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**Studies in
Uto-Aztecan Grammar**

**Volume 3
Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches**

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Foreword

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

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

RWL

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Organization

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

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Abbreviations

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

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

PAPAGO

Dean Saxton

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INTRODUCTION

General

O'odham designates the language of the Tohono O'odham 'Desert People', and the Akim'íl O'odham 'River People', commonly known as Papago and Pima. There are some 15,000 Papagos and 10,000 Pimas living on reservations, in cities, and on ranches from Tucson westward to Ajo and from Phoenix southward through Arizona into Sonora, Mexico.

The main dialects of Papago are Totoguañ, Ko=loodi, Gigimai, and Huuhu'ula. Papagos occupy four reservations, the Papago, the San Xavier, the Gila Bend, and the Ak Chin Maricopa.

The main dialects of Pima are Salt River, Eastern Gila River, Western Gila River, and Kohadt. Pimas occupy the Salt River and Gila River reservations. Kohadt occupy the northernmost part of the Papago Reservation.

The writer has studied the language under the direction of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, from 1953 to the present, in four villages of the major dialects of Papago, augmented by studies with Pimas. He has authored "Papago Phonemes", and, with his wife Lucille and Papago and Pima translators, co-authored a dictionary, Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians, The New Testament in Papago-Pima, Hymns of the Papagos and Pimas, and various smaller works, as well as consulted in bilingual and trilingual publications of the Mesa Public Schools and the Franciscan Sisters.

The major language consultants and translators were Suzanne Enos, Raymond Johnson, Sam Cachora, Eleanor Hendricks, and Enos Francisco in Ko=loodi dialect; Irene Adams, Albert Alvarez, and Juan Thomas in Totoguañ; Joe Thomas in Huuhu'ula; and Roe B. Lewis in Pima. Suzanne Enos contributed most directly to the present paper.

The primary focus of the paper is Papago.

Notation

A common phonological notation is employed for all dialects; forms for specific dialects may be derived by simple rules.

Ko=loodi dialect deletes glottal stop in secondary-stressed syllables:

aañi'i/aañii	<i>I</i>	aapi'i/aapii	<i>you</i>
hooho'id/hooheid	<i>to like</i>	higa'i/higai	<i>that</i>
ma'iʃpi'ok/ma'iʃpiok	<i>to uncover</i>		

Ko=loodi also deletes noncentral consonants preceding spirants intramorphemically, with progressive assimilation of V across h:

č̣uukhug/č̣uuhug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uuhum	<i>back, home</i>
wawhia/wahia	<i>well</i>	wabʃ/waʃ	<i>just</i>

Other dialects delete h following a voiceless noncentral oral consonant:

č̣uukhug/č̣uukug	<i>flesh</i>	uupham/uupam	<i>back, home</i>
------------------	--------------	--------------	-------------------

Other dialects also exclude central disparate $\hat{V}_1(G)V_2$ phonetically by backing V_1 following a noncentral nonglottal C and/or decentralizing:

wihoo/wohoo	<i>true</i>	mɪ'a/*mɔ'a/mu'a	<i>to kill</i>
mɪ'a/*mɔa/mua	<i>kill</i>	doa/dua	<i>live</i>
do'ag/du'ag	<i>mountain</i>	č̣iho/č̣iho	<i>cave</i>
č̣toʃ/č̣ioʃ	<i>male</i>	č̣ihaŋ/č̣ihaŋ	<i>to command</i>
ñt'oki/ñi'oki	<i>word</i>		

The following special grammatical abbreviations are used:

ARG	<i>argument</i>
EQ	<i>equational</i>
DEG	<i>degree</i>
GEN	<i>genitive</i>
INTJ	<i>interjection</i>
MD	<i>mood</i>
MEAS	<i>measure</i>
RA	<i>range</i>

Certain other special notations are employed in this paper.

In lexical listings, certain verb constituents are partly or completely underlined to indicate the truncated form of the perfective:

<u>-čud</u>	APPLIC
<u>maak</u>	to give
<u>mī'a</u>	to kill

In text, truncation is marked X and labeled PERF:

kii-č-X	maa-X
house-APPLIC-PERF	give-PERF
make a house	give
mīa-X	
kill-PERF	
kill	

Discontinuous morpheme fragments are labeled X, and joined if word-initial by to the body of the morpheme:

šo-'o	wa'i	s=gīwk	w-a-n-t	wo	ñī-i
X-MD	X	AFF=strong	X-MD-I-TNS	X	look-APPLIC
	quite		FUT		
He's quite strong.			I'll see him.		

wo-'o	wabş	ī	iattog-id
X-MD	X	REFL	lie-APPLIC
	just		
He's just deceiving himself.			

gogs	go-go-gs
dog	X-RDP-X
dog	dog
	dogs

In loans where a single morpheme is interpreted as a compound because of noninitial stress, the second member is labeled STEM:

kal=siida	ka-ka-l=si-si-da
sock=STEM	X-RDP-X=X-RDP-X
sock	sock STEM
	socks

When a morpheme is deleted by morphophonemic or phonetic rule, its structural label is added to that of the previous morpheme:

g	kii-j̃	g	huan	g	huan	kii
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	ART	PN	house
	the house of		Juan			GEN
						Juan's house
g	mɪl-i-j̃	g	huan	g	huan	mɪl
ART	run-GER-GEN	ART	PN	ART	PN	run
	the running of		Juan			GER
						GEN
						Juan's running

Brackets [] enclose subordinate clauses as well as citations in phonetic notation of features under discussion.

PHONOLOGY

<u>Phonemes</u>	p	t	č	k	
	b	d	ǰ	g	ʔ
	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
		s	š		h
		l	d		
	w	y			
	i	ɨ		u	
		a	o		

The phonemes divide for phonology into V vowel, C consonant, and G glottal consonant. V and V(G)V occur as syllable nucleus. C occur as syllable margins, 1-3 initially, 0-4 finally. i also occurs in syllable-initial margin in VV. The syllable is the unit of potential stress placement. Word-initial glottal stop (ʔ) is not written.

iʂ	to plant	mo'o	head
čiho	cave	kaam	cheek
waid	to invite	s=kiig	be good
		AFF=good	
s=ñ=kiɨ'id		gogs	dog
AFF=me=hate		agʂp	steep down
to hate me			

biščk-č-x	oimniđ	walk about
sneeze-APPLIC-PERF	oioo	walk about PL
cause to sneeze		

The phonemes also divide into the following sets in contrast to the residue: central (columns t, č); front (columns p, t); tense (rows p, s, i); nasal (row m); spirant (row s); voiced (rows b, m, l, w, i, a); stop (rows p, b, and also phoneme ɟ in Totoguañ dialect).

Phonetically, t, d, n are apicodental; č, ʃ, ñ, š, ɟ, l are palatal; l is a retroflexed flap; w is a fricative preceding i/a. ŋ and ɣ are song analogs of g and ʔ, respectively, acquiring phonemic status in speech through Spanish loans:

aŋhi	angel	waŋko	bank	pa=yaaso	clown
------	-------	-------	------	----------	-------

All geminate sequences are permitted, and in addition CG, stop plus spirant, s/š plus nonvoiced stop, and nasal plus homorganic nonnasal. All CV are permitted except t/d/n/s/l plus t; š/d/y plus i; b/g plus u. All V(G)V occur in syllable nucleus except a/o/u plus t; a/u plus o; o plus u.

Phonological Processes

Put primary stress on the first syllable of stems and specified particles, on disparate V after ku/wu, and on the first V otherwise:

[kuí]	mesquite	[wuí]	toward
[káí]	seed	[wái]	invite
[wáá]	do	[máščam]	teach
[číkpn]	work	[hú]	REM
[hímhowa]	must	[híms]	ought
[hí]	on one hand	[híg]	how about
[wá]	as mentioned	[pi áp]	not good
			NEG good

[pí o káa]
NEG MD hear
He doesn't hear.

Raise pitch from first stressed syllable through last primary stress in each clause and phrase predicate (see BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE).

Place secondary stress (in all morphemes--stem, particle, clitic, affix) on all single lax V; on single u except after noncentral C; and on the second V of disparate clusters when the first V is tense, on the first V otherwise:

[máʃčàm]	to teach	[hímhòwà]	must
[kúqùt]	to trouble	[wò]	FUT
[híkúč]	to cut	[híkíà]	whole
[dáapiùn]	to smoothe	[-àlig]	domain
[táčcuì]	will	[ʃfgòì]	greasewood
[fpài]	also	[-àm+q]	go to do

Assimilate a central nasal to a following central nasal or stop:

ñ=naak/n=naak	ñ=daak/n=daak
me=ear	me=nose
my ear	my nose

ññ̄da/[ññ̄da] (Totoguañ)/[ññ̄da] (other) to wait

Change ʃ to d preceding t:

nawoʃ-t/nawod-t	gi'i-ʃ-ta/gi'it-d-ta
friend-make	big-be-INCHO
make a friend	get big

Delete initial C following C/i in the following morphemes:

ha NEG	hahawa then	haʃ/wabʃ just
wa REF	wa'i only	wo FUT

Delete h following unstressed V:

ki-ki-hi/ki-ki-i	mak-i-hog/mak-i-og
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	give-GER-expected
in-law	expected to give
sibling-in-law	

Insert V in C X where CX is not a permitted sequence of segments--u in úC ; i in č/ʃ/ñ/s/l; a otherwise:

[úʃ _u gid _a]	to shake	[hú _u ñ _i]	to descend
[f _a gid _a]	to own	[húuč _i]	hoof
[náa ^h k _a]	ear	[čík _a p _a n _a]	to work
[čík _a p _a]	work		

Put secondary stress on V between two C, the second lax, if not followed by stressed V:

číkápàna	to work	[číkapa-X]	work
		work-PERF	
húđùñi	to descend	řđagìda	to own
[řđàgi-X']	find	[gřwķî-m-hùn]	encourage
		strong-ADVR-APPLIC	

Devoice unstressed V in #CV at sentence boundary; in C not followed by V or lax C; and in CVG not followed by lax C:

[káA]	hear	[kóI]	yet
[řfgōI]	greasewood	[hřkià]	whole
[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[čřhO]	cave	[mó'0]	head
[číkApàNA]	to work	[řřwřđA]	earth

Devoice C if not followed by voiced segment:

[dágItò]	leave	[móomI]	heads
[číkApàNA]	to work	[řřwřđA]	earth
[húđùñI]	to descend		

If a voiced V does not precede a voiced segment, insert lax offglide ['] preceding lax stop, and tense offglide [h] otherwise:

[dá'GItòh]	to leave	[čřhkApàhNA]	to work
[góohkI]	tracks	[řřwř'đA]	earth (Totoguañ)
		[řřwřhđA]	earth (other)

Delete unstressed V if flanked by permitted CC:

đá-đa-ha/đá-đ-ha	kó-ko-ř-ò/kó-k-ř-ò
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X-REPET</u>
sit	sleep
sitting PL	sleep REPET

řúudagi-kà]i/řúudag-kà]i
liquid-INSTR
by water

Delete unstressed first V of disparate central VV:

čř-čt-o]i/čř-č-o]i	dó-do-a/dó-d-a
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	<u>X-RDP-X</u>
man	live
men	live PL

Reduce unstressed single V to [ə], except noncentral V following noncentral C:

ʒíkApànA/ʒíkəpànə
work

si=wíʒi-mà/sə=wíʒə-mà
AFF=heavy-ADVR
heavily

tá-a-tə-dâ-jI/tá-a-tə-dâ-jə
X-RDP-RDP-X-GEN
foot
feet

tóobI
cottontail

dág-I-tò
hand-GER-COMPL
leave

híkUʒə
cut

To fuse particles across ', delete ' if in C ; otherwise put primary stress on first V (i.e., V_1) and delete stress on second V (V_2), assimilating a front V_2 to V_1 and V_1 to a back V_2 :

*naad-'i-ŋ/*naad-i-ŋ
fire-PERF-you
Make fire!

*d-'o/d-o
EQ-MD
it is

*mɪd-'i-ŋ/*mɪd-i-ŋ
run-PERF-you
Run!

wà 'fɪp/wá-'ap
REF also
likewise

wò 'ip/wó-'op
FUT time
until

tà 'ò/tó-'o
UNSPEC-MD
UNSPEC it

Reverse frontness of d, ɖ, n, ɲ before i:

*naad-i-ŋ/naaj-i-ŋ
fire-PERF-you
Make a fire!

*mɪd-i-ŋ/mɪl-i-ŋ
run-PERF-you
Run!

hain-i/haiŋ-i
crack-GER
cracked

*kooɲ-i-ŋ/kooɲ-i-ŋ
sleep-PERF-you
Sleep!

Replace stem-initial (and in some dialects, clause-initial) ɖ with d:

da-d-ha/[da-d-ha]
X-RDP-X
sit
Be sitting PL

d-o/[d-o]
EQ-MD
it is

Reduce VV to V in roots preceding -hain, -ho, -hog, -li, -ma, -pig, -wua, etc.:

*gook-ho/*gok-ho
two-time
twice

*naak-pig/nak-pig
ear-remove
earmark

*ha'a-ki-ho/*ha'a-ki-ho
that-QNT-time
so many times

Metathesize voiced nonstop C and/or unstressed V with following G:

toobi 'o/[tóob'ið]
rabbit MD
rabbit it

taatami 'o/[táata'mið]
tooth MD
tooth it

'am hu/'ahmu]
LOC REM
there

*ha'a-ki-ho/*ha'a-khio
that-QNT-time
so many times

Assimilate h to preceding tense stop:

či-č-hia/či-č-ča
X-RDP-X
girl

young female

*gok-ho/gok-ko
two-time
twice

*ha'a-khio/ha'a-kkio
that-QNT
time
so many times

Morphological Processes

Delete truncatable part of verb constituent in the perfective and expand #CV# to #CVV# (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE):

him/hii-X	move	miđ/miđ-X	run
ho'igt'ʔlid/		ta'ibiŋim/	
ho'igt'ʔl-X	pity	ta'ibiŋ-X	pass around

Optionally delete previous VC in certain untruncated verb stems:

ho'igt'ʔlid/ho'igt'ʔl	pity
ta'ibiŋim/ta'ibim	pass around

Effect suppletion and/or reduplication in plural/distributive stems. Stressed CV and/or stressed V and/or post-stress C(V) are reduplicated in certain stems:

ban/ ba-a-ba-n
 coyote X-RDP-RDP-X
 coyote

coyotes

gogs/go-go-gs
 dog X-RDP-X
 dog

dogs

him/hi-hi-m
 go X-RDP-X
 go
 go DISTR

wuuşad/ wuş-ş-a-d
 deliver X-RDP-X
 deliver
 deliver

miđ/mi-m-đ-a
 run X-RDP-X-DISTR
 run
 run repeatedly

člipia/či-č-p-pl-a-đ
 move X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR
 move
 move camp repeatedly

giŋ/gi-g-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR
 fall
 fall repeatedly

kow/ko-o-ko-w
 dig X-RDP-RDP-X
 dig
 dig repeatedly

If stem is distributive, stressed V and its reduplicate are interrupted by ' in stems with initial reduplication, and h otherwise:

wui/wu-'u-wu-i
 to X-RDP-RDP-X
 to
 to DISTR

daam/da-'a-da-m
 on X-RDP-RDP-X
 on
 on DISTR

kiig/ki-hi-g
good $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
good
good DISTR

wamad/wa-ha-m-ma-d
snake $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-RDP-X}$
snake
snakes

tonod/to-ho-n-no-d
shine $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-RDP-X}$
shine
shine DISTR

čiidagi/či-hi-dagi
green $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
green
green DISTR

šulig/šu-hu-l-li-g
fall $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-RDP-X}$
 PL *fall* PL
fall PL DISTR

In certain ADJ/N/V, w reduplicates as p and is deleted in Vp:

mawid/mawi-pi-d/mai-pi-d
lion $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
lion
lions

giwk/ giw-p-k
strong $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
strong
strong DISTR

nawuj/ nawu-pu-j/nau-pu-j
friend $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
friend
friends (Pima)

na-'a-na-u-pu-j
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-RDP-X-RDP-X}$
friend
friends DISTR

wawiha/wawi-pi-ha/wai-pi-ha/wai-pi-a
well $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}$
well
wells

BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

General

The sentence consists of (EXCLM) CL (CL):

ñit mɨd o g gogs See, the dog is running.
EXCLM run AUX ART dog

mɨd o g čtoʃ [ma-t wo bɨ-i g gogs]
run AUX ART man SUBR-TNS FUT get-PERF ART dog
The man is running to get the dog.

Exclamation consists of (INTJ) (INTJ) (NP). The NP may be extraposed:

piɣii oig paanču žikpna-ñ	piɣii žikpna-ñ paanču
INTJ INTJ PN work-you	INTJ work-you PN
IMP	Well then, work, Pancho!
Well okay, Pancho, work!	

The clause consists of (INTR) PRED ARG¹⁻³ MODⁿ. Modifiers are prepositional, temporal, manner phrases, and may be preposed in part or whole to the predicate (see later sections). The arguments are ordered and ranked SUBJ ((DAT)OBJ), and consist of article plus noun phrase:

k mɨd g gogs	k ñitid g čtoʃ g gogs
INTR run ART dog	INTR see ART man ART dog
And the dog is running.	And the man sees the dog.

k maak g čtoʃ g gogs g čuukhug
INTR give ART man ART dog ART meat
And the man is giving the dog meat.

The object may be a clause (see COMPLEMENT CLAUSES):

k ñitid g čtoʃ [m-o mɨd g gogs]
INTR see ART man SUBR-MD run ART dog
And the man sees the dog running.

k čitg-id g paanču g huan [m-o am ɖaha
INTR find-APPLIC ART PN ART PN SUBR-MD LOC sit

g pliwlo]

ART PN

And Pancho shows Juan that Pedro is there.

The predicate consists of (MDL) (NEG) (EQ) V AUX. The auxiliary is postposed to the clause-initial constituent:

miḡ o g čtoḡ

run AUX ART man

The man is running.

pi o miḡ g čtoḡ

NEG AUX run ART man

The man isn't running.

čum o pi miḡ g čtoḡ

MDL AUX NEG run ART man

The man is trying not to run.

The auxiliary consists of MOOD (SUBJ PRON copy) (TNS-ASP agreement) (MDL), as given in PARTICLES AND CLITICS:

miḡ o-kl g čtoḡ

run MD-MDL ART man

The man is evidently running.

miḡ-X a-t-ḡ g čtoḡ

run-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART man

The man reportedly ran.

miḡ a-ñ a-a-ñi-'i

run MD-I I

I'm running.

The auxiliary is fused with preceding INTR or clause-initial suppletive:

ku-ñ miḡ aañi'i

INTR-I run I

And I'm running.

k miḡ g čtoḡ

INTR run ART man

MD

And the man is running.

ḡ-o paanču

EQ-MD PN

It's Pancho.

Nonemphatic PRON is deleted:

miḡ a-ñ

run MD-I

I'm running.

maak a-ñ g gogs g čuukhug

give MD-I ART dog ART meat

I'm giving the dog meat.

Nonzero OBJ and DAT PRON copies are preposed to the predicate stem:

pi a-ñ ha ñtid g a-'a-l
 NEG MD-I them see ART X-RDP-X
 OBJ child
 I don't see the children.

ha a-ñ ñtid g a-'a-l
 them MD-I see ART children
 OBJ
 I see the children.

ha a-ñ aag-ld g a-'a-l g ñi'-i
 them MD-I say-APPLIC ART children ART sing-GER
 DAT
 I'm singing the children a song.

Clause PRED stems agree in distributiveness with the determiner of the rightmost argument:

him o higa'i move MD that That one is moving.	hi-hi-m o hgam move-RDP-X MD those Those DISTR are moving.
---	--

him-i-čud o g paanču higa'i
 move-GER-APPLIC MD ART PN that
 Pancho is moving that.

s=ap o ha hi-hi-m-i-čud g paanču hgam
 AFF=good MD them X-RDP-X-GER-APPLIC ART PN those
 move
 Pancho is moving those DISTR.

Prepositional phrase PRED stems agree in distributiveness with the determiner of their argument:

a-m daam higa'i LOC over that over that	a-m ha daam hgam LOC them over those over those
---	---

a-m ha da-'a-da-m hgam
 LOC them X-RDP-RDP-X those
 over
 over those DISTR

Noun phrase PRED, and some prepositions, are marked by GEN -j:

g kii-ŷ hfga'i
 ART house-GEN that
 the house of that one

am wiiŷma-ŷ hfga'i
 LOC with-GEN that
 with that one

am wui-ŷ hfga'i
 LOC to-GEN that
 to that one

The genitive marker is deleted when a constituent of its argument is preposed to the predicate:

g ha kii higam
 ART them house those
 the house of those

am ha wiiŷm higam
 LOC them with those
 with those

am ha wui higam
 LOC them to those
 to those

A benefactive phrase object may be raised to second rank clause argument, preposed to other objects, and its pronoun copy preposed to the verb stem. The order of object copies and arguments to the verb stem then is: OBJ DAT BEN V BEN DAT OBJ:

pi a-ñ ha maak g a-'a-l g luulsi m=wiiŷŷiŷiŷ
 NEG MD-I them give ART children ART candy you=for

(aapi'i)

you

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

pi a-ñ ha m=maak-ŷŷi-l-id (aapi'i)g a-'a-l g
 NEG MD-I them you=give-BEN-APPLIC you ART children ART

luulsi

candy

I'm not giving the children candy for you.

ha a-ñ wa-p-kon g ko-k-toñ m=wiiŷŷiŷiŷiŷ (aapi'i)
 them MD-I X-RDP-X ART X-RDP-X you=for you
 wash shirt

I'm washing the shirts for you.

ha a-ñ m=wa-p-koñ-id (aapi'i) g ko-k-toñ
 them MD-I you=X-RDP-X-APPLIC you ART shirts
 wash

I'm washing you the shirts.

In neutral order a pitch contour occurs with each predicate, including exclamation and embedded phrase predicates. Pitch is high from first through last primary stress in the predicate and low elsewhere:

ko'a g g husi g ko'okol
eat MD ART PN ART chili
José eats chili.

na-p ko'a g ko'okol huan
Q-you eat ART chili PN
Do you eat chili, Juan?

h'u'u ko'a a-ñ g ko'okol
yes eat MD-I ART chili
Yes, I eat chili.

g kil-] g huan
ART house-GEN ART PN
the house of Juan

am witma-] g huan
LOC with-GEN ART PN
there with Juan

Relative clause is a constituent of the predicate and subsumed in its pitch contour unless headless:

n-t wo si gtgos-X hga'i al-i [ma-t wo
I-TNS FUT INTNS feed-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS FUT

gi'i-]-ka-d]
big-be-STAT-IMPRF
I'll really feed a big child.

Subordinate nonrelative clauses have independent contour:

n-t wo si gtgos-X hga'i al-i [ma-t wo
I-TNS FUT INTNS feed-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS FUT

gi'i-]-ka-d]
big-be-STAT-IMPRF
I'll really feed that child so he'll get big.

Emphasis

There are two orders of emphasis, topicalization and focus. Topicalization affects the order of phrases with respect to their predicate, focus their order with respect to one another, constituents having descending emphasis from first to last.

A phrase is raised in focus by preposing it to other phrases. Pitch contour is unaltered in focus raising:

ko'a o g husi g ko'okol/ko'a o g ko'okol g husi
 eat MD ART PN ART chili eat MD ART chili ART PN
 José eats chili./José eats chili. (VSO/VOS)

A phrase is topicalized by preposing its predicate contour or its first stressed constituent to its matrix predicate, the article being deleted clause initially or following another article, and in certain other environments. The preposed construction is subsumed under the contour of its matrix predicate:

husi o ko'a g ko'okol
 PN MD eat ART chili
 It's José who eats chili. (SVO; SUBJ is TOP and FOC)

Topicalization is superimposed on focus raising:

ko'okol o ko'a g husi
 chili MD eat ART PN
 It's chili that José eats. (OVS; OBJ is TOP and FOC)

Any number of phrases may be topicalized:

ko'okol o g husi ko'a
 chili MD ART PN eat
 Chili is what José eats. (OSV; SUBJ, OBJ are TOP; OBJ is FOC)

An embedded phrase may be made the topic of its matrix phrase. When any constituent of an embedded phrase is preposed to its matrix predicate, the genitive marker -y is deleted:

ñt|d a-ñ g kil|y g husi/ñt|d a-ñ g husi kil|
 see MD-I ART house-GEN ART PN see MD-I ART PN house
 I see the house of José./I see José's house.

č|kpan a-ñ w|t|ma-y g husi/č|kpan a-ñ g husi w|t|m
 work MD-I with-GEN ART PN work MD-I ART PN with
 I work with José./I work with José.

A phrase is topicalized if its referent is new. All the phrases in a discourse-initial sentence may be topicalized:

ht-ki hu s h|tma g kil| g t| wos-mač g
 RA-time REM MDL one ART man ART REFL grand-child ART

w|p|a-i maščam
 hunt-GER teach
 Long ago, reportedly, a man was teaching his grandchild
 hunting. (SS-LL-227)

A phrase is topicalized if its referent is in contrast to a previous referent. A phrase may be deleted if its referent is redundant and not in contrast nor syntactically required. A preposed response constituent is not subsumed under the contour of its matrix predicate:

A: $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X a-t-s g \overline{huan} g \overline{siliki}
kill-PERF MD-TNS-MDL ART PN ART white-tailed
deer
Juan reportedly killed a white-tailed deer.

B: \overline{pi} a-t g \overline{siiki} $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X
NEG MD-TNS ART white-tailed kill-PERF
deer
It wasn't a white-tailed deer he killed.

\overline{huawi} a-t $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X
mule MD-TNS kill-PERF
deer
It was a mule deer.

B: \overline{pi} a-t g \overline{huan} $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X
NEG MD-TNS ART PN kill-PERF
It wasn't Juan who killed it.

\overline{husi} a-t $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X
PN MD-TNS kill-PERF
It was José.

A phrase is topicalized if it is question or response. The topicalized response is not subsumed under the predicate contour:

A: $\overline{ku-t}$ $\overline{hida'i}$ $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X g \overline{huawi}
INTR-TNS who kill-PERF ART mule
deer
Who killed the mule deer?

B: \overline{husi} (a-t $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X)
PN MD-TNS kill-PERF
José (killed it).

A: $\overline{ku-t}$ $\overline{hasču}$ $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X g \overline{huan}
INTR-TNS what kill-PERF ART PN
What did Juan kill?

B: \overline{siliki} (a-t $\overline{m\ddot{t}a}$ -X)
white-tailed MD-TNS kill-PERF
deer
A white-tailed deer (is what he killed).

- A: ku-t h̄tba'i m̄t̄a-X g huan g s̄iiki
INTR-TNS where kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
deer
 Where did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: do'ag daam (a-t m̄t̄a-X)
mountain on MD-TNS kill-PERF
 On the mountain (is where he killed it).
- A: ku-t h̄tk̄id i m̄t̄a-X g huan g s̄iiki
INTR-TNS when DEF kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
deer
 When did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: t̄ako (a-t m̄t̄a-X)
yesterday MD-TNS kill-PERF
 Yesterday (is when he killed it).
- A: ku-t hasč̄u-kaĵ m̄t̄a-X g huan g s̄iiki
INTR-TNS what-INSTR kill-PERF ART PN ART white-tailed
deer
 With what did Juan kill the white-tailed deer?
- B: hapot-kaĵ (a-t m̄t̄a-X)
arrow-INSTR MD-TNS kill-PERF
 With an arrow (he killed it).
- A: k has mas-ma č̄ikpan g husi
INTR thus like-ADVR work ART PN
 How does José work?
- B: s-wagima-m o č̄ikpan
AFF=industrious-ADVR MD work
 He works industriously.

Embedded question and corresponding response must be topicalized in its matrix phrase as well as in the clause:

- w̄iima-ĵ g huan/huan w̄iim
with-GEN ART PN PN with
 with Juan/with Juan
- A: k h̄t̄a'i w̄iim č̄ikpan g husi
INTR who with work ART PN
 With whom does José work?
- B: huan w̄iim (o č̄ikpan)
PN with MD work
 It's with Juan (that he works).

Contrasting referent precedes question referent:

A: ku-t / hasču mŋa-X g / huŋi
INTR-TNS what kill-PERF ART PN
 What did José kill?

A: ku-t g / huan hasču mŋa-X
INTR-TNS ART PN what kill-PERF
 And Juan, what did he kill?

A relative clause may be preposed to its head not for topicalization:

hŋgai čtoŋ [m-o gi't-ŋ] / hŋgai [m-o gi't-ŋ] čtoŋ
that man SUBR-MD big-be that SUBR-MD big-be man
 that man who is big

A relative clause may accompany its head in topicalization in either position:

hŋgai čtoŋ [m-o gi't-ŋ] o s=ap čikpan/hŋgai ...
that man SUBR-MD big-be MD AFF=well work that
[m-o gi't-ŋ] čtoŋ o s=ap čikpan
SUBR-MD big-be man MD AFF=well work
 That man who is big works well.

Other factors may trigger topicalization and speakers may differ in threshold of topicalization or application of rules, since a statistical count yields a variation of from 15% to 33% in different speakers.

Presumptive Pronoun Construction

When topicalization is effected by preposing a stressed constituent other than the whole predicate to the matrix predicate, a presumptive pronoun construction is formed.

čikpan o hŋga-m čt-č-oŋ/hŋgam o čikpan čt-č-oŋ
work MD that-PL X-RDP-X those MD work men
man

Those men work./Those are the men that work.

am o čikpan ha'i-ŋŋ hŋgam čt-č-oŋ
LOC MD work some-PRTV those men
 Some of those men work there.

ha'i-ŷŷ o am čikpan hŷgam či-č-oŷ
some-PRTV MD LOC work those men
Some of those men work there.

am o čikpan gooka-ŷŷ hŷgam či-č-oŷ
LOC MD work two-PRTV those men
Two of those men work there.

gooka-ŷŷ o am čikpan hŷgam či-č-oŷ
two-PRTV MD LOC work those men
Two of those men are working there.

Nonplural demonstratives shorten when separated from their phrase (see DEMONSTRATIVES, ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES):

čikpan o hŷga'i čtoŷ/hŷg o čikpan čtoŷ
work MD that man that MD work man
That man works./That's the man that works.

čikpan o iida'a čtoŷ/id o čikpan čtoŷ
work MD this man this MD work man
This man works./This is the man that works.

čikpan o ama'i [m-o s=kui-g ama'i]
work MD there SUBR-MD AFF=mesquite-be there
He works there where it's mesquitey.

am o čikpan [m-o am s=kui-g]
there MD work SUBR-MD there AFF=mesquite-be
There is where he works, where it's mesquitey.

čikpan o iina'a [m-o s=kui-g iina'a]
work MD here SUBR-MD AFF=mesquite-be here
He works here where it's mesquitey.

in o čikpan [m-o in s=kui-g]
here MD work SUBR-MD here AFF=mesquite-be
Here is where he works, here where it's mesquitey.

Locational is displaced to pre-verb or deleted from predicate when a demonstrative is preposed to the predicate:

čikpan o am ŷda hŷga'i kii/ am o čikpan hŷg ŷda kii
work MD LOC in that house LOC MD work that in house
He works in that house./That's the house he works in.

Unemphatic quantifier may also be preposed to verb, not for topicalization, forming a presumptive pronoun construction:

am o čikpan ha'i g či-č-oj/am o ha'i čikpan g
 LOC MD work some ART men LOC MD some work ART

či-č-oj

men

Some men are working there.

am o čikpan gook g či-č-oj/am o gook čikpan g
 LOC MD work two ART men LOC MD two work ART

či-č-oj

men

Two men are working there.

Resumptive Pronoun Construction

Topicalization of a phrase whose locational or quantifier has been preposed to the verb results in a resumptive pronoun construction:

či-č-oj o am ha'i čikpan či-č-oj o am gook čikpan
 men MD LOC some work men MD LOC two work
 Some men are working there. Two men are working there.

kil-č iđ o am čikpan
 house-ABS in MD LOC work
 In the house is where they are working.

Clefting

A cleft sentence is formed when a phrase predicate is deleted, leaving its relative clause headless:

d-o higa'i čtoj (higa'i) [ma-t wa mīa-X g
 EQ-MD that man he SUBR-TNS REF kill-PERF ART

huawl]

mule

deer

That man is he who killed the mule deer.

d-o ha'a-kid (iđa) [ma-t wa hab]uu-X]
 EQ-MD that-time then SUBR-TNS REF thus do-PERF
 Last year is when he did it.

da-t wo si'alim-k (ida) [ma-n-t wo wa
EQ-TNS FUT tomorrow-STAT then SUBR-I-TNS FUT REF

m=ñti-X]

you=see-PERF

It will be tomorrow when I see you.

hi-kid a-t wo i k (ida) [ma-p-t wo i
what-time MD-TNS FUT DEF STAT then SUBR-you-TNS FUT DEF

čikp-X]

work-PERF

When will it be that you will start work?

ku-t hi'ba'i wo i k (ama'i) [ma-p-t am
INTR-TNS where FUT DEF STAT there SUBR-you-TNS LOC

wo čikpna-d]

FUT work-IMPRF

Where is it that you're going to be working?

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Polarity

Polarity is exhibited by a number of interjections, particles, and clitics (see also ADVERBIAL CLAUSES):

POS	NEG
hi'u/hau'u INTJ yes	pi'a/pi'a INTJ no
pi'ii INTJ all right	daapi INTJ unknown
doowal INTJ ready	kia INTJ wait
oig/oigo INTJ go ahead	a INTJ Oh (I didn't know).
gi POS/unexpectedly true	pi NEG not, no
si INTNS (DEG) very	š(á...w)a'i DEG a bit, at all
s= AFF	wa'i only
	ai alas
	ha DEG any, at all
	ii INTJ Oh (can it be?)
	čum MDL ineffectual, unrealized
	wo MDL future, unaccomplished
	hi'ms MDL unrealized
	hu REM not close, unfactual

-s MDL unknown,
 contrary to fact
 na-/n- YNQ INTR

na-t pi hli-X g huan hfu'u pi a-t hli-X
 Q-TNS NEG go-PERF ART PN INTJ NEG MD-TNS go-PERF
 Didn't Juan go? Yes, he didn't go.

daapi pi a-ñ maač [ma-s hli-X]
 INTJ NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL go-PERF
 Unknown, I don't know if he went.

piġil oig doowai n-t wo hli-X
 INTJ INTJ INTJ I-TNS FUT go-PERF
 All right, go ahead. I'm ready to go.

kia n-t pi oi wo hli-X
 INTJ I-TNS NEG now FUT go-PERF
 Wait, I'm not going now.

ab o gġ tonog ha kli am
 LOC MD POS shine their house at
 GEN
 A light is shining unexpectedly at their house.

na-p gġ haiwañ-ga pia'a pi a-ñ ha haiwañ-ga
 Q-you POS cattle-AL INTJ NEG MD-I any cattle-AL
 Do you have cattle? No, I don't have any cattle.

ii mu'i a-p (gġ) haiwañ-ga
 INTJ many MD-you POS cattle-AL
 Oh, you have lots of cattle.

a na-p ha ñtid
 INTJ Q-you them see
 Oh, have you seen them?

pia'a ñ wabş s=maač [ma-p s=haiwañ-ga]
 INTJ I just AFF=know SUBR-you AFF=cattle-AL
 No, I just know you have a lot of cattle.

n-t wo čum hli-X p-t hims wo hli-X
 I-TNS FUT MDL go-PERF you-TNS MDL FUT go-PERF
 I want to/tried to/would You should have gone.
 have/did go, but...

pi a-t ab hu i ñ=kġ-i
 NEG MD-TNS LOC REM DEF me=set-PERF
 They didn't appoint me.

Article

The article *g* introduces an argument nominal in the absence of a pronoun; it is deleted following LOC or ART or clause initially.

g-o maakai *g* huan
EQ-MD doctor ART PN
Juan is a doctor.

na-p ñtid *g* mu-m-k-u-da-m huan
Q-you see ART X-RDP-X-DISTR-IMPRF-PRTC PN
die
Are you seeing the sick one, Juan?

Syntactic Connectives

<i>kč</i>	<i>CNJ</i>	and
<i>o/aha</i>	<i>CNJ</i>	or (aha preceding <i>YNQ</i> , <i>o</i> otherwise)
<i>ni</i>	<i>CNJ</i>	neither, nor

čikpan *o g* huan č ñt't
work MD ART PN CNJ sing
Juan is working and singing.

čikp-X a-t *g* huan k-X gm hu hii-X
work-PERF MD-TNS ART PN CNJ-PERF LOC REM go-PERF
Juan worked and left.

n-o čikpan *g* huan aha n-o ñt't
Q-MD work ART PN CNJ Q-MD sing
Is Juan singing or working?

na-'a-s čikpan *g* huan *o a-s* wabš ñt'-t
MDL-MD-MDL work ART PN CNJ MD-MDL just sing
Maybe Juan is working, or maybe he's just singing.

pi *o* čikpan *g* huan ni a-s ñt't
NEG MD work ART PN CNJ MD-MDL sing
Juan isn't working nor is he singing.

Semantic Connectives

(w/h)abšaba/šaba	but
o/ wa	yet, then

ku-t wabšaba pi hii-X *g* huan
INTR-TNS but NEG go-PERF ART PN
But Juan didn't go.

ku-t oi wa pi hii-X g huan
 INTR-TNS yet NEG go-PERF ART PN
 yet Juan didn't go.

Unspecified Argument Markers

ču UNSPEC OBJ (cf. has-ču what)
 ta UNSPEC SUBJ (cf. hi-da-'i who)

pi o ču amičud-a-ma
 NEG MD UNSPEC understand-GER-VR
 OBJ
 He's not understanding (of unspecified object).

pi o ta amičud-a-ma
 NEG MD UNSPEC understand-GER-VR
 SUBJ
 It's not understandable (by unspecified subject).

Referential Markers

hab pro-adverb, *thus* (vowel assimilates to previous vowel)
 hi contrastive referent, *on the other hand, as for that*
 hig/higi pointed referent, *how about* (higi if contour final,
 hig otherwise)
 wa previous or known referent, *recall that*
 wa'i unique referent, *only*
 i DEF, refers to a particular object or member of a
 class

pi a-n-t hab juu-X
 NEG MD-I-TNS thus do-PERF
 I didn't do it.

n-t hi wo m=oi-X
 I-TNS REF FUT you=accompany-PERF
 As for me, I'd like to accompany you.

k g huan hi s=ap čikpan
 INTR ART PN REF AFF=good work
 Juan, on the other hand, works well.

n-t *hig wo ñi-X higali
 I-TNS REF FUT see-PERF that
 How about my seeing that?

id higi
this REF
How about this?

n-t wa ñi-X higa'i
I-TNS REF see-PERF that
I saw that, as mentioned.

n-t wo wa ñi-X
I-TNS FUT REF see-PERF
I'll see it, as planned.

hig a-n-t wa'i ñi-X
that MD-I-TNS only see-PERF
That's the only one I saw.

Tense/Aspect

Tense is signalled in the AUX.

∅ pre-experiential (co-occurring with quotative modal)
 d REM PAST
 t contemporary (PAST through FUT)

am a-s kii g ki-ki-l
LOC MD-QUOT live ART X-RDP-X
└───┘
man

The old timers reportedly lived there.

am a-d kil g ki-ki-l
LOC MD-TNS live ART (old) men
The old timers used to live there.

am a-t čilpia g ki-ki-l
LOC MD-TNS move ART (old) men
The old men moved there.

Any tense marker may co-occur with the potential modal marker wo.

am a-t wo čilpia g ki-ki-l
LOC MD-TNS FUT move ART (old) men
The old men will move there.

Aspect is signalled by verb suffixes, manipulatives, and pre-verb particle. The perfective is signalled by suffix 'i and/or truncation. SF 'i is deleted in certain environments (see PHONOLOGY), and truncation occurs only in the nonimperative of certain verbs (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

am g bi-i
LOC MD get-PERF
IMP
Get it there!

am a-t bi-X-i
LOC MD-TNS get-PERF-PERF
He got it there.

am g ha ʒaad
 LOC MD them drive
 IMP
 PERF
 Drive them there!

am a-t ha ʒa-X-i
 LOC MD-TNS them drive-PERF-
 PERF
 He drove them there.

ab g maak-i
 LOC MD give-PERF
 IMP
 Give it to him!

ab a-t maa-X
 LOC MD-TNS give-PERF
 He gave it to him.

Truncation is effected on the conjunction kč if present, and on permissible verbs if not before a conjunction (see COORDINATION).

huan a-t am miđ k-X bi-X-i
 PN MD-TNS LOC run CNJ-PERF get-PERF-PERF
 Juan ran there and got it.

am a-t miř-X g huan k-X bi-X-i
 LOC MD-TNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF get-PERF-PERF
 Juan ran there and got it.

The imperfective is signalled by suffix d. Since d is deleted in the nonfuture if not before a conjunction, the signal is supplemented by deletion of contemporary TNS marker t in the nonfuture, nonconditional (see Auxiliary in this section), and by nontruncation of V and of CNJ.

am g biři-d
 LOC MD get-IMPRF
 Be getting it!

am o biřt
 LOC MD get
 He is/was getting it.

am o miđa-d č gtwk-o
 LOC MD run-IMPRF CNJ strong-PRIV
 He is/was running and has gotten tired.

am o miđ g huan č gtwk-o
 LOC MD run ART PN CNJ strong-PRIV
 Juan is/was running and has gotten tired.

The distributive is signalled by verb suffix and/or reduplication (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE). The suffix is † (harmonizing with stem vowel), đ, ʒ, or w. Distributive aspect marks repetition or an increment in a continuing action. Reduplication is effected in the final morpheme.

da-d-'-†
X-RDP-X-DISTR
 jump
 jump repeatedly

†-'†-š-a
X-RDP-X-DISTR
 plant
 plant repeatedly

ku'ag-op-p-o
 wood-go-RDP-DISTR
 for
 PL
 go PL for wood repeatedly

a-'a-h-†
X-RDP-X-DISTR
 reach
 catch up with

on-am-mi-d go for salt repeatedly
 salt-X-RDP-X
 go
 for

Past tense is combined with perfective/imperfective aspect in verb suffixes.

ok PAST PERF
 ahim PAST IMPRF

am a-t čikpn-ok
 LOC MD-TNS work-PAST
 PERF
 He had worked there.

am a-t hli-X bth-i-ok
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF get-PERF-PAST
 PERF
 He went there, having gotten it.

čikpn-ahim o
 work-PAST MD
 IMPRF
 He had been working.

A pre-verb particle 'i signals a definite point in an action.

am a-t wo i čikp-X walk oola č-tđ
 LOC MD-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF three hour CONN-in
 He'll begin working there at three o'clock.

The definite particle co-occurs with auxiliary verb ha'asa to quit.

am a-t wo i ha'asa čikpk-X waik oola č-iđ
 LOC MD-TNS FUT DEF quit work-PERF three hour CONN-in
 He'll quit work there at three o'clock.

Introducer

na- YNQ
 ma- SUBR
 ku- CONN

INTR is clause initial, fusing with the auxiliary, replacing mood marker a.

na-p kaa [ma-t-š wo mi-i-X]
 Q-you hear SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF
 Did you hear that he'll reportedly run?

ku introduces discourse-medial independent nonshared subject clauses, reducing to k preceding # and optionally deleting otherwise.

k has ču'ig
 INTR what like
 What's it like?

ku-t-š wo mi-i-X /t-š wo mi-i-X
 INTR-TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF TNS-MDL FUT run-PERF
 He'll reportedly run.

Auxiliary

The AUX is an unstressed morpheme cluster postposed to clause-initial constituent. It consists of mood, subject person and number, tense, and modals.

Mood distinguishes imperative and nonimperative.

g IMP
 a non-IMP

am g čikpan
 LOC MD work
 Work there!

am a-p čikpan
 LOC MD-you work
 You're working there.

Mood marker a becomes o preceding # or modal ki.

am o(-ki) čikpan He's (evidently) working there.
 LOC MD(-MDL) work

The mood marker deletes between ku and # or ki.

k am čikpan
INTR LOC work
He's working there.

ku-ki am čikpan
INTR-MDL LOC work
He's evidently working there.

The imperative person marker ñ is deleted if pre-verb, and the plural number marker wo extraposed to follow the AUX.

am g wo čikpan
LOC MD FUT work
You PL work there!

In the nonimperative, person and number are fused.

	SG	PL	
1P	-ñ	-č	UNSPEC
2P	-p	-m	-m
3P	∅		

Tense can be pre-experiential, remote past, or contemporary (recent past through future). Pre-experiential tense requires quotative modal š. All tenses co-occur with future/unaccomplished particle wo.

∅ pre-experiential
 ḍ REM PAST
 t contemporary

am a-š čikp-X
LOC MD-MDL work-PERF
He reportedly worked there.

am a-ḍ čikp-X
LOC MD-TNS work-PERF
He had worked there.

am a-t čikp-X
LOC MD-TNS work-PERF
He worked there.

Alveopalatals assimilate to the position of a following dental.

am a-n-t čikp-X
LOC MD-I-TNS work-PERF
I worked there.

am a-t-t čikp-X
LOC MD-we-TNS work-PERF
We worked there.

Aspect is imposed on the AUX in the nonfuture, nonconditional, contemporary tense by deleting the tense morpheme in the imperfective, the tense remaining contemporary.

am a-ñ čikpan
LOC MD-I work
I am/was working there.

am a-č čikpan
LOC MD-we work
We are/were working there.

Modality is signalled in the AUX in two adjacent modals. Modal₁ indicates the source of the information of the proposition.

ki evidential
 § quotative
 ∅ experiential

am a-t-ki	ɣuu-X	am a-t-§	ɣuu-X
LOC MD-TNS-MDL ₁	rain-PERF	LOC MD-TNS-MDL ₁	rain-PERF
<i>It evidently rained there.</i>		<i>It reportedly rained there.</i>	

am a-t ɣuu-X
 LOC MD-TNS rain-PERF
It rained there.

Modal₂ indicates conditionality in contrast to ∅ nonconditional.

p assumptive
 s dubitative

Modal₂ occurs primarily in subordinate sentences, s for the unknown₂ in the complement of negative polarity predicates of knowledge, p elsewhere.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s wo ɣuu-X]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
I don't/didn't know if it is/was going to rain.

na-p s-maač [ma-s wo ɣuu-X]
 Q-you AFF-know SUBR-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
Do you know if it will rain?

pi a-ñ maač [ma-t wo ɣuu-X]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-TNS FUT rain-PERF
I didn't know it was going to rain.

pi a-n-t wo hii-X [ma-t-p wo ɣuu-X]
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL₂ FUT rain-PERF
I won't go if (assuming that) it rains.

The subordinate clause may be raised to form an indirect question.

ku-s	wo ɣuu-X	ku-t-p	wo ɣuu-X
INTR-MDL ₂	FUT rain-PERF	INTR-TNS-MDL ₂	FUT rain-PERF
<i>I wonder/doubt if it will rain?</i>		<i>Will it/I assume it will rain?</i>	

Modal₁ and modal₂ co-occur in the combinations ξ -p and kl-s.

ku- ξ -p	am juuk	ku-kl-s	am juuk
<i>INTR-MDL₁-MDL₂</i>	<i>LOC rain</i>	<i>INTR-MDL₁-MDL₂</i>	<i>LOC rain</i>
<i>Presumably it's reportedly</i>		<i>Oh, so it might be raining</i>	<i>there.</i>
<i>raining there.</i>			

Besides INTR, certain other clause-initial constituents fuse with AUX, among them imperative predicates.

ki'a-ga-ñ
yet-MD-you
Wait!

The imperative person marker ñ is usually deleted preceding the plural marker.

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-PERF-FUT-MD-PL}$
quit
You PL quit DISTR!

The imperative marker g is usually deleted following a main verb.

him-i-ñ
go-PERF-you
You go!

hl-hi-m-i-o
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-PERF-PL}$
go
You PL go!

The perfective suffix i is deleted by regular phonetic rule if not following a grave consonant or between vowels.

čikpan-g-o/čikpn-o
work-MD-PL/work-PL
You PL work!

h+!-ñ-o
take-you-PL
You PL take it!

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL}$ -you-PL
sit
You PL sit down!

da-d-ha-i-wu-i-o
 $\overbrace{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL}$
sit

Certain clause-initial suppletives fuse with AUX, replacing mood marker a or flanking the AUX.

hims	obligatory, <i>should</i>
hu wo i	optative, <i>hope</i>
pim	negative, pejorative, <i>ho-ho, not</i>
pthigla	pretense, <i>pretend</i>
pin	ineffectual, recollective, <i>what was</i>
ša	conditional, <i>if</i>
waam	aggravative, <i>the more</i>
wabš	<i>just, only</i>

t wo am hu hii-X
 TNS MDL go-PERF
 He might go.

čum a-n-t hii-X /ku-n-t čum hii-X
 MDL MD-I-TNS go-PERF INTR-I-TNS MDL go-PERF
 I went (but failed).

čum a-n-t wo hii-X /n-t wo čum hii-X
 MDL MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF I-TNS FUT MDL go-PERF
 I'd like to go./I tried to go./I would have gone, (but...).

čum o kīg-čud-a-s
 MDL MD good-CAUS-GER-RSLTV
 It's supposed to be fixed/was fixed (but...).

ku-t čum ĩfi-X
 INTR-TNS MDL see-PERF
 He saw it suddenly/unexpectedly.

g† o čikpan g huan n-t hig wo ĩfi-X
 MDL MD work ART PN I-TNS MDL FUT see-PERF
 Juan is unexpectedly working. Let me see it.

t hihab čikp-X tako k a-t-ki ĩmu pi
 TNS MDL work-PERF yesterday CNJ MD-TNS-EV now NEG

wo čikp-X
 FUT work-PERF
 Even though he worked yesterday, today he evidently
 won't work.

n-t ħimho wo wa hii-X /ħimho a-n-t wo wa hii-X
 I-TNS MDL go-PERF MD-I-TNS go-PERF
 MDL

I'll certainly go./I must go.

p-t ĩhms wo čikp-X p-t hu wo i čikp-X
 you-TNS MDL FUT work-PERF you-TNS MDL work-PERF
 You should have worked. I hoped you would work.

p-t hu i pi wo čikp-X
 you-TNS NEG work-PERF
 MDL

I hoped you wouldn't work.

pim a-m-s † ho-ho-n-t
 MDL MD-you-IRR REFL X-RDP-X-make
 PL wife

Too bad you PL didn't get married.

pim a-p-t ñ=a-i
 MDL MD-you-TNS me=pass-PERF
 Ho-ho, you didn't pass me.

pñtɣia o čikpan g husi/husi o pñtɣia čikpan
 MDL MD work ART PN PN MD MDL work
 José is pretending to work.

k has pñ čitɣig higa'i	k has pñ čum wua
INTR what MDL named that	INTR what MDL MDL do
Now what is that one named?	Now what was he trying to do?

[p-t pi wo ʂa čikp-X] n-t pi wo m=namkid
 you-TNS NEG FUT MDL work-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT you=pay
 PERF
If you don't work, I won't pay you.

pi a-n-t wo ñti-X g husi [ma-n-t wo čum
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT see-PERF ART PN SUBR-I-TNS FUT MDL

ʂa hii-X]
 MDL go-PERF
I won't see José if I go./I wouldn't have seen José if I had gone.

waam a-n-t pi wo čikp-X
 MDL MD-I-TNS NEG FUT work-PERF
The more I won't work.

Modals which co-occurs with -ki evidential:

hɨms should

n-t-ki hɨms wo čikp-X
 I-TNS-EV MDL FUT work-PERF
I evidently should have worked.

Modals which co-occur with -p conditional are:

has how should
 h̄ms maybe, should have
 hu i optative, hope
 p̄htgia pretend
 ʂa if

has a-n-t-p wo č̄t-i
 MDL MD-I-TNS-COND FUT say-PERF
 How should I say it?

t-p	h̄ms	wo	ʂuu-X	t-p	hu	wo	i	ʂuu-X
TNS-COND	MDL	FUT	rain-PERF	TNS-COND				rain-PERF
Maybe it will rain.				<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">FUT</div>				
				MDL				
				There's hope it will rain.				

p̄i a-n-t wo m̄namkid [ma-p-t-p wabʂ
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT you=pay SUBR-you-TNS-COND just

p̄htgia č̄ikpan]
 pretend work
 I won't pay you if you are just pretending to work.

p̄i a-n-t wo h̄li-X [ma-t-p wo ʂa ʂuu-X]
 NEG MD-I-TNS FUT go-PERF SUBR-TNS-COND FUT MDL rain-PERF
 I won't go if it rains.

Modals which occur with -s DUB are:

č̄um	concessive, even though
č̄um...h̄ms	conditional, concessive, even if
haspk	why shouldn't
h̄ms hi	I thought
hu	remote possibility, improbability
na	maybe

n-t wo č̄ikp-X [č̄um a-s wo ʂuu-X]
 I-TNS FUT work-PERF MDL MD-DUB FUT rain-PERF
 I'll work even though it rains.

n-t	wo	č̄ikp-X	[č̄um a-s	h̄ms	wo	ʂuu-X]
I-TNS	FUT	work-PERF				FUT rain-PERF
			MD-DUB			
			MDL			
I'll work even if it rains.						

ku-s haspk wo č̄ikp-X
 INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF
 Why shouldn't he work?

ku-s hĩms hi pi wo čĩkp-X
 INTR-DUB MDL NEG FUT work-PERF
 I thought he wasn't going to work.

ku-s hu wo čĩkp-X
 INTR-DUB MDL FUT work-PERF
 I wonder if he'll work./How can he work?

na-'a-ñ-s pi wo čĩkp-X
 MDL-MD-I-DUB NEG FUT work-PERF
 Maybe I won't work.

Auxiliary is duplicated to bear a modal marker which has been omitted or which is required but cannot co-occur with modal marker in the primary auxiliary:

na-'a-s a-t-p d husi [ma-t hab juu-X]
 MDL-MD-MDL MD-TNS-MDL EQ PN SUBR-TNS thus do-PERF
 It may presumably have been José who did it.

hĩg a-t hĩkaŷ a-t-p hĩms wo i gĩ-i
 that MD-TNS reason MD-TNS-MDL MDL FUT DEF fall-PERF
 For that reason he may fall.

t am dag-i-to husi wui a-t-p hĩms g
 TNS LOC leave-GER-COMPL PN to MD-TNS-MDL MDL ART

ĩ ĩñ-ga
 REFL CLSF-AL
 He left to José perhaps even his own property.

Clitics

Affirmative s= is preposed to S-class verbs, and retained with certain noun, adjective, and adverb derivatives thereof:

s=amičud
 AFF=understand
 understand

s=ču amičuda-m
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-ADVR
 OBJ
 understandably

s=ap-ĩ
 AFF=right-be
 be right

s=ap
 AFF=right
 right

s=ĩñ-ga
 AFF=CLSF-AL
 to own much

s=ĩñ-ga-ka-m
 AFF=CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC
 owner of much

For each argument other than subject, a person marker is proposed to the head of its predicate. Object person markers are unbound if third person or if reflexive non-first person:

OBJ:	ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
	m=	†m=			
	∅	ha		†	

The pronoun is forward for topicalization of emphatic, and optionally deleted otherwise:

ñ=ñ†id o g huan/aañi o ñ=ñ†id g huan
me=see MD ART PN I MD me=see ART PN
 (me)
Juan sees me./Juan sees me.

ha o ñ†id g huan/h†gam o ha ñ†id g huan
them MD see ART PN those MD them see ART PN
Juan sees them./Juan sees them.

ñ=ñ†id a-ñ aañi'i/h†j†l a-ñ ñ=ñ†id aañi'i
me=see MD-I I self MD-I me=see I
I see myself./I see myself.

† o ñ†id h†gam/h†-h††-j†l o † ñ†id h†gam
REFL MD see those X-RDP-X MD REFL see those
self
They see themselves./They see themselves.

Person markers displace s= AFF forward:

s=ñ=amičud o g huan
AFF=me=understand MD ART PN
Juan understands me.

s=ha o amičud g huan
AFF=them MD understand ART PN
Juan understands them.

s=† a-p amičud huan
AFF=REFL MD-you understand PN
You understand yourself, Juan.

Direct object copy is deleted when displaced by indirect object copy:

s=maač + s=...-imk > s=maač-imk
 AFF=know AFF DESID AFF=know-DESID
 to desire to know

huana o ha šo-šo-m g ko-k-toñ ha w+hi+j+d g
 PN MD them sew ART shirts them for ART

a-'a-l /huana o (∅) šo-šo-m-j+l-id g a-'a-l
 X-RDP-X/PN MD them sew-BEN-APPLIC ART children
 child

g ko-k-toñ
 ART shirts
 Juana is sewing shirts for the children.

huana o (∅) † šo-šo-m-j+l-l-d g i-'i-pud
 PN MD them REFL sew-BEN-APPLIC ART skirts
 Juana is sewing skirts for herself.

BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Predicate of being co-occurs with stative marker k. STAT follows the predicate word in neutral order, bearing aspect markers -d and -ahim, and is deleted if there is no aspect marker. Aspect marker -d is optionally deleted following STAT.

Predicate of being is attributive, equational, existential, locational, resultative, or stance.

Attributive predicate consists of adjective plus -j, -k, -'i, -d, -ñ, ∅, or of gerund in ču/ta...-ma:

g+i-j
 big-be
 is big

šopol-k
 short-be
 is short

s=ap-'t
 AFF=good-be
 is good

s=hi+pi-d
 AFF=cold-be
 is cold

šili-ñ
 short-be
 is straight

s=toñ
 AFF=hot
 is hot

s=ču amičud-a-ma
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR
 OBJ
 be understanding/understandingly

Equational marker is wuđ; it is truncated to đ if not predicate final, and fused with following AUX:

k has-ču wuđ higa'i ho'id-ka-m o wuđ
 INTR what-thing EQ that stick-STAT-PRTC MD EQ
 What's that? It's ironwood.

ku-t has-ču đ wo ka-d
 INTR-TNS what-thing EQ FUT STAT-IMPRF
 What'll it be?

đa-t wo gaat-ka-d đ-o ñ=gaat-t-a
 EQ-TNS FUT bow-STAT-IMPRF EQ-MD me=bow-make-GER
 It'll be a bow. It's my bow-making.

Existential verbalizer is -g:

gt't o čtho-g ama'i
 big MD cave-be there
 A big cave is there.

gt't o čtho-g-k-ahm ama'i
 big MD cave-be-STAT-PAST there
 A big cave was there.

gt't a-t wo čtho-g-ka-d ama'i
 big MD-TNS FUT cave-be-STAT-IMPRF there
 A big cave will be there.

Locational verb of being consists of demonstrative adverb or preposition:

am o g ñ=kii
 LOC MD ART me=house
 There is my house.

am a-t-š wo t=daam-ka-d g huan
 LOC MD-TNS-QUOT FUT us=over-STAT-IMPRF ART PN
 Juan will be over us.

Demonstrative adverb and response may be topicalized:

ku-p-t hiba'i wo ka-d
INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF
Where will you be?

n-t ama'i wo ka-d
I-TNS there FUT STAT-IMPRF
There is where I'll be.

Passive resultative verbalizer -s follows gerundive if verb stem is simple transitive, follows verb stem otherwise:

am o aag-a-s [ma-š am kil]
LOC MD say-GER-RSLTV SUBR-QUOT LOC live
It is said that he reportedly lives there.

an o bi-i-s g ñt'ok-čulid-a
LOC MD get-GER-RSLTV ART speak-APPLIC-NR
The reading is taken from there.

ab a-p gawul-kd-a-s
LOC MD-you different-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV
You are differentiated/separated.

ab a-ñ maak-s g gtwk-dag
LOC MD-I give-RSLTV ART strong-NR
I am given strength.

Nonpassive resultative verbalizer -kč deletes k after a consonant. STAT is deleted in -kč -d:

maak-č <i>give-RSLTV</i> <i>have given</i>	naato-kč <i>finish-RSLTV</i> <i>have finished</i>
--	---

maak-či-d <i>give-RSLTV-IMPRF</i> <i>will have given</i>	maak-č-k-ahim <i>give-RSLTV-STAT-PAST</i> <i>had given</i>
--	--

Stance verbs are animate or inanimate:

wo'o/woo-p /wo-'o-wo-p
lie lie-RDP lie-RDP-RDP-RDP
lie SG/PL/DISTR (AN)

kaač/wtīč/wtī-'t-wī-č
lie lie X-RDP-RDP-X
lie
lie SG/PL/DISTR (INAN)

HAVE

Stative possessive verb is marked by *gɪ* POS in the absence of quantifier or negative. N stems incorporated as possessive V retain alienability marking:

na-p gɪ go-go-gs-ga
Q-you POS X-RDP-X-AL
 dog
Do you have dogs?

na-p ha'i go-go-gs-ga
Q-you some dogs-AL
Do you have some dogs?

pia'a pi a-ñ ha gogs-ga
no NEG MD-I any dog-AL
No, I don't have any dog.

na-p gɪ kii
Q-you POS house
Do you have a house?

htu'u gɪ a-ñ kii
yes POS MD-I house
Yes, I have a house.

Possessive verb stem *ɪdgid* own, find, take possession of exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast, occurring usually with inalienable nouns:

ɪdgid a-ñ g lliwa
possess MD-I ART coat
I have a coat.

ɪdagi-X a-n-t g lliwa
possess-PERF MD-I-TNS ART coat
I acquired a coat.

DO

The pro-verb *wua/juñ do*, make co-occurs with pro-adverb *hab/has'i thus, how*, is partially suppletive, and exhibits perfective/imperfective contrast:

n-o hab wua g † čikpan
Q-MD thus do ART REFL work
Is he doing his work?

na-t hab juu-X g † čikpan
Q-TNS thus do-PERF ART REFL work
Did he do his work?

huan a-t hab wo wua-d g † čikpan
PN MD-TNS thus FUT do-IMPRF ART REFL work
Juan will be doing his work.

The verb *naato* *make, finish* is source of *-t* factorial:

n-t wo ha'i ha naato g kii-ki /
I-TNS FUT some them make ART house-RDP
 PERF

n-t wo ha'i kii-ki-t
I-TNS FUT some house-RDP-make
I'm going to build some houses.

NONDISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

Reflexive

Reflexive object person markers *ñ=* *myself, my*, *t=* *ourselves, our*, *†* *self, selves, own* are employed for noun phrases coreferential to the subject. Arguments are ranked in the order SUBJ, BEN, DAT, OBJ. Reflexive pronoun *hiʃti* *self*, *hi-hi't-ʃti* (*self-RDP-X*) *selves* is preposed to its predicate if emphatic, deleted otherwise:

(hiʃti) o † wa-kon g al-i
self MD REFL water-INSTR ART child-SG
 wash

The child is washing himself.

hiʃti o † wa-koñ-id g kotoñ
self MD REFL wash-APPLIC ART shirt
He's washing himself a shirt.

wa-kon o g al-i g (hiʃti) † tñ-ga
wash MD ART child ART self REFL CLSF-AL
The child is washing his own clothes.

wa-kon o g al-i g tñ-ga (hiʃti) † witiʃti
wash MD ART child ART CLSF-AL self REFL for
The child is washing clothes for himself.

wa-kon o g huana g tñ-ga g (hiʃti) † maq
wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL child

witiʃti
 for

Juana is washing clothes for her own child.

wa-kon o g huana g iñ-ga g (hiʃi) † wiñag
 wash MD ART PN ART CLSF-AL ART own REFL sister

maq wiñhiʃi
 child for

Juana is washing clothes for her own sister's child.

Clauses which are identical except for subject are con-
 flated. Nonidentical noun phrases conjoin, while subject pro-
 nouns conflate or conjoin.

aačim a-č hi-hiʃi-ʃi t=ñiʃi
 we MD-we X-RDP-X REFL=see
 self

We see ourselves.

aañi'i kč aapi'i a-č hi-hiʃi-ʃi t=ñiʃi
 I and you MD-we selves REFL=see
 You and I see ourselves.

hi-hiʃi-ʃi o † ñiʃi g a-'a-l
 selves MD REFL see ART X-RDP-X
 child

The children see themselves.

hi-hiʃi-ʃi o † ñiʃi g huan č husi
 selves MD REFL see ART PN and PN
 Juan and José see themselves.

When a possessed noun phrase in a subordinate clause is
 stranded by deletion of redundant predicate and of possessor
 phrase redundant to main clause subject, the stranded noun
 phrase assumes a reflexive relationship:

b-o mas-ma miq g kawiu-ga-ʃi g huan [m-o
 that-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD

(hab mas-ma miq) g wiñga-ʃi (g kawiu-ga-ʃi
 that like-ADVR run ART sibling-GEN ART horse-AL-GEN

g huan)]/ [m-o g † wiñag]
 ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL sibling
 Juan's horse runs like its sibling.

b-o mas-ma miq g kawiu-ga-ʃi g huan [m-o (...)
 SUBR-MD like-ADVR run ART horse-AL-GEN ART PN SUBR-MD

hima a-t † m'ia-ŷ-X g siiki
 one MD-TNS REFL kill-APPLIC-PERF ART deer
 A deer got himself killed./Someone killed himself a deer.

hima a-n-t m=m'ia-ŷ-X g siiki
 one MD-I-TNS you=kill=APPLIC-PERF ART deer
 I killed a deer for you.

Verbs which employ -ŷid for passive do not employ simple reflexive for passive, in contrast to most verbs:

† a-t m'ia-X g huan
 REFL MD-TNS kill-PERF ART PN
 Juan killed himself.

† a-t ñt!-X g huan
 REFL MD-TNS see-PERF ART PN
 Juan saw himself/was seen.

Other

Meteorological verbs are intransitive verbs with unspecified argument:

s=toñ o hiw!d o
 AFF=hot MD blow MD
 It's hot. It's windy.

p-t h'tba'i i juu k-X wo i čikp-X
 you-TNS where DEF site(the sun) CNJ-PERF FUT DEF work-PERF
 When will you start work?

Stative unspecified argument markers are ta agentive and ču objective:

n-o s=ta ††bid-a-ma g al-i
 Q-MD AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-VR ART child-SG
 SUBJ
 Is a child fearsome (i.e., to be feared)?

pia'a pi o ta ††bid-a-ma
 no NEG MD UNSPEC fear-GER-VR
 SUBJ
 No, it isn't fearsome.

s=ču o ††bid-a-ma
 AFF=UNSPEC MD fear-GER-VR
 OBJ
 It's fearful (i.e., fears something).

Adverbs and nouns derived from unspecified argument verbs employ the same markers and sustain the same relationship:

s=ta /s=ču ††bid-a-m
 AFF=UNSPEC AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-ADVR
 SUBJ OBJ
frighteningly/fearfully

s=ta /s=ču ††bid-a-ma-ka-m
 AFF=UNSPEC AFF=UNSPEC fear-GER-VR-STAT-PRTC
 SUBJ OBJ
frightening one/fearful one

Unspecified subject of active transitive verb is marked by pronoun copy -m, disambiguated from you:PL by context or by co-occurrence with m=, i=m=:

ku-m-t m=ñi-X
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS you=see-PERF
 SUBJ
Someone saw you.

ku-m-t m=maa-X g gogs
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS you=give-PERF ART dog
 SUBJ
Someone gave you a dog.

Unspecified object is marked by pronoun copy ha:

huan a-t ha mīa-X
 PN MD-TNS UNSPEC kill-PERF
 OBJ
Juan killed someone.

huana o ha walla
 PN MD UNSPEC dance
 OBJ
Juana is dancing with someone.

huan a-t mīa-X g ha gogs-ga
 PN MD-TNS kill-PERF ART UNSPEC dog-AL
 OBJ
Juan killed someone's dog.

Unspecified subject and object pronoun copies co-occur:

ku-m-t ha mīa-X m=wiñiñjĩg
 INTR-UNSPEC-TNS UNSPEC kill-PERF you=for
 SUBJ OBJ
They killed someone for you.

QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

YNQ are marked by the introducer *na-* with no intonational signal. *na-* does not co-occur in a clause with WH question words.

na-p čikpan
Q-you work
 Do you work?

n-o pi čikpan
Q-MD NEG work
 Isn't he working?

The negative YNQ expresses unfulfilled expectation and elicits confirmation of the negative or negation that yields an affirmative:

hi'u pi o čikpan
INTJ NEG MD work
 Yes, he isn't working.

pia'a čikpan o
INTJ work MD
 No, he's working.

Alternative questions employ the conjunction *aha* or:

n-o *s=toñ* aha *n-o* *s=hɨpi-d*
Q-MD AFF=hot CNJ Q-MD AFF=cold-be
 Is it hot or is it cold?

Response to alternative question omits INTJ:

s=toñ o /*s=hɨpi-d* o
AFF=hot MD AFF=cold-be MD
 It's hot./It's cold.

Redundant verb in alternative question is deleted:

na-p g *muuñ taččua* aha *na-p* g *huuñ*
Q-you ART beans want CNJ Q-you ART corn
 Do you want beans or corn?

There is a tag YNQ, not constrained to agree with preceding sentence:

n-o *hi*g *wihoo*
Q-MD REF true
 Is that right?

WH Questions

The equivalents of WH question words are derived from demonstratives requiring sentence or gesture complement. The question word elicits the complement. The question word and its response are advanced as topic in their immediate matrix as well as higher matrices. Question words are formed with no change, by suppletion, by changing \check{V} (cluster) to lax, or replacing C following stress.

ha-s
what-MAN
what?

ha-b
that-MAN
that, thus

has-ču'u
what-thing
what thing?

hi-ga-'i
RA-DIST-SG
that thing

has-ču-kaŋ
what-thing-*INSTR*
with what thing?

hi-g hi-kaŋ/hi-kaŋ hi-ga-'i
RA-DIST *INSTR INSTR* RA-DIST-SG
with that thing

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
what-*ADVR* $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-ADVR}$
what
what direction(s)?

has-ko /ha-ha-s-ko
that-*ADVR* $\underbrace{X-RDP-X-ADVR}$
that
that/those direction(s)

hi-ba-'i
RA-neutral-*NUM*
where, when?

a-ba-'i
PROX-toward-*NUM*
there facing

hi-da-'i /hi-da-m
RA-*UNSPEC-SG RA-UNSPEC-PL*
who (SG/PL)?

hi-ga-'i /hi-ga-m
RA-DIST-SG RA-DIST-PL
that those

hi-ki-d
what-time-*ADVR*
when?

i-da /winog
then then
then

idañ
at this time of cycle

hi'i-ki-a
what-*NUM*
how many?

ha'a-ki-a
that-*NUM*
that many

hi'|-ki-a-ču
what-*NUM-thing*
what numbered thing?

ha'a-ki-a-ču
that-*NUM-thing*
that numbered thing

hí'i-kki-o
what-NUM-time
how many times?

ha'a-kki-o
that-NUM-time
that many times

hí'i-k-pa
what-NUM-place
how many places?

ha'a-k-pa
that-NUM-place
that many places

hí'i-s
what-QNT
how much?

ha'a-s
that-QNT
that much

hí'i-s-ču /hí-hí-'i-s-ču
what-QNT-thing what-RDP-X-QNT-thing
what size thing(s)?

ha'a-s-ču /ha-ha-'a-s-ču
that-QNT-thing/that-RDP-X-QNT-thing
that size thing(s)

hí'i-s-ko
what-QNT-ADVR
how far?

ha'a-s-ko
that-QNT-ADVR
that far

Question words co-occur optionally with *i DEF*:

k hí-ǵa-'i am čikpan
INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC work
Who's working there?

k hí-ǵa-'l am i čikpan
INTR RA-UNSPEC-SG LOC DEF work
Which one is working there?

k hí-ba-'i čikpan
INTR RA-neutral-NUM work
Where is he working?

k hí-ba-'l i čikpan
INTR RA-neutral-NUM DEF work
Which place is he working?

hí'i-kia o ma-a-ma-d g gogs
what-NUM MD child-RDP-RDP-X ART dog
How many pups does a dog have?

hí'i-kia o i ma-a-ma-d g gogs
what-NUM MD DEF children ART dog
How many pups does the dog have?

hĩ'i-s o gĩ't-ŷ g al=huandii
what-QNT MD big-be ART X=X
elephant

How big is an elephant?

hĩ'i-s o i gĩ't-ŷ g al=huandii
what-QNT MD DEF big-be ART elephant
How big is the elephant?

k	ha-s	ĩ	wua	k	ha-s	i	ĩ	wua
INTR	what-MAN	REFL	do	INTR	what-MAN	DEF	REFL	do
What does he do?				What is he doing?				

hĩ'i-kki-o a-t wo ma-a-ma-d-t g al=huandii
what-NUM-time MD-TNS FUT children-make ART elephant
How many times will an elephant gestate?

hĩ'i-kki-o a-t wo i ma-a-ma-d-t g al=huandii
what-NUM-time MD-TNS FUT DEF gestate ART elephant
How many times will the elephant gestate?

Any phrase without an embedded phrase may be question word:

t hĩ-ga-'i soi-ga hab ŷuu-X
TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL thus do-PERF
Whose animal did it?

t hĩ-ga-'i tñ-ga-ka-m hab ŷuu-X
TNS RA-UNSPEC-NUM CLSF-AL-STAT-PRTC thus do-PERF
Whose owner did it?

WH words co-occur with partitive -ŷŷ/Ø:

hĩ'i-kia-ŷŷ o i čikpan hĩgam čĩ-č-oŷ
what-NUM-PRIV MD DEF work those X-RDP-X
man

How many of those men are working?

ha'a-kia-ŷŷ o čikpan hĩgam čĩ-č-oŷ
that-NUM-PRIV MD work those men
That many of those men are working.

hĩ'i-si-ŷŷ o i s=kĩga-ŷ hĩga'i o'od
what-QNT-PRIV MD DEF AFF=good-be that sand
How much of that sand is good?

k hɪda'i i ʒikpan hɪgam ʃɪ-ʒ-oʃ
 INTR *who* DEF *work* *those men*
 Which of those men are working?

k has-ʒu'u ɖ o'odham hɪgam
 INTR *what-thing* EQ *Indian* *those*
 What kind of Indian are they?

Certain question words have clause-initial truncated, partially suppletive forms:

has/ʒaa- what?
 hɪba'i/baa- where?
 hɪɖa'i/ɖoo- who?

The suppletives are bound to AUX, baa- to -jɪɖ *from*, and ʒaa- to -ʒu'u *thing* or -ko *direction*:

ɖoo-'o hu ɖ i
who-MD REM EQ DEF
 Which one was it?

ɖoo-'o wuɖ hɪga'i
who-MD EQ that
 Who is that?

baa-t hii-X
where-TNS go-PERF
 Where do you live?

baa-jɪɖ a-t i hii-X
where-from MD-TNS DEF go-PERF
 Where did he come from?

ʒaa-n-t wo ñ=juu
what-I-TNS FUT REFL=do
 What shall I do?

ʒaa-ʒu'u o wuɖ hɪga'i
what-thing MD EQ that
 What's that?

ʒaa-ko a-t i hii-X
what-way MD-TNS DEF go-PERF
 Which way did he go?

ʒaa-p i † wua
what-you DEF REFL do
 What are you doing?

Demonstrative is copied from complement for questioning or defining:

hɪ'i-s a-p hab i †lid [ma-p-t ha'a-s
what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that-QNT

wo kii-t]
FUT house-VR
 What size house do you think you'll build?

ha'a-s a-ñ hab †lid [ma-n-t ha'a-s wo kii-t]
that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBR-I-TNS that-QNT FUT house-VR
 That's what size house I think I'll build.

hi'i-k-pa a-p hab i flid [m-o
what-NUM-place MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-MD

ha'a-k-pa čikpan]
that-QNT-place work
How many places do you think he works in?

na-p ha'a-s hab flid [ma-p-t ha'a-s wo
Q-you that-QNT thus think SUBR-you-TNS that-QNT FUT

kii-t]
house-VR
Do you think you will build that size house?

na-p hfg hab flid [ma-t hfg hab wo juu-X]
Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that thus FUT do-PERF
Is that the one you think will do it?

doo-p hab flid [ma-t hfg wo m=kii-č]
who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT you=house-APPLIC
Who do you think will make you a house?

šaa-ču-kaŷ a-p hab i flid [ma-p-t hfg
what-thing-INSTR MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS that

hkaŷ wo kii-t]
using FUT house-VR
With what do you think you will build the house?

baa-p hab i flid [ma-p-t am wo kii-t]
where-you thus DEF think SUBR-you-TNS LOC FUT house-VR
Where do you think you'll build the house?

Question correlate of demonstrative occurs in complement
of demonstrative:

ha'a-s a-n-t wo kii-t [ma-n-t hi'i-s wo
that-QNT MD-I-TNS FUT house-VR SUBR-I-TNS what-QNT FUT

i tačču-a-d]
DEF want-IMPRF
I'll make the size house I want.

hfg a-n-t wo huu-X [ma-p-t has-ču'u wo
that MD-I-TNS FUT eat-PERF SUBR-you-TNS what-thing FUT

i ñ=hidoł-X]
DEF me=cook-PERF
for
I'll eat whatever you cook for me.

ha'a-kia a-n-t wo mmaa-X [ma-p h'i-kia
that-QNT MD-I-TNS FUT you=give-PERF SUBR-you what-NUM

i taččua]

DEF want

I'll give you how many you want.

Any question words may co-occur if neither is partitive:

doo-'o has-č'u'u has wua

who-MD what-thing what do

Who does what?

Question word may be incorporated in noun phrase and thus co-occur with YNQ:

na-p am i ñtid g has čtig-i

Q-you LOC DEF see ART what name-GER

Did you see what's-his-name there?

Phonetic shape is determined before deletion of redundant constituents, accounting for nonsuppletion initially in response questions:

hiđa'i i

who DEF

Which one?

has-č'u'u i

what-thing DEF

What thing?

hi-ba-'i i

what-place-NUM DEF

What place?

IMPERATIVES

The imperative is marked in the AUX by mood marker *g* and person marker *ñ*. There is no introducer, tense, or modal marker. An imperative verb and following AUX are joined.

kl'a-ga-ñ
yet-MD-you
 IMP
Wait!

The mood marker is usually deleted if the AUX and verb are joined.

čikpna-ñ
work-you
 IMP
Work!

hi'i-ñ
take-you
 IMP
Take it!

In contrast with fused person and number in the nonimperative, the imperative person marker and plural marker do not fuse. The imperative plural marker is *wo*.

hi'i-ñ-o
take-you-PL
 IMP
You PL take it!

da-d-ha-i-wua-ñ-o
 $\frac{X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL-you-PL}{}$
sit IMP
You PL sit down!

The person marker *ñ* is usually deleted preceding the plural marker *wo*.

da-d-ha-i-wu-i-o
sit-GER-COMPL-PERF-PL
 IMP
You PL sit down!

čikpan-g-o/čikpn-o
work-MD-PL work-PL
 IMP
You PL work!

The perfective suffix *'i* is defectively represented due to phonetic deletion rules (see PHONOLOGY).

him-i-ñ
go-PERF-you
 IMP
Go!

hi-hi-m-i-o
 $\frac{X-RDP-X-PERF-PL}{}$
go IMP
You PL go!

The imperative demonstrates that it is future by occurrence of the future morpheme in some V-AUX forms.

mu'-o-wo
kíll-FUT-PL
IMP
 You PL kill it!

ha-ha-'asa-i-o-g-o
 $\frac{X-RDP-X}{\text{quit}}-PERF-MD-PL$
IMP
 You PL quit DISTR!

The imperative verb also behaves like the nonimperative future verb in not deleting IMPRF SF d when not preceding a CNJ (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
 Be working!

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
 You PL be working!

The imperative verb contrasts with the nonimperative in not truncating in the perfective when not preceding CNJ (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE). Thus many imperative V depend totally on the IMPRF SF to signal the PERF/IMPRF contrast.

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
 Work!

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
 Be working!

čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
 You PL work!

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
 You PL be working!

If the AUX precedes the verb, the person marker ñ is obligatorily deleted; the plural marker wo is extraposed from the AUX and preposed to the verb in the same position as that of the future morpheme wo.

am g čikpan
LOC MD work
IMP
 Work there!

am g wo čikpan
LOC MD PL work
IMP
 You PL work there!

am g hab wo juuñ
LOC MD thus PL do
IMP
 You PL do it there!

am a-m-t hab wo ʃuu-X
 LOC MD-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 PL
 You PL will do it there!

am a-p-t hab wo ʃuu-X
 LOC MD-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 You will do it there!

If the pro-adverb hab precedes the AUX, they are joined.

ba-g ʃuuñ	ba-g wo ʃuuñ
thus-MD do	thus-MD PL do
IMP	IMP
Do it!	You PL do it!

Verb stems of CVGV delete G and CVC geminate V in the imperative perfective if not clause initial.

bhʔ	am g bhʔ-ʔi
get	LOC MD get-PERF
get	IMP
	Get it there!

am g wo bhʔ-ʔi	You PL get it there!
LOC MD PL get-PERF	
IMP	

bi'a	am g bia-ʔi
serve	LOC MD serve-PERF
serve	IMP
	Serve it there!

hiṃ	am g hiim
go	LOC MD go
go	PERF
	IMP
	Go there!

miḍ	am g miṭṭ
run	LOC MD run
run	PERF
	IMP
	Run there!

Verb stems of CVGV delete final V in the imperative perfective if clause initial.

am a-p-t wo bi-i g † waakus k-X gm
 LOC MD-you-TNS FUT get-PERF ART REFL bedroll CNJ-PERF LOC

hu wo hli-X
 REM FUT go-PERF
 You will take your bedroll and go.

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-baḍ	<i>defunct, detached, deceased, former, dead</i>
-ḍag/-lig (or -aḍag/-alig)	ABSTR NR
-ga/-ka/-g	POSSD AL, <i>special</i> (-g following loans, -ka following term ending in ʃ, -ga otherwise)
-gam/-gim	<i>group membership</i>
-i	<i>intimate, honorific</i> (effects reduction of geminate V and voicing of C in stem)
-ʃtḡ	<i>hole, aperture of N</i>
-kuḍ	ABSTR, INSTR
-maḍ	<i>child relation</i>
-la	<i>abnormal</i>
-po/-wo	<i>hair of</i>

ku'i-baḍ
tree-detached
harvest stick

ho'i-baḍ
thorn-detached
needle

ñ=ka'a-baḍ
me=grandmother-deceased
my deceased grandmother

woog-baḍ
road-defunct
defunct road

ho'ig†'id-a-ḍag/-lig
blesse-GER-ABSTR
blessing

kownal-t-a-ḍag/-lig
governor-VR-GER-ABSTR
kingdom

uuw-a-lig
smell-GER-ABSTR
odor

kais-t-a-lig
rich-VR-GER-ABSTR
riches

ñ=uus-ga
me=tree-AL
my tree

ñ=usa-ga
me=stick-AL
my gavel

ñ=wuu-pu-i
 me=X-RDP-X
 └───┬───┘
 eye
 my eyes

ñ=paali-g
 me=minister-AL
 my minister

nai-pi-ŷju-gim
 X-RDP-X-group
 └───┬───┘
 friend
 members of friend group

baa-b/ba-b-i
 mother's father OR
 male sibling

wosk/woŷ-i
 father's father OR
 male sibling

kii-ŷig
 house-hole
 doorway

ñfid-a-kud
 see-GER-INSTR
 mirror

bi-i-kud
 get-GER-INSTR
 handle

mo'o-la
 head-abnormal
 abnormal-headed one

ñ=ka'a-mađ
 me=grand-child
 my (sister's) grandchild

čiñ-wo
 mouth-hair
 moustache

ñ=wuu-pu-i-ga
 me=eye-AL
 my glasses

apapa-gam/apki-gam
 father-group
 members of coyote moiety

kaa-k/ga-g-i
 father's mother OR
 female sibling

oks-i
 mother's older female
 sibling

ho'i-bađ-ŷig
 thorn-dead-hole
 needle
 eye of needle

kiihin-a-kud
 dance-GER-INSTR
 dance floor

iibdag-la
 heart-abnormal
 heart patient

ñ=ba'a-mađ
 me=grand-child
 my (brother's) grandchild

tš-po
 chin-hair
 beard

V + X = N

-g ABSTR NR
 -i GER
 -i/-a GER
 -k PN, *place of V* (cf. STAT -k)
 -m (or -kam/-dam) PRTC, *actor of V*

maači-g
know-NR
knowledge

doa-ka-g
live-STAT-NR
soul

doa-k-da-g
live-STAT-IMPRF-NR
lifetime

him-da-g
go-IMPRF-NR
ways

kuup-i
close-GER
closed/closing

haiñ
crack
 GER
cracked/cracking

ñ=mił
me=run
 GER
my running

lawu-i
spill-GER
slop

kii-t-a
house-VR-GER
building

kfi-šp-a
foot-contact-GER
pace

juuk-i
rain-GER
rain

naato-i
make-GER
creation

gogs=mi-k
dog=burn-place
Dog-Burnt

toha=bid-k
white=clay-place
White-Clay

s=ap-'i-ka-m
AFF=good-be-STAT-PRTC
good thing

kii-ka-m
dwel-STAT-PRTC
dweller

him-da-m
go-IMPRF-PRTC
goer

him-ka-m
go-STAT-PRTC
one in the state of
having gone

MOD + X = N

-ču'u/-ču (Totoguañ/ko=lodi)

s=čuk-č'u'u
AFF=black-NR
black one

ha'a-kia-č'u'u
that-*NUM-NR*
that numbered one

hab maas-č'u'u
that like-NR
that kind of one

ha'a-s-č'u'u
that-*QNT-NR*
that size one

VERB MORPHOLOGY

V + X = V

-č/-kč (in C/V, respectively) RSLTV, to have
in the state of V
-čk, -kumiak to separate by V
-čulid CAUS (APPLIC)
-čug to continue V
-dag VOL
-gid CAUS
-hīm PROG, to go along Ving
-i RSLTV
-id VOL, able
-g RSLTV
-jflid BEN
-jid/-id/-čud APPLIC
-ka'i to V and then go
-i'ok PRIV, to un-V
-s RSLTV, PASS, INTRNS STAT
-stk to have endurance
-tja INCHO, become
-wua, -sulig to move or remove by Ving

aad-č
hang-RSLTV
to have around neck

kuup-i'ok-č
close-PRIV-RSLTV
to have open

waf-čk, wan-kumiak
pull-separate
to pull off

kuup-č
close-RSLTV
to have closed

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have finished

maač-čulid <i>know-CAUS</i> to cause to know	hiṭg-čulid <i>happy-CAUS</i> to cause to be pleased
gi'a-čug <i>grasp-continue</i> to carry in grasp	kai-čug <i>listen-continue</i> to continue listening to
s=mił-i-dag <i>AFF=run-GER-VOL</i> to be good at running	ḡiṭñ-gid <i>smoke-CAUS</i> to cause to smoke, discuss
him-him <i>go-PROG</i> ambling, wandering	maak-him <i>give-PROG</i> going along giving
kuup-i <i>close-RSLTV</i> closed	
ma'i-ṣp-i <i>object-contact-RSLTV</i> from hand covered	bid-ṣp-i <i>adobe-contact-RSLTV</i> plastered
s=mił-ida-g <i>AFF=run-VOL-RSLTV</i> to be fast	s=mił-i-d-ka-m <i>AFF=run-GER-VOL-STAT-PRTC</i> a fast runner
ṣoom-ḡiṭlid <i>sew-BEN</i> to sew for	maak-ḡiṭlid <i>give-BEN</i> to give for
ha a-t ṅ=maak-ḡiṭl-X <i>them MD-TNS me=give-BEN-PERF</i> He gave it to them for me.	bi-ka'i <i>get-go</i> to get it and go
wul-'ok <i>tie-PRIV</i> to untie	bid-ṣp-i'ok <i>mud-contact-PRIV</i> to unplaster
ab a-ṅ maak-s <i>LOC MD-I give-RSLTV</i> It's given to me.	am o him-s g woog <i>LOC MD go-RSLTV ART road</i> The road goes there.
s=iḡa-stk <i>AFF=shame-endure</i> to be able to endure shame	s=hiwa-stk <i>AFF=wind-endure</i> to be able to endure wind

a'an-čud
feather-APPLIC
to feather

hogi-đad
leather-put
on
to saddle, have saddled

am o čiho-g
LOC MD cave-be
A cave is there.

am o ha'iču-g
LOC MD something-be
It (something) is there.

mo-o-m-gid
head-RDP-RDP-APPLIC
to shake heads

ma-giw
hand-swing
to swing arm

mo'o-hain
head-INSTR
to hit with head

ma-'i-hin
object-GER-INSTR
from
hand
to hit with thrown object

mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give

s=ka-i-hog
AFF=hear-GER-displeased
to be displeased by hearing

bid-hun
mud-APPLIC
to contaminate

ñ=kii-čud
me=house-APPLIC
to make me a house

iñ-ga-đad
CLSF-AL-put
on
to put on, have on (clothes)

s=kui-g
AFF=mesquite-be
to be many mesquites

mo'o-gid
head-APPLIC
to shake head

bahi-gid
tail-APPLIC
to switch tail

mo'o-giw
head-swing
to have head tremors

ton-hain
knee-INSTR
to hit with knee

soñ-hi-š
object-INSTR-DISTR
in
hand
to hit repeatedly with held
object

mi'-a-hog
kill-GER-expected
to be expected to kill

s=tam-hog
AFF=tooth-displeased
to consider a nuisance

ho'igi'id-a-hun
bless-GER-APPLIC
to pray

kʰi-kkan <i>foot-INTR</i> to kick	mo'o-kka-ŋ <i>head-INTR-DISTR</i> to bunt heads repeatedly
čʰil-kon <i>rough-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to scratch off	dap-kon <i>smooth-INTR</i> <i>surface</i> to slip
ki-'i-kon <i>teeth-GER-INTR</i> to gnaw clean	on-mad <i>salt-apply</i> to salt
ko'okol-mad <i>chili-apply</i> to chili	miŋ-mad <i>mae-apply</i> to practice religion on
čʰikpn-a-mtɔ/čʰikpn-op <i>work-GER-MOT/work-MOT</i> PL to go for work	ču'a-mun <i>point-INTR</i> to tamp/poke
dag-i-mun <i>hand-GER-INTR</i> to massage	sli-mun <i>edge-INTR</i> to hoe/mash
maɔ-pig <i>offspring-remove</i> to remove fruit	wiipɔdho-pig <i>testicles-remove</i> to castrate
juñ-sid <i>do-imitate</i> to imitate the action of	ñtok-sid <i>talk-imitate</i> to imitate the speech of
aag-a-s <i>say-GER-RSLTV</i> to be told	bʰi-l-s <i>get-GER-RSLTV</i> to be gotten
naato-l-s <i>finish-GER-RSLTV</i> to be finished	čʰiñ-ŋ <i>mouth-INTR</i> to take in the mouth
kʰi-l-ŋ <i>foot-GER-INTR</i> to step on	kʰi-l-ŋ-čʰ <i>foot-GER-INTR-RSLTV</i> to have underfoot
juk-ŋp <i>rain-INTR</i> to rain on	kʰi-l-ŋ-ŋa-p <i>foot-GER-X-RDP-X</i> INSTR to step on repeatedly

čtɪ-ʂan
rough-INSTR
surface
to rub off

čtk-ʂan
point-INSTR
to mark a line

ma-'i-ʂu-d
object-GER-INSTR-PERF
from
hand
to crush with thrown object

kii-t
house-make
to make a house

kɪh-i-win
foot-GER-INSTR
to thresh

mo'o-win
head-INSTR
to clean horns

mo'o-wu-p
head-bump-RDP
to bump head repeatedly

i'o-ʂan
breath-INSTR
to clear throat

ma-'i-ʂun
object-GER-INSTR
from
hand
to crush with thrown object

ʂoñ-ʂu-ʂ
object-INSTR-DISTR
in
hand
to crush repeatedly

ʂoñ-wia
object-INSTR
in
hand
to pound apart

mo'o-wua
head-bump
to bump head

mo'o-m-wua
head-RDP-RDP-bump
to bump heads

ADJ + X = V

-d/-'t/-j/-k/-ñ/∅ be

s=hɪpi-d
AFF=cold-be
to be cold

gɪt-j
big-be
to be big

s=ʂili-ñ
AFF=straight-be
to be straight

s=ap-'t
AFF=good-be
to be right/good

ʂopol-k
short-be
to be short

s=baabagi
AFF=slow
to be slow

Other

-čud/-jid/-id APPLIC to cause to be, treat like, put on,
make for

ali-čud
child-APPLIC
to treat like a child

hima-čud
other-APPLIC
to treat like another

hima-ko-čud/-jid
one-APPLIC
to unite

gook-čud
two-APPLIC
to make two

daam-čud
over-APPLIC
to put over

wičo-čud
under-APPLIC
to put under

ñ=ba'ag-čud
me=eagle-APPLIC
to make me an eagle

ñ=ki-i-čud
me=house-APPLIC
to make me a house

a'an-čud
feather-APPLIC
to feather/make feathers

him-i-čud
go-GER-APPLIC
to cause to go

s=him-im-čud
AFF=go-DESID-APPLIC
to cause to want to go

s=him-i-čud-amk
AFF=go-GER-APPLIC-DESID
to want to cause to go

bth-l-jid
get-GER-APPLIC
to get for/be gotten

ï o bth-i-jid
REFL MD get-GER-APPLIC
He's getting it for himself./
He's getting himself captured.

ñ=mt'-i-jid a-ñ g siiki
me=kill-GER-APPLIC MD-I ART deer
I'm killing myself a deer.

ho o ñ=wap-koñ-id
them MD me=wash-APPLIC
She's washing them for me.

ho o ñ=maak-j'iid
them MD me=give-BEN
He's giving it to them for
me.

ADJECTIVE MORPHOLOGY

Certain adjective stems co-occur with s= AFF and certain without:

s=baabagi AFF=slow slow	čiw long long
s=gaki AFF=dry dry	gɪ'ɪ big big
s=pɪhtgi AFF=easy easy	mu'ɪ many many
s=ap AFF=good good	

AFF is deleted if negated:

pi o ʃa'ɪ ap ɖ o'odham
NEG MD DEG good EQ person
He's not at all a good person.

pi o am hu i si s=ap ɖ o'odham
NEG MD LOC MDL DEF DEG AFF=good EQ person
He's not a very good person.

Adjectives have singular-plural and distributive forms. In certain stems, distributive is identical to singular-plural, with stem reduplicated or unreduplicated:

s=baabagi AFF=slow slow	s=l'owi AFF=sweet sweet
s=toñ AFF=hot hot	wɪčɪj new new

In certain stems, the distributive is formed by reduplication of the initial C(V) or of medial w.

s=ap /s=a-'a-p
 AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X
 good

s=gɨwk /s=gɨw-p-k
 AFF=strong AFF=X-RDP-X
 strong

s=moɨk /s=mo-mo-ɨk
 AFF=soft AFF=X-RDP-X
 soft

s=biɨtagi /s=bi-b-tagɨ
 AFF=dirty AFF=X-RDP-X
 dirty

s=kawk /s=kaw-p-k
 AFF=hard AFF=X-RDP-X
 hard

In certain other stems, the distributive is formed by first-vowel reduplication with glottal insertion:

s=çɨɨdagɨ /s=çɨ-hɨ-dagɨ
 AFF=green AFF=X-RDP-X
 green

s=kiɨg /s=ki-hɨ-g
 AFF=good AFF=X-RDP-X
 good, nice

In certain other stems, distributive is formed by a combination of the above two forms of reduplication:

s=ɨuɨmal /s=ɨu-'u-ɨu-mal
 AFF=low AFF=X-RDP-RDP-X
 low

ɨopol /ɨo-'o-ɨ-pol
 short X-RDP-RDP-X
 short

giwul /gi-'i-gi-wul
 constricted X-RDP-RDP-X
 constricted

wadadk /wa-'a-p-dadk
 shiny X-RDP-RDP-X
 shiny

ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

Adverbs are derived from nouns or attributive verbs, thus reflecting stem-formative or inflectional reduplication but not inflecting for distributive.

Certain adverbs are formed by deletion of VR in attributive verb:

s=ap-'t
AFF=good-be
to be good, right

s=ap
AFF=good
well, rightly

g't-t-ŋ
big-be
to be big, great

g't't
big
much, greatly

Certain adverbs are formed by suffixing adverbializer -m to attributive verb (with final noncentral consonant deleted following central consonant) or to s=(UNSPEC) N:

s=wiink
AFF=difficult
to be difficult

s=wiina-m
AFF=difficult-ADVR
with difficulty

s=moik
AFF=soft
to be soft

s=moika-m
AFF=soft-ADVR
softly

gakol-k
crooked-be
to be crooked

gakoli-m
crooked-ADVR
crookedly

ŋtli-ñ
straight-be
to be straight

ŋtli-ñi-m
straight-be-ADVR
straightly

a-'a-l
X-RDP-X
child
children

s=a-'a-ll-m
AFF=children-ADVR
childishly

u-'u-wi
~~X-RDP-X~~
 woman
 women

s=u-'u-wi-m
 AFF=women-ADVR
 effeminately

amičud-a
 understand-GER
 understanding

s=ta amičud-a-m
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR
 SUBJ
 understandably

s=ču amičud-a-m
 AFF=UNSPEC understand-GER-ADVR
 OBJ
 understandingly

bih-i
 get-GER
 the gain

s=ta/s=ču bih-i-m
 AFF=UNSPEC get-GER-ADVR
 SUBJ/OBJ
 obtainably/acquisitively

Certain adverbs are formed by suffixing adverbializer -ma to attributive verb, with deletion of VR and reduction of geminate vowel cluster or deletion of final k:

a]i-]j
 thin-be
 to be thin

a]i-ma
 thin-ADVR
 thinly

maas
 like
 to be like

mas-ma
 like-ADVR
 like

s=hiipi-d
 AFF=cold-be
 to be cold

s=hiipi-ma
 AFF=cold-ADVR
 in the cold

s=moik
 AFF=soft
 to be soft

s=moi-ma
 AFF=soft-ADVR
 softly

s=oam
 AFF=brown
 to be brown, yellow

s=oam-ma
 AFF=brown-ADVR
 brownish, yellowish

s=witč
 AFF=heavy
 to be heavy

s=witč-ma
 AFF=heavy-ADVR
 heavily

Certain adverbs advance from zero to -m or from -m to -ma
 ADVR when co-occurring with transitive verb:

s=baabagi mtđ
 AFF=slow run
 running slowly

s=baabagi-m wakon
 AFF=slow-ADVR wash
 washing it slowly

s=moika-m ñtok
 AFF=soft-ADVR talk
 talking softly

s=moi-ma hab wua
 AFF=soft-ADVR that do
 doing it softly

Numeral adverb consists of numeral plus ADVR -ho:

hım-ho
 one-ADVR
 once

gok-ko
 two-ADVR
 twice

hitasp-o
 five-ADVR
 five times

ha'a-kki-o
 that-NUM-ADVR
 that number of times

Non-count place adverb consists of stem plus ADVR -ko/-o:

has-ko
 that-ADVR
 that direction

ha'a-s-ko
 that-QNT-ADVR
 that far

s=a'ag-ko
 AFF=secret-ADVR
 in a secret place

hitjıl-ko
 alone-ADVR
 in a lonely place

s=toñ-ko
 AFF=hot-ADVR
 in the heat

jiwtđ-o
 ground-ADVR
 on the ground

do'ag-o
 mountain-ADVR
 on a mountain

Count place adverb consists of quantifier plus ADVR -pa:

ha'a-k-pa
 that-NUM-ADVR
 that number of places

hıma-k-pa
 one-NUM-ADVR
 in one place

hɨ'ɨ-k-pa i
what-NUM-ADVR DEF
what number of places

Time adverb consists of time plus ADVR -d:

hɨ-kɨ-d
RA-time-ADVR
sometime

ʃuu-ʃ-ka-d
X-RDP-X-ADVR
night
nightly

hu-hu-ɢuka-d
X-RDP-X-ADVR
evening
evenings

si-si-'allma-d
X-RDP-X-ADVR
morning
mornings

daam ɟu-ɟ-ɟ-u-d
above sun-RDP-RDP-DISTR-ADVR
noons

Adverb consists of noun plus ADVR -kaɟ like:

ban-kaɟ
coyote-ADVR
coyote-like

ba'ag-kaɟ
eagle-ADVR
eagle-like

ɨ aamo-kaɟ
REFL boss-ADVR
like his own boss

COMPOUNDS

Single-Stress Compounds

N + N = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-maɢ (maɢ *child*) *descent relation*
 -wo/-po (wopo *body hair*) *hair of a body area*

ba'a-maɢ
grand-child
man's/brother's/male cousin's
daughter's child

wa-maɢ
water-child
snake

čič-wo
mouth-hair
moustache

čš-po
chin-hair
beard

N + ADJ = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-bađ defunct (pađ bađ)

ku'i-bađ
mesquite-detached
harvest stick

ŷt't-bađ
mother-deceased
deceased mother

t=ki-ki-l-bađ
us=X-RDP-X-deceased
old man
our ancestors

mo'o-bađ
head-detached
game-head disguise

N + V = N (cf. NOUN MORPHOLOGY)

-ŷtğ (ŷtğ be open) the opening in N
-młł (młł run + -i NR) a running N

kii-ŷtğ
house-opening
doorway

aki-młł
arroyo-run
NR
running arroyo

gohi-młł
limp-run
NR
limping dance

N + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-gid (uŷgid shake) to shake or switch N
-głw (gigiwk tremble) to tremble or wave
-hain (hain crack) INSTR, to hit with N
-młł, -op (młł, woopo to run) to go for
-t (naato to make) to make N
-win/wia (wia to ruin) INSTR, to clean off with N
-wua (wua to do)
-pig (pi NEG) to remove N

mo'o-gid
head-shake
to shake head

bahi-gid
tail-shake
to switch tail

ma-g^hiw
hand-swing
to swing arm

mo'o-hain
head-INSTR
to hit with head

on-a-mi^hd
salt-GER-MOT
to go for salt

kii-t
house-make
to make house

k^hhi-win
foot-INSTR
to thresh

čiñ-wua
mouth-bump
to bump mouth

mo'o-t-pig
scalp-remove
to scalp

mo'o-g^htw
head-swing
to swing head

ton-hain
knee-INSTR
to hit with knee

on-op
salt-MOT
PL
to go PL for salt

o-'o-dham-t
people-make
to make people

k^hhi-wia
foot-INSTR
to thresh

ton-wua
knee-bump
to bump knee

nak-pig
ear-remove
to earmark

ADJ + PROG + APPLIC = N

gak-im-čul
thin-PROG-APPLIC
praying mantis (make become thin)

V + V = V (cf. VERB MORPHOLOGY)

-bim/-bi^h (bi^him to go around) to go around, pass
ta'i- (ta'i back, up) to back out, to rise
-hi^h (him to go) PROG, to go along doing
-hog to be expected to V
-imk want (-im before -muk, -k before -ko'o)
-nam (nam meet) to meet while Ving
-no^hd (nod to turn) to turn while Ving
-muk, -ko'o (muuk, ko'o to die) to be dying of
-to (naato finish) COMPL, to finish Ving
-wua (wua do) INCEPT, to assume a stance
-wua, -šulig (wua, šulig to throw away) to V away

ñt'i-bim
run-pass
to run around

ta'i-wuṣ
back-emerge
to come out

aag-a-him
tell-GER-PROG
to go along telling

hitpi-i-him
cold-INCHO-PROG
to get cold

ap-'t-ta-him
right-be-INCHO-PROG
to get well

bt-i-hog
get-GER-expect
to expect to get

s=bth-imk
AFF=get-DESID
to want to get

s=ñtid-amk
AFF=see-DESID
to want to see

wo-'i-nam
run-GER-meet
PL
to meet running PL

wo-'i-nod
run-GER-turn
PL
to turn running PL

bi-hug-im-muk
food-eat-DESID-die
to be hungry

ta'i-biḷ
back-pass
PERF
to pass around

ta'i-him
up-PROG
to rise in and fill

čtggia-him
fight-PROG
to go along fighting

gt't-d-a-him
big-be-INCHO-PROG
to get big

him-id-t-ahim
go-able-INCHO-PROG
to become able to walk

mak-i-og
give-GER-expect
to expect to give

s=maak-imk
AFF=give-DESID
to want to give

mł-i-nam
run-GER-meet
to meet running

mł-i-nod
run-GER-turn
to turn running

hob-i-nod
wrap-GER-turn
to wrap

bi-hug-k-ko'o
food-eat-DESID-die
to be hungry PL

ko'-i-to
eat-GER-COMPL
to eat up

k+k-i-wua
stand-GER-INCEPT
to stand up

howi-čk-wua/howi-č-šulig
breath-INSTR-force
away
blow away (SG/PL)

hag-i-to
burn-GER-COMPL
to burn up

đah-i-wua
sit-GER-INCEPT
to sit down

sli-čk-wua/sii-č-šulig
edge-INSTR-force
away
hook and toss away (SG/PL)

V + ADV = V

-ma (mas-ma like) to seem to V

s=him-ma
AFF=go-seem
to seem to go

ko'a-d-ma
eat-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be eating

s=hima-d-ma
AFF=go-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be going

čikpana-d-ma
work-IMPRF-seem
to seem to be working

X + P = P where X = P/ADV/REM/NEG:

daam-ŷtđ
above-from
from above

ga hu-ŷtđ
there REM-from
from over there

m+tk-ŷtđ
far-from
from far

pi'a-ŷtđ
NEG-from
from nowhere

Multiple-Stress Compounds

Multiple-stress compounds contrast with identical noncompounds in inseparability of parts:

hŷg a-t đ wo tđa=hug-ka-m=ŷ'o'dham-k
that MD-TNS EQ FUT in=end-STAT-PRTC=Indian-STAT
He'll be Half-Indian.

hŷg a-t tđa hug-ka-m đ wo ŷ'o'dham-k
that MD-TNS in end-STAT-PRTC EQ FUT Indian-STAT
He'll be half-Indian.

$N_1 + N_2 = N$

N_1 possesses N_2 :

hu'ul=naagi
grandmother=skirt
moth

čuuwi=taq-po
rabbit=foot-hair
owlclover

ñ=wos-ma=ŷi'í
me=grand-child=mother
my daughter-in-law/
grandchild's mother

ho'ok=waa'o
ogress=tongs
nightblooming cereus

utko=ŷi'í
soapweed=mother
stalk
soapweed

ñ=wo-p-s-maq=ha-ŷi'í
me=X-RDP-X-child=their-mother
grand
my grandchildren's mother

N_2 is made of N_1 :

uus=gaat
wood=weapon
bow

wainomi=woog
metal=road
railroad

wainomi=gaat
metal=weapon
gun

N_2 is used for N_1 :

lial=kii
money=house
purse, wallet

huhul-ga=kii
menstruation-AI=house
menstrual house

N_2 is characterized by N_1 :

gogs=o'odham
dog=man
monkey

N_2 is secretion of N_1 :

čukud=šoša
owl=snout
date

N₂ acts on N₁:

wi-pii=si'i-da-m
nipples=suck-IMPRF-PRTC
evening primrose

N₂ is accomplished by N₁:

hoohi=i-'i-s
mourning=X-RDP-X
dove plant:GER
gold poppy

htwtl=i-'i-s
wind=plant
GER
scarlet bugler

N₂ is effected on N₁:

ku-k-šo=wuu-p-li-m
X-RDP-X=X-RDP-X-PRTC
occiput tie
larkspur

kušo=dag-šp-a
occiput=hand-contact-GER
grasp occiput

ADJ + N = N

on-k=aki-mtl
salt-STAT=arroyo-run
GER
Salt River

aŷ=wainomi
narrow=metal
telephone

gŷ=šuuđagi
great=water
sea

uugk=da'a-da-m /uugk=him-da-m
high=fly-IMPRF-PRTC high=move-IMPRF-PRTC
airplane

PRON + N = N

hiŷiti=mi-l-i-čud-da-m
alone=run-GER-APPLIC-IMPRF-PRTC
automobile

N + ADJ = N

čuukhug=s=gaki
flesh=AFF=dry
dried meat

hiwču=wigi
groin=red
black widow spider

V + N = N

da-d-p-k=wašai
X-RDP-X-STAT=grass
smooth
side oats

QNT + N = N

wšs=t=ma-a-m
all=us=finger-RDP-RDP
ten

BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

The inflectional suffixes are NUM $\left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AL} \\ \text{HON} \end{array} \right\} \text{GEN.} \right\}$
 ABS

Number

NUM suffixes are plural/reversative. Plural is -m following pronoun stem, Ø otherwise:

hi-ga-m
that-PL
those

i-i-da-m
this-PL
these

hi-da-m
who-PL
who PL

a-a-pl-m
you-PL
you PL

Reversative is -i/Ø; i dissimilates to a in stems with i INTNS. Reversative is SG with PRON stems and certain N stems, PL with other N stems, and neutral with ADV stems. Certain N stems reduplicate in the plural. The first V of certain stems geminates under reduplication.

hí-ga-'i
that-SG
that

hí-da-'i
who-SG
who

i-j-a-'a
here-NUM
here

a-l-
child-SG
child

kí-l-i
male-SG
mature male

oks
female
mature female

ʃlsk
aunt
aunt

mo'o
head
head

gogs
dog
dog

maq
child
woman's child

i-i-da-'a
this-SG
this

a-a-pl-'i
you-SG
you

a-ma-'i
there-NUM
there

a-'a-l
X-RDP-X
child
children

kí-kí-l
X-RDP-X
male
mature males

o-'o-k-l
X-RDP-X-PL
female
mature females

ʃi-ʃ-s-i
X-RDP-X-PL
aunt
aunts

mo-o-m-i
head-RDP-RDP-PL
heads

go-go-gs
X-RDP-X
dog
dogs

ma-a-ma-d
X-RDP-RDP-X
child
children

g kɪl-i-ga-ŷ g huana
 ART male-SG-AL-GEN ART PN
 the old man (husband) of Juana

The genitive marker of a phrase predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it. Constituents preposed to their predicate are incorporated in its pitch contour:

g kɪl-i-ŷ g huana/g huana kɪl
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
 Juana's house

am wɪtɪma-ŷ g huana/am huana wɪtɪm
 LOC with-GEN ART PN LOC PN with
 with Juana

g ñ=kɪlɪ
 ART me=house
 my house

g huana kɪl-i-ga
 ART PN male-SG-AL
 Juana's man

Detached parts have unspecified argument and are alienable to another argument:

nɪma-ŷ
 liver-GEN
 liver

ñ=nɪma-ŷ-ga
 me=liver-GEN-AL
 my liver of something

ñ=nɪm
 me=liver
 my liver

When the predicate of possession is preposed to a preposition beginning in a or i, -ŷ is replaced by -ɖ:

am ɪɖa g kɪl-i-ŷ g huan/am kɪl-i-ɖ ɪɖ g huan
 LOC in ART house-GEN ART PN LOC house-GEN in ART PN
 in the house of Juan

ab kɪl-i-ɖ am-ŷɪɖ g huan
 LOC house-GEN there-from ART PN
 from the house of Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition beginning in a or ɪ. ABS is -k following indefinite pronouns and certain nouns, otherwise -t before a and -ʒ before ɪ:

ab ha'iču-k ab
 LOC something-ABS on
 on something

am s=toñ-k †đ
 LOC AFF=heat-ABS in
 in the heat

am s=čuhugam-k †đ
 LOC AFF=dark-ABS in
 in the dark

am pi ap-'†-ka-m-k †đ
 LOC NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC-ABS in
 in evll

ab kii-t am-†đ
 LOC house-ABS there-from
 from the house

am kii-č †đ
 LOC house-ABS in
 in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrases from possessed noun phrases in which GEN has been deleted because of a preposed constituent:

hima kii-č †đ
 one house-ABS in
 in a house

hima kii †đ
 someone house in
 in someone's house

ab san=piiwo kiihim-t am-†đ
 LOC PN=STEM village-ABS there-from
 from San Pedro village

ab san=piiwo kiihim am-†đ
 LOC PN=STEM village there-from
 from San Pedro's village

The locative suffix -ko/o substitutes for preposition am at or on.

am †tg-ko
 LOC opening-LOC
 there outside

am has-ko
 LOC INDF-LOC
 there somewhere

am †wtđ-o
 LOC earth-LOC
 there on the ground

am kii-†tg-o
 LOC house-opening-LOC
 there at the door

POSSESSIVES

A possessed noun phrase is predicate, marked by genitive -j and preceding its argument, possessor noun phrase, in basic order:

g	kli-j	g	huan	g	kli-j	hŋga'i	čtoj
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	ART	house-GEN	that	man
	the		house		of	that	man
			of				
			Juan				

g	kli-j	g	ooga-j	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	father-GEN	ART	PN
	the		house		of
			the		father
			of		Juan

The genitive marker of the predicate is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to it:

g	huan	kli	hŋ	kli	čtoj
ART	PN	house	that	house	man
	Juan's	house		that	man's
					house

g	kli-j	g	huan	oog	g	ooga-j	kli	g	huan
ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	father	ART	father-GEN	house	ART	PN
	the		house	of		the	father's-		house
			of				house		of
			Juan's				house		of
			father				of		Juan

g	huan	oog	kli
ART	PN	father	house
	Juan's	father's	house

The genitive marker of the preposed argument is not deleted, but is replaced by ɟ, preceding preposition beginning in t or a:

am	tɟa	g	kli-j	g	huan/am	kli-ɟ	tɟ	g	huan
LOC	in	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	in	ART
			in						PN
			the						house
			of						Juan

ab	amjɟɟ	g	kli-j	g	huan/ab	kli-ɟ	amjɟɟ	g
LOC	from	ART	house-GEN	ART	PN	LOC	house-GEN	from
			in					ART
			the					PN
			house					from
			of					the
			Juan's					house
			father					of
			house					Juan

huan
PN
from
the
house
of
Juan

The absolutive marks an unpossessed noun phrase preposed to a preposition starting with t or a. The absolutive is -k following indefinite pronoun, s=čuhuga-m (AFF=night-PRTC) dark,

pi ap-*t̄*-ka-m (NEG good-be-STAT-PRTC) evil, and s=toñ (AFF=hot) hot; otherwise it is -t before a and -č before i:

has-ču-k t̄d
what-thing-ABS in
what in?

ab ab g kii /ab kii-t ab
LOC at ART house LOC house-ABS at
at the house

am t̄da g kii /am kii-č t̄da
LOC in ART house LOC house-ABS in
in the house

The absolutive distinguishes unpossessed noun phrase from possessed noun phrase in which GEN is deleted because of a preposed constituent (see BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS, Possession, for examples).

The pronoun copies of possessor argument are identical to those of object arguments:

ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
m=	t̄m=		t̄	
∅	ha			

Pronoun copies are preposed to the predicate dominating the argument of which they are constituent, triggering deletion of genitive marker:

g ñ=kii aañi'i
ART me=house I
my house

g t=kii aačim
ART us=house we
our house

g m=kii aapi'i
ART you=house you
your house

g t̄m=kii aapim
ART you=house you
PL PL
your PL house

g ha kii higam
ART them house those
their house

g t̄ kii
ART REFL house
your/his/their own house

Nouns are alienable or inalienable. Inalienable nouns signify body parts, man-made articles, kin, and abstract concepts. Alienable nouns occur with classifier in contrast with inalienable nouns. Classifier is *çoi-* if noun is animate, *t̄ñ-* in any case. Alienable marker is -ka with possessed plant part,

-g with loan words, -ga otherwise, suffixed to classifier if present, to noun otherwise:

has-ču ʂoi-ga-ŷ g huan
what-thing CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN
What kind of animal of Juan?

g gogs ʂoi-ga-ŷ g huan/g huan gogs ʂoi-ga
ART dog CLSF-AL-GEN ART PN ART PN dog CLSF-AL
the dog class of Juan Juan's dog class

g gogs-ga-ŷ g huan/g huan gogs-ga
ART dog-AL-GEN ART PN ART PN dog-AL
the dog of Juan/Juan's dog

It is the noun that is classified, since the same object may have alienable and inalienable lexemes:

ñ=kun	/ñ=kɪli-ga	ñ=maɟ	/ñ=ali-ga
<i>me=husband</i>	<i>me=old-AL</i>	<i>me=child</i>	<i>me=child-AL</i>
	<i>man</i>	<i>my child</i>	
<i>my husband</i>			

Body parts form a sub-class of inalienable noun, reversing alienation when argument is unspecified:

hihi-ŷ g haiwañ
gut-GEN ART cow
gut of cow

hihi-ŷ
gut-GEN
tripe

hihi-ŷ-ga-ŷ g huan
gut-GEN-AL-GEN ART PN
the tripe of Juan

huan hihi-ŷ-ga
PN gut-GEN-AL
Juan's tripe

PREPOSITIONS

Forms

Prepositions are identical in singular and plural, but most have a distributive formed by reduplication. Certain PREP reduplicate stressed V as well as initial CV.

ab	at, on the near side of
am	at, on the far side of, UNSPEC
an	at, on the edge of
aigo, a'ai(go)	across, back, RCPR
amjtd, a'amjtd	from, about, ABLATIVE
baašo, babšo	along, in front of (baašo breast)
ba'ič, bab'aič	beyond, in front of, more
daam, da'adam	above, on
tđa, i'tđa	in, in the midst of
gahi, gaaghai	across
oidam, o'oidam	during
šaagid, ša'ašagid	between, among
taagio, ta'atagio	in the way of/direction of, before
wičo, w'i'wičo	under
wt'ibig, w'i'wt'ibig	behind, around (Ko=lodi dialect)
wt'igaĵ, w'i'wt'igaĵ	behind, around (other dialects)
wi'ht'jtd, w'i'wt'jtd	for, BEN
witm, w'i'wtim	with
wipo, w'i'wt'ippo	like
wui, wu'uwui	to, DAT (wui eye, wui-oša face)

The following verbs have participles with suffix -č/k which function as prepositions:

miabid, mimiabid	be near, approach
oid, o'oid	follow, go through
wi'nad, w'i'wt'nad	put with

The participle agrees with the main verb in perfectivity.

ku-ki am oid-č hlm g kii
 INTR-EV LOC through-CNJ go ART house
 He's going through the house.

ku-t-ki am oid-k hii-X g kii
 INTR-TNS-EV LOC through-CNJ go-PERF ART house
 He went through the house.

Syntax

The preposition is predicate, preceding its argument in neutral order and marked by genitive in some forms:

wi+ma-ŷ g huan
with-GEN ART PN
with Juan

wul-ŷ g kli
to-GEN ART house
to the house (Pima)

gahi-ŷ g woog
across-GEN ART road
across the road (Pima)

As is the case with nouns, genitive is deleted if any constituent of its argument is preposed to the preposition:

huan wi+m
PN with
with Juan

h+g wi+m č+oŷ
that with man
with that man

kli wui
house to
to the house

h+ma wul g kli
one to ART house
to a house

h+ma wi+m g č+oŷ
one with ART man
with a man

Pronoun copies preposed to preposition are identical to those of other object arguments:

ñ=	t=	REFL:	ñ=	t=
m=	†m=			
∅	ha		†	

ñ=wi+m aañi'i
me=with I
with me

ha wi-'i-wi-m h+gam č+č-oŷ
them X-RDP-RDP-X those X-RDP-X
with man
with those scattered men

Two prepositions may co-occur, with nonablative preposed to ablative, and thus in the same contour, and ablative optionally reducing to -j+q̄:

am daam amj+q̄ g kli /am daam-j+q̄ g kli
LOC over from ART house LOC over-from ART house
from over the house

am wɪčo-ʝɪɖ g kii-ʝ g ooga-ʝ g huan
 LOC under-from ART house-GEN ART father-GEN ART PN
 from under the house of the father of Juan

Adverb, REM, and indefinite pronoun may also be preposed to ablative preposition with optional reduction of the preposition:

mia amʝɪɖ/mia-ʝɪɖ
 near from near-from
 from near

ga hu-ʝɪɖ
 LOC REM-from
 from over there

hɪbai-ʝɪɖ /baa-ʝɪɖ
 where-from
 from where?

pi-'a-ʝɪɖ
 no-place-from
 from nowhere

has-ko-ʝɪɖ /ʃaa-ko-ʝɪɖ
 what-direction-from
 from which direction?

DEMONSTRATIVES

Forms

Demonstratives and pronouns have the same structure and employ some of the same morphemes, consisting of deictic-(intensifier)-(specifier)-quantifier.

Deictic is used when pointing to degrees of distance or quantity. The morphemes are a proximal, ga distal, hɪ unspecified/indefinite, ha'a unspecified quantity, hɪʔ indefinite quantity. In demonstratives, a PROX assimilates to the following vowel.

Intensive is i, occurring with specified range and indicating extremity of range.

Specifiers are specific to the class.

Quantifier is m plural, i unspecified (singular, mass, locational). Quantifier l dissimilates to a from word-initial i.

Demonstratives and adverbs of one syllable or two open syllables supplete when individually forwarded for topicalization. The suppletion is effected by deleting unstressed vowels, except after y, when not essential for distinguishing range.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns indicate range and quantity. The deictic is proximal or unspecified. The intensifier occurs with specified deictic. The specifier is *da* proximal, *ga* distal.

i-i-da-m
PROX-INTNS-PROX-PL
these

i-i-da-'a
PROX-INTNS-PROX-UNSPEC
this, this stuff

hi-ga-m
UNSPEC-DIST-PL
those

hi-ga-'i
UNSPEC-DIST-UNSPEC
the, that, that stuff

The suppletive forms are *id* *this* and *hi-g* *that*.

i-d a-ñ hab aag čtoǰ
PROX-PROX MD-I thus say man
This (is the) man I mean.

hi-g a-ñ hab aag čtoǰ
UNSPEC-DIST MD-I thus say man
That (is the) man I mean.

Quantifying demonstratives consist of deictic (plus intensifier?) plus quantifier. The deictic is unspecified/ indefinite.

ha('a) UNSPEC
h+('i) INDF

The quantifier is number/quantity.

kia NUM
s QNT

ha'a-kia
UNSPEC-NUM
so many

h+'i-kia
INDF-NUM
how many

ha'a-s
UNSPEC-QNT
so much

h+'i-s
INDF-QNT
how much

Number demonstrative co-occurs with *ču* *things*, *ho* *times*, *pa* *places*.

ha'a-kia-ču
UNSPEC-NUM-thing
that numbered thing

ht'i-kia-ču
INDF-NUM-thing
what numbered thing

ha'a-kki-o
UNSPEC-NUM-times
that many times

ht'i-kki-o
INDF-NUM-times
how many times

ha'a-k-pa
UNSPEC-NUM-places
that many places

ht'i-k-pa
INDF-NUM-places
how many places

Quantifying demonstrative co-occurs with ču *thing*, ko *distance*.

ha'a-s-ču
UNSPEC-QNT-thing
that size thing

ht'i-s-ču
INDF-QNT-thing
what size thing

ha'a-s-ko
UNSPEC-QNT-distance
that far

ht'i-s-ko
INDF-QNT-distance
how far

Syntax

DEM precedes noun and agrees in number:

i-i-da-m kii-ki
this-PL house-RDP
these houses

i-i-da-'a kii
this-SG house
this house

Quantifier and/or adjective and/or participle may intervene:

i-i-da-m gt-'t-gt-d kii-ki
these X-RDP-RDP-X *house-RDP*
big
these big houses

i-i-da-m ha'i gt-'t-gt-d kii-ki
these *few* *big* *house-RDP*
these few big houses

i-i-da-m s=wa-pa-gim-am čikpan-da-m čt-č-oj
these AFF=X-RDP-X-ADVR *work-IMPRF-FRTC* X-RDP-X
industrious *man*
these industrious working men

Partitive quantifier is the determiner, preceding the pronoun.

h̄ma h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄ a-t am wo hii-X
 one those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-PERF
 PRTV
 One of those men will go there.

ha'i-j̄j̄ h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄ a-t am wo h̄i-h̄i-X
 some-PRTV those men MD-TNS LOC FUT go-RDP-PERF
 Some of those men will go there.

Pronoun copy agrees in person with highest rank pronoun and in number with the sum of pronouns:

h̄ma a-t ha m̄ta-X h̄t-ga-m č̄t-č̄-oj̄
 one MD-TNS them kill-PERF those men
 PRTV
 He killed one of those men.

h̄ma a-t-t wo hii-X a-a-č̄i-m
 one MD-we-TNS FUT go-PERF we
 PRTV
 One of us will go.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i g ñ=nawoj̄
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I ART me=friend
 PL

wim
 with
 We drove there, I with my friend.

gm a-t-t hu wo-o-p-X a-a-ñi-'i kč̄ i-i-da-'a
 LOC MD-we-TNS REM run-RDP-RDP-PERF I and this
 PL
 We drove there, I and this one.

Article g/h̄g (Papago/Pima, respectively) introduces argument. ART is deleted before pronoun, after ART/LOC, and clause initially:

g kii-j̄ h̄t-ga-'i č̄toj̄
 ART house-GEN that man
 the house of that man

g kii-j̄ g huan/ g huan kii
 ART house-GEN ART PN ART PN house
 house of Juan/Juan's house

am daam g kii /am kii daam
 LOC above ART house LOC house above
 above the house

miđ o g huan/huan o miđ
 run MD ART PN PN MD run
 Juan is running.

ART is likewise absent in discontinuous phrase when locative is forwarded:

an o kii kii daam
 LOC MD stand house on
 He's standing there on the house.

Relative clause requires DEM:

n-t wo ñti-X hi-ga-'i čioj [m-o am kii k]

I-TNS FUT see-PERF that man SUBR-MD LOC stand

I'm going to see that man that's standing there.

Pronoun with relative clause may be generic rather than demonstrative:

n-t wo namkid hi-ga-'i čioj [ma-t wo čikp-X]

I-TNS FUT pay the man SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF

PERF

I'll pay the man that works.

ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

Like simple demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives consist of deictic-(intensifier)-specifier-quantifier. The deictic indicates range.

a	PROX
ga	DIST
hi	INDF

The intensifier is *i*, indicating extremity of range, and assimilating to the previous vowel in *ga*. PROX *a* assimilates to the following vowel.

	non-INTNS	INTNS
PROX	a-	i-i-
DIST	ga-	ga-a-
INDF		

The specifier in ADV DEM indicates the direction the object is facing with respect to the observer, or vice versa.

m	object facing away or behind the observer
n	object facing across or beside the observer
b	object facing toward or in front of the observer

The quantifier is unspecified *i*, dissimilating from intensive *i* when co-occurring with it. DIRL *b* is deleted following *i*.

	away	across	toward	
PROX-INTNS	<i>i-i-ma-'a</i>	<i>i-i-na-'a</i>	<i>i-i-a-'a</i>	<i>here</i>
PROX	<i>a-ma-'i</i>	<i>a-na-'i</i>	<i>a-ba-'i</i>	<i>there</i>
DIST	<i>ga-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ba-'i</i>	<i>over there</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>ga-a-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ša-ŋ</i>	<i>way over there</i>

Demonstratives *i-i-a-'a* and *a-ma-'i* are also employed for neutral direction. UNSPEC DIRL is *ga* after *ga* and *ba* after *hi*.

<i>ga-qa-'i</i>	<i>hi-ba-'i</i>
<i>RA-DIRL-QNT</i>	<i>RA-DIRL-QNT</i>
<i>there out of range</i>	<i>somewhere, where</i>

Demonstratives delete INTNS *i* and QNT but retain stress when fronted for topicalization. Final vowel is reduced by phonetic rule.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	<i>i-m</i>	<i>i-n</i>	<i>i-a</i>
PROX	<i>a-m</i>	<i>a-n</i>	<i>a-b</i>
DIST	<i>ga-m</i>	<i>ga-n</i>	<i>ga</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>ga-a-m</i>	<i>ga-a-n</i>	<i>ga-a-š</i>

Demonstrative Adverbs

Demonstrative adverbs indicate range and attitude, employing proximal and distal deictic, intensifier, specifier, and unspecified quantifier. Where the previous vowel does not assimilate to the intensifier, the intensifier assimilates to the previous vowel.

The specifier in demonstrative adverbs indicates attitude or direction of motion of either the observer or the referent of a term with respect to the other or the referent of another term: *ma* away, *na* across, *ya/ba/ša* toward.

		away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	<i>here</i>	<i>i-i-ma-'a</i>	<i>i-i-na-'a</i>	<i>i-i-ya-'a</i>
PROX	<i>there</i>	<i>a-ma-'i</i>	<i>a-na-'i</i>	<i>a-ba-'i</i>
DIST	<i>over there</i>	<i>ga-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ba-'i</i>
DIST-INTNS	<i>way over there</i>	<i>ga-a-ma-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-na-'i</i>	<i>ga-a-ša-ŋ</i>

Demonstratives *iya'a* and *ama'i* are also employed for neutral attitude. Specifier may indicate level, *ma* below, *na* eye-level or above. The demonstrative adverbs supplete as follows.

	away	across	toward
PROX-INTNS	i-m	i-n	i-a
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b
DIST	ga-m	ga-n	ga
DIST-INTNS	ga-a-m	ga-a-n	ga-a-ṣ

Specifier *ga* indicates out of range, and does not specify attitude or level, *ga-ḍa-'i/gaḍ* there out of range.

Reduced demonstratives contrast in stress with unstressed locative particles:

	away	across	toward	
PROX(INTNS)	i-m	i-n	i-a	<i>here facing</i>
PROX	a-m	a-n	a-b	<i>there facing</i>
DIST	g-m	g-n		<i>over there facing</i>
			g-ḍ	<i>there UNSPEC</i>

Reduced demonstratives and locational particles contrast with PREP:

am at an along ab against

Whether attitude of speaker or subject is in view may be disambiguated by preposition:

im o kɪk ñ-baaṣo ADV MD stand me-before He's standing in front of me (facing away from me).	im o kɪk ñ-witgaɿ ADV MD stand me-behind He's standing behind me (thus I'm facing away from him).
--	---

ADV DEM and their question correlates are:

a-ma-'i <i>that-DIRL-NUM</i> there, at that place	hi-ba-'i <i>what-DIRL-NUM</i> where
ha-b <i>that-MAN</i> that	ha-s <i>what-MAN</i> what
has-ko <i>that-direction</i> that direction	has-ko/ṣaa-ko <i>what-direction</i> what direction

ha'a-s that-QNT that much	hi'i-s what-QNT how much
ha'a-s-ču that-QNT-thing that size thing	hi'i-s-ču what-QNT-thing what size thing
ha'a-s-ko that-QNT-far that far	hi'i-s-ko what-QNT-far how far
ha'a-kia that-NUM that number	hi'i-kia what-NUM what number
ha'a-kia-ču that-NUM-thing that number thing	hi'i-kia-ču what-NUM-thing what number thing
ha'a-kki-o that-NUM-times that number times	hi'i-kki-o what-NUM-times what number times
ha'a-k-pa that-NUM-places that number of places	hi'i-k-pa what-NUM-places what number of places
hi mu at this time	
iđa/wiñog at that time	hi kid at what time
idañ at this time of cycle	

Demonstratives co-occur with stative marker to form predicate:

ku-p-t hi ba'i wo ka-d
INTR-you-TNS where FUT STAT-IMPRF
Where will you be?

n-t ama'i wo ka-d
I-TNS there FUT STAT-IMPRF
I'll be there.

A demonstrative is obligatory with a relative clause:

am a-n-t wo čikpna-d [ma-n-t hi ba'i wo
ADV MD-I-TNS FUT work-IMPRF SUBR-I-TNS where FUT

kii-ka-d]
live-STAT-IMPRF
There I'll work where I'll be living.

QUANTIFIERS

Forms

Quantifiers are count/measure (MEAS), definite/indefinite. Indefinite quantifiers are:

COUNT		MEAS	
hima	<i>a, one</i>	ʂa	<i>a bit</i>
ha'i	<i>some number</i>	ha	<i>some amount</i>
mu'i	<i>many</i>	gi't	<i>much</i>
wiʂs	<i>all</i>	wiʂs	<i>all</i>

With WH, definite is -kia NUM with count N, -s QNT otherwise:

ha'a-kia	ha'a-s
<i>that-NUM</i>	<i>that-QNT</i>
<i>that number</i>	<i>that amount</i>

Otherwise, definite quantifier is: himako *one*, gook *two*, waik *three*, gi'ik *four*, hitasp *five*, čuudp *six*, wtwak/wiwkam *seven*, gigi'ik *eight*, humukt/humuʂkam *nine*, wiʂ-t=maam *ten*, etc.

Number NUM co-occurs with suffixes -ču'u *thing*, -ho *time*, -pa *place*, and measure QNT co-occurs with -ču'u *thing*, -ko *distance*:

ha'a-kia-ču'u	ha'a-s-ču'u
<i>that-NUM-thing</i>	<i>that-QNT-thing</i>
<i>that numbered thing</i>	<i>that size thing</i>
ha'a-k-kio (ha'a-ki-ho)	ha'a-k-pa
<i>that-NUM-time</i>	<i>that-NUM-place</i>
<i>that number of times</i>	<i>that number of places</i>
ha'a-s-ko	gook-ču'u
<i>that-QNT-distance</i>	<i>two-thing</i>
<i>that much distance</i>	<i>number two</i>
gok-ko	gook-pa
<i>two-time</i>	<i>two-place</i>
<i>twice</i>	<i>two places</i>

ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hgam ka-ka-wiu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PL

He'll get some of those horses.

Otherwise, alternate neutral position of a QNT is preposed to the predicate word:

t wo ha'i ha u-i g ka-ka-wiu
TNS FUT some them get-PERF ART horses
 PL

He'll get some horses.

t wo ha bi-i g o'od
TNS FUT some get-PERF ART sand
He'll get some sand.

If a nonpartitive quantifier is preposed to the predicate word, the remainder of the noun phrase may be preposed to the predicate for topicalization, forming a resumptive pronoun construction:

ka-ka-wiu a-t wo ha'i ha u-i
horses MD-TNS FUT some them get-PERF
 PL

Some horses he'll get.

The predicate word agrees in number with the highest rank determiner in the rank order PRTV QNT, PRON, N:

hima a-t wo ha bi-i hgam ka-ka-wiu
one MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PRTV

He'll get one of those horses.

ha'i-jj a-t wo ha u-i hgam ka-ka-wiu
some-PRTV MD-TNS FUT them get-PERF those horses
 PL

He'll get some of those horses.

am hima ha iqa hgam kil-ki
LOC one them in those houses
 PRTV

there in one of those houses

am ha'i-jj ha t-'t-da hgam kil-ki
LOC some-PRTV them X-RDP-X those houses
 in

there in some of those houses

Quantifier may occur without head:

ab o h̄ma h̄m
 LOC MD one go
 Someone is coming.

ḡa-t wo gook-k
 EQ-TNS FUT two-STAT
 There'll be two.

h̄t̄-kia a-t ḡ wo k
 what-NUM MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT
 How many will there be?

gook a-t ḡ wo k
 two MD-TNS EQ FUT STAT
 Two is what there will be.

Definite quantifier co-occurs with wa'i just, only:

gook a-t ab wa'i hi-hi-X g č̄t̄-č̄-ōj
 two MD-TNS LOC only go-RDP-PERF ART men
 Only two men came.

ha'a-kia o ab wa'i hi-hi-m
 that-NUM MD LOC only X-RDP-X
 go

Only so many are coming.

h̄t̄-kia o ab wa'i i hi-hi-m
 what-NUM MD LOC only DEF go
 Just how many are coming?

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede (participle plus) noun:

h̄gam ḡt̄-'t̄-ḡt̄-ḡ č̄ikpan-da-m č̄t̄-č̄-ōj
 those X-RDP-RDP-X work-IMPRF-PRTC X-RDP-X
 big man
 those adult working men

Adjectives agree in number with noun:

ḡt̄t̄ hodai
 big stone
 big stone

ḡt̄-'t̄-ḡt̄-ḡ ho-ho-dai
 big X-RDP-X
 stone
 big stones

Unreduplicated noun may be collective:

gí-'í-gí-d hodai
big stone
course gravel

gí-'í-gí-d haiwañ
big bovine
mature cattle

Adjectives may occur without noun:

ab o hím g gí't
LOC MD go ART big
There comes the chief.

an o miđ g s=koomagi
LOC MD run ART AFF=gray
The gray is running along there.

Headless adjectives may occur with other noun modifiers:

ab o hi-hi-m hígam gí-'í-gí-d
LOC MD X-RDP-X those big
go

There come those adults.

ab o hi-hi-m g gí-'í-gí-d čikpan-da-m
LOC MD go ART big work-IMPRES-PRTC
There come the adult working ones.

Relative clause may occur in modifying slot following DEM:

hígam [m-o pi am hu i si gí-'í-gí-da-ŷ] a-'a-i
those SUBR-MD NEG DEG big-be X-RDP-X
child

those children who are not very big

hígam [m-o am ha'i-čú-g naanko maas] hima]kam
those SUBR-MD LOC some-thing-be different like person
COLL

those different kinds of people present

Relative clause may be trimmed as modifier by deletion of subordinator, auxiliary, and verbalizer:

hígam pi am hu i si gí-'í-gí-d a-'a-i
those NEG DEG big children
those not very big children

Adjectives may be conjoined:

híga'i gí't kč s=koomagi kawiu
that big and AFF=gray horse
that big gray horse

Demonstratives agree with ADJ in manner and quantification and co-occur with manner or quantity gesture:

ba'ič o i s=hoota-m miđ g al-i [m-o g
past MD DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

ooga-ŷ ha'a-s s=hoota-m him]
father-GEN that-QNT AFF=rush-ADVR walk
The child runs faster than his father walks.

When a redundant predicate is pruned, the SUBJ of the SUB CL replaces the CL as main clause complement. Thus a subject stranded by pruning of POSSR is REFL:

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-i-kud (ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]
bed that-QNT long-be
The child is longer than a small bed (is long).

ba'ič o i čtwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g † oog
past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father

(ha'a-s čtwa-ŷ)]
that-QNT long-be
The child is taller than his father.

The main clause ADV in equational comparatives is DEM. Demonstratives agree with adjectives as manner or quantitative:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma him m-o g † oog
child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR walk SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child walks like his father.

ha'a-s o čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g † oog
that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL father
The child is as tall as his father.

ha'a-kia o mu'i-ŷ g a'-a-l m-o g †
that-NUM MD many-be ART X-RDP-X SUBR-MD ART REFL
child

ŷi-†-ŷ
mother-RDP-RDP
The children are as many as their parents.

A redundant argument is pruned:

ha'a-s o s=tadañ g milsa [m-o h't+s i
 that-QNT MD AFF=wide ART table SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF

čtwa-ŷ]

long-be

The table is as wide as it is long.

If not verbalized or adverbialized, the ADJ is deleted in QNT
 X__:

ha'a-kia o (mu'i) a-'a-l-ga g pliwlo m-o g †
 that-NUM MD many child-AL ART PN SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog

father

Pedro has as many children as his father.

ha'a-s-ko a-t (mitk) hii-X g pilwlo ma-t
 that-QNT-far MD-TNS far walk-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

g † oog

ART REFL father

Pedro walked as far as his father.

ha'a-k-pa a-t (mu'i-k-pa) kii-ki-t
 that-NUM-place MD-TNS many-NUM-place house-RDP-make

g pliwlo ma-t g † oog
 ART PN SUBR-TNS ART REFL father

Pedro built houses in as many places as his father.

Less than comparatives employ hug-ka-m (end-STAT-PRTC)
 end:

ida hug-ka-m o čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g †
 mid end-STAT-PRTC MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog

father

The child is half as tall as his father.

pi o am hu hug-ka-m čtwa-ŷ g al-i m-o
 NEG MD LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD

g † oog

ART REFL father

The child is not as tall as his father.

Preceding ba'ič, the ADV is REM/NUMR plus QNT:

ha'a-s o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
that-QNT MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† oog (gesture)

REFL father

The child is that much taller than his father.

ha'a-kia o ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ g a-'a-l m-o g
that-NUM MD past DEF many-be ART children SUBR-MD ART

† ŷi-†-ŷ (gesture)

REFL mother-RDP-RDP

The children are that many more than their parents.

gook tađ o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
two foot MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† wīnag

REFL sibling

The child is two feet taller than his sibling.

gok-ko o ba'ič i čīwa-ŷ g al-i m-o g
two-times MD past DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART

† wīnag

REFL sibling

The child is twice as tall as his sibling.

The stranded SUBJ of a manner complement may be raised to replace ADV:

al-i o ha-b mas-ma(-kaŷ) him m-o g †
child-SG MD that-MAN like-ADVR-like walk SUBR-MD ART REFL

oog /al-i o † oog-kaŷ him
father child-SG MD REFL father-like walk
The child walks like his father.

† aamo-kaŷ o da-d-†
REFL master-like MD jump-RDP-REPET
He rides like his master.

Reciprocal manner comparative sentences employing PREP wpo may be conflated:

í o wípo ma-m-s g piwlo kč paawlo
 REFL MD equal X-RDP-X ART PN and PN
 appear

Pedro and Pablo look like one another.

A stranded SUBJ may be raised to OBJ of ba'ič:

ba'ič o i číwa-ŷ g al-i ma-ñ aañi'i/ñ=ba'ič
 past MD DEF long-be ART child-SG SUBR-I I me=past

o i číwa-ŷ g al-i
 MD DEF long-be ART child-SG
 The child is taller than I.

go-go-gs o ha-ha-'a-s ha ba'ič i gí-'í-gí-đa-ŷ
X-RDP-X MD X-RDP-X-QNT them past DEF X-RDP-RDP-X-be
 dog that big

g mi-mi-stol (gesture)
 ART X-RDP-X
 cat

Dog are that much bigger than cats.

A comparative with complement raised to OBJ of PREP may entertain another complement of like structure, forming a double comparison:

go-go-gs o ha-ha-'a-s ha ba'ič i gí-'í-gí-đa-ŷ g
 dogs MD that-QNT them past DEF big-be ART

mi-mi-stol [m-o hi g ka-ka-wiu ha ba'ič g kaawal]
 cats SUBR-MD REF ART X-RDP-X them past ART sheep
 horse

Dogs are as much bigger than cats as horses are than sheep.

go-go-gs o pí am hu hug-ka-m ha ba'ič i
 dogs MD NEG LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC them past DEF

gí-'í-gí-đa-ŷ g mi-mi-stol [m-o g ka-ka-wiu ha
 big-be ART cats SUBR-MD ART horses them

ba'ič g kaawal]
 past ART sheep

Dogs are not as much bigger than cats as horses are than sheep.

Double comparisons have also been observed employing PREP wui to:

či-či-no o ha'a-kia ba'ič i mu'i-ŷ am ha wui g
X-RDP-X MD that-NUM past DEF many-be LOC them to ART
Chinese

india hımaŷkam [m-o g india hımaŷkam ha'a-kia mu'i-ŷ
 PN people SUBR-MD ART PN people that-NUM many-be

am ha wui g laaŷa hımaŷkam]
 LOC them to ART PN people
 The Chinese are as much more numerous to the India people
 as the India people are numerous to the Russian.
 (Field Notes 1963, Albert Alvarez)

The complement clause ADV may also be question word:

ha'a-s o čıwa-ŷ g al-i [m-o g čum
 that-QNT MD long-be ART child-SG SUBR-MD ART small

wo'-i-kud hı't-s i s=tađaň]
 bed what-QNT DEF AFF=wide
 The child is however long a small bed is wide.

b-o mas-ma čıčwi g a-'a-ı] [m-o g ha
 MAN-MD like-ADVR play ART children SUBR-MD ART them

ŷı-i-ŷ] ha-s i mas-ma čıkpan]
 mother-RDP-RDP what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work
 GEN
 Children play however their parents work.

A complement clause with question word may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hı't-s i s=tađaň g čum wo'-i-kud] k
 SUBR-MD what-QNT DEF AFF=wide ART small bed INTR

g al-i ha'a-s čıwa-ŷ
 ART child-SG that-QNT long-be
 However wide a small bed is, the child is that long.

[m-o ha-s i mas-ma čıkpan g ha
 SUBR-MD what-MAN DEF like-ADVR work ART them

ŷı-i-ŷ] k g a-'a-ı] ha-b mas-ma čıčwi
 mother INTR ART children that-MAN like-ADVR play
 However their parents work, children play like that.

The superlative is expressed by comparison with a total:

al=huand | o wɪs ha ba'ič i gi't-] g ha'i-čũ
elephant MD all them past DEF big-be ART some-thing

doa-ka-m

live-STAT-PRTC

The elephant is bigger than all the animals.

All permitted combinations of YNQ, NEG, EQ, IMP occur in comparative sentences:

n-o ba'ič i s=hoota-m mɪɖ g gogs m-o g
Q-MD past DEF AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog SUBR-MD ART

miɪstol

cat

Does the dog run faster than the cat?

n-o pi əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m mɪɖ g gogs
Q-MD NEG LOC REM end-STAT-PRTC AFF=rush-ADVR run ART dog

m-o g miɪstol

SUBR-MD ART cat

Doesn't the dog run as fast as the cat?

n-o pi əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m d mɪɖ-da-m g
Q-MD NEG LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC ART

gogs m-o g miɪstol

dog SUBR-MD ART cat

Isn't the dog as fast a runner as the cat?

ba'ič g i s=hoota-m mɪɪ m-o hɪga'i

past IMP DEF fast run SUBR-MD that

Run faster than him!

pi g əm hu hug-ka-m s=hoota-m d mɪɖ-da-m
NEG IMP LOC REM end fast EQ run-IMPRF-PRTC

m-o hɪga'i

SUBR-MD that

Don't be as fast a runner as he.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns and corresponding question forms are:

hīma	<i>someone, another</i>	hīḡa'i/hīḡam	<i>who?</i>
ha'ičū	<i>something</i>	hasč'u	<i>what?</i>
hība'i	<i>somewhere/sometime</i>	hība'i	<i>where?/when?</i>
hīkid	<i>sometime</i>	hīkid	<i>when?</i>

Indefinite pronouns hīma, ha'i-čū are usually preposed to the verb:

n-t wo ñī-i-X hīma /n-t wo hīma ñī-i-X
I-TNS FUT see-PERF someone I-TNS FUT someone see-PERF
I'll see someone.

n-t wo bī-i ha'ičū /n-t wo ha'ičū bī-i
I-TNS FUT get-PERF something I-TNS FUT something get-PERF
I'll get something.

ba-n-t wo čī-i ha'ičū /ba-n-t wo ha'ičū
that-I-TNS FUT say-PERF something that-I-TNS FUT something

čī-i
say-PERF
I'll say something.

n-t wo m=ñī-i-X hība'i
I-TNS FUT you=see-PERF somewhere/sometime
I'll see you somewhere/sometime.

The question form of indefinite pronoun co-occurs with negative and any construction, and is preposed to the predicate:

pi a-n-t hīḡa'i wo ñī-i-X
NEG MD-I-TNS anyone FUT see-PERF
I won't see anyone./I'll see no one.

pi a-n-t hasčū/ha'ičū wo bī-i
NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT get-PERF
I won't get anything./I'll get nothing.

pi a-n-t has(čū hab) wo čī-i
NEG MD-I-TNS anything FUT say-PERF
I won't say anything./I'll say nothing.

pi a-n-t hi:kid wo ñii-X
 NEG MD-I-TNS any time FUT see-PERF
 I won't see him any time./I'll never see him.

Indefinite pronouns co-occur:

pi a-t hi:ða'i hasču has wo juu-X
 NEG MD-TNS anyone anything anything FUT make-PERF
 No one will make anything.

Any construction employs wabş just plus čum IMPOT plus
 INDF PRON:

wabş čum hi:ða'i a-t wabş čum hi:kid wabş čum has
 just IMPOT who MD-TNS just IMPOT when just IMPOT what

wo i juu-X
 FUT REFL do
 PERF

Anyone will do anything at any time.

pi a-t wabş čum hasču has wo juu-X
 NEG MD-TNS just IMPOT what what FUT do-PERF
 He won't do just anything.

DEFINITE PRONOUNS

Independent

Pronoun consists of range, (intensive), specifier, number. Subject and object pronouns are identical and may be deleted if nonemphatic. In personal pronouns, the specifier indicates person. The intensifier *i* becomes *a* before person.

	SG	PL
1P	a-a-ñi-'i	a-a-či-m
2P	a-a-pi-'i	a-a-pi-m
PROX	i-i-da-'a	i-i-da-m/i-da-m
DIST	hi-ga-'i	hi-ga-m

Reflexive object:

hi+j+i hi-hf-'i-j+i DISTR

Dependent

	SUBJ		OBJ/POSSR		REFL	
1P	-ñ	-č	ñ=	t=	ñ=	t=
2P	-p	-m	m=	†m=	†	
3P	∅		∅	ha		
UNSPEC	-m		ha			

STEMS

Stems consist of verb roots, or of various roots with appropriate suffixes of fixed productivity and order, plus outer suffixes of freer productivity and order, preceding inflectional suffixes.

There is an inner sequence of adjective plus copula plus inchoative. The copular suffix is -'i, -d, -j, -k, ∅ to *have the quality* following the appropriate adjectives.

s=ap-'t
AFF=good-be
to be good

gi't-'j
big-be
to be big

s=moik
AFF=soft
to be soft

s=ht'pi-d
AFF=cold-be
to be cold

siko'k
round-be
to be round

The copula is -dag to have the quality following stance verb plus gerund.

s=dah-i-dag
AFF=sit-GER-be
to be good at riding

s=mi'i-dag
AFF=run-GER-be
to be good at running

Inchoative suffix is -ta, deleting C after most adjectives and assimilating V to the preceding V or to V preceding k and otherwise deleting V at word boundary. Initial AFF and final ag or SF -d are deleted.

ap-'i-t
good-be-INCHO
to become good

baga-t
angry-INCHO
to get angry

hi'pi-i
cold-INCHO
to become cold

mi'i-d-t
run-GER-be-INCHO
to learn to run

paq-t
bad-INCHO
to become spoiled

gi't-d-a
big-be-INCHO
to get big

čuk-u
black-INCHO
to become black

him-i-d-t
go-GER-be-INCHO
to learn to walk

There is an inner sequence of incorporated object plus suffix -gid to shake N, -giw to have tremors of N, -wua to bump N.

mo'o-gid
head-shake
to shake the head

mo'o-giw
head-tremor
to have head tremors

mo'o-wua
head-bump
 to bump the head

There is an inner sequence of incorporated instrument or action plus gerundive suffix plus instrumental suffix, forming a transitive verb. The gerundive suffix is -i following an incorporation or following a vowel, -a otherwise. Instrumental suffixes are -čk to *press on with N*, -ɖad to *put N on*, -hain/hin to *hit with N*, -kkan to *pound with N*, -kon to *glance N off of*, -mad to *apply N to*, -mun to *disturb with N*, -pig to *remove N from*, -šan/şad to *act along a surface with N*, -şun/şud to *crush with N*, -şp to *contact with N*, -to to *finish an action*, -win/wia to *pulverize with N*.

mo'o-čk
head-push
 to push on with the head

wonami-ɖad
hat-don
 to don a hat

mo'o-hain
head-hit
 to hit with the head

ma-'i-hin
object-GER-hit
 to hit with a thrown object

mo'o-kkan
head-pound
 to bunt

ma-'i-kon
object-GER-glance
 to glance an object off of

on-mad
salt-apply
 to salt

dag-i-mun
hand-GER-disturb
 to massage

nak-pig
ear-remove
 to earmark

č+i-šan
rough-act
 to rub off

ma-'i-şun
object-GER-crush
 to crush with a thrown object

ma-'i-şp
object-GER-contact
 to cover with an object from the hand

dag-i-to
hand-GER-COMPL
 to drop

k+h-i-win
foot-GER-pulverize
 to thresh

Suffix -wua (SG), -şulig (PL) to *move object along* co-occurs with instrumental -čk.

mo'o-čk-wua
head-press-move
 to push along with the head

mo'o-č-šulig
head-press-move
 to push objects along with
 the head.

Suffix -i'ok to reverse action co-occurs with instrumental -šp.

ma-'i-šp-i'ok
object-GER-contact-PRIV
 to uncover

There is an inner sequence of stance verb plus GER plus INCEPT -wua to assume a stance.

dah-i-wua
sit-GER-INCEPT
 to sit down

k+k-i-wua
stand-GER-INCEPT
 to stand up

There is an inner sequence of noun plus -ta to make N, forming a transitive verb. -ta deletes V word finally and before gerund, and is replaced by a benefactive suffix.

kii-t
house-make
 to make a house

Outer derivational suffixes may follow a verb root or inner derivational suffixes. The outer suffixes occur in the order:

APPLIC GER { { MOT } DESID APPLIC }
 { { PROG } }
 { RSLTV }

Applicative suffix is causative after intransitive verb or after DESID, benefactive otherwise. Applicatives co-occur in the order CAUS X BEN.

Causative suffix is -čud after a root or replacing -ta, -jid otherwise. A restricted set of verb roots take -čulid.

him-čud
move-CAUS
 to cause to move

daam-čud
over-CAUS
 to cause to be over

ap-'i-čud
good-be-(INCHO)
 to fix CAUS

g+'i-d-a-jid
big-be-INCHO-CAUS
 to enlarge

maač-čulid
know-CAUS
 to cause to know

h+g-čulid
happy-CAUS
 to please or praise

Benefactive suffix is -čud when replacing -ta or after the causative suffix -čud, and -jɪlid, -jɪd, -id otherwise in the appropriate environments.

kii-čud house-(make) BEN to make a house for	ap-'i-čud-a-čud good-be-(INCHO)-GER-BEN CAUS to fix for
maak-jɪlid give-BEN to give to for	gɪ't-d-a-jɪd-jɪlid big-be-INCHO-CAUS-BEN to enlarge for
wakon-id wash-BEN to wash for	ma-'i-ʂp-id object-GER-contact-BEN to cover it for

The motion suffix -mɪd (SG), -op (PL) to go to do or get follows certain noun or verb stems and requires the gerundive suffix. The benefactive suffix may follow a transitive verb.

on-a-mɪd salt-GER-MOT to go get salt	čikpn-op work-MOT PL to go to work PL
ku'ag-a-mɪd wood-GER-MOT to go for wood	ku'ag-id-a-mɪd wood-BEN-GER-MOT to go for wood for

Progressive suffixes are -čug abstract, -him concrete, requiring a gerundive suffix following a transitive verb.

aag-a-čug say-GER-PROG to bear a message	aag-a-him say-GER-PROG to go along saying
ñtid-a-čug see-GER-PROG to keep a watch	ñtid-a-him see-GER-PROG to go along seeing
aag-id-a-him say-BEN-GER-PROG to go along telling	him-him move-PROG to wander along
maak-him give-PROG to distribute	ap-'t-ta-him good-be-INCHO-PROG becoming right

baga-ta-him
angry-INCHO-PROG
getting angry

hɪpi-i-him
cold-INCHO-PROG
getting cold

kil-t-a-him
house-make-GER-PROG
to progress with building

kuup-a-him
close-GER-PROG
to go along closing

kii-čud-a-him
house-(make)-GER-PROG
BEN
to progress with building a house for

Resultative suffixes are -s to be in a state and -kč to have in a state. GER is obligatory with -s following a transitive verb stem, and second rank argument is advanced to first rank.

him-s
move-RSLTV
to be in a state of going

aag-a-s
say-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spoken state

ap-'t-čud-a-s
good-be-(INCHO)-GER-RSLTV
CAUS
to be in a corrected state

naato-i-s
finish-GER-RSLTV
to be in a finished state

ma-'i-šp-i'ok-a-s
object-GER-contact-PRIV-GER-RSLTV
to be in an uncovered state

ab a-č maak-s g doakag
LOC MD-we give-RSLTV ART life
We are given life.

la-wu-i-s
drop-INCEPT-GER-RSLTV
to be in a spilled state

The suffix -kč deletes k after a consonant.

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have in a finished state

kuup-č
close-RSLTV
to have in a closed state

ab o t=maak-č g doakag
LOC MD us=give-RSLTV ART life
He gives us life.

There are two desiderative suffixes, -imk and -mk/kk. DESID -mk/kk indicates SG/PL, respectively, co-occurring with a limited set of nonproductive stems.

tono-mk
drink-DESID
water
 to want to drink water

ton-kk
drink-DESID
water PL
 to want to drink water PL

DESID -imk co-occurs with s= AFF and productive verb stems, with plural marked in the stem (see OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE).

s=him-imk
AFF=move-DESID
 to want to go

s=hi-hi-m-imk
AFF=X-RDP-X-DESID
└───┬───┘
move
 to want to go PL

s=ku'ag-imk
AFF=get-DESID
wood
 to want to get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-amk
AFF=you=get-BEN-DESID
wood
 to want to get wood for you

s=ku'ag-a-mɪl-imk
AFF=get-GER-MOT-DESID
wood
 to want to go get wood

s=m=ku'ag-id-a-mɪl-imk
AFF=you=get-BEN-GER-MOT-DESID
wood
 to want to go get wood for you

s=kli-t-amk
AFF=house-make-DESID
 to want to build a house

s=m=kli-čud-amk
AFF=you=house-(make)-DESID
BEN
 to want to build a house
 for you

s=m=on-mad-ɟɪlid-amk
AFF=you=salt-apply-BEN-DESID
 to want to salt it for you

s=m=ma-'i-ɬp-i'ok-id-amk
AFF=you=object-GER-contact-PRIV-BEN-DESID
 to want to uncover it for you

An applicative following a desiderative suffix must be causative, and is blocked by any previous applicative. An applicative suffix cannot follow a motion suffix.

s=him-im-čud
 AFF=move-DESID-CAUS
 to cause to want to go

s=ñ=ku'ag-a-m+l-im-čud
 AFF=me=get-GER-MOT-DESID-CAUS
 wood
 to cause me to want to go
 get wood

INCORPORATION

Nouns may be incorporated as instrument of action in compound verb, usually co-occurring with GER 'i. The following instrumental nouns no longer occur as independent nouns:

čik-	<i>pointed object</i>
čil-	<i>rough object</i>
ču'a-	<i>sharp object</i>
dag-i-	<i>hand</i>
how-i-	<i>inhalation</i>
kth-i-	<i>foot</i>
ki-'i-	<i>teeth</i>
ma-'i-	<i>thrown object</i>
ñu-'i-	<i>hand (or unspecified) away</i>
soñ-	<i>held object</i>
wa-, wa-'i-	<i>liquid</i>
wañ-	<i>hand toward</i>
wi-'i-	<i>non-solid</i>
wus-	<i>exhalation</i>

The following independent nouns occur as instrumental nouns, with geminate-V reduction:

čiñ	<i>mouth</i>
hon	<i>body</i>
kaam/kam-	<i>cheek</i>
mo'o	<i>head</i>
naak/nak-	<i>ear</i>
taatami/tam-	<i>tooth</i>
toon/ton-	<i>knee</i>

SYNTACTIC MARKING

Pronominal

Object		Reflexive		Unspecified	Imperative	
ñ=	t=	ñ=	t=			
m=	†m=					
∅	ha	i		ha	-ñ	∅

Benefactive focus raising results in co-occurrence of free and bound object copies:

na-p ha ñ=šo-o-šo-m-ŷi-l-id g ko-k-toñ
Q-you them me=X-RDP-RDP-X-BEN-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X
sew shirt

Are you sewing the shirts for me?

ab a-ñ ha †m=ma-m-k-a-ŷi-l-id g a-'a-l
LOC MD-I them you=X-RDP-X-DISTR-BEN-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X
give child

g ha'i-ču hug-i
ART some-thing eat-GER

I repeatedly give the children something to eat for you PL.

Nondistinct Argument Markers

ta	UNSPEC SUBJ
ču	UNSPEC OBJ
-ŷid	PASS
-s	STAT PASS

Sentence Type

Auxiliary is suffixed if following imperative verb:

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
Work!

čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
You PL work!

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
 IMP
 Keep working!

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
 IMP
 You PL keep working!

Number Agreement

Number agreement is ergative, marked by Ø, suppletion, or reduplication:

čikpan o g čtoŷ/čt-č-oŷ work MD ART man /X-RDP-X man The man/men are working.	mtq o g čtoŷ run MD ART man The man is running.
--	---

wo-o-po o g čt-č-oŷ
 run-RDP-RDP MD ART men
 PL
 The men are running.

mīl-i-čud o g maagina
 run-GER-APPLIC MD ART machine
 He's running a machine.

ho o wo-o-po-'i-čud them MD run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC PL	g ma-m-gina ART X-RDP-X machine He's running machines.
---	---

him o g čtoŷ
 go MD ART man
 The man is walking.

hī-hī-m o g čt-č-oŷ X-RDP-X MD ART men go The men are walking.

There is also distributive agreement with temporal or locational:

am a-t wo hī-h-hī-ma-d LOC MD-AGR FUT X-RDP-RDP-X-IMPRF go He'll be going there each morning.	si-sī-'alima-d X-RDP-X-IMPRF morning
--	--

ha'a-k-pa o čl-č-kpan
 that-NUM-place MD X-RDP-X
 work
 He's working in that many places.

NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

-č/-kč	RSLTV
-čud/-čulid	APPLIC
-j'id/-id, -j'tlid	APPLIC
-g'id	APPLIC
-hun	APPLIC
-s/-d	CAUS

ki-i-s-č
stand-GER-contact-RSLTV
to have object underfoot

ki-i-s-č
stand-APPLIC-RSLTV
to have object standing

da-i-s-č
sit-GER-contact-RSLTV
to have object under seat

mi-l-i-čud
run-GER-APPLIC
to cause to run

hi-m-i-čud
go-GER-APPLIC
to cause to walk

g'fwk-a-j'id
strong-INCHO-APPLIC
to strengthen

čikpañ-id
work-APPLIC
to work for

j'tiñ-gid
smoke-APPLIC
to lecture, discuss

ho'igi'id-a-hun
bless-GER-APPLIC
to pray

daa-s-č
sit-APPLIC-RSLTV
to have object sitting

naato-kč
finish-RSLTV
to have object finished

ba'ag-čud
eagle-APPLIC
to make one an eagle

maač-čulid
know-APPLIC
to cause to know

hi-g-čulid
happy-APPLIC
to cause to be happy

šoom-j'tlid
sew-BEN
to sew for

mo'o-gid
head-APPLIC
to shake the head

bid-hun
clay-APPLIC
to contaminate, plaster

kit-š
stand-CAUS
to cause to stand

daa-š
sit-CAUS
to cause to sit

woo-d
lie-CAUS
to cause to lie

Adverbial

-m̄d̄, -opo/-op go for, MOT
-nam meet
-nođ turn

čikpn-a-m̄d̄
work-GER-MOT
to go for work

čikpn-op
work-MOT
PL
to go for work PL

on-a-m̄d̄
salt-GER-MOT
to go for salt

m̄l-i-nam
run-GER-meet
to run meet

wo'-i-nam
run-GER-meet
PL
to run meet PL

m̄l-i-nođ
run-GER-turn
to run turn

wo'-i-nođ
run-GER-turn
PL
to run turn PL

Volitional

-hog be expected to
-id be able to
s=...-hog reject
s=...-da-g be proficient at
s=...-imk want to

bi-i-hog
get-GER-expected
to be expected to get

mak-i-og
give-GER-expected
to be expected to give

s=ntl-i-d-ka-m
 AFF=run-GER-able-STAT-PRTC
 a good runner

mtl-i-d-ta-him
 run-GER-able-INCHO-PROG
 becoming able to run

s=ka-i-hog
 AFF=hear-GER-reject
 to reject hearing

s=mtl-i-da-g
 AFF=run-GER-able-be
 be proficient at running

s=mtl-imk
 AFF=run-DESID
 want to run

s=tam-hog
 AFF=tooth-reject
 to reject (tasting)

Aspectual

-čug	CONT	carry on action
-him	PROG	going along Ving
-'i	PERF	
-ka'i (-ka-'i)		V and go
-to	COMPL	finish Ving
-wua	INCEPT	assume a stance

aag-a-čug
 say-GER-CONT
 keep saying

aag-a-him
 say-GER-PROG
 go along saying

ɣuk-i-to
 rain-GER-COMPL
 finish raining

bɪ-ka'i
 take-go
 take it and go

daḥ-i-wua
 sit-GER-INCEPT
 PERF
 sit down

da-ḍ-ha-i-wu-i-o
 sit-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
 IMP
 You PL sit down!

ka-i-čug
 hear-GER-CONT
 keep listening

ñt'-i-him
 sing-GER-PROG
 go along singing

ko'-i-to
 eat-GER-COMPL
 PERF
 finish eating something

da-ḍ-ha-i-wua
 X-RDP-X-GER-INCEPT
 sit PERF
 sit down PL

wo-o-p-i-wu-i-o
lie-RDP-RDP-GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL lie down!

OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

The verb is a constituent of the predicate in the order MDL NEG V AUX. The constituents of V are AFF STEM NUM DISTR STAT ASP TNS CNJ.

Pre-Stem Elements

AFF is s=:

s=maač	s=toñ	s= ial-ga
<i>AFF=know</i>	<i>AFF=hot</i>	<i>AFF=money-AL</i>
<i>know</i>	<i>be hot</i>	<i>have much money</i>

AFF is deleted if negated, but not if INTNS is negated.

pi o toñ	pi o si s=toñ
<i>NEG MD hot</i>	<i>NEG MD INTNS AFF=hot</i>
<i>It isn't hot.</i>	<i>It isn't really hot.</i>

Argument markers are preposed to the stem, displacing AFF.

s=ñ=maač o	s=ha o maač
<i>AFF=me=know MD</i>	<i>AFF=them MD know</i>
<i>He knows me.</i>	<i>He knows them/someone.</i>

s=i o maač
AFF=REFL MD know
He's skilled.

OBJ copies are preposed to the stem in the order direct-indirect benefactive, and only if not preceded by a bound or unspecified copy:

huana o ha wa-p-kon g ko-k-toñ
PN MD them water-RDP-INSTR ART *X-RDP-X*
shirt

Juana is washing shirts.

am a-t ha b*+*i g muuñ
 LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART beans
 He got some of the beans there.

am a-t ha u-i g č*+*-č-oj
 LOC MD-TNS them get-PERF ART men
 PL
 He got the men there.

am a-t hima ha b*+*i hīgam č*+*-č-oj
 LOC MD-TNS one them get-PERF those men
 He got one of those men there.

am a-t u-i g lial
 LOC MD-TNS get-PERF ART money
 PL
 He got the money there.

am a-t ha u-i g lial
 LOC MD-TNS some get-PERF ART money
 PL
 He got some of the money there.

am o ml-čud g maagina
 LOC MD run-APPLIC ART motor
 He's running the motor there.

am o ha wo-o-po-'i-čud g ma-m-gina
 LOC MD them run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC ART X-RDP-X
 PL motor
 He's running the motors there.

am o hima ha ml-čud hīgam ma-m-gina
 LOC MD one them run-APPLIC those motors
 He's running one of the motors there.

Distributive

DISTR in V stems marks repeated action or an increment or stage in a continuing action. DISTR is -s/-d replacing final C in INSTR, -d with certain stems effecting reduplication, -w with certain roots, -t otherwise:

ma-'i-kon /ma-'i-ko-s
 hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-INSTR-DISTR
 glancing a thrown object off of

ki-'i-ṣun /ki-'i-ṣu-ṣ
teeth-GER-INSTR teeth-GER-INSTR-DISTR
crushing with the teeth

čik-ṣan /čik-ṣa-d
sharp-INSTR sharp-INSTR-DISTR
making a line

naato /nat-to-d
finish finish-RDP-DISTR
finishing

to'a /to'a-w
place place-DISTR
placing objects,
pouring mass

dada /da-i-w
arrive arrive-GER-DISTR
arriving PL

DISTR -i effects reduplication of the first CV of the closest morpheme in monosyllabic and polymorphemic stems, of post-initial CV otherwise, and is deleted following polymorphemic stems and certain monomorphemic stems:

da'a/da-d-'-i
fly X-RDP-X-DISTR
fly
flying

biht/bt-b-h-t
get X-RDP-X-DISTR
get
getting

ḡah-l-wua /ḡah-i-wu-p
sit-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
sitting

da-ḡ-ha-i-wua /da-ḡ-ha-i-wu-p
X-RDP-X-GER-COMPL sit-GER-COMPL-RDP
sit
sitting PL

on-amtḡ /on-am-mt-ḡ
salt-MOT salt-X-RDP-X
MOT
going for salt

wuṣad /wuṣ-ṣa-d
deliver X-RDP-X
deliver
delivering

taatam/tat-ta-m
touch X-RDP-X
touch
feeling, touching

mɪl-iw /mɪl-opa
run-arrive run-arrive
 DISTR
arriving at a run

wo-'iw /wo-'i-opa
run-arrive run-arrive-DISTR
 PL PL
arriving at a run PL

ma-'i-ʃp /ma-'i-ʃ-ʃa-p
hand-GER-INSTR hand-GER-X-RDP-X
 INSTR
covering

ku'ag-op/ku'ag-op-p-o
get -go get -go-RDP-DISTR
wood for wood for
 PL PL
going for wood PL

DISTR -ʃ harmonizes with stem V except after G, dissimilating from ʃ and assimilating to other V or being replaced by a as permitted by co-occurrence restrictions and as required to distinguish identical stems:

hug/hu-hu-g-a
eat X-RDP-X-DISTR
 eat
eating

hug/hu-hu-g-ʃ
end X-RDP-X-DISTR
 end
ending

baha /ba-b-h-ʃ
ripen X-RDP-X-DISTR
 ripen (REPET)
ripening

ʃs /ʃ-'ʃ-ʃ-a
plant X-RDP-X-DISTR
 plant
planting

čʃtg/čʃ-č-g-a
find X-RDP-X-DISTR
 find
examining

iit /i-'i-t-a
scoop X-RDP-X-DISTR
 scoop
scooping

koos /ko-k-ʃ-o
sleep X-RDP-X-DISTR
 sleep
sleeping

maač/ma-m-č-ʃ
know X-RDP-X-DISTR
 know
investigating

ñʃʃn /ñʃ-n-n-a
waken X-RDP-X-DISTR
 waken
wakening

muuk/mu-m-k-u
die X-RDP-X-DISTR
 die
be sick

ko'o/ko-k-'-o
 sick/X-RDP-X-DISTR
 PL sick PL
 be sick PL

juuk/ju-ŷ-k-u
 rain/X-RDP-X-DISTR
 rain
 raining

Certain stems reduplicate initially and noninitially:

him/hi-h-hi-m
 go X-RDP-RDP-X
 go
 going

ñtid/ñt-ñ-ñt-ld
 see X-RDP-RDP-X
 see
 seeing

gitiŷ/gi-g-ŷ-ŷ-ti
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-DISTR
 fall
 falling

člipia/čli-č-p-pi-a-d
 move X-RDP-X-RDP-X-DISTR
 move
 moving camp

Certain polysyllabic stems reduplicate the first V in the DISTR. The V reduplicates as hV if initial CV is not reduplicated:

wamig/wa-ha-m-mi-g
 rise X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 rise
 rising

witma-ŷ/wi-hi-m-ma-ŷ
 with-be X-RDP-X-RDP-be
 with
 be with

šulig/šu-hu-l-l-g
 fall X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 fall
 falling PL

tonođ/to-ho-n-no-đ
 shine X-RDP-X-RDP-X
 shine
 shining

s=čitiđagi/s=čti-hi-dagi
 AFF=blue AFF=X-RDP-X
 blue
 be blue/green

s=ktiga-ŷ /s=kti-hi-ga-ŷ
 AFF=good-be AFF=X-RDP-X-be
 good
 be pretty

Derived stems mark distributive identically to their root, thus exhibiting reduplication of first CV and first V when derived from certain attributives and prepositions. V reduplicates as 'V if first CV is reduplicated:

čitwa-ŷ /čti-'ti-čti-wa-ŷ
 long-be X-RDP-RDP-X-be
 long
 be long

daam/da-'a-da-m
 over X-RDP-RDP-X
 over
 be over

Tense/Aspect

STAT marker is -k (see BE/HAVE/DO).

ASP is PERF following nondurative V stem, IMPRF following STAT, PERF/IMPRF otherwise. PERF is -'i, IMPRF is -d:

am g	bɪt-'i		am g	bɪtɪ-d
LOC IMP	get-PERF		LOC IMP	get-IMPRF
	IMP			IMP
	Get it!			Be getting it!

IMPRF is optionally deleted following STAT:

am g	gɪt'ɪ-j-ka-d	/am g	gɪt'ɪ-j-k
LOC IMP	big-be-STAT-IMPRF	LOC IMP	big-be-STAT
	IMP		
	Be big!		

Morphemes delete ' after C-:

ab g	i	ñ=maak-i		pi g	hab	ɪ	aag-i
LOC IMP	DEF	me=give-PERF		NEG IMP	thus	REFL	say-PERF
		IMP					IMP
		Give it to me!					Don't think it!

PERF deletes ' and replaces previous V in VV- -V:

da-d	ha-i-wua	/da-d	ha-i-wu-i-o
<u>X-RDP-X</u>	GER-INCEPT	sɪt	GER-INCEPT-PERF-PL
	sɪt		
	You PL sit down!		

PERF is deleted word finally following polysyllabic V stem, in VV- -C, and before CNJ:

am g	ɖah-i-wua		am a-t	aa'ad
LOC IMP	sɪt-GER-INCEPT		LOC MD-TNS	send
	IMP			He sent him there.
	Sit down there!			
ia a-t	ɣiwɪa		ɖah-i-wua-ñ	
LOC MD-TNS	arrive		sɪt-GER-INCEPT-you	
	PERF		Sit down!	
	He came here.			

Certain V delete IMPRF if not before PL or CNJ:

hi-hi-m-d-o
 X-RDP-X-IMPRF-PL
 walk
 You PL walk!

ñtok-him o am hima-d-č
 talk-PROG MD LOC walk-IMPRF-CNJ
 He's talking while walking there.

am o hima-d č ñtok-him
 LOC MD walk-IMPRF CNJ talk-PROG
 He's walking there and talking.

am o him g huan č ñtok-him
 LOC MD walk ART PN CNJ talk-PROG
 Juan is walking there and talking.

All other V delete IMPRF if not before PL:

čikpan-d-o
 work-IMPRF-PL
 IMP
 You PL work!

ñtok o am čikpan-č
 talk MD LOC work-CNJ
 He's talking while working
 there.

am o čikpan č ñtok
 LOC MD work CNJ talk
 He's working there and
 talking.

am o čikpn-ahim
 LOC MD work-PAST
 He was working there.

bt-b-h-t-him
 X-RDP-X-DISTR-PAST
 get IMPRF
 was repeatedly getting

Tense is signalled in the auxiliary (see PARTICLES AND CLITICS). Time previous to specified tense is marked by verb suffixes -ahim, -ok, co-occurring with IMPRF/PERF respectively.

am a-ñ čikpn-ahim
 LOC MD-I work-PAST
 IMPRF
 I have been working there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ahim
 LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
 IMPRF
 I had been working there.

am a-n-t čikpn-ok
 LOC MD-I-TNS work-PAST
 PERF
 I have worked there.

am a-ñ-d čikpn-ok
 LOC MD-I-REM work-PAST
 PERF
 I had worked there.

am a-n-t hii-X bñh-i-ok
 LOC MD-I-TNS go-PERF get-PERF-PAST
 PERF

I went there after I got it.

STAT and ASP are employed in the derivation of irrealis, co-occurring with s= AFF:

s=him-ma
 AFF=move-IRR
seem to move

s=hima-d-ma
 AFF=move-IMPRF-IRR
seem to be moving

s=gí'í-ŷ-ka-d-ma
 AFF=big-be-STAT-IMPRF-IRR
seem to be big

FUT, STAT, and ASP are employed in the derivation of participles:

wo=ha=hoon-ta-m
 FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC
groom

ǰa-t wo wo=ha=hoon-ta-m-k
 EQ-TNS FUT FUT=UNSPEC=wife-make-PRTC-STAT
He'll be the groom.

čikpan-da-m
 work-IMPRF-PRTC
worker

ǰa-t wo čikpan-da-m-ka-d
 EQ-TNS FUT work-IMPRF-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a worker.

doa-ka-m
 live-STAT-PRTC
animal

ǰa-t wo doa-ka-m-ka-d
 EQ-TNS FUT live-STAT-PRTC-STAT-IMPRF
He'll be a living thing.

Conjunctions

CNJ is -kč *and/CONN*, aha/o *or*, ni *nor*. The CNJ kč truncates in PERF-TNS___ except when employed in conflation of same-predicate clauses (see COORDINATION), or reduces to č in C____. PERF is deleted in ____CNJ:

čt̥g-i-to-kč
find-GER-COMPL-CNJ
as he's thinking

c̥t̥g-i-to-k-X
find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF
when he thought

da'a-d-č
fly-IMPRF-CNJ
as he's flying

da'a-k-X
fly-CNJ-PERF
when he flew

The CNJ is extraposed if conjoining a following clause, and incorporated initially in the clause. Thus AUX (MD-PERS-TNS-MDL) follows CNJ when postposed to clause-initial constituent:

an a-t da'a k-X o-ki d̥ u'uwhig
LOC MD-TNS fly CNJ-PERF MD-EV EQ bird
It flew by and was evidently a bird.

an o da'a-d č o-ki d̥ u'uwhig
LOC MD fly-IMPRF CNJ MD-EV EQ bird
It's flying by and is evidently a bird.

Other

In the imperative, an AUX following a verb is also a verb constituent.

čikpna-ñ
work-you
IMP
You work!

čikpn-o
work-PL
IMP
You PL work!

čikpan-da-ñ
work-IMPRF-you
IMP
You be working!

čikpan-d-o
work-IMPRF-PL
IMP
You PL be working!

PL is preposed to non-clause-initial or nonimperative V:

am g čikpan
LOC IMP work
IMP
Work there!

am g wo čikpan
LOC IMP PL work
IMP
You PL work there!

am g čikpna-d
LOC IMP work-IMPRF
IMP
Be working there!

am g wo čikpna-d
LOC IMP PL work-IMPRF
IMP
You PL be working there!

am a-p-t wo čikpna-d
 LOC MD-you-TNS FUT work-IMPRF
 You will work there.

Certain monosyllabic verbs supplete and/or partially supplete in the PERF. Certain of those occurring with pro-ADV supplete:

wua/ɟuñ	kaij/čt't
do do	say say
doing/do	saying/say

Imperative CVGV delete G in ___PERF#:

hab čt't	ba-g čt't-'i
thus say	thus-IMP say-PERF
saying	IMP
	Say it!
btht	am g btt-'i
get	LOC IMP get-PERF
getting	IMP
	Get it!
u'u	am g ha uu-'i
get	LOC IMP them get-PERF
PL	PL
getting PL	IMP
	Get them!
m't'a	am g m'ta-'i
kill	LOC IMP kill-PERF
	IMP
	Kill it!

Imperative CVC geminate V in ___PERF#:

hab ɟuñ	ba-g ɟuñ
thus do	thus-IMP do
do	IMP
	Do it!
him	am g hilm
walk	LOC IMP walk
walk	IMP
	Go there!

miḡ
run
run

si g miḡ
INTNS IMP run
IMP
Run hard!

naad
fire
make fire

am g naaḡ
LOC IMP fire
IMP
Make a fire!

Imperative CVGV delete V in ____PERF AUX/FUT if stem V are identical, delete PERF otherwise:

biḡ
get
get

biḡ-i-ñ
get-PERF-you
IMP
Get it!

biḡ-i-o
get-PERF-PL
IMP
You PL get it!

u'u
get
PL
get

u'-i-ñ
get-PERF-YOU
PL
IMP
Get them!

u'-i-o
get-PERF-PL
PL
IMP
You PL get them!

mi'a
kill
kill

mi'a-ñ
kill-you
IMP
Kill it!

mi'o-wo
kill-PL
IMP
You PL kill it!

bi'a
serve
serving

bi'a-ñ
serve-you
PERF
Serve it!

bi'a-wo
serve-PL
PERF
You PL serve it!

Nonimperative verbs supplete and/or truncate in ____PERF. Series verbs reduplicate first CV, geminate first V, and truncate final segment and PERF:

giw
beat
beating

kuum
gnaw
gnawing

gi-i-g-X
beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
beat

ku-u-k-X
gnaw-RDP-RDP-PERF
gnaw

In ____ (č/d/ñ/š) PERF#, nonimperative CVGV and CVVC delete second V and truncate final segment:

*(b+h+i- 'i	>	b+h- 'i	>	b+h-i)	>	bi-i	get it
*(u' u- 'i	>	u'- 'i	>	u'-i)	>	u-i	get them
*(maač- 'i	>	mač- 'i	>	mač-i)	>	ma-i	learn
*(naad- 'i	>	nad- 'i	>	naǰ-i)	>	na-i	make fire
*(taań- 'i	>	tań- 'i	>	tań-i)	>	ta-i	ask
*(koos- 'i	>	koš- 'i	>	koš-i)	>	ko-i	sleep
STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF		STEM-PERF	

IMP g may be deleted in DEF ____V:

i g bti- 'i /i bti- 'i
DEF IMP get-PERF DEF get-PERF
Bring it!

i hiim
DEF walk
IMP
Come!

i waak-i
DEF enter-PERF
IMP
Enter!

V stems of CVhV delete hV before CNJ:

bthi
get
get

b+ k-X
get CNJ-PERF
get and

a-k-X
arrive-CNJ-PERF
when he arrived

bi-k-X
get-CNJ-PERF
when he got

aha
arrive
arrive

a k-X
arrive CNJ-PERF
arrive and

COORDINATION

Coordination of Sentences

Coordination of sentences is marked by semantic coordinator and/or deletion of connective introducer and/or forwarding of contrasting phrase. Semantic coordinators are *ɪɖa yet*, *ɪpai also*, *oi wa yet*, *wabʂaba/ʂaba but*:

am a-t čikpn-a-m-X g huan čuk=son wui
 LOC MD-TNS work-GER-MOT-PERF ART PN PN to
 Juan went to Tucson to work.

k ɪɖa g huana čum ʂoobid
 INTR yet ART PN MDL prevent
 Yet Juana tried to prevent him.

t g husi am ɪpai čikpn-a-m-X
 TNS ART PN LOC also work-GER-MOT-PERF
 And José also went to work there.

t oi wa g husi pi am hu hab ʂuu-X
 TNS yet ART PN NEG LOC REM thus do-PERF
 Yet José didn't.

am a-t čum čikpn-a-m-X
 LOC MD-TNS MDL work-GER-MOT-PERF
 He went there hoping to work.

t ʂaba pi hɪɖa'i čikpan-č
 TNS but NEG anyone work-APPLIC
 But no one put him to work.

Coordination Within a Sentence

Coordination of grammatically equivalent constructions within the sentence is marked by conjunction. The constructions conjoined are any clause or phrase type. The CNJ is verb-final constituent, connective, or alternative. Connective CNJ *kč* marks connection of same subject clauses. When a same-subject relative deletes its subordinator, its connection to the main clause is indicated by CNJ.

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-kč g ñ=ču'ičig]
this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ ART me=fault
This I say, remembering my faults.

The CNJ is truncated in perfective verb when connecting clauses:

id a-ñ aag [s=čig-i-to-k-X g ñ=ču'ičig]
this MD-I say AFF=find-GER-COMPL-CNJ-PERF ART me=fault
This I say, having remembered my faults.

The CNJ is detached and moved to initial position in a following connected clause:

s=čig-i-to a-ñ [ma-t has † juu-X]
AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF

kč m=aag-ld
and you=say-APPLIC
I remember what happened, and tell you.

s=čig-i-to a-n-t [ma-t has † juu-X]
AFF=find-GER-COMPL MD-I-TNS SUBR-TNS what REFL do-PERF

k-X m=aag-ld
and-PERF you=say-APPLIC
I remembered what happened, and tell you.

[ma-t-p wo si m†đ] k-X wo ha g†g
SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run CNJ-PERF FUT them defeat
If he runs hard, he'll defeat them.

[ma-t-p wo si m††-X g huan] k-X wo
SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT INTNS run-PERF ART PN CNJ-PERF FUT

ha g†g
them defeat
If Juan runs hard, he'll defeat them.

Alternative CNJ conjoins following dubitative and/or negative clause. Alternative CNJ is aha initiating a question:

n-t wo m=g†gos-X aha na-p-t pl bi-hug-im-X
I-TNS FUT you=feed-PERF or Q-you-TNS NEG food-eat-DESID-PERF
I'll feed you, or didn't you get hungry?

na-p ha taččua g ko'okol aha na-p g muñ
Q-you some want ART chili or Q-you ART beans
Do you want some chili or some beans?

na-'a-s am čikpan aha n-o pi am hu ha'i-ču-g
 MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or Q-MD NEG LOC REM some-thing-be
 Maybe he's working there, or isn't he there?

When not initiating Q, alternative CNJ is o dubitative, ni otherwise, initiating same-subject clause:

na-'a-s am čikpan o a-s am wabš đaha
 MDL-MD-MDL LOC work or MD-MDL LOC just sit
 Maybe he's working there, or just staying there.

pi o am hu čikpan ni a-s am đaha
 NEG MD LOC REM work nor MD-MDL LOC sit
 He isn't working there nor is he staying there.

The CNJ is employed to conjoin any corresponding phrases with different referents when two or more parallel clauses are conflated. Conflation deletes constituents with redundant referent and conjoins nonidentical constituents:

am o đaha g huana
 LOC MD sit ART PN
 Juana is sitting there.

am o đa-đ-ha g huana
 LOC MD X-RDP-X ART PN
 sit

*am o đaha-kč g huan
 LOC MD sit-CNJ ART PN
 Juan is sitting there.

kč huan
 and PN
 There sit Juana and Juan.

am o či-č-pan aho kč hilla=wiił-t am
 LOC MD X-RDP-X PN and PN=STEM-ABS PREP
 work

They're working in Ajo and Gila Bend.

na-'a-s taččua g ko'okol o g muuñ
 MDL-MD-MDL want ART chili or ART beans
 Maybe he wants chili or beans.

pi o taččua g ko'okol ni g muuñ
 NEG MD want ART chili nor ART beans
 He wants neither chili nor beans.

n-o s=ap o pi ap ñtok
 Q-MD AFF=good or NEG good talk
 Is he talking well or poorly?

CNJ may be deleted in a series:

o'odham o ko'a g ko'okoi muñ huuñ haal
Indian MD eat ART chili beans corn squash
The people eat chili, beans, corn, squash.

Pronouns may be either conflated in highest rank person or conjoined (plural nouns may also be viewed as conflated identical different-referent N):

<p>ñtok a-ñ aañi'i <i>talk MD-I I</i> <i>I'm talking.</i></p>	}	<p>ñt-ñ-ok a-č aačim/ $\frac{X-RDP-X}{talk}$ MD-we we <i>We're talking.</i></p>
<p>ñtok(-kč) a-p aapi'i <i>talk-CNJ MD-you you</i> <i>You're talking.</i></p>	}	<p>ñt-ñ-ok a-č aañi'i kč aapi'i <i>talk MD-we I and you</i> <i>I and you are talking.</i></p>

The CNJ kč deletes k after C (see PHONOLOGY):

mida-d-č
run-IMPERF-CNJ
while running

am o da-d-ha g huan č huana
LOC MD sit ART PN and PN
There sit Juan and Juana.

If not employed in conjoining phrases, the CNJ kč is truncated in perfective verbs:

am o čikpan [am mid-k-X]
LOC MD work LOC run-CNJ-PERF
He's working there, having run there.

am a-t mid k-X am čikpan
LOC MD-TNS run CNJ-PERF LOC work
He ran there and is working there.

[ma-t-p hiđa'i wo i čikp-X hitmu] k-X wo
SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work-PERF now CNJ-PERF FUT

† namk-id
REFL meet-APPLIC
Whoever works now will be paid.

AUX is postposed to CNJ, but deleted if modal is ∅:

n-t am wo mtq̄ k-X a-n-t-š am wo čikp-X
 I-TNS LOC FUT run CNJ-PERF MD-I-TNS-QUOT LOC FUT work-PERF
 I'll run there and will reportedly work there.

[ma-t-p hiq̄a'i wo i čikpan] k-X a-t-š
 SUBR-TNS-MDL who FUT DEF work CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-QUOT

wo † namk-id
 FUT REFL meet-APPLIC
 Whoever works, it is said, will be paid.

s=ta a-n-t †bida-m ha'i-čũ wo gahi
 AFF=UNSPEC MD-I-TNS fearsome-ADVR some-thing FUT through
 SUBJ

wušaň k-X hiq̄ hiq̄a'j ñ=kuđut
 exit and-PERF that reason REFL=trouble
 I'm going to go through something dangerous and therefore
 am troubled.

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Position

Subordinate constructions are introduced by SUBR ma-, follow the body of the sentence in neutral order, and include comparative (treated previously), complement, relative, and adverbial. Sentence body and/or subordinate construction may be multiclausal or multisentential. We begin with complement constructions.

Subject complements:

s=ap-† o [m-o čikpan g huan]
 AFF=good-be MD SUBR-MD work ART PN
 It's good that Juan works.

n-o s=ap-† [m-o čikpan]
 Q-MD AFF=good-be SUBR-MD work
 Is it good that he works?

pl o ap-† [m-o čikpan]
 NEG MD good-be SUBR-MD work
 It's not good that he works.

s=ñ=hooho'id-a-čud o [m-o čikpan]
 AFF=me=like-GER-APPLIC MD SUBR-MD work
 It pleases me that he works.

Object Complements:

s=hooho'id a-ñ [m-o čikpan]
 AFF=like MD-I SUBR-MD work
 I like it that he's working.

na-p ñtid [m-o-ki s=ap čikpan]
 Q-you see SUBR-MD-MDL AFF=good work
 Do you notice that he works well?

pl a-t wo † nako-X [ma-t wo čikp-X]
 NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-TNS FUT work-PERF
 He can't (bear to) work.

ha a-ñ tačču-id g ñ=a-'a-l-ga [ma-t
 them MD-I want-APPLIC ART me=X-RDP-X-AL SUBR-TNS

s=ap wo čikp-X]
 AFF=good FUT work-PERF
 I want my children to work well.

Finite CMPL is obligatorily extraposed:

s=ap-'† o ha with†††† g a-'a-l [ma-t wo
 AFF=good-be MD them for ART children SUBR-TNS FUT
 čikp-X]
 work-PERF
 It's good for children that they work.

ñtid a-ñ am hima-d-č ñ=kiil wui [m-o am čikpan]
 see MD-I LOC go-IMPRF-CNJ my=house to SUBR-MD LOC work
 I saw as I was going to my house that they were working
 there.

Modification

Syntactic marking is deleted in reduction of finite CMPL
 to nonfinite:

s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha wiithj}tđ [ma-t wo
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for SUBR-TNS FUT

† wo-o-po-'l-č-X]
 REFL run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-PERF
 PL

It's good for children that they race.

s=ap-'i o g wo-o-po-'l-čud-a g a-'a-l
 AFF=good-be MD ART run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER ART children
 PL

ha wiithj}tđ
 them for
 Racing is good for children.

Nonfinite CMPL may be displaced by constituent forwarded
 for focus:

s=ap-'i o g a-'a-l ha wiithj}tđ g
 AFF=good-be MD ART children them for ART

wo-o-po-'l-čud-a
 run-RDP-RDP-GER-APPLIC-GER
 PL
 Racing is good for children.

Emphatic phrase in CMPL is copied in mentation matrix,
 second or both reducing to pronoun:

huan a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t h}g wo č}ikp-X]
 PN MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
 (he)

Juan is the one I think will work.

h}g a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t h}g wo č}ikp-X]
 that MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
 He's the one I think will work.

am a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t am wo č}ikp-X]
 there MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF
 There's where I think he'll work.

t}đa a-ñ hab t}l}d [ma-t t}đa wo č}ikp-X]
 then MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF
 Then is when I think he will work.

ha'a-s a-ñ hab †lid [ma-t ha'a-s wo čikp-X]
that-QNT MD-I thus think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT work-PERF
That long is how long I think he'll work.

Emphatic phrase copy may be questioned:

h†i-s a-p hab i †lid [ma-t ha'a-s wo
what-QNT MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT FUT

čikp-X]

work-PERF

How long a period do you think he'll work?

h†kid a-p hab †lid [ma-t †da wo čikp-X]
when MD-you thus think SUBR-TNS then FUT work-PERF
When do you think he'll work?

baa-p hab i †lid [ma-t am wo čikp-X]
where-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS LOC FUT work-PERF
Where do you think he'll work?

đoo-p hab †lid [ma-t h†g wo čikp-X]
who-you thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
Who do you think will work?

h†i-s-ko a-p hab i †lid [ma-t ha'a-s-ko
what-QNT-far MD-you thus DEF think SUBR-TNS that-QNT-far

wo hii-X]

FUT go-PERF

How far do you think he'll go?

Emphatic phrase copy cannot be questioned in YNQ matrix:

na-p h†g hab †lid [ma-t h†g wo čikp-X]
Q-you that thus think SUBR-TNS that FUT work-PERF
Is that the one you think will work?

Marking

Quote complement employs epistemology MDL § if the subject of its matrix is non-first person, other MDL otherwise:

ba-ñ kai] [m-o ñ=aag-id g husi [ma-n-t-§
thus-I say SUBR-MD me=say-APPLIC ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT

wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]

FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work

I said that José told me to tell you that I'm working here.

First person quote matrix is deleted unless emphatic. Unemployed subordinator is deleted:

...ñ=aag-id o g husi [ma-n-t-ş wo
me=say-APPLIC MD ART PN SUBR-I-TNS-QUOT FUT
 m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia čikpan]]
you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
José told me to tell you I'm working here.

Any quote matrix not employing ş QUOT may be deleted:

...n-t-ş wo m=aag-i-X [ma-ñ ia cikpan]
I-TNS-QUOT FUT you=say-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-I LOC work
I reportedly am to tell you I'm working here.

The introducer of a direct quote complement may be deleted:

ba-č kaij [...t-t wo čikp-X]
thus-we say we-TNS FUT work-PERF
We said, "We'll work."

A quote matrix may be copied after its complement. Only the first sentence of a complement is subordinate:

k hab kaij g ha gi't-ji-g
INTR thus say ART them big-be-NR
And their leader said,
 [[ma-t-t has hig wo juu k-X wo mta-X]
SUBR-we-TNS what how FUT do CNJ-PERF FUT kill-PERF
about
"What can we do to kill him?"
 ku-t hab pi ip wo † čig-i-to]
INTR-TNS thus NEG again FUT REFL find-GER-COMPL
Thus he will not revive again."
 b-o kaij g ha gi't-ji-g
thus-MD say ART them big-be-NR
Thus said their leader.

The subject may be raised from a mentation complement but not from a quote:

kaa a-ñ [m-o ab him g huan]/kaa a-ñ g huan
hear MD-I SUBR-MD LOC walk ART PN hear MD-I ART PN

[m-o ab him]
 SUBR-MD LOC walk
 I hear Juan coming.

kaa a-ñ [m-o hab kai] g husi [ma-ş ab him
 hear MD-I SUBR-MD thus say ART PN SUBR-MDL LOC walk

g huan]]/kaa a-ñ g husi [m-o hab kai] [ma-ş
 ART PN hear MD-I ART PN SUBR-MD thus say SUBR-MDL

ab him g huan]]
 LOC walk ART PN
 I heard José say that Juan is coming.

kaa a-ñ [ma-ş ab him g huan]
 hear MD-I SUBR-MDL LOC walk ART PN
 I hear that Juan is coming.

ha a-ş kaa g huan g i a-'a-]-ga
 them MD-MDL hear ART PN ART REFL children-AL

[m-o ab him]
 SUBR-MD LOC walk
 Juan reportedly heard his children coming.

The complement of volitional propositions is infinitive:

na-p-t i nako-X [ma-p-t hab wo]uu-X]
 Q-you-TNS REFL able-PERF SUBR-you-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 Were you able to do it?

na-p hiwg-id-a-s [ma-p-t wo žikp-X]
 Q-you trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-you-TNS FUT work-PERF
 Are you allowed to work?

ab o ñ=čthañ [ma-n-t hab wo]uu-X]
 LOC MD me=order SUBR-I-TNS thus FUT do-PERF
 He ordered me to do it.

The negative volitional complement optionally employs modal s
 IRR:

pi a-n-t ñ=nako-X [ma-ñ-s hab wo
 NEG MD-I-TNS REFL=able-PERF SUBR-I-IRR thus FUT

ñ=]uu-X]
 REFL=do-PERF
 I wasn't able to do it.

pi a-ñ hiwg-id-a-s [ma-ñ-s wo žikp-X]
 NEG MD-I trust-APPLIC-GER-RSLTV SUBR-I-IRR FUT work-PERF
 I'm not allowed to work.

pi o ab hu ñ=čthañ [ma-ñ-s has wo ñ=yu-X]
 NEG MD LOC REM me=order SUBR-I-IRR what FUT REFL=do-PERF
 He's not ordering me to do anything.

Thought complement also employs s IRR:

ba-ñ ñ=aag [ma-s žikpan]
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-IRR work
 I thought, mistakenly, that he was working.

ba-ñ ñ=aag [m-o(-kl) žikpan]
 thus-I REFL=say SUBR-MD-MDL work
 I thought, appropriately, that he was working.

The complement of a knowledge verb employs modal s, indicating the speaker's uncertainty about the proposition:

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
 I don't know whether he knows (and I don't know) whether
 you're working.

pi a-ñ maač [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I don't know whether he knows (as I know) that you're
 working.

pi a-ñ maač [m-o s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 NEG MD-I know SUBR-MD AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I didn't know (but now know) he knew that you were
 working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s s=maač [ma-p-s žikpan]]
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you-DUB work
 I asked him whether he knew whether you were working.

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s s=maač [ma-p žikpan]]
 LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB AFF=know SUBR-you work
 I asked him whether he knew that you are working.

[na-p s=maač [ma-s žikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kal]
 Q-you AFF=know SUBR-DUB work ART PN thus-I say
 "Do you know whether Juan is working?" I said.

[na-p s=maač [m-o čikpan g huan]] ba-ñ kai
Q-you AFF=know SUBR-MD work ART PN thus-I say
 "Do you know that Juan is working?" I said.

Complements employing MDL s also entertain alternatives:

ab a-ñ ka-k-k-† [ma-s čikpan o a-s am wabš daha]
LOC MD-I ask SUBR-DUB work or MD-DUB LOC just sit
 I asked whether he was working or just staying there.

pi a-t wo † nako-X [ma-s wo čikp-X o
NEG MD-TNS FUT REFL able-PERF SUBR-IRR FUT work-PERF or

a-s has wo † juu-X]
MD-IRR anything FUT REFL do-PERF
 He won't be able to work or do anything.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

General

Relative clauses co-occur with generic pronoun or demonstrative. The neutral position of relative is following head word. Nonrestrictive relative is considered deviant. Subject, object, and oblique object relatives are treated alike and may occur in any noun phrase of the sentence. Redundant phrases are deleted, but pronoun copy retained:

Subject Relatives:

g†-†-g†-†-†] o h†gam a-'a-† [m-o am čičwi]
 $\underbrace{X-RDP-RDP-X}_{big}$ -be MD those $\underbrace{X-RDP-X}_{child}$ SUBR-MD LOC play
 Those children that are playing there are big.

ha a-ñ taččua h†gam a-'a-† [m-o am čičwi]
 them MD-I need those children SUBR-MD LOC play
 I need those children that are playing there.

ha a-n-t maa-X g luulsi h†gam a-'a-† [m-o
 them MD-I-TNS give-PERF ART candy those children SUBR-MD

am čičwi]
 LOC play
 I gave candy to those children that are playing there.

am a-n-t ha wui hii-X hɨgam a-'a-] [m-o am
 LOC MD-I-TNS them to go-PERF those children SUBR-MD LOC

ʒičwi]

play

I went to those children that are playing there.

Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-ñ ha ñi-id]
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I them look-APPLIC
 Those children I see are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Indirect Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-n-t ab ha
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I-TNS LOC them

maa-X g luulsi]

give-PERF ART candy

Those children I gave the candy to are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Oblique Object Relatives:

gi-'i-gi-da-] o hɨgam a-'a-] [ma-ñ ha wihi]tɨd
 big-be MD those children SUBR-I them for

hidoq]

cook

Those children I'm cooking for are big.

(The same relative clause can occur in any of the matrix sentences given above for subject relatives.)

Position

The REL is final constituent of the N phrase:

Noun phrases with REL are subject to focus reordering:

n-t wo maa-X hġa'i [m-o am kġk] iida'a
I-TNS FUT give-PERF that SUBR-MD LOC stand this

[ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF
I'll give the one standing there this that you gave me.

n-t wo maa-X iida'a [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
I-TNS FUT give-PERF this SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

hġa'i [m-o am kġk]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
I'll give this that you gave me to the one standing there.

The first among phrases with relative may be topicalized:

Id a-n-t wo maa-X [ma-p-t ñ=maa-X]
this MD-I-TNS FUT give-PERF SUBR-you-TNS me=give-PERF

hġa'i [m-o am kġk]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
This that you gave me I'll give to the one standing there.

Untopicalized N phrase with REL is postposed to N phrase without REL:

ha o ñġ-id g a-'a-l hġa'i [m-o am kġk]
them MD look-APPLIC ART children that SUBR-MD LOC stand
The one standing there sees the children.

Only one REL may occur in a phrase:

mġa-X a-n-t g ʒol-ga-ġ g al-i-ga-ġ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

hġa'i ʒtoġ [m-o am kġk]
that man SUBR-MD LOC stand
I killed the pet of that man standing there.

mġa-X a-n-t g ʒol-ga-ġ hġa'i al-i-ga-ġ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS ART CLSF-AL-GEN that child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am ʒiġwi]
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC play
I killed the pet of that child of Juan playing there.

m̥a-X a-n-t h̥ga'i ʒoi-ga-ŷ g al-i-ga-ŷ
kill-PERF MD-I-TNS that CLSF-AL-GEN ART child-SG-AL-GEN

g huan [m-o am kaač]
ART PN SUBR-MD LOC lie
I killed that pet of the child of Juan lying there dead.

A REL may occur in each conjoined phrase:

ḍ-o ñ-wi-p-nag iida'a [m-o ia ḍaha] kč
EQ-MD me=X-RDP-X this SUBR-MD LOC sit and
sibling

h̥ga'i [m-o ab k̥ik]
that SUBR-MD LOC stand
This one sitting here facing us and that one standing
there facing us are my siblings.

A nongeneric REL may be deleted if redundant, or replaced by gesture:

g̥i-i-ŷ o h̥ga'i al-i (redundancy/gesture)
big-be MD that child-SG
That child is big.

Form

The REL of a generic sentence employs an attributive and/or FUT, and co-occurs with a nondemonstrative 3P pronoun. A generic sentence is potential, employing wo FUT:

t wo ha g̥i-i-g-X h̥ga'i al-i [ma-t
TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that child-SG SUBR-TNS

wo g̥i-i-ŷ-k]
FUT big-be-STAT
The child that's big will win.

t wo i g̥i-i-d-a h̥ga'i [ma-t s=ap wo
TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO that SUBR-TNS AFF=good FUT

i g̥igos-ida-d]
REFL eat-APPLIC-IMPRF
He who eats well will get big.

A generic REL may be reduced to a nonfinite participial with suffix -m. SUBR, AUX, and TNS are deleted, and nondemonstrative PRON reduced to g ART:

t wo i gi'-t-d-a g s=ap † g'gos-id-da-m
 TNS FUT DEF big-be-INCHO ART AFF=good REFL eat-APPLIC-

(a1-i)

IMPRF-PRIC child-SG

A good eater (child) will get big.

A relative may contain a question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X h'ga'i [m-o h'ida'i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF that SUBR-MD who

i si mtq]

DEF INTNS run

That one who is really running will win.

A REL may be included in forwarded topic, since the first con-
 tour or first stressed word is forwarded:

h'gam [m-o h'ida-m i si wo-o-po] a-t wo
 those SUBR-MD who-PL DEF INTNS run-RDP-RDP MD-TNS FUT
 PL

iib-k

breathe-DESID

Those who are really running will get winded.

h'gam a-t wo iib-k-X [m-o h'ida-m i
 those MD-TNS FUT breathe-DESID-PERF SUBR-MD who-PL DEF

si wo-o-po]

INTNS run-RDP-RDP
 PL

Those who are really running will get winded.

An unforwarded DEM may be deleted preceding a question-word REL:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [m-o h'ida'i si mtq]
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-MD who INTNS run
 He who is really running will win.

Ever relatives employ modal -p with question word:

t wo ha gi'-t-g-X [ma-t-p h'ida'i i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL who DEF

si mtq]

INTNS run

Whoever it is that's running hard will win.

A headless REL not forwarded with DEM may be preposed to the main clause:

[m-o hasču'u am i kaač] n-t (hīg) wo bī-i
 SUBR-MD what LOC DEF lie I-TNS that FUT get-PERF
 That which is lying there is what I'll get.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX and FUT:

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīḡa'i wo
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT
 i si mī-t-X]
 DEF INTNS run-PERF
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīḡa'i i si
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS
 mīḡ-k-X]
 run CNJ-PERF
 [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i si mīḡ] k-X wo ha
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-CNJ-PERF FUT them
 gī-t-g-X
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
 He who runs fast will win.

{ t wo ha gī-t-g-X [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF
 si mīḡa-d]
 INTNS run-IMPRF
 t wo ha gī-t-g-X [hīḡa'i i si
 TNS FUT them beat-RDP-RDP-PERF who DEF INTNS
 mīḡa-d-č]
 run-IMPRF-CNJ
 [ma-t hīḡa'i wo i si mīḡa-d] č wo ha
 SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF INTNS run-IMPRF CNJ FUT them
 gī-t-g-X
 beat-RDP-RDP-PERF
 He who keeps running fast will win.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Adverbial relatives co-occur with and follow demonstrative:

t wo čikp-X g huan ama'i [ma-t g husi am
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN there SUBR-TNS ART PN LOC

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work there where José will work.

Redundant time demonstrative is usually deleted:

t wo čikp-X g huan (tɔa) [ma-t g husi tɔa
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN then SUBR-TNS ART PN then

wo čikp-X]

FUT work-PERF

Juan will work then when José will work.

In a resumptive construction, the forwarded DEM is usually truncated:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t g husi
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS ART PN

am wo čikp-X]

LOC FUT work-PERF

There is where Juan will work, where José will work.

Adverbial relatives may employ question words:

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m hɪba'i
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNPSEC where

i kli-t]

DEF house-VR

There where they are building a house is where Juan will work.

t wo i čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t hɪkid
TNS FUT DEF work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS when

wo i kli-t]

FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will begin to work when they begin the house.

Ever clauses employ modal -p with question word:

t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-m-t-p htkid
TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL when

wo i kii-t]
FUT DEF house-VR

Juan will work whenever they are going to build.

am a-t čikpn-am-X g huan [ma-m-t-p
there MD-TNS work-MOT-PERF ART PN SUBR-UNSPEC-TNS-MDL

hřba'i i aa'ad]
where DEF send

There's where Juan will go to work, wherever they sent him.

A same-subject or noncontrastive-subject REL may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, with connection marked by CNJ. Reduction is effected by deletion of SUBR-AUX:

{ ba-t i řuu-X (řđa) [ma-t gm hu wo hii-X]
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF then SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT go-PERF
ba-t i řuu-X [gm hu wo him-k-X]
thus-TNS REFL do-PERF LOC REM FUT go-CNJ-PERF
[ma-t (řđa)gm hu wo him] k-X hab ř
SUBR-TNS then LOC REM FUT go CNJ-PERF thus REFL
řuu-X
do-PERF
He did it as he was about to leave. }

FUT is also deleted in reduced generic relative:

{ t wo naato [ma-t hřđa'i wo i čikp-X
TNS FUT finish SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF
wiř tař-kař]
all time-INSTR
t wo naato [hřđa'i i čikpan-k-X wiř tař-kař]
TNS FUT finish who DEF work-CNJ-PERF all time-INSTR
[ma-t hřđa'i wo i čikp-X wiř tař-kař]
SUBR-TNS who FUT DEF work-PERF all time-INSTR
k-X wo naato
CNJ-PERF FUT finish
The one who works all the time/every day will finish. }

am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [ma-t
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS

 h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d]
where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF

 am a-t wo čikp-X g huan [h̄ba'i
there MD-TNS FUT work-PERF ART PN where

 kii-ka-d-č]
dwell-STAT-IMPRF-CNJ

 [ma-t h̄ba'i wo i kii-ka-d g
SUBR-TNS where FUT DEF dwell-STAT-IMPRF ART

 huan] č am wo čikp-X]
PN CNJ LOC FUT work-PERF
There where he'll be living is where Juan will work.

A REL with unspecified subject may be reduced or preposed to the main clause, but is not connected with CNJ:

n-t wo i čikp-X [ma-t ga hu wo
I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT

 i yuu-X]
DEF sit-PERF

 n-t wo i čikp-X [ga hu i yuuk]
I-TNS FUT DEF work-PERF LOC REM DEF sit

 [ma-t ga hu wo i yuu-X] n-t
SUBR-TNS LOC REM FUT DEF sit-PERF I-TNS

 wo i čikp-X
FUT DEF work-PERF
I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.

A reduced REL with unspecified subject may be forwarded within the clause:

n-t [ga hu i yuuk] wo i čikp-X
I-TNS LOC REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF

 [ga a-n-t hu i yuuk] wo i čikp-X
LOC MD-I-TNS REM DEF sit FUT DEF work-PERF
I'll start to work when (the sun) gets up to there.

If Clauses

If clauses employ modal -p and/or ʒa:

t wo bi-hug-im-X g al-i [ma-t-p
 TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF ART child-SG SUBR-TNS-MDL

pi ha'i-č̣u wo huu-X]
 NEG some-thing FUT eat-PERF
 The child will get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

t wo bi-hug-im-X [ma-t(-p) wo ʒa pi
 TNS FUT food-eat-DESID-PERF SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT if NEG

ha'i-č̣u huu-X]
 some-thing eat-PERF
 He'll get hungry if he doesn't eat anything.

n-t pi wo ñĩ-i-X [ma-t hĩms wo ʒa
 I-TNS NEG FUT look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if

hii-X]
 go-PERF
 I wouldn't see him if he were to go.

pi a-t wo ñ=ñĩ-i-X [ma-t hĩms wo
 NEG MD-TNS FUT me=look-APPLIC-PERF SUBR-TNS IRR FUT

ʒa hii-X]
 if go-PERF
 He wouldn't see me if he were to go.

Forwarded if clauses optionally delete SUBR:

[(ma-)t-p wo ʒuu-X] n-t pi wo hii-X
 SUBR-TNS-MDL FUT rain-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT go-PERF
 If it rains, I won't go.

[(ma-)t hĩms wo ʒa hii-X] n-t pi wo
 SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go-PERF I-TNS NEG FUT

ñĩ-i-X
 look-APPLIC-PERF
 If he were to go, I wouldn't see him.

[(ma-)t hims wo sa him] k-X a-t-ki pi wo
 SUBR-TNS IRR FUT if go CNJ-PERF MD-TNS-MDL NEG FUT

ñ=ñt-i-X

me=look-APPLIC-PERF

If he were to go, he evidently wouldn't see me.

Other

Purpose clauses are unmarked, FUT, and cannot be preposed to the main clause:

am a-t hii-X g huan [ma-t wo ñt-i-X g
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN SUBR-TNS FUT see-PERF ART

husi]

PN

Juan went to see José.

Reason clauses are the CMPL of DEM plus hika] for this/
 that reason:

am a-t hii-X g huan htg hika] [ma-t
 LOC MD-TNS go-PERF ART PN that reason SUBR-TNS

ñt-i-X g husi]

see-PERF ART PN

Juan went because he saw José.

pi o žikpan g huan htg hika] [m-o juuk]
 NEG MD work ART PN that reason SUBR-MD rain

Juan is not working because it's raining.

pi o ha'i-ču t-t-s-a g huan htg hika]
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN that reason

[m-o pi juuk]

SUBR-MD NEG rain

Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

Reversed polarity tag question may substitute for a reason construction:

pi o žikpan g huan [n-o pi juuk]
 NEG MD work ART PN Q-MD NEG rain

Juan isn't working because it's raining (for
 isn't it raining?).

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o pi pi]uuk]
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD NEG NEG rain
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

A double negative may reduce to positive gi:

pi o ha'i-ču t-'t-s-a g huan [n-o gi]uuk]
 NEG MD some-thing plant ART PN Q-MD POS rain
 Juan isn't planting anything because it isn't raining.

5. It is said the coyote said, "Yes, I'm going to eat you."
 ʃ hab kal] g ban h+u'u n-t wo m=huu-X
 QUOT thus say ART coyote yes I-TNS FUT you=eat-PERF

6. It is said the jack rabbit said, "Don't eat me,
 ʃ hab kal] g čuuwi pl g am ñ=huug-l
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit NEG ART LOC me=eat-PERF
 IMP

because you will surely die.

na-p-t pi htmho wo wa muu-X
 Q-you-TNS NEG X FUT X die-PERF
 surely

7. You presumably think I'm a jack rabbit.
 ba-p-t-p ñ=tlid ma-ñ d čuuwi
 thus-you-TNS-MDL me=think SUBR-I EQ rabbit

8. Yet I am really a rattlesnake.
 ñ ɬda d gɬ ko'owi
 I yet EQ POS rattlesnake

9. And my poison will kill you."
 t g ñ=ko'ok-dag wo m=mia-X
 TNS ART me=hurt-ABSTR FUT you=kill-PERF

10. "What will I eat then?" it is said the coyote said.
 n-t has-ču higi wo huu-X ba-ʃ kal] g
 I-TNS what-thing then FUT eat-PERF thus-QUOT say ART

ban
 coyote

11. It is said the rabbit said, "This fruit is what you will eat,
 ʃ hab kal] g čuuwi ld a-p-t wo huu-X
 QUOT thus say ART rabbit this MD-you-TNS FUT eat-PERF

ha'l-ču bahl-dag
 some-thing ripe-ABSTR

that I have gathered and am carrying.
 ma-n-t u-'u k-X llt-a-čug
 SUBR-I-TNS take-RDP and-PERF gather-GER-carry
 PL

12. I was going to take them to my house
 n-t wo čum u-'u-k am ñ=kil wui
 I-TNS FUT MDL take-RDP-go LOC me=house to
 PL GEN

and thus am carrying them stowed in this basket.

hab ia to'a-him id t̄da haṣṣa
thus LOC store-PROG this in basket

13. Then you chased me."

p-t t̄da ñ=hu-hu-'i-X
you-TNS then me=chase-PERF

14. It is said coyote said, "The truth is

ṣ hab kaij g ban wthoo o wa
QUOT thus say ART coyote true MD REF

that rabbits eat vegetation.

m-o g čuuwi ko'a g ha'i-ču bahi-dag
SUBR-MD ART rabbit eat ART some-thing ripe-ABSTR

15. But a rattlesnake doesn't eat it.

k wabṣaba g ko'owi pi ko'a
INTR but ART rattlesnake NEG eat

16. So you evidently are really a jack rabbit

ku-p-ki wa wthoo ḡ čuuwi
INTR-you-EV REF true EQ rabbit

despite what you say.

čum a-p-s has wo kaij-čl-d
MDL MD-you-MDL what FUT say-RSLTV-IMPRF

17. You will not at all be able

pi a-p-t wo ṣa'i t̄ nako-X
NEG MD-you-TNS FUT DEG REFL able-PERF

to trick me.

ma-p-t wo ñ=ban-mad
SUBR-you-TNS FUT me=coyote-apply

18. It's good you're a rabbit,

s=ap-'t̄ o ma-p ḡ čuuwi
AFF=good-be MD SUBR-you EQ rabbit

because rabbit is edible.

n-o pi s=ta hug-ma g čuuwi
Q-MD NEG AFF=UNSPEC eat-able ART rabbit
SUBJ

19. I don't like to eat rattlesnake."

pi a-ñ naak g koo-k-'owl
NEG MD-I like ART X-RDP-X
rattlesnake

20. *He then indeed ate the jack rabbit*
 t oi wa wihoo am i huu-X hīga'i čuuwi
TNS then true LOC DEF eat-PERF that rabbit

that tried to deceive him.
 ma-t čum iattog-i-X
SUBR-TNS MDL lie-APPLIC-PERF

21. *He also ate the fruit*
 t hīg t̄p huu-X ha'i-ču bahi-dag
TNS that also eat-PERF some-thing ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit was carrying,
 m-o iit-a-čug g čuuwi
SUBR-MD gather-GER-carry ART rabbit

and afterward sat down under a mesquite tree somewhere
 k-X amjīd̄ am hu hība'i i d̄ah-i-wua
and-PERF after LOC REM somewhere DEF sit-GER-COMPL

kui wičo
tree under

and suddenly died,
 k-X haha wabš̄ muu-X
and-PERF then just die-PERF

because the fruit was just poison
 n-o-ki pī d̄ wabš̄ hīalwu-i hīga'i ha'i-ču
Q-MD-EV NEG EQ just poison-GER that some-thing

bahi-dag
ripe-ABSTR

that the jack rabbit got.
 ma-t-ki u-i g čuuwi
SUBR-TNS-EV take-PERF ART rabbit
 PL

(For additional texts, see Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians.)