks out a long ways horizontally from  
the surface of the wall.'

The sequence **a-** plus **i-** plus **ka-** 'down' refers to position downward or motion downward on a surface that faces the observer.

**a-ii-kā-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**

outside-facing-down-be -ABSTR-STAT  
toward visible CAUS

'From a point up in the slope it is all lit up coming  
down towards observer's point at foot of slope.'

The prefix **h-** 'in the slope' is preceded by **a-** 'outside', **u-** 'inside', and **i-** 'along trajectory towards speaker'. The prefix combination **a-** 'outside' plus **h-** can be glossed as 'there outside in the slope'.

**a-h-kft<sup>y</sup>apu'u**

outside-in -amputated  
slope appendage

'The dog has a chopped short tail.' (as seen from the side)

The sequence **a-** plus **h-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>i-** 'up' can be glossed as 'up there in the edge of the slope'. As applied to the human body this includes the forehead and the knee.

**na-'a-h-t<sup>y</sup>i-tū'a**      **yē-h**      **n<sup>y</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>aace-'e**  
me-outside-in-up-hit here-in      my-forehead-on  
slope      slope

'It hit me right here in the forehead.'

The sequence **a-** plus **h-** plus **ta-** 'straight ahead, across' can be glossed variously as 'straight up the slope', or 'straight across the slope', depending upon the situation it is applied to. On the human body this can refer to the sole of the foot or one side of the head.

**na-'a-h-tā-'aca**      **yē-h**  
I-outside-in -straight-be here-in  
slope across ulcerated slope

**n<sup>y</sup>e-čap<sup>w</sup>aace-'e**  
my-sole-on

'I have a sore right here on the bottom of my foot.'

The sequence **a-** plus **h-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane' can be glossed approximately 'out there in the middle of the edge of the slope'.

**a-h-t<sup>y</sup>ā-haa**      **ī**      **ru-m<sup>w</sup>āhka'a hece**  
outside-in -intersecting-be ART REFL-arm on  
slope plane swollen POSSR

'The outer surface of his upper arm is swollen.'

The prefix combination **a-** plus **h-** plus **ka-** 'down' can be glossed as 'going downwards from a line running along a point in the edge of the slope'.

**ra-'a-h-ka-vēičah-raa**  
DISTR:SG-outside-in-down-cut-leave  
slope

'Going from top to bottom he cut flat one side of the pole.'

The locative prefix **n-** 'on top' is immediately preceded by **a-** 'outside'. The prefix sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>i-** 'up' can be glossed as 'there at the highest point on top' or 'at the tip of'.

na-'a-n-t<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>-i'í f n<sup>y</sup>a-muuku'u  
 I-outside-on-up-REFL-carry ART my-hat  
                   top  
 'I took my hat off.'

The sequence a- plus n- plus ta- 'straight, across' can be glossed as 'going across the top of'.

a-n-tā-t<sup>y</sup>ee  
 outside-on-across-be  
                   top          long  
 'It is a long ways from here to up on top of the far bank  
 of the river.'

The sequence a- plus n- plus t<sup>y</sup>a- 'in the middle' can be glossed as 'extended area up on top within a flat surface'.

a-n-t<sup>y</sup>ā-kuun f kana-ri  
 outside-on -intersecting-be ART guitar-ABS  
                   top plane          hollow  
 'There is a hole in the upper surface of the guitar.'

The prefix sequence a- plus n- plus ka- 'down' can be roughly glossed as 'dropping downwards from up on top'.

na-'a-n-kā-hraa káuhna-ri=hece  
 I-outside-on-down-leave rope-ABS=on  
                   top  
 'I descended on a rope.'

a-n-kā-suuna  
 outside-on-down-pour  
                   top  
 'From observer's position at the top of a cliff, water  
 is pouring over the edge to the base of the cliff.'

The prefix t<sup>y</sup>i- 'up' is preceded immediately by u- 'inside', n- 'on top', and h- 'in the slope'. It is a third position locative affix and immediately precedes the set of reflexive affixes.

t<sup>y</sup>-ūh-tutā-hmee  
 up-REFL-curve-COLL  
 'The road curves back and forth on+itself going uphill.'

The locative prefix ta- 'straight ahead, across' follows a- 'outside', u- 'inside', uu- 'inside horizontally', n- 'on top', h- 'in the slope', and i- 'in trajectory'.



**u-ta-vē'e**

inside-across-hang

flat

'The flat thing hanging on the wall right there has holes all over its outside surface.'

In its topological use, **ra-** can be glossed as 'downriver'.

**a'-u-rā-t<sup>y</sup>ee**

away-horizontally-facing-be

away long

'It is a long ways from here to a distal point downstream.'

The prefix **ka-** 'downward' is a third position locative. It follows **a-** 'outside', **u-** 'inside', **i-** 'in trajectory', **h-** 'in the slope', and **n-** 'up on top'.

**ru-'u-ka-vēiča-hraa**

DISTR:SG-inside-down-cut-leave

'He split the stake that was stuck into the ground.'

The prefix **na-** 'at the perimeter' occurs only following **a-** 'outside'.

**na-'a-nā-haa**

I-outside-on -be

**1 n<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>ānka'a hece**

ART my-hand on

perimeter swollen

'My hand is swollen.'

The prefix **ku-** 'around' follows either **n-** 'on top' or **h-** 'in the slope'. It is followed only by **ra'a-** 'around the corner'.

**a-h-ku-rē'e-me**

outside-in-around-around-go

slope corner

'He went crawling over someone's shoulder.'

The sequence **a-** plus **n-** plus **ku-** plus **ra'a-** can be glossed 'going all the way around the perimeter'.

**ra-'a-n-ku-re'e-vēiča-hraa**

DISTR:SG-outside-on-around-around-cut-leave

top corner

'He chopped a ring around the trunk of a big tree.'

The prefix **wa-** 'extensive, within an area' is preceded by **u-** 'inside'. It is followed by **ta-** 'straight ahead', **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting a plane', and **ra-** 'facing away'. It has a derived meaning 'completive' with many verbs and it is not always clear which meaning, the primary locative one or the derived aspectual one, is in focus.

seh pū wā-ka ū hat<sup>y</sup>e-'e  
 sand SUBJ extensive-sit inside water-at  
 area

'There is sand all over along by the river.'

wā-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i māškira'i kime'e  
 within-be -ABSTR-STAT moon with  
 area visible CAUS

'It is lit up all over from the light of the moon.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **ta-** 'straight', as applied to the human body, can be glossed 'going all the way across the (back of) the neck'.

nu-'u-wa-tā-'aca yū n<sup>y</sup>a-kīhpīi-ta'a  
 me-inside-extensive-across-be here my-scruff-in  
 ulcerated inside of  
 neck

'I have sores all across the back of my neck.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'intersecting plane' can be glossed 'back there in the middle of the shoulder(s)'.

kīyē pū=u-wa-t<sup>y</sup>ēe-čui  
 firewood SUBJ=inside -extensive-within-carry  
 horizontally plane

'He is carrying the pole across his shoulders.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **ta-** 'straight' can be glossed 'right straight ahead to an indefinite distal point'.

wa-tā-uh-re-'i-ye  
 extensive-straight-REFL-away-along-go  
 trajectory

'The road goes right straight ahead.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'in the middle' can be glossed 'out in the middle of an extended area'.

wa-t<sup>y</sup>ē-t<sup>y</sup>ee f see-ri  
 extensive-in -be ART cold-ABS  
 middle long

'The layer of snow is deep.'

The sequence **wa-** plus **ra-** can be glossed 'all over the external surface of a bounded area'.

n<sup>y</sup>ah kīn wa-rē-'iča'u-ta  
 I:SUBR with extensive-facing-broom-make  
 away

'I use it to sweep out in there.'

The second position prefix **ra'a-** 'back and forth, around corner' follows **u-** 'inside', **uu-** 'inside horizontally', **i-** 'in trajectory', **wa-** 'extensive, within an area', **ku-** 'around', and **ve'e-** 'coming this way'. The sequence **u-** plus **ra'a-** can be glossed variously as 'back and forth inside there', 'back there around the corner', or 'all the way around inside', depending on semantic characteristics of the stem it occurs with.

**nu-'u-rā'a-ktm<sup>w</sup>ahra yū n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>en<sup>y</sup>i-ta'a**  
 I-inside-around-be here my-mouth-inside  
 corner cool inside  
 'The inside of my mouth is cold all over.'

**u-rē'e-ye'i**  
 inside-around-walk  
 corner  
 'He is going back and forth there inside the trap.'

**ru-'u-rā'a-ruurah-št**  
 DISTR:SG-inside-around-stir-finish  
 corner  
 'She stirred the soup with a spoon.'

The sequence **u-** plus **wa-** plus **rā'a-** can be glossed 'all over from side to side within a bounded area'.

**ru-'u-wa-rā'a-hašu'u-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-sin**  
 DISTR-inside-extensive-around-plaster-put-DUR  
 SG corner flat  
 'He is plastering all over the entire interior of the house.'

The sequence **a-** plus **u-** 'inside horizontally' plus **ra'a-** can be glossed as 'from side to side on the external surface of a restricted area'.

**r-a-'u-rā'a-hašu'u-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-sin**  
 DISTR-outside-horizontally-around-plaster-put-DUR  
 SG corner flat  
 'He is plastering the upper surface of the stove table with mud.'

The sequence **a-** 'outside' plus **uu-** 'inside horizontally' plus **wa-** 'extensive, within an area' plus **ra'a-** can be glossed as 'going from side to side throughout an extended bounded area'.

**n<sup>y</sup>-āu-če'e-t<sup>y</sup>-a-'u-wa-rā'a-ptta**  
 I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-outside-horizontally-extensive-around-muddy  
 BASE corner up  
 'I am in the process of smearing mud on the floor (to make a hard surface).'

The sequence a'- 'away' plus i- 'in trajectory' plus ra'a- 'around corner' can be glossed 'coming back along the path'.

**ā=e'-i-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>ā**

there=away-along -around-arrive  
trajectory corner

'He arrived back at the primary center of activity.'

The sequence a- 'outside' plus i- 'in trajectory' plus ra'a- 'around corner' can be glossed 'crossing the middle from back around the corner'.

**a-i-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**

outside-trajectory-around-be -ABSTR-STAT  
toward visible CAUS

'It is all lit up at the corner of the house from a light coming from off back of the house.' (Also: 'It is still daylight even though the sun has set.')

The sequence a'- 'away' plus u- 'inside' plus ra'a- 'around corner' can be glossed 'off yonder around the corner'.

**a'-u-rē'e-t<sup>y</sup>ee**

away-inside-around-be  
corner long

'It is a long ways from observer's position to a point behind the hill.'

The sequence wa- plus ra'a- also occurs:

**wa-rā'a-pīs-te-'e** f čamarra

extensive-around-be-make-APPLIC ART jacket  
corner hot

'The jacket keeps one warm all over (i.e., his whole upper body feels warm).'

The fourth position prefix va'a- 'covering an area, coming this way' follows a- 'outside' and u- 'inside'.

**na-'a-vā'a-tu'ā** y-ēn n<sup>y</sup>a-muuce-'e

me-outside-covering-hit here-on my head-on  
top

'It hit me here on the top of the head.'

**nu-'u-vā'a-tu'a** y-ú n<sup>y</sup>a-katu'uh-ta'a

me-inside-covering-hit here-inside my-nape-in

'It hit me right here in the back of the head.'

The sequence a- 'outside' plus uu- 'inside horizontally' plus va'a- 'this way' can be glossed 'coming this way from off over





### Subject Marking

The subject prefixes have a basic CV canonical shape. The neutral vowel quality is **a**, as shown by the following paradigm.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-kuh-m̄f</b> I-sleep-DESID 'I am sleepy.'	<b>t<sup>y</sup>a-kū'uci-ku</b> we-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL 'We are sleepy.'
<b>pa-kuh-m̄f</b> you-sleep-DESID 'You are sleepy.'	<b>sa-kū'uci-ku</b> you:PL-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL 'You all are sleepy.'
<b>kuh-m̄f</b> sleep-DESID 'He is sleepy.'	<b>ma-kū'uci-ku</b> they-sleep:RDP-DESID:PL 'They are sleepy.'

Second person singular **pa-** and third person plural **ma-** are realized as **p<sup>w</sup>a-** and **m<sup>w</sup>a-**, respectively, preceding 'a or 'i. Second person plural **sa-** alternates with **ša-** also; the pairing of allomorph with stem is apparently arbitrary.

<b>p<sup>w</sup>a-'a-rā-kun</b> you-along-facing-be edge out hollow 'You're blind.'	<b>m<sup>w</sup>a-'a-rā-ku-ku'un</b> they-along-facing-RDP-be edge out hollow 'They are blind.'
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Before **y**-initial stems, or consonant-initial stems whose first vowel is **i**, subject prefix vowels are realized as **e**.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>ε-yāana</b> I-smoke 'I'm smoking.'
--

The subject prefix vowel becomes **u** when it precedes the fifth position locative **u** 'inside:horizontally'. The entire vocalic sequence merges to **uu**.

<b>nū-u-kun</b> I-inside -be horizontally hollow 'I have a hole in my ear.'
--

When the subject prefix immediately precedes the fourth position locative **u** 'inside', the prefix vowel is also ablauted to **u**. In this case, the entire vocalic sequence merges to **u'u**.

<b>nu-'u-vā'a-kun</b> I-inside-coming-be across hollow 'I have a hole in the back of my head.'
---

The subject prefix vowel deletes under certain conditions when the prefix is attached to a following vowel-initial morpheme. This may be due to a constraint on the maximal length of vowel clusters in Cora. In the following example the subject prefix precedes the locative *u* 'inside:horizontally' which is in turn prefixed to the vowel-initial stem *t'iwa* 'to bathe'. The deletion of the prefix vowel leads to a simple syllable structure. Phonetically, the locative prefix vowel forms a diphthong with the pre-glottal vowel of the verb stem.

**n-ū-t'iwa-n**  
 I-there-bathe-PRTC(?)  
 inside  
 'I'm going off to bathe.'

The subject prefix also merges with a following completive prefix *wa-*. The resultant sequence is of the form *Caa*.

**n-aa-méh ka'anākan**  
 I-COMPL-go quickly  
 'I left quickly.'

**ta ham<sup>w</sup>ān waa-mé susteniēente kintin**  
 us with COMPL-go lieutenant PN  
 'Lieutenant Quintin went along with us.'

There is a full set of subject clitics which mark verbs for all three persons in both the singular and plural. With the exception of second person singular, the subject clitic vowel is *u* and is not affected by the morphological shape of a following word or morpheme. The subject clitics also carry high tone.

**ayāa nū=ra-ruu-re**  
 thus I=DISTR:SG-do-make  
 APPLIC  
 'That is what I am doing to him.'

**ayāa pā=ra-ruu-re**  
 thus you=DISTR-do-make  
 SG APPLIC  
 'That is what you are doing to him.'

**ayéh pe=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e-he**  
 thus you=DISTR-me-address  
 'That is what you are saying to me.'

The subject particles and clitic sequences are loosely bound to the verb stem complex. In fact, sequences of nominals, particles, and adverbs can occur between the subject particles and the verb stem complex.

**rufhm<sup>w</sup>a'a nu=wí pu-éen kfn ya=ta-n<sup>y</sup>éh-sin**  
 tomorrow I=QUOT ASSR-be with here=straight-arrive-DUR  
 'Tomorrow I am coming for this express purpose.'

Subject clitics may occur either pre-verbally or post-verbally. In either case, they may co-occur with a subject prefix.

**hēiwa nū=wāčī**  
 lots I=be  
 skinny  
 'I'm very skinny.'

**m-1-r-aa-šā'apt'<sup>†</sup>in-ta-ra-'a mū=mī**  
 they-NARR-DISTR-COMPL-good-CAUS-CAUS-PRTC they=they  
 SG  
 'They have it well decided on, they do.'

### Object Marking

Object prefixes also have a canonical CV shape. In this case, also, the neutral prefix vowel is a.

<b>na-'ah-tā-'ip†</b>	<b>m<sup>w</sup>a-'ah-tā-'ip†</b>
me-along-straight-carry	you-along-straight-carry
slope	slope
'He took my shoes off me.'	'He took your shoes off you.'

**ra-'ah-tā-'ip†**  
 DISTR-along-straight-carry  
 SG slope  
 'He<sub>1</sub> took his<sub>2</sub> shoes off him<sub>2</sub>.'

**ta-'ah-tā-'ip†'i-š†**  
 us-along-straight-carry-DISTR  
 slope  
 He took our shoes off of us, one by one.'

**ham<sup>w</sup>a-'ah-tā-'ip†'i-š†**  
 you:PL-along-straight-carry-DISTR  
 slope  
 'He took your shoes off of each one of you.'

**wa-'ah-tā-'ip†'i-š†**  
 them-along-straight-carry-DISTR  
 slope  
 'One by one, he took their shoes off them.'

The changes that affect the direct object prefix vowels when they are prefixed to certain following morphemes are very similar to those that occur when subject prefixes merge with following morphemes. Therefore I do not illustrate most of them here.

The fifth position locative prefix *u-* 'inside' becomes *w* when it occurs word-initially and is followed by the fourth position locative *i-* 'in trajectory'.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-r-u-'i-t<sup>y</sup>-āa-tu'a**  
 I-DISTR-inside-across-up-COMPL-hit  
 SG trajectory  
 'I hit him on the cheek.'

**ha'at+h nū=w-ii-t<sup>y</sup>-āa-tu'a**  
 someone I=inside-across-up-COMPL-hit  
 trajectory  
 'I hit a certain guy on the cheek.'

For third person plural forms of the direct object, the following completive morpheme is realized as *u*.

**wa'-u-tui-iri-'i**  
 them-COMPL-sell-APPLIC-STAT  
 'Sell it to them.'

The fifth position locative *u* 'inside' merges with the third person plural direct object *wa'*- when *u* is followed by the fourth position locative *ii* 'across trajectory'. In this case, the overall configuration is *we'i-*.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-w-e-'i-h-kut<sup>y</sup>i-hra-št** **mī**  
 I-them-inside-across -UNSPEC-pluck-APPLIC-DISTR ART  
 RESTR trajectory OBJ(?) off  
**wa'a-m<sup>w</sup>act'†**  
 their-necklace  
 'I took their necklaces off them.'

#### Third Person Singular Direct Object

Third person singular direct object is variously marked by the phonologically unrelated allomorphs *ra-*, *y-*, *h-*, and zero ( $\emptyset$ ).

The eighth position allomorph *ra-* can actually occur throughout the entire range from the pre-stem position one to prefix position eight.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ta'ah=rā-a-r††-r-e-n**  
 I-so=DISTR:SG-COMPL-well-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 that  
 '...so that I may learn it.'

**ka-pah=ra-tui-ira**  
 NEG-you=DISTR:SG-sell-APPLIC  
 'Don't sell it to him.'

In present tense forms, **ra-** marks third person singular direct object if there is a third person singular subject.

**Ø-ra-séih**

SUBJ:Ø-DISTR:SG-see  
'He sees him.'

Internally to the verb word, **ra-** marks third person singular direct object preceding various locative prefixes in present tense and almost universally for non-present tenses.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'u-ré-iim<sup>w</sup>a**

I-DISTR-inside-facing-clean  
SG out  
'I'm cleaning the inside surface of it.'

**pa-ra-a-m<sup>w</sup>areh**

you-DISTR-COMPL-handle  
SG PAST  
'You handled it (some object).'

The allomorph **h-** is entirely restricted to prefix position one, right next to the verb stem. It occurs with non-third person singular subjects in the present indicative mode and in imperative or potential modes like the desiderative and impotensive.

**n<sup>y</sup>é-h-č'e**

I-DISTR-bite  
SG SG  
'I'm biting him.'

**pa-h-m<sup>w</sup>are-'e**

you-DISTR-handle-APPLIC  
'You're handling it (some object).'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-h-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka**

I-DISTR-eat-HAB  
SG  
'I habitually eat it.'

The allomorph **y-** is restricted solely to the eighth prefix position from the verb stem. It is always followed by the sixth locative **a** 'away'. It does not co-occur with the distributive plural **t<sup>y</sup>i'**, and thus must be restricted semantically to a single object only.

**ā=pū=y-a'-a-vā'a-ti-sin**

there=SUBJ=it-away-outside-coming-carry-DUR  
along  
'He is bringing it off over there.'

**a=pū=t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'-a-vā'a-tu'utu'i-sin**

there=SUBJ=DISTR-away-outside-coming-carry-DUR  
along  
'He is bringing them off over there.'

In positive imperatives, there is no overt marker for a third person singular direct object. Compare the following pair of imperative forms.

na-a-čú'eva-'a  
me-COMPL-wait-DUR  
for  
'Wait for me.'

wa-čú'eva-'a  
COMPL-wait-DUR  
for  
'Wait a while.'

### Marking with Overt Object Nominals

Verb-object agreement is suspended when an explicit object nominal immediately precedes the verb.

n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-k<sup>w</sup>a'a † maanku  
I-UNSPEC-eat ART mango  
OBJ  
'I am eating the mango.'

māanku nu=θ-k<sup>w</sup>a'a  
mango I=DO:θ-eat  
'I am eating the mango.'

Direct object prefix deletion affects the direct object for all three persons, both singular and plural.

n<sup>y</sup>e-sēih † ha'at† in<sup>y</sup>eeci  
me-see ART someone me  
'Somebody sees me.'

n<sup>y</sup>eeci pū=θ-seih † ha'at†  
me SUBJ=DO:θ-see ART someone  
'Somebody sees me!'

hā'am<sup>w</sup>a-seih † ha'at† m<sup>w</sup>ēhmi  
you:PL-see ART someone you:PL  
'Someone sees you folks.'

m<sup>w</sup>ēhmi pū=θ-seih † ha'at†  
you:PL SUBJ=DO:θ-see ART someone  
'You folks (are who) someone sees.'

Direct object prefixes also serve to mark indirect objects. In sentences where there is both a direct object nominal and an indirect object nominal, verb-object agreement is suspended when the indirect object nominal precedes the verb, but not when the direct object nominal is in pre-verbal position.

m<sup>w</sup>eeci pū=θ-wa-ta-t†h † ha'at† † čuaašari  
you SUBJ=DO:θ-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone ART pipe  
'To you, someone gave a pipe.'

čuaašari pū=m<sup>w</sup>a-a-ta-t†h † ha'at† m<sup>w</sup>eeci  
pipe SUBJ=you-COMPL-PERF-give ART someone you  
'A pipe (is what) someone gave to you.'

Subject prefixes precede object prefixes in the left-to-right ordering of prefixes.

n<sup>y</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>a-seih  
I-you-see  
'I see you.'





**me-tʸi'i-h-yi'tʃi-tʸe-'e**  
 they-DISTR-DISTR-skirt-make-APPLIC  
 SG  
 'They are making a skirt for her.'

Before stems which are h-initial in their underlying forms, the distributive singular r- metathesizes with the stem-initial h-.

**nʸe-tʸi'i-haʃu'u-ta**  
 I-DISTR-wall-make  
 'I am building a wall.'  
**nʸe-tʸi'i-h-raʃu'u-tʸe-'e**  
 I-DISTR-DISTR-wall-make-APPLIC  
 SG  
 'I am building a wall for him.'

### Non-Distinct Argument Phenomena

#### Reflexives

There are four distinct shapes of reflexive verb prefixes. They always immediately precede the verb stem. Morphological and phonological processes do affect some of the reflexive prefixes. First person singular **na-** has an allomorph **n-** which follows a high-toned vowel. The third person singular and second and third person plural forms have all merged to **ru-**, which has the additional allomorphs **ur-** and **uh-**; the **r-**initial allomorph occurs word-initially and at stress group boundaries, while the **u-**initial forms occur word-internally, with the allomorph **ur-** preceding vowel-initial stems and **uh-** preceding consonant-initial stems.

	SG	PL
1P	<b>na-</b>	<b>ta-</b>
2P	<b>a-</b>	<b>ru-</b>
3P	<b>ru-</b>	<b>ru-</b>

**nu'u-ri=nʸa-pts-tʸe-'e**  
 I:PS-now=REFL-be-make-APPLIC  
 warm  
 'Now I'm warming myself.'  
**nʸa-wā-n-pts-t-eh**  
 I-COMPL-REFL-be-make-APPLIC:PAST  
 warm  
 'I warmed myself.'  
**wā-uh-pts-t-eh**  
 COMPL-REFL-be-make-APPLIC:PAST  
 warm  
 'He warmed himself.'

**ma-wā-ur-iša**

they-COMPL-REFL-discuss

'They discussed it among themselves.'

Reflexive object prefixes occur closer to the verb stem than direct object prefixes do.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ra-'ah-tā-ka'akay-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**

I-DISTR:SG-along-straight-shoe-make-APPLIC-DUR  
slope

'I'm going to put his shoe on him.'

**na-'ah-tā-n-ka'akay-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**

I-along-straight-REFL-shoe-make-APPLIC-DUR  
slope

'I'm going to put my shoe on.'

#### Unspecified Argument Prefixes

Cora shows only traces of prefixes that clearly mark either the subject or object role of unspecified arguments. In one case, what may have originally marked an unspecified object now probably marks only an indefinite one, since both the prefix and an overt nominal that cross-references to it can always occur in the same sentence. In another case, the function of marking an unspecified subject or object has been taken over by the distributive morpheme.

To begin, there are three allomorphs of a first position prefix that appear to mark an unspecified or indefinite object, in some cases, at least.

**hī'i-h-wahka**

NARR-UNSPEC-play  
OBJ(?)

'He's playing with something.'

**t<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-icāh-raa**

we-DISTR-UNSPEC-loom-INCEPT  
OBJ(?)

'We began to weave.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-ka**

DISTR-UNSPEC-kill-HAB  
OBJ

'He kills people.'

Possessive constructions show additional traces of an unspecified object prefix. Both the *h-* allomorph illustrated above and a morpheme *t<sup>y</sup>i-* occur with the possessive stem *čā'ī* 'have'.

**ru-'u-kā-h-ča'ī**

DISTR-inside-down-UNSPEC-have ART his-bag inside  
SG OBJ

'He has it in his shoulder bag.'

**ī ru-ka'an<sup>y</sup>i cahta'a**



In relation to the object, specified or unspecified, **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- often marks plural (inanimate) object. As the following examples show, the distributive prefix precedes the direct object prefix.

**na-a-ta-hān-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
me-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC  
PAST

'He gave it to me.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'-na-a-ta-hānp<sup>w</sup>a-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC  
PAST

'He gave them to me.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'**- also behaves like an unspecified object marker in that it replaces overt nominals such as occur in sentences like the following.

**ka-nu=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-c-e**  
NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC  
'I'm not thinking.'

**ka-nu t<sup>y</sup>i'itī-h m<sup>w</sup>a'a-c-e**  
NEG-I something-ACC know-make-APPLIC  
'I'm not thinking anything.'

The distributive **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- may even indicate a generalized activity of some sort.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>are'e**  
I-DISTR-work  
'I'm working.'

With certain stems, the distributive **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- seems to be used to indicate iterative action.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-taawa šāhm<sup>w</sup>a'a-ri**  
DISTR-make fish-ABS  
net  
'He's weaving a fishnet.'

A number of morphological and phonological processes affect the shape of the distributive **t<sup>y</sup>i'**- (see **PHONOLOGY**).

#### Distributive Singular and Plural

The eighth position prefix **ra-**, in many cases, marks third person singular direct object. The reason I have called it distributive singular instead of direct object is that in certain kinds of verbs it does not mark a specific single object but

rather an entire class of identical objects. Thus there is a three-way contrast between specific singular object, class of identical objects, and class of distinct objects, as shown in the following triplet of words. That the second member of the triplet must refer to a multiplicity of objects is shown by the plural form of the verb stem. (The verb selected is suppletive based on the number of the direct object.)

**rā-'a-ti-mi'**  
DISTR-away-carry-DESID  
SG SG

'He wants to carry it off.'

**rā-'a-tu'utu'i-mi'**  
DISTR-away-carry:PL-DESID  
SG

'He wants to carry off the whole bunch.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-'a-tu'utu'i-mi'**  
DISTR-away-carry:PL-DESID

'He wants to carry off all those distinct things.'

The following examples illustrate additional contrasts between the distributive singular *ra-* and the distributive plural *t<sup>y</sup>i'*-. The first contrast is between specified inanimate singular object and inanimate plural object.

**n<sup>y</sup>āu-če'e=ra-caara-n mī n<sup>y</sup>e-yi'**  
I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-iron-PRTC ART my-skirt  
BASE SG

'I'm going to iron my skirt.'

**n<sup>y</sup>āu-če'e=t<sup>y</sup>i'i-caara-n mī t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e-yi'**  
I-LOC-CONT=DISTR-iron-PRTC ART DISTR-my-skirt  
BASE

'I'm going to iron my skirts.'

The second contrast is between definite animate singular object and unspecified animate singular object.

**r-a-'u-tā-huka-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
DISTR-outside-horizontal-across-stomach-make-APPLIC  
SG

'He got her (his wife) pregnant.'

**t<sup>y</sup>-a-'u-tā-huka-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
DISTR-outside-horizontal-across-stomach-make-APPLIC  
'He got someone pregnant.'

The third contrast is between a specific singular object and a generalized activity.

**n<sup>y</sup>i pa-rā-'a-yaaca**  
Q you-DISTR:SG-outside-stew  
'Are you stewing it?'



ka-mū nū'u hi'i-h-sē'eva'a=m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-raa  
 NEG-they QUOT NARR-DISTR-want=they-be-PAST  
 SG  
 'They didn't want to receive her.'

### Number Agreement

Cora has several devices for marking the agreement of verbs with either their subject or their object. The first device, of course, is the system of subject and object clitics and prefixes. The following tables summarize these prefixes and clitics.

#### SUBJECT

	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Clitic</u>	
	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	n <sup>y</sup> a-	t <sup>y</sup> a-	nu	tu
2P	pa-	sa-/ša-	pa	šu
3P	∅	ma-	pu	mu

#### DIRECT OBJECT

	<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
1P	na-	ta-
2P	m <sup>w</sup> a-	hā'am <sup>w</sup> a-
3P	y-/∅	wā'a-
DISTR	ra-/h-	t <sup>y</sup> i'i-

Reduplication is another device used for number agreement. In the following example, the verb stem is reduplicated to mark plural subject.

n <sup>y</sup> e-t <sup>y</sup> i'i-k <sup>w</sup> i'i	t <sup>y</sup> e-t <sup>y</sup> i'i-ku-k <sup>w</sup> i'i
I-DISTR-hurt	we-DISTR-RDP-hurt
'I am sick.'	'We are sick.'

Numerous stems are partially or fully suppletive. For intransitive stems, suppletion correlates with a plural subject.

m <sup>i</sup> i-n <sup>y</sup> i	ma-k <sup>w</sup> i'i-n <sup>y</sup> i
die-FUT they-die-FUT	
'He's going to die.'	'They are going to die.'

Suppletive stems of transitive verbs correlate with the number of the direct object of the verb.

ma-ra-a-vē'esi-hri-'i  
 they-DISTR-COMPL-rear-APPLIC-STAT  
 SG  
 'They reared him (as their own child).'

**ma-wā'-u-vauhsi-hri-'i**  
 they-them-COMPL-rear-APPLIC-STAT  
 'They reared them (as their own children).'

The desiderative morpheme has suppletive allomorphs which also correlate with the distinction between singular and plural subject.

**n<sup>y</sup>i pa-kāi dūulse k<sup>t</sup>'i-m<sup>t</sup>'i**  
 Q you-IRR candy suck-DESID  
 'Don't you want to suck on some candy?'

**n<sup>y</sup>i sa-kāi dūulse k<sup>t</sup>'im-iku**  
 Q you:PL-IRR candy suck-DESID  
 'Don't you all want to suck on some candy?'

Cora also has two suffixes that indicate the multiplicity of either an object or an event. The collective morpheme **-mee/-hnee** can refer to either subject or object.

**ahtā nū'u ari † hāka ah-ka'iwā-'†m†**  
 CNJ QUOT already ART bamboo along-over-far  
 slope hill

**hi-(y)a-uu-rūt<sup>y</sup>i-hnee**  
 NARR-away-horizontally-enter-COLL  
 'And already, they say, the bamboo is sending shoots  
 way out in all directions.'

**ā mū=wa-vāa-t†-mee seika**  
 there they=COMPL-be-CONN-COLL others  
 'Others are standing around over there.'

The collective morpheme **-mee** signals multiplicity of object primarily in constructions where the noun appears as an incorporated possessed object.

**t†-t†'†h-mē-'en pū a-va'-awāh-mee**  
 RDP-long-COLL-PRTC SUBJ outside-covering-horn-COLL  
 'He has long horns.'

The distributive suffix **-š†'†** is used to indicate that a multiplicity of people are involved in a single action that applies to them as a class. It can also be used to indicate that a multiplicity of identical objects is applied to a single individual or individually to the members of a class of participants. Note the following contrastive examples.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'u-kā-kalsetiin<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>e'e-sin**  
 I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DUR  
 'I'm going to put his sock on him.'



**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'u-kā-kalsetine-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šī'ī-sin**  
 I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-make-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR  
 'I'm going to put his socks on him.'

### Number on Clitics and Auxiliary Verbs

A complex verb word in Cora may consist of a clitic prefix complex plus the main verb stem, a main verb plus an auxiliary suffix complex, or all three elements together. Subject-verb agreement can therefore be complex in verbal constructions.

Frequently, the only subject marking in the verb occurs within a clitic prefix complex.

**nu'u-ri-wa-ta-huša-i**  
 I-now=COMPL-PERF-stomach-STAT  
 'Now I'm full.'

Various kinds of incorporated items can occur between the clitic complex and the verb stem which carries no marking for subject.

**n<sup>y</sup>-āu hilōot<sup>y</sup>i ū ah-tā-'ī-šī'ī-n**  
 I-LOC corn there along-straight-carry-DISTR-PRTC  
 BASE slope  
 'I'm going off to pick corn.'

Clitic complexes may occur either preceding or following the verb stem. When they precede the verb, subject agreement is registered on the clitic complex and an additional subject clitic may occur between the clitic complex and the verb stem.

**n<sup>y</sup>-āu-če'e-nū=t<sup>y</sup>i'ī-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 I-LOC-CONT=I=DISTR-eat-FUT  
 BASE  
 'I'm still going to eat.'

Subject marking occurs on both the verb stem and the clitic complex if the latter follows the verb.

**na-a-tā-huša-i n<sup>y</sup>-erī**  
 I-COMPL-PERF-stomach-STAT I-now  
 'Now I'm full.'

In constructions involving the auxiliary verb complex, subject-verb agreement may be indicated both on the main verb and on the auxiliary verb, as well as by a subject clitic that occurs between these two elements.

**pa-wa-'tci-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a pāh p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me**  
 you-them-disturb-make:APPLIC-PRTC you you-be-FUT  
 'You will be pestering them.'



The participial form **-n** also serves to mark a 'present tense' category which includes both the historical present and immediate future.

**m-i'i-wā-u-hahk<sup>w</sup>a-re-'e-n**  
 they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-new-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 'They are renewing themselves.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-p<sup>w</sup>ata'ata-n**  
 I-UNSPEC-change-PRTC  
 OBJ  
 'I'm going to exchange it.'

The allomorph **-kan** also marks a kind of neutral tense.

**pwēeblo pū=ma'a-kan**  
 town SUBJ=go:IMPRF-PRTC  
 'It belongs to the entire community.'

The participle **-n** also occurs in imperatives and in other subordinate constructions such as conditional and purpose clauses.

**p<sup>w</sup>a-a-mē'-en n<sup>y</sup>a'u**  
 you-COMPL-go-PRTC AFF  
 'Get going then.'

**t† p<sup>w</sup>ā'ah ma-na-a-tā-'a-ka-re-'e-n**  
 SUBR COND they-me-COMPL-PERF-permit-HAB-REM-APPLIC-PRTC  
 '...if they give me permission.'

**ta'ah ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ē-'iwa'-an**  
 so DISTR-COMPL-in-paint-PRTC  
 that SG middle  
 '...in order to paint it.'

Subordinate participial relative clauses may be marked by the morpheme **-vi'i** in conjunction with **-n**.

**rū'ara-vi'i-n pū t<sup>y</sup>ā-šam<sup>w</sup>e'i**  
 green-(?)-PRTC SUBJ in-leaf  
 middle  
 'It has green leaves.'

The participial **-kan** also marks subordinate participial relative (?) clauses.

**ka-šū s-ahtā t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka rū'i-kan**  
 NEG-you:PL you:PL-CNJ DISTR-eat-HAB raw-PRTC  
 'And also, don't you all eat raw ones.'

Finally, **-kan** and **-n** function to change verbs into nouns.

<b>hau'eit<sup>y</sup>i-iri-k†-kān</b>	<b>kime'e</b>	<b>ka'an<sup>y</sup>i-n</b>	<b>kime'e</b>
understand-NR-(?)-PRTC with		strong-PRTC with	
'with understanding'		'with speed/strength'	

### NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

#### Causative

There are five distinct suffixes in Cora that, in many cases at least, have a clear causative meaning: **-ta**, **-ca**, **-ra**, **-re**, and **-ri**.

The suffix **-ta** can be glossed as 'concrete causative'. In construction with a noun stem<sub>1</sub>, it frequently means 'X †s fabricating concrete object<sub>1</sub>'.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'1-hata'uh-ta**  
 DISTR-bag-CAUS  
 'She is making a woven shoulder bag.'

When it occurs in construction with a verb stem, it often has the meaning 'cause someone to engage in the activity specified by the verb stem'.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'1-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ta**  
 DISTR-know-CAUS  
 'He is teaching.'

In construction with some noun stems, **-ta** contributes to the meaning 'X makes Y to function in the role specified by the noun stem<sub>1</sub>'.

**pā-'a-m<sup>w</sup>ak†rih-ta**  
 you-REFL-departed-CAUS  
 spirit  
 'You are assuming the ritual role of a departed spirit.'

Sometimes **-ta** is in construction with a noun stem that represents the instrument or means by which an activity is realized.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'1-iča'u-ta**  
 DISTR-brush-CAUS  
 broom  
 'He is sweeping the ground.'

The suffix **-ca** most commonly occurs in construction with noun stems that are the immediate cause of a condition attributed to the subject of the causative verb phrase.

**tʷapf-ce-'e mʷ ctʷ**  
 flea-CAUS-APPLIC ART dog  
 'The dog has fleas.'

Frequently, the semantic force of **-ca** is obscure. In such cases it may be functioning as a thematic suffix.

**āʔ mū=ra-a-tʷē-'itʷii-ce-'e**  
 DEM they=DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-order-CAUS-APPLIC  
 'They measured out for him his assigned area.'

The suffix **-ra** can be glossed 'abstract causative'. In constructions with adjective stems, **-ra** contributes the meaning 'X is acquiring a quality or state specified by adjective stem<sub>1</sub>'.

**wa-tʷē-yu'uša-ra**  
 COMPL-PERF-various-CAUS  
                   colored  
 'It's going to turn all sorts of colors.'

In some cases, the animate noun stem that **-ra** suffixes to represents the source of a particular condition.

**n-u-'i-tʷē-tʷašu'a-re-'e**  
 I-inside-facing-in-bedbug-CAUS-APPLIC  
                   toward middle  
 'I have welts on my side from bites of big bedbugs.'

A few verb stems seem to include an incorporated **-ra** as a stem formative which contrasts with **-šʔ** 'simple past'. These two formatives, therefore, apparently serve to distinguish imperfective stem forms from perfective stem forms.

<b>na-'an-kā-n-si-saa-ra</b>	<b>na-'an-kā-n-si-saa-šʔ</b>
I-on-down-REFL-RDP-slice-CAUS	I-on-down-REFL-RDP-slice-PAST
top	top
'I'm shaving my chin whiskers.'	'I shaved my chin whiskers.'

The causative suffix **-re** can be glossed 'perfective abstract causative'. In many cases it corresponds to English verb and adjective phrases formed with the auxiliary 'get'.

**tʷiʔh=wa-tʷā-tʷika'a-re**  
 CNJ=EXT-in-night-PERF  
                   middle CAUS  
 '...when it gets dark.'

The suffix **-ri** can be glossed 'imperfective abstract causative'. Usually, **-ri** contributes to a verb phrase a meaning such as 'X is causing predicate Y to occur'.

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-taa-ri**    **ī**    **šikā kime'e**    **ī**    **ša'ari**  
 in-break-CAUS ART sun with ART pot  
 middle

'The pot is crumbling into pieces from the heat of the sun.'

There are two basic applicative morphemes in Cora, **-e** and **-ira**. Semantically, they convey notions such as benefactive, affective, and privative.

The morpheme **-e** usually occurs as an ablauting suffix that changes to **e** the final vowels of stems it attaches to, as can be seen in the following pair of examples.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-hata'uh-ta</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a-hata'uh-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e</b>
I-DISTR-bag-CAUS	I-DISTR-you-bag-CAUS-APPLIC
'I'm weaving a shoulder bag.'	'I'm weaving a shoulder bag for you.'

There is a fairly large class of stems with which **-e APPLIC** occurs as a replacive morpheme, substituting for the stem-final vowel. As the following examples show, the final vowel that is replaced may be that of a preceding suffix.

**t<sup>y</sup>ā'-a-k<sup>w</sup>eihci-ta**  
 DISTR-outside-mixture-CAUS  
 'She's making corn dough.'

**t<sup>y</sup>-ā-'uh-k<sup>w</sup>eihci-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 DISTR-outside-REFL-mixture-CAUS-APPLIC  
 'She's making herself a batch of corn dough.'

In various cases, the vowel that is replaced is that of the stem itself.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>ā'ana</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-k<sup>w</sup>a'an<sup>y</sup>-e</b>
I-tired	DISTR-COMPL-tired-APPLIC
'I'm tired.'	'One gets tired from it.'
	(i.e., it makes one tired.)

(The causative and applicative notions get mixed in the above example.)

The applicative morpheme **-ira** ablauts to **i** the final suffix or stem vowel it attaches to. Frequently, **-ira** carries the meaning 'privative', rather than 'applicative' or 'benefactive'.

**ru-ka'an<sup>y</sup>ē**

REFL-strong

'He's strong.'

**na-a-tā-ka'an<sup>y</sup>es-t<sup>y</sup>i-'ira**

me-COMPL-PERF-strong-CAUS-APPLIC

'It's animating me.'

The applicative *-ira* alternates with the form *-hra*. The allomorph that occurs is probably particular to given stems.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'an<sup>y</sup>i-hra-'a**

me-DISTR-tired-APPLIC-PRTC

'It was making me very tired.'

Various observations relate to causatives as a class or to the entire class of causatives and applicatives. For one, causative morphemes frequently serve as derivative elements, turning various kinds of stems into transitive ones.

**n<sup>y</sup>-i'i-na'ana n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā in<sup>y</sup>aa**

I-NARR-laugh I-CNJ I

'I'm also laughing.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-na'ana-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e mī pina'a-se**

they-DISTR-COMPL-laugh-CAUS-APPLIC ART bird-PL

'Those birds there cause one to laugh.'

Several stems display double causative marking. In most cases, the causative suffix closer to the stem seems to have been reanalyzed as part of the stem it occurs with. Occasionally this reanalysis leads to contradictory position class orders for particular tokens of the causative morphemes.

**ka-nū=ra-seih-ra-ve**  
NEG-I=DISTR-see-CAUS-CAP  
SG

'I cannot see him.'

**rī'i-rī**  
do-CAUS

'It can be done.'

**na-a-ta-sēih-ra-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**

me-COMPL-PERF-see-CAUS-CAUS-APPLIC

'Show it to me.'

**ohalā ku-wa-tā-rī'i-ris-ta-ri**

would that=COMPL-PERF-do-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS

'(I hope) that it becomes possible to do it.'

In some stems, causative morphemes have been reanalyzed as thematic stem suffixes. This results in idiosyncratic semantic differences between pairs of words that are formed on a single stem by way of distinct causative morphemes.

**ka-nū=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>e**

NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-CONCR:APPLIC  
CAUS

'I don't know who he is.'

**ka-nū=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree**

NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-ABSTR:APPLIC  
CAUS

'I don't know what it is.'

The following pairs of words show that differential causative thematic suffixes are used to derive distinct lexical items with distinct meanings such as 'ask for' and 'get', respectively.

**ma-r-āh-wavii-ri-'i**

they-DISTR-across-grab-CAUS-STAT  
SG slope

'They asked him to hand her over to them.'

**vatēeyu nā-a-wavii-ce-'e**

basin me-COMPL-grab-CAUS-APPLIC  
'Get me a wooden basin.'

A sequence of causative suffix + applicative suffix may become fused and form a single derivative element. For example, 'give' verb stems are derived from 'carry' verb stems by suffixing the fused causative-applicative sequence **-t<sup>y</sup>e'e**.

**an-hāana**

on-carry

top

'Take it!'

(cow, goat, etc.)

**na-a-ta-hān-t<sup>y</sup>e'e**

me-COMPL-PERF-carry-CAUS

APPLIC

'Give it to me!'

The last examples in this section are given to cite a morpheme **-pe** PRIV which occurs in construction with nouns to form verb stems meaning 'remove X corporeally from Y'. Formally, it is equivalent to some of the causative constructions given above.

**t<sup>y</sup>a-r-ā-'ana-pe**

we-DISTR-COMPL-wing-PRIV:APPLIC ART rooster

SG

PAST

'We clipped the rooster's wings.'

‡ **t<sup>y</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>aara'i**

**pu'u-ri=ru-waaška'i-pe-'e-n**

SUBJ-now=REFL-white-PRIV-APPLIC-PRTC

louse

'Now he's ridding himself of lice.'



Adverbial

Various adverbial categories relate to the general sphere within which an event takes place, the orientation being with reference to the speaker and hearer.

Two adverbial suffixes can be glossed roughly as 'peripatetic'. One, **-me**, generally means 'go along doing X' or 'come along doing X'.

**t<sup>y</sup>ũ'-u-k<sup>w</sup>i'in<sup>y</sup>i-me-'e**  
 DISTR-COMPL-sickness-go-APPLIC  
 'A lot of sickness is going around.'

The second adverbial, **-n<sup>y</sup>e**, can be glossed as 'come around' or 'go from door to door doing X'.

**amf-h nũ=yēewi=k+n=wā'a-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-ka mf nasi pāh**  
 DEM-ACC I=QUOT=with=them-kill-HAB ART ashes you:SUBR

**ra-t<sup>y</sup>ā-ti-n<sup>y</sup>e-n**  
 DISTR:SG-in-carry-come-PRTC  
 middle  
 'I kill them with those ashes that you come bringing to my door.'

The sixth locative **ā'** - 'away' is used to indicate that the action of a given verb takes place in a sphere geographically removed from both speaker and addressee.

**táhtúwan pũ=n<sup>y</sup>a-ha'-u-ta-čũ'eve**  
 governor SUBJ=me-away-COMPL-PERF-wait  
 for  
 'The governor of the tribe has sent out a call for me (to come).'

The following pair contrasts the presence versus absence of **ā'** - in a sentence.

**n<sup>y</sup>i pe-t<sup>y</sup>ũ'-u-nanai**  
 Q you-DISTR-COMPL-buy  
 'Did you buy them?'

**ha'un<sup>y</sup>i pē-t<sup>y</sup>ā-hā'-u-nanai**  
 where you-DISTR-away-COMPL-buy  
 'Where did you buy it/them?'

The presence versus absence of **ā'** - frequently correlates with tense distinctions in motion verbs; i.e., the result of motion away from a given point is simply to wind up in a location

distinct from where the motion began. In some cases, the differential marking seems to be lexicalized, leading to contrastive meanings such as 'leave' versus 'go', for example.

**wa-méh**

COMPL-go

'He's leaving.' (right now)

**a'-u-méh**

away-COMPL-go

'He's going to go.'

The fourth locative **uu-** 'horizontally' frequently combines with verb stems to mean something like 'go off and do X'.

**nū-u-m<sup>w</sup>aša-p<sup>w</sup>a**

I-horizontally-deer-PRIV(?)

'I'm going off to hunt deer.'

The sequence **ha'uvā'a-** combines with verb stems to mean 'go to do X and come back again'. It always contributes a perfective or past tense meaning to the verb word it occurs in.

**ú=nū=t<sup>y</sup>a-ha'-u-vā'a-wast<sup>y</sup>e**

there=I=DISTR-away-horizontally-coming-plant  
back

'I went off and planted a crop.'

### Volitional

In this category, Cora has only two classes of suffixes, the desiderative and capacitative. The desiderative morphemes are based on the suppletive verb stems for 'die'. Thus, desiderative singular has the phonological shapes **-mī'í/-mī/-imī**, the alternation being partly phonologically determined.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-yāana-mī'í**

I-smoke-DESID

'I want to smoke.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-h-nanāi-imī'í-ka**

I-DISTR:SG-buy-DESID-SIMUL

'I was desirous of buying it.'

Desiderative plural has the suppletive allomorphs **-ku** and **-iku**.

**se-yāana-ku**

you:PL-smoke-DESID:PL

'You all want to smoke.'

**t-ā'-u-kiin<sup>y</sup>-iku**

we-away-COMPL-walk-DESID:PL

'We want to go.'

As the following examples show, the desiderative suffixes ablaut stem-final **-e** to **a**.

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-n-sa'upe-'e**

I-REFL-rest-APPLIC

'I'm resting myself.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-n-sa'upa-'a-mī'í**

I-REFL-rest-APPLIC-DESID

'I want to rest myself.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-ta-sa'upa-'a-ku**  
 we-REFL-rest-APPLIC-DESID  
 'We want to rest ourselves.'

There are various stems in which the desiderative morphemes act as derivative elements that lead to various kinds of meaning differences between pairs of stems.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kucū**  
 I-sleep  
 'I'm asleep.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kuh-mī**  
 I-sleep-DESID  
 'I'm sleepy.'

**wā-see**  
 EXT-ice  
 'It's cold.' (weather)

**n<sup>y</sup>a-šāa-mī't**  
 I-ice-DESID  
 'I'm cold.'

Stems containing desiderative morphemes as thematic suffixes are subject to further derivational processes, such as causative affixation. This results in contradictory positional orderings between the causative (a first position suffix) and the desiderative (a fourth position suffix).

**t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-kuh-mīs-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 DISTR-COMPL-sleep-DESID-CAUS-APPLIC  
 'It makes one sleepy.'

(The source of *s* in the example above is problematical.)

The other category treated in this section is capacitative, which is marked by the suffix *-ve*. This suffix contributes the meaning 'be able to do X' to the verbs it suffixes to.

**n<sup>y</sup>ē-h-seihra-ve**  
 I-DISTR:SG-see-CAP  
 'I can see him.'

### Modal

Affixes are used with varying consistency to mark several distinct modal categories, namely the narrative, assertive, imperative, and conditional modes. Other categories such as exhortative, optative, and supplicative mode are marked by various clitic complexes that are less tightly bound to the verb stem than the modal affixes.

Narrative mode is marked by the prefix *hī'*. It commonly occurs in narrative texts. In such cases, there does not seem to be any difference semantically between verb words that contain *hī'*- and corresponding ones that do not.

pu'u-ri hēiwa t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a  
 SUBJ-now lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-think  
 'He had already thought about it a lot.'

pu'u-ri hēiwa t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a  
 SUBJ-now lots DISTR-COMPL-think  
 'He had already thought about it a lot.'

The narrative marker **hī'**- frequently occurs prefixed to noun stems and adjective stems in copulative main sentences and in relative clauses.

amf pū yēewi f wāre šuure'e hī'i=waatari  
 DEM SUBJ QUOT ART fig sap NARR=medicine  
 'That stuff, the fig sap, is real medicine.'

m-i'i=rūuri  
 they-NARR=wet  
 'They are alive!'

Assertive mode is marked by the prefix **pf-**. Usually, **pf-** is used for making contrapositive statements that assert something by speaker X in the face of some previous assertion made by speaker Y. This is a special kind of negation.

āf pu n<sup>y</sup>ā'u wa'a-tfhčī pf-t<sup>y</sup>i-hī-ra-'an-  
 DEM SUBJ AFF their-thigh ASSR-DISTR-NARR-DISTR-on-  
 SG top

kā-a-he'e-st<sup>y</sup>-e  
 down-COMPL-lay-make-APPLIC:PAST  
 'Those things laid out across the mouths of the jars  
 are their thighs.' (Implication: 'They are not maguēy  
 stalks, as you say.')'

Frequently, **pf-** co-occurs with overt negatives. In some cases, the overt negative belongs to a distinct clause, whereas in others, both the negative and **pf-** occur in the same verb phrase.

ka-pū pu'u-ri=pf-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-wā-uh-ša'apī'in-ta-re  
 NEG-SUBJ SUBJ-now=ASSR-DISTR-COMPL-REFL-good-CAUS-CAUS

ū pa ā'-u-mā-'ah=p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me  
 there you:SUBR away-COMPL-go-PRTC=you-be-go  
 'No. It's already been settled that you will be going  
 there.'

ka-nū yēe n<sup>y</sup>-āthnā pf-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka  
 NEG-I QUOT I-DEM ASSR-DISTR-eat-HAB  
 'I don't eat that!'



**wā-yana-m<sup>w</sup>a-n**  
 COMPL-tobacco-put-PRTC  
 'Cure him!'

**ka-pēh=yēe=hū=hā'-u-ye'i-kan**  
 NEG-you=QUOT=there=away-COMPL-walk-PRTC  
 around

'Don't go there!'

Finally, there is a class of stems for which the imperative mode affixation includes neither an imperative suffix nor a participle. Instead, the combination of **wa-** COMPL plus an optional **ta-** PERF and the perfective or repetitive form of the verb stem all occur together.

**wā-caara**  
 COMPL-make  
 flat  
 'Iron it!'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ē-ca-sī**  
 COMPL-in-move-PAST  
 middle  
 'Stand up!'

The suffix **-ce'e** can be variously glossed as frustrative, conditional, or subjunctive mode. In some cases it contributes the meaning 'to be on the point of X' to the verb phrase it attaches to.

**pu'u-rī tīn mi'i-n<sup>y</sup>īi-ce'e**  
 SUBJ-now almost die-FUT-COND  
 'He was at the point of death.'  
 (i.e. he very nearly died.)

Frequently, **-ce'e** is used to express unfulfilled intent, e.g. 'I was going to do X, but I didn't'.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-tasāawa-ce'e=nū**  
 I-plow-COND=I  
 'I was going to plow the field.'

Closely related to the notion of 'unfulfilled intent' is the notion 'past subjunctive', which is also marked by **-ce'e**. In this case, it can be glossed as 'would have been X'.

**ayāa mū=hi'i-h-tīh=m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-hu'u-n-ce'e**  
 thus they=NARR-DISTR:SG-carry=they-be-go-PRTC-COND  
 'They would have been carrying it away from here.'

In contrary-to-fact conditional sentences, the verbs of both the main and subordinate clauses may be marked with **-ce'e**.

**tī p<sup>w</sup>a-'ah ma-kāi=t<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>u-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-**  
 SUBR ASSR-CNJ they:SUBR-IRR=DISTR-me-inside-in-  
 middle



**me-tʸi'i-nawa'ara**  
 they-DISTR-rob  
 'They habitually steal things.'

The perfective stems are reduplicated to form repetitive/habitual aspect for another class of verbs. The following are typical examples.

**nʸé-n-si-saara**  
 I-REFL-RDP-shave  
 'I always shave.'

**a-i-kā-suh-su'una**  
 outside-trajectory-down-RDP-jump  
 'Every so often, it comes pouring off the edge of the cliff.'

Habitual aspect per se is marked by one of the following four suffixes: **-ve**, **-ka**, **-i**, and **-a**. Stems that take **-ve** do not appear to reduplicate for marking habitual aspect.

**mʷi'i-rī-ve**  
 many-CAUS-HAB  
 'It yields a lot.'

**nʸe-tʸi'i-kaa-ve**  
 I-DISTR-cut-HAB  
 wood  
 'I habitually cut wood.'

The suffix **-ka** is statistically the most common marker of habitual aspect.

**nʸa-wā'a-kuna-ka**  
 I-them-take-HAB  
 pictures  
 'I habitually take pictures of them.'

Stems marked with **-ka** are usually reduplicated to indicate habitual aspect.

**nʸe-yā-'a-na-ka**  
 I-smoke-RDP-STEM-HAB  
 'I habitually smoke.'

**ra-a-tā-vi-vaa-ka**  
 DISTR-COMPL-PERF-RDP-stretch-HAB  
 SG out  
 'He makes outline sketches of it.'

Some stems are marked for habitual aspect by the suffix **-i**, which replaces the final **-e** or **-a** of stems to which it is suffixed. These stems apparently do not undergo reduplication.



**n<sup>y</sup>é-m-vi'ir-i**

I-REFL-make-HAB

patch

'I always prepare a corn patch.'

The replacive morpheme **-a** occurs only on stems that, in their present tense forms, take both the causative **-ta** and the applicative **-e**. Stems that take **-a** do undergo reduplication to form the habitual aspect.

**rū-'u-k<sup>w</sup>a'an-t<sup>y</sup>-a**

DISTR:SG-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB

'She boils it.'

It turns out that there are several stems which allow double marking for habitual aspect. In most cases this involves the sequence **-ve + -ka**.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ī'i-kaa-va-ka**

I-DISTR-cut-HAB-HAB

wood

'I habitually cut firewood.'

In several stems, the replacive morpheme **-i** follows **-ve**.

**n<sup>y</sup>é-h-ču'e-v-i**

I-UNSPEC-wait-HAB-HAB

OBJ for

'I always wait for him.'

The fact that **-ve** occurs closer to the stem than **-ka** and **-i** suggests that it is older historically than these other two suffixes; I think that this can be shown quite clearly from comparative Uto-Aztec. Thus I analyze **-ve** as part of the verb stem in cases of double habitual marking.

Two semantically related sets of morphemes fall together under the aspectual rubric 'distributive'. The first consists of the suffix **-šī't**, which truncates to **-šī** for forming the past tense of verbs it attaches to. For most stems, the use of this suffix means that either a multiplicity of participants engages in a single event or that the action of a given verb affects a multiplicity of people or objects.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ru-'u-kā-kalsetiine-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šī't-n**

I-DISTR:SG-inside-down-sock-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR-PRTC

'I'm going to put his socks on him.'

**harī t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ūh-vi'ira-šīh āihna f kari**

now DISTR-up-REFL-stick-DISTR DEM ART bone

together

'Those bones already had become stuck together.'

Distributive  $-šī'ī$ , in its truncated form, occurs as a stem formative in the perfective forms of a certain set of verb stems (cf. Causative).

$n^y a-kā-n-si-saašī$   
I-down-REFL-RDP-shave:PAST  
'I shaved myself.'

The second suffix of the distributive aspect is  $-mee$  'collective'. It has the additional allomorphs  $-hnee$  and  $-timee$ . It can refer to a multiplicity of items that are either the subject or the direct object of a verb. The members of the set that  $-mee$  refers to are conceived of as being identical, or at least alike, in some way. One might want to say that  $-mee$  is participant oriented, whereas  $-šī'ī$  is event oriented.

$wāaču'i-se ma-na'a an-t^y ūh-kistā-hnee ī pi'istā hece$   
caterpillar-PL they-be on-up-REFL-be-COLL ART branch on  
top braided  
'Caterpillars had fastened themselves on the branches.'

$t^y a'-ah-ta-m^w āaka-hnee t^h sīku'u-ri$   
DISTR-slope-straight-arm-COLL SUBR shirt-ABS  
'It had arms, like a long-sleeved shirt.'

Frequently,  $-mee$  follows the connector morpheme  $-tī$ , which is actually a subordinator that has been reanalyzed as part of a suffix complex along with  $-mee$ .

$a=mū=wa-vāa-tī-mee sēika$   
there=they=EXT-be-CONN-COLL others  
'Others are standing around off over there.'

$nain mū m-āun t^y ā-a-wa'a-šī ī šā'ari$   
all they they-DEM DISTR-COMPL-toss-PAST ART pot

$cāhta'a tu-'u-rā-'a-tī-me$   
inside SUBR-inside-facing-POSSR-CONN-COLL  
out  
'They tossed off inside there everything that was contained inside of the pots.'

The imperfective participle  $-a$  occurs with  $-mee$  in subordinate clauses.

$m-i'i=m^w i'i tī mā-'a$   
they-NARR=many SUBR COLL-PRTC  
'They were in separate groups of many in each group.'

Durative aspect is marked by the suffix  $-sima$ , which has the additional allomorphs  $-sin$  and  $-hma$ . The former is a truncated form related to imperfective stem formation, whereas the latter is

peculiar to particular stems. With motion verbs, **-sima** can be glossed as 'go walking along doing X'.

**rā-tf-sima-'a**  
DISTR:SG-carry-DUR-PRTC  
'He was carrying it along.'

Most generally, **-sima** can be glossed as 'be in the process of doing X'.

**tu-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-ta-muuku'us-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šī'ī-sin**  
we-inside-in-REFL-hat-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR-DUR  
middle  
'We are putting our hats on.'

The inceptive domain represents a mixed tense-aspect category that can be further subdivided into inceptive future, inceptive present, and inceptive past. The future inceptive category is marked by the sequences **-tīra'an<sup>y</sup>i/-hra'an<sup>y</sup>i**.

**he'eyan šu'u=wī s-ahtā t<sup>y</sup>ī-t<sup>y</sup>a-ha'-u-**  
next you:PL=QUOT you:PL-CONJ RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-

**k<sup>w</sup>i'ī-tf-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
kill-CONN-INCEPT-FUT  
'Immediately, then, you will also go off and begin to kill the animals.'

**tī'ih=nū'u=hī nasim<sup>w</sup>ā wau-wāuh ta'ah=tī'īšī-hra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
CNJ=QUOT=SEQ wet RDP-look so=grind-INCEPT-FUT  
corn for that  
'Then she looked around for the soaked corn so that she could grind it up.'

The present inceptive category is marked by the sequence **-tīra'asin**, which alternates with the variant **-hra'asin**.

**ahtā nū'u t<sup>y</sup>ī-t<sup>y</sup>e-'ih-kūura-hra'a-sin**  
CNJ QUOT RDP-DISTR-COMPL-trajectory-kill-INCEPT-DUR  
'And then, they say, he begins to kill them (by pulling their heads off).'

**m-ahtā=t<sup>y</sup>ī-hi'ī-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-tf-ra'a-sin**  
they-CNJ=DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT-DUR  
'And then they begin eating.'

The past inceptive category is realized by the sequences **-tīraa/-hraa**.

**t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-tf-raa**  
 DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT:PAST  
 'He began to eat.'

**a-kā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'arīi-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-hraa**  
 outside-down-REFL-be-CAUS-APPLIC-INCEPT:PAST  
 fearful  
 'She turned pallid from fright.'

### Tense/Aspect

#### Present Tense

Present tense in Cora is commonly marked by zero. This is very general for predicate adjectives in copulative sentences.

**šū'um<sup>w</sup>a m<sup>f</sup> muhme**  
 black ART bean  
 'The beans are black.'

Intransitive verbs, including those with unexpressed objects, are usually unmarked in present tense.

<b>a-ii-kā-suuna</b> outside-trajectory-down-jump 'It's flowing off the edge of the cliff.'	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-yāana</b> I-tobacco 'I'm smoking.'
--	--

Various classes of transitive verbs are also unmarked for present tense. The following, for example, illustrate 'basic' transitive stems.

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-taawa**  
 I-DISTR:SG-make  
 'I'm making it.'

The following example illustrates a derived compound verb stem whose present tense form is probably unmarked.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ku'un<sup>y</sup>a-'ap<sup>w</sup>a**  
 I-DISTR-make-over  
 hole  
 'I'm sewing up holes (in my pants).'

Verb compounds consisting of a noun and a causative suffix are typically unmarked in present tense.

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-hašū'u-ta**  
 DISTR-wall-CAUS  
 'He's building a wall.'

Verbs marked with the stative causative *-ri* and those that contain the abstract causative *-ra* as either a thematic suffix or as part of the stem are also marked by zero in their present tense forms.

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-tika'a-ri**

in-night-CAUS

middle

'It's getting dark.'

**wā'a-ku'ura**

them-kill:PL

'He's killing them.'

Verbs marked in either habitual aspect or capacitative aspect are also unmarked in their present tense forms.

**m<sup>w</sup>i'i-ri-ve**

much-CAUS-HAB

'It turns itself into a large  
quantity of itself.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-tāiči-ve**

I-run-CAP

'I can run.'

Verbs that take the applicative suffix *-e* form an important and large class of items that are marked by zero for present tense. A main subclass of such verbs consists of those in which the applicative suffix occurs either in productive combination with a causative suffix or as part of a frozen form along with that causative.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-rašu'u-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**

I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-wall-CAUS-APPLIC

'I'm building a wall for him.'

Noncausative verbs make up the other subclass of applicative verbs marked by zero for the present tense.

**n<sup>y</sup>é-h-ču'eve-'e**

I-DISTR:SG-wait-APPLIC

for

'I'm waiting for him.'

Present tense is not a monolithic category in Cora. Several different manners of marking present tense have been innovated by the language. The participle *-n* appears to mark a kind of historical present in some stems.

**m-f'i-wā-uh-pā'u-re-'e-n**

they-NARR-COMPL-REFL-red-CAUS-APPLIC-PRTC

'They are painting themselves red.'

Some verbs show suppletive stems that correlate with tense/aspect distinctions roughly along the parameters present/future/past. The following example is typical. (See also **STEMS**.)

**wa-ré'e-ye'i**  
 COMPL-around-walk  
 corner around  
 'He is coming back.'

**wa-ré'e-me**  
 COMPL-around-go  
 corner  
 'He is going to come back.'

**wa-rá'a-raa**  
 COMPL-around-leave  
 corner  
 'He came back.'

Imperfective aspect is marked by the sequence **-tiye'i** or by its alternate **-hye'i**. It can be glossed variously as 'keep on doing X' or simply 'present tense', depending on either the stem it suffixes to or the context in which it appears.

**tʸi'itahnʸi yéewi pʷa-'a-ra'a-wāu-ti-ye'i**  
 what QUOT you-outside-around-look-CONN-IMPRF  
 corner for  
 'What is it that you're looking around for?'

Numerous stems show a correlation between present tense and a truncated form of the verb stem. The following examples are given to show both truncated and nontruncated forms. For some stems, the truncated element may simply be the stem-final syllable or vowel.

**wā-tai-n**  
 COMPL-run-PRTC  
 'He's running.'

**nʸa-tāiči-ve**  
 I-run-CAP  
 'I am able to run.'

The truncated item that correlates with present tense may be a causative suffix. The causative element may be either a productive suffix or a reanalyzed stem formative of some sort.

**wā-see**  
 EXT-be  
 cold  
 'It's cold.' (weather)

**wā-seera-ka'a**  
 EXT-be -PAST  
 cold PERF  
 'It got cold.'

The truncated syllable may be the final syllable of the applicative suffix **-ira**.

**pe-tʸi'i-waci-'i**  
 you-DISTR-dry-APPLIC  
 'You are drying things out.'

**pe-tʸi'i-waci-'ira-n**  
 you-DISTR-dry-APPLIC-PRTC  
 'You will dry things out.'

Nouns that take an absolutive suffix generally lose it when incorporated as part of a compound verb stem.

**hīina-ri**  
 spindle-ABS  
 'weaver's spindle'

**tʸi'i-hiina**  
 DISTR-spindle  
 'She's spinning thread.'

A truncated form of the durative aspect suffix **-sima** occurs in present tense (and in 'future' tense) forms of process verbs.

**r-ā-'i-sin**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-carry-DUR  
 'He's carrying it along.'

### Future Tense

The most straight-forward marker of future tense is the suffix **-n**.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'k<sup>w</sup>a'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 I-DISTR-eat-FUT  
 'I am going to eat.'

Numerous verbs have future forms which are distinguished from their present tense forms only by a word-final **-n**. I am tentatively identifying this **-n** as the fifth position participial suffix.

**tāiče**  
 run  
 'He's running.'

**tāiče-n**  
 run-FUT/PRTC  
 'He's going to run.'

Motion verbs and process verbs show a clear contrast between present tense forms that are marked for durative aspect by the suffix **-sima** and future tense forms that are marked with **-n**.

**t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-tū'utu'i-sin**  
 DISTR-COMPL-carry:PL-DUR  
 OBJ  
 'He is carrying the small round objects.'

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-'a-tu'utu'u-n**  
 DISTR-outside-carry-PRTC  
 'He is going to take the small round objects.'

The semantics of future tense are at least compatible with the notions completive and perfective, since some future tense forms differ from corresponding present tense forms only by the presence of **wa-** 'completive'.

**t<sup>y</sup>ā-tika'a-ri**  
 in-night-CAUS  
 middle  
 'It's getting dark.'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tika'a-ri**  
 COMPL-in-night-CAUS  
 middle  
 'It's going to get dark.'

Both the present and future tense of process verbs are marked in the durative aspect by the suffix **-sima** in its truncated form. Again, the only difference between present and future tense is the completive prefix **wa-**.

**ra-t<sup>y</sup>ē-iwa'a-sin**  
 DISTR:SG-PERF-paint-DUR  
 'He's painting it.'

**ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ē-iwa'a-sin**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-paint-DUR  
 'He's going to paint it.'

The completive **wa-** and perfective **ta-** frequently occur together. In some cases the two of them together distinguish future tense from present tense in some aspect or another.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-kast<sup>y</sup>āhwa**  
 I-have  
 cold  
 'I have a cold.'

**na-a-tā-kast<sup>y</sup>ahwa**  
 I-COMPL-PERF-have  
 cold  
 'I'm going to catch cold.'

Forms marked with the suffix **-sin** that are obviously future tense are generally also marked with the completive and perfective prefixes.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e'e**  
 they-DISTR-dance  
 'They are dancing.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-n<sup>y</sup>e'i-sin**  
 they-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-dance-DUR  
 'They are going to be dancing.'

#### Past Tense

The rubric 'past tense' in Cora includes simple past, durative past, perfective past, habitual past, and remote past. Each of these categories can be marked in several distinct ways.

Occasionally, past tense appears to be marked by zero.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ra-h-rū'un<sup>y</sup>e**  
 I-facing-DISTR:SG-to  
 out wet  
 'I wet it down.'

More commonly, simple past is marked by the suffix **-šī**.

**ma-ra-'an-tū'asi-šī**  
 they-DISTR-on-hit-PAST  
 SG top  
 'They pounded him on his back.'

The suffix **wa-** 'completive' also is a common marker of simple past tense.

**wa-mī'ī**  
 COMPL-die  
 'He died.'



In some stems, past tense is marked by both *wa-* 'completive' and *ta-* 'perfective'.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-ra-a-ta-kā'an<sup>y</sup>e**  
 I-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-be  
 SG strong  
 'I stretched it out.'

Truncation processes frequently mark past tense also, often-times operating along with completive and perfective prefixation to give a complex marking for past tense. Truncation affects the word-final vowel or syllable; thus the truncated elements represent several distinct syntactic categories. For one, the stem-final syllable or vowel may be truncated, as the following pair of words illustrates.

**ka=peh n<sup>y</sup>ēeci heeva**  
 NEG=you me speak  
 'Don't speak to me!'

**ra-a-ta-hē**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-speak  
 'He called out to him.'

Truncation also affects sequences of causative + applicative suffixes. As the following examples show, the V'V nucleus of such sequences gets shortened to V or Vh.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>are'e**  
 they-DISTR-work  
 'They are working.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>āreh**  
 they-DISTR-COMPL-work  
 'They worked.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-rašū'u-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-wall-CAUS-APPLIC  
 'I'm building a wall for him.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-hāšū'u-t<sup>y</sup>e**  
 I-DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-wall-CAUS  
 SG APPLIC  
 'I built a wall for him.'

For one class of verbs, the entire causative + applicative sequence gets truncated in past tense.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-čūii-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e**  
 me-carry-CAUS-APPLIC  
 'He's giving it to me.'

**na-a-tā-čui**  
 me-COMPL-PERF-carry  
 'He gave it to me.'

Truncation also operates on the distributive suffix **-š††**, shortening it to **-š†**.

**šā-'ah-wii-š††-sin**  
 you:PL-along-move-DISTR-DUR  
 slope  
 'You all are going to get up.'

**šā-'ah-wii-š†**  
 you:PL-along-move-DISTR  
 slope  
 'You all got up.'

The final example of truncation involves the sequence habitual suffix + applicative suffix.

**ru-t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a-ve-'e**  
REFL-be-HAB-APPLIC  
fine  
'He is rejoicing.'

**wā-uh-t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a-ve**  
COMPL-REFL-be-HAB:APPLIC  
fine  
'He rejoiced.'

Numerous stems show suppletive stems or stem formatives in the past tense. Several of these have been discussed earlier in the sections on present tense and causatives; therefore, I do not discuss them further here.

Verbs show several markings for a perfective past. Frequently this is marked by the suffix **-tīrā'a**, which has an allomorph **-hrā'a**. The alternation is dependent on the stem it attaches to.

**a'-u-tū'as-tī-rā'a**  
away-COMPL-hit-CONN-PERF  
'He went and ran it off by throwing rocks at it.'

**ra-'a-t<sup>y</sup>é-iča'a-hrā'a**  
DISTR-outside-in-dig-PERF  
SG middle  
'She has dug a hole in the ground.'

Change of state verbs, including non-applicative forms of causative verbs, are marked for past tense by the suffix **-ka'a**. Usually, there is a clear notion of a new state of nature arising from the event the verb represents. Finally, there is often a complex configuration of elements that occur together in marking past perfect along with **-ka'a**. This typically includes **wa-** 'completive' and **ta-** 'perfective'.

**na-a-tā-kast<sup>y</sup>āhwa-ka'a**  
me-COMPL-PERF-cold-PAST  
PERF

'I caught cold.'

**a-ii-kā-suuna-ka'a**  
across-trajectory-down-jump-PAST  
PERF

'It poured over the edge of the cliff.'

Some change of state verbs are marked for perfective aspect by the 'stative' suffix **-i**. In most cases, these are applicative stems that select the **-ira** variant of the applicative.

**nā-a-č<sup>y</sup>awe-iri-'i**  
me-COMPL-bewitch-APPLIC-STAT  
'He bewitched me.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-nana-i**  
I-DISTR-COMPL-buy-STAT  
'I bought them.'

Tone placement distinguishes the present tense form from the perfective form in the following pair of words. This may well reflect a stem-formation rule, rather than perfective aspect marking per se.

<b>t<sup>y</sup>ā-ra-'ana-pe</b>	<b>t<sup>y</sup>a-rā-'ana-pe</b>
we-DISTR:SG-wing-PRIV	we-DISTR:SG-wing-PRIV
'We are clipping his wings.'	'We clipped his wings.'

A non-truncated form of the distributive **-šīšī** marks past perfect in a subordinate clause. In the example below, it functions as though it were a subordinating participle.

**ti'i-ki wa-ta-uh-vāra'as-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šīšī ū**  
 CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-beat-CAUS-APPLIC-DISTR there

**hī=(y)ā'-u-me**  
 NARR=away-COMPL-go  
 'And then, having flapped his wings wildly, off he went.'

Past durative is sort of an amalgamation, semantically, between imperfective and perfective aspect. It is used to describe an on-going activity in the past, and thus has its imperfective force. However, past durative also carries the implication that the former durative state of affairs being described no longer exists; e.g., 'I was doing X once upon a time, but I am not doing it now'. Thus, past durative also has perfective force.

The suffix **-ka'a** is the most frequent marker of past durative. It ablauts stem-final vowel *e* to *a*. It occurs rather freely with both intransitive and transitive verb stems, including non-applicative causatives as well as non-causative applicatives.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-čā'a-ka'a**  
 me-bite-PAST  
 PERF  
 'It was biting me.'

The following examples show that **-ka'a** may occur with a stem that is either a causative or an applicative.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-r-īcaa-ka'a**  
 I-DISTR-DISTR-weave -PAST  
 SG APPLIC PERF  
 'I was weaving it for him.'

**mā-h-m<sup>w</sup>ari-ta-ka'a**  
 they-DISTR-be-CAUS-PAST  
 SG known PERF  
 'They were giving him a name.'

The imperfective participle *-a* marks past durative on a large set of verbs, many of which refer to actions that are inherently repetitive. The following are typical examples.

**m<sup>w</sup>a-a-rā'a-ki'tka-'a**  
 they-EXT-around-walk-PRTC  
 corner  
 'They were milling about.'

A few stems are marked by the suffix *-kaa* in past durative aspect, while in others, the participle *-a* seems to have merged with the stem-final vowel of the word it attaches to.

<b>ma-ca'a-kāa</b> they-nurse-PAST PERF 'They were nursing.'	<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-ra-kā-im<sup>w</sup>a-a</b> I-DISTR-down-clean-PRTC SG off 'I was washing it off.'
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Motion verbs and process verbs are marked with both the suffix *-sima* 'durative aspect' and *-a* 'participle' to indicate past durative aspect.

**t<sup>y</sup>-ū-'i-sima-'a**  
 DISTR-COMPL-carry-DUR-PRTC  
 'He was carrying them along.'

The distinction between present habitative and past habitative is clearly marked in Cora. The ubiquitous participial *-a* occurs as an ablauting suffix on some stems and as a replacive morph on others.

<b>t<sup>y</sup>i'i-č<sup>y</sup>awaara-'a</b> DISTR-bewitch-PRTC 'He used to bewitch people.'	<b>n<sup>y</sup>a-wā'a-kuna-a</b> I-them-take-PRTC pictures 'I used to take pictures.'
--	---

The analysis of the suffixes which mark past habitative aspect is not entirely clear. Data cited previously in this paper show that there are four habitative suffixes, *-ve*, *-ka*, *-i*, and *-a*. Some stems can be doubly marked for present habitual by the suffix sequence *-va-ka* (*-ka* ablauts stem-final vowels). Two of the habitative morphemes, *-a* and *-i*, are replacive. It turns out that past habitative is marked by three additional suffix sequences: *-kara'a*, *-awa'a*, and *-iwa'a*. Although they can be treated as single units, such an analysis obscures the parallelism between the distributions of *-ve*, *-ka*, *-a*, and *-i* in the present habitative forms and that of *-ka*, *-a*, and *-i* in past habitative forms. As the following examples show, both *-ka* and *-kara'a* occur with nonapplicative verb forms.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-yā'ana-ka**  
 I-smoke-HAB  
 'I smoke.'

**n<sup>y</sup>e-yā'ana-ka-ra'a**  
 I-smoke-HAB-REM  
 PAST  
 'I used to smoke.'

Both **-ka** and **-kara'a** also occur on causative stems that are marked by **-ta** 'concrete causative'.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>ari-ta-ka**  
 they-DISTR-be-CAUS-HAB  
 known  
 'They tell stories.'

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>ari-ta-ka-ra'a**  
 they-DISTR-be-CAUS-HAB-REM  
 known PAST  
 'They used to tell stories.'

Finally, both **-ka** and **-kara'a** occur along with **-ve** in doubly marked habituitive forms.

**ta-čāi+va-ka**  
 us-care-HAB-HAB  
 for  
 'He takes care of us.'

**ta-čāi+va-ka-ra'a**  
 us-care-HAB-HAB-REM  
 for PAST  
 'He used to watch over us.'

Both the replacive habituitive suffix **-a** and the past habituitive sequence **-awa'a** occur with causative + applicative stems built on the sequence **-ta** 'concrete causative' + **-e** 'applicative'.

**rū-'u-k<sup>w</sup>a'an-t<sup>y</sup>-a**  
 DISTR-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB  
 SG APPLIC  
 'She boils it in a small pot.'

**rū-'u-k<sup>w</sup>a'an-t<sup>y</sup>-a-wa'a**  
 DISTR-inside-boil-CAUS-HAB-REM  
 SG APPLIC PAST  
 'She used to boil it in a small pot.'

Both the replacive habituitive suffix **-i** and the past habituitive sequence **-iwa'a** occur on causative-applicative stems built on the abstract causative **-ra**.

**n<sup>y</sup>ē-h-sikt'+ra-r-i**  
 I-DISTR:SG-disc-CAUS-HAB  
 shaped  
 'I always make it disc-shaped.'

**n<sup>y</sup>ē-h-sikt'+ra-r-i-wa'a**  
 I-DISTR-disc-CAUS-HAB-REM  
 SG shaped PAST  
 'I used to make it disc-shaped.'

Both **-i** and **-iwa'a** occur on doubly marked habituitive stems that take the habituitive suffix **-ve**.

**mā-ur-ici'i-v-i**

they-REFL-fast-HAB-HAB

'They fast as a customary activity.'

**mā-ur-ici'i-v-i-wa'a**

they-REFL-fast-HAB-HAB-REM

PAST

'They used to fast ritually.'

Finally, both **-i** and **-iwa'a** occur on certain simple stems as well as on stems that include the privative suffix **-pa**.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-rā-h-ru'un<sup>y</sup>-i**

I-facing-DISTR-wet-HAB

out SG

'I repeatedly wet it down.'

**n<sup>y</sup>a-rā-h-ru'un<sup>y</sup>-i-wa'a**

I-facing-DISTR-wet-HAB-REM

out SG

PAST

'I used to wet it down repeatedly.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-vi'i-p-i**

DISTR-DISTR:SG-grasp-PRIV-HAB

'She sews it for him.'

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-vi'i-p-i-wa'a**

DISTR-DISTR-grasp-PRIV-HAB-REM

SG

PAST

'She used to sew it for him.'

To summarize, the remote past morpheme, used to mark past habitative, has two allomorphs, **-ra'a** and **-wa'a**. The former only follows **-ka** 'habitual', while the latter follows the replative morphemes **-a** and **-i**. The underlying forms of **-ra'a** and **-wa'a** are not entirely clear to me. I assume, on the basis of scanty evidence, that these suffixes are bi-morphemic and consist of the sequence 'remote past' + **a** 'participle'. On the other hand, they could be underlyingly **-ra'** and **-wa'**, respectively, with the final **a** being inserted as an echo vowel, by a general rule of Cora phonology. I also am uncertain about the underlying shape of **-ka'a** 'past perfective', which I am assuming has the underlying shape **-ka'**. Finally, there are a few scattered forms in my data that suggest that the semantic component 'past' is really not integral to **-ra'** and **-wa'**, but rather some more general term like 'disjunctive' might be a more accurate semantic characterization. Note the following forms, to which the notion past is inapplicable to their interpretation.

**a vee sī n<sup>y</sup>a-r-aa-yf'iti-wa'a-n**

to see if I-DISTR:SG-COMPL-understand-REM-PRTC

'...well, let's see if I know how to do it.'

**ru-šē'eve'e n<sup>y</sup>āh n<sup>y</sup>e-vi'ir-i-wa'a-n**

REFL-want I:SUBR I-make-HAB-REM-PRTC

patch

'It is necessary for me to prepare myself a corn patch.'

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

### General

To summarize the overall structure of the verb in Cora, it is necessary to distinguish between complex verb words and the tightly-knit inner verbal complex.

There are two kinds of complex verb words. The first embraces combinations of members of a class of clitic complexes with a following tightly-knit verbal complex that lacks a subject prefix. The second type of complex verb word consists of a set of incorporated secondary verbs which are linked to imperfective forms of the main verb and signal various notions of tense and aspect.

Finally, the tightly-knit inner verbal complex consists minimally of a subject prefix and a stem. This inner complex includes thirteen position classes of prefixes and seven position classes of suffixes. A given verb word may have nine or ten prefixes and four or five suffixes. Numerous morphological processes and phonological rules apply to give the final surface forms.

### The Clitic Complexes

The clitic complexes always include a subject prefix, clitic, or both and refer to semantic categories such as negation, to adverbial notions such as 'now', 'just now', 'later on', 'still', or to modal categories such as exhortative and optative. (See **PARTICLES AND CLITICS**.) The following are typical examples:

**n<sup>y</sup>-āuu=če'e=šaamti'ti**

I-LOC=CONT=be

BASE cold

'I'm still cold.'

**ka=nū=šaamti'ti**

NEG=I=be

cold

'I'm not cold.'

**nu'=i-rā-n=ra-a-tā-'išaa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin**

I=facing-arrive-PRTC=DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-make-APPLIC-DUR

toward SG

'Later on I am going to tell him.'

The clitic complex Subject Prefix + a'- 'away' + uu- 'horizontally' signals optative mode. The verb stem occurs in an imperfective (durative) form and is also marked by a word-final participle -n.

**n<sup>y</sup>-ā-u=a-kā-n-si-sāa-šit'i-n**

I-away-horizontally=outside-down-REFL-RDP-slice-DISTR-PRTC

'I would like to go off and shave.'

The supplicative mode occurs as a strong negative imperative. It is marked both by the clitic complex Negative + Participle and the contrapositive assertion prefix **pĩ**.

**kā=n-pĩ-n<sup>y</sup>e-seih**  
 NEG=PRTC=ASSR-me-see  
 'Please, don't be staring at me!'

Adverbial clitics occur in sentence-initial position and can be analyzed as complexes of locative elements. (See **ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES**.) The following example is typical:

**y-ah=pū=n<sup>y</sup>ē-hē'e-t<sup>y</sup>auun<sup>y</sup>e y-ēh n<sup>y</sup>a-ware-'e**  
 here-along=SUBJ=me-be=itch here-along my-back-in  
                   slope                  located                  slope  
 'It itches me right here in my back.'

### The Prefix Classes

The main verb complex consists of thirteen ordered prefix position classes, a stem which may be morphemically complex, and seven ordered suffix position classes.

Table 1 (next page) gives an overall view of the position classes of prefixes and the individual morphemes that manifest these classes. Naturally, not every class will be represented on every verb.

Position 13 prefixes mark person and number agreement with the subject nominal.

<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i</b>	<b>m-i'i-wahka</b>
I-DISTR-be	they-NARR-play
sick	'They are playing.'
'I'm sick.'	

Class 12, assertive mode, contains a single morpheme, **pĩ**. Usually **pĩ** marks an assertion by speaker X in the face of some previous assertion made by speaker Y. This is a special kind of negation. (See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.)

**ař pu nū'u wa'a-tfhči pĩ-t<sup>y</sup>i-hi-ra-**  
 DEM SUBJ QUOT their-thigh ASSR-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-  
 'an-kā-a-he'e-st<sup>y</sup>-e  
 on-down-COMPL-lay-make-APPLIC  
 top                                  PAST  
 'Those things laid out across the mouths of the jars  
 are their thighs.' (Implication: 'They are not  
 maguay stalks, as you say.')



TABLE 1. The Inner Verbal Core: Prefixes

13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Subject	Assertive Mode	Distributive Plural	Direct Object	Narrative Mode	Distributive Singular	LOCATIVE COMPLEX						Reflexive	
						Abla- tive	Alloca- tive	Direc- tional	Topograph- ical	Attitudi- nal	Path	Distributive Singular	
n <sup>y</sup> a- 'I'	pɛ̃-	t <sup>y</sup> ɛ̃'-	n <sup>y</sup> a- 'me'	ĩ'-	ra-	ã'- 'away'	a- 'out- side'	i- 'along line'	h- 'along edge'		ra- 'facing away'	rã'a- 'back and forth/ around corner'	na- 'myself'
pa- 'you'			m <sup>w</sup> a- 'you'		y-		u- 'in- side'	uu- 'hori- zon- tally'	an- 'on top'		ka- 'down'		a- 'yourself'
ø 'he'			ø 'he'						wa- 'extensive'		ta- 'across'	'himself'	ru-
ta- 'we'			ta- 'us'						vã'a- 'covering over/come across'		t <sup>y</sup> a- 'in middle'		ta- 'ourselves'
sa-/ša- 'you all'			hã'am <sup>w</sup> a- 'you all'								t <sup>y</sup> i- 'up'		ru- 'yourselves'
ma- 'they'			wã'- 'them'								na- 'at boundary'		ru- 'themselves'
											ku- 'in a circle'		h- t <sup>y</sup> i- t <sup>y</sup> a- 'it/something'
									wa- COMPL		ta- PERF		

Class 11, distributive plural, consists of the morpheme **t<sup>y</sup>i'**-, which has several functions. (See SYNTACTIC MARKING.)

<b>pu'u-rī=t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-ših</b>	<b>n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>are'e</b>
SUBJ-now=DISTR-COMPL-be	I-DISTR-work:PRES
finished	'I'm working.'
'They're all gone now.'	

The narrative mode prefix in position 9, **i'**-, commonly occurs in narrative texts. There seems to be no difference semantically between verbs containing **i'**- and those lacking it.

<b>m-i'i-rūuri</b>	<b>hīta'a pū=pī-hī'i-rīkī</b>
they-NARR-be	woman SUBJ=ASSR-NARR-be
wet	'It's a woman.'
'They are alive!'	

The prefixes of 8 and 10 mark agreement with the direct object. For semantic reasons, the third person singular marker **ra-** is classified as one of the distributive morphemes rather than as one of the direct object morphemes per se. (See SYNTACTIC MARKING.)

The position 7 class prefix **ā'**- 'out of sight, away' represents the first of six position classes of locative prefixes that form a sub-system within the Cora verb; see INCORPORATION. **ā'**- usually establishes a general locative orientation for the entire event, indicating that it takes place or ends up in a location remote from the speaker's present location.

<b>ha'atān<sup>y</sup>i wā'-u-k<sup>w</sup>ii</b>
who them-COMPL-kill
'Who killed them?' (looking at the bodies)
<b>ha'atān<sup>y</sup>i wā-ha'-u-k<sup>w</sup>ii</b>
who them-away-COMPL-kill
'Who killed them off there?'

Position class 6 consists of two morphemes: **a-** 'outside/along the edge' and **u-** 'inside'.

<b>ha'atīh nū=a-vā'a-tu'a</b>	<b>ha'atīh nū=u-vā'a-tu'a</b>
someone I=outside-coming-hit	someone I=inside-coming-hit
'I hit someone on the top	'I hit a certain guy on
of his head.'	the back of the head.'

Position class 5 consists of the morphemes **i-** 'in trajectory/facing toward', and **uu-** 'inside horizontally'.

**e'-i-t<sup>y</sup>ē-e-yēih-šī**

away-trajectory-in-COMPL-sit-PAST  
middle

'He sat down in the middle of the road.'

**a-ii-t<sup>y</sup>ē-e-yēih-šī**

outside-trajectory-in-COMPL-sit-PAST  
middle

'He straddled the back of the animal.'

**nū-u-m<sup>w</sup>aša-p<sup>w</sup>a-n**

I-horizontally-deer-end-PRTC  
'I'm going off to hunt deer.'

Position class 4 consists of **h-** 'in slope', **n-** 'on top of slope', **wa-** 'extensive/completive', and **vā'a-** 'coming back'.

**na-'a-h-t<sup>y</sup>i-tū'a**

me-outside-in-up-hit  
slope

'He hit me in the forehead.'

**na-'a-n-kā-kun**

I-outside-on-down-be  
top hollow

'I have a downwards-going hole (i.e. my mouth).'

**wa-tā-t<sup>y</sup>ee**

EXT-straight-be  
across long

'It's a long way off.'

**ū=nū=a'-u-vē'e-hei**

there=I=away-NONRESTR-coming-get  
inside back water

'I went and got water.'

Position class 3 consists of the morphemes **ra-** 'facing away', 'down', **ta-** 'straight ahead/across', **t<sup>y</sup>a-** 'in the middle', 'up', **na-** 'at the perimeter', and **ku-** 'going around'.

**a-ii-rā-suuna**

outside-trajectory-facing-spurt  
away

'Water is spurting from a hole in the side of the bucket.'

**a-ii-kā-suuna**

outside-trajectory-down-spurt

'Water is pouring over the edge of the cliff.'

**a-ii-tā-t<sup>y</sup>ee**

outside-trajectory-straight-be  
across long

'It's a long way from the far side of the river to back over here.'

a-t<sup>y</sup>ǎ-kun  
 along-in -be  
 edge middle hollow  
 'There's a hole in the ground (i.e. a well).'

na-'a-n-t<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>-t̄t̄ t̄ n<sup>y</sup>a-muuku'u  
 I-outside-on-up-REFL-carry ART my-hat  
 top  
 'I took my hat off.'

a-nā-huka  
 outside-at-stomach  
 perimeter  
 'He has a pot belly.'

na-a-h-ku-rā'a-n-tu'a  
 I-outside-in-around-back-REFL-hit  
 slope and  
 forth  
 'I kicked myself in the ankle with my other foot.'

Prefix class 2 consists of the morpheme -ra'a 'around the corner/back and forth', illustrated just above.

Prefix class 1 consists of two distinct semantic classes: (a) reflexive, which is marked for person and number of reflexive object; and (b) unspecified object/distributive singular. These are discussed in **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING**.

### The Suffix Classes

The seven distinguishable position classes of suffixes in Cora are given in Table 2. Two additional suffix subsystems that are restricted to occurring with stems of a particular tense or aspect category are discussed at the end of this section.

The first position suffix class consists of several semantically distinct subclasses: causative, imperative, participle (stative), and peripatetic. Most of these are discussed under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Position class 1 includes the participle -vi'i, which forms a distribution class with the fourth position class suffix -kan. These are treated in **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS** and **SYNTACTIC MARKING**.

The group labeled 'peripatetic' consists of two morphemes, -me 'to go around doing X' and -ne 'to come around doing X'. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Position class 2 'applicative' consists of two morphemes, -e and -ira, both of which ablaut the final vowel of the stems they attach to. Semantically, these morphemes convey notions such as benefactive, affective, and privative. In some cases, -e replaces the final vowel of a preceding stem. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

TABLE 2. Suffix Position Classes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Causative</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Durative</u>	<u>Participle</u>	<u>Second Aspect</u>	<u>Conditional</u>
-ta CONCR	-i	-iwa -hwa	-siwa -hma	-a ACT	-n <sup>y</sup> i FUT	-če'
-ra ABSTR		-wa	-sin	-an -n PERF	-ka'a PAST DUR	
-re PERF					-ka SIMUL	
-ri STAT						
-pa PRIV						
<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Applicative</u>	<u>Distributive</u>	<u>Desiderative</u>			
-či	-e/-ira	-šiči	-mī'i SG -ku PL			
	<u>Capacitative</u>	<u>Remote Past</u>				
	-ve	-ra' -wa'				
1	2	3	4			
<u>Participle</u>						
-vi'i SUBJ					-kan OBJ/ASP, etc.	
-ti SUBJ						
<u>Peripatetic</u>	<u>Habitual</u>	<u>First Aspect</u>	<u>Collective</u>			
-ne 'go around'	-ka -ve	-tirá'a -hrá'a PERF	-tiene -hnee			
-n <sup>y</sup> e 'come around'	-a -i	-tiye'i -hye'i IMPRF -tirá'a -hra'a INCEPT				

Suffix position class 2 'stative' consists of a single morpheme *-i* which ablauts the final vowel of the stem it is suffixed to. It occurs in both first and second suffix positions. Some forms suggest it may also occur as a third position suffix.

taf-iri-'i  
burn-APPLIC-STAT  
'It's burned.'

n<sup>y</sup>i cāa-ri-'i  
Q put-CAUS-STAT  
flat  
'Is it ironed?'

Additional examples are given in **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**.

Suffix position class 2 'habitual' consists of four morphemes, *-ve*, *-ka*, *-i*, and *-a*. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Suffix position class 2 'capacitative' consists of a single morpheme *-ve*, which commonly occurs as a first position suffix. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Suffix position class 3 'passive' consists of the morpheme *-wa* and several allomorphs. The following pair of forms shows a clear contrast between the stative morpheme *-i* and the passive *-wa* (or *-iwa*, a possible alternate morphemic analysis):

n<sup>y</sup>e-čāi-ri-'i  
me-have-CAUS-STAT  
'He has me hanging in  
this matter.'

me-čāi-ri-'i-wa  
they-have-CAUS-STAT-PASS  
'They are being protected.'

See **NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA**.

Class 3 'distributive/past' consists of the morpheme *-šāi*. For most stems, the use of this suffix means that either a multiplicity of participants engaged in a single event or that the action of a given verb affects a multiplicity of objects. See **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Number Agreement, and **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, Aspectual.

Class 4 contains a participial morpheme *-kan*, which occurs throughout the entire range of the first four suffix positions. It forms a distribution class with *-vi'i*; see **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, Accusative, and **ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY**.

Class 4 'durative' (or 'progressive aspect') consists of *-sima*, with allomorphs *-sin* and *-hna*. This suffix also can occur throughout all the first four suffix positions. See Aspectual and Tense-Aspect under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Suffix position class 4 'desiderative' consists of singular *-mī('i)/-mī* and plural *-ku*. These morphemes can occur freely within the first four suffix positions, and ablaut stem-final *-e* to *-a*. They are discussed under Number Agreement in **SYNTACTIC MARKING** and Volitional in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

Class 4 includes the collective morpheme **-mee/-hnee/-ttimee**. As with all fourth order suffixes, **-mee** can occur freely within the range of the first four suffix positions. See **ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY**, **Accusative** in **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, and **Number Agreement** in **SYNTACTIC MARKING**.

The fifth position suffix class consists of the participial forms **-a** (imperfective) and **-an/-n** (perfective). The imperfective **-a** marks things like past durative, past habitual, and durative conjunct of main clause. See **Tense-Aspect** under **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**, **Subordination** under **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, **Accusative** under **BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS**, and **IMPERATIVES**.

The sixth suffix position class 'tense/aspect' consists of at least the following three morphemes: future punctiliar **-n<sup>y</sup>i**, past perfective **-ka'a**, and the simultaneous mode suffix **-ka**. The future tense **-n<sup>y</sup>i** has a peculiarly restricted distribution. It freely occurs in initial suffix position immediately following the verb stem.

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-n<sup>y</sup>i  
I-DISTR-eat-FUT  
'I'm going to eat.'

The only suffix **-n<sup>y</sup>i** seems to follow is the imperfective participial **-a**.

wa-re'e-mē-'e-n<sup>y</sup>i-če'e  
EXT-around-go-PRTC-FUT-IMPOT  
corner  
'He was going to return.'

The only suffix that follows **-n<sup>y</sup>i** is the impotentive/frustrative **-če'e**.

ra-'a-tt-n<sup>y</sup>ii-če'e  
DISTR-outside-carry-FUT-IMPOT  
SG  
'He was going to carry it off.'

The suffix **-n<sup>y</sup>i** is further discussed under **Tense/Aspect** in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

The past perfective **-ka'a** probably has the underlying form **-ka'**. It marks both an on-going activity in the past and a resultant change of state due to an event in the past and occurs freely throughout the first six suffix positions.

The other sixth position suffix is **-ka**, marking 'simultaneous mode'. As with **-ka'a**, **-ka** expresses a durative event or state in relation to some other event. The difference may be that with **-ka** the two events are simultaneous, while with **-ka'a**, one event is remotely prior to the other.

harā'ap<sup>W</sup>a'a mū=nu'u=m-ī=ū=ē'-i-n-  
 next they=QUOT=they-SEQ=there=away-along -on-  
 morning trajectory top

t<sup>Y</sup>ī-n<sup>Y</sup>ē ta-p<sup>W</sup>ā'a-ri-hma-'a-ka  
 up-arrive PERF-end-STAT-DUR-PRTC-SIMUL  
 CAUS

'The next morning they got up there just as it was  
 getting light.'

ah=pū=nū'u=a'-u-h-mā-'a-ka tī'th  
 along=SUBJ=QUOT=away-inside-slope-go-PRTC-SIMUL CNJ  
 slope

nū'u=hī=t<sup>Y</sup>ām<sup>W</sup>a'a āihnā t<sup>Y</sup>ap<sup>W</sup>eih kīn t<sup>Y</sup>ī-r-  
 QUOT=SEQ=really DEM axe with DISTR-DISTR:SG-  
 a-'i-t<sup>Y</sup>ē-veihča-ka'a āh ware-'e-n  
 outside-along -in-cut-PAST along back-in-ABS  
 trajectory middle PERF slope

'As he was climbing upward, she gave him a good chop  
 in the back with the axe.'

n<sup>Y</sup>ī āuh=wa-čūfiša-vi'i-ka p-wā-'ah-čee  
 Q LOC=EXT-be-PRTC-SIMUL you-COMPL-along-move  
 BASE dark slope

'Was it still dark when you got up?'

**-ka** appears to be the final suffix in all the words where it occurs, and it occurs rather freely throughout the first six suffix positions. These sixth position suffixes are treated in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Tense/Aspect**.

Class 7 consists of a single morpheme, the conditional/frustrative **-če'e**. It follows numerous suffixes, occurring freely throughout the range of suffix positions. No other suffixes follow it. See **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Modal**.

The analysis of the suffixes which mark past habitative aspect is not entirely clear. They appear to be third position class suffixes. Details of their segmentation into the allomorphs **-wa'** and **-ra'** are given under the heading **Tense/Aspect** in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.

One subclass of suffixes, 'first aspect', consists of a set of tense/aspect markers that show identical alternations between a polysyllabic variant that begins with the connective element **-tī** and a shorter variant that begins with **-h**. These suffixes mark the categories perfective, imperfective, inceptive future, inceptive past, and collective. They all frequently occur in first suffix position and seem to range throughout the first three suffix positions, except for **-mee** COLL, which is a fourth position suffix. Some of them are discussed under the heading **Aspectual** and others under **Tense/Aspect** in **NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION**.



PERF

**a'-u-tú'as-ti-rā'a**  
 away-COMPL-stone-CONN-PERF  
 'He went and threw stones  
 at it.'

**ra-'a-t<sup>y</sup>é-iča'a-hrā'a**  
 DISTR-outside-in-dig-PERF  
 SG middle  
 'She had dug a hole in  
 the ground.'

IMPRF

**ān=pū=nū'u=t<sup>y</sup>ā-a'-a-ka-n<sup>y</sup>ā'a-ti-ye'i**  
 on=SUBJ=QUOT=DISTR-away-outside-down-dance-CONN-IMPRF  
 top  
 'He is going around dancing up there on top of it.'

**ān=mú=m-i=a'-a-t<sup>y</sup>a-ruāče-hye'i**  
 on=they=they-SEQ=away-outside-in-run-IMPRF  
 top middle  
 'Off up there they are running around and around  
 (that boulder).'

INCEPT FUT

**he'eyan šu'u=wí s-ahtā t<sup>y</sup>i-t<sup>y</sup>a-a'-u-**  
 next you:PL=QUOT you:PL-CNJ RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-  
**k<sup>w</sup>i'i-tf-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 kill-CONN-INCEPT-FUT  
 'Immediately, then, you will also go off and begin  
 to kill the animals.'

**nāihmi'i šū=wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-k<sup>w</sup>i'fšf-hra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 all you:PL=EXT-in-chirp-INCEPT-FUT  
 together middle  
 'You will all begin to chirp together.'

INCEPT FUT DUR

**m-ahtā=t<sup>y</sup>i-hi'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-tf-ra'a-sin**  
 they-CNJ=DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT-DUR  
 'And later they are going to begin eating.'

INCEPT PAST

**t<sup>y</sup>i-hi'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-tf-raa**  
 DISTR-NARR-eat-CONN-INCEPT:PAST  
 'He began to eat.'

**a-kā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'arfi-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-hraa**  
 outside-down-REFL-be-CAUS-APPLIC-INCEPT:PAST  
 fearful  
 'She turned pallid from fright.'



predicate **ā'a** 'be'. In addition, they are all marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main verb. Finally, the subject marking on a clitic-suffix complex may be reinforced by a subject clitic which occurs between the auxiliary suffix complex and the main verb.

Future inceptive/punctiliar is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + -ra'an<sup>y</sup>i.

**vale mas pah m<sup>w</sup>āa ta-čāth=p<sup>w</sup>-a'a-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 worth more you:SUBR you us-care=you-be-INCEPT-FUT  
 for

'It's better for you to start taking care of us.'

**če'e ayān ant<sup>y</sup>awāa=ā'a-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i šikā**  
 EXHRT thus have=be-INCEPT-FUT sun  
 name

'Let him be named "The Sun".'

Future durative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + -me for singular subjects and by SUBJ + BE + -hu'un for plural subjects. This parallels the suppletive variants of the main verb **-me/hu'u** 'go'.

**āh=hf-(y)e'-e-hēveh-vāa=hf-r-ā'a-me**  
 there=NARR-away-outside-call-come(?)=NARR-DISTR-be-FUT  
 SG DUR

'From off there he will be coming along, calling out to him.'

**sa-tāakuh=šu=š-ā'a-hu'u-n**  
 you:PL-be=you:PL=you:PL-be-FUT-PRTC  
 hungry DUR

'You all are going to be hungry.'

Present imperfective is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + **ye'i**.

**n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ra-cāah=nū=n-ā'a-ye'i**  
 I-DISTR-facing-put=i=I-be-IMPRF  
 away

'I go around piling them up.'

**t<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-rē'e-pī'ih-t<sup>y</sup>-a-wa-'a=tu=**  
 we-RDP-DISTR-EXT-back-carry-CAUS-APPLIC-REM-PRTC=we=  
 and PAST  
 forth

**t-ā'a-ye'i f takth**  
 we-be-IMPRF ART palm

'We customarily have been distributing leaves of the palm tree.'

Past perfective/resultative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE + -raa.

**hīta'a pū=pfī-hī-ēen<sup>y</sup>a-'a=ā'a-raa**  
 woman SUBJ=ASSR-NARR-be-PRTC=be-INCEPT:PAST  
 'It turned out to be a woman.'

**āih mū kfn kāh t<sup>y</sup>u'-uh-vāiira-'a=m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-raa**  
 DEM they with ACC DISTR-REFL-help-PRTC=they-be-INCEPT:PAST  
 'They wound up sustaining themselves on that.'

Past subjunctive/frustrative is marked by the sequence SUBJ + BE/GO + PRTC/SIMUL + če'e.

**n<sup>y</sup>a-a-na'ahcḥ=ā'-u-ma-'a-ka-če'e**  
 me-COMPL-benefit=away-COMPL-go-PRTC-SIMUL-IMPOT  
 'I ought to have gone (for my own good).'

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>a-vāa=pū=ā'a-me-'en-če'e**  
 EXT-in-be=SUBJ=be-FUT-PRTC-IMPOT  
 middle

'He was going to stand up.'/'He might have stood up.'

**yā=mū=wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-'a=m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-hu'u-n-če'e**  
 here=they=EXT-be-PRTC=they-be-FUT-PRTC-IMPOT  
 'They were going to be here.'

## COORDINATION

### Conjunctions

Conjunctions in Cora can be roughly divided into the major semantic categories 'and', 'but', and 'or'.

#### And

The category 'and' corresponds to various surface forms. In many cases, conjoined structures are simply juxtaposed, with no overt conjunction appearing on the surface.

**ka-nū=an-t<sup>y</sup>i-yāa ka-nū=t<sup>y</sup>a'-an-ka-k<sup>w</sup>āa**  
 NEG-I=on-up-drink NEG-I=DISTR-on-down-eat  
 top top

**ka-nū=t<sup>y</sup>e'-en-t<sup>y</sup>i-sā'uta'a**  
 NEG-I=DISTR-on-up-offer  
 top flowers

'I'm not going to drink and I'm not going to provide food and I'm not going to offer flowers.'

Rarely, a postposition may be used to conjoin constituents.

āiḥ pū='i a-i-tā-k<sup>w</sup>aa hām<sup>w</sup>e'i ham<sup>w</sup>ān kāh  
 DEM SUBJ=SEQ away-trajectory-PERF-eat tortilla with ACC  
 'She ate that and some tortillas.'

The most common form of 'and' consists of some form of the conjunction ahtā. This conjunction has several different shades of meaning. The following example illustrates the most neutral meaning of 'and'.

ma-we'-i-h-nā i t<sup>y</sup>att<sup>y</sup>e m-ahtā  
 they-them-trajectory-in-surround ART people they-CNJ  
 slope

i c<sup>i</sup>'i-k<sup>i</sup>  
 ART dog-PL  
 'The people and the dogs surrounded them.'

ahtā frequently carries the sequential sense 'and then'.

āa pu'u nū'u im<sup>i</sup> kāh t<sup>y</sup>i-(y)ā-ūu-tui-iri-'i  
 there SUBJ QUOT far ACC DISTR-away-inside-leave-APPLIC-STAT  
 PS horizontal

i hām<sup>w</sup>e'i ahtā ān t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-k<sup>w</sup>ā'a ahtā  
 ART tortilla CNJ on DISTR-COMPL-eat CNJ  
 top

hi'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ūh-ka-t<sup>y</sup>e m-ahtā hī-(y)a'-u-k<sup>i</sup>h  
 NARR-DISTR-REFL-sit-make they-CNJ NARR-away-COMPL-leave  
 'He went and left him some tortillas a little ways off.  
 And then up there he ate. And then he got himself  
 ready. And then they went off.'

Sometimes ahtā carries an anaphorical sense 'and thus'.

yāa mū u-ve'e-n<sup>y</sup>é-n m-ahtā wa-tā-ku'uci  
 thus they inside-come-arrive-PRTC they-CNJ COMPL-PERF-SLEEP  
 'And thus, having come back, they went to sleep (just as  
 they had been instructed to do).'

A related conjunction t<sup>i</sup>'ihtā also has the sequential sense 'and then'.

ma-t<sup>i</sup>'ih-tā m-i mū=a'-a-rāa-k<sup>i</sup>  
 they-then-and they-SEQ they=away-outside-around-go:PL  
 corner

'And then they returned from there.'

Even without a following morpheme -tā, the conjunction t<sup>i</sup>'ih may carry a sequential sense.

**tʰiʰ nū'u hɪ wa'-i-wa-tā-'iʃa lo demās**  
 CNJ QUOT SEQ them-NARR-COMPL-PERF-tell the rest  
 'And then she told the rest of them.'

In its third person singular form, **tʰiʰ** may form a compound with the indefinite particle **-ki**. The resultant form retains a sequential sense.

**tʰiʰki ru-sāh ū=ā'-u-me āthna ʃ ta-ha'a**  
 CNJ REFL-self there=away-COMPL-go DEM ART our-older  
 brother  
 'And then Older Brother went there himself.'

Another conjunction **ah** is frequently used with the sense 'and then'.

**āh pū=nū'u šāa tʰām<sup>w</sup>a'a tʰe-h-n<sup>y</sup>ū'uka-hraa ʃ yana**  
 CNJ SUBJ=QUOT AFF really DISTR-DISTR-be-PAST ART tobacco  
 SG angry  
 'And then, indeed, Tobacco really got mad at her.'

In other contexts **ah** simply means 'then'.

**tʰ p<sup>w</sup>ā'a wɪ yāa nu'u p-erɪ**  
 SUBR COND QUOT thus I:PS you-now  
**tʰa'-a-vā'is-tʰe-'e-n āh pā wɪ p-i**  
 DISTR-outside-fill-make-APPLIC-PRTC then you QUOT ASSR-SEQ  
**yāa na-a-tā-'i-šaa-tʰe-'e-n**  
 thus me-COMPL-PERF-face-talk-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 to  
 face  
 'I'll just tell you this, by when you have finally  
 filled it up, then you can tell me so.'

In its simple inflected form, **ahtā** may mean 'also'.

**āh nū n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā wa-ta-šāh-ta**  
 DEM I I-CNJ COMPL-PERF-say-make  
 'I'm going to tell this one also.'

**ahtā** also occurs in compounds with the adverbial element **wā'a** 'beyond'. The resultant meanings include 'again', 'once again', and 'furthermore'.

**ahtā-wa'a mʃ saʰ antā ū a'-a-rā-h-veh**  
 CNJ-beyond ART other CNJ there away-outside-facing-in-fall  
 away slope  
 'And again, as for the other one, he also fell flat on his  
 face.'



In some cases, the entire sequence *sino que* 'rather that' has been borrowed from Spanish. It has been modified to *siluu ki* in Cora.

ka=pú=čé'e á'ih t<sup>y</sup>i'i-šaa yee pueere yéé mā mú  
 NEG=SUBJ=CONT something DISTR-say QUOT may be there they  
 há'-u-t<sup>y</sup>au siluu ki mu'u-rí há'-u-ve n<sup>y</sup>á'u  
 away-COMPL-be rather that they-now away-COMPL-fall AFF  
 found PS

ma-tíh t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-šáh-ta-ka'a  
 they-as DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-say-make-PAST  
 PERF

'He no longer said anything like, "They are off yonder there somewhere", but rather, "Now indeed they are lost just like they said".'

Spanish *pero* 'but' has also been adopted into Cora. In most cases, it has become modified to *haru* phonetically.

haru kúmu rá-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree tikín pu-'urí vástakira'i  
 but since DISTR-know QUOT SUBJ-now old  
 SG man

'But it was because he knew that he was already an old man.'

An occasional example shows that *ahtá* can be used in the adversative sense of *siluu*.

ayán rá-ruu-rá tíh t<sup>y</sup>evi kā pu'u n<sup>y</sup>á'u ahtá  
 thus DISTR-make-APPLIC like person NEG SUBJ AFF CNJ  
 SG PS

rí't ayán  
 indeed(?) thus

'He fashioned it just like it were a person. It wasn't really, but it surely looked like one.'

The conjunction *mā* 'contrapositive' functions in narrative discourse to contrast the information of the sentence it occurs in with the content of the immediately preceding paragraph.

mé n<sup>y</sup>-ahtá yéé n<sup>y</sup>-erí hí-'ik<sup>w</sup>a  
 but I-CNJ QUOT I-now NARR-be  
 hungry

'But, as for me, I'm now hungry.'

The sequence *na'arí kai* is a kind of conditional 'but' construction.

n<sup>y</sup>i-čé'e yéewi iye'e-hí mú á'-u-me-'en na'arí  
 I-EXHRT QUOT here-SEQ there away-COMPL-go-PRTC but



**kāi n<sup>y</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>a-he'ika yēewī**

IRR I-you-kill QUOT

'Let me be on my way, but, if not, I'm going to kill you.'

Or

Alternative constructions include both indigenous conjunctions and borrowings from Spanish.

The conjunction **na'ari** by itself simply means 'either X or Y'.

**t<sup>y</sup>i<sup>h</sup> mu-hā'a t<sup>y</sup>i'it<sup>h</sup> s-a-'u-vē'e-mee**

DUB right=there something you-away-inside-come-kill  
there PS ACC PL

**m<sup>w</sup>ašā na'ari t<sup>y</sup>i'it<sup>h</sup> tuišu**

deer or something:ACC pig

'It seems that you all went off and slaughtered some animal, a deer or something like a pig.'

Another conjunction **ka'in** is often used in alternative questions. This sequence may be analyzable as the sequence negative particle + article + absolutive.

**n<sup>y</sup>i pe-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i ka'in e'in<sup>y</sup>i p-ē'en**

Q you-DISTR-be or how you-be  
sick

'Are you sick? Or how are you doing?'

The adversative conjunction **nusuu** occurs only rarely.

**n<sup>y</sup>i a-yāuh ka'in a-n<sup>y</sup>āuh na'ari a-'iwāara'a**

Q your-son or your-uncle or your-relative

**nusuu a-ha'a**

or your-older  
brother

'Is he your son, or your uncle, or your relative, or your older brother?'

The conjunction **u** has been borrowed into Cora from the Spanish **o**.

**pā'ari'i mé=hī-ra-'an-ta-yē'i čuām<sup>w</sup>ara'a**

child there=NARR-DISTR-on-ahead-walk dirty  
SG top

**t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-šana'ave-'e u čf'it<sup>y</sup>i'it<sup>h</sup> n<sup>y</sup>a'u**

DISTR-UNSPEC-be-APPLIC or dog something AFF  
OBJ nauseous

'A dirty, snot-nosed kid walking around, or a dog, (or) any dirty old thing nauseates one.'

The Spanish conjunction *ni* has also been incorporated into Cora grammar. It occurs as the second negative in neither-nor constructions.

ka-tú t<sup>y</sup>i'it̪h m<sup>w</sup>are-'e n<sup>y</sup>i ka-tú t<sup>y</sup>i'it̪h k<sup>w</sup>a'a  
 NEG-we thing:ACC handle-APPLIC nor NEG-we thing:ACC eat  
 'We don't do any work nor do we eat anything.'

The 'or' relationship can also be expressed by juxtaposed elements.

āh tū t<sup>y</sup>-i t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-selhra t̪i p<sup>w</sup>a'a yēewī sāh  
 then we we-SEQ DISTR-COMPL-PERF-see SUBR COND QUOT one  
 ra-a-šā'ah-ta-re sāh ra-'a-rāa-nahči  
 DISTR-COMPL-fit-make-APPLIC one DISTR-outside-facing-meet  
 SG SG away  
 'Then we will see whether one fits him or if one pleases him.'

### Syntax

Conjunctions frequently serve as sentence introducers. As such, they are normally the left-most constituent of a sentence.

m-ahtā ra-a-ta-vāhra  
 they-CNJ DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-follow  
 'And they followed him.'

In conjoined sentences, conjunctions often appear as sentence introducers to the second conjunct.

t̪i p-auu-čā-n nū'u ān (y)ā-uh-če arī nū'u  
 SUBR ASSR-LOC-CONT-PRTC QUOT on away-REFL-stop now QUOT  
 BASE top  
 ā=ā'-ah-mu'u-vāhra hūu-t<sup>y</sup>ē hece ī  
 there=away-along-head-follow inside-downstream at ART  
 slope horizontally  
 kump<sup>w</sup>aa-ra-'ara'a-n  
 compadre-ABS-NONREFL-ABS  
 POSSR  
 'Just as he stopped to rest, his compadre's head  
 was bobbing up and down off there downstream.'

Conjunctions may even occur within both conjuncts of a coordinate sentence.

t̪i'ih-tā u'-u-ta-p<sup>w</sup>ā'a-re-n ahtā ū  
 CNJ-after NARR-COMPL-PERF-end-make-ABS CNJ there



he'-i-kā-h-rai-n<sup>y</sup>i

away-trajectory-down-along-throw-FUT  
slope away

'And you must also throw that puuwa'a flower down there (onto the table).'

aġ m-ahtā m-eyān u'-u-rġh

DEM they-CNJ they-thus NARR-COMPL-do

'And they, as for themselves, they did thus.'

Various kinds of elements can be conjoined. The following example illustrates conjoined noun phrases.

tġ'ġh nū'u hġ āġhnā cāhta'a

CNJ QUOT SEQ DEM inside

hġ-ru-'u-kā-ra-cġ ġ ka'an<sup>y</sup>i ahtā

NARR-DISTR-inside-down-facing-put ART bag CNJ  
SG away

ġ kustaa

ART gunny  
sack

'And then he stuffed it inside of those bags and inside the gunny sacks.'

The following sentence suggests that some form of verb phrase deletion is responsible for why there are strings of conjoined noun phrases on the surface.

m-ahtā siempre m-āġhnā meh čē'e

they-CNJ always they-DEM they CONT  
SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>-ū-'ur-iwa'u a'ġh=tġ

DISTR-COMPL-REFL-interrogate what=SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>ġ-rā-'amit<sup>y</sup>eh-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e ahtā seġh ahtā

DISTR-DISTR-seem-make-APPLIC CNJ another CNJ  
SG befitting

seġh kumu m-ġ'ġ nū'i

another since they-NARR many

'And they still keep on with it, that they ask one another what seems befitting to him, and another, and another, for there are many of them.'

The head noun of a second conjunct relative clause may be deleted if it is identical to the head noun of the first conjunct relative clause.

a'anaġ mah nū'u m-eyān wa-rġh ġ ta-ha'a

once they QUOT they-thus COMPL-do ART our-older  
SUBR brother

tī vasta'a ahtā ī tī pa'arī'ī  
 SUBR adult CNJ ART SUBR youngster  
 'That once upon a time our older brother and our  
 younger (brother) did thus and so.'

Simple clauses can also be joined by a conjunction.

ā pu'u nū'u ih-tā-'ih hīmf y-a-'u-ta-m<sup>W</sup>āh  
 there SUBJ QUOT SEQ-CNJ-be far it-away-COMPL-PERF-lay  
 PS flat

ahtā āa w-ī-(y)a-u-tāūt<sup>Y</sup>a-'a ahtā  
 CNJ from them-NARR-away-horizontal-greet-PRTC CNJ  
 there

hī-(y)ā-'u-raa  
 NARR-away-COMPL-leave  
 'And then she set it down on the ground a little ways  
 off. And then she took leave of them. And then she  
 went away.'

Various conjunctions that serve as introducers to main clauses also function as introducers to subordinate clauses. Generally, there is some kind of overt difference between a main clause introduced by a conjunction and a subordinate clause introduced by that conjunction.

m-ahtā m-āfhā wa-tāi-wa'u-ri-'i tīkīn arī  
 they-CNJ they-DEM COMPL-order-look-APPLIC-STAT QUOT CNJ  
 for

m<sup>W</sup>ēeci a'in<sup>Y</sup>ī 'ih-ta m<sup>W</sup>ēeci t<sup>Y</sup>ī-m<sup>W</sup>ā-'amit<sup>Y</sup>eh-t<sup>Y</sup>e-'e  
 you how SEQ-CNJ you DISTR-you-seem-make-APPLIC  
 'And then they asked that one, "And you, how is it that  
 you view things?"'

tī'ih-tā hī-ra-a-vēiīče-n ahtā  
 CNJ-and NARR-DISTR-COMPL-cut-ABS CNJ  
 SG down

hī-rā-'a-tī-n<sup>Y</sup>ī ī ha'atī  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-away-carry-FUT ART someone  
 'And having chopped it down, then this person  
 would carry it off.'

## COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Position

Complement clauses normally occur in post-verbal position, which is also the neutral position for subject and object nominals in Cora (cf. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE).

**m<sup>w</sup>äre'e-ri tɬ ú'-u-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 work-CAUS SUBR NARR-COMPL-leave-FUT  
 PASS

'It's hard to travel.'

**ka-mú=hi-ra-a-tā'a tu-'u-vé'e-n<sup>y</sup>é-n**  
 NEG-they=NARR-DISTR-COMPL-give SUBR-there-come-pass-PRTC  
 SG by

'They didn't let him come back.'

A complement clause can however be topicalized and moved to the front of a sentence.

**ahora t<sup>y</sup>ah wā-ta-čeh-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-š<sup>i</sup>'i-n**  
 now we:SUBR COMPL-REFL-live-make-APPLIC-DISTR-PRTC

**ka-pú=r<sup>i</sup>'ir<sup>i</sup>i-sta-hmee**  
 NEG-SUBJ=be-make-COLL  
 possible

'As for right now, it isn't possible for us to stand on the hillsides.'

Marking

Complement clauses vary along a continuum from the sentential to the nominal. In some cases, there is no overt subordinating particle to mark the complement. Such complements are marked exactly like independent clauses, both in terms of subject markers and tense/aspect.

**ayéh n<sup>y</sup>a-'ase ha'atɬ pú yéh ta-nam<sup>w</sup>a**  
 thus me-approach someone SUBJ QUOT across-hear  
 'It seems to me that someone is listening.'

**pu'u-rí ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree š-āa-k<sup>w</sup>i-iwa-ka'a**  
 SUBJ-now DISTR-know you:PL-COMPL-kill-PASS-PERF  
 SG PAST

'He now knows that you all have been killed.'

Finite complement clauses may also be introduced by a subordinating particle.

**pu'u-rí wí tñ n<sup>y</sup>e-čueeh-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e tñ**  
 SUBJ-now QUOT almost me-feel-make-APPLIC SUBR  
**n-a-'u-ta-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 me-outside-horizontally-across-hurt-FUT-APPLIC  
 'It seems to me that I'm about to go into labor.'

Although the distinction between finite and non-finite clauses is not strikingly clear, there are at least two types of constructions that show the distinction to be a real one for Cora complement clauses. The verb **na'a** 'be' serves as a main verb in simple sentences such as (a) and as a higher verb in sentences like (b). Note that in (b) the second verb of the construction does not carry an overt second person subject marker as occurs in (c). This is because the verb **na'a** is acting as an auxiliary to **t<sup>y</sup>i'im<sup>w</sup>a'ace** and thus receives the person and number marking for the clause. Also note that (b) and (c) are equivalent semantically.

- (a) **ari m<sup>w</sup>āa a'in<sup>y</sup>i pa=na'a**  
 CNJ you how you=be  
 'And as for you, how are you?'
- (b) **a'in<sup>y</sup>i pa=na'a t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a'ac-e**  
 how you=be DISTR-know-APPLIC  
 'What are you thinking about?'
- (c) **a'in<sup>y</sup>i pe-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-m<sup>w</sup>a'ac-e**  
 how you-DISTR-know-APPLIC  
 'What are you thinking about?'

On the other hand, the forms of the verb **-me** 'go' combine with the verb stem **hā'a** 'be located' to form a complex verb 'will be'.

**amf pū ta-'i-yā'u hā'a-me**  
 DEM SUBJ us-be-father be-go  
 located  
 'That one will be our father.'

It turns out that **hā'ame** 'will be' and its related suppletive forms **hā'aye'i** 'is' and **hā'araa** 'was' function as aspectual auxiliaries in certain double verb constructions in which one of two verbs is non-finite. The following are typical examples.

**ayāa pū hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a hā'a-ye'i**  
 thus SUBJ be-PRTC be -walk  
 located around  
 'This is how it has been.'





ŭ'u t<sup>y</sup>e-hī-ra-'an-kāi-ti-mā-'a t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ku'ucu  
 there we-NARR-DISTR-on -be-CONN-COLL-PRTC DISTR-be  
 inside top seated asleep

t<sup>y</sup>-f-r-ā'a-hu'u-n  
 we-NARR-DISTR-be-go:PL-PRTC  
 located

'There we all are inside sitting around with our heads bowed, passing the night asleep.'

The verb stem **heen/he'en** 'be' has two common non-finite forms. For one, it can occur in its participial form. However, it takes a full non-aspectual complement sentence embedded to it. As shown by the following example, subject marking occurs neither on it nor on its embedded complement verb, so there turn out to be sentences with two non-finite verbs in sequence in Cora.

n<sup>y</sup>i m-eyān hē'en<sup>y</sup>a-'a wā-suaa f kawaayu'u  
 Q they-thus be-PRTC EXT-exist ART horses  
 'Are there horses like this off over in those parts?'

In another construction, **heen** 'be' is marked with both the suffix **-aka** 'simultaneous mode' and the ablauting suffix **-e** 'applicative'. Neither it nor the verb embedded to it is marked for subject agreement.

ayāa tū t<sup>y</sup>a-tīh wī hēene-'eke-'e hām<sup>w</sup>a-a-ta-sēihra  
 thus we we-like QUOT be-SIMUL-APPLIC you:PL-COMPL-PERF-see  
 'In nature we are just like we have shown you.'

Complements of a small set of verbs of naming illustrate the nominal end of the spectrum.

a pū hi-rā-'a-če t<sup>y</sup>eh t<sup>y</sup>-ī ayān  
 there SUBJ NARR-DISTR-outside-live SUBR SEQ thus  
 SG

ra-ta-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a-m<sup>w</sup>a tīkīn čāhcan pū pīrīkī  
 DISTR-PERF-know-RDP QUOT spirit SUBJ be  
 SG

'There he has made a home, the one to whom we refer saying, it is a spirit.'

t<sup>y</sup>ī āihnā ta-'a-na-kāi a-wā-uh-ka'an<sup>y</sup>e  
 DUB DEM SUBR-outside-on -sit there-COMPL-REFL-volunteer  
 edge DUR

āihnā f cim<sup>w</sup>akt'i ma ayān ra-ta-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a-m<sup>w</sup>a tīkīn  
 DEM ART woodpecker they thus DISTR-PERF-know-RDP QUOT  
 SUBR SG

**karpinteeru nū'u kiyé tī nāa wā-ca-caa-ve**  
 carpenter QUOT tree SUBR really EXT-RDP-perforate-HAB  
 trunk

'It seems that the first one to volunteer was the  
 woodpecker who they know as "the carpenter who  
 fills tree trunks full of holes".'

Reduced complements include some which serve an explanatory or in-  
 terpretive function. They may consist of a phrase or of a single  
 possessed noun.

**harasēi šika ať pū p̄f=wa-tā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a sēis meesis**  
 six days DEM SUBJ ASSR=COMPL-PERF-REFL-know six months  
 'Six days--that phrase is understood as meaning six months.'

**ať pū p̄frikī f̄ ha'atī t̄f ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'atye**  
 DEM SUBJ be ART someone SUBR DISTR:SG-know

**iwāara'a-ra'a-n**  
 brother-NONREFL-ABS  
 POSSR

'That is the one who he considers to be his brother.'

Other reduced complements consist of a single noun and an optional  
 quotative marker. Such clauses are introduced by the quotative  
 complementizer **tik̄in**.

**ať pū nū'u t<sup>y</sup>i'it̄i wē'-i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>i t̄f nū'u**  
 DEM SUBJ QUOT something them-NARR-kill-FUT SUBR QUOT

**ayāna ān-t<sup>y</sup>awaa tik̄in c̄ihvi'i**  
 thus on -be QUOT yellow  
 top named fever

'That thing is going to kill them which is thusly  
 named "Yellow Fever".'

Reduced complements can be topicalized and appear in pre-verbal  
 position.

**sāaku mū nū'u ān-t<sup>y</sup>a'aru**  
 ogres they QUOT on -be  
 top named  
 'They are named "saaku".'

Complements in Cora are marked in various ways. The comple-  
 ment markings include Ø (zero), the particle **tī**, the quotative  
 complementizer **tik̄in**, the quotative **yee**, and the introducer se-  
 quence **yee puēere/puēere yēe** (probably from Spanish **puede ser**  
**que**).

ku šuēe t<sup>y</sup>ā-na'ana

EV seem UNSPEC-laugh  
OBJ(?)

'It appeared to be laughing.'

ka=pū ri'iri tī ra-a-tā-ših-ta

NEG-SUBJ do/able SUBR DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-finish-make

'It is not possible for him to remove it.'

yaa tú t<sup>y</sup>-i t<sup>y</sup>e-rí t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree tikín

thus we we-SEQ we-now DISTR-DISTR:SG-know QUOT

mā-ta-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>i

they-us-kill-FUT

'We already know thusly that they are going to kill us.'

ka-mū nū'u ra-a-tā-'i-šaa

NEG-they QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-facing-say QUOT man!  
toward

t<sup>y</sup>ān tū=ra-a-hé'ika-ta

we we=DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill-make

'They didn't tell him, "Man, we killed it".'

ka-pū ku rí'í yee puēere mū'u

NEG-SUBJ EV really QUOT INTR there:PS

mé-n<sup>y</sup>-í-(y)a'-u-tā-'asi

they-me-NARR-away-COMPL-PERF-reach

'He didn't really think they would catch him off over there.'

Non-quotative subject complements are marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the complement clause. A third person singular subject complement clause is marked with the general subordinating particle **tī**.

m<sup>w</sup>āre'e-rí n<sup>y</sup>ah rā-a-taawa í ladriiyu

work-CAUS I:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-make ART brick  
SG

'It's hard for me to make burned brick.'

m<sup>w</sup>āre'e-rí tī ayān rā-a-ruu-re-n

work-CAUS SUBR thus DISTR:SG-COMPL-do-CAUS-PRTC

'It's hard to do it like that.'

rí'í-rí sah a'-u-vá'a-p<sup>w</sup>asaaruve-'en

good-be you:SUBR away-horizontally-coming-take-PRTC  
made all walk

ú teepi

there Tepic

'You guys can make a trip to Tepic.'

The subordinating particle of object complement clauses is also marked for agreement in person and number with its subject.

**ka-nū yēewī čē'e ra-še'eve'e peh yā**  
 NEG-I QUOT CONT DISTR:SG-want you:SUBR here

**wa-tā-ka-t<sup>y</sup>i n<sup>y</sup>i-čēh**  
 COMPL-PERF-be-UNR my-house  
 'I no longer want you to stay here in my house.'

**m-i'i-h-n<sup>y</sup>eeče mah nū'u ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-ki'i-me**  
 they-NARR-DISTR-threaten they QUOT DISTR-COMPL-in-chew-eat  
 SG SUBR SG middle  
 'They were threatening to eat her up.'

A complement clause may be marked by a modal particle. The modals involved include *čē'e* 'exhortative' and *č-auh* 'exhortative + optative'. These modal complements are restricted to verbs such as 'say', 'think', 'decide', etc. In some cases, the modal particle occurs by itself and thus performs a subordinating function.

**pa-r-aa-tā-'i-šaa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n ɪ**  
 you-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-facing-say-make-APPLIC-PRTC ART  
 SG toward

**n<sup>y</sup>i-tāata čē'e m<sup>w</sup>a-'an<sup>y</sup>-ī'i-re-'e-n**  
 my-father EXHRT you-on-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 top  
 'You will tell my father that he should take it for you.'

In other cases, the modal particles occur with the quotative complementizer *tikīn*. This is one way that Cora marks indirect quotation.

**pu'u-rī hēiwa t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu-'u-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a tikīn čē'e n<sup>y</sup>ā'u**  
 SUBJ-now lots DISTR-NARR-COMPL-think QUOT EXHRT AFF  
**hī-ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ee-vi'i āihna ɪ cī'ɪ**  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-in-grab DEM ART dog  
 'He thought a real lot about grabbing hold of that dog.'

There are several additional ways to express indirect quotations, most of which involve a change in number agreement between subject and verb or between possessor and possessed noun. In the first example, a possessed noun is marked for third person singular non-reflexive possessor. This noun would be marked for first person singular possessor were the complement giving a direct quote.

**bueeno āih pū hecē hī-ra-'u-tā-uh-**  
 well DEM SUBJ about NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-REFL-  
**m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree-ri-'i tikīn aī n<sup>y</sup>ā'u hī'i**  
 know-CAUS-APPLIC-STAT QUOT DEM AFF NARR

**nāanah-ra'a-n**  
 mother-NONREFL-ABS  
 POSSR

'But, anyway, he thought of her as though  
 she were his mother.'

A frequent substitution of a third person singular marking for a first person singular marking on some morpheme shows that a complement is giving an indirect quotation. In the following example, two instances of the general subordinator **tʃ** replace the first person singular **nʲah** that would occur were the complement to be a direct quotation. In addition, the auxiliary element **aučan** 'just recently' would be marked with **nʲ-** for a first person singular subject.

**pu'u-rī ahtā hi'i-h-mʷa'aree tʃkɪn aʃ pū nʲa'u**  
 SUBJ-now CNJ NARR-DISTR:SG-know QUOT DEM SUBJ AFF

**pʃ=hi'i-riki āa tʃ (y)e'-e-tʲ-āh-raii**  
 ASSR=NARR-be there SUBR away-outside-up-along-toss  
 slope

**tʃ au-čā-n r-a-'i-ta-tʃh ʃ**  
 SUBR LOC-CONT-PRTC DISTR-outside-facing-up-carry ART  
 BASE SG

**ukāa-ra'a-n hece**  
 stomach-NONREFL-ABS from  
 POSSR

'Now she knows that he is the one that she tossed  
 into the river just after she extracted him out  
 of his mother's stomach.'

A third person singular subject particle **pu** replaces the first person singular particle **nu** in the complement of the following sentence, which expresses indirect quotation. In addition, the occurrences of the general subordinator **tʃ** would be marked by **nʲah** 1P SG SUBR were these sentences giving direct quotations.

**ka-pū kái ayān tʃkɪn tʲamʷa'a pū**  
 NEG-SUBJ IRR thus QUOT really SUBJ

**tʲf-hi-ru-'u-rā-h-ka'anʲe tʃ**  
 DISTR-NARR-DISTR-inside-facing-(?)-be SUBR  
 SG out strong

**hu'-u-ta-rā'a-ra'a-n**  
 NARR-COMPL-PERF-around-leave-PRTC

'It wasn't like he had said that he really could  
 cut loose flying like a bat out of hell.'

In the following example, the second person singular object pronoun shows that the complement is expressing an indirect quota-



the direct object of the verb **wau** 'request'. This noun phrase is also subject of the lower complement clause which it precedes. It is also separated from the general subordinator by the topicalized object noun phrase of the complement.

**ayúu ma p-úh-me'e-n m-ih-tá**  
back they ASSR-REFL-go-PRTC they-SEQ-CNJ  
here

**(y)a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-wauu-sin † hah t†ir†i**  
away-COMPL-UNSPEC-look-DUR ART water children  
OBJ(?)

**māh nū'u wī t<sup>y</sup>ī-hī'i-p<sup>w</sup>an**  
they QUOT QUOT DISTR-NARR-irrigate  
SUBR

'And back off towards this way, the people are going to beseech the Rains to sprinkle water over the children (they have presented to them).'

Certain pairs of grammatical markers occur in one order when they appear in simple sentences, but in an opposite order when they are used in a complement clause. For example, the emphatic sequence of subject pronoun + subject particle occurs in independent sentences. In complement clauses the sequence becomes subordinating subject + subject pronoun.

**m<sup>w</sup>āa pā=hu'-u-tā-n<sup>y</sup>uu-sin**  
you you=NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR  
'You will be giving the response.'

**vale mās pāh m<sup>w</sup>āa ta-čāth p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
worth more you you us-care you-be -leave-FUT  
SUBR for located

**nāin š†kā cahta'a nāin t†ka'a-ri cahta'a**  
every day throughout every night-ABS throughout  
'It's much better for you to be watching over us,  
both all day long as well as all night long.'

In independent clauses, the negative clitic precedes the subject particle. In complement clauses, however, the subject subordinating particle precedes the negative (which also differs in shape from the main clause negative).

**ka-nū=š†aam††**  
NEG-I=be  
cold  
'I'm not cold.'

**ayēh n<sup>y</sup>a-'ase n<sup>y</sup>a=kāi=š†aam††**  
thus me-seem I=IRR=be  
cold  
'I don't feel cold.'





particle that precedes the impersonal verb **puéere** even though that clause falls within the semantic scope of **puéere**.

**tu'u-ri yāa p<sup>w</sup>ā'an šika t<sup>y</sup>i-čūm<sup>w</sup>e'i-re t<sup>y</sup>ah**  
 we-now now so days DISTR-evening-CAUS we:SUBR  
 many

**kāi če'e yee puéere t<sup>y</sup>e-yé'e**  
 IRR CONT QUOT seem we-drink  
 'Now we have passed so many days that we no  
 longer appear to drink water.'

### EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

#### General

Generally, embedded questions in Cora occur as a type of objective complement and almost always occur in post-verbal position.

**haisi n<sup>y</sup>ā'u rī'i wa-t<sup>y</sup>é-'i-še'e-re-'e**  
 let's AFF well COMPL-PERF-facing-see-CAUS-APPLIC  
 see toward

**t<sup>y</sup>i n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ayān t<sup>y</sup>i='ayāhna**  
 DUB AFF thus DISTR=thus  
 'Well, let's see now, look real good to see  
 whether it is actually that way.'

Various subordinators are used for marking embedded questions. These include the regular question marker **n<sup>y</sup>i**, the dubitative particle **t<sup>y</sup>i** (illustrated above), and the conditional subordinating conjunction **t† p<sup>w</sup>ā'a**.

**yāa pū nū'u yēewi n<sup>y</sup>i yēewi pa-kāi sēih**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT QUOT Q QUOT you-IRR one

**ā-'a-čau ī siku'u-ri peh yēewi**  
 away-outside-let ART shirt-ABS you QUOT  
 go SUBR

**ta-a-ta-pih-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-n**  
 us-COMPL-PERF-carry-make-APPLIC-PRTC  
 'What he is wondering is whether you'll not  
 sell one of those shirts, or give us one.'



**tʃ p<sup>w</sup>ā'a m-erī āihnā hu'-u-ta-šāh a'ih tʃ**  
 SUBR COND they-now DEM NARR-COMPL-PERF-say what SUBR

**ān-t<sup>y</sup>awāa=hā'a-me āh pū**  
 on -be =DEIC-go CNJ SUBJ  
 top named PS

**hī-r-a-'i-rā-n<sup>y</sup>eh-sin**  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-outside-trajectory-facing-pass-DUR  
 over

'Were they now to say what its name would be,  
 then it would come out bright and shining.'

### Yes/No Questions

Embedded finite yes/no questions are marked just like independent clauses. Thus the interrogative clause of the following sentence could stand alone as an independent sentence.

**wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ci n<sup>y</sup>i=ki ari**  
 COMPL-in -UNSPEC-know-APPLIC Q=INDF now  
 middle OBJ

**ā-'a-če-si**  
 away-outside-stand-(?)  
 'Test it to see if you can now stand on it.'

Non-finite embedded yes/no questions include those introduced by the dubitative particle, which roughly corresponds to the English word 'whether'. In the first of the following examples, the first procomplement of the finite declarative clause occurs in a non-absolute form. That same procomplement occurs in its absolute form when the clause occurs as an embedded question introduced by the dubitative particle.

**ayēh t<sup>y</sup>i=ayāhna**  
 thus DISTR=thus  
 'That's the way it is.'

**haisi n<sup>y</sup>ā'u rī'i wa-t<sup>y</sup>ē-'i-šē'e-re-'e**  
 let's AFF well COMPL-PERF-facing-see-make-APPLIC  
 see

**t<sup>y</sup>i n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ayā-n t<sup>y</sup>i=ayāhna**  
 DUB AFF thus-ABS DISTR=thus  
 'Well, let's see now, look real good to see  
 whether it is actually that way.'

The main verb may be absent from the higher clause to which a yes/no question is embedded. The predicate function may be handled by the quotative particle **nu'u**.



tí'ih nu'u hí t<sup>y</sup>i'i-wā-uh-m<sup>w</sup>a'acii-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a      ĩ  
 CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-COMPL-REFL-thought-make-PAST ART  
 DUR

kump<sup>w</sup>aa-ra-'ara'a-n      ayān tĭ      kĭme'e-n yēe  
 compadre-ABS-NONREFL-ABS thus SUBR with-ABS QUOT  
 POSSR

haisĭ n<sup>y</sup>i-čē'e yēe ra-a-tā-iwa'u      ĩ  
 let's I-EXHRT QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-ask ART  
 see

n<sup>y</sup>a-kump<sup>w</sup>aa t<sup>y</sup>i'itāh-kĭ yēe ru-še'eve'e ū      santiaago  
 my-compadre what-INDF QUOT REFL-want there PN  
 ACC

'Then his compadre was thinking to himself, "Well,  
 let's see, let me ask my compadre what it is that  
 is needed down there in Santiago Ixcuintla."

Although finite embedded WH questions are identical in form to independent WH questions, there are several differences between non-finite embedded WH questions, independent questions, and quotative complement questions. For one, the quotative complementizer *tĭkĭn* does not occur. The following examples show the contrast between a quotative complement WH question with *tĭkĭn* and an embedded question without it.

m-āihnā m-i=hĭ'i-šah-ta      tĭkĭn a'i=kĭ  
 they-DEM they-SEQ=NARR-say-make QUOT what=INDF

ān-t<sup>y</sup>awāa=hā'a-me  
 on -be =be-go  
 top named located

'They were discussing that subject, thusly,  
 "What shall it be called?"

āwī yāa nū ha'acū k<sup>w</sup>ēentu wa-ta-šah-ta  
 INTR thus I somewhat story COMPL-PERF-tell-make

sa-ta'ah      rā-a-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree      a'ih tĭ      a'anāh  
 you:PL-so      DISTR:SG-COMPL-know what SUBR once  
 that

t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-rĭh  
 DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do

'Well, now I'm going to tell a little story so that  
 you all may know what happened once upon a time.'

In form, non-finite embedded questions are like headless relative clauses. They are marked by some form of an indefinite pronoun and by the usual subordinating particle, which agrees in person and number with the subject of the embedded clause.

ka-nū=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree ā'ih n<sup>y</sup>āh wī wā-rī-n<sup>y</sup>i  
 NEG-I=DISTR:SG-know-make something I:SUBR QUOT COMPL-do-FUT  
 'I do not know what I will do.'

ka-pāh=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree ā'ih pāh yē'i  
 NEG-you=DISTR-know-make what you:SUBR manner  
 SG

t<sup>y</sup>i-rā-'a-yaaca  
 DISTR-DISTR-outside-stew  
 SG

'You do not know how you ought to stew it.'

āh nū wī n<sup>y</sup>-ī m<sup>w</sup>a-a-tā-'išaat<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin a'anāh  
 CNJ I QUOT I-SEQ you-COMPL-PERF-tell-APPLIC-DUR when

t<sup>y</sup>e a'-u-hū'u t-ā'a-hu'un ū santiaago  
 we away-COMPL-go:PL we-be-FUT there PN  
 SUBR located

'Then I will tell you when we will be going off  
 to Santiago Ixcuintla.'

The general subordinator t<sup>f</sup> marks third person singular subjects of embedded WH questions.

āa=nā'a hī-(y)a'-u-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>ā a'u=t<sup>f</sup>  
 there=be NARR-away-inside-around-arrive where=SUBR  
 corner

hī-(y)ē'-e-če f k<sup>w</sup>aašu  
 NARR-away-outside-live ART heron  
 'He arrived back there where Heron lived.'

The indefinite WH words ha'atā 'someone' and t<sup>y</sup>i'itā 'something' are marked for accusative if they refer to the direct object of an embedded question.

ka-nū=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e ha'atā t<sup>f</sup>  
 NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC someone SUBR  
 SG

y-a'-u-vī'it<sup>f</sup>  
 it-away-COMPL-carry  
 'I don't know who led him away.'

ka-nū=ra-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-t<sup>y</sup>-e ha'atā-h t<sup>f</sup>  
 NEG-I=DISTR-know-make-APPLIC someone-ACC SUBR  
 SG

a'-u-vī'it<sup>f</sup>  
 away-COMPL-carry  
 'I don't know who he led away.'

haru m-i-rā-a-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree-ri-'i  
 CNJ they-NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-know-CAUS-APPLIC-STAT

t<sup>y</sup>i'itĩ-h tĩ ā'ih we'-i-wā-ruu ĩ  
 what-ACC SUBR what them-NARR-COMPL-do ART  
 vauhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-me'e-n  
 elders-PL-NONREFL-ABS  
 POSSR  
 'But they knew what had happened to his parents.'

Non-finite embedded WH questions may be strung together in a rather long series as the complex complement of given verbs. This does not seem to be true for finite embedded questions.

t<sup>y</sup>i-we'-i-t<sup>y</sup>i-šāa-t<sup>y</sup>a'-a-hraa ha'u tĩ  
 DISTR-them-NARR-up-say-make-APPLIC-INCEPT where SUBR  
 hĩ-(y)a'-a-ta-n<sup>y</sup>ēh a'ih tĩ  
 NARR-away-outside-across-pass what SUBR  
 by  
 t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>a'ariive a'ih tĩ i hēen<sup>y</sup>e-'eke-'e  
 DISTR-NARR-COMPL-in-visit what SUBR SEQ be-SIMUL-APPLIC  
 middle  
 hū'-u-raa a'acāh tĩ p<sup>w</sup>ā'a hĩ-(y)ā'-u-raa  
 NARR-COMPL-leave what SUBR COND NARR-away-COMPL-leave  
 time  
 t<sup>y</sup>i'itĩ tĩ hĩ-y-a'-u-vĩ'itĩ  
 something SUBR NARR-it-away-COMPL-carry  
 'She told them where she had gone, what she had  
 observed, what it was like where she went, what  
 the thing was that carried her off.'

One variant of non-finite embedded WH questions embeds a non-finite predicate to a higher non-finite predicate 'be'.

n<sup>y</sup>ā-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree a'ih tĩ hēen<sup>y</sup>e-'en hĩ-rā-'ah-taawa  
 I-UNSPEC-know-make what SUBR be-PRTC NARR-DISTR-along-make  
 OBJ SG slope  
 'I know what it is like to build a house.'  
 mu-'urĩ r-āa-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-ree-ri-'i a'ih  
 they-now DISTR:SG-COMPL-know-CAUS(?) -APPLIC-STAT what  
 mā hēen<sup>y</sup>a-'aka t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-vatre'e-sin  
 they:SUBR be-SIMUL DISTR-COMPL-PERF(?) -serve-DUR  
 'Now they knew in what capacity they would be serving.'

In a kind of modal embedded WH question, the embedded WH word is preceded by the particle če'e 'exhortative', which gives the sense of 'ever' to the complement clause.





## RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

The neutral position of relative clauses is in post-verbal position, just like it is for other nominal elements (cf. **BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE**). In addition, relative clauses typically follow their head noun phrase. As the following example shows, the head noun phrase may consist of the sequence DEM + ART + N.

harā'ap<sup>w</sup>a'a nū'u ahtā hu'-u-hf āthnā f ha'atf  
 morning QUOT CNJ NARR-COMPL-awaken DEM ART person

tī hi'i-h-waste-'e f wīin<sup>y</sup>i  
 SUBR NARR-UNSPEC-plant-APPLIC ART sugar  
 OBJ cane

'The next morning that man who plants sugar cane woke up.'

Normally, the subordinating particle is the initial member of a relative clause. However, the direct object of a relative clause verb, or the complement of that verb, may become preposed to both the verb and the subordinating particle. Such preposed elements are still constituents of the relative clause. This is shown by the fact that when an overt direct object of a relative clause verb is preposed to both the relative clause main verb and to the subordinating particle, the main verb is not marked with any form of an object prefix. (Cf. **SYNTACTIC MARKING**, Pronominal.)

ayāa pu'u nū'u t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>ā'a āthna f  
 thus SUBJ:PS QUOT DISTR-COMPL-know DEM ART

ha'atf f wīin<sup>y</sup>i tī waste-'e  
 someone ART sugar SUBR plant-APPLIC  
 cane

'And thus it was that the man who plants sugar  
 cane made up a plan.'

Relative clauses may precede the head noun. In some cases the head noun seems to function as an appositive phrase.

āt pū n<sup>y</sup>ā'u p<sup>w</sup>-ēen<sup>y</sup>a-'a āa tī  
 DEM SUBJ AFF ASSR-be-PRTC there SUBR

e-'i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-vaa-ka'a f vastakira'i  
 away-trajectory-in-stand-PAST ART old  
 middle DUR man

'That is him--that old man who was back there.'

ayāa na'a ihii seh t<sup>y</sup>ī-hī'i-še'eve'e ǀ siiku'u-ri  
 thus be now you:SUBR DISTR-NARR-want ART shirt-ABS  
 all

'This is how it now shall be as regards the shirt  
 which you all want.'

t<sup>y</sup>-ahtā cicarūn ha-'a-tāawa t<sup>y</sup>eh  
 we-CNJ chitlings there-outside-make we:SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>ī-t<sup>y</sup>-ē-'i-ku'ura meh t<sup>y</sup>a-rūuri-hmee  
 DISTR-up-inside-trajectory-kill they in -be-COLL  
 SUBR middle wet

ǀ tuiišu

ART pigs

'And we also made chitlings out of those fat pigs  
 that we killed.'

Like nominals in general, relative clauses can be topicalized  
 and thus be preposed to the main verb of the sentence.

haisǀ čē'e āihnā ǀ tǀ hi'i=tawah hu'-u-ye'i-ve  
 let's EXHRT DEM ART SUBR NARR=drunk NARR-COMPL-walk-HAB  
 see

tǀ hī-(y)a'-u-tāiča-hra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i  
 SUBR NARR-away-COMPL-run-leave-FUT

'Well, let's see. Let that one who is drunk go off  
 to run her down.'

pēh (y)ā'-u-wau-n<sup>y</sup>e-n papu'u-rí rá-a-t<sup>y</sup>au  
 you away-COMPL-ask-pass-PRTC you-now DISTR:SG-COMPL-find  
 SUBR for by PS

'You have now found that which you came looking for.'

The distinction in Cora between restrictive and non-restric-  
 tive relative clauses apparently is not marked overtly. Non-re-  
 strictive clauses specify some kind of redundant and non-essential  
 information related to participants or objects named by the head  
 noun:

ka-pū hī'i-we'ici=na'a āime-h nū hū'-u-maara-ka'a  
 NEG-SUBJ NARR-lie=be DEM-ACC I NARR-COMPL-dream-PAST  
 PERF

ǀ šu'um<sup>w</sup>avi'ika ah mā hu'-uh-šū'um<sup>w</sup>a-ri semana  
 ART Judíos there they NARR-REFL-black-STAT week  
 SUBR CAUS

santa hecē

holy on

'It's no lie that I dreamed about those Judíos that  
 blacken themselves there by the river at Holy Week.'

**n<sup>y</sup>i yēwī sē-h-yaana-ku ā̄hna ɸ yana**  
 Q QUOT you-UNSPEC-smoke-DESID DEM ART tobacco  
 PL OBJ PL

**sāh wī ra-še'eve'e**  
 you:PL QUOT DISTR:SG-want  
 'Do you all feel like smoking that tobacco that you  
 wanted to obtain?'

Demonstratives relate in various ways to relative clauses. They can either occur as a constituent within the head noun phrase or they can serve in place of a head noun. In addition, they may be preposed to various elements in the sentence, resulting in a discontinuous construction.

**aīmeh nu'u wī t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'i-t<sup>y</sup>-e meh**  
 DEM:ACC I:PS QUOT DISTR-NARR-eat-make-APPLIC they  
 PL SUBR

**n<sup>y</sup>a=ham<sup>w</sup>ān t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-yest<sup>y</sup>e**  
 me=with DISTR-NARR-make  
 fiesta  
 'I just provide meals for those who participate  
 in the fiesta with me.'

The main verb between the presumptive demonstrative and the relative clause may be deleted if the identity of the subject of the relative clause verb is in focus.

**me-t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>e'e-va-ka n<sup>y</sup>ā'u hēiwa pero aɸ mu'u**  
 they-DISTR-dance-HAB-HAB AFF lots CNJ DEM they:PS  
**kū meh t<sup>y</sup>-a-'u-ta-šāyaka-hmee**  
 EV they:SUBR up-away-horizontally-across-mask-COLL  
 'They really dance a lot, but it's only those who  
 have masks over their faces.'

The definite article that usually precedes the head noun is normally absent from a discontinuous construction with a presumptive demonstrative.

**ā̄h mū wī r-ūu-tui-ira-n tɸ**  
 DEM they QUOT DISTR-horizontally-leave-APPLIC-PRTC SUBR  
 SG

**kɸlen tɸ kāi čē'e ca'a-ka pā'ari'ɸ tɸ kāi**  
 little SUBR IRR CONT suck-HAB child SUBR IRR

**t<sup>y</sup>i=ya'u-p<sup>w</sup>a**  
 UNSPEC=father-HON  
 OBJ

'That is what they will go deliver up to him, a little  
 one who no longer nurses, a child who does not have a  
 father.'



ka-pú ha'atf mā'a pī a'-u-ta-rīh f  
 NEG-SUBJ someone there ASSR away-COMPL-PERF-do ART  
 PS

tī hī'i-k<sup>W</sup>a  
 SUBR NARR-eat

'No one anywhere would take care of the person who  
 was hungry.'

hēekan pū yēwī tā-m<sup>W</sup>a'a-ree f t<sup>y</sup>i'itī n<sup>y</sup>eh  
 lots SUBJ QUOT PERF-know-(?) ART thing I:SUBR

yēwī ra-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tī-n<sup>y</sup>e-n  
 QUOT DISTR:SG-in-carry-come-PRTC  
 middle

'That thing which I go around carrying on my shoulder  
 is exceedingly perceptive.'

Direct relatives cover the full range from near nominal-like  
 structures to near fully sentential structures. At the nominal  
 end of the spectrum, the relative clause predicate may consist of  
 a full nominal.

hawī a'ih cāa ku-'i-wa dios pāh ta-ya'u-p<sup>W</sup>a  
 INTR what later EV-STAT-PASS God you:SUBR our-father-HON

pāh ta-hā'a-ci pāh ta-nāana  
 you:SUBR our-older-HON you:SUBR our-mother  
 brother

'Well, thus it stands, God, you who are our father,  
 you who are our older brother, you who are our mother.'

Here are other examples of relative clauses with nominal  
 predicates:

tī'ih nu'u kī ru-'u-k-āa-čeh-t-e  
 CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR:SG-inside-down-COMPL-cover-make-APPLIC

āthna f tī vāsta'a  
 DEM ART SUBR elder

'And then he put it on the older one.'

haisf tī p<sup>W</sup>a'a yēe pa-kāi wa'a-n<sup>y</sup>a-'a f  
 let's SUBR COND QUOT you-IRR them-dance-PRTC ART  
 see

mah kāi m<sup>W</sup>aarih-se  
 they:SUBR IRR turtle-PL

'Well, let's see now if you can't dance (like)  
 those who are not turtles.'

ma-tī'ih nū'u m-i m-āthnā hu'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-h-kt'ī-kt'  
 they-CNJ QUOT they-SEQ they-DEM NARR-COMPL-in-(?)-chew-RDP  
 middle

**pā'arī'ī tī k<sup>w</sup>a'ačira'a tī kái šī māa vasta'a**  
 child SUBR tender SUBR IRR IMPOT more be  
 grown  
 'And then they devoured that little kid who hadn't  
 yet grown big.'

One type of near-nominal relative clause consists of a possessed human noun in which the prefix *i-* 'be' occurs between the possessor prefix and the noun stem. This prefix and the subordinating particle together signal a relative clause which contrasts with a simple possessed noun phrase of the form ART + N.

**ī ta-vauhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 ART our-elders-PL  
 'our parents'

**ī mah tā-'i-vauhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 ART they:SUBR our-be-elders-PL  
 'they who are our parents'

**ī pāh tā-'i-vasta-ra-'a**  
 ART you:SUBR our-be-elder-make-PRTC  
 'you who are our elder'

The narrative mode *hi'i* occurs with the meaning 'be' to also make relative clauses that are basically nominal in form.

**mu'u-rī nū'u hū'-uh-yein mah hī'i=vauhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a-me'en**  
 they-now QUOT NARR-REFL-cry they:SUBR NARR=elders-PL-NONREFL  
 POSSR  
 'Now, those who are their parents are crying.'

At the sentential end of the spectrum, the predicate of a relative clause may be identical to a verb form that can be uttered as an independent sentence.

**ha'u-kī ē'-e-ma-'a-kan mī t<sup>y</sup>evi tī**  
 where-INDF away-outside-go-PRTC-PRTC ART person SUBR

**wa-mf'ī**  
 COMPL-die

'Where might this person who died have come from?'

**ka-nū hī'i-h-seih ī t<sup>y</sup>l'itī n<sup>y</sup>ah**  
 NEG-I NARR-DISTR:SG-see ART thing I:SUBR

**rā-a-maara-ka'a**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-dream-PAST  
 PERF

'I didn't actually see the thing that I dreamed about.'

Quotative particles, which may occur in either main or subordinate

clauses, may also occur in relative clauses, as can the embedded form of the negative and strings of non-finite verbs.

ayāa t̄f nū'u a'anāh t̄yū-hu'-u-r̄fh-ka'a  
 thus SUBR QUOT once DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do-PAST  
 PERF

ta-vāuhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a mah nū'u hu'-u-sēihra-'a-ka'a  
 our-elders-PL they QUOT NARR-COMPL-see-PRTC-PAST  
 SUBR PERF

'...that which our ancestors who appeared on the scene did once upon a time.'

t̄i'ih nū'u kī r-a-'u-t̄y-āh-tuaa ̄f hāh  
 CNJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-outside-EXT-up-along-leave ART water  
 SG slope

hap<sup>w</sup>a anš̄vi-ka nū'u ̄f hakāh t̄f ta'at̄yī nu'u  
 on five-ACC QUOT ART bamboo SUBR young QUOT  
 'And then he placed five young bamboo stalks on the surface of the water.'

aī n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ih-tā am̄hna t̄yī-hī'i-še'eve'e t̄f kái nāa  
 DEM AFF SEQ-CNJ DEM DISTR-NARR-want SUBR IRR nice

heen t̄f kái nāa hē'en<sup>y</sup>e-'en t̄yī'i-t̄y-ēe-ča-n  
 be SUBR IRR nice be-PRTC DISTR-up-COMPL-cover-PRTC  
 'How on earth is it that she loves that guy who isn't nice to look at, who doesn't dress up nicely?'

Accusative marking on nominals containing relative clauses is largely confined to the demonstrative of the head noun phrase. In some cases, the objective form of the demonstrative appears to be marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause.

ā̄-h nū n<sup>y</sup>-ī'i-h-nam<sup>w</sup>a n<sup>y</sup>ā'u t̄yī'it̄f t̄f  
 DEM-ACC I I-NARR-DISTR:SG-hear AFF something SUBR

hī'i-ša  
 NARR-say

'I understand that which he is saying.'

m-ahtā nū'u m-ā̄hnā hu'-u-sēih t̄f hā  
 they-CNJ QUOT they-DEM NARR-COMPL-see SUBR there

hī-(y)e'-e-vē'e-me  
 NARR-away-outside-come-go  
 towards

'And then they saw the one who is coming along there.'





**tʃ cāhta'a-n kā'a-ti-ma-'a-kaa**  
 SUBR inside-ABS lay-CONN-COLL-PRTC-SIMUL  
 'Those things were hanging on the sides of each  
 one inside of which the money was piled up.'

The sequence postposition + -n normally immediately follows the subordinator. It may be separated from the subordinator by the quotative morpheme, however.

**sūura-vi'i ʃ tʃi'itiʃ mah nū'u kʃn wā'a-haaʃi**  
 long-PRTC ART thing they:SUBR QUOT with them-milk  
 'The thing that they say they milk them with is long  
 and tubular.'

The head noun phrase of an oblique relative clause may precede an indefinite pronoun that occurs between it and the subordinator. The indefinite pronoun may be internal to the relative clause.

**ayāa pu'u nū'u ʃāa tʃi-hi-ra'a-rā'a ʃ**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT AFF DISTR-NARR-around-arrive ART  
 PS corner  
**ʃtka a'anāh mē hecē-n kʃi'i-nʃi**  
 day when they:SUBR on-ABS die-FUT  
 'And thus indeed the day arrived on which they would die.'

An appositive noun phrase may follow an oblique relative.

**ahtā ān hu'-u-tʃ-āh-raa āthnā hecē tʃ**  
 CNJ on NARR-inside-up-along-leave DEM in SUBR  
 top slope  
**hē'ita'a wiitʃuu āthna ʃ ware**  
 in stand DEM ART olive  
 middle  
 'And then he climbed up that olive tree which was  
 planted there in the middle of things.'

### Headless Relatives

Headless relative clauses either may be completely unmarked in the pre-subordinator position which is normally filled by the head noun phrase or they may have that pre-subordinator slot filled by some kind of demonstrative element. These demonstrative elements may be considered the head of their relative clauses. As the following examples show, headless relative clauses can function as either subjects or objects.

**hāku'u tʃ tʃe-'en-tʃi-pitʃii-hmee āth mū m-i**  
 bamboo SUBR DISTR-on-up-be-COLL DEM they they-SEQ  
 top pointed



relative clause. This cross-referencing is marked on the verb by the appropriate form of the direct object prefix or by some form of the distributive prefix. The cross-referencing shows that the demonstrative pronoun in pre-subordinator position is not syntactically a constituent of the relative clause in pre-verbal position; as the second example below shows, there is no overt direct object marking on the verb if an overt direct object nominal precedes it within a clause.

**puh sáth pú=nú'u ahtā wa-m<sup>w</sup>á'ití áihna mäh**  
 well another SUBJ=QUOT CNJ COMPL-lose DEM they:SUBR

**ra-a-tā-ít<sup>y</sup>-a-ka'a**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-send-APPLIC-PAST  
 PERF

'Well, another one of those that they had sent also failed.'

**n<sup>y</sup>i sa=kāi=šī ha'atāh n<sup>y</sup>ā'u wa-tāih**  
 Q you:PL=IRR=IMPOT someone AFF COMPL-order  
 'Have you all not sent anyone yet?'

A headless relative clause with a demonstrative pronoun may precede an appositive noun phrase of the form ART + N.

**ka-pū nú'u a'acū aihnā tī hī'i vasta'a ī**  
 NEG-SUBJ QUOT somewhat DEM SUBR NARR elder ART

**ta-ha'a**  
 our-older  
 brother

'That older brother of ours was not willing to give an inch.'

An adverbial demonstrative may also occur in pre-subordinator position. This adverbial demonstrative may or may not itself be preceded by the head noun phrase.

**hūumpi nāa kū yēewi t<sup>y</sup>i-ē'en ī siiku'u-ri ān tī**  
 man really EV QUOT DISTR-be ART shirt-ABS on SUBR  
 top

**yēewi himī t<sup>y</sup>i-'i-vā-kāa-t<sup>y</sup>e'e-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 QUOT far DISTR-facing-come-down-be-make-APPLIC  
 off toward long

'Man, those shirts hanging down from up there are really pretty.'

As with other kinds of relative clauses, the subordinating particle of a headless clause is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the main verb of that relative clause.

ka-šū wī ā=t<sup>y</sup>a-hu-ās-t<sup>y</sup>-a-wa-'an  
 NEG-you QUOT away=DISTR-inside-reach-make-APPLIC-REM-PRTC  
 PL

ī ru-če n<sup>y</sup>āh t<sup>y</sup>ā-hām<sup>w</sup>a-a-ta-  
 ART REFL-house I:SUBR DISTR-you:PL-COMPL-PERF-

pīh-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-sin  
 carry-make-APPLIC-DUR  
 'Don't take that which I am going to give you all off  
 to your house.'

True headless relative clauses, i.e. those that have no overt element in pre-subordinator position, seem to arise from several different sources. For one, since relative clauses function like any regular nominal, they can be topicalized and thus become subject to the rule that deletes definite articles from noun phrases that occur in pre-verbal position. Thus the absence of the article from the following relative clause does not necessarily mean that it is indefinite.

n<sup>y</sup>ah wī we-'i-wē-'in<sup>y</sup>ee aīneh nū  
 I:SUBR QUOT them-NARR-COMPL-invite DEM:ACC:PL I  
 t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-mi-k<sup>w</sup>a  
 DISTR-NARR-feed-eat  
 'Those who I invite are the very ones that I feed.'

Other examples show that the definite article may occur with only the first relative clause in a string of such clauses.

pu'u-rī 'i-ku ī pah kīme'e-n  
 SUBJ-now be-EV ART you:SUBR with-ABS  
 na-'u-tā-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree-ri-'i pah kīme'e-n wa-tā'a  
 me-COMPL-PERF-know-APPLIC-STAT you:SUBR with-ABS COMPL-give  
 pah kīme'e-n wa-tā-'ik<sup>w</sup>a-ta-ka'a pah kīme'e-n  
 you with-ABS COMPL-PERF-be-make-PAST you with-ABS  
 SUBR hungry PERF SUBR  
 wa-tā-kuhmīh-ta-ka'a  
 COMPL-PERF-be-make-PAST  
 sleepy PERF  
 'Now there it is--that for which you desired me, that which  
 you longed for, that for which you hungered, that for  
 which you daydreamed.'

On the other hand, examples of fully headless relative clauses do correlate with indefiniteness.

āh nū'u t<sup>y</sup>i-hi'i-kā-vi-vī t̄ sa'amūura  
 along QUOT DISTR-NARR-down-RDP-hang SUBR speckled  
 slope

t̄ šū'um<sup>w</sup>a t̄ yū'uša  
 SUBR black SUBR striped  
 'Speckled ones, black ones, and striped ones were  
 hanging down from there.'

Headless relative clauses sometimes make use of indefinite pronouns such as t<sup>y</sup>i'it̄(h) 'something/anything' and a'ih 'what/whatever'. These indefinite pronouns seem to be external to the clause when they occur in pre-subordinator position.

ah pū 'ih aihnā hecé ā'-u-me ā'ih t̄  
 CNJ SUBJ SEQ DEM on away-COMPL-go what SUBR  
 t<sup>y</sup>i-rā-'i-šaa ɸ yauh-ra'a-n ā'ih t̄  
 DISTR-DISTR-facing-say ART son-NONREFL-ABS what SUBR  
 SG away POSSR

t<sup>y</sup>i-r-aa-tā-n<sup>y</sup>uu-č-e ɸ  
 DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-respond-IMP-APPLIC ART

t̄ hemī-n y-a'-a-rāa-vi'it̄  
 SUBR with-ABS it-away-outside-facing-carry  
 away

'And then she set out (to work) on that which her  
 son told her, on that which the one who he had  
 brought with himself had instructed her.'



ha'u t<sup>y</sup>a a-uu-hū'u-n  
 where we away-there-go:PL-PRTC  
 SUBR horizontal  
 'Let there be only one set of tracks left there where  
 we will be going along.'

m-āū=nā'a hī-(y)a'-u-kā-n<sup>y</sup>āa ha'u māh  
 they-LOC=be NARR-away-inside-down-arrive where they  
 BASE SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>i-hī-(y)e'-e-ye'est<sup>y</sup>e  
 DISTR-NARR-away-outside-make  
 fiesta  
 'That was the place they descended to, there where  
 they were celebrating a fiesta.'

Adverbial relative clauses may have an overt nominal head that names either a particular person or a physical object.

m-ahtā hē'eyan hī-(y)a'-u-k<sup>t</sup>h ah-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>w</sup>ā  
 they-CNJ next NARR-away-COMPL-leave along-upstream  
 slope

hecē mēhči t<sup>t</sup> ku a'-a-tā-vee huliāana'a  
 at mesquite SUBR EV away-outside-up-be PN

t<sup>t</sup> kū e'-e-če  
 SUBR EV away-outside-live  
 'And next they left for a place upriver where a mesquite  
 tree stands, where Juliana lives.'

The head of a 'where' clause may also consist of a sentential locative particle and an overt nominal which immediately precedes the subordinating particle.

mē n<sup>y</sup>a kāh t<sup>y</sup>e=yēewī=vēhri'i če m-āh  
 right I:SUBR ACC(?) us=QUOT=close live right-along  
 there slope

šāp<sup>w</sup>a'a t<sup>y</sup>-a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>āuu  
 chachalate SUBR-away-EXT-be  
 tree found  
 'It's close to us where I live, right off there where  
 a chachalate tree is in the slope.'

A locative adverb may also occur as the head of an adverbial relative clause.

t<sup>y</sup>-ahtā hī-(y)ā'-u-hū'u-n ān-t<sup>y</sup>i t<sup>t</sup>  
 we-CNJ NARR-away-COMPL-go:PL-PRTC on-uphill SUBR  
 hī-(y)ē'-e-če ta-tāata  
 NARR-away-outside-live our-father  
 'And we will go on up there where our father lives.'





Sequential Temporal Clauses

Sequential temporal clauses describe an event whose realization precedes that of some event described by the main clause of the sentence. The introductions to such clauses can often be rendered by words such as 'having, after, once that, when'. Temporal clauses usually precede the main clause in a sentence.

**ma-ti'ih nū'u m-i**

they-CNJ QUOT they-SEQ

**t<sup>y</sup>i-r-a-'i-kāa-tu'i-šī'i-n**

DISTR-DISTR-outside-facing-down-carry-DISTR-PRTC  
SG toward PAST

**m-i-r-aa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-šaa-pi-t<sup>y</sup>e**

they-NARR-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-fit-rub-make-APPLIC  
SG (?) PAST

**āihna † pa'arī'i**

DEM ART child

'And then, having gotten them down, they fit the child up with one of them.'

The verbs in sequential temporal clauses meaning 'having X' are marked by the participial suffix *-an/-n*.

**āh pū (y)a'-u-pīrip<sup>w</sup>a-šī'i-n ahtā**

then SUBJ away-COMPL-roll-PAST-PRTC CNJ  
DISTR

**u-t<sup>y</sup>a-uh-šīh-ta-ka'a**

inside-in-REFL-finish-make-PAST  
middle PERF

'Then, having rolled over on the floor, he took the shirt off.'

**yāa mū u-ve'e-n<sup>y</sup>e-n**

thus they inside-coming-arrive-PRTC they-CNJ COMPL-PERF-sleep  
back

'And thus, having come back, they went to sleep.'

**hī-r-a-'u-sā'a-ra-'an**

NARR-DISTR-outside-horizontally-urinate-make-PRTC QUOT one  
SG

**it<sup>y</sup>ēeri pū kīn t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-vā'is-t<sup>y</sup>e**

week SUBJ with DISTR-outside-fill-make:APPLIC  
PAST

'Urinating in it, he filled it in a week's time.'

The conjunction *ti'ih* 'when' marks both subordinate temporal clauses as well as main clauses. It may be glossed as either

'when' or 'after' and may occur together with the indefinite morpheme **-kī**. Subordinate clauses introduced by **tī'ih** typically precede the main clause.

**tī'ih rā-a-m<sup>W</sup>a'a-ree m<sup>W</sup>-aa-ta-vāhra**  
 CNJ DISTR-COMPL-think-make you-COMPL-PERF-follow  
 SG

'When he learns about it he will follow you.'

**tī'i-kī wa-t<sup>y</sup>a-uh-vāra-'ast<sup>y</sup>a-'a-šī'ī**  
 CNJ-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-beat-reach-APPLIC-PAST

**ū hī-(y)ā'-u-me**  
 there NARR-away-COMPL-go

'And then he flapped his wings against his sides  
 and took off.'

A subordinate temporal clause may be introduced by a procomplement and a pausal form of the subject particle. The subordinate clause is simply juxtaposed to a following main clause.

**ayāa pu'u ū m-ī (y)a'-u-vā'a-tīī**  
 thus SUBJ:PS there they-SEQ away-inside-coming-carry

**m-ī-ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-a-k<sup>W</sup>a'a**  
 they-NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-in-outside-eat  
 middle

'Thus it was that having gone and brought it back,  
 they were eating it.'

The quantifier **sēih** 'one' can also subordinate a non-finite temporal clause juxtaposed to a following main clause.

**sēih pū ayān wa-r'fh pu'u-rī nū'u t'fn**  
 once SUBJ thus COMPL-do SUBJ:PS-now QUOT almost

**ma-ūu-n<sup>y</sup>ee-ri-'i**  
 there-inside-light-make-STAT  
 horizontal

'Once that he had done so, he now could almost  
 see (again).'

#### Simultaneous Temporal Clauses

Some simultaneous clauses are merely juxtaposed to either a preceding or a following main clause. Those that are both juxtaposed to and follow the main clause tend to be non-finite.

**āi tā'uh t<sup>y</sup>-ih-tā t<sup>y</sup>i'i-t<sup>y</sup>a-ku'ucu n<sup>y</sup>éeri-ste-'e**  
 DEM EXCLM we-be-CNJ DISTR-in -be day-make-APPLIC  
 middle asleep

'How in the world is it that we were asleep during the  
 day time?'

mā'a a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>avāa ta-nam<sup>W</sup>a  
 there:PS away-COMPL-be across-hear  
 'He's off there somewhere listening.'

hī-rā-'a-va'a-kāi pū hā  
 NARR-DISTR-outside-covering-be SUBJ there  
 SG seated

hī-(y)e'-i-tā-tai-n  
 NARR-away-face-straight-run-PRTC  
 to  
 face

'He was galloping toward him on horseback.'

a mū hē'e=e'-i-kāh wa-ta-p<sup>W</sup>ā'a-ri  
 there they be=away-facing-lay COMPL-PERF-break-CAUS  
 located toward PASS

ha'u=māh a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-hi † čum<sup>W</sup>a'an  
 where=they away-COMPL-PERF-lay ART evening  
 SUBR down

'The next morning when it got light, they would still  
 be lying there where they lay down to sleep the  
 night before.'

The verb in a juxtaposed simultaneous temporal clause is frequently marked for durative aspect. The relevant suffixes include -a PRTC, -ka 'simultaneous mode', and the past perfective suffix -ka'a.

mu'u-htā m-āihnā mū'u  
 they-CNJ they-DEM there  
 PS PS

hī-(y)a'-a-vā'a-ham†-st-e † tiicika'i  
 NARR-away-outside-come-drown-make-APPLIC ART hummingbird

t† p<sup>W</sup>-ēen k†n mū ā'-u-me  
 SUBR ASSR-be with there away-COMPL-go

ā'-u-caawa-t<sup>y</sup>-a-'a t†k†n hēekan pū  
 away-REFL-believe-make-APPLIC-PRTC QUOT lots SUBJ

u-rā-h-ka'an<sup>y</sup>e  
 inside-facing-DISTR:SG-be  
 out strong

'Off there somewhere they simply drowned that hummingbird  
 who, like this, went off believing that he was really  
 strong enough to outrun them.'

ayāa mū hēen<sup>y</sup>a-'aka-'a hu'-u-ta-p<sup>W</sup>ā'a-ra-ka'a  
 thus they be-SIMUL-PRTC NARR-COMPL-PERF-end-make-PAST  
 PERF

'This is how they were when it got light.'



wa-méh asta kái mú=he'-eh-n<sup>y</sup>éh ah-t<sup>y</sup>ap<sup>wá</sup>-'imí  
 COMPL-go until there=away-along-arrive along-upstream-far  
 slope slope  
 'He went until he passed by a point a long ways upstream.'

The adverbial *arí* 'now, already' occurs in second position with various subordinators in temporal clauses.

ka-nū nyāa t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ve'e-si-hra-mi'í pā'arí'í kime'e  
 NEG-I I DISTR-big-reach-make-DESID child with  
 tí p<sup>wá</sup>'a arí wa-nu'iwa  
 SUBR COND now COMPL-born  
 'I don't want to raise her and the child after he is already born.'

The postposition *kime'e* 'with' also marks simultaneous subordinate clauses. It is marked with the absolutive suffix *-n*, occurs in sentence-initial position, and may be glossed as 'as soon as'.

kime'e-n pu'u áihná wā-nam<sup>wá</sup>ah-r-i tí'ih  
 with-ABS SUBJ:PS DEM:ACC COMPL-hear-make-STAT CNJ  
 nū'u séi an-ta-cāana  
 QUOT one on-across-tear  
 top off  
 'As soon as he heard that, then he tore one off.'

The subordinating sequence *tíh na'a* 'SUBR be' may also be glossed as 'as soon as'. In sentences with subordinate *tíh na'a* clauses, the main clause may refer to an unrealized event.

tíh na'a wí ahtá t<sup>y</sup>a-tíh t<sup>y</sup>a-na'a wí t<sup>y</sup>-ahtá  
 like be QUOT CNJ we-live we-be QUOT we-CNJ  
 t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'-a-rā-iiša hē'eyan šu'u wí  
 DISTR-away-outside-facing-arrive immediately you QUOT  
 away PL  
 s-ahtá t<sup>y</sup>i-t<sup>y</sup>ā-há'-u-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-tí-ra'a-n<sup>y</sup>i  
 you-CNJ RDP-DISTR-away-COMPL-kill-CONN-leave-FUT  
 PL  
 'And just as soon as we get there, you all will immediately begin killing animals.'

The notion of simultaneity is also expressed by the sentential conjunction *meent'i* 'while/meanwhile' (Sp. *mientras* 'meanwhile'). In narrative text, this conjunction serves as a pivot to change scenes or to introduce a new character.

méent<sup>y</sup>i nū'u ku-rā'a-nami'i āihna f yana tih  
 meanwhile QUOT around-back-be DEM ART tobacco like  
 and enclosed  
 forth

na'a nū'u t<sup>y</sup>u-hū'-u-še'eve'e ayān mā=hā'a=wa'a  
 be QUOT DISTR-NARR-REFL-want thus they=be=beyond  
 located

t<sup>y</sup>i-(y)ā'-a-was-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e  
 DISTR-away-outside-be-make-APPLIC  
 planted

'Meanwhile, off around there that crop of tobacco was all  
 fenced in, just like it is necessary for them to plant  
 it off yonder (on the coastal plain).'

### If-Clauses

Rarely, conditional clauses may be marked by a form of the  
 temporal conjunction tī'ih.

tī'ī-kī f ruhm<sup>w</sup>a'a tī'ī-kī āaruihm<sup>w</sup>a'a tahtūwan  
 CNJ-(?) ART tomorrow CNJ-(?) following governor  
 tomorrow

m<sup>w</sup>a-'i-wa-tā-'išaa tu'uh-tā t<sup>y</sup>-eyān  
 you-facing-COMPL-PERF-advise we-CNJ we-thus  
 toward PS

t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-h-še'eve'e para huun<sup>y</sup>iu hece mēh m-ih-tā  
 DISTR-NARR-UNSPEC-want by June around they they-SEQ-CNJ  
 OBJ SUBR

hu'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ē-viye n<sup>y</sup>āa nū n<sup>y</sup>ā'u wi  
 NARR-COMPL-PERF-rain I I AFF QUOT

hī'i-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree-ra-n  
 NARR-UNSPEC-know-APPLIC-PRTC  
 OBJ

'Should the governor advise you in the future sometime  
 that all we want is for it to rain sometime around  
 June, I will indeed know about it.'

The most common marker of conditional clauses is the se-  
 quence tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a SUBR + COND. Conditional clauses introduced by tī  
 p<sup>w</sup>a'a contrast with temporal clauses introduced by tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a in  
 that the conditional clauses typically precede the main clause of  
 a sentence while the temporal clauses typically follow the main  
 clause.

tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a rū'i-kan se-t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-n<sup>y</sup>i amfmeħ sū  
 SUBR COND raw-PRTC you-DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT DEM you  
 all ACC PL

**n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ya'am<sup>w</sup>āa-t<sup>y</sup>e hī'i-h-k<sup>w</sup>i'i-tī-ra'a-sin**  
 AFF animal-PL NARR-UNSPEC-kill-CONN-INCEPT-DUR  
 OBJ

**tuišu wāaka-si kāūra-si kān<sup>y</sup>a'a-šī nāihmi'i-ka**  
 pigs cow-PL goat-PL sheep-PL everything-ACC  
 'If you eat things raw, you will begin to kill all of those  
 domesticated animals--pigs, cows, goats, sheep.'

Conditional clauses may also be marked by the particle **t<sup>y</sup>i** 'dubitative'. Again the conditional clause usually precedes the main verb.

**t<sup>y</sup>i t<sup>y</sup>i'itī me=hī-ra-'an-ta-yē'i**  
 DUB something there=NARR-DISTR:SG-on-straight-walk  
 top

**n<sup>y</sup>-ī'i-h-šana'ave-'e**  
 I-NARR-UNSPEC-be-APPLIC  
 OBJ nauseous  
 'If some smelly animal comes walking around,  
 I become nauseous from it.'

The introducer **na'arī** 'on the other hand, if' marks a sort of contrapositive conditional relationship in that the conditional clause refers to some hypothetical event which is set up in opposition to the event described by a preceding clause. The main verb of the conditional clause may be deleted, especially if the modal used in it is **kāi** 'irrealis'.

**na'arī wī yāa nū'u šāa mā-m<sup>w</sup>e-'i-wā-ta-še'eve'e**  
 but QUOT thus I:PS AFF they-you-facing-COMPL-PERF-want  
 toward

**māhna čuīset<sup>y</sup>e āa pēh n<sup>y</sup>ā'u ayān wā'a=ham<sup>w</sup>ān**  
 there Jesús there you AFF thus them=with  
 María SUBR

**t<sup>y</sup>é-he-'e-sēīra-'a p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me**  
 DISTR-NARR-away-see-PRTC you-be-go  
 located  
 'But, on the other hand, I am instructing you to remain  
 there with them if they really do want you there in  
 Jesús María.'

**na-a-tā-tuā yēewī na'arī kāi**  
 me-COMPL-PERF-leave QUOT but IRR

**n<sup>y</sup>ā-mu-'u-rā-čeci'ina yēewi n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā-wa'a y-u**  
 I-you-inside-facing-kick QUOT I-CNJ-beyond here-inside  
 away

hecē séih kime'e f n<sup>y</sup>a-tika  
 at one with ART my-foot  
 'Let me go! But if not, I'm going to kick you in the  
 shins with my other foot.'

Simple conditional clauses contrast with contrafactual ones. Contrafactual sentences usually include the modal marker *kai* 'irrealis' in the conditional clause and may have tenseless participial markings on the main verbs of both clauses.

ah<sup>t</sup>ā nū'u ahnā t<sup>f</sup> p<sup>w</sup>a'a k<sup>ai</sup> h<sup>i</sup>'i-m<sup>w</sup>e'iti-ča-'a āihna f  
 CNJ QUOT then SUBR COND IRR NARR-win-move-PRTC DEM ART  
 ta-ha'a t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a pū nū'u k<sup>f</sup>n  
 our-elder well SUBJ QUOT with  
 brother

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-'a-vā'a-n-h<sup>f</sup>'ika-'a  
 I-DISTR-DISTR:SG-outside-come-REFL-bind-PRTC  
 'And also, they say, that if at that time our elder  
 brother had not violated the commandment, I would  
 have been going around with that thing wrapped  
 around my beltline.'

A conditional clause may follow the result or reason clause.

nāa pū yēewi t<sup>y</sup>i-ē'en i siiku'u-ri t<sup>f</sup>  
 really SUBJ QUOT DISTR-be ART shirt-ABS SUBR  
 p<sup>w</sup>a'a yēewi t<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-tā-wauu-n<sup>y</sup>i  
 COND QUOT we-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-ask-FUT  
 'Those shirts are really nice, if only  
 we were to ask for one.'

am<sup>f</sup> pū yēewi f warē šuure'e h<sup>i</sup>'i waatari t<sup>f</sup> yēewi  
 DEM SUBJ QUOT ART olive sap NARR medicine SUBR QUOT  
 hi-ra-'an-tā-šam<sup>w</sup>e'i-pe-'e-n  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-on-across-leaf-remove-APPLIC-PRTC  
 top  
 'Well, that fig tree sap is good medicine, if one  
 plucks off a leaf (so it can run out).'

## Other

### Because-Clauses

Several distinct markings are used to signal subordinate clause relations such as 'because', 'since', and 'therefore'. Commonly, because-clauses are introduced by the question word *ha'in* 'how, since'.





**wāaka-sí káúra-sí kán<sup>y</sup>a'a-št nāihmi'i-ka**  
 cow-PL goat-PL sheep-PL everything-ACC  
 'And don't you all eat them raw, but rather you will  
 eat them cooked, because if you eat them raw, you  
 will begin killing all kinds of domesticated animals  
 like pigs and cows and goats and sheep.'

Spanish **como** 'since' has also been borrowed as a marking for be-  
 cause-clauses.

**ka-nū šāa n<sup>y</sup>ā'u hā=ham<sup>w</sup>ān yā=hu'-u-tā-ka**  
 NEG-I AFF AFF you=with here=NARR-COMPL-PERF-be  
**kumu n<sup>y</sup>-erī n<sup>y</sup>a-hīme'e-n hī'i-če**  
 since I-now I-apart-PRTC NARR-live  
 'Indeed, I really will not stay here with you  
 since I now live apart, all by myself.'

### Purpose Clauses

The general subordinating particle series can be used to mark  
 purpose clauses. Clauses marked in this way typically can be  
 translated as infinitival complements and 'for-to' complements in  
 English. Some may also be glossed as 'in order to'.

**m<sup>w</sup>āre'e-ri n<sup>y</sup>eh t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-ti-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 work-CAUS I:SUBR DISTR-COMPL-carry-FUT  
 'It's hard for me to bring a lot of things.'

**ka-nū wā-ye'i-ve n<sup>y</sup>āh mā'a ta-mé'en**  
 NEG-I COMPL-walk-CAP I:SUBR there:PS straight-go-PRTC  
 'I am not able to travel anywhere.'

**ahtā nū'u āin t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-'an-t<sup>y</sup>i-m<sup>w</sup>ā-reh āihna t<sup>f</sup>**  
 CNJ QUOT DEM DISTR-DISTR-on-up-put-make:APPLIC DEM SUBR  
 SG top PAST

**hī-r-ā-'i-h-ti-či-iri-'i**  
 NARR-DISTR-outside-trajectory-(?)-carry-move-APPLIC-STAT  
 SG

**āihna ī rum<sup>w</sup>a**  
 DEM ART zapote  
 'And then he worked on him in order to extract that  
 zapote fruit from his throat.'

Purpose clauses may also be marked by the combination of a  
 general subordinating particle and a following particle **i**, which I  
 gloss as either sequential or 'be', depending on the context. Both  
 the general subordinator and the sequential particle are marked  
 for subject-verb agreement.

yāa tū wī t<sup>y</sup>i'i-mā-'u-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree pah wī āihnā  
 thus we QUOT DISTR-you-COMPL-know you:SUBR QUOT DEM

t<sup>y</sup>a-'an-ku-rā'a-n pah wī p-īh kái čē'e  
 DISTR-on-around-arrive-PRTC you QUOT you-SEQ IRR CONT  
 top (?) SUBR

wāap<sup>w</sup>a'a ā'ih t<sup>y</sup>i'i-šah-ta t‡ p<sup>w</sup>á'a wī t<sup>y</sup>a=kái  
 feel what DISTR-say-make SUBR COND QUOT we=IRR  
 like SUBR

čē'e u-vē'e-n<sup>y</sup>e-n ruihm<sup>w</sup>a'a āaruilm<sup>w</sup>a'a  
 CONT inside-coming-arrive-PRTC tomorrow following  
 tomorrow

'Thus we are showing you consideration so that you  
 receive this, so that you will no longer feel like  
 complaining in case we don't show up tomorrow or  
 the day after.'

Negative purpose clauses are marked by a general subordinating particle, an optional sequential particle, and the embedded negative.

t‡-'ih kái ha'at‡ wá'a-seihra me-t<sup>y</sup>a-'an-ta-kúuna-n  
 SUBR-SEQ IRR someone them-see they-DISTR-on-across-be-PRTC  
 top hollow

'So that no one could see them, they closed the door.'

Purpose clauses may also be formed on a postpositional base. The postposition *k‡n* usually has a demonstrative pronominal object and occurs in a discontinuous construction as a kind of pre-sumptive oblique pronominal element.

t‡'th-tā nu'u hí āihnā k‡n mé  
 CNJ-and QUOT SEQ DEM with there

hī-(y)ā-ūu-ru-pi t‡  
 NARR-away-inside-enter-PAST SUBR  
 horizontal

t<sup>y</sup>ī-hi'i-wās-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a-hraa tāka'i t‡h p<sup>w</sup>a'am<sup>w</sup>ā  
 DISTR-NARR-plant-make-APPLIC-PAST fruit SUBR amount  
 to

yén t<sup>y</sup>ī-hi'i-seihre-'e t<sup>y</sup>eh t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-ka  
 here DISTR-NARR-see-APPLIC we DISTR-eat-HAB  
 SUBR

'And then, he went off somewhere in order to plant fruit or  
 whatever appears around here of those things that we eat.'

The object of the postpositional base *k‡n* may consist of the verb *heen* 'be' and its subject complement clause.

ayāa nū ēen kīn hām<sup>w</sup>a-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā'ī-ce-e t<sup>y</sup>eh yēewī  
 thus I be with you-COMPL-bother-make-APPLIC we QUOT  
 PL SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>-āuh t<sup>y</sup>-ī ra-t<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>āar-en āihnā ī we'ira'a  
 we-LOC we-SEQ DISTR-PERF-visit-PRTC DEM ART meat  
 BASE SG

tī kái hām-a-'u-tā-čauu-c-e  
 SUBR IRR you:PL-away-COMPL-PERF-sell-make-APPLIC  
 'It is for this reason that I bothered you all, that we  
 ought to go visit the one who wouldn't sell you all the  
 meat.'

The subordinator *ta'ah* also marks purpose clauses. It can be uniformly glossed by the expression 'so that', and it is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the subordinate clause. Clauses marked by *ta'ah* also typically follow the main clause of the sentence they occur in.

n<sup>y</sup>e-čē'e yēewī in<sup>y</sup>āa kiyē wa-rā'a-wau-n<sup>y</sup>i t<sup>y</sup>a-ta'ah  
 I-EXHRT QUOT I pole EXT-around-look-FUT we-so  
 corner for that

yēewī kīn ru-'u-t<sup>y</sup>-īci-ce-'en  
 QUOT with DISTR-inside-up-lift-make-PRTC  
 SG

'Let me go around looking for a pole with which  
 we can prop it up.'

hī-(y)e'e hīi se-t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-ka'a sa-ta'ah wī t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a  
 NARR-there now you-DISTR-COMPL-cut you-so QUOT really  
 PS PL wood PL that

t<sup>y</sup>ī-ra-'u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tai-ira ī tī hī'i vasta'a  
 DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-in-burn-APPLIC ART SUBR NARR grown  
 SG middle

'Come on and cut firewood, you all, so that you can burn  
 the elder one into cinders.'

Several purpose clauses may occur in the same sentence.

mā tu'u t<sup>y</sup>-ī yēewī čāhta'a a'-u-rā-n<sup>y</sup>ē-n  
 there we we-SEQ QUOT town away-EXT-down-arrive-PRTC  
 PS river

t<sup>y</sup>a-ta'ah t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>a'arīive-'en t<sup>y</sup>a-ta'ah wā-p<sup>w</sup>asaaruve-'en  
 we-so DISTR-COMPL-visit-PRTC we-so COMPL-wander-PRTC  
 that that around

'We just ought to go back downriver to town so that  
 we can visit and walk around.'

Like-Clauses

The subordinator **t̥h** marks most subordinate clauses that are related semantically to main clauses by some notion of similarity. As with other subordinators, **t̥h** is marked for person and number agreement with the subject of the subordinate clause. Like-clauses usually follow a main clause.

ayāa nū wī hī'i-r̥ik̥t̥ sa-t̥h wī s-erī  
 thus I QUOT NARR-do you:PL-like QUOT you:PL-now

t̥yī-ta-a-sēih

DISTR-us-COMPL-see

'I am doing thus, just like you already saw us doing.'

Like-clauses frequently include a pair of verbs strung together. The first is always **na'a** and is marked for the subject of the entire clause; the second verb is always non-finite.

kime'e-n mu'u nū'u ān-nā (y)ā'-u-raii  
 with-ABS they QUOT on -PREV away-COMPL-toss  
 PS top REF

m-i-ra'a-t̥yī-āa-št̥i vēhri'i nū'u ma-t̥h  
 they-SEQ-around-up-arrive-DISTR close QUOT they-like  
 corner PAST

ma-na'a nū'u t̥yī'i-h-r̥i'tre i santaaru'u  
 they-be QUOT DISTR-DISTR-learn ART soldiers  
 SG

'They no sooner had tossed him into the fire than they all clustered really closely around it like soldiers do.'

Like-clauses are usually sentential in nature, as the previous examples illustrate. They may also tend toward the nominal end of the spectrum. The predicate of the following examples consists of a relative clause in one case and a simple noun in the other case.

ayāa pū nū'u hu'-u-r̥h̥ t̥h nū'u ta'u t̥f  
 thus SUBJ QUOT NARR-COMPL-do like QUOT egg SUBR

a-uu-tā-caan-e

outside-EXT-straight-burst-APPLIC

'Thus he did just like an egg that is splattering.'

ayān rā-ruu-rā t̥h t̥yēvi

thus DISTR:SG-make-APPLIC like person

'He formed it just like a person.'

When the modal complex **če'e-tā** 'CONT + and' occurs in the main clause of a sentence that contains a like-clause, the meaning

of the subordinate clause appears to be 'just as/in the same way as'.

āihná ꞑ n<sup>y</sup>a-kump<sup>w</sup>aa ayēh ꞑe'e-tā=na'a n<sup>y</sup>a-ruu-re-n  
DEM ART my-compadre thus CONT-and=be I-do-APPLIC-PRTC

tih nā-a-ruu  
like me-COMPL-do

'I'm going to treat that compadre of mine just  
exactly like he treated me.'

#### Without-Clauses

Clauses that express the notion 'X does Y without Z' seem to always involve negation in one way or another. In the following example, the without-clause includes the embedded negative *kāi* 'irrealis' and precedes the main verb.

n<sup>y</sup>i kāi t<sup>y</sup>i'i-tuāa-va-'a ā'-u-me  
Q IRR DISTR-find-CAP-DUR away-COMPL-go  
'Did he go without taking any money along?'

Without-clauses may also utilize the main sentence negative *ka*. In this case the subordinate clause follows the main verb.

me-t<sup>y</sup>i-hī-(y)ā'-a-nawa-'a ka-mū  
they-DISTR-NARR-away-outside(?)-steal-DUR NEG-they  
PAST

a'ih ma-na'a t<sup>y</sup>apūusti'i tūmin kāana-ri tih  
what they-be rifles money clothing-ABS SUBR

p<sup>w</sup>a'am<sup>w</sup>ā ye-n t<sup>y</sup>i'i-seih-re-'e  
be here-on DISTR-see-make-APPLIC  
many top

'They were stealing anything without regarding what it  
was, rifles or money or clothing, whatever was in sight.'

#### Manner Clauses

One kind of manner subordinating clause consists of participial constructions which usually precede the main clause. They may be marked by *-kan*, *-vi'i*, or by *-ame*, *-en*, or *-n*.

ayāa mū nū'u rūuri-kan t<sup>y</sup>ām<sup>w</sup>a'a ān  
thus they QUOT alive-PRTC really on  
top

t<sup>y</sup>ā-ha'-a-rā-h-raii āihna ꞑ t<sup>y</sup>evi  
DISTR-away-outside-facing-in-toss DEM ART person  
away slope

'Thus they forcibly tossed that person alive into the fire.'

ka-mū nū'u ru-'tākā-n m-ahtā  
 NEG-they QUOT REFL-foot-ABS they-CNJ

yū-'a-rā-iiša kumu nū'u  
 back-outside-facing-arrive since QUOT  
 here away

mē-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-yf'tti n<sup>y</sup>ā'u  
 they-DISTR-COMPL-know AFF  
 how

'And they didn't get there on foot since they  
 really knew (how to travel in the air).'

nāa mū nū'u sū'um<sup>w</sup>a-vi'i-n t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-čā-n  
 really they QUOT black-HAB-ABS DISTR-REFL-put-PRTC  
 'They were really nicely dressed in black.'

yāa pū yēewī t<sup>y</sup>ū'-u-he-pe-'e tikiñ  
 thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-COMPL-speak-PRIV-APPLIC QUOT

va'upu'u t<sup>f</sup> tā-k<sup>w</sup>a'ači-ra'a-n w-ih-mu'u  
 cocorocha SUBR up-be-SG-ABS inside-facing-head  
 crusty toward

'She bad-mouths us this way, saying, "That bald-  
 headed cocorocha bird."

#### Before-Clauses

The notion 'before' is conveyed through some of the basic  
 temporal constructions of Cora.

t<sup>f</sup> p<sup>w</sup>-arī hī-(y)ā'-u-raa ā  
 SUBR ASSR-now NARR-away-COMPL-leave there

hī-(y)a'-a-rā'a  
 NARR-away-outside-arrive

'He arrived there when (the other) had already gone.'  
 ('The other one had already left before he got there.')

n<sup>y</sup>e-t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-k<sup>w</sup>ā'a nū yēe ū n<sup>y</sup>a-'a-rā-hraa  
 I-DISTR-COMPL-eat I QUOT there I-outside-facing-leave  
 away

'I ate just before I left from off there.'

## TEXTS

Carl and the Fortune Teller

1. This is what happened to me once.  
**a'anāh t̄i ku ayān t̄yī-nā-a-ruu**  
 once SUBR EV thus DISTR-me-COMPL-happen
2. They sent me off to get tortillas, (saying) "Go downtown and buy some tortillas so that we can have something to eat".  
**hām<sup>w</sup>e'i mū t̄yī-n̄y-u-'u-tā-ih āuh**  
 tortillas they DISTR-me-horizontally-COMPL-PERF-send LOC  
 BASE
- wī hām<sup>w</sup>e'i t̄yē-he'-i-ra-wāu**  
 QUOT tortillas DISTR-away-across -facing-request  
 trajectory out
- t̄yā-ta'ah wī t̄yū'-u-k<sup>w</sup>a'a-n̄yī**  
 we-so QUOT DISTR-COMPL-eat-FUT  
 that
3. That's all (they said).  
**yāa pu'u**  
 thus SUBJ:PS
4. There I was walking along and a Mexican came up and approached me.  
**ā nū n̄y-ī hī-(y)e'-e-t̄yē-ča'akan<sup>y</sup>a-'a-ka**  
 there I I-SEQ NARR-away-outside-in -walk-PRTC-SIMUL  
 middle along
- ahtā n̄y<sup>aap</sup>wēih ā-ve'e-rē'e-n̄yē**  
 CNJ Mexican outside-coming-around-pass  
 across corner by
5. They call that kind of person a fortune-teller.  
**hungaro hēe t̄yī'it̄i**  
 gypsy they thing  
 say
6. Then that one said to me, "Let me look at your hand to see what kind of luck you have these days".  
**āi p-ī ayēn t̄yī'i-n̄yē-hee n̄yī-čē'e yēe**  
 DEM ASSR-SEQ thus DISTR-me-call me-EXHRT QUOT  
 out



ra-a-sēih man a-m<sup>w</sup>āhka'a-ce-'e  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-see right your-hand-ABS-on  
 there

t<sup>y</sup>i'itā-kī yēe pāh s<sup>w</sup>eert<sup>y</sup>i  
 what-INDF QUOT you:SUBR luck

7. That's what she called out to me.

yāa p<sup>w</sup>-ī'ih t<sup>y</sup>i'ī-n<sup>y</sup>e-hee  
 thus she-SEQ DISTR-me-call  
 out

8. Then she asked me for my woven bag, the one that belonged to those people, those who sent me on the errand.

yāa n<sup>y</sup>a-ka'an<sup>y</sup>i p<sup>w</sup>-ī'ih n<sup>y</sup>a-waviira-ka'a wā'a-ka'an<sup>y</sup>i  
 thus my-woven she-SEQ me-request-PAST their-woven  
 bag PERF bag

āime meh t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-tā-ih  
 DEM SUBR:they DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-send

9. That's all (that happened).

yaa pu'u  
 thus SUBJ:PS

10. "No, thank you!"

kāa nū yēe  
 NEG I QUOT

11. That's what I said to that gypsy.

yāa nū n<sup>y</sup>-ī t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-hē  
 thus I I-SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

n<sup>y</sup>-āihná n<sup>y</sup>ā'u f hungaro  
 I-DEM AFF ART gypsy

12. That's all (I said).

yāa pu'u  
 thus SUBJ:PS

13. And then again she asked me, "Do you want me to divine how things are with your household, whether or not your children are sick, or the one you are married to, whether or not she is sick?"

t<sup>y</sup>i'ih-tā ih-wa'a ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-tā-iwa'uri-'i  
 CNJ-and SEQ-beyond thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-ask-APPLIC:PAST

n<sup>y</sup>i yēe pē-h-še'eve'e n<sup>y</sup>ah rā-a-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree  
 Q QUOT you-DISTR:SG-want I:SUBR DISTR:SG-COMPL-divine

a'ih mé he'en ā=a-če t<sup>y</sup>i ma-kāi  
 what they:SUBR be there=your-house DUB they-IRR

t<sup>y</sup>i'i-ku-k<sup>w</sup>i'i a-yāuh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a pah ra-t<sup>y</sup>é-  
 DISTR-RDP-sick your-child-PL you:SUBR DISTR:SG-in-  
 middle

vi'iti-n t<sup>y</sup>i kāi t<sup>y</sup>i'i-k<sup>w</sup>i'i  
 carry-PRTC DUB NEG DISTR-sick

14. I, indeed, will divine that matter perfectly."

naa nú yēe n<sup>y</sup>āa t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree-ra-n  
 really I QUOT I DISTR-DISTR:SG-divine-CAUS-PRTC

15. Then I said this to her, "No, not at all.

yāa nú n<sup>y</sup>-i n<sup>y</sup>āa t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-ta-hé kaa nú yēe  
 thus I I-SEQ I DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say NEG I QUOT

16. Like fun you know what's happening there!"

mú tā'uh yēe pa-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree  
 there like QUOT you-DISTR:SG-know  
 fun

17. That's all I (said).

yāa nú n<sup>y</sup>-i  
 thus I I-SEQ

18. And then I said this to her, "And I also know what kind of good fortune lies here in my hand.

n<sup>y</sup>a-ti'ih-tā n<sup>y</sup>-i n<sup>y</sup>-eyān n<sup>y</sup>āa  
 I-CNJ-and I-SEQ I-thus I

t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-'iša n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā yēe n<sup>y</sup>āa  
 DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell I-CNJ QUOT I

hī'i-h-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree t<sup>y</sup>i'itī n<sup>y</sup>eh yēe hī'i-h-s<sup>w</sup>eert<sup>y</sup>i  
 NARR-DISTR:SG-know thing I:SUBR QUOT NARR-DISTR:SG-luck

y-en n<sup>y</sup>a-m<sup>w</sup>āhka'a-ce-'e  
 here-on my-hand-ABS-on  
 top

19. That is what kind of luck I have--that I go to work, that I prepare a corn patch, that I get a job off yonder there and make money".

āih nú yēe hī'i-h-s<sup>w</sup>eert<sup>y</sup>i in<sup>y</sup>aa n<sup>y</sup>eh  
 DEM:ACC I QUOT NARR-DISTR:SG-luck I I:SUBR

t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>äre'e-n n<sup>y</sup>a wā-n-vi'ire'e-n mē'e  
 DISTR-COMPL-work-PRTC I:SUBR COMPL-REFL-prepare-PRTC there  
 patch PS

n<sup>y</sup>e t<sup>y</sup>e'-en-t<sup>y</sup>i-m<sup>w</sup>äre'e-n tumin n<sup>y</sup>a-'an-t<sup>y</sup>i-m<sup>w</sup>ē'it<sup>i</sup>-n  
 I:SUBR DISTR-on-up-work-PRTC money I-on-up-earn-PRTC  
 top top

20. That's what I told that fortune-teller.  
 yāa nū n<sup>y</sup>-ī t<sup>y</sup>i-hi'i-h-ree in<sup>y</sup>aa n<sup>y</sup>-āihna  
 thus I I-SEQ DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-say I I-DEM

ī hungaro  
 ART gypsy

21. That's all (that transpired).  
 yāa pu'u  
 thus SUBJ:PS

22. And then she spoke up again like this, "But I  
 know more about it (than you)!"  
 t<sup>i</sup>'i-kī ayān t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-ta-šāhta-ka'a pero māa  
 CNJ-INDF thus DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-PAST but more  
 PERF

nū wī n<sup>y</sup>āa hi'i-tā-m<sup>w</sup>a'aree  
 I QUOT I NARR-PERF-know

23. "Oh, really! I'm not at all so sure about that."  
 āaa aru ka-nū n<sup>y</sup>ā'u yēe in<sup>y</sup>aa  
 Oh! but NEG-I AFF QUOT I

24. That's all.  
 yāa pū  
 thus SUBJ

25. And then she told me, "I'll only charge you twenty-five  
 pesos".  
 t<sup>i</sup>'i-kī ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-ta-hē veinte cinco  
 CNJ-INDF thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say twenty five  
 pesos nū wī m<sup>w</sup>a-a-hihve'e  
 pesos I QUOT you-COMPL-charge

26. And then I (responded), "As for me, nothing doing!"  
 āh nū n<sup>y</sup>-ī yee n<sup>y</sup>āa kā-nū yēe  
 then I I-SEQ QUOT I NEG-I QUOT

27. I'm not going around here so that someone can  
 be bugging me about things in this way."

ka-nū yēe n<sup>y</sup>-a<sup>h</sup>na kin ye ā'-u-ča'akan in<sup>y</sup>aa  
 NEG-I QUOT I-DEM with here away-COMPL-walk I  
 along

yēe ta'ah a'atī ayēn-en ye-'e-t<sup>y</sup>i  
 QUOT so someone thus-PRTC away-outside-be  
 that

n<sup>y</sup>e-hē'-iwa'ura  
 me-away-request

28. That's just what I told her, nothing more.

yāa nu'u n<sup>y</sup>-i t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-ta-hē  
 thus I:PS I-SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say

29. That's all.

yāa pu'u  
 thus SUBJ:PS

30. And then I got out of there.

n<sup>y</sup>-ahtā ū a'-a-rā-hraa  
 I-CNJ there away-outside-facing-leave:PAST  
 out

31. Later on, in the evening, I was telling all this  
 to that guy with whom we were staying off there.

āa nū n<sup>y</sup>-ih-tā n<sup>y</sup>-i cūm a'an n<sup>y</sup>-eyān  
 then I I-SEQ-and I-SEQ evening I-thus

t<sup>y</sup>i-hī'i-r-išaa-t<sup>y</sup>e-'e n<sup>y</sup>-ā<sup>h</sup>hā t<sup>y</sup>e  
 DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-explain-CAUS-APPLIC I-DEM we

hemī-n āa a-'uu-t<sup>y</sup>i  
 accompanying-ABS there away-be-sit:PL

32. That's all.

yāa pu'u  
 thus SUBJ:PS

33. And then Gene said to me, "We probably should  
 record that on tape.

āh p<sup>w</sup>-ī'i ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-ta-hē ā<sup>h</sup>hna  
 then SUBJ-SEQ thus DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-say DEM

euheen<sup>y</sup>iu t<sup>y</sup>ah grabaadu sēin wī  
 Gene we:SUBR recorded EV QUOT

34. I liked it!"

na-'a-rā-nahča-ka'a wī  
 me-outside-facing-meet-PAST QUOT  
 out PERF

35. That's all (he said).  
**yāa pu'u**  
 thus SUBJ:PS
36. "Well, go right ahead, then."  
**hāawi iye'e hī n'ā'u yēe**  
 INTR here SEQ AFF QUOT
37. That's all (there is to it).  
**yāa pu'u**  
 thus SUBJ:PS
38. This is all (I've got to say).  
**āi pu'u**  
 DEM SUBJ:PS

My Feet are Small

1. That which, they say, our deceased forefathers  
 did in the beginning.  
**mah nū'u m-eyān hu-'u-rf ī**  
 they:SUBR QUOT they-thus NARR-COMPL-do ART
- hahk<sup>w</sup>a ta-vāuhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a t<sup>y</sup>aaka**  
 new our-elders-PL deceased
2. They assembled together when they realized that  
 the Rains had not come anywhere around.  
**m-i'i-t<sup>y</sup>-ūh-sāf-ra-'a mū ma-tī'ī**  
 they-NARR-up-REFL-one-CAUS-PRTC they they-when
- m-ī=t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-m<sup>w</sup>ā'-a ī vīit<sup>y</sup>e mah**  
 they-SEQ=DISTR-COMPL-know-PRTC ART rain they:SUBR
- kāi mē'e hī-(y)ā'a-wa'a-ka'a**  
 IRR there:PS NARR-be-beyond-PAST  
 medial located PERF
3. Then they sent Snake to go call them  
 from there in Teihmata'a.  
**ma-tī'ih m-ī kū'uku'u wa-tā-it<sup>y</sup>a-ka'a tī**  
 they-then they-SEQ snake COMPL-PERF-send-PAST SUBR  
 PERF



12. They went out a ways off there to meet with him.  
**ā mū ɪmf hī-(y)a-uu-nāhča-ka'a**  
 there they far NARR-outside-horizontally-meet-PAST  
 PERF
13. And then they spoke to him in the following way: "Go call on  
 our Elders, the Rain Gods, so that they may shower upon us".  
**ma-ti'ih nū'u m-i m-eyān**  
 they-then QUOT they-SEQ they-thus
- t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-'iša tikin āuh viit<sup>y</sup>e**  
 DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell QUOT LOC rains  
 (OPTV)
- a'-u-ta-hēev-a ta-vāuhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a ma-ta'a**  
 away-COMPL-PERF-speak-PRTC our-elders-PL they-so  
 that
- yēe tā-'ip<sup>w</sup>a-n**  
 QUOT us-irrigate-PRTC
14. And then, they say, Toad spoke up in this way,  
 "I'll not be doing anything of the sort."  
**tī'ih nū'u hī ayān t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-ta-šāh-ta-ka'a**  
 then QUOT SEQ thus DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-CAUS-PAST  
 PERF
- ɪ t<sup>y</sup>aaku ka=nū yēe ā'ih hī'i-rī-n<sup>y</sup>i**  
 ART toad NEG=I QUOT thing NARR-do-FUT
15. Look, I can't move very fast.  
**kāsi'i ka=nū wā-ye'i-ve**  
 look NEG=I COMPL-walk-CAP
16. My feet are small.  
**kīle'en ɪ n<sup>y</sup>a-iika**  
 small ART my-foot
17. Not at all."  
**ka=pū**  
 NEG=SUBJ
18. "On the contrary. It's already been decided on.  
**pu'u-rī pī t<sup>y</sup>i'i-wā-uh-ša'api'in-ta-re**  
 SUBJ:PS-now ASSR DISTR-COMPL-REFL-good-CAUS-CAUS:PASS
19. You will be going there."  
**ú pā-hā'-u-mā-'ah-p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me**  
 there you-away-horizontally-go-PRTC-you-be:LOC-FUT

20. She vigorously besought them to let her off from going there.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ih pū nū'u ra-a-tā-wau meh**  
 lots SUBJ QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-ask they:SUBR  
**t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-uun<sup>y</sup>i-'i tɬ kái**  
 DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-pardon-STAT SUBR IRR  
**ū=ā'-u-ye'i-kan**  
 there=away-COMPL-walk-PRTC
21. She didn't want to go.  
**ka=pū ā'-u-ye'i-mɬi-ka**  
 NEG=SUBJ away-COMPL-walk-DESID-SIMUL
22. They barely managed to convince her.  
**ma-ra-a-t<sup>y</sup>ā-m<sup>w</sup>e'itɬ šā'iču'i**  
 they-DISTR:SG-COMPL-middle-prevail barely
23. And so she went there.  
**tɬ'ih nū'u hī ū ā'-u-me**  
 then QUOT SEQ there away-COMPL-go
24. She went off to an area in back of the hill.  
**āh-ka'i ā-ūu-rupī**  
 slope:outside-over:hill outside-horizontally-enter:PAST
25. She went off hopping bit by bit.  
**kāh t<sup>y</sup>i'i-h-cūna-'ača-'a**  
 little DISTR-slope-jump-run-PRTC
26. She arrived back off there at her house.  
**ū a'-u-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>ā ru-čē**  
 there away-inside-around:corner-arrive REFL-house
27. And then she called her six sons together.  
**tɬ'i-kī ru-yāuh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a wa-ta-hē arāsevī-ka**  
 then-INDF REFL-son-PL COMPL-PERF-call six-ACC
28. "Let's go! My elders have sent me off to do a job."  
**tikin če'erē me-t<sup>y</sup>i-na-a-tā-ih**  
 QUOT EXHRT:go they-DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-send  
**ī n<sup>y</sup>a-vauhsi-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 ART my-elders-PL
29. She explained to them how they would be strung out back over the hill close by where the long ridge lay stretched out.  
**we'-išāa-t<sup>y</sup>a-'a a'ih mēh m-i**  
 then-tell-CAUS-PRTC thing they:SUBR they-SEQ



**mū=t<sup>y</sup>ī=t<sup>y</sup>a-ha'-u-hū'u**                      **m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-hu'u-n**  
 there=be=DISTR-away-COMPL-go:PL they-be-go:PL-PRTC  
 seated    located

**āh-ka'i**                                      **t̄f nū'u vehri'i**  
 slope:across-over:hill SUBR QUOT close

**a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>a-kā'a**                      **‡ vi'iyeci**  
 away-EXT-middle-lay ART ridge

30. She stationed one of her sons up there on top.  
**ān pu sēi a'-u-tā-ra**                      **‡ ru-yauh**  
 top SUBJ one away-COMPL-PERF-put ART REFL-son
31. She dug out a hole for him at the foot of the rock.  
**ra-'an-t<sup>y</sup>e-iča-'a-hrā'a**                      **‡ t<sup>y</sup>et<sup>y</sup>e het<sup>y</sup>e**  
 DISTR:SG-top-middle-dig-PRTC=ASP ART rock under
32. "You will give a shout from right up here."  
**y-ēn peh yēe wa-hīhwa m<sup>w</sup>aa**  
 here-top you:SUBR QUOT COMPL-yell you
33. That is what she told him to do.  
**yāa pū nū'u hī t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-ta-hē**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say
34. And so she went on.  
**ahtā mū hī-(y)ā'-u-me**  
 then there NARR-away-COMPL-go
35. And afterwards, coming back this way from the top of the  
 hill, she situated another one on the ridge.  
**t̄i'ih=tā nū'u hī ān-kā'iwa yēe sēi**  
 then=and QUOT SEQ top-over:hill here one
- a'-u-tā-ra**                                      **‡ vi'iyeci hece**  
 away-COMPL-PERF-put ART ridge on
36. And she told him the very same thing.  
**ayēe ča'a=tā t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-'iša**  
 thus CONT=and DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell
37. "Thus you should give out a shout just when they come  
 around the backside from over there on top."  
**ayēn peh yee wa-hīhwa t̄f p<sup>w</sup>ā'a m-erī**  
 thus you:SUBR QUOT COMPL-yell SUBR COND they-now
- e'-i-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>e-n**                                      **ān-tavan**  
 away-trajectory-around:corner-come-PRTC top-across

38. Once again, she set out on her way over there.  
**ahtā-wa'a mū hī-(y)a'-u-mā-'a**  
 then-beyond there NARR-away-COMPL-go-PRTC
39. And again she situated another one, off this way  
 coming over the top of the hill.  
**ahtā-wa'a ān-ka'i yēe sēi a'-u-tā-ra**  
 then-beyond top-over:hill here one away-COMPL-PERF-put
40. And she gave him the same instructions that  
 she had given the others.  
**ayēh ča'a-tā-na'a t<sup>y</sup>i-ra-a-tā-'iša**  
 thus CONT-and-be DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell
41. She finished getting them situated along the hill-tops.  
**wa'-i-wa-t<sup>y</sup>ā-kī'ī**  
 them-NARR-COMPL-sit-finish
42. She arrived there all by herself.  
**ū=hī-(y)a'-a-rā'a ru-sāi**  
 there=NARR-away-outside-arrive REFL-one
43. She came approaching, they say, while they were  
 dancing there inside the house.  
**hu'-u-mā-'a nū'u tī p<sup>w</sup>ā'a nū'u**  
 NARR-EXT-go-PRTC QUOT SUBR COND QUOT
- me-t<sup>y</sup>i-hī-rū-'u-n<sup>y</sup>e'e ū čii-ta**  
 they-DISTR-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-dance inside house-in
44. They were inside there shouting.  
**m-i-rū-'u-hih<sup>w</sup>a**  
 they-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-yell
45. They were in there dancing--the dancers, the  
 acrobats, the horsemen, the old masked man.  
**me-t<sup>y</sup>i-rū-'u-n<sup>y</sup>e'e lanzāanti marumēeru**  
 they-DISTR-DISTR:SG-inside-dance dancers acrobats
- mūuru'u-se šāyaka**  
 horseman-PL pussy
46. They were in there yelling.  
**m-i-ru-'u-hihwa**  
 they-NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-yell
47. And then she rapped on the door.  
**tī'ih nu'u hī t<sup>y</sup>e-'e-h-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tu'asi-šī**  
 then QUOT SEQ DISTR-outside-slope-middle-hit-PAST

48. "Open the door, you people! "  
**ša-'an-tā-uh-kuuna yee**  
 you:PL-top-across-REFL-open QUOT
49. And then they opened the door.  
**ah pū nū'u hī me-t<sup>y</sup>a-'an-ta-kū**  
 then SUBJ QUOT SEQ they-DISTR-top-across-open
50. "Look around to see where he is, you guys!"  
**šā-iše'e-re'-e ha'un<sup>y</sup>i ā'ih hēen**  
 you:PL-appear-CAUS-APPLIC where INDF be
51. There was nothing anywhere around there.  
**ka-pū mē'e hē'e t<sup>y</sup>i'iti**  
 NEG-SUBJ there:PS be:LOC thing
52. But as for her, she was sitting there right  
 beneath the door.  
**ā'in ahtā nū'u p<sup>w</sup>eerta het<sup>y</sup>e ha'-a-r-āh-ka**  
 DEM and QUOT door beneath away-outside-facing-slope-sit  
 away
53. She had dug a hole in the ground.  
**ra-'a-t<sup>y</sup>ē-iča-'a-hrā'a**  
 DISTR:SG-outside-middle-dig-PRTC-INCEPT
54. Little by little she would stick her hand  
 up out from the hole.  
**k<sup>f</sup>h pū=i kāh an**  
 little SUBJ=SEQ bit top  
**t<sup>y</sup>ē-he'-i-h-mē'ika'a-va'ara-'a**  
 DISTR-away-trajectory-slope-hand(?)-follow-PRTC
55. She would rap on the door.  
**ra-'a-h-t<sup>y</sup>ā-a-tu'aš-a i p<sup>w</sup>eerta**  
 DISTR:SG-outside-slope-middle-COMPL-hit-PRTC ART door
56. That's just what she did, five times.  
**ayāa pu'u anš<sup>i</sup>vi-ka=hrecē**  
 thus SUBJ:PS five-ACC=at
57. And then they got mad!  
**ma-t<sup>i</sup>'ih nu'u m-i t<sup>y</sup>i'i-n<sup>y</sup>i-n<sup>y</sup>u'uka-ku-ka'a**  
 they-then QUOT they-SEQ DISTR-RDP-speak-DESID-PAST  
 PL PERF
58. And then the Moors (i.e. those who go mounted on  
 horseback) all jumped right up.

ah mū m-i w-ii-rā-cuna-šī ǀ  
 then they they-SEQ inside-trajectory-facing-jump-PAST ART  
 away

mā=ta-'a-vē'e-t<sup>y</sup>e'e-t<sup>y</sup>-e  
 they:SUBR=SUBR-outside-covering-extend-CAUS-APPLIC

mūuru'u-se  
 horseman-PL

59. And then they all streamed out of the house together.

ma-tt'ʰh nu'u m-i nāihmi-'i  
 they-then QUOT they-SEQ all-STAT

w-ii-rā-a-ki  
 inside-trajectory-facing-COMPL-leave:PL  
 away

60. And then a little ways removed from that place,  
 the first one piped up.

tt'ʰh nū'u hī ayān-na imʰ hī-(y)a'-u-ta-n<sup>y</sup>ū  
 then QUOT SEQ thus-PREV far NARR-away-COMPL-PERF-respond  
 REF

ǀ sat ǀ ta-'a-nā-hka  
 ART one ART SUBR-outside-perimeter-sit

61. From a little ways off up there at the top of  
 the hill he cut loose with a yell.

ān pū imʰ hu'-u-hīhwa-ka'a  
 top SUBJ far NARR-COMPL-yell-PAST  
 PERF

62. And then this command was given: "There he is! Go  
 after him so that you can catch him and kill him!"

ah pu nu'u hī ayān tikin ma'a-k<sup>wi</sup>  
 CNJ SUBJ QUOT SEQ thus QUOT there-EMPH

ša-a-ta-vā sa-ta'ah  
 you:PL-COMPL-PERF-follow you:PL-so:that

ra-a-tā-'ase sa-ta'ah ra-a-hē'ika  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill

63. And then they came around right to there on top  
 where the first one gave a yell.

m-ahtā m-an-nā  
 they-CNJ they-top-PREV  
 REF

hī-(y)e'-i-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>e nū'u a'u-tǀ  
 NARR-away-trajectory-around:corner-come QUOT where-SUBR

**a'-u-hihwa-ka'a**      **ɥ**    **saɪ**  
 away-COMPL-yell-PAST ART one  
 PERF

64. Again, from somewhere on this side, he cut loose with a yell.  
**ahtā-wa'a y-u**                      **hece a'-u-hihwa-ka'a**  
 CNJ-beyond here-inside at    away-COMPL-yell-PAST  
 PERF

65. "Pour on the coals, you all, so that you catch up to him!"  
**ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an<sup>y</sup>-e**                      **yee sa-ta'ah**  
 you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT you:PL-so:that

**ra-a-tā-'ase**  
 DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach

66. Once again they came storming to that place on top  
 of the next hill from where Toad's son shouted.  
**m-ahtā-wa'a**      **m-ān-nā**  
 they-CNJ-beyond they-top-PREV  
 REF

**hī'i-ve-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>e**  
 NARR-covering-around:corner-come

67. Once again, from the top of a hill toward this side  
 of things, Toad's son cut loose with a shout.  
**ahtā-wa'a y-ū**                      **hece hī-(y)a'-u-hihwa-ka'a**  
 CNJ-beyond here-inside at    NARR-away-COMPL-yell-PAST  
 PERF

68. "Pour on the coals, you guys, faster!"  
**ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an<sup>y</sup>-e**                      **yee hēice'e**  
 you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT more

69. And then the Old Man of the Moors told them this:  
 "So that you can catch him, you guys who are on horseback."  
**ayāa pū nū'u hī t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-ta-šāh-ta-ka'a**      **ɥ**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ DISTR-COMPL-PERF-say-CAUS-PAST ART  
 PERF

**šaayaka tɪkɪn sa-ta'ah**                      **ra-a-tā-'ase**  
 pussy QUOT you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-reach

**mɪ sa-ta-'a-vē'e-t<sup>y</sup>e'e-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
 ART you:PL-SUBR-outside-covering-extend-CAUS-APPLIC

70. That is what the Old Man of the Moors was saying to them.  
**ayāa pū nū'u hī ɥ šaayaka mūuru'u-se šaayaka**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT SEQ ART pussy horseman-PL pussy

71. He is said to have been running ahead of them all.  
**a-na-kā-i pū nū'u**  
 outside-perimeter-sit-STAT SUBJ QUOT
72. Once again, from off on this side, Toad's son gave out a yell.  
**ahtā-wa'a y-u hece hu'-u-hihwa-ka'a**  
 CNJ-beyond here-inside at NARR-COMPL-yell-PAST  
 PERF
73. "Pour on the coals, you guys!"  
**ša-a-tā-uh-ka'an<sup>y</sup>-e yee**  
 you:PL-COMPL-PERF-REFL-strong-APPLIC QUOT
74. "He's off yonder there on the other side of the canyon already!"  
**ā'a=na'a ah-tān imī arī**  
 there:PS=be slope-across far now  
 located river
75. "So that you can kill him."  
**sa-ta'ah ra-a-hé'ika**  
 you:PL-so:that DISTR:SG-COMPL-kill
76. That is how the Rains are said to have arrived here.  
**ayāa pu'u yē me-t<sup>y</sup>i=t<sup>y</sup>e'-i-rā'a f viit<sup>y</sup>e**  
 thus SUBJ:PS here they-sit=DISTR-trajectory-arrive ART rains
77. And afterwards, Toad left from right there (where the Rains lived).  
**tī'ih=tā='i m-u hī-(y)a'-a-rā-hraa**  
 CNJ=and=SEQ there-inside NARR-away-outside-facing-leave  
 away
- f t<sup>y</sup>aaku**  
 ART toad
78. From there she arrived, rounding up all her sons.  
**m-ū pū w-i-(y)a'-a-ra-saī-**  
 there-inside SUBJ them-NARR-away-outside-facing:away-one-
- ra-'a-hrā'a f ru-yauh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a**  
 CAUS-APPLIC-arrive ART REFL-son-PL
79. And then she made it back to her house, when (the land) was already thoroughly wet.  
**ahtā hī-ru-'u-vé'e-n<sup>y</sup>e f ru-če**  
 CNJ NARR-DISTR:SG-inside-covering-come ART REFL-house

**tī p<sup>w</sup>a'a arī hū'-u-ruu**  
SUBR COND now NARR-COMPL-wet

80. It was indeed nice there by now.

**pu'u-rī nāa ū-ē'en**  
SUBJ-now well inside-be

81. And then she left her sons off at her home.

**ahtā w-i-(y)a'-u-t<sup>y</sup>ā-tuā** †  
CNJ them-NARR-away-COMPL-middle-leave ART

**ru-yauh-m<sup>w</sup>a'a † ru-čeh**  
REFL-son-PL ART REFL-home

82. And then she went off there to where the elders sit around.

**tī†h=tā='i āun hī-(y)ā'-u-me a'u=mā**  
CNJ=and=SEQ LOC NARR-away-COMPL-go where=they:SUBR

**hī-(y)e'-e-h-t<sup>y</sup>i** † **vauhsi**  
NARR-away-outside-slope-sit:PL ART elders

83. Just right off there a ways off they found her.

**āa mu'u nū'u im† hī-(y)a-uu-nāhča-ka'a**  
there they:PS QUOT far NARR-away-horizontally-meet-PAST  
PERF

84. They all stood up.

**mu-'a-h-wīi-š†i** † **nāimi-'i**  
they-outside-slope-stand:PL-PAST:DISTR all-STAT

85. They picked her up in their hands.

**ma-ra-'a-n-t<sup>y</sup>i-t†**  
they-DISTR:SG-outside-top-up-carry

86. And then they brought her to where the elders sit.

**mū nu'u m-i ā**  
they QUOT they-SEQ there

**me-y-a'-u-rē'e-n<sup>y</sup>eh-t<sup>y</sup>-e**  
they-her-away-COMPL-around:corner-come-CAUS-APPLIC

**a'u=mā he'-e-h-t<sup>y</sup>i** † **vauhsi**  
where=they:SUBR away-outside-slope-sit ART elders

87. And then she said this to them: "Now there it is,  
as you can see.

**tī†h nū'u hī ayān t<sup>y</sup>i-wa'-u-tā-'iša** † **tikin**  
CNJ QUOT SEQ thus DISTR-them-COMPL-PERF-tell QUOT

- pu'u-rī 'ī-ku**  
 SUBJ-now be-EV
88. Didn't they get here?"  
**n'ī ma-kāi ya-rā'a**  
 Q they-IRR here-arrive
89. "Why, they surely did."  
**a'in'ī m-i-htā n'ā'u**  
 how they-SEQ-CNJ AFF
90. "Well, that's okay."  
**puh ka=pu ā'ih**  
 well NEG=SUBJ thing
91. "From now on, you will be giving them the word  
 whenever June rolls around."  
**īhi m'āa pā wa'a-n'ūukari-stah p<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-me**  
 today you you them-word-CAUS you-be:LOC-FUT  
  
**t'ih-tā an a-uu-mē'-en hūuniu-hece**  
 then-and top outside-horizontally-go-PRTC June-at
92. You are going to speak up.  
**m'āa pā hu'-u-tā-n'uu-sin**  
 you you NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR
93. You will have the role of summoning them.  
**m'āa pā we'-i-wa-tā-heev-i**  
 you you them-NARR-COMPL-PERF-call-STAT
94. They will be hearkening unto you."  
**m'ēeci mū hu'eita-ā m<sup>w</sup>-ā'a-hu'u-n**  
 you:ACC they understand-PRTC they-be:LOC-go:PL-PRTC
95. That Toad was not one bit willing to give in.  
**ka=pū nū'u a'ačū hi'i-tā-ur-a'a-ka**  
 NEG=SUBJ QUOT somewhat NARR-PERF-REFL-be-SIMUL  
  
**ā+hna ī t'yaaku**  
 DEM ART toad
96. "Not me!"  
**t'ikin ka=nū**  
 QUOT NEG=I
97. "Oh, yes, you will!"  
**a'in'ī p-i-htā**  
 how you-be-CNJ



98. There is no other way out unless it was not really  
 you who went and brought them back from there."  
**ka=pū=čē'e ā'i t<sup>y</sup>u'-u-tā-rí'íri-sta-rí**  
 NEG=SUBJ=CONT thing DISTR-COMPL-PERF-possible-CAUS-CAUS
- ka'ín pa-kái m<sup>w</sup>āa m-u=hā'a**  
 or you-IRR you there-inside=be:LOC
- wā-ha'-u-vé'e-vi'iti**  
 them-away-horizontally-covering-carry
99. She responded, "That's too bad.  
**ayan tikín ka=pū a'ih**  
 thus QUOT NEG=SUBJ thing
100. So be it."  
**če'e ā'ih t<sup>f</sup> na'a**  
 EXHRT thing SUBR be
101. Later on she gave in.  
**tí't-kí wa-tā-ur-a'a**  
 then-INDF COMPL-PERF-REFL-be:LOC
102. And whenever it rains, then they say this,  
 that Toad is calling out.  
**í mǎh nú'u m-í m-eyán ma-tí'ih-tá**  
 ART they:SUBR QUOT they-SEQ they-thus they-then-afterwards
- hu'-u-t<sup>y</sup>é-viye amí pú hu'-u-tā-n<sup>y</sup>uu-sin**  
 NARR-COMPL-PERF-rain DEM SUBJ NARR-COMPL-PERF-respond-DUR
- í t<sup>y</sup>aaku**  
 ART toad
103. That, so they say, is what took place.  
**ayāa pú nú'u t<sup>y</sup>ū-hu'-u-ríh**  
 thus SUBJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-do
104. As you can now tell, that's all.  
**pu'u-rí i-ku**  
 SUBJ:PS-now be-EV