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The Tarascan Language

By

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INTRODUCTION

Tarascan is an American Indian language with no proven relationships spoken by nearly 50,000 people, perhaps a quarter of them monolingual, in the state of Michoacán, Mexico. It is designated as p'oyépeča, rather than Tarascan, by its speakers. The origin of the name Tarascan is unknown. The etymology of p'oyépeča seems to be 'person who is within', from the stem p'oyé- 'be, or touch, within'. Tarascan has become such a common designation for the language that nothing would seem to be gained by its replacement here.

The area of Tarascan speech at the present time is the area around Lake Patzcuaro and the mountain region to west, south, and to a lesser extent north and northwest. At the time of the Spanish conquest it included the whole of what is now the state of Michoacán and a large part of the present states of Guanajuato, Querétaro, Guerrero, Colima, Jalisco, Nayarit and Sinaloa.

The present study concerns the dialect spoken by lake-dwelling Tarascans, specifically those living in villages westward around the lakeshore from the larger village of Tzintzuntzan, once the important capital of the Tarascan empire, second only to that of the Aztecs in power and prestige at the time of the conquest. Tzintzuntzan itself is now

largely Spanish speaking, with perhaps ten percent Indian (Tarascan speaking) population. The rest of the inhabitants consider themselves mestizo, though well aware of their Indian antecedents and cultural inheritance.

Dialectical differences within Tarascan are not great, especially in the lake area, although residents of each village are said to be recognizable by their 'tiple', or peculiarities of pronunciation and word usage. Informants for this study were primarily natives of the villages of Ichupio and Tarerio, the first and second communities westward from Tzintzuntzan along the curving lakeshore.

According to the 1960 census, Ichupio then had a population of 192, Tarerio 273, and Tzintzuntzan 1,840. The ten percent Tarascan-speaking population in Tzintzuntzan is largely maintained by migration to the larger center from the smaller villages. The inhabitants of Ichupio and Tarerio are entirely Tarascan speakers, largely bilingual, with greater or lesser command of Spanish but always more at home in their own language. At the present time small children in Ichupio are always addressed in Spanish, a deliberate pedagogical technique on the part of the parents to facilitate their integration into the Spanish-speaking world around them. Although understanding Tarascan they continue to respond in Spanish until about age eleven or twelve, Tarascan then becoming the normal language of their maturity and participation in their own culture.

Only one phonemic contrast, found in some other dialects, seems to be lacking in the dialect studied here; the phoneme /ŋ/, a velar nasal, has fallen together with /n/. Certain vowel contrasts, particularly between /o/ and /u/ and between /e/ and /i/, which seem to be disappearing in some other dialects, are carefully preserved here.

Data for this study were collected during a series of five stays in Tzintzuntzan, totaling nearly six months, from 1961 to 1965. Principal informants were members of the family of Tomás Aparicio in Ichupio. These included Tomás, himself, aged about 35 (ages are approximate, as they are unknown to the informants themselves), his mother, Rosa Dolores, about 70, his sister Rosario Aparicio, about 45, and especially his wife Florentina Geronimo, possibly 30, native of Tarerio, a most patient and helpful teacher and friend. Other informants were two teen-aged neighbors and relatives of Tomas', Salud and Candelaria Cornelio, Pedro Dñmas, about 30, also of Ichupio and Julia Pichu, about 50, and Maria de Jesus Pablo, about 60, both now living in Tzintzuntzan, as well as other scattered inhabitants of the lake-shore who contributed information on a less formal basis.

Most data-collecting sessions were carried on in Tomas' home, with the daily round in full swing around us, neighbors coming and going, family interchanges taking place; in short, providing considerable opportunity to record samples of ordinary conversation as well as more formally delivered texts and elicited utterances.

Daily life in the lakeshore villages is primarily concerned with fishing and cultivation of agricultural lands, and with weaving of tule reed mats and figures to sell; almost the only source of cash income, except for the sale of a few surplus fruits in season and a small amount of fish. The Tarascan way of life is rarely on more than a bare subsistence economic level, although picturesque to the tourist, and now a source of nationalistic pride to residents of the state of Michoacán, with its colorful, full-skirted, women's dress, dug-out fishing canoes with 'lollypop' shaped paddles and graceful 'butterfly' nets, and the continued use of the very ancient 'atlatl', or throwing-stick, in hunting.

As in the rest of Mexico, early Spanish missionaries to the Tarascans took an interest in recording the language. The earliest description is contained in the impressively large dictionary compiled by the Franciscan, Father Gilberti (1962), first published in 1559. Several phonemic contrasts were overlooked by Gilberti, translations of many glosses are either loose or mistaken, and such morpheme segmentation as was undertaken is in large measure erroneous in estimation of where the cuts should be made. It is an extraordinarily useful source for the study of language, particularly lexical, change.

Grammars by other missionaries followed; that of Lagunas in 1574 (1574), of Baselenque in 1774 (1886), and of Najera in 1831 (1944). De la Grasserie and Leon reworked the

data of Baselenque in 1896 (1896), adding no new data. These sketchy grammatical treatments suffer from the defects common to other similar attempts to warp 'exotic' languages to traditional Latin grammatical treatment.

Lathrop's more recent article (1937) is the briefest of sketches. The short grammar by Luna Cardenas (1951) is, despite its grandiose title and scholarly pretensions, more of a curiosity piece than anything else. With no knowledge of modern linguistic techniques and employing his own curious phonetic methods, the work is brief and full of errors of analysis.

In the late 1930's the so-called Tarascan Project was undertaken. As described by Beals and Borbolla (1940), this was a coordinated linguistic and ethnographic effort, with the linguistic aspects financed by the Mexican Department of Indian Affairs and administered under the National Polytechnic Institute and the Council of Native Languages, with Maurice Swadesh as original director. It was conceived as a pilot project in the Mexican Indian literacy program. Under this program writing systems were to be devised for native languages and monolinguals taught to read and write in their own tongues, facilitating later transition to literacy in Spanish. To this end Swadesh and his staff (which included Charles Hockett for a brief period) made a survey of Tarascan dialects and established an orthographic system consonant with their requirements and using, as far as possible, standard Spanish

orthography. The Project started the Tarascan Press, under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs, which published articles on health and sanitation, agricultural techniques, law, and the like, for a period of about a year and a half.

Subsequently, primers in Tarascan were introduced into village schools and newspapers published for school children by the Secretary of Public Education. Use of the primers seems to have been continued for only a very brief period, at least in the lake villages with which I am familiar.

Knowledge of Tarascan mythology and customs at the time of the conquest stems largely from a very early source, the so-called *Relación de Michoacán* (1903). This was probably written around 1538 or 39 by a Franciscan friar. A few other early sources also give names of places, gods and religious ceremonies, material brought together and analyzed by Corona Nuñez (1957). His attempted etymologies are often in error because of the faulty linguistic data at his disposal, but like the early grammars and dictionary give some idea of the richness of semantic expression in Tarascan morphology.

Significant differences between languages lie not only in the phonological distinctions made and the differences in morpheme distributions, but also in the particular meanings selected for morphological expression. It seems to be

possible for nearly any meaning to be expressed in any language, although a certain amount of circumlocution may be necessary. Particular languages, however, select from the total range of possible meanings certain particular semantic components which are included morphemically within the total construction which is the word. Boas, Sapir, and Whorf were all particularly aware of this selective semantic-grammatical characteristic of languages and attempted to reveal it in their descriptive statements about particular languages. Subsequent increase in emphasis on purely formal descriptive criteria, with its concomitant suspicion of the role of meaning in linguistic description, tended to obscure the fact that each language provides formal means for the inclusion of semantic content, that only particular elements of such content are so included, and that this is as much a part of the total grammar of that language as the shapes of the morphemes and their distributional possibilities.

The Sapir-Whorf (Sapir 1949, Whorf 1956) hypothesis has been examined for its suggestion of linguistic relativity; i.e. the determining effects of language on thought and culture, with the result that the burden of 'proving' the hypothesis has been almost entirely removed from the hands of anthropologists and linguists and placed in the hands of psychologists. Meanwhile another equally important aspect of the work of Sapir and Whorf became obscured; that the genius of a particular language lay in the particular meanings

which it chose to express, and the means by which such expression was carried out. Without the neo-Bloomfieldian exclusive involvement with accuracy in distributional analysis, it seems to me that the field of linguistic endeavor would have become broadened rather than narrowed and rigorous methods of semantic analysis would perhaps already have been developed.

Glossematic theory (Hjelmslev 1953) gave promise of a model which would include this type of analysis. Hjelmslev emphasized the three dimensional character of language in contradistinction to the two dimensional, or linear, character conceived for it by American linguists. 'Content' (the meaning of linguistic forms) was postulated as the third dimension or plane, of equal importance with the 'expression plane' (the phonetic expression of linguistic items in distributional, or linear, sequence). The nature of the relationship between the two planes was called 'paradigmatic'; the relationship between class members with privileges of substitution, or 'commutation'. The relationship between linguistic items, which was called 'syntagmatic', was the type of distributional relationship with which American linguistics has largely been concerned. Since the 'paradigmatic' relationship forms a central point in American linguistic theory as well, in its emphasis on substitution of classes of items within a constantly held frame, it would seem not to differ too greatly from Hjelmslev's model. Hjelmslev, however, puts emphasis on

the necessity for analysis of the 'content-form' which has boundaries peculiar to each language within the amorphous 'thought-mass' (p. 32); for him as essential a part of linguistic analysis as the syntagmatic relationships. Neither Hjelmslev nor his followers, however, offered analyses of particular languages which would demonstrate just how this methodology was to be applied.

Taking a cue from the central American linguistic point of substitution of classes of items within a frame, and its designation from an article by Harris (1944), a group of American anthropologists, Conklin, Frake, Lounsbury et al., have been developing a theoretical concept known as 'componential analysis', a method of abstracting culturally determined semantic properties underlying classes of linguistic forms, in this case lexical items, substitutable for one another within such a frame.

Chafe (1962, 1965) has extended the concept of componential analysis to include morphological (grammatical) items as well as lexical. He conceives of a morpheme as an arrangement of semantic components, just as a phoneme is an arrangement of phonological components. Some morphemes, perhaps the bulk, are 'elemental', manifesting only one such component, while others manifest a componential grouping; as, for example, pronominal morphemes often manifest groupings of such components as person, number, and gender.

A componential analysis of the semantic content of grammar would, then, require the utilization of the central linguistic concept of classes of items substitutable within a frame. Such classes can be lexical or sub-lexical; morphemes and various types of morpheme expansions, such as stems, themes, and affix expansions. Such an analysis fits well into a Glossematic theoretical model, the components of morphemes and morpheme expansions constituting the counters of the 'content plane' just as morphs and morph distributions are the more familiar counters used in an analysis of the 'expression plane'. The relationship between the two is, in the Hjelmslevian sense, 'paradigmatic'; the items constituting a class being those substitutable within such a paradigm.

In the present study, content is considered as essential a part of grammar as are morphs and morph distributions; the morpheme being considered the non-phonological manifestation of content. In the Hjelmslevian sense the phones, phonemes and morphs are dealt with in analysis of the expression plane, while morphemes alone belong to the content plane. A phoneme also has a direct tie to the content plane since substitution of one phoneme for another can signal a change of meaning. Phonemes as a class or as classes, however, are normally not useful as counters on the content plane as they have no class semantic properties--although Tarascan phonemes come extraordinarily close to manifesting such properties.

This is, nevertheless, an important difference between the phoneme and the morpheme.

Phonemes and morphs will here be used as terms for those items with phonological attributes which are used in distributional analysis, while morphemes are those without phonological content (although represented by it on the expression plane) useful in semantic analysis. Both types of analysis will be carried through at the appropriate points in the grammar as equally essential to it. Morphophonemics is considered a separate 'level' in Lamb's sense (1962) linking phonemics and grammar with one-to-one relationship between phonemes and morphophonemes. A paradigm will be used in the Glossematic sense of relationship between items in a substitution (commutation) class.

Tarascan proves to be a particularly productive language for the testing of a componential model of morpheme analysis, since an extraordinarily wide range of semantic components is grammatically rather than lexically expressed. It is hoped that by means of an analysis of this type the unique patterning of meaning in this particular language will emerge.

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CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

100. The Phonemic System

Tarascan has twenty-nine phonemes of which twenty-three are segmental and six suprasegmental.

There are six vowel phonemes characterized by two tongue positions, high and low, and by three points of articulation: front, central, and back.

The seventeen consonant phonemes include thirteen obstruents and four resonants at four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveo-palatal, and velar. The thirteen obstruents include six stops, four affricates, and three fricatives. Stops and affricates subdivide further into an aspirated and an unaspirated series with five members each. The four resonants include two semivowels and two nasals.

Suprasegmental phonemes are of two types; stress phonemes, with two members, and junctural phonemes, with four members.

101. Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Low	e	a	o

102. Consonantal Phonemes

Obstruent:	Stopped:	Aspirated	p'	t'	c'	č'	k'
		Unaspirated	p	t	c	č	k
	Fricative				s	š	x
Resonant:	Semivocalic		w			y	
	Nasal		m	n			

There is a coexistent system with phonemes of Mexican Spanish. Spanish loan words have infiltrated Tarascan according to the degree of acculturation of the speaker and with corresponding lack of adaptation to Tarascan phonology. Mexican Spanish phonemes not completely equatable with Tarascan phonemes must be added to the total phonemic inventory. Nine additional phonemes, all consonantal, are required: /b d g f j rr y l ñ/.

103. Suprasegmental Phonemes

Of Stress: /'/, strong stress. Weak stress is unmarked.

Of Juncture:

Non-pausal: Word juncture, marked by word space.

Pausal: /,/ , brief pause

/./ , longer, sentence-final pause

/.../ , hesitation pause.

110. The Phonetic System

The Tarascan word and phrase are defined phonetically according to the distribution of allophones, as well as phonemically according to the distribution of phonemes. Certain allophones

occur only word-initially, before or after word juncture or finally before pause. An occurrence of a word following silence is interpreted as an occurrence following any pausal juncture.

Primary allophones occur word-initially following pause juncture. These are the allophones by which the phoneme is designated in the phoneme chart. Final, single, weak-stressed vowel or CV are voiceless before pause juncture. Final, single, weak-stressed vowel or C]wV are zero before word juncture, unless the following word begins in an aspirated stop, in which case zero allophones are in free variation with voiceless ones. Final vowel loss could alternatively be considered a morphophonemic rather than an allophonic alternation. Because of functional similarity to vowel unvoicing it is here treated as allophonic.

Consonantal allophones also differ after pause and non-pause juncture. After word juncture and voiced vowels (strong stressed or in VV sequences), as after medial vowels, aspirated phonemes occur as pre-aspirated allophones. After word juncture and zero vowel allophones, word-initial consonant allophony is dependent upon the preceding consonant. As word-medially, unaspirated obstruents are represented by voiced allophones in this environment, and aspirated obstruents lose much of their aspiration.

Tarascan speech most characteristically occurs as bursts of staccato, rapidly delivered, fairly short phrases.

Each phrase is accompanied by an allophonic stress-pitch pattern characterized by strongest stress and highest pitch on the last strong-stressed syllable, followed by lowering of pitch on any subsequent weak-stressed syllables, trailing off into voicelessness of final vowel or even final two or three syllables if they contain single, weak-stressed vowels.

111. Vocalic Allophony

Vowels actualize as syllable peaks when voiced or voiceless. Sequences of like medial vowels actualize as lengthened syllable peaks, interpreted as VV rather than as long vowels because of the occurrence of other VV sequences and because VV sequences normally span two morphemes. Length is generally about a mora and a half rather than two full morae.

Before any pause juncture a post-consonantal, weak-stressed, single vowel occurs as a voiceless allophone of that vowel, except /o/ which is always voiced, and /ɛ/ which actualizes as a zero allophone with lengthening of the preceding consonant in this environment. Before P' following pause juncture voiceless vocalic allophones are in free variation with zero allophones. Zero allophones of all post-consonantal, weak-stressed, single vowels except /o/ occur before non-pause juncture and after C. Before /./ any voiced vowel (strong stressed or post-vocalic) may be followed by [ʔ] in free variation with its absence. Word-final, weak-stressed VV sequences are voiced. If geminate they actualize

as a single, voiced vowel. Voiceless allophones are capitalized in phonetic orthography. Such sequences are not lengthened.

/i/:[i i^y I Ø]. A high, front, tense vowel with voiced, voiceless and zero allophones and a semivocalic offglide before /u/. Examples are,

icǎ 'water' [icǎ]

p'ikúni 'to get' [p'ikúni]

xawixi 'hair' [xawiri]

p'ikúni p'acimu 'to get (harvest) tule reeds'

[p'ikún pacímU] ^f [p'ikúni p'acímU]

imá atásǎntii témpanii. 'Does he beat his wife?'

[imá tásǎndi témbani.]

miúkwǎ 'collected money' [mi^yúkWA]

/e/:[e e e^y E Ø]. A mid, front, lax vowel, [e] in all voiced environments except before /a/ where /e/ is raised with a semivocalic offglide, initially before /č/, between /č č' c c' t t'/ and /n/, before /x/, and when strong-stressed word-finally where the allophone [e] occurs. Examples are,

épu 'head' [éhpU]

ešéni 'to see' [ešéni]

awé 'eat! (you pl.)' [awé]

kuríce 'vulture' [kuríce]

atáče 'shawl' [atáč•]

xeyáki 'mouse' [xe^yáki]

ečéxi 'earth' [ečérI]

čéni 'to fear' [čén^yI]

téni 'sweet' [ténI]

ampé 'something' [ambé]

/ɛ̃/:[ɛ̃ ɛ̃· ɛ̃ ∅]. In its non-zero allophones /ɛ̃/ is a high, central, very tense, retroflexed vowel. Before /w/ and medially in free variation before P' it is slightly lengthened, which emphasizes the retroflexion. Finally before pause juncture and before word juncture, if followed by P', a zero allophone occurs with lengthened preceding consonant. Before P' this may be in free variation with pre-aspiration. Before word juncture followed by /s/ or /š/, /ɛ̃/ is voiceless. Examples are,

acímu 'mud' [acímU]

kucɛ̃ 'moon, month' [kucɛ̃]

kucɛ̃wa 'during the month' [kucɛ̃.wA]

cɛ̃k'uni 'to drop it from one's hand'

[cɛ̃.kunI] ^f [cɛ̃hkunI]

yásɛ̃ kécent'a 'now go down! (you sg.)'

[yás kécentA]

yásɛ̃ k'amáta 'now finish it! (you sg.)'

[yás.komótA]

yásɛ̃ 'now' [yásɛ̃·]

yásɛ̃ sancáxaka 'now shake it! (you sg.)'

[yásɛ̃ sanzárakA]

yásɛ̃ šót'aaka 'now you will row it'

[yásɛ̃ šóhtaakA]

wác'±± úni yámintuu. 'Can you (pl.) make
them all?' [wáhc± un yámindu]

/a/:[a a A á^h ø]. A low, central vowel, somewhat raised and fronted after /i/ and /e/, and between /č č' / and /n/. When strong-stressed and final before pause juncture, /a/ occurs with an aspirated off-glide. Examples are,

atáp'eni 'to kill' [atáhpēnI]
teáni 'to hit' [te^yánI]
piáni 'to buy' [piánI]
inčáni 'to enter' [inǰánI]
poróta 'hole' [porótA]
ešéxaa 'Will you show it to him?' [ešéra]
t'ixékwa ampé 'some food' [t'irék ambé]
imá 'he, she, it' [imá^h]
maa áča c'awápitI 'a thin man' [ma áčA
c'awápitI] ^f [ma áč cawápitI]

/u/:[u U ø ú^h]. High, back, tense and rounded, with voiced, voiceless and zero allophones, and when strong-stressed before pause juncture occurring with a slightly aspirated off-glide. For example,

úni 'to make, do' [únI]
yápuxu 'everywhere' [yápurU]
cúncu 'pot' [cúnzU]
ú 'do it! (you sg.)' [ú^h]
t'úxe niwá exétayuu. 'Are you (sg.) going to the
village?' [t'úr niwá erétaru]

méntexu nixáni 'to go there again'

[ménder niráni]

/o/:[o Ω]. Rounded, mid, back, lax with a slightly lowered allophone [Ω] only before /s/. Examples are,

čopéni 'hard' [čopéni]

čénempo 'his house' [čénembo]

xósku 'star' [xóskU]

Examples of vowel contrasts are,

i-e-u: mímíni 'to go to sleep'

mímeni 'to cover a wound'

mímuni 'to cover one's mouth'

i-a: kuxíni 'to burn'

kuxáni 'to hear'

i-ɨ-e: cikáni 'to bend'

cɨkáni 'to soften dough'

cekáni 'to dig shallowly, chop'

i-o: xaníni 'to rain'

xanóni 'to arrive'

e-o: exékani 'to live'

exókani 'to wait'

ɨ-o: cɨxéxi 'corn dough'

coxéki 'woodpecker'

o-u: kómani 'to put him upside down in the water'

kúmani 'to meet'

e-a: c'axámeni 'to seat oneself in the water'

c'axámáni 'to seat someone in the water'

- ɬ-a: kacɬxeni 'to scratch it'
 kacáxeni 'to bite it'
 ɬ-u: icɬni 'it melts'
 icúni 'to suck'

112. Consonantal Allophony

Classification of consonantal allophones into consonant phonemes depends upon the solution of several distributional problems.

The first problem concerns the stops and affricates. Word-initially after pause these occur in two series, with four articulatory positions and five members each. One series is aspirated and fortis, the other non-aspirated and lenis. These are clearly ten separate phonemes, /p' t' c' č' k'/ and /p t c č k/. Medially between vowels and as second member of consonant clusters, including following nasals, only unaspirated stops and affricates are found. But, in addition, clusters occur in the following series: [mb nd nɟ nʃ ng] and [hp ht hc hč hk]. Voiced obstruents do not otherwise occur, nor does [h], although a velar fricative [x] is found word-initially before vowels. Within the phrase, after /n/, zero vowel allophones, and word juncture, stops, which after pause actualize as aspirated, lose the aspiration, whereas those that actualize as unaspirated become voiced. Similarly, if an aspirated stop immediately follows a voiced vowel and word juncture, pre-aspiration occurs.

The solution which seems the most economical in terms of phoneme inventory, balance of phoneme distribution and simplicity of morphophonemic statement is to consider the series [mp nt nc nč nk] as phonemically /mp' nt' nc' nč' nk'/ and the series [mb nd nž nǰ ng] as phonemically /mp nt nc nč nk/ and the series [hp ht hc hč hk] as medial allophones of /p' t' c' č' k'/ respectively.¹

The second problem concerns the sibilants, with phones [s š ʂ ʃ] (the dot under the s signifies retroflexion). Initially after pause and before vowels except /ɨ/ both [s] and [š] occur, in clear phonemic contrast. Before /ɨ/ only [ʂ] is found. In clusters with stops and affricates the following phonic sequences occur, [sk, šk ʃp st ^f ht sc ^f hc sč ^f hč]. Examples of these sequences are, [eskanI] 'to look', [ešeškA] 'you/we saw it', [ešešpkA] 'you/we have seen it' [ešéstI] ^f [eščhtI] 'he/she/it/they saw it', [xáscɨnI] ^f [xáhɨɨnI], 'to have on one's head', [p'ásčɨnI] ^f [p'áhčɨnI] 'to touch one's neck'.

It is clear that only initially and before /k/ are /s/ and /š/ in contrast. Since /ɨ/ is a retroflexed vowel this retroflexion probably affects the preceding consonant. When /ɨ/ is represented by a zero allophone the retroflexion of [s] preceding it disappears (cf. 111). [ʂ], then, is

¹This solution differs from that adopted by the Tarascan project (cf. pp. 5-6 above) which set up a third series of voiced stops and considered the pre-aspirated series to be clusters of /x/ (written j) plus voiceless stop.

classed as an allophone of /s/, and [š] as an allophone of /š/.
[st̪ ht̪ sc̪ hc̪ sč̪ hč̪] are classed as allophones of
/t' c' č'/ respectively.

The third problem concerns the velar spirant [x] which occurs only word-initially and the single flap [r] which occurs only word-medially. Semantic similarity between morphemes with initial [x] and morphemes with initial [r] has influenced the decision to class these as allophones of a single phoneme, /x/, reducing the phoneme inventory and obviating the necessity for morphophonemic rules making such morphemes mutually convertible. When a velar spirant, [x], occurs medially in loan words it will be considered a separate phoneme /j/.

A similar problem involves [ɣ] and [ɣ̠] (a retroflex flap). [ɣ̠] occurs only word-medially and [ɣ] word-initially with the following exceptions: [eyá] in such words as [xeyáki] 'mouse', [iyú] in such words as [k'wiyús̠] 'eagle'. These do not contrast with [eá] and [iú], which do not occur. [ié] and [iá] do occur but not [iyé] nor [iyá]. It would seem that there is no phonetic offglide between /i/ and /a/ nor between /i/ and /e/, but there is such a glide between /i/ and /u/. The sequence [eɣá] does not occur, and there is, therefore, no contrast between [ɣ̠] and [ɣ] in this position. (One informant, in fact, doubted if it was physically possible to produce [eɣá] despite facility with such a similar sequence as [iɣá].) [ea] also does not exist. When such a

sequence occurs morphologically it is convertible through a morphophonemic rule to /ia/. Since contrast between [y] and [ɣ] can be eliminated, there seems no reason not to class them as allophones of the same phoneme, /y/, especially as such a classification is bolstered, as in the case of /x/:[x ɾ] by semantic similarity between morphemes with initial [y] and initial [ɣ]. [eɣá] could be retained as a phonemic as well as phonetic sequence, writing it as /eyá/ rather than /eá/, but the latter seems preferable in order to eliminate completely the occurrence of /y/ in medial position.

There is no contrast between [u]-[w] nor between [i]-[y]. Distributionally the semivowels occur similarly to other consonants and the vowels to other vowels. There is a distributional difference between the two pairs however, as [w] occurs in such sequences as [kwV], [k'wV], [čwV], [č'wV] and [šwV], and [u] in such sequences as [tuV], [t'uV], and [NuV], whereas only [OiV] and [RiV] occur. Morphophonemic statements must be made converting /u/ to /w/, but in the interests of preserving the useful consonant-vowel dichotomy the two pairs will be kept distinct as separate phonemes.²

Consonants actualize as syllable onset or members of syllable onset clusters (122, 123, 124). Geminate consonants are not prolonged.

¹In every one of the above cases the opposite solution was made by the Tarascan project which had, of course, to consider standard Spanish orthography (pp. 5-6 above).

Only resonants have largely voiced allophones, with voiceless allophones occurring only before voiceless vocalic allophones. Only /w/ has a zero allophone, before a zero vocalic allophone. Unaspirated stops and affricates occur as voiced allophones after nasals, either within the word or after a non-pause juncture with a nasal preceding a zero vowel allophone.

Aspirated consonants have largely unaspirated allophones post-consonantly, either word-medially or across word juncture and intervening zero vowel allophone. Such consonants occur as pre-aspirated allophones after a voiced vowel, which may precede word juncture.

/p'/:[p' hp p]. A bilabial, voiceless stop, strongly aspirated and fortis initially after pause. Other allophones are as above. For example,

p'améxakwa 'ache, pain' [p'améɾakWA]

p'imani 'to take it out of the water' [p'imani]

kókami p'imani 'to take it out of the water
quickly' [kókam p'imani]

umpáp'ani 'to heap things on the floor of the
room' [umbáhpáni]

imá p'ayákuht'i 'he rolls it up' [imáh paɾákuhtI]

yásɛ p'áya 'now touch it! (you sg.)'
[yás. páɾA]

/t'/:[t' ht ^f st t]. A voiceless, apical, dental stop with aspirated and unaspirated allophones. Pre-aspiration

varies to pre-sibilantization following a voiced vowel either word-medially or with intervening non-pausal juncture.

Examples are,

t'ixéni 'to eat' [t'iréni]

t'upúxi 'dust' [t'upúri]

p'int'ani 'to remove from the fire' [p'intani]

šáni t'ixéni 'to eat much' [šán tiréni]

pát'ani 'to touch the metate' [pántani^f
pástanI]

yás[‡] t'ayáta 'now pierce it! (you sg.)

[yás. taráta]

/c'/:[c' hc^f sc c]. A voiceless, apical, dental stop with homorganic slit-spirant release, with aspirated, pre-aspirated (varying to pre-sibilantized) and unaspirated allophones. For example,

c'awápití 'thin' [c'awápitI]

p'ác'ítani 'to touch the table' [p'áhc'ítani]^f
[p'asc'ítani]

šáni c'awápití 'very thin' [šán cawápitI]

yás[‡] c'éxeta 'now measure it! (you sg.)'

[yás. céreta]

/č'/:[č' č hč^f sč]. A voiceless, apical, alveolo-palatal stop with homorganic groove-spirant release, with aspirated, pre-aspirated (varying to pre-sibilantized) and unaspirated allophones. For example,

č'apáni 'to fell a tree' [č'apáni]
 k'wínč'ani 'to wish to sleep' [k'wínčani]
 kókani č'apáni 'to fell a tree quickly'
 [kókan čapáni]
 kačúč'ani 'to cut off one's braid'
 [kačúhčani] ^f [kačúsčani]

/k'/:[k' hk k]. A voiceless, dorsal, velar stop which varies from pre- to post-velar according to the degree of front- or backness of the following vowel, with aspirated and fortis, pre-aspirated and unaspirated allophones. For example,

k'éxi 'big' [k'éri]
 k'ó 'yes' [k'ó]
 šáni k'exi 'very big' [šan kéri]
 ayák'uni 'to cut oneself on the hand'
 [aʔáhkuni]
 imá k'amákut'i 'he/she/it/they finished it'
 [imá^h kamakuhti]
 yásí k'amáta 'now finish it! (you sg.)'
 [yús. kamátA]

/p'/:[p b]. A bilabial, lenis stop with voiceless allophones everywhere except after nasal. For example,

pakáxani 'to remain' [pakáraní]
 puxuátani 'to boil it' [puruátani]
 cəpák'i 'spear-thrower' [cəpáhkí]
 ampé 'thing, something' [ambé]

ešémi poyótani 'to see the hole'

[ešém borótani]

/t/:[t d]. An apical, dental, lenis stop with voiceless allophones except after /n/. Examples are,

tayéxi 'snake' [təféri]

cípiti 'alive' [cípiti]

k'exénta 'cliff' [k'eréndA]

šáni tayéxiča 'many snakes' [šán dašériča]

/c/:[c ʒ]. An apical, dental, lenis, stopped affricate with homorganic slit-spirant release, with voiceless allophones except after /n/. For example,

capáni 'to break it' [capáni]

kwayáceni 'to fall' [kwašáceni]

incawati 'he will give it to them' [inɰawati]

wináni cixáni 'to be very cold' [winán ɰiráni]

/č/:[č ʃ č•]. An apical, alveolo-palatal, lenis, stopped affricate with homorganic groove-spirant release, voiceless except after /n/, lengthened before /e/ followed by pause juncture. Examples are,

áča 'man' [áčA]

čéxani 'to frighten' [čórani]

anánčakwa 'neck' [anán]akWA]

nixáni čénembo 'to go to his house'

[nirán ʃénembo]

atáče 'shawl' [atáč•]

/k/:[k g]. A dorsal, velar, lenis stop, point of articulation varying from pre- to post-velar according to the degree of front- or backness of the following vowel, with voiceless allophones everywhere except after /n/. Examples are,

kixáxuni 'to sit in the road' [kirárunI]

kánani 'to be born' [kánani]

ankúnakwa 'meat' [angúnakWA]

xikeni kamáaka 'I will bring you'

[xikenɔ gamáakA]

/s/:[s ʃ s. ʃ•]. An apical, alveolar, voiceless, slit spirant, retroflexed and lengthened before /t/ and pause juncture or /k'/ after word juncture with vowel loss, retroflexed but not lengthened before /k/ in the same environment, and lengthened but not retroflexed preceding other aspirated consonants and /w/ in the same environment. Examples are,

sapíču 'small' [sapíčU]

sési 'very, well' [sési]

yásɬ 'now' [yás•]

yásɬ kaxá 'now write! (you sg.)' [yásɬ kará]

yásɬ k'amáku 'now finish it! (you sg.)'

[yás• kamákU]

yásɬ t'ixé 'now eat! (you sg.)' [yás• tiré]

yásɬ tiyipa 'now hang it! (you sg.)'

[yás tiɪpA]

yasɬ á 'now eat it! (you sg.)' [yas á^h]

/š/:[š ʃ]. A frontal, alveolo-palatal, groove spirant, slightly retroflexed before /p/ and /k/. Examples are,

šót'ani 'to row, paddle' [šóhtani]

škéni 'loose, lazy' [škéni]

xayášpti 'he was there' [xarášpti]

/x/:[x r]. Word-initially a velar fricative, varying from pre- to post-velar according to the degree of front- or backness of the following vowel, with a flapped, apical, alveolar allophone word-medially. Examples are,

xí 'I' [xi]

xučá 'we' [xučá^h]

xayáni 'to be there' [xaráni]

exáni 'to look at' [eráni]

exéta 'village' [eréta]

xancixi 'foot' [xanzíri]

/w/:[w w̥ β β̥ γ]. A bilabial, semivocalic resonant, voiced except before voiceless vowels, zero in CwV sequences preceding pause. Voiced fricatives occurring before /u/ in two examples have been classed with this phoneme. Examples are,

wáni 'to vomit' [wáni]

kwaxáki 'squirrel' [kwaráki]

éskwa 'eye' [éskwA]

xáwu 'let's go!' [xáβU]

siwúncani 'Tzintzuntzan' [siyúnzani]

/y/:[y ɣ]. A voiced, frontal, palatal semivocalic resonant word-initially, with a retroflexed flap allophone word-medially which may be unvoiced before a voiceless vowel. Examples are,

yámintu 'all' [yámindU]
 yóyéni 'stream' [yoréniI]
 apáyemuni 'to burn one's mouth' [apáɣemuniI]
 apáykuni 'to burn one's hand' [apáɣkunI]

/m/:[m]. A bilabial, voiced, nasal resonant, which may become voiceless before a voiceless vowel. Examples are,

má 'one, a' [má^h]
 mimempa 'his/ her/ their brother' [mimemba]
 p'ámskwayeni 'to touch one's mouth'
 [p'ámskwaɣeniI]

/n/:[n ŋ n^y]. An apical, voiced nasal, with alveolar articulation except before velar stops when the allophone [ŋ] occurs in free variation, and in the sequence /čeni/, where a slightly palatalized allophone, [n^y] occurs. Before velar stops the allophonic variants are: [ng] ^f [ŋ] ^f [ŋg]. Before a voiceless vowel /n/ may be unvoiced. Examples are,

nixáni 'to go somewhere' [nirániI]
 kwini 'bird' [kwiniI]
 k'winčekwa 'festival' [k'win]čekWA]
 čéni 'to fear' [čén^yI]
 šánk'u 'just this much' [šánkU]
 niéxapixinka 'we would arrive' [niérapiringA] ^f
 [niérapiringgA] ^f [niérapiriŋA]

Examples of consonant contrasts are,

- p'-p p'áyuni 'to touch one's nose'
páyuni 'to put out the flame'
- t'-t t'ayámuni 'to pierce one's mouth'
tayámeni 'to float on the water'
pát'áni 'to carry it'
pátani 'to extinguish the fire'
- c'-c c'úni 'to sneeze'
cúncu 'pot'
c'ánkuni 'with them'
cankwáxani 'to jump'
- č'-č č'apáni 'to cut wood'
čaxáni 'to burst'
č'éti 'tail'
čet'i 'he is afraid'
- k'-k k'axáni 'to deceive'
kaxáni 'to write'
- t-c tiyíntikwa 'earring'
ciyíni 'rib'
- tL-c' t'út'u 'you (sg.) also'
c'út'u 'sneeze too! (you sg.)'
- c-č-s-š cáni 'to heat'
čáni 'to root (as pig with snout)'
sáni 'little, few'
šáni 'much, many'
- c'-č' xapóc'aakani 'I will wash my head'
xapóč'aakani 'I will wash my neck'

c-k	kacák'uni	'to bite one's hand'
	kakák'uni	'to break it in one's hand'
c'-k'	c'ék'uni	'to weigh it in one's hand'
	k'ek'uni	'to make it grow'
š-x	šaníni	'corn on the cob'
	xaníni	'to rain'
x-y	čaxáka	'that it burst'
	čayákwa	'child'
m-n	má	'one, a'
	ná	'how'
m-w	wáni	'to vomit'
	máni	'to be stuck together'
w-y	awáni	'rabbit'
	ayáni	'to eat'
n-t	p'áneni	'to touch one's chest'
	p'áteni	'to touch a plate'
x-t	p'ántixani	'to touch one's mouth or chin'
	p'ántitani	'to touch the base of a wall'

113. Stress Allophony

Three degrees of relative loudness occur as allophones of stress phonemes, combined with four degrees of relative pitch. [1] represents lowest pitch, raised before the syllable designated. The stress group corresponds to the word before juncture, with junctural phonemes determining stress allophony on preceding syllables. /V/ and /V/ symbolize phonemic strong and weak stress. Voiceless and zero vowels have no pitch. A

vowel with phonemic weak stress which follows a vowel with phonemic strong stress shares to a great extent in that stress so that the syllables are more or less accentually equalized.

/v̄/:[⁴v̄ ³v̄]. [⁴v̄] occurs as the final strong stress before /./ . [³v̄] occurs as strong stress elsewhere.

/v/:[²v ¹v]. Weak stress occurs as [²v] unless it falls on the final voiced syllable before /./ when it actualizes as [¹v].

Examples are (all segmental material between square brackets is phonemic),

xini. 'there' [²xi⁴ní.]

xini. 'dirt' [⁴xíni.]

wexáni. 'to cry' [²we⁴xáni.]

maa k'tá. 'a house' [²ma ⁴k'tá.]

maa k'tá atánckata. 'a painted house'
[²ma ³k'tá ²a⁴tá¹nckatA]

maa k'tá atánckataa. 'A painted house?'
[²ma ³k'tá ²a⁴tá²ncka¹ta.]

ayiasinti. 'he always tells' [²a⁴yi⁴a¹sinti.]

114. Junctural Allophony

Junctural allophones include degree or lack of pause, segmental allophones which occur before or after junctures, and stress allophones which occur before junctures.

Word juncture is unaccompanied by pause. It is preceded by loss of single, weak-stressed vowels or wV and accompanied by the allophones of specific consonants which

manifest themselves as features of the segmental phoneme juxtapositions occurring across word junctures. Stress allophones occurring in syllables preceding word juncture are [3V] and [2V] for /V/ and /V/ respectively. Examples are,

xikeni kwáneni. 'I will lend it to you (sg.)'

[3xi²ken⁴gwáneni]

xučítí xinkúnekwa k'éxít'i. 'My brother is big.'

[2xu³čít²xi³ngú²nek⁴k'ɛ¹rihtI]

xáptinaa misítu. 'It is said there was a cat.'

[3xá²pti²na²mi⁴sítU]

/,/ is accompanied by a lesser degree of pause than is /./ . Voiceless, final, weak-stressed single vowel precedes /,/ and stress allophones [3V] and [2V] for /V/ and /V/ respectively in preceding syllables. Examples are,

nixát'inaa, siwúncani, mísanaa. 'She said that she went to Tzintzuntzan to Mass.'

[2ni³rá²hti²na, 2si³yú²nzanI, 4mi²sa¹na.]

imaa wáati kuxúnta, ka čuxípu, 'He will make tamales, and broth,'

[2i²ma³wáát²ku³rúnda, 2ka²ču³ripU,]

ka imá, imaa wáati. 'and he, he will do it.'

[2ka²i³má^h, 2i²ma⁴wáátI]

/./ is preceded by voiceless allophones of final, single, weak-stressed vowel and followed by long pause or silence. The last strong-stressed syllable before /./ has allophony [4V] and the last weak-stressed syllable following it has allophony [1V]. Examples are,

kuyáakwaye 'Answer! (you sg.)' [²ku⁴pa¹kwæE]

imác'ñni ayini, eski wiákupkas† yá. 'She told
us that they had already gone out.'

[²i³má²hcñn ²α³fñl, ²esk ²wi³α²ku²kas† ⁴yá.]

/.../ is preceded by voicing and prolongation of final
vowel, with allophony [²V] if such a vowel is weak-stressed,
and [³V] if strong-stressed. Examples are,

wénašámkaks†... 'Let us begin...'

[³we²na³šá²mka²ks†...]

ampkwá... 'just so...' [²α³mbkwá...]

120. Phonemic Distributions

The phonemic definition of the Tarascan word depends upon the distribution of its phonemes. A word may be composed of one or more syllables, each of which contains a vocalic peak which may or may not be preceded by a consonantal onset. A word must be bounded by junctural phonemes and contain a phoneme of strong stress if followed by a phrase-final juncture. No word contains more than two phonemes of strong stress. A strong-stress phoneme falls obligatorily on one of the first two syllables of the word. A one-syllable word contains no phoneme of strong stress before word juncture, nor does a word with two syllables, the second one with zero vowel before such juncture. Words of more than two syllables contain a phoneme of strong stress in all of their occurrences.

A syllable onset may be a single (syllabic) vowel, a single consonant, or a cluster of from two to four consonants.

If more than three the initial member must be N and/or the final member /w/. Word-initial consonant onsets may consist of no more than three members. If more than two, the third must be /w/. Informants are capable of making a medial syllabic division at any point, even phoneme-medially in the case of word-medial, pre-aspirated allophones of aspirated obstruents. Since no phonemic word terminates in other than a vowel, and most medial clusters are only longer than initial clusters by addition of an initial nasal, it seems most consistent to consider all clusters as syllable-initial, no matter how unwieldy this seems to the English ear.

Syllable canons are,

Initial and Medial:	V
	CV
	OOV
	OwV
	OOwV
Medial only:	RPV
	NP'V
	NPPV
	NPwV
	NPPwV
	kskV
	nksV
	nkskV
	mskwV

121. Vocalic Distributions

Except for /t/, which occurs only after S, vowels are found syllabically with no consonantal onset and most vowels occur after most consonants. /o/ is of scarcer occurrence than any other vowel and has not been found after /w/, /t'/, /t/, /c'/ and /s/. /i/ has not been noted after /č'/, nor /e/ after /t'/.

Vowel plus vowel sequences:

	i	e	ɛ	a	u	o
i		1		2	3	4
e		5		6		
ɛ						4
a				7		
u		8		9		
o				10		11

Numerals correspond to the examples below. Phonemes in the left-hand column are first in sequence.

1. ayie 'say it! (you pl.)'
2. xinfani 'there'
3. piúni 'to shell corn'
4. tiósto 'church'
5. wéenani 'to begin, to go out first'
6. heáki 'mouse'
7. páaka 'you/we will take it'
8. k'wimueča 'sleepyheads'
9. xapómuaka 'you/we will wash our mouth(s)'
10. šanóata 'hail'
11. noompé 'nothing'

122. Word-initial Consonant Clusters

/w/ is the most extensive second member, and the only third member of initial clusters. Obstruents, usually unaspirated, are the most extensive first members. Resonants don't occur

cluster-initially, and only /w/ of the resonants in any initial cluster position. Numbers in the table correspond to examples below.

	p'	t'	c'	č'	k'	p	t	c	č	k	s	x	w
p'													
t'													1
c'													
č'													
k'							2						3
p													
t										4			5
c										6			
č						7				8			9
k													10
s													
š							11			12			
x													13
w													

Examples are,

1. t'wéškaxe 'you (sg.) are'
2. k'tá 'house'
3. k'wíni 'to sleep'
4. tkúpu 'mosquito'
5. twátani 'to spit'
6. ckíkuni 'to squeeze it'

7. čpíxi 'fire'
8. čkáxi 'firewood, stick'
9. čwíti 'basket'
10. kwíni 'bird'
11. štúmpa 'eyebrow, eyelash'
12. škúyi 'leaf'
13. xwáta 'mountain'

Three-consonant clusters (not included in the table):

14. ckwánayini 'to have spots on one's face'
15. čkwántixani 'to lie'
16. tkwišuni 'to kneel in a canoe, or on a reed mat'

123. Word-medial, Two-consonant Clusters

Unaspirated stops, sibilants and resonants except /w/ are the most extensive initial members, with /n/ a member of the greatest number of sequences. The unaspirated stops, especially /k/, are with /w/ most extensive as second member. /š x y/ never occur as second member. Only /k/ has been found geminated.

	p'	t'	c'	č'	k'	p	t	c	č	k	s	š	x	w	y	m	n
p'																	
t'										1				2			
c'																	
č'														3			
k'														4			
p							5	6	7	8							
t						9				10							
c						11				12							
č										13				14			
k						15		16	17	18	19			20			
s										21						22	23
š						24				25				26			
x						27		28		29							
w																	
y						30	31	32	33	34							
m						35	36		37	38	39						
n		40	41	42	43		44	45	46	47							

Examples are,

1. it'ku 'still thus'
2. intét'wet'i 'it is he also'
3. ayáč'waka 'you will cut yourself on the buttocks'
4. pasák'waka 'you will clap hands'
5. xápti 'he had been there'
6. kayápcáni 'to have a swelling on one's head'

7. kayápčani 'to have a swelling on one's neck'
8. cakápku 'many stones'
9. exátpepxani 'to look each other in the eyes'
10. poyótku 'just a hole'
11. apáycɨcpeni 'to burn many on the head'
12. kuyícku 'just a vulture'
13. kět'akučka 'just go away'
14. t'ayéčweča 'roosters'
15. apókpepxani 'to go lie down in a room'
16. ičákcɨmani 'to be hit on the head by a falling tree'
17. ičákčumani 'to be hit on the buttocks by a falling tree'
18. sɨxíkka 'you/we sew'
19. páksamuni 'to hit oneself on the mouth with the hand'
20. akwíce 'snake'
21. xósku 'star'
22. texésmayuni 'to mock'
23. esná 'just as'
24. ášpeni 'to be good'
25. ičúškuta 'tortilla'
26. išwéni 'there (mid-distance)'
27. ičáxpexani 'to be lying close together'
28. axcɨ 'these'
29. imátexku 'just he alone'
30. kuyákwaypeni 'to begin to ask for it'
31. apáytayaškani 'I burned myself on the calf'
32. apáycɨcpeni 'to burn people from elsewhere on their
heads'

33. apáyčatani 'to burn his/her neck'
 34. apáykuni 'to burn one's hand'
 35. ximpáni 'to be new'
 36. nixašámti 'he is going right now'
 37. acámčani 'to have an itch in one's throat'
 38. acámkuxani 'to have an itch on one's hand'
 39. k'wims+ 'sleepyhead'
 40. nint'ani 'to go along'
 41. xinc'ni 'they to me'
 42. ayinč'ani 'to wish to speak, to tease'
 43. šánk'u 'no more now, just that much'
 44. nixásnti 'he is going'
 45. anáncni 'to have a vertical object on one's head'
 46. anánčakwa 'neck'
 47. antánkuni 'to catch up with him'

124. Medial Consonant Clusters With More Than Two
Members

A nasal or a fricative must be first member of /w/ the final member of such a sequence, except that /ksk/ is also permissible. Examples are,

- ksk- xúkskani 'to sow'
 -špk- xayášpkani 'I was there'
 -špt- čúskuxašpti 'all day long it has been'
 -škw- ičúškwakani 'I will make tortillas'
 -skw- éskwa 'eye'

- xkw- atáxkwayeni 'to have him hit someone'
- ntw- p'ántwakani 'I will touch my foot'
- nkw- exánkwan'tani 'to watch those who are departing'
- ncp- incpeni 'to give to people from elsewhere'
- nck- inckuni 'to give it'
- nckw- wantónckwayeni 'to converse'
- mskw- kacímskwayeni 'to have it in one's mouth'
- nčk- k'winčkixee 'are you sleepy?'
- nkc- šánkcs† 'only you (pl.)'
- nks- amámanks† 'many stop by to eat on the way'
- nksk- k'wánkskunt'aakani 'I will return it'

125. Stress and Junctural Distributions

Two strong stresses are always separated by one or more weak stresses unless a pausal juncture intervenes.

Junctures are distributed between words. Phrase-final junctures may be preceded (potentially) by any number of phrase-medial junctures. /./ may be preceded (potentially) by any number of /,/ or /.../ junctures.

130. The Morphophonemic System

All phonemes are also morphophonemes. In addition there are eight morphophonemes representing particular morphophonemic alternations. These are ||=, .', I, E, A, V, Rd, rd||.

Segmental morphophonemic alternations involve assimilative or dissimilative replacement of vowel by vowel, vowel loss, alternations between vowel and semivowel, semivocalic prothesis, replacement of aspirated by unaspirated obstruents,

consonant assimilation and loss and reduplication of syllable or syllables. Suprasegmental alternations involve alternations between strong and weak stress with accompanying vowel reduplication.

Most alternations are automatic adjustments of the phonemic material contained in morphs to the reality of permissible phonemic distributions. Some cases involve alternations peculiar to particular morphemes.

Morphophonemic formulae apply in the order in which they are given, with earlier statements having priority. Formulae are applicable both within the word and across word boundaries with final zero vowel allophones counting as no vowel, so that consonant plus consonant rules apply where a consonant is word-initial, and consonant plus vowel rules apply where a vowel is word-initial. Suprasegmental rules are so stated as to consider a word-final syllable to be a full syllable.

In the formulae CV means any syllable, # any pause juncture, and stress marked only where it is significant with \acute{V} signifying weak stress, \hat{V} signifying strong stress.

131. Vocalic Replacements, Additions, and Reductions
Special vocalic morphophonemes ||I, E, A|| differ in morphophonemic treatment from ||i, e, a|| only in the specific instances given. Otherwise for ||i|| read ||i, I||, for ||e|| read ||e, E||, for ||A|| read ||a, A||.

- ||I|| p_{t,k}:/ø/. For example, ||ni.ś=xa-š-pi-ti||:
 /nixášpti/ 'he/she/it/they have gone', ||xu.ś=
 pi-ka-ni||:/xúpkaní/ 'I have come'
- ||I|| _V,C:/i/. For example, ||mó=nI-tu||:/mónitu/
 'vagina'
- ||eA||:/a/. For example, ||p'í=me-A-ni||:/p'ímani/
 'to take it out of the water'
- ||a|| A₋:/ø/. For example, ||i-ča=pe-A-aane-ni||:
 /ičápaaneni/ 'to put him/her to bed'
- ||V|| _E,I:/ø/. For example, ||tani=mu-Eya-kwa||:
 /tanimeyakwa/ 'three round objects', ||tani=mu-iča-
 kwa||:/tanimičakwa/ 'three long thin objects'
- ||i|| n_C,o:/ø/. For example, ||k'u-ni-ču=ni||:/k'unčúni/
 'to bundle cloth into a ball'
- ||e|| i,ś:/ø/. For example, ||wá=yi-exi||:/wáyixi/ 'of
 the woman', ||kawa=ś-eča||:/kawásśča/ 'chile
 plants'
- ||e|| _a:/i/. For example, ||té=a-ka||:/tiaka/ 'that it is
 sweet'
- ||ś|| _a:/a/. For example, ||xa-po=c'ś-a-ka-ni||:
 /xapóc'aakani/ 'I will wash my hair'
- ||a|| _e,o,u:/ø/. For example, ||e-xe=ta-eča||:/exéteča/
 'towns', ||čé=n-empa-o||:/čénempo/ 'his/her/their
 home', ||ci-má=upuyu||:/cimúpuyu/ 'two heaps'
- ||a|| o₋:/o/. For example, ||nó-a-mpé||:/noompé/ 'nothing'

- ||a|| x_a:/ø/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /a/. For example, ||ni.ŋ=xa-a-ka-ni||:
 /nixákani/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /nixáakani/ 'I will go there'
- ||u|| y,n_a:/o/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /u/. For example, ||we-ka=nu-a-ka-ni||:
 /wekánoakani/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /wekánuakani/ 'I will fall in the
 patio', ||xa-yu=a-ni||:/xayóani/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /xayúani/ 'to
 help'
- || \hat{V} (w)|| _P':/ø/. For example, ||t'i-xe=xa-p'e-pa-ni||:
 /t'ixéxpepani/ 'to go along feeding them',
 ||t'u-yu=kwa-č'u-ma-ni||:/t'uyúkčumani/ 'to be
 standing on one's hands in the water'
- ||(w)V|| _i,o:/ø/. For example, ||ca-ka-pu-itu||:/cakapitu/
 'little stone', ||má=eya-kwa-itu||:/méyakitu/ 'only
 one', ||maxi=kwa-o||:/maxiko/ 'at the girl's house'
- ||V₁v||:/V₁V₁/. For example, ||ni.ŋ=pl-xi-ni-ksí-v||:
 /nipixinksí/ 'would we have gone?'

132. Consonantal Replacements and Reduction

- ||P' || $\hat{C}\hat{V}$ _:/P/. For example, ||cká=pe-A-k'u-ni||:/ckápkuni/
 'to slip from one's hand'
- ||P' || \hat{V} _:/P'/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /P/. For example, ||ka-cí=c'í-ni||:
 /kacíc'íni/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ /kacíc'ni/ 'to scratch one's head'
- ||P' || \hat{V} _:/P/. For example, ||xu.ŋ-p'í=ntu-ni||:/xupíntuni/
 'to seize one's foot'
- ||n || _p,p':/m/. For example, ||kó-ka-ni pá-ø||:/kókami pá/
 'take it away quickly', ||xi-ke-ni p'a=a-ya-aaka||:
 /xíkemi p'áayaaka/ 'will touch you'

||x|| n_:/t/. For example, ||t'i-xe=ni-xe-ni||:/t'ixénteni/
'I am fed'

||p|| m_VP':/ø/. For example, ||xu-yi=mpe-k'a-ni-ta-ni||:
/xuyimkantani/ 'right side'

||št|| V_:/t'/. For example, ||xu.́-ni-kwá=š-ti||:
/xunkwát'i/ 'he/she/it/they came home'

||š|| n_k,k':/s/. For example, ||e-xa=ni-š-ku-š-ka-ni||:
/exánskuškani/ 'I spent the night'

||k' || ni_V:/k/. For example, ||ni.́=pi-xini-k'i||:
/nipixinki/ 'you/we/he/she/they would go'

||C₁C₁||:/C₁/. For example, ||pá=ni-nate||:/pánate/ 'to
take away only this'

133. Vocalic-Semivocalic Alternations and Prothesis

||u|| and ||o|| are replaced by /w/ in certain environments and followed by vowel reduplication. In others a prothetic /w/ occurs between vowels.

||u, oV|| #, O^{-x}, S_C, #:/wV/. For example, ||ú-a-ka-ni||:
/wáakani/ 'I will do it', ||ku-nu=k'u-a-ka-ni||:
/kunúk'waakani/ 'I will grasp many small things in
my hand', ||č'ó=a-ka-ni||:/č'wáakani/ 'I will squat'

||uV|| x_:/wV/. For example, ||xu.́.=a-ka-ni||:/xwáakani/
'I will come'

||ie|| x_#:/iwe/. For example, ||pensáxi-e||:/pensá-
xiwe/ 'think! (you pl.)'

- ||ia|| x_C:/iwa/. For example, ||xá-ti=xi-a-ka-ni||:
 /xatixiwakani/ 'I am ... old' (so many years)
- ||CV.ó=|| _a:/CVw.ó/. For example, ||ni.ó=a-ka-ni||:
 /niwákani/ 'I will go'
- ||V.ó=|| _e#:/V.ó/ $\overset{f}{}$ /Vw.ó/. For example, ||a.ó=e||:
 /aé/ $\overset{f}{}$ /awé/ 'eat! (you pl.)'
- ||V₁V₁V₁||:/VwV/. For example, ||e-xa=a-a-ka-ni||:
 /exáwakani/ 'I will look far'
- ||V₁V₂V₂||:/V₁V₂wV₂/. For example, ||pá=kwaye-a-a-ti||:
 /pákwayiawati/ 'he will take them'
- ||V₁V₂V₃||:/V₁V₂wV₃/. For example, ||e-xo=a-e||:/exóawe/
 'wait (you pl.) for them!'
- ||V₁V₁V₁V₁||:/VwVwV/. For example, ||e-xá=a-a-a-ka-ni||:
 /exáwawakani/ 'I will look far away at them'
- ||V₁V₂V₂V₃||:/V₁V₂wV₂wV₃/. For example, ||xá-yu=a-a-e||:
 /xayóawawe/ 'help (you pl.) them!'
- ||uV₁V₁V₂||:/wV₁wV₂/. For example, ||xu.ó=a-a-e||:/xwáwe/
 'bring (you pl.) them!'

134. Free Vocalic Variation

- ||è,ò||:/e $\overset{f}{}$ i, o $\overset{f}{}$ u/. For example, ||e-še=ni||:/ešéni/
 $\overset{f}{}$ /išéni/ 'to see', ||xa-yu=a-p'e-xa-ni||
 /xayóap'exani/ $\overset{f}{}$ /xayóap'e-xani/ 'to help each other'

135. Reduplication

The reduplication morpheme, ||Rd||, represents reduplication of the entire preceding sequence.

||CV.◌=Rd||:/CVCV/. For example, ||ni.◌=Rd-ni||:/ninini/
'to cook, ripen'

||CV=Rd||:/CVCV/. For example, ||mí=Rd-ni||:/mimini/
'to go to sleep' (lit. 'to shut-shut'),
||ca-ni-k'wa=Rd-k'u-ni||:/cankwácankwak'uni/ 'to
pump one's hands up and down rapidly',
||k'u-ti=ni-Rd-nc†-ni||:/k'utínc†ni/ 'to go
along stooping down'

The reduplication morpheme, ||rd|| represents redupli-
cation of only part of the preceding sequence, which is
always a stem base extended with ||-ni||. The latter morph
is not reduplicated. For example,

||cú=ni-rd||:/cúncu/ 'pot'
||c†.◌=ni-rd-p'a-ni||:/c†nc†p'ani/ 'to lose
oneself in the room'

136. Suprasegmental Alternations

Every word carries at least one and not more than two morpho-
phonemes of strong stress, ||V̌||. This actualizes phonemi-
cally as strong stress in some environments and as weak stress
in others.

||-CV||_#:CV/. For example, ||a-ni-pé||:/ampé/ 'something'

||CV||_CV,CVCV:/CV/. For example, ||pá=š-a.◌-ka||:/pašaká/,
||šá-ni pá=ni||:/šani páni/ 'to take a little'

||-CV||_CV, -CVCV:/CVV/. For example, ||t'ú pá=a-ka||:
/t'uu páaka/ 'you will take it', ||xí a-tá=a-ka-ni||:
/xii atáakani/ 'I will hit it'

||CV.́:|| _CCV:/C'V'/. For example, ||ni.́=nt'a-ni||:
/nint'ani/ 'to keep going'

||CV.́=CV||:/CVC'V'/. For example, ||ni.́=xa-ni||:/nixáni/
'to go'

||CV.́:-C^mV||:/CVC'V'/. For example, ||e-še=š-a.́-ka||:
/ešešaká/ 'you see'

||CV.́:-|| _m:/C'V'/. For example, ||a-yi=š-a.́-m-ani-ka-ni||:
/ayišámankani/ 'I would have said'

||CV.́:-CV||:/CVC'V'/. For example, ||pá=š-a.́-ka||:/pašaká/
'I am taking it'

||CV.́=|| _#:/C'V'/. For example, ||xu.́=∅||:/xú/ 'come!'

||CV=||:/C'V'/. For example, ||wa-ni-ta=ni||:/wantáni/ 'to
talk'

||O^x,^s∅,ú|| _VC:/Cw'V'/. For example, ||č'ó=a-ku-ni||:
/č'wáakuni/ 'to squat outside'

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR

200. Definition of Grammar

Grammar is here defined as having dual properties. The first is distributional and is concerned with the interrelationships between items and classes of items determined by their privileges of substitution within the framework of the word, the phrase, the clause, the sentence, or longer stretches of speech. The second concerns the same items and classes of substitutable items but with reference to their semantic composition both as single morphemes and morpheme constructions.

210. Form Classes and External Distribution Classes

Tarascan has two major form classes: verbs and substantives. The substantive class includes sub-classes of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals. These groupings are based on internal morpheme arrangements and correspond to the larger external distribution classes except in the case of numerals, which are adjectival or verbal in external distribution class membership. Smaller external distribution classes occur within form class membership and are determined by either inflectional or thematic criteria. Adjectives have dual class membership: adjectival and nominal.

220. Syntactic Constructions

There are three major types of syntactic construction: the sentence, the clause, and the phrase. Sentences always terminate with /./ and may consist of a single clause or a series of clauses and phrases, each terminating in /,/ or /.../.

230. Lexical Constructions

Few lexical constructions consist of a single morpheme. Most words are complex morpheme sequences consisting of a stem, which may be uni- or multi-morphemic, and is the necessary kernel of every word, plus or minus one or more thematic suffixes, plus or minus one or more inflectional suffixes.

Verbs constitute the core of the language, indispensable to the sentence (unless the latter is embedded in a larger social context in which a non-verbal reply or question is possible as a total sentence) and containing within themselves almost the entire phrase or clause in microcosm, as many external distribution classes with relationship to the verb within the syntactic unit must be reflected morphemically within the verb construction itself.

Stems are generally multivalent; that is, shared by words of more than one form class. Pronouns and adverbs share a certain number of such stems. Stems of each substantive class constitute a stem class also shared by verbs.

Thematic suffixes are verbal or substantive. Verbs share thematic suffixes with words of other classes.

Substantive thematic suffixes are unique to substantives. Most of the latter are shared by members of more than one substantive form class.

Inflectional suffixes are verbal and substantive. Members of all substantive classes share to some extent in substantive inflection.

There are two classes of enclitics, with privileges of attachment after words of any form class. They are adverbial and personal pronominal.

Four types of morphological process are employed: suffixation, compounding, reduplication, and ablaut.

Most compounding occurs within the stem base, although there are a few pronouns and adverbs in which more complex morpheme sequences have been compounded. Suffixes are added to the stem base. These are of types called stem expansions, thematic suffixes, inflectional suffixes, and enclitics. Reduplication occurs entirely within the stem. Ablaut, principally vocalic, occurs within the stem base and within verbal thematic suffixation.

240. Semantic Composition

There is rather an extraordinary degree of morpheme economy. Stem base morphemes are of very general meaning, describing such semantic areas as direction toward or away from, contact, protrusion, penetration, reversal, etc. Such concepts are perhaps more clearly describable with symbolic devices such as

$\rightarrow\leftarrow$, \leftarrow , $\leftarrow\downarrow$, \rightarrow , $\leftarrow\uparrow$, \leftrightarrow , than by means of verbal definitions. By the juxtaposition (compounding) of these single syllable morphemes within the stem base, and further addition of stem expansion and thematic morphemes, meanings emerge which would often be semantically elemental in English translation but which are almost invariably semantically complex in Tarascan.

Noun-verb stem expansions consist of a series of thematic morphemes frozen into a stem. Some such suffixes seem to be unique, or at least have not been observed in other constructions.

Verbal thematic suffixation is extremely productive. The main semantic categories involved are activation, definition of object, locus of action, type of action, and relationship of this action to other actions. Verbal inflectional suffixes are participial, modal and temporal.

Substantives share to some extent in verbal thematic suffixation, but also have a series of suffixes of varied semantic content such as diminution, augment, personal possession, agent, and goal. Numerals have a unique series of thematic classificatory suffixes, similar to, but less extensive than, a similar series of classificatory verb stems.

The semantic composition of morphemes of every class will be analyzed thoroughly along with morph distributions.

Allomorphs will not be listed if there is no morphologically determined allomorphy. If a morpheme is represented by a single morph, this will not be indicated as it is always

the same as the form enclosed within morphemic brackets. Examples are given morphophonemically. For the reader's convenience this is followed by a phonemic transcription in cases where reference to morphophonemic rules would otherwise be necessary. Within any morphemic transcription morphemes are separated by space. Within any morphophonemic transcription they are separated by hyphens within the word (or by $||=||$ after the stem base) and space between words. If it has been impossible to break down a longer sequence into syllabic morphemes (which is usually possible) no such division will be made, although the sequence may always be considered to be potentially divisible on the basis of further data. Loan words from Spanish are not morphemically segmented when they have been adopted into Tarascan as unitary forms. Hyphens will be used within phonemic brackets only if the form cited is a partial rather than an entire word; with hyphen preceding or following according to the direction of necessary expansion.

Examples will only be given in syntactic usage if the syntactic construction requires some particular elucidation because of special characteristics.

CHAPTER III

ENCLITICS

300. Introduction to the Enclitics

Enclitics are of two types: pronominal, and adverbial. Both are attached after words of every form class, and are sometimes, but not always, in immediate constituency with the word to which they are attached. Enclitics are always weakly stressed and may follow one another in specified arrangements.

Five pronominal and eleven adverbial enclitics have been isolated. All may occur singly, and all in sequence. Sequences are ordered as follows, with ten possible distributional positions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
t'u	čka	mentu	k'u	ntexu	tki tka	c'± (xe)	s±	xe ke ni ks±	naa v

Positions seven and nine are pronominal. The pronominal enclitic {xe} has been observed to precede {s±} of position eight as well as to follow it, apparently in free variation, and therefore is included in parentheses in position seven. Enclitics of positions two, three, and four may precede or follow one another in free variation. The enclitics {nate}

and {šaxu} have not been observed in sequences with other enclitics.

Pronominal enclitics represent bundles of semantic components. Adverbial enclitics are elemental.

310. Pronominal Enclitics

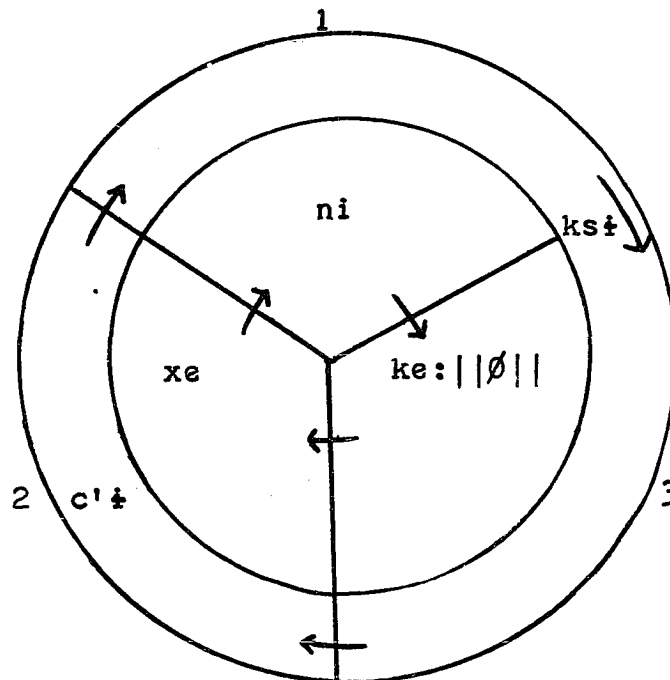
The five pronominal enclitics, three singular and two plural, represent three persons. The singular enclitics are {ni}, {xe}, and {ke}. The plural are {c'±} and {ks±}. All may occur singly or the other four in combination with {ni}. Singly they represent subject; in combination they represent object. {ke} has two allomorphs: ||ke|| and ||∅||. The allomorph ||ke|| occurs before {ni}.

311. The Semantic Composition of the Pronominal Enclitics

As subject, {ni} represents first person, as object it represents other than ego (i.e., other than the verbal subject). As subject {xe} represents second person, as object first. As subject {ke} represents third person, as object second. As subject {c'±} represents second person, as object first. As subject {ks±} represents first and third person, as object third and second. {ks±} and {c'±} may represent plurality of either subject or object.

Each enclitic morpheme thus includes semantic components of either singularity or plurality, subjectivity of one person and objectivity of another. This pattern may be diagrammed in the following manner,

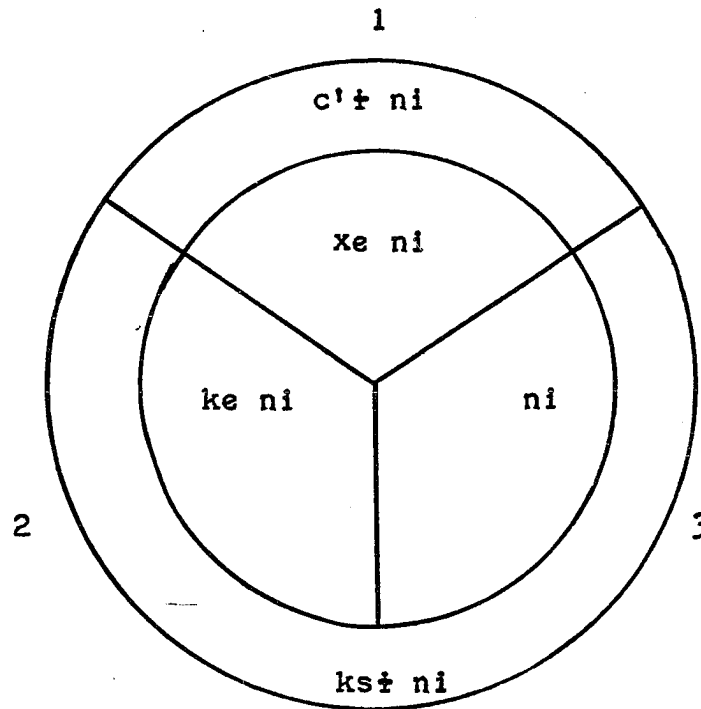
As subject:



The inner circle represents singular, the outer circle plural and the three numbers the three persons. With the wheel in its present position each morpheme represents the subject of the person it is opposite. Thus first person singular subject is represented by {ni}, second person singular subject by {xe}, third person singular subject by the allomorph ||∅||, etc. If the wheel is given a one third revolution clockwise, with the person numerals remaining stationary, each morpheme will come to rest opposite a different person numeral. This morpheme, with the addition of {ni} (except after {nī}), represents object of that person. Thus {xe ni} represents first person sg. obj., {ke ni} second person sg. obj., {ni} third person sg. obj. Since {c'±} always represents one person and {ksi} two, the division is now {c'± ni} first person object, and {ksi ni} either second

or third person object. The plurality is either of the subject or the object.

As object (after 1/3 revolution clockwise):



Semantic Components of Pronominal Enclitics:

Morpheme	Person:		Plurality of subject or object
	Subj.	Obj.	
ni	1	other	
ke	3	2	
xe	2	1	
ks±	1,3	2,3	x
c'±	2	1	x

A pronominal enclitic paradigm with the intransitive verb stem ||k'wf=|| 'sleep' and the transitive verb stem

- ||pá-ni-pe=||:/pampé-/ 'accompany' follows:
- ||k'wi=a-ka-ni||:/k'wiakani/ 'I will sleep'
- ||k'wi=a-ka-xe||:/k'wiakaxe/ 'you (sg.) will sleep'
- ||k'wi=a-ti-∅||:/k'wiati/ 'he/she/it/they will sleep'
- ||k'wi=a-ka-ks̄||:/k'wiakaks̄/ 'we will sleep'
- ||k'wi=a-ka-c'̄||:/k'wiakac'̄/ 'you (pl.) will sleep'
- ||k'wi=a-ti-ks̄||:/k'wiatiks̄/ 'they will sleep'
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ka-ni-ni||:/pampiakani/ 'I will accompany
him/her
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ka-ke-ni||:/pampiakakeni/ 'I will accompany
you (sg.)'
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ka-xe-ni||:/pampiakaxeni/ 'you will accompany
me'
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ka-ks̄-ni||:/pampiakaks̄ni/ 'I, you, we will
 accompany them/him/her' (either subj. or obj. must
 be plural)
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ti-c'̄-ni||:/pampiatic'̄ni/ 'he/she/they/you
 will accompany me/us' (either subj. or obj. must be
 plural)
- ||pá-ni-pe=a-ka i-má-ni||:/pampfaka imáni/ 'you will accom-
 pany him/her'
- ||pa-ni-pe=a-ti-xe-ni||:/pampfatixeni/ 'he/she/they will
 accompany me'
- ||pa-ni-pe=a-ti-ke-ni||:/pampfatikeni/ 'he/she/they will
 accompany you (sg.)'

Sequences in which {ni} occurs determine the subject or object meaning of {ni}. In attachment after verbs or adverbs {ni} always means first person singular subject. In attachment after nouns, pronouns, and enclitics (either adverbial or pronominal) {ni} always means object. (Three other uses of a morpheme {ni} occur. These are participial, substantive thematic, and verbal stem morpheme. These may have a semantic relationship to the enclitic {ni}, particularly the third usage, but will here be considered as separate morphemes.)

Attached after a verb, {ni} can only occur after the first-second person suffix {ka} in the indicative mode (412), as only in this mode is person marked. If {ni} occurs as object suffix after pronominal enclitics it may not also occur as verbal suffix.

The object use of {ni} after nouns and pronouns will be discussed as a feature of substantive case inflection (500, 520), since its usage closely parallels that of case suffixes.

312. Distribution of Pronominal Enclitics

Each pronominal enclitic has slightly different privileges of occurrence, although all are added to words of every form class. Some meaning--determining uses of {ni} were given above (311).

Other enclitics and enclitic sequences may occur at almost any point in the clause, so that person is often over-determined. Restrictions on use are only determined by meaning, so that the pronominal enclitic employed will be in agreement with other pronominal morphemes in the clause. {xe}, for example, as subject pronominal, must occur in agreement with the independent second person singular pronoun {t'u}, the first-second indicative suffix {ka}, and the singular subjunctive (imperative) suffixes. As indirect object {xe ni} or {ke ni} must be in agreement with the verbal first-second person thematic indirect object suffix {če}.

The pronominal enclitics used objectively, with the addition of {ni}, or {ni} alone, reflect verbal thematic suffixes of two types, direct and indirect object. There must be agreement between these verbal morphemes and enclitic pronominal morphemes. {ni} alone or with other pronominal enclitics agrees with verbal transitive thematic suffixes, or indirect object thematic suffixes.

Since the pronominal enclitics are of optional use when pronominal subject or object are expressed in any other way, either by means of independent personal pronouns or through indicative verbal suffixation which has pronominal

reference, the allomorph $||\emptyset||$ of the morpheme {ke} will normally not be written.

Syntactic examples of pronominal enclitic usage are:

$||xí pá=a-ka-ni.||:/xii páakani/$ 'I will take him/her/it.'

$||xí pá=ku-a-ka-ni.||:/xii páakwaakani./$ 'I will take it for him/her/them.'

$||t'ú-xe pá=ku-a-ka.||:/t'uxe pákwaaka./$ 'you (sg.) will take it for him/her/them.'

$||t'ú-xe-ni pá=če-a-ka.||:/t'uxeni páčiaka./$ 'you (sg.) will take it for me.'

$||t'ú-c'í-ni pá=če-a-ka.||:/t'úci'ni páčiaka./$ 'you (sg.) will take it for us.'

$||xí-ke-ni í-ni-c'í=k'u-a-ti t'ú-ni-ke-ni.||:/xikeni inckwaati t'úkeni./$ 'I will give it to you (sg).'

$||í-má-ke-ni í-ni-c'í-k'u-a-ti t'ú-ni-ke-ni.||:/ímákeni inckwaati t'úkeni./$ 'he/she will give it to you (sg).'

$||í-má-t'ú-xe-ni a-yi=ni.||:/ímát'uxeni ayini./$ 'he/she also said to me.'

$||čí wí=ču-xe-ni ká-ca=xé-š-ti.||:/čii wíčuxeni kacáxet'i./$ 'your (sg.) dog bit me.'

$||c'á-c'í-ni e-c'a=ku-če-a-ti xí-ni-c'í-ni.||:/c'ác'íni ecákučiatí xínc'íni./$ 'they will spread it for me.'

$||c'á-c'í-ni e-c'a=ku-če-a-ti xí-ni-xe-ni.||:/c'ác'íni ecákučiatí xinteni./$ 'they will spread it for me.'

$||ká-ks'í ni. '=a-ti yá ni. '=e-nt'a-ni||:/káksi' niwati yaa niént'ani/$ 'and they are now arriving'

- ||xi-ks̄-ni xa-yu=a-a-ka. ||:/xiks̄ni xayoáwaka./ 'I helped
them.'
- ||yá-mentu-ks̄ a-ya=š-ti. ||:/yámintuks̄ ayát'i./ 'all of
them ate.'
- ||ká e-xo=ka-ks̄-ni xa.́=ya-ni. ||:/kaa exókaks̄ni xayáni./
'and we were waiting for them.'
- ||xi-mpó-s̄-ks̄-ni e-xo=nt'a-ni xa.́=pi-ka. ||:/ximpós̄ks̄ni
exónt'ani xápka./ 'Because of this we had waited
for you (sg.).'
- ||a-tá=š-ti-ks̄-ni t'ú-ni-ks̄-ni. ||:/atát'iks̄ni t'unks̄ni./
'they hit you (sg.).'
- ||i-s̄-k'u-ni xu.́=k'i. ||:/iskuni xuki./ 'I came just like
that.'
- ||pórki-ni xi nó ú-a-ka-ni ni.́=xa-ni ||:/porkini xi noo
wáakani nixáni/ 'because I can't go there'

320. Adverbial Enclitics

Eleven adverbial enclitics have been isolated. They are,

1. {čka} emphatic
2. {k'u} limiting
3. {mentu} emphatic
4. {naa} hearsay
5. {nate} particularizing
6. {ntexu} possibility
7. {s̄} precisional
8. {šaxu} probability
9. {tki} emphatic
10. {t'u} additional
11. {v} interrogative

321. The Emphatic Enclitics

There are three enclitics which give additional emphasis to the word to which they are attached, {čka}, {mentu}, and {tki}.

{čka} is a frequently employed form. Some speakers end almost every phrase in this way. It is usually translatable as 'just' or 'really' and is in immediate constituency with the word to which it is attached. Examples are,

||ni.č=čka.||:/nička./ 'Just go!'

||ni.č=xá-ni-ksť pá=ku-ni-čka yá.||:/nixanksť pákunčka./

'they went to just bring him now.'

||ká nó-čka-xe xu.č-pi-ka xa.č-no=ni.||:/kaa nočkaxe xúpka

xanóni./ 'and you (sq.) just couldn't come!'

{mentu} seems to have identical meaning but is less frequently employed. Examples are,

||xi-mentu|| 'I in particular'

||xi-má-mentu|| 'right there'

||wá=yi-mentu|| 'just the woman'

||ni.č=a-ti-mentu.||:/niwátimentu./ 'yes, he will go.'

||yá-mentu|| 'all, everyone'

(This seems to be a frozen form in which /yá-/ is a bound stem, also underlying /yásť/ 'now' and /yápuxu/ 'everywhere.' This morpheme may, however, be the same as the Spanish loan word /yá/ 'now, already' which pervades Tarascan speech. Or it may be that the latter was so easily adopted because of its resemblance to an earlier Tarascan morpheme.)

The enclitic {tki} has two allomorphs ||tki|| and ||tka|| apparently in free variation with ||tki|| the most frequently employed. Examples are,

||xó-tki|| 'yes'

||sapi-tki|| 'that particular child'

||ni.č=a-ka-tki.||:/niwákatki./ 'yes, you will go.'

||k'tá-tka.|| 'the house is like that.'

||pawá-ni-tka|| 'just as tomorrow'

322. The Limiting Enclitic

{k'u} 'only, just' is in immediate constituency with the word to which it is attached, specifying a limitation on that object, state, action, etc. For example,

||taní=mu-k'u||:/tanímku/ 'only three'

||í-nté-k'u-e-š-ti.||:/intek'weet'i./ 'he is alone.'

(in this case the verbalizing suffix {e} (cf. 780)

verbalizes the whole construction, including {k'u}.)

||xí-má-k'u-ni pá-ká=xa-pí-ka-ni.||:/ximák'uni pakáxapkani./

'I had stayed right there.' (/ximá/ 'there')

||xí pá-yá=nc̣-ku-k'u-ni.||:/xíi payánc̣kuk'uni./ 'I carry
only it on my head.'

||ča-pa=kata-k'u t'i-xe=ni||:/čapákatku t'ixéni/ 'to eat
only thick tortillas'

||wí-ču-ni-k'u-kṣ a-yi=ša.◌-an-ti.||:/wičunkukṣ ayišáanti./
'they are just talking to the dog.'

323. The Hearsay Enclitic

The enclitic {naa} is freely sprinkled through phrases quoting what another has said suggesting what another should say or telling what one doesn't know from one's own experience. It is in immediate constituency with the entire phrase, clause, or sentence, rather than the single word to which it is attached. For example,

||ni.◌=xa-š-ti-naa siwúncani mísa-naa||:/nixát'inaa siwúncani
mísanaa./ 'she said that she was going to Tzintzun-
tzan to mass.'

||šé=pe-ni ká k'wí=nča-ni-naa||:/šépeni kaa k'winčaninaa/

'from laziness and sleepiness, tell her'

||xa.š=š-ti-naa. ||:/xatínaa./ 'She is there.' (in answer

to question as to whether someone is at home)

||ku-yá=a-kwaye-naa. ||:/kuya-akwayenaa./ '"Answer,' she said.'

||te-pa=š-ti-naa. ||:/tepát'inaa./ 'she is very fat.' (This

is apparently a polite way of making an uncomplimentary remark--passing it off as hearsay rather than one's own opinion.)

||wa-yi=a-ti-naa. ||:/wayfatínaa./ 'it seems that she will

die.'

324. The Particularizing Enclitic

{nate} 'only' has been noted only in the following examples,

||pá=ni-nate ||:/pánate/ 'to bring only this'

||xí-nate || 'only I'

||t'ú-nate || 'only you (sg.)'

||í-má-nate pá=na-š-ti. ||:/imanate pánat'i./ 'she was the
only one brought.'

325. The Possibility Enclitic

{ntexu} signifies possibility, usually translating as 'it must be', 'possibly', 'why not'. For example,

||ya-wa=yi-ntexu. ||:/yawáyintexu./ 'possibly (it is) a
grinding stone (Sp. 'metate').'

||yá-čka-ntexu. || 'why not (go) right now.'

||ká-ni-ntexu-ks± ešé-a-∅. ||: /kántexuks± ešia./ 'when
will we possibly see it.'

326. The Precisional Enclitic

{s±} 'just, precisely, exactly' is extensively employed and is in immediate constituency with the word to which it is attached. Examples are,

||ná-ní-s±-xe n'.=xa-k'i. ||: /nanís±xe nixák'i./ 'exactly
where are you going?'

||ku-yi=ni-s± ičú=š-ku-ta. ||: /kuyíns± ičúškuta./ 'the
tortilla is burning.'

||i-má-k'u-s± ni.'=š-ti. ||: /imák'us± niti./ 'she went all
by herself.'

||a-mpé-čka-s±-ks± ku-yá=mayi-a-∅ yá. ||: /ampéčkas±ks±
kuyámayia yá./ 'just exactly what shall we ask now?'

327. The Probability Enclitic

{šaxu} indicates probability or personal belief. It is usually attached to the verb with which it is in immediate constituency and hasn't been observed in sequence with other enclitics. Examples are,

||pá=aku-š-ti-šaxu xé-a-ki-itu. ||: /páakut'išaxu xeakitu./
'a little mouse must have taken it.'

||t'ú-xe a-tá=ka-šaxu. ||: /t'uxe atákašaxu./ 'you (sg.)
must have hit him.'

||xí p'í=mu-kwaye-nt'a-a-ka-šaxu. || 'I believe that I will
take it out of my mouth by myself', or 'I believe

that alone I will stop talking! (This latter meaning is idiomatic in the sense that Chafe uses the term 'idiom') (Chafe 1965).

328. The Additional Enclitic

{t'u} signifies 'also, too, in addition'. Examples are,

||xí nó, a-yi=∅ t'út'u||:/xii nó, ayii t'út'u.// 'not I,
you (sg.) also tell her.'

||xí pá-yá=nci-ku-t'u-ni. ||:/xii payáncikut'uni.// 'I also
carry it on my head.'

||ká dánša-eča-t'u xa'.=ma-si-ni-ti-ksi wa-yá=ni. ||:
/kaa dánsečat'u xamántiksi wayáni.// 'and the
dancers also go along dancing.'

||ká xi-má-ksi i-ni-ci=na-ti t'i-xe=kwa-t'u. ||:
/kaa ximáksi incínati t'ixékwat'u.// 'and there they
are given food also.'

329. The Interrogative Enclitic

{v}, which actualizes phonetically as voicing of final vowel, is a sign of interrogation. In sentences in which an interrogative pronoun or adverb occurs, the interrogative enclitic is usually not employed. Since strong-stressed vowels or vowel clusters are voiced in any case, there is no contrast in such situations; hence {v} is only said to occur after unstressed single vowels. {v} usually occurs before sentence juncture, /./, but may occur after any word in the sentence. The verbs which occur in interrogative sentences are usually inflected in the subjunctive or stative modes. Examples are,

||kwašá=nta-v.||:/kwašántaa./ '(is it) an egg?'

||a-mpé-xe ka-ci=k'u-š-k'i.|| ^f ||a-mpé-xe ka-ci=k'u-š-k'i-v.||:

/ampéxe kacik'uškii./ 'what do you have in your hand?'

||t'ú-xe e-še=a-∅ k'tá-ni-v.||:/t'uxe ešia k'tánii./

'will you see the house?'

||ká ú=a-∅-c't-v wá=ni yá-mintu-v.||:/kaa wac'++ wáni

yámintuu./ 'and will all of you be able to thresh?'

||xa-wa=ta-a-∅-v.||:/xawátawaa./ 'shall we get them up?'

||nó-xe ú=a-∅ p'f=ku-ni pa-ci=mu-v.||:/noxé wá p'íkuni

pacímuu./ 'won't you (sg.) be able to lower the reeds?'

||t'ú-xe ni.°=xa-an-pl-∅-v.||:/t'uxe nixámpii./ 'would you

(sg.) have gone?'

CHAPTER IV

VERB INFLECTION

400. Introduction to Verb Inflection

Verbs are inflected for mode, tense, person of subject and participle. There are four modes, fifteen tenses and one participle. To express the four modes seven modal suffixes are utilized, three of them with a personal subject component. To express the fifteen tenses, eight temporal suffixes, each with components of time and aspect are combined into various sequences. There is a unique participial suffix. Modal suffixes are mutually exclusive while temporal suffixes may be attached singly or in groups of up to four to form complex tenses.

Within each of the inflectional categories there are distributional positions. There are six such positions for tense and one for mode. Mode may occur without tense, participle always without tense or mode, and tense never without mode.

The inventory of inflectional suffixes is,

Modal: Indicative:	{ka}	first-second person
	{ti}	third person
Subjunctive:	{∅}	∅ , ti
	{e}	second person plural

Subordinative:	{ka}
Stative:	{k'i} interrogative, non- interrogative {k'a} non-interrogative, non-temporal
Temporal: Inceptive:	{š} past {a} future
Contingent:	{pl} past
Conditional:	{xini} past {m} present-future
Habitual:	{s†} past-present
Continuing:	{ani} past {a.˙} present
Participle: Present or Infinitive	{ni}

410. The Modal Suffixes

The seven mutually exclusive modal suffixes occur directly after the verb theme or after the tense suffixes, and before juncture or enclitics. Two modal suffixes are homophonous but all are semantically distinct.

411. Modal Semantic Components

Indicative mode is used to express statements of fact, stative for those of state of being, subjunctive for those of

possibility or probability and subordinative for contingent statements in subordinate clauses and hortatory or exclamatory statements in main clauses. Subjunctive verbs may be interrogative or imperative.

Person or Subject

	1	2	3
Mode:		Sg.	Pl.
Subjunctive	∅	e	∅
Indicative	ka		ti
Subordinate	ka		
Stative	k'i, k'a		

As the diagram illustrates, person only has formally expressed semantic dimensions in the subjunctive and indicative modes. For the subjunctive only second person is marked, and not in every instance, as will be seen. In the indicative first and second person are grouped together as against third person, and number is not modally marked. Subordinative and stative suffixes mark neither person nor number. Where person and/or number are modally marked they must be in syntactic agreement with such subject personal pronouns and/or enclitics as occur in the clause.

A contrastive paradigm of modal inflection with the verb theme {a-yi=} 'tell' and the future tense suffix {a}:

Subjunc.: ||a-yi=∅||:/ayf/ 'tell (you sg.)!'

||a-yi=e||:/ayfe/ 'tell (you pl.)!'

- ||a-yi=a-Ø. ||:/ayfa./ 'shall I/you/he/she/they/we
tell it?'
- Indic. ||a-yi=a-ka. ||:/ayfaka./ 'you/we will tell it.'
(first sg. requires pronominal enclitic {ni}, 310)
||a-yi=a-ka-ni. ||:/ayfakani./ 'I will tell it.'
but ||xi-ke-ni a-yi=a-ka. ||:/xikeni ayfaka./
'I will tell you.'
- ||a-yi=a-ti. ||:/ayfati./ 'he/she/they will tell
it.'
- Subord. ||a-yi=a-ka. ||:/ayfaka./ 'that I/you/he/she/they/
we tell it.'
- Stat. ||a-yi=k'a. ||:/ayik'a./ 'you/he/she/we/they are
telling it.'

412. The Indicative Mode

{ka} first-second person and {ti} third person may occur directly after the verb theme but are almost always preceded by tense suffix or suffixes. Since subject person is only partially defined by these suffixes they almost always occur either with independent personal pronouns or pronominal enclitics, which must be in agreement with the person defined by the suffix. First person singular must be defined by the enclitic {ni} attached either to the verb or to an adverb in IC relationship to the verb. Other persons do not require enclitic definition but frequently occur with it.

A contrastive paradigm with the verb theme {pá} 'take (elsewhere)' and the future tense suffix {a} demonstrates

use of enclitics and pronouns in the indicative mode:

||pá=a-ka.|| 'you/we will take it.'

||t'ú pá=a-ka.|| or ||t'ú-xe pá=a-ka.|| or ||t'ú pá=a-ka-xe.||:

/t'uu páaka./ or /t'uxe páaka./ or /t'uu páakaxe./

'you (sg.) will take it.'

||čá pá=a-ka.|| or ||čá-c'± pá=a-ka.|| or ||čá pá=a-ka-c'±.||:

/čaa páaka./ or /čac'± páaka./ or /čaa páakac'±./

'you (pl.) will take it.'

||xu-čá pá=a-ka.|| or ||pá=a-ka-ks±.|| or ||xu-čá pá=a-ka-ks±.||

or ||xu-čá-ks± pá=a-ka.||:/xučaa páaka./ or

/páakaks±./ or /xučaa páakaks±./ or /xučáks± páaka./

'we will take it.'

||pá=a-ka-ni.|| or ||xí pá=a-ka-ni.||:/páakani./ or /xii

páakani./ 'I will take it.'

||pá=a-ti.||:/páati./ 'he/she/they will take it.'

||i-má pá=a-ti.||:/imaa páati./ 'he/she will take it.'

||i-má pá=a-ti-ks±.|| or ||i-má-ks± pá=a-ti.||:/imaa páatik±./

or /imáks± páati./ 'they will take it.'

413. The Subjunctive Mode

{∅}||∅||, ||ti||. The allomorph ||∅|| occurs after all tense suffixes except the past continuous habitual complex tense suffix sequence ||s±-xaani||, where ||ti|| occurs. The other subjunctive suffix, {e}, as well as ||∅||, occurs after verb themes uninflected with tense suffixes. Such constructions are translated as imperative; second person singular for constructions with ||∅|| and second person plural for construc-

tions with $||e||$. Subjunctive constructions where tense suffixes also occur are translated as sentences expressing possibility, often interrogatively translated in English.

The subjunctive differs somewhat from the indicative in the use of pronominal enclitic suffixation, as it does in tense suffixes after which it has been observed.

With the future tense suffix {a} in the subjunctive mode the first person singular subject pronominal enclitic {ni} does not occur in attachment to the verb; instead it may be attached to an adverb in IC relationship with the verb. With other tense suffixes {ni} may either be attached after the verb or after an adverb as subject marker.

The past inceptive tense suffix {š} has never been observed followed by the subjunctive suffix, nor in any subjunctive tense construction except the past inceptive contingent with the suffix sequence {š pi ∅}.

A contrastive paradigm with the verb theme {ú} 'make, do' will demonstrate subjunctive usage:

$||ú=∅||:/ú/$ 'do it (you sg.)!'

$||ú=e||:/wée/$ 'do it (you pl.)!'

$||xí ú=a-∅||:/xíí wáa/$ 'I will probably do it'

$||xu-čá ú=a-∅||:/xučaa wáa/$ 'Shall we do it?'

$||c'á ú=a-∅||:/c'aa wáa/$ 'will they do it?' (etc. with any other personal pronoun)

In such a case as the above there can be no contrast between the interrogative and the non-interrogative form as

the interrogative enclitic, {v} (329) actualizes phonemically as final vowel voicing, while these final vowels, being clustered, are voiced in any case.

||ú=š-pl-∅-v||:/úšpii/ 'Did you/we/he/she/they do it?'

||ú=š-pl-∅-ni-v||:/úšpinii/ 'Did I do it?'

||xi ú=ani-pl-∅-ni||:/xii wáampini/ 'I had intended to be doing it'

||xi ú=ani-pl-∅-ni-v||:/xii wáampinii/ 'Do I intend to be doing it?'

||ká-ni-ksí ú=sí-raani-ti||:/kánkstí úsúraanti/ 'When were we customarily doing it?'

Further examples of subjunctive syntactic usage are:

||xi č'ó=pe-ani-pl-∅-ni. ||:/xii č'ópiampini./ 'I probably would have squatted down.'

||xi xu.́-ni-kwa=ani-pl-∅-ni-v. ||:/xii xungwáampinii./ 'should I come?'

||xi-mpó-sí-ni xi pxónt'u-ni xu.́-ni-kwa=ka-ni e-še=ni abéxi xu.́=pl-∅-yá. ||:/ximpósíni xii pxónt'uni xunkwákani ešen abexi xupii yá. 'Because of this I came home soon to see if she had already come.'

||ká-ni-xe xá=ma-sí-xaani-ti xi-mí-ni-sí. ||:/kante xámasíxaanti ximinsí./ 'When were you going around there?' (Sp. 'cuando andabas allí?')

||... páxa c'á abéxi ná-sí-ksí šó=t'a-ani-pl-∅ xi-ní yá-mintu-eča. ||:/... páxa c'aa abexi násíksí šót'aampi xinii yámintueča./ '... so that they might see how they all had been rowing.' (The single

verb in this clause expresses all of the concept of possibility.)

Further examples of imperative subjunctive usage are:

- ||o-ye=pa-Ø||:/oyépa/ 'go first (you sg.)!'
 ||ó=c'í-Ø||:/ó'c'í/ 'cover your head!'
 ||ó=c'í-e||:/ó'c'íe/ 'cover your heads!'
 ||e-wa=p'e-Ø||:/ewáp'e/ 'receive it (you sg.)!'
 ||e-wa=p'e-e||:/ewáp'ee/ 'receive it (you pl.)!'
 ||wá=nti-ku-Ø||:/wántiku/ 'kill him (you sg.)!'
 ||wá=nti-ku-e||:/wántikwee/ 'kill him (you pl.)!'
 ||wá=nti-ku-a-e||:/wántikwaawe/ 'kill (you pl.) them!'

414. The Subordinative Mode

{ka} marks verbs of all subordinate clauses except those which are stative or subjunctive. It also marks main clause verbs with exclamatory or hortatory meaning. Person of subject in the subordinate mode can only be expressed by means of pronominal enclitics or independent pronouns. If the subject is that of the main verb it is often not marked.

Examples of subordinate mode syntactic usage are:

- ||i-má á=a-ti é-ki wé=ka-a-ka.||:/imaa wáati eki wékaaka./
 'He will do what he wishes.'
 ||mí=naa páxi é-ki nó i-ni-ča=a-ka.||:/minaa paxi eki no
inčáaka./ 'Close it," she said, "so that it will
 not come in."'

||ná-ní í-má-ki-ksí ná ú-ka í-sí-ksí ú=a-ti.||:/nanii
 imákiksí naa uka ísíksí wáati./ 'The way that they
do it is how it is done.'

||í-má í-má-nki ni.ó=a-ka.||:/imaa imánki niwáka./ 'He
should go.' (lit. 'he he-that should go')

||wi-ní=xi-ní xa.ó=a-ka í-má yá.||:/winíxini xawáka imaa
 yá./ 'Let it be full now!'

||xi-nki-ní ni.ó-a-ka-ní.||:/xinkini niwákani./ 'That I
 should go!'

4.15. The Stative Mode

There are two stative mode morphemes, {k'a} and {k'i}, partially, but not entirely, in contrast or free variation, and therefore with the status of morphemes rather than morphs. {k'a} occurs only after the verb theme and not after tense suffixes, and only in non-interrogative sentences. {k'i} occurs after the verb theme with intervening tense suffixes or without them, in sentences that are either interrogative or not. The overlap is thus in the non-interrogative usage without tense suffixes where the two suffixes seem to be in free variation. An exception is in usage with verb themes of the type CV.ó where {k'i} always seems to occur. Because of the morphophonemic formula ||VP'V' ||:/VPV'/, {k'a} loses the consonantal aspiration in such an environment and does not contrast with the indicative and subordinate morphemes {ka}.

There is no adequate English translation for the stative morphemes. The meaning is that of the state or

condition resulting from the action of the verb, or stative after action. Stative morphemes occur in both main and subordinate clauses, {k'i} being much employed in interrogative sentences inquiring into present state, and thus often occurring with the interrogative enclitic {v}. {k'i} has not been observed after the temporal suffixes {ani}, {a} nor the temporal suffix sequences ||sɛ ni|| and ||sɛ xaani||. Without tense suffixes and accompanied by no temporal adverb the meaning is usually that of present tense. Examples of usage are:

||xi ká=ma-k'i-ni.||:/xii kámkini./ 'I have it (after bringing it)' (||ká=|| 'bring')

||xi ká-ma-k'a-ni.||:/xii ká-mkani./ 'I have it (after bringing it)'

||ci-xa=k'a-ni.||:/cixák'ani./ 'I am cold.'

||wicinte-kwa ci-xa=k'a-ni.||:/wicintekwa cixák'ani./
'Yesterday I was cold.'

||pawá-ni ci-xa=k'a-ni.||:/pawani cixák'ani./ 'Tomorrow I will be cold.'

||ú=š-k'i-v.||:/úškii./ 'Did you/we/he/she/they make it?'

||a-nti-sɛ-xe ú=k'i.||:/antisɛxe úk'i./ 'Why are you doing it?'

||ná-mú-ni-xe ú=a-š-k'i.||:/namúnixe wáaški./ 'How many did you (sg.) make?'

||i-má ni. '=xa-š-a. '-k'i.||:/imaa nixašaki./ 'He is (in the act of) going.'

||i-má nó xa.ó-k'i.||:/imaa noo xaki./ 'She isn't here.'

||xi nó mī=te-š-ka-ni ná-nti ú=kwaye-k'i ičú=š-ku-ta.||:

/xii noo miteškani nanti úkwayek'i ičúškuta./

'I don't know how tortillas are made.'

||i-má a-tá=k'i.||:/imaa aták'i./ 'He is hitting him right now (as usual).'

||xi ni.ó=xa-an-pl-ni péxi nó ni.ó=a-ka-ni mé-ni nó

ma-čú-ntu-š-k'i-ni.||:/xii nixámpini pexi noo

niwákani meni noo mačúntuškini./ 'I was going to go,

but I won't go because I twisted my foot.'

||wá=yu-ku-š-a.ó-k'i-v.||:/wáyukušaki./ 'Is he making nets?'

420. The Temporal Suffixes

The eight temporal suffixes are:

1. {a} future inceptive
2. {ani}:||ani||, ||am||, ||xaani|| past continuous
3. {š} past inceptive
4. {pl} past contingent
5. {m} future conditional
6. {xini} past conditional
7. {s±} past-present habitual
8. {a.ó}:||a.ó||, ||ni|| present continuous

All of the tense suffixes except {a} may be combined to form a series of six compound tenses. {ani}, {š}, and {pl} occur both singly and in compound tenses. {m}, {xini}, {s±}, and {a.ó} occur only in such compounds.

Possibly the past conditional morpheme {xini} and the past continuous morpheme {ani} are further divisible into a first morpheme plus {ni}. There is also a morph ||ni|| which is a morphologically conditioned allomorph of the morpheme {a.´}. This latter, however, is clearly segmentable as an extension of the morph ||sʰ|| and in contrast with the allomorph ||xaani|| of the morpheme {ani}. None of these partials seem to have definable meanings which can easily be equated with one another, and it therefore seems more economical to retain them as units. The same is true of ||xaani|| which is also conceivably segmentable as a morph ||xa|| preceding the morph ||ani||, but, since it seems to bear no meaning apart from that of the morpheme ||ani|| it has been considered to be a unit morph.

421. Distribution of Temporal Suffixes

Sequences of temporal suffixes occur directly after the verb theme and before the modal suffixes, without which they do not occur. There are six possible suffix positions with no more than four filled simultaneously and with each position except the first potentially occupied by only one member.

Temporal suffix sequences are:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	a					
2.	ʒ					
3.	ʒ	a.´				

	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	š	a.:	m			
5.	š	a.:	m	ani		
6.	š				pl	
7.	š	a.:			pl	
8.					pl	
9.					pl	xini
10.				ani	pl	
11.				ani		
12.	s‡			ani		
13.	s‡	a.:				

422. Temporal Semantic Components

The semantic dimensions of the tense suffixes are two: time and aspect. There are three components of time and five of aspect, which can be charted as follows:

	Time:		
Aspect:	Past	Present	Future
Inception	š		a
Contingency	pl		
Condition	xini		m
Habit	s‡		
Continuation	ani	a.:	

All aspects are seen to be marked for the past, three for the present, and two for the future. Looking at the horizontal, or aspect, dimension it is apparent that contingency is the aspect least marked temporally, and

condition the most. All inception of action is seen to be conceived as either past or future. Tenses with the contingency morpheme, with or without past inception, translate as past, or as past or present perfect. With the contingency morpheme and the conditional morpheme translations can be either into straight conditional or conditional perfect. Tarascan doesn't distinguish between the two.

Tenses with the morpheme 'm} are often difficult to translate as the distinctions made are subtle and do not emerge in translations. Spanish translations afford slight clues, but such English translations as 'shall, should, might, would' seem to serve best.

Past inceptive is conceived as having the possibility of duration into the present and future, and future inception as having the possibility of starting in the immediate present. Both are often most easily translated with the Spanish or English present tense. Verbs designating quality (stems or themes of the type called classificatory quality, stem type 6, 700), such as sweetness, illness, coldness, and the like, are always best translated by the present tense when they occur with the past inceptive suffix.

430. The Tenses

Possible combinations of temporal morphemes yield a total of thirteen tenses, four of which are simple and nine of which are compound. Descriptive names have been assigned them according to their semantic components. Tense suffixes occur after themes or after participials (631). The tenses, with their most common English translations, are:

1. ||a|| future inceptive, 'shall, will ...'
2. ||ani|| past continuous, 'was ...ing, ...ed'
3. ||š|| past inceptive, '...ed' or present tense
4. ||pI|| past contingent, 'have, had ...ed' or past tense
5. ||ani-pI|| past continuous contingent, 'would, must have...'
6. ||š-pI|| past inceptive contingent, 'have, had ...ed'
7. ||sṭ-xaani|| past continuous habitual, 'always was/were ...ing, used to ...'
8. ||sṭ-ni|| present continuous habitual 'always is ...ing'
9. ||pI-xini|| past contingent conditional, 'would ..., would have ...ed'
10. ||š-a.ó|| past inceptive-present continuous, 'is ...ing'
11. ||š-a.ó-m|| past inceptive-present continuous-present, future conditional, 'shall, will be continuing to ...'
12. ||š-a.ó-m-ani||^f||š-a.ó-m-am|| past inceptive-present continuous-present, future conditional, 'should, might be continuing to ...'
13. ||š-a.ó-pI|| past inceptive-present continuous-past contingent, 'was/were ...ing, have/had been ...ing'

A contrastive paradigm demonstrates the thirteen tenses in the third person indicative or subjunctive modes with examples numbered according to the tense numbers above. The verb theme underlying these constructions is {ni.ó} 'go'. As this theme is irregular in that most tense suffixes may not be attached after it but only after an extended theme, {ni.ó xa}, this latter theme is also utilized.

1. ||ni.ḥ=a-ti||:/niwáti/ 'he/she/it/they will go'
2. ||ni.ḥ=xa-ani-ti||:/nixánti/ ^f /nixáanti/ 'he went'
(the imperfect tense is used here in Spanish translation)
3. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-ti||:/nixát'i/ 'he went' (the preterite is used here in Spanish translation)
4. ||ná-ní ni.ḥ=pl-∅||:/nanii nípi/ 'where had he gone?'
(this example and number 5 are in the subjunctive mode)
5. ||ni.ḥ=xa-ani-pl-∅||:/nixámpi/ ^f /nixáampi/ 'he would have gone'
6. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-pl-ti||:/nixášpti/ 'he had gone'
7. ||ni.ḥ=xa-sḥ-xaani-ti||:/nixásḥxaanti/ ^f /nixásḥxanti/
'he always used to go'
8. ||ni.ḥ=xa-sḥ-ni-ti||:/nixásḥnti/ 'he always goes'
9. ||ni.ḥ=xa-pl-xini-ti||:/nixápixinti/ 'he would go, he would have gone'
10. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-a.ḥ-ti||:/nixášati/ 'he is (now) going'
11. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-a.ḥ-m-ti||:/nixášámti/ 'he will be continuing to go'
12. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-a.ḥ-m-ani-ti|| ^f ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-a.ḥ-m-am-ti||:
/nixášámanti/ ^f /nixášámanti/ 'he might have gone'
13. ||ni.ḥ=xa-š-a.ḥ-pl-ti||:/nixášápti/ 'he had been going'

431. Semantic Components of the Tenses

The numbers in the following diagram correspond to the numbered tenses in 430. Semantic components are the same as those of 422, but this time distributed as they are in the

tenses rather than in the individual temporal suffixes, showing patterning of semantic tense-aspect categories.

Time:

Aspect:	Past	Present	Future
Inception	3, 6, 10, 11 12, 13		1
Contingency	4, 5, 6, 9, 13		
Condition	9		11, 12
Habit	7	8	
Continuation	2, 5, 7	8, 10, 11, 12, 13	

On the time continuum past is marked sixteen times, present six times, and future three times. On the aspect scale continuation is marked eight times, inception six times, contingency five times, condition three times and habit twice. Tense inflection gives greatest weight to the past and least to the future. Inception and continuation have greater formal importance than other aspects.

432. The Simple Tenses

Simple tenses are expressed with a single temporal morpheme. These contain time components of future and past and aspect components of inception, contingency, and continuation.

432.1 The Future Inceptive Tense

{a} signals future inception of the action with no expression of duration. This suffix only occurs in this tense and may

be translated as future or as present in the sense of immediate present.

Examples given within syntactic context are,

||xi t'i-xe=xa-eene-a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii t'ixéxeenewakani./

'I will give them food before I leave my house.'

||mé-ni abéxi é-ki-ks† ú=a-ka.||:/meni aberi ékiks† wáaka./

'Then let's see if we can do it.'

||f-má-ks†-ni pá=a-ti.||:/imáks†ni páati./ 'He will take us.'

||xi-ke-ni pi-a=če-a-ka má-a-mpé pawá-ni ká pawá-ni.||:/

/xikemi piáčlaka maampé pawáni ka pawáni./ 'I will buy you something every day.'

||a-mpé-čka-ks† ku-ya=mayi-a-∅ yá.||:/ampéčkaks† ku-yámayia

yá./ 'Just what shall we ask him now?'

||ká c'á-nki ni.í=xa-a-ka k'wi=nče-ni, c'á pá=kwaye-si-ni-ti

t'i-xe=kwa.||:/kaa c'anki nixaka k'wi-nčeni, c'aa

pákwyesinti t'ixékwa./ 'And those who are going to

the fiesta, do they themselves take the food?'

432.2 The Past Continuous Tense

Marked by the morph ||ani|| the past continuous signals action continued over a period of past time. It is best translated by the Spanish imperfect tense in its sense of past continued action, but not including its sense of past habitual action which requires an additional morpheme in Tarascan (433.3).

In English the meaning can only be conveyed by the simple past tense, or the periphrastic past 'was ...ing'. {ani} has been observed with all modal morphemes except the stative.

Examples are,

- ||xi pá-ani-ka-ni.||:/xii páankani./ 'I carried it.'
- ||f-má a-tá=ani-ti.||:/imaa atáandi./ 'He was hitting him.'
- ||f-má maxi-kwa f-má-nki ni.́=xa-ani-ka xu-čá-nku-ni
 rremá-yu,||:/imaa maxikwa imanki nixanka xučáankuni
 rremáyu,/ 'The girl who went with us at the oar,'
 (i.e. helping to row the boat)
- ||ká xi-má-k'u-ksé e-xo=ka-ni xóva-ni,és-ki ni.́-e=
nt'a-an-ka xóva-ita.||:/ka ximánk'uksé exókani
 xóvani, éski niéntaanka xovita./ 'and right there
 we waited for Jova who was coming.'

432.3 The Past Inceptive Tense

{š} marks verbal action begun in the past. When the verb stem has a meaning of quality or state, verbs with this suffix are best translated with the English present tense. With other verb themes the Spanish preterite is the usual translation, signaling an action with no temporal duration. In English the simple past must be used to translate such verbs.

Examples are,

- ||xó, xi xúks=ka-š-ka-ni.||:/xó, xii xúkskaškani./ 'Yes, I
 planted it.'
- ||wici=nte-kwa t'ú-xe k'wí=š-ka.||:/wicintekwa t'uxe k'wiška./
 — 'Yesterday you (sg.) slept.'
- ||xi mi=te-š-ka-ni.||:/xii miteškani./ 'I am wise.'

| |biéni-xe p'u-ku=š-ka. ||:/biénte p'ukúška./ 'you (sg.)
are very fat.'

||xí sa-pi=š-ka-ni mási ká-ni nó-ki xu-či-ti xinkú-ne-kwa. ||:
/xi sapiškani masi kani noki xučiti xinkúnekwa./
'I am smaller than my sister.'

||nó ni. ' -a-ka-ni nó-ampé xá-ci=š-ka-ni tumína. ||:/noo
niwákani nóompee xaciškani tumína./ 'I won't go
(because) I have no money.'

||xí e-wá-š-ka-ni pári-ni xí pá-yá=ncí-ni. ||:/xii ewáškani
páriní xii payáncíni./ 'I took it away from him in
order to put it over my head.'

432.4 The Past Contingent Tense

{pI} signals a past action contingent on the performance of another action, translating as present or past perfect, or sometimes simple past. For example,

||xi-mpó-sí-ksíni e-xo=nt'a-ni xa. ' =pl-ka ||:/ximpósíksíni
exónt'ani xápka./ 'Because of this we had waited.'

||xí xu-pa=nt'a-pl-Ø-ni. ||:/xii xupánt'apini./ 'I had probably washed it.'

||í-má-c'í-ni a-yi=ni éš-ki wé=a-ku-pl-ka-ksí yá. ||:
/imác'íni ayíni eski wéakupkaksí yá./ 'She told us
that they had already gone out.'

||ká mé-ni-texu-ksí xi-má kú=nt'a-ni xóva-íta-ni e-ki-ksí-ni
a-yi=pl-ka, ||:/kaa méntexuksí ximaa kúnt'ani xovítani
ekíksíni ayíпка, / 'and again we met Jovita there,
who said to us,'

||mé-ni ná-k'i-ni xi-ni-re-ni mi=te-me-na-nt'a-pl-Ø-ni.||:
 /meni nakini xinteni mitemenant'apini./ 'Well, I
had probably been recognized.'

433. The Compound Tenses

The nine compound tenses are composed of from two to four temporal morphemes, distributed as has been seen in 421.

433.1 The Past Continuous Contingent Tense

The morph sequence ||ani-pl|| marks an action with past duration which is contingent on a further action. It is usually translated with the English past perfect or simple past.

For example,

||xi č'ó=pe-ani-pl-Ø-ni. ||:/xii č'ópiampini./ 'I had
 squatted down.'

||i-má ni. '=xa-ani-pl-Ø-v. ||:/imaa nixámpinii./ 'Had he
 gone?'

||entónses kánte-sé xu. '=ni-kwa=ani-pl-Ø-texu. ||:/entonses
 kántesé xunkwáampitexu./ 'The Cande had probably
 been returning home again.'

||xi ni. '=xa-ani-pl-Ø-ni péri nó ni. '=a-ka-ni mé-ni nó
 ma-čú=ntu-š-k'i-ni. ||:/xii nixámpini peri noo
 niwákani meni noo mačúntuškini./ 'I would have gone
 but I won't go because I twisted my foot.'

||ká c'á-t'u ku-yá=kwaye-nt'a-ni rretxátu, páxa xwá=ni-kwa-
 ku-ni, sikiéxa má, páxa c'á abéxi ná-sé-ksé
šó=t'a-ani-pl-Ø xi-ni, yá-mintu-eča. ||:/ka c'at'u

kuyákwayent'ani rretxátu, paxa xwánkwakuni, sikiexa má, paxa c'aa abexi násíks† šót'aampi xini, yámintueča./ 'and they also asked for a picture, perhaps one, to be brought to them, so that they might see how they had been rowing there, all of them.'

433.2 The Past Inceptive Contingent Tense

The morph combination ||š-pI|| marks a non-continuous action, begun in the past, which is contingent on the performance of another action or condition. Translation is usually by means of present or past perfect or simple past. For example,

||t'á-xe á=š-pe-š-pI-ka péxi yá-s† nó-texu yá. ||:/t'uxe

ášpešpka pexi yas† nótexu yá./ 'You were good but you are not any longer.'

||nó xa. '=ya-š-pI-ka-ni xi. ni. '=xa-š-pI-ka-ni xi xi-ni-a-ni

má mantádu. ||:/no xavášpkani xi. nixá-špkani xii xiniani ma mantádu./ 'I wasn't there. I had gone over there on an errand.'

||lé-k'u-ks† xu. '=ya-š-pI-ka páxi-ks† ni. '=xa-ni i-čá=

yu-ta-mpu. ||:/lék'uks† xuyášpka páxiks† nixáni ičáyutampu./ 'Then we came in order to go in the canoe.'

||t'á-xe e-šé=š-pI-k'i-v. ||:/t'uxe ešéšpkii./ 'Have you (sg.)

seen him?'

||xi-ni-ks† ni. '=e=-nt'a-ni k'tá-yu xi-ni-nki-ks† xu-čá

ni. '=e=xa-pI-ka ká lé-k'u-ks† xi-má ni. '=e=nt'a-š-pI-ka. ||:/xiniks† niént'ani k'táyu xininkiks† xučaa

niéxapka kaa lék'uks† ximaa ni-ént'ašpka./ 'We came there to the house where we had arrived, and then we had come there again.'

433.3 The Past Continuous Habitual Tense

The morph sequence ||s†-xaani|| marks an action which was habitual over a period of time in the past or a past intention. ||xaani|| is an allomorph of {ani}, past continuous, and {s†} is the habitual temporal suffix which marks past or present action. ||xaani||: /xaani/ ^f /xani/ (132). This compound tense is translatable as 'always ...ed, customarily ...ed, used to ..., intended to ...' or sometimes with the simple past. For example,

||xi čó=na-yi-s†-xaani-ka-ni.||: /xii čónayis†xaankani./

'I used to be afraid.'

||xi-ke-ni e-c'a=ku-če-s†-xaani-ka-ni a-mpé.||: /xikeni

ecákučes†xankani ampé./ 'I always used to spread things out for you.'

||xi-má wa-ni-ta=no-nt'a-ni, i-má-ni ta. '-Rd=ni, i-má-nki xa. '=pl-ka i-má, puéxta-yu, lé-k'u-ks† a-yi=ni, é-s-ki xu-čá ké=ce-ma-nt'a-s†-xaani-ka yá.||:

/ximaa wantánont'ani, imáni tatáni, imanki xápka imá, puéxtayu, lék'uks† ayini, éski xučaa ké-cemant'as†xaanka yá./ 'There we took our leave of the gentleman who was there at the door, saying to him then that we were going to go down now.'

433.4 The Present Continuous Habitual Tense

The sequence ||sɬ-ni|| marks an habitual action or condition, continuous in the present as in the past. ||ni|| is an allomorph of {a.ó}, present continuous. The compound tense is translatable as simple present, or simple present with addition of such adverbs as 'always, customarily,' etc., or as present intention. It is a very frequently employed tense. For example,

||xa-ni=sɬ-ni-ti biéni í wé=šú-yi-ni.||:/xanistnti bieni í í wéšuyini./ 'It rains a great deal this year.'

||pawá-ni pawá-ni ni.ó=xá-sɬ-ni-ka-ni í-ču=pe-o||:/pawami pawáni nixásfnkani íčúpio./ 'Every day I go to Ichupio.'

||xa-yu=a-p'e-xa-sɬ-ni-ka-čka-v. k'ó, púxu-ksɬ xa-yu=a-p'e-xa-sɬ-ni-ka-čka-sɬ.||:/xayoáp'exasɬnkačkaa. k'ó, púxuksɬ xayoáp'exasɬnkačka-sɬ./ Q: 'Do you always just help each other?' A: 'Yes. We only help each other.'

||šayí-ni xa-wa=xá-pl-xini ú-ni-v, mé-ni-naa a-yi=sɬ-ó-ni é-s-ki te-ni-pu=na-k'í yá. k'ó yá.||:/šayini xawáxapixini únii, ménaa ayisɬni éski tempúnak'í ya. k'oo yá./ 'Why haven't you been getting up early, since you say that you are intending to get married now? Isn't that so?'

433.5 The Past Contingent Conditional Tense

The morph combination ||pl-xini|| marks an action conditioned by another contingent action in the past. It sometimes translates best with the simple conditional and sometimes with the perfect conditional. For example,

||i-má ka-cá=ye-pl-xini-ti.||:/imaa kacáyepixinti./ 'He would have bitten.'

||wé-ka-pl-xini-ka-ks† xa-ci=ni mási p'i-ku=ni-š-kwa káni nó wé=šu-xi-kwa.||:/wékapixinkaks† xacni mási p'ikúnskwa kani noo wéšuxikwa./ 'We would have wished to have a better harvest than [we had] last year.'

||biéni kwagxáxi-s†-ni-ka-ni és-ki xa-ni=pl-xini-ka winá-ni.||:/biéni kwagxáxis†nkane éski xanfpixinka xináni./ 'It would please me very much if it would rain hard.'

||xu-čá wa-nta=š-pl-ka-ks† és-ki-ks† ni.´-e=xa-pl-xini-ka xo-ye=ni-pe-ni-ks†-ni dominku, péxo xi-má-k'u-ks† wa-ni-ta=š-pl-ka és-ki-ks† biéni yó=ni-ta-pl-xini-ka xu.´-ni-kwa=ni.||:/xučaa wantášpkaks† éskiks† niéxapixinka xoyémpenks†ni dominku, pexo ximákuks† wantašpka éskiks† biéni yóntapixinka xunkwáni./ 'We had said that we would arrive to visit on Sunday, but afterwards we had said that we would be very late in coming.'

433.6 The Past Inceptive-Present Continuous Tense

||š-a.´|| is a sequence of the past inceptive morpheme {š} in combination with the allomorph ||a.´|| of the present

continuous morpheme {a.}. This is the most common way of expressing non-habitual present tense with the meaning of action begun in the past and continuing into the present. It is usually translated as 'be ...ing'. With this combination of tense markers the first person singular does not suffix the enclitic {ni} (310). Examples are,

||kucf a.́ma=nt'a-na-š-a.́-ti. ||:/kucf+ amánt'anašatf./

'The moon is being eaten.' (= 'eclipsed')

||xí p'á=c'f-ku-š-a.́-ka í-má-ni ép'u-yu. ||:/xí p'á-

c'fkušaká imáni ép'uyu./ 'I am touching his head.'

||a-mpé-xe ť=š-a.́-k'í. ||:/ampexe ušakf./ 'What are you

doing?'

||p'á-me=xé-kwaye-š-a.́-ka. ||:/p'améxekwayešaká./ 'It hurts

me.'

||mé-ni nó-ksf á=nče-kwaye-š-a.́-k'í. ||:/meni noksf

ánčekwayešakf./ 'Why are we working?'

||maxí=kwa-íta-eča ní.́=nskeka-š-a.́-ti. ||:/maxíkíteča

nínskekašatf./ 'The girls want to go now.'

433.7 The Past Inceptive-Present Continuous-Present, Future Conditional Tense

The sequence ||š-a.́-m|| marks a tense expressing a future condition which was begun in the past. It is usually best translated as 'will continue to ..., go on ...ing'. For example,

||xí xí.́Rd=na-š-a.́-m-ka-ni. ||:/xí xíxínašámkani./ 'I will

be continuing to look for it.'

||xi pa-yá=nci-pa-š-a. '-m-ka-ni.||:/xi payánc+pašámkani./

'I will go on wearing it on my head as I walk along.'

||a-ni-tá=š-a. '-m-ti-xe-ni.||:/antašámtixeni./ 'He/she is

going to arrive before I do.'

||t'ú-xe čó=na-yi-š-a. '-m-k'i.||:/t'uxe čónayišámki./ 'Are

you afraid?'

||xi čó=na-yi-š-a. '-m-ka-ni.||:/xi čónayišámkani./ 'I

always go on being afraid.'

||xu-čá e-xa=p'e-xa-š-a. '-m-ka-kst.||:/xučaa exáp'e-

xašámkaksi./ 'We will be continuing to see each

other.'

433.8 The Past Inceptive-Past, Present Continuous-Present, Future Conditional Tense

This tense, marked by the morph sequence ||š-a. '-m-ani||, expresses an intention conceived in the past for action to take place in the future. It is usually translatable as 'would have been ...' or 'was going to ...'. Before the suffix ||ka|| in this sequence the morph ||ani|| varies freely with ||am||. Examples are,

||xi a-yi=š-a. '-m-ani-ka-ni.||^f ||xi a-yi=š-a. '-m-am-ka-ni.||:/xi ayišámamkani./^f /xi ayišámankani./ 'I was just going to say it.'

||xi ni. '=xa-š-a. '-m-ani-ka-ni péri nó ni. '=a-ka-ni mé-ni nó ú=st-ni ša-na=xa-ni.||:/xif nixa šámankani peri noo niwákani meni noo ústni šanáxani./ 'I was going to go but I will not go because I cannot walk.'

433.9 The Past Inceptive-Present Continuous-Past Contingent Tense

The sequence **||š-a.´-pi||** expresses action occurring at the time of a second action. It is translatable as 'was ...ing', 'have/had been ...ing', or 'is ...ing.' Examples are,

||čá wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-š-a.´-pi-ka c'á-nku-ni.||:/čaa
wantónskwayešápká c'ánkuni./ 'You were speaking
 with them.'

||xi wa-ni-ta=ne-a-š-a.´-pi-ka-ni.||:/xi wantániašápkani./
 'I am feeling sympathetic.'

||t'ú-xe ni.´-xa-š-a.´-pi-k'i-v.||:/t'úxe nixašápkii./
 'Were you going?'

||xi xó=ta-š-a.´-pi-ka-ni mísi-ítu-ni kwánto xu.´-ni-kwa=ka
tomási yá.||:/xii xotašápkani misítuni kwánto
xunkwáka tomasi yá./ 'I was tying up the cat when
 Tomas came home.'

440. The Participle

There is only one true verbal participle, formed with the suffix {ni} following any verb theme, translating as present participle or infinitive. Other participial forms are members of the substantive form class, participating in substantive inflection, with privileges of thematic suffixation dependent upon the stem class of the verbal stem to which they are affixed (cf. 630).

The verb theme with {ni} is the form commonly given when a verb form is elicited, translative as 'to ...' or '...ing'. In IC relationship with a modally inflected verb

this is also the translation, but such a word can also be used in immediate constituency with any noun, pronoun, pronominal enclitic or combination of these, as a verb form of undefined tense.

When {ni} is attached to a verb theme and the whole is in immediate constituency with another verb the subject is the same as that of the other verb. If {ni} is omitted, the uninflected verb form (the only case in which an uninflected verb theme occurs) is still participial but the subject is other than that of the verb with which it is in constituency. Examples are,

||e-še=ni||:/ešéni/ 'to see', 'seeing'

||t'ú-xe e-šé=ni.||:/t'uxe ešéni./ 'You (sg.) are/were/
will be seeing.'

||xu. '=xa-š-pl-ti e-še=ni.||:/xuxášpti ešéni./ 'He came to
see.'

||xi e-wa=š-ka-ni páni-ni xi pa-yá-ncí-ni.||:/xi ewáškani
páriní xii payáncíni./ 'I took it from him to put
it over my own head.'

||xi sɪ-pi=xu-sɪ-ni-ka-ni a-ni-ku=na-kwa-ni ni. '=Rd=ni
xa. '=ya-ni.||:/xi sɪpikusɪnkani ankúnakwani ninini
xayáni./ 'I smell meat cooking.' (lit. 'cooking
being there') (The first final {ni} is the first
personal singular subject pronominal enclitic. The
second is the same enclitic in its usage as third
person object, here the accusative case.)

||mé-ni pxónt'u-ni xi-má a-yi=ni xi máma xwána-ita-ni.||:

/meni pxónt'uni ximaa ayini xii máma xwanítani/

'So there I soon said to Mama Juanita ...' (In this clause the first {ni} is a substantive completing thematic suffix. The second {ni} is the enclitic first person singular subject. The last {ni} is the enclitic third person object, here the accusative case.)

||xa-ci=mu-ku-ni sɬ-kwi=xi má cú=ni-rd-yu páxi-ni č'a-na=xa-ni

kwana=sɬ-ni.||:/xacímukuni sɬkwixi maa cúncuyu

páxini č'anáxani kwanásɬni./ 'I have the skin on the mouth of a pot so that I may play with the frog.'

||xa-ci=mu-ku-ni sɬ-kwi=xi má cú=ni-rd-yu páxi č'a-na=xa

kwana=sɬ-ni.||:/xacímukuni sɬkwixi maa cúncuyu

páxi č'anáxa kwanásɬni./ 'I have the skin on the mouth of the pot so that others may play with the frog.'

CHAPTER V

SUBSTANTIVE INFLECTION

500. Introduction to Substantive Inflection

Substantives are inflected for plurality and for case. There are one plural suffix and five case suffixes. The plural suffix occurs with substantives of all classes except adverbs. The case suffixes occur principally with nouns and pronouns and to a more limited extent with substantives of other classes.

The enclitic {ni} (310), when it occurs after nouns and pronouns, has a case meaning of 'object of the verb'. It may occur thus either singly or in sequence with, and following, certain other case suffixes.

The suffix inventory is:

Plurality:	{eča}
Case:	1. {ni} accusative
	2. {nku} comitative
	3. {mpu} instrumental
	4. {exi} genitive
	5. {yu} locative

{eča} precedes the case suffixes except that it has also been observed to follow {exi} in use with possessive pronoun themes modifying nouns. {yu} and {mpu} may not be

followed by {ni}. {nkn} rarely occurs without the addition of {ni}.

The semantic composition need not be charted as it is elemental. {ni}, as accusative case morpheme, and {yu}, locative, both have a tie of agreement within the thematic suffixation of the verb, where both object of the verb and location of the action are expressed with the appropriate suffixes (cf. 731, 720). {eča}, plural, is reflected in the verb theme only if followed by {ni}, which places the substantive so inflected in the accusative case, and if unsuffixed (nominative case) it may be in agreement with a reciprocal verbal thematic suffix.

510. The Plural Suffix

When {eča} is attached to a noun or pronoun it signals plurality of that word. Plurality is not always expressed, or may be expressed only by a pronominal enclitic. When {eča} is attached to a numeral the numeral is used pronominally rather than in immediate constituency with a noun. When attached to an adjective it is in immediate constituency with a noun whose plurality is thus indicated. In such a construction the noun may or may not be pluralized, but it is usually the adjective which alone bears the plural suffix. When a noun and a pronoun are in immediate constituency both may bear the plural suffix or only one or the other. If the plural suffix follows the genitive suffix after a pronominal theme, the pronoun is in immediate constituency with a noun whose plurality is thus expressed. Examples are,

||k'wí-ya hwa eča e-c'a=ku-ka-ta xa. '=ya-š-ti-ks̄. ||:

//k'wíyakweča ecákukata hayát'iks̄./ 'The reed mats
are spread out.'

||yá mímim eča wáxes-ita-eča wé-xa-s̄-ni-ti-ks̄. ||:

//yámitweča waxesiteča wéxas̄ntiks̄./ 'All the
little girls (dressed as Tarascans) always come out.'

((//wáxes/ is a plural readaptation to Tarascan of a
Tarascan loan word into Spanish, /wáyí/, 'woman',
which became Spanish huare or guare, meaning either
a Tarascan woman or any woman or girl wearing Tarascan
dress. It is used thus by Tarascans to mean a non-
Tarascan woman dressed in a Tarascan costume for a
fiesta.)

||ci-má-ni-ks̄ á-a-š-ka yá i-yi-na-yi-eča-ni. ||:/cimanks̄

wáša yaa iyinayičani./ 'We had already made two
napkins.'

||tani-mu-eča ni. '=xa-ni. ||:/tanimueča nixáni./ 'Three of

them are going.'

||páxa kompania eča-ni i-ni-ci-a-ni i-má-exi-eča-ni. ||:

//pára kompaniečani incani iméxičani./ 'To give to
his companions.'

||ni. '=xa-ti c'iwé-xi-ti xapi=nti i-má-t'u i-má-exi

kompania eča-nku-ni. ||:/niéxati c'iwéxiti xapinti

iméxičani iméxi kompaniečankuni./ 'The father of the
groom arrived with his companions.'

||ká má-mu-taru eča tá-po=nt'a-ni xi-ni ké=ce-kwa. ||:/kaa

mánterueča tapónt'ani xini kécekwa./ 'and others

were catching them there on the ground.'

||i-ki=ča-kwa xá=Rd-ti-eča šuku=pa-ya-kwa||:/ikičakwa

xáxatiča šukúpayakwa/ 'clothes full of dirt'

('full' is an adjective modifying 'clothes')

||c'á biéni sési č'ana=nt'a-ni i-má-ni k'wi=nče-kwa-ni

e-xo=nt'a-ni, c'á šaniču a-ná-pu-eča.||:/c'aa bieni

sési č'anánt'ani imani k'winčekwani exónt'ani, c'aa

šaniču anápweeča./ 'They played very nicely await-

ing the fiesta, those from Janitzio.' (/anápu/

'from')

||ni.=xa-š-ti má-xu wáyi te-pa=ya-ti-eča.||:/nixat'i maxu

wáyi tepáyatiča./ 'Some fat women came.' (/eča/

may also be attached after /wáyi/ 'a woman')

||čiti xó=ni-kwaye-eča ča-ya=pe-iti-eča we-ko=ye-š-ti.||:

/čiti xónkwayeča čayápitiča wekóyet'i./ 'Your red

skirts fell.' (/čayápiti/ 'red')

||čiti wa=cš k'é=xa-ti-eča wé=xa-š-ti-ksš.||:/čiti wacš

k'éxatiča wéxat'iksš./ 'Your big sons went out.'

520. The Case Suffixes

The case suffixes have two distributional positions, as the objective suffix {ni} may occur either alone or after the case suffixes {nku}, comitative, and {exi}, genitive, when forms so inflected are used as object of the verb. {ni} alone, suffixed to a substantive puts that substantive into the accusative case. {exi ni} is attached to a substantive

in the genitive case when it is in immediate constituency with a noun with accusative inflection. {nku ni} seems to be in free variation with {nku} but is found much more frequently than the latter, with comitative meaning, 'with', as 'in possession of' or 'accompanying'.

The following paradigm with the noun theme /cakápu/ 'stone' illustrates case contrasts. The numbers correspond to those in 400.

1. ||caka=pu-ni e-še=ni||:/cakápu ni ešéni/ 'To see the stone'
2. ||caka=pu-nku-ni||:/cakápunkuni/ 'with (holding) the stone'
3. ||caka=pu-mpu||:/cakápumpu/ 'with (using) the stone'
4. ||caka=pu-exi||:/cakápweexi/ 'of the stone'
5. ||caka=pu-yu||:/cakápuyu/ 'to/at/on/by the stone'

521. The Accusative Case

The enclitic {ni}, when attached after a substantive theme (except adverbial) or a substantive inflected with {eča}, plural, gives such a substantive the meaning of direct or indirect object of the verb. When pronouns or adjectives are in immediate constituency with an accusative noun or pronoun, {ni} may or may not be attached to such an adjective or pronoun in free variation. Most frequently the accusative suffix is attached to the noun or pronoun rather than the adjective or pronoun in immediate constituency with it.

If there is no probable semantic ambiguity as to which word is subject and which object, the object substantive is sometimes left unmarked. This is frequently the case in phrases using such a word as /t'ixékwa/, 'food', as object, for example, as this is unlikely to be construed as the subject of the verb.

Numerals with {ni} are pronominal numerals, with such meanings as 'the three of them'.

There is a substantive thematic suffix {ni}, frequently found with nouns and adverbs especially. It is difficult to avoid confusion between these, the participial suffix, {ni} and the enclitic {ni} with its several uses and privileges of occurrence.

Examples of the accusative use of {ni} are,

||kompidári-ni-ksí-ni marí-kwa-íta-ni ká dón xóxje-ni ká
 lóla-íta-ni ká bixjínia-ni ká maxía flóxisi-ni.||:
 /kompidáxinksáni maxikitani kaa don xóxjeni kaa
 lolitani kaa bixjíniani kaa maxía flóxisini./ 'We
 invited Mariquita and Don Jorge and Lolita and
Virginia and Maria Flores.'

||wa-no=ku-ni-ksí má pánt'a-ni.||:/wanókkunksí maa púnt'ani./
 'We passed a point.'

||lé-k'u-ksí pá=ku-ni má cí=ka-ta-ni í-má-ni ká pagxínu-ni
 má taxé=ču-ni pá=ku-ni.||:/lék'uksí pákuni maa
 cíkatani imani kaa pagxinuni maa taxéčuni pákuni./
 'Then we took a hen to her and to the godfather we
 took a rooster.'

||xi kwá=ne-ta-š-ka-ni xu-čiti-ni.||:/xii kwánetaškani
xučitini./ 'I lent him mine.'

||xi me-a=mu-a-ka-ni kuxu=ča-eča-ni.||:/xii meámuakani
kuxúčečani./ 'I will pay for the fish.'

||ú=če-xe-ni má xi-ni-xe-ni.||:/účexeni maa xinteni./
 'Make one for me!'

||i-ni xi xu.°-ka=pi-ka-v i-ni sá-xi=t'a-kwa. ||:/ini xii
 xukápkaa ini sáxit'akwa./ 'Shall I put on that
 skirt?'

||i-má maxi-kwa-ita i-má-nki paka=nta-ni a-ná-pu-e-ka
 pá=t'a-ni. ||:/imá maxikita imánki pakántani aná-
 pweeka pá't'ani./ 'The girl who is from Pacanda
 took her.'

Examples of instances of nouns used objectively but
 without the suffix {ni} are,

||xi xa-ci=š-ka-ni má k'tá.||:/xii xacišškani maa k'tá./
 'I have a house.'

||xi k'wi=xa-kwa ú=p'a-ni. ||:/xii k'wixakwa úp'ani./ 'I
 make reed mats to sell.'

||kuyu=ča a.°=ya-š-a.°-pi-ti msi-itu. ||:/kuyúča ayašápti
 misitu./ 'The cat has been eating the fish.'

522. The Comitative Case

{nku} is translated as 'with' but in the sense of 'having',
 'taking', 'accompanied by' rather than 'using'. The use of
 {ni} following {nku} seems to be a matter of completely free

variation. When a pronoun and a noun are in immediate constituency either may bear {nku}. {nku} has not been observed in attachment to adverbs. Examples are,

||xí ni.ó=a-ka-ni i-má-nku.||:/xii niwákani imánku/ 'I will go with him.'

||f-má xu.ó=a-ti xu-čá-nku.||:/imaa xuwáti xučánku./ 'He will come with us.'

||xí k'wi=a-ka-ni xi-nku-ni.||:/xii k'wíakani xinkúni./
'I will sleep with her.'

||f-má-t'u a.ó=a-ti yá-mintu komp'ánia-eča-nku-ni.||:
/imát'u awati yámintu komp'ániečankuni./ 'He will eat with all his companions.'

||tá=Rd. pagxínu-ni kú=aa-ni sč-pi=xu-kwa xi-nku-ni.||:
/táta pagxínuni kúmani sčpixukwa xinkúni./ 'meeting the godfather with the flower-covered stick.'

||xí i-ču=šku-š-a.ó-pi-ka-ni má-xu-texu-eča-nku-ni.||:/xii ičuškušápkani máxutexuečankuni./ 'I was making tortillas with the others.'

||né-nku-ni ni.ó=a-∅.||:/nénkuni niwá./ 'With whom shall I go?'

||nó a-ša=ka-ni t'i-xe=kwa tumá-nku-ni.||:/noo ašákani t'ixé kwa tumánkuni./ 'I didn't send any food with Tomás.'

||yé=ta-ni txigu-nku-ni páxa á=š-p'e-ni.||:/yétani txigunkuni páxa ášpeni./ 'to stir it in with the wheat to make it good.'

523. The Instrumental Case

{mpu} marks instrumentality when attached to nouns, pronouns, and numerals, in the sense of 'using' or 'by means of'. If a numeral or pronoun and noun are in immediate constituency the instrumental suffix is attached to the numeral or to both. With temporal nouns suffixation of {mpu} gives a temporal adverbial meaning. With demonstrative adverbs {mpu} is usually translated as 'from'. For example,

||č'ana=š-a.:-ti caka=pu-mpu.||:/č'anašati: cakápumpu./

'He is playing with a stone.'

||xi ni.:=pl-xini-ka-ni pēxi é-ki-ks† tepa=xi-mpu ni.:=pl-

xini-k'i. ||:/xii mīpīxinkani pexi ékiks† tepáximpu

nīpīxinki./ 'I would have gone if we had gone in the canoe.'

||6 nó-c't-ni pá=t'a-a-∅ kamionéta-mpu.||:/oo nóc'tni pát'aa

kamionétampu. // 'Possibly you will take us in the station wagon.'

||xi kabáyu-mpu ni.:-a-ka-ni. ||:/xii kabáyumpu niwákani./

'I will go on horseback.'

||xi t=a-š-a.:-ka č'ana-xa-kwa-eča-ni séxa-mpu. ||:/xii

waašaká č'anáxakwečani séxampu./ 'I am making toys out of wax.'

||e-xo=ka-ni ná tanímu-mpu kuci=mpu. ||:/exókani maa

tanímumpu kucímpu. // 'to wait about three months.'

||a-mpé kuci=mpu-e-š-k'i k'wi-nče-kwa-v. ||:/ampee kucímpweeški

k'winčekwaa./ 'Im which month is the fiesta?'

(//-mpu// is here followed by the verbalizing suffix
{e})

||i-nté-mpu i-nté-ki xi-ni-pa-ni-e-ka.||:/intémpu intéki
ximpánika.// 'With that which is new.' (in answer
to a question as to which instrument should be used)
||xi-né-mpu xu.²-ra-š-ti.||:/ximámpu xuxát'i./ 'He came
from there.'

524. The Genitive Case

{exi} signifies possession, and has two morphologically determined allomorphs, ||exi|| and ||xi||. The latter is only attached to two personal pronominal themes, the former to words of all substantive form classes. Constructions with {exi}, unless adverbial or numerical, are always in immediate constituency with one or more nouns or pronouns inflected with any case suffix, or uninflected (nominative). In the latter type of construction the form with {exi} also bears the accusative suffix {ni}.

In addition to personal pronouns inflected with {exi} there are also pronominal genitive forms in the first and second persons singular. Genitive forms of personal pronouns will be given here. It is easiest to consider the forms not marked by {exi} as independent possessive pronouns, despite the identity of the first phoneme of each with the equivalent non-possessive form. These pronominal forms are,

||xu-čⁱ||ⁱ||xu-čⁱti|| 'my'
||čⁱ||ⁱ||čⁱti|| 'thy'

||i-má-exi||: /iméxi/ 'his/her/its of that one'
 ||i-nté-exi||: /intéxi/ 'his/her/its of that one'
 ||xu-čá-xi|| 'our'
 ||čá-xi|| 'your' (pl.)
 ||c'á-exi||^f ||c'č-exi||: /c'éxi/^f /c'čxi/ 'their'

When a numeral is used adjectively in immediate constituency with a noun or pronoun in the genitive case, such a noun or pronoun alone bears the genitive suffix, although a numeral used as a noun may be genitively inflected. Examples are,

||iča=yu-ta xi-ni-te=š-ti ci-má-ni-Éya-lwa wá-yi-exi. ||:
 /ičáyuta xintét'i cimánevakwa wáyixi./ 'The canoe
 is the property of the two women.'

||ci-má-ni-exi||: /cimanixi/ 'of the two of them'

When an adjective modifies a possessive noun, only the noun is inflected with the genitive suffix. For example,

||i-má k'tá wá-yi-exi i-ča=ku-ti-ni sámi xa=ša-ti. ||:
 /imaa k'taa wáyixi ičákutini sami xášeti./ 'The
 house of the woman lying down is very pretty.'

{exi} may be used in attachment to either noun or adjective with the meaning 'made of' or 'with', as 'painted with'. For example,

||xa-ni-ci=xi ta-ku-sé-exi||: /xancixi takísxi/ 'feet made
 of cloth.'

||wi-yi=pu asúkaxi-exi||:/wiyipa asúkaxixi/ 'crown of
sugar'

||má k'tá k'é-xi a-tá=nci-ka-ta čaxá=pe-iti-exi/||:
/maa k'taa k'ěxi atáncikata čaxápitixi./ 'a big
house painted red.'

When {exi} is attached to a temporal adverb the meaning is 'at the time' indicated by the adverb. This adverb may stand alone or in immediate constituency with another noun or adverb. For example,

||wicinte-kwa i-ni-ča-ti-xu-exi/||:/wicintekwa inčátixuexi/
'yesterday afternoon'

||sí nó át'a i-ni-ča-ti-xu-exi wa-xa-ta-ni mé-ni-texu. ||:
/sí noo át'a inčátixuexi wexátani méntexu./ 'not
to untie them again until the afternoon.'

Examples of use of {exi} with nouns and pronouns are,

||f.má-c't-ni a-yi=a-ti, tá-Rd=empa maxi-kwa-exi. ||:
'He will tell us, the father of the girl' (/ -empa/
attached after 'father' is a nominal thematic
possessive suffix, cf. 621.1)

||páxi éki-ksí ni. ' -e-xa-ku-ni maxikwa-exi-ni tá-Rd=empa-ni. ||:
/paxi iki-ksí niéxakuni maxikwexini tátempani./
'in order that they arrive at (where is) the father
of the girl.'

||páxi pé=xa-ni át'a xá=k'i-yu, f.má mónu-exi xá=k'i-yu. ||:
/paxi péxani at'a xák'iyu, imaa mónuexi xák'iyu./

'in order to arrive next at the hand, at the hand
of the statue.'

||t'ixe=kwa a-mpé pxebenixi-ku-ni i-má i-má-exi komp'ánia-
ni.||:/t'ixékwa ampé pxebenixikuni imaa iméxi
komp'ániani./ 'He provided all kinds of food for
his companions.'

||péxi sikiéxa c'á-exi-čka-k'u c'á-nki rretxatáxi-kwaye-
ka.||:/péxi sikiéxa c'éxičku c'ánki rretxatáxikwayeka./
'but anyway he had only taken photographs of them.'

||páxi wa-yá-pa-nt'a-ni, c'á, tánt'o c'iwe=xi-ti xapi=nti
i-má-exi komp'ánia-eča-nku-ni.||:/páxi wayápan't'ani,
c'á, tánto c'iwéxiti xapínti iméxi komp'ániečankuni./
'so that they will dance, the father of the groom
with his companions.' (lit. 'so-that dancing, they,
as-much groom father his companions-with.')

||i-má wá-yi-iti-exi i-má-exi wi=ču||:/imaa wayítixi iméxi
wiču/ 'The dog of that woman' (lit. 'the of-the-
little-woman her dog')

||xi-e-š-ka-ni mási k'é=xi c'f-exi c'f-nki e-xe=ka-ni
xa.:=ka.||:/xiškani masi k'exi c'fxi c'fiki exškani
xaká./ 'I am the biggest of those who are living.'

525. The Locative Case

The suffix {yu} marks location, with meanings such as 'in,
at, out of, to, from, on, under', etc. The direction of the
location is otherwise marked, either by use with verb stems

meaning 'enter, exit, descend, ascend', etc. or by immediate constituency of the construction with {yu} with nouns or adverbs of place, with meanings such as 'inside', 'underneath', etc. Attached to numeral themes it is often used in counting, with the meaning 'two parts, three parts,' etc. When attached to certain nouns, especially those of quality or time measures, it yields meanings translatable with adverbial phrases. In attachment to adverbs the meaning seems not very different from the meaning of uninflected forms. This suffix has not been observed in attachment to pronouns, adjectives, nor place names. Examples are,

||ká ni.́-e=xa-ti-ksí waša=ka-ni bánk'u-ěca-yu. ||:/kaa
niéxatiksí wašákani bánk'wesčayu. // 'and they
arrived to sit on the benches.'

||páxa ni.́-e=nt'a-kwaye-ni i-má-exi ~~kuna-ěca-ěwa-yu~~ ximpó. ||:
/páxa niént'akwayeni inéxi kunáěčakwaye ximpó./
'in order to arrive at his house.'

||i-má-nki xa.́=pl-ka i-má pwéxta-yu. ||:/imanki xápka inaa
pwéxtayu. / 'he who had been at the door.'

||ni.́=xa-ti-ksí yá-mintu ša-na-xi-yu íst. ||:/nixátiksí
yámintu šanáxiyu íst. / 'They went along the whole
path thus.'

||ni.́=á-ka-ni icé-yu. ||:/niwákani icéyu. // 'I will go to
the water.'

but, ||ni.́=á-ka-ni siwá-nca-ni. ||:/niwákani siwáncani. /
'I will go to Tzintzuntzan.'

||ni.́=a-ka-ni i-šó-yu.||:/niwákani išóyu./ 'I will go
from here.'

||nó-čka xu.́=a-ti yá mé-ni nó yó=nta-kwa-yu-e-š-ka yá. ||:
/nóčka xuwati yaa meni noo yóntakwayueška yá./
'She will not come now because it is now late.'
(the verbal thematic suffix {e} verbalizes any
completed word, cf. 780.)

||a-mpé kucá-yu e-še=š-k'i. ||:/ampee kucáyu ešéški./ 'In
what month did you see it?'

||xi i-ni-ča=a-ka-ni k'tá-yu. ||:/xii inčáakani k'táyu./
'I enter the house.'

||f-má i-ni-ča=x-e-e-ni xa.́=-yá-š-ti k'tá-yu. ||:/imaa
inčáxeni xayát'i k'táyu./ 'He is inside the house.'

||f-má wé=x-a-š-ti k'tá-yu. ||:/imaa wéxat'i k'táyu./ 'He came
out of the house.'

||ni.́=a-ti k'tá-empa-yu. ||:/niwáti k'témpayu./ 'He will go
to his house.'

||k'tá-yu ka-yá=kwa xa.́=-yá-š-ti. ||:/k'táyu kayákwa xayát'i./
'It is on top of the house.'

||k'tá-yu ké=ce-kwa xa.́=-ya-š-ti. ||:/k'tayu kécekwa xayát'i./
'It is under the house.'

||c'i-má-upu-yu u-ni-pa=c'í-ta-ni. ||:/c'imápuyu umpá-
c'í-ta-ni./ 'It is in two heaps on the table'
(/umpá-/ is a classificatory verb stem meaning
'heaped'. /-upu-/ is a classificatory numeral
thematic suffix meaning 'heap')

||c'i-má-ni-yu|| 'the second part'

530. The Relative Suffix

The suffix {nki}, with freely varying allomorphs ||nki|| and ||ki|| is attached after pronouns and adverbs to form the external distribution classes of relative pronouns and relative adverbs. Relative pronouns act as subject of the verb of subordinate (relative) clauses, introducing a verb inflected with the subordinative modal suffix {ka} (cf. kuh, 913), while relative adverbs are followed by a noun, ~~pronoun~~, or pronominal enclitic in such relationship. Both are in immediate constituency with a preceding noun, pronoun, numeral, or a verbalized member of any of these classes occurring in the main clause. If a personal pronoun is in immediate constituency with a relative pronoun, the same personal pronoun theme will underly the relative. Main clause substantives with which relatives have an IC relationship may be inflected. Examples of relative pronouns are,

||f-má-nki|| 'he who, that which'

||čá-nki|| 'you (pl.) who'

||t'ú-nki|| 'you (sg.) who'

Examples of relative adverbs are,

||xi-má-nki|| 'there where'

||é-ki|| 'that, since, as long as'

Relative pronoun syntactic examples are,

||ká má kanát'a-xe xa-ci=aku-a-ka f-má-nki xu-p'i=ka-ti-mi

xa.'=a-ka. ||:/kaa maa kanát'axe xaciakwaa-ka infnki

xupikatini xawáka./ 'and you (sg.) will put a basket

on it, which it will be holding.'

||xi-e-š-ka-ni mási k'é=xi c'f-exi c'f-nki e-xe-ka-ni
 xa. '=ka. ||:/xiškani masi k'exi c'ixi c'fuki exékani
 xaká./ 'I am the biggest of those who are living.'

||páxa i-má-nki nó mi-te-ka i-má-čka, k'ó, txabáju
 e-še=ni. ||:/páxa imánki noo miteka imáčka, k'ó,
 txabáju ešeni./ 'For she who doesn't know how, yes,
 I see that it is work.'

||i-má twi-ni úsa-ti a-mpé-ma-ki tantiexi-š-ka é=ni
 pagxínu. ||:/imaa twini wáati ampémaki tantiéxiška
 úni pagxínu./ 'The godfather meanwhile will do
 whatever he desires to do.'

||t'ú-xe t'ú-nki-xe ni. '=a-ka. ||:/t'uxe t'únkixe níwáka./
 'You (sg.) (are) the one who should go.'

||čá ci-má-xa-ni čá-nki xa. '=ma-ni xa. '=ka xi-mí-ni,
čá-nki áznče-kwaye-k'a, mónu-itu-eča-ni. ||:/čaa
 cimáxani čánki xamáni xaká ximíni, čánki
 ánčekwayka, monitweečani./ 'You two (are) the ones
who are there, you who work (making) dolls.'

Examples of relative adverb syntactic constructions are,

||xi-ni-ksé ni. '=e=nt'a-ni, k'tá-yu xi-ni-nki-ksé xu-čá
 ni. '=e=xa-pl-ka. ||:/xiniksé níent'ani k'táyu,
 xučá níéxapka./ 'We arrived there, at the house
where we had arrived (before).'

||páxa-ksé tánto xi-ni-a-ni ni. '=xa-ni pá-nt'a-ni máxi-kwa-ni,
xi-ni-nki aná-pu-e-ka. ||:/páxaksé tánto xinfani
 nixani pánt'ani máxikwani, xininki anápweeka./ 'so

that they will go, taking the girl to that place from which she comes.' (lit. 'there-where she-is-from')

|||ká f-má-exi komp'ánia-eča-ni, xi-má ni.č=xā-ni, wa-ni-ta=
nu-nt'a-ni, páxa-ki imát't'u, ni.č=nt'a-a-ka,
f-má-exi komp'ánia-empa-eča, xi-mpó-ki c'át't'u
xi-má, xá=ma-si-xaani-ka, komp'ánia-eča, f-má-ni
komp'aniexi-ni, c'iwe=xi-ti xapi=nti-ni. ||:/kaa
iméxi komp'ániečani, ximaa nixáni, wantánunt'ani,
páxaki imát't'u, nint'aaka, iméxi komp'ániempeča,
ximpoki c'át't'u ximá, xámasi-xaanka komp'anieča imáni
komp'ániexini c'iwéxiti xapintini./ 'and he goes
there to say farewell to his companions so that he
also and his companions go, because they also, his
companions, kept making stops there, accompanying
the father of the groom.'

|||biéni yó=ne-š-ti yá é-ki-ksč-ni xi č=nt'a-ka p'o-ye=
ni-pe-ni i-šš. ||:/bieni yónet'i yaa ékiksčni xii
čnt'aka p'oyémpeni išš./ 'It is a long time now
since I made them a visit here.'

CHAPTER VI

SUBSTANTIVE THEMATIC SUFFIXATION

600. Introduction to Thematic Suffixation

Thematic suffixes lie between the stem and the inflectional suffixes, and with the stem form themes. Substantive thematic suffixation is unique to substantives. Verbal thematic suffixation is uniquely productive for verbs but is also shared by substantives of all classes at least to some degree. All noun, adjective, and numeral stems are also verbal. Adverbs and pronouns each have some stems that are not verbal. Verbs, however, can be constituted from any completed word, including those with enclitics, by the addition of a verbalizing suffix. Substantives need not terminate with a substantive thematic suffix.

610. Introduction to Substantive Thematic Suffixation

Substantive thematic suffixation is more truly 'derivational' than is verbal, for by means of one series of suffixes substantives are derived from verbal themes. Some nouns are constituted from unsuffixed verbal themes, but many require the addition of a thematic suffix, as do adjective, adverb, and pronoun themes, except those not derived from verb stems.

Substantive thematic suffixes occur in two position classes. Most of them are multivalent, i.e. shared by more

than one substantive sub-class. Those of first position are largely derivational and those of second position are word-extending. These latter are attached to already completed words to form extended words of the same form class.

620. Substantive Extending Suffixes

The inventory of suffixes of this class, and the class or classes of substantives to which they may be attached are as follows:

Personal possession; nouns only: {empa}, {te}, {nča},
{škwa}.

Augmentative; noun only: {ku}.

Differential; all classes: {texu}.

Diminutive title; nouns only: {ka}.

Diminutive; nouns and adjectives: {ftu}.

621. Nominal Extending Suffixes

621.1 The Personal Possessives

The four personal possessive suffixes are attached to nouns to mean personal possession of that noun. When they are attached to numerals the numerals are nominal.

With certain nouns the suffixes are inalienable and sometimes occur reduplicated. Only the second and third person suffixes are completely productive. The other two have been observed, always as inalienable, and in very limited examples.

The suffixes are,

{empa} third person possession: ||empa||, ||mpa||

{te} second person possession

{nča} first person possession

{škwa} first and second person possession.

Examples are,

||wá=ct-empa||:/wáctmpa/ 'his/her/their child'

||wá=ct-te|| 'your child' (either sg. or pl.)

||pixe=nča||:/pixénča/ 'my sister'

||pixe=empa||:/pixémpa/ 'his/her/their sister'

||pixe=ncĭ-te||:/pixéncĭte/ 'your sister' (These last

three examples are inalienable. The morpheme {ncĭ} has not been identified. It is possible that it partially underlies 'my' as well, and the morphemes should be differently segmented.)

||pixe=empa-Rd||:/pixémpempa/ 'his/her/their sister'

The allomorph ||mpa|| has only been noted in the following construction:

||ama=mpa||:/amâmpa/ 'his/her/their mother'. That this is

not the usual form after ||á|| is demonstrated by,

||k'tá=empa||:/k'témpa/ 'his/her/their house'

||mpa|| also occurs followed by ||empa||, as,

||ama=mpa-empa||:/amâmpempa/ 'his/her/their mother'

||twi=empa||:/twímpa/ 'his/her/their sister-in-law'

||twi=škwa|| 'my/our/your sister-in-law'

||tani=mu-empa||:/tanímuempa/ 'his/her/their three'

Syntactically, possessively suffixed forms may be used as single nominal forms or in IC with a possessively inflected noun or pronoun. For example,

||ni.́=a-ti k'tá-empa-yu.||:/niwati k'témpayu./ 'He will go to his house.'

||xóba-ita ni.́=xá-sá-ni-ti t'ací=ni p'í-ku=ni tá=Rd-empa-nku-ni.||:/xobita nixásánti t'acóni p'íkuni tátempankuni./ 'Jovita always goes to harvest beans with her father.'

||í-má twí-ni í-ni-cí=a-a-ti í-má í-má-exi komp'ánia-empa-eča-ni yá=mintu-eča-ni.||:/imaa twíni incáwati imaa íméxi komp'ániempečani yámintweečani./ 'Meanwhile he will give them to all of his companions.'

621.2 The Augmentative Suffix

Observed in attachment to one noun only, the suffix {k'u} has a meaning of intensification, augment, or plurality, possibly with some locative significance. The only example is,

||ca-ka=pu-k'u||:/cakápku/ 'plurality of stones' or 'many-stoned place.'

In the constructions,

||ca-ka=pu-k'u-eča||:/cakápkweeča/ 'many stones'

||ca-ka=pu-k'u kó=ya-ti-e-ka||:/cakápku kóyatika/ 'the stones that are wider'

621.3 The Diminutive Title Suffix

The suffix {ka} has only been observed in attachment to two nouns of a limited noun sub-class: nouns of title. The only

examples are,

||na.´=Rd-ka||:/nanáka/ 'young girl' (/nána/ 'Doña')

||ta.´=Rd-ka||:/tatáka/ 'young boy' (/táta/, 'Don')

The unsuffixed titles of respect are borrowings from Nahuatl.

622. Multivalent Substantive Extending Suffixes

622.1 The Differential Suffix

{texu}, 'other, else, again, further', may be attached after substantives of all classes and preceding inflectional suffixes. Examples are,

||kucʔ=texu||:/kucʔtexu/ 'another month'

||má-xu-texu|| 'other, elsewhere' (/má-xu/ 'some')

||má-texu|| 'other, again' (/má/ 'one')

||čá-texu|| 'the rest of you (pl.), you (pl.) others'

Examples of usage in syntactic constructions are,

||xi texe=kwaye-a-ka-ni má-xu-texu-eča-nku-ni.||:/xii

texékwayiakani máxutexuečankuni./ 'I will laugh
with the others.'

||ká ča-texu-k'u-sʔ pa-ka-xa-ni. ||:/kaa čátexkustʔ pakáxani./

'and only the rest of you are staying.'

||nó-texu-xe a.´=a-ʔ. ||:/nótexuxe awá./ 'Will you eat

nothing more?'

||ká-na-nti-texu-k'u ni.´=a-ka-ni. ||:/kánantitexku niwákani./

'I will go some other time.'

622.2 The Diminutive Suffix

The suffix {itu}, with three allomorphs, ||itu||, ||ita||, ||iti||, is a borrowing from Spanish, freely employed but rather loosely integrated. Usually the allomorph ||itu|| occurs, unless the word final vowel after which it is attached is /a/, in which case ||ita|| occurs. In a few cases ||iti|| occurs after final /i/, but ||itu|| is most frequently employed. The regular vocalic and stress morpho-phonemic formulae apply. As in Spanish these morphs can be freely attached to both nouns and adjectives, although in Tarascan they are usually attached to nouns. The meaning is identical with the Spanish meaning, diminution in size, or expression of affection or familiarity with the object so designated. Examples of syntactic usage are,

||pá=ku-š-ti-šaxu xeá=ki-itu.||:/pákut'išaxu xeakitu./

'A mouse must have taken it.' (/xeáki/ 'rat')

||mé-ni ká=nayi-kwa-itu-eča-ni ú-a-ni. ||:/meni kánayi-
kitweečani wáani./ 'Well (I am) making masks.'

(/kánayikwa/ 'mask')

||č'ana=š-a.š.-ti má ya-wa-xi-itu-mpu. ||:/č'anašati

yawaxitumpu./ 'She is playing with a little metate.'

||xi-má-ks† xa-yá=ni má rrátu wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-ni má
wá-yi-iti-nku-ni. ||:/ximáks† xayani maa rrátu

wantónckwayeni maa wayitinkuni./ 'We stayed there

for awhile talking to a young woman.' (/wáyi/

'woman')

||kuxá=ča sa-pi=ya-ti-itu||:/kuxáča sapiyatitu/ 'little fishes' (/sapiyati/ 'little, littlest')

622.3 The Locative Suffix

The suffix {o} is enclitically attached to certain nouns and adverbs. Nouns to which it is attached are sometimes inflected before attachment and are not otherwise inflected. In four cases the underlying nouns or adverb do not occur except with this suffix. The suffix meaning with nouns is 'place of'. It is often found in place-name constructions. With adverbs the meaning is difficult to define. Examples are,

||diós†-o||:/diós†o/ 'church' (/diós†/ from Spanish 'Dios', 'God')

||xó=ni-kwaye-kwa-yu-o||:/xónkwayekwayo/ 'waist' (/xónkwayekwa/ 'sash', therefore 'at the place of the sash.')

||i-ču=pe-o||:/ičúpio/ 'Ichupio' (name of village in flat area below a hill along the lake-shore, /ičúpe-/ 'become flattened')

||ta-ye=xi-o|| 'Tarerio' (name of village beyond Ichupio where the hill descends to the water's edge and the houses are placed in a long line along the shore, /tayéxi-/ 'that which extends linearly')

||či-ni-o||:/čfno/ 'your house' (/čfi/ second person possessive pronoun. /čfni-/ not otherwise found.)

||xu-či-ni-o|| 'my/our house' (/xučfi/ first person possessive pronoun. /xučfni-/ not otherwise found.)

||čé-ne-empa-o||:/čénempo/ 'his/her/their house' (neither /čé-/ nor /čéne-/ nor /čénempa/ otherwise found.)
 ||ampé-o||:/ampó/ 'with which' (/ampé/ 'thing, whatever')
 ||sá-ni-o||:/sáno/ 'almost' (/sáni/ 'little, few')
 ||mé-ni-o||:/méno/ 'because' (/méni/ 'then, so'.)
 ||xi-mpé-o||:/ximpó/ 'concerning' (/ximpé-/ not otherwise found)

630. Word-Completing Substantive Suffixes

This suffix class includes the completely productive participial suffixes. In attachment to verb themes these constitute participial or agentive adjectives, which like other adjectives may be used nominally. There are three such suffixes, with privileges of attachment and translational meanings dependent upon the verbal stem type with which they occur. Stem types are discussed in 700. Other word-completing substantive suffixes are less productive, some with unique or very limited class membership. Some of these were undoubtedly originally verbal thematic suffixes which have lost their verbal productivity and are now found only substantive-
 finally.

631. The Participials

The three participial suffixes are,

{kata}

{ti}:||ti||, ||iti||

{xi}‡||xi||, ||ixi||

Words with these suffixes belong to the substantive form class in that they have complete privileges of substantive inflection. In external distribution class membership they have partially verbal privileges as well, in that they may occur in IC with accusatively inflected nouns as a verbal phrase core.

{kata} is freely attached to verb themes and is translatable as either past or present participle or agent in accordance with the stem type underlying the verb theme (cf. 700). The meaning involves an action by an outside agent rather than by the subject of the verb, and is difficult of accurate translation into English, where such a phrase as 'the cried child' is, of course, impossible, with the meaning of a child caused to cry by another. Translations, then, for intransitive verb themes tend to be either agentive or present participial, as 'the crying child' or 'the crier'. Transitive verbs are usually translated by English part participial. Examples are,

||we.ŏ=xa-kata||:/wexákata/ 'the crier, the one made to cry' (/wexá-/ 'cry')

||sa-pi=čú we.ŏ=xa-kata ni.ŏ=xa-š-pl-ti. ||:/sapiču wexákata nixášpti./ 'The crying child went.'

||e-c'a=ku-kata||:/ecákukata/ 'spread out' (/ecáku-/ 'spread it out')

||č'a-na=ša.ŏ-ti má ca-ka=pu-itu-mpu ya-wa=yi ú=kata. ||:
/č'anašatí maa cakapítumpu yawayi úkata./ 'She is playing with a little stone used as a metate.'

||t'i-xe=kwa a-yu=k'u-kata a-ni-pa=ka-e-š-ti.||:/t'ixékwa
 ayúk'ukata ampáket'i./ 'The food divided by hand
 is good.'

||i-má wi-ču xó=ta-kata wá=Rd-xi-š-ti.||:/imaa wiču xótakata
 wáwaxit'i./ 'That tied-up dog is barking.'

||xi pá=š-ka-ni ci-ka=ku-kata-yu xá=k'i-yu.||:/xii páškani
 cikákukatayu xák'iyu./ 'I carried it folded in my
 hand.' (both 'folded in hand' and 'hand' are inflec-
 ted with the locative case suffix /-yu/)

||xi pá=š-ka-ni ci-ká=ku-kata-ni xá=k'i-ni.||:/xii páškani
 cikákukatani xák'ini./ 'I carried my hand folded.'
 (with both 'folded in hand' and 'hand' inflected
 with the accusative case suffix /-ni/)

A few nouns are frozen in a form with final /-kata/.

For example,

||pa-xa=kata|| 'butterfly' (/paxá-/ with probable meaning of
 'be somewhere adhering after arrival')

||šupa=kata|| 'rainbow'

||ci=kata|| 'hen' (/ci-/ stem meaning 'alive, quick action')

{ti}, word-finally, occurs either as ||ti|| or as
 ||iti||. The second allomorph occurs after themes with the
 suffixes {pe} or {p'e} and in the unique construction
 ||kucí=me-iti||:/kucímiti/ 'old' (female) (/kucí/ 'moon,
 month'). As a final suffix {ti} is usually translatable by
 an English adjective or as the agent of the action. For
 example,

||yó-ta-ti|| 'tall' (/yóta-/ 'make bigger')

||o-ye=pe-A-ti||:/oyépati/ 'first, oldest' (/oyépa-/ 'be first, oldest')

||te-pa=ya-ti|| 'thick, fat' (/tepáya-/ 'cause to be thick, fat')

||xá=ya-ti|| 'similar to, equal to, like' (/xaya-/ 'be like')

||xí xá=ya-ti-eča ni.Ń=xá-š-ti. ||:/xii xáyatiča nixát'i./
'Some, like me, went.' (/eča/ plural)

||cĕ=nče-ti|| 'one who gets lost' (/cĕnče-/ 'get lost')

||cká=p'e-iti|| 'one who slips' (/ckáp'e-/ 'slip')

||cá=xa-ti|| 'one who heats it' (/cáxa-/ 'heat it')

||wi-yi=pe-iti||:/wiyípi/ 'round, disk-like' (/wiyípe-/ 'be round')

||tu-xi=pe-iti||:/tuxípi/ 'black' (/tuxípe-/ 'be black')

||c'a-xa=pe-iti||:/c'awápi/ 'thin' (/c'awá-/ 'be thin')

||a-mpé-k'wa-ti||:/ampkwáti/ 'meanwhile' (/ampkwá-/ 'whatever')

||ná-ti|| 'what time' (/ná/ 'how, when')

In one adverb {ti} precedes the suffix {xu},

||i-ni-ča-ti-xu||:/inčátixu/ 'inside' (/inčá-/ 'enter')

||má-xu wá=yi te-pa=ya-ti-eča ni.Ń=xá-š-ti. ||:/maxu wáyí
tepáyatiča nixát'i./ 'Some fat women went.'

{ti} occurs freely followed by the word-completing substantive suffix {ni} (633) after verbal themes except those with stems of types 1, 2, and 3 without an intervening

locative suffix or {p'e}. This final {ni} might be construed as the inflectional participial suffix {ni} (cf. 440) except that resultant forms are substantive, partaking of substantive inflection, rather than verbal. Translations of words ending in /-tini/ are past participial, present-perfect participial or agentive. In contrast to {kata}, words with {ti ni} are activated by the subject of the verb rather than an outside agent. Examples are,

||kwa-ta=xa-ti-ni||:/kwatáxatini/ 'tired' (/kwatáxa-/
'tire' intransitive)

||ni.ó=xa-tini||:/niéxatini/ 'having arrived' (/niéxa-/
'arrive' intransitive)

||xi-ci=k'u-ti-ni||:/xicik'utini/ 'having cleaned one's
hand' (/xicik'u-/'clean hand')

||ča-xa=ti-ni|| 'shooter, exploder' (/čaxá-/'explode,
shoot')

||a-tá=p'e-iti||:/atáp'iti/ 'hitter' (/atáp'e-/'hit')

||má wá=yi ni.ó=xa-š-pl-ti ci-xa=k'u-ti-ni.||:/maa wáyi
nixášpti cixák'utini./ 'A woman with cold hands
went.'

||ni.ó=xa-š-pl-ti a-yu=k'u-ti-ni-eča t'i-xe=kwa-ni. ||:
/nixášpti ayúk'utiniča t'ixékwani./ 'Those who
share out the food went.'

||xi e-še=š-ka-ni má wá=yi-ni i-čá=pe-ti-ni.||:/xii
ešéškani maa wáyini ičápetini./ 'I see a woman
lying down.'

||xi xa-wa=xa-ti-ni xu-pa=p'a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii xawá-xatini
 xupápaakani./ 'I will scrub the floor of the room
 after I get up.' (lit. 'I, arisen, will scrub the
 floor of the room.')

||xi-ni ni.:-xa-š-a.:-ti espexánsa pa-yá=nc†-ti-ni.||:
 /xinii nixašati espexánsa payánc†tini./ 'There
 goes Esperanza with something over her head.'
 (lit. 'there goes Esperanza covered-head.')

||rriáta xa.:=ya-ti e-če=xi-yu weko=ye-ti-ni.||:/rriáta
 xayáti ečéxiyu wekóyetini./ 'The rope has fallen
 on the ground.' (lit. 'Rope is-there on-ground
fallen.')

||má kanásta-xe xa-ci=aku-a-ka i-má-nki xu-p'í=ka-ti-ni
 xa.:=ka.||:/maa kanát'axe xaciakwaaka imánki
xupíkatini xaká./ 'You (sg.) will put on the
 outside a basket that it is grasping.' (lit. 'a
 basket-you you-will-put-outside that-which grasped
 is-there.')

{xi} is always agentive in meaning, seemingly
 semantically identical to {ti} in some constructions but not
 in others. The allomorph ||ixi|| occurs only after {p'e}.
 In such constructions words with /-p'ixi/ and /-p'iti/ often
 may be used interchangeably, but in certain such construc-
 tions the meanings are different. {xi} serves as the unique
 agentive suffix after stems which are also themes of types
 1 and 2. With most other stems {xi} occurs only after the

thematic suffix {p'e}. It may also occur after {p'e} with types 1 and 2 stems. Certain nouns or adjectives occur with {xi} in frozen form. Examples with {xi} are,

||č'e-ni-pa=xi||:/čempáxi/ 'digger' (/č'empá-/ 'dig')

||č'a-na=xi|| 'player' (/č'aná-/ 'play')

||če-ka=p'e-ixi|| 'one who sticks splinters in others'

(čekáp'e-/ 'stick splinters into others')

||c'á=xi|| 'sneezer' (/č'á-/ 'sneeze')

||ci-xa=xi|| 'the cold' (/cixá-/ 'cold')

||cá=p'e-ixi||^f||cá=p'e-iti|| 'toasted' (/cá-/ 'heat')

||e-xe=p'e-iti||:/exép'iti/ 'person who lives here and there'

(/exé-/ 'live')

||e-xe=p'e-ixi||:/exép'ixi/ 'inherited residence'

||ta-ye=xi|| 'plough' (noun) (/tayé-/ 'plough' verb)

||wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwa-xi|| 'speaker' (/wantónskwa/ 'word')

||e-xe=xi|| 'chief' (/exé-/ 'dwell')

||č'á=xi|| 'night'

||č'ká-xi|| 'firewood'

||k'e-xe=xi|| 'board'

||pu-ku=xi|| 'fat' (/p'uká-/ 'be fat')

||ké=xi|| 'big' (/ké-/ 'grow')

||ka-wi=xi|| 'drunk' (/kawi-/ 'drink intoxicating beverages')

||kwaka=xi|| 'wet' (/kwaká-/ 'wet' verb)

||cá=xi|| 'hot' (/cá-/ 'heat')

||wa-xi=xi|| 'dead' (/waxi-/ 'die')

||má wá=yi čkwá=nti-xa-xi||:/maa wayi čkwántixaxi/ 'a
lying woman'

||xu.ŕ-yá-š-ti čkwá=nti-xa-xi.||:/xuyat'i čkwántixaxi./
'The liar came.' (/čkwántixa-/ 'lie')

||má sapi=ču wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-xi||:/maa sapiču wantó-
nskwayexi/ 'A talkative child' (/wantónskwaye-/
'talk')

The only pronominal examples are,

||xa-mpé-xi|| 'just that much'

||a-xi||:/axi/ 'this'

||a-xi-c'±||:/axc±/ 'these' (/a-/ indefinite pronoun)

632. The Instrumental Suffix

Words of all substantive sub-classes are completed with {kwa}. It is particularly productive of nouns and adverbs. The nominal meaning is that of 'instrument' or 'object with which the action is performed', deriving nouns from verb-noun themes. The adverbial meaning is one of 'location' or 'manner', deriving adverbs from verb-adverb themes. {kwa} may also be attached to adverbial themes, yielding adverbs. Adjectival usage attaches {kwa} after classificatory verb-adjective stems with the meaning 'having the shape or quality which is defined by the theme meaning.' Such adjectives may also be used nominally. Numeral themes with {kwa} are used adjectivally. Examples are,

||xa-ni=kwa||:/xanikwa/ 'rain' (/xani-/ 'rain')

- ||č'a-na=kwa||:/č'anákwa/ 'game' (/č'aná-/ 'to play')
- ||ti-sí=ku-ntu-ya-kwa||:/tisí-kuntuyakwa/ 'leg hair'
 (/tisí-kuntuya-/ 'have leg hair')
- ||tá=ni-kwaye-kwa||:/tánkwayakwa/ 'meeting' (/tánkwaye-/
 'meet')
- ||te-pe=mu-kwa||:/tepémakwa/ 'material from which reed mat
 edging is made' (/tepému-/ 'weave reed mat edging')
- ||tá-ku=xa-kwa||:/takúxakwa/ 'something to be piled up'
 (/takúxa-/ 'pile up')
- ||t'i-xe=kwa|| 'food' (/t'ixé-/ 'eat')
- ||kó=ntu-ya-kwa|| 'sole of foot' (/kóntuya-/ 'be wide on
 extension of foot')
- ||po-yo=ce-kwa|| 'punctured' (lit. 'holed'. /poyó-ceni/
 'hole')
- ||má-I-ča-kwa||:/máčakwa/ ^f /méchakwa/ 'one long thin ...'
- ||yá-mu-Eya-kwa||:/yámeyakwa/ 'five round ...'
- ||t'á-mu-I-ču-wa||:/t'áničukwa/ 'four flat thin ...'
- ||k'a-yá=kwa||:/k'ayákwa/ 'above' (/kayá-/ underlying
 verbal forms 'above')
- ||ké=ce-kwa|| 'below' (/kéceni/ 'to descend')
- ||i-ni-ča=k'u-kwa||:/inčák'ukwa/ 'within the hand'
 (/inčák'uni/ 'to be within the hand'.)
- ||čá=xé-kwa||:/čáxekwa/ 'by night' (/čáxi/ 'night')
- ||xu-yi=a-te-kwa||:/xuyiatekwa/ 'on such a day, on that day'
 (/xuyiata/ 'day')
- ||čá=xé-me-kwa||:/čáxemekwa/ 'tomorrow night'
- ||xu-yi=te-me-kwa||:/xuyitemekwa/ 'by day'

633. The Suffix {ni}

Words of all substantive subclasses terminate with {ni} with undetermined meaning. It occurs most productively after the participial suffix {ti} (631). Themes underlying such constructions are often bound forms, occurring in no other construction. In some cases nouns are derived from verb-noun themes with this suffix. In such cases the verb-noun theme must occur with other thematic suffix or suffixes as a verb, as the theme cannot be verbalized with the participial ending {ni}. Examples are,

||xi=ni|| 'dirt'

||ašu=ni|| 'deer'

||i-s~~t~~=xe-ni|| 'thunderbolt'

||xá=č'u-ku-xe-ni|| 'corridor' (a type of roofed porch along the house front. ||č'u-ku|| is the expanded locative thematic suffix designating this area.

[cf. 733.22].)

||t'e-xu=š~~u~~-ti-ni|| 'evening meal' (||t'e-|| may be related to ||t'i-|| from ||t'i-xe=|| 'eat')

||p'u-ku=xi-ni|| 'pine' (/p'u-/ 'fat')

||šá-ni|| 'much, many, very'

||sá-ni|| 'few, little'

||kó-ka-ni|| 'quickly, soon'

||wí-na-ni|| 'strongly, fast'

||ci-má=ni|| 'two'

||texu-ka-ni|| 'half'

When {ni} is attached to numeral stems expanded with verbal thematic suffixes, such constructions are used as nouns. For example,

||tani=p'e-xa-xa-ni|| 'the three of them reciprocally'

||ci-má=xa-k'a-ni||:/cimáxkani/ 'both of them'

634. The Suffix {sɛ}

When this suffix is attached to nouns the meaning seems to be either 'performer of the action' or 'result of the action'. It has also been observed in attachment to three adverbs and has not been observed in words of other substantive classes.

Examples are,

||ka-xu=sɛ|| 'broken thing' (/kaxú-/ 'break')

||yo-ye=sɛ|| 'spoon' (/yoyé-/ 'stream')

||k'wí=m-sɛ|| 'sleepyhead' (/k'wí-/ 'sleep')

||tu-ni-pa=sɛ||:/tumpásɛ/ (/tumpá-/ 'swell on palm of hand')

||yá-sɛ|| 'now' (the underlying stem is probably only adverbial)

||xá=sɛ|| 'same, like, equal to' (/xá-/ 'be like, equal')

||šá-sɛ|| 'in the evening'

635. Agentive Suffixes

There are three agentive suffixes: {ta}, {ki} and {pu}.

These are principally found in attachment to nouns.

635.1 The Suffix {ta}

The suffix {ta} is attached more frequently to nouns than to adjectives. It has two allomorphs, ||ta|| and ||ita||, the latter occurring only after the verbal activating thematic suffix {pe} (711.4). It is similar to the participial suffixes {xi} and {ti} in meaning but lacks their productivity. Examples are,

||wi-yi=pe-ita||:/wiyipita/ 'circular, crown'

||o-ye=ta|| 'first' (/oyé-/ 'be first')

||sɬ-xa=ta|| 'smoky' (/sɬxá-/ 'be smoky, smoke')

||ku-xu=ni-pe-xa-ta||:/kuxúnpe-xata/ 'envious'

(/kuxúnpe-xa-/ 'envy')

||e-xe=ta|| 'village, town' (/exé-/ 'dwell')

||wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-ta||:/wantónskwayeta/ 'conversation'

(/wantónskwaye-/ 'talk')

||ci-má=ni-ta||:/cimánta/ 'two-pieced' 'lit. 'that which

is dual' (/cimá-/ 'two')

||cá=ni-ta||:/cánta/ 'heat, sun' (/cá-/ 'heat' verb)

||ku-yu=ni-ta|| 'bread' (/kuyú-/ unique to this construc-

tion)

||ša-no=a-ta|| 'hailstone' (/šanó-a-/ 'hail')

635.2 The Suffix {ki}

Nouns with {ki} constitute a small class of agentive nouns.

One adjective with {ki} has been noted. Examples are,

||co-xe=ki|| 'woodpecker' lit. 'that which moves rapidly

and penetratingly in place'

||cá=ki|| 'lizard' lit. 'that which suns or heats itself.'

||cĕ.ŕ-Rd=ki||:/cĕcĕki/ 'flower' lit. 'that which is
pervasive'

||ku-a-xa=ki|| 'squirrel' lit. 'that which moves back and
forth'

||šu-xi=ki|| 'healer' Sp. 'curandero'. lit. 'he who rubs
penetratingly.'

||sĕ-wi=ki|| 'cradle' lit. 'that which has a quiet,
circular motion'

||ci-xa=ni-ki|| 'blue' (/cixá-/ 'cold')

635.3 The Suffix {pu}

Nouns with {pu} constitute another small class of agentive nouns. Three adverbs with {pu} have been noted. One follows {pu} with {xu} (639). Examples are,

||wi-yi=pu|| 'circle, crown' lit. 'that which coils outward
circularly'

||sĕ-kwa=pu|| 'spider' lit. 'that which is quiet and furry
and reverses direction'

||ti-xi-a=pu|| 'roasting ear' lit. 'that which hangs
connected'

||yá=pu-xu|| 'everywhere' (/yá-/ also underlying /yámindu/
'all')

||a-ná-pu|| 'from' (/a-/ demonstrative stem 'this', /-na/
'from')

||i-šó-e-na-pu||:/išwéenapu/ 'from here' (/išó/ 'here',
/-e/ demonstrative stem morpheme, /-na/ as above)

636. Adverbial Suffixation

Two suffixes, {me}, and {te}, form temporal and spatial adverbial themes from completed substantives or substantive themes in sequence as well as singly. Except for {te} they are always followed by the substantive completing suffix {kwa} (632). {me} usually seems to signify 'next in sequence'. Examples are,

||čú=xé-me-kwa|| 'tomorrow night'

||wé=šú-yi-me-kwa|| 'next year' (/wéšuyi/ 'year')

||i-ni-ča=ti-xu-me-kwa||:/inčátixumekwa/ 'tomorrow afternoon'
(/inčátixu/ 'afternoon')

||pa-wá=ni-te-me-kwa||:/pawántemekwa/ 'tomorrow morning'
(/pawáni/ 'tomorrow')

||wi-ci=ni-te-me-kwa||:/wicíntemekwa/ 'since yesterday'
(/wicíntekwa/ 'yesterday')

||sá-ni-te-yu|| 'awhile' (/sáni/ 'little', /-yu/ locative inflectional suffix)

637. Numeral Suffixation

There are three primary and five secondary numeral suffixes. The primary suffixes are {ni} (cf. 633), {mu} and {ce}. These are attached to numeral stems to form numeral themes used in simple or generic enumeration. These numerals are,

||má|| 'one' (unsuffixed)

||ci-má-ni|| 'two'

||tani-mu|| 'three'

||t'a-mu|| 'four'

||yú-mu|| 'five'

||k'wí-mu|| 'six'

||yúmu ci-má-ni|| 'seven'

||yúmu taní-mu|| 'eight'

||yúmu t'ámu|| 'nine'

||t'émpe-ni|| 'ten'

||t'émpe-ni ká má||:/t'émpeni kaa má/ 'eleven'

etc. combining /t'émpeni/ with all other numerals through ||t'émpe-ni ká yú-mu t'á-mu||:/t'ámpeni kaa yumu t'ámu/ 'nineteen'

||má-Ekwá-ce||:/mekwáce/ 'twenty'

||má Ekwá-ce||:/maa ekwáce/ 'twenty one'

||ci-má-ni Ekwáce||:/cimáni ekwáce/ 'twenty two'

||taní-mu Ekwáce||:/tanímu ekwáce/ 'twenty three'

etc. combining all numbers through ||yúmu t'ámu|| with ||Ekwá-ce||, then

||t'émpe-ni Ekwá-ce|| 'thirty'

Spanish numerals are rapidly replacing Tarascan and only the older people in Ichupio can count as far as this. My informant gave me ||ci-má-ni Ekwá-ce|| again for 'forty', which was obviously erroneous. I haven't yet sought further afield to obtain the entire numeral system.

The five secondary numeral suffixes are, with one exception, attached after the primary suffixes. They constitute classificatory themes, utilized to enumerate particular

classes of objects, or in IC relationship with particular classes of nouns. All but one require the attachment of a final substantive completing suffix, either {kwa} (632) or {pu} (635). The five suffixes with their completing suffixes and definitions are,

{eya kwa} 'round object'

{iča kwa} 'long, thin, rigid object' (/ičá-/ classificatory verb stem, 'long, thin, rigid, horizontal object')

{iču kwa} 'flat, thin object' (/ičú-/ classificatory verb stem, 'flat, thin object')

{kwixi pu} 'person' (/k'wixípu/ 'person')

{puyu}: ||puyu||, ||upuyu|| ^f ||oyu|| 'heap, group'

Only nouns in classificatory agreement with each of these suffixes may stand in IC relationship with numerals bearing them. Primary numeral themes may be substituted for any classificatory numeral theme. Classificatory suffixes may also be attached to the adverbial theme ||na-mú-ni|| 'how many'. Types of objects counted with themes containing each classificatory suffix are,

{Iya kwa} has been observed in enumeration of round objects, objects more or less round or bulky, women and girls.

{Iča kwa} has been observed in enumeration of long, thin, more or less rigid objects (not string or snakes), sons (but not daughters), dogs.

{Iču kwa¹} has been observed in enumeration of more or less flat, thin objects including papers, leaves, tortillas, plates, griddles, dishes.

{kwixi pu} has been observed in counting people, including daughters (but not sons). It may be used in counting women, girls, or men.

{puyu} has been observed in counting heaps, stacks, shares, or any grouped objects.

The suffixes which correspond to classificatory verb stems do not have complete agreement with these as to type of object signified. The numeral suffixes take in more object types than do the stems.

Examples of classificatory enumeration are,

||tani-mu-Eya-kwa wá-yi-eča||:/tanimeyakwa wáyiča/ 'three women'

||na-mú-ni-Eya-kwa ca-ka=pu-eča xa. '=ya-š-k'i. ||:
/namúneyakwa cakápueča xayáški./ 'How many stones are there?'

||ci-má-ni-Iča-kwa wá-pa-eča||:/cimáničakwa wápeča./ 'two sons' (/wápa/ can mean 'son' or 'daughter'. The sex is defined by means of the classificatory suffix.)

||t'á-mu-Iču-kwa šké-xi-eča||:/t'amičukwa škúxiča/ 'four leaves'

||xi á=a-ka-ni tani-ni-kwixipu-nku-ni. ||:/xii wáakani tanínkwxipunkuni./ 'I will do it with the three people.'

||na-mú-puyu čká-xi-eča xa. '=ya-š-k'i. ||:/namúpuyu čkáxiča
xayáški./ 'How many sticks are there in the pile?'
man

||puyu|| occurs with every stem except /cimá-/,
which occurs with ||óyu|| or ||upuyu|| in free variation.
{puyu} is the only one of the classificatory suffixes which
occurs after the numeral stem. For example,

||tani-puyu u-ni-pa=c'†-ta-ni||:/tanípuyu umpac'†tani/
'three heaps on the table'

||ci-má-oyu||:/cimóyu/ ^f ||ci-má-upuyu||:/cimúpuyu/
'two groups'

638. Numeral-Adjective Suffixation

The suffixes {k'a} and {nta} are attached to numeral and
certain adjective stems or themes, either {k'a} alone or
followed by {nta}, with uncertain significance. Both suffixes
when final are followed by the substantive completing suffix
{ni} (633). Examples are,

||texu=k'a-ni|| 'middle, half' (/texu-/ as stem only
underlying this form)

||k'ó, má-exa téxu=k'a-ni-yu. ||:/k'ó, mexa téxuk'aniyu./
'Yes, right in the center.' (with the locative
inflectional suffix, {yu})

||má sikiéxa-ks† texú-k'a-ni semána ni. '=a-ka ká má-texu-k'a-ni
nó. ||:/má sikiéxaks† texúk'ani semána niwáka kaa
mátexuk'ani nó./ 'At least half the week we will go
and the other (half) not.'

- ||xu-yi=mpe-k'ani||:/xuyimkani/ 'right, right side'
 ||xu-yi=mpe-k'a-ntani||:/xuyimkantani/ 'right, right side'
 (/xuyimpe-/ 'straight, true'
 ||wi-ki=š-k'a-ni|| or ||wi-ki=š-k'a-nta-ni||:/wikiškantani/
 'left, left side' (stem only underlying this
 construction)
 ||ci-má=xa-k'a-ni||:/cimáxkani/ or ||ci-má=xa-k'antani||:
 /cimáxkantani/ 'both, the two of them' (/cimáxani/
 'the two', /cimá-/ 'two')

639. Suffixes of Limited or Unique Occurrence

These suffixes occur word-finally in attachment to from one to five substantives and are largely of undetermined meaning. Most are unique to one substantive sub-class.

- {ati} temporal suffix attached to two temporal adverbs,
 ||ná-ati|| 'what time' (/ná/ 'how, what')
 ||a-mpe-k'wá-ati|| 'meanwhile' (/ampé/ 'whatever',
 /-k'wá/ adverbial stem suf.)
- {c†} in four nouns,
 ||xi-wa=c†|| 'coyote' (/xiwá-/ 'shout')
 ||a.ŕ=ma-c†|| 'badger' (/amá-/ 'eat stopping on
 way elsewhere'
 ||i-c†|| 'water'
 ||wá=c†|| 'son' (/wá-/ underlying /wáča/ 'daughter',
 /wápa/ 'son, daughter', /wá-yi/ 'woman')
- {če} in two nouns,
 ||a-tá=če|| 'shawl' (/atá-/ 'cover over')

- ||kwa-yá=če|| 'sandal' (/kwayá-/ 'long object fall')
4. {ču} in three nouns,
 ||sa-pi=ču|| ^f ||sa-pí|| 'small', 'child' (/sa-/
 'little, few')
 ||wi=ču|| 'dog'
 ||t'a-ye=ču|| 'cock' (/t'ayé/ 'big, tall')
5. {ka} in two nouns and two adverbs,
 ||ča-ni-ka=ka||:/čankáka/ 'unrefined sugar'
 ||wé=xa-ka|| 'edge' (/wé-/ 'go out')
 ||šá-ne-ka|| 'many'
 ||wá-ne-ka|| 'many'
6. {mpi} in one noun,
 ||sá-pi=mpi|| 'mosquito' (/sápi-/ 'smell')
7. {naa} in one noun,
 ||xu-čá-naa|| 'Tarascan language' (/xučá/ 'we',
 possibly /-naa/ is the hearsay enclitic (323) in
 frozen usage)
8. {nča} in one noun,
 ||caka=pe-nča|| 'west' (the stem base, /caká-/
 occurs otherwise only in /cakápu/ 'stone')
9. {nti} in three adverbs,
 ||xi-ní-na-nti|| 'from there' (/xini/ 'there',
 /-na/ adverbial stem suffix 'from')
 ||i-šó-na-nti|| 'from here' (/išó/ 'here')
 ||ká-na-nti|| 'when' (/ká-/ adverbial stem)
10. {pa} in four nouns (this may correspond to the verbal
 thematic {pa} [755] or {pe A} [711.4]),

||wá=pa|| 'son, daughter' (/wá-/ underlies /wáct/
'son', /wáča/ 'daughter')

||i-sí=ni-pa||:/isímpa/ 'cane' (sugar or corn)
(stem base also underlies /isíkwa/ 'mezcal',
an alcoholic drink from maguey cactus)

||čé=sí-ni-pa||:/čésímpa/ 'egg shell' (/čésí/
'egg')

||štú=ni-pa||:/štúmpa/ 'eyebrow, eyelash'

11. {si} in one adverb,

||sé-si|| 'nicely, well'

12. {tu} in two nouns,

||mó-ni-tu||:/mónitu/ 'vagina' (/mó-/ 'empty space')

||a-tá=ni-tu||:/atántu/ 'large dish' (/atá-/
'cover over')

13. {xu} in two adverbs and one numeral,

||yá-pu-xu||:/yápuxu/ 'everywhere' (cf. {pu} 635.3)

||i-ni-ča-ti-xu||:/inčátixu/ 'yesterday' (cf.
{ti} 631)

||má-xu|| 'some' (/má/ 'one')

14. {yi} in five nouns,

||cí=pe-yi|| 'morning' (/cipe-/ 'alive, happy')

||ya-wa=yi|| 'grinding stone'

||škú=yi|| 'corn leaf'

||tu-yi=yi|| 'charcoal'

||wá=yi|| 'woman' (stem underlying 2, 3, 14 above)

CHAPTER VII

VERBAL THEMATIC SUFFIXATION

700. Introduction to Verbal Thematic Suffixation

This class of suffixes is productive of an almost limitless variety of verbal constructions. The thematically formed verb contains the entire sentence in microcosm, reflecting subjective, objective, temporal and locational meanings that may be further defined syntactically by the use of independent nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and numerals. Thematic verbal suffixes are attached after verb stems and before inflectional suffixes. Certain classes of verb stems are also themes, but most stems require the addition of one or more thematic suffixes before the inflectional morphemes. The majority of substantive stems are also verbal, especially noun, adjective, and numeral stems.

Substantives also occur with verbal thematic suffixes, with or without additional substantive thematic suffixation. The system is, however, considered to be verbal because it is uniquely productive for verbs. When the suffixes occur in substantives it is in 'frozen' or 'set' form. Examples of substantive usage will be shown wherever they have been found.

There is theoretically no necessary limit to the number of thematic suffixes which can be affixed to a given

verb stem, within the range of possible combinations, which are vast. Moderation is rather dictated by the unwieldiness which may result from an over-long construction. Normally not more than five or six such suffixes are apt to occur in any one verb, and three or four is a more common number.

Stems may be grouped into form class types according to their privileges of thematic suffixation. Not all thematic suffixes occur with all stems, certain suffixes being particularly diagnostic of the stem class to which they are suffixed, and with semantic translation shifts for specific suffixes according to the stem type to which they are attached. These suffixes are probably semantically elemental in composition but require different translational solutions.

External distribution class membership of verb themes is intransitive or transitive according to the combination of stem type and object-goal suffix. Not all verb stems belong to one type only. Some have possibilities of suffixation, or overlap, in more than one class. In general it may be said, however, that there are seven verb stem types, some of which are divided into sub-classes. Stem types are chiefly determined by the object-goal suffixes with which they occur and the transitive or intransitive resolution of the resultant themes, or the lack of necessity for such suffixation resulting in stem-themes which are inherently transitive or intransitive.

The verbal thematic system is exceedingly complex and not all combinative possibilities have yet been tested. The

present analysis must, therefore, be in the nature of a partial and tentative statement until additional data are available.

Order of suffixation is governed more by semantic considerations than by fixed position within the theme, although some positional rules do obtain. Suffixes will here be classed positionally to the extent that position is fixed, otherwise semantically.

Verb stem types with their privileges of suffixation are demonstrated in the accompanying chart. Not all suffixes seem to be diagnostic of stem type. Non-diagnostic suffixes, or cases in which diagnosis is uncertain, have been omitted from the chart. Suffixes which occur after the object-goal suffixes seem largely undiagnostic.

The seven stem types and the substantives that normally occur with such stems are,

1. Transitive, unsuffixed for object (stem-themes)
2. Intransitive, suffixed only for object (stem-themes)
3. Intransitive, suffixed for intransitivity
4. Transitive, suffixed for transitivity
5. Classificatory, suffixed for transitivity
6. Adjectival, suffixed for intransitivity
7. Numeral, suffixed for intransitivity

Types 3 and 4 are divided into subtypes according to the object-goal suffix with which they occur for transitive or intransitive resolution. Such subtypes are categorized as 3A, 3B, etc.

The accompanying chart shows the privileges of occurrence of pre-locative, locative, and object-goal suffixes with which each of the stem types may occur.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pre-locative				ksa			
	kwa			kwa	kwa		
	nta			nta	nta		
	pe	pe		pe	pe	pe	pe
	pe A			pe A	pe A		
	p'a			p'a	p'a		
	p'e			p'e(AC)			
	ya	ya		ya			
	me	me		me	me		
		xa		xa			
Locative and Expansion:	x	x		x	x	x	
Direct Object:	xa	xa(A)		xa(F)			
				xe(G)			
				ka(B)			
		ku		ku(B,G)			
	nku	nku		(nku(H))			
	ta	ta		ta(C)			
		(k'u)		k'u(D)			
	(t'a)	(t'a)		t'a(E)			
Intransitive:				xe(E)			
				ka(B)			
				ta(C)			
		ku		ku(A)			
				xa(F)			xa
				(nku(F))			

710. The Pre-Locative Suffixes

Only three verbal thematic suffix types occur in absolutely fixed position within the theme, pre-locative suffixes (with certain exceptions, locative suffixes, and direct object suffixes, in first, second, and third positions respectively. The exceptions among the pre-locative suffixes are those which contract other types of thematic IC relationships, as well as an IC relationship with the stem. Pre-locative suffixes are of four types: action, augment, stem-pluralizing, and object-goal. Augment and object-goal have other privileges of occurrence.

711. The Action Suffixes

There are six action suffixes, three of them occurring only before locative suffixes, and three, which, in construction only with a stem, may constitute a theme. These are,

1. {ksa} precipitating
2. {kwa} precipitating
3. {nta} durative
4. {pe} activating
5. {sku} extending
6. {p'a} momentary

711.1 The Precipitating Suffix {ksa}

Of occurrence only after stems of type 4, the meaning is that of quick precipitation of the action toward or at the locus described by the locative suffix which always follows.

Examples are,

||té=ksa-ntu-ya-ni|| 'to stumble, trip' (/té-/ 'tipped up',
/-ntuya/ 'foot' with augment)

||pá=ksa-mu-ni|| 'to hit oneself on the mouth with the palm
of the hand' (/mu/ 'mouth', /pá-/ 'hit with palm')

||ká=ksa-mu-ni|| 'to explode something in the mouth by
biting it' (/ká-/ 'bite', /mu/ 'mouth')

||čú=ni-ksa-me-ni||:/čáńksameni/ 'to let oneself fall in the
water' (/ču-/ 'follow', /me/ 'water')

711.2 The Precipitating Suffix {kwa}

{kwa} is most frequently found with stems of types 4 and 5, although one example has been noted with type 1. It always occurs before a locative suffix. Themes with this suffix have action quickly precipitated and resulting in the state described by the stem, if it is of type 5. Examples are,

||a-na=kwa-č'u-ku-ni||:/anáčukuni/ 'to stand in the corridor
after arrival' (/aná-/5 'vertical object', /-č'uku/
'corridor')

||ki-xa=kwa-p'e-ni||:/kixákpenni/ 'to sit down quickly in
the room' (/kixá-/5 'round object', /-p'e/ 'room')

||kó=kwa-nti-ta-ni||:/kókwantitani/ 'to throw someone with
his face against the wall' (/kó-/5 'upside down
person', /-ntita/ 'wall')

||a-ni-ci=kwa-č'a-ni||:/ancíkčani/ 'to pull it quickly from
one's mouth' (/anci-/4 'pull', /-č'a/ 'mouth')

||i-ni-ča=kwa-č'u-ma-ni||:/inčákčumani/ 'to poke something
into one's buttocks once' /inčá-/ 'enter', /-č'u/
'buttocks'

711.3 The Durative Suffix

{nta} implies a duration or stasis after the action described by the verb stem is completed. It may or may not be followed by a locative suffix and occurs after stems of types 1, 4, and 5. Examples are,

||a-na=nta-me-A-ni||:/anántamani/ 'to leave someone in a standing position in the water' (/aná-/5 'vertical object', /-ma/ 'to ... to someone in water')

||ú=nta-ni|| 'to continue doing, undertake' (/ú-/1 'make, do')

||yó=nta-ni|| 'to be late' (/yó-/1 'extend')

||yó=nta-kwa-yu|| 'late' (/kwa/ instrumental suf., /-yu/ inflectional locative suf.)

||wa-ni-ta=nta-ni||:/wantántani/ 'to keep saying'
(/wantá-/1 'say')

||čexe=nta-nu-ni|| 'cloth fallen on the patio ground'
(/čexé-/5 'cloth-like object', /-nu/ 'patio')

||mó=nta-ni|| 'to empty out' (/mó-/4 'empty space')

711.4 The Activating Suffix

{pe} occurs after stems of types 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7. It acts as a verbalizer of 6 and 7 stems. After 4 or 5 stems, without a following locative suffix, it acts as a simple activator. When a body part suffix follows after such stems, or after a type 1 stem, the body part acts as the agent rather than the locus of the action. Examples are,

- ||c'awa=pe-ni|| 'to be thin' (/c'awá-/6 'thin')
- ||šé=pe-ni|| 'to be lazy' (/šé-/6 'lazy')
- ||winá=pe-ni|| 'to be strong' (/winá-/6 'strong')
- ||winá=pe-iti|| 'strong' (/ -iti/ agentive suf.)
- ||uxá=pe-iti|| 'white' (/uxá-/6 'white')
- ||uxá=pe-kwa|| 'white of egg' (/ -kwa/ instrumental suf.)
- ||taní=pe-ni|| 'to be three' (/taní-/7 'three')
- ||i-ča=pe-ni|| 'to lie down' (/iča-/5 'long horizontal
object')
- ||ckí=pe-k'u-ni||: /ckípkuni/ 'to squeeze one's fist together'
(/ckí-/4 'squeeze', /-k'u/ 'hand')
- ||t'i-xe=pe-k'u-ni||: /t'ixépkuni/ 'to eat with one's hand'
(/t'ixé-/2 'eat', /-k'u/ 'hand')
- ||xayu-a=pe-iti||: /xayoápití/ 'helper' (/xayoá-/1 'help',
/ -iti/ agentive suf.)
- ||cí=pe-ni|| 'to be glad' (/cí-/6 'alive, lively, happy')
- ||cí=pe|| or ||cí=pe-yi|| 'morning'

{pe} may be followed and expanded by the vocalic ablaut, object morpheme {A} (cf. 733.23). Such an expansion is found after stems of types 1, 4, and 5. Without a following body part suffix, this transitivity directs the action of type 4 and 5 stems so that it is directed toward another person rather than the subject of the verb. With type 1 stems the action becomes intransitivized and directed toward a goal or the locus of the locative suffix, if any, rather than toward an object. With type 4 or 5 stems before a locative suffix,

the expanded suffix seems merely to be self-activating.

Examples are,

- ||k'wa-ni=pe-A-ce-ni||:/k'wanfipaceni/ 'to fall down'
 (/k'wanf-/1 'throw', /-ce/ 'down')
- ||xu.ó-ka=pe-A-ni||:/xukápani/ 'to put on for a purpose,
 put on clothing' (/xuká-/1 'put on')
- ||p'i=pe-A-ku-ni||:/p'ipakuni/ 'to take it' (/p'i-/4
 'take, get', /-ku/ object suf.)
- ||o-ye=pe-A-ti||:/oyépati/ 'first, oldest' (/oyé-/4
 'precedence')
- ||č'ó=pe-A-ni||:/č'ópani/ 'to put another in a squatting
 position' (/č'ó-/5 'squat')
- ||i-ča=pe-A-ni||:/ičápani/ 'to lay someone down (put someone
 to bed)' (/ičá-/5 'long, horizontal object')
- ||ká=pe-A-me-ni||:/kápameni/ 'to turn over with the canoe
 in the water' (/ká-/5 'upside-down thing'
 /-me/ 'water')
- ||pe-xe=pe-A-k'u-ni||:/pexépkuni/ 'to turn it over in one's
 hand' (/pexé-/4 'turn over', /-k'u/ 'hand')

711.5 The Momentary Suffix

{p'a} has been observed before locative suffixes in limited examples after stems of types 1, 4, and 5. The meaning seems to be activation of non-enduring action. The only examples are,

- ||pe-xe=p'a-a-ku-ni||:/pexép'aakuni/ 'to turn it over else-
 where' (/pexé-/4 'turn over', /-aku/ 'elsewhere
 out of doors')

||i-ča=p'a-ce-ni|| 'to lie down on the ground for a moment'
 (/ičá-/5 'long object horizontal', /-ce/ 'ground')
 ||má=p'a-a-ku-ni|| 'to eat (animal as agent) something left
 for it away from the house' (/má-/1 'grasp, adhere',
 /-aku/ 'away from house')

712. The Augment Suffix

{ya} (cf. 733.1 for other privileges of occurrence) augments the action of the stem either in space or time. It is in immediate constituency with the stem and is not followed by a locative suffix, but is included here as being positionally similar to the other suffixes in this group. It has been observed only after stems of types 1, 2, and 4. Examples are,

||á=ya-ni|| 'to use' (/á-/1 'make, do')

||xu.ṑ=ya-ni|| 'to come' (/xu.ṑ-/2 'come'. This verb can only be indicatively inflected for future tense and not for infinitive without this suffix.)

||xa.ṑ=ya-ni|| 'to be there' (/xa.ṑ-/2 'be there'.

This verb can not be inflected for indicative mode nor for the infinitive without this suffix.)

||kó=ya-ti|| 'widest' (/kó-/4 'wide', /-ti/ agentive suf.)

||sá-pí=ya-ti|| 'smallest' (/sapí-/2 'small', /-ti/ agentive suf.)

713. The Stem-Pluralizing Suffix

Occurring directly after the stem and before a locative suffix, only three examples of the plural morpheme {yá} have been noted. These are,

||i-ča=yá-c'±-ta-ni||:/ičayác'±tani/ 'to put many long
objects horizontally on the table' (/ičá-/5
'long, horizontal object', /-c'±ta/ 'table')

||ckwá-Rd=yá-na-yi-ni||:/ckwackwayánayini/ 'to be spotted
on a cloth' (/ckwá-/4 'spot', /-nayi/ 'face')

||ckwá-Rd=yá-še-ni||:/ckwackwayášeni/ 'to be spotted on an
animal's fur' (/še/ 'fur')

714. The Object-Goal Suffixes

The suffixes of this category have other privileges of occurrence and are members of the subject-object suffix class (730). There are four such suffixes which may occur prelocatively, {me} (cf. 740), {p'e} (cf. 734.1), {ta} (cf. 731.5), and {xa} (cf. 731.1, 735.4, 735.5).

714.1 The Suffix {me}

The meaning of this suffix seems principally to be reflexive or causative, although after stems of type 2, the presence or absence of this suffix doesn't seem to change the meaning. Not enough cases of this usage have been observed to determine the meaning with precision. Some stems of type 5 seem to be thematicized only with this suffix. It has been noted with stems of types 1, 2, 4, and 5 before locative suffixes. Examples are,

||xa.ó-ci=me-na-yi-ni||:/xacimenayini/ 'to put something
on one's face' (/xaci-/1 'have')

||cá=me-mu-ni|| 'to sunburn one's mouth' (/cá-/2 'heat,
sun')

- ||ké=ce-ma-me-mu-ni|| 'to be making one's way down to the shore' (/k'écema-/2 'go down' expanded stem)
- ||act=me-č'a-ni||:/acémčani/ 'to have an itching throat'
(/acéme-/3F 'itch' does not occur without {me})
- ||če-ka=me-mu-ni|| 'to have a splinter in one's mouth'
(/čeká-/5 'splinter')
- ||če-ka=me-ni|| 'to have a splinter'
- ||če-ka=me-mu-ta-ni|| 'to stick a splinter into the other's mouth'

714.2 The Suffix {p'e}

Before a locative suffix this morpheme marks a type of benefactive meaning, reflexive if the locative suffix is unexpanded objectively, and for another's benefit if it is so expanded. It has been observed only with 1, 2, and 4 stems in limited examples. The IC is between this suffix and the entire locatively expanded theme. For example,

- ||i-má ewa=p'e-k'u-š-ti. ||:/imaa ewápkut'i./ 'He received it in his hand for someone else.' (/ewá-/1 'receive')
- ||t'i-xe=xa-p'e-mu-pa-ni||:/t'ixéxpemupani/ 'to go along giving him food in the mouth' (here {p'e} follows the pre-locative suffix {xa} (714.4), the only case observed where two pre-locative suffixes are in sequence. /t'ixéxa-/ 'to feed', /t'ixé-/2 'ear')
- ||ka-yá=p'e-nti-ni|| 'to have a swollen ear (or side of head)' (/kayá-/4C 'swell')

||ka-yá=p'e-nti-ta-ni|| 'to make someone else's ear swell'

714.3 The Directional Suffix

Preceding a locative suffix {ta} has the meaning of toward or away from the locus described by the suffix. It has only been observed with two locative suffixes, resulting in the sequences {ta ma} 'from inside to outside' ({ma} 'within') and {ta mu} 'from canoe to shore'. Examples are,

||k'wa-ni=ta-ma-ni|| 'to throw from inside the house'

(/k'waní-/1 'throw')

||k'wa-ni=ta-mu-ni|| 'to throw from canoe to shore'

||pá=ta-ma-ni|| 'to take it inside' (/pá-/1 'carry elsewhere')

||a-yi=ta-ma-ni|| 'to speak from the house to someone outside' (/ayí-/1 'speak')

714.4 The Causative Suffix

{xa} before a locative suffix marks action or condition caused at that location by the subject of the verb. This usage is infrequent and has only been noted with stems of types 2 and 3F. In one case it precedes {p'e} (714.2).

Examples are,

||k'ame=xa-mu-ku-ni|| 'to make it bitter in the other's mouth' (/k'amé-/3F 'bitter')

||pé=xa-nti-ku-ni|| 'to lean it against the wall' (/pé-/3F has not been noted without /-xa/)

||t'i-xe=xa-p'e-mu-pa-ni||:/t'ixexpemupani/ 'to go along
feeding him in the mouth' (/t'ixé-/2 'ear')

||t'i-xe=xa-k'u-p'e-xa-a-ka-ni||:/t'ixexkup'exaakani/ 'we
will eat giving it to each other in the hand.'

720. The Locative Suffixes

Locative suffixes have been observed after all types of verb stem except type 7. With all the other stem types except 2 and 6 the use of these suffixes is very free and productive. With types 2 and 6 the use is more limited and tends to yield specialized meanings.

Thirty-three locative suffixes have been noted. These mark the locus of the action or condition described by the stem or the stem with pre-locative suffixes. Most unexpanded locative suffixes have primarily body-part meanings. Except for a few cases (cf. 733.2) themes with unexpanded locative suffixes are reflexive.

Areas designated by body-part suffixes coincide only partially with the English translations usually given. The body is segmented without regard for joints or what we would consider salient features; thus the suffix meaning 'nose' also includes the forehead, that for 'ear' includes the side of the head and the angle formed by head and shoulder, etc. Where this type of segmentation is the case, translations will be extended here (but not necessarily in future examples) to include the whole area specified. The locative suffixes, with examples of their use, are,

1. {a} only found with the expansions as {a ya} 'chest, stomach area' and {a ku} or {a ta} 'field', 'area away from the house', 'vegetal material'.
2. {ce} 'down, behind'. This suffix does not necessarily form only reflexive themes without expansion, and is unexpandable.
 - ||i-ci=ce-ni|| 'to melt underneath'
 - ||k'wa-na=ce-kwa|| 'behind' (/k'waná-/ 'turn')
 - ||ku-yi=ce|| 'vulture' (/kuyi-/ 'burn, consume', lit. 'consume below')
3. {c'±} 'top of head'
 - ||xu-pa=c'±-ni|| 'to wash one's head'
 - ||kamá=c'±-ta|| 'brains' (/kamá-/ 'embrace', /-ta/ agentive suf., lit. 'that which embraces in the head')
4. {ča} 'throat, inside of mouth'
 - ||k'a-yi=ča-ni|| 'to be thirsty' (/k'ayi-/ 'dry')
 - ||pe-xe=ča-kwa|| 'neck, throat' (/pexé-/ 'turn over')
5. {č'a} 'neck, back of head'
 - ||k'ú=č'a-ni|| 'to swell out one's throat' (as a frog). (The distinction between this suffix and 4 are not very carefully maintained. Of the two, this one always occurs after a pre-locative suffix, as ||a-ci=me-č'a-ni||: /acimčani/ 'to have an itch in the throat'.)
 - ||ka-ču=č'a-ni|| 'to cut off one's braid' lit. 'to cut it off at the back of one's head' (/kačú-/ 'cut off')

6. {č'u} 'buttocks, crotch between legs'

||a-ya=č'u-ni|| 'to cut oneself on the buttocks'

||ká=ni-č'u-kwa||:/kánč'ukwa/ 'the back of the leg
from the waist to the knee' (/ká-/ 'reverse')

7. {ku} only occurs expanded in {ku yi} 'waist'

||p'a-me=ku-yi-ni|| 'to have a pain in the waist'

8. {k'a} 'indefinite locus'

No specific locus was obtained for this suffix.

Translations varied sufficiently to make it extremely puzzling, as it seemed to vary after different stems.

The only examples are,

||kó=k'a-ya-ni|| 'The chapel floor is full of holes.'
(/kó-/ 'full of holes')

||p'a-ya=k'a-xa-ni|| 'to wrap in a reed mat'
(/p'ayá-/ 'roll, twist, wrap', /-xa/ causative suf.)

||k'wa-ni=k'a-ni|| 'to throw it (anywhere)'

||šké-k'a-ma-ni|| 'to faint' (/šké-/ 'loose, lazy')

9. {k'u} 'hand' (of self or other), 'leaf, paper, cloth'

||yó=k'u-ni|| 'to extend one's hand'

||k'wa-ča=k'u-ni|| 'to hit self or other on hand'

||i-ni-ča=k'u-kwa||:/inčák'ukwa/ 'inside the hand'
(/inčá-/ 'enter', /-kwa/ instrumental suf.)

||ka-ču=k'u-ni|| 'to cut leaf, paper, cloth'

10. {ma} 'body opening'. Only found in expansions {ma yi}

'issuing from mouth', {ma yu} 'buttocks, crotch
between legs'

11. {me} 'pimple, mouth, water'
 ||mi=me-ni|| 'to cover one's pimple'
 ||ká=ksa-me-ni|| 'to break something with the teeth'
 ||pe-ni-ču=me-kwa|| 'mouth' (stem meaning unknown,
 /-kwa/ instrumental suf.)
 ||wa-yi=me-ni|| 'to drown oneself' (/wayi-/ 'die')
12. {mu}: ||mu||, ||ms||. The latter allomorph is in free variation before {kwaye} 'self', otherwise ||mu|| occurs. 'mouth, edge, shore, door'
 ||a-ya=mu-ni|| 'to cut one's lip'
 ||puti=mu-kwa|| 'the kiss' (stem meaning unknown)
 ||ké=ce-ma-mu-ni|| 'to go down to the shore'
 ||ke-ni-ce=mu-ni|| 'to be scalloped around the edge'
 ||ka-ci=ms-kwaye-ni|| 'to have it in one's mouth'
13. {na}: ||na||, ||ns||. The latter allomorph is found in free variation before {kwaye} 'self', otherwise ||na|| occurs. 'face, side, close to'
 ||a-tá=ns-kwaye-ni|| 'to paint one's face' (/atá-/ 'hit, paint')
 ||čé=na-xa-p'e-xa-ni|| 'to be afraid of each other close by'
 ||p'i=na-ni|| 'to take from the side'
14. {nc†} 'top of the head'. This is not in free variation with {c†} 'top of head' as it does not occur in all expansions.
 ||i-ča=nc†-ni|| 'to have a long object horizontally on one's head'

15. {nča} 'neck, back of head, inside mouth, throat' This overlaps the meanings of 4 and 5 and does not occur in all the expansions.
- ||ci-xa=nča|| 'to be cold on one's neck'
- ||k'a-me=nča-kwaye-ni|| 'to be bitter in one's mouth'
16. {nče} 'above, up'
- ||ča-xa=nče-ni|| 'to thunder up above'
17. {ne} 'chest-stomach, inside'
- ||xe-a=ne-ni|| 'to press to one's breast'
- ||we-ka=ne-ni|| 'to fall into (pit, well)'
18. {nte} 'big patio'
- ||kó=nte-ni|| 'to be full of holes in the big patio'
19. {nti} 'side of head with angle of neck to shoulderbone'
- ||ó=nti-ni|| 'to cover one's ear(s)'
- ||kwi=nti-ni|| 'to carry on one's shoulder'
20. {ntu} 'foot'
- ||ma-ču=ntu-ni|| 'to twist one's foot'
21. {nu}: ||nu||, ||ns|| 'patio'. The allomorph ||ns|| occurs only before the object-expansion {ka}, otherwise {nu} occurs.
- ||c'a-xa=ns-ka-ni|| 'to sear him/her in the patio'
- ||č'ó=nu-ni|| 'to squat in the patio'
22. {pa} 'fiesta', and underlying the expansion {paya} 'back'
- ||wa-ya=pa-nt'a-ni|| 'to dance a lot at the fiesta'
- ||kó=pa-ya-ni|| 'to be wide across the back'

23. {pe} 'next to'
 ||i-ču=pe-če-š-ti||: /ičápečet'i/ 'the flat, thin
 object is next to me'
24. {p'e} 'body, hearth, fire, floor of room, market-place'
 ||ka-ya=p'e-ni|| 'to be swollen on one's body'
 ||te-po=p'e-ni|| 'something on the hearth to be
 spilling'
 ||č'o=p'e-ni|| 'to squat on the floor of the room'
 ||i-ni-ča=p'e-kwa||: /inčáp'ekwa/ 'center of town,
 market' (/inčá-/ 'enter', /-kwa/ instrumental suf.)
25. {xe} only found in the expansion {xe ta} 'tree'
 ||t'a-ya=xe-ta-ni|| 'to cleave it into the tree'
26. {xu} 'part in hair, street, path'
 ||a-yu=xu-ni|| 'to part one's hair' (/ayf-/ 'divide')
 ||ki-xa=xu-ni|| 'to sit in the road' (/kixá-/
 'round object')
 ||ša-na=xu|| 'road, path' (/šaná-/ 'go along')
27. {sku} 'ground, down'
 ||po-yo=sku-ni|| 'to be a hole in the ground'
28. {še} 'fur'
 ||ckwá=Rd-yá-še-ni||: /ckwackwayášení/ 'to be spotted
 on an animal's fur' (/yá/ stem-pluralizer)
29. {šu} 'shoulder-arm-under arm to waist, canoe, reed mat'
 ||ká=šu-ni|| 'to put one's face on one's shoulder'
 (/ká-/ 'upside down thing')
 ||kwa-yá=šu-ni|| 'to break one's arm'

||pé=šú|| 'shoulder' (stem meaning unknown, but cf. /péxa-/ 'lean')

||čú-ni-pi=šú-ni||: /čumpišuni/ 'crouched in the canoe or on reed mat' (/čumpi-/ 'crumpled object')

30. {te} 'face, side of hill or cliff-face'

||p'a=te-ni|| 'to touch oneself on the face'

||i-ča=te-ni|| 'to lie down on the hillside'

(/i-ča-/ 'long object horizontal')

31. {t'a} 'lower leg, outside of upper leg to waist, flat place with wide surface'

||tá=t'a-ni|| 'to raise one's pant leg or skirt'

lit. 'to raise at one's leg'

||xu-pa=t'a-ni|| 'to wash the grinding stone, griddle, canoe, board, or anything wide and flat'

||ci-ka=t'a-kwa|| 'leg' lit. 'instrument for bending at the leg' (/ciká-/ 'bend')

32. {ye} 'outside of body, outer surface'

||ki-xa=ye-kwaye-ni|| 'to have a boil on one's body'

or 'to put something round on a cloth' (/kixá-/ round object')

33. {yu} 'nose, forehead'

||xu-pa=yu-ni|| 'to wash one's forehead or nose'

||cé=yu-kwa|| 'forehead' (/cé-/ 'measure, judge' /-kwa/ instrumental suf.)

Although locative suffixes occur with all stem types except type 7, locative themes with stems of types 2 and 6

are apt to have rather specialized meanings. For example,

||k'wi=mu-ni|| 'to whistle' (/k'wi-/2 'sleep')

||k'wi=nče-ni|| 'to celebrate a fiesta'

||cá=na-yi-ni|| 'to dream' (/cá-/2 'heat, sun')

||cí=na-yi-ni|| 'to awaken' (/cí-/6 'alive, happy')

730. The Subject-Object Suffixes

There are twenty suffixes that alone or in various sequences specify subject or object of the verb theme. Transitive or intransitive resolution is effected by the occurrence of certain of these suffixes after particular stem types. Other semantic realizations that are functions of these suffixes are causative, passive, secondary object, reciprocal subject-object, alien object, plural object, reinforced subject and distributive object.

Certain of these suffixes have already been considered in their pre-locative usage (714.2, 714.3, 714.4). Here they will be considered as post-locative suffixes with subject-object function affecting, in most cases, the external distribution class to which the verb with such an affix belongs.

Although these suffixes are probably semantically elemental it is particularly difficult to define a consistent meaning for each as the translation meaning shifts according to the particular privilege of occurrence.

The suffixes, with rough meanings, are,

1. {A} direct object
2. {a} plural object

3. {c} alien object
4. {če} first-second person indirect object
5. {ka} direct object, intransitivizer
6. {ku} direct-indirect object, intransitivizer
7. {kwaye} reinforced subject
8. {k'u} direct object, intransitivizer
9. {k'waye} accessory object
10. {mayi} successive object
11. {me} passive indirect object
12. {na} passive
13. {nku} direct object
14. {pa} distributive object
15. {p'e} distributive object
16. {ta} direct object, intransitivizer
17. {t'a} direct object
18. {xa} causative, intransitivizer
19. {xe} direct object, intransitivizer
20. {yi} reinforced subject

731. Transitive and Intransitive Themes

Eight of the foregoing suffixes function as transitivizer or intransitivizer of the theme, depending on the stem type to which they are attached. They may be attached directly after the stem or after a locative suffix or locative expansion if this occurs. Of the types of stems which are also themes, type one is transitive with no additional thematic suffixation and type 2 is intransitive with no additional thematic

suffixation. Types 4 and 5 are transitivized, and type 3 intransitivized according to the thematic suffixes which are added. Locative suffixes are also transitivizing. Types 6 and 7 are intransitive with the addition of {pe} (711.4).

Type 3 and 4 stems have a variety of sub-classes, classified according to the object suffixes which occur with them and the resultant transitive or intransitive resolution.

The eight suffixes are,

1. {ka}
2. {ku}
3. {k'u}
4. {nku}
5. {ta}
6. {t'a}
7. {xa}
8. {xe}

Stem classes and accompanying suffixes which constitute transitive and intransitive themes are,

Intransitive:

Stem Type	Suffix
2	none
3A	ku
3B	ka
3C	ta
3D	k'u
3E	xe
3F, 7	xa
3G	nku

Transitive:	Stem Type	Suffix
	1	none
	1, 2, 4F	xa
	4A	ka
	4B	ku
	4C	ta
	4D	k'u
	4E	t'a
	4F	xa
	4G	xe
	4H	nku
	5	post-locative ku, ta, xa

731.1 The Causative Object-Goal Suffix

{xa} serves as direct object, causative or goal depending upon the stem type to which it is attached. It may be attached directly after stems 1, 2, 3F, 4, and 7, or after locative suffixes or locative expansions with such stems except type 7. Completed adjectives also occur with /-xa/. It may follow locative suffixes or locative expansions attached to type 5 stems. It may also follow type 7 and the reciprocal sequence {p'exa}.

In themes with type 1 stems {xa} is causative and transitive. For example,

||eše=xa-ni|| 'to show someone' (/ešé-/ 'see')

||xa.ó-ci=xa-ni|| 'to cause to have something, to contain something' (/xaci-/ 'to have')

||xu-pa=xa-ni|| 'to have someone wash it' (/xupá-/ 'wash')

||i-ni-ča=xa-ni||:/inčáxani/ 'to have it enter, to put it inside' (/inčá-/ 'enter')

||i-ni-čá=xa||:/inčáxa/ 'inside'

||te-ka=xa-kwa|| 'the hoe' /teká-/ 'chop, hoe', /-kwa/
instrumental suf.)

||a-ni-ta=t'a-xa-ni||:/antát'axani/ 'to raise one's skirt
or pant leg' (/antá-/ 'approach', /-t'a/ 'leg')

After type 2 stems {xa} is causative and transitive.

For example,

||cá=xa-ni|| 'to heat something' (/cá-/ 'heat, sun')

||čé=xa-ni|| 'to frighten someone' (/čé-/ 'fear')

||ča-xa=xa-ni|| 'to explode something' (/caxá-/ 'thunder')

||ča-xa=xa-ti-eča||:/čaxáxatiča/ 'the exploders'
(/-ti/ agentive suf., /-eča/ plural suf.)

||té=xa-ni|| 'to sweeten' (/té-/ 'be sweet')

||k'wí=xa-kwa|| 'reed mat' (/k'wí-/ 'sleep', /-kwa/ instru-
mental suf. Lit. 'thing used to sleep someone')

||cá-nu-xa-ni|| 'to be sunny in the patio' (/cá-/ 'heat,
sun')

After type 3^F stems {xa} is self-causative. Examples

are,

||ni.ó'=xa-ni||:/nixáni/ 'to go there' (/ni.ó-/ 'go')

||pa-ka=xa-ni|| 'to remain there' (/paká-/ 'remain')

||ni.ó'-e=xa-ni|| 'to arrive there' (/nié-/ 'arrive')

||k'a-ma=xa-ni|| 'to be finished' (/k'ama-/ 'finish')

||xa-wa=xa-ni|| 'to rise' (/xawá-/ 'rise')

After 4^F stems {xa} marks transitive themes. For
example,

- ||ckwá=xa-ni|| 'to sprinkle it' (/ckwá-/ 'spot')
- ||če-šá=xa-ni|| 'to touch, knock on it' (/češá-/ 'touch, knock')
- ||ta-ku=xa-ni|| 'to stack them' (/takú-/ 'stack')
- ||kwa-ka=xa-ni|| 'to dampen it' (/kwaká-/ 'damp')

Examples after locatives and locative expansions are,

- ||wa-na=c'í-ku-xa-ni|| 'to pass along the top of a cliff'
(/waná-/ 'pass along' [stem type uncertain],
/-c'íku/ 'top of cliff')
- ||ku-ya=ma-yi-xa-ni|| 'to ask' (/kuyá-/ 4B 'question',
/-mayi/ 'issue from mouth')
- ||kó=nti-xa-ni|| 'to have a wide beak' (/kó-/ 4E 'wide'
/-nti/ 'ear, side of head')
- ||ka-yá=p'e-mu-ta-xa-ni|| 'to make another's face swell'
(/kayáp'e-/ 4C 'swell', /-muta/ 'another's face')
- ||ti-sí=nti-xa-ni|| 'beard' (/tisí/ 5 'body hair', /-nti/
'side of face', /-ni/ substantive suf.)

Examples after completed adjectives are,

- ||k'é=xi-xa-ni|| 'to be like a big person' (/k'éxi/ 'big')
- ||t'a-ye=xa-ni|| 'to be like a big person' (/t'ayé/ 'big')
- ||sa-pi=xa-ni|| 'to become little' (/sapí/ 'little')

In the two final examples the completed adjective is also the stem. In the first example the stem /k'é-/ is completed by the agentive suffix /-xi/.

Examples after numeral (type 7) stems and themes are,

||ci-má=xa-ni|| 'the two'

||ci-má=p'e-xa-xa-ni|| 'between the two'

731.2 The Object Suffix {ka}

{ka} is attached to a group of type 4 stems designated as 4A as a direct object marker. In two cases it occurs with intransitive themes; the stems underlying these are designated as 3B. Examples are,

||mí=ka-ni|| 'to shut it' (/mí-/4A 'shut')

||wé=ka-ni|| 'to desire it' (/wé-/4A 'desire')

||wa-ni=ka-ni|| 'to toast it' (/waní-/4A 'toast')

||xu-p'i=ka-ni||:/xupíkani/ 'to grasp it' (/xupí-/4A
'grasp')

||čó=ka-ni|| 'to avoid it' (/čó-/4A 'fear, avoid')

||wašá-ka-ni|| 'to sit down' (/waša-/3B 'sit')

||e-xe=ka-ni|| 'to live' (/ešé-/3B 'live')

731.3 The Object Suffix {ku}

In the constructions with which we are concerned here, {ku} occurs in transitive single object themes or intransitive themes. Another privilege of occurrence, which will be treated later (735.2) is as third person indirect object.

After type 2 stem meanings are somewhat specialized, but generally directed toward some other object or goal. Themes remain intransitive. Examples are,

||t'i-xe=ku-ni|| 'to eat elsewhere' (/t'ixé-/2 'eat')

- ||č'e-ni-pa-ku-ni||: /č'empákuni/ 'to dig elsewhere'
 (/č'empá-/2 'dig')
- ||wa-yu=ku-ni|| 'to weave fishnets' (/wayú-/2 'fish')
- ||k'wí=xa-ku-ni|| 'to make reed mats' (/k'wíxa-/ 'cause
 sleep, from /k'wí-/2 'sleep')
- ||cá=ku-ni|| 'to penetrate' (/cá-/2 'heat, sun')

After stems designated as 4B, {ku} translates as direct object. For example,

- ||wi-sá=ku-ni|| 'to drag it along'
- ||p'i.í=ku-ni||: /p'ikúni/ 'to harvest, cut it'
- ||ká=ku-ni|| 'to bend it double'
- ||pe-ta=ku-ni|| 'to take it out'
- ||a-yu=ku-ni|| 'to divide it'

{ku} has been noted in two intransitive themes with stems classified as 3A. These are,

- ||po-ko=Rd=ku-ni||: /p'okópokokuni/ 'to have smoke coming out'
- ||p'a-ni-to=ku-ni||: /p'antókuni/ 'to walk weakly'
 (/p'antó-/ 'weak')

731.4 The Object Suffix {nku}

{nku} sometimes seems to be in free variation with {ku} and sometimes to occur in unique constructions. Its meaning is uncertain, but it is apparently a type of object suffix. With type 1 stems it seems to constitute a kind of auxiliary object or goal. It has been noted with one stem designated as 4H,

transitivized with {nku} which is always followed by {ma} (742), and one intransitive 3F stem. The examples are,

||a-ni-ta=nku-ni||: /antánkuni/ 'to catch up with' (/antá-/1 'approach')

||e-xa=nku-ni|| 'to watch someone passing' (/exá-/1 'watch')

||ú-nku-ni|| 'to enjoy' (/ú-/1 'make, do')

||čú=nku-ma-ni|| 'to follow him/her' (/čú-/4H 'follow')

||k'ame=mu-nku-kwaye-ni|| 'to be bitter in one's mouth'

||k'ame=mu-ku-nku-kwaye-ni|| 'to make another's mouth bitter' (/k'amé-/3F 'bitter', /-mu/ 'mouth', /-muku/ 'another's mouth', /-kwaye/ reinforced subject)

731.5 The Object Suffix {ta}

{ta} marks the direct object of a large group of type 4 stems. Where {ta} is the principal, or only, direct object marker, such stems are designated 4C. Where there is overlap with {ku} and apparently no semantic distinction between the two, the stems are marked 4BC. In some cases, after 4B stems, where {ku} would be used to mark direct object, {ta} is used to mark an object with some slight semantic shift. Type 2 stems with {ta} are transitivized. Some type 1 stems occur with {ta}, sometimes with what seems to be no change in meaning, and others with a meaning change. The stems of the few intransitive themes found with {ta} are classified as 3C. Examples with 4C stems are,

||a-ni-ci=ta-ni wa-yu=kwa-ni.||:/ancitani wayúkwani./

'to pull in the fishnet'

||Y-má cŕ=ta-š-ti sa-pi=ču-ni.||:/imaa cŕtat'i sapičuni./

'He lost his child.'

||wa-xa=ni-ksŕ xi-má xa-wa=ta-ni na.ŕ=Rd magxina-ni||:

/waxániksŕ ximaa xawátani nanaa magxínani./ 'Dancing,
they there raised the godmother.' (/xawa-/ 'rise')

Examples with 4BC stems are,

||k'a-ma=ta-ni|| or ||k'a-ma=ku-ni|| 'to finish it'

||kwa-ya=ta-ni|| or ||kwa-ya=ku-ni|| 'to fell a tall object'

Examples with 4B stems are,

||wa-no=ta-ni|| 'to go around it', ||wa-no=kuni|| 'to pass it'
(/wanó-/ 'pass')

||sŕ-xi=ta-nt'a-ni|| 'to wear it', ||sŕ-xi=ku-ni|| 'to sew
it' (/sŕxi-/ 'sew')

Examples with type 2 stems are,

||a-pa=ye-ta-ni|| 'to burn someone' (/apáye-/2 'sweat')

||lék'u-ksŕ xa.ŕ=ta-ni má-texu púnt'a-ni.||:/lék'uksŕ

xatani mátexu púnt'ani./ 'Then we passed another
point' (/xa.ŕ-/2 'be there')

||ná-c'ŕ ni.ŕ=ta-ma-š-k'i k'wi=nče-kwa.||:/ná-c'ŕ nitámaški

k'winčekwa./ 'How did you (pl.) spend the fiesta?'
(/ni.ŕ-/2 'go', /-ma/ 'in passing')

Examples with type 1 stems are,

||xa-yu-a=ta-ni||:/xayoátani/ 'to help to do it'

(/xayoá-/1 'help to do it')

||pá=ta-ni|| 'to put it out (fire, light)' (/pá-/1

'take elsewhere')

Intransitive themes with 3C stems are,

||pi-xi=ta-ni|| 'to lightning'

||mi-ni-ci=ta-ni||:/mincítani/ 'to breathe, heart to beat'

||mi-ni-ci=ta|| 'heart'

731.6 The Object Suffix {k'u}

Few themes with {k'u} occur. Stems underlying transitive themes are classified as 4D. It also occurs with limited type 2 stems. The examples are,

||xa-ka=k'u-ni|| 'to believe it' (/xaká-/4D 'believe')

||xu-xa=k'u-ni|| 'to leave it' (/xuxá-/4D 'leave')

||k'é=k'u-ni|| 'to make it grow' (/k'é/2 'big')

731.7 The Object Suffix {t'a}

Slightly, but not much, more productive than {k'u}, {t'a} occurs with a small group of stems of type 4E constituting transitive themes. It has been observed with one type 2 stem as a transitivizer, and with one type 1 stem with no meaning change. It is the only object-goal suffix which has not been observed with intransitive themes. Examples are,

||kú=t'a-ni|| 'to hit it' (/kú/4E 'come together')

||t'f=t'a-ni|| 'to toast it' (/t'f-/4E 'burn, toast')

||šó=t'a-ni|| 'to row it' (/šó-/4E only found in this theme)

||šó=t'a-kwa|| 'oar, paddle' (/kwa/ instrumental suf.)

||kó=t'a-ni|| 'to widen it' (/kó-/4E 'wide')

||ya-ci=t'a-ni|| 'to go there slowly' (/yaci-/4E 'slow')

||pá=t'a-ni|| 'to take it elsewhere' (/pá-/1 'take elsewhere')

||k'wi=t'a-ni|| 'to put it to sleep' (/k'wi-/2 'sleep')

In only one example is {t'a} found after a locative suffix,

||có-na-t'a-xa-ni|| 'to blind someone by light'

(/có-/ is probably a 4E stem, found only with /-na/ 'eyes')

731.8 The Object Suffix {xe}

{xe} occurs with a limited number of stems designated as 4G with transitive resolution, and with intransitive resolution after 3E stems. The examples are,

||ku-cu=xe-ni|| 'to fill it' (/kucú-/4G 'fill, clean')

||k'o-yo=xe-ni|| 'to clean it' (/k'oyó-/4G 'clean')

||mó-xe-n'ta-ni|| 'to go elsewhere' (/mó-/4G 'replacement, fill empty space' /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||čú=xe-ni|| 'to be late, night' (/čú-/3E 'late, night')

||čú=xe-kwa|| 'night' (/kwa/ instrumental suf.)

||yó=xe-kwa|| 'river' (/yó-/4G 'extend')

||xi-xu=xe-ta|| 'air, wind' (3E stem underlying this form only)

||i-st-xe-ni|| 'thunderbolt' (/st-/3E 'to strike
[lightning]')

732. The Passive Suffix

{na} constitutes an elimination of subject, such that when it is attached to transitive themes the subject (which is in the nominative case) becomes the object, the whole translating as a passive verb, but with subject unexpressed. When it is attached to intransitive themes the subject is also eliminated, such verbs being translated as if the subject were plural, as 'many people. . . .' A more accurate translation would probably be 'there is' Suffixes which serve as primary direct object markers after type 4 stems are not retained in passive themes. Positionally, {na} may occur after the fixed sequence suffixes. Examples are,

||xi pá=na-a-ka-ni|| 'I will be taken' (/pá-/1 'take
elsewhere')

||a-ni-tá=na-š-a.-m-ka-ni||:/antánašamkani/ 'I will be
beaten' (/antá-/1 'win')

||xu. '=na-ni|| 'many people come' (/xu. /2 'come')

||ni. '-e=na-nt'a-ni|| 'they arrived' (/nié-/3 'arrive')

||té=mu-na-nt'a-ni|| 'many people have sweet in their mouths'
(/té-/2 'sweet', /-mu/ 'mouth', /-nt'a/ durative)

||i-má k'wi-na-ni xa. '=k'i. ||:/imaa k'winani xaki./ 'He is
asleep.' (/k'wi-/2 'sleep')

||xó=ta-na-š-ti. ||:/xótanat'i./ 'He was tied up.' (/xó-/4B
'tie')

||xi-ní-ksí i-ni-cí=na-ni desayúno. ||:/xiníksí incínani

desayúno./ 'There we were given breakfast.'

(/incí-/4C 'give')

||t'a-yá=na-ni xá=k'i-eča-ni. ||:/t'ayánani xák'ičani./ 'They

clasped hands.' (/t'ayá-/5 'cleave')

||páxi-ksí ni.ó=xa-ni t'i-xe=xa-na-ni. ||:/páxíksí nixáni

t'ixéxanani./ 'in order that we go to be fed.'

(/t'ixé-/1 'eat', /-xa/ causative suf.)

733. The Locative Expansions

Locative suffixes may be expanded with two series of suffixes: augment and object. Verbs with augment expanded locative suffixes are of the same external distribution class as those with simple locative suffixes, i.e. in the majority of cases (see for exceptions) reflexive verbs. Those with object expanded suffixes if in the extended body-part or place extension category may be reflexive. Other object expansions occur in transitive and non-reflexive themes.

733.1 The Augment Suffixes

There are three such suffixes which correspond to stem morphemes in ||y|| with vowel ablaut (cf. 812). (For other use of {ya} cf. 712). The suffixes are,

1. {ya} augment outward
2. {yi} augment linearly
3. {yu} augment in depth.

These are attached after locative suffixes to extend the area designated by that suffix. Some locative suffixes

do not occur, or rarely occur, without such an augment. The augmented meaning may be either to include an area adjacent to that designated by the locative suffix, or including a greater area than that designated by the locative suffix alone. If a locative suffix is normally expanded with such a suffix, an object suffix (733.2) may follow such an expansion. If not, such an object suffix will precede the augment suffix. The whole constitutes an IC relationship, or expanded suffix, of two or three members. Augmented locatives occur in both nouns and verbs.

Augment expanded locative suffixes, which never, or rarely, occur without the augment are,

{a ya} 'stomach, chest, indefinite central location'

||p'á=a-ya-ni xó=ni-kwaye-kwa-yu||:/p'áayani
xónkwayekwayu/ 'to touch one's waist' (/p'a-/
 'touch')

||p'á=a-ya-ni tú=pu-ni|| 'to touch one's navel'

||p'á=a-ya-ni sf=ni-eča-ni||:/p'áayani sničani/

'to touch one's teeth'. Without the specifying noun the exact central area is left indefinite.

In the first example the noun is in the locative case; in the second and third in the accusative.

Either case is acceptable.

{pa ya} 'back'

||kó=pa-ya-ni|| 'to be wide across the back'

(/kó-/'wide')

||šu-ku=pa-ya-ni|| 'to put a shawl or blanket around one's shoulders' (/šukú-/ 'dress')

||šu-ku=pa-ya-kwa|| 'clothing' (/kwa/ instrumental suf.)

||a-na=pa-ya-kwa|| 'spinal fur' (/aná-/ 'upright object')

{ku yi} 'waist'

||p'a-me=ku-yi-ni|| 'to have a pain at one's waist' (/p'amé-/ 'hurt')

{na yi} 'face' ('eyes and cheeks', but not including nose, forehead or mouth area)

||mí=na-yi-ni|| 'to shut one's eyes' (/mí-/ 'shut')

||ti-sí=na-yi|| 'cheek' (/tisí-/ 'body hair')

||a-ni-pa=na-yi-nt'a-ni||: /ampánayint'ani/ 'to shave' (/ampá-/ 'be good', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||cá=na-yi-ni|| 'to dream' (/cá-/ 'heat, sun')

{ma yi} 'outward from mouth'

||ckwá=ma-yi-ni|| 'to spray from one's mouth'

(/ckwá-/ 'spot')(/-ma/ alone is any body opening)

{ma yu} 'buttocks, crotch between legs'

||a-na=ma-yu-ni|| 'to have a stick between one's

legs or against one's buttocks' (/aná-/ 'vertical object') _

Examples of locative augment in which the locative suffixes are normally unaugmented,

||ci-xa=k'u-ya-ni|| 'to be cold in both hands' (/cixá-/
'cold')

||p'á=k'u-ya-ni|| 'to touch one's wrist, arm, or both hands'
(any body area outward from hand), (/p'á-/ 'touch')

||a-pa=ye-nti-ya-ni|| 'to burn oneself around the mouth and chin' (extension around the face from the ear-
shoulder area) (/apáye-/ 'burn')

||kó=ntu-ya-kwa|| 'sole of foot' (/kó-/ 'wide')

||a-na=šu-yi-ni|| 'to stand up' lit. 'upright in linear side-extension' (/aná-/ 'vertical object')

||pa-yá=šu-yi-ni|| 'to roll something back and forth on or under one's arm' (/payá-/ 'roll')

||k'ame=xa-mu-ku-ya-ni|| 'to cause bitterness in another's mouth' (without /ya/ the bitterness would be on the
outside of the mouth) (/k'amé-/ 'bitter', /-ku/
object extension, 'other')

An example of the object suffix following the augment
is,

||p'á=pa-ya-ku-ni|| 'to touch other on the back'

733.2 The Object Expansions

Four object suffixes may follow particular locative suffixes or locative plus augment to constitute locative object expansions. These are {A}, {ka}, {ku}, and {ta}. Such expansions have three possible semantic compositions: (1) An extension of the body part meaning to another part of the

body; (2) an extension of the body part meaning to a place apart from the body; (3) an extension of the body part or locative meaning to the body of another or action directed toward another at that place. The first of these compositions may underlie the second.

733.21 The Extended Body-Part Meaning

If {ta} or {ku} are attached after certain body-part suffixes the meaning is extended to designate another part of the body with some conceptual similarity. These expansions are, {c' + ta} 'knee', from {c' + } 'top of head'

||a-pa=ye-c' + ta-ni||: /apáyc' + tani/ 'to burn oneself on the knee'

{č'a ku} 'back of knee', from {č'a} 'neck, back of head'

||p'á=č'a-ku-ni|| 'to touch the back of one's knee'

{pa ya ta} 'back of hand or foot', from {pa ya} 'back'

||wa=pa-ya-ta-ni|| 'to knock or hit with the knuckles'

{yu ta} 'finger, toe', from {yu} 'nose, forehead'

||xu-pa=yu-ta-ni|| 'to wash one's finger'

733.22 The Place Meaning

There is an expansion for most body-part suffixes to designate a place apart from the body which has some conceptual relationship to the particular body-part which underlies the expansion. Such designations are made by expansion with {ku} or {ta}. There is homonymity with extended body-part meanings.

Locative themes expanded with {ku} are reflexive, those expanded with {ta} are transitive and non-reflexive. In

the former the action is performed at that location by the subject of the verb. In the latter the action is performed on another (person or object) by the subject of the verb.

Three body-part suffixes, {nc̣ṭ}, {nča}, and {k'u}, are not subject to place expansion. These, when expanded with {ku} after type 5 stems have the action still directed toward the self, but using something belonging to another (735.2). Expanded with {ta} the action is directed toward the body of another (733.23).

Examples of place expansions (not all place expansions will be listed here, but enough to show the morphological construction type) are,

{a ku} 'field, outside area,' self as subject-object.

||i-ča=a-ku-ni||: /ičáakuni/ 'to lie down in the field' (/ičá-/ 'long object horizontal')

{a ta} 'field, outside area', other as object.

||e-xa=a-ta-ni|| 'to look at someone in the field' (/exá-/ 'look')

{c' ṭ ku} 'top of raised surface' self as subject-object, from {c' ṭ} 'top of head'.

||i-ča=c' ṭ-ku-ni|| 'to lie down on top of a cliff' (/ičá-/ 'long object horizontal')

{c' ṭ ta} 'top of raised surface', other as object.

||i-ča=c' ṭ-ta-ni|| 'to put a horizontal object on the table'

{č'u ku} 'corridor' (covered porch along house front),
self as subject-object, from {č'u} 'buttocks,
crotch between legs'.

||č'ó=č'u-ku-ni|| 'to squat in the corridor'
(/č'ó-/ 'squat')

{č'u ta} 'corridor', other as object.

||č'ó=č'u-ta-ni|| 'to put other in a squatting
position in the corridor'

{mu ku} 'shore, edge', self as subject-object, from {mu}
'mouth, shore' ({mu} can mean either 'mouth' or
'shore' and need not be expanded for the latter
meaning, although such expansion is more usual.)

||ké=mu-ku-ni|| 'to go down to the shore' (/ké-/
'go down')

{mu ta} 'shore, edge', other as object.

||c'a-wa=pe-mu-ta-ni|| 'to sharpen the edge'
(/c'awá-/ 'sharp', /-pe/ pre-locative action suf.)

{na yi ku} 'wall, cliff face, any wide surface', self as
subject-object, from {na yi} 'face'.

||wa-na=na-yi-ku-ni|| 'to cross a cliff face'
(/waná-/ 'cross')

||e-c'á=na-yi-ku-ni|| 'to be spread out on a griddle,
a grinding stone, or any wide, flat surface'
(/ecá-/ 'spread out')

{na yi ta} 'wall, cliff face, any wide surface', other as
object.

||t'a-yá=na-yi-ta-ni|| 'to cleave it into a wall'
 (/t'ayá-/ 'cleave')

733.23 The Other Object Meaning

Certain locative suffixes (the majority) are expanded with {A}, {ku}, {ta}, or {ka} to indicate that the object of the verb is other than the subject. If the locative suffix has a body part meaning the locus of the action is another's body rather than one's own. Expansions may include an addition of {ku} or {ta} after either augment suffixes (733.1) or after a {ku} or {ta} as an extension of the body-part meaning (733.21).

Three locative suffixes are expandable with vocalic ablaut, {A}. These are,

{me} 'water, pimple'

{ne} 'inside, chest-stomach area'

{p'e} 'fire, hearth, room, market-place'

Examples of these expansions are,

||xí kó=me-A-ni||:/xii kómani/ 'I put someone face downward
 in the water.' ||xí kó=me-ni|| 'I am face downward
 in the water.' (/kó-/ 'face downward')

||xí mí=me-A-ni||:/xii mímani./ 'I cover another's pimple.'
 ||xí mí=me-ni.|| 'I cover my pimple.' (/mí-/ 'cover')

||í-má-ni k'a-ma=ne-A-š-ti.||:/imáni k'amánat'i./ 'He
 finished what was inside it.' ||k'a-ma=ne-š-ti.||:
 /k'amánat'i./ 'The pot is empty.' Lit. 'It is
 finished inside.' (/k'amá-/ 'finish')

||tú=ne-A-ni||:/túnani/ 'to pull up another's shirt',
 ||tú=ne-ni|| 'to pull up one's own shirt', lit.
 'to raise it at one's chest' (/tú-/ 'raise')
 ||í-má k'wa-ni=p'e-š-ti. ||:/imaa k'wanip'et'i./ 'She threw
 herself down on the floor of the room (or into the
 fire).¹ ||í-má k'wa-ni=p'e-A-š-ti. ||:/imaa
 kwanip'at'i./ 'She threw it down on the floor of
 the room (or into the fire.) (/k'waní-/ 'throw')

With most other locative suffixes {ku} and {ta} constitute the expansions for other object and are usually used interchangeably. Exceptions are the one occurrence of {ka}, after ||ns|| (allomorph of {nu} 'patio'). Only {ta} occurs as object expansion after {nc+} 'head' and {k'u} 'hand'. After {ce} 'down', {nče} 'up', {sku} 'ground' and {te} 'cliff face, face, wide flat surface' which are not expanded for other object {ta} also occurs, as for example, ||pá=ce-ni|| 'to take something into the mud', or 'to take self into the mud'.

Examples of other object expansions are,

||xa.́-ci=mu-ku-ni|| ^f ||xa.́-ci=mu-ta-ni|| 'to put something
in the other's mouth', ||xa.́-ci=mu-ni|| 'to have
 something in one's mouth' (/xací-/ 'have')
 ||ma-ču=ntu-ku-ni|| 'to twist someone's foot' (/mačú-/
 'twist')
 ||xá=ntu-ta-ni|| 'to smear dirt on someone's foot' (/xá-/
 'smear')

||p'á=pa-ya-ku-ni|| 'to touch someone on the back' (/p'á-/
'touch')

||a-yá=yu-ku-ku-ni|| 'to cut someone on the finger'
(/ayá-/ 'cut')

||ká=šu-ku-ni|| 'to put one's head on someone's shoulder'
(/ká-/ 'upside down object')

||i-ču=šu-ta-ni|| 'to put a flat, thin object on another's
shoulder' (/ičá-/ 'flat, thin object')

||k'wa-ni=ye-ta-ni|| 'to throw toward someone' lit. 'to
throw on someone's surface' (/k'waní-/ 'throw')

{ka} after {nu}:||ns|| 'patio' may vary freely with
{ku}, but is most commonly found,

||ká=ns-ka-nt'a-ni|| ^f ||ká=ns-ku-nt'a-ni|| 'to turn it over
again in the patio' (/ká-/ 'upside down thing',
/-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||xí t'i-xe=ns-ka-ni.|| 'I feed an animal in the patio.'

||xí t'i-xe=nu-ni.|| 'I eat in the patio.' (/t'ixé-/
'eat'. Apparently the commonly employed theme
/t'ixéxa-/ 'to feed' is reserved for giving food to
people.)

After the stem /sancá-/ 'shake', the locative expansion
/-c'í-ku/ occurs without the usual meaning of 'other's
head' or 'raised surface'. In this construction it means
only any unspecified object. For example,

||sa-ni-cá=c'í-ku-ni|| 'to shake it'

With type 2 themes the objectively expanded suffix can occur but with the meaning of self as object. But this is not always true, as witness the example with /t'ixé-/2 'eat' above. Some other elusive factor must be involved. Examples are,

||xí i-ni-ča=c'í-ta-a-ka-ni é=p'u-yu. ||:/xí
 inčác'í-taakani ép'uyu/ 'I will put it over my
head.' Lit. 'I will enter it at my head.' (/inčá-/2
 'enter' ||wa-yá=me-A-ni|| 'to dance in the water'
 (/wayá-/2 'dance')

734. Distributive Object Suffixation

Six suffixes play a role in a type of distributional object relationship. These are,

1. {c} alien object
2. {ku} object
3. {mayi} successive object
4. {pa} distributive object
5. {p'e} distributive object
6. {xa} object-goal (causative)

Not all can occur thus as single suffixes. The following suffix sequences are possible in a distributive object role,

{p'e} distributive object

{c p'e} 'in other's stead', 'belonging to other'

{pa ku pa} 'one after another'

{p'e xa} reciprocal

{mayi} 'rapid succession of object'

734.1 The Distributive Object Suffix

{p'e} marks an object or objects of the verb which have some temporal or spatial distribution. Examples are,

||t'i-xe=xa-p'e-ni||:/t'ixéxpeni/ 'to feed several one after the other' (/t'ixéxa-/ 'feed')

||we-ka=ča-ku-p'e-ni||:/wekáčakpeni/ 'to fly (as insects) into the mouths of many people' (/weká-/ 'fall')

||i-má e-wa=ntu-ku-p'e-š-ti. ||:/imaa ewántukpet'i./ 'She takes them off his feet one after the other.'
(/ewántuku-/ 'to remove them from his feet')

||xi pa-yá=ncĕ-ku-p'e-š-ka-ni. ||:/xii payáncĕkpeškani./
'I took it from his head and put it on mine.'
(/payáncĕku-/ 'put something belonging to another over one's head')

After a type 2 (intransitive) verb the subject may be temporally or spatially successively plural. For example,

||wa-ni-ta=c'ĕ-ku-p'e-ni||:/wantác'ĕkpeni/ 'to speak successively from a platform', /wantác'ĕku-/ 'to speak from a platform')

734.2 The Substitutive Object

The suffix sequence {c p'e}:/cpe/ marks the object or goal of the verbal action as alien to the subject or belonging to another. A replacement is signified, in that the subject has taken over a role properly belonging to another. Examples are,

||xí xu-pa=c-p'e-nt'a-pl-Ø-ni.||:/xii xupácpent'apini./

'I had been washing their clothes for them.'

(/xupá-/ 'wash', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||xá=ni-c-p'e-ni||:/xáncpeni/ 'to go about in foreign

places' (/xá-/ 'go about')

||xí pa-yá=c't-c-p'e-ni.||:/xii payác'tcpeni./ 'I put

another's hat over my head.' (cf. /payánc'tku-/
above, with same meaning)

||xí k'wí=xa-ku-c-p'e-nt'a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii k'wixakucpe-

nt'aakani./ 'I am going to weave reed mats in his
stead.' (/k'wixaku-/ 'weave reed mats')

734.3 The Reciprocal Subject-Object

The sequence {p'e xa} marks reciprocity of action of subject and object. The subject noun, pronoun, or pronominal enclitic in syntactic IC with a verb containing such a thematic suffix sequence must be plural. Examples are,

||čé=p'e-xa-ni|| 'to be afraid of each other' (/čé-/ 'fear')

||c'e=p'e-xa-ni|| 'to weigh each other' (/c'é-/ 'weigh,
measure, judge')

||xa.-yu=a-p'e-xa-sť-ni-ka-čka.||:/xayoáp'exasťnkačka./

'You always only help each other.' (/xayoá-/ 'help')

||sa-pi=eča wa-yi=p'e-xa-sť-ni-ti-ksť.||:/sapíča

wayp'exasťntiksť./ 'Children always fight.'
(/wayi-/ 'fight')

||c'á wa-ni-tá=p'e-xa-š-a.-pl-ka.||:/c'aa wantáp'exašápka./

'They are greeting each other.' (/wantá-/ 'converse')

Examples of {p'e xa} following the alien object suffix {c} are,

||pá=t'a-c-p'e-xa-ni||:/pát'acpexani/ 'to carry away something of each other's' (/pát'a-/ 'carry away')

||c'é=na-c-p'e-xa-ni||:/c'énacpexani/ 'to examine something of each other's' (/c'éna-/ 'weigh, measure, judge, close by')

Following a causative theme,

||c'e=na-xa-p'e-xa-ni||:/c'énaxpexani/ 'embracing each other to see who is fattest' (/c'énaxa-/ 'cause to weigh, test, judge close by')

||xu-čá pá-xa-p'e-xa-ni čwí=ti-ni. ||:/xučaa páxpexani čwítini./ 'We have each other carry the basket.' (/páxa-/ 'cause to carry')

{p'e xa} is affixed to stems of type 7 (numeral) but not without a following causative-object-goal suffix {xa} (cf. 731.1) to form reciprocal numerals. For example,

||ta-ni=p'e-xa-xa-ni|| 'the three of them' (/taní-/ 'three')

||ci-má=p'e-xa-xa-ni-ks† ni.ŕ=xa-š-ti. ||:/cimáp'exaxank† nixát'i./ 'The two of them went.'

734.4 The Cumulative Objects

The suffix sequence {pa ku pa} has only been observed in one example with the meaning of cumulative objects. This is,

||xí p'í=pa-ku-pa-a-ka-ni. || 'I will take one thing after another.' (/p'í-/ 'take')

734.5 The Successive Objects

The suffix {mayi} indicates that the action of the verb is applied to a series of objects in rapid succession. Examples are,

||t'i-yi=mayi-ni|| 'to lift various things rapidly one after another' (/t'iyi-/ 'lift')

||ca-xa=ma-yi-ni|| 'to lift many stones in rapid succession' (/caxá-/ 'round object')

735. Additional Object Suffixation

Object suffixes occur either alone or in particular sequences to express a second object. This may be either an indirect, a caused, or an accessory object. The six suffixes that are used to express a second object are,

1. {če} first-second person indirect object
2. {ku} third-person indirect object
3. {k'waye} accessory object
4. {me} passive indirect object
5. {ta} caused object
6. {xa} causative

All occur singly except {ta} which occurs only in the sequence {ta xa} 'cause another to ...'

735.1 The First-Second Person Indirect Object

The suffix {če} marks first or second person singular or plural indirect object. Syntactically it is accompanied by the appropriate accusatively suffixed first or second person independent pronoun and/or pronominal enclitic. {če} occurs

in any position after direct object suffixes, if any.

Examples are,

||xí-ke-ni xwá=če-a-ka.||: /xíkēni xwáčiaka./ 'I will bring
it for you.' (/xwá-/ 'bring')

||ú=če-ø-xe-ni má xí-ni-xe-ni.||: /účexeni maa xinteni./
'Make one for me!'

||f-má-xe-ni xu-xa=k'u-če-š-ti-xe-ni xá=k'i-yu.||: /imáxeni
xuxák'učet'ixeni xák'iyu./ 'He leaves it for me in
my hand.' (/xuxé-/ 'leave')

||wa-ni-ta=š-ti és-ki-ksť-ni ku-yá=če-nt'a-pi-xini-ka má
rretxátu f-má-exi.||: /wantát'i éski^{ks}ťni
kuyáčent'apixinka maa rretxátu iméxi./ 'He said
that we would ask you (pl.) for a picture of her.'
(/kuyánt'apixinka/ '(we) would ask for it').

Tarascan and English reverse the direct and the
indirect object in connection with this verb.)

||xí-ke-ni t'i-xe=če-a-ka.||: /xíkēni t'ixéčiaka./ 'I will
eat here with you (sg.)' (/t'ixé-/ 'eat')

||c'a-c'ť-ni wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-če-š-ti-c'ť-ni.||:
/c'ác'ťni wantónskwayečet'ic'ťni./ 'They conversed
with us.' (/wantónskwayet'i/ '(they) conversed')

||xí i-ča=ce-če-a-ka-ke-ni.||: /xii ičácečiakakēni./
'I will lie down in your bed.' lit. 'I will lie down for you.'
(/ičáciakani/ '(I) will lie down')

||f-má-xe-ni xa.´=če-š-ti o-ye=pa-ni.||: /imáxeni xačet'i
oyépani./ 'She is in front of me.' lit. 'She to me
is there ahead.' (/xa.´-/ 'be there')

735.2 The Third Person Indirect Object

{ku} acts as third person indirect object, following any direct object suffix, which may be {ku}. If only one {ku} occurs and the verb stem is one that requires it to express direct object (cf. 731.3) or it occurs in a locative expansion, the direct object or locative expansion is always intended. If the direct object {ku} does not occur as object with that particular verb stem, then indirect object is intended. {ku} as indirect object also follows post-locative object suffixes. Examples are,

||té=xa-ku-ni|| 'to sweeten it for him/her' (/té-/ 'sweet', /-xa/ causative)

||xi ú=ku-a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii úkwawakani./ 'I will do it for others.' (/ú-/ 'do, make', /-a/ plural, /-a/ future)

||xi wé=ku-a-ka-ni.||:/xii wékwaakani./ 'I will cry for her.' or 'I will call to her.' (/wé-/ 'cry, call')

||pe-xe=k'u-ku-ni|| 'to turn it over with one's hand for him/her' (/pexék'u-/ 'turn it over with one's hand')

||xi k'wí-xa-ku-ku-nt'a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii k'wixakukunt'aakani./ 'I will make a reed mat for her.' (/k'wixaku-/ 'make a reed mat')

||xi če-ni-pa=ta-ku-a-ka-ni.||:/xii čempátakwaakani./ 'I will dig it for him.' (/čempáta-/ 'dig it')

||xi t'i-xé=xa-ku-a-ka-ni í-má-ni.||:/xii t'ixékwaakani imáni./ 'I will feed him for her.' (/imáni/ here could refer either to the direct object 'him' or the indirect object 'for her'. /t'ixéxa-/ 'feed')

||xi a-pa=ye-c'±-ta-ku-a-ka-ni.||:/xii apáyc±takwaakani./

'I will burn his head (or knee) for him' (/apáye-/
'burn'; without {ku} it would be 'my knee', with
{ku} it can't refer to first person.)

||xwá=ku-če-ø-xe-ni.|| 'Bring it to me for her!' (/xwá-/
'bring'. This verb has two indirect object suffixes.)

There are three instances in which {ku} acts as a causative but also could be construed as indirect object 'by him'. In all three cases the stem types are unknown or slightly aberrant. These are,

||e-xo=ku-ku-ni|| 'to have him go and wait' (/exó-/ is a type 4A stem, but occurs in another direct-indirect object theme with {ka ku} as /exókakuni/ 'to wait for her/him'. /exókuni/ like /exókani/ means 'to wait')

||k'wa-ni=ku-ni|| 'to have him throw himself' (/k'wani-/ is an unusual type 1 stem in which {xe} can also act as direct object)

||ma-ču=ntu-ku-ku-ni|| 'to have someone twist another's foot' (/maču-/ 'twist' is a stem of undetermined type, perhaps 5, having only been observed followed by locative suffixes.)

735.3 The Passive Indirect Object

The suffix {me} marks the indirect object of passive verb themes converting a pronoun in the nominative case to

indirect object and directly preceding the passive suffix {na}. Examples are,

||xí pá=me-na-ni|| 'something was taken to me' (/pá-/ 'take elsewhere')

||pá=me-na-š-ti||:/pámenat'i/ 'something of his was taken'

||xí yó=c'+-ta-me-na-š-a.-ka.||:/xii yóc+tamenašaká./

'Food is spread before me.' lit. 'I am being extended to on the table.' (/yó-/ 'extend')

||a-tá=me-na-š-ti.||:/atámenat'i./ 'His (animal) has been killed.' lit. 'It was killed to him.' (/atá-/ 'hit, kill')

||e-xó=me-na-š-ti.||:/exómenat'i./ 'He is being waited for by someone.' (/exó-/ 'wait')

735.4 The Simple Causative

When the causative suffix {xa} occurs after type 1 stems the theme designates a secondary as well as a primary object.

For example,

||xu-pa=ni|| 'to wash it'

||xu-pa=xa-ni|| 'to have him/her wash it'

||e-še=ni|| 'to see it'

||e-še-xa-ni|| 'to show it to him/her'

735.5 The Complex Causative

When the suffix sequence {ta xa} follows a theme in which the stem is of type 1, 4, or 5, a causative theme results, with the semantic components 'have him/her . . .'. Examples are,

||e-xo=ka-ta-xa-ø|| 'have him/her wait!' (/exóka-/ 'wait')

||xi k'wa-ni=ce-ta-xa-ni.|| 'I have him/her fall down.'

(/k'wanice-/ 'fall down')

||xi-ke-ni kwa-ka=xa-ta-xa-ka.|| 'I have you (sg.) get it wet.' (/kwakáxa-/ 'get it wet')

||xi-ke-ni kwa-ya=ta-xa-ka.|| 'I have you (sg.) break it.'
(/kwayá-/ 'break')

||xi-ke-ni k'wa-xo=c'±-ta-ta-xa-ka.|| 'I have you (sg.) spread a cloth on the table.' (/k'waxoc'±ta-/ 'spread a cloth on the table')

||xu-p'i=xa-ta-xa-kwa|| 'rat trap' (/xupíxa-/ 'cause to grasp', /-kwa/ instrumental suf.)

After a theme with a type 2 stem the sequence {ta xa} has quite a different meaning, that of 'accessory object belonging to the subject.' For example,

||xi i-cf=ma-ta-xa-a-ka-ni.|| 'I will drink water in my own cup.' (/icfma-/ 'to drink water')

735.6 The Accessory Object

The suffix {k'waye} expresses some accessory or aid to the action expressed by the theme, more than would be supplied by an indirect object. Examples are,

||a-ša=k'waye-p'e-ni|| 'to send someone with something to another' (/ašá-/ 'send', /-p'e/ distributive object)

||ku-yá=k'waye-p'e-ni|| 'to send intermediaries to ask for a girl in marriage' (/kuyá-/ 'ask', /-p'e/ distributive object)

||xí xu-p'i=nta-š-kwaye-š-ka-ni.|| 'I am seizing something
to help myself up with.' (/xupí-/ 'seize' /-nta/
durative, /-š/ unanalyzed morpheme (743))

||xí e-xo=nta-š-k'waye-š-ka-ni.|| 'I look to see if my clothes
are put on right' (/exó-/ 'wait')

736. The Plural Object

{a} marks plural of direct or indirect object and can occur anywhere after the post-locative object suffixes if the stem or theme is transitive. After intransitive stems it indicates a repetition of the action. The plural third person indirect object is expressed with {a} occurring after the indirect object marker {ku}. Although the position of {a} is not fixed among the post-object thematic suffixes, the tendency is for it to occur at or near the end of the suffix series. Examples are,

||ká=a-ni|| 'to bring them'

||xi-ki=a-ni|| 'to hiccup several times'

||e-xa=a-a-ka-ni.||:/exáwawakani./ 'I will look far away
at them.' (/exáa-/ 'look far away')

||c'á xi-má t'i-xe=xa-a-ti.||:/c'aa ximaa t'ixéxawati./
'They will feed them there.' (/t'ixéxa-/ 'feed')

||páxi mónu-ítu-eča xa.́-ci=ku-a-nt'a-ni.||:/paxi monítweeča
xacíkwaant'ani./ 'to put them on the dolls' (/xacíku-/
'put', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||a-ni-pa=k'u-a-ni||:/ampák'waani/ 'to wash their hands'
(/ampák'u-/ 'wash hand')

||xi e-c'a=ku-če-a-a-ka-ke-ni.||:/xii ecákučiwakakeni./
 'I will spread them out for you.' (/ecákuče-/
 'spread it out for you/me')

||xi a-yi=nt'a-ku-a-š-a.-ka.||:/xii ayint'akwaašaká./
 'I am reading it to them.' (/ayint'aku-/ 'read it
 to him/her')

||ú=nt'a-a-a-ka-ni||:/únt'awakani/ ^f ||ú=a-nt'a-a-ka-ni||:
 /wáant'aakani/ 'to make them.' (/ú-/ 'do, make',
 /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

737. The Subject Suffixes

There are three suffixes or suffix sequences which reinforce the uniqueness of the verbal subject. They are,

1. {kwaye}
2. {ku yi}
3. {yŋ}

The first is by far the most commonly used. It is possible that it is composed of two morphemes, the object suffix {ku} and {aye}. Since the latter does not occur in other constructions, nothing would seem to be gained by such segmentation. {kwaye} expresses action or condition undertaken by and for the subject of the verb, but not necessarily with the self as object. The position of this suffix is flexible among the post-direct object suffixes. Examples are,

||a-yi=kwaye-ni|| 'to be named' lit. 'to say oneself'
 (/ayé-/ 'say')

||a-c†=me-ye-kwaye-ni|| 'to be itchy' lit. 'to itch on one's body oneself' (/ac†meye-/ 'to itch on one's body')

||k'wi=nče-kwa ú=kwaye-ni wé=xa-kwa.||:/k'winčekwa úkwayeni wéxakwa./ 'The fiesta takes place out of doors.' lit. 'The fiesta makes itself out of doors.' (/úkwaye-/ 'to take place', /ú-/ 'make, do')

||f-má-t'u pá=kwaye-a-a-ti kompania-eča-ni.||:/imat'u pákwayiawati kompaniečani./ 'He himself will take his companions.' (/pá-/ 'take elsewhere, /-a/ plural suf.)

||a-ša=p'e-xa-kwaye-ni|| 'to send each other' (/ašá- 'send' /-p'exa/ reciprocal)

||xi ču-ni-pi=nta-nu-exa-kwaye-ka-ni.||:/xii čumpinta-nuexakwayekani./ ^f ||xi ču-ni-pi=nta-nu-kwaye-exa-ka-ni.||:/xii čumpintanukwayexakani./ 'I fall in my own patio.' (/čumpintanu-/ 'be crumpled up in one's patio', /-exa/ incompleted action suf.)

||xi k'wi=xa-ku-c-p'e-kwaye-a-ka-ni.||:/xii k'wixaku-cpekwayiakani./ ^f ||xi k'wi=xa-ku-kwaye-c-p'e-a-ka-ni.||:/xii k'wixakukwayecpiakani./ 'I myself will make reed mats in their stead.' (/k'wixaku-/ 'make reed mats', /-cpe/ alien object)

The suffix sequence {ku yi} has the same meaning but is infrequently employed. For example,

||pá=ku-yi-ni|| ^f ||pá=kwaye-ni|| 'to take it elsewhere by oneself' (/pá-/ 'take it elsewhere')

The suffix {yi} has been observed in only two constructions, seemingly as a reflexive suffix, and only with type 2 (intransitive) verbs. These are,

||e-xe=yi-š-ti||:/exéyit'i/ 'he is the one who lives'

(/exé-/2 'live')

||xa.́=ya-ni xa.́=ta-yi-ni floxéxu-eča-yu||:/xayáni xatáyini

floxéxuečayu/ 'They had them contained in flower-vases.' (/xatá-/ 'contain')

740. The Activating Suffixes

There are five post-locative activating suffixes, {ma}, {me}, {maya}, {nte}, and {š}, each with unique privileges of occurrence.

741. The Suffix {me}

{me} is an infrequently occurring suffix which directs the condition described by the stem toward the locus of a preceding locative suffix. For example,

||i-ni-ča=k'u-me-ni||:/inčák'umeni/ 'to enter something

into one's hand' (/inčá-/ 'enter', /-k'u/ 'hand')

||t'u-yu=ce-me-ni|| 'to cleave oneself into the mud'

(/t'uyú-/ 'cleave', /-ce/ 'down')

Followed by no locative suffix {me} occurs only with one stem, both verbal and a noun, /kucŧ-/ 'moon, month'. The verb /kucŧmeni/ means 'to be old', used only for females, both human and animal.

742. The Suffix {ma}

{ma} occurs infrequently, either directly following the stem, after a locative suffix or after a direct object suffix. The post-locative position occurs after only two stems and the post-direct object position after only one. There is easily confusion between this suffix and the very frequently occurring delimitational suffix {ma} (cf. 753), or with the expanded locative {me A}:/ma/ (cf. 733.23).

{ma} in the present case seems to affect a kind of reversal, or modification of the verbal stem meaning. All of the observed examples are,

||ka-ya=ma-ni|| 'to go up' (/kayá-/ 'up-down axis')

||ké=ce-ma-ni|| 'to go down' (/ké-/ 'centripetal action',
/_ce/ 'down')

||p'f=ma-ni|| 'to catch up with someone' (/p'f-/ 'get,
bring towards')

||čú=nku-ma-ni|| 'to follow someone' (/čú-/ underlying
several themes meaning 'follow', /-nku/ object suf.)

||čú=ma-ni|| 'to go with someone'

||k'a-yi=ma-ni|| 'to be hungry' (/k'ayí-/ 'dry')

||ká=ma-ni|| 'to take someone elsewhere' (/ká-/ 'to bring
here')

||kú=ma-ni|| 'to meet someone' (/kú-/ 'come together')

(This may be a case of /-ma/ 'stopping on way else-
where'.)

743. The Suffix {š}

{š} occurs only before {p'e}, {kwaye}, and {k'waye}, usually after locative suffixes but also after the pre-locative durative suffix {nta}. Its meaning is obscure. Examples are,

||čú=š-p'e-xa-ni|| 'to follow each other in turns'

(/čú-/ 'follow', /-p'exa/ 'reciprocal')

||ti-yi=t'a-š-kwaye-ni|| 'to have something hanging from

one's hand', lit. 'to have something hanging against

one's thigh' (/tiy/ 'hang', /-t'a/ lower leg,

thigh', /-kwaye/ reinforced subject suf.)

||a-yi=na-š-p'e-xa-ni|| 'we speak to each other in the face'

(/ay/ 'speak', /-na/ 'face', /-p'exa/ reciprocal)

||xi exó=nta-š-k'waye-š-ka-ni|| 'I looked to see if my clothes

were put on right.' (/exó-/ 'wait', /-nta/ durative

suf., /-k'waye/ accessory object suf.)

||pá=ksa-mu=š-kwaye-ni|| 'to hit oneself once with the palm

on the mouth' (/pá-/ 'hit with palm', /-mu/

'mouth', /-kwaye/ reinforced subject suf.)

744. The Quality Verbalizing Suffixes

Verb stems of types 2 and 6 may be followed by the suffixes {maya} and {nte} (cf. 765), either the first alone or the two in that sequence. The suffix {maya} may either follow the stem directly or an intervening activating suffix {pe} with type 6 stems (711.4). {maya} may mean 'become' although it is usually translated simply as 'be'. {nte} means 'a little bit' or 'sort of'. Verbs with these suffixes are inflected

either participially or for third person. Examples are,

||čé=maya-ni|| 'to be frightened' (/če-/2 'fear')

||čé=maya-nte-š-ti||:/čémayantet'i/ 'they were sort of
frightened', lit. 'there was some fright'

||kwa-tá=pe-maya-nte-ni|| 'to be a little soft' (/kwatá-/6
'soft')

||k'amé=mu-maya-nte-kwaye-ni|| 'to become a little bitterer
in one's mouth' (/k'amé-/2 'bitter', /-kwaye/
reinforced subject)

||a-ni-ku=na-kwa čo-pe=maya-š-ti. ||:/ankúnakwa čopémayat'i./
'The meat is very hard.' (/čopé-/2 'hard')

750. The Orientational Suffixes

Seven suffixes are concerned with orientation of the action or condition with respect to the actor's temporal and spatial relationship to his own and alien places. These suffixes are not all necessarily mutually exclusive. Position is not fixed except that they always occur later than locative and/or direct object suffixes. The suffixes are,

1. {eena} 'before leaving home'
2. {eent'a} 'after returning home'
3. {ma} 'stopping on the way elsewhere'
4. {nkwa} 'arriving home'
5. {nu} 'after arriving in another's house'
6. {pa} 'going'
7. {pu} 'arriving'

751. Before Leaving Home

{eena}:||eena||, ||aane||. Although these allomorphs are apparently usually in free variation, the first is found most frequently, and the second always occurs after the vowel ablaut object morpheme {A}. Of the other orientational suffixes, {eena} has only been found in constructions with {nu} and {ma}. Examples are,

||xi t'i-xe=eena-a-ka-ni.||:/xii t'ixéenaakani./ \bar{f}

||xi t'i-xe=aane-a-ka-ni.||:/xii t'ixáaniakani./ 'I will eat before leaving home.' (/t'ixé-/ 'eat')

||xi-ni-c'í-ni t'i-xe=xa-eena-a-ka.||:/xinc'íni t'ixéxeenaaka./

'You (pl.) will feed me before you leave home.'
(/t'ixexa-/ 'feed')

||i-ča=pe-A-aane-ni||:/ičápaaneni/ 'to put him/her to bed before leaving home' (/ičápa-/ 'put him/her to bed')

||xi ú-eena-š-a.-m-ka-ni i-čú=šku-ni.||:/xii wéenašámkani ičúškuni./ 'I am going to make tortillas before going out.' (/ú-/ 'make, do')

||xi k'uti-nu-eena-š-ka-ni.|| 'I crouched down in the patio before leaving home' (/k'utínu-/ 'crouch down in the patio')

||xu-čá k'wí=xa-ku-xa-p'e-xa-eena-a-ka.||:/xučaa

k'wixakuxpeenaaka./ 'We will weave the reed mat before we leave home.' (/k'wixakuxp'exa-/ 'weave the reed mat reciprocally')

||xí a-na=k'u-ku-ku-nu-eena-ni.|| 'I poke his stick into my hand before leaving my house to go to someone else's house.' (/aná'ukuku-/ 'poke another's stick into one's hand' lit. 'poke a stick into my hand for him')

||yó=c'†-ta-ma-eena-ni||:/yó'†tameenani/ 'to load the table with food as one passes by before leaving the house' (/yó'†ta-/ 'load food on the table')

752. After Returning Home

{eent'a}:||eent'a||, ||aant'a||. The first allomorph occurs except after {A}. Of the other orientational suffixes, only {ma} has been observed in construction with {eent'a}.

Examples are,

||c†=ta-eent'a-š-ka-ni.||:/c†teent'aškani./ 'I threw it away after returning home.' (/c†ta-/ 'throw it away')

||we-ko=ye-eent'a-š-ti.||:/wekóyeent'at'i./ 'He fell down after he got home.' (/wekóye-/ 'fall down on the surface')

||xí t'i-xe=ma-eent'a-a-ka-ni.||:/xii t'ixémeent'aakani./
^f ||xí t'i-xe=eent'a-ma-a-ka-ni.||:/xii
 t'ixéent'amaaakani./ 'I will return home having stopped to eat elsewhere on my way.' (/t'ixé-/ 'eat')

||pá=ksa-mu-me-na-eent'a-ni||:/páksamumeneent'ani/ 'to be hit on the mouth by him/her after arriving home'
 (/páksamumena-/ 'be hit on the mouth by him/her', passive verb theme)

||i-ča=pe-A-aant'a-š-ka-ni.||:/ičápaant'aškani./ 'I put
him/her to bed after I got home.' (/ičápa-/ 'put
him/her to bed')

753. Stopping on the Way Elsewhere

{ma}||ma||, ||mu||. The first allomorph is far more frequent although the two are in free variation. This is a very frequently employed suffix, translated in Spanish as 'de paso', which translates only roughly in English as 'Stopping on the way elsewhere'. The action takes place while the actor has another major destination. This may be during a journey, passing someone or something as one walks through the house, or an action such as a stick hitting one as it falls to the ground. It may occur in constructions with other orientational suffixes. Examples are,

||i-ni-ci=ta-ma-š-a.-ka.||:/incftamašaká./ 'I give it as
I pass by.' (/incfta-/ 'give it')

||xi čú=nku-ma-ni.||^f ||xi čú=nku-mu-ni.|| 'I stop in while
following her.' (/čúnku-/ 'follow him/her')

||ni.:=ma-ni|| 'to go there just to stop in briefly'
(/ni.:=-/ 'go')

||xi ku-yá=če-ma-nt'a-a-ka-ke-ni.|| 'I will stop in and ask
you (sg.) for it.' (/kuyáče-/ 'ask you/me/us for
it')

||xi-ke-ni a-yi=ta-ma-ku-če-ma-ni.|| 'I tell you (sg.) from
inside the house as I stop in briefly.' (/ayitamakuče-/
'tell you/me/us from inside the house')

The sequence {eena} plus {ma} means that the action takes place before leaving another's house where one has stopped. For examples,

||wina=pe-ntu-ku-ya-sena-ma-če-a-nt'a-a-ka-ke-ni.||:

/winápentukuyeenamačiant'aakakeni./ 'I will make you (sg.) stronger in the feet before I leave your (or other's) house.' (/winápentukuya-/ 'make other stronger in the feet', with /-če/ indirect first-second person object, 'to you', /-a/ plural suf., /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||wa-ya=ma-pa-nt'a-ni|| 'to stop in dancing and continue one's journey dancing' (/wayá-/ 'dance', /-pa/ orientational suffix 'going')

754. After Arriving at Another's House

{nu} marks action which occurs after the actor has arrived in the house of another. Of the orientational suffixes it has been observed in constructions with {eena}, {ma}, {pa}, and {pu}. Examples are,

||cí=ta-nu=š-ka-ni.|| 'I threw it away after arriving at another's house.' (/cĭ-/ 'throw away, lose')

||a-na=nu-nu-ni|| 'to stand in another's patio' (/aná-/ 'long vertical object', /-nu/ 'patio')

||wa-ni-tá=nu-nt'a-ni||:/wantánunt'ani/ 'to take one's leave' lit. 'to converse again after arrival at another's house' (/wantá-/ 'converse', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf.)

||xí čexe=nta-nu-nu-c-p'e-š-ka-ni.||:/xii čexéntanu-
 nucpeškani./ ^f ||xí čexe=nta-nu-nu-c-p'e-nu-š-ka-ni||:
 /xii čexéntanucpenuškani./ 'I fell in the patio
 after arriving at another's house.' (/čexéntanu-
 cpe/ 'to fall in the patio of another')

||f-má-xe-ni ku=ma-nt'a-nu-ma-sť-ni-ti.||:/imáxeni
 kúmant'anumasťnti./ 'He always comes to meet me
 after I arrive at the house where I am stopping in
 on my way elsewhere.' (/k'úmant'a-/ 'come to meet'
 /-ma/ 'on the way elsewhere')

||f-má-xe-ni kú=ma-nt'a-nu-pa-sť-ni-ti.||:/imáxeni
 kúmant'anupasťnti./ 'He always comes to meet me as
 I approach his house.' (/nt'a/ durative-repetitive,
 /-nu/ and /-pa/ 'going' can occur in any order with
 respect to one another.)

||če-xe=nu-nu-pu-ni|| 'to sit down in the patio of another's
 house when coming toward home' (/čexénu-/ 'sit in
 the patio', /-pu/ 'coming toward home')

755. Going Alone

{pa} marks action performed along the way elsewhere, or along
 the way with no relation to home. It is a very commonly used
 suffix. With stems of quality rather than action it can mean
 'becoming'. It has been observed with {ma}, {eent'a}, and {nu}
 of the other orientational suffixes. Examples are,

||t'i-xe=pa-ni|| 'to eat while going along' (/t'ixé-/
 'eat')

||t'i-xe=ma-pa-ni|| 'to stop in and eat and go along again'
 (/t'ixéma-/ 'to stop in to eat on way elsewhere')

||sɬ-kwi=pa-ya-ku-pa-ni|| 'to walk along peeling a fruit'
 (/sɬkwipayaku-/ 'to peel a fruit')

||i-ča=pe-A-pa-nt'a-ni||:/ičápapant'ani/ 'to carry him/her
 along lying down' (/ičapa-/ 'put him/her to bed
 (i.e. in a horizontal position)' /-nt'a/ durative-
 repetitive suf.)

||ci-xa=k'u-pa-ent'a-ni||:/cixák'upeent'ani/ 'to go along
 with cold hands arriving home' (/cixák'u-/ 'have
 cold hands')

||k'wi=nče-pa-ni|| 'to celebrate a fiesta on the way else-
 where' (/k'winče-/ 'celebrate a fiesta')

||xu-čá pá=t'a-ku-c-p'e-xa-pa-nt'a-ni čwi=ti-ni.||:/xučaa
 pá't'akucpexapant'ani čwitiní./ 'We carry each other's
 baskets as we walk along.' (/pát'akucp'exa-/ 'carry
 each other's baskets', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive
 suf.)

||xi čkwa=nti-xa-nu-pa-ni.|| 'I tell lies as I come along
 arriving at another's house.' (/čwantixanu-/ 'to
 tell lies after arriving at another's house')

||k'e=pa-š-a.-ti.||:/k'épašatí./ 'He is getting big.'
 (/k'e-/ 'big')

||xi kucɬ=me-pa-nt'a-ni.|| 'I am getting old.' (/kucɬme-/
 'be old', of woman)

One theme occurs in which {pa} receiving phonemic stress alternates freely between ||pa|| and ||po||. This is,

||a.́=pa-ni|| ^f ||a.́=po-ni|| 'to go along eating' (/a.́-/
'eat, vertical action')

756. Arriving

{pu} marks arrival either at home or at another's house.

Examples are,

||páxi-ksť ni.́=nt'a-pu-ni yá čé=ni-empa-o-eča-o.||:

/nint'apuni yaa čénempweečo./ 'because they are
going along arriving at their houses.' (/nintá-/
'go along')

||xi k'a-yi=ma-pu-š-a.́-ka.||:/xii k'ayfimapušaká./ 'I am
arriving hungry.' (/k'ayfima-/ 'be hungry')

757. Arriving Home

{nkwa} means 'back again' or 'arriving home'. It occurs either alone or in sequence with {pu} or {nu} with little apparent difference in meaning. The sequence {pu nkwa} can also mean 'arriving little by little'. Examples are,

||xwá=nkwa-ku-ni|| 'to bring it back to them' (/xwá-/

'bring', /-ku/ indirect object third person suf.)

||e-xa=nkwa-nt'a-ni|| 'to return to look again' (/exá-/

'look', /-nt'a/ 'again')

||xa-nó=nkwa-ni|| 'to come back again'

||k'wí=nče-pu-nkwa-ni|| 'to celebrate a fiesta as one is
returning' (/k'wínče-/ 'celebrate a fiesta')

||tá=ni-kwaye-pu-nkwa-ni|| 'joining one another as they
arrive' (/tánkwaye-/ 'gather, join')

||k'wa-ni=xa-p'e-xa-pu-nkwa-ni||:/k'waníxpexapunkwani/
'to throw it back and forth coming toward home'
(/k'waníxpexa-/ 'throw reciprocally')

||ké=ce-ma-pu-nkwa-ni|| 'to go down arriving little by
little' (/kécema-/ 'go down')

||xu.ᵛ-nkwa=pu-nkwa-ni|| 'to arrive home little by little'
(/xunkwá-/ 'arrive home' is a stem usage of the
morpheme {nkwa} with {xu.ᵛ} 'come')

The sequence {nu nkwa} means 'arrival home.' It
can mean arrival of either the subject or the object. For
example,

||xí k'wí=nu-nkwa-a-ka-ni. || 'I am going to sleep after I
get home.' (/k'wí-/ 'sleep')

||xí kú=ma-nt'a-pa-nu-nkwa-sí-ni-ka-ni. ||:/xíi kúma-
nt'apanunkwasínkani./ ^f ||xí kú=ma-nt'a-nu-
nkwa-pa-sí-ni-ka-ni. ||:/xíi kúmant'anunkwapasínkani./
'I always go out to meet the one coming along toward
my house.' (/kúmant'apa-/ 'meet going along')

760. The Delimitational Suffixes

There are ten suffixes which typify or delimit the action of
the theme in some way, either psychologically or physically.

One, the durative-repetitive suffix, is employed so often as to almost lose its semantic significance. The others are rather infrequent; much more so than the orientational suffixes. Some have been observed in so few examples that it seems very probable that others have been missed entirely.

These suffixes are,

1. {exa} 'incompleted'
2. {enč'a} 'desire'
3. {mpayi} 'plying'
4. {mpe } 'as if'
5. {nskeka} 'desire'
6. {nte} stasis after action
7. {ntuyi} 'repeatedly'
8. {nt'a} durative-repetitive
9. {pa} 'cessation'
10. {šku} 'extension'

761. Incompleted Action

The suffix {exa} signifies that the action or condition expressed by the theme is in the process of being carried out. Often directional, with locative suffixes, the impetus toward such a locus is still in process of completion, or was at the time expressed by any tense suffixes accompanying the verb. Examples are,

||čexe=nta-nu-exa-ni|| 'cloth falling toward the patio ground'
 (/čexéntanu-/ 'cloth on the patio ground')

- ||i-ču=nta-me-exa-ni|| 'paper (or other flat, thin object)
falling (but still in the air) toward the water'
(/ičúntame-/ 'flat, thin object in water')
- ||i-ču=me-exa-ni|| 'paper settling toward the bottom of the
water' (/ičúme-/ 'paper (or other flat, thin
object) in the water')
- ||nó-tka a-ni-tá=c'š-ku-exa-sš-ni-ti.||:/nótka antá-
c'škweexasšnti./ 'It still hasn't arrived on the
table.' (/antác'šku-/ 'arrive on the table')
- ||p'a=te-exa-ni|| 'to touch someone on the face as he passes
by' (/p'áte-/ 'touch on the face')
- ||a-na=kwa-p'e-exa-ni||:/anákpexani/ 'to stand briefly in
the room' (/anákpé-/ 'stand in the room')
- ||k'wa-ni=xa-exa-ni.||:/k'wanixexani./ 'I threw it to
him/her.' (/k'wanixa-/ 'throw')

762. Desire

Two suffixes express desire for the action or condition expressed by the theme, {enč'a} and {nskeka}. {enča} seems to express only desire while {nskeka} expresses either strong desire or incipiency. As the Spanish translation verb for either, 'querer', expresses either desire or incipiency it is a little difficult to distinguish exact shades of meaning in connection with these two suffixes. Examples are,

||a-yi=enč'a-š-a.š-ka.||:/ayínč'ašaká./ 'I want to speak.'
(/ayí-/ 'speak')

||šé=pe-ni ká k'wi=enča-ni||:/šépeni kaa k'winčani/

'laziness and desire to sleep' (/šé-/ 'loose, lazy',
(/k'wi-/ 'sleep')

||k'wi=ce-enča-ni|| 'to desire to sleep deeply' (/k'wice-/
'sleep deeply')

||a.ó=ne-enč'a-c-p'e-xa-ni||:/anénč'acpexani/ 'to want to
eat something of each other's' (/anécpexa-/ 'eat
something of other's')

||a-ntí-sť-xe šá-ni k'wi=enč'a-k'i. ||:/antístixe šani
k'winčki./ 'Why are you (sg.) so sleepy (desirous to
sleep)?' (/k'wi-/ 'sleep')

||ni.ó=nskeka-š-a.ó-ti. ||:/ninskekašati./ 'He wants to go
now.' (/ni.ó-/ 'go')

||xú=nskeka-š-a.ó-ti. ||:/xúnskekašati./ 'He seems to be
getting a cough.' (/xú-/ 'cough')

||t'ú-xe t'i-xe=nskeka-sť-ni-ti. ||:/t'úxe t'ixénskekasťni./
'You (sg.) always want to eat.' (/t'ixé-/ 'eat')

||ka-yá=pe-k'u-nskeka-ša.ó-ti. ||:/kayápkunskekašati./ 'His
hand seems to be about to swell.' (/kayápku-/
'swell on the hand')

763. Plying

The suffix {mpayi} signifies urging or plying the object of
the verb with whatever one has. For example,

||xi i-ni-cť=mpayi-ni. ||:/xii incťmpayini./ 'I give you
everything I can.' (/incť-/ 'give')

||xi ú=mpayi-š-ka-ni.|| 'I urged it, tried to talk her into it.' (/ú-/ 'make, do')

764. As If

{mpe} means 'as if' or implies an action similar to the one defined by the verb stem but using some kind of auxiliary or 'prop'. This is not a very productive suffix and has only been observed directly following the stem with no intervening locative suffix or suffix sequences. Examples are,

||a-yi=mpe-ni|| 'to study with a book' (/ayi-/ 'to tell')

||ú-mpe-ni|| 'to pretend' ('do as if') (/ú-/ 'make, do')

||i-ni-ct=mpe-ni||: /incfmpeni/ 'to give as a gift' (/incf-/ 'give')

||pá=mpe-ni|| 'to accompany him/her' (/pá-/ 'take elsewhere')

||xu.ś-ka=mpe-ni|| 'to accompany him/her' (/xuká-/ 'come')

||xu-yi=mpe-kwa|| 'truth' (/xuyi-/ only with this suf.)

765. Stasis After Action

{nte} seems to signify a type of stasis after action, almost like a verbal past participle. Examples are,

||xi a-ná=nte-š-ka-ni.||: /xii anánteškani./ 'I am standing' (/aná-/ 'long, vertical object')

||k'a-yi=ma-ya-nte-ni|| 'to be hungry and have no food'

(/k'ayimaya-/ 'be hungry'. For other use after {maya} cf. 744.)

||sé-si xa.ś=nte-a-ti.||: /sesi xántiati./ 'It will be beautiful.' (/xa.ś-/ 'be there', /sési/ 'very, beautifully')

||e-c'a=nte-nt'a-ni|| 'to disperse' (/ecá-/ 'spread out')

||kixa=k'u-nte-ni|| 'to sit on another's hand' (/kixá-/
'round object', /-k'u/ 'hand')

||xi k'ame=mu-kwaye-nte-če-eenta-a-ka-ke-ni.||:/xii

k'amémukwayentečeentaakakeni./ 'I will make it
more bitter in your mouth after I come home.'

(/k'amemu-/ 'bitter in one's mouth', /-kwaye/
reinforced subject, /-če/ first-second person
indirect object, /-eenta/ 'after returning home')

766. Repeatedly

Observed in only one example, {ntuyi} means successive
repetition of the action,

||p'á=ntuyi-ni|| 'to take hold of something many times'
(/p'á-/ 'touch, take hold')

767. Duration-Repetition

{nt'a} occurs freely within the theme anywhere after the
direct object suffixes, but with a tendency to be final before
inflectional suffixes or before the plural suffix {a}. It
marks continued or repeated action. The morph ||ta|| may
either be an allomorph of {nt'a} or a separate morpheme.
Its occurrence is infrequent. In one construction it seems
to contrast in meaning with {nt'a}. For example,

||wa-ya=pa-nt'a-ni|| 'to keep on dancing along the way'
(/wayápa-/ 'dance along the way')

||kwa-ka=xa-nt'a-ni|| 'to dampen it again' (/kwakáxa-/
'dampen')

||xí-ke-ni tá=če-nt'a-a-ka.|| 'I will gather it for you
(sg.)' (/táče-/ 'gather it for you/me/us')

||ké=mu-ku-nt'a-ni|| 'to go away again along the shore'
(/kémuku-/ 'go away along the shore')

||a-yá=k'u-nt'a-ni|| 'to keep cutting oneself on the hand'
(/ayák'u-/ 'cut self on hand')

||winá=pe-nt'a-ni|| 'to regain strength' (/winápe-/ 'be
strong')

||a-tá=c'í-ku-ce-p'e-xa-nt'a-ni||:/atác'íkucpexant'ani/
'to hit each other's children on the head again'
(/atác'íkucpexa-/ 'hit each other's children on the
head')

||xí ké=ce-ma-nt'a-ni.|| ^f ||xí ké=ce-ma-ta-ni.|| 'I am
going down.' (/kécema-/ 'go down')

||pe-xe=c'í-ku-ta-ni|| 'to keep on turning it over on the
table' (/pexéc'íku-/ 'turn it over on the table')

||pe-xe=c'í-ku-nt'a-ni|| 'to turn it over on the table again'

768. Cessation

Suffix constructions occur after one stem with the meaning of cessation of action, with the morpheme {pa}. This analysis of the meaning may be faulty as the stem morpheme with which it occurs is {p'i} 'grasp' and the meaning of cessation may come from this. In any event the {pa} occurring here is obviously not the same morpheme as {pa} 'going' (755).

Examples are,

||xi p'f=pe-A-mu-pa-a-ka-ni.||:/xii p'fipamupaakani./ 'I
will stop talking.' (/pa/ from ||pe-A||pre-
locative activating suf., /-mu/ 'mouth')

||xi p'f=pe-A-mu-ku-pa-a-ka-ni.||:/xii p'fipamukupaakani./
'I will stop him from talking.' (/ku/ direct
object locative expansion)

769. Extension

The suffix {šku} is attached within verbal or adverbial
themes to signify temporal or spatial extension. In one
construction it is followed by the unique morpheme (or
morpheme sequence?) {taya}. Examples are,

||ná-xe čú=šku-∅.||:/naxe čúšku./ 'Good afternoon.' Lit.

'How are you (sg.) passing the afternoon?'

(/čú-/ 'afternoon, evening')

||xi pí=na-šku-ni xa. '=a-ka-ni.||:/xii pínaškuni xawákani./

'I will be quiet.' (/pí-/ 'level', /-na/ 'face')

||k'é=šku-a-ka-xe k'wí=xa-kwa.||:/k'éškwaakaxe k'wixakwa./

'You (sg.) will make the reed mat bigger.' (/k'é-/
'big')

||xi e-xa=ni-šku-š-ka-ni ša-na=xa-ni.||:/xii exánskuškani

šanáxani./ 'I walked all night.' Lit. 'I looked
long walking.' (/exá-/ 'look')

||c'á-t'u e-xa=ni-šku-ta-ya-ni ka-wi=ni.||:/c'át'u

exánškutayani kawini./ 'They spent the night
getting drunk.'

770. Unique or Unidentified Suffixes

Four suffixes occur with unidentified meaning. These are, {nca} occurring only in the place name ||siwu=nca-ni|| 'Tzintzuntzan'. It is possibly a borrowed word, but a puzzling one, as tradition has it that Tzintzuntzan, the Tarascan capital, was called 'place of the humming bird' in Tarascan. /cincúni/ does indeed mean 'humming bird', but this is not the pronunciation that the local Tarascans give to the stem of this place name. There is no evidence in the data on which this study is based that {nca} or {nca ni} means 'place of' in Tarascan, although it may be a suffix that is no longer operative.

{ne} is of undetermined meaning (but cf. 720. {ne} 'within'). It occurs in two pronominal themes, one of them verbal or verbalized, and in three verb themes. These are,

||wá=ne-kwa|| 'many'

||ká=ne-kwa|| 'many'

||xí wá=ne-a-ka-ni.||:/xii wániakani./ 'I will make many.'

||yó=ne-š-ti.||:/yónet'i./ 'It has been a long time.'

(/yó-/ 'extend')

||kwa=ne-ni|| 'to lend, borrow' (/kwá-/ 'fall')

||nó-xe xe-a=pa-ne-nt'a-ni a-mpé.||:/nóxe xeápanent'ani ampé./

'You (sg.) don't like what you were given and want something else.' (/xeá-/ 'squeeze'. Since this is apparently an idiomatic meaning, /-ne/ here may be the locative 'inside, chest'.)

{te} occurs only in the noun ||xa.◌=mu-ku-te-ni||:
 /xamúkuteni/ 'shore' (/xa.◌-/ 'be there', /-muku/ 'shore',
 /-ni/ substantive completing suffix)

780. The Verb Determining Suffix

The suffix {e} serves to verbalize any completed word of another form class including inflected substantives and substantives followed by enclitics. Its meaning is 'be'. The entire construction to which it is attached thus becomes a verb theme. Examples are,

||xí a-mpé-e-ka-ni.||:/xii ampékani./ 'What am I?' (/ampé/
 'whatever')

||xí xi-ni-pa=ni-e-š-ka-ni.||:/xii ximpaniškani./ 'I am
 new.' (/ximpáni/ 'new')

||t'ú-k'u-e-š-ka.||:/t'úk'weeška./ 'You (sg.) are alone.'
 (/t'uk'u/ 'just you')

||í-má-e-š-ti wá-yi.||:/imét'i wáyi./ 'That is the woman.'
 (/imá/ 'he/she/it')

||í-sí-e-š-ti.||:/isít'i./ 'It is thus.' (/isí-/ 'thus')

||í-má čkwá=nti-xa-xi-e-š-ti.||:/imaa čkwántixaxit'i./
 'He is a liar.' (/čkwántixaxi/ 'liar')

||a-mpé kucí=e-a-∅ k'wi=nče-kwa.||:/ampee kucíwa k'win-
 čekwa./ 'In what month will the fiesta be?'
 (/kucí-/ 'month')

Spanish verbs are integrated into Tarascan in the infinitive form, with a final ||i|| and addition of the verbalizing suffix. For example,

||segixi-e-ni||:/segixini/ 'to continue doing'

This results in such inflected forms as,

||c'á segixi-e-a-ti ka-wi=ni.||:/c'á segixiwati kawini./

'They will continue to get drunk.' (Without {e}

this sequence would emerge phonemically as

/segixiati/, a form which does not occur.)

CHAPTER VIII

STEM FORMATION

800. Introduction to Stem Formation

Stems consist of sequences of one or more syllables occurring at the beginning of the word and always including a phoneme of strong stress which falls on the first or second syllable. Morphemes up to and including the strong-stressed syllabic morpheme are designated as stem base morphemes and the whole is designated as the stem base. Stem morphemes which follow the stem base are called stem expansion morphemes.

There are two types of stem base. One is primarily verbal but shared by nouns, most adjectives and certain adverbs. The other is primarily substantive and shared by pronouns, certain adverbs and certain adjectives. This type is divided into two parts: personal pronoun stem bases and demonstrative-interrogative stem bases. Substantive stem bases constitute the only morpheme class, aside from a very few nouns, members of which can function as single morpheme words. However, only one Tarascan morpheme has been found which seems to be capable of no further expansion. This is {k'o} 'yes'.

Some morphemes function either as stem base or stem expansion morpheme. Some stem base morphemes also have

privileges of occurrence as thematic suffixes, or even, in one case, an enclitic. For this reason, and because, although greater in number than suffixes of any class, stem base morphemes do not actually constitute an 'open class' it seems preferable not to designate them as 'roots'. The verbal stem base morpheme class is the largest class of Tarascan morphemes.

810. Verbal Stem Bases

To an extraordinary extent morphemes of this class are analyzable into sequences of single phonemes each with predictable meaning or meanings. It would, then, be possible to designate such phonemes as 'morphemes'. Because in many cases such an analysis would result in phonemic 'left-overs' for which semantic content could not be assigned, it seems preferable not to treat single phonemes as morphemes unless they occur syllabically; i.e. as vowels unaccompanied by a consonantal syllabic onset. Some sequences of the type /kwV/ or /k'wV/ may, however, be analyzed into ||ku-V|| or ||k'u-V||. Syllabic /V/ and /CV/ will be treated as {V} and {CV} often occurring in ablaut sets with constant consonant and changing vowel meanings.

Stem bases have two syllabic morpheme stress patterns: C[́]V and CV.˙, and consist of one or two syllables. Any syllable may be of either of these types. Two syllable stem bases consist normally of two or three morphemes. If three, the middle morpheme is {ni} which is morphophonemically non-syllabic, affording a phonemic nasal onset to the consonant

of third morpheme. If the stem base consists of more than one morpheme the second syllable receives strong stress no matter what the stress pattern of that morpheme is. If the stem base consists of a single morpheme with stress pattern CV.?, the strong stress will fall on the next syllable within the word, unless that syllable begins with CC, in which case the stem base syllable is strong-stressed (cf. Suprasegmental Morphophonemics 136).

Morphological processes occurring in stem bases are vowel ablaut (mentioned above), consonant ablaut to a more limited degree, vowel harmony, and reduplication.

Certain morphophonemic alternations give rise to difficulties in determining the identity of non-initial stem base morphemes. Since no aspirated stop or affricate may occur as onset of a strong-stressed syllable, all such stops being morphophonemically converted into their non-aspirated counterparts, it is often impossible to tell whether the morpheme in question has an aspirated or an unaspirated onset. Since multi-morphemic stem bases always have strong stress on the final syllable, the stress pattern (and therefore the morphemic identification) of either the first or final morpheme is often unknowable. Where it has been impossible to verify stress patterns either from unmistakable semantic identity or occurrence in other sequences where the morpheme is unmistakably the same and the stress pattern unobscured, the stress pattern will be left unmarked. The morphophonemic

symbol $||=||$ occurring after verbal stem bases indicates that the preceding syllable is stressed unless it is the unique syllable and of the pattern CV. not followed by a consonant cluster.

Combination of stem base morphemes (or in some cases of demonstrative-interrogatives, stem base plus expansion morphemes) into sequences, or stem bases, is the closest process in Tarascan to what is usually designated as "composition." Such morphemes may be considered to be compounded rather than suffixed since any morpheme may occur in either syllabic stem base position (the third, or middle, position is only occupied by {ni}). Stem bases are not necessarily restricted to only these three morphemes as first position morphemes may now, or may have originally consisted of two morphemes, the first reduced morphophonemically to C because the second began with P' before which a vowel is lost (131). It is not always possible to make such a morphemic division.

Similarly, either of the two morphemic syllables may consist of $||ku-a||$ or $||k'u-a||$ reduced to $||kwa||$ or $||k'wa||$. This type of reduction is also not always easy to detect. No reduction will be marked as a morphemic division unless its identity is fairly certain.

811. The Semantic Composition of Stem Base Morphemes
It has not been possible to make any statements concerning semantic features of stem base morpheme distributions. Nor is the function of {ni} easily determined. Possibly this

central morpheme is equatable with either the object morpheme {ni} (521) or the participle morpheme {ni} (440). There is undoubtedly some semantic relationship between the occurrence of {ni} medially in the stem base, and the occurrence of {ni} directly following a stem base. So far no analytic methods devised in the present study have provided a solution for this elusive semantic problem.

The present semantic study involves the composition of morphemes which have membership in ablaut series. This concerns only a part of all stem base morphemes. Morphemes of the ablaut series combine the elemental semantic composition of the consonant with that of the vowel. Vowels carry directional meanings and consonants define the type or quality of the action or condition. Both semantic concepts are very general and further definition is given by composition of morphemes within a complex stem base. Such stem bases are descriptive.

Reduplication of the stem base or the stem base plus the stem suffix {ni} carries the meaning of intensification or repetition. Some Tarascan dialects seem to employ reduplication more than the lake dialect under consideration. It may be that the extensive use made of the durative-repetitive thematic suffix {nt'a} (767) obviates the semantic necessity for reduplication.

A second type of vowel ablaut is more limited. In this the vowel changes according as the action involves thing

or person. There is also a minor use of consonant ablaut and of vowel and consonant harmony.

812. Vowel Ablaut Sets

All vowels but /t/ occur as separate syllabic phonemes with or without consonant onset. /t/ only occurs after S. All vowels have directional semantic meaning, at least in some of their morphemic manifestations. Sometimes such a meaning underlies a mono-morphemic stem. These directional vowel meanings are,

1. /a/ 'horizontal-vertical axis', 'outward from center'

Examples are,

||a.́=|| 'eat', ||a-na=|| 'vertical object',
 ||a.́-ša=||, 'send, make a long vertical cut',
 ||a-yu=|| 'split, divide'

2. /e/ 'in place, on surface'. Examples are,

||e-c'a=|| 'spread out', ||e-xe=|| 'live, dwell',
 ||e-te=|| 'set down', ||e-še=|| 'see'

3. /i/ 'linearly outward'. Examples are,

||i-ni-ct=|| 'give'
 ||i-ča=|| 'long, horizontal object'
 ||i-ču=|| 'flat, slab-like object'
 ||i-ni-ča=|| 'enter'
 ||i-yi=|| 'long object coiled'
 ||i-sť-xi|| 'lightning bolt'
 ||i-wi|| 'stick'

4. /o/ 'in place with depth'. Examples are,
 ||ó=|| 'cover'
 ||o-ye=|| 'first, oldest'
 ||po-yo=|| 'hole'
 ||a-po|| 'lie down'
 ||có=|| 'blinded by light'
5. /u/ 'in place with depth or pressure'. Examples are,
 ||ú=|| 'make, do'
 ||u-yu=|| 'grind'
 ||u-pa=|| 'dive under water'
 ||a-yu|| 'split, divide'
6. /ʔ/ 'indefiniteness'. Examples are,
 ||cʔ=|| 'lose, pour, spill'
 ||cʔ.ʔ-ni=Rd-|| 'partly built'
 ||sʔ-xa=|| 'smoke'
 ||sʔ-pi=|| 'stink'
 ||ti-sʔ=|| 'body hair'

All consonants serve as onset phoneme for morphemes with membership in sets for which the vocalic meanings are as above and the consonants also possess a meaning component in each case. The principal consonant meanings will be given and a few examples to illustrate the meaning shift when combination is made with different vowels. To illustrate the whole system would necessitate hundreds of examples, especially since in most cases meanings must be extracted from multi-morphemic stem base sequences.

/c/ 'quick action, light and heat, separation-retention'

Examples are,

||cá=|| 'sun, heat, penetrate'

||ca-ni-kwa=|| 'jump'

||ca-pa=|| 'break'

||ca-xá=|| 'strain (put through a sieve)'

||ce-ka=|| 'dig, chop, carve'

||cǐ=|| 'alive, lively'

||ci-ka=|| 'folded under'

||cǒ=|| 'blinded by light'

||co-xe=ki|| 'woodpecker'

||cú=ni-rd|| 'cooking pot'

||pu-cu=|| 'tear apart'

||cǐ=|| 'spill, pour, lose'

||cǐ.ǒ=Rd-ki|| 'flower'

||cǐ.ǒ=Rd-sǐ|| 'wasp'

/c'/' 'shape, size'

||c'a-xa=|| 'round object'

||c'a-wa=|| 'thin'

||e-c'a=|| 'spread out'

||c'é=|| 'measure, test, weigh'

||c'i-ni=|| 'thin'

||c'ǐ.ǒ=ni-Rd-|| 'partly built'

/č/ 'fear, protrusion-penetration-decomposition'

||čá=|| 'dig with snout'

||ča-xa=|| 'explode'

||če-|| 'fear'
 ||če-ka=|| 'splinter, thorn'
 ||čó=|| 'night fear, avoidance of danger'
 ||čú=|| 'frighten'
 ||ču-ni-pi=|| 'crumpled'

/č'/ 'strike-penetrate'. Examples are,

||č'á=|| 'pass through'
 ||č'a-ma=|| 'knock down'
 ||č'a-pa=|| 'fell (as a tree)'
 ||č'a-ta=|| 'mash, crush'
 ||č'e-ni-pa=|| 'dig'
 ||č'ó=|| 'squat'
 ||č'u-yu=|| 'prick, tap'

/k/ 'cut-break, reversal, centrifugal-centripetal'. Examples are,

||ká=|| 'upside-down (thing), bring, break'
 ||ka-čt=|| 'scratch'
 ||ka-č'u|| 'cut, slice'
 ||ka-ya=|| 'up-down axis'
 ||ké=|| 'centripetal, put down, go elsewhere'
 ||ke-pe=|| 'divide, take off small pieces'
 ||ke-ni-ce=|| 'scalloped'
 ||ki-ti=|| 'rub'
 ||ki-xa=|| 'round object'
 ||kó=|| 'upside down (person), holey'
 ||kú=|| 'come together'

||kwá=|| 'fall'

||kwi-ki=|| 'whip'

||kwi-na=|| 'shave, cut hair'

||ku-ni-čú=|| 'zig-zag'

/k'/ 'centrifugal-centripetal, hand-like (cf. {-k'u} 'hand, leaf' (720 [9])). Examples are,

||k'a=ni|| 'leaf of corn'

||k'a-pe=|| 'break in pieces'

||k'a-ya=|| 'sweep, gather'

||k'e=|| 'grow'

||k'e-pe=|| 'break in pieces'

||k'o-pe=|| 'swollen outward'

||k'ú=|| 'swell'

||k'wa=ni-ks-|| 'send back'

||k'wa-ča=|| 'hit with hand'

||k'wa-ni=|| 'throw'

||k'u-ni-č'u=|| 'tight bundle'

/m/ 'inner activity, manipulation of space'

||ma-na=|| 'move'

||ma-yi=|| 'hurt'

||me-na=|| 'turn upside down'

||p'a-me=|| 'hurt'

||mí=|| 'cover, close'

||mí=a-|| 'remember'

||mi-ni-ci=|| stem underlying 'heart, seed, rest'

||mi-xi=|| 'forget'

||mó-|| 'fill empty space, replace'

/n/ 'go, water'

||ša-na=|| 'walk'

||wa-na=|| 'pass'

||ma-na=|| 'move'

||ni.ś=|| 'go'

||wi-ni=|| 'full, fill'

||xa-ni=|| 'rain'

—||ša-no=a-|| 'hail'

||wa-no=|| 'pass in line'

||su-nu=|| 'clean with a cloth'

/p/ 'upside down-hollow, adhere, water-smoke-steam'

||pa-ca=|| 'keep'

||pa-ka=|| 'keep, stay'

||pa-ya=|| 'hollow object face down'

||u-ni-pa=|| 'heaped'

||xu-pa=|| 'wash'

||u-pa=|| 'dive under water'

||a-ni-pa=|| 'goodness'

||pe-xe=|| 'upside down, turn over'

||pe-ta=|| 'take out from inside'

||pi=|| 'level, stuck'

||po-yo=|| 'hole'

||a-ni-po=|| 'cleanliness'

||xa-po=|| 'wash'

||xa-po=ni-ta|| 'lake'

||te-po=|| 'tip over'

||po-ko=Rd-|| 'smoke coming out'

||pu-na=Rd-|| 'smoke coming out'

||pu-xu=a|| 'boil'

/p'/ 'contact'

||p'á=|| 'touch, take hold'

||p'a-ka=|| 'push'

||p'a-ki=|| 'let fall'

||p'a-me=|| 'hurt'

||p'í=|| 'pull toward one'

||p'í.ó=|| 'remove'

||p'ó=|| 'touch inside'

||p'o-ye=ni-|| 'visit'

/s/ 'cloth-like, repeated or prolonged action'. Examples

are,

||sa-ni-ca=|| 'shake'

||pa-sa=|| 'slap'

||swá=|| 'warm cloth'

||su-nu=|| 'clean with cloth'

||s†-kwi=|| 'skin'

||ti-s†=|| 'body hair'

||s†-xi=|| 'sew'

||s†-pi=|| 'stink'

/š/ 'motion repeated'

||ša-na=|| 'walk'

||ša-yi=|| 'swim'

||še-ša=|| 'chew'

||šku=|| 'tap with finger tips'
 ||šó=t'a-|| 'row, paddle'
 ||šo-yo=|| 'roll a ball of string'

/t/ 'together-away from, woven cloth'

||tá=|| 'together, in contact'
 ||ta-po=|| 'reach for'
 ||ta-ya=|| 'raise'
 ||tá=|| 'cloth garment'
 ||te-ka=|| 'peel'
 ||te-ni-pu=|| 'marry'
 ||tē-pe=|| 'weave'
 ||ti-yi=|| 'hang'
 ||tú=|| 'raise'

/t'/ 'cleave, penetrate'. Examples are,

||t'a-ya=|| 'cleave'
 ||t'i-xe=|| 'eat'
 ||t'i-pi=|| 'wrap'
 ||t'f=|| 'burn'
 ||t'u-yu=|| 'cleave'

/w/ 'penetration, motion in place' (same as /u/). Examples

are,

||wá=|| 'call, kill, waves moving'
 ||wa-ca=|| 'rain beating in'
 ||wa-ka=|| 'fall'
 ||wa-xi=|| 'die'
 ||wa-ya=|| 'dance'

||wa-yu=|| 'fish'

||wé=|| 'want, go out, begin, call'

||we-ka=|| 'fall'

||we.́=|| 'cry'

||we-xa=|| 'untie, lack'

||wi-ni=|| 'full, fill'

/x/ 'movement with fixed position'

||xa.́=|| 'be there'

||xa-ni=|| 'rain'

||xa-ni-po=|| 'clean'

||xá=|| 'smear, dirty'

||xa-ya=|| 'pierce'

||xa-wa=|| 'rise'

||xe.́=Rd-|| 'pant'

||xe-a=|| 'squeeze'

||xí=|| 'rub'

||xi-ci=|| 'clean'

||xi-ki=|| 'hiccough'

||xó=|| 'tie'

||xu.́=|| 'come'

||xú=|| 'cough'

||xú=kska-|| 'sow'

||xu-yi=|| 'straight, true'

/y/ 'linear extension, water, liquid' (same as /i/). For

example,

||ya.́=Rd-|| 'urinate'

||ya-wa=|| 'ice'
 ||yé=|| 'stir'
 ||ye-ka=|| 'spill'
 ||yó=|| 'extend'
 ||yo-yé=|| 'stream'
 (||i-ci=|| 'water', ||i-cu=|| 'suck')
 ||i-yi=|| 'coil or fold cloth'

813. Consonant Ablaut

It will have been noted in examination of the consonant meanings underlying the ablaut sets above that there is a certain relationship in the meanings of consonants with the same point or manner of articulation. /c/, /č/, and /č'/ each have 'penetration' as one of their meanings. /x/, /s/, /š/ each have 'motion in place' as one of their meanings, /k/ and /k'/ each have a centrifugal-centripetal meaning, /p/ has a meaning of 'adherence' and /p'/ one of 'contact' which are, of course, similar.

814. Special Types of Vowel Ablaut

Only two stem bases have been isolated (although others may exist), where distinction between 'person' and 'thing' is made by means of vowel ablaut. In most cases this semantic component is not isolable. These cases are,

||ká=|| 'upside down thing or animal'
 ||kó=|| 'upside down person'
 ||t'a-ya=|| 'cleave (thing)'

||t'u-yu=|| 'cleave (person)'

In the second set the ablaut is carried through both morphemes. The only generalization that can be made is that 'thing' requires a central and 'person' a back vowel.

One case has been noted in which vowel ablaut of a stem base morpheme signals a directional difference in the object. This is,

||e-xa=|| 'look at someone going'

||e-xo=|| 'look at someone coming'

815. Paired Stem Bases

Certain stems have doubles with the same meaning. These either have the same consonants but different vowel or vowels, or different stress patterns. Examples are,

||wa-no=||, ||wa-na=|| 'pass'

||wa-ni-to=||, ||wa-ni-ta=|| 'talk'

||xu-pa=||, ||xa-po=|| 'wash'

||xá-||, ||xa.́=|| 'be there'

||i-ni-cí=||, ||i=ni-c-|| 'give'

Others have paired consonants and the same vowels.

For example,

||ka-ci=||, ||xa-ci=|| 'have'

816. Vowel Harmony

In quite a number of stem bases the vowels in both syllables are the same, together subject to vowel ablaut if the stem in question is a member of an ablaut series. This is not

always the case, for if one stem base morpheme is a member of an ablaut series, the other need not necessarily be. There seems to be a tendency for one member of a set of paired stems to have such vowel harmony, as ||wa-ni-to=||, ||wa-ni-ta=|| 'talk' as above, and ||k'a-pa=||, ||k'e-pe=|| 'break in pieces'. Examples of other stem bases with vowel harmony are, ||ti-yi=|| 'hang', ||ta-ya=|| 'raise', ||po-yo=|| 'hole', ||a-tá=|| 'hit, paint', ||e-xe=|| 'live, dwell'. The second morpheme of many of such stems is an augment morpheme beginning in /y/, similar to thematic augment morphemes (712, 733.1). The meaning of these morphemes is, of course, consistent with the meaning of one ablaut set in /y/ or /i/, 'linear extension'.

817. Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication, represented by the reduplicative morphophonemes ||Rd|| and ||rd||. Both have semantic content of repetition or emphasis. When ||Rd|| occurs the entire stem base is reduplicated, or the stem base plus a stem suffix {ni}. For example,

||mí=Rd-||:/mimi-/ 'go to sleep' (from /mí-/ 'shut')

||ni.ŕ=Rd-||:/nini-/ 'cook, ripen' (from /ni.ŕ-/ 'go')

||cŕ.ŕ=Rd-ki||:/cŕcŕki/ 'flower'

||ckwá=Rd-ya-||:/ckwáckwaya-/ 'be spotted', from /ckwá-/
'spot'

||ca-ni-kwa=Rd-c'ŕ-||:/cankwácankwac'ŕ-/ 'jump up and down'
from /cankwá-/ 'jump'

||k'u-ti=ni-Rd-c'±-||:/k'utink'utinc'±-/ 'go along stooping
down', from /k'uti-/ 'crouch'

||k'u-ti=Rd-c'±-||:/k'utik'utic'±-/ 'go along stooping
down'. There seems to be no difference in meaning
with or without {ni}.

When ||rd|| occurs the stem base is reduplicated but
not the suffix {ni} which follows it. For example,

||c'±.°=ni-rd-||:/c'±nc'±-/ 'to lose oneself'

||cú=ni-rd||:/cúncu/ 'pot'

820. Verbal Stem Expansions

Some stem expanding morphemes are unique to this position.
Others are thematic suffixes frozen into a stem, so that
another suffix of the same class, even the same suffix, may
be thematically affixed after such a stem.

821. Suffixes Unique to Stems

The two most commonly found stem suffixes are {a} and {ni}.
In neither case is the meaning of the morpheme clear.

Examples are,

{a}: ||xu-yi=a-|| 'day, sun' (/xu-yi=ni-/ 'be true, straight')

||ša-no=a-|| 'hail'

||ti-yi=a-pu|| 'roasting ear' (/tiyi-/ 'hang')

||xa-nti=a-|| 'be alone' (/xa.°-/ 'be there')

||xa-yu=a-|| 'help'

||i-ki=a-|| 'be annoyed, jealous' (/ikičakwa/ 'bad,
ugly')

- {ni}: ||xo-ye=ni-|| 'teach, show' (/xoyé-/ 'heat')
 ||tá=ni-kwaye-|| 'join selves together' (/tákwaye-/
 'to gather it')
 ||ču=ni-ksa-me-|| 'fall in the water'
 ||xá=ni-cpe-|| 'go about elsewhere' (/xá-/ 'go
 about', /-cpe/ 'elsewhere')
 ||pe-xe=ni-ce-|| 'turn a somersault' (/pexé-/
 'turn over', /-ce/ 'down')

Other stem suffixes not found thematically are,

- {m}: ||k'wí=m-s†|| 'sleepy head' (/k'wí-/ 'sleep', /-s†/
 substantive completing suffix). It is possible that
 the suffix here is the allomorph ||ms|| of the loca-
 tive suffix {mu} (720) 'mouth', ||s-s|| reducing to
 /s/.
- {nks}: ||k'wá=nks-ku-|| 'send it back' (/k'wá-/ 'stuff,
 congest', or /k'waní-/ 'throw?')
 ||xu-yi=nks-kwa|| 'knee' (/xuyini-/ 'straight, true',
 /-kwa/ substantive instrumental suf.) This may be
 a little used or obsolete locative suffix with the
 meaning of 'bend, turn'.
- {p'u}: ||é=p'u|| 'head'
- {smayu}: ||te-xe=smayu-|| 'mock' (/texékwaye-/ 'laugh')
- {ša}: ||ču=ša-|| 'follow someone' (/ču-/ 'follow')
 ||xu-yi=ša-|| 'fry' (/xuyini-/ 'straight, true')
- {še}: ||xá=še-ta-p'e-xa-||:/xášetpexa-/ 'dirty each other'
 (/sá-/ 'dirty, smear')

||xá=še-|| 'be' (/xa.í-/ 'be there')
 {xu}: ||st-pi=xu-|| 'smell it'

822. Thematic Suffixes as Stem Expansions

The only thematic suffixes that have been noted as stem expansions are locative suffixes (720), which may be preceded by a pre-locative suffix (710), and followed by an expansion (733), sometimes with a meaning change, or the whole constituting a meaning the parts of which are impossible to extricate, {kwaye} reinforced subject (737), {nt'a} durative-repetitive (767), and {š} meaning undetermined (743). Examples are,

Locatives:

||k'u-xa=ce-|| 'be ashamed' (/ce/ 'down, behind')
 ||te-ni-pu=ča-|| 'marry' (/ča/ 'throat, mouth')
 ||ké=t'a-|| 'go away' (/ké-/ 'centripetal movement',
 /-t'a/ 'leg, thigh')
 ||šó=t'a-|| 'row, paddle'
 ||čkwá=nti-xa-|| 'lie (tell falsehood)' (/nti/
 'ear')
 ||k'a-ya-nče-|| 'breathe' (/k'ayá-/ 'sweep, gather',
 /-nče/ 'up')
 ||k'wi=nče-|| 'celebrate a fiesta' (/k'wi-/ 'sleep',
 /-nče/ 'up')
 ||á=nče-kwaye-|| 'work'
 ||cǎ=nče-|| 'lose oneself' (/cǎ-/ 'spill, lose')
 ||ká=nče-|| 'owe' (/ká-/ 'upside down (thing),
 bring, break')

||p'a=kwa-č'a-||:/p'ákča-/ 'knock over' (/p'á-/
 'touch, /-kwa/ precipitating prelocative suf.,
 /-ča/ 'neck, back of head')

||sa-ni-ca=c'†-ku-||:/sancác'†ku-/ 'shake out'
 (/sancá-/ 'shake', /-c'†ku/ 'top of raised surface')

||há=k'i|| 'hand' (/k'i/ seems to be an allomorph
 of /-k'u/ 'hand' (cf. also 812 /k'a/)

||xi.´=Rd-ne-A-||:/xixfna-/ 'hunt for' (/xixf-/
 'hide, /-na/ 'inside (other as object)')

||cká=ni-te-||:/ckánte-/ 'be slippery' (/te/
 'face, hillside')

{nt'a}: ||a-yi=nt'a-|| 'read' (/ayf-/ 'say')

||ni.´-e=nt'a-||:/niént'a-/ 'arrive' (/nié-/
 'arrive')

{kwaye}, {š}:
 ||á=nče-kwaye-|| 'work'

||wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-||:/wantónskwaye-/ 'converse'

830. Substantive Stems

The only stems peculiar to substantives are personal pronoun and interrogative-demonstrative stems. The latter group underlie adverbs, pronouns, and adjectives. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and adjectives are identical, with syntactic privileges of occurrence of both external distribution classes. A few of these forms also occur adverbially. Personal pronouns have unique stems.

831. Personal Pronoun Stems

Four of the five personal pronoun stem morphemes are also words. The fifth forms a compound stem-word. These are,

Singular: 1. {xí}

2. {t'ú}

Plural: 1. {xu čá}

2. {čá}

3. {c'á}: ||c'á||, ||c'á||

Strictly speaking there is no third person singular personal pronoun. Two forms, {f m'a}:/imá/ and {f nté}:/inté/ are demonstrative pronoun-adjectives based on the demonstrative morpheme {f}. They can be translated as 'this', 'the', 'he/she/it' or rarely, 'they'.

The first person plural pronoun is compounded of {xu} which is a first person morpheme, possibly either an allomorph of {xí} or a sequence {xí u}, the {u} no longer productive, the whole with some such meaning as 'I-you-plural' or 'I-including you-plural'.

832. Demonstrative and Interrogative Stems

Words that are formed from stems of this class are of the pronoun, adjective, and adverb form classes. These stems are of a different stress pattern than verbal stems. Like the latter they are stressed on either the first or second syllable and some stem morphemes are of the syllable type CŮ. These always receive strong stress unless they occur in

first position and are followed by another C[́]V morpheme. For example, ||sá-má||:/samá/ 'some' (/sá-/ 'little, few', /má/ 'a, one').

Other morphemes are of the type C[̀]V. If such a morpheme occurs in first position the stress must fall on the second syllable even if the second syllable morpheme has no strong stress morphophoneme and is inflectional or enclitic. For example, ||a-nku-ni||:/ankúni/ 'with what' (/nku/ 'with' comitative inflectional suf.). (A morpheme of the pattern CV.́ would not be stressed thus, as ||CV.́-CCV||:/C[̀]VCCV/.)

Morphemes of both C[́]V and C[̀]V stress patterns may occur in other than first or second position within a stem. Such stems are compounded rather than suffixed. In such positions all C[́]V morphemes have a C[̀]V allomorph. For example, ||a-mpé-ma-ki||:/ampémaki/ 'whatever thing' (/ampé/ 'what, something', ||má-ki||:/máki/ 'that').

Demonstrative and interrogative stem morphemes may have both a strong and a weak stressed allomorph, one of which occurs in one stem compound or suffixed stem and another in another. If the weak stressed allomorph occurs the next syllable is stressed. For example,

||í-ni||:/íni/ 'this' (/ni/ accusative case suf.)

||í-nki||:/ínki/ 'this which' (/nki/ relative suf.)

||mé-ni-texu||:/méntexu/ 'other'

||nó-me-ni||:/nómeni/ 'never'

||né-mintu||:/némintu/ 'who'

||ne-nku-ni||:/nenkúni/ 'with whom' (/ -nku/ comitative suf.)

Only this type of stem allomorphy will be listed after stem morphemes.

Some C[́]V morphemes may occur as complete words. These, with the personal pronouns and a few nouns are the only single morpheme words in Tarascan. C[̀]V morphemes may occur as words only if followed by an enclitic or an inflectional suffix. Some are compounded with other C[́]V or C[̀]V morphemes to form words or to form compound stems to which stem suffixes may be attached. In some cases a C[́]V or C[̀]V morpheme is followed by a stem suffix of type C[̀]V, the whole in turn compounded with another sequence of the same type. Examples of stem types are,

C[́]V which is also a word, or a word with inflection or enclitic:

||má|| 'a, one' (also a numeral stem)

||ná|| 'how, where, when'

||né|| 'who'

||ká|| 'and'

||nó|| 'no, not'

||yá|| 'now'

||é|| with relative suffix ||nki|| ^f ||ki||: ||énki|| ^f

||éki|| 'that, when; if'

C[̀]V which is a word with inflection or enclitic:

||a-|| 'this', as ||a-nku-ni||:/ankúni/ 'with this'
(/ -nkuni/ 'with')

||xi-|| 'that', as ||xi-nku-ni||:/xinkúni/ 'with that one'

CV which is never a word:

{šá}: ||šá||, ||ša|| 'much, many' underlying ||šá-ni|| 'much, many'

||šá-ne-ka|| 'much, many', ||á-ša|| 'not much'

||ná-ša-ni|| 'how much'

{mé}: ||mé||, ||me|| underlying ||mé-ni|| 'so, as, unless'

||mé-ni-texu||:/méntexu/ 'again'

||nó-me-ni|| 'never'

Types of compound stem are,

1. Stem morpheme plus stem morpheme:

||í-má||:/imá/ 'this, he/she/it' (/í-/ 'this', /-má/ 'a, one')

||xi-má||:/ximá/ 'there' (/xi-/ 'that', /-má/ 'a, one')

2. Stem morpheme plus thematic suffix:

||sá-ni||: (/sá-/ 'little, few', /-ni/ substantive completing suf.)

||a-xi||:/axi/ 'this' (-xi/ agentive suf.)

3. Stem morpheme plus stem suffix:

||a-mpé|| 'something, what'

||í-nté|| 'this, the, he/she/it'

||í-šó|| 'here'

4. Compounding of suffixed stem morphemes:

||xi-a-ka-ni||: /xiákani/ 'then' (/xi-/ 'that',
/a-/ 'this', /kani/ 'when')

||nó-me-ni|| 'never' (/nó/ 'no, not', /méni/ 'so,
then')

||a-mpé-ma-ki|| 'whatever' (/a-/ 'this' underlying
/ampé/ 'something', /má/ 'a, one', /-ki/ relative
suf.)

||xi-ní-na-ni|| 'from there' (/xi-/ 'that' underly-
ing /xini/ 'there', /-ní/ demonstrative adverb suf.,
/-na/ 'from', /-ni/ substantive completing suf.)

Because the stem morphemes from which demonstrative and interrogative stems are formed comprise a small class, both primary morphemes, which may occur as initial, and secondary morphemes, which are always suffixed, will be listed here with examples in which they occur.

Primary stem morphemes are,

1. {a} 'this', occurs as a word with addition of inflectional suffix or enclitic. Also occurs with thematic suffix and compounded. Examples are,

||a-nku-ni||: /ankúni/ 'with what' (/nku/ comitative case suf.)

||a-xi||: /axi/ 'this' (/xi/ agentive suf.)

||a-xi-c'f|| 'these' (/c'f/ 'they', independent personal pronoun)

||a-mpé|| 'something, what'

||a-mpé-o|| 'with what' (/o/ locative word extending suf.)

||a-mpé-ma-ki|| 'whatever thing' (/maki/ 'that, when' relative adverb)

||a-mpé-nt-waa|| 'who knows' (/nt/ secondary stem morpheme, /waa/ 'unknown' secondary stem morpheme)

||xi-ni-a-ni|| 'there' (/xini/ 'there', /ni/ substantive completing suf.)

||xi-a-ka-ni|| 'then' (/xi-/ 'that', /káni/ 'when')

||a-nti|| 'why' (/nti/ secondary stem morpheme)

||a-mpé-k'-wá||:/amkwá/ 'what in the world, let's see now' (/k'/ secondary stem morpheme only occurring in this and the next construction, /wá/ 'unknown' secondary stem morpheme)

||a-mpé-k'-wá-ati||:/amkwáati/ 'meanwhile' (/ati/ substantive completing suf.)

2. {á} 'negative', does not occur as a word. Examples are,

||á-ša|| 'not much' (/ša-/ 'much, many')

||á-tki|| 'not yet' (/tki/ intensive temporal substantive extending suf.)

||á-sṭ|| 'don't' (/sṭ/ substantive completing suf.)

3. {é} adverbial stem morpheme, does not occur as a word.

Examples are,

||é-ki|| ^f ||é-nki|| 'when, if, that' (relative adverb) (/ki/ ^f ||nki|| relative suf.)

||i-šó-e-ni||:/išwéeni/ 'here' (/išó/ 'here',
/_ni/ substantive completing suf.)

4. {és} adverbial stem morpheme, does not occur as a word.

Examples are,

||és-ki|| 'like, as, so that' relative adverb (/_ki/
relative suf.)

||és-ná||:/esná/ 'just as it is' (/ná/ 'how')

5. {i}:||i||, ||i|| 'this', occurs as a separate word in
compounds and suffixed. For example,

||i|| 'this'

||i-má||, ||i-nté|| 'this, the, he/she/it' (/má/
'one, a', /_nté/ secondary stem morpheme)

||i-šó|| 'here' (/_šó/ secondary stem morpheme)

||i-sɛ|| 'thus' (/_sɛ/ substantive completing suf.)

||i-šó-na-nti|| ^f ||i-šó-na-ni|| 'from here' (/_na/
'from' secondary stem morpheme, /_nti/ secondary
stem morpheme, /_ni/ substantive completing suf.)

6. {ká}:||ká||, ||ka|| 'and', occurs as a separate word, in
compounds and suffixed. For example,

||ká|| 'and'

||ká-ni|| 'that, when' (/_ni/ substantive completing
suf.)

||xi.a-ka-ni|| 'then' (cf. 1, above)

||ká-na-nti|| 'when' (/_na/ 'from' secondary stem
morpheme, /_nti/ secondary stem morpheme)

||kó-ka-ni|| 'soon, quick' (/_kani/ as above)

7. {kó} as in last example, not found in other constructions.
8. {má} 'a, one', found as a separate word, in compounds, and suffixed (also a numeral stem). For example,
 ||má|| 'a, one'
 ||sá-má||:/samá/ 'some' (/sá-/ 'little, few')
 ||má-xu|| 'some' (/xu/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||a-mpé-ma-ki|| 'whatever thing' (see 1, above)
9. {me}: ||mé||, ||me||, only found suffixed and in compounds. For example,
 ||mé-ni|| 'so, then, if' (/ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||nó-me-ni|| 'never' (/nó/ 'no, not')
 ||mé-ni-texu|| 'again' (/texu/ differential substantive extending suf.)
10. {ná}: ||ná||, ||na|| 'how', occurs as a separate word, in compounds, and suffixed. Examples are,
 ||ná|| 'how'
 ||ná-ní||:/naní/ 'where' (/ní/ 'place' secondary stem morpheme)
 ||ná-ša-ni|| 'how much' (/šáni/ 'much, many')
 ||ná-ní-ma-ki|| 'just as' (/máki/ cf. 1, above)
 ||na-mu-ni||:/namúni/ 'how many' (/mu/ numeral suf., /ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||ná-ati|| 'what time' (/ati/ substantive completing suf.)

11. {né}: ||né||, ||ne|| 'who', occurs as a separate word and compounded. Examples are,
 ||né|| 'who'
 ||nó-ne|| 'no one' (/nó/ 'no, not')
12. {nó}: ||nó||, ||n|| 'negative' (probably from Sp. 'no'), occurs as a separate word and compounded).
 ||nó-me-ni|| 'never' (cf. 9 above)
 ||nó-ne|| 'no one' (cf. 11 above)
 ||nó-a-mpé||:/noompé/ 'nothing'
 ||n-a-mpé||:/nampé/ 'nothing'
13. {sá} 'little, few', does not occur as a separate word, occurs suffixed and compounded. For example,
 ||sá-ni|| 'little, few' (/ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||sá-má|| 'some' (/má/ 'one, a')
14. {sé} found only in this sequence,
 ||sé-si|| 'very' (/si/ found only in this form)
15. {šá}: ||šá||, ||ša|| 'much, many', does not occur as a separate word; occurs suffixed and compounded.
 For example,
 ||šá-ni|| 'much, many' (/ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||šá-ne-ka|| 'much, many' (/ka/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||á-ša|| 'not much' (cf. 2 above)
16. {twi} adverbial stem morpheme, only suffixed. For example,

11. {né}:||né||, ||ne|| 'who', occurs as a separate word and compounded. Examples are,
 ||né|| 'who'
 ||nó-ne|| 'no one' (/nó/ 'no, not')
12. {nó}:||nó||, ||n|| 'negative' (probably from Sp. 'no'), occurs as a separate word and compounded).
 ||nó-me-ni|| 'never' (cf. 9 above)
 ||nó-ne|| 'no one' (cf. 11 above)
 ||nó-a-mpé||:/noompé/ 'nothing'
 ||n-a-mpé||:/nampé/ 'nothing'
13. {sá} 'little, few', does not occur as a separate word, occurs suffixed and compounded. For example,
 ||sá-ni|| 'little, few' (/ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||sá-má|| 'some' (/má/ 'one, a')
14. {sé} found only in this sequence,
 ||sé-si|| 'very' (/si/ found only in this form)
15. {šá}:||šá||, ||ša|| 'much, many', does not occur as a separate word; occurs suffixed and compounded.
 For example,
 ||šá-ni|| 'much, many' (/ni/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||šá-ne-ka|| 'much, many' (/ka/ substantive completing suf.)
 ||á-ša|| 'not much' (cf. 2 above)
16. {twi} adverbial stem morpheme, only suffixed. For example,

||twí-ni|| 'meanwhile'

||twí-ni-tki|| 'meanwhile' (/ -tki/ temporal adverb
extending suf.)

17. {wá}: ||wá||, ||waa|| 'unknown', does not occur as word;
occurs compounded and suffixed. For example,

||wá-ne-ka|| 'many'

||xá-wá-ni|| 'who knows' (/xá-/ cf. 18 below)

||na-nt-wá|| 'who knows' (/ná-/ 'how', /-nt/
secondary stem morpheme)

||a-mpé-nt-waa|| 'who knows' (/ampé/ 'what, some-
thing', /-nt/ as 17, above)

||a-mpé-k'-wá|| 'let's see' (cf. 1 above)

18. {xá}, adverbial stem morpheme, does not occur as sepa-
rate word; occurs in compounds and with suffixes.

For example,

||xá-s±|| 'like' (/ -s±/ substantive completing suf.)

||xá-mpé-ni||: /xámpéni/ 'just that much' (/ -mpé/
secondary stem morpheme, / -ni/ substantive comple-
ting suf.)

||xá-xí-ni|| 'by' (/ -xi/ 'that' adverbial stem
morpheme)

||xá-ntí-a|| 'alone' (/ -ntí/ secondary stem morpheme,
/ -a/ cf. 1 above)

19. {xi}: ||xi||, ||xi|| 'that', does not occur as separate
word; occurs with inflectional suffixes compounded
or with thematic suffixes. For example,

||xi-má||:/ximá/ 'there' (/ -má/ cf. 8 above)

||xi-mí-ni|| 'there' (/ -mí/ secondary stem morpheme
only occurring in this form)

||xi-nku-ni||:/xinkúni/ 'with that' (/ -nkuni/
comitative inflectional suf.)

||xi-ní|| 'there' (/ -ní/ secondary stem morpheme)

||xi-ní-a-ni|| 'there' (/ -a/ cf. 1 above)

||xi-á-ka-ni|| 'then' (/káni/ 'when')

||xi-nté-ni|| 'where' (/ -nté/ secondary stem morpheme)

||xi-ní-na-ni|| 'from there' (/ -na/ 'from' secondary
stem morpheme)

||xi-mpé-o||:/ximpó/ 'concerning, with respect to'
(/ -mpé/ secondary stem suffix, / -o/ locative extend-
ing suf.)

20. {yá} 'now', occurs as a separate word and suffixed. For
example,

||yá|| 'now, already' (Spanish 'ya')

||yá-mintu|| 'all' (/ -mintu/ $\overset{f}{\sim}$ / -mentu/ emphatic
substantive extending suf.)

||yá-pu-xu|| 'everywhere' (/ -pu/, / -xu/, substantive
completing suf.)

Secondary stem morphemes are (numbers after the suf-
fixes refer to the primary morpheme examples in which they
appear),

1. {ati} 1, 10

2. {k'} 1, 17

3. {mi} 19
4. {mpé} 1, 12, 19
5. {mu} 10 (numeral suf. 637)
6. {na} 'from' 1, 5, 6, 19, also ||i-ni-ča=ti-xu-na-ni||:
/inčátixunani/ 'very late' (/inčatixu/ 'afternoon')
7. {ni} 'place' 10, 19
8. {nt} 17 (this may be an allomorph of {nti} or {nté})
9. {nté} 5, 19
10. {nti} 1, 19
11. {šó} 5

One example each of ablaut and stem pairing have been noted for adverbs. These are,

- ||šá-ni|| 'big, many'
 ||sá-ni|| 'small, few'
 ||xó||, ||k'ó|| 'yes'

CHAPTER IX

SYNTAX

900. Introduction to Syntax

The only form classes for which word order is relevant are those of adverbs and the pronominal sub-class of relative pronouns. Adverbs belong to several external distribution classes, membership in which is partially determined by the rigidity of word order privileges of the members. Other than in these classes word order is free within the clause; immediate constituencies often being separated by one or more unconstituent words. This seems rarely to be semantically confusing as syntactic relationships are so well determined inflectionally, and in the case of verbs, thematically also.

Clauses are main and subordinate and substantive word and phrase dependencies divide into nominal and adverbial subtypes.

910. Clause Types

There are two types of main clause and two of subordinate clause. The two main clause types are modal and participial. Modal clauses each have as core a modally inflected verb. Participial clauses each have as core either a participially inflected verb (440), or a substantive participial (631). Subordinate clauses are in immediate constituency with a

main or another subordinate clause verb or substantive and are relative and participial. Relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun or a relative adverb and have as their core modally inflected verbs which are not indicative. A relative pronoun clause is in IC dependency upon a substantive. A relative adverb clause may be in IC dependency upon either a verb or substantive of a main clause. Participial subordinate clauses differ from main participial clauses in that the central, participially inflected verb is in an IC dependency relationship with the verb of a main clause. In all clauses substantives are peripheral or eliminable and verbs are central or necessary.

911. The Modal Clause

A modal clause contains a central, modally inflected verb and may or may not include substantives. It may have a nominal subject or subject phrase, a nominal object or object phrase, may be introduced by a conjunctive or interrogative adverb and include adverbial dependencies of all types other than relative. Examples are,

||ká-ni-xe ka.ʹ=Rd-š-k'i cu.ʹ=ni-rd-ni.||:/kánte kakáški

cuncúni./ 'When did you (sg.) break the pot?'

(/káni/ 'when' interrogative adverb, /-xe/ second person sg. subject, /kakáški/ 'broke' stative mode, /cuncúni/ 'pot' accusative case)

||xí e-xa=a-a-ka-ni k'wa-na=ce-kwa.||:/xii exáwakani

k'wanácekwa./ 'I will look behind.' (/xí/ 'I'

subject, /exáwakani/ 'I will look' future indicative first person sg., /k'wanácekwa/ 'behind' locative adverb.

||xi e-še=š-pl-ka-ni k'tá-ni.||:/xii ešešpkani k'táni./

'I have seen the house.' (/xi/ 'I' subject, /ešešpkani/ 'I have seen' indicative past inceptive-past contingent, first person sg., /k'táni/ 'house' accusative case)

||i-má twí-ni í-ni-cí=a-a-ti í-má í-má-exi kompania-empa-

eča-ni yá-mintu-eča-ni.||:/imaa twini incawati imaa

iméxi kompániempečani yámintweečani./ 'Meanwhile

he will give them to all his companions.' (/imá/

'he' subject, /twini/ 'meanwhile' temporal adverb,

/incáwati/ 'he will give them' indicative future

third person, /imá/ 'he' repetition of subject,

/iméxi/ 'his' genitive third person pronoun dependent on /kompániempečani/ 'companions' accusative case,

object of verb, /yámintweečani/ 'all' accusative

case dependent on 'companions', the last three words

forming an accusative nominal expansion.)

912. The Participial Main Clause

A participle may constitute the central verb of a main clause which may have any of the substantive dependencies found in a modal clause. For example,

||xi winá-ni ca-ni-kwa=xa-ni.||:/xii wináni cankwáxani./

'I jump rapidly.' (/xi/ 'I' subject, /wináni/

'rapidly' neutral adverb, /cankwáxani/ 'to jump'
present participle.)

||xi-ní=ks‡ ka-ya=ma-ni mónu-ni.||:/xiniks‡ kayámani mónuni./

'There we climbed the statue.' (/xini/ 'there'
demonstrative adverb, /-ks‡/ 'we' enclitic subject,
/kayámani/ 'to climb' present participle, /mónuni/
'statue' accusative case object of the verb.)

913. The Relative Clause

There are two relative clause types: pronominal, introduced by a relative pronoun, and adverbial, introduced by a relative adverb. Such clauses do not have verbs in the indicative mode nor participles as their verbal core. A relative clause may be encapsulated within a main clause.

913.1 The Relative Pronoun Clause

The relative pronoun, suffixed with the relative suffix (530), which introduces such a clause is in IC with the subject of the main clause verb if that verb is intransitive, or with any case-inflected noun or pronoun which precedes such a relative. Such a noun or pronoun may be repeated, uninflected, following the relative pronoun. Examples are,

||a-čá=ti i-nte-nki xu.‡=ka yá-s‡ i-nté-e-š-ti i-nté-ki

xu.‡=ka i-ni-ča=ti-xu.||:/ačáti inténki xukaa yás‡
intét'i intéki xukaa inčátixu./ 'The man who came

today is he who came yesterday.' (/ačáti/ 'man'

subject of main clause, /inténki/ 'who' relative pronoun, /xuká/ modally subordinative verb, verb of

relative clause, /yásť/ 'today' temporal adverb, /intét'i/ 'it is he' verbalized pronoun which is appositional subject of main clause with 'man', verbal core of main clause, /intéki/ 'who' relative pronoun dependent on appositionally restated subject of main intransitive clause, /xuká/ modally subordinative verb, verb of relative clause, /inčátixu/ 'yesterday' temporal adverb.)

||má kanát'a-xe xa-ci=a-ku-a-ka i-má-nki xu.ŕ-p'i=ka-ti-ni xa.ŕ=a-ka.||:/maa kanát'axe xacíakwaaka imánki xupikatini xawáka./ 'You will put on it a basket which it will be holding.' (/má/ 'a' numeral-indefinite article dependent on /kanát'a/ 'basket' (Sp. 'canasta') object of main verb but not in accusative case, /-xe/ 'you sg.' enclitic subject of main verb, /xacíakwaaka/ 'you will put on it' indicative first-second person future main clause verb, /imánki/ 'which' relative pronoun dependent on 'basket', /xupikatini/ 'holding' participle of state dependent on /xawáka/ 'will be' subordinative future relative clause verb.)

||xi-má-ksť xa.ŕ=ya-ni má rrátu wa-ni-to=ni-š-kwaye-ni má wa=yi-iti-nku-ni i-má-nki šani=ču a-ná-pu-e-ka.||:/ximáksť xayani maa rrátu wantónskwayeni maa wayítinkuni imánki šaniču anápweeka./ 'We were there awhile talking to a girl who is from Janitzio.'

(/ximá/ 'there' demonstrative adverb, /-ksɪ/ 'we' enclitic subject pronoun, /xayáni/ 'being there' present participle core verb of main clause, /maarrátu/ 'awhile' temporal adverbial phrase, /wantónskwayeni/ 'talking' present participle core verb of subordinate participial clause, /maa wayftinkuni/ 'with a girl' adverbial dependent phrase, noun with comitative suf., dependent on participial subordinate verb, /imánki/ 'who' dependent on preceding adverbial phrase, /šaniču/ 'Janitzio' adverbial place name dependent on relative clause core verb /anápweeka/ 'is from' tenseless, subordinative.)

913.2 The Relative Adverb Clause

A clause introduced by a relative adverb may be more loosely connected with the clause upon which it is dependent than one introduced by a relative pronoun. That is, the dependency may be on the clause as a whole rather than on a substantive or substantive phrase forming a part of it. Tarascan relative adverbs often translate as English conjunctions such as 'as, that, since'. Examples are,

||a-mpé-nt-waa i-ni-čt-k'u-nt'a-ni-xe-ni é-ki i-má pi-a=
 kwaye..a-ka. ||/ampéntwaa inckunt'anteni éki imaa
 piákwayiaka./ 'Who knows if he will give it back to
 me if he buys himself one.' (/ampéntwaa/ 'who knows'
 neutral adverb, /inckunt'anteni/ 'giving it back to
 me' present participle main clause core verb with

first person object enclitic, /éki/ 'if' relative
adverb dependent on main clause, /imá/ 'he' subject
of relative clause, /piákwayiaka/ 'will buy it for
himself' subordinative future relative clause verb.)

||xi-má ni.ŕ=xa-ni wa-ni-ta=nu-nt'a-ni, pax-ki í-má-t'u
ni.ŕ=nt'a-a-ka í-má-exi kompánia-empa-eča, xi-mpé-
o-ki c'á-t'u xi-má xá-ma-sí-xaani-ka, kompania-eča
í-má-ni kompánia-exi-ni c'íwe=xi-ti xapi=nti-ni.||:
/ximaa nixáni wantánunt'ani, paxki imat'u nint'aaka
iméxi kompániempeča, ximpóki c'át'u ximaa xámasíxaanka,
kompánieča imáni kompániexini./ 'There they went to
say goodbye, as they also will go along, his compan-
ions, because they also always were going about there,
the companions of the father of the groom's compan-
ions.' (/ximá/ 'there' demonstrative adverb,
/nixáni/ 'going' present participle main clause core
verb, /wantánuntani/ 'saying goodbye' present parti-
ciple verb of subordinate clause, /páxki/ 'as'
relative adverbial adaptation of Sp. 'para',
/imát'u/ 'he also' here used to mean 'they', an
inclusive use of the singular demonstrative pronoun,
subject of the relative clause, /nint'aaka/ 'will go
along' subordinative future verb of relative clause,
/iméxi kompániempeča/ 'his companions', nominal
subject phrase in apposition to /imát'u/ above,
/ximpóki/ 'because' relative adverb, /c'át'u/ 'they

also' subject of second relative clause, /ximá/
 'there' demonstrative adverb, /xámasíxaanka/ 'always
 were going about' subordinative past continuous
 habitual verb of second relative clause, /kompánieča
 imáni kompániexini c'iwéxiti xapintini/ 'the compan-
 ions of the father of the groom's companions' nomi-
 nal accusative phrase, object of main verb.)

914. The Participial Subordinate Clause

Participles and participials also serve as subordinate clause verbs as some of the above examples demonstrate. Participials, which are substantive in form class membership, may also be verbal in external distribution class membership. A number of present participles may be strung together in tandem subordinacies, often sharing the same subject, or with object of the main verb subject of the subordinate verb. Examples are,

||xí e-še=sí-ni-ka-ni í-nté-ni wá=yi-ni wa-xi=nč'a-ni

xa.í=yá-ni. ||:/xii ešésínkani inténi wáyini waxínč'a-
 ni xayáni./ 'I keep seeing that woman [who is] going
 to die'. (/xí/ 'I' subject of main clause verb,
 /ešésínkani/ 'I keep seeing' indicative present-
 habitual first person sg. main clause verb, /inténi
 wáyini/ 'that woman' nominal accusative phrase,
 object of main clause verb and subject of subordinate
 clause verbs, /waxínč'ani/ 'going to die' and
 /xayáni/ 'being there' tandem present participle
 subordinate clause verbs with same dependency and
 subject.)

||rriáta xa.ŕ=ya-ti e-če=xi-yu we-ko=ye-ti-ni.||:/rriáta
 xayáti ečéxiyu wekóyetini./ 'The rope has fallen
 on the ground', lit. 'The rope is on the ground
 being fallen.' (/rriáta/ 'the rope' subject of
 main and subordinate clause verbs, /xayáti/ 'it is
 there', indicative tenseless main clause verb,
 /ečéxiyu/ 'on the ground' adverbial locative de-
 pendency of main verb, /wekóyetini/ 'being fallen'
 participial, subordinate clause verb.)

920. Verbal Syntactic Determinations

Verbal inflection defines broadly the clause type within which the inflected verb may occur; indicative verbs only occurring in main clauses, other verbs occurring in either main or subordinate clauses. There are thus only two verbal external distribution classes based on verb inflection.

Further external distribution classes are, however, determined by verbal thematic suffixation. Restrictions on the possibility of object occurrence or the type of object which can occur with a particular verb are determined by the subject-object suffix or suffixes (730) and/or the locative suffixes (720) in a verbal construction. Intransitivity, or the lack of possibility of occurrence with a direct object in the accusative case, and transitivity, or the possibility of occurrence with such an object, are a function of the verbal stem type plus the object-goal suffixes with which that stem occurs (731).

Locatively suffixed verbs belong to a limited external distribution class, or rather verbal constructions occurring with each locative suffix form a small external distribution class limiting the selection of nominal objects with IC dependency on those particular verbs. Such objects may occur with either accusative or locative case suffixes.

Thematic object suffixation further determines the possibility that a particular verbal construction may or may not occur with two accusatively suffixed objects. One possibility for the occurrence of such objects lies in the thematic suffixation of the verb stem with a locative object expansion (733). A verb with such an expansion may occur with a noun allowable with the particular locative suffix as direct object and a second nominal or pronominal object also in the accusative case.

Other dual object syntactic resolutions are determined by the type of indirect object suffix in the verbal construction; a first-second person suffix (735.1) allowing only a first or second person pronominal object, and a third person suffix (735.2) or other additional object suffix sequence (735) allowing any third person nominal or pronominal object.

Subject restrictions are determined by reciprocal verbal suffixation (734.3) which requires a plural subject. Plurality of object is determined by plural object (736) or distributive plural (734) suffixation.

Examples demonstrating these verbal thematic determinations will not be given here as they are amply illustrated

in the pertinent paragraphs dealing with verbal thematic suffixation.

930. Substantive Dependencies

External distribution class membership of inflected or uninflected substantives and substantive phrases are of two types, designated as nominal and adverbial. Nominal phrases have reflection in, or are determined by, verbal thematic suffixation and function as subject or object of the verb in a dependent immediate constituency with it. Such words and phrases may have a noun or a pronoun as core, either uninflected (nominative case) or accusatively and occasionally locatively inflected. Adverbial dependencies may be constituted by nouns, pronouns, or adverbs in any but the nominative, accusative, or genitive cases, which may have dependency on the verb, the clause, or a nominal word or phrase. Phrases of either type may contain adjectives, numerals, adverbs and genitively inflected substantives as dependent expansions of phrase core substantives.

931. Nominal Dependencies

Uninflected nouns and pronouns, accusatively and sometimes locatively inflected nouns and pronouns, and nouns and pronouns in phrases with dependent adjectives, numerals, adverbs and genitively inflected nouns and pronouns constitute nominal dependencies and may be in IC relationship with verbs in any clause type. Numerals and adjectives may also be used

nominally as phrase core. Examples are,

As subject:

||cǐ-xi cǐ-xa=nki a-ni-pa=ka-e-š-ti.||:/cǐxi cǐxánki
 ampáket'i./ 'Blue maize is good.' (/cǐxi/ 'maize'
 subject, /cǐxánki/ 'blue' adjective dependent on
 subject noun.)

Genitive subject expansion:

||xǐ-e-š-ka-ni mási k'é=xi c'ǔ-exi c'ǔ-nki e-xe=ka-ni
 xa.:=ka.||:/xǐškani masi k'exi c'ǔxi c'ǔnki exékani
 xaká./ 'I am the biggest of those who are living.'
 (/masi k'éxi/ 'biggest' lit. 'most big', Sp. 'mas'
 'more', adverb dependent on nominally used adjective
 'big', subject of verb in apposition to /xǐ/ 'I'
 embedded in verb /c'ǔxi/ 'of those' genitively
 inflected third person plural pronoun dependent on
 nominal subject, /c'ǔnki/ 'those who' relative pro-
 noun dependent on noun subject.)

Accusative expansion:

||c'á biéni sési č'a-na=nt'a-ni i-má-ni k'wǐ=nče-kwa-ni.||:
 /c'a bieni sési č'anánt'ani imani k'winčekwani./
 'They performed (played) [at] the fiesta very well.'
 (/imáni/ demonstrative adjective 'the, that' in
 accusative case in dependency on /k'winčekwani/
 'fiesta' accusative case.)

Locative dependency: (locatively inflected nouns and pro-
 nouns are only considered to be nominal dependencies
 if determined by a locative verbal thematic suffix.)

||xi apa=ye-k'u-š-ka-ni kwi.š=ni-rd-s†-yu. ||:/xii apáyku-
 škani kwinkwis†yu./ 'I burned myself on the elbow.'
 (/k'u/ 'hand, arm' locative thematic suf.,
 /kwinkwis†yu/ 'on the elbow' locatively inflected
 noun object.'

932. Adverbial Dependencies

Adverbial dependencies may be single, uninflected adverbs, instrumentally, comitatively, or locatively inflected substantives, genitively inflected adverbs, or phrases with adjectives, numerals, adverbs, all inflected or uninflected, and genitively inflected nouns and pronouns in dependency on the core substantive or substantives.

Adverbs have membership in several external distribution classes to which adverbial phrases may also belong. These are: temporal, locative, relative, interrogative, prepositional, conjunctive, and neutral. Instrumentally and comitatively inflected noun and pronoun phrases belong to the same external distribution class as neutral adverbs. Locatively inflected noun and pronoun phrases and some uninflected nouns belong to the same external distribution class as locative adverbs.

932.1 Temporal Dependencies

Temporal adverbial dependencies are in IC with the entire clause and may include a single inflected or uninflected temporal adverb or such an adverb in IC with other substantives. For example,

||ni.:=a-ka-ksť xu-yi=a-kwa.||:/niwákaksť xuyiakwa./ 'Let's go by day.' (/xuyiakwa/ 'by day' uninflected adverb)

||a-ni-tá=xa-ni ú-a-ni ci-má-ni semána-mpu.||:/antáxani wáani cimáni semánampu./ 'To achieve making them in two weeks.' (/semána/ 'week' noun (Sp. 'semana') inflected with instrumental suf. /-mpu/, with dependent numeral /cimáni/ 'two', the whole constituting an adverbial temporal phrase.)

||ni.:=xa-š-pl-ka-ksť wici=nte-kwa i-ni-ča=ti-xu-exi.||:/nixášpkaksť wicintekwa inčátixuexi./ 'We had gone yesterday afternoon.' (/wicintekwa/ 'yesterday' temporal adverb, /inčátixu/ 'afternoon' noun with genitive suf. /-exi/ in dependency on temporal adverb.)

||xi ká=na-š-ka-ni méxa kucť oktúbxe-mpu.||:/xii kánaškani méxa kucť oktúbxempu./ 'I was born right in the month of October.' (/kucť/ 'month' temporal noun in IC with instrumentally inflected temporal noun /oktúbxe/ 'October' (Sp.), the whole in IC with neutral adverb /méxa/ 'just' (Sp.).)

932.2 Locative Dependencies

Locative words and phrases, including individual locatively inflected substantives, locatively inflected nouns or pronouns in IC with locative adverbs, and uninflected demonstrative adverbs and a few locative nouns are members of an

external distribution class for which the IC dependency is with the entire verbal clause. Transitive and intransitive verbs constitute the core of such clauses, but type 2B verb stems not otherwise thematically suffixed must be suffixed for goal (731.1). Examples are,

||čka=xi xa.ʹ=ya-ti ke=ce-kwa wa-ša=nc†-kwa-yu. ||: /čkáxi
xayati kécekwa wašánc†kwayu./ 'The stick is under
the chair.' (/kécekwa/ 'under' locative adverb in
IC with locatively inflected noun /wašánc†kwayu/
'at the chair'.)

||xi wé=xa-ka-ni k'tá-yu pwéxta-yu i-s†. ||: /xii wéxakani
k'tayu pwéxtayu is†./ 'I go out of the house by the
door thus.' (This sentence has two locatively
inflected nouns in independent IC with the rest of
the clause, /k'táyu/ 'from the house' and /pwéxtayu/
'by the door'. /is†/ is a neutral adverb in IC with
the whole clause.)

||xi-má ni.ʹ-e=nt'a-ni-ks† mé-ni-texu má-xu-texu k'tá-yu. ||:
/ximaa niént'aniks† méntexu máxutexu k'táyu./ 'There
we arrived again at the other house.' (ximá/ 'there'
demonstrative adverb in apposition to adverbial
phrase, /máxutexu/ 'other', demonstrative adjective
dependent on /k'táyu/ 'at the house' locatively
inflected noun.)

||ká mé-ni-texu-ks† xi-ní ni.ʹ=xa-ni wa-no=p'e-kwa-yu. ||:
/kaa méntexuks† xinii nixáni wanóp'ekwayu./ 'And

again we went there to the procession.' (/xini/
 'there' locative adverb in apposition with /wanó-
 p'ekwayu/ 'to the procession' locatively inflected
 noun. The verb stem /ni.ǝ-/ 'go' is a type 2B
 stem with /-xa/ object-goal suf.)

932.3 Interrogative Dependencies

Interrogative adverbs introduce interrogative clauses and if
 temporal may be locatively suffixed and in IC dependency with
 temporal nouns. Interrogative pronouns also introduce
 interrogative clauses. Examples are,

||ná-ksǝ-naa ni.ǝ=ta-ma-š-k'i k'wi=nče-kwa-ni.||:/náksǝnaa
 nitámaški k'winčekwani./ 'How did they spend the
 fiesta?' (/ná/ 'how' interrogative adverb suffixed
 with first-third plural pronominal enclitic and
 hearsay enclitic.)

||ná-ati-ni-xe ni.ǝ=a-ǝ.||:/náatinixe niwá./ 'At what time
 will you (sg.) go?' (/náatini/ 'at what time'
 interrogative adverb suffixed with second person
 singular pronominal enclitic.)

||a-mpé-kwa-yu kucǝ we-ko=yi-a-ǝ k'wi=nče-kwa.||:/ampékwayu
 kucǝ wekóyia k'winčekwa./ 'In what month does the
 fiesta fall?' (/ampékwayu/ 'in what' locatively
 suffixed interrogative adverb in IC dependency on
 /kucǝ/ 'month'.)

932.4 Prepositional Dependencies

There are two prepositional adverbs which always follow the substantive with which they form an IC. Adverbial phrases with these adverbs do not form a separate external distribution class but are temporal, locative, interrogative, or neutral depending upon the substantive with which the IC is formed. If such adverbs are verbalized and thus constitute the core verb of a clause, they still maintain the same relationship with a substantive. The two adverbs are ||xi-mpé-o||:/ximpó/ 'concerning', 'because of', 'with relation to' and ||a-ná-pu||:/anápu/ 'from'. /ximpó/ may substitute freely for comitative, instrumental, and locative case suffixes, or supplement any case suffix which it follows. Examples are,

||čwí=ti xi-mpé-o pá=ni||:/čwíti ximpo páni/ 'to take it in the basket'. This has the same meaning as,

||čwí=ti-mpu páni||:/čwítimpu páni/ with the instrumental suf. (/čwíti/ 'basket')

||sá-ni-o nó xu.:=ya-š-ka-ni xa-ni=kwa xi-mpé-o/||:/sano noo xuyáškani xanikwa ximpó./ 'I almost didn't come because of the rain.' (/xanikwa/ 'rain')

||xí xi.:=Rd-na-na-a-ka-ni í-nté-ni xi-mpé-o. ||:/xii xixínanaakani inténi ximpó./ 'I was searched for for this reason.' (/inténi/ 'this' accusative demonstrative pronoun.)

||xi-má i-má kuma=nče-kwa xi-mpé-o.||:/ximaa imaa kumánčekwa ximpó./ 'there in the house.'

(/kumánčekwa/ 'house', /imá/ 'the', the whole a locative adverbial phrase in apposition to /ximá/ 'there'.)

||páxa ni.':e=nt'a-kwaye-ni i-má-exi kuma=nče-kwa-yu xi-mpé-o.||:/páxa niént'akwayeni iméxi kumánčekwayu ximpó./ 'In order to arrive at his house.' (/kumánčekwayu/ locatively inflected 'house' with genitive dependent demonstrative adjective /iméxi/ 'of this one')

||abéxi ná-ša-ni xi-mpé-o-ksť ni.':=a-∅ yá.||:/abexi nášani ximpóksť niwaa yá./ 'to see how soon we will go.' (/nášani/ 'how much')

||ni.':=xa-š-ti wé=šu-yi-kwa a-ná-pu.||:/nixát'i wéšuyikwa anápu./ 'He went last year.' (/wéšuyikwa/ 'year' with /anápu/ constituting a temporal adverbial phrase)

||c'á šani=ču a-ná-pu-eča, c'á cí=pe-nt'a-ni.||:/c'áa šaniču anápweeča, č'aa cípent'ani./ 'Those from Janitzio, they were happy.' (/šaniču/ 'Janitzio' with /anápu/ in IC dependency on /c'á/ 'they' forming a nominative phrase in apposition to the second /c'á/.)

||i-má maxi-kwa-ita i-má-nki pa-ka=nta-ni a-ná-pu-e-ka ni.':=xa-ni.||:/imaa maxikita imánki pakántani anápweeka nixáni./ 'The girl who is from La Pacanda

goes.' (/pakántani/ 'La Pacanda' with verbalization of /anápu/ in subordinative mode.)

932.5 Conjunctive Adverbs

Conjunctive adverbs act as conjunctions, uniting sentences and clauses, occurring in first position in these. Such adverbs may also be adverbial conjunctive phrases. The conjunction ||ká|| 'and' may also unite substantives and substantive phrases. Examples are,

||mé-ni xí ú=a-ka-ni yá-s†.||:/meni xii wáakani yás†./

'Then I will do it today.' (/méni/ 'then, so, if')

||ká-ks† ni.´=a-ti yá.||:/káks† niwáti yá./ 'And they will

go now.' (/ká/ 'and' with third person plural pronominal enclitic /-ks†/)

||pasáxi-nt'a-ni-ks†-espixito ká ta-yé=xi-o.||:/pasáxi-

nt'anks† espixito kaa tayéxio./ 'We passed Espiritu and Tarério.' (/ká/ 'and' uniting two place names in an accusative phrase)

||xi-mpé-o-s†-ni xí pxónt'u-ni xu.´-ni-kwa=ka-ni.||:

/ximpós†ni xii pxónt'uni xunkwákani./ 'Because of that I came soon.' (/ximpós†/ 'because of that' conjunctive adverb followed by first person sg. enclitic /-ni/.)

||ká lék'u-ks† xa.´=ta-ni má-texu púnt'a-ni.||:/kaa lék'uks†

xatani mátexu púnt'ani./ 'And then we passed another point.' (/kaa lék'uks†/ 'and then' conjunctive

adverbial phrase followed by enclitic pronoun 'we',
Sp. 'luego'.)

932.6 Neutral Dependencies

Other adverbs and adverbial phrases which do not fall into any of the above categories are designated as neutral dependencies. This includes nouns and pronouns with instrumental and comitative case suffixes. Word order within the clause is unimportant and the IC of such dependencies is with the entire clause. For example,

||winá=ni xa-ni=š-a.-ti.||:/wináni xanišati./ 'It is
raining hard.' (/wináni/ 'hard, strongly')

||á-st ni.:=nt'a-Ø.||:/ast nint'a./ 'Don't go.' (/ást/
negative adverb)

||a-nti-xe šá-ni yó=nta-Ø.||:/antixe šani yónta./ 'Why did
you (sg.) take so long?' (/šáni/ 'much, very')

||če-ni-pa=ta-a-ka-ni te-ka=ce-kwa-mpu.||:/čempátaakani
tekácekwampu./ 'I will dig with the hoe.' (/teká-
cekwampu/ 'with the hoe' comitatively inflected
substantive)

CHAPTER X

TEXT ANALYSIS

1000. Introduction to the Text

The short text which is analyzed here was told by Florentina Geronomo of Ichupio about a fiesta which was to take place in the lakeshore village of Santa Fé. The text is divided into numbered phrases for convenience in analysis. The text is written morphophonemically and phonemically with an inter-linear word by word translation. A free translation follows the text.

The analysis is given in numbered paragraphs corresponding to the numbered phrases of the text. Numbers following phonemic segments are in parentheses if they refer to other phrases in the analysis. If not in parentheses they refer to paragraphs in the grammar, or if numbers below 10 directly following a phonemically transcribed verb stem they refer to verb stem types according to the stem type analysis in 700.

1010. Text

The Fiesta of the Blessed Christ in Santa Fé

/má	xu-yi=a-ni	katóxse ¹	ú=kwaye-si-ni-ti
/maa	xuyiani	katóxse	úkwayesinti
A	at-day	fourteen	it-always-makes-itself

k'é=xi	k'wi=nče-kwa, ²	páxa	ni. '=xa-ni
k'exi	k'winčekwa,	páxa	nixani
big	fiesta	in-order	to-go-there

k'wi=nče-ni	ta. '=Rd	kxit'u-exi	xi-mpé-o. ³
k'winčeni	tataa	kxit'weexi	ximpó.
to-celebrate-fiesta	Lord	of-Christ	concerning.

ká	xi-ni	tá=ni-kwaye-s†-ni-ti	yá ⁴
kaa	xinii	tánkwayes†nti	yaa
And	there	they-always-gather-together	then

púxu	a-ná-pu	k'wi-yi=pu-eča, ⁵	páxa
púxu	anápu	k'wiyipweeča,	páxa
just-everywhere	from	people,	in-order

ni. '=ta-ma-ni	k'wi=nče-kwa. ⁶	yá-mintu	a-mpé
nitámani	k'winčekwa.	yámintu	ampee
to-spend	the-fiesta.	All	something

xa. '=ya-ni, ⁷	páxa	pi-a=ni	ká	páxa
xayáni,	paxa	piani	kaa	paxa
to-be-there	in-order	to-buy	and	in-order

i=ni-c†-p'e-kwaye-ni. ⁸	ká	siéxa-eča
incpekwayeni.	kaa	siéxeča
to-sell.	And	mountain-people

xu.´=ya-ni	i=ni-c-p'e-kwaye-ni	su-nu=ni-ta
xuyani	incpekwayeni	sununta
coming	selling	blanket

ká	kobijóni-eča-ni	ká	s†-xi=t'a-kwa	tu-yi=pe-iti
ká	kobijóničani	kaa	s†xit'akwa	tuyipiti
and	shawls	and	skirt	black

ú=kwa. ⁹	ká	músika-eča-t'u	xá=ma-ni
úkwa.	kaa	músikečtu	xámani
thing-to-be-made	and	musicians-also	going-around

a-yi=ya-ni	ká	dánša-eča-t'u. ¹⁰	xá=ma-s†-ni-ti-ks†
ayiyani	kaa	dánsečtu.	xámas†ntiks†
playing	and	dancers-also.	They-always-go-along

wa-ya=ni	diós†-o	pwéxta-yu, ¹¹	páxa-ks†
wayáni	diós†o	pwéxtayu,	páxaks†
dancing	church	at-the-door,	in-order-they

wa-ya=ku-ni	ta.´=Rd	diós†-ni. ¹²	ká
wayákuni	tataa	diós†ni.	kaa
dancing-for-him	Lord	for-God.	And

c'á-nki	ni.´=xa-ka	k'wi=nče-ni, ¹³	c'á
c'ánki	nixáka	k'winčeni,	c'aa
those-who	go-there	to-celebrate-fiesta,	they

pá=kwaye-s†-ni-ti	t'i-xe=kwa	páxa-ks†
pákwayes†nti	t'ixékwa	páxaks†
always-take-for-themselves	food	in-order-they

t'i-xe=ni.¹⁴ ká lék'u-ks† é-ki-ks† ni.´=xa-ka,¹⁵
 t'ixéni. kaa lék'uks† ékiks† nixáka,
 to-eat. And then-they when-they go-there,

 ni.´=xa-s†-ni-ti o-ye=ta diós†-o,¹⁶ páxi-ks†
 nixás†nti oyéta diós†o, páxiks†
 they-always-go-there first church, in-order-they

 misa xa.´=ya-ni o-ye=ta.¹⁷ ká lék'u-ks†
 misa xayáni oyéta. kaa lék'uks†
 Mass to-be-there first. And then-they

 wé=nt'a-a-ti páxa-ks† ni.´=xa-ni t'i-xe=ni,¹⁸
 wént'aati páxaks† nixáni t'ixéni,
 will-emerge in-order-they go-there to-eat,

 ni.´=xa-ni xo-ye=pe-xa-ni i-ču=šku-ta.¹⁹ ká
 nixáni xoyépe-xani ičúškuta. kaa
 going-there heating-it tortilla. And

 lék'u-ks† k'a-ma=ča-a-ti.²⁰ ká lék'u-ks†
 lék'uks† k'amáčaati. kaa lék'uks†
 then-they will-finish-in-mouth. And then-they

 ni.´=a-ti pia=kwaye-ni a-mpé yá.²¹ ká
 niwáti piákwayeni ampee yá. kaa
 will-go to-buy-self something then. And

páxi-ksť	ni.ŕ=nt'a-pu-ni	yá	čén-empa-o-eča-o
páxi-ksť	nint'apuni	yaa	čénempweečo
in-order-they	going-again-back	then	their-homes

yá. ²²	k'wi=nče-ti-ni-ksť	yá. ²³
yá.	k'winčetinksť	yá.
then.	They-having-celebrated-fiesta	now.

1020. Free Translation

On the fourteenth there is always a big fiesta in honor of Christ the Lord. People from all over gather there to celebrate the fiesta. There are all kinds of things being bought and sold. The mountain people come to sell blankets and shawls and black skirt material. Musicians go around playing too, and dancers go around dancing. They always dance at the door of the church for the Lord God. And the people who go to the fiesta always take along food to eat. They always go first to the church to hear Mass and to be the first ones there. And then they come out and go to eat, going where they can heat their tortillas. After they finish eating they go to buy themselves something. And then they all go home, having celebrated the fiesta.

1030. Morphological and Syntactic Analysis

1. Temporal adverbial phrase with /xuyia/ 'day' in the accusative case with suf. /-ni/ 521, /má/ 'a' numeral stem, /katoxse/ Sp. 'catorce' 'fourteen'.

2. /k'exi k'winčekwa/ 'big fiesta' (/k'é-/₂ 'big', /-xi/ agentive suf. 635.1, /k'wi-/ 'sleep', /-nče/ locative suf. 822, /-kwa/ instrumental suf. 631) is the subject of the verb /úkwayesɛnti/, lit. 'it makes itself' (/ú-/₁ 'make', /-kwaye/ reinforced subject 737, /-sɛni/ present continuous habitual tense 433.4, /-ti/ 3d person indicative suf. 412) core verb of main clause.

3. Participial subordinate clause introduced by adverbial conjunction, /páxa/ 'in order' Sp. 'para', present participle as verb /nixáni/ 'to go there' (/ni.:-/_{3F} 'go', /-xa/ object-goal suf. 731.1, /-ni/ present participle suf. 441). Dependent upon the participial clause is a second participial clause with verb /k'winčeni/ 'to celebrate a fiesta' (/k'wi/₂ 'sleep', /-nče/ 822, /-ni/ 441) with a dependent adverbial neutral clause, /tataa kxít'weexi ximpó/ 'concerning The Lord Christ' with a genitive noun (/kxít'o/ 'Christ' /-exi/ genitive suf. 524) in IC with dependent noun of title /tatá/ 817, the whole in IC with the prepositional adverb /ximpó/ 'concerning' 932.4 (/xi-/ demonstrative stem 832, /-mpé/ demonstrative stem suf. 832, /-o/ locative extending suf. 622.5).

4. Core verb of main clause /tánkwayesɛnti/ 'they always gather together' (same tense and construction as (2), /tá-/ stem type uncertain, /-ni/ stem expansion 821), introduced by adverbial conjunction /ká/ 'and' 932.5 followed by locative

adverbial dependency 932.2 /xini/ 'there' (demonstrative adverb stem /xi-/ 832, demonstrative stem suf. /-ni/ 832).

5. Nominal phrase as subject of the preceding main verb with core noun /k'wiyipweeča/ 'people' (/k'wiyi-/ unique stem, /-pu/ substantive completing suf. 635.5, /-eča/ plural suf. 510) and dependent prepositional phrase /púxu anápu/ 'from everywhere' Sp. 'puro' 'just' adapted as a locative noun, in IC with /anápu/ 'from' (/a-/ demonstrative stem 832, /-ná/ demonstrative stem suf., /-pu/ as above).

6. Participial subordinate clause in IC with main clause introduced by /páxa/ as in (3), present participle verb /nitámani/ 'to spend' (/ni.:-/₂ 'go', /-ta/ object suf. 731.5, /-ma/ 'stopping on way elsewhere' orientational suf. 753, /-ni/ 441), /k'winčekwa/ 'fiesta' object of participle (cf. 2) not in accusative case 521.

7. Main participial clause with present participle /xayáni/ (/xa.:-/₂ 'be there', /-ya/ augment suf. 712, /-ni/ 441), with /yámintu ampé/ 'every thing' dependent subject phrase (/yá-/ demonstrative stem 832, /-mintu/ \bar{f} /-mentu/ emphatic extending suf. 622.3, /a-/ 832, /-mpé/ 832) with pronoun in IC with dependent demonstrative adjective 931.

8. Two subordinate participial clauses separated by the conjunction /ká/ 'and' 932.5, each introduced by the conjunction /páxa/ (cf. 3) both dependent on main clause and with

present participles /piáni/ (/piá/₁, /-ni/ 441) 'to buy' and /incpekwayeni/ 'to sell' (/i=ni-c-/_{4B} 'give', /-p'e/ 'market place' locative suf. 720, /-kwaye/ 737, /-ni/ 441).

9. Main participial clause introduced by /ká/ 'and' (cf. 4) with /siéxeča/ 'people of the mountains' (/siéxa/ Sp. 'sierra' 'mountains', /-eča/ 510) as subject of the present participle /xuyáni/ 'coming' (/xu.:-/₂, /-ya/ 832, /-ni/ 441). /incpekwayeni/ 'selling' (cf. 8) a subordinative present participle with accusative nominal phrase as object, a series of three nouns, /sunúnta/ 'blanket' (/sunú-/₅ 'cloth', /-ni/ stem expansion suf. 821, /-ta/ agentive suf. 635.3), /kobijoničani/ 'shawls' (/kobijoni/ apparently from archaic Sp. /cobijon/ 'large covering', /-eča/ 510, /-ni/ accusative suf. 521) the only one of the three with the accusative suffix, and /sixit'akwa/ 'skirt' (/sixi-/_{4B} 'sew', /-t'a/ 'leg' locative suf. 720, /-kwa/ instrumental suf. 631) with a dependent adjective /tuyipiti/ 'black' (/tuyi-/₆, /-pe/ pre-locative activating suf. 711.4, /-iti/ agentive suf. 635.2), this construction in IC with the noun /úkwa/ 'something to be made' (/ú-/₁ 'make', /-kwa/ 631).

10. Main participial clause introduced by /ká/ 'and' with subject /músikečt'u/ 'musicians also' (Sp. 'música' 'music, musician', /-eča/ 510, /-t'u/ 'also' adverbial enclitic 328) in apposition with /dánsečtu/ 'dancers also' (/dánsa/ Sp. 'danza' 'dance' /-ečt'u/ as above) separated by conjunction

/ká/, main present participial verb /xamáni/ 'going along' (/xá-/_{3E} 'go along', /-ma/ (cf. 6), /-ni/ 441) with dependent participle /ayiyani/ 'playing' (/ayí-/₁ 'say, tell' /-ya/ 733.1, /-ni/ 441).

11. Main modal clause with main verb /xámasintiks̄/ 'they always go around' (/xáma-/ (cf. 10), /-s̄nti/ (cf. 1) /-ks̄/ 'they' 310) with a dependent participial secondary clause with present participle, /wayáni/ 'dancing' (/wayá/₂ 'dance', /-ni/ 441) with dependent locative adverbial phrase /diós̄to pwéxtayu/ 'at the door of the church' (/diós̄/ 'God', Sp. 'Dios', /-o/ 622.5 in apposition with /pwéxta/ 'door' Sp. 'puerta' /-yu/ locative suf. 525).

12. Subordinate present participial clause introduced by /páxa/ (cf. 3) with enclitic /-ks̄/ 'they' 310 as subject of present participle /wayákuni/ 'to dance for him' (/wayá-/₂ 'dance', /-ku/ 3d person indirect object suf. 735.2, /-ni/ 441) with dependent nominal accusative phrase 931 /tataa diós̄ni/ 'for the Lord God' (/tatá/ (cf. 3), /diós̄/ (cf. 11), /-ni/ accusative suf. 521).

13. Relative pronominal subordinate clause introduced by /ká/ 'and', with relative pronoun /c'ánki/ 'those who' (/c'á/ 'those' /-nki/ relative suf. 640) subject of verb in subordinative mode /nixáka/ 'go' (/ni.ṑ-/_{3F} 'go', /-xa/ object-goal suf. 731.1, /-ka/ subordinative suf. 414), with dependent participial clause, present participle verb

/k'winčeni/ 'to celebrate a fiesta' (/kwĩnče-/ (cf. 2),
/-ni/ 441).

14. Main modal clause on which subordinate relative clause (13) depends with subject /c'á/ 'they', main indicative verb /pákwayesinti/ 'they always take for themselves' (/pá-/₁ 'take elsewhere', /-kwayesinti/ (cf. 2)) with object /t'ixékwa/ 'food' (/t'ixé-/₂ 'eat', /-kwa/ 631, not in accusative case 521) the whole in IC with a following subordinate participial clause introduced by /páxaksɬ/ 'in order that they' (/páxa/ (cf. 3), /-ksɬ/ 'they' subject of present participle /t'ixéni/ 'eat' (/t'ixé/₂ 'eat', /-ni/ 441).

15. Relative adverbial clause introduced by conjunctive adverbial phrase /kaa lék'uksɬ/ 'And then they' 932.5 (/lék'u/ 'then' Sp. 'luego' adapted as if with Tarascan adverbial limiting enclitic /-k'u/ 322) /-ksɬ/ 'they' subject of relative clause verb /nixáka/ (/ni.ɔ-/_{3F} 'go', /-xa/ 731.1, /-ka/ 414).

16. Main clause on which relative clause (15) depends, with main indicative verb /nixásinti/ 'they always go there' (/nixá-/ (cf. 15), /-sinti/ (cf. 2) in IC with a dependent neutral adverb /oyéta/ 'first' (/oyé-/ stem type uncertain 'precedence', /-ta/ agentive suf. 635.3) and a locative adverbial dependent noun /diósto/ 'church' (cf. 11).

17. Subordinate participial clause dependent on main clause (16) introduced by /páxiks̄/ 'in order that they' (/páxi/ conjunctive adverb in free variation with /páxa/ (cf. 3)) /-ks̄/ 'they' subject of present participle /xayáni/ 'to be there' (cf. 7) with dependent neutral adverb /oyéta/ 'first' (cf. 16) and a nominal locative goal (misa/ 'Mass' (Sp. 'misa') not in accusative or locative case.

18. Main modal clause introduced by /kaa lék'uks̄/ 'and then they' (cf. 15), /-ks̄/ 'they' subject of main indicative verb /wént'aati/ 'will come out' (/wé-/_{4C} 'emerge', /-nt'a/ durative-repetitive suf. 767, /-a/ future suf. 421.1, /-ti/ 3d person indicative 412.), in IC with a dependent participle /t'ixéni/ (cf. 14) introduced by the conjunctive adverb with third person plural enclitic /páxaks̄/ 'in order that they' (cf. 3).

19. Subordinate participial clause in IC with /t'ixéni/ (18), present participle /nixáni/ (cf. 3) in IC with dependent present participle /xoyépexani/ 'to heat' (/xoyé-/₂ 'heat', /-pe/ 711.4, /-xa/ 731.1, /-ni/ 441), both participles sharing the subject /-ks̄/ 'they' (18) the subject of four participial subordinate clauses, the last participle with a nominal object /ičúškuta/ 'tortilla' (/ičú-/₅ 'flat, thin object', /-šku/ probably 769, possibly 743 plus 731.3, /-ta/ 635.3. Note absence of accusative suf.)

20. Main modal clause introduced by /kaa lék'ukst̚/ (cf. 18), verb in the indicative mode, /k'amáč̣aati/ '[they] will finish eating' (/k'amá-/_{4BC} 'finish', /-č̣a/ locative suf. 'mouth, throat' 720, /-a/ 321.1, /-ti/ 412).

21. Main modal clause introduced by /kaa lék'ukst̚/ (cf. 18) with verb in indicative mode, /niwáti/ '[they] will go' (/ni.ŕ-/₂ 'go', /-ati/ (cf. 20)) in IC with dependent present participle /piákwayeni/ 'to buy' (/piá-/₁ 'buy', /-kwaye/ 737, /-ni/ 441), with object /ampé/ 'something' (cf. 7) and temporal dependent adverb /yá/ 'now' (cf. 4).

22. Subordinate participial clause dependent on foregoing participial clause (21) introduced by /ká/ 'and' in a conjunctive adverbial phrase with /páxiks̚/ 'in order that they' (cf. 17) in dependency on the present participle verb /nint'apuni/ 'to go back' (/ni.ŕ-/₂ 'go', /-nt'a/ 767, /-pu/ 757, /-ni/ 441) with locative adverbial dependent (932.2) noun /č̣énempweečo/ 'their homes' (/č̣en-/ 'home' /-empa/ 3d person possessive extending suf. 621.1, /-o/ 622.5, /-eča/ 510, /-o/ 622.5. Note reduplication of this locative suf., with two temporal adverbs /yá/ 'then'.

23. Main participial clause with participle of state /k'winč̣etinks̚/ 'they having celebrated the fiesta'. (/k'winč̣e-/ (cf. 2), /-tini/ participial suffixes 631, /-ks̚/ 'they' 310 subject of the verb, /yá/ 'now, then' (cf. 4).