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**Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

Volume 2

Modern Aztec Grammatical Sketches

Ronald W. Langacker

University of California, San Diego

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Foreword

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

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

RWL

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Abbreviations

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

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

NORTH PUEBLA NAHUATL

Earl Brockway

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INTRODUCTION

This grammatical sketch describes the structure of the Aztec dialect spoken by approximately 50,000 inhabitants of the far northern sector of the state of Puebla that extends as a peninsula between the states of Hidalgo and Vera Cruz. Data were gathered by the author during the years 1953-1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Informants were Santiago Gil, José Peña, Noé Lopez, Leodegario Santos, Agustín and Auséncio Cravioto, and Celerino Juárez, natives of Tlaxpanaloya, Naupan Municipio, Puebla. Extensive use was made of the syllable concordance run by the University of Oklahoma Research Institute under the National Science Foundation Grant GS-934, and of Robinson's *Sierra Nahuatl Word Structure, Aztec Studies II*, SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, Publication No. 22, 1970. The author is indebted to colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for helpful suggestions in organizing the data.

Examples have been elicited from language consultants or excerpted from the corpus of collected texts. Those taken from the text found at the end of the sketch 'How They Teased the Old Man' are indicated by the convention (TOM-#), the number pertaining to the sentence number in the text. Examples taken from 'The Coyote and the Rabbit' are indicated by the convention (CR-#).

PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	tl	c	č	k	k ^w	'	i	o
			s	š				e	a
		l							
m	n								
w				y					

Vowel length is quite erratic, varying among speakers, and no attempt has been made to indicate same in this sketch. (For a full discussion of vowel length, see Brockway, 'The Phonemes of North Puebla Nahuatl', AL Vol. 5, No. 2, February 1963.) Stress is penultimate except when a syllable drops out in contraction.

Major Phonological Processes

mo- (REFL) → m- before V-initial stem.

Stem-final s + lo → šo; s + li → ši; s + ti → ši.

Stem-final t + ili → čili; ca + li → čili;

Stem-final y → š before t or word-finally ta + t → ct.

č + č → šč; t + t → wt; k + ke → hke; k^w + ke → hke.

yi = (COMPL) + o- (PERF) → yo-. ye' = + pa → yew = pa.

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Word Order

Order of major constituents is relatively fixed, in that change in their order usually signals focus or topicalization. The most neutral order is as follows:

INTR LOC SUBJ PRT V OBJ/IOBJ

Other possible orders are:

INTR LOC V OBJ SUBJ

INTR LOC V OBJ IOBJ

Only V is obligatory. INTR includes conjunctions, appositives, and interrogatives. PRT includes negatives, demonstratives, locatives (of time and space), quantifiers, directionals, numbers, subordinator, and article. Negation and quantifiers precede V and other particles occur in free distribution.

entonses E. o-ki-kiš-ti in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k
 INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST
Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him. (TOM-22)

wan entonses i'k^Wak yi=ki-kama-wi-'tok in sigaro inin A.H.
 and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN
and then when A.H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth... (TOM-23)

niman ki-maka se mačete ik i-ten-i'yan in ok=seya
 immediately it-give one machete DIRL its-edge-LOC ART yet=one
Immediately he hit the other with the edge of the machete.

Emphasis

A constituent may be focused upon by co-occurrence of a coreferential pronoun.

wan o-te-awil-ti ye'wa-tl in E.M.
 and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN
'And it was E.M. who teased him.' (TOM-2)

Pronoun Copies

Free subjects, objects, and indirect objects are optional but must be copied into the verb by means of pronoun affixes, except in the case of some inherently applicative verbs with which the -li APPLIC occurs optionally. These affixes must agree with the free constituent in person and number, except in special cases of collectivization.

Ø is posited for the third person singular subject prefix.

wan teč-še'-šel-wi-a ye'wa-tl He passes it to us. (TOM-38)
 and us-RDP-divide-CAUS-PRES he-ABS

pwes kasi sek-pa o-hkonon o-ki-tlakeh-ke in A.H.
 INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN
Well, once they sort of hired A.H. (TOM-3)

te'wa-tl' san ti-neč-nawati-s ne'wa-tl You just let me know.
 you-ABS just you-me-notify-FUT I-ABS

mo-mati-s ye'wa-tl in i-k^Wento You will know his story.
 you-know-FUT he-ABS ART his-story

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions and Adverbs

The following are particles which occur clause-initially or second following *wan* and (though not *wan wan*).

wan	<i>and, but (INTR)</i>	pero	<i>but (Spanish loan)</i>
tel	<i>so (INTR)</i>	no=yohke/no=	<i>also</i>
onkan	<i>then (INTR)</i>	yohke	<i>same</i>
no=ihkon	<i>thus also</i>	ka'so	<i>so then</i>
ik inon	<i>therefore</i>	maske	<i>even though (Sp. loan)</i>

Polarity

keme	<i>yes</i>	a'mo	<i>no</i>
ken a'mo	<i>certainly</i>	mač	<i>QUOT</i>
ayamo	<i>not yet</i>	ayakmo	<i>no longer</i>
a'yik	<i>never</i>	a'yak	<i>there is/are none</i>
a'wel	<i>unable</i>	ayakwel	<i>no longer able</i>
nian	<i>not even</i>	ok=	<i>yet</i>
kana	<i>sort of, DUB</i>	kima	<i>more or less</i>
tekin	<i>very (INTNS)</i>	molwi	<i>very (INTNS)</i>
tlawel	<i>too much</i>		

a'wel ni-k-čiwa-s ašan *I can't do it now.*
unable I-it-do-FUT now

a'mo o-k-a'si-k nian seya *He didn't find even one.*
NEG PERF-it-find-PAST not:even one

ni-ya-s ok=se-pa mostla *I will go again tomorrow.*
I-go-FUT yet=one-LOC tomorrow

wan kana ye-s tlen ki-čí-s ompa *Perhaps there will be something for*
and DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there him to do there. (TOM-44)

wan tekin ni-k-tlaso'tla *And I am so very fond of it.*
and INTNS I-it-love (TOM-60)

tlawel weyi in te-tl a'wel ti-k-olini-s-ke
too:much big ART stone-ABS unable we-it-move-FUT-PL
The stone is too big; we can't move it.

molwi teki-yo to-nemi-lis *Our life is very difficult.*
INTNS work-ABSTR our-live-ABSTR

(For other adverbs see ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES.)

ye'=no-aška in čiči
it=my-possession ART dog
 tel te'=ti-k-neki ti-ya-s
so you=you-it-want you-go-FUT
 ne'=no-telpoka-w
I=my-boy-POSSD
 ye'=no-telpoka-w
he=my-boy-POSSD

That dog is mine.

Do you want to go?

He is my boy.

He (that one) is my boy.

The third person ye'= also occurs as a demonstrative.

ye'=in ika
it=ART INSTR

That is why.

yew=pa
it=LOC

That's it/right.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

∅ (with ADJ and N)

(=)ka *be*

ye-s *will be*

be-FUT

o-katka *was (at that time)*

PERF-was

čikawa-k in kal-i
strong-ADJR ART house-ABS

The house is strong.

ni-kan=ka no-čan
PROX-LOC=is my-home

Here is my home.

ni-k-a'si-s keski tonal-i ka
I-it-find-FUT how:many day-ABS is are.

I will find out how many days there

ompa ti-ye-s-ke
there we-be-FUT-PL

We will be there.

o-ni-katka čik^weyi no-čan
PERF-I-was eight my-home

I was home a week ago.

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The subject pronoun prefixes occur prefixed to N in the predicate nominative construction.

te'wa-tl	ti-kone-tl	<i>You are a child.</i>
<i>you-ABS</i>	<i>you-child-ABS</i>	
ne'wa-tl	ni-weyi tlaka-tl	<i>I am a big man.</i>
<i>I-ABS</i>	<i>I-big man-ABS</i>	

HAVE

piya *have*

This verb is inflected in the regular way. One special construction occurs, which may be a grammatical borrowing. It is the auxiliary usage *have to*.

ni-k-piy-a	tlen	ni-ya-s	mostla	<i>I have to go tomorrow.</i>
<i>I-it-have-PRES</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>I-go-FUT</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>	

DO

The reflexive prefix *mo-* with verb stem *čiwa do* yields *mo-čiwa become*.

akin	mo-čiwa-s	topil-i	<i>Who will become a policeman?</i>
<i>who</i>	<i>REFL-do-FUT</i>	<i>policeman-ABS</i>	

C₁V₁ of *čiwa do* is reduplicated to indicate *make*.

ni-k-či'-čiwa-s	se	no-kal	<i>I will build my house.</i>
<i>I-it-RDP-do-FUT</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>my-house</i>	

Object pronoun prefix occurs with *panowa pass* to indicate *happen*.

ma=mo-ta	tlen	o-neč-pano-k	<i>Look what happened to me.</i>
<i>OPTV=you-see</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>PERF-me-pass-PAST</i>	

NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Unspecified Arguments

The verb prefix *tla-* indicates an unspecified non-human object. *te-* indicates an unspecified human object; it also occurs as postpositional object and possessor.

te-tla-maka *He feeds (someone).*
UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give

Passive

There is no formal marker for passive, but two ways of expressing passive voice have been observed. The subject of the active verb is de-specified by adding *te-pampa UNSPEC-BEN* to the construction, or by use of the third person plural with no subject specified.

o-ki-mik-ti-'ke *te-pampa* *He was killed by someone.*
PERF-him-die-CAUS-PL UNSPEC-BEN

neč-ceko-'ke *te-pampa* *I was detained by someone.*
me-detain-PL UNSPEC-BEN

ašan tla mač *o-neč-te-lwi-'ke* *Now if, as I heard, I have been accused...*
now if QUOT PERF-me-UNSPEC-tell-PL
accuse

Reflexive

The verb prefix *mo-* occurs to indicate that the action or goal of the verb is reflexive. When occurring with V-initial stems, *o* usually drops out. If it occurs, it retains its syllabification.

ni-mo-kawa-s *I will remain.*
I-REFL-leave-FUT

ni-m-ewa-s *I will get up.*
I-REFL-raise-FUT

The reflexive prefix *mo-* occurs with subject plural suffix to indicate reciprocity.

ti-mo-tlaso'tla-'ke *We love each other.*
we-REFL-love-PL

mo-lwi-a-'ke *they say to one another*
REFL-tell-PRES-PL

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

tla *if* (for polite request; softens imperative; equivalent to *Will you please?*)

tlen *what (what then)*

tla ši-wala-kan no=yohke ti-mo-terna-s-ke
if IMP-come-PL also=same we-REFL-bathe-FUT-PL
If you will please come also, we will bathe.

tlen ti-ya-s-ke mostla
what we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow
Shall we go tomorrow then?

Yes/no questions with a negative seem to occur much more frequently.

tla-'mo i-hkon ok=kači k^Wali *As if it isn't better this way?*
if-not PROX-thus yet=more good

tel a'mo mo-neki neč-palewi-s *So then, don't you want to help me?*
so NEG you-want me-help-FUT

Alternative Questions

koš

koš ti-ya-s-ke mostla koš wiptla noso i-k^Witlapan
Q we-go-FUT-PL tomorrow Q day:after:tomorrow or its-behind
 wiptla
day:after:tomorrow
Shall we go tomorrow, or the day after, or the day after that?

Tag Questions

ašan ti-tla-k^Wa-s-ke a'mo *Now we will eat, won't we?*
now we-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-FUT-PL NEG

WH Questions

The WH word occurs clause-initial or following an introducer or conjunction.

kani	<i>where</i>	keman	<i>when</i>
katli	<i>which</i>	tleka	<i>why</i>
kenin	<i>how</i>	akin	<i>who</i>
keski	<i>how many</i>	tlen	<i>what</i>
keč	<i>how much</i>		

kani wi-lowa-s ašan
where go-HON-FUT now

Where are you, sir, going now?

keč i-patiw inon komi-tl
how:much its-price that pot-ABS

How much is that pot?

keski tlaka-tl o-ya-'ke
how:many man-ABS PERF-go-PL

How many men went?

katli in no-ten-con
which ART my-edge-hair
beard

Where is (what happened to) my beard?
(TOM-60)

IMPERATIVES

Direct Imperatives

Marked by verb prefix *ši-*. Plural marker is suffix *-kan*.

ši-yaw ši-k-ana no-tepos
IMP-go IMP-it-bring my-metal

Go bring me my machete!

ši-i'sa-kan sa=animan
IMP-rise-PL just=next

Get up PL immediately!

Modal Imperatives

The clitic *ma=* has optative value.

ma=ye k^wal-cin tonal-i mostla
OPTV=be good-DIM day-ABS tomorrow

May tomorrow be a nice day.

Exhortatives involve a periphrastic locution with future tense.

ti-ya-s-ke ti-k-ita-s-ke mo-mili
we-go-FUT-PL we-it-see-FUT-PL your-field

Let's go see your field.

The imperative *ši-* has modal uses:

sikiera a'mo ompa ši-k-iš-namiki itla'tlen se desgrasia
at NEG there IMP-it-face-meet whatever one misfortune
least

that at least you will not run into any misfortune over there

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ton DIM

-cin HON

-pan/-kan/-tlan/-tla'/-ko LOC

-yo ABSTR

tlaka-ton-tli *little man*
man-DIM-ABS

šiw-tla'-tli *place full of weeds*
weed-LOC-ABS

nay-o'-pan *crossroad*
four-road-LOC

nelwa-yo-tl *root system*
root-ABSTR-ABS

i-mon-ta-cin *his father-in-law*
his-in:law-father-HON

V + X = N

-yan LOC

-lis ABSTR

-ki/-ani AG

-loni INSTR

-ka RSLTV

i-tlama-yan *his clearing*
his-clear-LOC

i-koko-lis *his illness*
his-hurt-ABSTR

te-mik-ti-ani *assassin*
UNSPEC-die-CAUS-AG

tla-čteh-ki *thief*
UNSPEC:OBJ-rob-AG

tla-teki-loni *knife*
UNSPEC:OBJ-cut-INSTR

i-kis-ka *his reputation*
his-go:out-RSLTV

VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-wi

k-ista-wi-a *He salts it.*
it-salt-VR-PRES

ADV + X = V

-wi

ki-čiko-wi-a *He sets it aside (for another).*
it-ATTEN-VR-PRES

mo-tla-čiko-wi-a *He keeps some back for himself.*
REFL-UNSPEC.OBJ-ATTEN-VR-PRES

ki-on-ka-wi-a *Two together do it.*
it-two-CONN(ADVR)-VR-PRES

ki-sek-pa-wi-a *He does it (hoes corn) the first time.*
it-one-LOC-VR-PRES

COMPOUNDS

Noun Compounds

N + N = N

popoč-kaši-tl
smoke-bowl-ABS

incense burner

kow-čakal-i
tree-crab-ABS

tree fork

pico-naka-tl
pig-meat-ABS

pork

i-con-teko
his-hair-owner

his head

šoči'-k^wal-i
flower-meal-ABS

banana

V + N = N

tema-s-kal-i *bathroom*
bathe-FUT-house-ABS

Verb Compounds

N + V = V

mec-tona
moon-shine

moon is shining

kow-maka *beat with stick*
tree-give

kone-weci *miscarry*
child-fall

miki *die* may be joined to a noun base to express urgency.

apis-miki *be very hungry*
hunger-die

V + V = V

neki *want* can be joined to the future form of another verb, expressing desire.

tlami-s-neki *want to finish*
finish-FUT-want

Connectives *-ka-* and *-ti-* combine verbs in special constructions. *-ka-* followed by *neki want* denotes pretense. *-ti-* connects a closed set of verb stems denoting time/manner to the main verb.

y=o-a'si-ka-čikaw *It is already ripe.*
COMPL=PERF-arrive-CONN-mature

mo-čikaw-ka-neki *He pretends to be strong.*
REFL-strengthen-CONN-want

čoka-ti-nemi *go about crying*
cry-CONN-live

čoka-t-ewa *cries upon leaving/in passing*
cry-CONN-arise

kow-ti-weci *buy quickly*
buy-CONN-fall

onkan ma=čoka-ti-ye *Over there let her cry continually.*
there OPTV=cry-CONN-be

nikan ši-čoka-ti-ye *Keep on crying here.*
here IMP-cry-CONN-be

yi=a'si-ti-wic *He has suddenly arrived.*
COMPL=arrive-CONN-come:unexpectedly

koč-ti-ka *He is sleeping.*
sleep-CONN-be

o-ki-čiw-ti-katka *He was doing it (at that time).*
PERF-it-do-CONN-was

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

Absolutive

- tli Occurs following consonants except l.
 -i Occurs following l; also follows š and č in a few words.
 -tl Occurs following vowels.

ayo'-tli	<i>squash</i>	kal-i	<i>house</i>
<i>squash-ABS</i>		<i>house-ABS</i>	
kone-tl	<i>child</i>	kimič-i	<i>mouse</i>
<i>child-ABS</i>		<i>mouse-ABS</i>	
k ^w iš-i	<i>hawk</i>	teš-tli	<i>corn dough</i>
<i>hawk-ABS</i>		<i>ground:corn-ABS</i>	
pe'peč-tli	<i>nest</i>		
<i>nest-ABS</i>			

Nouns derived from verb stems: absolutive -tli follows nominalizer -lis.

tla-mati-lis-tli *wisdom*
 UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

The few nouns which do not occur with the absolutive seem to show irregularities in other constructions also. Some are derived from Spanish words, and some are not usually possessed or pluralized.

kalnelo	<i>sheep</i> (Sp. <i>carnero</i>)	kotón	<i>serape</i> (Sp. <i>cotón</i>)
tančaw	<i>fox</i>	kapoš	<i>grub</i>

Plural

Nouns with absolutive -tli or -i are marked for plural by replacing the absolutive with -ten. Absolutive -tl is replaced by -men. A few of the nouns with absolutive -tl (most of those with stem final -i) delete the stem final vowel and take the plural -ten, as is the case with the consonant final stems.

kal-i	<i>house</i>	kal-ten	<i>houses</i>
wik-tli	<i>hoe</i>	wik-ten	<i>hoes</i>
kone-tl	<i>child</i>	kone-men	<i>children</i>
kowi-tl	<i>tree</i>	kow-ten	<i>trees</i>
komi-tl	<i>cook pot</i>	kon-ten	<i>cook pots</i>
soči-tl	<i>flower</i>	soči-men	<i>flowers</i>

Some nouns may be marked for plural by reduplication of the first syllable.

kone-tl *child* ko-kone *children*

Some nouns occur in plural constructions, though not marked for plural.

keski tlaka-tl ki-neki-s inon teki-tl *How many men will be needed*
how man-ABS it-want-FUT that work-ABS *for that work?*
many

Possession

Noun possession is marked by affixing a possessive prefix for person and number, and by replacing the absolutive suffix with the correlative possessed singular or plural suffix. (See POSSESSIVES, Morphology.)

POSSESSIVES

Morphology

Possessor affixes:

no-	<i>my</i>	to-	<i>our</i>
mo-	<i>your</i>	namo-	<i>your PL</i>
i-	<i>his/hers/its</i>	in-	<i>their</i>
te-	<i>your (HON) or his (HON or UNSPEC POSSR) HON or UNSPEC</i>		

Possessed suffixes:

SG \emptyset /w	PL -wan		
no-kal	<i>my house</i>	to-kal	<i>our house</i>
namo-kal-wan	<i>your PL houses</i>	in-čan	<i>their home</i>
te-siwa-w	<i>someone's wife</i>	te-siwa-w-cin	<i>your HON wife HON</i>
te-nana		tenana	<i>the mother (of someone)</i>

Syntax

Possessive pronoun

-waška/-yaška *possession*

Occurs with all the possessive prefixes. SG POSSD suffix is \emptyset , and PL is -wan.

no-waška in weyi kal-i *The big house is mine.*
my-possession ART big house-ABS

ino'-ke kow-ten to-waška-wan *Those trees are ours.*
that-PL tree-PL our-possession-POSSD:PL

a'mo ši-k-wika in tlen te-yaška *Don't take that which is another's.*
NEG IMP-it-carry SUBR what UNSPEC-possession

Pronoun copy

Possessor occurs as free noun or noun phrase.

i-siwaw in pančo *Pancho's wife*
his-woman-POSSD ART PN

i-telpoč inon ok=se tlaka-tl *that other man's boy*
his-boy that yet=one man-ABS

Recursion

i-wik i-telpoč in pančo *Pancho's boy's hoe*
his-hoe his-boy ART PN

POSTPOSITIONS

Forms

-i'tek	<i>inside of</i>	-teč	<i>on, contiguous to</i>
-nawak	<i>near to</i>	-k ^w itlapa	<i>behind</i>
-pa	<i>LOC</i>	-pan	<i>LOC</i>
-k ^w ak	<i>above</i>	-tla	<i>at</i>
-ko	<i>to, toward</i>	-calan	<i>between</i>
-kan	<i>LOC</i>	=ik	<i>DIRL</i>
ika	<i>INSTR</i>	-pampa	<i>BEN</i>
-sel	<i>alone</i>	-wan	<i>with</i>

Syntax

These are affixed to a few nouns, to possessor prefixes, and to quantifiers.

With nouns:

mil-ten-ko *border of field* kal-i'tek *in the house*
field-edge-to

tla-kal-teč *against the house*
UNSPEC:OBJ-house-on

ki-piy-a i-čan no-kal-nawak *He has his home near my house.*
it-have-PRES his-home my-house-near

i-nakas-tla *in the corner*
its-ear-at

With possessor prefixes:

i-ten-tla	in	a-tl		<i>at the edge of the water</i>
<i>its-edge-at ART water-ABS</i>				
o-mo-kec		no-k ^W itlapa		<i>He stood behind me.</i>
<i>PERF-REFL-stand my-behind</i>				
ačto-pa		<i>first time</i>	se-pan	<i>one time</i>
<i>first-LOC</i>			<i>one-LOC</i>	
i-calan	in	šiwī-tl		<i>down in the weeds</i>
<i>its-between ART weed-ABS</i>				
ti-ya-s		no-wan		<i>You will go with me.</i>
<i>you-go-FUT my-with</i>				
i-pampa	o-mik	i-kone-w		<i>He died for his child.</i>
<i>its-BEN PERF-die his-child-POSSD</i>				
o-ni-mo-kaw		no-sel		<i>I remained alone.</i>
<i>PERF-I-REFL-leave my-alone</i>				

=ik DIRL is suffixed to locatives but also occurs as a free particle.

ni-ya-s	ne-p=ik			<i>I will go over there.</i>
<i>I-go-FUT DISTR-LOC=DIRL</i>				
o-ya	ik	aten-ko		<i>He went to the river.</i>
<i>PERF-go DIRL river-toward</i>				

ika INSTR occurs only as a free particle.

ši-k-tolo-s	ika	a-tl		<i>Swallow it with water.</i>
<i>IMP-it-swallow-FUT INSTR water-ABS</i>				

DEMONSTRATIVES

The two demonstratives may be inflected for plural by the verb plural suffix, and they can stand alone as nominals.

PROX	inin	<i>this</i>	ini-'ke	<i>these</i>
DIST	inon	<i>that</i>	ino-'ke	<i>those</i>
WH	katli	<i>which</i>	katle-'ke	<i>which PL</i>

They agree in number with the nouns they modify, and precede them.

ki-neki	inin	libro		<i>He wants this book.</i>
<i>it-want this book</i>				

o-neč-k ^{Wa} inon čiči	<i>That dog bit me.</i>
<i>PERF-me-eat that dog</i>	
ni-ya-s in-wan ino-'ke tlaka-men	<i>I will go with those men.</i>
<i>I-go-FUT their-with that-PL man-PL</i>	
katle-'ke den ye'wa-n o-ki-čiw-ke	<i>Which ones of them did it?</i>
<i>which-PL of he-PL PERF-it-do-PL</i>	

The abbreviated form of the third person singular pronoun, *ye'*, also occurs as a demonstrative, though it parallels the indefinite pronoun construction.

ye' in tlen o-ni-k-i'to	<i>That's what I said.</i>
<i>that's SUBR what PERF-I-it-say</i>	

The dual demonstrative *-newan* occurs with the possessor plural prefixes.

to-newan	<i>both of us</i>
<i>our-both</i>	

The demonstrative precedes the adjective in a noun phrase.

inon weyi kal-i	<i>that big house</i>
<i>that big house-ABS</i>	
weyi inon kal-i	<i>That house is big.</i>
<i>big that house-ABS</i>	

Without head noun:

ne' a'mo ni-k-čiw-tok inon	<i>I have not done that.</i>
<i>I NEG I-it-do-STAT that</i>	

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Location

Two adverbial demonstratives denote both time and space, and one modifies abstractions. They are referred to as LOC of time, space, and manner.

PROX	niman	<i>next to, immediately, particularly</i>
DIST	we'ka	<i>far</i> <i>we'kaw</i> <i>long time</i>
niman	ti-ya-s-ke	<i>Let's go immediately.</i>
<i>immediately</i>	<i>we-go-FUT-PL</i>	

sa=niman ki-piya in peine tlen=ik ki-šelwas-wi-a
just=reserved it-have ART comb what=DIRL it-brush-VR-PRES

in i-ten-con
ART his-beard

He has a comb which he reserves for combing his beard. (TOM-31)

we'ka om-pa=ka *It is far away.*
far DIRL-LOC=be

inon k^wali we'kaw ki-kama-wi'to-s *That one is able to keep it in*
that able long:time it-mouth-VR-DIRL-FUT his mouth a long time.

The bound postpositions -pa and -kan occur with directionals to form locatives. These locatives may be further inflected by =ka *is*, or =ik *DIRL*.

PROX	ni-kan	<i>here</i>	ni-kan=ka	<i>here it is</i>
	ni-k=ik	<i>in this direction</i>		
	nis	<i>here</i>	nis=ik	<i>toward here</i>
DIST	ne-pa	<i>there</i>	ne-pa=ka	<i>there it is</i>
	neš=ka	<i>there it is</i>		
	on-kan	<i>there are</i>	on-kan=ka	<i>there they are</i>
	om-pa	<i>over there</i>	om-pa=ka	<i>it is there</i>
	om-p=ik	<i>in that direction</i>		
	nowiyan	<i>all around</i>		
	seknin	<i>apart</i>		

Distributive ne- plus LOC -pan plus DIRL -ko yields i-ne-pan-ko *in the middle of*.

WH	kani	<i>where</i>	san kani	<i>wherever</i>
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Time

The LOC of time are formed by suffixing locatives to a few quantifiers. They include those of the negative and show less structural similarity than those of place.

keman	<i>when</i>		
ašan	<i>now, today</i>	sank ^w el	<i>early</i>
welok	<i>recently</i>	tla'ka	<i>mid-morning</i>
mostla	<i>tomorrow</i>	mostli	<i>daily</i>
inepantla	<i>mid-day</i>	semilwitl	<i>all day</i>
wiptla	<i>day after tomorrow</i>	ok=	<i>yet</i>
kemanian	<i>sometimes</i>		

se-pan	<i>one time</i>	sek-pa	<i>once</i>
ok=se-pan	<i>again</i>	satepa	<i>later, afterwards</i>
yalwa	<i>yesterday</i>	yi=wiptla	<i>day before yesterday</i>
ayamo	<i>not yet</i>	ayakmo	<i>no longer</i>
a'yik	<i>never</i>		

Combinations with *san just* allow finer delineation.

san čičon	<i>a moment</i>	san welok	<i>just recently</i>
san keman	<i>just now</i>		

Also one occurrence noted:

welok a'čiči	<i>just now (most recent)</i>
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Manner

Locatives of manner exhibit fewer structural similarities than the others. They combine quite freely with expressions of degree.

WH	kenin	<i>how</i>	(ke'keni	<i>How do they sell?)</i>
PROX	ihkin	<i>this way</i>	ihkinin	<i>continuing so</i>
DIST	ohkon	<i>that way</i>	ohkonon	<i>thus it was</i>
	yol=ik	<i>slowly (as the growing process)</i>	i'siw	<i>quickly</i>
	nonkwa	<i>same</i>	ok=nonkwa	<i>other</i>
	nen=ka	<i>as usual</i>	nen=ok	<i>yet as usual</i>
	sa=hkon	<i>just so (no other way)</i>	ičtaka	<i>secretly</i>

Degree

san	<i>just</i>	sa=	<i>only</i>
molwi	<i>very</i>	teki	<i>intensely</i>
tlawel	<i>too much</i>	yewpa	<i>that's it (finality)</i>
temowte	<i>too big, too much</i>		

QUANTIFIERS

se	<i>a, one</i>	sekin	<i>some</i>
kači	<i>more</i>	miak	<i>much, many</i>
tla'ko	<i>half</i>	nočin	<i>all</i>
či'ton	<i>a little</i>	tepicin	<i>small amount</i>

Most of the QNT combine with the augmentative *ok= yet* and the restrictive *san just*. Some may be inflected for plural and for person and number. The plural marker *-ten* is same as that for *-tl* class nouns, and subject pronominal prefixes mark person and number.

ti-noč-ten *all of us*
we-all-PL

in miak-ten a'mo o-ya'ke *Many did not go.*
ART much-PL NEG PERF-go-PL

Some combine with LOC *-pa* to denote number of times.

o-ni-k-ilwi miak-pa *I told him often.*
PERF-I-him-tell much-LOC

o-ni-k-ita-k ok=se-pa *I saw it again.*
PERF-I-it-see-PAST yet=one-I.LOC

The unmarked position of QNT is before N. It precedes other modifiers. It can occur without a head N.

ni-k-wika-s či'ton ista-tl *I will take a little salt.*
I-it-carry-FUT little salt-ABS

o-ki-kow nočin in kafen *He bought all of the coffee.*
PERF-it-buy all ART coffee

ni-k-neki san tla'ko *I want just half of it.*
I-it-want just half

WH

keski *how many, some (number)*

keč *how much (the price)*

keski yolka-tl o-ti-k-ita-k *How many animals did you see?*
how:many animal-ABS PERF-you-it-see-PAST

san keski o-wala'ke *Just a few came.*
just some PERF-come-PL

keč i-pati-w *How much is it?*
how:much its-cost-POSSD

Other combinations:

i-pan in tla'ko yowal-i *at midnight*
its-LOC ART half night-ABS

te-miak-ka-kow *the wood of many (communal)*
UNSPEC-much-CONN-tree

kači wan ok=kači neč-tla'il-ti-a *It disgusts me more and more.*
more and yet=more me-disgust-CAUS-PRES

NUMERALS

The system of numerals is formed by compounding and is adequate for any number up to one hundred. Larger numbers are handled by means of Spanish loans: *siento hundred* and *mil thousand*.

seya	<i>one</i>	ma'tlaktli wan seya	<i>eleven</i>
ome	<i>two</i>	ma'tlaktli wan ome	<i>twelve</i>
iyi	<i>three</i>	ma'tlaktli wan iyi	<i>thirteen</i>
nawe	<i>four</i>	ma'tlaktli wan nawe	<i>fourteen</i>
mak ^W ili	<i>five</i>	kaštoli	<i>fifteen</i>
čik ^W asin	<i>six</i>	kaštoli wan seya	<i>sixteen</i>
čikome	<i>seven</i>	kaštoli wan ome	<i>seventeen</i>
čik ^W eyi	<i>eight</i>	kaštoli wan iyi	<i>eighteen</i>
čiknawe	<i>nine</i>	kaštoli wan nawe	<i>nineteen</i>
ma'tlaktli	<i>ten</i>	sempowali	<i>twenty</i>

The basic unit for larger numbers is twenty. It is composed of *se one* plus *powal count* plus *i ABS*.

sempowali wan seya	<i>twenty-one</i>
sempowali wan mak ^W ili	<i>twenty-five</i>
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli	<i>thirty</i>
sempowali wan ma'tlaktli wan iyi	<i>thirty-three</i>
sempowali wan kaštoli wan ome	<i>thirty-seven</i>
ompowali	<i>forty</i>
yepowali	<i>sixty</i>
nawpowali	<i>eighty</i>

Numerals normally precede nouns. Numbers one through four may be suffixed for time or place.

ni-k-piya se weyi kal-i *I have a big house.*
I-it-have one big house-ABS

ni-kim-piya nawe no-pil-wan *I have four children.*
I-them-have four my-child-POSSD:PL

ow-pan o-wala *He came twice.*
two-LOC PERF-come

yeš-kan ka tla-tok-tli in papas *Potatoes are planted*
three-LOC be UNSPEC:OBJ-plant-ABS ART potatoes in three places.

Numerals may be inflected for plural and may stand as substantives. These occur with or without -ton DIM.

o-mo-kaw sa=se-ton *There was only one left.*
PERF-REFL-leave only=one-DIM

nawen-ten *four of them*
four-PL

te`wan-ten ti-nawen-ten *There were the four of us.*
we-PL we-four-PL

A distributive use of numerals is marked by RDP.

se`-seya *each one*
RDP-one

o`-ome *two by two*
RDP-two

ma-mak^wili *five each (piles of, or \$.05 each)*
RDP-five

ADJECTIVES

weyi	<i>big</i>
kicinin	<i>small</i>
k ^w ali	<i>good</i>

Adjectives precede or follow the nouns they modify. They are preceded by NEG to express negation. If either of the first two occur with the third, one of them serves as predicate. Agreement in number with the noun is marked by reduplication or by a plural suffix.

neč-pak-ti-a	inon weyi kal-i	<i>I like that big house.</i>
<i>me-please-CAUS-PRES</i>	<i>that big house-ABS</i>	
k ^w ali in	weyi kowi-tl	<i>The big tree is good.</i>
<i>good ART big tree-ABS</i>		
kicini-'to in	k ^w ali tlaka-tl	<i>The good man is small.</i>
<i>small-DIM ART good man-ABS</i>		
in	ki-kicinin mi-mis-ten y=o-mih-ke	<i>The little cats died.</i>
<i>ART RDP-small RDP-cat-PL COMPL=PERF-die-PL</i>		

Most verbs may be inflected to function as adjectives. These are probably stative verbs. Some take the absolutive suffix, making them gerunds. The verbal adjective marker is -k / -ki.

kose-wi	<i>turn yellow, ripen</i>	
kos-ti-k	<i>yellow</i>	
tolon-ti-k	<i>round</i>	
in	tla-wac-tli kafen	<i>the roasted coffee</i>
<i>ART UNSPEC:OBJ-dry-ABS</i>	<i>coffee</i>	
ni-k-noca-s	in cin-ka-pec	kone-tl
<i>I-him-call-FUT ART bottom-CONN-bare child-ABS</i>		
<i>I will call the bare-bottomed child.</i>		
o-wec	i-pan yeman-ki tlal-i	<i>It fell on soft ground.</i>
<i>PERF-fall its-LOC soft-ADJR earth-ABS</i>		
o-ki-paka-k	ika toton-ki a-tl	<i>He washed it with hot water.</i>
<i>PERF-it-wash-PAST INSTR heat-ADJR water-ABS</i>		

The stative verbs denote action completed. They are marked by the suffix -tok.

in	wec-tok kowi-tl	<i>the fallen tree</i>
<i>ART fall-STAT tree-ABS</i>		

Modifiers of ADJ delineate size and quality of the head noun. (See ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES, Degree.)

temowte we'weyi kal-ten ka-te *There are such great houses.*
astoundingly RDP-big house-PL is-PL

o-ni-k-a'si-k se mango molwi wiksi-k
PERF-I-it-encounter-PAST one mango very cook-ADJR
I found a very ripe mango.

inon tlaka-tl a'mo tekin čikawa-k *That man is not very strong.*
that man-ABS NEG very strong-ADJR

COMPARATIVES

kači *more*

kenin *how, as, than*

yohke *same*

The first of these combines with *ok=* *yet*. All may occur with NEG.

ne'wa-tl kači ni-čikawa-k ken ye'wa-tl
I-ABS more I-strengthen-ADJR than he-ABS
I am stronger than he is.

ye'wa-tl i-hkon kow-tik ken ne'wa-tl
he-ABS PROX-thus tree-ADJR than I-ABS
He is as tall as I am.

ašan o-ni-k-tek kači a'mo miak *I didn't pick as much today.*
today PERF-I-it-cut more NEG much

o-ki-či'čiw wan ayakmo yohke *He fixed it, but it's not the same*
PERF-it-RDP-do but no:longer same *any more.*

tlen ye'wa ok=kači ki-čiwa-s *What else will he do?*
what he yet-more it-do-FUT

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Positive

akin	<i>who, one who, someone</i>
tlen	<i>what, something</i>

These combine with some particles to form the range of this construction.

san akin	<i>anyone</i>
se akin	<i>someone</i>
in akin	<i>whoever</i>
nian akin	<i>no one</i>
san tlen	<i>anything</i>
nian tlen	<i>nothing</i>
in tlen	<i>that which</i>
itla'tlen	<i>whatever (i-tla'tlen (its-UNSPEC:OBJ-what))</i>

ni-k-temo-s se akin no-namik *I will look for someone to be my husband.*
I-him-hunt-FUT one who my-husband

in akin ki-neki-s k^wali ki-kowa-s *Whoever wants it can buy it.*
ART who it-want-FUT able it-buy-FUT

in tlen mo-tla-ne'newi-lis ti-k-piya
ART what your-UNSPEC:OBJ-think-ABSTR you-it-have
the understanding which you have

san tlen yolka-tl k^wali *Any kind of animal can do it.*
just what animal-ABS able

kana tla'tlen o-hkon k-ilwi-a-'ke *Perhaps thus they tell him something.*
DUB whatever DIST-thus it-tell-PRES-PL

se itla'tlen o-k-ičtaka-ana-to te-mila
one whatever PERF-it-secretly-take-DIRL UNSPEC-field
something (you) took (stole) from someone's field

in ne'=a'mo tlalwis in tlen=ik ni-ya-s
ART I=NEG vain ART what=DIRL I-go-FUT
I am not going just for nothing.

Negative

Negative forms are derived by combining the pronouns with a NEG. The NEG precedes the pronoun.

a'mo akin wala-'tok *No one has come.*
NEG who come-STAT

nian akin ki-mati kani ya-s
not:even who it-know where go-FUT

No one knows where he will go.

a'wel tlen ki-žiwa-s
unable what it-do-FUT

He can't do anything.

WH

katli which

This form is always an interrogative, whereas *akin who* is also declarative. *katli which* refers only to non-person, as does *tlen what*. These two may be inflected for plural with verb plural suffix *-'ke*.

katli ye'wa-tl ni-k-wika-s
which it-ABS I-it-carry-FUT

Which one shall I take?

katle-'ke no-yolka-wan
which-PL my-animal-POSSD:PL

Which are my animals?

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Occurrence of ABS suffix with singular forms is optional.

Subject/Object:

1P SG	ne'wa-tl	PL	te'wa-n
2P SG	te'wa-tl	PL	name'wa-n
3P SG	ye'wa-tl	PL	ye'wa-n
2P HON-VOC	SG te'wa-cin <i>you-HON</i>	PL	name'wa-n-ci-cin <i>you-PL-RDP-HON</i>
3P HON-REF	SG ye'wa-cin <i>he-HON</i>	PL	ye'wa-n-ci-cin <i>he-PL-RDP-HON</i>

Dependent

Subject prefix:

	SG	PL
1P	ni-/na-	ti-/ta-
2P	ti-	nan-
	mo- HON	
3P	∅	∅

Object prefix:

	SG	PL
1P	neč-	teč-
2P	mic-	meč-
	te- HON/UNSPEC	
3P	k-/ki-	kin-

1P SG *na-* and PL *ta-* occur with 2P PL OBJ *meč*. HON *mo-* also occurs contiguous to verb stems following object prefix, thus exhibiting similarity to *mo-REFL*.

mo-neki te-tla-k^Wal *Do you want your meal?*
you-want UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-meal

ti-k-mo-neki-l-ti-a *te-tla-k^Wal*
you-it-HON-want-APPLIC-CAUS-PRES UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-meal
Do you want your meal?

For possessor prefixes (also used with postpositions) see POSSESSIVES.

STEMS

Suppletion

A few irregular verbs evidence suppletion.

wala *come* (the regular form)
wic *come* (suddenly, unexpectedly)

This suppletive form occurs in the set of stems that are affixed to the main verb and denote time/manner of main verb. (See COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds.)

o-wala-'ke ašan *They came today.*
PERF-come-PL today

o-wica *He came by.*
PERF-come

ya/yo *go*

The regular form is *ya*, and *yo* occurs only with first person plural exhortative or declarative. But *ya* in present tense is suffixed by *-w* SG and *-we* PL.

ni-ya-w *I am going.*
ya-we niman *They are going immediately.*
ya-s mostla *He will go tomorrow.*
ti-yo-we *Let's go!*

This exhortative form may be further suffixed by verb PL *-ke* making it a declarative construction.

ti-yo-we-'ke *We are going.*

=ka be

Suppletion is evidenced in the irrealis mode, with *ye* occurring. It also occurs in the suffixal set referred to above (see COMPOUNDS, Verb Compounds).

ayakmo ka kowtla'tli *There are no longer any forests.*
no:longer be woods-ABS

o-kat-ka molwi soki-tik *It was very muddy.*
PERF-RDP-be very mud-ADJR

ye-s ilwi-tl mostla *There will be a fiesta tomorrow.*
be-FUT fiesta-ABS tomorrow

All these stems evidence further suppletion in the honorific constructions.

ma=wal-wi-lo-wa *Please come here, sir.*
OPTV=come-(?)-HON-HON

kani wi-lo-wa-s *Where are you going, sir?*
where go-HON-HON-FUT

ompa i-lo-wa-k *There he HON is.*
there be-HON-HON-PAST

ompa ti-mec-tok *Are you there, sir?*
there you-be-STAT

Reduplication

Some stems evidence reduplication to mark plurality of subject or object, or repetitive action. The following patterns have been observed:

$C_1 V_1 X \rightarrow C_1 V_1 'C_1 V_1 X$ Plural actor or diversity of action.
 (Also: $V_1 X \rightarrow V_1 'V_1 X$)

$C_1 V_1 X \rightarrow C_1 V_1 C_1 V_1 X$ Repetitive action.

-čiwa do -či'-čiwa *make, repair*

kalaki enter ka'-kalak-ti-a *offer for sale, peddle*
RDP-enter-CAUS-PRES

nemi live ne'-nemi *walk*

ki-no-noc-a *He relates it.*
it-RDP-call-PRES

ki-no'-noc-a *He chats with him.*
him-RDP-call-PRES

With first stem of compound verbs:

šole-wi	to scrape	+ kopini	fall out →
<i>scrape-TRNSR</i>			
šo-šol-kopini	in	ye-tl	<i>The beans are leaking out (of the sack).</i>
<i>RDP-scrape-fall ART bean-ABS</i>			

Negation by reduplication has been observed with a few verbs.

-neki	want	o-pew	ne'-neki	<i>He began to not want...</i>
<i>PERF-begin RDP-want</i>				
-šikowa	endure	o-mo-ši'-šiko		<i>He reneged.</i>
<i>PERF-REFL-RDP-endure</i>				
-polowa	lose	tla-po'-pol-wi-a		<i>forgive (i.e., not cause loss)</i>
<i>UNSPEC:OBJ-RDP-lose-TRNSR-PRES</i>				

Reduplication is used also to mark figurative speech.

tlan-kopini	<i>The tooth falls out.</i>
<i>tooth-fall:out</i>	
tlan-ko'-kopini	<i>bare teeth (in anger)</i>
<i>tooth-RDP-fall:out</i>	

Stem Classes

Stems divide most readily into two classes: those which drop stem final -V to mark past tense, and those which add -k or -Ø.

čoka	<i>cry</i>	o-čoka-k	<i>He cried.</i>
<i>PERF-cry-PAST</i>			
koči	<i>sleep</i>	o-koč	<i>He slept.</i>
<i>PERF-sleep</i>			
ki-k ^W a	<i>He eats</i>	o-ki-k ^W a-k	<i>He ate it.</i>
<i>it-eat</i>	<i>it.</i>	<i>PERF-it-eat-PAST</i>	
k-ilpi-a	<i>He ties it.</i>	o-k-ilpi	<i>He tied it.</i>
<i>it-tie-PRES PERF-it-tie</i>			

INCORPORATION

Directional/Locative

wal-	<i>toward</i>
iš-	<i>forward, facing</i>
cin-	<i>toward the rear, bottom</i>
pan-	<i>upward, top of</i>
on-	<i>away from, over there</i>

o-neč-wal-ew in čiči
PERF-me-DIRL-arise ART dog

The dog came at me.

ni-k-iš-a'wa-s
I-him-DIRL-scold-FUT

I will scold him to his face.

o-cin-kis
PERF-DIRL-go:out

He backed out.

o-ki-pan-tle'ka-wi
PERF-it-DIRL-raise-TRNSR

He raised it up onto... .

a'mo tlen ši-k-on-ana
NEG what IMP-it-DIRL-bring

Don't bring anything from there.

Adverbial

yek-	<i>complete, excellent</i>
čiko-	<i>ATTEN</i>
wel-	<i>forcefully, exceedingly</i>

o-ki-yek-ilwi
PERF-it-ADV-tell

He explained it carefully.

san keski čiko-kisa-s-ke ika in teki-tl
just how:many ATTEN-go:out-FUT-PL INSTR ART work-ABS
Just a few will come out to work.

o-mo-wel-mat
PERF-REFL-ADV-know

He has recovered.

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal Prefixes

(See DEFINITE PRONOUNS, Dependent, for basic subject and object prefixes.)

Second or indirect object is marked by *-li* APPLIC, although some verbs are inherently applicative and occurrence of *-li* is optional.

ni-k-žiwi-li-s mostla *I will do it for him tomorrow.*
I-it-do-APPLIC-FUT tomorrow

ši-neč-ilwi tlen ti-k-neki *Tell me what you want.*
IMP-me-tell what you-it-want

(For reflexive/reciprocal and passive/impersonal marking, see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA.)

Honorific

mo- HON occurs in the object marker slot, but in some cases it may occur with the indirect object marker, always preceding the stem contiguously.

o-ni-mic-mo-maki-li in ayo'-tli
PERF-I-you-HON-give-APPLIC ART squash-ABS
I gave to you, sir, the squash.

kani ti-mo-mawes-ti-li-s
where you-HON-respect-CAUS-APPLIC-FUT
Where will you, sir, worship?

ši-neč-mo-maki-li-kan in žikawa-lis-tli
IMP-me-HON-give-APPLIC-PL ART strengthen-ABSTR-ABS
Please, sir, give me the strength.

-lo HON occurs as a suffix which may be followed by optional occurrence of *-wa* HON, tense/aspect marker, directional, STAT, or a plural marker. Whereas *mo-* HON makes a polite form of the imperative, *-lo* occurs only with *ma=* OPTV.

ma=ki-tla'tlani-lo *That you, sir, ask him.*
OPTV=him-ask-HON

tlen ki-maka-lo-s *What will you, sir, give him?*
what it-give-HON-FUT

mo-siwa-w-ti-lo-tok *You, sir, are married.*
REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-HON-STAT

Other

tla- UNSPEC OBJ (non-human); te- UNSPEC OBJ (human)

These usually occur with the predicate in place of object marker, but also with object markers in a few cases. They occur preceding nominalized verb stems.

ki-tla-maka *He feeds him/it.*
him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give

te-tla-maka *He feeds him (person).*
UNSPEC-UNSPEC:OBJ-give

ni-mic-tla-paki-s *I will wash your clothes.*
I-you-UNSPEC:OBJ-wash-FUT

ki-mati *He knows it.*
it-know

tla-mati-lis-tli *wisdom*
UNSPEC:OBJ-know-ABSTR-ABS

-lis ABSTR NR

Occurs suffixed to verb stem and may be followed by -tli ABS or -ten PL.

in-tla-mo-siwa-w-ti-lis-ten *their weddings*
their-UNSPEC:OBJ-REFL-woman-POSSD-CAUS-ABSTR-PL

yi= COMPL

Occurs preceding all verb prefixes. When followed by o- PERF, the i is lost.

yi=ki-neki *Already he wants it.*
COMPL=it-want

y=o-ki-mat *He already knew it.*
COMPL=PERF-it-know

ni-ya'-ti-ka ni-koči ok=se welta yi *I was already going to sleep*
I-go-CONN-be I-sleep yet=one time COMPL again.

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-ti	CAUS
-li	APPLIC
-liti	CAUS:APPLIC
-tok	STAT
-ka/-wi/-ni	INTRNS
-wa/-ca	TRNS

o-ki-mik-ti	in	čiči	<i>He killed the dog.</i>
<i>PERF-it-die-CAUS</i>	<i>ART</i>	<i>dog</i>	
ni-k-wal-iki-lis			<i>I will bring it for him.</i>
<i>I-it-come-with-APPLIC-FUT</i>			
neč-teki-lti-a			<i>He caused me to cut it for him.</i>
<i>me-cut-CAUS:APPLIC-PRES</i>			

A second -li APPLIC occurs in HON constructions with mo- HON.

ši-neč-mo-temo-li-li-kan	se	no-iš-namik	
<i>IMP-me-HON-hunt-APPLIC-APPLIC-PL</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>my-front-likeness</i>	
<i>Please find me one who looks like me.</i>			

a'si-'tok	<i>complete</i>
<i>arrive-STAT</i>	

ompa wec-tok	<i>It is fallen over there.</i>
<i>there fall-STAT</i>	

A few verbs demonstrate the full range of INTRNS/TRNS possibilities.

poli-wi	<i>perish</i>	ki-polo-wa	<i>He loses it.</i>
<i>lose-INTRNS</i>		<i>it-lose-TRNS</i>	
ni-mo-polo	<i>I am lost.</i>	a'mo tlen poli-w-tok	<i>No harm done.</i>
<i>I-REFL-lose</i>		<i>NEG what lose-STAT</i>	

The suffixes -ni INTRNS, -ka INTRNS, and -ca TRNS occur with the set of onomatopoeic verbs:

kala-ni	<i>It bangs.</i>	ka-kala-ka	<i>It rattles.</i>
<i>bang-INTRNS</i>		<i>RDP-bang-INTRNS</i>	
ki-ka-kala-ca	<i>He rattles (raps on) it.</i>		
<i>it-RDP-bang-TRNS</i>			

	<u>Past</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
<u>Simple</u>	∅ / -k (-ke/'ke)	-yaya (-ke)	∅ (-'ke/-ke)	-s (-ke)
<u>DIRL</u>				
<u>from</u>	-to ('ke)			-tiw (-e)
<u>toward</u>	-ko ('ke)			-kiw (-e)
<u>DUR</u>	-to-k (-e)	-to-ya (-ke)		-to-s (-ke)
<u>PNCT</u>		-ta-ya (-ke)	-ta (-ke)	-ta-s (-ke)

The analysis of *-tok* is questionable. It marks both STAT and DUR PAST. With some verbs it could be either.

koč-to-k *sleeping*
sleep-DUR-PAST

koč-tok *asleep*
sleep-STAT

yi=teč-neš-ti-li-'to-k-e

We are already being shown.

COMPL=us-show-CAUS-APPLIC-DUR-PAST-PL

o-tla-k^Wa-yaya

He was eating.

PERF-UNSPEC:OBJ-eat-IMPRF

o-ni-k-kawa-to

I left it there.

PERF-I-it-leave-DIRL

o-ki-kowa-ko

He bought it here.

PERF-it-buy-DIRL

o-ki-tek-to-ya

kafen

He had been picking coffee.

PERF-it-cut-DUR-IMPRF coffee

ni-k-kak-to-s

I will be hearing it.

I-it-hear-DUR-FUT [

o-ki-tek-ta-ya

He had been picking (in passing).

PERF-it-cut-PNCT-IMPRF

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

Pre-Stem Elements

Order: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{COMPL=PERF-} \\ \text{OPTV=} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{SM-} \\ \text{IMP-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{OM-} \\ \text{REFL-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{UNSPEC-} \\ \text{HON-} \end{array} \right] \text{STEM}$

(*yi=o-ni-k-tla-* exemplifies a maximal sequence.)

Restrictions on co-occurrence of these elements are as follows: OPTV may not occur with IMP; REFL may not occur with HON; OM may occur with UNSPEC OBJ in a very few cases.

<i>ma=ni-te-kowi-li</i> <i>OPTV=I-UNSPEC-buy-APPLIC</i>	<i>That I may buy it from you.</i>
<i>ši-neč-nemaki-lti</i> <i>IMP-me-sell-CAUS:APPLIC</i>	<i>Sell it to me!</i>
<i>ti-neč-mo-maki-li-s</i> <i>you-me-HON-give-APPLIC-FUT</i>	<i>You, sir, will give it to me.</i>
<i>ni-mo-kawa-s ok=se tonal-i</i> <i>I-REFL-leave-FUT yet=one day-ABS</i>	<i>I will remain another day.</i>
<i>ki-tla-maka wipila</i> <i>him-UNSPEC:OBJ-give LOC</i>	<i>He feeds him every other day.</i>

Post-Stem Elements

Order: STEM-CAUS-APPLIC-HON-HON-CONN- $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ASP} \\ \text{DIRL} \end{array} \right] \text{-TNS-PL}$
(-ti) (-li) (-lo) (-wa) (-ti)

HON -*wa* may be reanalyzed as merely -*a* after *o* of -*lo*. It occurs with the HON forms of *go*, *come*, and *be*. A second -*li* APPLIC co-occurs with *mo-* HON prefix. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION for further details.)

COORDINATION

<i>wan</i>	<i>and, but</i>
<i>pero</i>	<i>but</i> (Spanish loan)
<i>noso</i>	<i>or</i>

o-ki-kiš-ti in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon
PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART match and PERF-it-strike
He took out a match and struck it. (TOM-23)

pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan wan ye'wa-n a'mo o-ki-neh-ke
same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL and he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL
that they all drink the same, but they didn't want to (TOM-15)

wan tla k-oni noso a'mo san kiera i-ten-con ki-pal-ti-li-a
and if it-drink or NEG just at:least his-beard it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES
 i-pan in haro
its-LOC ART jar
And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard in the jar. (TOM-51)

The Spanish loan *pwes well* is sometimes used in the apposition clause.

ki-temow-a in i-ten-con pwes a'yak
it-hunt-PRES ART his-beard but none
He hunts for his beard, but it isn't there. (TOM-56)

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Both subject and object complement clauses typically occur at the end of the main clause. Both are marked in a variety of ways.

Subject Complement Clauses

ok=kači k^Wali [nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s] *You had better stay here.*
yet=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT (TOM-19)
 k^Wali=ka [tleka te'wa ti-koneho] *It is good you are a rabbit.*
good=be because you you-rabbit (CR-16)

Object Complement Clauses

o-ki-mači-li [a'wel cek^Wini we'kaw]
PERF-it-know-APPLIC NEG-able run far
It realized it was unable to run far. (CR-2)
 ti-k-mati [kana ni-koneho] *You think that I am a rabbit.*
you-it-know DUB I-rabbit (CR-10)
 o-ki-neki-aya [kin-še'-šelwi'-ta-ni]
PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT
He wanted to serve it to them. (TOM-15)
 ni-k-neki [ma=neč-maka-s] *I want him to give it to me.*
I-it-want OPTV=me-give-FUT
 ayakmo ni-k-neki [ši-wala] *I don't want you to come any*
no:longer I-it-want IMP-come more.

k-i'to-a-'ke [mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka]
it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash
They say that he just washes his beard in it. (TOM-11)

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

These are marked by occurrence of *tla if* or *koš whether*. (See QUESTIONS, Yes/No Questions.)

ti-k-ita-s-ke [in tla o-ti-k-neš-ti in kone-tl]
we-it-see-FUT-PL SUBR if PERF-you-it-appear-CAUS ART child-ABS
We will see if you have had the child.

wan [tla nele k-oni noso a'mo]
and if really it-drink or NEG
and whether he drinks or not... (TOM-51)

a ber [koš ok ni-k-a'si-tiw noso kana ayakmo]
INTR whether yet I-it-arrive-DIRL or DUB no:longer
We'll see whether I will still find it or not.

WH Questions

These are marked by occurrence of preposed WH word as subordinator. (See QUESTIONS, WH Questions.)

a'mo o-ki-mati-aya [kan=ik o-ya inon k^wak^we]
NEG PERF-it-know-IMPRF where=DIRL PERF-go that bull
He didn't know where that bull had gone.

mo-neki mo-mati-s [in kenin o-ki-awil-ti-'ke in tek^w-tli]
you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old-ABS
one

You, sir, want to know how they teased the old man. (TOM-1)

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses may precede or follow their heads, or the head may be deleted. Occurrence of *in SUBR* is optional in combination with *akin who* and *tlen what*, and always introduces the clause.

Subject Relatives

ye'wa in k^wa-tl [tlen nemi ši'-šiw-tla]
it ART snake-ABS which live RDP-weed-LOC
It is the snake which lives in the weeds.

o-k-ilwi-k in ič-poč-tli [in akin tla-ne-maka]
 PERF-it-tell-PAST ART girl-youth-ABS SUBR who UNSPEC:OBJ DISTR-give
She told the girl who sells (i.e. waitress).

in koneho [akin o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s]
 ART rabbit who PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT
the rabbit who tried to fool him (CR-18)

Object Relatives

inin kow-wewecok [tlen o-ni-k-tek]
 this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick
these berries which I have picked (CR-12)

Oblique Relatives

o-ki-awil-ti'ke in tek^W-tli [i-toka A. H.]
 PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS his-name PN
They teased the old man named A. H. (TOM-1)

Headless Relatives

[akin tekiti] ye' in loko *The one who works, he is the crazy one.*
 who work he ART crazy

entonses ok=se i-kni-w k^Wala-ni [in akin a'mo loko]
 INTR yet=one his-brother-POSSD angry-INTRNS SUBR who NEG crazy
So the other brother was angry, the one who was sane.

neč-mo'-mow-ti-a i-hkon [akin neč-a'si-s]
 me-RDP-frighten-CAUS-PRES PROX-thus who me-arrive-FUT
Whoever meets me thus frightens me.

a'mo ni-k-neltoka-s [in akin neč-ka'kayawa-s]
 NEG I-him-believe-FUT SUBR who me-deceive-FUT
I will not believe whoever will deceive me.

ti-k-ita-s [in tlen ne' ni-k-seman-ti-ka]
 you-it-see-FUT SUBR what I I-it-peddle-CONN-be
You will see what I am peddling.

neč-pak-ti-a [in tlen o-neč-maka-k]
 me-please-CAUS-PRES SUBR what PERF-me-give-PAST
I like what he gave me.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Locative

[kani tok-tok] tlal-šokoš-tok *The ground where he is buried is sour.*
 where bury-STAT ground-sour-STAT

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ompa i-pan inon [kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti-'ke ya-s-ke
there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL go-FUT-PL
 tla-co'cona-s-ke]
UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL
there in the place where they asked them to go play (TOM-37)

Temporal

tlen inon ki-wal-ilwi-s [i'k^wak tلامي tla-mat-ka-
what that it-DIRL-tell-FUT when finish UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-
 tla-'to-s]
UNSPEC:OBJ-say-FUT
what he will tell him when he finishes chanting

[i'k^wak tla-maw-ti-ye-s] ki-pak-ti-a
when UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-be-FUT it-please-CAUS-PRES
When he is sober he likes it. (TOM-30)

Manner

Adverbial clause of manner may occur with or without *ken* *how, as*.

[ken o-wal-ew-ke in šiši-men] ki-ti-tilana-'ke
as PERF-DIRL-arise-PL ART dog-PL it-RDP-pull-PL

apurado in naka-tl
quickly ART meat-ABS
As the dogs came charging, they quickly pulled off the meat.

o-ti-k-pa'ti-k [ken ompa o-kat-ka-yaya mih-ki]
PERF-you-him-heal-PAST how there PERF-RDP-be-IMPRF die-ADJR
You healed him as he was over there dead.

molwi teč.tla'il-ti-a [weyak i-ten-con]
much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES long his-beard
He disgusts us (since) his beard is (so) long. (TOM-7)

If-Clauses

tla if occurs with various forms of the irrealis mode. If-clauses usually precede the main clause, and occurrence of the subordinator *in* is optional.

[in tla k^wak^we] pos ompa nele pil-ka-ti-ye-s
SUBR if bull INTR there really hang-be-CONN-be-FUT

miak in naka-tl
much ART meat-ABS
If it is beef, there will be a lot of meat hanging there.

ašan [tla mač o-neč-telwi-'ke] ašan ni-ya-s kiera ni-mo-cak^Wa-tiw
now if QUOT PERF-me-accuse-PL now I-go-FUT even:if I-REFL-shut-DIRL
If I have been charged and I were to go now, I would be locking myself up.

wan [tla kana akin ok=seya]
and if DUB who yet=one
and if perhaps there is someone else...

An if-clause may be used to suggest a possibility.

pero [tla ki-piya se i-g^Wahito de oro]
but if it-have one his-jug of gold
but supposing he has a golden jug...

An if-clause may be used to express surprise.

wan [tla ka'so sa ye' in ik o-mo-sewi-lo-k]
and if so:then just it SUBR INSTR PERF-REFL-rest-HON-PAST
And if it wasn't that by which he died!

There is a special use of an if-clause for optative mode.

[tla ti-neč-mo-tlokoli-li-skia-ni ye' in tomin]
if you-me-HON-give-APPLIC-COND-CNTRFCT it ART money
Please may it be money that you give to me.

When an if-clause marks contrafactual, the main clause is also contrafactual.

tla if may be omitted.

[in tla ken ašan ye-ni] ni-k-kicki-ni ika sinta
SUBR if how now be-CNTRFCT I-it-grab-CNTRFCT INSTR belt
If it had been as now, I would have taken a belt to it.

[a'mo ni-siego ni-ye-skia-ni] ni-čolo-ni
NEG I-blind I-be-COND-CNTRFCT I-flee-CNTRFCT
If I were not blind, I would have fled.

Other

tla if occurs with the negative a'mo in positive rhetorical questions.

tla-'mo ni-miki-s ika mow-ka-yo-tl
if-not I-die-FUT INSTR fear-CONN-ABSTR-ABS
If I won't die of fright!

tleka [in tla-'mo ok ti-k-ma-kiš-ti-skia-ni-'ke]
why SUBR if-not yet we-it-hand-go -CAUS-COND-CNTRFCT-PL
save out
Why couldn't we have still saved her?

Because-clauses sometimes occur with *tleka* *why, because*, but most are determined by type and position of adverbs. The combination *ye'* in *ik that is why* occurs frequently.

molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a [san o-hkonon ti-tlayi-'ke ika in pulke]
very us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL INSTR ART pulque
He disgusts us so much because of the way we drink pulque. (TOM-10)

kači k^wali nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s [kana weci-wa-tiw ik o'-tli]
more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL DIRL road-ABS
You had better stay here because you might fall in the road. (TOM-19)

miki-s sa=nima [tleka ki-čičina inon wicicili]
die-FUT just=next because it-suck that hummingbird
He will die immediately because that hummingbird sucks it (his blood).

TEXTS

How They Teased the Old Man

keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke in tek^W-tli
how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART old:one-ABS

1. So, now you want to know how they teased the
 tel ašan mo-neki mo-mati-s in keni o-ki-awil-ti-'ke
so now you-want you-know-FUT SUBR how PERF-him-play-CAUS-PL ART
 old man named A. H.
 tek^W-tli i-toka A. H.
old:one-ABS his-name PN
2. And it was E. M. who did the teasing.
 wan o-te-awil-ti ye'wa-tl in E. M.
and PERF-UNSPEC-play-CAUS he-ABS ART PN
3. Well, thus it was that one time they hired A. H. ;
 pwes kasi sek-pa o-hkono o-ki-tlakew-ke in A. H.
INTR DUB one-LOC DIST-thus PERF-him-hire-PL ART PN
 he was what you would call teacher of the musicians.
 ye'wa-tl kasi k-i'to-s-neki maestro ika in musikos
he-ABS DUB it-say-FUT-want teacher INSTR ART musicians
4. And so he was teaching them how to play,
 wan o-kin-neš-ti-li-aya keni mo-mač-ti-s-ke
and PERF-them-show-CAUS-APPLIC-IMPRF how REFL-know-CAUS-FUT-PL
 and also this E. M. and his brother, named M.
 wan no=yohke inin E. M. wan in i-kni-w seya i-toka M.
and also=same this PN and ART his-brother-POSSD one his-name PN
5. Well now, well, he is dead; no longer living.
 bweno ašan bweno yi=mih-ki porke ayakmo nemi
INTR now INTR COMPL=die-ADJR because no:longer live
6. But that day when he was still living, thus he said,
 pero inon tonal-i i'kwak o-katka wan i-hkonon o-k-ilwi
but that day-ABS when PERF-was and PROX-thus PERF-him-tell
 well, they said to each other:
 bweno o-mo-lwi-'ke
INTR PERF-REFL-tell-PL

7. "Now here comes our teacher, but he disgusts
 ašan wala in to-maestro pero molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a
now come ART our-teacher but much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES
 us very much with his long beard," they said.
 weyak in i-ten-con mo-lwi-a'ke
long ART his-edge-hair REFL-tell-PRES-PL
beard
8. So this E. M. and M. and another man named A. said:
 wan entonses inin E. M. wan in M. wan ok=se tlaka-tl i-toka
and INTR this PN and ART PN and yet=one man-ABS his-name
 A. no=yohke asta
PN also=same till
9. "Now we will cut off the old man's beard.
 ašan ti-k-ten-con-teki-s-ke in bieho
now we-it-beard-cut-FUT-PL ART old:man
10. Well, he disgusts us so much just in the way we drink pulque."
 bweno molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a san o-hkonon ti-tlayi'ke
INTR much us-disgust-CAUS-PRES just DIST-thus we-drink-PL
 ika in pulke
INSTR ART pulque
11. And also since that old man's beard was so long they said
 wan entonses inon tek^W-tli no=yohke ken weyak in i-ten-con
and INTR that old:one-ABS also=same as long ART his-beard
 that he just washes his beard in that pulque.
 k-i'to-a'ke mač san i-pan mo-ten-con-paka inon pulke
it-say-PRES-PL QUOT just its-LOC REFL-beard-wash that pulque
12. So one day they held a little party and they invited
 entonses se tonal-i o-ki-čiw-ke se fiestita wan
INTR one day-ABS PERF-it-do-PL one party and
 that teacher of the band.
 o-k-ilwi'ke ma=wala-w inonmaestro ika in banda
PERF-him-tell-PL OPTV=come(?) that teacher INSTR ART band
13. So then they had already given E. and M. and the other companions
 wan entonses in E. wan in M. wan ok=sekin-ten in kompañeros
and INTR ART PN and ART PN and yet=some-PL ART companions
 a jar apiece.
 y=o-kin-maka-ke se'se in haro pareho
COMPL=PERF-them-give-PL RDP-one ART jar same

14. But that old man, as I will say, was accustomed to having to
 wan inon tek^W-tli kasi ken ni-k-i'to-s mo-maw-tok i-hkonon
but that old:one-ABS DUB as I-it-say-FUT REFL-know-STAT PROX-thus
 stick his nose in a jar to drink.
 se haro ki-yeka-wi-a-'ke ik ki-oni-'ke
one jar it-nose-VR-PRES-PL DIRL it-drink-PL
15. So he wanted to serve it to them
 entonses o-ki-neki-aya kin-še'šeliwi'-ta-ni
INTR PERF-it-want-IMPRF them-RDP-divide-PNCT-CNTRFCT
 that they might drink alike, but they didn't want to.
 pareho ma=ki-oni-ta-kan wan ye'wa-n a'mo o-ki-neh-ke
same OPTV=it-drink-PNCT-PL but he-PL NEG PERF-it-want-PL
16. Therefore E. said: "Well, here in this town, we are accustomed
 entonses o-k-i'to in E. pwes te'wa-n nikan i-pan in
INTR PERF-it-say ART PN INTR we-PL here its-LOC ART
 to each one having his own jar."
 altepe-tl pwes ti-tla-mač-ti-l-ten kada seya i-haro
town-ABS INTR we-UNSPEC:OBJ-learn-CAUS-ABS-PL each one his-jar
 ki-tokaro-s
him-pertain-FUT
17. And thus they gave each one of them his own jar,
 wan i-hkonon o-kin-maka-ke noč'in i-haro se'se pareho in
and PROX-thus PERF-them-give-PL all his-jar RDP-one alike ART
 whoever wanted to drink pulque.
 akin ki-neki ki-oni-s in pulke
who it-want it-drink-FUT ART pulque
18. Then when he was already drunk, they said to
 entonses inon i'k^Wak ok=kači y=o-winti-k mač k-ilwi-a-'ke
INTR that when yet=more COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL
 this old man, A. H.: "Well, now you will no longer go.
 inin tek^W-tli A. H. pwes ašan ayakmo ti-mo-wika-s
this old:one-ABS PN INTR now no:longer you-REFL-carry-FUT
19. You had better stay here, because you might fall down
 ok=kači k^Wali nikan ti-mo-kaw-cino-s kana weci-wa-tiw
yet=more good here you-REFL-leave-HON-FUT DUB fall-HON-DIRL
 in the road, and here it is better.
 ik o'tli wan nikan mehor
DIRL road-ABS and here better

20. Here we are in the house," they said.
 nis ti-ka-te kal-i'tek mač k-ilwi-a-'ke
here we-be-PL house-inside QUOT it-tell-PRES-PL
21. They detained him there and in a little while they said to
 onkan o-ki-ceko-'ke wan inon rato mač mo-lwi-a-'ke
there PERF-him-detain-PL and that time QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL
 each other: "Now let's burn our grandfather's
 ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-ten-con-tlati-s-ke či'ton in to-
now we-go-PL we-it-beard-burn-FUT-PL little ART our-
 beard a little," they said.
 kol-cin mač mo-lwi-a-'ke
grandfather-HON QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL
22. Then E. took out a cigarette and gave it to him.
 entonses E. o-ki-kiš-ti in sigaro wan o-ki-maka-k
INTR PN PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART cigarette and PERF-it-give-PAST
23. And then he also took out a match and struck it
 wan entonses no=yohke o-ki-kiš-ti in seriyo wan o-ki-cocon
and INTR also=same PERF-it-go:out-CAUS ART match and PERF-it-strike
 to ignite it.
 para ma=šotla
to OPTV=ignite
24. And then when A. H. had already put the cigarette in his mouth,
 wan entonses i'k^wak yi=ki-kama-wi-'tok in sigaro inin A. H.
and INTR when COMPL=it-mouth-VR-STAT ART cigarette this PN
 (E.) brought it near, as you might say, put the fire into the
 ki-pačow-a kasi i-nak kasi k-i'to-s-neki ki-pačo-
it-cover-PRES almost its-next:to almost it-say-FUT-want it-cover-
 beard.
 't-ewa in tetl i-pan in i-ten-con
CONN-arise ART fire its-LOC ART his-beard
25. And then, well, in a little while he realized that it was
 wan entonses bweno ik se rato y=o-ki-mač-ili-k
and INTR INTR DIRL one while COMPL=PERF-it-feel-APPLIC-PAST
 stinking, since his beard was already burnt.
 y=o-co'ya-š ken y=o-tlatla-k in i-ten-con
COMPL=PERF-stink-PAST since COMPL=PERF-burn-PAST ART his-beard

26. And then A. H. said: "But not like that, E.," he said.
 wan entonses k-i'ta in A. H. pero a'mo i-hkon E. o-k-i'to
and INTR it-say ART PN but NEG PROX-thus PN PERF-it-say
27. "You have already burnt my beard."
 y=o-ti-neč-ten-con-tlati-k
COMPL=PERF-you-me-beard-burn-PAST
28. "As if I did it on purpose," said E.
 tla-'mo san ik ni-k-čiwa o-k-i'to in E.
if-not just DIRL I-it-do PERF-it-say ART PN
29. Then in a little while he burnt the beard again.
 entonses ik se rato ok=se biahe o-ki-ten-con-tlati
INTR DIRL one while yet=one time PERF-him-beard-burn
30. But then when he is sober, he likes it; he thinks
 wan entonses kasi i'k^wak tla-maw-ti-ye-s
but INTR almost when UNSPEC:OBJ-know-CONN-be-FUT
 it is beautiful.
 ki-pak-ti-a mač k^walci'to
it-please-CAUS-PRES QUOT beautiful
31. He combs it with a comb; even has a comb
 ki-še'-šelwas-wi-a ika in peine o bweno sa=niman ki-piya
it-RDP-brush-VR-PRES INSTR ART comb or well only=near it-has
just for combing his beard.
 in peine tlen=ik ki-šelwas-wi-a in i-ten-con
ART comb what=DIRL it-brush-VR-PRES ART his-beard
32. So then he realized that his beard was all burnt,
 wan entonses pwes o-ki-mač-ili inon o-tlan-ten-con-tlatla
and INTR so PERF-it-learn-APPLIC that PERF-finish-beard-burn
 a little, but not entirely, just a little.
 či'ton pero a'mo yek san či'ton
little but NEG perfectly just little
33. Then the second time, one day they took him also.
 entonses ik ow-pa se tonal-i o-ki-wika-ke no=yohke
INTR DIRL two-LOC one day-ABS PERF-him-carry-PL also=same
34. They went to play in Iksakakowtla.
 o-ya-'ke tla-co'cona-'ke mač ik-saka-kow-tla
PERF-go-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-play-PL QUOT DIRL grass-wood-LOC

35. And thus him also as the band.
 wan i-hkonon no=yohke ken in banda
and PROX-thus also=same as ART band
36. You already know how many come out to play.
 yi=mo-mati ken miake mo-wal-čiwa-'ke para tla-co'cona-'ke
COMPL=you-know how many REFL-DIRL-do-PL to UNSPEC:OBJ-play-PL
37. And so there in that place where they were invited to go play,
 wan entonses in ompa i-pan inon kani o-kin-tlatlaw-ti-'ke
and INTR SUBR there its-LOC that where PERF-them-ask-CAUS-PL
 they said to one another:
 ya-s-ke tla-co'cona-s-ke mač mo-lwi-a-'ke
go-FUT-PL UNSPEC:OBJ-play-FUT-PL QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL
38. "Well, so now they will give us pulque and he will serve
 bweno pwes ašan teč-maka-'ke in pulke wan teč-še'-šelwi-a
INTR INTR now us-give-PL ART pulque and us-RDP-divide-PRES
 it to us, but he drinks first and at least (if nothing else)
 ye'wa-tl pero ačto ki-oni ye'wa-tl wan i-ten-con si-kiera
he-ABS but first it-drink he-ABS and his-beard if-at:least
 he washes his beard," they say to one another.
 i-pan mo-ten-con-paka mač mo-lwi-a-'ke
its-LOC REFL-beard-wash QUOT REFL-tell-PRES-PL
39. So then these other companions, well, he disgusted them.
 entonses inin ok=sekin kompañeros pwes kin-tla'il-ti-a
INTR this yet=some companions INTR them-disgust-CAUS-PRES
40. And then, well, that A. H. also drank that time.
 wan entonses bweno o-tla-tlayi-k no=yohke inon račo inon A. H.
and INTR INTR PERF-RDP-drink-PAST also=same that time that PN
41. But the other companions of the band didn't want it thus.
 wan in ok=sekin kompañeros den banda pwes a'mo ki-neki-'ke i-hkonon
but ART yet=some companions of:the band INTR NEG it-want-PL PROX-thus
42. Since as one might say, he just put it to his mouth and they
 kasi ken k-i'to-s-neki san ki-kama-wi-a wan ok=se
almost as it-say-FUT-want just it-mouth-VR-PRES and yet=one
 also drank again.
 biahe ki-oni-'ke ye'wa-n no=yohke
time it-drink-PL he-PL also=same

43. So this brother of E.'s, he was sort of a barber.
 onkan inin i-kni-w in E. ye'wa-tl kasi pelukero
there this his-brother-POSSD ART PN he-ABS almost barber
44. So sometimes he carries the clippers and all in case there
 kema-nian i-hkonon ki-wika-s in makina wan nočin wan
when-neither PROX-thus it-carry-FUT ART clippers and all and
 might be something to do there; he cuts hair also.
 kana ye-s tlen ki-čís ompa tla-k^Wa-teki no=yohke
DUB be-FUT what it-do-FUT there UNSPEC:OBJ-top:of:head-cut also=same
45. Then this brother of E.'s says, "Now the old man, now we
 entonses mač k-i'ta inin i-kni-w in E. ašan in bieho
INTR QUOT it-say this his-brother-POSSD ART PN now ART old:man
 will cut off his beard," he says.
 ašan ti-k-tlami-ten-con-teki-s-ke mač k-i'ta
now we-it-finish-beard-cut-FUT-PL QUOT it-say
46. And so, at that time, while they were there, he was already drunk.
 wan entonses inon rato i'k^Wak omp=ik ka-te y=o-winti-k
and INTR that time when there=DIRL be-PL COMPL=PERF-drunk-PAST
47. Then he fell asleep, being drunk.
 entonses o-koč-wec ik winti
INTR PERF-sleep-fall DIRL drunk
48. And then he says: "Now he has already fallen asleep.
 wan onkan mač k-i'ta ašan y=o-koč-wec
and there QUOT it-say now COMPL=PERF-sleep-fall
49. Now let's cut his beard all off," he said.
 ašan ti-yo-we ti-k-tlami-ten-con-teki mač k-i'ta
now we-go-PL we-it-finish-beard-cut QUOT it-say
50. "He disgusts us so much even if he just puts his lips in the pulque.
 molwi teč-tla'il-ti-a ik san kiera i-pan ten-kałaki in pulke
very us-disgust-CAUS-PRES DIRL just even:if its-LOC lip-enter ART pulque
51. And whether he drinks or not, at least he wets his beard
 wan tla nele k-oni noso a'mo san kiera i-ten-con
and if really it-drink or NEG just even:if his-beard
 in the jar of pulque."
 ki-pal-ti-li-a i-pan in haro de pulke
it-wet-CAUS-APPLIC-PRES its-LOC ART jar of pulque

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52. And so, well, this M. takes the scissors and
 wan onkan inin bweno in M. mač ki-ana tihera wan
and there this INTR ART PN QUOT it-take scissors and
 he stuck them in, just here, there;
 o-ki-kalaki-li-k san nis=ik nep=ik
PERF-it-enter-APPLIC-PAST just here=DIRL there=DIRL
 he snipped at that beard.
 o-ki-ci-ciki-li inon i-ten-con
PERF-it-RDP-hack-APPLIC that his-beard
53. But they did it for no reason.
 wan entonses san ik o-ki-čiw-ke
but INTR just DIRL PERF-it-do-PL
54. It seems that since the old man loved
 kasi in tek^w-tli ken molwi o-ki-tlaso'tla-yaya inon
almost ART old:one-ABS as very PERF-it-love-IMPRF that
 his beard so much, just for no good reason they did it.
 i-ten-con san ik o-ki-čiw-ke
his-beard just DIRL PERF-it-do-PL
55. They cut it all up, just hacked it up.
 o-ki-tlami-teki-li-ke san o-ki-ci-cikilo.'ke
PERF-it-finish-cut-APPLIC-PL just PERF-it-RDP-hack-PL
56. And then when he came to,
 wan entonses inon y=o-wal-i'-iš-tla-mat
and INTR that COMPL=PERF-DIRL-RDP-face-UNSPEC:OBJ-know
 he hunts for his beard, but it isn't there.
 ki-temow-a in i-ten-con pos a'yak
it-hunt-PRES ART his-beard INTR not:any
57. Then he notifies them, well, he asks them, "Well, who
 entonses kin-nawa-ti-a bweno kin-ilwi-a bweno akin
INTR them-inform-CAUS-PRES INTR them-tell-PRES INTR who
 cut my beard?"
 o-neč-ten-con-tek
PERF-me-beard-cut
58. "Well, we didn't see; we were drunk also," he said.
 a'mo bweno a'mo ti-k-ic-tok-e te'wa-n no ti-wi'-wint-en mač k-i'ta
NEG INTR NEG we-it-see-STAT-PL we-PL also we-RDP-drunk-PL QUOT it-say

59. "You have really ruined me now," he said.
 molwi o-nan-neč-i'tlako-'ke ašan mač k-i'ta
 very PERF-you:PL-me-ruin-PL now QUOT it-say
60. "Now where is my beard, and I love it so much."
 ašan katli in no-ten-con wan teki ni-k-tlaso'tla
 now which ART my-beard and so:much I-it-love
61. They hacked it all up; they didn't even finish cutting it off;
 o-ki-ten-ci-cikilo-'ke nian a'mo o-tlan ki-ten-con-teki-'ke
 PERF-it-edge-RDP-hack-PL not:even NEG PERF-finish it-beard-cut-PL
 just here, there, they stuck in the scissors.
 san nis=ik nep=ik o-ki-kalaki-li-'ke in tiheras
 just here=DTRL there=DTRL PERF-it-enter-APPLIC-PL ART scissors
62. So they just hacked it all up with the scissors.
 entonses san o-tlan ki-tlami-ten-ci-cikilow-a ika in tiheras
 INTR just PERF-finish it-finish-edge-RDP-hack-PRES INSTR ART scissors

The Coyote and the Rabbit

in koyo-čiči wan in koneho
 ART outsider-dog and ART rabbit
 coyote

1. One day when he was hungry,
 se tonal-i i'k^wak o-apis-mik-ti-katka molwi
 one day-ABS when PERF-hunger-die-CONN-was very
 a big coyote was chasing a rabbit in the field.
 se weyi koyo-čiči ki-totoka-a'si se koneho ik mila
 one big coyote it-chase-find one rabbit DTRL field
2. The rabbit was very frightened, as it realized it was unable
 teki o-momow-ti in koneho o-ki-mači-li a'wel
 very PERF-fear-CAUS ART rabbit PERF-it-feel-APPLIC NEG-able
 to run far because it was already old and tired.
 cek^wini we'kaw tleka yi=čikawa-k wan yi=šo-siawi
 run far because COMPL=old-ADJR and COMPL=foot-tire
3. It stopped suddenly for a little and faced the coyote.
 o-mo-keč-ti-wec či'to wan o-k-iš-namik-ti-wec
 PERF-REFL-stand-CONN-fall little and PERF-him-face-meet-CONN-fall
 in koyo-čiči
 ART coyote

4. "Stop!" said the rabbit.
 ši-mo-keca mač k-i'ta in koneho
IMP-REFL-stand QUOT it-say ART rabbit

5. "Why are you chasing me?"
 tleka ti-neč-totoka-a'si
why you-me-chase-find

6. Will you eat me?"
 tlen ti-neč-k^Wa-s
Q you-me-eat-FUT

7. "Yes," said the coyote, "I will eat you."
 keme mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči ni-mic-k^Wa-s
yes QUOT it-say ART coyote I-you-eat-FUT

8. "Don't eat me," said the rabbit.
 a'mo ši-neč-k^Wa mač k-i'ta in koneho
NEG IMP-me-eat QUOT it-say ART rabbit

9. "If you eat me, you will die."
 tla ti-neč-k^Wa-s ti-miki-s
if you-me-eat-FUT you-die-FUT

10. You think that I am a rabbit, but really I am a rattlesnake,
 ti-k-mati kana ni-koneho wan nele ne'wa-tl ni-k^Wa-tl kaskabel
you-it-know DUB I-rabbit but really I-ABS I-snake-ABS rattler
 and if you eat me, I will poison you."
 wan i'k^Wak tla ti-neč-k^Wa-s ni-mic-miko-ti-s
and when if you-me-eat-FUT I-you-poison-CAUS-FUT

11. "What should I eat then?" said the coyote.
 tlen tel ni-k^Wa-skia-ni mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči
what so I-eat-COND-CNTRFCT QUOT it-say ART coyote

12. "Eat these edible berries which I have picked."
 ši-k^Wa inin kow-wewecok tlen o-ni-k-tek
IMP-eat this tree-berry what PERF-I-it-pick
berry

13. I was carrying them in my basket to my house when you
 o-ni-k-wika-ti-katka i'teč no-kanasta para no-čan i'k^Wak o-ti-
PERF-I-it-carry-CONN-was in my-basket for my-home when PERF-you-
 started to chase me."
 pew ti-neč-totoka-a'si
start you-me-chase-find

14. "Rabbits eat berries," said the coyote,
 in koneho ki-k^Wa in kow-wewecok mač k-i'ta in koyo-čiči
ART rabbit it-eat ART berry QUOT it-say ART coyote
 "but rattlesnakes never eat berries,
 wan in kaskabel a'yik ki-k^Wa in kow-wewecok
but ART rattler never it-eat ART berry
 and therefore you are a rabbit even if you say you aren't.
 wan ik inon tel ti-koneho nian ti-k-i'to-s a'mo
and INSTR that so you-rabbit not:even you-it-say-FUT
15. You can just fool yourself but you can't fool me.
 san te'wa ši-mo-ka'kayawa ne'wa a'-wel ti-neč-ka'kayawa-s
just you IMP-REFL-deceive I NEG-able you-me-deceive-FUT
16. It is good you are a rabbit.
 k^Wali=ka tleka te'wa ti-koneho
good=be because you you-rabbit
17. Rabbits can be eaten,
 k^Wali ki-k^Wa-ke in koneho
able it-eat-PL ART rabbit
 but I don't like to eat rattlesnakes."
 wan in kaskabel a'mo neč-pak-ti-a ni-k^Wa-s
but ART rattler NEG me-please-CAUS-PRES I-eat-FUT
18. And so the coyote ate the rabbit who tried to fool him.
 wan i-hkon in koyo-čiči o-ki-k^Wa in koneho akin
and PROX-thus ART coyote PERF-it-eat ART rabbit who
 o-ki-neki-aya ki-ka'kayawa-s
PERF-it-want-IMPRF him-deceive-FUT
19. He also ate the berries which the rabbit had in his basket.
 no=yohke o-ki-k^Wa in kow-wewecok tlen o-ki-piy-aya
also=same PERF-it-eat ART berry what PERF-it-have-IMPRF
 i'teč i-kanasta in koneho
in his-basket ART rabbit
20. And thus the coyote finished them and died not long afterwards,
 wan i-hkon o-ki-tlami in koyo-čiči wan a'mo we'kaw o-mik
and PROX-thus PERF-it-finish ART coyote and NEG long:time PERF-die
 while resting beneath a tree.
 i'k^Wak yewa-ti-ka i-cintla se kowi-tl
when rest-CONN-be its-beneath one tree-ABS

21. The berries weren't really edible, but poisonous.
in kow-wewecok tlaka'so a'mo ye'wa tlaka'so ye'wa in tamponero
ART berry so:then NEG it so:then it ART poison:berry
22. That's why they poisoned him.
ye' in ik o-ki-miko-ti
that SUBR INSTR PERF-him-poison-CAUS