RICE UNIVERSITY

A Grammar of River Warihío

by

Rolando Gpe. Félix Armendáriz

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

Doctor of Philosophy

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

Philip Davis, Professor Emeritus
Linguistics

James Copeland, Professor Emeritus
Linguistics

Masayoshi Shibatani, McMurtry Professor
of Humanities, Linguistics, Department
Chair

Stephen Tyler, Herbert S. Autrey Professor
of Anthropology and Linguistics

Bernard Comrie, Director, MPI-EVA,
Leipzig, Germany, and Distinguished
Professor, UCSB.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

NOVEMBER 2005
INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.
ABSTRACT

A Grammar of River Warihío

by

Rolando Gpe. Félix Armendáriz

The Warihío language is a member of the Uto-Aztecan family. The language consists of two dialects: the Upland Warihío in the mountains of Chihuahua and the River Warihío along the Mayo River in Sonora, Mexico. With the various Tarahumara dialects, and Yaqui and Mayo languages, it makes up the Tarahumitic sub-group of the Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages. All of the field and supporting data for this work comes from the River dialect.

This work deals with all of the major linguistic aspects of the River Warihío language, including a brief description of its phonology, major and minor word classes, noun phrase, relative clauses, simple sentence structure, negation, voice, and complex sentences structure. Likewise, a short comparative section within Uto-Aztecan languages of some relevant aspects of the Warihío grammar. Also included is a basic Warihío-English-Spanish dictionary and several analyzed texts. These appendixes provide natural language data for study of areas not covered in detail here.

Chapter one provides information regarding ethnographical aspects of the Warihío people; it also establish the phonemic inventory of the language and the notational system used through the dissertation. In chapter one I also propose a stress
pattern based in the information about possible combination of roots and affixes allowed in the language.

The main theoretical-typological contributions that the study of Warihío might provide are contained in the following chapters:

Chapter 5: Simple sentence. Flexibility in order constituent displayed by Warihío texts and its relation with the focus phenomena are described in this chapter. Coding and control properties as well as participants behaviour are also described here.

Chapter 7: Voice. I have integrated different voice phenomena such as passive, causative, reflexive, applicative, external possession, and ethical dative in a general semantic frame of voice. I describe typologically interesting findings in the passive and causative constructions.

River Warihío has some interesting contrasting aspects within Uto-Aztecan family and morpho-syntactic features that are relevant theoretico-typologically. Its flexible pragmatically motivated constituent order altogether with the lack of coding properties for grammatical relations make Warihío an unusual language within Uto-Aztecan family and cross-linguistically as well.
Acknowledgments

To the institutions:

I really want to thank Rice University for taking a chance on me, for the generous support and encouragement it provided me.

Thanks to CONACYT (Science and Technology Council) in Mexico for having granted me a complementary scholarship-credit (grant holder # 150439).

I thank the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology for the generous scholarship afforded to me.

To the people:

I am grateful to the Warihio people, especially to the Zayla Leyva family.

Phillip, you are the Teacher. I thank you not only for being my linguistic guide through the dense grammatical jungle. But also for being the kind of teacher and friend that is there for his students at every turn, making sure they make it through to the end. Without your help, Phillip, I don’t think I’d be here today. Thank you so very much.

Jim and Steve: you were my teachers during that crucial first year here at Rice. Your love for indigenous people and languages was a great encouragement. Thanks for agreeing to take part in my thesis committee.

Matt, your incorporation to the Rice linguistic program and to my committee has been a great assert. Your comments always push me to keep going. Thank you maestro Shibatani.
Maestro Comrie: I really respect and appreciate your wisdom, your kindness and your support from the beginning. Thank you for being a part of my committee.

Sebastian, Andrei; classmates and friends, thanks for your friendship all these years.

To life:

Because with its convergences (God, my family, my friends, and myself) and its divergences (myself) drove me in the right time to the right place. Thanks for the life you have given me, life.

To my mother:

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, who formed herself out of nothing at all and she still IS.

Amá, thanks for being there for me always. I love you.
# Table of contents

Chapter 1: Introduction .......................................................................................... 1

1.0 Introduction ................................................................................................. 1
1.1 Some ethnographic aspects of the Warthio people ........................................... 1
1.2 Prior work on Warthio .................................................................................... 7
1.3 The need for a grammar .................................................................................. 7
1.4 Collaborators .................................................................................................. 9
1.5 The Warthio sound system .............................................................................. 10
  1.5.1 Consonants .............................................................................................. 10
  1.5.2 Vowels .................................................................................................... 15
  1.5.3 Syllable structure ..................................................................................... 19
  1.5.4 Stress ....................................................................................................... 21
  1.5.5 Morphophonemics .................................................................................. 26
  1.5.6 Reduplication .......................................................................................... 26

Chapter 2: Word classes ......................................................................................... 28

2.0 Introduction .................................................................................................... 28
2.1 Major lexical word-classes ............................................................................. 28
  2.1.1 Nouns ....................................................................................................... 29
    2.1.1.1 Grammatical morphology ................................................................. 29
      2.1.1.1.1 Noun classifiers ......................................................................... 29
      2.1.1.1.2 Possessed classifiers ................................................................... 31
      2.1.1.1.3 The suffix -ra ............................................................................. 35
    2.1.1.2 Number .............................................................................................. 41
    2.1.1.3 Case-role markers ............................................................................. 43
      2.1.1.3.1 The locative -či .......................................................................... 44
      2.1.1.3.2 The instrument -e ...................................................................... 45
      2.1.1.3.3 The comitative -ma/aháma .......................................................... 47
      2.1.1.3.4 The postposition -tere: ‘through’, ‘between’, ‘under’ .................. 48
      2.1.1.3.5 The benefactive -ičio .................................................................. 48
      2.1.1.3.6 The postposition -(h)áma: ‘over’ ................................................ 48
      2.1.1.3.7 The postposition -pehána: ‘instead’ .......................................... 49
    2.1.1.3.8 The postpositions -puktamina ‘behind’ .......................................... 49
      -yoremina ‘inside’, -pewána ‘in front of’ .................................................... 49
  2.1.1.3.9 The postpositions -suvérači ‘in the border of’ ................................. 49
      -suvékapo ‘up to’, -suvétetu ‘down to’, -téturi ‘toward’ ......................... 49
  2.1.1.3.10 The postpositions poté ‘up’, potečá ‘down’ .................................... 50
  2.1.1.3.11 The suffixes -ri/-ra ..................................................................... 51
  2.1.1.2 Derivational morphology: the suffix -(a)me ....................................... 53
  2.1.2 Verbs ....................................................................................................... 53
2.1.2.1 Morphological characterization ................................................. 53
2.1.2.1.1 Grammatical morphology .................................................... 55
2.1.2.1.1.1 Tense, aspect, modality .................................................. 55
2.1.2.1.1.2 Negation ......................................................................... 56
2.1.2.1.1.3 Two sets of personal pronouns ......................................... 57
2.1.2.1.1.4 Transitive and transitive morphology ................................ 59
2.1.2.1.1.5 Speech act markers ......................................................... 60
2.1.2.1.2 Other verbal suffixes .......................................................... 61
2.1.2.1.2.1 Adverbial subordinators ................................................. 61
2.1.2.1.2.2 Other dependent clause suffixes .................................... 62
2.1.2.1.2.3 The relative clause suffixes -me, -a, -açı .................................. 63
2.1.2.1.3 Derivational morphology: the suffix -ta ................................ 63
2.1.3 Adjectives ..................................................................................... 64
2.1.4 Adverbs ....................................................................................... 69
2.2 Minor word classes .......................................................................... 70
2.2.1 Interclausal connectives: conjunctors ......................................... 70
2.2.2 Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals ............................................. 72
2.2.2.1 Partitive definite quantifiers .................................................. 72
2.2.2.2 Indefinite quantifiers/determiners ....................................... 73
2.2.2.3 Numerals ................................................................................. 74
2.2.2.4 Ordinals ................................................................................. 76

Chapter 3: The noun phrase ...................................................................... 77
3.0 Introduction ...................................................................................... 77
3.1 Warhio full noun phrase ................................................................. 78
3.1.1 Determiners ................................................................................ 78
3.1.1.1 Indefinite ................................................................................ 79
3.1.1.2 Deictic .................................................................................... 79
3.1.1.3 Possessive ............................................................................... 82
3.1.2 Numerals and quantifiers .......................................................... 82
3.1.2.1 Numerals ............................................................................... 82
3.1.2.2 Quantifiers ............................................................................ 83
3.1.3 Adjectives .................................................................................... 84
3.1.4 Relative clauses ........................................................................... 84
3.1.5 Postpositional phrases ............................................................... 86
3.2 Scattered NPs .................................................................................. 86
3.3 Noun compound .............................................................................. 86
3.4 NP conjunctions ............................................................................. 87

Chapter 4: Relative clauses ...................................................................... 89
4.0 Introduction ...................................................................................... 89
4.1 The verbal suffix -(a)me ................................................................. 90
4.2 The verbal suffix -a ................................................................. 92
4.3 Relativization of instrumental .................................................. 94
4.4 The verbal suffix -ači ............................................................... 96
4.5 Summary ............................................................................. 97

Chapter 5: The simple sentence ..................................................... 98
5.0 Introduction ............................................................................. 98
5.1 Sentence types ........................................................................ 98
5.1.1 Non-verbal predicates .......................................................... 98
5.1.1.1 Nominal predicates .......................................................... 99
5.1.1.2 Adjectival predicates ....................................................... 103
5.1.1.3 Predicate possession ....................................................... 106
5.1.2 Verbal predicates ................................................................. 109
5.1.2.1 Intransitive clauses .......................................................... 109
5.1.2.1.1 Inactive vs. active intransitive clauses ......................... 111
5.1.2.1.2 Intransitive clauses with no participants ....................... 113
5.1.2.1.3 Locative intransitive clauses ....................................... 114
5.1.2.1.4 Existential intransitive clauses .................................... 114
5.1.2.1.5 Active intransitive clauses .......................................... 115
5.1.2.2 Transitive clauses ........................................................... 116
5.1.2.2.1 Inactive intransitive vs. transitive clauses .................... 116
5.1.2.2.2 Active intransitive vs. transitive clauses ....................... 117
5.1.2.2.2.1 The verbal suffix -pu .............................................. 117
5.1.2.2.2.2 The verbal suffix -te .............................................. 118
5.1.2.2.2.3 The verbal suffixes -na / -ča .................................. 119
5.2 Tense, Aspect, Mood ............................................................... 121
5.2.1 The present/habitual suffixes -ni ~ -na, -wi ~ -wa, -Ø .................. 122
5.2.2 The perfective suffixes -re ~ -ri, -ru .................................... 123
5.2.3 The past imperfective -i ~ -yai ~ -rīaı .................................. 127
5.2.4 The irrealis suffixes -ma, -mera, -puapu(a) .......................... 129
5.2.5 The desiderative suffixes -nare, -hera, -moti, -ora .................. 133
5.3 The participants ................................................................... 136
5.3.1 Core vs. non-core participants in Warihío ............................. 136
5.3.2 The morphosyntax of the core participants .......................... 139
5.3.2.1 Coding properties ......................................................... 139
5.3.2.1.1 Case marking ............................................................ 139
5.3.2.1.2 Word order ............................................................... 144
5.3.2.2 Behavioral properties ..................................................... 145
5.3.2.2.1 Clause coordination .................................................. 145
5.3.2.2.2 Purpose constructions ............................................... 147
5.3.2.2.3 Desiderative constructions ....................................... 149
5.3.2.2.4 Relative clauses ....................................................... 150
5.3.3 The core participants in Warihío ......................................... 151
5.4 Pragmatic characterization ...................................................... 152
5.4.1 Participant behavior in Warihio texts ........................................ 152
5.4.2 Focus and topic ........................................................................... 170
5.4.2.1 Focus ......................................................................................... 170
5.4.2.1.1 Complete focus ..................................................................... 171
5.4.2.1.2 Selective focus ..................................................................... 179
5.4.2.1.3 Replacing focus ................................................................. 179
5.4.2.2 Topic ......................................................................................... 180
5.4.4 Conclusion ................................................................................... 182
5.5 Constituent order ............................................................................ 183
5.6 Summary .......................................................................................... 190

Chapter 6: Negation ............................................................................ 191
6.0 Introduction ..................................................................................... 191
6.1 Negative constructions ................................................................. 191
6.2 Scope ............................................................................................... 194

Chapter 7: Voice .................................................................................. 202
7.0 Introduction ..................................................................................... 202
7.1 Origin of an action .......................................................................... 204
7.1.1 The passive .................................................................................. 204
7.1.1.1 Warihio passive .................................................................... 209
7.1.1.1.1 Morphological passive ..................................................... 209
7.1.1.1.1.1 The verbal suffix -itu .................................................. 209
7.1.1.1.1.2 The verbal suffix -tit ..................................................... 212
7.1.1.1.2 Functional-notional passive ............................................. 214
7.1.1.1.3 Periphrastic passive .......................................................... 216
7.1.1.1.4 Conclusion ....................................................................... 217
7.1.2 Causatives .................................................................................... 218
7.1.2.1 Lexical causatives ................................................................. 219
7.1.2.1.1 Suppletion ....................................................................... 219
7.1.2.1.2 Labile ............................................................................... 220
7.1.2.1.3 Equipollent verbs ............................................................. 222
7.1.2.1.3.1 V-i vs. V-a .................................................................. 222
7.1.2.1.3.2 V-pa vs. V-nal-ṣa ......................................................... 224
7.1.2.1.4 Suffixation: -na ................................................................. 229
7.1.2.2 Morphological causatives ...................................................... 229
7.1.2.2.1 The causative suffix -te ................................................... 230
7.1.2.3 Morpho-periphrastic causatives .......................................... 234
7.1.2.4 Periphrastic causatives .......................................................... 237
7.1.2.5 Pronoun causee vs. noun causee ......................................... 241
7.1.2.6 The correlation of three causative continua ....................... 243
7.1.2.7 Conclusion .............................................................................. 247
7.2 Development of an action: active-middle .............................................. 249
  7.2.1 Reflexive ................................................................. 249
  7.2.1.1 Direct reflexives ...................................................... 250
  7.2.1.2 Indirect reflexives .................................................... 250
  7.2.2 Reciprocals ............................................................... 251
  7.2.2.1 Prototypical reciprocal ............................................... 252
  7.2.2.2 Chaining reciprocal ................................................... 252
  7.2.2.3 Naturally reciprocal events .......................................... 252
  7.2.2.4 Collective, group actions ............................................ 253
7.3 Termination of an action ................................................................. 254
  7.3.1 The V-ke construction ...................................................... 257
  7.3.1.1 Benefactives .......................................................... 257
  7.3.1.2 External possessor .................................................... 264
  7.3.1.3 Ethical datives ........................................................ 265
  7.3.2 Other applicatives ......................................................... 266
  7.3.2.1 The locative applicative -aṭi ........................................ 266
  7.3.2.2 The instrumental applicative -e ..................................... 268
  7.3.2.3 The comitative applicative -ma ..................................... 269
  7.3.3 Conclusion ................................................................. 269
7.4 Summary ....................................................................................... 270
7.5 Voice in Warihio ............................................................................. 272

Chapter 8: Complex sentences ............................................................ 273
8.0 Introduction ..................................................................................... 273
8.1 Class 1 complex sentences .......................................................... 273
8.2 Class 2 complex sentences .......................................................... 281
  8.2.1 Time .................................................................................. 282
  8.2.2 Location .............................................................................. 284
  8.2.3 Manner ................................................................................ 285
  8.2.4 Conditional .......................................................................... 286
  8.2.5 V + V-sa ............................................................................ 288
  8.2.6 Nominalized dependent clauses: the verbal suffixes -(a)me, -a 289
  8.2.7 The subordinator -o ........................................................... 292
  8.2.7.1 nanéna: ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’, ‘to be aware’, ‘to understand’ 293
  8.2.7.2 kinanéna ‘to be uncertain’ ............................................... 297
  8.2.7.3 nanétona ‘to remember’ and natakhépani ‘to forget’ .......... 298
  8.2.7.4 tewani ‘to find out’, ‘to realize’ and tetewáni ‘to see’ ........... 299
  8.2.7.5 maéna ‘to think’, ‘to believe’ .......................................... 301
  8.2.7.6 kavéani ‘to be glad’ and yuvésumu ‘to be sad’ .......... 302
  8.2.7.7 o’oráni ‘to plan’ ............................................................. 304
  8.2.7.8 The manipulative type ..................................................... 305
  8.2.7.8.1 V + V-te-ka ................................................................ 305
  8.2.7.8.2 V + V-míčio ............................................................... 306
  8.2.7.9 The juxtaposed construction ............................................. 310
8.3 Class 3 complex sentences ................................................................. 311
8.3.1 The V + V-ka construction .............................................................. 311
8.3.2 The modality main verbs plus a V-ka .............................................. 313
8.3.2.1 oïnena ‘to start’, simiténa ‘to continue’, kahuná ‘to finish’ ............ 313
8.3.2.2 mači, penéna: ‘to know how to’ .................................................. 316
8.3.2.3 kawérani ‘to be glad’ and kikawérani ‘to regret’ ............................ 318
8.3.2.4 yuwésuna ‘to be sad’ ................................................................ 319
8.3.2.5 pu’seréna ‘to like’ .................................................................... 320
8.3.2.6 wisitúna ‘to lie’ .......................................................................... 320
8.3.3 Simultaneous events with no modal verbs ....................................... 321
8.3.4 Purpose ......................................................................................... 321
8.3.4.1 V + V-nari=a ........................................................................... 321
8.3.4.2 V + V-mia ~ -méa ................................................................ 322
8.3.5 Expectation constructions ............................................................... 325
8.3.6 The reason V + V-pa construction .................................................. 327
8.4 The syntactico-semantic integration scale .......................................... 328

Chapter 9: Waríhío Typological Perspective ........................................ 331
9.0 Introduction ...................................................................................... 331
9.1 Morphosyntactic characteristics of Waríhío of typological and/or theoretical relevance .................................................... 332
9.1.1 Major constituent order ................................................................... 334
9.1.2 Focus ............................................................................................ 339
9.1.3 Case marking and verbal agreement .............................................. 339
9.1.4 Causative constructions ............................................................... 340
9.1.5 Passives ....................................................................................... 341
9.1.6 Complex sentence with a modality main verb .................................. 342
9.2 A relation between Waríhío cultural-geographic-social organization and its grammar for the identification of the participant’s roles ......................................................... 342

References ......................................................................................... 348

Appendix I: Waríhío texts ................................................................. 357

Appendix II: Basic trilingual dictionary Waríhío-English-Spanish and reversed index English-Waríhío ................................................ 424
List of tables, maps and schemas

Map 1. Uto-Aztecan languages .................................................. 3
Map 2. Map of Sonora, Mexico .................................................. 5
Map 3. River Warihío area ..................................................... 6
Table 1. Warihío phonological elements: consonants ...................... 10
Table 2. Warihío phonological elements: vowels .......................... 16
Table 2. Diphthongal combinations ........................................ 19
Table 3. Possession-relational classifiers .................................. 41
Table 5. Some morphosyntactic features of Uto-Aztecan languages .. 333
Schema 1. Correlation of the causative continua .......................... 246
Schema 2. Warihío voice parameters: developmental phases of the action ...... 270
Schema 3. The syntactico-semantic integration scale in Warihío ............ 329
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.S</td>
<td>First singular subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.NS</td>
<td>First singular non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.S</td>
<td>First plural subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.NS</td>
<td>First plural non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.S</td>
<td>Second singular subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.NS</td>
<td>Second singular non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.S</td>
<td>Third singular subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.NS</td>
<td>Third singular non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.S</td>
<td>Third plural subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.NS</td>
<td>Third plural non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C</td>
<td>Dependent clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>Desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.D</td>
<td>Demonstrative distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Demonstrative proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOV</td>
<td>Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Non-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opl</td>
<td>Object plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osg</td>
<td>Object singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV.EV</td>
<td>Perfective evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCP</td>
<td>PARTICIPIALIZER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>Quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>Subordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/T O</td>
<td>Spatio-temporal overlapping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spl</td>
<td>Subject plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssg</td>
<td>Subject singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRZ</td>
<td>Transitivizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

Waríhío is a Uto-Aztecan language belonging to the Sonoran branch and Taracahitic subbranch (map 1). The River Waríhío people live along the Mayo River in the mountains of eastern Sonora, Mexico (map 2). The linguistically related Tarahumaras and Waríhíos of Chihuahua are located further to the east in Chihuahua, and the Mayos reside to the west of the River Waríhíos in the Mayo Valley in Sonora, Mexico.

1.1. Some Ethnographic Aspects of the Waríhío People

The River Waríhío people call themselves mukuráwe ‘those that walk over the land’. In the 1630’s, all the Waríhío people lived together with the Chinípas in Chihuahua valley. During Jesuit evangelization, the Waríhío killed two missionaries. After this, the Waríhío people were persecuted and fled into the mountains. They divided into two groups, one of which, now the River Waríhío people, crossed into the mountain range of Sonora, Mexico and dispersed into smaller groups consisting of 3 to 4 families each. They settled along the upper Mayo River and other small rivers, and today, they still live typically in very small communities along the Mayo River in the southeast of Sonora. They inhabit very rough land in the mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental which divides Sonora and Chihuahua. They used to live from agriculture, mainly planting corn
crops. In recent decades, they have been seasonally migrating to the Mayo and Yaqui Valleys for work.
Map 1. Uto-Aztecan languages. Warihío belongs to the Sonoran Branch.
The River Waríhío people co-habit with mestizos in their main communities, such as La Mesa Colorada, Bavícora, and Guajaray. The River Waríhíos recognize themselves as 'relatives' of the Mayos and the Waríhíos of Chihuahua. Although recognizing the connection, the River Waríhíos conceive of the Tarahumaras as more distantly related. Linguistically, the relation between Upland and River Waríhío is not fully clear (but cf. Escalante, 1968, 1994), and the River Waríhíos report that they have difficulty understanding the speech of the other dialect.

It was only in the 1970's, when the larger Waríhío communities were in their prime, that the Mexican government recognized them as an ethnic group with their own language, culture, and history (Aguilar, Zéleny, 1995). Mochibampo¹, one very small community with only four Waríhío families, is the geographical source of the data for the present project (map 3).

¹ I was introduced to the Zayla Leyva family first and all of them live in Mochibampo.
Map 2. Map of Sonora, Mexico, where River Warihio is spoken.
Map 3. River Warihío area. The data source of the present dissertation is Mochibampo.
1.2. Prior Work on Warihío

The description of the River dialect is the focus of this project. However, with the exception of Miller’s grammar (1996) and two or three articles (written by the same author) there is little linguistic material published on Upland Warihío. There is an unpublished grammatical sketch of the River dialect by Barreras (1990). And very few publications: ‘Relaciones del varojío con el mayo y el tarahumara’ (Lionnet, 1977), ‘Orden de Palabras en guarijio’ (Barreras, 2000) discussing constituent order in River Warihío; ‘vocabulario varohío’ and ‘Palabras y frases de la lengua tarahumara y guarijio’ (Johnson and Johnson, 1947); a very brief phonemic study: ‘Fonémica del guarijio’; and a study on the dialects of Warihío, ‘Los dialectos del guarijio’ (Escalante, 1968, 1994).

1.3. The Need for a Grammar

I think that the best justification for describing a language like Warihío has been expressed by Ken Hale: "The loss of local languages and of the cultural systems which they express, has meant irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth. Only with diversity can it be guaranteed that all avenues of human intellectual progress will be traveled. When you lose a language, a large part of the culture goes, too, because much of that culture is encoded in the language."

The linguistic diversity that shows multiple forms to conceive, transform, explain, and socially communicate knowledge has been confronted in many ways by the expansion of a communicative style sustained by nationalist traditions and economic globalization that encourage linguistic and cultural homogenization.
By one count (Ethnologue, www.ethnologue.com), over six thousand five hundred languages are now spoken in the world, but hundreds of these are no longer living languages used by speakers and speech communities in their day-to-day activities and lives. Their disappearance continues today, and has greatly accelerated during the last two hundred years. Hundreds of indigenous languages on several continents, particularly North and South America and Australia, have died during this period, and hundreds more are destined to meet the same fate. Krauss (1992) divides oral languages into the moribund, the endangered, and the safe groups on the basis of three criteria: intergenerational transfer from parents to children, number of speakers, and official status. The main criterion is whether or not children are learning the language, and the second is the number of speakers. Only languages with over 1 million speakers are considered to be 'safe'. Moribund languages, which are no longer being learned by children, comprise between 20 and 50 percent of the world's oral languages. Warihío children are learning the language less frequently as a first language, and they are learning Spanish as their first language. With less than five hundred fluent speakers of both dialects (Garza Cuarón and Yolanda Lastra, 1991) and with a strong influence of Spanish as official language, Warihío is a moribund language: Warihío is dying.

Some Warihío communities are interested in trying to encourage all their children to learn Warihío. They have petitioned the author to provide them information about the language, with the goal of creating pedagogical material for use in the first and second grades. The main product of this present project will constitute a database for future creation of educational materials to assist in revitalizing their language.
1.4. Collaborators

My main collaborators who generously shared their knowledge on Warihío are:

Agustina Zayla Leyva
Isidro Zayla Zazueta  
Manuela Leyva Zazueta
Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta
Lucía Zazueta Witimea

hustina taatára  hustina ye’yéra  hustina kwumúra  hustina neesára

Agustina’s father  Agustina’s mother  Agustina’s uncle  Agustina’s aunt

33 years old  60 years old  58 years old  62 years old

Fieldwork was done in Mochibampo, Sonora during the summers and Christmases of 2001-2004 for a total of 12 months. The methodology consisted of recording elicited sentences and narratives. The transcription of all material was done in collaboration with my informants and part of the analysis was accomplished with the help of a very intuitive linguist: Agustina Zayla Leyva.
1.5. The Warhío sound system

The Warhío sound system has a total of 12 consonants and five vowels.

1.5.1. Consonants

Table (1) illustrates the consonants of Warhío arranged according to their articulation. This is the notational system I will use throughout the whole description of the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless stops</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration and glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h, '</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Warhío phonological elements: Consonants.

Consonant clusters in Warhío are limited to contact between syllables; that is, the sequence of a coda and the onset of the next syllable. There are no word final consonants, and medially, the consonants allowed in coda position are mainly the glottals /h/ and /h/, and to a small degree the nasals /m/ and /n/.
Glottals have a more limited distribution than the rest of the consonants in the Warihío phonological system since they never appear word initially or word finally. Next, I exemplify the consonant distribution found in Warihío:

Consonant distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ Bilabial voiceless stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/t/ Alveolar voiceless stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/k/   Velar voiceless stop

_/V_  [ka.pó.so.ri]   ‘bowl’
     [ka.wi]       ‘hill’

V_V  [ya.sa.ká]   ‘be seated’
     [su.ca.ní]   ‘to sew’

C_V  [ka’.ké.na]   ‘swimming’
     [kah.ká.me]   ‘sweet’

//   Voiceless glottal

V_V  [no.’ó]   ‘I’
     [mo.’ó]       ‘head’

V_C  [ka’.ké.na]   ‘swimming’
     [ka’.mó.ri]   ‘sweet potato’

/h/   Aspiration

V_V  [te.te.hí.ma]   ‘relatives’
     [kawiháampa]   ‘cliff’

V_C  [teh.čí]   ‘uncle’
     [peh.tó.ri]   ‘plate’

Fricative

/s/   Alveolar voiceless fricative

_/V_  [sa.wá]   ‘leave’
[sa.ki.rá] "griddle"

V_V [pu.se.ré.na] "To like"
[a.su.sú] "garlic"

C_V [wi.sú.na.ni] "To throw away"
[mí.si] "cat"

/č/ Palatoalveolar voiceless affricate

#_V [čo.ó.rí] "chicken"
[čo.poh.kó.rí] "knee"

V_V [se.mú.chí] "hummingbird"
[ko.chí.ná] "To sleep"

C_V [ču.hú.rí] "dog"
[pah.chí] "seed"

Sonorants

/m/ Bilabial nasal

#_V [ma.chí.ná] "To know"
[mu.ku.ná] "To die"

V_V [ka.wé.ru.ma] "good"
[te.peh.kú.ma] "long"

V_C [sim.pá.ní] "To leave (pl)"

C_V [se.mú.chí] "humming bird"
/n/ Alveolar nasal

#_V [nah.ká] ‘handle’
   [nah.kí] ‘To want’
V_V [na.né.na] ‘To know’
   [na.na.rá.ki] ‘moss’
C_V [i'.na.tú.ke.na] ‘asking’
V_C [in.tú.na] ‘there is’

/r/ Alveolar rhotic (flap)

#_V [re.si.pú.na] ‘To rest’
   [rih.tá.tia.me] ‘smooth’
V_V [ta.ha.ró] ‘bucket’
   [ma.ru.ki] ‘five’
C_V [sa'.rú.či] ‘verdolaga’ a type of edible plant

/w/ Bilabial semivowel

#_ [wi.tá.ri] ‘rope’
   [wa.hó.na] ‘To mix’
V_V [u.te.wá.či] ‘forced’
   [se.wá] ‘flower’
C_V [ču'.wá] ‘mouth’
/y/  Palatal semivowel

_/_  [yah.čá]  ‘To pour’
    [ye.ro.wá]  ‘poison’

V_V  [ka.wi.yá.me]  ‘watery’
    [ye.yé.ra]  ‘weevil’

C_V  [ye’.yé]  ‘mother’

1.5.2. Vowels

The vowels (Table 2) maintain five contrasts. Warihío exhibits free variation in some syllables with long vowels, for example, saawaéme ~ sawaéme ‘yellow’. There is no evidence that long vowels are phonemes of the language, since there are no minimal pairs with this contrast: a single vowel vs. long vowel. A sequence of two like vowels might form a syllable as in suu.nú ‘corn’, or might belong to two different syllables, as in ku.ú ‘stick’. The membership of the second like vowel to a different syllable is recognizable auditorily, with an increasing in the intensity of the sound. Therefore, when the second vowel of a sequence of two like vowels is stressed, the vowels belong to different syllables.
Table 2: Warihio phonological elements: Vowels.

Next, I exemplify the vowel distribution found in Warihio:

Vowel distribution

/i/  High front vowel

_C [ih.pi.či.ra] ‘broom’
  [ih.čo.re.wa] ‘dirty’

_C [te.te.hi.ma] ‘relatives’
  [i.hi.ku.ri] ‘bad witchcraft’

_/#_ [i.ka.na.ti] ‘fast’
  [i.ku.ri] ‘thread’

/u/  High back vowel

_C [u.pá.ni] ‘To bathe’
  [u.yá.ni] ‘To sprout’

_C [tu.na.ká.me] ‘thick’
  [u.hú.ya] ‘To smell’
_/#_ [puh.kú] 'pet'

[aa.rú] 'watermelon'

/e/ Middle front vowel

_/#_ [eh.čá] 'sore'

[e.kah.tá] 'shadow'

C_C [e.peh.tá] 'sleeping mat'

[pu'.se.ré.na] 'To like'

_/#_ [eh.pé] 'now'

[eh.té] 'louse'

/o/ Middle back vowel

_/#_ [oh.čó.na.me] 'black'

[oh.kó] 'pine'

C_C [o.'o.nó.rí] 'buzzard'

[yo.má] 'everything'

_/#_ [no'.nó] 'father'

[too.nó] 'foot'

/a/ Low central vowel

_/#_ [a.ča.ká.rí] 'horn'

[a.há.me] 'alive'

C_C [a.há.ma] 'with'
[a.tah.pō.ri]  ‘bow’

[o’.ké.wa]  ‘tears’
[too.né.wa]  ‘foam’

Diphthongs

Nine diphthongs are found in Warihío: /ai/, /au/, /ia/, /ua/, and /oi/. One of the two
high vowels of the language, i.e. /i/ and /u/, must be part of the diphthong. Diphthongs
can be either stressed or unstressed. Stress can appear both on the initial or final vowel of
the diphthong, and the stressed vowel must be the non-high vowel. Next I present one
each example of each diphthong:

/ai/  [pai.ká]  ‘tree’
/oi/  [i.yói]  ‘remedy’
/ei/  [nei.pá]  ‘last’
/ui/  [kui.tá]  ‘child’
/ia/  [o.wi.tia.me]  ‘woman’
/ie/  [i.hi.ku.rie]  ‘with a witchcraft’
/au/  [yau.ná]  ‘To dance’
/ua/  [i.či.kuá.me]  ‘thief’
/ue/  [a.či.sué.pa]  ‘along the river’

Some vowels change the presence of others, forming thus one of the diphthongs
described above:
e  -->  i/ə
o  -->  u/á

This is evidence that diphthongs of the language must be formed of at least one high vowel, since the low vowel /a/ makes the presence of another non-high vowel non acceptable as a diphthong, therefore, the non-high vowels /e/ and /o/ must change their height in order to form an acceptable diphthong in the language.

The next chart sums up the possible diphthongal combinations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Diphthongal combinations.

1.5.3. Syllable structure

Example (1) illustrates all the possible types of syllables found in Warihío words. Warihío does not exhibit monosyllabic words. Also absent in Warihío are CVVC syllables, which seems to be too heavy. The heaviest syllables found in the language are CVC and CVV. Syllable boundary is here signaled with a period mark. Syllable boundaries are not completely predictable. Even though most syllables will have the form CV, some cases are found when a sequence of two like elements, for example CVV has
two different options for syllabification, for instance *ku.ū* ‘stick’, and *suu.nū* ‘corn’, depending on the audible syllabification performed by the speaker.

(1) CV, CVC, VC, CVV, VV, and V are all possible word initially:

- **taná** ‘son’
  - σ σ
  - [CV. CV]
  - taná

- **no'nó** ‘father’
  - σ σ
  - [CVC.CV]
  - no'nó

- **a'ká** ‘spit’
  - σ σ
  - [VC. CV]
  - a'ká

- **kaaká** ‘sandals’
  - σ σ
  - [CVV.CV]
  - kaaká

- **aaróso** ‘rice’
  - σ σ σ
  - [V V. C V . CV ]
  - aaróso

- **amó** ‘you, your, yourself’
  - σ σ
  - [V.CV]
  - amó

As can be seen in the preceding examples, CV is the most common syllable in second position, even though we can also find CVC, as in the following example:

- **ekahtá** ‘shadow’
  - σ σ σ
  - [V.CVC.CV]
  - e k a h t á
Most words consisting of three syllables or more will have as the third (or following) syllable a CV one, as in the next example:

ačakári ‘crab’
\[
\sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma
\]
\[
a \quad \check{c} \quad a \quad k \quad \check{a} \quad r \quad i
\]

[V.CV.CV.CV]

An unusual combination of syllables was found in at least one word of the language:

peenitiáme ‘pretty’
\[
\sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma
\]
\[
pe \quad e \quad n \quad i \quad t \quad i \quad a \quad m \quad e
\]

[CVV.CV.CV.V.CV.]

As have been seen, the most common type of syllable found in Warihío is CV, with a less common VV. None of the native Warihío words exhibit complex onsets or codas; furthermore, the distribution of codas is rather limited: only nasals (/m/ and /n/) and glottals (/r/ and /h/) can fill this position. CVC syllables can never appear word finally. The heaviest syllables found in the language are CVC and CVV. All these facts may be an indicator that the coda position in Warihío is an endangered one. The size of
words in Warihio ranges from monosyllable to words formed by 7 syllables. Usually words with more than two syllables are the result of some further word process, such as suffixation, reduplication, derivation or compounding. The most common word is formed by three syllables.

1.5.4. Stress

Stress distribution is not predictable counting by types of words. In a random counting of 150 words the stress was found in the following places:

(a) Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>penultimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>antepenultimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>antepenultimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8    penultimate
4 syllables  12  penultimate
6    antepenultimate
5 syllables  2   penultimate
3    antepenultimate
6 syllables  1   antepenultimate

c) Adjectives
3 syllables  2   penultimate
4 syllables  2   penultimate
1    antepenultimate

d) Others
2 syllables  8   last
3 syllables  3   last
5    penult
4 syllables  4   penult

Some patterns were found: (i) all two-syllable words are stressed on the last syllable, (ii) none of the non-derived words with more than three syllables have the stress in the fourth or subsequent syllable from the beginning, and (iii) in compound words the stress falls over the third syllable.
Compound and suffixed words are relevant to explain most of the stress placement. A first division to be made is that between roots with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress. A second division is needed to account for stress placement: that between strong and weak affixes. Regarding the first division, i.e. division of root between those with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress, the explanation for the division follows from the fact that in Warshio there are some roots which will not change their stress as new elements, such as affixes, are added to them. Other roots, the ones with no inherent stress, may change their stress as new strong affixes are added:

Roots with no inherent stress, and therefore undergoing a stress change with some suffixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>akí</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>-čí</th>
<th>akičí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘LOC’</td>
<td>‘in the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akí</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-suépa</td>
<td>akisuépa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘LOC’</td>
<td>‘in the bank of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biené-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-čí</td>
<td>bienečí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Friday’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘LOC’</td>
<td>‘Friday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the roots with inherent stress are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>čapahká</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>-čí</th>
<th>čapahkáčí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘LOC’</td>
<td>‘in the leg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second major division, i.e. that of suffixes into strong and weak ones, can be illustrated with the following examples:

---

2There is still some variation unaccounted by the patterns signaled before.
kuú  +  -e  kuúe
‘tree’  ‘INS’  ‘with the tree’
kuú  +  -tere  kuútere
‘tree’  ‘under’  ‘under the tree’

Despite these examples one cannot state that kuú ‘tree’ is a root with inherent stress, given that one can also find:

kuú  +  -čí  kuučí
‘tree’  ‘LOC’  ‘in the tree’

These examples show that kuú ‘tree’ cannot be said to have inherent stress, rather, that some roots will move their stress depending on whether the suffix added to them is strong or weak. One strong suffix is the causative suffix -te, which will move the stress from roots without inherent stress, such as:

čuhpá  +  -te  čupahténa
‘sharp end’  ‘to sharpen’
čihpúna  +  -te  čipuhténa
‘to be sour’  ‘to make feel sour’
kahká  +  -te  kakahténa
‘sweet’  ‘to make feel sweet’
penipáni  +  -te  penipáténa
‘to learn’  ‘to teach’

The predictable part of stress assignment in Warihío is which suffix can move the stress of the root. The unpredictable part is the roots in which stress can be moved, only
in the roots with no inherent stress. To find this, one has to test all the roots of the grammar.

In compound nouns, the stress falls over the third syllable from the beginning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>component</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arí</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>so'póri</td>
<td>arísópori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘evening’</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
<td>‘evening star’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moké</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>warí</td>
<td>mokewári</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘palm’</td>
<td>‘basket’</td>
<td>‘palm basket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehté</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ko'ré</td>
<td>tetehkóre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
<td>‘fence of stone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.5. Morphophonemics

There is a phonological disharmony between the last vowel of the verbal root and the vowel of the habitual/present tense/aspect suffixes -na ~ -ni (see 2.1.2.1). If the root ends in a non-low vowel, the suffix will show a low vowel, that is -na. If the root ends in a low vowel, the suffix will be -ni:

(2a) -na --> -ni/a-

(2b) četé-na ‘to play an instrument’ eča-ní ‘to sow’
ičikó-na ‘to steal’ kiyá-ní ‘to give’
ičipú-na ‘to be hidden’ nawésa-ní ‘to speak’
komi-ná ‘to hug’ pusá-ní ‘to wake up’

1.5.6. Reduplication

The reduplicative base is the first syllable of the stem and the reduplicant is a light syllable:
(2a) kočiná    kokočína    ‘to sleep’
(2b) taná    tatána    ‘son’
(2c) weká    weweká    ‘a lot’

In reduplication, as in affixation, one needs to propose the existence of roots with inherent stress and roots without inherent stress. My claim is that kočiná and taná have no inherent stress, whereas weká has it. This explains why in (2a)-(2b) the stress is moved when the word is reduplicated and why in (2c) the stress remains in the same place.

The reduplication process is used with various constituents: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The reduplication expresses plurality of the participants, iteration, duration or intensification of the event.
CHAPTER 2
WORD CLASSES

2.0. Introduction

The words of a language can be divided into lexical and non-lexical morphemes. The latter, known also as function words, are subdivided into grammatical morphemes and derivational morphemes. Lexical or content morphemes express our shared culture, and they tend to have the following characteristics: a free morphemic status, relatively large phonological size, stressed, complex and specific semantic size, large class size, i.e. nouns and verbs, they belong to an open class, and they function to express a world-view (Givón, 2001).

2.1. Major lexical word-classes

Warihio distinguishes three major lexical word classes: (i) the class of lexical words that can take a possession or relational classifier suffix, i.e., the Noun class; (ii) the class of lexical words that takes a tense/aspect suffix, this is the Verb class; and (iii) the class of lexical words that can modify a noun, this is the Adjective class.

Linguists have had problems in categorizing the lexical items that occur in languages. Most generative theories only assume classes such as Noun, Verb, Adjective
and Preposition. Lexical items are categorized in terms of two binary features \([\pm N, \pm V]\), which are conceptualized in a circular way. The traditional notional analysis as the only criterion for lexical categorization has been rejected, and instead morphosyntactic criteria have been proposed (Schachter, 1985) for distinguishing lexical categories.

2.1.1. Nouns

Of all word classes, prototypical nouns are the most time-stable and complex: that is, multi-featured, concrete, and compact. Hence, they tend to be countable. Generally, *nouns* constitute the class of words in which the names of most persons, places, and things occur. The most common grammar function for nouns is to serve as arguments.

2.1.1.1. Grammatical morphology

The morphological criteria that signal a morpheme as a noun are not always very clear (Anderson, 1985). Nouns may have number, gender, case, definiteness, or agreement marked in some way. None of these are marked in Warihío. Nevertheless, the words treated in this section show some morphology that allows us to classify them as nouns in most instances.

2.1.1.1.1. Noun classifiers

Not all languages have obligatory formal means for the linguistic categorization of nouns, but all languages have ways of categorizing nouns and their referents in terms of their semantic and syntactic properties. Allan (1977:285) defines classifiers as
“morphemes which occur in surface structures under specifiable conditions and denote some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers.” In a typological study of about 500 languages with overt classifier markers, Aikhenvald (2000) found the following types of classifiers: NOUN CLASSES or GENDERS, NOUN CLASSIFIER, POSSESSED CLASSIFIER, RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER, VERBAL CLASSIFIER, DEICTIC CLASSIFIER. This typology is based mainly on Craig (1992) and it is a semantically based categorization; however, categorization based on the morphological or phonological aspect has been reported as occurring in some languages (Foley, 1986).

Waruhí nouns are not marked for gender, number, or case for the agent, patient/theme and recipient. Noun classifiers appear only in possessive constructions. Aikhenvald (2000:17) establishes three kinds of categorization devices which operate in a possessive NP:

(i) The scope of the categorization is the possessive relation itself, i.e. the way a noun can be possessed, or treated. These markers are called RELATIONAL CLASSIFIERS; they refer to the function of the noun, and not to inherent properties.

(ii) The scope of the categorization is the possessed noun itself. Classifiers which categorize the possessed noun are called POSSESSED CLASSIFIERS. The noun is categorized in terms of its inherent properties.
(iii) The scope of the categorization is the possessor, and its inherent properties. These are **POSSESSOR CLASSIFIERS**.

### 2.1.1.1.1. Relational classifiers

One semantic parameter found regularly in relational classifiers is the alienability nature of the relation between the possessor and the possessed entity. Commonly in languages that present this type of classifier, the alienable possessive construction is marked and the inalienable one is unmarked.

The set of pronouns that can function as possessive pronouns is the non-S form pronouns\(^1\):

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no'ó</td>
<td>Singular first person</td>
<td>tamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amó</td>
<td>Singular second person</td>
<td>amó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahpó</td>
<td>Singular third person</td>
<td>ahpó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relational classifier in River Warihío is the possessed noun suffix \(-wa\). The inalienable possessive construction is constrained to kinship terms and body parts; that is, all relatives and body parts are unmarked. Otherwise, the possessed entity has the suffix \(-wa\):

---

\(^1\) Warihío has two sets of personal pronouns: (i) one set with the form S for the S/A function of independent clauses, and (ii) one set with the form non-S (illustrated in (1)) for the P, Th, R, possessor, reflexive functions and for any core participant in dependent clauses.
(2a)  no'o tehté-wa  'my stone'
      no'o sikori-wa  'my pots'
      no'o weé-wa  'my land'
      no'o kari-wa  'my house'
      no'o ihpiči-wa  'my broom'

(2b)  no'o no'nó  'my father'
      no'o yeyé  'my mother'
      no'o taná  'my son'
      no'o pačí  'my elder brother'
      no'o kuuná  'my husband'
      no'o uupí  'my wife'
      no'o mo'o  'my head'
      no'o nahká  'my ear'

The following pairs of sentences show the contrast between alienable and inalienable possession. Examples (3a) and (3b) are not ungrammatical constructions but describe impossible situations since the head and leg are the speaker’s body parts, whereas (3a') and (3b') are not impossible when the body parts are marked with the suffix -wa.

(3a)  ???  no'o mo'o mesačí póí
      1SG.NS head table-LOC lay.down.sg
      'My head is on the table.'
(3b) ??? no'ó čapaká mesa-čí póí
1SG.NS leg table-LOC lay.down.sg
'My leg is on the table.'

(3a') no'ó mo'ó-wa mesa-čí póí
1SG.NS head-CLF table-LOC lay.down.sg
'My head (pig’s head) is on the table.'

(3b') no'ó čapaká-wa mesa-čí póí
1SG.NS leg-CLF table-LOC lay.down.sg
'My leg (pig’s leg) is on the table.'

Given the right context (3a) and (3b) can be grammatical and acceptable:

(4a) mesa-čí poi-pá=ne no'ó mo'o resipú-mia
    table-LOC lay.down-INCH=1SG.S 1SG.NS head rest-FUT
'I put my head on the table to rest.'

(4b) mesa-čí teká-ru=ne no'ó čapahká resipú-mia
    table-LOC to.place.laying.down-PFV.EV=1SG.S 1SG.NS leg rest-FUT
'I put my leg on the table to rest.'

When the possessed entity is a noun phrase, the suffix can be attached to the head noun (5), to the adjective (6), or to both (7) with no apparent change of meaning:

(5a) no'ó kari-wá werumá
    1SG.NS house-CLF big
    'my big house'
(5b) no'o kawái-wa očóname
1SG.NS horse-CLF black
‘my black horse’

(6a) no'o karí werumá-wa
1SG.NS house big-CLF
‘my big house’

(6b) no'o kawái očonamé-wa
1SG.NS horse black-CLF
‘my black horse’

(7a) no'o karí-wa werumá-wa
1SG.NS house-CLF big-CLF
‘my big house’

(7b) no'o kawái-wa očonamé-wa
1SG.NS horse-CLF black-CLF
‘my black horse’

In the case of a conjoined possessive construction sharing the same possessor, the classifier suffix may be shown in one of the two head nouns; or in the adjective as well:

(8a) no'o kari-wá werumá no'o kawái očóname
1SG.NS house-CLF big 1SG.NS horse black
‘my big house and my black horse’

(8b) no'o kari-wá werumá no'o kawái očóname-wa
1SG.NS house-CLF big 1SG.NS horse black-CLF
‘my big house and my black horse’
All of the following permutations are possible with no apparent change of meaning:

(8c) no’o kari-wá werumá no’ó kawái očóname
    no’ó kari-wá werumá-wa no’ó kawái očóname
    no’ó kari-wá werumá-wa no’ó kawái-wa očóname
    no’ó kari-wá werumá-wa no’ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
    no’ó kari werumá-wa no’ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
    no’ó kari werumá no’ó kawái-wa očóname-wa
    no’ó kari werumá no’ó kawái-wa očóname
    no’ó kari werumá-wa no’ó kawái očóname
    no’ó kari-wá werumá no’ó kawái-wa očóname-wa

2.1.1.1.2. Possessed classifiers

River Warihio shows a marginal and variable use of the possessed classifier² for domestic animals:

puhkú for domestic animals:

(9a) no’ó puhku-wá čuhčúri
    1SG.NS CLF-CLF dog
    ‘my dog’
(9b) no’ó čuhčúri-wa
    1SG.NS dog-CLF
    ‘my dog’

² Upland Warihio uses puhkú and natí for domestic animals and objects, respectively (Miller, 1996), while Tarahumara uses puhkú and niwá (Brambila, 1953). Chemehuevi, a language of the Southern Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan family, has also two possessed classifiers: -punkú for ‘pets’ and igapi for ‘domesticated plants’ (Press, 1979).
2.1.1.1.3. The suffix -ra

The suffix -ra and its cognates in Uto-Aztecan languages are called ‘absolutive’ with a relational function between two third person entities. This suffix attached to the possessed noun occurs in Warihio with third person possessors (10) or in part-whole constructions (11):

(10) no'o taná ‘my son’
amó taná ‘your son’
apoé taná-ra ‘her/his son’
hustina taná-ra ‘Agustina’s son’
tamó taná ‘our son’
amó taná ‘your (pl.) son’
aapóe taná-ra ‘their son’

(11a) ko'oré tehté-ra
fence stone-REL
‘the stone of the fence’

(11a') werumá ko'oré tehté-ra
big fence stone-REL
‘the stone of the big fence’

(11a") ko'oré werumá tehté-ra
fence big stone-REL
‘the big stone of the fence’/‘the stone of the big fence’/‘the big stone of the big fence’

(11b) wakasi aawá-ra
cow horn-REL
‘the horns of the cow’
Another class of relation, something like ‘producer-product’, is also marked by -ra:

(12a) wakasí wihtá-ra
      cow  excrement-REL
      ‘the excrement of the cow’

A part-whole relation:

(12b) pawé seté-ra
      beach sand-REL
      ‘the sand of the beach’

Or locative-proximity relation:

(12c) sirá nanaráki-ra
      chair  moss-REL
      ‘the moss of the chair’

In (10), which expresses an inalienable possession, the constructions are not marked by -wa. However, the noun possessed by a third person possessor shows the suffix -ra. This distinction is made also in alienable possessive constructions:

(13)  no'ó ka'aká-wa  ‘my sandals.’
      amó ka'aká-wa  ‘your sandals.’
      apoé ka'aká-ra  ‘her/his sandals.’
rolando ka'aká-ra  ‘Rolando’s sandals.’
tamó ka'aká-wa  ‘our sandals.’
amó ka'aká-wa  ‘your (pl) sandals.’
aapóe ka'aká-ra  ‘their sandals.’

In (10) with third person possessors, -wa is absent, instead the suffix -ra occurs. The occurrence of the suffix -wa for a third person possessor is optional, but the -ra is obligatory:

(14) no'ó kári-wa  ‘my house’
amó kári-wa  ‘your (sg.) house’
apoé kári(-wa)-ra  ‘his/her house’
tamó kári-wa  ‘our house’
amó kári-wa  ‘your (pl.) house’
aapóe kári(-wa)-ra  ‘their house’

There is a contrast between the first and third person possessor in the following possessive constructions:

(15a) no'ó  čuhčúri-wa
1SG.NS dog-CLF
‘my dog’

(15b) apoé čuhčúri-ra
3SG.S dog-REL
‘his/her dog’
The following examples are crucial in trying to explain the difference between suffixes -wa and -ra, since in ((16b)-(16c)) there are alienable and inalienable possession between two third entities in the same construction:

(16a) čuhčúri mo'ó-ra  
dog    head-REL  
'the dog's head'

(16b) hustina čuhčúri-wa mo'ó-ra  
Agustina dog-CLF    head-REL  
'Agustina's dog's head'

(16c) hustína taná-ra mo'o-rá  
Agustina son-REL    head-REL  
'Agustina's son's head'

In (16a), the possessor čuhčúri 'dog' is a third person and the inalienably possessed noun mo'ó 'head' is marked with -ra. Now notice the contrast between (16b) and (16c) where there are three third persons involved. In both (16a) and (16b), the inalienably possessed noun mo'ó (the dog's head) is marked with -ra. In (16b), the alienably possessed noun, in this case čuhčúri 'dog' (Agustina's dog), is marked with -wa, which is the mark usually denoting alienable possession. Furthermore, the very similar construction in (16c) lacks -wa in the inalienable possession parts of the construction; hustina taná-ra 'Agustina's son' and tanára mo'óra 'son's head'. Instead, the relation between the two third persons hustína 'Agustina' taná 'son' and taná 'son'/mo'ó 'head' are marked with -ra.
In the case of (17), there is no -ra mark in the inalienable possessed noun taná ‘son’ since it co-occurs with a first person possessor pronoun:

\[(17) \text{ no'ó taná mo'ó-ra} \]
\[\text{1SG.NS son head-REL} \]
‘my son’s head’

Contrast (16b) repeated below with (18):

\[(16b) \text{ hustína čuhčúri-wa mo'ó-ra} \]
\[\text{Agustína dog-CLF head-REL} \]
‘Agustina’s dog’s head’

\[(18) \text{ no'ó taná puhkú-ra mo'ó-ra čuhčúri} \]
\[\text{1SG.NS son CLF-REL head-REL dog} \]
‘the head of my son’s dog’

What is evident is the variation in the use of the possessed classifier puhkú, as we saw before. There is also a variation in the order of possessor-possessed nouns. In (16b), there is a possessor-possessed noun order and in (18), a possessed-possessor noun order. Likewise, in (18) we observe three possessive relations: (i) one between a first person possessor pronoun in an inalienable possession construction no'ó taná which is non-marked; (ii) another between two third persons in an alienable possession construction no'ó taná puhkúra čuhčúri ‘my son’s dog’, which is marked with the suffix -ra, in this case on the possessed classifier puhkú; and (iii) a third possessive relation between two
third persons in an inalienable possession construction *mo'orá čuhčůri* 'dog's head' marked with *-ra* on the possessed noun. Therefore, there is no *-wa* suffix in any of these possessive sub-relations in the construction in (18); there is either an inalienable possession or a possession between third persons.

Table 3 summarizes the morphological markers and patterns found in Warihio possession.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>-Ø</em></td>
<td><em>-wa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>-Ø</em></td>
<td><em>-wa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>-Ø-ra</em></td>
<td><em>-(wa)-ra</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Possession-relational classifiers.

### 2.1.1.1.2. Number

Nouns in Warihio are not usually marked for number. That is, we can have grammatically acceptable sentences in which the nouns may have a singular or a plural translation without a mark for number in the Warihio:
(19a) pedró čikó-re kawái
Peter steal-PFV horse
‘Peter stole a/the horses/horses.’

(19b) waní wewe-ré tihoé
John hit-PFV man
‘John hit a man/the men.’

(19c) tihoé wewe-ré waní
man hit-PFV John
‘A man/the men/men hit John.’

When number is marked, it can occur as reduplication to the left of the first syllable of the noun marked, but only in nouns for relatives (20):

(20a) no'o po-póni
1SG.NS PL~brother
‘my brothers’

(20b) paika ta-taná-e-ne
three PL~son-INS=1SG.S
‘I have three sons.’

I found one example of a noun with plural or collective meaning:

(21a) owéru ‘women’
(21b) owitiame ‘woman’
2.1.1.1.3. Case-role markers

Noun core participants are not case marked⁴:

(22a) tihoé wewe-ré pedró
       man  hit-PFV  Peter
       'A/the man hit Peter.'

(22b) pedró wewe-ré tihoé
       Peter  hit-PFV  man
       'Peter hit a/the man.'

(22c) pedró ítoché-re muni tihoé
       Peter  send-PFV  beans man
       'Peter sent the man beans.'

Only non-core oblique nouns are case marked. Warihío has two different ways of marking case relations: one unstressed and suffixed, and another stressed and phonologically longer:

(i) Short, mostly unstressed : -či, -e, -ma

(ii) Long, mostly stressed : -tere, aháma, -ičio, -hámpa

---

⁴ The division of core vs. non-core participants in Warihío is relatively simple; only non-core participants are marked by a postposition.
2.1.1.3.1. The locative -či⁴

This postposition has a basic general locative sense:

(23a) maní nerói sikorí-či
exist water pot-LOC
'There is water in the pot.'

(23b) kahtí=ne amó sirá-či
be.seated.sg=1SG.S 2SG.NS chair-LOC
'I am seated in your chair.'

(23c) apoé simi-ré tiendá-či
3SG.S go-PFV store-LOC
'He went to the store.'

(23d) werú mačéna-re eerá no'ó tehpúria-či
QUANT appear-PFV blood 1SG.NS wound-LOC
'A lot of blood sprang from my wound.'

(23e) inasú-ru=ne nawáso trooké-či
hide-PFV.EV=1SG.S clasp knife car-LOC
'I hid the clasp knife in the car.'

It is used to specify a body part, for example, in sentences such as ‘I hurt X’, ‘I have a X-ache’:

---

⁴ It seems that the locative -či excludes the alienable possessive suffix -wa. I don’t know why.
(24) ko'koré-na=ne mo'o-čí / seka-čí / pui-čí
hurt-PRS=1SG.S head-LOC / hand-LOC / eye-LOC
‘I have a headache / I hurt my hand / I hurt my eye.’

The sense of ‘location’ is given not only in space but also in time. All days of the week and the months, actually borrowed from Spanish, have this postposition:

(25) ruuné-čí ‘Monday’
maaté-čí ‘Tuesday’
meekóra-čí ‘Wednesday’
suewé-čí ‘Thursday’
biené-čí ‘Friday’
sawará-čí ‘Saturday’
toomíko-čí ‘Sunday’
risiémbre-čí ‘December’

2.1.1.3.2. The instrument -e

This postposition occurs mainly when some entity is utilized as an instrument:

(26a) če'čé kuú-e
prick stick -INS
‘Prick him with a stick!’

(26b) wanita suka-ré sipičá seka-é
Juanita sew-PFV dress hand-INS
‘Juanita made the dress with her hands.’
(26c) no'ó wewe-rú seka-é  
1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV hand-INS  
‘He hit me with his hand.’

(26d) waníta tasipána-re sipiča ko'óré-e  
Juanita tear-PFV dress fence-INS  
‘Juanita’s dress tore on the fence.’

It also occurs with the agent of a passive construction:

(27a) rolando čapi-ré-tu poresia-e  
Rolando hold-PFV-PASS police-INS  
‘Rolando was detained by the police officer.’

(27b) wewe-ré-tu=ne pedró-e  
hit-PFV-PASS=1SG.S Peter-INS  
‘I was hit by Peter.’

It is central to the predicative possessive constructions:

(28a) ooká maará-e=ne  
two daughter-INS=1SG.S  
‘I have two daughters.’

(28b) tepekúma ku'pá-e=ne  
long hair-INS=1SG.S  
‘I have long hair.’
2.1.1.3.3. The comitative -ma / aháma

This postposition varies between a suffixed form and a free form:

(29a) hustína ená-ru ahpó poní-ma
Agústína come-PFV.EV 3SG.NS brother-COM
‘Agústína came with his brother.’

(29b) ini-náre=ne amó-ma
be-DES=1SG.S 2SG.NS-COM
‘I want to be with you.’

(29c) maniwíri nasua-ré pedró aháma
Manúel fight-PFV Peter COM
‘Manúel fought with Peter.’

(29d) pií owítiame asi-ru ahpó ye'yé aháma
one woman arrive-PFV.EV 3SG.NS mother COM
‘A woman arrived with her mother.’

2.1.1.3.4. The postposition -tere: ‘through’, ‘between’, ‘under’

(30a) čuhčúri póîi mesá-tere
dog  be.laying.down.sg table-under
‘The dog is under the table.’

(30b) rolando u'má-re kusí-tere
Rolando run-PFV woods-through
‘Rolando ran through the woods.’

---

5 This alternation between the free form and the postposition may be due to an intermediate stage of grammaticalization. I found no semantic differences in these two uses.
2.1.1.3.5. The benefactive -ičió

(31)  kari-tá-ru=ne  maría ičió  
house-make-PFV.EV=1SG.S Mary BEN  
'I built the house for Mary.'

2.1.1.3.6. The postposition -hámpa: ‘over’

Usually -hámpa has the sense of location in space:

(32)  kuitá moená-re  kari-hámpa  
child climb-PFV house-over  
'The child climbed on top of the house'

But a metaphorical sense is used in the numerical system:

(33)  piípi  'one'  
osá  'twice'  
marikí  'five'  
osá marikí  'ten'  
osá marikí ampá piípi  'eleven'
2.1.1.3.7. The postposition *pehána*: ‘instead’

(34a) neé naiwá-ma wani pehána
1SG.S speak-FUT John instead
‘I will speak instead of John.’

(34b) neé wikahtá-ma maría pehána
1SG.S sing-FUT Mary instead
‘I will sing instead of Mary.’

(34c) muú te’e-má pedró pehána
2SG.S play-FUT Peter instead
‘You will play instead of Peter.’

2.1.1.3.8. The postpositions *pukámina* ‘behind’, *yoremína* ‘inside’, *pewáná* ‘in front of’

(35a) kuú werí kari-pukámina
tree be.standing house-behind
‘The tree is behind the house.’

(35b) čučúri werí kari-yoremína
dog be.standing house-inside
‘The dog is inside the house.’

(35c) maniwíri werí pedro-pewáná
Manuel be.standing Peter-in front of
‘Manuel is seated in front of Peter.’
2.1.1.3.9. The postpositions -suwérači ‘along the border of’, -suwékapo ‘up to’, -suwétetu ‘down to’, -téturi ‘toward’

(36a) simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwérači
go-PFV walk-PTCP river-along.the.border.of
‘He left walking along the border of the river.’

(36b) simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwékapo
go-PFV walk-PTCP river-up.to
‘He left walking upstream.’

(36c) simi-ré poi-ká aki-suwétetu
go-PFV walk-PTCP river-down.to
‘He left walking downstream.’

(36d) simi-ré poi-ká sawananto-téturi
go-PFV walk-PTCP San.Bernardo-toward
‘He we left walking toward San Bernardo.’

2.1.1.3.10. The postpositions poté ‘up’, potepá ‘down’

(37a) hustína moená-re mangóči poté
Agustina climb-PFV mango.tree up
‘Agustina climbed the mango tree.’

(37b) hustína teki-ré mangóči potepá
Agustina climb-PFV wmango.tree down
‘Agustina got down from the mango tree.’
2.1.1.1.4. The suffixes -ri / -ra

There are two groups of words that share their last syllable. This common syllable has been postulated as an absolutive suffix for Upland Waritio (Miller, 1996). The non-exhaustive lists of noun-ri in (38a) and noun-ra in (38b) are very semantically heterogeneous sets and they do not behave in a specific syntactic way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(38a)</th>
<th>(38b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nawésari ‘word’</td>
<td>čowíra ‘resin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohsári ‘white corn’</td>
<td>isawíra ‘little bell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohchéři ‘blue corn’</td>
<td>kasará ‘garbage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'kóri ‘pepper’</td>
<td>erápora ‘veins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomáři ‘cloud’</td>
<td>kenorá ‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehtúři ‘ice’ (man-made)</td>
<td>makahpúra ‘snake’ (a type of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehémuri ‘ice’ (nature)</td>
<td>mokorá ‘scarf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikúři ‘thread’</td>
<td>mo'čókora ‘brain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motočíwari ‘dandruff’</td>
<td>tahéra ‘pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'áři ‘bladder’</td>
<td>neórá ‘soup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akátori ‘butterfly’</td>
<td>wakirá ‘shirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aóři ‘sabino’ (plant)</td>
<td>poáčura ‘fish hook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čahpóři ‘corn tortilla’</td>
<td>u'pará ‘mezquite’ (tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>číkúři ‘mouse’</td>
<td>yeekókora ‘chameleon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo'óři ‘chicken’</td>
<td>suwéra ‘border’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuhčúři ‘dog’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čunurí ‘torote’ (plant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'múři ‘louse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikusúři ‘grilled corn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’móři ‘jícama’ (fruit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kohari  ‘toad’

The suffixes -ri/-ra in all items in (39) seem to be old absolutes already grammaticalized since they accept an additional suffix -ra:

(39a) no'nó nawésari-ra
        father word-REL
        ‘my father’s word’

(39b) makiná ikurí-ra
        Machine thread-REL
        ‘the thread of the machine’

(39c) karína kohari-wa-ra
        Karina toad-CLF-REL
        ‘the toad of Karina’

(39d) wani wakirá-ra
        John shirt-REL
        ‘the shirt of John’

(39e) markó počura-ra
        Marcos fish.hook-REL
        ‘the fish hook of Marcos’

(39f) hustína mokorá-ra
        Agustina scarf-REL
        ‘The scarf of Agustina’
2.1.1.2. Derivational morphology: the suffix -(a)me

The main productive suffix that converts some stems to nouns is -(a)me. This suffix can derive nouns from verbs with an agentive meaning. These can be seen as a type of headless relative clause. Most translational equivalents of Spanish adjectives are nominalizations from some basic stem that does not occur by itself. Here are some examples of each type:

(40) kahpórame ‘short’ ni'óame ‘prayer’
tohsáname ‘white’ yauyáme ‘dancer’
ohčóname ‘black’ wikahtáme ‘singer’
ičikuáme ‘thief’

2.1.2. Verbs

Warihio lexical items that take aspect/tense suffixes are the verbs. The prototypical verbs, whose main function is predication, belong to the class of words that expresses events: actions, processes, states. They show typically low temporal stability and compactness (Givón 2001); that is, they code fast changes of state, condition or spatial location of some concrete noun entity.

2.1.2.1. Morphological characterization

There are five groups of verbs identified by the various habitual/present aspect / tense suffixes they take. From these five possibilities, four occur with the suffixes –na,
-ni, -wa, -wi, and the fifth occurs with no mark. All these suffixes are allomorphs of the habitual/present aspect/tense. Here is a partial list of these verbs:

(41) **-na**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ači-ná</td>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asi-ná</td>
<td>‘to arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>četé-na</td>
<td>‘to play an instrument’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ičikó-na</td>
<td>‘to steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ičipú-na</td>
<td>‘to be hidden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahu-ná</td>
<td>‘to finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komi-ná</td>
<td>‘to hug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napo-ná</td>
<td>‘to seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yenı-ná</td>
<td>‘to be smoggy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuku-ná</td>
<td>‘to rain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čo'á-ní</td>
<td>‘to turn off the fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čorowá-ní</td>
<td>‘to be hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eča-ní</td>
<td>‘to sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyá-ní</td>
<td>‘to give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawésa-ní</td>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noka-ní</td>
<td>‘to move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusa-ní</td>
<td>‘to wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'ná-ní</td>
<td>‘to shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tara-ní</td>
<td>‘to buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekihpána-ní</td>
<td>‘to work’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-wa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pesu-wá</td>
<td>‘to peel off’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čuču-wí</td>
<td>‘to be hung:pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha-wí</td>
<td>‘to be standing:pl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moči-wí</td>
<td>‘to be seated:pl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-wi**

Non-marked:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nahkí</td>
<td>‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mačí</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahtí</td>
<td>‘to be seated:sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'í</td>
<td>‘to be lying down:sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weri</td>
<td>‘to be standing:sg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table format is used to present the list in a structured manner.
The verbs taking the tense/aspect habitual suffix -na are the most frequent. The alternations seem to follow a phonological disharmony. If the root ends in a non-low vowel, the suffix will be a low vowel, that is -na. If the root ends in a low vowel, the suffix will be -ni.

2.1.2.1.1. Grammatical morphology

The three major grammatical categories by which verbs can be specified are: (i) tense, aspect and modality, (ii) negation, and (iii) pronouns and agreement. I will now describe how these three systems work in Warihío. I will discuss elsewhere other minor morphological systems found in Warihío.

2.1.2.1.1. Tense, aspect, modality

Tense-aspect-modality appears as suffixes right after the verb stem in Warihío. Usually tense and aspect are conflated into one suffix. Leaving aside the small group of verbs for which present/habitual is zero, all verbs in Warihío occur with one tense/aspect suffix. This means there is no ‘infinitive.’ A more detailed discussion of TAM is presented in 5.2.

(42a) waní akačúpa-re (past/perfective/progressive)
John spit-PFV
‘John spit/was spitting.’
(42b) wani acai-upa-i (past/imperfective)
    John spit-IPFV
    ‘John spit.’

(42c) wani acai-upa-ke-pa-re (past/habitual)
    John spit-APPL-INCH-PFV
    ‘John used to spit.’

(42d) wani acai-upa-ni (present/progressive)
    John spit-PRS
    ‘John is spitting.’

(42e) wani yomá tawé acai-upa-ni (habitual)
    John all day spit-PRS
    ‘John always spits.’

(42f) ehpé tukaó e'~ena-méra no'ó no'nó (potential)
    now night PL~arrive-POT 1SG.NS father
    ‘Tonight my parents are going to come.’

(42g) ehpé tukaó koči-má=ne mehká Pete-či (future)
    now night sleep-FUT=1SG.S far away house-LOC
    ‘Tonight I will sleep outside the house.’

2.1.2.1.1.2. Negation

The negative morpheme ki= procliticizes to the verb or the patient/recipient
pronoun in Warihío and this usually occurs in sentence initial position. Negation is
developed in Chapter 6.
(43a) tara-rú=ne muuní
    buy-PFV=1SG.S beans
    ‘I bought beans.’

(43b) ki=tara-rú=ne muuní
    NEG=buy-PFV.EV=1SG.S beans
    ‘I didn’t buy beans.’

(43c) no'o poní kuú kai-ná
    1SG.NS brother stick cut-PRS
    ‘My brother is cutting the sticks.’

(43d) no'o poní ki=kai-ná kuú
    1SG.NS brother NEG=cut-PRS stick
    ‘My brother is not cutting the sticks.’

2.1.2.1.1.3. Two sets of personal pronouns

The S/A pronouns generally occur sentence initially, but they may also occur post-verbally as a clitic or suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject pronouns</th>
<th>Non-subject pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free and Emphatic</td>
<td>Cliticized and Non-Emphatic</td>
<td>Non-cliticized cliticized⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>neé</td>
<td>=ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>muú</td>
<td>=mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>apoé/puú</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>temé</td>
<td>-teme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>emé</td>
<td>-eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>a'póe</td>
<td>- ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶ I haven’t found non-subject pronouns cliticized other than 1sg pronoun.
(45a)  neé u’má-re
       1SG.S run-PFV run-PFV=1SG.S
       ‘I ran.’ ‘I ran.’

(45b)  muú u’má-re
       2SG.S run-PFV run-PFV=2SG.S
       ‘You ran.’ ‘You ran.’

(45c)  apóé u’má-re
       3SG.S run-PFV run-PFV
       ‘S/he ran.’ ‘S/he ran.’

(45d)  temé u’má-re
       1PL.S run-PFV run-PFV=1PL:S
       ‘We ran.’ ‘We ran.’

(45e)  emé u’má-re
       2PL.S run-PFV run-PFV=2PL:S

(45f)  aapóé u’má-re
       3PL.S run-PFV run-PFV
       ‘They ran.’ ‘They ran.’

The non-S/A pronouns almost always occur pre-verbally. First singular non-S can occasionally occur prefixed to the verb.

(46)  waní no’ó wewe-rú / waní no’=wewe-rú
      John 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV
      ‘John hit me.’
2.1.2.1.4. Transitivizing and de-transitive morphology

Morphemes that change the transitivity of verbs in Waríhío appear as verbal suffixes:

Transitivizer

(47a) sipičá sᵊpá-ni
dress tear-PRS
‘The dress is torn.’

(47b) hustínə sᵊpá-ńá-re sipičá
Agustina tear-TRZ-PFV dress
‘Agustina tore the dress.’

Causative

(48a) wani yau-ré
John dance-PFV
‘John danced.’

(48b) neé yau-té-ru wani
1SG:S dance-CAUS-PFV.EV John
‘I made John dance.’

Applicative

(49a) neé nehá-ru kawái
1SG:S sell-PFV.EV horse
‘I sold a horse.’
(49b) neé amó nehá-ke-ru kawái
1SG.S 2SG.NS sell-APPL-PFV.EV horse
‘I sold you a horse.’

**Passive**

(50a) maniwíri tehápuna-re kuú tapaná
Manuel cut-PFV tree yesterday
‘Manuel cut the tree yesterday.’

(50b) kuú tehápuna-ré-tu tapaná (maniwíri-e)
tree cut-PFV-PASS yesterday Manuel-INS
‘The tree was cut yesterday (by Manuel).’

### 2.1.2.1.1.5. Speech act markers

There are in Waríwí some suffixes that may be attached to Verbs with a range of functions such as emphatic (51), assertion (52), and quotative (53b):

(51) wa'á nawa-kái=ni=a weikaóba
there born-PTCP=1SG.S=EMPH then
‘I was born there...’

(52) no'nó nane-ré=pu no'nó eikó wa'á ohóe-re-pu
father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV=D.D
‘...my father knew because my father lived there.’

(53a) kusi-tere nawá-ka=ne čía yeyé-a
woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
‘I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me
(53b) kuú werí-ata wáá naάti
    tree stand up-QUOT there thing
    where there was a tree.'

The term ‘assertion’ is only a label covering the function of the distal
demonstrative puú when this is cliticized to different elements in a construction. This
morpheme seems to function to assert chunks of information in a way not very clear to
me and that needs further investigation.

2.1.2.1.2. Other verbal suffixes

Another group of verbal suffixes that occur in Warihío is the group of dependent
verbal suffixes.

2.1.2.1.2.1. Adverbial subordinators

There is a group of different subordinators that occur in adverbial clauses,
signaled in bold face in the following examples. These constructions will be further
developed in the chapter on complex sentences:

(54) hustína en-ó-i kečewéka oíniai
    Agustína come-SUB-IPFV Quechhueca from
    i'wá kahti=a=ni=apá
    here be.seated.sg=EMPH=!SG.S=INCH
    ‘When Agustína was coming from Quechhueca I was here.’
(55) yačah-pá-sa muú=pu si-má=mu=pu tekihpána-mia
    set-INCH-SUB 2SG.S=D.D go-FUT=2SG.S=D.D work-FUT
    ‘If you have recovered, you will go to work.’

(56) ko'~kó-sa=pa koči-rú=ne
    ITER~eat-SUB-INCH sleep-PFV.EV=1SG:S
    ‘I ate, then I slept.’

2.1.2.1.2.2. Other dependent clause suffixes

The group of dependent verbal suffixes is: -ka (57), -mičio (58), -mea (59), and -o (60). These constructions will be described in the chapter on complex sentences.

(57) oine-ru=ne u'má-ka senépi piari
    start-PFV.EV=1SG.S run-PTCP every morning
    ‘I started to run every morning.’

(58) pedró čané-re tekihpana-mičio obregón
    Peter tell-PFV work-PURP Obregón
    ‘Peter suggested to him that he work in Obregón.’

(59) lupíta natahkepa-re čoa-méa ehtüfa
    Lupe forget-PFV turn.off-FUT stove
    ‘Lupe forgot to turn off the stove.’

(60) aapóe nané-na peniátiame wikaht-ó maría
    3PL.S know-PRS pretty sing-SUB Mary
    ‘They know that Mary sings pretty.’
2.1.2.1.2.3. The relative clause suffixes -me, -a, -ači

Relative clauses are marked with different suffixes (see Chapter 4): -me for subject (61)-(62), -a for patient (63), and -ači for location (64):

(61)  tihoé u'má-ka-me kusi-tere
man  run-PTCP-REL woods-through
‘the man that ran away into the woods’

(62)  tihoé wani me'yá-ka-me
man  John  kill.sg-PTCP-REL
‘the man that killed John’

(63)  tihoé nō'ō  wewe-ri-á
man  1SG.NS  hit-PFV-REL
‘the man that I hit’

(64)  puebló tehkí-intu-áči
town  work-exist-REL
‘the town where work is.’

2.1.2.1.3. Derivational morphology: the suffix -ta

The suffix -ta transforms some nouns to verbs. The general meaning is that of ‘make, build N’. But the meaning of the verb is sometimes conventional:

(65a)  wikáh-tá-ni  ‘to sing’
       song-make-PRS

(65b)  kári-ta-ni  ‘to build a house’
       house-make-PRS
(65c) ко́рэ-та-ни ‘to build a fence’
fence-make-PRS

(65d) томари-та-ни ‘to become cloudy’
cloud-make-PRS

(65e) сипичá-та-ни ‘to put on a dress’
dress-make-PRS

(65f) вакира-та-ни ‘to put on a shirt’
shirt-make-PRS

(65g) пууси-та-ни ‘to open one’s eyes’
eyes-make-PRS

(65h) пахкó-та-ни ‘to make a feast’
feast-make-PRS

(65i) eerá-та-ни ‘to bleed’
blood-make-PRES

(65j) охоара-та-ни ‘to make a hole’
hole-make-PRS

Or to some verbs as in the following example:

(65k) некая-та ‘to pretend to be angry’
get.mad-make

2.1.3. Adjectives

Dixon (1999) claims that there is always a morpho-syntactic way to identify a class of adjectives language internally in all languages. Traditionally, the notion of
adjectives takes them to be the class of words denoting qualities or attributes. The lexical category *adjective* tends to express the most durable physical properties of prototypical nouns: size, shape, color, consistency, texture, weight, smell, taste. Less prototypical adjectives may codify inherent non-physical states such as ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘brave’, ‘helpful’ or temporary states such as temperature (‘hot’, ‘cold’), feelings (‘happy’, ‘sad’, ‘angry’), and health (‘well’, ‘sick’).

In Warihío, there are few basic non-derived adjectives. The majority are formally nouns in a headless relative clause type or stative verbs modifying the participant. Morphologically we can distinguish adjectives from true nouns because adjectives cannot be part of a possessive construction by themselves receiving the suffixes *-wa ~ -ra*, but they have to be the attribute in a possessed noun phrase. On the other hand, we can distinguish them from verbs because given the form in the examples below, they cannot accept any TAM suffix. The above characteristics and their functional role as words describing properties of participants are enough criteria to postulate the following listed words as adjectives:

(i)  **Size**

a. **general size**

werumá  
‘big’

nu’úti  
‘small’

b. **horizontal extension**

weré  
‘wide’

ku'iči  
‘narrow’
c. thickness

tunakáme ‘thick’
waritiáme ‘thin’
wiyáme ‘fat’
wirokó ‘thin’
wakiténéa ‘skinny’

d. vertical extension

tepéhkúma ‘tall’
čaa pó ‘short’

e. vertical elevation

tepaweriáme ‘high’
wičipáweriáme ‘low’

f. length

tepéhkúma ‘long’
kaa pórame ‘short’

(ii) color

a. brightness

ohčóname ‘dark’
kauiyáme ‘light’

b. color

to̱sháname ‘white’
ohčóname ‘black’
sehtáname ‘red’
śi’óname ‘green’
sawaéme ‘yellow’
(iii) auditory qualities

a. loudness

u'tewaéme ‘loud’

(iv) shape

a. two-dimensional

riisáme ‘straight’
tu’minatiáme ‘bent’
nohkórame ‘curved’
pi'rinatiáme ‘twisted’

(v) taste/odor

kahkáme ‘sweet’
hoonáeme ‘salty’
čihpuáme ‘bitter’
čo'kuáme ‘acid’
ko'kuáme ‘spicy’
pikahkáme ‘rotten’
peeniáhuame ‘fragrant’
ináhuame ‘stinky’

(vi) tactile

a. texture

temočáme ‘rough’
piwiyáme ‘smooth’

b. resistance

u'tewaéme ‘strong’
wiroréame ‘weak’
pewahtiáme ‘hard’
rahtátiame ‘soft’

(vii) Less protoypical adjectives

a. evaluative
kawéruma ‘good’
na'érame ‘bad’
peníátiame ‘pretty’
inýántiame ‘ugly’

b. transitory states

mental-internal
nekahérame ‘angry’
nekahtiáme ‘furious’
recesiéame ‘tired’
kawérame ‘happy’
yuwésuame ‘sad’

external activity
eeríame ‘busy’
kienásíame ‘idle’

external condition
čipuhtiáme ‘dirty’

temperature
tahtáme ‘hot’
tatahposóriame ‘warm’
tu’ráme ‘cold’
tehému'kame ‘frozen’
c. states of living

age
očétiame 'old'

live
ahákame 'alive'
mukuhkáme 'dead'

health
yačahpákame 'healthy'
kokoriáme 'sick'

2.1.4. Adverbs

Here is a list of adverbs used as adjuncts in Warihio sentences:

(66) aari 'late'
ehpé 'now'
ehépa 'right now'
e'ě 'yes!'
kawé 'well'
ki'yá 'before'
ku'wé 'later'
mehká 'far'
towá 'just'
pahčá 'first'
pá 'already'
iwéta 'still'
pahí 'yet'
pienáči 'in another place'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'ápi</td>
<td>'in the same place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piená</td>
<td>'together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipinéri</td>
<td>'alone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeré</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piarí</td>
<td>'early'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'átia</td>
<td>'this way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enčí</td>
<td>'again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senépi</td>
<td>'once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senékačí</td>
<td>'next time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sesenéko</td>
<td>'sometimes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikanáti</td>
<td>'fast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muináti</td>
<td>'slow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2. Minor word classes

In this section, I describe several types of grammatical operators whose morphemic status is sometimes uncertain.

#### 2.2.1. Interclausal connectives: conjunctors

Interclausal relations are not marked in Waríhío by a word class of conjunctors, but speakers have started to use some Spanish borrowings, such as *y* ‘and’, *o* ‘or’, *ni* ‘neither’.

(67) maría ená-ru waní=a simi-ré
    Mary come-PFV.EV John=EMPH go-PFV
    ‘Mary came and John left.’
(68) wani maria simpá-re
John Mary go.pl-PFV
'Mary and John left.'

(69a) maría ená-re wani=a ki=simi-ré
Mary come-PFV John=EMPH NEG=go-PFV
'Mary came, but John didn't leave.'

(69b) maría ená-re wani ki=simi-ré
Mary come-PFV John NEG=go-PFV
'Mary came, and John didn't leave.'

(70) ki=ko'-naré=ne ki=koči-náre=ne
NEG=eat-DES=1SG.S NEG=sleep-DES=1SG.S
'I don't want to eat nor to sleep.'

(71) ko'-ko-náre=ne o koči-má=ne
ITER~eat-DES=1SG.S or sleep-FUT=1SG.S
'I want to eat or to sleep.'

(72) no'o kuí-heráni=ne wani o hustína
1SG.NS help-ORDER=1SG.S John or Agustina
'I want John or Agustina to help me.'

(73) ki=nó'=kuí-heráni=ne wani ni hustína
NEG=1SG.NS=help-ORDER=1SG.S John nor Agustina
'I don't want John nor Agustina to help me.'

(74) itihpi-nari-ai wa'apí noá-re
stay-DES-IPFV same.place leave-PFV
'He wanted to stay, however he left.'

(75) kečeweka si-na=ne wa'apí itihpi-na=ne
Quetchehueca go-PRS=1SG.S same.place stay-PRS=1SG.S
'I am going to Quechehueca, even more, I am going to stay there.'
2.2.2. Quantifiers, numerals and ordinals

From this group, quantifiers are the most productive items.

2.2.2.1 Partitive definite quantifiers

(76) hustina werupí aarina i’tané-ru maría
Agustina some flour ask-PFV.EV Mary
‘Agustina asked for some of the flour for Mary.’

(77) waní tekihpána-re yomá tawé
John work-PFV all day
‘John worked all day.’

(78) yomá temé ki=simpá-nare
all 1PL.S NEG=go.pl-DES
‘None of us wants to go.’

(79) awéta piiré simpá-ma-emé tekihpána-mia
at.least one go.pl-FUT-2PL.S work-FUT
‘One of you is going to work.’

(80) nasípasi oowérú tekihpána-ni wasa-čí
half women work-PRS field-LOC
‘Most of the women work in the field.’

(81) na’pá piípi ehturiawa-má=pu
both one study-FUT=D.D
‘One of the two of us is going to study.’

(82) paiká piípi ehturiawa-má=pu
three one study-FUT=D.D
‘One of the three is going to study.’
(83) **ooká teh-témari** sa wananto o'-hóe
two PL~boys San Bernando PL~walk
‘Two of the boys live in San Bernardo.’

2.2.2.2 Indefinite quantifiers/determiners

(84) **paikápi** teh-témari asi-ré=pa
few PL~people arrive-PFV=inch
‘Some people have already arrived.’

(85) **píi** tihoé me'yá-re kawái
one man kill.sg-PFV horse
‘One man killed the horse.’

(86) **ooká** kawái uh-umá-re
two horse PL~ran-PFV
‘Two horses ran away.’

(87) no'ó kiá **piréči** takári
1sg.ns give another tortilla
‘Give me another tortilla.’

(88) **ooká** takári **wa'ápi** maní
two tortilla same,place exist
‘There are only two tortillas.’

(89a) **yomá** nahkí **piréči** takári
everybody want another tortilla
‘Everybody wants another tortilla.’

(89b) **yomá** tihoé simpa-náre ečitiá-či
all man go.pl-DES field-loc
‘All men want to go to the field.’
(90) senepi piarí simi-ná-ne tekipána-mia hustina kahti-áči
each morning goPRS=1SG.S work-FUT Agustina be.seated.sg-LOC
‘Each morning I am going to work where Agustina lives.’

(91) werú nerói nahkí=ne toománite cítíame ičió
a lot water need=1SG.S tomatoes sowing BEN
‘I need a lot of water for sowing tomatoes.’

(92) kuitá nerói nahkí=ne toomante cítíame ičió
little water need=1SG.S tomatoes sowing BEN
‘I need little water for sowing tomatoes.’

(93) tara-rú=ne trooke ki=puetá-e-me
buyPFV.EV=1SG.S car NEG=door-INS-NMLZ
‘I bought a car with no doors.’

2.2.2.3. Numerals

The numeral system in Warhio seems to be a mixture quinary and vigesimal
(based on adding fives and twenties). The numbers one through nine, except number
eight, are the basic ones. Number ‘eight’ is ‘twice four’.

(94) piipi ‘one’
ooká ‘two’
paiká ‘three’
naó ‘four’
mariki ‘five’
pusání ‘six’
owísani ‘seven’
ñosanáro ‘eight’
lit. osa-náro ‘twice-four’
wataní ‘nine’
The number ‘ten’ is ‘twice five’:

(95) osá marikí ‘ten’ lit. ‘twice five’

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are built adding the numer ‘ten’ plus ampá plus the numbers ‘one’ through ‘nine’:

(96) osá marikí ampá piipi ‘eleven’ lit. ‘twice five over one’
osá marikí ampá ooká ‘twelve’ lit. ‘twice five over two’
osá marikí ampá paiká ‘thirteen’ lit. ‘twice five over three’
osá marikí ampá naó ‘fourteen’ lit. ‘twice five over four’
osá marikí ampá marikí ‘fifteen’ lit. ‘twice five over five’
osá marikí ampá pusáni ‘sixteen’ lit. ‘twice five over six’
osá marikí ampá owísani ‘seventeen’ lit. ‘twice five over seven’
osá marikí ampá osanáro ‘eighteen’ lit. ‘twice five over twice four’
osá marikí ampá wataní ‘nineteen’ lit. ‘twice five over nine’

Number ‘twenty’ is basic too:

(97) (piï) weréwa ‘twenty’ lit. ‘(one) body’

The rest of the numbers up to 99 are a mix of twenties, fives and basic numbers:

(98) paiká osá marikí ‘thirty’ lit. ‘three twice five’
ooká weréwa ‘forty’ lit. ‘two bodies’
naósa marikí ampá osá marikí ‘fifty’ lit. ‘four twice five over twice five’
paiká werewa / pusáni osá marikí ‘sixty’ lit. ‘three bodies’ or ‘six twice five’
ówísani osá marikí ‘seventy’ lit. ‘seven twice five’
naó werewa / osanáro osá marikí ‘eighty’ lit. ‘four bodies’ or ‘eight twice five’
wataní osá marikí ‘ninety’ lit. ‘nine twice five’
Number ‘one hundred’ is:

(99) mariki weréwa ‘one hundred’ lit. ‘five body’

However, more regularly is siendó from the Spanish word ‘ciento’. Actually, all numbers over ten are commonly from Spanish borrowings.

2.2.2.4 Ordinals

It seems that Warihío has only two items for ordinals:

(100) pahčá ‘first’
neipá ‘second’, ‘next’, ‘last’, ‘after’

For example, in a sequence of three participants in an event, they say something like: pedró pahčá, wamí neipá, maniwire neipá ‘Peter first, John second, and Manuel third’.
CHAPTER 3

NOUN PHRASE

3.0. Introduction

Noun phrases take a lexical noun as their head and some modifier. Modification, being dispensable in the case of pronouns and names, illustrates the major function of noun modifiers. They are used to further specify or narrow down the domain of reference of their head nouns. The most common type of modifiers are:

(1) Noun modifiers (Givón, 2001:2, vol II.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of modifier</th>
<th>Functional scope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a. Bound morphemes:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- classifiers</td>
<td>lexical semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- number</td>
<td>phrasal semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- case-markers</td>
<td>clausal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- determiners/articles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b. Lexical words:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- demonstratives</td>
<td>pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- adjectives</td>
<td>phrasal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- compounding nouns</td>
<td>lexical and phrasal semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- numerals</td>
<td>phrasal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- quantifiers</td>
<td>phrasal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c. Phrases:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- adpositional phrases</td>
<td>clausal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relational phrases</td>
<td>clausal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d. clauses:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- noun complements</td>
<td>clausal semantic, pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relative clauses</td>
<td>pragmatic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1. Warihío full noun phrase

A full noun phrase in Warihío may have the following constituents:

(2) Dem Num N Adj Rel
    Poss Quant PP N-Comp

However, only the demonstrative possessor shows a fixed position to the left end; the rest of the constituents can have alternative orders among them.

An example of all the constituents that can co-occur is:

(3) no'ó ooká kari we~wéruma rančó-či
    1SG.NS two house PL~big ranch-LOC
    ‘my two big houses in the ranch’

In the following subsections, I will describe all possible constituents of the Warihio noun phrase.

3.1.1. Determiners

The noun participants in the sentence can occur without marks of (in)definiteness:

(4) waní čikó-re kawái
    John steal-PFV horse
    ‘John stole a horse/horses/the horse/the horses.’
3.1.1.1. Indefinite

However, they may accept the numeral *pii* ‘one’ as an indefinite article, restricted to S/P\(^1\) noun:

(5a)  *pii*  tihôe asi-rû  pete-čí  
    one man  arrive-PFV.EV house-LOC  
    ‘A man arrived home.’

(5b)  wanî  nehî-ke-re  *pii*  kawahî  merîkô  
    John  sell-APL-PFV one horse medical.doctor  
    ‘John sold a horse to a medical doctor.’

Using the numeral in the recipient sounds anomalous:

(5c)  ??wanî  nehî-ke-re  kawahî  *pii*  merîkô  
    John  sell-APPL-PFV horse one medical.doctor  
    ??  ‘John sold a medical doctor a horse.’

3.1.1.2. Deictic

A demonstrative can function as a definite marker. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Warihío: the proximal demonstrative *ihî* ‘this/these’ and the distal demonstrative *puî* ‘that/those’:

---

\(^1\) I will be using S for the participant in an intransitive event, A for the most agent-like participant and P for the most patient-like in a transitive event.
(6a) ihí čučúri kí'ki'-ru pu'-ká kuitá
    D.P dog bite-PFV.EV D.D-ID child
    ‘This dog bit that child.’

(6b) puú kuitá te-temó-ru i'-ká čučúri
    D.D child ITE-kick-PFV.EV D.P-ID dog
    ‘That child kicked this dog.’

The suffix -ka in (6) attached to the demonstratives is taken to be an object case mark by Barreras (1990) and Miller (1996). However, in discourse, when a demonstrative accompanies a noun previously mentioned or identified-inferred\(^2\), it takes the suffix -ká occurring with nouns in S, A or P function or even in oblique (locative and instrumental) function:

Don Alejandro Ruelas – Life story

(7a) kusi-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
    woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
    ‘I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me

(7b) kuú werí-ata waá naáti
    tree standing-QUOT there thing
    where there was a tree

(7c) pu'-ká čintewaniá kí=mači-ní-a pu'-ká kuú
    D.D-ID name NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID tree
    I didn’t know how it’s called, that tree.’

\(^2\) It seems that in discourse, the mark -ka is functioning more as an identificational mark than a patienthood mark.
(8a) eikó asi-ré=pu pu'-ká pete-čí
then arrive=D.D D.D-ID house-loc
‘...then he arrived to the house

(8b) weikáoba ki=iyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'o no'nó
then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor D.D-ID 1SG.NS father
he didn’t cure him, the doctor didn’t cure my dad

(8c) weikáo pu'-ká i'yoí i'yoé-so pu'-ká tamó
then D.D-ID remedy cure-SUB D.D-ID 1PL.NS
when he cured him for us, with that remedy

(8d) eikaóba i'tó=ka=ne enčí pu'-ká rootóre ahpó ahpó pete-čí
then take-PTCP=1SG.S again D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS 3SG.NS house-LOC
I took the doctor back to his house.’

(9) bwéna mehká i'to=ka=ni-a
very far.away take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH

poké ki=tari-mí ki=tari-héra=ne pu'-ká no'o poni-a
because NEG=buy-FUT NEG=buy-DES=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother-EMPH
pu'-ká pete-čí
D.D-ID house-LOC
‘...I took him far away because I didn’t want them to buy my brother in that
house.’

(10) kuu-é wepa-ká
stick-INS hit-PTCP

pu'-ká-e pu'-ká-e napawi-ré pu'-ká aaroso
D.D-ID-INS D.D-ID-INSTR gather-PFV D.D-ID rice
they hit it with a stick and got the rice.’
3.1.1.3. Possessive

A possessive noun phrase consists of a possessor realized as a pronoun in the non-S form or a noun plus the head noun:

(11a) no'ó kari-wa
     1SG.NS house-CLAS
     ‘my house’

(11b) amó no'no
     2SG.NS father
     ‘your father’

We observe that the noun in (11a) has the suffix -wa, this is a classifier that signals an alienable possession vs. Ø in (11b) for inalienable possession.

3.1.2. Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers share the same slot in the noun phrase.

3.1.2.1. Numerals

Numerals between two to ten are the most used in Warihío. For numbers above ten they tend to use Spanish borrowings:

(12a) no'ó ooká ta~taná
     1SG.NS two PL~son
     ‘my two sons’
(12b) marikí kawái
five horse
‘five horses’

(12c) siendó kuú
one hundred stick
‘one hundred sticks’

3.1.2.2. Quantifiers

Warihío has the following quantifiers:

(13) weeká many
werú much
paikápi a few
werupí some of
yomá all, all of
nasipási most of
awéta piiré any of
naapá piípi one of the two
paiká piípi one of the three
senepí each
piréčí other
yomá + ki= none of

(14a) hustina werupí aarina i’tané-ru maría
Agustina some flour ask-PFV.EV María
‘Agustina asked Maria for some flour.’
(14b) waní tekihpána-re yomá tawé
    John work-PFV all day
    ‘John worked all day.’

(14c) werú nerói nahkí=ne toománté ečitiámé ičió
    much water want= 1SG.S tomatoe field BEN
    ‘I need a lot of water for the tomato field.’

3.1.3. Adjectives

Adjectives in Warihío noun phrases tend to occur after the noun:

(15) tihoé ki=kavéreruma ‘bad man’
    man NEG=good
    owitiámé peeniátiámé ‘pretty woman’
    čuhčúri očóname ‘black dog’
    o'owí wiyáme ‘fat coyote’
    tehté werumá ‘big stone’
    kawí nuúti ‘small hill’
    nerói sióname ‘blue water’

Adjectives can occur before the noun without an apparent change of meaning.

3.1.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually postnominals in Warihío:

(16a) tihoé tapaná u'mákame
    man yesterday run-PTCP-NMLZ
    ‘the man that ran away yesterday’
(16b) owitiame močibámpo  no’ó tetewá-ri-a
woman Mochibampo 1SG.NS see-PFV-NMLZ
‘the woman that I saw in Mochibampo’

(16c) kuitá wa'amí weri-áme
child over.there be.sitting.sg-NMLZ
‘the child that was standing over there’

(16d) tihoé tapaná u'mákame
man yesterday run-PTCP-NMLZ
‘the man that ran away yesterday’

(16e) tepurá kuú ahá-e tehpunati-áme
ax piece.of.wood COM-INS cut-NMLZ
‘the ax they chopped the pieces of wood with’

(16f) owitiame amó aháma simi-ri-á wairé-či
woman 2SG.NS COM go-PFV-NMLZ party-LOC
‘the woman you went to the party with’

(16g) pahkó amó simi-ri-áči owitiame aháma
feast 2SG.NS go-PFV-LOC woman COM
‘the feast you went to with the woman.’

(16h) kari amó kari-tá-ri-a wani
house 2SG.NS house-build-PFV-NMLZ John
‘the house John built for you’

(16i) sipičá amó ihkóke-ri-a marí
dress 2SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ Mary
‘the dress Mary gave you’
3.1.5 Postpositional phrases

(17a) kawáí čikéro-či
    horse barnyard-LOC
    ‘the horse in the barnyard’

(17b) sikori o'oróna-či
    pot  stove-LOC
    ‘the pot on the stove’

(17c) kuitá sirá-či
    child  chair-LOC
    ‘the child in the chair’

3.2. Scattered NPs

In Warihio, as in other Uto-Aztecan languages (Munro, 1982), we can find floated quantifiers. The quantifier is preverbal and the head noun post-verbal:

(18a) paikápi asi-ré-pa  teh-témari
    a.few  arrive-PFV-INCH PL~person
    ‘A few persons already arrived.’

(18b) werú nahki=ne  nerói toomante cčitiáme ičió
    much need=1SG.S water tomatoe field  BEN
    ‘I need a lot of water for the tomato field.’

3.3. Noun compound

Two nouns can form a compound noun phrase:
3.4. NP conjunctions

NP conjunctions in S/A function can occur in juxtaposition without any connector (20), and NP conjunctions in P function can show the adverbs *piená* ‘together’ (21) or *tiamé* ‘also’ (22):

(20a) maría pedró tetewá-re wani
Mary Peter see-PFV John
‘Mary and Peter saw John.’

(20b) wani muú no'ó natehté-ka=eme
John 2SG.S 1SG.NS pay-PFV=2PL.S
‘John and you paid to me.’

(20c) simi-ká=ne wani maría kari-wá-ra-či
go-PFV=1SG.S John Mary house-CLS-REL-LOC
‘I went to John and Mary’s house.’

(20d) wani pedró maría e~ena-méra
John Peter Mary PL~come-FUT
‘John, Peter and Mary are going to come.’

(20e) wani pedró maría ki=e~ena-méra
John Peter Mary NEG=PL~come-FUT
‘John, nor Peter, nor Mary are going to come.’
(20f) wani pedró maría ki=tekihpana-náre
    John Peter Mary NEG=work-DES
    ‘John, nor Peter, nor Mary want to work.’

(21) tapaná wani tetewá-re piená maría pedró
    yesterday John see-PFV together Mary Peter
    ‘Yesterday John saw Mary and Peter.’

(22a) tapaná wani tetewá-re maría pedró tiamé
    yesterday John see-PFV Mary Peter also
    ‘Yesterday John saw Mary and Peter.’

(22b) natehté-ka=ne wani amó tiamé
    pay-PAST=1SG.S John 2SG.NS also
    ‘I paid to John and you.’

(22c) papahkó-ka=mu pehtóri sikóri tiamé
    wash-PAST=2SG.S plates pots also
    ‘Did you wash the plates and pots?’
CHAPTER 4

RELATIVE CLAUSES

4.0. Introduction

Relative clauses as noun modifiers are embedded in the noun phrase. Their syntax is similar to the syntax of the verbal complements embedded in the verb phrase. Restrictive ((1a),(2a)) and non-restrictive ((1b), (2b)) relative clauses are marked in the same way in Warihío:

(1a) tihoé aarí ená-ka-me  ki=ko'á-re
    man  late  arrive-PAST-NMLZ  NEG==eat-PFV
    ‘The man that arrived late didn’t eat.’

(1b) pedró aarí ená-ka-me  ki=ko'á-re
    Peter  late  arrive-PAST-NMLZ  NEG==eat-PFV
    ‘Peter, who arrived late, didn’t eat.’

(2a) tihoé kāri  mete-yáme  ko'korepa-re
    man  house  build-NMLZ  get.sick-PFV
    ‘The man who builds houses got sick.’

(2b) pedró kāri  mete-yáme  ko'korepa-re
    Peter  house  build-NMLZ  get.sick-PFV
    ‘Peter, who builds houses, got sick.’
Warihío relative clauses are mainly post-nominal. All NP positions can be relativized and they are marked in the relative clause by a series of verbal suffixes. There is a comitative-instrumental case fusion in the instrumental relativization. The nominalizer -me marks subjects and the nominalizer -a marks patients, themes and recipients. The locative -ači is used for location. All marks mentioned before occur as verbal suffixes. For the instrumental, there are two marks; the verbal suffix -a plus the free element ahá-e, which is a conjunction of the comitative postposition aháma and the instrumental case -e.

4.1. The verbal Suffix -(a)me

The verb in S/A relative clauses in Warihío is marked with the suffix -(ame):

(3a) čučúri [kokóri-ame]
    dog sick-NMLZ
    ‘the dog that is sick’

(3b) tihoé [tetewá-ka-me wačó]
    man see-PAST-NMLZ soldier
    ‘the man who saw the soldier’

(3c) owitiame [wiči-ká-me]
    woman fall.down-PAST-NMLZ
    ‘the woman who fell down’

(3d) kuú [waki-pá-ka-me]
    plant dry-INCH-PAST-NMLZ
    ‘the plant that wilted’
(3e) wakásí [yačah-pá-ka-me]
cow set-INCH-PAST-NMLZ
‘the cow that got well’

Past/perfective events are marked with the verbal suffix –ka, while the present tense is unmarked. This contrasts with the main declarative verbal suffixes –re and –ni/-na for perfective and present/habitual, respectively:

(4a) tihoé tapaná umá-si-re
man yesterday run-go-PFV
‘The man ran away yesterday.’

(4a’) tihoé [tapaná umá-si-ka-me]
man yesterday run-go-PAST-NMLZ
‘the man who ran away yesterday’

(4b) owitiame umá-ni ehpé
woman run-PRS now
‘The woman is running now.’

(4b’) owitiame [umá-me ehpé]
woman run-NMLZ now
‘the woman who is running now’

(4c) tihoé meyá-re no’ó no’nó
man kill-PFV 1SG:NS father
‘The man killed my father.’

(4c’) tihoé [no’ó no’nó meyá-ka-me]
man 1SG:NS father kill-PAST-NMLZ
‘the man who killed my father’
In Warihó, it is possible for headless relative clauses to occur with the same set of suffixes. These headless relative clauses can function as subject or object dependent clauses:

(5a) yau-yáme
dance-NMLZ
‘those that are dancing’

(5b) wići-ká-me o'owára-či
fall.down-PAST-NMLZ hole-LOC
‘the one who fell down in the hole’

(5c) tapaná umá-si-ka-me
yesterday run-go-PAST-NMLZ
‘the one who ran yesterday’

4.2. The verbal suffix -a

Relative clauses with a head in Patient/Theme or Recipient functions show the verbal suffix -a. The perfective suffix -re is used in the relative verb instead of the suffix -ka in subject relative clauses.

In the examples in (6a)-(6c), the nouns tihoé ‘man’, tihoé ‘man’, and kuú ‘tree’ are the patients of the relative verbs me’eyáni ‘to kill’, me’eyáni ‘to kill’, and tehpiñaki ‘to cut’, respectively:
(6a) tihoé [wani me'eyá-ri-a]
man John kill-PFV-NMLZ
‘the man who John killed’

(6b) tihoé [amó me'eyá-ri-a]
man 2SG.NS kill-PFV-NMLZ
‘the man that you killed’

(6c) kuú [wani tehpuná-ri-a]
tree John cut-PFV-NMLZ
‘the tree that John cut’

When the subject of the relative clause is nominal, it is unmarked. When pronominal, it shows up as in its non-S form, as seen in amó ‘you’ in (6b).

The same relative clause marking is used when the head noun functions as the recipient as in (6d); tihoé ‘man’ is the recipient of neháni ‘sell’ and owitiame ‘woman’ the recipient of kiyáni ‘give’in (6e):

(6d) tihoé [no'ó kawái-wa nehí-ke-ri-a]
man 1SG:NS horse-CLF sell-APPL-PFV-NMLZ
‘the man whom I sold the horse’

(6e) owitiame [no'ó kiyá-ri-a aníó]
woman 1SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ ring
‘the woman that I gave the ring to.’
*Kawái* ‘horse’ is the Theme of *neháni* ‘to sell’ in (6f) and *kari* ‘house’ is the Theme of *nenétena* ‘to show’ in (6g):

(6f) kawái [pedró nehá-ri-a wani]
    horse Peter sell-PFV-NMLZ John
    ‘the horse that Peter sold to John’

(6g) kari [wání nené-te-ri-a maría]
    house John see-CAUS-PFV-NMLZ Mary
    ‘the house that John showed to Mary’

Or with the comitative too:

(6h) tihoé [no’ó ahamá ihi-á-i]
    man 1SG.NS with drink-NMLZ-IPFV
    ‘the man who I drank with’

4.3. Relativization of instrumental

The relativization of instrumentals is coded with the instrumental case suffix 
*e* attached to the shortened comitative postposition *ahá-* from *aháma* plus the verbal suffix 
*-a* as the examples in (7a)-(7c) show:

(7a) yawé [maría ahá-e waho-ná-ri-a]
    key Mary COM-INS open-TZR-PFV-NMLZ
    ‘the key with which Mary opened (the door)’
(7b) peetúri [ahá-e tehpuná-ri-a hustína sa'pá]  
knife COM-INS cut-PFV-NMLZ Agustína meat  
‘the knife with which Agustína cut the meat’

(7c) paaká [wání ahá-e puhá-ri-a makučúni]  
hook John COM-INS get.off-PFV-NMLZ guamúchíl  
‘the hook with which John got off the guamúchíl fruit’

Usually the relative clause is post-nominal in Warihío, but occasionally one can find pre-nominal relative clauses as in (8a) or even a post-nominal relative clause separated from its head by a main clause as in (8b). In (8a), the relative clause ahpó komáre nehiriá  
‘...that her comrade sold’ is to the left of its patient head kawái ‘horse’: 

(8a) [ahpó komáre nehí-ri-á] kawái  
3SG:NS comrade sell-PFV-NMLZ horse  
‘the horse that her comrade sold’

(8a') kawái [ahpó komáre nehí-ri-á]  
horse 3SG:NS comrade sell-PFV-NMLZ  
‘the horse that her comrade sold’

In (8b), the relative clause kuú pehaná kahtiáme ‘...that is seated behind the tree’ is postnominal and it is separated from its head tihoé ‘man’ by the main clause no’ó merinúrani:
(8b) N  O  V-V  Rel. C.
    [tihoé] no'ó meri-núra-ni [kuú pehaná kahti-áme]
    man  1SG:NS kill.s-order-PRS tree behind  be.seated:sg-NMLZ
    "They are asking me to kill the man that is seated behind the tree."

Sometimes the suffix -a is the only strategy required to have an instrumental
relativization:

(9)  tepúra [waní tehpuná-ri-a kuú]
    ax    John cut-PFV-NMLZ tree
    "the ax with which John cut the tree"

4.4. The verbal suffix -áči

Locatives including allatives and ablatives can be relativized through the verbal
suffix -áči "where":

(10a) yeepó [pahko-ta-po-áči]
    yard  feast-make-FUT-LOC
    "the yard where the feast is going to be"

(10b) meesá [ko'-ko-po-áči]
    table  ITER~eat-FUT-LOC
    "the table where the lunch is going to be served"

---

1 I am taking the gloss of Future for -po from Miller (1996). These are the only examples in the data with this suffix.
(10c) [no'ó simi-yáči] puebló-či
1SG.NS go-LOC pueblo-LOC
‘the town where I go’

(10d) kahóni [no'ó katawe-ri-áči anío]
box 1SG.NS keep-PFV-LOC ring
‘the box where I kept the ring.’

(10e) kahóni [no'ó mačipa-ri-áči anío]
box 1SG.NS take.out-PFV-LOC ring
‘the box that I took the ring out of.’

4.5. Summary

The different positions and strategies Warihio uses to relativize are schematized as follows:

(11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalization</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-ame</td>
<td>V-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S, A</td>
<td>P, T, R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5
THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

5.0. Introduction

The simple sentence or clause in a language, when seen as the expression of a proposition, is a pivotal point in that language's grammar. It is in the clause that events and participants - the two main parts of a communicative intent - interact. The description of these two subparts of a simple sentence and their relations form the core of a language description.

5.1. Sentence types

The focus here is on the different types of sentences as defined by their internal structure, based primarily on different types of predicates.

5.1.1. Non-verbal predicates

The various types of non-verbal predicates, mainly the nominal, adjectival, locative, and existential, along with possession, will be described in the following sections.
Copulas are of two types in Warihio; (i) the suffix -hu that occurs at the end of the clause suffixed to the last element, and (ii) the verb ininá 'be'. These different copulas show different distribution with the non-verbal predicates as we will see below.

5.1.1.1. Nominal predicates

In Warihio, it is possible to have a nominal predication by juxtaposition of two nouns/noun phrases or a noun and a pronoun. These predications usually show no tense-aspect suffix with a present/habitual meaning (1), but they may show other tense/aspect suffixes (3f).

(1a) pedró merikó / merikó pedró
    Peter  doctor
    'Peter is a/the doctor.'
(1b) wani yaučí i'wá / yaučí wani i'wá
    John chief here
    'John is the governor here.'
(1c) puú=a  no'ó  koá'me wa'á=pu=a
    D.D=EMPH 1SG.NS food there=D.D=EMPH
    'That is my food.'

In (1a)-(1b), two nouns are juxtaposed; the order of the predicative element may be interchanged. On the other hand can also shift the order, in (1c) we have a demonstrative with a possessive noun phrase as the predication.
There may be a predicative noun with a free pronoun to the right (2), or to the left (3):

(2a) wačó neē=a
soldier 1SG.S=EMPH
'I am a soldier.'

(2b) wačó muú=a
soldier 2SG.S=EMPH
'You are a soldier.'

(2c) wačó apoé=a
soldier 3SG.S=EMPH
'He is a soldier.'

(2d) wačó teemé=a
soldier 1PL.S=EMPH
'We are soldiers.'

(2e) wačó emé=a
soldier 2/3PL.S=EMPH
'You/they are soldiers.'

(3a) neē=a tihoé
1SG.S=EMPH man
'I am a man.'

(3b) muú=a tihoé
2SG.S=EMPH man
'You are a man.'

(3c) apoé=a tihoé
3SG.S=EMPH man
'He is a man.'
We can find a predicative noun with a clitic:

(4) owitiame=mu=a
    woman=2SG.S=EMPH
    ‘You are a woman.’

Note that the pronoun shows the clitic =a, which is a type of emphatic. For pragmatic considerations, the pronoun can be in the initial focus position as (5) shows:

(5) muú(=a) ičikuáme=mu=a
    2SG.S(=EMPH) thief=2SG.S=EMPH
    ‘You are a stealer.’

The copula -hu may be attached to the second noun of the copula construction, which takes the predicative function:
(6a) pedró yaučí-hu
    Peter chief-COP
    ‘Peter is the governor.’

(6b) maría pohesóra-hu
    Mary teacher-COP
    ‘Mary is a teacher.’

It seems that sentences in (6) are true equational sentences, since one can reverse the order, suffixing the copula to the other noun with the same acceptable propositional meaning, as in (7):

(7a) yaučí i'wá pedró-hu
    chief here Peter-COP
    ‘The governor here is Peter.’

(7b) yaučí pedró-hu i'wá
    chief Peter-COP here
    ‘The governor here is Peter.’

In (6a) the copula is suffixed to yaučí and in (7b) to pedró. The copula -hu is reserved for NN constructions and juxtaposition for the first and second personal pronouns. However, with the third person pronoun, the copula -hu is optionally used:

(8) aapóe wačó(-hu)
    3PL.S soldier-COP
    ‘They are soldiers.’
In copular clauses, in other tense/aspects other than present/habitual, the verb *ininá* ‘to be’ is preferred:

(9a) pedró yaučí ini-riáí  
**Peter chief be-IPFV**  
‘Peter was the governor.’

(9b) pedró yaučí ini-méra  
**Peter chief be-FUT**  
‘Peter is going to be the governor.’

Or with the verb *ininá* ‘to be’ in a relative clause whose head noun is in this case *pedró* ‘Peter’:

(9c) pedró yaučí ini-ká-me  
**Peter chief be-PAST-NMLZ**  
‘Peter the one who was governor.’

(9b) pedró yaučí ini-mi-áme  
**Peter chief be-FUT-NMLZ**  
‘Peter the one who is going to be the governor.’

5.1.1.2. Adjectival predicates

Like nominal predicates, adjectival predicates can occur with no copula:
(10a) karí nu'úti / werumá
    house small / big
    ‘The house is small / big.’

(10b) nu'úti / werumá karí
    small / big house
    ‘The house is small / big.’

(10c) no'ó čuhčúri očóname
    1SG.NS dog black
    ‘My dog is black.’

(10d) kawái nasínage / uwatiame
    horse slow / fast
    ‘The horse is slow / fast.’

Most of the Warihío adjectives occur in a nominalized form like očóname ‘the one that is black’ in (10c), and uwatiame ‘the one that is fast’ in (10d) as well. The adjectival color predication may occur without or with the -hu copula:

(11a) karí si'óname
    house green
    ‘The house is green.’

(11b) karí si'óname-hu
    house green-COP
    ‘The house is green.’

But it seems it does not accept the emphatic =a:
(11c) *karí s'óname=a

Predicates that are emotional adjectives can occur in a nominal form (12a) as well as a verbal form (12b):

(12a) pedró kawérame / nekahtiame
     Peter  happy    / angry
     ‘Peter is happy / angry.’

(12b) pedró kawéra-ni / nekahtú-na
     Peter  good-PRS / angry-PRS
     ‘Peter is happy / angry.’

The semantic contrast between (10a) and (10b) seems to be one of permanent vs. temporary state, respectively. This same contrast is observed in (13)-(14):

(a) Permanent

(13a) puú=a tepehkúma / mehi kanó / inahtáme
     D.D=EMPH tall    / Mexican / smart
     ‘He is tall / Mexican / smart.’

(13b) kuú=a te'paweriáme / saúáime
     tree=EMPH tall / yellow
     ‘The tree is big / yellow.’

(13c) puú=a pohesóre-hu / sipoyáme-hu
     D.D=EMPH teacher-COP / witch-COP
     ‘He is a teacher / she is a witch.’
(13d) i'wá=o tahtáme-hu  
here=EMPH hot-COP  
‘It is usually hot here.’

(b) Temporary

(14a) puú=a nekahtú-na / yuwésu-na  
D.D=EMPH angry-PRS / sad-PRS  
‘She is angry / sad.’

(14b) puú=a ko'kori-ái / na'rá-i  
D.D=EMPH suffer-IPFV / cry-IPFV  
‘She was suffering / crying.’

(14c) puetá yeterae-ká-i / waho-raí  
doors close-PTCP-IPFV / open-IPFV  
‘The door was closed / open.’

The following construction can have both readings:

(15) tahtá i'wá=o  
hot here=EMPH  
‘It is very hot here.’ (Permanent or temporary state).

5.1.1.3. Predicate possession

Predicates of possession in Waríhío are associated with the instrumental suffix -e, a schema used as a source for possession (Heine, 2001). For inalienable predicative possession, that is, relatives and body parts, the construction is constituted by: (i) a
possessed noun, (ii) the instrumental -e suffixed to the possessed noun, and (iii) a possessor that follows the same distribution as the subject of a main clause. This can be a free possessor pronoun ((16a'), (16b')) or a pronoun cliticized to the construction made by (i) and (ii) ((16a)-(16e)), or a noun possessor (16f). The possessed noun can have a modifier to the left:

(16a) piipi se'ka-é=ne
       one arm-INS=1SG.S
       ‘I have only one arm.’ lit. ‘I with one arm’

(16a') puú=a piipi seká-e
       D,D=EMPH one arm-INS
       ‘That (person) has only one arm.’

(16b) tepekúma ku'pá-e=mu
       long hair-INS=2SG.S
       ‘You have long hair.’ lit. ‘You with long hair’

(16b') puú-a tepekúma ku'pá-e
       D,D=EMPH long hair-INS
       ‘That (person) has long hair.’

(16c) werumá čuwá-e=ne
       big mouth-INS=1SG.S
       ‘I have a big mouth.’ lit. ‘I with big mouth’

(16d) paiká ta-taná-e=ne
       three PL~-son-INS=1SG.S
       ‘I have three sons.’ lit. ‘I with three sons’
(16e) piipi o'óčikí-e
    one grandfather-INS=1SG.S
    ‘I have one grandfather.’ lit. ‘I with one grandfather’

(16f) hustína paiká ta-taná-e
    Agustína three PL=son-INS
    ‘Agustína has three sons.’ lit. ‘Agustina with three sons’

For alienable predicative possession the construction shows the classifier 
-wa that
signals the possessed entity as alienable. This classifier is placed between the possessed noun and the instrumental suffix -e:

(17) ete-wa-é=ne
    louse-CLF-INS=1SG.S
    ‘I have lice.’ lit. ‘I with lice’

The classifier suffix 
-wa can be attached to the copula ‘to be’:

(18a) inu-wá-e=ne piipi sipičá sehtáname
    be-CLF-INS=1SG.S one dress red
    ‘I have a red dress.’ lit. ‘I am with a red dress’

(18b) paiká totori kiliwáme inu-wá-e=mu
    three hen speckled be-CLF-INS=2SG.S
    ‘You have three speckled hens.’ lit. ‘You are with three speckled hens’
5.1.2. Verbal predicates

The most frequent predicates in Warihío are verbs, words that occur with tense/aspect suffixes. These verbs can occur alone and constitute a simple clause, since third person participants may be omitted and ambient clauses show no participant but the verb itself.

5.1.2.1. Intransitive clauses

The main distinction among verbal predicates is that between intransitive and transitive predicates, the former taking a single core participant, the latter at least two. But as Hopper and Thompson (1980) claim, transitivity is a matter of degree given by the nature of the event itself and by the properties of the participants. In Warihío, for many clauses there are no grammatical criteria for distinguishing intransitive from transitive clauses except the number of participants occurring in the clause:

(19a) yuku-ré
rain-PFV
‘It rained.’

(19b) upá-ru=ne tapaná
bath-PFV.EV=1SG.S yesterday
‘I bathed yesterday.’

(19b') upá-ru=ne kuitá tapaná
bath-PFV.EV=1SG.S child yesterday
‘I bathed the child yesterday.’
(19c) hustina itoče-re muuní pedró
     Agustina send-PFV beans Peter
     ‘Agustina sent beans to Peter.’

In (19a), there is no participant but the event itself. These types of clauses have been called (ambient clauses) a-transitive or zero transitive clauses (Dryer, in preparation). The crucial contrast is between (19b) and (19c) since the two clauses look exactly the same but for the number of participants occurring in those clauses: one in (19b) the intransitive clause, and two in (19c) the transitive clause. Now, let’s remember that Warihío does not mark case in core noun participants, there is no verbal agreement, and its constituent order is flexible; therefore, transitivity in Warihío is shown in many instances not lexically but by the number of obligatory participants in a given event.

Sometimes there is a morphological device appearing as a transitivizing verbal suffix in the transitive verb in opposition to the unmarked intransitive. In a few other instances, the verbal suffix occurs in the intransitive verb in opposition to the unmarked transitive verb, or with a change from a non-marked inactive intransitive verb to a marked active intransitive verb. Therefore, the exemplification in this section will be given mainly by pairs of clauses, where one or both are marked in some way. This mark occurs as a verbal suffix such as the following alternation pairs:
(20) Intransitive vs. transitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>-na / -ča</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.2.1.1. Inactive vs. active intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are not completely homogenous in their semantics. We can make a further distinction between an active intransitive event with an agentive-like participant and an inactive intransitive event with a patient-like participant. This distinction may be marked in some specific groups of verbs.

All adjectival (21) states and positionals (22a-d) are given formally as verbs in Warihlo:

(21a) kahpé kahká-ni / čihpú-ni
     coffee sweet-PRS / bitter-PRS
     ‘The coffee is sweet / bitter.’

(21b) rečú čo'kó-ni / ko'kó-ni
     milk sour-PRS / spicy-PRS
     ‘The milk is sour / spicy.’

(21c) nerói turá-ni
     water cold-PRS
     ‘The water is cold.’
(21d) aki to'kó-ni
   river deep-PRS
   ‘The river is deep.’

(21e) wakirá waki-ná / sami-ná
   shirt dry-PRS / wet-PRS
   ‘The shirt is dry / wet.’

In Warhibí, the positional verbs considered as statives or inactive intransitive verbs, show an active intransitive counterpart marked with the verbal suffix –pa. These are the change in body position verbs. Some examples are given in (22):

(22a) werí-na=ne
   be.standing.sg-PRS=1SG.S
   ‘I am standing up.’

(22a') weri-pá-qi-ne
   be.standing.sg-INC-PRES=1SG.S
   ‘I stood up.’

(22b) yesí-na=ne
   be.seated.sg-PRS=1SG.S
   ‘I am seated.’

(22b') yesi-pá-qi-ne
   be.seated.sg-INC-PRES=1SG.S
   ‘I am sitting up.’

(22c) po'i=né
   be.lying.down=1SG.S
   ‘I am lying down.’

(22c') po'i-pá=ne
   be.lying.down-INC=1SG.S
   ‘I lay down.’

(22d) ko'omorá-ni=ne
   be.bent-PRS=1SG.S
   ‘I am bent.’

(22d') ko'omora-pá-qi-ne
   be.bent-INC-PRES=1SG.S
   ‘I am bending.’

We observe that all the events in the right column are events describing a change of body position. The verbs expressing these events have the suffix –pa. The stative events in the
left column lack this suffix. The suffix -\textit{pa} can be considered as a morpheme that signals a change of state. In the specific events above, and given the high animacy of the participants, the contrast unmarked vs. -\textit{pa} marked verbs shows an inactive vs. active intransitive event contrast.

5.1.2.1.2. Intransitive clauses with no participants

There is a type of intransitive clause that can show no participants at all. Most of these events are the so-called ambient events, expressed in Warihio by a verb alone:

(23a) tuurá-re tapaná  
cold-PVE yesterday  
‘It was cold yesterday.’

(23b) tapaná yuku-ré kečewéka-či  
yesterday rain-PFV Quechhueca-LOC  
‘It rained in Quechhueca yesterday.’

(23c) semana pahčá-či kepa-rú mesa-či  
week last-LOC freeze-PFV.EV Mesa-LOC  
‘Last week, there was frost in La Mesa.’

(23d) kuhuí-pa-ni f'-ka tukaó  
flash-INCH-PRS DP-ID night  
‘It’s lightning tonight.’

The qualification of an event can be given without any participant at all:
(23e) inyanteé-ru
    horrible-PFV.EV
    ‘It was horrible.’

5.1.2.1.3. Locative intransitive clauses

Verbs used as locatives in Warihío refer to the actual position of the participant.

Some of the verbs are kahti ‘to be seated’, weri ‘to be standing’, čuhkú ‘to be on four
legs’, po’i ‘be lying down’. This way, we can have locative predications as follows:

(24a) maría kari-čí kahti
    Mary house-LOC be.seated
    ‘Mary is in the house.’

(24b) čuhčúri po’i mesá-tere
dog be.lying.down table-LOC
    ‘The dog is under the table.’

(24c) čuhčúri čuhkú mesá-tere
dog be.on.four.legs table-LOC
    ‘The dog is under the table.’

5.1.2.1.4. Existential intransitive clauses

One type of clause associated with a locative expression is the existential clause.

This clause predicates the existence itself of some participant. The verb mani asserts the
existence of an entity. The existential verb can be inflected by aspect/tense suffixes; zero
marked for present in (25a), -re for perfective in (25b) and -mera for future potential in
(25c) or the negative proclitic ki= as in (25d):
(25a) maní neróí sikorí-či
exist  water pot-LOC
'There is water in the pot.'

(25b) maní-re neróí sikorí-či
exist-PFV water pot-LOC
'There was water in the pot.'

(25c) mani-méra neróí
exist-FUT  water
'There is going to be water.'

(25d) ki=maní-re  neróí
NEG=exist-PFV water
'There was no water.'

The existential maní does not indicate number or quantification of the entity in question:

(26) weeká maní newéri  kusi-tere
many exist  pitahaya woods-through
'There are many pitahayas in the woods.'

5.1.2.1.5. Active intransitive clauses

The canonical active intransitive clause has verbs such as siminá ‘to go’, umání ‘to run’, and ninína ‘to fly’ and a participant, if a pronoun is in the S form:

(27a) wani simi-ré  tiendá-či
John go-PFV  store-LOC
'John went to the store.'
(27b) neé umá-re tapaná
1SG.S run-PFV yesterday
‘I ran yesterday.’

(27c) tučikí níní-re mehká
bird fly-PFV far.away
‘A bird flew far away.’

5.1.2.2. Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses take two participants.

5.1.2.2.1. Inactive intransitive vs. transitive clauses

Almost all positional inactive intransitive verbs in Warihío have transitive counterparts. The grammatical device is change a vowel in the base from \(-i\) (intr.) to \(-a\) (tr.)\(^1\) as in (28). Besides, there are suppletive forms for the singular and plural participants in the case of inactive intransitive events and suppletive forms for the singular and plural patientive-like participants in the case of transitive events.

(28a) ihpičira werí ehkína-či
broom be.standing.sg corner-LOC
‘The broom is in the corner.’

(28a’) ihpičira ahawí ehkína-či
brooms be.standing.pl corner-LOC
‘The brooms are in the corner.’

\(^1\) This vowel alternation also occurs in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, but in this case the alternation is from \(-e\) to \(-a\).
(28b) hustína werá-re ihpičira ehkína-či
Agustína place.s.standing.sg broom corner-LOC
‘Agustína put the broom in the corner.’

(28b') hustína ahawá-re ihpičira ehkína-či
Agustína place.s.standing.pl broom corner-LOC
‘Agustína put the brooms in the corner.’

Other verbs that use the –i/ –a vowel change are:

(29) čo'iná ‘there is no fire’
čo'áni ‘turn off the fire’
čewiná ‘be hit’ (intr.)
čewaní ‘hit’ (tr.)

5.1.2.2.2. Active intransitive vs. transitive clauses

The change of active intransitive clauses to transitive clauses can be accomplished by one of these suffixes: -pu, -te, -ča, -na2.

5.1.2.2.2.1. The verbal suffix -pu

(30a) te'ki-na=ne kawái-či
get.off-PRS=1SG.S horse-LOC
‘I am getting off the horse.’

---

2 These suffixes will be treated in the Voice Chapter.
(30a') te'ki-pú-na=ne kuitá kawái-či
get.off-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S child horse-LOC
'I am getting the child off the horse.'

(30b) mo'tewá-ní=ne kawái-či
get on-PRS=1SG.S horse-LOC
'I am getting on the horse.'

(30b') mo'te-pú-na=ne kuitá kawái-či
get on-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S child horse-LOC
'I am putting the child on the horse.'

(30c) napawi-na weeká tihoé pueblo-či
reunite-PRS QUANT man town-LOC
'A lot of people are gathering in town.'

(30c') napa-pú-na=ne weeká tihoé pueblo-či
gather-TRZ-PRS=1SG.S QUANT man town-LOC
'I am gathering a lot of people in town.'

(30d) ne'néo kohtári natawí-re
look.at bag pierce-PFV
'Look! The bag broke.'

(30d') nata-pú-ru=ne kohtári
pierce-TRZ-PFV.EV-1SG.S bag
'I broke the bag.'

5.1.2.2.2. The verbal suffix -te

Some verbs have the transitive counterpart marked with the causative suffix -te.

Some of these verb pairs are given in (31a) and exemplified in (31b)-(31d):
(31a) su'rúni / su'rútena 'to scrape intr. / tr.'
    pu'sani / pu'sátena 'to wake up intr. / tr.'
    moropina / moropitena 'to sink intr. / tr.'
    wekaní / wekaténa 'to get lost/lose.'

(31b) su'rú-re=ne tono-čí / tehté no'ó su'rú-te-re tono-čí
    scrape-PFV=1SG:S feet-LOC / stone 1SG:NS scrape-CAUS-PFV feet-LOC
'My feet scraped' / 'The stones scraped my feet.'

(31c) wani pu'sa-ré / pedró pu'sa-te-re wani
    John wake.up-PFV / Peter wake.up-CAUS-PFV John
'John woke up' / 'Peter woke John up.'

(31d) peturi weka-ré tapaná / weka-té-ru=ne petúri tapaná
    knife lose-PFV yesterday / lose-CAUS-PFV=1SG:S knife yesterday
'The knife got lost yesterday' / 'I lost the knife yesterday'

In (31b)-(31d), the pairs of sentences show two differences: one participant and an unmarked verb in the sentences to the left, and two participants and a –te suffixed verb in the sentences to the right.

5.1.2.2.2.3. The verbal suffixes -na/-ča

The verbal suffixes –na/-ča are restricted to a group of stative verbs with an adjectival meaning. This group contains verbs like kasīna ‘to be broken’, si'páni ‘to be torn’, či'wáni ‘to be cut’, wi'lóna ‘to be flexible’, pi'rina ‘to be twisted’. All these verbs accept the causative suffix –te also, but with a different meaning. In the construction with –na/-ča, the subject is the causer (32a)-(33a) whereas in the construction with –te, the

---

3 The verbal suffix –na, a transitive and the present/habitual tense-aspect –na are homophones.
subject is a kind of malefactive and the causer is unspecified (32a’)-(33a’). None of these constructions with these verbs accept the suffix –pu (34):

(32a) pehtóri kasi-ré / kasi-ná-ru=ne pehtóri
plate break-PFV / break-CAUS-PFV.EV=1SG.S plate
‘The plate broke’ / ‘I broke the plate.’

(32a’) kasi-té-ru=ne pehtóri
break-CAUS-PFV.EV=1SG.S plate
‘(somebody) broke the plate (on me).’

(33a) si’pá-re sipičá / hustína si’pá-na-re sipičá
tear.apart-PFV dress / Agustina tear.apart-CAUS-PFV dress
‘The dress got torn’ / ‘Agustina tore apart the dress.’

(33a’) hustína si’pá-te-re sipičá
Agustina tear.apart-CAUS-PFV dress
‘(Something) tore apart the dress (of Agustina).’ (For example, by accident working in the field.)

(34) * kasi-pú-ru=ne pehtóri
* hustína si’pa-pú-re sipičá

Again, as in (31) these pairs of sentences show a marked change of transitivity, from a non-marked intransitive to a -na marked transitive, from one to two participants.

Transitivity in Warihio is a phenomenon difficult to formally demonstrate. Besides, the suffixes -pu, -te, -na that occur only in a group of verbs, the only indication in many instances is lexical, that is the type of event, and the number of participants.
Sometimes only the latter aspect can give us a clue about the transitivity of some event. This poses a problem in signaling semantic relations, as we will see in the next section.

5.2. Tense, Aspect, Mood

The Tense, Aspect and Mood marking system is not rich in Warihio. It consists of a few verbal suffixes plus some free elements that most of the time integrate tense and aspect or tense and mood.

The elements involved in the TAM marking are the following:

(a) \(-ni \sim -na, -wi \sim -wa, -\emptyset\)

(b) \(-re \sim ri, -ru, -ka\)

(c) \(-i \sim -yai \sim -riai\)

(d) \(-ma, -mera, -puapu(a)\)

(e) \(-pa\)

(f) \(-nare, -hera, -moti\)

(g) \(\text{senépi} \quad \text{‘always’}\)

\(\text{kawé} \quad \text{‘good’, ‘well’}\)

The elements above will be described in that order.
5.2.1. The present/habitual suffixes -\(ni\) ~ -\(na\), -\(wi\) ~ -\(wa\), -\(O\)

Verbs in Warihó must have a tense/aspect suffix with the exception of a list of five verbs which have -\(O\) for present/habitual. There is no infinitive form and the cited verb forms are given with one of these suffixes -\(ni\) ~ -\(na\) or -\(wi\) ~ -\(wa\). The most frequent suffixes are the allomorphs -\(ni\) ~ -\(na\), whereas -\(wi\) ~ -\(wa\) was found only in 4 verbs; pesu-wá ‘to peel off’, čuču-wí ‘to hung.pl’, aha-wí ‘to be standing.pl’, močí-wí ‘to be seated.pl’. The unmarked verbs for present/habitual are nahkí ‘to want’, mačí ‘to know’, kahti ‘to be seated.sg’, po’í ‘to be lying down.sg’, werí ‘to be standing.sg’.

These suffixes give the sense of present continuous (35) or present/habitual (36):

(35) \(\text{waní tehpuča-ni kuú}\)

John chop-PRS piece.of.wood
‘John is chopping pieces of wood.’

(36) \(\text{waní senépi tehpuča-ni kuú}\)

John always chop-PRS piece.of.wood
‘John always chops pieces of wood.’

We observe in (36) that in order to express a habitual activity, it may be used additional free elements such as the adverbial senépi ‘always’. Other examples with -\(na\)/-\(ni\) are:

(37a) \(\text{pedró kahu-ná tehkí}\)

Peter finish-PRS work
‘Peter is finishing the work.’
(37b) pedró senépi kahu-ná tehki
    Peter always finish-PRS work
    ‘Peter always finishes the work.’

(38a) hustína nawésa-ni makuráwe
    Agustína speak-PRS Waríhio.language
    ‘Agustína speaks Waríhio.’

(38b) pedró koa-ní takári
    Peter eat-PRS tortillas
    ‘Peter eats tortillas.’

5.2.2. The perfective suffixes -re ~ -ri, -ru

The verbal suffix -re functions as a perfective (39):

(39) wání tetemú-re čuhčúri
    John kick-PFV dog
    ‘John kicked the dog.’

(40) wání muku-ré
    John die-PFV
    ‘John died.’

The verbal suffix -ru functions as a perfective/evidential. It occurs when the first
person is involved in the event or the speaker is a witness of the event and for question
for the hearer:
(41a) paápiari tetewá-ru hustína wani
    early.morning see-PFV.EV Agustina John
    ‘Agustina saw John this morning.’

(41b) *paápiari tetewá-ru-ata hustína wani
    early.morning see-PFV.EV-QUOT Agustina John
    ‘Agustina saw John this morning.’

(42a) muú wahoná-re wentána
    2SG.S close-PFV window
    ‘Did you close the window?’

(42b) eheé, wahoná-ru=ne wentána
    yes, close-PFV.EV=1SG.S window
    ‘Yes, I closed the window.’

(42c) *eheé, wahoná-re=ne wentána
    yes, close-PFV=1SG.S window
    ‘Yes, I closed the window.’

The speaker has just seen the governor arrive (no one had expected this event)

Have you heard the news?

(43) yaučí ená-ru
    governor arrive-PFV.EV
    ‘The governor arrived.’

The speaker has just heard the news that the governor arrived (no one had expected this event) Have you heard the news?
(44) yaučí ená-ri-ata
  governor arrive-PFV-QUOT
  ‘The governor arrived.’

The perfect aspect sense given by –re has the anterioty feature with present perfect (45a), past perfect (45b), and future perfect (45c) interpretations:

(45a) (no’ó nawe-sóí-pa) wání tehpúna-re kuú
  1SG.NS speak-SUB-INCH John chop-PFV piece.of.wood
  ‘(As I am speaking now,) John has (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’

(45b) (no’ó asi-yó-pa) wání tehpúna-re kuú
  1SG.NS arrive-SUB-INCH John chop-PFV piece.of.wood
  ‘(When I arrived,) John had (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’

(45c) (amó asi-yó-pa) wání yomá tehpúna-re kuú
  2SG.NS arrive-SUB-INCH John all chop-PFV piece.of.wood
  ‘(When you arrive,) John will have (already) chopped the pieces of wood.’

Completion and terminal boundary are given by a combination of –ru and –pa:

(46a) ačiniá ki=papakonačá=mu seeká
  why NEG=wash=2SG.S hands
  ‘Why don’t you wash your hands?’

(46b) papahko-ru-ni-apa
  wash-PFV.EV=1SG.S-INCH
  ‘I have already washed them.’
(47a)  čorowá-ní=mu
       be.hungry-PRS=2SG.S
       ‘Are you hungry?’

(47b)  ka'i, ko'ka-rú=ne-pa
       no,  eat-PFV.EV=1SG.S-INCH
       ‘No, I have already eaten.’

The verbal suffix -ka generally occurs in one of the verbs of complex sentences giving the sense of simultaneity of events:

(48a)  weri=né        wikahtá-ka
       be.standing.sg=1SG.S sing-PTCP
       yau-ká
       dance-PTCP
       nené-ka wa'ápi amó
       see-PTCP same.place 2SG.NS
       ‘I am singing, dancing, and watching you at the same time.’

(48b)  wani penipá-re tehpuča-ka kuú
       John learn-PFV cut-PTCP wood
       ‘John learned to cut wood.’

(48c)  neé penipá-re yasé-ka kawái
       1SG.S learn-PFV be.seated-PTCP horse
       ‘I learned to ride a horse.’

Occasionally, -ka can be found in simple sentences with the sense of ‘continuous’. Given the tense of the question the tense of the answer is interpreted:
What are you doing?

(49a)  nehá-ka  pií  kuú
sell-PTCP  one  piece.of.wood
'(I am) selling a piece of wood.'

What were you doing?

(49b)  nehá-ka  pií  kuú
sell-PTCP  one  piece.of.wood
'(I was) selling a piece of wood.'

5.2.3. The past imperfective suffix -i ~ -yai ~ -riai

The verbal suffixes -i ~ -yai ~ -riai give different aspect senses depending on the
class of verb it is attached to. With compact short-duration verbs, it gives an iterative
sense:

(50)  waní akačúpa-i        'John was spitting.'
waní sewečá-i            'John was blinking.'
waní tasiá-i             'John was coughing.'
waní temu-yái čuhčúri    'John was kicking the dog.'
waní simi-yái             'John was leaving.'
waní čočo-yái pedró       'John was punching Peter.'
maría wewe-riaí waní      'Mary was slapping John.'

These verbal suffixes in combination with the adverbial senepí 'always' gives the sense
of past-habitual:
(51)  waní senepí tasi-ái ‘John used to spit.’
    waní senepí temu-yái čuhčúri ‘John used to kick the dog.’
    waní senepí čona-yái pedró ‘John used to punch Peter.’

When the past imperfective verbal suffixes attach to accomplishment-completion verbs, the aspect applies to the precedent process leading to the terminal boundary:

(52)  waní asi-ái petečí ‘John was arriving home.’
    waní kahu-yái tehki ‘John was finishing the work.’
    waní muku-yái ‘John was dying.’
    kuitá nawá-i ‘The child was being born.’
    wiči-yái=ne ‘I was falling down.’
    yesipái=ne ‘I was standing up.’

With activity-process verbs, the suffix –i produces an ongoing past progressive sense:

(53)  waní čona-yái suunú ‘John was crushing corn.’
    waní tekihpána-í ‘John was working.’
    waní pi’yo-yái tosá kusíwara ‘John was twisting the cotton branch.’

Or in combination with senepí ‘always’ a habitual-repetitive sense:

(54)  waní senepí čona-yái suunú ‘John used to crush corn.’
    waní senepí tekihpaná-í paá piarí ‘John used to work early in the morning.’

With stative verbs, a sense of past state:
(55) hustina nahki-yâi piî narâso  ‘John used to want an orange.’
yuwes-âi=ne  ‘I was sad.’
turamu-ai=ne  ‘I was cold.’
wiyá-i=ne  ‘I was fat.’
čuhčuri po’asiki-âi  ‘The dog was hairy.’

5.2.5. The irrealis suffixes –ma, -mera, -puapu(a)

These three suffixes give the sense of irrealis-future. The use of –ma for singular first person participant and –puapu(a) for plural first person participants express a higher degree of certainty about the event to occur:

(56a) i’ká tukaó koči-má=ne mehká pete-či
D.P. night sleep-FUT=1SG.S away house-LOC
‘Tonight, I will sleep away from home.’

(56b) i’ká tukaó ko~koči-puápu mehká peteči
D.P. night PL~sleep-FUT away house-LOC
‘Tonight, we will sleep away from home.’

(57a) meeré=o ki=tekihpâna-ma=ne wasa-či
tomorrow= EMPH NEG=work-FUT=1SG.S land-LOC
‘Tomorrow, I won’t work in the field.’

(57b) meeré=o ki=tekihpâna-puapu wasa-či
tomorrow= EMPH NEG=work-FUT.PL land-LOC
‘Tomorrow, we won’t work in the field.’

(58a) enči merehâmi si-ma=né močibâmpo
next year go-FUT=1SG.S Mochibampo
‘Next year, I will go to Mochibampo.’
The suffix *-mera* is used with third person with a sense of lower degree of certainty about the event to occur. The use of this suffix indicates that the event is less likely to occur than with the use of the suffix *-ma* and at the same time the successful realization of an event realized by a third person participant is less certain for the speaker than those realized by the speech act participants (SPA):

(59a) weikáčo arí ena-méra no’ó ye’čí
      a.while afternoon come-POT 1SG.NS aunt
      ‘This afternoon, my aunt is going to come.’

(59b) weikáčo arí e’~ena-méra no’o no’nó
      a.while afternoon PL~come-POT 1SG.NS father
      ‘This afternoon, my parents are going to come.’

(59c) enči osá marikí paamúni no’ó mará kohčíra simi-méra unibersidá-čí
      next twice five year 1SG.NS daughter elder go-POT University-LOC
      ‘In ten years, my elder daughter is going to go to the University.’

(59d) enči osá marikí paamúni no’ó ooká ma~mará simpá-mera unibersidáči
      next twice five year 1SG.NS two PL~daughter go.pl-POT University-LOC
      ‘In ten years, my two daughters are going to go to the University.’
(59e) yoi-merá=ne rotería
    earn-POT=1SG.S lottery
    ‘I am going to win the lottery.’

Modality and mood make use of the irrealis verbal future suffix -ma, the
desiderative verbal suffixes -nare and -hera, the intentive verbal suffix -moti, as well as
the free element kawé ‘good/well’:

(60a) neé kawé tekihpána-ma weeká tawé
    1SG.S well work-FUT many day
    ‘I can work many days.’

(60b) muú kawé itihpi-ma pete-čí
    2SG.S well stay-FUT house-LOC
    ‘You could stay at home.’

(60c) muú itihpi-ma pete-čí
    2SG.S stay-FUT house-LOC
    ‘You must stay at home.’

(60d) muú=a ki=itihpi-ma pete-čí
    2SG.S=EMPH NEG=stay-FUT house-LOC
    ‘You must not stay at home.’

(60e) ariwatópi kočípá-ma=ne
    early sleep-FUT=1SG.S
    ‘I must sleep early.’

There seems to be a contrast of ‘certainty’ associated with -ma and -mera. The
suffix -ma is ‘most certain/irrealis’ and so is appropriate to SPA. The suffix -mera by
other hand is ‘less certain/irrealis’ and so is appropriate to non-SPA. When the choice of person and suffix cross, the result is not an incorrect utterance, it is modality:

(61a) itihpi-mera=mu
    stay-POT=2SG.S
    ‘It’s possible you will stay.’

(61b) itihpi-ma=mu
    stay-FUT=2SG.S
    ‘You must stay.’

(62a) itihpi-mera=ne
    stay-POT=1SG.S
    ‘I may stay.’

(62b) itihpi-ma=ne
    stay-FUT=1SG.S
    ‘I will stay.’

However -ma can occur with third person participants if the speaker has a higher certainty of the event about to occur:

(62c) wani itihpi-ma pete-či
    John stay-FUT  house -LOC
    ‘John must stay in the house.’

The potential -mera (63) may also be involved in constructions with a modal meaning of intent/possibility:
(63a)  pedró umá-mera-ni meeré piarí
        Peter run-POT-PRS tomorrow morning
        ‘Peter wants to run tomorrow morning.’

(63b)  pu'-ká tu'mi-na-merá-re kuú kaya-me-á=pu
        D.D-ID blend-TZR-POT-PFV tree bring-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
        ‘...he wanted to chop down the big tree, the wood-gatherer.’

In (63) it is evident that -mera is functioning as a modal suffix since there is already the
present tense/aspect suffix -ni in (63a) and the perfective -re in (63b).

5.2.5. The desiderative suffixes -nare, -hera, -moti, -ora

The desiderative construction par excellence is the construction involving the
verbal suffix -nare, whose subject is coreferential with the subject of the dependent unit.
This construction contrasts with the desiderative construction coded by -hera because the
subjects of the main and the dependent unit are obligatorily non-coreferential in the latter.
The verbal root can be intransitive (64a) or transitive (64b):

(64a)  tawé ko¹-naré-temé
        day eat-DES-1PL.S
        ‘We want to eat early.’

(64b)  aapóe wewe-náre wani
        3PL.S hit-DES John
        ‘They want to hit John.’
The negative clitic *ki=* attached to the verb with the desiderative suffix *-nare* has the meaning of ‘refuse’ to do V. With the suffix *-hera*, the meaning is to deny permission to some other to do V:

(65a) pedró ki=tekihpaná-nare tomíko-či-o  
Peter NEG=work-DES Sunday-LOC-EMPH  
‘Peter refuses to work on Sundays.’

(65b) waní ki=ená-náre mesa-čí  
John NEG=come-DES Mesa-LOC  
‘John refuses to return to La mesa’

(65c) ki=naiwá-nare=ni=a waní aháma  
NEG=talk-DES=1SG.S=EMPH John COM  
‘I refuse to talk to John.’

(65d) lupita ki=ináte-náre kukučí  
Lupita NEG=take.care-DES children  
‘Lupe refuses to take care of the children.’

(65e) ki=nehí-náre-temé=a we'é  
NEG=sell-DES-1PL.S=EMPH land  
‘We refuse to sell the land.’

(65f) ki=amó yau-herá-ni=ne  
NEG=2SG.NS dance-DES-PRS=1SG.S  
‘I don’t want you to dance.’

There are other verbal suffixes with the meaning of ‘try’, ‘decide’, ‘plan’, *-moti* and *-orá*: 
(66a) pedró amó tuye-móti=pu=a
Pedró 2SG.NS say-moti=D.D=EMPH
‘Peter tried to say it to you.’

(66b) lúpita no'wá-moti enčí kú'we
Lupita move-moti again soon
‘Lupe decided to return soon.’

(66c) wání ehturiawa-orá-ní obregoni
John study-plan-PRS Obregón
‘John plans to study in Obregón.’

We observe that -moti, as -nare, does not show a tense/aspect suffix.

The element kawé ‘good/well’ is involved in constructions with a modal meaning of ability/capacity:

(67a) Wání kawé umató-re aki-čí
John well cross-PFV river-LOC
‘John succeeded in crossing the river.’

(67b) puú kawé yau-re huanita aháma
D.D well dance-PFV Joanna with
‘He succeeded in dancing with Joanna.’

The element kawé plus the suffixes -ma and -mera ‘FUTURE’ shows the meaning of ‘to be able’ to do V:
(68a) neé kawé wewe-má=ne=pu
    1SG.S well hit-FUT=1SG.S=D.D
    'I am able to hit him.'

(68b) Wanita kawé isi-má kahu-méra ehturiawa-ka
    Joanna well be-FUT finish-FUT-POT study-FUT
    'Joanna is going to be able to finish her studies'

5.3. The participants

The participants or arguments in an event, coded by a noun phrase⁴, are divided in core participants and non-core participants. The distinction between core and non-core participants is relatively simple; the core participants are unmarked and the non-core participants are marked with some postposition. This distinction is illustrated in subsection 5.3.1, whereas the morphosyntax of the core participants is described in 5.3.2.

5.3.1. Core vs. non-core participants in Warihío

Core participants are not marked in Warihío:

(69a) wikahtá-ru=ne
    sing-PFV.EV=1SG.S
    'I sang.'

(69b) wani wikahtá-re
    John sing-PFV
    'John sang.'

⁴ The term Noun Phrase here includes noun phrase, noun and pronoun.
(70a) amó tetewá-ru=ne
2SG.NS see-PFV.EV=1SG.S
‘I saw you.’

(70b) waní tetewá-re pedró
John see-PFV Peter
‘John saw Peter.’

(71a) amó itoče-rú=ne owitiame tapaná
2SG.NS send-PRF.EV=1SG.S little.girl yesterday
‘I sent you the little girl yesterday.’

(71b) waní itočé-re owitiame maría tapaná
John send-PFV.EV=1SG.S little.girl Mary yesterday
‘I sent Mary the little girl yesterday.’

Non-core participants are marked:

(72a) u'má-ru=ne kusí-tere
run-PFV.EV=1SG.S woods-through
‘I ran into the woods.’

(72b) waní simi-ré pahkó-či
John go-PFV feast-LOC
‘John went to the feast.’

(72c) no'ó wewe-rú=mu kuú-e
1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=2SG.S stick-INS
‘You hit me with a stick.’
Certain verbal suffixes make a non-core marked argument into a core non-marked argument. This change in the construction, now with an additional core argument maintains the same propositional meaning; however, it involves a change in the semantics, such change is not always very clear and systematic.

(73a) hustina pasu-ré muní kukučí ičió
Agustina cook-PFV beans children BEN
‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’ (But they didn’t eat them)

(73b) hustina pasú-ke-re muní kukučí
Agustina cook-BEN-PFV beans children
‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’ (?? But they didn’t eat them)

(74a) wani wera-ré sikorí mesa-čí
John set-PFV pot table-LOC
‘John put the pot on the table.’

(74b) wera-ri-áči sikorí mesá
set-PFV-LOC pot table
‘Did he put the pot on the table?’ (surprising information)

(75a) no’o te’čí simi-ré awasó-čí
1SG.NS uncle go-PFV Alamos-LOC
‘My uncle went to Alamos.’

(75b) no’o te’čí simi-ri-áči awasó
1SG.NS uncle go-PFV-LOC Alamos
‘My uncle went to Alamos (and returned).’/ ‘Did my uncle go to Alamos?’

(76a) maría simi-ré obregón ahpó ye’yé-ma
Mary go-PFV Obregón 3.NS mother-COM
‘Mary went to Obregon with her mother.’
(76b) maría simí-ré-ma obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma
Mary go-PFV-COM Obregón 3.NS mother
‘Did Mary go to Obregon with her mother?’ (surprising/unexpected information)

5.3.2. The morphosyntax of the core participants

The distinction of the roles of the core participants in an event in terms of the morphosyntax has been crucial in describing a language.

Keenan (1976) postulates two types of properties for distinguish among the core participants: coding properties and control and behavioral properties.

5.3.2.1. Coding properties

The coding properties that could help to identify in some way the roles of the participants in Warihío are: case marking and word order. Verbal agreement that helps in the identification of the roles of the participants in some stative-active languages (Mithun, 1991) is absent in Warihío.

5.3.2.1.1. Case marking

In Warihío, there is no case marking in core nominals:

(77) waníta itočé-re muuni pedró
Johana send-PFV beans Peter
‘John sent Peter beans.’
In the case of pronouns, Warihio has only two sets of personal pronouns that assist in distinguishing the participants: one set for S and Agent and another set for Patient, Theme, Recipient, Possessors, Reflexives and also for Subjects of subordinate clauses. The emphatic S/A pronouns occur sentence initially, but the non-emphatic S/A pronouns occur as verbal clitics or suffixes.

(78) Subject pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free and Emphatic</th>
<th>Bound and Non-Emphatic</th>
<th>Non-subject pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg. neé</td>
<td>=ne</td>
<td>no'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg. muú</td>
<td>=mu</td>
<td>amó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg. apoé/puú</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>ø, ahpó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl. temé</td>
<td>-teme</td>
<td>tamó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl. emé</td>
<td>-eme</td>
<td>amó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl. aapóe</td>
<td>- ø</td>
<td>ø, ahpó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(79a) neé u'má-ru
1SG.S run-PFV.EV
‘I ran.’

(79b) neé wewé-ru wani
1SG.S hit-PFV.EV John
‘I hit John.’

(79c) wani no'ó wewé-ru
John 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV
‘John hit me.’

(79d) wani no'ó itočá-re muní
John 1SG.NS send-PFV beans
‘John sent me beans.’
(79e) no'ó no'né no'ó wewé-ru
1SG.NS father 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV
‘My father hit me.’

(79f) no'ó nené-na=ne ehpého-či
1SG.NS see-PRS=1SG.S mirror-LOC
‘I see myself in the mirror.’

(79g) pedró no'ó tuyé-ru wewe-mičio wamí
Peter 1SG.NS tell-PFV.EV hit-PURP John
‘Peter told me to hit John.’

The Patient/Theme pronouns tend to occur pre-verbally (79c)-(79f), but can also occur post-verbally (80):

(80) wamí wewé-ru no'ó
John hit-PFV.EV 1SG.NS
‘John hit me.’

Third person pronoun agentive, patientive or theme is zero:

(81a) neé wewe-rú
1SG.S hit-PFV.EV
‘I hit him/them.’

(81b) neé amó nehá-ke-ru
1SG.S 2SG.NS sell-APPL-PFV.EV
‘I sold it/him/her/them to you.’ / ‘I sold you to them/him/her.’
Waríhío shows the same form in the pronouns (bound in this case) participants of four different types of events:

(82a) \[ \text{werí}=\text{ne} \quad \text{ehkína-či} \quad \text{STATIVE} \]
be.standing.sg=1SG.S corner-LOC
'I am standing in the corner.'

(82b) \[ \text{wiči-rú}=\text{ne} \quad \text{ohóra-či} \quad \text{INACTIVE INTRANSITIVE} \]
slide-PFV.EV=1SG.S hole-LOC
'I slid in the hole.'

(82c) \[ \text{yau-rú}=\text{ne} \quad \text{tapaná} \quad \text{ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE} \]
dance-PFV.EV=1SG.S yesterday
'I danced yesterday.'

(82d) \[ \text{kahpó-ru}=\text{ne} \quad \text{kuú} \quad \text{TRANSITIVE} \]
break-PFV.EV=1SG.S stick
'I broke the stick.'

In each of the examples in (82), the form =\text{ne} 'first person singular' the participant S, this form contrasts with the participant non-S with the form no'ó in the following examples:

(83a) \[ \text{amó} \quad \text{wewe-rú}=\text{ne} \quad \text{S} \]
2SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=1SG.S
'I hit you.'

(83b) \[ \text{no'ó} \quad \text{wewe-rú}=\text{mu} \quad \text{Non-S} \]
1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV=2SG:S
'You hit me.'
(83c) no'ó ihtóčê-re=mu muuní Non-S
1SG.NS send-PFV.=2SG.S beans
‘You sent me beans.’

Only for the 1st and 2nd pronouns in Warihío can we find a morphological distinction between the two core participants of a transitive event. However, when the context is clear enough or the event is intransitive, the non-S form may be used in place of the S function, thus blurring the morphological distinction between the participants in these cases:

(84a) ...ki=weká tamó močí-ré wa'á ói=pu...
NEG=QUANT 1PL:NS be.seated.pl-PFV there walk=DD
‘...but we didn’t stay there for a long time.’

(84b) ...ki=amó-e kokó-ri=a
NEG=2SG.NS-INS be.sick.-PFV=EMPH
‘...since you didn’t get sick.’

Indeed, the pronoun with non-S form is used for S/A participants\(^5\) of subordinate clauses whether intransitive (85a) or transitive with another non-S form pronoun (85b)-(85c):

(85a) [mačiribámpon tamó oh~óe-ko-i]
Machiribampo 1PL.NS PL~walk-SUB-IPFV

---

\(^5\) Assuming that \textit{werí}, \textit{wículá}, \textit{yaunà}, \textit{kahpóna} are the equivalent events of ‘be standing’, ‘to slide’, ‘to dance’, and ‘to break’ respectively.

\(^6\) Viceversa is impossible, that is, S form pronouns cannot be used for P, Th, R or S/A of dependent clauses.
wa'amí  tekihpána=ne=a  weikaóba  paamúni
through.there  work=1SG.S=EMPH  then  summer
‘...when we lived in Machiribampo, I worked there in the summer.’

(85b)  [amó  no'ó  tetewi-so]  u'má-ka=ne
2SG.NS  1SG.NS  see-SUB  run-PTCP=1SG.S
‘When you saw me, I ran.’

(85c)  [no'ó  amó  tetewi-so]  u'má-ka=mu
1SG.NS  2SG.NS  see-SUB  run-PTCP=2SG.S
‘When I saw you, you ran.’

In the dependent clause in brackets in (85b)-(85c) both A and P participants are in
the non-S form pronouns. Therefore, it is not the form that is helping us to distinguish
between the two participants, but the order. The first participant to appear is the agentive-
like participant and the second the patientive-like in the dependent clause in (85).

5.3.2.1.2. Word order

We saw above that when the two participants in the transitive event are equally
marked, the order is important in identifying the roles of the participants. In the case of
ambiguos non-marked participants, the order is relevant too:

(86a)  pedró  wewe-ré  wání
Peter  break-  John
‘Peter hit John.’

The first participant to appear is in the A function:
(86b) wani pedró weweré  A: wani
pedró wani weweré  A: pedró
weweré wani pedró  A: wani
weweré pedró wani  A: pedró

Order is not relevant for non-ambiguous non-marked participants:

(87a) pedró kuú kahpó-re
Peter stick break-
‘Peter broke the stick.’

(87b) kuú pedró kahpóre
kuú kahpóre pedró
kahpóre kuú pedró
‘Peter broke the stick.’

5.3.2.2. Behavioral properties

Behavioral properties of arguments are looked for in complex constructions such as coordinate clauses, desiderative constructions like English ‘I want’ type, relative clauses, purpose constructions. It is possible to group participants according to their syntactic behavior, for example, being the omitted argument in the linked or dependent clause.

5.3.2.2.1. Clause coordination

In the case of coordinate clauses with third person participants, all personal pronouns, agent or patient of main and coordinate clauses can be omitted in Warihio:
(88a) maniwirí nene-ré pedró wewe-ré
Manuel see-PFV Peter hit-PFV
‘Manuel saw Peter and hit him.’ / ‘Manuel saw Peter and Peter hit him.’

(88b) maniwirí wewe-ré pedró umá-re
Manuel hit-PFV Peter run-PFV
‘Manuel hit Peter and (Manuel) run away.’
‘Manuel hit Peter and Peter ran away.’

(88c) maniwirí nene-ré wewe-ré
Manuel see-PFV hit-PFV
‘Manuel saw him and hit him.’

(88d) nene-ré wewe-ré
see-PFV hit-PFV
‘He saw him and hit him.’
‘He saw them and hit them.’
‘They saw him and hit him.’
‘They saw them and hit them.’
‘They saw them and hehit them.’

(88e) kuitá me’yá-re totóri wewe-ré-tu
child kill.sg-PFV chicken hit-PFV-PASS
‘The child killed the chicken and was hit.’

(88f) kuitá ko’yá-re totóri peterá wewe-ré
child kill.pl-PFV chicken Petra hit-PFV
‘The child killed the chickens and Petra hit him.’

Coordinate clauses with first and second person participants are not useful either because they are never omitted whether in the S, A, or P function:
(89a) amó wewe-rú=ne umá-ru=ne
2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S run away-PFV:EV=1SG:NS
‘I hit you and ran away.’

(89b) amó nene-rú=ne amó wewe-rú=ne
2SG:NS see-PFV:EV=1SG:S 2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:NS
‘I saw you and hit you.’

(89c) amó wewe-rú=ne umá-re=mu
2SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S run away-PFV=2SG:S
‘I hit you and you ran away.’

(89d) no’ó wewe-rú=mu umá-ru=ne
1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=2SG:S run away-PFV:EV-1SG:S
‘You hit me and I ran away.’

(89f) no’ó wewe-rú=mu umá-re=mu
1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=2SG:S run away-PFV=2SG:S
‘You hit me and you ran away.’

(89g) no’ó wewe-rú=mu amó wewe-rú=ne
1SG:NS hit-PRF:EV=2SG:S 2SG:NS hit-PRF:EV=1SG:S
‘You hit me and I hit you.’

Since there are no restrictions on the type of omitted argument, this is not a good test to distinguish the core participants of an event.

5.3.2.2.2. Purpose constructions

The S (90a) and A (90b) of the dependent clause which are coreferent with the S of the main clause in a purposive construction are omitted:
(90a) asi-rú=mu u'má-mia
    arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S run-PURP
    ‘You came to run.’

(90b) asi-rú=mu no'ó wewé-mia
    arrive-1PRF:EV-2SG:S 1SG:NS hit-PURP
    ‘You came to hit me.’

However, it is impossible to form a purposive construction with the coreferential participant in the P function of a transitive dependent clause or in the P function of a passive dependent clause:

(91a) asi-rú=mu wewé-mia
    arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PURP
    *‘You came to hit (you).’ (Intended meaning.)
    ‘You came to hit him.’

(91b) *asi-rú=mu wewé-mia-tu
    arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PURP-PASS
    ‘You came to be hit.’

In order to have a coreferential participant in the P function in the dependent clause, a coordinate clause is necessary, even though 1st and 2nd pronouns are not omitted:

(92a) asi-rú=mu amó wewe-rú=ne
    arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S 1SG:NS hit-PFV:EV=1SG:S
    ‘You came and I hit you.’
(92b) asi-rú=mu wewe-ré-tu=mu
      arrive-PFV:EV=2SG:S hit-PFV-PASS=2SG:S
      ‘You came and you were hit.’

5.3.2.2.3. Desiderative constructions

Desiderative constructions of the English type ‘I want’ are morphologically expressed in Warihío with a modal suffix on the verb. We can observe that participants functioning as S (93a)-(93b) and A (93c) are omitted:

(93a) Wikahta-náre=ne pahkó-či
      sing-DES=1SG:S feast-LOC
      ‘I want to sing in the feast.’

(93b) i'wá yasi-náre=ne
      here be.seated.sg-DES=1SG:S
      ‘I want to be here.’

(93c) Ko'ko-náre=ne sa'pá
      eat-DES=1SG:S meat
      ‘I want to eat meat.’

In the case of desiderative constructions with a participant in the S/A function that is non-coreferential with the participant who ‘wants’, like peterá in (94a) and poresía in (94b), Warihío has a different suffix form –heráni:
(94a)  peterá no'ó     nene-herá-ni=ne  
Petra  1SG:NS see-DES-PRS=SG:S
'I want Petra to see me.'

(94b)  Ki=no'ó    čapike-herá-ni=ne  poresía-e  
NEG=1SG:NS detain-DES-PRS=1SG:S police-INS
'I don't want the police to arrest me.'

(94c)  waní ahpó čapi-héra-ni poresía  
John 3SG:NS detain-DES=3SG:S police
'John wants the police to arrest him.'

(94d)  waní ahpó kontratoa-ke-héra-ni no'ó teckó-e  
John 3SG:NS hire-APPL-DES-PRS 1SG:NS boss-INS
'John wants my boss to hire him.'

However, we observe that the participants coreferential in the P function, no'ó ‘1SG:NS’ in (94a)-(94b) and ahpó ‘3SG:NS’ in (94c)-(94d), are not omitted.

5.3.2.2.4. Relative clauses

In relative clauses in Warihío the function of the nucleus is signaled by the verbal suffixes: -me for S (95a) and A (95b) function and -a for P (95c) and R (95d) function:

(95a) i'yá-ni=ne  tihoé [wikahtá-ka-me pahkó-či]  
look for-PRS=1SG:NS man sing-PTCR-NZR feast-LOC
'I am looking for the man that sang in the feast.'

(95b) i'yá-ni=ne  tihoé [no'ó no'né meyá-ka-me]  
look for-PRS-1SG:NS man 1SG:NS father kill-PTCR-NZR
'I am looking for the man who killed my father.'
(95c) hustina nawése-re owitiame [čuhčúri ki'ki-ri-a]
Agustina talk-PFV woman dog bite-PFV-NZR
‘Agustina talked to the woman whom the dog bit.’

(95d) i'yáni=ne tihoé [no'ó kawái-wa nehí-ke-ri-a]
look for-PRS=1SG:NS man 1SG:NS horse-POS sell-APPL-PFV-NZR
‘I am looking for the man whom I sold the horse to.’

We could say that the suffix -me in the relative clauses signals the participant in
S/A function and the suffix -a to the participants in P/R function. However, we can find
relative clauses whose head, the omitted argument, is in P function and the relative suffix
is not -a, but -me:

(96) i'yáni=ne tihoé [no'ó kawái-wa tetemú-ka-me]
look.for-PRS=1SG:NS man 1SG:NS horse-POS kick-PTCR-NZR
‘I am looking for the man whom my horse kicked.’

Probably in normal circumstances there is not too much problem in identifying in (96)
tihoé ‘the man’ as the patient of the event ‘to be kicked by my horse’ in. This makes the
use of the form -me not very systematic to distinguish the role of the participants when
the context is clear enough.

5.3.3. The core participants in Warihío

We have seen in this subsection that in order to distinguish among the core
participants in a clause, morphology and syntax are initially useful in identifying the most
agente-like participant. The distinction between the non-agentive participants is not always possible in morphosyntactic terms. However, narrative has shown that in most cases of events with two or three core participants, these are coded by a mix of pronouns in S form, pronouns in non-S form, and a nominal. The little morphology shown by this type of clauses is enough to distinguish the participants. Only clear evidence of grammatical relations were found in the case of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, labelling as the Subject in Warihío. However, as Dryer (1997) points out, this could be only a matter of terminology.

5.4. Pragmatic characterization

The pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC play a very important role in grammar. These controversial notions have been debated for the last eight decades, in great part by the Prague school (Firbas, 1966). However, there is no consensus yet among linguists about what exactly these notions involve and the way these grammatical phenomena interact with the rest of the language.

5.4.1. Participant behavior in Warihío texts

In this subsection I will describe the behavior of the core participants in a continuous segment of a text⁷. The excerpt of the text ‘Don Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta: life story’ contains 139 sentences with more than 150 clauses. Even though the data come from narrative the analysis is made up the sentence level. The analysis is directed to two main points: (i) the order of the major clause constituents, that is participants and
predicates, and (ii) how these participants are introduced for the first time, reintroduced, emphasized, etc. The participants in this text can be coded as lexical (N): free pronoun, bound pronoun, or not coded: Ø. The functions coded by these participants are Agent (A), Subject of intransitive (S), Patient (P), Recipient (R), and Oblique (OBL). The core participants are signaled in bold face:

Don Alejandro Ruelas Zazueta: life story

(1) In the middle of the woods

(2) Tree

(3) That name

(4) [N V] OBL

(5) there

(6) V-pass=1sgs

(7) everywhere

(8) V=O₁(S)(I)

(9) thereOBL

(10) long time-there

(11) after-everywhere

(12) 1pl

(13) riverOBL

(14) V=O₁(S)(we)

(15) V=1pls

(16) V=1pls

(17) highwayOBL

(18) quoted

(19) Toward here

(20) all the way to Campo Nuevo

(21) 1sgA

(22) fatherA

(23) there

(24) then

V=1sgs

motherS

V=1sgs

V=1sgs

my mother

V=1sgs

riverOBL

V=1pls

motherOBL

V=1sgs

herOBL

V=O₁(S)(we)

V=1pls

V=O₁(S)(mother)

V=1pls

V=O₁

Øp

V

Øp

V

V

V=O₁

thingp

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V

V=O₁

V
(25) V=ØS rice.field (loc)
(26) ØP(rice) V=ØA
(27) there V=ØS
(28) there V=ØS
(29) there V=ØS(we)
(30) long.time 1plS V
(31) V=ØS(we) V=ØS(we)
(33) quoted V
(34) 1plS V
(35) fathers V
(36) far.away V=ØA
(37) everywhere V=ØA
(38) V=ØS V=foodP V=ØS
(39) everywhere V=workS
(40) quoted V
(41) V workS
(42) everywhere V=ØA
(43) because V=ØP
(44) that's.why [V]
(45) again V=1plS
(46) V V=1plS
(47) there V=plP
(48) my.brothersS V=1sgS
(49) 1sgS V V=1sgS
(50) nothing V=my.brother and my.sisterP
(51) thats.why V=1sgS
(52) since-not.much V=1sgS
(53) everymorning V=ØS(I)
(54) thoseP [trinchera]
(55) contractP V=ØA(I)
(56) V=my.fatherS V=ØA(father)
(57) V=ØA(foremen)
(58) our.fatherS five.litersP V
(59) however V=ØA(they)
(60) cornS (did it) sometimes
(61) V=ØS(father) cornS V
\[ V=\varnothing_A(father) \]

(62)  **work**

since

(63)  because

neg=V=1pl_{S}

(64)  until

then

(65)  how.much

how.much

**work**

(66)  neg-1pl_{R}

V

**our foremen**

(67)  1pl_{S}

1pl_{A} - that's.why

(68)  until – other

neg=V=1pl_{S}

(69)  sometimes

(70)  when

1pl_{S}

little

(72)  V (there is not)

V

(73)  that’s.why

(74)  afterwards

neg - 1pl_{R}

(75)  since - a.lot

that’s.why

(76)  when – Navajoa

V=\varnothing_S(we) - all.day

(77)  then

(78)  toward.here

shoulder

(79)  then

1pl_{S}

V=\varnothing_S(we)

(80)  then-there

in.the.distance

(81)  however

V

(82)  V-\varnothing_S(brother)

\varnothing_P(brother)

(83)  until

(84)  \varnothing_P(brother)

(85)  V

**our foremen**

V

a.lot

V=1pl_{S}

**work**

neg=V

V=1pl_{S}

**our foremen**

V

3sg_{S}(our foremen)

V=1sg_{S}

V

V=\varnothing_A

**foremen**

neg - 1pl_{R}

V

**corn**

V

V

V=\varnothing_S(we)

V-sub

V

V=\varnothing_S(we)

**our foremen**

neg=V=1sg_{S}

V

**our jobs**

V=\varnothing_A(foremen)

1pl_{S}

V=\varnothing(foremen)

job

1pl_{S}

V=1pl_{S}Pueblo Mayo

1sg_{S}

V=\varnothing_A(I)

my brother

V=\varnothing_S(I)

land

V

V=\varnothing_S(train)

V

**snake**

V

**my brother**

the woods

V=1sg_{A}

\varnothing_P(brother)

V=1sg_{A}

**train**
then quoted
near there
there
foodP
V
there
V=ØA(cowboy)
V=1sgS
V=1sgA
far.away
because ØP(cowboy)
1sgA ØP(brother)
farther
V
there
sickleOBL ØP(rice)
V
stickOBL ØP(rice)
that(stick)OBL
stickOBL ØP(rice)
since-not difficult
very.hard
neg=V
V=ØS(rice) now
that’s.why
ThisS Mejiquio(loc)
When then
in.the.middle hotcoal(loc)
V – there
there
in.the middle hotcoal(loc)
that’s.why ØP(father)
fatherS then
doctorP
V=ØS(I) horseTH that’s.why
when - 1sgA
V
my brothers
PuertoS V
V=ranchS
V=1plS
V=ØA(mother)
motherS
V
cowboy[relC]S
my brotherP
my brotherP ØP(brother) V=1sgA
neg=V=1sgA my brotherP houseOBL
V=1sgA
V=1plS QuetchehuecaOBL Campo nuevoOBL
mother and fatherS
V=ØA(mother and father) riceP
V=ØA(mother-father)
machineS [that-INS V-rel the riceP]REL
V= ØA(mother and father)
V=ØA(mother and father) riceP
V=ØA(mother and father)
jobP V=ØA(we)
stickA ØP(rice) V
the riceS
V=ØS(rice)
V=ØS(we) toward.here
V this
motherS V
fatherS V
fatherS
V=1sgS night
V=1sgs V
fatherS
V=1sgA aside
neg=V
V=1sgS
V=ØA(I) faraway downstream
V=ØS(I)
V-pass=1sgS
V=ØA(I)
doctorP
V
the doctorP
(121) \( \emptyset_P(\text{doctor}) \)
(122) \( V=\emptyset_S \)
(123) \( \text{neg}=V \)
(124) \( \text{the medicine}(\text{ins}) \)
then - \( V=1sg_A \) again
(125) \( \emptyset_P(\text{doctor}) \)
(126) \( V=1sg_S \)
\( V=1sg_S \)
(127) until
(128) \( \text{everything} \quad \emptyset_P(\text{doctor}) \)
(129) \( V=1sg_A \)
(130) then - \( V=1sg_S \)
\( V \)
(131) \( V=1sg_S \)
(132) \( 1sg_S=V \)
\( V=\emptyset_S(I) \)
(133) \( \text{Macoyagüi} \) (loc)
(134) \( V \)
(135) \( \text{huge trunk}=p_u_S \)
(136) there
(137) \( V=1sg_S \)
(138) far.away
\( \text{quot} \)
(139) \( V=1sg_S \)
\( V \)
\( V=1sg_A \)
\( \text{the house}(\text{loc}) \)
(120) \( \text{the doctor}_A \quad \text{the father}_P \)
\( V=1sg_A \)
\( \text{land}_{LOC} \)
\( V=\emptyset_A(I) \quad \text{doctor}_P \)
\( V=\emptyset_S(\text{doctor}) \quad \text{house}_{LOC} \)
\( V=1sg_A \quad \text{horse}_{COM} \)
\( \text{the doctor}_P \quad \text{house}_{LOC} \)
\( V \)
\( V=1sg_S \quad \text{toward} \quad \text{house}_{LOC} \)
\( V=1sg_S \)
\( V=\emptyset_S(I) \)
there
\( \text{a huge white-stick trunk}_S \)
\( V \quad \text{goat-like}_S \)
\( V=\emptyset_A(I) \quad \text{that}_P \quad V=\emptyset_A(I) \)
\( V \quad \text{goat just.given.birth}_S \)
\( V=\emptyset_S(I) \)
\( \text{nothing}_S \)

Three observations about the excerpt above are important:

(i) Certain non-participant non-verb elements tend to appear toward the beginning of the sentence: \( \text{there} \) (5), \( \text{everywhere} \) (7), \( \text{after that} \) (11), \( \text{nothing} \) (50), \( \text{that’s why} \) (51), \( \text{again} \) (61), \( \text{toward here} \) (78), \( \text{until} \) (127). These elements occur at the beginning of the sentence when they provide important information, that is they are functioning as orientational material (Mithun, 1992).
(ii) The life story of Don Alejandro since the very beginning is mainly about living in one place for a period of time working, after the work had finished, the whole family used to go to other towns looking for work. Therefore, events as ‘living’, ‘going’, ‘coming’, and ‘working’ - all of them coded by intransitive verbs - were very important in Don Alejandro’s life. The clauses containing these verbs have the VS order with the first person (‘I’ or ‘we’) for S.

(iii) Pronouns in P function, ‘me’ and ‘us’, show the most fixed position in Warihío grammar, immediately preverbal.

The way the narrative begins is interesting:

(1) kusi-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
   woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
   ‘I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me.’

The first constituent mentioned in (1) is a locative ‘in the middle of the woods’ like the most notable thing about his birth is the unusual. At the time of the speaker, Warihios used to have their babies in their houses. After this beginning, the speaker continues to develop the locative in (2):

(2) kuú werí-ata wa'á naáti
   tree standing.up-QUOT there thing
   ‘Where there was a tree.’
Settling the scene (sentences (1)-(5) in this way starts to show the pragmatic importance of first position. Given the type of narrative -life story- the main participant will be first person, even though he mentioned himself in clause (1), it is coded by a bound pronoun\(^9\). The first clause (6) after the introduction still codes the main participant by a bound pronoun:

(6) weikaóba u'pa-re-tú=ni-a wa'á aki-či-o
then bring-PFV-PASS=1SG.S-EMPH here river-LOC-EMPH

‘Then I was brought along the river bank.’

Elements such as weikaóba, weikó, eikó, translated as ‘then’ are taken as discursive coherence elements that by being in first position do not provide ‘important’ information, unless the contrary is indicated. Therefore, the real first constituent in (6) is the verb that constitutes a passive clause. We have two possibilities for a passive clause in Warihío in terms of the affected participant position. The contrast is clearly evident with pronoun participants: (i) as verbal enclitic, or (ii) as a preverbal free pronoun. The example in (6) is of the type (ii). This could be explained by two observations: (a) the event is more important than the participant himself, and (b) the fact that when that happened the speaker was a boy, that is less likely to be more important than the event ‘to be brought’.

\(^9\) Let’s remember that in Warihío there are no obligatory bound pronouns, mainly for subjects. They are bound or free pronouns with different positions in the clause.
Even though ‘mother’ was mentioned in the introduction in (1) and (4), her introduction as participant is by a nominal in oblique function postverbally in (8):

(8) ohóe-re=pu ye'yé-ma eikáo
     live-PFV=D.D mother-COM then
     ‘I lived with my mother then.’

We observe in (8) that first singular person is coded by Ø, something not very common for 1st and 2nd person in Warhío narrative. In (9), ‘mother’ is still in oblique function in postverbal position, but now coded by a pronoun (demonstrative):

(9) wa'á oi-ré=ne pu'-ká aháma eikaóba
    there walk-PFV=1SG.S D.D-ID with then
    ‘I was with her there then.’

After this, ‘mother’ occurs still postverbally, however now as an emphasized nominal form in S function in (11), to be Ø coded in A function in (12):

(10) tehpéi wa'á ohóe
     long.time there live
     ‘We lived there for a long time.’

(11) neipá wahká moči-ré=pu ye'ye-á=pu weikaóba
     last everywhere be.seated-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then
     ‘After that my mother lived everywhere.’
(12) tamó weikaóba upá-re waá-tapa
1PL.NS then bring-PFV here-up
‘Then she brought us here.’

The pronoun tamó ‘us’ in P function in example (12) is preverbal; the pronoun in non-S/A function, as I said, tends to have the most fixed position for a constituent in Warihío, immediately preverbal.

All the examples from (13) to (20) –with orientative material in the half of the examples- are a sequence of displacement verbs. The only participant is the first plural person, coded as a bound pronoun or Ø coded.

Agents occur in initial position in (21)-(22). First singular free pronoun in (21) is also emphasized with the suffix -a:

(21) ní-a kí=nané-ri-a
1SG.S-EMPH NEG=know-PFV-EMPH
‘I did not know (that place).’

The apparent first introduction of the nominal no’nó ‘father’ in A function in (22) could contradict the ‘avoid new lexical A’ discourse rule given by Du Bois (1987):

(22) no’nó nane-ré=pu no’nó eikó waá ohóe-re=pu
father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV-D.D
‘(But) my father knew it (because) my father used to live there.’
However, no'nó ‘father’ can be part of the previous -temé ‘we’ (familiiy). ‘Father’ in (22) contrasts with the speaker in (21) in that the father did know that place, ‘father’ is sentence initial also.

After the orientative deictic wa’á alluding to ‘Campo Nuevo’ appears in (23), there is a clause coordination:

(23) wa’á yasa-ré no’nó poní-ra
    there be.seated-PFV father brother-REL

    weiká=pu yetó-re=pu-a tekihpaná-mia
    then=D.D invite-PFV=D.D-EMPH work-FUT
    ‘My father’s brother was there and invited me to work.’

The first clause in (23) has a VS order. The S participant ‘my father’s brother’ is lexical and it is mentioned by the first time, however, it can be ‘part’ of ‘my father’ mentioned in (22). I consider that for the speaker at that moment the event ‘there (Campo Nuevo) living’ was a little more important than the participant itself, hence the order VS.

Another example of contrast between two participants involved in the same event is given in the sequence (48)-(49):

(48) no'ó po-poní-á=pu
    1SG.NS PL~brother-EMPH=D.D
ihkwéra-či moči-ré=pu-a=pu
school-LOC be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
‘My brothers were (going) to school.’

(49) ni-á ki ki=asa-ré=ni-a ihkwéra=ni-a=pu
1SG.S-EMPH NEG NEG=arrive-PFV=1SG.S-EMPH school=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
‘I didn’t attend school.’

In (48) the speaker brothers did attend school, while in (49), the speaker didn’t; both participants are sentence initial and morphologically emphasized.

For events such as ‘being hungry’ and ‘asking for corn’, it is reasonable that the person suffering from hunger and the person asking for food are more relevant than the event itself. This is shown in the following clause coordination:

(67) teme-á=pu corowá-ni
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D be.hungry-PRS

teme-á=pu pukaépa itá-ni sunú
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D that’s why ask-PRS corn
‘We were hungry; that’s why we asked for corn.’

However, in this continuing story, ‘food’ becomes very relevant:
ko'ame tarí-mia wa'á  asi-ré=pu ye'yé-a eikábo
food  buy-FUT there arrive-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH then
‘My mom went there to buy food.’

Contrasting the event ‘suffering from hunger’ in (67), where obviously the person suffering from hunger is more important, the ‘buying’ event in (91) is less relevant than what is bought: food.

In an anecdote inside the story that begins in sentence (109), ‘mother’ and ‘father’ are reintroduced lexically and sentence initially in (110):

kuándo ye'yé weikaóba ko'kó-ri-a
when mother then sick-PFV-EMPH

eikó no'nó=pu taha-ré=pu-a=pu
then father=D.D burn-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
‘When my mom was sick my dad burned himself.’

Right afterwards the speaker develops what happened to his father in this way:

naásipa  naásipa  isáwi-či
in.the.meedle  in.the.meedle hot.coal-LOC
‘He was in the needle of the hot coals.’

poí-ri-a  eikó pu'-ká-e  no'nó
lay-PFV-EMPH then D.D-ID-INS father
‘My dad, he was lying on them.’
With a very important locative in (111) given the event ‘burning’ in (110) and the position of his father in (112). After having brought a doctor to cure his father, the speaker makes this comment:

(123) weikáoba ki=iyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'ó no' nó
then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor ND.D-ID 1SG.NS father
‘He didn’t cure him, the doctor didn’t cure my dad.’

In (123), a rare text case of a clause with two core participants coded by noun phrases, the speaker talks about the unexpected event ‘not having cured’ with a clause like this: neg=V A P.

After the speaker left the doctor in his house, he was going back home when something happened to him. He refers to this passage in this way:

(132) no'=aká ini-siá=ne
1SG.NS=come.back be-go=1SG.NS
eikó simi-yái simi-yái
then go-IPFV go-IPFV
‘I was going back, walking and walking.’

(133) weikaóba makoyáwi tewaniá wa'á wanámi wa'á
then Macoyagüi called there by.there there
‘(I passed by) there in Macoyagüi.’

(134) wa'á weri-á piipi kuú temóri werumá pálo blánkó tewaniá
there stand.up-EMPH one trunk temóri big stick white called
‘There was a huge white-stick trunk.’
(135) kuú temóri=pu-a waá eikó
   trunk temóri=D.D-EMPH there then
   ‘It was a huge trunk.’

(136) waá nará čiwá katiáme weikáo weikaóba
   there cry goat like then then
   ‘Then something like a goat was crying there.’

Again, all relevant information tends to come first, like makoyáwi in (133), the town where this anecdote happened. After describing the exact place in (134)-(135), the speaker tells us in (136) that he heard a sound from a source not completely identified. He establishes first the type of sound: ‘a cry’, then he went there trying to identify the sound. He refers to this event with the sentence in (138):

(137) simi-ká=ne eikó nené-mia pu'-ká waá nené-mia
   go-PTCP=1SG.S then see-FUT D.D-ID there see-FUT
   ‘I went to see it.’

(138) wahká poi=pú čiwá tanayáme
   over.there lay=D.D goat just.given.birth
   čia=né eikó
   say=1SG.S then
   ‘A goat that has just given birth is there, I said (thought) then.’

The constituents in (138) seem to follow in order of declining importance (certainty), with the deictic as the place of origining of the sound as the most certain; then that was an animal giving birth, and finally maybe the animal was a goat.
What was shown in this text is that initial sentence position in Warihío is sensitive to signaling important, new, contrasting information. Warihío narrative shows that even for elements such as quantifiers, elements that can have referential status, the initial position is sensitive to signaling certain information. In the following excerpts of texts I found three different orders of occurrence of NPs with quantifiers: QN preverbal (97), QN post-verbal (98), and QVN (99),(100):

‘The iguana and the churea’:

(97a)  ...pu'í=a muenáti weri-to-ata
       chorea=EMPH slowly be.standing.sg-MOV-QUOT
       ‘...Churea was getting up slowly,

(97b)  na'íru uká-ta makoká
       burning.piece.of.wood hold-QUOT with.the.hand
       held a burning piece of wood,

(97c)  akipá-ka-ta=pu=a
       leave-PTCP-QUOT=D.D=EMPH
       and left.’

(97d)  ...pu'í=a kawé inari-ari puari=pu
       chorea=EMPH well think-IPFV too=D.D
       ‘...Churea was thinking carefully too,

(97e)  yomá ku-či-ami wewe-si-ka-ta na'íru-e QUANT-O V INS
       QUANT stick-LOC-LOC hit-go-PTCP-QUOT burning.piece.of.wood-INS
       and he was beating ALL THE STICKS with the burning piece of wood.’

---

10 These texts are from Barreras (1990). The translation, glossing, and analysis are mine. From now on I retake the numbering from the previous subsection.
Here the whole NP with the quantifier has not been previously mentioned, and it is sentence initial in the event ‘beating with the burning piece of wood’.

‘The corua and the coyote’:

(98a) ...na’ya-ri-ata kuú-tere
      stoke-PFV-QUOT stick-between
      ‘...they stoked the sticks,

(98b) to’é-ri-ata weká tehté
      put-PFV-QUOT QUANT stone
      they placed many stones.’

In (98), the whole predicate VQNP is emphasized and the QNP occurs post-verbally.

‘The coyote and his fox buddy’:

(99a) wehká čuku-ri-ata keöči=a mewéri-či
      far away be.hanging-PFV-QUOT fox=EMPH pitahaya-LOC
      ‘Far away a fox was in a pitahaya,

(99b) mewéri koa-ká
      pitahaya eat-PTCP
      eating PITAHAYA FRUIT...’

(99c) ...ki=nahki=mu pirípi mewéri weča-pu-ti-ame
      NEG=want=2SG.S one pitahaya thorn-take.off-CAUS-NMLZ
      ‘...Don’t you want a pitahaya fruit without thorns?’

(99d) yomá popó-sa-pa pu’-ká mewéri wehčá-ra
      QUANT pull.up-SUB-INCH D.D-ID pitahaya thorn-REL
na'nári-to-ri-ata ahpó kompáe
follow-MOV-PFV-QUOT 3SG.NS buddy
‘...When he pulled out **ALL** all the thorns from the pitahaya, he followed his buddy...’

‘The dove and the woodpecker’:

(100a) owétawe asistó-i-pa wehká
noon arrive-IPFV-INCH far away
‘...At noon he was going far away,

(100b) asistó-i-pa čahará-ka
arrive-IPFV-INCH woodpecker=EMPH
the woodpecker was going far away,

(100c) we-werú wiči-si-átma'sá-ra
INT–QUANT fall.off-go-QUOT feather-REL
MANY feathers falling off him,

(100d) kutahúi neipá na'nári-ka
bad.people later follow-PTCP
bad people followed him later.’

Sentences (99) and (100) are interesting, where only the referent (N) *pitahaya* has been mentioned before (99), or the referent is inferrable from the context (100), since a bird has feathers. My claim is that in these cases it is not exactly the nominal that is the most important information but the ‘quantity’ of that nominal. That is why only the quantifier occurs in initial position, a position in Warihío grammar reserved to provide special information.
5.4.2. Focus and Topic

In describing these relations in Warihío, I will use them broadly in the sense given to the concepts by Lambrecht (1994):

(I) FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:213).

(II) TOPIC: The topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT (Lambrecht, 1994:118).

5.4.2.1. Focus

Elicitaton seems to confirm the relevance of initial position in narrative. The classification of focus in Dik (1980, 1997) was useful to understand Focus and its relation with constituent order in Warihío. Dik (1997) mentions that cross-linguistically, Focus function may manifest itself through one or more of the following focalizing devices: prosodic prominence, special constituent order, special Focus markers, special Focus constructions.

According to the classification of Focus in Dik (1997), we found in Warihío the following: Complective Focus, Selective Focus, and Replacing Focus.
5.4.2.1.1. Completive focus

In completive focus, the element in focus relation provides the information requested; that is, it is giving new information. It is necessary to be clear that the element in a focus relation is not necessarily new in the sense that it is not known or not previously mentioned, or that it cannot be inferred from the context, but what is new is the relation it now has with the rest of the elements of the clause. What I want to show here is that the element in the focus relation has a special constituent order, initial position, contrasting with many Indo-European languages, in which Focus is usually at the end of the sentence. The focused element in Warihó questions can be any constituent in any semantic relation.

Using questions and their answers is a good strategy to find the element in focus relation. The response to the question in (101a) gives us the new information *neé*. This pronoun is established as the focus domain of the focus relation. This is an initial position participant of the inactive intransitive event *kočiná*:

(101a) ataná koči-ré tukaó iwá
   who   sleep-PFV night here
   ‘Who slept here last night?’

(101b) neé koci-rú iwá Focus domain: pronoun- Participant of an
   1SG:S sleep-PFV.EV here inactive intransitive event
   ‘I slept here.’

The examples in (101c)-(101d) do not answer the question of (101a):
(101c) koci-rú=ne iwá
     sleep-PFV.EV=1SG:S here
     ‘I slept here.’

(101d) koci-rú neé iwá
     sleep-PFV.EV 1SG:S here
     ‘I slept here.’

The same happens with the participants če'é and wani of an active intransitive event (102b) and the A of a transitive event (102b), respectively, when they are in focus relation, they are in initial position.

(102a) ataná u'má-re kusi-tere tapaná
     who run-PFV woods-through yesterday
     ‘Who ran in the woods yesterday?’

(102b) če'é u'má-re kusi-tere     Focus domain:noun-Participant of an
     José run-PFV mountain-through             active intransitive event
     ‘JOSÉ ran in the woods.’

Again, alternative orders do not answer the question in (102a):

(102c) u'má-re če'é kusi-tere
     run-PFV José mountain-through
     ‘José ran in the woods.’

(102d) kusi-tere u'má-re če'é
     run-PFV mountain-through José
     ‘José ran in the woods.’
(103a) ataná čikó-re kawái
   who steal-PFV horse
   ‘Who stole the horse?’

(103b) waní čikó-re kawái
   John steal-PFV horse
   ‘JOHN stole the horse.’

   Focus domain: noun- DOER of a transitive event

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (103a):

(103c) čikó-re kawái waní
   steal-PFV horse John
   ‘John stole the horse.’

(103d) kawái waní čikó-re
   horse John steal-PFV
   ‘John stole the horse.’

   Somebody could say that initial position is reserved for S/A, giving to the language an
   SVO order, but the next two examples show otherwise. In (104b), the receiver kawái
   and in (105b), the predicate neharé, both in focus relation, are in initial position.

(104a) ihtaná tara-ré waní
   what buy-PFV John
   ‘What did John buy?’

(104b) kawái tara-ré waní
   horse buy-PFV John
   ‘John bought A HORSE.’

   Focus domain: noun- PATIENT of a transitive event
As expected, alternative orders do not answer the question in (104a):

(104c) tara-ré kawái waní
       buy-PFV horse John
       ‘John bought a horse.’

(104d) waní kawái tara-ré
       John horse buy-PFV
       ‘John bought a horse.’

(105a) ihtaná yowa-ré pedró kawái aháma
       what do-PFV Peter horse COMIT
       ‘What did Peter do to the horse?’

(105b) neha-ré pedró kawái aháma
       Focus domain: V- Predicate
       sell-PFV Peter horse COMIT
       ‘Peter SOLD the horse.’

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (105a):

(105c) kawái neha-ré waní aháma
       horse sell-PFV John COMIT
       ‘John sold the horse.’

The RECIPIENT of (106b) is in initial position:

(106a) ataná rewe-rú=mu ihpíčira
       who lend-PFV.EV=2SG:S broom
       ‘Whom did you lend the broom to?’
(106b) maría rewe-rú=ne ihpičira
Mary lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S broom
'I lent the broom to MARY.'

Focus domain: noun-RECIPIENT
of a ditransitive event

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (106a):

(106c) ihpičira maría rewe-rú=ne
broom Mary lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S
'I lent the broom to Mary.'

(106d) rewe-rú=ne ihpičira maría
lend-PFV.EV=1SG:S broom Mary
'I lent the broom to Mary.'

This special constituent order device works not only for major constituents but for
adverbials also. This is shown in (107)-(108) where locative and time adverbials such as
alamó, o'oránačí, and tapaná can be in a focus relation in initial position:

(107a) akaná oi-ré wani sawára-či
where walk-PFV John Saturday-LOC
'Where did John go Saturday?'

(107b) alamó-či oi-ré=pu=a
Alamos-LOC walk-PFV=D.D=EMPH
'He went to ALAMOS.'

Focus domain: NP-Goal

(108a) akaná wera-ré sikori maría
where set.sg-PFV pot Mary
'Where did Mary put the pot?'
(108b) o'orána-či we ra-ré sikóri

Focus domain: NP-loc - Place

stove-LOC set.sg-PFV pot
‘She put the pot OVER THE STOVE.’

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (108a):

(108c) we ra-ré sikóri o'orána-či

set.sg-PFV pot stove-LOC
‘She put the pot over the stove.’

(108d) sikóri we ra-ré o'orána-či

pot set.sg-PFV stove-LOC
‘She put the pot over the stove.’

(109a) ačintió simi-ré pedró sawanánto

when go-PFV Peter San Bernardo
‘When did Peter leave for San Bernardo?’

(109b) tapaná simi-ré=pu=a sawanánto Focus domain: ADV - Time

yesterday go-PFV=D.D=EMPH San Bernardo
‘He left for San Bernardo YESTERDAY.’

Alternative orders do not answer the question in (109a):

(109c) simi-ré=pu=a sawanánto tapaná

go-PFV=D.D=EMPH San Bernardo yesterday
‘He left for San Bernardo yesterday.’

(109d) sawanánto simi-ré=pu=a tapaná

San.Bernardo go-PFV=D.D=EMPH yesterday
‘He left for San Bernardo yesterday.’
Given that in Warhiio most adjectives are formally nouns and quantifiers may function as participants, these same elements, indeed, can be in focus relation independently of the noun they modify. If we observe the response in (110b) to the question in (110a), the adjective tahtáme is far from the modified noun re'ečú. Otherwise, this adjective occurs after the noun (110c):

(110a) ačitiamé nahki=mú re'ečú
    how want=2SG.S milk
    ‘How do you want the milk?’

(110b) tahtáme nahki=ne re'ečú
    hot want=SG.S milk
    Focus domain: ADJ
    ‘I want the milk HOT.’

The example in (110c) do not answer the question in (110a):

(110c) nahkíne re'ečú tahtáme
    ‘I want the hot milk.’

It is the same with the colors ohćóname and síóname in (111) and (112), respectively:

(111a) číntiame pu'-ká pu'seré-na=mu kawái
    which D.D-DEF like-PRS=2SG.S horse
    ‘Which horse do you like?’
(111b) ohčóname pu'seré-na=ne kawái Focus domain: ADJ
    black like- PRES=1SG:S horse
‘I like the BLACK horse.’

The example in (111c) does not answer the question in (111a):

(111c) pu'serénane kawái ohčóname
       ‘I like the black horse.’

(112a) čintiame pu'seré-na sipičá peterá
       which like-PRS dress Petra
       ‘Which dress does Petra like?’

(112b) si’óname pu'seré-na sipičá peterá Focus domain: ADJ
       green like-PRS dress Petra
       ‘Petra likes the GREEN dress.’

The example in (112c) does not answer the question in (112a):

(112c) peterá pu'seréna sipičá si’óname
       ‘Petra likes the green dress.’

Even the elements constituting a relative clause may be sensitive to this initial position (where in Warihío the head and the relative clause are normally contiguous with the latter to the right). We observe in (113) that the head of the relative clause is in initial position, then the main clause, and at the end the relative clause:
(113) N O V-V Rel. C.
tihoé no'ó meri-núra-ni kuú pehaná kahti-áme
man 1SG.NS kill.sg-order-PRS tree behind be.seated.sg- NMLZ
‘They are asking me to kill THE MAN that is seated behind the tree.’

5.4.2.1.2. Selective focus

Another type of focus relation is one that chooses between two or more options.
In this case the element in focus relation has been previously mentioned and it is known.
What is new, again, is the relation established in the sentence. The element selected from
the options in (114a) is going to be in focus relation in (114b) by occurring in initial
position:

(114a) ihtánata tara-ré waní piípi kawáí piípi u'urú
what buy-PFV John one horse one donkey
‘Did John buy a horse or a donkey?’

(114b) piípi kawáí tararé
‘He bought A HORSE.’

5.4.2.1.3. Replacing focus

The replacing focus type invalidates any information already given by placing the
non-expected information in initial position, as is shown in (115b):

(115a) waní simi-ré sawanánto
John go-PFV San Bernardo
‘John left for San Bernardo.’
(115b) kaí simi-ré sawananto
    NEG go-PFV San Bernardo
    obregoni kipa-ré
    Obregón leave-PFV
    ‘No, he didn’t go to San Bernardo, he went to OBREGÓN.’

The construction in (115c) is not a replacing focus for (115a):

(115c) kaí simi-ré sawananto
    NEG go-PFV San Bernardo
    kipa-ré obregoni
    leave-PFV Obregón
    ‘No, he didn’t go to San Bernardo, he went to Obregón.’

5.4.2.2 Topic

It seems that what happens in natural discourse in Warihío is as follows. The Topic, in the sense of ‘aboutness’ (Lambrecht, 1994), is generally first introduced as a Focus relation in initial position. In subsequent clauses, though, this element appears in post-verbal position. All this can be seen in the following excerpt from ‘The Coyote and his Fox buddy’:

(116a) ...simi-ká-ta puarí
    go-PTCP-QUOT too
    ‘...he went too,
(116b) wahká kawí-tere werí-ri-ata
    far away hill-between be standing-PFV-QUOT
    far away he was standing between the hills,

(116c) kawí komí-ka
    hill hold-PTCP
    propping up a hill,

(116d) wa'á tewa-ri-áta=pu o'wí=a
    there find-PFV-QUOT=D.D coyote= EMPH
    the coyote found him (the fox) there.'

(116e) kompáé či-atá keóči=a
    buddy say-QUOT fox=EMPH
    ‘Hey buddy!’ the fox said:

(116f) wiči-ná ihi kawí
    fall down-PRS D.P hill
    that hill is falling down,

(116g) amó-či ru'mí-ma=pu
    2SG.NS-LOC fall.down-FUT=D.D
    it is going to fall down on you.'

(116h) či-atá keóči=a
    say-QUOT fox=EMPH
    ‘The fox said.’

(116i) na'pá-ka komí-ri-áta pu'-ká kawí
    both-between hold-PFV-QUOT D.D-DEF hill
    ‘Both of them held the hill up.’

(116j) weikáo kawé čapimitia
    then well hold
    Then, ‘Hold it up well!’
(116k) tamó-či ru’mí-ma=pu kawi kompáe=pu
1PL.NS-LOC fall.down-FUT=D.D hill buddy=D.D
‘The hill is going to fall down on us, buddy.’

(116l) či-atá keóči=a
say-QUOT fox=EMPH
‘The fox said.’

We see that, Topic in the sense of ‘aboutness’ has a strong relation with a specific order in the sentence, that of post-verbal position. We could say that this position marks the continuity of the Topic (Givón, 1983).

5. Conclusion

With all this evidence, we can assure ourselves that initial position is reserved for the FOCUS relation independently of the type of constituent or the semantic relation in question. Thus, focus relation is a pragmatic relation signaled by a specific constituent order. This relation plays a very important role in terms of constituent order, as we will see in the subsection on constituent order.

We can conclude that the pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC give a systematic structure to the clause in terms of relative order among the elements. This is a very important role in the grammar of a language, such as Warihío, that has little morphology to indicate the transitivity and the relations among the constituents of the sentence.
5.5. Constituent order

According to Greenberg (1963:76) "The vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single dominant one". Since not all languages show a dominant order in a clear fashion, a basic order may be absent (Mithun, 1992:15). This could be the case for Warihío.

Payne (1992:1) claims that the first typological division should be made between those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with pragmatic factors, and those in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors. We will see later that Warihío fits into the former type of language.

There is an SOV order proposed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker, 1977), and Miller (1984) proposes that Warihío is in the process of changing from an SOV to an SVO language; and Barreras (2000), from SOV to VSO. There is, then, some controversy about the nature of constituent order in general and for Warihío, in particular.

I rather describe Warihío as a language with a pragmatically based flexible order with some strongly grammaticalized features of an SOV language such as verbal suffixes, postpositions, and a final copula. As we said in the preceding section, Warihío has no case marking for core nominals and only two sets of personal pronouns, one form for S/A and another form for P/T/R/ Possessors/Reflexives, and S/A of subordinate clauses. This language is similar to Cayuga, Ngandi, and Coos, described as pragmatically based languages (Mithun, 1992), in the sense that all ordering reflects pragmatic considerations
and they are Focus initial. What is most interesting is that languages of this type often have full sets of obligatory bound pronouns, a feature absent in Warihío. Since these pronouns actually bear the primary grammatical relations in these languages, their absence in a pragmatically based language like Warihío challenges the identification of grammatical relations for constructions with nominal participants.

Sentence (117) is a possible expression with a ditransitive verb\(^\text{11}\):

(117a) wání ihkó-ke-ru piípi sipičá tapaná obregón hustína
John give-APPL-PFV.EV one dress yesterday Obregón Agustína
‘John gave Agustína a dress yesterday in Obregón.’

The AVTR sentence of (117a) may occur in all possible alternative orders with semantic/pragmatic contrasts. Some of these possible orders are shown in (117b):

(117b) wání piípi sipičá ihkókeru hustína tapaná obregón
ihkókeru wání piípi sipičá hustína tapaná obregón
ihkókeru piípi sipičá wání hustína tapaná obregón
obregón wání hustína ihkókeru piípi sipičá tapaná
hustína ihkókeru piípi sipičá tapaná obregón wání
piípi sipičá hustína ihkókeru tapaná obregón wání
piípi sipičá hustína wání ihkókeru tapaná obregón

\(^{11}\) In discussing ditransitive sentences, I will be using A for the agent, T for theme, V for verb, and R for recipient.
Alternative orders are allowed in noun phrases too:

(118a) kaaká weméra    N Adj    tepérume paúmpari    Adj N
       'new sandals.'     'long years.'

(118b) wani kawáira    G N    nawésarira riosí    N G
       'John’s horse.'     'God’s word.'

(118c) N                 Rel. C.
tihoé no’ó  kompáe me’yá-ka-me
man 1SG.NS buddy  kill.sg-PTCP-NMLZ
‘...the man that killed my buddy.’

(118d) Rel. C.            N
ahpó  kompáe mahi-ri-á  sa’pá
3SG.NS buddy  grill-PFV-NMLZ meat
‘...the meat that his buddy grilled.’

The head of a relative clause can be separated from the rest by a complete clause:

(119) N    O    V-V    Rel. C.
tihoé no’ó meri-núra-ni  kuú pehaná  kahti-áme
man 1SG.NS  kill.sg-order-PRS tree behind  be.seated.sg-NMLZ
‘They are asking me to kill the man that is seated behind the tree.’

Even for a pronoun in P/R function that shows the most fixed position in Warihio,
that of preverbal, this can occurs postverbal:
The following comparative construction features do not correlate with any major constituent order fixed type:

adj standard mark

(121) no'ó puhkú mísi epečé werumá ki=amó puhkú čitiá
1SG.NS CLF cat more big NEG=2SG.NS CLF like
‘My cat is bigger than your cat.’

The subordinate verb occurs before the matrix verb, but the rest of the subordinate clause occurs after the verb:

(122a) owitiame yau-ká-meka erá-re pedró-ma
woman dance-PTCP-like imagine-PFV Peter-COM
‘The womanimaginedherselfdancingwithPeter.’

(122b) hustína eči-m-ó o'óra-ri suunú ahpó pete-čí
Agustina plant-FUT-SUB try-IPFV corn 3SG.NS house-LOC
‘Agustina tried to plant corn in her yard.’

(122c) lupita nehi-m-ó o'orá-ni ku-ó ahpó pete-čí
Lupita sell-FUT-SUB plan-PRS wood-EMPH 3SG.NS house-LOC
‘Lupita plans to sell wood in her house.’
When searching for the basic word order in a language, the main three criteria have been: statistical textual frequency, order with the least morphological marking, and the least pragmatically marked order. However, we do not find any extra marking in alternative different constituent orders in Warihío. Hawkins (1983) claims that statistical frequency by itself is enough to identify the basic order of a language. In Warihío though, nearly all logically possible orders appear with some regularity in main clauses. The possible major constituent orders found in a selection of Warihío texts are shown in (123):

(123)  
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Life stories: 389 clauses       Folk tales: 250 clauses

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>Vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>Vt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>SV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>VO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OV</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>OV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is a high preference of occurrence of V as the only constituent in a clause in texts. The association between S and O noted in Warihío narrative coincides with Du Bois’ findings (1987). It is impossible to use text frequency in determining the basic word order in Warihío, and therefore very difficult to postulate a basic order. The only relations that seem to have a more reserved position in discourse are the pragmatic relations FOCUS and TOPIC, as we saw in the previous section. Initial position for the former and post-verbal position for the latter. That is why it is not appropriate to talk in terms of S, V, O order in Warihío.

I am going to try to integrate constituent order flexibility, the grammar of focus, and the shared extra-linguistic knowledge in order to explain the following patterns:

(124a) wani piipi sipičá ihkó-ke-ru hustina tapaná obregón

John one dress give-APL-PFV.EV Agustina yesterday Obregón

ihkókeru wani piipi sipičá hustina tapaná obregón

VATR

ihkókeru piipi sipičá wani hustina tapaná obregón

VTAR

obregón wani hustina ihkókeru piipi sipičá tapaná

ARVT

hustina ihkókeru piipi sipičá tapaná obregón wani

RVTA

piipi sipičá hustina ihkókeru tapaná obregón wani

TRVA
piipi sipičá hustína wani ihkókeru tapaná obregón

(124b) peterá ihkókere piipi sipičá hustína tapaná obregón

hustína ihkókere piipi sipičá peterá tapaná obregón

ihkókere peterá piipi sipičá hustína tapaná obregón

ihkókere hustína piipi sipičá peterá tapaná obregón

ihkókere piipi sipičá tapaná obregón hustína peterá

ihkókere piipi sipičá tapaná obregón peterá hustína

peterá is the A

hustína is the A

peterá is the A

hustína is the A

hustína is the A

peterá is the A

The problem in (124a) is how to signal the nominal ‘giver’, since the word order is not coding this content, and the coding properties of case marking and verbal agreement (that Keenan (1976) postulated as important for signaling the role of the participants) are absent in Warihío. The disambiguation in (124a) is semantically based. Because it is more likely for a woman than a man to be the recipient of a gift such as a dress, wani ‘John’ is identified as the ‘giver’, and the resolution is semantic, not grammatical. In (124b) both the ‘giver’ and the ‘recipient’ are women, and the problem then is how do we know who is the ‘giver’?

In order to have an initial human participant with a role other than A, Warihío uses a marked construction such as the construction in (125) with a copula and a relative clause which head, the Recipient in this case, is in initial position:
(125) [hustína] ini-ré [waní ihkó-ke-ri-a sipičá tapaná obregóní]
Agustina be-PFV John give-APPL-PFV-REL dress yesterday Obregón
'It was Agustina that John gave a dress yesterday in Obregón.'

It is here that constituent order reappears as crucial. Not absolute, but relative order is employed to distinguish A from R. The first human to appear in non-marked constructions will be A.

5.6. Summary

We have shown that, in some instances, the means for signaling the roles of participants in the Warihio language are not grammatical, but rather pragmatico-semantic. This would suggest that pragmatics (Focus, Topic) rather than grammatical relations may be key in the grammatical phenomena of constituent order in this language. Furthermore, we could postulate Warihio as a Focus initial and post-verbal Topic discourse configurational language. This, together with this language's lack of coding properties for identifying grammatical relations in constructions with nominal participants, makes Warihio speakers rely almost entirely on semantic-pragmatic-cultural factors in order to understand the communicative intent of 'who did what to whom'.
CHAPTER 6
NEGATION

6.0. Introduction

Sentence negation in Warhi is coded mainly by the elitic $ki=$, but other elements of negation, may be involved in different types of clauses.

List of negation elements

(1) $ki=$  Negative
    $ki'te$  Negative existential
    $káí$  Negative answer
    $katë$  Negative imperative

6.1. Negative constructions

One of the elements of negation is the negative existential $ki'te$. The example in (2b) with $ki'te$ contrasts with the positive existential $maní$ in (2a), where both forms are sentence initial:

(2a)  maní muunu
exist beans
‘There are beans.’
(2b) ki'té muuní
    neg.exist beans
    ‘There are not beans.’

The negative clitic ki= is the most productive expression of negation in Warihío. It attaches to the following element, most of the time to the verb or a non-S pronoun if this precedes the verb. The negation element ki= stays constant with different tense/aspect suffixes or in copulative constructions and with constructions in the perfective evidential, present continuous, and future in (3), (4), and (5), respectively:

(3) ki=tara-rú=ne muuní
    NEG=buy-PFV.EV=1SG.S beans
    ‘I didn’t buy beans.’

(4) ki=tara-ní=ne muuní=o
    NEG=buy-PRS=1SG.S beans=EMPH
    ‘I am not buying beans.’

(5) no’ó poni ki=kai-má=pu kuú
    1SG.NS brother NEG=cut-FUT=D.D stick
    ‘My brother won’t cut the sticks.’

In the example in (6a), the negation ki= attaches to the Patient pronoun no’ó; in (6b) it attaches to the Subject pronoun neé:
(6a)  waní ki=no’ó  wewe-rú
      John  NEG=1SG.NS  hit-PFV.EV
      ‘John didn’t hit me.’

(6b)  ki=neé  umá-ru
      NEG=1SG.S  run-PFV.EV
      ‘I didn’t run.’

In the following example, ki= attaches to the Recipient pronoun amó:

(7)  ki=amó  tara-ké-ru=ne  muuni
      NEG=2SG.NS  buy-APPL-PFV.EV=1SG.S  beans
      ‘I didn’t buy beans for you.’

In (8)-(9), ki= is involved in copulative constructions:

(8)  aapóe ki=kukučí-hu  wa’ási
      3PL.S  NEG=children-COP  like.that
      ‘They are not children anymore.’

(9)  no'o  no'nó  ki=nawahuá-me-hu
      1SG.NS  father  NEG=drink-NMLZ-COP
      ‘My father is not a drunk.’

The form ki= can also be found attached to an adjective, as is the case in (10):
(10) \( \text{ki}=\text{tahtá} \)
    \( \text{NEG}=\text{hot} \)
    ‘It is not hot.’

The imperative negation construction makes use of the element \( \text{ka’té} \), as is the following examples:

(11a) \( \text{ka’té} \quad \text{te’é} \)
    \( \text{NEG.IMP play} \)
    ‘Don’t play!’

(11b) \( \text{ka’té} \quad \text{meyá} \)
    \( \text{NEG.IMP kill} \)
    ‘Don’t kill him.’

There is a group of lexical items that occur with the clitic \( \text{ki}= \) to create the opposite meaning of the lexical item without the negation element. Some examples (of these items) are: \( \text{kawérani/kikawérani} \) ‘to be glad’/‘to regret’, \( \text{kawéruma/kikawéruma} \) ‘good’/‘bad’, \( \text{toani/kitoani} \) ‘to let’/‘to prohibit’, \( \text{pehtiáme/kipehtiáme} \) ‘heavy’/light’.

6.2. Scope

The element \( \text{ki}= \) preverbally in a simple sentence can express the negation of the agent participant. This is shown in (12a)-(12b):
(12a) piipi tihoé ki=nahkí kawái
       one man NEG=want horse
    ‘No man wants that horse.’

(12b) piipi owitiame ki=sáwa-re ehpéo
       one woman NEG=cook-PFV now
    ‘No woman cooked today.’

But placing the negative element before the agent participant changes the meaning in the quantification of the participant:

(13a) ki=piipi tihoé nahkí kawái
       NEG=one man want horse
    ‘All men want that horse

(13b) ki=piipi owitiame sáwa-re ehpéo
       NEG=one woman cook-PFV now
    ‘All women cooked today.’

This effect is similar to the change of meaning observed in constructions with compound predicates by changing the negative clitic from preverbal to prepatient (see example (27)).

However, placing the negative element in the patient participant results in an ungrammatical clause:
(13c) *maniwíri nahkí ki=piipi kawái

Another strategy to negate a participant is with a left dislocation construction with
the participant to be negated. Such a strategy is related to the Focus relation described in
Chapter 5. The negation element *ki= occurs in this construction attached to the verb (14)
or to the participant to be negated (15):

(14) wani=a ki=intó-re amó wewé-ka
    John=EMPH NEG=come-PFV 2SG.NS hit-PTCP
    ‘It wasn’t John who hit you.’

(15a) ki=wani=a intó-re amó wewé-ka
    NEG=John=EMPH come-PFV 2SG.NS hit-PTCP
    ‘It wasn’t John who hit you.’

(15b) ki=čiwá ini-ré wani meyá-ri-a
    NEG=goat be-PFV John kill-PFV-REL
    ‘It was not a goat that John killed.’

(15c) ki=čiwá ini-ré no'ó meyá-ri-a
    NEG=goat be-PFV 1SG.NS kill-PFV-REL
    ‘It was not a goat that I killed.’

(15d) wani ini-ré ki=čiwá meyá-ri-a
    John be-PFV NEG=goat kill-PFV-REL
    ‘It was not a goat that John killed.’
In complex sentences, the negation element \( ki = \) precedes the verb of the clause to be negated:

(16a) owitiame \( ki = yau-ká \) e'rá-re pedró-ma
woman NEG=dance-PTCP try-PFV Peter -COMIT
‘The woman tried not to dance with Peter.’

(16b) owitiame yau-ká \( ki = e'rá-re \) pedró-ma
woman dance-PTCP NEG=try-PFV Peter -COMIT
‘The woman did not try to dance with Peter.’

(17a) amó tuyé-na=ne \( ki = meri-mičío \)
2SG.NS say-PRS=1SG.S NEG=kill-PURP
‘I ask you not to kill him.’

(17b) \( ki = amó \) tuyé-na=ne meri-mičío
NEG=2SG.NS say-PRS=1SG.S kill-PURP
‘I don’t ask you to kill him.’ i.e. ‘I asked someone else’

(18a) wani no'o tuyé-ka ki=ena-ká-ta maría
John 1SG.NS say-PTCP NEG=come-PTCP-QUOT María
‘John told me that Mary didn’t come.’

(18b) wani \( ki = no'ó \) tuya maría ená-k-o
John NEG=1SG.NS say María come-PTCP-SUB
‘John didn’t tell me that Mary came.’ i.e. ‘Someone else told me’

(19a) pedró nané-re no'ó \( ki = i'wá \) kahti-ó
Peter know-IPFV 1SG.NS NEG=here be.seated-SUB
‘Peter knew that I was not here.’
(19b) pedró ki=nané-re no'ó i'wá kahti-ó-i
   Peter NEG=know-PFV 1SG.NS here be.seated.-SUB-IPFV
   'Peter didn’t know that I was here.'

(20a) maría no'ó tuyé-ka ki=no'ó simi-mičío
   María 1SG.NS say-PTCP NEG=1SG.NS go-PURP
   'Mary told me not to leave.'

(20b) maría ki=no'ó tuyé-ka no'ó simi-mičío
   María NEG=1SG.NS say-PTCP 1SG.NS go-PURP
   'Mary didn’t tell me to leave.'

(21a) rolando ki=nahki ena-mičío pedró
   Rolando NEG=want come-PURP Peter
   'Rolando does not want Peter to come.'

(21b) rolando nahki ki=ena-mičío pedró
   Rolando want NEG=come-PURP Peter
   'Rolando wants Peter not to come.'

(22a) ki=no'ó puyé-ri-a no'ó ena-mi-ó
   NEG=1SG.NS expect-PFV=EMPH 1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB
   'She didn’t expect that I come.'

(22a) no'ó puyé-ri-a ki=no'ó ena-mi-ó
    1SG.NS expect-PFV=EMPH NEG=1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB
    'She expected that I wouldn’t come.'

We can have both readings placing the negative element before the main verb:
(23a) ki=maé-na=ne ena-mi-ó wani
    NEG=believe-PRS=1SG.NS come-FUT-SUB John
    ‘I don’t believe that John is coming.’ / ‘I believe that John is not coming.’

(24a) ki=amó nuréna=ne tekihpana-mičio
    NEG=2SG.NS order=1SG.S work-PURP
    ‘I order you not to work.’

(25a) rolando na'nára-me ki=e'rá-re
    Rolando cry-NMLZ NEG=try-PFV
    ‘Rolando tried not to cry.’ / ‘Rolando didn’t try to cry.’

But placing the negation element in the subordinate verb we can have only one reading:

(23b) maé-na=ne ki=ena-mi-ó wani
    believe-PRS=1SG.NS NEG=come-FUT-SUB John
    ‘I believe that John is not coming.’ / ‘I don’t believe that John is coming.’

(24b) amó nuréna=ne ki=tekihpana-mičio
    2SG.NS order=1SG.S NEG=work-PURP
    ‘I order you not to work.’ / ‘I don’t order you to work.’

(25b) rolando ki=na'nára-me e'rá-re
    Rolando NEG=cry-NMLZ try-PFV
    ‘Rolando tried not to cry.’ / ‘Rolando didn’t try to cry.’

The negation element can be in both verbs:
(26) rolando ki=na'rá-me ki=e'rá-re
Rolando NEG=cry-NMLZ NEG=try-PFV
‘Rolando did not try not to cry.’

Constructions with compound predicates have only one place for the negation element, preverbally. However, the constructions with nominal participants may have two senses as is exemplified in the following constructions:

(27a) rolándo ki=ena-héra-ní-a pedró
Rolando NEG=come-want-PRS-EMPH Peter
‘Rolando wants Peter not to come.’ / ‘Rolando does not want Peter to come.’

(27b) rolándo ki= pedró ena-héra-ní-a
Rolando NEG= Peter come-want-PRS-EMPH
‘Rolando wants Peter not to come.’ / ‘Rolando does not want Peter to come.’

(27c) apoé ki=no'ó ena-héra-ní
3SG.S NEG=1SG.NS come-want-PRS
‘She wanted me not to come.’

(27d) ki=amó tekipána-hera-ní=ne
NEG=2SG.NS work-want-PRS=1SG.S
‘I don’t want you to work.’

The negation within a compound predicate is ungrammatical:

(28) *rolándo ena-ki=héra-ní-a pedró
In coordinated clauses, each clause can be negated with the element *ki=* . Since in Warihío there are no connectors, the position of *ki=* is preverbal too:

(29a)  \[ ki=ko'á-ni=ne \quad ki=koči-ná=ne \]
\[ \text{NEG=eat-PRS=1SG.S NEG=sleep-PRS=1SG.S} \]
‘I don’t eat nor sleep.’

(29b)  \[ mariá ki=ko'a-ni \quad ki=koči-ná \]
María NEG=eat-PRS NEG=sleep-PRS
‘Mary does not eat nor sleep.’

(29c)  \[ ki=ko'á-ni-ni-a \quad koči-ná-ni-a \]
\[ \text{NEG=eat-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH sleep-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH} \]
‘I don’t eat but I sleep.’

(29d)  \[ ko'á-ni-ni-a \quad ki=koči-ná-ni-a \]
\[ \text{eat-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH NEG=sleep-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH} \]
‘I eat but I don’t sleep.’
CHAPTER 7

VOICE

7.0. Introduction

Voice is a grammatical phenomenon difficult to explain and describe. Even currently, many researchers disagree on which phenomena we should include in the description of voice of some language. What makes voice difficult, and interesting, independently of how many grammatical phenomena are identified as exemplifying it, is that voice is one of those parts of a grammar where there is a considerable interrelation among many levels and subfields of a language, such as lexical semantics, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and knowledge of the world. Warihio is a clear example of this. Shibatani (in preparation) considers Voice to be a grammatical phenomenon concerned with the different developmental phases of the action.

Voice and grammatical aspect both refer to the evolution of the action. However, while aspectral categories are concerned with “different ways of viewing internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976), Voice refers more to the nature of the evolution of an action itself. Shibatani (in preparation) schematizes the voice parameters in the following way:
Voice parameters

1) Origin of an action

(a) How is the action brought about e.g. Active-spontaneous.

(b) Where does the action originate e.g. Active-passive; Direct-inverse; Split-ergativity; Causatives.

2) Development of an action

How does the action develop –beyond the agent or confined to personal sphere of the agent? E.g. Active-middle.

3) Termination of an action

(a) Does the action develop to its full extent and affect the patient; or does it fail to do so? e.g. Ergative-antipassive; conatives; Partitive constructions.

(b) Does the action develop further than its normal course such that the effect is registered in an entity beyond the direct participants of the event?

(Benefactive/applicatives; External possession; Ethical datives; Adversative passives).

Since there is no definitive account of Voice in general, I have decided to follow Shibatani in his conceptualization of Voice according to the three parameters already mentioned: the origin, the development, and the termination of the action. What is happening in Warihio will be described in that order in the following subsections.
7.1. Origin of an action

As was noticed above, passives and causatives are involved in the origin of the action. In the first case, the agent is not one of the core participants of the clause, and in the latter, the causer is expressed as an additional core participant of the clause.

7.1.1. The passive

The main voice parameter relevant to the passive is the origin of the action (Shibatani, in preparation), that is, where the action originates; in the case of passive the locus of the origin of the action is other than the subject of the clause.

One main problem regarding the description and definition of passive is the fact that cross-linguistically there is no specifically passive morphology, there is no passive Grammar (Bybee and Dahl, 1989). This means that passive morphology is always used for other functions also. It is known that there is no passive morphology for some Uto-Aztecan languages such as Serrano, Pochutla (Langacker, 1976), Low Pima, Papago (Estrada p.c). On the other hand, the constructions used for the periphrastic passive in a given language cover other domains than passive; likewise, constructions from other domains are used to encode passives (Andersen, 1991). Keenan (1985:245) says that what is distinctive about passives is their verbal morphology, while Klaiman (1991) conceives of a passive clause as an alternation in a subject’s participant status in terms of role-remapping. Within this concept, the passive is understood as a derived voice (marked) while the active is a basic voice (unmarked.)
Haselmath (1990:27) claims that a construction is called passive if:

(i) the active subject corresponds either to a non-obligatory oblique phrase or to nothing in the passive; and,
(ii) the active direct object (if any) corresponds to the subject of the passive; and,
(iii) the construction is somehow restricted vis-a-vis another unrestricted construction (the active), e.g. less frequent, functionally specialized, not fully productive.

Similar criteria for passive are given by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000):

(a) Passive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive.
(b) The underlying O becomes S of the passive.
(c) The underlying A argument goes into peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it.
(d) There is some explicit formal marking of a passive construction – generally, by a verbal affix or by a periphrastic verbal construction.

The differences between Haselmath (1990) and Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) are:

(i) Haselmath establishes that the counterpart of a passive construction must be an active construction, while Dixon and Aikhenvald’s criteria require this construction be a transitive,
(ii) For Dixon and Aikhenvald there is always the option of including the agent, and (iii) Haselmath says nothing about the way the passive construction is formally marked, but
Dixon and Aikhenvald explicitly talk about a verbal affix or a periphrastic verbal construction on marking the passive construction.

Some other researchers (Shibatani 1985, Andersen 1991, Givón 2001, Comrie 1988) take a more prototypical approach, allowing the inclusion in the passive domain of non-prototypical constructions. Shibatani (1985:833) gives primary importance to the defocusing\(^1\) of the agent: "the defocusing of an agent in the passive is not merely a consequence of an object promotion or of topicalization, but rather is the basic and primary function of the passive construction." Shibatani lists three facts that support this claim: (i) passives generally do not express agents overtly, (ii) some languages avoid the presence of an agent in a passive (e.g. Finnish, Cheremis, Turkish)\(^2\), and (iii) passivization does not generally apply to non-agentive intransitives. He claims that a clause without an agent or agent-like participant is impossible to passivize since there is no agent to defocus. The passive prototype properties given by Shibatani (1985:837) are:

a. Primary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent.

b. Semantic properties:

(i) Semantic valence: Predicate (agent, patient).

(ii) Subject is affected.

---

\(^1\) Shibatani uses the term 'agent defocusing' in an attempt to cover different but related phenomena such as the absence of the mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-prominent syntactic slot, the blurring of the identity of an agent by the use of plural forms, and the indirect reference to an agent by the use of an oblique case.

\(^2\) Yaqui, a Uto-Aztecan language, is one of those languages that obligatorily excludes the agent in the passive.
c. Syntactic properties:

   (i) Syntactic encoding: agent $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ (not encoded).

   patient $\rightarrow$ subject.

   (ii) Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n;

       Passive = P/n-1.

c. Morphological properties:

   Active = P;

   Passive = P[+passive].

Givón (2001:126 vol. II), agreeing with Shibatani in the defocalization of the agent as the main function of the passive, adds "the typological diversity of passive voice constructions...what unites these constructions -what makes them sub-types of the same super-type- is the fact that they all code roughly the same functional domain. Their structural diversity is then due primarily to the fact that they arise from different diachronic source constructions that were used earlier to code different functional domains."

(Givón 2001:127 vol. II).

Comrie (1988:9), concerned with the definitional criteria of passive, establishes that: "A major unclarity in current grammatical terminology surrounds the delimitation of passive and ergative from one another...It remains true that the definitions proposed are in terms of prototypes rather than in terms of necessary-and-sufficient conditions, so that
inevitably there will be borderline cases that are not assignable unequivocally to one construction or the other.”

Andersen (1991:111-112) establishes that:

(a) The passive exhibits a valence of one. This feature can be taken to mean that the ‘core’ of the construction is composed of only a single participant of the verbal action.

(b) The single ‘core’ constituent of the passive construction is the participant which is affected by the action of the verb.

(c) An ‘external’ initiator – prototypically an agent- of the action or event is expressed by the verb. This is an optional argument in the periphery of the clause.

The necessity of a functional definition of the passive is evident in investigating languages such as Warihío given that in this language one can find clauses that fulfill the passive definition given by Givón (2004), who defines the passive clause functionally as “the clause-type whereby the agent of the corresponding active is radically de-topicalized and its patient becomes, by default, the only topical argument”, then the following typology of the cross-linguistically most common major clause-types that perform this function may be obtained. This definition has the characteristic that a passive is obligatorily derived. A more neutral definition is given by Andersen (1991:111-112): “The passive is a transitive construction containing two participants, i.e. an initiator
(prototypically an agent) and another (i.e. a ‘patient’) exhibiting the feature [+ affected], whereby only the ‘patient’ is specified in the ‘core’ of the clause”.

What I want to illustrate with all these different accounts is the diversity of criteria invoked in stipulating a passive. Even those approaches that include non-prototypical instances show differences on how they use terms such as ‘transitivity’, ‘valency’. Following Shibatani (1985) in his approach to passive, I emphasize that all its features have equal importance, and a construction lacking even one of the features is a non-prototypical instance of a passive.

7.1.1.1. Warihío passive

Warihío presents three passive constructions: (i) morphological, (ii) functional-notional, and (iii) periphrastic. These will be described in the following subsections.

7.1.1.1.1. Morphological passive

Warihío presents two passive suffixes attested for Uto-Aztecan languages: the verbal suffix –tu and the verbal suffix –tía.

7.1.1.1.1. The verbal suffix –tu

Let’s begin with a basic example:

(1a) kahpona-ré=mu kuú
    break-PFV=2SG.S stick
    ‘You broke the stick.’
(1b) kahpona-ré-tu kuú (no'ó-e, amó-e, wani-e, tihoé-e) break-PRF-PASS stick 1SG.NS-INS 2SG.NS-INS John-INS men-INS ‘The stick was broken (by me, by you, by John, by the men).’

These constructions fit very well with the main properties given in Shibatani (1985); (i) the agent –mu ‘you’ (1a) is defocalized and is optionally expressed in oblique form amóe (1b); (ii) the only obligatorily expressed participant kuú ‘stick’ is the entity affected (1b); and (iii) the verb shows an additional morpheme –tu. What the construction in (1) shows, too, is that there is no restriction on the occurrence of the participants in terms of the animacy hierarchy, since many directions are possible Non-SAP ---> SAP (1p, 2p), Non-SAP as it is shown in (1b). Usually, passives have a non-marked direction from a 1p, 2p, or 3p entity affected by a 3p.

Passives of intransitive verbs (2)-(3) are allowed in Waríhío with the oblique optional expression of the only participant (the agent) as well (3):

(2a) owéru yau-ré yomá tukawári women dance-PFV QUANT night ‘The women danced all night.’

(2b) yau-ré-tu (yomá tukawári) dance-PFV-PASS QUANT night ‘There was dancing (all night.)’

(3a) pedró umá-re yomá-či kusitere Peter run-PFV QUANT-LOC woods ‘Peter ran all over the woods.’
(3b)  uma-ré-tu  (yomá kusîtere) (pedrô-e)  
run-PFV-PASS QUANT woods Peter-INS  
‘There was running (all over the woods) (by Peter).’

I am going to address two main points about the morphological passive constructions in (1)-(3):

(i) Morphological passives given by the verbal suffix –tu are restricted to the perfective aspect.

(ii) The causative –te / -na and applicative –ke suffixes occur before the tense/aspect suffix; while the –tu suffix occurs after.

Tarahumara has a similar construction with the same cognate suffix –tu / -ru (Burgess 1984) analyzed as a passive clause. Langacker (1976) glosses this –tu suffix as ‘become’.

In Warihío, we can have personal and impersonal morphological passive versions of the same event as is shown in (4b) and (4c), respectively:

(4a)  pedrô no’ó wewe-rû tapaná  
Peter 1SG.NS hit-PFV.EV yesterday  
‘Peter hit me yesterday.’

(4b)  wewe-ré-tu=ne tapaná (pedrô-e)  
hit-PFV-PASS=1SG.S yesterday Peter-INS  
‘I was hit yesterday (by Peter).’
This can be related to Focus, since in Warihio the constituent in Focus is the constituent in initial position. Whence (4b) could be the response to what happened yesterday? And (4c) the response to who was hit yesterday?

7.1.1.1.1.2 The verbal suffix -tia

The constructions showing the suffix -tia have no tense/aspect suffix:

(5a) wiiká inamú-tia-me
song listen-PASS-NMLZ
‘The song was listened to.’

(5b) awési ihkéta wiki-ri-a=ne-o ihkéta soorandóna=pu
how.much owe-PFV-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH how.much left-D.D
tehkí yof-tia-me
work earn-PASS-NMLZ
‘...I went to see how much I owed and how much was left with the work done.’

(5c) kawé to’weré-tia kuú wa’à-pote pueta-či-pote
good put-PASS stick there-up door-LOC-up
ki=moi-mičio henté-o wa’à yoré-muna ičikuá-me
NEG=enter-PURP people-EMPH there inside-toward steal-NMLZ
‘...they had put the sticks above on the door very well, so people, thieves, couldn’t get in.’
(5d) wewé-tia=ne  
    hit-PASS=1SG.S  
    ‘I was hit.’

The suffix –tia in (5a)-(5b) seems to function as participles do, that is, as verbal adjectives. Actually many of the adjectives in Waribío have this same ending –tia-me giving the following glosses: ‘the listened song’ in (5a), ‘the earned work’ in (5b). For (5c)-(5d), the ‘passive’ reading obtains; ‘the stick was put’ (5c) and ‘I was hit’ (5d). This same suffix –tia occurs with intransitive verbs (5e):

(5e) wikahtá-tia yomá aarí  
    sing-PASS QUANT afternoon  
    ‘There was singing all afternoon.’

In the examples in (5f)-(5h), the subjects =ne ‘I’, puú tehtémari ‘those boys’, =pu ‘he’ in the passive clauses are the benefactives of ditransitive active sentences:

(5f) simi-yáí simi-ká kawái rewé-tia=ne  
    go-IPFV go-PTCP horse lend-PASS=1SG.S  
    pukaépa pu'-ká-če i'nó-mia pu'-ká rootóre  
    that's why D.D-ID-ITER bring-FUT D.D-ID doctor  
    ‘...I walked and walked, and they lent me a horse just to bring the doctor.’

(5g) waá ihto-aí-čia eikó tihoé-a-pa  
    there leave-IPFV-QUOT then man-EMPH-INCH  
    ‘...then when the man was leaving,
puú teh-témari puú kiya-tiá-me wa'á u'má-to-ka wa'á
D.D PL-boy D.D give-PASS-NMLZ there run-MOV-PTCP there
those boys, those who were given (the pears) passed by there.'

(5h) wa'á ih-to-á-čia eikó
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then
‘when he was leaving,
kia-tiá=pu-a pu'-ká mókori
give-PASS=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID hat
they gave him the hat

eikó kiya-ka paíká pu'-ká
then give-PTCP three D.D-ID
then he gave them three (pears).’

The suffix -tía as a passive participle (Haselmath, 1994) is involved in the
periphrastic passives (7.1.1.1.3).

7.1.1.1.2 Functional-notional passive

I am taking a functional or notional passive (Givón, 2001) to be a non-
prototypical instance of a passive. The verb has no a specific ‘passive’ meaning, however
the characteristics of these constructions with a passive meaning in Warihío are: (i) The
verb is inflected only for non-perfective tense/aspect; (ii) the verb has no passive suffix;
and, (iii) the agent can be included with the instrumental suffix -e. The whole
construction fills all the criteria but the morphological one given in Shibatani (1985).
(6a) wiiká inamú=mu
    song listen=2SG.S
    ‘You are listening to the song.’

(6b) wiiká inamú-mera (amó-e)
    song listen-POT 2SG.NS-INS
    ‘The song is going to be listened (by you).’

(6c) wikahtá-mera yomá aari (owéru-e)
    sing-POT QUANT afternoon women-INS
    ‘There is going to be singing all afternoon (by women).’

(7a) wani kahponá-ni kuú
    John break-PRS stick
    ‘John is breaking the stick.’

(7b) kuú kahpóna-ni=a (wani-e)
    stick break-PRS=EMPH John-INS
    ‘The stick is being broken (by John).’

(8a) wewé-nia=ni-a
    hit-PRS=1SG.S-EMPH
    ‘I am being hit.’

(8b) wewé-na=ne
    hit-PRS=1SG.S
    ‘I am hitting it/him/them.’

Note that all the constructions above have the option of including the agent. If the construction does not include the agent, this can have two readings depending on the animacy of the participant and the class of the verb, as can be seen in (9):
(9) neé inamú-mera
1SG.S listen-POT
'I am going to listen.'/‘I am going to be listened to.’

Another possibility for a construction to be considered a notional passive in Warihío is a nominalized copulative construction. In Warihío, there are two copulas: the auxiliary verb ininá ‘to be’ and the verbal suffix -hu. This latter is used usually for conditions that are not complete:

(10) kuú kahpona-pu-áme-hu (pedró-e)
stick break-D.D-NMLZ-COP Peter-INS
‘The stick will be broken (by Peter).’

(11) wiiká inamú-ni-ame-hu (hustina-e)
song listen-PRS-NMLZ-COP Agustína-INS
‘The song is being listened to (by Agustina).’

(12) tihoé natahképa-ni-ame-hu (yomá tihoé-e)
man forget-PRS-NMLZ-COP QUANT man-INS
‘The man is being forgotten (by everybody).’

(13) kuitá uhurá-ni-ame-hu ahpó no'nó-ma (maniwiri-e)
child send-PRS-NMLZ-COP 3SG.NS parents-COM Manuel-INS
‘The child is being sent to his parents (by Manuel).’

7.1.1.1.3 Periphrastic passive

The verb ininá ‘be’ can be used periphrastically with all tense/aspects:
(14a) meeré-o tihóe natahkepa-ni-áme ini-méra yomá-e
    tomorrow=EMPH man forget-PRS-NMLZ be-POT QUANT-INS
    ‘By tomorrow the man is going to be forgotten by everybody.’

(14b) wiiká inamú-tia-me ini-ré yomá puebló-či
    song listen-PASS-NMLZ be-PFV QUANT town-LOC
    ‘The song was listened to by (in) the whole town.’

Ditransitive verbs are passivized also using a nominalized copula construction.

With the copula iníná for non-present tense/aspect ((15a)-(15b)):

(15a) kuitá uhurá-tia-me ini-ré ahpó no'nó-ma
    child send-PASS-NMLZ be-PFV 3SG.NS parents-COM
    ‘The child was sent to his parents.’

(15b) kuitá uhurá-pu-ame ini-méra meeré ahpó no'nó-ma
    child send-D.D-NMLZ be-POT tomorrow 3SG.NS parents-COM
    ‘The child will be sent to his parents tomorrow.’

7.1.1.1.4 Conclusion

Warihío shows a heterogeneous group of constructions that show the functional properties of a prototypical passive construction. Not all of them show a specific passive morphology. However, I have decided to include them in this section alluding to the diachronic stage of Warihío, a stage with no fully grammaticalized construction for passive. Given the appropriate conditions, diverse constructions may fulfill the functional domains of a passive.
7.1.2. Causatives

Warihio presents the three formal ways described in the literature in which causation is expressed: lexical causatives, morphological causatives, and periphrastic causatives. In addition, Warihio presents a fourth type, between the morphological and the periphrastic types, that I am calling a morpho-periphrastic causative. Following the binding hierarchy proposed in Givón (1980, 2001), constructions containing a caused event plus a causing event are ranked from the most to the least syntactically integrated type in a way that parallels their semantic binding. In Warihio, this corresponds to the lexical-morphological-periphrastic continuum (Comrie, 1989), and overlaps the functional domains of the causative continuum proposed in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001).

One important aspect of Warihio grammar pertaining to causative constructions is that Warihio does not use verbal agreement or case marking in signaling the role of the noun participants. Moreover, the different sets of personal pronouns help us to differentiate only between subjects (of main clause) and the remaining participants in a causative construction, so that morphological encoding of the causee hierarchy (Comrie, 1985, 1989) is not available to signal differing kinds of causee in Warihio. Instead, the degree of control retained by the causee and the distinction between a patientive causee and an agentive causee (i.e. the degree of directness) (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001) are expressed by the semantics of the base verb and the causative ‘verb’. This includes the degree of implicativeness in correlation with the degree of syntactic integration of the causative construction.
Following Haspelmath (1993:90), the inchoative/causative verb pair is defined semantically: "it is a pair of verbs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on) and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously". Of 27 causative verb pairs\(^3\) reviewed in Warihio, 19 were causative alternations, 4 labile, and 4 suppletives. Anticausative verbs were not found. This shows a greater percentage of directed alternation.

The transitive counterpart of an inactive intransitive verb (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001) constitutes a lexical causative.

### 7.1.2.1. Lexical causatives

In Warihio, the causative verb counterparts show these different types: suppletion, labile, vowel and consonant alternation, equipollent alternation, and suffixation. Suppletive forms have two different forms for the inchoative-causative pair; labile has the same form for both, the inchoative and causative verb; equipollent alternations share the same stem from which the inchoative and causative derive.

#### 7.1.2.1.1. Suppletion

Most languages have suppletive forms for some verbs. Clauses (16) and (17) show some examples in Warihio:

\(^3\) These verb pairs were taken from Haspelmath (1993).
(16a) kārī taha-rē
    house burn-PFV
    ‘The house burned.’

(16b) aapōe kosō-re kārī
    3PL.S burn-PFV house
    ‘They burned the house.’

(17a) peterā muku-rē
    Petra die.sg-PFV
    ‘Petra died.’

(17b) maniwiri me'ā-re peterā
    Manuel kill.sg-PFV Petra
    ‘Manuel killed Petra.’

7.1.2.1.2. Labile

I found some labile verb pairs: yetépani ‘close’, oífani ‘start’, sawéna ‘rock’,
wa'káni ‘chip’, that is, verbs for which the inchoative and causative forms are the same:

(18a) puétá yetépa-re
    door close-PFV
    ‘The door closed.’

(18b) wani yetépa-re puétá
    John close-PFV door
    ‘John closed the door.’

(19a) oíf-a-re pahkó
    start-PFV feast
    ‘The feast started.’
(19b) oíča-ru=ne pahkó  
start-PFV.EV=1SG.S feast  
'I started the feast.'

(20a) puú maká muináti sawé-na  
D.D swing slow rock-HAB  
'That swing rocks slowly.'

(20b) karína muináti sawé-na maká  
Karina slow rock-HAB swing  
'Karina rocks the swing slowly.'

(21a) sikóri wa'ká-re  
pot chip off-PFV  
'The pot is chipped.'

(21b) kuitá wa'ká-re sikóri  
child chip off-PFV pot  
'The child chipped the pot.'

All the (a) examples in (18)-(21) accept an extra oblique argument with the instrumental postposition -e with an indirect involvement in the event:

(18a') puétá yetépa-re, (wani-e)  
door close-PFV John-INS  
'The door closed (John ordered it).'

(19a') oíča-re pahkó, (pédró-e)  
start-PFV feast Peter-INS  
'The feast started (Peter order it).'
(20a') puú  maká muínáti sawé-na, (karíná-e)
D.D  swing slow   rock-PRS karíná-INS
‘That swing rocks slowly (Karina ordered it).’

(21a') sikori wa'ká-re   (kuitá-e)
pot   chip off-PFV child-INS
‘The pot is chipped (the child ordered it).’

These constructions are similar to those constructions labeled as notional-functional passive in 7.1.1.1.2. There is an important difference; the optional oblique agent in the notional-functional passive is the agent directly involved in the action, whereas the optional oblique agents in these inchoative constructions are agents involved indirectly. These agents ordered the event should start in such a way the event is still conceived as an inchoative-spontaneous event.

7.1.2.1.3. Equipollent verbs

Equipollent verbs are intransitive/transitive verb pairs that share the root and they differ in the suffix.

7.1.2.1.3.1. V-i vs. V-a

All the position verbs and some displacement verbs in Warihio present intransitive/transitive pairing. Some of them present suppletive forms, kahti/yahći ‘be seated.sg.’/ ‘set.sg’; some others present a vowel alternation in the base from –i (intr.) to
\( -a \) (tr.)\(^4\) as in (22), or with an additional change in the preceding consonant as (23) shows:

(22a) ihpíčira werí ehkína-čí
     broom be.standing.sg corner-LOC
     ‘The broom is in the corner.’

(22b) hustína werá-re ihpíčira ehkína-čí
     Agustína place.s.standing.sg PFV broom corner-LOC
     ‘Justina put the broom in the corner.’

(23a) wání paki-ná kari-čí
     John enter.sg-PRS house-LOC
     ‘John is entering the house.’

(23b) wání pahča-ní kuitá kari-čí
     John put.in.sg-PRS child house-LOC
     ‘John is putting the child inside the house.’

Like many Uto-Aztecan languages, Warihío presents, in some of its positional-movement verbs, different forms that agree in number with the subject in the case of intransitive verbs and with the object for the counterpart transitive (lexical causatives) verb:

(24a) ihpíčira ahawí ehkína-čí
     brooms be.standing.pl.PRES corner-LOC
     ‘The brooms are in the corner.’

\(^4\) This vowel alternation also occurs in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, but in this case the alternation is from \(-e\) to \(\sim a\).
(24b) hustína ahawá-re ihpičira ehkína-čí
    Agustína place.s.standing.pl-PFV brooms corner-LOC
    ‘Justina put the brooms in the corner.’

(25a) kukučí mo'í-ná kari-čí
    children enter.pl-PRS house-LOC
    ‘The children are entering the house.’

(25b) waní mo'a-ré kukučí kari-čí
    John put.in.pl-PFV children house-LOC
    ‘John put the children inside the house.’

7.1.2.1.3.2. V-pa vs. V-na/-ča

There is a group of stative verbs, which comprehend the equipollent inchoative/causative pair, since the inchoative verb is derived using the inchoative suffix –pa and the causative form with the suffix –na/-ča from the same verb root. These verbs make a semantic group: kasi-na ‘be broken’, si’pá-ni ‘be torn’, či’wá-ni ‘be cut’, wi’lló-na ‘be flexible’, pi’rí-na ‘be twisted’ labelled as the semantic ‘break’ group in Cora⁵:

(26a) sipičá si’pá-ni
    dress torn-PRS
    ‘The dress is torn.’

(26b) sipičá si’pá-re
    dress torn-PFV
    ‘The dress was in a torn state.’

---

⁵ This semantic verb group is very similar to the labile ‘break’ group that occurs in Cora (Vázquez, 2001).
(26c) sipičá si'pá-pa-re
dress torn-\textsc{inch-pfv}
‘The dress got torn.’ (Because the dress was old.)

(26d) hustina si'pa-ná-re sipičá
Agustina torn-\textsc{caus-pfv} dress
‘Agustina tore the dress.’

(27a) rolándo či'wá-re
Rolando cut-\textsc{pfv}
‘Rolando had a cut.’

(27b) rolándo či'wá-pa-re
Rolando cut-\textsc{inch-pfv}
‘Rolando got a cut.’ (By accident)

(27c) wani či'wá-na-re rolándo petúri-e
John cut-\textsc{caus-pfv} Rolando knife-\textsc{ins}
‘John cut Rolando with a knife.’

It seems that only events that can be conceived as happening ‘spontaneously’, more precisely without the involvement of an external volitional participant, can take the inchoative suffix \textit{-pa}. This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (28a) in contrast with the acceptability of (28b):

(28a) *kuú ta'pá-pa-re
wood cut.down.the.middle-\textsc{inch-pfv}

(28b) kuú ta'pá-re (pedró-e)
wood cut.down.the.middle-\textsc{pfv} Peter-\textsc{ins}
‘The wood is cut down the middle (by Peter).’
The *ta'páni* 'cut down in the middle' shown in (28) is very telling with respect to this restriction since this event requires a volitional, intentional and careful subject participant.

The occurrence of the causative suffix *-ča* in contrast with *-na* shows an event conceived as iterative (29a) more than an event with multiple objects\(^6\), something not uncommon in Uto-Aztecan languages.

(29a) waní ta'pá-ča-re pií weréwa ampá marikí kuú ehpé

John cut.d.the.m-CAUS-PFV one twenty over five stick today

‘John cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.’

lit. ‘John cut and cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.’

(29b) waní ta'pá-na-re pií weréwa ampá marikí kuú ehpé

John cut.d.the.m-CAUS-PFV one twenty over five stick today

‘John cut twenty five sticks down the middle today.’

In (29b) with the suffix *-na*, the action is conceived as one action even though the objects are the same in number as in (29a).

Even though the causative suffixes *-na* and *-ča* in this group show a very direct involvement of the causer, there may exist a specific context (and depending upon the nature of the causee) where the causer involvement is only in indirect terms. There is a type of plant called *panéwa* that twists itself around another tree or around a stick. If

---

\(^6\) Miller (1996:152) says that in the case of the Upland dialect the suffix *-ča* shows either a stronger action or an action over a plural object.
someone plants a panéwa alone, one must put a stick near it so the panéwa can twist, otherwise it grows on the ground without twisting. The following examples show this:

(30a) panéwa pi'ri-na
Panéwa twist-PRS
‘The panéwa is twisted.’

(30b) panewa pi'ri-pa-re
Panéwa twist-INCH-PFV
‘The panéwa grew twisted.’

(30c) wani pi'ri-na-re panéwa
John twist-CAUS-PFV panéwa
‘John twisted the panéwa.’

In (30b) the panéwa twisted by itself and in (30c) it did so with John’s indirect help, since he put the stick near to the panéwa.

Almost all of the remaining adjectival series, which occur as stative verbs in Warihío, undergo equipollent alternations. But in this case the causative verb shows an additional causative suffix -te plus the inchoative -pa. Some of these stative verbs include waki-ná ‘be dry’, sami-ná ‘be wet’, tu'na-ni ‘be thick’, resipá-ni ‘be tired’, sawái-na ‘be yellow’, tohsána-ni ‘be white’:

(31a) sipičá waki-ná
dress dry-PRS
‘The dress is dry.’
(31b) sipičá waki-pá-re
dress dry-INCH-PFV
‘The dress got dry.’

(31c) ta'á waki-pá-te-re sipičá
sun dry-INCH-CAUS-PFV dress
‘The sun dried the dress.’

(32a) ečitiáme tu'na-ní
sowing thick-PRS
‘The sowing is dense.’

(32b) ečitiáme tu'na-pá-re
crops thick-INCH-PFV
‘The crops got dense.’

(32c) yu'kí tuna-pá-te-re ečitiáme
rain thick-INCH-CAUS-PFV crops
‘The rain made the crops thick.’

(33a) ečitiáme sawáí-na
crops yellow-PRS
‘The crops are yellow.’

(33b) ečitiáme sawáí-pa-re
crops yellow-INCH-PFV
‘The crops turned yellow.’

(33c) ta'á sawai-pa-té-re ečitiáme
sun yellow-INCH-CAUS-PFV crops
‘The sun made the crops yellow.’
7.1.2.1.4. Suffixation: -na

This suffix is not productive, occurring only in nine verbs; five in the ‘break’ group mentioned in section 7.1.2.1.4 plus the following four verb pairs:

(34)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kahpóna/kahpónani} & \quad \text{‘to break intr./tr.’} \\
\text{wahóna/wahónani} & \quad \text{‘to open intr./tr.’} \\
\text{apečúma/apečunani} & \quad \text{‘to rise/raise’} \\
\text{ku’rina/ku’rinani} & \quad \text{‘to turn intr./tr.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(35a)  

puetá wahó-re  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{door open-PFV} & \\
\text{‘The door opened.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(35b)  

waní wahó-na-re puetá  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{John open-CAUS-PFV door} & \\
\text{‘John opened the door.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In Warihío, only a few verbs are pure (atomic) lexical causative verbs – suppletive or labile- in their form, i.e. not morphologically analyzable. Following Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001:88,92), I have classified all the verbs seen in this section as functional lexical causative verbs. Since all the devices shown here: (i) are of low productivity, that is constrained to these root verbs, (ii) are paired with inactive intransitive verbs, and (iii) most of the situations expressed by them involve direct causation.

7.1.2.2 Morphological causatives

The morphological causative construction in Warihío has a verb with the prototypical causative suffix found in Uto-Aztecan languages.
7.1.2.2.1 The causative suffix -te

This suffix has cognates in other Uto-Aztecan languages; -te (Tarahumara), -tua (Yaqui), -te (Cora), -ti (Ute), etc. This suffix participates in the formation of lexical causatives, as we saw above. It is also part of the typical morphological causative found in Uto-Aztecan languages. Moreover, the causative suffix -te together with the causing verbs yowâni ‘to make’, isiná/nokani ‘to move’ or intóna ‘to come’ constitute a mixed type found in Warihio, the morpha-periphrastic type.

There is a group of verbs affixed by -te in Warihio which seem to have been co-lexicalized, because the meanings of (36b) tend to be idiomatic and not predicted from the components:

(36a) peni-ná ‘to learn’                 (36b) peni-té-na ‘to teach’
epe-ná ‘to spread’                   epeh-té-na ‘to cover’
naté-na ‘to cost’                     nateh-té-na ‘to pay’
noka-ní ‘to move’                     noki-té-na ‘to touch’

There is a special adjectival/statative group of verbs on which the suffix -te produces the meaning of ‘perceiving V’. Among these adjectival stems are čihpú ‘bitter’, kahká ‘sweet’, ta’yá ‘tasty’, mačía ‘clear/light’, pewá ‘hard’, tahtá ‘hot’, tu’rá ‘cold’:

(37a) tapaná kahpé čipú-re

yesterday coffee bitter-PFV

‘Yesterday the coffee was bitter.’
(37b) tapaná kahpé no'ó čipu-té-re
yesterday coffee 1SG.NS bitter-CAUS-PFV
‘Yesterday the coffee tasted bitter to me.’
lit. ‘Yesterday the coffee made me taste-perceive bitter.’

(38a) weré mačia i'wá
much clear/light here
‘There is too much light here.’

(38b) weré no'ó mači-re-te-na i'wá
much 1SG.NS light-APPL-CAUS-PRS here
‘I see very well/clear here.’
lit. ‘The light makes me perceive very clearly here.’

(39a) tehkí wasa-čí pewá
work field-LOC hard
‘The work in the field is hard.’

(39b) tehkí wasa-čí tamó pewa-pá-te-na
work field-LOC 1PL.NS hard/strong-INCH-CAUS-HAB
‘The work in the field makes us strong.’
lit. ‘The work in the field makes us feel hard.’

In the case above, the causer that in many instances is inanimate shows the quality of ‘V’ produced on the causee, that is animate, the perception of ‘V’. It could be what Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001:39) explain like a case of “realignment of the causer and the causee vis-à-vis grammatical relations” in the case of the causative forms of verbs like laugh and cry. Davis (ms.) talks about a very similar causative-transitive semantics in Telugu (Dravidian) for a similar verbal group.
Other inactive intransitive verbs than adjectival/stative accept the \(-te\) suffixation in the causative form. Some of these verbs are kočiná ‘sleep’, wičiná ‘fall down’, \(\text{werípani} \) ‘grow up’, \text{mukaná} ‘die.sg’:

(40a)  
kukuci ko–kočí-pa-re  
children PL–sleep-INCH-PFV  
‘The children fell asleep.’

(40b)  
wání ko–kočí-pa-te-re kukučí  
John PL–sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children  
‘John put the children to sleep.’

(41a)  
toománte weři-pá-re peniátiame  
tomato be.standing.sg–INCH-PFV nice  
‘The tomatoes grew up nice.’

(41b)  
hustína weři-pá-te-re toománte peniátiame  
Agustina be.standing.sg–INCH-CAUS-PFV tomatoe nice  
‘Agustina made the tomatoes grow up nice.’

(42a)  
wání muku-ré  
John die.sg-PFV  
‘John died.’

(42b)  
pedró mukuh-té-re wání  
Peter die.sg–CAUS-PFV John  
‘Peter made John die.’

The difference between the examples shown in (40)-(42) and the adjectival base causative forms given in section 7.1.2.1.4 above is that the involvement of the causer is more indirect in the former than in the latter. For example in (40), John could have put
the children to bed so they got to sleep; in (41), Agustina made the tomatoes grow up by irrigating them, and Peter in (42) made John die by not taking him to the doctor. Even more, all verbs in (40)-(42) accept alternative causative construction(s) which show(s) a difference in the semantics concerning the directness degree of the two sub-events, these constructions will be illustrated in section 8.1.2.6.

Most of the base verbs that can constitute morphological causatives are active intransitives:

(43a) wani yau-ré
    John dance-PFV
    'John danced.'

(43b) neé yau-té-ru wani
    1SG.S dance-CAUS-PFV John
    'I made John dance.'

(44a) maría wikahtá-re
    Mary sing-PFV
    'Mary sang.'

(44b) neé wikahtá-te-ru maría
    1SG.S sing-CAUS-PFV.EV Mary
    'I made Mary sing.'

For the meaning of 'succeed' in making the causee do something, Warihío uses the adjective kawe 'good, well' plus -te suffixed to the base verb:
(45a) neé yau-rú waníta aháma
1SG.S dance-PFV.EV Johanna COM
‘I danced with Johanna.’

(45b) puú kawé no'ó yau-té-ru waníta ahama
D.D well 1SG.NS dance-CAUS-PFV.EV Johanna COM
‘He succeeded in having me dance with Johanna.’

In general, transitive and ditransitive base verbs occur in morpho-periphrastic and periphrastic causative constructions. However, we can find morphological causatives from transitive bases, but only with the causative meaning of ‘force’, which for Warihio requires the free element utewáčí ‘forced’ in addition to the causative suffix:

(46a) kukúcí ihpiči-re pete-čí
children clean-PFV house-LOC
‘The children cleaned the house.’

(46b) hustíná utewáčí ihpiči-te-re kukučí pete-čí
Agustina forced clean-CAUS-PFV children house-LOC
‘Agustina forced the children to clean the house.’

7.1.2.3. Morpho-periphrastic causatives

The morpho-periphrastic type of causative construction shows characteristics of the morphological type, e.g. the causative suffix -te, and at the same time the presence of periphrastic-type features, the use of auxiliary verbs with a general causative meaning. These verbs are represented in Warihio by verbs of general movement, isíná/nokani
‘move ssg/spl’, *intóna* ‘come’. In (47b), we have a causative construction from an inactive intransitive verb, and in (48b) from an active intransitive verb:

(47a) kukučí ko–kočí-pa-re
    children PL–sleep-INCH-PFV
    ‘The children slept.’

(47b) hustína *isi-ré* kukučí ko–kočí-te-ka
    Agustina move.sg-PFV children PL–sleep-CAUS-PTCP
    ‘Agustina made the children go to sleep.’

(48a) neē u’má-ru
    1SG.S run-PFV.EV
    ‘I ran.’

(48b) muú *isi-ré* no’ō u’má-te-ka
    2SG.S move.sg-PFV 1SG.NS run-CAUS-PTCP
    ‘You made me run.’

Another characteristic of periphrastic causatives in this type of morpho-periphrastic causative construction is that the causing event is qualified by the tense/aspect marker *-re/-ru*, and the caused event shows a less-finite marking, signaled by the participializer *-ka*, which is the case in (47b) and (48b). The suffix *-ka* gives a sense of some degree of simultaneity of events. Note that in the morphological type of (43b) and (44b), the tense suffix *-re/-ru* occurs right after the causative suffix *-te*.

In (49b), we can observe that the causing event is the suppletive form for ‘move subject pl.’ which is in agreement with a plural causer:
(49a) maría yau-ré
Mary dance-PFV
‘Mary danced.’

(49b) teemé noká-ru yau-te-ka maría
1PL.S move.pl-PFV.EV dance-CAUS-PTCP Mary
‘We made Mary dance.’

It is possible to find causative constructions of this type from transitive verbs, as
is shown in (50):

(50a) neé tapaná inaté-ru kukučí
1SG.S yesterday take.care-PFV.EV children
‘Yesterday I took care of the children.’

(50b) tapaná muú isi-ré no'ó inaté-te-ka kukučí
yesterday 2SG.S move.sg-PFV 1SG.NS take.care-CAUS-PTCP children
‘Yesterday, you had/made me take care of the children.’

An example with intó-na ‘come’ is in (51):

(51a) wani nasuá-re pedró aháma
John fight-PFV Peter COM
‘John fought with Peter.’

(51b) neé intó-ru nasua-té-ka wani pedró aháma
1SG.S come-PFV.EV fight-CAUS-PTCP John Peter COM
‘I made John fight with Peter.’
We noticed above that some verbs in Warihío co-lexicalize with the causative suffix \(-te\). A verb that is frequently co-lexicalized across languages is the verb ‘to see’, as the causativized version ‘to show’. For example in Yaqui, another southern Uto-Aztecan language, \(bίča\) ‘see’ plus the causative suffix \(-tua\) lexicalize (through a phonological change of the base in \(bítua\) ‘to show’), but to ‘make show’ is \(bítudá-tua\). Therefore, the range of morphological causatives in Yaqui includes ditransitive verbs, which is not the case in Warihío. For these reasons, even though (52) looks like a mixed causative construction, it is of the periphrastic type:

(52a) wání ne'né-te-re kawái pedró
John see-CAUS-PRF horse Peter
‘John showed the horse to Peter.’

(52b) neé intó-ru ne'né-te-miči-o kawái wání pedró
1SG:S come-PRF:EVID see-CAUS-PURP-SUB horse John Peter
‘I made John show the horse to Peter.’

We observed in previous sections that the most productive mechanism in the formation of causative constructions is \(-te\) suffixation, which covers all types of base verbs: inactive and active intransitives and transitives.

7.1.2.4. Periphrastic causatives

The periphrastic causatives in Warihío are formed with the purposive suffix \(-mičio\) in the caused event verb plus a causing ‘auxiliary’ verb\(^7\). These ‘auxiliary’ verbs

\(^7\) These same constructions but with verbs of comand such as \(inaténa\) ‘ask’, \(nu'réna\) ‘to order’, \(yetóna\) ‘to invite’ or the permissive \(toani\) ‘to allow’ plus a verb with suffix \(-mičio\) are described in Chapter 8.
are represented by a general causer verb like *yowá-ni* ‘to make’ or by general movement verbs like *isiná/nokáni*, ‘move’ ssg./ spl., *intó-na* ‘come’. The causing ‘auxiliary’ verb generally shows agreement in number with the causer and has the tense marker like the morpho-periphrastic causatives. The periphrastic causatives can be formed from inactive intransitive verbs (53), active intransitive verbs with the sense of permissive causative (54), transitive (55), and di-transitive verbs (56):

(53a) neé wiči-rú
1SG.S fall-PFV.EV
‘I fell down.’

(53b) aapóe noka-ré no'ó wiči-mičio
3PL.S move.pl-PFV 1SG.NS fall-PURP
‘They made me fall down.’

(54a) wanita yau-ré
Juanita dance-PFV
‘Juanita danced.’

(54b) no'nó isi-ré yau-mičio wanita
father move.sg-PFV dance-PURP Juanita
‘My father made Juanita dance.’

(55a) muú katewé-re ko'ré
2SG.NS fix-PFV fence
‘You fixed the fence.’

(55b) neé amó yowá-ru katewe-mičio kó're
1SG.S 2SG.NS make-PFV.EV fix-PURP fence
‘I made you fix the fence.’
(56a) wani i’toče-re muuni pedró
John send-PFV beans Peter
‘John sent beans to Peter.’

(56b) neé intó-ru i’toče-mičio muuni wani pedró
1SG.S come-PFV.EV send-PURP beans John Peter
‘I made John send beans to Peter.’

Even though the purposive suffix is not an implicative one, it has been reported in general to be one of the major origins of syntactic causatives that can become a real causative suffix (Song 1996:49-68, 95-96). It seems that the degree of implicativeness of (53) and (56) is greater than in (54) and (55), given the use of a more general/manipulative causal verb, as in (57). That is why I place them together at the top of the periphrastic causatives in Schema 1.

(57a) neé ki=simi-rú tekihpána-mia
1SG.S NEG=go-PFV.EV work-FUT
‘I didn’t go to work.’

(57b) Pedró kawé yowá-re ki=no’ó simi-mičio tekipána-mia
Peter well make-PFV NEG=1SG.NS go-PURP work-FUT
‘Peter got me not to leave for work.’

(57c) muú yasi-ré ihkwéra-čí
2SG.S be.seated.sg-PFV school-LOC
‘You were in school.’

(57d) neé kawé yowá-ru=ne amó yasi-mičio ihkwéra-čí
1SG.S well do-PFV.EV=1SG.S 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PURP school-LOC
‘I succeeded in getting you into school.’
There is another construction with a strong sense of negative implication that seems to fit in very well with the periphrastic causatives, with the verb *kitoani* ‘stop’, even though the causing event is covert:

(58a) muú wiči-ré owára-či
2SG.S fall-PFV hole-LOC
‘You fell down in the hole.’

(58b) neé ki=toa-rú amó wiči-mičio owára-či
1SG.S NEG=let-PFV.EV 2SG NS fall-PURP hole-LOC
‘I stopped you from falling in the hole.’

(59a) wani simi-ré
John go-PFV
‘John left.’

(59b) rupita ki=toa-ré simi-mičio wani
Lupita NEG=let-PFV go-PURP John
‘Lupe stopped John from leaving.’

(60a) kowi me’ri-ré kuitá
pig kill.sg-PFV child
‘The pig killed the child.’

(60b) wani ki=toa-ré kowi me’ri-mičio kuitá
John NEG=let-PFV pig kill.sg-PURP child
‘John stopped the pig from killing the child.’
7.1.2.5. Pronoun causee vs. noun causee

It seems that when there is a pronoun-noun causee contrast, as in (61b) and (62b), there is a preference to construe the causative construction containing the pronoun causee in a more bound way:

(61a) neé tekihpána-ru irário aháma
     1SG.S work-PFV.EV Hilario COM
     ‘I worked with Hilario.’

(61b) Wani no’ó toi-té-re tekihpana-ka irario aháma
     John 1SG.NS stop-CAUS-PFV work-PTCP Hilario COM
     ‘John made me stop working with Hilario.’

(62a) wani tekihpána-re irário aháma
     John work-PFV Hilario COM
     ‘John worked with Hilario.’

(62b) neé isi-ru toi-té-ka wani tekihpána-ka irario ahama
     1SG.S move.sg-PFV.EV stop-CAUS-PTCP John work-PTCP Hilario COM
     ‘I made John stop working with Don Hilario.’

The example (61b) is a morphological causative with a pronoun causee and (62b) a morpho-syntactic causative with a noun causee. The same contrast is shown in (63a') and (63b'):

(63a) wanita newi-mera disiémbre-či
     Johanna marry-POT December-LOC
     ‘Johanna is going to get married in December.’
(63a') disiémbre-či newi-te-m-ó ő'rai=ne wanita
December-LOC marry-CAUS-FUT-SUB plan=1SG.S Johanna
'I plan to have Johanna get married in December.'

(63b) puú newi-ma=pu disiémbre-čí
D.D marry-FUT=D.D December-LOC
'She is going to get married in December.'

(63b') no'ó yeyé newi-te-nare disiémbre-čí
1SG.NS mother marry-CAUS-DES December-LOC
'My mom wants to make her get married in December'

Here, there is a finer difference than that shown in (61)-(62). Both examples in (63) present a morphological causative functioning as subordinate clause, but in the case of (63b') with a pronoun causee which is omitted, the verb of the main clause occurs as a desiderative suffix of the whole causative construction. This is not the case in (63a') where they occur as two separate verbs.

It seems that the size of the causee and the degree of grammaticalization, that is pronoun vs. noun causee, influence its position in the causative construction. In the case of the pronoun causee, this is placed to the left of the caused event and for the noun causee is placed to the right. This differentiated order correlates the pronoun causee more with the lexical or morphological causative constructions and the noun causee with morpho-periphrastic or periphrastic causative constructions. Therefore, there is a relation of pronoun causees with more formally integrated causative constructions and a relation of noun causees with less formally integrated ones. Of course, this whole point requires further investigation.
7.1.2.6. The correlation of three causative continua

The sentences in (40)-(42), repeated here for convenience, are very good examples of the high degree of correlation between syntactic integration and spatio-temporal overlapping that exists in Warlhó.

(40a) kukucí ko~kočí-pa-re
children PL~sleep-INCH-PFV
‘The children went to sleep.’

(40b) wání ko~kočí-pa-te-re kukučí
John PL~sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children
‘John put the children to sleep.’

(40c) wání isi-ré kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
John move.sg-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By telling stories).

(40d) wání nuřé-re kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
John order-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By giving an order, he can’t be far away from the sleeping place).

(41a) toománte weri-pá-re peniátiamé
tomato be.standing.sg-INCH-PFV nice
‘The tomatoes grew up nice.’

(41b) hustina weri-pá-te-re toománte peniátiamé
Agustina be.standing.sg-INCH-CAUS-PFV tomato nice
‘Agustina made the tomatoes grew up nice.’
(41c) hustína isi-ré weri-pa-mičio toománte peniátiame
    Agustina move.sg-PFV be.standing.sg-INCH-PURP tomato nice
    ‘Agustina made the tomatoes grow up nice.’ (By throwing some seeds in a very
    fertile place.)

(42a) wani muku-ré
    John die.sg-PFV
    ‘John died.’

(42b) pedró muku-té-re wani
    Peter die.sg-CAUS-PFV John
    ‘Peter made John die.’

(42c) pedró isi-ré muku-mičio wani
    Peter move.sg-PFV die:ssg-PURP John
    ‘Peter made John die.’ (By giving him accidentally some poisonous food.)

For instance for the caused sub-events mukuná ‘die.sg’ and kočiná ‘sleep’, there
are several causative constructions from the more to the less syntactically
integrated/spatio-temporal overlapping type:

+ syntactic integration/spatio-temporal overlapping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>me'yáni</th>
<th>mukuhténa</th>
<th>isiná + mukumíčio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>‘make die’</td>
<td>‘make die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kočipáténa</td>
<td>isiná + kočitéka</td>
<td>nu'réna + kočiteka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make sleep’</td>
<td>‘make sleep’</td>
<td>‘make sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>isiná + kočimíčio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even though ‘isiná + kočitéka’ and ‘nuřéna + kočíteka’ are formally very similar, there is a subtle difference between the degree of implicativeness of the auxiliary causing verbs. The verb isiná ‘to move’ shows a greater implicativity than the causing verb nuřéna ‘to order’; that is why I place the latter to the right of this continuum. The same is happening with ‘nuřéna + kočíteka in contrast with isiná + kočímíčio. The former is a morpho-periphrastic causative construction type with the causative suffix -te while the latter is the typical syntactic type with the less implicative purposive suffix -mičio.

Next, I try to schematize the three continua proposed in the literature. To the left, the lexical-morphological-syntactic continuum (Comrie 1985, 1989), in the center the binding hierarchy (Givón 1980, 2001), and to the right the directness continuum (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2001). In Warihio, the three continua correlate to a considerable degree, as can be seen in the next schema:
### Schema 1. Correlation of the causative continua in Warihio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Binding (integration)</th>
<th>Functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>Suppletives, labile</td>
<td>+ S/TO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change V&amp;C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipollents:</td>
<td>Inactive intr.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) -pa/-na, -ća ‘break’ group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) -pa/-te ‘adjectival series’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix -te: ‘adjectival perceiving group’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morph.</td>
<td>Causative suffix –te</td>
<td>Inactive intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Active intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morph./perip.</td>
<td>isi-ná/noka-ní/intó-na + -te</td>
<td>Transitive: Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Force/succeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periphrastic</td>
<td>isi-ná/noka-ní + -mičio</td>
<td>Inactive/active intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yowání / intóna + -mičio</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- S/TO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1.2.7. Conclusion

We have shown that in Warihio causative constructions there is a high correlation between form and function. In general terms, the more formally integrated the causative construction, the more the spatio/temporal overlapping of events, and the less formally integrated the causative construction, the less the spatio/temporal overlapping of events. The causative suffix *-te* has proven to be highly productive in the sense that it can occur with all different semantic classes of verbs; inactive intransitive, active intransitive, and transitive. This causative suffix has cognates in other genetically related languages, such as Cora and Yaqui. But in the case of Cora *-te* (Vazquez, 2001), the suffix is restricted to inactive intransitive base verbs, whereas Yaqui *-tua* covers the whole range of base verbs; inactive and active intransitives, transitives and, inclusive ditransitives. Even though this total coverage is made in Warihio by periphrastic causative constructions, the morpho-syntactic causative construction type found in Warihio is very interesting since it could show, in some instances, an intermediate degree in the spatio/temporal functional domain between the morphological and the syntactic types, which is exactly its place according to its form. Concerning productivity in causative constructions in Warihio, we observed that the causative suffix *-na* has a low degree of productivity covering only a limited number of verbs. This suffix is involved in direct causation in the way lexical causatives are. This point is not very well illustrated in the ‘compactness’ scale described by Dixon (2000) where he establishes that the size of the form is the most important criterion on following this scale. The bigger size, the more indirect causation; the shorter size, the more direct
causation. However, there is no difference in size between -na and -te, the former being involved only in direct causation and the latter in direct and indirect causation. The main distinction in this specific case is not the size of the form but the degree of productivity of these suffixes; less productive is toward the lexical –direct causation end, whereas more productive is toward the morphological – periphrastic – indirect causation end.

The direction of the coverage of the base verb semantics is from the most inclusive syntactic type to the least inclusive lexical type through the morpho-syntactic and the morphological types with overlapping points in the directness domain between them. This follows the direction of clause integration proposed by Givón (1980, 2001), and more clearly Shibatani and Pardeshi’s claim about the degree of morphological transparency of the causative element (2001:115): “A higher degree of morphological transparency correlates with higher degree of separability of elements corresponding to the two event segments constituting a causative situation.”
7.2. Development of an action: active-middle

According to Shibatani (In preparation), the semantics of the middle voice has to do with the development of an action, that is, wherein the action itself develops beyond the agent (active) or is confined to the agent (middle)\(^8\). This distinction corresponds, basically, to the distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses, resulting formally in the active-middle opposition, which seems to be the basic opposition in voice attested in the literature (Andersen, 1991).

This section on the middle will contain the description of reflexives and reciprocals as well.

7.2.1. Reflexive

There have been two main senses of the term reflexive: (i) one referring to the function of marking two arguments of a verb as coreferential, and (ii) referring to morphological markers of coreferentiality. Kemmer (1993:44) defines a reflexive marker as: “a productive grammatical device that is used obligatorily to mark direct reflexive situations in at least the third person.” Warihio marks coreferentiality for third person with akpó which means ‘be.swollen’:

\[(64)\] ahpo-na=né panáta  
be.swollen-PRS=1SG.S cheek

‘My cheek is swollen.’

\(^{8}\) This main distinction concerning the development of an action is taken, in part, from Benveniste 1971’s concept of voice.
Otherwise the third person patient is not overtly expressed. However ahpó has other functions as a third person possessor or subject of subordinate clauses. Therefore, there is no distinct reflexive marker in Warihío.

### 7.2.1.1. Direct reflexives

The direct reflexive event is a situation where the roles of agent/experiencer and patient are portrayed by the same participant. In Warihío, there is no specific mark for a reflexive situation since all the patient pronoun forms for the three persons are used in other functions than coreferentiality with the agent.

(64a) neé amó wewe-rú / tetemú-ru=ne  
1SG.S 2SG.NS hit-PFV.EV / kick-PFV.EV=1SG.S  
‘I hit you / kicked you.’

(64b) no'ó tetemu-ru=ne / wewe-ru=ne  
1SG.NS kick-PFV.EV=1SG.S / hit-PFV.EV=1SG.S  
‘I kicked / hit myself.’

(64c) wání ahpó me'yá-re  
John 3.NS kill.sg-PFV  
‘John killed himself.’

### 7.2.1.2. Indirect reflexives

The indirect reflexive situations comprise three roles; agent, patient, and recipient/beneficiary. The agent and the recipient are coreferential. As we said before, Warihío lacks a specific form that obligatory marks coreferentiality, even for third person. This is shown in the contrasts between (65a) and (65b), (66a) and (66b), and
between (67a) and (67b) where the same forms *no'ó* and *ahpó* are used as a possessor (65a)-(66a)-(67a) or as beneficiary/recipient (65b)-(66b)-(67b), respectively:

(65a) neé kari-tá-ru  no'ó yeyé ičió  
1SG.S house-make-PFV.EV 1SG.NS mother BEN  
‘I built a house for my mother.’

(65b) neé kari-tá-ru  no'ó ičió  
1SG.S house-make-PFV.EV 1SG.NS BEN  
‘I built a house for myself.’

(66a) markó kari-tá-re  ahpó taná ičió  
Marcos house-make-PFV 3.NS son BEN  
‘Marcos built a house for his son.’

(66b) markó kari-tá-re  ahpó ičió  
Marcos house-make-PFV 3.NS BEN  
‘Marcos built a house for himself.’

(67a) hustina ihkó-ke-re  pií sipičá ahpó komáre  
Agustina give-APPL-PFV one dress 3.NS comrade  
‘Agustina gave her comrade a dress.’

(67b) hustina ahpó ihkó-ke-re  pií sipičá  
Agustina 3.NS give-APPL-PFV one dress  
‘Agustina gave herself a dress.’

7.2.2. Reciprocals

The pronoun in the non-S form is used in the different types of reciprocal situations: prototypical, chaining, and natural reciprocals.
7.2.2.1. Prototypical reciprocal

(68a) teh-témari ahpó tetewá-re kečewéka
   PL~boy 3.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
   ‘The boys saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68b) aapóe ahpó tetewá-re kečewéka
   3PL.S 3.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
   ‘They saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68c) teemé=a tamó tetewá-re kečewéka
   1PL.S=EMPH 1PL.NS see-PFV Quechehueca
   ‘We saw each other in Quechehueca.’

(68d) amóe tetewá-re-emé kečewéka
   2PL.NS see-PFV-2PL.S Quechehueca
   ‘You saw each other in Quechehueca.’

7.2.2.2. Chaining reciprocal

(69) yau-yáme mui-ré pipií-pi=a ahpó pukamína
dance-NMLZ enter.pl-PFV one-one=EMPH 3.NS behind
   ‘The dancers entered one after the other.’

7.2.2.3. Naturally reciprocal events

Naturally reciprocal events in Warihío can be coded as periphrastic constructions with the same pronoun for reflexives (70), or lexically coded (71):
(70a) pedró wani ahpó komípa-re
   Peter John 3.NS struggle-PFV
   ‘Peter and John struggle with each other.’

(70b) rolándo hustina ahpó natepá-ru močibámpo
   Rolando Agustina 3.NS meet-PFV.EV Mochibampo
   ‘Rolando and Agustina met each other in Mochibampo.’

(71a) pedró maniwiíri nasuá-re
   Peter Manuel fight-PFV
   ‘Peter and John fought.’

(71b) pedró maniwiíri nawésa-re
   Peter Manuel converse-PFV
   ‘Peter and Manuel conversed.’

(71c) rupíta pedró pienátupa-re
   Lupita Peter reunite-PFV
   ‘Lupita and Peter reunited.’

7.2.2.4. Collective, group actions

For collective or group actions, the item piená ‘together’ is used:

(72a) the~témari piená simpá-re
   PL~boy together go.pl-PFV
   ‘The boys left together.’

(72b) tučikí piená ni'ni-re owéte
   bird together fly-PFV toward.south
   ‘The birds flew to the south.’
(72c) čuré simpá-re kawi-čí
cholohuis go.pl-PFV hill-LOC
'The cholohuis left for the hills.'

The use of the non-S form pronoun in the reflexive and reciprocal domain, and for the possessor and non-coreferential patient/recipient/beneficiary, shows that Warihio lacks a dedicated reflexive-marking system as it lacks a middle-marking system.

7.3. Termination of an action

Applicative constructions are seen as a valence increasing phenomenon by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:13), and they are described in morphosyntactic terms depending on whether the applicative derivation applies to an intransitive or to a transitive clause:

(i)  (a) Applicative applies to an underlying intransitive clause and forms a derived transitive.
(b) The argument in underlying S function goes into A function in the applicative.
(c) A peripheral argument (which could be stated in the underlying intransitive) is taken into the core, in O function.
(d) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.

(ii) (a) Applicative applies to an underlying transitive clause and maintains transitivity, but with an argument in a different semantic role filling the O
function.

(b) The underlying A argument stays as is.

(c) A peripheral argument (which could be explicitly stated in the underlying transitive) is taken into the core, in O function.

(d) The argument which was in O function is moved out of the core into the periphery of the clause (and may be omissible).

(e) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.

One example of (i) is given in (73b) and one example of (ii) is given in (74b):

(73a) wani simi-ré tiendá-či
      John go-PFV store-LOC
      ‘John went to the store.’

(73b) wani simi-ri-áči tiendá
      John go-PFV-LOC store
      ‘John went to the store.’

(74a) hustina pasu-ré muní no'ó ičió
      Agustina cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
      ‘Agustina cooked beans for me.’

(74b) hustina no'ó pasú-ke-re muní
      Agustina 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
      ‘Agustina cooked beans for me.’

The example in (73a) shows the intransitive non-applied version with the oblique argument tiendáči expressed, and (73b) the applied version where now the peripheral
argument is the core argument *tiendá* in O function and the verbal suffix -áčí has been added. The same occurs in (74), while (74a) is the non-applied transitive version with the adjunct *no'o ičió*, and (74b) the applied version with *no'o* in O function and the verbal suffix -ke. Even though Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000:16) insist on an integrated approach, that is, an approach covering the semantics, syntax, and discourse/pragmatic aspects of the valence changing constructions, such as applicative constructions, the criteria given in (i) and (ii) do not allow us to show the differences -besides their transitive feature- between (73b) and (74b), nor the functional similarities that applicative constructions may have with, for instance, benefactive, external possession, ethical dative, and adverative passive constructions (Shibatani 1994, 1996).

Shibatani (1996) considers (73b) and (74b) to be two different constructions; the former is a true applicative construction and the latter is a benefactive construction. Shibatani claims that these two constructions are built based on two different schemas; the true applicative is based in the transitive prototype schema and the benefactive on the ‘give’ construction schema. Applicative constructions, cross-linguistically, take mainly intransitive verbs and the benefactive constructions mainly transitive verbs.

On other hand, Shibatani (In preparation) in his functional conceptualization of voice as grammatical reflections of the different evolutionary phases of an action, considers the parameter for the termination of the action. He says that “the action may develop further than its normal course such that the effect is registered in an entity other than the direct participants of the event.” This functional parameter allows us to reunite in
one and the same functional domain the related but different constructions signaled before. In Warihío, we can reunite the benefactive, possessor raising, ethical dative, and applicative constructions under this domain of Voice, with the first three phenomena sharing, interestingly, the same construction with the verbal suffix \(-ke\). I will proceed to describe these constructions in Warihío in the following subsections.

7.3.1. The V-\(ke\) construction

The construction with the verbal suffix \(-ke\) can cover different but related phenomena such as the benefactive, external possessor, and ethical dative.

7.3.1.1. Benefactives

Shibatani (1996:173-74) proposes for the ‘give’ schema the following properties:

\[\text{(75) The ‘give’ schema}\]

\textit{Structure: } [\text{NP}_1 \text{NP}_2 \text{NP}_3 \text{GIVE}]

\(\text{NP}_1\) = coded as subject

\(\text{NP}_2\) = coded either as a primary object or as a dative indirect object

\(\text{NP}_3\) = coded either as a secondary object or as a direct object

\textit{Semantics: } \text{NP}_1 \text{CAUSES NP}_2 \text{TO HAVE NP}_3; \text{i.e.}

\(\text{NP}_1\) = human agent, \(\text{NP}_2\) = human goal, \(\text{NP}_3\) = object theme

\(\text{NP}_2\) exercises potential possessive control over \(\text{NP}_3\)

\(\text{NP}_1\) creates the possessive situation on behalf of \(\text{NP}_2\)
Let’s examine the following example:

(76a) hustína pasu-ré muni
    Agustina cook-PFV beans
    ‘Agustina cooked beans.’

(76b) hustína pasu-ré muni kukučí ičió
    Agustina cook-PFV beans children BEN
    ‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’

(76c) hustína pasú-ke-re muni kukučí
    Agustina cook-BEN-PFV beans children
    ‘Agustina cooked beans for the children.’

While (76a) is a prototypical transitive event, and (76b) a transitive event with a benefactive oblique nominal, (76c) is a construction that follows completely Dixon and Aikhenvald’s criteria for transitive applicative constructions, but what matters is that (76c) is a benefactive construction easily construed according to the ‘give’ schema.

Since Warihio is a language whose core nominal participants are not case marked, the constituent order is flexible, and there is no verbal agreement, it is difficult to establish the grammatical status of NP₂. Passivization of a benefactive construction where the human goal, that is NP₂, is in pronominal form could help us on this issue. Warihio has two sets of personal pronouns: one form for subject of main clause, and another form for patient/theme, recipient, possessor, reflexive, and subject of subordinate clauses. Example (77) shows the subject/non-subject distinction:
(77a) hustína pasu-ré muní no’ó ičío
    Agustína cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
    ‘Agustína cooked beans for me.’

(77b) hustína no’ó pasu-ke-re muní
    Agustína 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
    ‘Agustína cooked beans for me.’

(77c) pasu-ke-ré-tu=ne muní (hustína-e)
    cook-BEN-PFV-PASS=1SG.S beans Agustína-INS
    Lit. ‘I was cooked beans (by Agustína).’

(77d) muní no’ó pasu-ke-ré-tu (hustína-e)
    beans 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV-PASS Agustína-INS
    ‘Beans were cooked for me (by Agustína).’

In (77a), the human pronominal goal codified obliquely with the benefactive postposition ičío is in the non-subject pronominal form no’ó; in (77b), it is a core argument still in the non-subject pronominal form no’ó. But in the passivized constructions, the human benefactive can occur as the subject in the bound form =ne ‘1SG.S’ (77c), as well as the inanimate patient muní ‘beans’ (77d).

It is important to note that in Warihío all third person participants can be omitted with a perfectly grammatical benefactive construction (78a) or its passivized version (78b):

(78a) pasu-ke-re
    cook-BEN-PFV
    ‘She/he cooked it/them for him/her/them.’
(78b) pasu-ké-re-tu  
cook-BEN-PFV-PASS  
Lit. ‘She/he was cooked something (by someone).’

Shibatani (1996:169-70), trying to account for the cross-linguistic variations in benefactive constructions, proposes a scale arranged according to the degrees of ease of benefactive formation exemplified with the following English sentences:

(79a) I bought Mary a book  
(79b)*I opened Mary the door  
(79c)*I closed Mary the door  
(79d)*I swept Mary the garden  
(79e)*I killed Mary a centipede (a-e: transitives)  
(79f)*I danced Mary  
(79g)*I sang Mary (f-g: intransitive cognate object verbs)  
(79h)*I went Mary to the market (true intransitive)

Languages vary where they place the cut off points. What has been observed is that there is much variation and inconsistency in benefactive formation based on intransitive verbs. In Warihío, even some true intransitive based benefactive constructions are easy to construe given the appropriate context:

(80a) markó kore-tá-ke-re hustíná  
Marcos fence-make-BEN-PFV Agustina  
‘Marcos built Agustina a fence.’
(80b) waho-na-ké-ru=ne puetá maniwiři
open-TZR-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S door Manuel
'I opened the door for Manuel.'

(80c) yetepa-ké-ru=ne puetá maniwiři
close-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S door Manuel
'I closed the door for Manuel.'

(80d) ihpiči-ké-ru=ne hustína pete-či
clean-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S Agustina house-LOC
'I cleaned the house for Agustina.'

(80e) ko'ye-ké-ru=ne ehté yomá rolándo
kill .opl-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S lice QUANT Rolando
'I killed all the lice for Rolando.' / 'I killed all Rolando’s lice.'

(80f) yau-ké-ru=ne yomá tukawári maríá
dance-BEN-PFV.EV=1SG.S QUANT night Mary
'I danced all night long for Mary.'

(80g) maniwiři no'ó wikahtá-ke-ru yomá aari
Manuel 1SG.NS sing-BEN-PFV.EV QUANT afternoon
'Manuel sang all afternoon for me.'

(80h) kuitá no'ó koči-pa-ké-pa-re
child 1SG.NS sleep-INCH-BEN-INCH-PFV
'The child felt asleep on me.' (Thanks God! He was crying a lot.)

(80i) no'ó newí-ke-re maríá maará
1SG.NS marry-BEN-PFV Mary daughter
'Mary’s daughter got married to me.' (I wanted her to marry me.)

One benefactive construction impossible to form is that based in the intransitive verb
siminá ‘go’:
(81a) simi-rú=ne pahkó-či
    go-PFV,EV=1SG.S feast-LOC
    ‘I went to the feast.’

(81b) simi-rú=ne pahkó-či maría ičió
    go-PFV.EV=1SG.S feast-LOC Mary BEN
    ‘I went to the feast for Mary.’

(81c) *simi-ké-ru-ne pahkó-či maría

What is very interesting is that in Warihío you can have benefactive constructions based on a semantico-syntactic ‘a-transitive’ verb like yukúná ‘rain’:

(82a) tapaná yuku-ré
    yesterday rain-PFV
    ‘Yesterday it rained.’

(82b) tapaná no'ó yuku-ke-ru
    yesterday 1SG.NS rain-BEN-PFV
    ‘Yesterday it rained for me.’

I think that all languages that allow benefactive constructions based on some true intransitive verbs such as Chichewa ‘die’ and ‘run’ and Spanish ‘sleep’, ‘die’, and ‘run away’ show more specific semantics, contrasting with the more ‘general’ semantics of the verb ‘go’. The semantics of the verbs signaled for Chichewa and Spanish allow a benefactive construction with benefactive/malefactive reading given the social relationships of the participants in the event.
Nevertheless, Warihio confirms Shibatani’s claim (1996:191) that “benefactive constructions obtain more easily for the situation closer to what is described by the ‘give’ constructions than for ones that are remote from the schema.” Actually, the very same verb ihkókena ‘give’ seems to have the benefactive verbal suffix -ke grammaticalized to some degree, since it never occurs without it:

(83a) wani ihkó-ke-re pií sipičá maría
John give-BEN-PFV one dress Mary
‘John gave Mary a dress.’

(83b) ?? wani ihkó-re pií sipičá maría

(84a) wani ihkó-ke-re pií karí ahpó no’nó
John give-BEN-PFV one house 3SG.NS father
‘John gave a house to his parents.’

(84b) ?? wani ihkó-re pií karí ahpó no’nó

This contrasts with other ditransitive verbs with no ‘give’ semantics such as itočéna ‘send’:

(85a) itočé-ru=ne kawái wani
send-PFV.EV=1SG.S horse John
‘I sent a horse to John.’

(85b) ?? itočé-ké-ru=ne kawái wani

This could suggest that effectively, all benefactive constructions, which in Warihio are formally marked, mainly by the verbal suffix -ke, are construed according to the ‘give’
schema where the actual verb *ihkókena* ‘give’ seems to have integrated the ‘give’ meaning of *-ke* into the verb.

7.3.1.2. External possessor

External possession constructions are those “in which a semantic possessor-possessum relation is expressed by coding the possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum” (Payne and Barshi, 1999:1). For external possessor constructions, the same verbal suffix *-ke* is used. Where the possessor noun becomes the core argument, it can be passivized ((86c), (87d)-(87f)).

(86a) maniwíri ihčorewapáte-re waní pantaóni-ra  
Manuel get.dirty-PFV John jeans-POS  
‘Manuel got dirty John’s jeans.’ (John’s jeans were over the chair.)

(86b) maniwíri ihčorewapaté-ke-re pantaóni waní  
Manuel get.dirty-BENV-PFV jeans John  
‘Manuel got dirty John’s jeans.’ (John was wearing his jeans)

(86c) waní ihčorewapate-ke-ré-tu pantaóní  
John dirt-BENV-PFV-PASS jeans  
Lit. ‘John was get dirty his jeans.’

(87a) maniwíri me'yá-re waní kuitá-ra  
Manuel kill.sg-PFV John child-POS  
‘Manuel killed John’s son.’

(87b) maniwíri me'yá-ke-re kuitá waní  
Manuel kill.sg-BENV-PFV child John  
‘Manuel killed John’s son.’
function.

(b) The underlying A argument stays as is.

(c) A peripheral argument (which could be explicity stated in the underlying transitive) is taken into the core, in O function.

(d) The argument which was in O function is moved out of the core into the periphery of the clause (and may be omissible).

(e) There is some explicit formal marking of an applicative construction, generally by an affix or some other morphological process applying to the verb.

One example of (i) is given in (73b) and one example of (ii) is given in (74b):

(73a) wani simi-rê tiendá-ĉi
John go-PFV store-LOC
‘John went to the store.’

(73b) wani simi-ri-áĉi tiendá
John go-PFV-LOC store
‘John went-to the store.’

(74a) hustína pasú-ĉe muní no’ó iĉió
Agustína cook-PFV beans 1SG.NS BEN
‘Agustína cooked beans for me.’

(74b) hustína no’ó pasú-ke-re muní
Agustína 1SG.NS cook-BEN-PFV beans
‘Agustína cooked beans for me.’

The example in (73a) shows the intransitive non-applied version with the oblique arument tiendáĉi expressed, and (73b) the applied version where now the peripheral
(89a) kuitá čiwá-re
    child hit-PFV
    ‘The child hit himself.’

(89b) kuitá no'ó čiwá-ke-re
    child 1SG.NS hit-BEN-PFV
    ‘The child hit himself on me.’

(90a) newí-re maría taná-ra
    marry-PFV Mary son-CLF
    ‘Mary’s son got married.’

(90b) no'ó newí-ke-re maría taná
    1SG.NS marry-BEN-PFV Mary son
    ‘Mary’s son got married to someone else on me.’ (I wanted him to marry me.)

7.3.2. Other applicatives

The postpositions -či ‘locative’, -e ‘instrumental’ and -ma ‘comitative’ can occur
as applicative verbal suffixes. There is a semantic contrast (not always very clear)
between the applied and the non-applied version of the construction.

7.3.2.1. The locative applicative -ači

(91a) wani simi-ré tiendá-čí
    John go-PFV store-LOC
    ‘John went to the store.’

(91b) wani simi-rí-ači tiendá
    John go-PFV-LOC store
    ‘John went-to the store.’ (He stayed there for period longer than normal.)
(91c) *waní simi-ré tiendá

(92a) wani wera-ré sikorí mesa-či
      John set-PFV pot table-LOC
      ‘John put the pot on the table.’

(92b) wera-ri-áči sikorí mesá
      set-PFV-LOC pot table
      ‘Did he put the pot on the table?’

(92c) *waní wera-ré sikorí mesá

(93a) no'o tečči simi-ré awasó-či
      1SG.NS uncle go-PFV Alamos-LOC
      ‘My uncle went to Alamos.’

(93b) no'o tečči simi-ri-áči awasó
      1SG.NS uncle go-PFV-LOC Alamos
      ‘My uncle went to Alamos (and returned).’/ ‘Did my uncle go to Alamos?’

(93c) *no'o tečči simi-ré awasó

(94a) no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyé-ma
      1SG.NS daughter walk 1SG.NS mother-COM
      ‘My daughter lives with my mother.’ (Permanently.)

(94b) no'ó maará ohoék-ači no'ó yeyé
      1SG.NS daughter walk-APPL 1SG.NS mother
      ‘My daughter lives at my mother.’ (Temporarily.)

(94c) *no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyé

(94d) *no'ó maára ohoé no'ó yeyéči
7.3.2.2. The instrumental applicative -e

(95a) hustína wičó-na wakirá haóni-e/ooná-e
  Agustina wash-PRS shirt soap-INS/ salt-INS
  ‘Agustina washes the shirts with soap/salt.’

(95b) hustína wičo-ná-e wakirá haóni/ooná
  Agustina wash-PRS-APPL shirt soap/salt
  ‘Does Agustina wash the shirts with soap/salt?’ (unexpected instrument)

(95c) ??hustína wičó-na wakirá haóni/ooná

(96a) rolándo ko’à-ní-seeká-e/hirowa-e
  Rolando eat-PRS hand-INS/ spoon-INS
  ‘Rolando eats by hand/spoon.’

(96b) ??rolándo ko’a-ní-e seeká/hirowa
  Rolando eat-PRS-APPL hand/spoon
  ??‘Rolando eats his hands/spoon.’

(96c) ??rolándo ko’a-ní-e aaróso seeká/hirowa
  Rolando eat-PRS-APPL rice hand/spoon
  ??‘Rolando eats his rice and hands/spoon.’

(96c) ??rolándo ko’à-ní-seeká/hirowa

(97a) ??rolándo ko’à-ní-suhtú-e
  Rolando eat-PRS nails-INS
  ??‘Rolando eats with his nails.’

(97b) rolándo ko’a-ní-e suhtú
  Rolando eat-PRS-APPL hand
  ‘Rolando eats his nails.’
7.3.2.3. The comitative applicative -ma

(98a) maría simi-ré obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma
      Mary go-PFV Obregón 3.NS mother-COM
      ‘Mary went to Obregon with her mother.’

(98b) maría simi-ré-ma obregón ahpó ye'yé-ma
      Mary go-PFV-COM Obregón 3.NS mother
      ‘Did Mary go to Obregon with her mother?’

7.3.3. Conclusion

Warihío data has shown in this subsection that talk about applicatives mainly as a
valency increasing device (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000:13) is not enough. We have to
determine in which way the new core participant is affected. Since this participant is not
directly involved in the event, saying that the valency increased by one is incomplete. We
need a more semantic based approach in talking of applicative constructions.
7.4. Summary

Next, I schematize the voice phenomena in Warihío in their prototypical constructions.

Schema 2.  Warihío voice parameters: developmental phases of the action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Termination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>P_a</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>P_a</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>P_b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>P_a ← P_b</td>
<td>V-te</td>
<td>(P_c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>(P_a-e)</td>
<td>V-tu</td>
<td>P_b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN, EP, ED</td>
<td>P_a</td>
<td>V-ke</td>
<td>(P_b) → P obl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL:LOC</td>
<td>P_a</td>
<td>V-ači</td>
<td>P obl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL:INS</td>
<td>P_a</td>
<td>V-e</td>
<td>P_b → P obl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following Shibatani (In preparation) in his conceptualization of voice as the different phases of the action, I locate the core constituents of the clause in the middle of the schema. The arrows to the left and to the right are extensions of the origin and termination of the action respectively. The participants P_a and P_b are labeled not with the intention of being interpreted as Subject and Object, but they are telling us that they are the two different core participants in an event, let’s say the origin and the termination of
the action. On other hand $P_{obl}$ is a participant expressed obliquely. The participants in parenthesis are optional.

Schema 2 is not as precise and complete as I would like it, but it gives us a general idea of how Warihío voice in its most frequent and prototypical instances is expressed. For example:

(i) It is not shown in the schema what was said through the text, that Warihío may have lexical causatives, passives, middles, and benefactives: that is, constructions with a verb and participants with no extra mark. The middle is represented with a Participant and a Verb showing with this that the origin and termination of the action are the same participant that is playing two roles. This representation of the middle is identical to that of an intransitive clause; in fact, we could consider all active intransitive events in Warihío as instances of middle.

(ii) In the case of causatives, the extension of the origin of the action (it should) illustrates that this external origin is now a core participant of the clause, something not very explicit.

(iii) The same occurs with BEN, EP, ED, and APPL with the extension of the action to a $P_{obl}$. When the verbal suffix occurs, the original $P_{obl}$ is now expressed as a $P$, which is not self-explained in the schema.
7.5. Voice in Warihío

It seems that all constructions described throughout this chapter, whether they show special verbal suffixes or not, are signaling a greater or lesser involvement of a (some) participant(s) more than others in the different phases of the event.

The degree of participation of lexical semantics, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and knowledge of the world varies in the different grammatical phenomena that were included in this chapter on Voice. What is clear is that in many instances of Voice, Warihío speakers tend to rest their communicative intent more in the lexical semantics-pragmatics-knowledge of the world than in the forms. This is very consistent with other facts of the grammar such as the lacking of determiners in nouns, only two sets of pronouns, no case marking in core nouns, no verbal agreement, and a flexible constituent order. All this tends to give Warihío a more pragmatically shaped structure.
CHAPTER 8

COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with complex sentences. A complex sentence is a construction that contains at least two distinct predicative units. Grammatically, Warihío complex sentences are divided into three main classes: (a) class 1 involves two juxtaposed clauses with finite verbs and person/number morphemes; (b) class 2 involve: a main finite clause and a dependent clause with a less finite verb and a subject, if a pronoun, is in the non-S form; and, (c) class 3 formed by a main clause and a dependent clause with a less finite verb and a coreferential, necessarily omitted subject. These three classes of complex sentences will be described in the following subsections.

8.1. Class 1 complex sentences

Warihío lacks conjunctors such as the English and, or, but.¹ Instead, all clauses coding a coordinate relation are expressed by a sequence of clauses and the verbs show a subject, if a pronoun for first and second person, is in the S-form. Two clauses with

---

¹ However, in narratives some words like wetkáo, wekáóba, eiko, are translated as 'then' and napé as 'however' functioning as elements of interclausal coherence. Besides, Warihío people start to use some Spanish borrowings such as o 'or', y 'and', ni 'nor', poke 'because'.
same/different participants, same/different events and same/different time can be in juxtaposition, with only an intermediate pause:

(1a) [muú yau-ná] [néé wikahtá-ma]  
2SG.S dance-PRS 1SG.S sing-FUT  
‘You are dancing and I am going to sing.’

(1b) [muú yau-ná] [néé wikahtá-ni]  
2SG.S dance-PRS 1SG.S sing-PRS  
‘You dance and I sing.’

(1c) [néé ko'kó-ma] [muú neroínoa-ma]  
1SG.S eat-FUT 2SG.S drink-FUT  
‘I will eat and you will drink.’

(1d) [néé ko'kó-re] [muú neroínoa-ma]  
1SG.S eat-PFV 2SG.S drink-FUT  
‘I ate and you will drink.’

(1e) [ko'kó-ma=ne] [neroínoa-ma=ne]  
eat-FUT=1SG.S drink-FUT=1SG.S  
‘I will eat and drink.’

(1f) [ko'kó-ma=ne][neroínoa-ru=ne]  
1SG.S eat-FUT drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S  
‘I will eat and I drank already.’

There is a group of coordinate sentences in which, although formed by two grammatically independent sentences, the second sentence shows a certain degree of semantic dependency:
(2a) [ariwátöpi poi-pá-ni=ne] [ki=koči-ná=ne kuwé]
early lay.down-INCH-PRS=1SG.S NEG=sleep-PRS=1SG.S soon
‘(Although) I go to bed early, I don’t fall asleep right away.’

(2b) [aarí asi-rú=ne] [iwéta pahi ase-pá=ne siirá]
late arrive-PFV.EV=1SG.S still yet arrive-INCH=1SG.S chair
‘(Although) I arrived late, there were still chairs.’

(2c) [nanéto=ne] [ki=amó kupáwa-ni=ne]
remember=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS need-PRS=1SG.S
‘I remembered (that) I don’t need you.’

(2d) [temé nané-na kawé][puú tamó nasú-teme]
1PL.S know-PRS well D.D 1PL.NS fight-1PL.S
‘We are aware (that) there is going to be a problem.’

(2e) [nané-ru=ne] [meeré inuwé-mera=mu eksámén]
know-PFV.EV=1SG.S tomorrow have-FUT=2SG.S test
‘I remembered (that) you have a test tomorrow.’

(2f) [wání čani] [yau-nari-ata=ne]
John say dance-DES-QUOT=1SG.S
‘John said (that) I wanted to dance.’

(2g) [apoé čani][temé nokia-ri-ata wewe-ká]
3SG.S say 1PL.S move-PFV-QUOT hit-PTCP
‘He said (that) we hit him.’

The semantic dependency of the second clause is probably derived from the semantic type of the main verb ((2c)-(2g)) or because the second clause is providing some kind of unexpected information ((2a)-(2b)).
Two full-clauses in apposition can produce a syntactic construction with a clause to the left being the main unit and the clause to the right, the semantically dependent unit. The subject pronoun in the second clause can be omitted when coreferential (3):

(3a)  [waní kawéra-ni] [i'wéta pahi kawé tekihpána-ni]
      John be.glad-PRS   energy still   well   work
      ‘John is glad that he can still work.’

(3b)  [waní yuwésu-na] [ki=tekihpána-ni]
      John be.sad-PRS   NEG=work
      ‘John is sad that he is not able to work.’

In a sequence of more than two clauses, the continuity or discontinuity of participants and/or events are marked in different ways. For example in (4) the ordinal neipá ‘second’, ‘last’ is used after the finite initial clause to demonstrate continuity in participant and thematic event, even though the following clause explicitly marks the participant with a bound pronoun:

(4)   ehpé pusa-rú=ne
      today wake.up-PFV.EV=1SG.S

neipá uhpu-rú=ne
last  bathe-PFV.EV=1SG.S

wakirá-ta=ne
clothes-make=1SG.S
tekihpána-ru=ne
work-PFV.EV=1SG.S
'Today I woke up, bathed, I got dressed and I worked.'

In (5) the sequencing of the events is marked with a set of tense/aspect suffixes ordered according to the sequence of the real time events:

(5) ehpé pusa-rú=ne
today wake.up-PFV.EV=1SG.S
uhpu-rú=ne
bathe-PFV.EV=1SG.S
ehpé-o ko'á-ni=ne
now-EMPH eat-PRS=1SG.S
weikačo-a aarí tekihpana-má=ne
a.while-EMPH late work-FUT=1SG.S
'Today I woke up, bathed, I am eating in this moment and later, I will work.

The use of the negative clitic ki= is important in switching the event. Example (6) shows a sequence of desiderative constructions with all the events oriented to the future sharing the same participant, where initial, medial and final clauses are marked in the same way:

(6) umá-narc=ne
run-DES=1SG.S
wikahtá-nare=ne
sing-DES=1SG.S

yau-náre=ne
dance-DES=1SG.S

koči-naré=ne
sleep-DES=1SG.S
‘I want to run, sing, dance and sleep.’

In contrast, (7) shows a shift of the last event with the negative mark *ki*= in the final clause:

(7) umá-nare=ne
run-DES=1SG.S

wikahtá-nare=ne
sing-DES=1SG.S

yau-náre=ne
dance-DES=1SG.S

ki=koči-naré=ne
NEG=sleep-DES=1SG.S
‘I want to run, sing, and dance, but not sleep.’

The shift can be marked, actually non-marked, by the absence of the negative clitic where all the preceding clauses are negative:
(8)  
ki=umá-nare=ne  
NEG=run-DES=1SG.S  

ki=wikahtá-nare=ne  
NEG=sing-DES=1SG.S  

ki=yau-náre=ne  
NEG=dance-DES=1SG.S  

koči-naré=ne  
sleep-DES=1SG.S  

‘I don’t want to run, to sing, or to dance, but to sleep.’

The presence vs. absence of the negative element ki= seems to give an adversative coordination reading.

Coordinate nouns show no conjuctor in Warihío as illustrated in (9):

(9)  
pedró maria e'-ená-re pahkó-či  
Peter Mary PL~come-PFV party-LOC  

yau-ré  
dance-PFV  

paá piari no~nowá-re  
already early PL~move.pl-PFV  

‘Peter and Mary came to the party, they danced and left early.’
All clauses in (9) are finite with zero anaphora in the medial and final clauses. Initial and final clause verbs are reduplicated signaling with this the plurality of the participant *pedró maría* ‘John and Mary’.

There is a group of juxtaposed constructions where one sentence conveys the ‘reason’ or the ‘consequence’ of the event coded in the other sentence. The typical construction is usually a habitual event. In (10a)-(10c), we observe routine activities about which there is an evaluative predication:

(10a) [me'eri-ni=a] [ki=kawéruma]  
kill-HAB=EMPH NEG=good  
‘Killing is bad.’

(10b) [u'má-ni=a seenepí piarí] [kawé-hu tamó ičíó]  
run-HAB=EMPH every day good-COP 1PL.NS BEN  
‘Running everyday is good for the health.’

(10c) [i'wá oh~oé-ni=a] [ki=kawé-hu katisá tehki-hu]  
here ITER~walk-HAB=EMPH NEG=good-COP many work-COP  
‘Living here causes many problems.’

(10d) [meeri-ni=á kowí amó puhkú] [ki=tehkí ini-ré]  
kill-PRS=EMPH pig 2SG.NS CLF NEG=work be-PFV  
‘Killing your pig just now was easy.’
The main clause in (10a) contains an adjective predicative element, in (10b)-(10c) a copulative phrase marked by the suffix \(-hu\) ‘be’, and in (10d) the copulative verb *ininá* ‘be’. We can find constructions like the following:

\[
(11) \quad [\text{werumá kuú tehpéna-ni}] [\text{tamó intápa-ni tiempó}]
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{big} & \quad \text{tree} & \quad \text{cut-HAB} & \quad \text{1PL.NS} & \quad \text{take-HAB} & \quad \text{time} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘To cut a big tree takes us a long time.’

In (11), the verb of the second sentence is transitive and has *tamó* ‘us’ as P. The first sentence *werumá kuú tehpénani* ‘to cut a big tree’ functioning as the omitted A of the second sentence *tamó intápani tiempó* ‘(it) takes us long time’.

### 8.2. Class 2 complex sentences

This class of complex sentences involves: (i) two clauses; one main and independent and the other dependent, (ii) the subject of the dependent clause may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main clause, if it is not coreferential and a pronoun, this is coded by the non-S form pronoun, (iii) the dependent verb is less finite than the main verb showing one of these suffixes: \(-i \sim -ai, -o, -sa, -pa, -ači, -a, -ame, -mičio\) and, (iv) some free elements such as *neipá* ‘last’, *ke’ecó* ‘before’, *pahcá* ‘first’, *čitia* ‘like’, *walapi* ‘same place’ occur in some of these constructions.
In general, the subordinate adverbal clauses described in Thompson and Longacre (1985) belong to the class 2 complex sentences in Warihío.

### 8.2.1. Time

For temporal sequence constructions, Warihío uses independent morphemes such as *neipá* ‘last’, *ke’ecó* ‘before’ with three structural choices: (i) an imperfective suffix in the adverbal verb -oï ~ -ai (12a), (ii) a special suffix -so (12b), or (iii) the suffix -so plus the inchoative suffix -pa (12c)-(12d):

(12a) temé neipá simpá-ma [wanita wa’à kahti-oï mesa-či]

1PL.S last go.pl-FUT Juanita there be.seated.sg-IPFV Mesa-LOC

‘We will go there after Juanita is in La Mesa Colorada.’

(12b) temé neipá asi-má [asi-só wanita]

1PL.S last arrive-FUT arrive-SUB Juanita

‘We will arrive after Juanita have arrived.’

(12c) neipá yau-má=ni-a [amó yau-só-pa]

last dance-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH 2SG.NS dance-SUB-INCH

‘I will dance after you dance.’

(12d) neipá yau-má=ni-a [amó wikahtá-so-pa]

last dance-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH 2SG.NS sing-SUB-INCH

‘I will dance after you sing.’

In the examples in (12a)-(12d), we observe that the independent morpheme *neipá* ‘last’ occurs toward the left of the verb of the main clause. The non-coreferential pronoun in
the dependent clauses in (12c)-(12d) is in the non-S form. The order of the constituents in
the dependent clause containing nominal participants (12a)-(12b) is not fixed (cf. sections
5.1.2.5.2 and 5.1.2.5.4.1.1).

For the temporal sequence involving ke‘ečó ‘before’, this element tends to occur
between the main clause and the dependent clause:

(13a) temé simpá-ma [ke‘ečó en-óí waníta mesa-čí]
1PLS go.pl-FUT before come-IPFV Juanita Mesa-loc
‘We will go before Juanita is in La Mesa Colorada.’

(13b) wani penihpá-re ringó naiwá-ka [ke‘ečó kahu-yáí sekundária] John learn-PFV English speak-PTCP before finish-IPFV high.school
‘John learnt English before finishing high school.’

(13c) pedró simi-ré [ke‘ečó maría así-yóí]
Peter go-PFV before Mary arrive-IPFV
‘Peter left before Mary arrived.’

(13d) maría simi-ré [ke‘ečó pedró así-yóí]
Mary go-PFV before Peter arrive-IPFV
‘Mary left before Peter arrived.’

Actually, neipá ‘last’ and ke‘ečó ‘before’ occur before their respective verbs.

Sometimes an emphasis in the order of the events can be added with the
morpheme pahcá ‘first’ in the main clause:
(13e) waní pahčá naki-ré sa'pá ke'ečó [koa-yáí muní]  
John first want-PFV meat before eat-IPFV beans  
‘John first wanted the meat before eating beans.’

To signal an overlapping of the main event and the adverbial event, *amurí* ‘soon’ is used:

(14) maría asi-ré [amurí pedró simi-yóí]  
Mary arrive-PFV soon Peter go-IPFV  
‘Mary arrived when Peter was leaving.’

### 8.2.2. Location

Locative dependent clauses in Warihío have the same construction as (headless) relative clauses:

(15a) amó teté-ma=ne [kantína yasa-ri-áčí]  
2SG.NS see-FUT=1SG.S bar be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC  
‘I will see you where the bar was.’

(15b) rúpe nahawi-na kantína-čí [amó yasa-ri-áčí]  
Lupe drink-PRS bar-LOC 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC  
‘Lupe is drinking in the bar where you were.’

(15c) amó teté-ma=ne [kantína yasi-mi-áčí]  
2SG.NS see-FUT=1SG.S bar be.seated.sg-FUT-LOC  
‘I will see you where the bar will be.’
(15d) waní oi-ná ihkwéra-či [no’ó yasa-ri-áči]
    John walk-PRS school-LOC 1SG.NS be.seated.sg.-PFV-LOC
    ‘John goes to the school where I studied.’

(15e) kuitá te'ë-na [kowi oyé-ri-ači]
    child play-PRS pig tie-PFV-LOC
    ‘The child is playing where the pig was tied.’

(15f) waní yasi-náre [amó yasa-ri-áči]
    John be.seated.sg-DES 2SG.NS be.seated.sg-PFV-LOC
    ‘John wants to sit where you were sitting.’

(15g) neé kočí-náre [amó kočí-yači]
    1SG.S sleep-DES 2SG.NS sleep-LOC
    ‘I want to sleep where you sleep.’

(15h) rupe nawahi-na [pedró meri-ré-tu-ači]
    Lupe drink-PRS Peter kill-PFV-PASS-LOC
    ‘Lupe is drinking where Pedro was killed.’

8.2.3. Manner

The manner dependent clause is signaled by the morpheme čitiá ‘like’. This is the same marker that occurs in comparative constructions. The element čitiá appears inside the dependent clause:

(16a) apoé naiwá-ní [čepekiáme čitiá]
    3SG.S speak-PRS cold like
    ‘She speaks as if she were cold.’
(16b) takihúpa karéta [amó čitiá tuyé-tia]
push cart 2SG.NS like say-QUOT
‘Push the cart like I told you.’

(16c) no’ó yeyé pasu-ná muní [ahpó ye’yé čitiá penihpéte-ri-a]
1SG.NS mother cook-HAB beans 3SG.NS mother like teach-PFV-EMPH
‘My mother cooks beans like her mother taught her.’

8.2.4. Conditional

In the case of conditional clauses in Warihío, these precede the main clause. The verb in the dependent clause bears the suffix –so, and the pronouns have the non-S form:

(17a) [ihpiči-só amó karí] ihto-má=ne bwaire-či
clean-SUB 2SG.NS house take-FUT=1SG.S party-LOC
‘If you clean the house, I will take you to the party.’

(17b) [amó wikahtá-so] yau-má=ne
2SG.NS sing-SUB dance-FUT=1SG.S
‘If you sing, I will dance.’

(17c) [amó muní tetehpú-so] neé pasu-má
2SG.NS beans clean-SUB 1SG.S cook-FUT
‘If you clean the beans, I will cook them.’

(17d) [yuki-só] simi-má=ne kusi-tere
rain-SUB go-FUT=1SG.S woods-between
‘If it’s raining, I will go to the woods.’
The subject in the conditional clause is omitted when it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause:

(18)  [simi-só wairé-či] tetei-má=mu pedró  
go SUB party-loc see-fut=2sg:s Peter  
‘If you go to the party you will see Peter.’

The dependent verb can have attached the negative clitic ki= plus the suffix -so:

(19a)  [ki=yuki-só] pahko-ta-puápu  
NEG=rain-SUB feast-make-FUT.PL  
‘Only if it does not rain, we will have the feast.’

(19b)  [ki=amó kahu-só taréa] amó kahtiwá-ma=ne  
NEG=2sg.NS finish-SUB homework 2sg.NS punish-FUT=1sg.s  
‘Only if you don’t finish your homework, I will punish you.’

Concessive conditional clauses make use of an extra mark wa’api ‘same place’, appearing after the dependent verb:

(20a)  [yuki-só wa’api] si-má=ne  
rain-SUB same.place go-FUT=1sg.s  
‘Even if it rains, I will go out.’

(20b)  [tatá-e-so wa’api] wakirá-ta-ma=ne  
hot-INS-SUB same.place shirt-make-FUT=1sg.s  
‘Even if it is hot, I will wear the shirt.’
8.2.5. V-sa + V

The sequence in (21) shows an adverbial initial clause, and neipá ‘last’ precedes the final finite clause:

(21)  waní ko’ko-sá muni
      John eat-SUB beans

      ihí-re     serewésa
      drink-PFV beer

      neipá wa’ási koči-pá-re
      last   there sleep-INCH-PFV
      ‘After eating beans, John drank beer and then fell asleep.’

We observe in (21) that there is a zero anaphora for third person waní ‘John’ in the last two clauses.

There is a construction, very similar to the conditional constructions above, that make use of the suffix -sa. In this construction, the main verb shows the aspect/tense -mera ‘POTENTIAL’ or -ma ‘FUTURE’, producing a hypothetical-contrafactual sense:

(22a)  [tetewí-sa pedró] wewe-méra=mu
       see-SUB Peter hit-POT=2SG.S
       ‘If you were to see Peter, you would hit him.’ (But you didn’t)
(22b) [riikó iní-sa] amó tari-ké-ma=ne karí
rich be-SUB 2SG.NS buy-APPL-FUT=1SG.S house
'If I were rich, I would buy a house for you.' (But, I am not)

(26c) [simi-sá pahkó-či] yau-mi=mu waní aháma
go-SUB feast-LOC dance-FUT=2SG.S John with
'If you had gone to the party, you would have danced with John.' (But you didn’t)

(26d) [tari-sá sipičá] čuča-mi=ne ehpé
buy-SUB dress put.on-FUT=1SG.S now
'If I had bought the dress, I would have put it on.' (But I hadn’t)

8.2.6. Nominalized dependent clauses: the verbal suffixes -(a)me, -a

The nominalized dependent constructions show a main finite verb and a
nominalized dependent verb. The nominalizer suffixes are -ame and -a.

The examples in (27) show a dependent clause with a verb marked by the
nominalizer suffix -ame. The subject may or may not be coreferential with the subject of
the main clause, the dependent verb usually is inflected with a tense/aspect suffix:

(27a) simi-náre=ne [ehturiawa-ni-áme kečewéka]
go-DES=1SG.S study-PRS-NMLZ Quetchehueca
'I want to study in Quetchehueca.'

(27b) hustina nahkí [ki=ko'ko-ri-áme ini-mičio kuitá]
Agustina want NEG=get.sick-PFV-NMLZ be-PURP child
'Agustina wants her child to be healthy.'
(27c) peterá kawé yowa-méra [yačah-pá-te-me wanita]  
Petra well do-POT be.seated-INCH-CAUS-NMLZ Joanna  
‘Petra will succeed in achieving Joanna’s recovery.’

The examples in (27d)-(27e) seem to show a second predication inside the dependent clause. With the predicative element pehté ‘heavy’ for tekihpanániame wasačí in (27d) and with the element kawé ‘good’ for ehturiáwantamea in (27e):

(27d) wani maé-na [tekihpaná-ni-ame wasa-či [kátia pehté]]  
John believe-PRS work-PRS-NMLZ growing-LOC very heavy  
‘John considers that working in farming is very heavy.’

(27e) neé maé-na-ni-a [ehturiáwa-ní-ame=a [kawé=pu]]  
1SG.S believe-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH study-PRS-NMLZ=EMPH good=D.D  
‘I believe that studying is good.’

In (27f) greater complexity is shown:

(27f) kawé nané-na=ne [nawesá-ni-ame [nahkí] tamó tekó aháma]  
well know-PRS=1SG.S talk-PRS-NMLZ want 1PL.NS boss with  
‘I agree that I want to talk with our boss.’

There are two dependent clauses in the construction in (27f): first, nawesániame nahkí tamó tekó aháma ‘wanting to talk with our boss’ is the dependent clause of the main clause kawé nanénane ‘I agree’, since the subject =ne ‘I’ is coreferential and is omitted in
the dependent clause. Second, *nahki* is functioning as the main predicate of the nominalized dependent clause *nawesâniame... tamô tekô ahâma* ‘to talk ... with our boss’ with the nominalized verb to the left of the main verb *nahki* and the rest of the nominalized clause to the right.

The following set of constructions has a relative clause as part of the dependent clause. In (28a)-(28b) with a subject head and the verbal suffix -*me*, and (28c)-(28e) with a headless relative clause in P function and the verbal suffix -*a*:

(28a) rupita nané-na [yomá pasa-wáme i'wá]  
Lupita know-PRS all happen-NMLZ here  
‘Lupita knows about everything that happens here.’

(28b) waní tetewá-re [pedró simi-yáme kečewéka]  
John see-PFV Peter go-NMLZ Quetchehueca  
‘John saw Peter’s going to Quetchehueca.’

(28c) ki=kawé intá-ni-ni-a [tapaná amó yowá-ri-a]  
NEG=well agree-PRS=1SG.S=EMPH yesterday 2SG.NS make-PFV-NMLZ  
‘I frown upon what you did yesterday.’

(28d) waní ki=kawéra-ni [ah pó yowá-ri-a tapaná]  
John NEG=be.glad-PRS 3SG.NS make-PFV=EMPH yesterday  
‘John regrets what he did yesterday.’

(28e) temé nané-na [wani me'eyá-ri-a pedró]  
1PL.S know-PRS John kill.sg-PFV-NMLZ Peter  
‘We know that John killed Peter.’
Lit. ‘We know John’s killing Peter.’
8.2.7 The subordinator -o

The dependent verbs showing the suffix -o take the most semantically homogeneous group of main predicates in Warihio complex sentences. The group of main verbs which depependent verbs show the suffix -o corresponds to cognition-perception verbs. These verbs with some of the dependent verbs are shown in (29):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29)</th>
<th>Main verb</th>
<th>dependent verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'oráni ‘to plan’</td>
<td>eči-</td>
<td>‘to plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>meri-</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nehi-</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tekihpana-</td>
<td>‘to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noka-</td>
<td>‘to return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kui-</td>
<td>‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanéna ‘to know’</td>
<td>simi-</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wikaht-</td>
<td>‘to sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me’ya-</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yau-</td>
<td>‘to dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mači-</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u’m-</td>
<td>‘to run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nate-</td>
<td>‘to cost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ičiko-</td>
<td>‘to steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naki-</td>
<td>‘to love’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanétona ‘to remember’</td>
<td>ko’ko-</td>
<td>‘to get sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ini-</td>
<td>‘to be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muku-</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yau-</td>
<td>‘to dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tewani ‘to find out’</td>
<td>koči-</td>
<td>‘to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neh-</td>
<td>‘to sell’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all these constructions the subject of the dependent clause is non-coreferential with the subject of the main clause, hence, if a pronoun, this is coded by a non-S form pronoun.

8.2.7.1. nanéna: ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’, ‘to be aware’, ‘to understand’

There is in Warihó a very productive verb: nanéna. This verb is used with different meanings translatable to the English as: ‘to know’, ‘to perceive’, ‘to be aware’, ‘to understand’. In the constructions with nanéna as main verb, the subjects of the main and the dependent clause are not coreferential. The dependent verb can have different aspect/tense suffixes plus the suffix –o:
(30a)  Wani nané-na [simi-ri-ó maría obregoni]
       John know-PRS go-PFV-SUB Mary Obregón
       ‘John knows that Mary left to Obregón.’

(30b)  aapóe nané-na [peniátiame wikaht-ó maría]
       3PL.S know-PRS pretty sing-SUB Mary
       ‘They know that Mary sings pretty.’

(30c)  pedró nané-na [tamó me'eya-k-o kawái]
       Peter know-PRS 1PL.NS kill:sg-PTCP-SUB horse
       ‘Peter knows that we killed the horse.’

We talked before in the section of constituent order in Chapter 5 about the flexibility of the constituents in main clause in terms of word order. It was said that the order in main clauses is pragmatically motivated. It is well known that dependent clauses are more conservative in terms of word order than main clauses, but the constituents of the dependent clauses\(^2\) in Warihio may show different orders:

(31a)  nané-na=ne [peniási-ka amó yau-yó]
        know-PRS=1SG.S pretty-PTCP 2SG.NS dance-SUB
        ‘I know that you dance pretty.’

(31b)  nané-na=ne [amó peniási-ka yau-yó]
        know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.NS pretty-PTCP dance-SUB
        ‘I know that you dance pretty.’

\(^2\) At this point of the research, these alternative orders of the constituents of dependent clauses are not well understood. I leave this issue for future investigation.
(31c) neé nané-na [amo yau-yó pениási-ka]  
1SG.S know-PRS 2SG.NS dance-SUB nice-PTCP  
‘I know that you dance pretty.’

(31d) [amó] nané-na=ne [pениási-ka yau-yó ]  
2SG.NS know-PRS=1SG.S nice-PTCP dance-SUB  
‘I know that you dance pretty.’

Probably this flexibility in the order of the constituents of the dependent clauses reflects a transition stage from a postulated SOV order for Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker, 1976) to an alternative order (Miller 1983, Barreras 2000).

Two points should be addressed concerning the morphology of the elements in the dependent clauses in (31a)-(31c): (i) the subordinator suffix for the verb nanéna is -o and this is suffixed to the dependent verb, (ii) the stem pениá- ‘pretty’ may be inflected as a verb, as many adjectival meaning stems behave in Warihio. We observe the contrast between (31c) and (32):

(32) muú nané-na [no’ó pениási-o yau-ká]  
2SG.S know-PRS 1SG.NS nice-SUB dance-PTCP  
‘You know I dance nicely.’  
Lit. ‘You know that I am nice dancing.’
The following examples illustrate the difference between *mači* ‘to have the knowledge or ability to do something’ or ‘to know how’ and *nanéna* ‘to know’, the cognition/perception verb:

(33a)  
rolando nané-na [no'ō mači-ó nawésa-ka kuentó]  
Rolando know-PRS 1SG.NS know-SUB tell-PTCP stories  
‘Rolando knows that I know how to tell stories.’

(33b)  
nané-ru=ne [ki=amó mači-ó napo-ká]  
know-PFV.EV=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS know-SUB weed-PTCP  
‘I realized that you don’t know how to weed.’

We observe that the dependent clause in (33) has another dependent clause within, one transitive *nawésaka kuentó* in (33a) and one intransitive *napoká* in (33b).

The verb *nanéna* is the prototypical COGNITION verb in Warihio. The subtle difference of sense in the use of *nanéna* is perceived only in the translation:

(34a)  
nané-ru=mu [iwatiáme no'ō u'm-ō]  
know-PFV.EV=2SG.S fast 1SG.NS run-SUB  
‘You realized that I run fast.’

(34b)  
wani nané-ru [weri-pá-k-o maría]  
John know-PFV.EV be.standing-INCH-PTCP-SUB Mary  
‘John realized that Mary grew up.’
(34c) neé nané-na [weká nate-yó pu'-ká kawái]
    1SG.S know-PRS a.lot cost-SUB D.D-ID horse
    ‘I am aware that that horse costs a lot.’

(34d) wani nané-na [kawé ki=aŋ pó mač-i-ó leyéndo-ka kawé]
    John know-PRS well NEG=3SG.NS know-SUB read-PTCP well
    ‘John is aware that he doesn’t know to read very well.’

(34e) nané-na-ne [ki=amó tekihpá-nari-o wasa-či]
    know-PRS=1SG.S NEG=2SG.NS work-DES-SUB growing-LOC
    ‘I understand that you don’t want to work in the fields.’

(34f) kawé nané-na=ne [enči amó iČikó-k-o]
    well know-PRS=1SG.S again 2SG.NS steal-PTCP-SUB
    ‘I heard that you stole again.’

8.2.7.2. kinanéna ‘to be uncertain’

kinanéna, the negative form of nanéna ‘to know’ expresses the meaning of ‘to be uncertain’, and this can take a dependent clause:

(35a) ki=nané-na=ne [simi-ó kečéweka]
    NEG=know-PRS=1SG.S go-SUB Quetchehueca
    ‘I don’t know if I’m going to Quetchehueca.’

(35b) ki=nané-na=ne [muú no'ó naki-yó]
    NEG=know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.S 1SG.NS love-SUB
    ‘I don’t know if you love me.’
(35c) muú ki=nané-na=mu [neé amó naki-yó]  
2SG.S NEG-know-PRS=2SG.S 1SG.S 2SG.NS love-SUB  
‘You don’t know if I love you.’

8.2.7.3. nanétona ‘to remember’ and natahképani ‘to forget’

The verbs nanétona ‘to remember’ and natahképani ‘to forget’ are illustrated in the class 3 complex sentences section as modality main verbs. They are illustrated here, too, as perception-cognition main verbs with dependent clauses. The morpho-syntax of the main clause in both uses, that is modality and perception-cognition, is exactly the same. What makes them different is the marking in the dependent clause. In the former the subject of the main and dependent clauses must be coreferential and the dependent verb is marked only by -méa ~ -mia (see subsection 8.3.3). In the latter, the subjects are not coreferential and the dependent verb is marked by TAM plus the subordinator -o.

The verb nanétona ‘to remember’ seems to be a derivation of the verb stem nané-‘know’ plus the suffix -to. This suffix bears the sense of movement, acceleration, for example, with the verb umání ‘to run’, it produces the verb umátona ‘to run away’. Thus, nanétona could mean something like ‘move, accelerate the cognition’. The following are examples with these two main verbs with the perception-cognition use:

(36a) wani nanéto-na [ko'ko-ri-ó lupita]  
John remember-PRS get sick-PFV-SUB Lupe  
‘John remembered that Lupe got sick.’
(36b) nanéto-na-temé [enči semána-čí ini-mi-ó pahkó] remember-PRS-1PL.S again week-loc be-FUT-SUB feast
“We remember that the feast will be next week.’

(37a) natahkepa=ne [lupita mukuh-k-ó]
forget=1SG.S lupe die-PTCP-SUB
‘I forgot that Mrs. Lupe died.’

(37b) pedró natahkepa-re [amó yau-yó pahkóra]
Peter forget-PFV 2SG.NS dance-SUB pahkora
‘Peter forgot that you dance pascola.’

(37c) natahkepa-ne [piari ini-mi-ó pahkó]
forget=P1SG.S morning be-FUT-SUB feast
‘I forgot that the feast will be tomorrow.’

8.2.7.4. tewani ‘to find out’, ‘to realize’ and tetewáni ‘to see’

There are two perception-cognition verbs related in form and meaning: tewani ‘to find out’, ‘to realize’, and tetewáni ‘to see’. The latter is a reduplicated form of the former. The difference in meaning could be a matter of aspect, that is, of ‘duration’ of the event, with tewani being momentaneous for states and tetewáni with a little longer perception for activities:

(38a) waní tewa-ré [čuré ko-koči-ó tawé]
John find-PFV Cholohui PL--sleep-SUB day
‘John found out that the cholohuis sleep during the day.’
(38b) tewa-rú=ne [waní neh-ó pa'rári]
find-PFV.EV=1SG.S John sell-SUB wine
'I found out that John sells wine.'

(38c) waní no'ó tewa-rú [neh-ó pi'pá]
John 1SG.NS find-PFV.EV sell-SUB marihuana
'John found out that I sell marihuana.'

(38d) maríá ahpó tewa-ré [mačí-ó ahpó peniátiame yau-yó]
Mary 3SG.NS find-PFV know-DC 3SG.NS nice dance-SUB
'Mary found out that she dances nicely.'

(38e) tewa-rú=ne [kawé tekihpana-mí-ó no'o wasa-čí]
find-PFV.EV=1SG.S well work-FUT-SUB 1SG.NS growing-LOC
'I found out that I can work in the fields.'

(38f) pedró tewa-ré [ahpó mačí-ó četé-ka kiintára]
Peter find-PFV 3SG.NS know-SUB play-PTCP guitar
'Peter found out that he knows how to play the guitar.'

The constructions in (38) share important morpho-syntactic features with those in (39):
(i) the subjects in the main and the dependent clauses may but do not need to be
coreferential, (ii) the suffix -o occurs in the dependent verb of both constructions, and
(iii) the main verb in (39) is the reduplicated form of the main verb in (38):

(39a) neé amó tetewá-ru [ihčipů-k-o]
1SG.S 2SG.NS see-PFV.EV hide-PTCP-SUB
'I saw when you hid.'
One important difference between the constructions with *tewani* and *tetewâni* is that the dependent verb in the former usually lacks a tense/aspect suffix, whereas this may be found in the latter. The explanation could be that with *tewani* there is a sudden discovering of a habitual event. With *tetewâni* one should have the time to observe the event, hence the tense/aspect marker.

8.2.7.5. *maéna* ‘to think’, ‘to believe’

The verb *maéna* ‘to think’, ‘to believe’ can take a dependent clause:
(40a) hustína maé-na [kuitá werú ko'a-yó]
    Agustina believe-PRS child much eat-SUB
    ‘Agustina believes that the child eats a lot.’

(40b) apoé mae-na [amó we-pa-k-ó]
    3SG.S believe-PRS 2SG.NS hit-INC-PTCP-SUB
    ‘He believes that you hit him.’

Sometimes *maéna* can combine with *kawê* ‘well’ with the meaning of ‘consider’
that is ‘think well’ and take a dependent clause:

(41) neé kawê maé-na=ne [kahti-ó sekundária kečewéka kawê=pu]
    1SG.S well believe-PRS=1SG.S be.seated.S-SUB high.school Quetchehueca well=D.D
    ‘I consider the high school in Quetchehueca to be good.’

8.2.7.6. *kawéraní* ‘to be glad’ and *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’

(42a) kawera-ní=ne [kawé amó asi-k-ó]
    be.glad-PRS=1SG.S well 2SG.NS arrive-PTCP-SUB
    ‘I am glad that you arrived well.’

(42b) kawera-ní-temé [amó yačah-pá-k-o]
    be.glad-PRS-1PL.S 2SG.NS set-INC-PTCP-SUB
    ‘We are glad that you have gotten better.’

(42c) wani kawéra-ni [ki=yúko-yo-pa wa'ási]
    John be.glad-PRS NEG=rain-SUB-INC up.there
    ‘John is glad that the rains stopped.’
(43a) hustína yuwésu-na [wakih-ti-ó-pa kuitá]  
    Agustína be.sad-PRS dry-CAUS-SUB-IND child  
    ‘Agustína is sad that the child is skinny’

(43b) wání yuwésu-na [ki=yuku-yo-pa]  
    John be.sad-PRS neg=rain-SUB-IND  
    ‘John is sad that it stopped raining.’

There is a special complex sentence involving the verb *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad’:

(43c) no’ó yuwesu-té-na [na’né-ri-o ki=inuwé-k-o ko’á-me]  
    1SG.NS be.sad-CAUS-PRS know-PFV-SUB NEG=have-PTCP-SUB eat-NMLZ  
    ‘I am sad to know that they don’t have food.’  
    Lit. ‘It makes me feel sad that they don’t have food.’

(43d) no’ó yuwesu-té-na [mehká no’ó ohoé-k-o no’ó nonó moči-ká-či]  
    1SG.NS be.sad-CAUS-PRS far.away 1SG.NS walk-PTCP-SUB 1SG.NS father sit-PTCP-LOC  
    ‘It’s sad for me to live far away from my parents.’  
    Lit. ‘It makes me feel sad that my parents live far away.’

The constructions in brackets in (43c)-(43d) have some morphological characteristics of a dependent clause, the verb has the suffix *-o*. They explain the ‘cause’ of the sadness of the participant of the main clause functioning as the causer of *yuwesu téna* ‘to make feel sad’, the causativized version of *yuwésuna* ‘to be sad.’ There is no pronoun in S-form in these complex constructions.
8.2.7.7. o'oráni ‘to plan’

The verb o'oráni ‘to plan’/‘to try’ is another verb that can take a dependent clause. The complex sentences with o'oráni as a main verb contrast with the use of o'oráni as a compound verb\(^3\) in certain peculiar characteristics: (i) usually there is a main-dependent verb order; however this is the only case of dependent-main verb order (ii) the participants are on the other side of their respective verbs; and (iii) the dependent verb bears the suffixes -m ‘FUTURE’ and -o, a verbal suffix restricted to cognition-perception main verbs. All of these characteristics make it difficult to characterize the following constructions, even more, they challenge the known complex sentence constituent order:

(44a) hustína [eči-m-ö] o'óra-ri [suunú ahpó pete-čí]

Agustína plant-FUT-SUB try-IPFV corn 3SG.NS house-LOC

‘Agustína tried to plant corn in her yard.’

(44b) wani [meri-m-ö] o'óra-re [pedró]

John kill.sg-FUT-SUB try-PFV Peter

‘John tried to kill Peter.’

(44c) lupita [nehi-m-ö] o'órá-ni [ku-ö ahpó pete-čí]

Lupita sell-FUT-SUB plan-PRS wood-EMPH 3SG.NS house-LOC

‘Lupita plans to sell wood in her house.’

(44d) [tekihpana-m-o] orá-ni-temé [yomá tawé]

work-FUT-SUB plan-PRS-1PL.S all day

‘We plan to work all day.’

---

\(^3\) This type of construction involving -ord as a modal suffix was described in Chapter 5, section 5.2.6.
(44e) [no-noka-m-ó] orá-ni-temé [mesa-čí]
PL~move-FUT-SUB plan-PRS-1PL.S Mesa Colorada-LOC
‘We plan to return to La Mesa Colorada.’

(44f) [no’ó kui-m-ó] o’orá-ri-mu
1SG.NS help-FUT-SUB try-IPFV=2SG.S
‘You tried to help me.’

8.2.7.8. The manipulative type

Manipulative events can be expressed by a construction type that seems to be between the morphological causative construction and a coordinate clause construction.

8.2.7.8.1. V + V-te-ka

This construction shows a free verb marked by tense/aspect with a general meaning of ‘come’ (45), ‘move’ (46), while the dependent verb still has the causative suffix -te with a less finite suffix -ka, contrasting with the finite suffix shown in the morphological causative constructions exemplified in Chapter 7:

(45) neé intó-re [nasua-té-ka waní pedró ahama]
1SG:S come.sg-PRF fight-CAUS-PTCP John Peter COM
‘I made John fight with Peter.’

(46) yukí isi-ré [wičí-te-ka karí]
rain move.sg-PFV fall-CAUS-PTCP house
‘The rain caused the house to fall down.’
8.2.7.8.2. V + V-мицю

Subordinate verbs that take the purpose suffix -мицю can occur with the main verbs listed in (47):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main predicate</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>dependent predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intóna ‘to come’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>toče- ‘to send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokáni ‘to move’</td>
<td>wiči- ‘to fall’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yowáni ‘to make’</td>
<td>yusi- ‘to sit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toani ‘to allow’</td>
<td>itihpi- ‘to stay’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yetóna ‘to invite’</td>
<td>kui- ‘to help’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čanéna ‘to tell’</td>
<td>tekihpana- ‘to work’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuyéna ‘to say’</td>
<td>i’yá- ‘to look for’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itanéna ‘to ask’</td>
<td>wasite- ‘to cook’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu’réna ‘to order’</td>
<td>tekihpana- ‘to work’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitoani ‘to forbid’</td>
<td>simi- ‘to go’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyéna ‘to expect’</td>
<td>yaçapa- ‘to recover’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyéna ‘to expect’</td>
<td>yaupa- ‘to sprout’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanéna ‘to agree’</td>
<td>nawesa- ‘to talk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intáni ‘to agree’</td>
<td>te’é- ‘to play’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that the purposive suffix -мицю makes the whole construction an intended manipulative event or an expected event, independently of the semantic class of the main verb. Some examples of verbs that can take a dependent verb marked by -мицю are: nokani ‘move.pl’ (48), yowani ‘make’ (49), toani ‘let’ (50), yetóna ‘invite’ (51):
(48) aapóe noka-ré [no’ó wiči-mičio]
   3PL.S move.pl-PFV 1SG.NS fall-PURP
   ‘They made me fall down.’
   Lit. ‘They made something in order I fall down.’

(49) neé kawé yowá-ru=ne [amó yasi-mičio ihkwéra-čí]
   1SG.S well do-PFV.EV=1SG.S 2SG:NS sit-PURP school-LOC
   ‘I succeeded in getting you into school.’
   Lit. ‘I made something in order you get in the school.’

(50) neé toa-rú [itihi-mičio wani no’ó pete-čí]
   1SG.S allow-PFV.EV stay-PURP John 1SG.NS house-LOC
   ‘I allowed John to stay in my house.’

(51) Pedró no’ó yetó-ru [ahpó no’ó kui-mičio]
   Peter 1SG.NS invite-PFV.EV 3SG.NS 1SG.NS help-PURP
   ‘Peter persuaded me to help him’

Another group of verbs that can take a dependent verb with the suffix -mičio are the command verbs: čanéna ‘tell’ (52), tuyéna ‘say’ (53), itanéna ‘ask’ (54), nu’réna ‘order’ (55):

(52) pedró čané-re [tekíhpana-mičio obregóni]
   Peter tell-PFV work-PURP Obregón
   ‘Peter suggested to him to work in Obregón.’

(53) Wani tuyé-re maría [i’ya-mičio ahpó yeyé]
   John say-PFV Mary look for-PURP 3SG:NS mother
   ‘John told Mary to look for her mother.’
(54) waní itané-re [wasite-ke-mičio maría]
    John ask-PFV make.tortillas-APPL-PURP Mary
    ‘John asked Mary to make tortillas.’

(55) maría nu're-re [wani tekihpana-mičio]
    Mary order-PFV John work-PURP
    ‘Mary ordered John to work.’

The verb toani ‘let’, ‘allow’ has a negative version kitoani with the meaning of
‘stop from’:

(56) lupita ki=toa-ré [simi-mičio waní]
    Lupita NEG=let-PFV go-PURP John
    ‘Lupe forbade John leaving.’ (But he left.)

The dependent verb with the suffix -mičio also co-occurs with the main verb
puyéna ‘to expect’:

(57a) puyé-na=ne [ku'wé ya'ča-pa-mičio lupita]
    expect-PRS=1SG.S soon set-INCH-PURP Lupita
    ‘I hope Lupe recovers soon.’

(57b) waní puyé-na [yau-pa-mičio suunú meeré]
    John expect-PRS sprout-INCH-PURP corn tomorrow
    ‘John expects the corn sprouts tomorrow.’
The element *kawé* may be involved in other constructions giving the meaning of ‘to agree’ when it is used together with the verb *nanena* ‘to know’, and this can take a dependent verb with the suffix -*mičio*, as in (58):

(58a) kawé nané-na-ne [amó nawesa-mičio tamó tekó aháma] well know-PRS=1SG.S 2SG.NS talk-PURP 1PL.NS boss with ‘I agree that you should talk with our boss.’

(58b) hustína ki=kawé inta-ni [yomá tawé te'čé-mičio kukučí] Agustína 1NEG=well agree-PRS all day play-PURP children ‘Agustína frowns upon the children playing all day.’

(59c) María ki=kawéra-ni [amó toa-ka-pa si-mičio bwairé-či] Mary 1NEG=be.glad-PRS 2SG.NS let-PTCP-INCH go-PURP party-PLOC ‘Mary regrets letting you go to the party.’

At this point, a reminder on constituent order in Waríhío is pertinent. Patient pronouns tend to occur preverbally in transitive main clauses, but they may also occur postverbally. Otherwise, the lexical constituents in a simple sentence show a pragmatically motivated flexible order. In the case of subordinates clauses and dependendent clauses in general, the participants tend to cluster around the dependent verb, but the constituents of the dependent clause show a certain flexibility in their position inside the dependent clause (60a)-(60c):
(60a) neé intó-re [toče-mičio muní waní pedró]
1SG.S move-PFV send-PURP beans John Peter
‘I made John send beans to Peter.’

(60b) neé intó-re [waní toče-mičio muní pedró]
1SG.S move-PFV John send-PURP beans Peter
‘I made John send beans to Peter.’

(60c) neé intó-re [muní toče-mičio waní pedró]
1SG.S move-PFV beans send-PURP John Peter
‘I made John send beans to Peter.’

8.2.7.9. The juxtaposed construction

In this type of construction the only difference between this construction and a
class 1 complex sentence construction is that the subject pronoun in the second clause is
in the non-S form, tamó ‘1PL.NS’ in (61a) and no’ó ‘1SG.NS’ in (61b):

(61a) waní natahképá-re [tamó simpá-meri ini-ré obregóní]
John forget-PFV 1PL.NS go.pl-FUT be-PFV Obregón
‘John forgot that we were going to go to Obregón.’

(61b) hustina inamú-na [yomá no’ó čiá]
Agustina listen-PRS everything 1SG.NS say
‘Agustina understands everything I say.’
8.3. Class 3 complex sentences

This class of complex sentences involves: (i) two clauses; one main and independent and the other dependent, (ii) the subject of the dependent is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, (iii) the dependent verb is less finite than the main verb showing one of these suffixes: -\(ka\), -\(nare\)=a, -\(mé\)a ~ -\(mia\).

8.3.1. The V + V-\(ka\) construction

When the verbal suffix -\(ka\) occurs in a dependent clause\(^4\), the main verb accompanying it is finite. This suffix gives the sense of simultaneity of eventhood. There is coreferentiality of main and dependent subjects.

The dependent verbs taking -\(ka\) and some of the main verbs with which they co-occur are listed in (62):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(62)</th>
<th>Main verb</th>
<th>Dependent verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V-(ka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(ui)n(á) ‘to help’</td>
<td>ehtur(i)awa(-)</td>
<td>‘to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p(e)n(i)p(á)n(í) ‘to learn’</td>
<td>was(i)te(-)</td>
<td>‘to cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nap(o)-</td>
<td>‘to weed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teh(p)í(č)a(-)</td>
<td>‘to cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ley(é)ndo(-)</td>
<td>‘to read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o(i)n(é)n(á) ‘to start’</td>
<td>l’y(ó)te(-)</td>
<td>‘to write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>um(á)-</td>
<td>‘to run’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) However, occasionally this suffix occurs in simple sentences with an ‘ongoing’ tense meaning (see Chapter 5 section 5.2.2.) or in both main and dependent verbs.
simiténa 'to continue'

simina 'to go'

kahuná 'to finish'

maći 'to know how'

penéna 'to know how'

kawérani 'to be glad'

kikawérani 'to regret'

yuwésuna 'to be sad'

pu'seréna 'to like'

wisitúna 'to lie'

**verbs**

- ehturiawa-
- peesú-
- eča-
- tekihpana-
- tekihpana-
- ehturiawa-
- peesú-
- yuku-
- tehpúca-
- tekihpána-
- ehturiawa-
- koa-
- peesú-
- wikahtá-
- karitá-
- nawésa-
- wikahtá-
- simi-
- kahu-
- wewe-
- ehturiawa-
- ečá-
- kahu-
- koa-
- te'é-
- nawésa-

**meanings**

- 'to study'
- 'to peel'
- 'to plant'
- 'to work'
- 'to work'
- 'to study'
- 'to peel'
- 'to rain'
- 'to cut'
- 'to work'
- 'to study'
- 'to eat'
- 'to peel'
- 'to sing'
- 'to build houses'
- 'to tell'
- 'to sing'
- 'to go'
- 'to finish'
- 'to hit'
- 'to study'
- 'to plant'
- 'to finish'
- 'to eat'
- 'to play'
- 'to tell'
The main verbs in the column on the left in (62) are modality verbs (Givón, 2001).

8.3.2. The modality main verbs plus a V-ka

According to Givón (2001: 55, vol. II): “Modality verbs code the aspektual (inception, termination, continuation, success, failure) or modal (attempt, intent, obligation, ability, possibility) action, state or attitude of its subject vis-a-vis the event/state coded in the dependent clause”.

8.3.2.1. oíne ‘to start’, simiténa ‘to continue’, kahuná ‘to finish’

The inception, continuation, and termination aspektual meaning are expressed by the free verbs oíne ‘to start’, simiténa ‘to continue’, and kahuná ‘to finish’, respectively. These verbs occur in the main clause and take a dependent clause in which the dependent verb is marked by the participializer suffix –ka and the subject is coreferential (omitted) with the subject of the main clause. The verb oíne can take any class of dependent verb, active intransitive (63a)-(63b), transitive (63c)-(63d):

(63a) oíne-ru=ne [umá-ka senepí piarí]
    start-PFV.EV=1SG.S run-PTCP every morning
    ‘I started running every morning.’

(63b) maría oíne-re [ehturiówa-ka seekundária]
    Mary start-PFV study-PTCP high.scool
    ‘Mary started studying high school.’
(63c) puú oíne-re [peesu-ká pahpá oosá mariki miinuto]
D.D start-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes twice five minutes
‘She started peeling the potatoes ten minutes ago.’

(63d) puú oíne-re [eča-ká suunú kéčua sepói]
D.D start-PFV plant-PTCP corn too much early
‘He started planting the corn very early.’

Also possible is the occurrence of a sequence of two class 3 constructions with the dependent verbs in each one, sharing the same subject:

(63e) wani oíne-re [ariwátopi koči-ká] oíne-re [tekihpána-ka piari]
John start-PFV early sleep-PTCP start-PFV work-PTCP morning
‘John started going to sleep early since he started working in the mornings.’

The verb simiténa ‘to continue’ (lit. ‘make it going’) is a causativization with the suffix -te of the verb siminá ‘to go’:

(64a) pedró simi-té-re [tekihpána-ka yomá tawé]
Peter go-CAUS-PFV work-PTCP whole day
‘Peter continued working the whole day.’

(64b) maría simi-té-mera [ehturiáwa-ka seekundária ahta meré wiče]
Mary go-CAUS-FUT.POT study-PTCP high school until next year
‘Mary is going to continue studying high school until next year.’
(64c) puú=a simi-té-re [peesú-ka pahpá]
D.D=EMPH go-CAUS-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes
‘She continued peeling the potatoes.’

Weather verbs such as yukuná ‘raining’, eekani ‘blowing’, tanačáni ‘thundering’ are atransitives in Warihío, since they require no participants at all. The verb alone is a predication. In this case, the construction taking yukuná as the dependent verb, will show no causative suffix, but only the plain verb siminá (64d) or simiméra (64e):

(64d) simi-ná [yuku-ká mesa-čí]
go-PRS rain-PTCP Mesa-LOC
‘It continues raining in The Mesa.’

(64e) simi-méra [yuku-ká mesa-čí]
go-FUT.POT rain-PTCP Mesa-LOC
‘It is going to continue raining in The Mesa.’

The constructions in (65) involving the verb kahuná ‘finishing’ are of the same type as the verb oinená ‘starting’ exemplified before:

(65a) kahu-rú=ne [tehpúča-ka kuú tapaná]
finish-PFV=1SG.S cut-PTCP wood yesterday
‘I finished cutting the wood yesterday.’
(65b) pedró kahu-ré [tekihpána-ka wasa-čí]
    Peter finish-PFV work-PTCP growing-LOC
    ‘Peter finished working in farming.’

(65c) maría kahu-ré [ehuriawa-ka seekundária]
    Mary finish-PFV study-PTCP high school
    ‘Mary finished studying high school.’

(65d) wání kahu-ré [koa-ká koá-me]
    John finish-PFV eat-PTCP eat-NMLZ
    ‘John finished eating food.’

(65e) puú-a kahu-ré [peesú-ka pahpá]
    D.D.=EMPH finish-PFV peel-PTCP potatoes
    ‘She finished peeling the potatoes.’

8.3.2.2. mačí, penéna ‘to know how to’

There are two verbs in Warihio meaning ‘to know how to’: mačí and penéna. These verbs convey the sense of having the knowledge of how to do the event coded in the dependent verb. I could find no differences in the use of one instead of the other. The subjects of the main and the dependent clauses are coreferential, and the dependent verb takes the participializer suffix –ka. In the examples with mačí, (66a) shows an intransitive verb in the dependent clause, (66b) a noun incorporated verb, and (66c) a transitive one:

—

5 mačí ‘to know how’ is one of the few verbs that has –∅ for present/habitual tense/aspect.
(66a) wani mačí [wikahtá-ka]  
John know sing-PTCP  
‘John knows how to sing.’

(66b) muú mačí [kari-tá-ka]  
2SG.S know house-make-PTCP  
‘You know how to build houses.’

(66c) rolando mačí [nawésa-ka kuentó]  
Rolando know tell-PTCP stories  
‘Rolando knows how to tell stories’

In the case of penéna, we have two intransitive verbs in the dependent clauses exemplifying it:

(67a) aapóe pe-péne-na [wikahtá-ka kawé]  
3PL.S PL~know-PRS sing-PTCP well  
‘They know how to sing well.’

(67b) neé pené-na=ne [simi-ká kečewéka]  
1SG.S know-PRS=1SG.S go-PTCP Quetchhueca  
‘I know how to get to Quetchhueca.’

The verb penipáni ‘to learn’ in (68) is actually a derivation from the stem pené- ‘know’ plus the inchoative suffix -pa. The constructions with penipáni have the same morpho-syntactic characteristics as those shown with mačí and penéna:
(68a) waní penipá-re [tehpúča-ka kuú]
    John   learn-PFV cut-PTCP   wood
    ‘John learned to cut wood.’

(68b) neé penipá-re [yasé-ka    kawái]
    1SG.S learn-PFV be.seated-PTCP horse
    ‘I learned to ride a horse.’

(68c) hustína penipá-re [leyéndo-ka]
    Agustína learn-PFV read-PTCP
    ‘Agustína learned to read.’

(68d) Ilhkéra-čí penipá-ma=mu [i’yoté-ka]
    school-LOC learn-FUT=2SG.S write-PTCP
    ‘In school you are going to learn to write.’

8.3.2.3. **kawérani** ‘to be glad’ and **kikawérani** ‘to regret’

The verb **kawérani** ‘to be glad’, a derivation from **kawé** ‘well’, ‘good’, can take a dependent clause:

(69) maríá kawéra-pa-re [kahu-ká-pa ahpó taréa]
    Mary be.glad- PINCH-PFV finish-PTCP-INCH 3SG.NS homework
    ‘Mary is glad that she finished her homework.’

The negative form of **kawérani**, the verb **kikawérani** ‘to regret’ can also take a dependent clause:
(70a) ki=kawérai=ni=a ehpéo [wewe-ká-pa kukučí tapaná]
    NEG=be.glad=1SG.S=EMPH now hit-PTCP-INCH children yesterday
    ‘Now, I regret hitting the children yesterday.’

(70b) rolando ki=kawéra-ni [ki=ehuriawa-ká-pa]
    Rolando NEG=be.glad-PRS NEG=study-PTCP-INCH
    ‘Rolando regrets not having studied.’

(70c) wani ki=kawéra-ni [ki=ecah-ká-pa pahčá]
    John NEG=be.glad-PRS NEG=plant-PTCP-INCH first
    ‘John regrets not having planted before.’

The dependent verbs in (69) and (70) take the participializer suffix –ka.

8.3.2.4. yuwésuna ‘to be sad’

The verb yuwésuna ‘to be sad’ (lit. ‘to wilt’) can be involved in two types of constructions taking a dependent clause. One with the causative suffix –te, was shown in the class 2 complex sentences in subsection 8.2.7.6.; the other in (71) shows the possibility of having coreferential subjects:

(71) María yuwésu-na [ki=kahu-ká-pa ahpó taréa]
    Mary be.sad-PRS NEG=finish-PTCP-INCH 3SG.NS homework
    ‘Mary is sad that she didn’t finish her homework.’
8.3.2.5. pu'séréna ‘to like’

The verb pu'séréna ‘to like’ takes a dependent clause with a coreferential subject and a dependent verb with the suffix -ka:

(72a) wani pu'séré-na [ko'a-ka sa'pa]
John like-PRS eat-PTCP meat
‘John likes to eat meat.’

(72b) maría pu'séré-na [te'e-ká peeróta]
Mary like-PRS play-PTCP ball
‘Mary likes to play soccer.’

8.3.2.6. wisitúna ‘to lie’

The verb wisitúna ‘to lie’, necessarily takes a coreferential subject in its dependent clause (hence omitted), and the dependent verb, a ‘speech’ verb, takes the suffix -ka:

(73a) wani wisitú-re [nawésa-ka yomá]  
John lie-PFV tell-PTCP everything  
‘John lied saying all of that.’

(73b) wisitú-re=ne [amó nawésa-ka tapaná]  
lie-PFV=1SG.S 2SG.NS talk-PTCP yesterday  
‘I lied talking to you yesterday.’
8.3.3. Simultaneous events with no modal verbs

In case of simultaneous subjects/events, the initial clause is finite, the subsequent clauses have the participializer suffix –ka:

(74) weri=né wikahtá-ka
     be.standing.sg=1SG.S sing-PTCP
     yau-ká
dance-PTCP
     nené-ná  wa'ápi  amó
     see-PTCP same.place 2SG.NS
     ‘I am here singing, dancing, and watching you at the same time.’

8.3.4. Purpose

There are two types of class 3 complex sentence constructions with a meaning of purpose: (i) the dependent-purpose verb is marked by the desiderative suffix –náre plus the emphatic =a, and (ii) the dependent-purpose verb is marked by the suffix -méa ~ -mia. In both types of construction the main and dependent subjects are necessarily coreferential.

8.3.4.1. V + V-nári=a

(75a) waníta werumá puusi-ta-re [kawé nene-nári=a]
      Juana big  eye-make-PFV well see-DES=EMPH
      ‘Juana opened her eyes very much to see better.’
(75b) neé ehturiáwa-ni [merikó ini-náři=a]  
1SG.S study-PRS doctor be-DES=EMPH  
'I am studying to become a doctor.'

(75c) wanítá nehá-ní totóri [yoi-náři=a tomi]  
Juana sell-HAB chicken earn-DES=EMPH money  
'Juana sells chickens to earn some money.'

(175d) ihi-rú=ne mansanía [kawé koči-náři=a]  
drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S camomile well sleep-DES=EMPH  
'I drank camomile tea to sleep better.'

(75e) tekihpána=ni=ne [yoi-náři=a toomi]  
work-PRS=1SG.S earn-DES=EMPH money  
'I'm working to earn money.'

(75f) moená-re kawí-či [tehpú-nāři=a kuú]  
climb-PFV hill-LOC cut-DES=EMPH tree  
'He went up to the hill to cut trees.'

8.3.4.2. **V + V-mia ~-méa**

The main verb in this type of construction may be one of the displacement verbs such as *siminá* ‘to go’ (76) or *enáni* ‘to come’ (77). A verb like *moenáni* ‘to climb’ can be the main verb of both types of purpose constructions (78). In these cases, the suffix in the dependent verb is *-mia ~ -méa*. These two allomorphs are conditioned by the stress of the preceding vowel. If the vowel is stressed, the suffix is *-mia*; if not it is *-méa*:
(76a) lupe simi-ré [ye'é-mia piipi kowí]
    Lupita go-PFV tie-FUT one pig
    ‘Lupita went to tie up the pig.’

(76b) maría simi-ré [nehki-mia muní pétera]
    Mary go-PFV sell-FUT beans Petra
    ‘Mary went to sell beans to Petra.’

(76c) pedró simi-ré [nawahi-mia wani aháma]
    Peter go-PFV drink-FUT John COM
    ‘Peter went to get drunk with John.’

(76d) maría simi-ré [yau-méa kečeweka]
    Mary go-PFV dance-FUT Quetchehueca
    ‘Mary went to Quetchehueca to dance.’

(76e) maría simi-ré [yau-méa wikahtá-mea kečeweka]
    Mary go-PFV dance-FUT sing-FUT Quetchehueca
    ‘Mary went to dance and to sing to Quetchehueca.’

(77a) wani ená-ru [no'ó kuyi-mia eča-ká]
    John come-PFV.EV 1SG.NS help-FUT sow-PTCP
    ‘John came to help me with the sowing.’

(77b) aapóe e'-ená-ru [me'eri-méa pedró]
    3PL.S PL~come-PFV kill.sg-PFV Peter
    ‘They came to kill Peter.’

(78a) pedró moená-re [potačé-mia kari howará-či]
    Peter climb-PFV cover-FUT house hole-LOC
    ‘Peter climbed up to cover the hole in the roof of the house.’
(78b) pedró moená-re mangó-či [puhi-méa taakaára fruta]  
Peter climb-PFV mango.tree-LOC cut-FUT fruit  
‘Peter climbed the mango tree to cut fruits.’

Again, as in the other classes of complex sentences (1 and 2) we can find class 3 complex sentences with alternative orders which I am unable to explain:

(79a) wanita [siipiča-ta-méa] simi-ré  
Juanita dress-make-FUT go-PFV  
‘Juanita went to change the dress.’

(79b) maría [ihipiči-méa] ená-re [pete-či]  
Mary sweep-FUT come-PFV house-LOC  
‘Mary came to sweep the house.’

If the whole thematic of the chaining clauses is a purpose event, the initial clause is finite with one of the displacement verb such as siminá ‘to go’, whereas the rest of the clauses show the suffix -méa ~-mia. As usual in class 3 complex sentence constructions, the dependent subject is omitted:

(80) meeré si-má=ne oregóni  
tomorrow go-FUT=1SG.S Obregón  
tari-méa piipi sipičá  
buy-FUT one dress
ihko-ké-mia  maría

give-APPL-FUT Mary

'Tomorrow I will go to Obregón and, buy a dress in order to give it to Mary.'

8.3.5. Expectation constructions

This type of construction takes certain modal verbs as main verbs and the dependent verb has the suffix -mēa ~ -mia. The main verbs and some of the dependent verbs are shown in (81):

(81)  Main verb               dependent verb
      V                      V-mia
      nanētona 'to remember'  simi-     'to go'
      natahképani 'to forget' neotoe-    'to water'
                          natehte-   'to pay'
                          ċoa-       'to turn off'
                          kiya-      'to give'
      puyénna 'to expect'     tekihpana- 'to work'
                          yačahpa-  'to recover'

The verbs nanētona 'to remember', natahképani 'to forget', and puyénna 'to expect' seem to express an attitude of 'expectation' from the subject of the main clause toward the event expressed by the dependent verb. This is suggested by the semantics of the main verbs and by the type of suffix in the dependent verb, the future –mēa ~ -mia and by the fact the subjects are obligatorily coreferential. Given these characteristics, these constructions seem to portray a feature of volitionality on the part of the same participant. The constructions discussed here have the possibility of 'remembering',
'forgetting', or 'expecting' to do the event coded in the dependent verb. The verbs *nanétona* 'to remember' (82) and *natahképani* 'to forget' (83) share the same construction with a dependent verb with the suffix *-mēa ~ -mia*:

(82)  pedró nanéto-re [mesa-čí simi-mēa meré]
Peter remember-PFV Mesa-LOC go-FUT tomorrow
'Peter remembered that he is going to La Mesa tomorrow.'

(83a)  Markó natahképa-re [neotoé-mia ečitiame tapaná]
Mark forget-PFV water-FUT plants yesterday
'Yesterday Mark forgot to water the plants'

(83b)  wani natahképa-re [natehté-mia tiendá-čí]
John forget-PFV pay-FUT store-LOC
'John forgot to pay in the store'

(83c)  lupita natahképa-re [čoa-mēa ehtufa]
Lupe forget-PFV turn.off-FUT stove
'Lupe forgot to turn off the stove.'

(83d)  natahképani=ne [kia-mēa koáme kowí]
forget=1SG.S give-FUT food pigs
'I forgot to feed the pigs.'

The above uses of *nanétona* 'to remember' and *natahképani* 'to forget' contrast with their occurrence as main verbs in class 2 complex sentence constructions with a dependent verb suffixed by *-o* (see 8.2.7.3.).
The verb *puyéna* ‘to expect’, ‘to hope’ may take a dependent verb suffixed with *-mia*:

(84a) puyé-na-temé [tekipána-mia enčí semána-či]
    expect-PRS-1PL.S work-FUT again week-LOC
    ‘We expect to work next week.’

(84b) puyé-na=ne [ku'wé ya'čah-pá-mia]
    expect-PRS=1SG.S soon set-INCH-FUT
    ‘I hope to recover soon.’

8.3.6. The reason V + V-*pa* construction

It is known that some languages use the same morphology for purpose and reason adverbial clauses. Another device used for reason clauses is the suffixation of the inchoative *-pa* to the dependent verb:

(85a) werú ko'ka-rú=ne [čorowá-pa kawé]
    much eat-PFV.EV=1SG.S be.hungry-INCH well
    ‘I ate a lot because I was very hungry.’
    Lit. ‘Getting very hungry, I ate a lot.’

(85b) nero-hi-ru=ne [paramoá-pa kawé]
    water-drink-PFV.EV=1SG.S be.thirsty-INCH well
    ‘I drank water because I was thirsty
    Lit. ‘I drank water, already very thirsty.’
(85c) waníta waki-té-pa-re [ko'ko-ri-ápa tapaná semána-či]
Juana dry-CAUS-INCH-PFV be.sick-PFV-INCH last week-LOC
‘Juana lost weight because she got sick last week.’
Lit. ‘Juana become skinny, already sick last week.’

The above constructions could look like class 1 complex sentence constructions, but they differ in that in this case the subject of the dependent clause is coreferential and omitted and the dependent verb has the inchoative suffix -pa.

8.4 The syntactico-semantic integration scale

Givón (2001: 40 vol.II) establishes the event integration and clause union principle as follows: “The strongest is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause.”

According to Givón, the manipulative and the modality verbs that take dependent clauses share the same segment at the top of the morpho-syntactic and semantic integration scales. It means that the whole scale will show overlapping of these two classes of verbs that take dependent verbs in terms of the degree of morpho-syntactic integration of the two units, as well as the semantic continuum. The main predicate expressesaspectual or modal modification of the action/state of the dependent verb or attitude of its subject toward the event/state expressed by the dependent clause involving the same participant. The aspectual meaning given by the main verb is that of inception,
termination, continuation, success or failure. Whereas the modal meaning covers the attempt, intent, obligation, ability, and possibility toward the event/state code by the dependent verb.

The scale in Warihío is represented as follows:

Less morpho-syntactic-semantic integration

Class 1 complex sentence with different participants and TAM
Class 1 complex sentence with same participants and different TAM
Class 1 complex sentence with same participants and TAM
Class 2 complex sentence with different participants
Class 2 complex sentence with same participants
Class 3 complex sentence
Clause with a desiderative verbal suffix
Clause with a causative verbal suffix
Clause

More morpho-syntactic-semantic integration

Schema 3. The syntactico-semantic integration scale in Warihío.

The last three types of clauses do not belong to complex sentences but to simple sentences. In general terms, the scale follows Givón’s predictions. However, there is a very important counterexample; one of the types of class 2 complex sentences is that construction with a modal free verb as a main verb. This verb gives aspectual information
about the inception, continuation, and termination of the whole event. This less morpho-
syntactically integrated construction shows a greater spatio-temporal overlapping
semantics than the more morpho-syntactic integrated clause with a desiderative verbal
suffix. According to Givón (p.c.), this constitutes a real counterexample to the scale
explanation, perhaps only in terms of grammaticalization.
CHAPTER 9

WARIHÍO TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

9.0. Introduction

Warihío is an interesting language for many reasons. First, Warihío is a moribund language (Krauss, 1992) with less than five hundred active speakers (Garza and Lastra, 1991); hence its documentation is necessary and urgent. Second, as part of the Uto-Aztec family, which has been more or less well described, Warihío shows some morphosyntactic characteristics with interesting contrasts with many of the other family members (even with its closest relative Tarahumara). Third, it is difficult to place Warihío in typological perspective without taking in account its culture, social and geographic organization.

The rest of this chapter will be dedicated to placing Warihío first, within the Uto-Aztec family, to which Warihío belongs, and second, in a more universal typological perspective. This will be done with reference to the Warihío morphosyntactic features described in previous chapters that seem to have typological and/or theoretical relevance.
9.1. Morphosyntactic characteristics of Warihío of typological and/or theoretical relevance

Among the morphosyntactic features of Warihío that seem interesting in a Uto-Aztecan (or wider) typology and which may challenge (confirm or deny) the theoretical status of some grammatical phenomena are the following: constituent order, focus, case marking-verbal agreement, some complex sentences, causative constructions, passives.

The grammatical phenomena listed above are related to each other in different degrees and in different ways. At the end of this chapter, I will attempt to bring these together. For the moment, in the subsequent subsections I will review each individual grammatical phenomenon inside the Uto-Aztecan family whenever appropriate data are available, as well as in a wider typological frame. The intent is not to make cross-linguistic generalizations (given the small sample) but to illustrate the place of Warihío in a typology of the Uto-Aztecan family.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MCO</th>
<th>CM</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>S^{c}OV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ute</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>N: -</td>
<td>Pr: S/nS</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warihio</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N: -</td>
<td>Pr: S/nS</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: -</td>
<td>Pr: S/nS</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi</td>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>N: -</td>
<td>Pr: S/nS</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>N: -</td>
<td>Pr: S/nS</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>N: +</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M: +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>N:</td>
<td>Pr: +</td>
<td>M^{m}: +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.1. Major constituent order

In a text count of constituent order in 639 clauses, the results were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life stories: 389 clauses</th>
<th>Folk tales: 250 clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vi = 188 = 48%</td>
<td>Vi = 83 = 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt = 28 = 7%</td>
<td>Vt = 6 = 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS = 59 = 15%</td>
<td>VS = 59 = 24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV = 53 = 14%</td>
<td>SV = 31 = 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO = 19 = 5%</td>
<td>VO = 29 = 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OV = 27 = 7%</td>
<td>OV = 28 = 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 27 out of 639 clauses (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SVO = 6
SOV = 3
OVS = 2
VSO = 1
VOS = 1
SVO = 9
SOV = 1
OVS = 1
VSO = 3
VOS = 1
SVO = 15
SOV = 4
OVS = 3
VSO = 4
VOS = 1

These results are very similar in percentage and distribution to the findings in Papago narrative (Payne, 1987). In making these counts, I counted the free subject pronoun as a major constituent since its presence or absence has to do with information structure and the variability of constituent order in Warihío. The most common clause type in discourse has zero direct argument (47%), followed by clauses with one overt argument, that of subject (31%). As is typical in narrative, the number of clauses with all three major constituents overtly expressed is very low, 27 clauses (4%). At this point I am not sure if with this small number of clauses we are in a position to determine a basic word order or to place Warihío with the very few languages with no basic order at all, such as Achenese, Alawa, Hanis Coos, Ngandi, Southern Sierra Miwok (Siewierska, 1998:489). If we follow the frequency criterion to determine a basic order we will have to say that the SVO order is statistically more frequent (55%) against the four alternative orders, SOV, OVS, VSO, VOS with 45% for all of them together. Nevertheless, these alternative orders need to be explained.
In a major paper in variation in major constituent order, Siewierska (1998) using a genetically and areally diverse sample of 171 languages found that for North American languages a basic SVO order is present in 9% only, with 5% having SVO basic order with four order variants. Warikhio seems to show SVO as its preferred order with four order variants. Therefore, these findings would place Warikhio (for the moment) in an exceptional typological group.


The pragmatic explanation for flexible constituent order proposes a ‘newsworthiness’ principle (Mithun, 1992) or a ‘task urgency’ principle (Givón, 1988) that in a certain way places the constituent in Focus in sentence initial position. Most of the languages explained by these principles have no written tradition, therefore the data came from spoken texts. This is the case of Warikhio.

It was stipulated in 5.3.2 that the Focus relation involves “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:213).” The constituent in Focus relation in Warihio is sentence initial. All the examples below are from different texts, but the initial major constituent –analyzing the whole texts- is in contrast in (1)-(2):
S  O  V
(1) [pa-piré]  [wehčá]  [po'tač-oiče]
INCH-other thorn pull.out-ITER
‘then, the other was taking off the thorns.’

S  V  O
(2) [na'páka]  [komi-ri-ata]  [pu'-ká kawí]
both hold-PFV-QUOT D.D-ID hill
‘both held the hill.’

Or the initial constituent can be emphatic:

S  O  V
(3) póke  [teme-á=pu]  [tamó yeyé tamó no'nó]  [kuy-ná-pu]
because 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D 1PL.NS mother 1PL.NS father help-PRS-D.D
‘...because we helped our mother and our father.’

The most important participant (4) or event (5) in the story in that specific period:

O  V  S
(4) weiká [pu'-ká réi]  entónse pu'-ká [inatúka-re]  [pu'-áo  tihoé-a-pu]
much D.D-ID king then D.D-ID ask-PFV D.D-EMPH man-EMPH-D.D
‘...then the man asked the king.’

V  S  O
(5) [mahí-ma-čí]  [ni-ari]  [aráwe]
grill-FUT-LOC 1SG.S-too pumpkin
‘I am going to grill pumpkin too.’
Or unexpected information is initial:

(6) [ta-/taná-ra] [mahi-ri-áata] [ahpó no'nó]
    PL-SON-REL grill-PFV-QUOT 3.NS father
    ‘The children grilled their father.’

(7) weikáoba [ki=iyoé-ka] [pu'-ká rootóre] [pu'-ká no'ó no'nó]
    then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor D.D-ID 1SG.NS father
    ‘...the doctor didn’t cure my dad.’

since one does not expect sons to hurt their father (6) or doctors not to cure their patients (7).

Quotation events seem to have a VS(O) fixed order:

(8) [či-ata] [o'wi-a] [ahpó kompáe]
    say-QUOT coyote-EMPH 3SG.NS comrade
    ‘Coyote said to his comrade.’

On other hand, Hawkins’ processing theory claims that “linear orderings in free word order languages and linear orderings in fixed word order languages are regulated by the same principle. Where there are no grammaticalized ordering conventions defined on the immediate constituents of a given phrase, early immediate constituents predict orderings based on the syntactic weight that each immediate constituent happens to have in each performance instance.” (Hawkins 1998:751). This means that alternative orders
in these languages are conditioned by syntactic processing not by pragmatic motivations. Actually, all the examples in (1)-(8) except (3) follow both principles, the more pragmatically prominent on one side and the syntactic weight on the other side. The more syntactic weight a constituent has, the more to the right it is positioned. There is an example with a relative clause in O function that supports Hawkin’s claim. In the examples (9)-(11), what happens to be in Focus position in the text is a specific cheese that is under the water in a river. This is coded by a relative clause whose head kesú ‘cheese’ is in initial sentence position (11) and the rest of the relative clause witipó neroí nasípa kahtiáme ‘...that is down under the water’ -the heaviest constituent in the sentence- at the end of the sentence.

(9) kawé=pu kompáe kawé [no'ó] [ko'ko-ma=mu] well= D.D comrades well 1SG.NS eat-FUT=2SG.S ‘Ok. comrade, you are going to eat me,

(10) napé ihpi i’wá [ena-ká] [piripi tihoé]
but just here come-PTCP one man
but, a man just came,

(11) ...[kesú] no'ó mačihípa-nurá-ka cheese 1SG.NS pull.out-order-PTCP
[witipó neroí nasípa kahti-áme]
down water between be.seated-NMLZ
(he) ordered me to pull out some cheese that is down in the water.’
What seems to be happening in Warihío is that the basic S, V, and O order is irrelevant in most instances; instead, pragmatic motivations and syntactic weight processing order interact to determine the constituent to be in initial position. This element in Warihío could be playing any role in discourse.

9.1.2. Focus

The focus relation in Warihío is strongly related to constituent order since the constituent in Focus is positioned in initial position of the sentence. Given the high flexibility of constituent order in Warihío, almost any constituent, even only a part of a phrase such as a quantifier or an adjective, can stand in initial position.

9.1.3. Case marking and verbal agreement

These two features, which are absent in Warihío, are interesting in relation to two other phenomena: (i) major constituent order, and (ii) grammatical relations. As regards major constituent order, according to Siewierska (1998) there is a tendency for a language lacking verbal agreement and/or case marking to lack word-order flexibility. Such is not the case for Warihío, whose word order is very flexible. Actually, most of the Uto-Aztecan languages shown in table 6 as having case marking or verbal agreement are mentioned by the authors as having a more fixed order, exactly contrary to the tendency suggested by Siewierska. As regards grammatical relations, all the nominal coding properties (Keenan 1976) that signal a grammatical relation are absent in Warihío, which makes it difficult to establish a grammatical relation in constructions with two nominal
arguments, even with control properties. In constructions with pronominal arguments, the only grammatical relation that is possible to demonstrate is the Subject.

9.1.4. Causative constructions

With causative constructions in Uto-Aztecan languages and in languages of the world it is very common to find either a morphological or a periphrastic construction. Cooccurrence of both types within a language is not so frequent. However, in most of the languages that have both types, the use of one type vs. the other is also based on transitivity and agentivity parameters. Warhio is special in the sense that besides showing the morphological and the periphrastic causative constructions, it shows a third type of causative construction in between these two, one that I have called the morpho-periphrastic causative.

(12a) waní ko~kočí-pa-te-re kukučí
     John PL~sleep-INCH-CAUS-PFV children
     ‘John put the children to sleep.’

(12b) wani isi-ré kukučí ko~kočí-te-ka
     John move.sg-PFV children PL~sleep-CAUS-PTCP
     ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By telling stories).

(12c) wani yowá-re ko~kočí-mičio kukučí
     John make-PFV PL~sleep-PURP children
     ‘John made the children go to sleep.’ (By giving an order, he can be far away from the sleeping place, even in other house.)
The example in (12a) is the morphological causative with the causative suffix –te. The example in (12c) is the periphrastic causative with an auxiliary verb yowáni ‘make’ and the causing verb kočiná ‘sleep’ with the purposive suffix –mičio. The construction in (12b) shows the verb isiná ‘move’ as the auxiliary, but the causing verb kočiná still presents the causative suffix –te plus the participializer –ka, that in some way gives the sense of simultaneity of events. The construction in (12b) not only is morpho-syntactically placed in the middle between the morphological and the periphrastic types, but also fits in the middle of the causative continuum proposed by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001).

9.1.5. Passives

Of the different passive constructions; notional-functional, morphological and periphrastic, that Warihío shows, the morphological passive with the suffix –tu is typologically interesting. This morphological passive is restricted to the perfective aspect:

(13) kahpona-ré-tu kuù (no'ô-e, amó-e, wani-e, tihoë-e)
    break-PRF-PASS stick 1SG.NS-INS 2SG.NS-INS John-INS men-INS
    ‘The stick was broken (by me, by you, by John, by the men.’

We observe that the position of the passive suffix –tu is away from the slot for valency changing suffixes that cross-linguistically tend to be closer to the verbal root (Bybee, 1985). The place of the suffix contrasts with the cognate construction in Tarahumara where the suffix -tu~ -ru is placed before the tense/aspect suffix:
(14) igú ripuná-ru-re, (rió si-lé) (Valdez-Jara, 2005)
    wood chop-PASS-PFV man be-PFV
    ‘The wood was chopped, the man did it.’
    This morphological passive in Warihío is alluded to (Haspelmath, 1990) as a
passive with an extra-inflectional affix, something very rare in the passives of the world.

9.1.6. Complex sentence with a modality main verb

The complex sentences with a modality main verb such as oínena ‘to start’,
simiténa ‘to continue’, kahuná ‘to finish’ developed in Chapter 8 are interesting since
they constitute a real counterexample to the binding hierarchy scale (Givón 1980, 2001,
p.c.). This of course could have a diachronic explanation. However, since
grammaticalization and diachronic explanations are not dealt with in this dissertation, the
Warihío data remain a counterexample to such a scale.

9.2. A relation between Warihío cultural-geographic-social organization and its
    grammar for the identification of the participant’s roles

This subsection has by necessity a great amount of speculation. At the end, I will
attempt to establish a relation more than a correlation between the social organization of
the speakers of Warihío and its grammar for the identification of the participant’s roles.
We need first to review a bit more of Warihío history. Around 1630, the Warihíos lived
together with the Chínipas (now extinct), the Tarahumaras and the Tepehuanos in
Chínipas, Chihuahua. Chínipas is located in the eastern foothill of the Sierra Madre
Occidental in México. The Warihíos killed two Jesuit missionaries and they had to run
away from the Spanish army. One part of the Warihíos stayed in the up-land sierra and
the other part crossed to the low-land sierra in Sonora. They settled down along the Mayo River and its tributaries in very small communities of three or four families. This land is very rough, with many cliffs and no formal roads, and a consequent low degree of interaction among the communities. Warihío thus belongs to the so-called low-scale society languages (speech communities of low density) (Miller, 1997). The people stayed like that for more than three hundred years. Only recently, when in the 1970’s, they were recognized by the Mexican government as an ethnically differentiated group, did they start to live in larger communities (see maps 1 and 3) with greater interaction among them and with the mestizos.

It is impossible to deny some correlation between a language and its culture/social organization. At the same time, it is almost impossible to prove a direct relation between a cultural feature and a structural feature of the language in question. Some researchers (Copeland 1994, Everett 2005) establish the necessity of explaining a language always taking in account its culture. However, talking of cultural constraints in the structure of the language is not a stance much in fashion among linguists. There are no forms to rely on in capturing the meaning of an utterance (sentence).

Everett (2005) correlates some morphosyntactic features of the language Pirahã (Amazonian) with the Pirahã cultural trait of communicating based only in the concrete
and immediate experience\textsuperscript{1} of the interlocutors. He goes on to explain the strong correlation of the cultural behaviour stated above and the following language features:

(i) “Pirahā is the only language known without number, numerals, or a concept of counting.

(ii) Pirahā is the only language known without color terms.

(iii) Pirahā is the only language known without embedding.

(iv) Pirahā has the simplest pronoun inventory known.

(v) Pirahā has no perfect tense.

(vi) Pirahā has perhaps the simplest kinship system ever documented. Etc.,”

Even if we accept these correlations, they still prove no causal relation between the cultural constraint and the morphosyntactic features of Pirahā alluded to before. However, observing such characteristics they fit to a great extent with a concrete and immediate experience of the interlocutors. If we adopt this posture, Pirahā would be an extreme clear case of a language-culture intertwined unit, at least for this part of Pirahā grammar. Logically, we could think of other languages such as Pirahā or at least languages with a less clear culture/social-language structure pairings.

\textsuperscript{1} According to Everett immediate experience for Pirahā people means something seen or recounted as seen by a person alive at the time of telling.
Warihío, with all the morphosyntactic characteristics described throughout this dissertation and emphasized in this chapter (9.1.), seems to conform to a language type with part of its grammar—that concerned with the role and identification of the participants—related to its social organization and geographic situation. Of course, the genetic affiliation and the grammaticalization stage of the language play very important roles in the actual structure of the language, but in some instances this is not the whole story. We need to take account of the social interaction and cultural behavior of the speakers in order to have a complete picture, even sometimes over parts of the structure of the language.

The following explanation of the Warihío facts in question contains as I said before, a great amount of speculation. Given the type of Warihío communites described at the beginning of this subsection, that of a low-scale society, Warihío had for long time a great interaction inside the community and low interaction with other communities. Warihío communities used to consist of few families with no more than 20 members maximum. This organization should have had, based on daily activities, very very well known participants in very well known daily events. Hence, almost everybody probably had an antecedent of a particular participant-event unit.

There are no old records of the Warihío language. The oldest (1947) is a vocabulary with no comments on the structure, and the most complete is a grammar started in the 1970's by Wick Miller. Therefore, it's not certain whether the language had the present-day structure at the time this type of social/cultural organization began.
All the grammar pertinent to the identification of the type or role of the participants such as the coding properties case marking, fixed order, and verbal agreement are absent or marginally codified in Warihío. Neither are the control and behavior properties for identifying the roles of the participants (i.e. grammatical relations) very systematically expressed. This leaves the task principally to lexical semantics and extralinguistic context. All this is very consistent with the ease of the identification of the participants and/or the events occurring in the community by the speakers. Surely all these characteristics existed before the type of social web related to it, but it was this same web of social interaction that preserved and stimulated such structure.

One important feature in striking contrast with Warihío neighboring languages is the flexibility in its main constituents. The rest of the languages around it (Low Pima, Tarahumara) show certain fixed order -when it’s necessary- to help to identify the roles of the participants, but not Warihío. Even noun modifiers such as quantifiers and adjectives show a flexibility reflecting all this awarness of the enviroment. As we said in previous sections, flexible order languages usually have other forms for signaling the roles of the participants, i.e. case marking or verbal agreement. This is not the case in Warihío. Siewierska (1998) postulates a series of word order hierachies, one of them is that given information tends to be placed in initial position in order to guide the hearer on the easy-fast understanding of the communication. However, if the hearer (that I am assuming was the case of the Warihío hearer) most of the time had an antecedent of the
participant or of the event of certain success, it is understandable to use first position for the new information (Focus relation) which subsequently the participant or the event may be added.
References


APENDIX I

WARIHÍO TEXTS
Don Alejandro Ruelas
Life story

(1) kusí-tere nawá-ka=ne čía ye'yé-a
woods-middle born-PTCP=1SG.S say mother-EMPH
I was born in the middle of the woods, my mother told me

(2) kuú werí-ata waá naáti
tree standing.up QUOT there thing
where there was a tree

(3) pu'-ká čintewaniá ki=mači-ni-a pu'-ká kuú
D.D-ID name NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID tree
I don't know what it is called, that tree

(4) burapakito tewáníi-či nawa-re=ni-á=pu
Burapaquito name-LOC born-PFV=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
weikáo čía no'ó ye'yé
then say 1SG.NS mother
Burapaquito is the name of the place where I was born, my mother says

(5) waá nawa-kái=ni-a weikaóba
there born-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH then
I was born there

(6) weikaóba u'pa-re-tú=ni-a waá akí-čí-o
then bring-PFV-PASS=1SG.S-EMPH here river-LOC-EMPH
then I was brought along the river bank

(7) wahká ohóe-ka-teme
everywhere live-PTCP-1PL.S
we lived everywhere (along the river bank)

(8) ohóe-re=pu ye'yé-ma eikáo
live-PFV=D.D mother-COM then
I lived with my mother then

(9) waá oi-ré=ne pu'-ká aháma eikaóba
there walk-PFV=1SG.S D.D-ID with then
I was with her there then

(10) tehpéi waá ohóe
long time there live
we lived there for a long time
(11) neipá wakhá moči-ře=pu ye'ye-á=pu weikáóba
last everywhere be.seated-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then
after that my mother lived everywhere

(12) tamó weikáóba upá-re wa'á-tepa
1PL.NS then bring-PFV here -up
then she brought us here

(13) wa'á aki-chí weh-chí simi-ká-teme-o
there river-LOC land-LOC go-PTCP-1PL.S-EMPH

wa'á aki-a aki-chíka aki-chíka
there river-EMPH river-LOC river-LOC
we walked along the river bank, along the river bank

(14) ahtá weikáóba simpá-re wa'á ahtá naohóa
until then go.pl-PFV there as.far.as Navajoa
then we went all the way to Navajoa

(15) u'má-to-ka-teme-a=pu
run-MOV-PTCP-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
we passed by there

(16) weikáóba ená-re-teme ahtá wa'á
then come-PFV-1PL.S as.far.as here
then we came all the way here

(17) karetéra-chí simi-ká wa'á-kapu
highway-LOC go-PTCP here-up
walking up on the highway

(18) kahéme tewaniá eikó obregóni-a
Cajeme name then Obregón-EMPH
At that time Obregón was called Cajeme

(19) weikáóba wa'á-tepa ená-teme undisíoni
then here-up come-1PL.S Fundición
then we came all the way here, to Fundición

(20) owétepa eikába ahtá kámpo nuébo simpá-ka
there.up then as.far.as Campo Nuevo go.pl-PTCP
then we went all the way to Campo Nuevo
(21) ní-a ki=nané-ri-a
1SG.S-EMPH NEG=know-PFV-EMPH
I did not know (that place)

(22) no'nó nane-re=pu no'nó eikó wa'á ohóe-re=pu
father know-PFV=D.D father then there live-PFV=D.D
(but) my father knew it (because) my father used to live there

(23) wa'á yasa-ré no'nó poní-ra
there be.seated-PFV father brother-REL

weiká=pu yetó-re=pu-a tekihpáná-mia
then=D.D invite-PFV=D.D-EMPH work-FUT
My father’s brother was there and invited me to work

(24) weikaó=pu-a tehpúna-re wa'á naáti
then=D.D-EMPH cut-PFV there thing
then we cut it

(25) tekihpána-re wa'á naáti aarós
work-PFV there thing rice
we worked in the rice field there

(26) tehpúna-re
cut-PFV
we cut it

(27) wa'á moči-ré eikóba weikáo
there be.seated.pl-PFV then then
we were there at that time

(28) weikaóba wa'á ená-re eikó owétuka
then there come-PFV then from.there.to here

i'yá-ka kečewéka tewaniá-či
look.for-PTCP Quetchhueca name-LOC
then we came toward here looking for a place named Quetchhueca

(29) wa'á moči-ré=pu
there be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D
we stayed there

(30) ki=weká tamó moči-ré wa'á ói=pu
NEG=a.lot 1PL.NS be.seated.pl-PFV there walk=D.D
but we didn’t stay there for a long time
(31) wa’a ená-re eikaóba i’wá kolonia sonora progresista there come-PFV then here Colonia Sonora Progresista then we came here, to Colonia Sonora Progresista

(32) ená-re eikóba i’wá-o tekihpána-re i’wá-o come-PFV then here-EMPH work-PFV here-EMPH we came here, and we worked here too

(33) kuú wa’ámi kusi-tere eikó i’wá-o eiká-o kusi-tere eikó tree everywhere wood-middle then here-EMPH then-EMPH woods-middle then there were trees everywhere, only woods here at that time

(34) te wa’a tekihpána-re
1PL.S there work-PFV we worked there

(35) no’nó eikó tekihpana-éči tekihpana-éči ta’a father then work-ITER work-ITER my father worked and worked

(36) wahká yetó-re eikó wa’ámi kolónia hekopáko tewaniá-či weikó wa’á far.away invite-PFV then then by.there Colonia Jecopaco name-LOC then there then he invited me to a place called Colonia Jecopaco

(37) ahkóí oh¬ó-re no’nó=a=pu tehki-intu-ači everywhere ITER¬walk-PFV father-EMPH=D.D work-there-LOC my father went everywhere, wherever there was work

(38) tekihpaná-ka taráh-ka ko’á-me ko’á-re=pu work-PTCP buy-PTCP eat-NMLZ eat-PFV=D.D working, buying food to eat

(39) ahkáoi kómo k’itia tehki eikó everywhere like there.is.not work then there wasn’t work anywhere

(40) kawé kí=ehpé-či tíá weikáo good NEG=now-LOC say then not like now

(41) ki’teé-re tehki=pu eikó=pu there.is.not-PFV work=D.D then=D.D there wasn’t work then
(42) ahkói tamó i’tó-ka oiná=pu everywhere 1PL.NS take-PTCP walk=D.D he took us everywhere

tamó no’ño eikó wa’ámi tehki-intu-ači 1PL.NS father then by.there work-there is-LOC our father took us wherever there was work

(43) póke teme-á=pu ki=tekihpaná-teme-a=pu because 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D NEG=work-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D nu’-núnti ki=we-werúma iné-re-teme PL~little NEG=PL-big be-PFV-1PL.S we didn’t work because we were very young

(44) pukaépa=pu teme-á=pu that’s why=D.D 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D nahépa moči-ré-teme-a=pu nothing be.seated.pl-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D that’s why we didn’t do anything

(45) weikaóba enčí tamó yetó-re then again 1PL.NS invite-PFV then they invited us again

(46) i’tó-re tamó ye’ye-á=pu take-PFV 1PL.NS mother-EMPH=D.D and my mother took us

teiwamé tewí mehikío tewaniá-či up up Mejiquío name-LOC up there to a place called Mejiquío

(47) wa’á oh~óe-ka-teme eikó wa’á there PL~walk-PTCP-1PL.S then there we lived there at that time

(48) no’ó po-poni-á=pu 1SG.NS PL~brother-EMPH=D.D ihkwéra-či moči-ré=pu-a=pu school-LOC be.seated.pl-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D my brothers were (going) to school
(49) ni-á ki ki=asa-ré=ni-a ihkwéra=ni-a=pu
1SG.S-EMPH NEG NEG=arrive-PFV=1SG.S-EMPH school=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
I didn’t attend school

(50) naépa wa’á tekihpána-ka tekihpa=ni-á=pu
nothing there work-PTCP work=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
I always worked

kuyi-mia pu’-ká no’ó poni no’ó pini
help-FUT D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother 1SG.NS sister
to help my brother and my sister

(51) pukaépa tekihpa=ni-á=pu
that’s why work-1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
that’s why I worked

(52) kómo ki=weká yo’i-yái=ne=pu
as NEG=much earn-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D

senépi piari simi-yái=ne tekihpána-mia
every morning go-IPFV=1SG.S work-FUT
since I didn’t earn well, every morning I went to work

naáti ko’ré-ta-ka wa’amí naáti trinchéra tewániame
thing fence-MAKE-PTCP by there thing trench name
making fences, those called trench

(53) pu’-ká yorá-ka páke yoí-miácio no’ó no’nó
D.D-ID make-PTCP for earn-PURP 1SG.NS father
making those so my father could earn some money

(54) kontráto kuwé kontráto u’-ré=pu-a=pu
contract soon contract bring-FPFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D

wa’á yoi-nari-a=pu
there earn-DES-EMPH=D.D
he got a contract soon to earn more

(55) weikaoba tamó teeko-a=pu
then 1PL.NS foremen-EMPH=D.D

maríkí ritoro yoi-re=pu-a=pu
five liter earn-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D
at that time our foremen earned five liters
(56) kontráto-či kiyá-ni-a mariki ritoro sunú contract-NEG give-PRS-EMPHE five liter corn in the contract that gave five liters of corn

(57) pukačečé yomá semána tekihpána-te-ka nothing.more.to.do all week work-CAUS-PTCP that’s why they make me work all week long

(58) pu’-ká tamó no’nó=pu senēkači enčí D.D-ID 1PL.NS father=D.D sometimes again our father did it sometimes, too

(59) nahpé sunú-a semaná yomá wahípa however corn-EMPHE week all finish however the corn ran out every week

(60) sunu-á=pu oká paiká tawé-ka wahípa sunú-a corn-EMPHE=D.D two three day-EMPHE finish corn-EMPHE the corn always ran out in two or three days

(61) enčí simí-ré simí-ná=pu itá-mia pu’-ká tamó teékó again go-PFV go-PRS=D.D ask-FUT D.D-ID 1PL.NS foremen so he used to go to ask our foremen (for more corn)

(62) kuándó tehki wahi=pu-i-pa weiká wikí-ri-a-teme when work finish= D.D-IPFV-INCH a.lot owe-PFV-EMPHE-1PL.S
ki=kómo téhki-a ki=simi-ré=pu-a NEG=how work-EMPHE NEG=go-PFV=D.D-EMPHE when the work finished, we owed a lot, because our work didn’t produce

(63) póke čorówa-teme ki=tekihpána-teme=pu because be.hungry-P1PL.S NEG=work-1PL.S=D.D we were hungry because we didn’t work

(64) weikaóba ahtaké tamó teekó kuwepa-só-pa then until 1PL.NS foremen finish-SUB+INCH until our foremen finished
weikápa simí-ré=pu-a=pu apoé then go-PFV=D.D-EMPHE=D.D 3SG.S the he left
awési ihkéta wikí-ri-a=ne-o ihkéta soorandóna=pu
how.much owe-PFV-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH how.much left-D.D
tehki yoí-tia-me
work earn-PASS-NMLZ.
I went to see how much I owed and how much was left with the work done

ki=tamó kiya-nári-a nekayá-ta=pu patroní-a=pu
NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH get.mad-MAKE=D.D foremen-EMPH=D.D
tamó tekó-a ki=tamó kiya-nári-a sunú
1PL.NS foremen-EMPH NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH corn
The foremen pretended to be mad, so he wouldn’t have to give us corn

teme-á=pu corowá-ni
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D be.hungry-PRS
teme-á=pu pukaépa itá-ni sunú
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D that’s why ask-PRS corn
we were hungry; that’s why we asked for corn

weikáo ahtaké piréči tamó kiya-má=pu tehki werumá
then until other 1PL.NS give-FUT=D.D work big
so again he’d give us a bigger job

ki=kuwépa-ma-teme=pu pií semána ooká semána paiká semána
NEG=finish-FUT-1PL.S=D.D one week two week three week
we won’t finish in a week, two weeks, or even in three weeks

senékači ki=kuwépa-ma=pu
sometimes NEG=finish-FUT=D.D
sometimes we didn’t finish

kuándo wahipá-so tamó kuwepo-i-pa ki=weikápi wiki-ré=pu
when finish-SUB 1PL.NS finish-IPFV-INCH NEG=a.lot owe-PFV=D.D
when we finished, when it was almost all done, we owed (him) very little

ka’ité itihpi-ná=pu tamó tekó weikaóba
there.is.not stay-FPRS=D.D 1PL.NS foremen then
it remained in the foremen’s possession

pukaépa ki=nané=ne
that’s why NEG=know-1SG.S
that’s why I didn’t know
(74) neipámiopa nekáwa tamó patróni
last get.angry 1PL.NS foremen

ki=tamó kiya-nári-a eikó tamó te~tehkí
NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH then 1PL.NS PL~job
afterwards our foremen would get so mad as not to give us our jobs

(75) poké weiká wiki-riá=ne=pu
because a.lot owe-IPFV=1PSG.S=D.D

pukaépa=pu ki=tamó kiya-nári-a tehkí
that’s why=NEG=1PL.NS give-DES-EMPH job
because I owed a lot, that is why he wouldn’t give us work

(76) kuándo naohóa tamó simi-ói owétuka
when Navajoa 1PL.NS go-SUB toward:here
when they brought us here from Navajoa

simi-yái yomá tawé simi-yái-teme
go-IPFV all day go-IPFV-1PL.S
we walked all day long

(77) weikáo temé ko~koché-i=te wa’á nati-čí puéblo máyo
then 1PL.S PL~sleep-IPFV=1PL.S there thing-LOC Pueblo Mayo
we slept over in the Mayo village

(78) owétuka weikáo simi-yái-ne
toward:here then go-IPFV=1SG.S

niatoká-čí eító-ka no’ó poni
shoulder-LOC carry-PTCP 1PL.NS brother
when I came here I carried my brother on my shoulders

(79) weikáo resí-pa-ka-pa wéh-čí
then suffer-INC-PTCP-INC land-LOC

tamó paná-ka seká-čí pahčá simi-yéi-pa
1PL.NS hold-PTCP hand-LOC first go-IPFV-INC
when I got tired we would hold hands and walk forward

(80) weikáo weikáo wa’a ená wahká ená=pu trení tewáníame
then then there come far.away come=D.D train called
then a train appeared in the distance
(81) napé sinói wa'á intúna sinói čía čiá=pu no'ó poní eikó however snake there there.is snake say say=D.D.PL.NS brother then here comes the snake, my brother said

(82) eikó umá-ka eikó kusi-tere weikáoba na'nari-ka=ne then run-PTCP then woods-middle then follow-PTCP=1SG.S then he took off into the woods and I ran after him

(83) eikó ahtaké asépa-ka=ne weikápa eikápa then until catch.up-PTCP=1SG.S then then until I caught him, then

(84) eikápa u'pá-ka=ne enčí wa'á then bring-PTCP=1SG.S again there then, I brought him back

(85) wa'á u'máto-ka eikó tréni-a kahéme kahéme eikó there pass.by-PTCP then train-EMPHE Cajeme Cajeme then then the train was going to Cajeme

(86) weiká-tia maha-ré=pu no'ó poní-a eikó weikáo then-QUOT get.scared-PFV=D.D.PL.NS brother-EMPHE then then my brother got very scared, then

(87) u'má-re=pu maha-ré=mu=pu pu'káe pu'káe u'má-re=pu run-PFV=D.D get.scared-PFV=2SG.S=D.D that's why tha'ts why run- NPFV=D.D you took off, you got scared that's why you took off

(88) serkita wa'á puérto tewaniáme-a near there Puerto called-EMPHE near the place called Puerto

(89) wa'á kahti-a raančó there be.seated.sg-EMPHE ranch there was a ranch

(90) weikaóba wa'á asi-ká-teme weikáo wa'á then there arrive-PTCP=1PL.S then there we arrived there

(91) ko'áme tari-mia wa'á asi-ré=pu ye'yé-a eikábo food buy-FUT there arrive-PFV=D.D mother-EMPHE then my mom went there to buy food
(92) wa'á kahti-á=pu wakeró wa'á=pu moči-ká-me=pu there be.seated.sg-EMPH=D.D cowboy there-D.D be.seated-PTCP-NMLZ=D.D there was a cowboy who lived there

(93) weikaóba tari-nári-a pu'-ká no'o póni eikáo then buy-DES-EMPH D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother then he wanted to buy my brother

(94) eikáo maha-ká=ni-a i'to-ká=ni-a no'o póni then get.scared-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS brother then I got scared and I took my brother away

(95) bwéna mehká i'to-ká=ni-a very far.away take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH

poké ki=tari-héra=ne pu'-ká no'o póni-a pu'-ká pete-čí because NEG=buy-DES=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS brother-EMPH D.D-ID house-LOC I took him far away because I didn’t want him (cowboy) to buy my brother in that house

(96) ni-á=pu weikaóba u'pá-ka=ne-a 1SG-EMPH=D.D then bring-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH so I took him with me

(97) eikó weiká simpá-re-teme wa'á=pu weitú kečewéka then more go.pl-PFV-1PL.S there=ND.D farther Quetchheuca

owetú kámpo nuébo tewání-či wa'á toward.there Campo Nuevo name-LOC there so we went farther than Quetchheuca, there in Campo Nuevo

(98) tekihpána-ré=pu ye'ye-á=pu eikó no'nó work-PFV=D.D mother-EMPH=D.D then father my mom and dad worked

(99) wa'á tehpuída-ré=pu pu'-ká čin tewání aaróso there cut-PFV=D.D D.D-ID how called rice there they cut those – What are they called? – rice.

(100) weikáo=pu o'osá-e tehpuída-re then-D.D sickle-INS cut-PFV then they cut it with sickle
(101) kiteé-re=pu mákina wa'ámi there.is.not-PFV=D.D machine there
pu'-ká-e triyandónia-me pu'-ká aarósó D.D-ID-INS thresh-NMLZ D.D-ID rice
there weren't those machines that theythresh the rice with

(102) kuu-é wepa-ká stick-INS hit-PTCP
pu'-ká-e napawi-ré pu'-ká aarósó D.D-ID-INS gather-PFV D.D-ID rice
they hit it with a stick and got the rice

(103) kuu-é wewe-ká pu'kaépa=pu stick-INSTR hit-PTCP that's why=D.D that's why they hit it with sticks

(104) ke kóme ke ki=kawé tehki yoi-ré=pu-a since how since NEG=good work earn-PFV=D.D-EMPH since it wasn't difficult, we earned the job

(105) katia pewá=pu kuu-rá we-pá-ka very hard=D.D stick-REL hit-INCH-PTCP the stick they used to hit it was hard

(106) weikaóba ki=naté-re=pu puú aarósó then NEG=cost-PFV=D.D D.D rice so the rice was cheap

(107) eikó naté-re eikó ehpéo naté-na then cost-PFV then now cost-PRS it was then, now it's expensive

(108) pukaépa weikápa ena-ré=pu=pu eikó wa'áltuka that's why then come-PFV=D.D=D.D then toward.here that's why we came here

(109) ihí-a=pu mehikío ini-rl-a ihí-a=pu D.P-EMPH=D.D Mejiquío be-PFV-EMPH D.P-EMPH=D.D This happened in Mejiquío
(110) kuándo ye'yé weikaóba ko'kó-ri-a
when mother then sick-PFV-EMPH

eikó no'no=pu taha-ré=pu-a=pu
then father=DD burn-PFV=DD-EMPH=DD
when my mom was sick my dad burned himself

(111) naásipa naásipa isáwi-či
in.the.needle in.the.needle hot.coal-LOC
He was in the needle of the hot coals

(112) poí-ri-a eikó pu'ká-e no'no
lay-PFV-EMPH then D.D-ID-INS father
my dad, he was lying on them

(113) weikápa weri-si-ká=ni-a tukaó-a
then stand.up-go-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH night-EMPH
so, I got up at night

(114) weikaóba wa'á nene-ka=né=pu weikaóba
then there look-PTCP=1SG.S=D.D then
then I looked there

(115) naasípa naasípa isáwa-či
in.the.needle in.the.needle hot.coal-LOC

poí-ri-á=pu no'no-á=pu
lay-PFV-EMPH=D.D father-EMPH=D.D
He was in the needle of the coal, my dad was

(116) pu'kaépa eikaóba panesu-ká=ne-a oeyáme
that's why then pull-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH side
so that's why I pulled him to the side

(117) eikaóba no'no-á=pu ki=weikaóba ki=hoyá-i eikó
then father-EMPH=D.D NEG=then NEG=walk-IPFV then
my dad couldn't walk then

(118) weikáo sin-ká=ne eikó rootóre i'yá-mia
then go-PTCP=1SG.S then doctor look.for-FUT

mehká mehká aki-či tetú
far.away far.away river-LOC toward.down
so I went to look for a doctor really far away, downstream
(119) simi-yá simi-ká kawái rewé-tia=ne
go-IPFV go-PTCP horse lend-PASS=1SG.S
pukaépa pu'-ká-če i'nó-mia pu'-ká rootóre
that's why D.D-ID-ITER bring-FUT D.D-ID doctor
I walked and walked, and they lent me a horse just to bring the doctor

(120) eikó kuándo no'ó i'nó-i pu'-ká rootóre
then when 1SG.NS bring-IPFV D.D-ID doctor
when I was bringing the doctor

(121) weikáó u’pá-ka=ne
then bring-PTCP=1SG.S
then I brought him

(122) eikó asi-ré=pu pu'-ká pete-čí
then arrive- NEG D.D-ID house-loc
then he arrived to our house

(123) weikáóba ki=jyoé-ka pu'-ká rootóre pu'-ká no'ó no'nó
then NEG=cure-PTCP D.D-ID doctor ND.D-ID 1SG.NS father
he didn't cure him, the doctor didn't cure my dad

(124) weikáó pu'-ká i'yóí i'yóé-so pu'-ká tamó
then D.D-ID remedy cure-SUB D.D-ID 1PL.NS
when he cured him for us, with that remedy

eikaóba i'tó-ka=ne enčí pu'-ká rootóre ahpó pete-čí
then take-PTCP=1SG.S again D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS house-LOC
I took the doctor back to his house

(125) i'tó-ka=ne eikó
take-PTCP=1SG.S then
so I took him

(126) simi-yá-ne weh-čí
go-IPFV=1SG.S land-LOC

simi-yá=ne na'narito-ka rootóre
go-IPFV=1SG.S follow-PTCP doctor
I followed the doctor on foot

(127) áhta ké asi-ká pete-čí
until that arrive-PTCP house-LOC
until he arrived at home
(128) entónses yomá-o toá-ka=ne kawái aháma then everything-EMPH leave-PTCP=1SG.S horse with then I left him there with the horse and everything

(129) toá-ka=ne pu'-ká rootóre ahpó pete-čí leave-PTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID doctor 3SG.NS house-LOC I left the doctor in his house

(130) i'weikáo no'ó aká=ne then 1SG.NS go.back=1SG.S

arihá-ní arihá-ní afternoon-PRS afternoon-PRS so I came back and it was already very late

(131) eikóba simi-yá=ne simi-yá=ne wa'akápu no'ó pete-čí then go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S toward.up 1SG.NS house-LOC I kept walking towards my house

(132) no'=aká ini-síá=ne 1SG.NS=come.back be-go=1SG.NS

eikó simi-yáï simi-yáï then go-IPFV go-IPFV I was going back, walking and walking

(133) weikaóba makoyáwi tewaniá wa'á wanámi wa'á then Macoyagüíi called there by.there there (I passed by) there in Macoyagüí

(134) wa'á weri-á píípi kuú temóri werumá pálo blánko tewaniá there stand.up-EMPH one trunk temóri big stick white called there was a huge white-stick trunk

(135) kuú temóri=pu-a wa'á eikó trunk temóri=D.D-EMPH there then It was a huge trunk

(136) wa'á nará čiwá katiáme weikáo weikaóba there cry goat like then then Then something like a goat was crying there

(137) simi-ká=ne eikó nené-mia pu'-ká wa'á nené-mia go-PTCP=1SG.S then see-FUT D.D-ID there see-FUT I went to see it
(138) wahká poi=pú čiwa tanayáme
over.there lay=D.D goat just.given.birth

čia=né eikó
say=1SG.S then
A goat that has just given birth is there, I said then

(139) eiká simi-ká=ne nené-mia
then go-PTCP=1SG.S see-FUT
tisiki-re nanétia
nothing-PFV nothing
So I went to go to see it and I didn’t see anything

(140) wa’ámi yomá i’yá=ne wa’ámi ki=tewá-ka=ne eikáó
there everything look.for=1SG.S there NEG=find-PTCP=1SG.S then
I looked all over and I didn’t find anything, then

(141) ihtáoi ki’te
thing there.is.not

no'=áka=ne cikó karetéra-či simi-yáí=ne simi-yáí=ne
1SG.NS=come.back=1SG.S then highway-LOC go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S
There was nothing there, I came back then and I walked along the highway

(142) eikó mehká simi-yéét-pa ki=nané-ri-a=ne
then far.away go-IPFV-INCH NEG=knowIPFV-EMPH=1SG.S
then when I’d gone away, I didn’t remember

(143) weikaóba pukeriópa simi-yáí=ne kuándo
then later walk-IPFV=1SG.S when
then, little later I was walking when,

(144) tisína nané-ri-a=ne wa’á
nothing knowIPFV-EMPH=1SG.S there
I didn’t remember anything from there

(145) čopohkó-či ki=simi-ká-i muináti
knee-LOC NEG=go-PTCP-IPFV slowly
because of my knees I didn’t walk fast

(146) simi-yáí=ne eikó pete-čí muináti simi-ká
go-IPFV=1SG.S then house-LOC slowly go-PTCP
I left then for my house, walking slowly
(147) weikáo kuándo pete-čí no'-asi-sá then when house-LOC 1SG.NS=arrive-SUB

wa-čiá no’ó ye’yé-a wa-čiá eikó ye’yé-a there-say 1SG.NS mother-EMPH there-say then mother-EMPH Then when I arrived at home my mom said like that, my mom said then

(148) ihtána inué=mu what have=2SG.S What’s wrong?

(149) maha-ká=mu maha-ka=ni-á=pu get.scared-PTCP=2SG.S get.scared-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D You got scared, I got scared

(150) ki=mahá=ni-a maha-yái NEG=get.scared=1SG.S-EMPH get.scared-IPFV I wasn’t scared

(151) ki=sihutewa-e=ni-á=pu čopohkó-čí čiá=ne eikó NEG=strenght-have=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D knee-LOC say=1SG.S then I don’t have any strengh in my knees, I told her then

(152) eikápa čeepasé=ne eikó mahá-ka pukaépa then get.fever=1SG.S then get.scared-PTCP that’s why Then I got fever, from the scare

(153) weikaóba weikaóba ye’ye-á=pu čia no’nó-a yača-pá-re eikó then then mother-EMPH=D.D say father-EMPH stand.up-INCH- PfV then then my mom said my dad had gotten better

(154) weikáo i’yoá-ni-o wa’ámi naati kuú then cure-PRS-SUB there thing stick

pasú-ka pu’l-ká pálo kolorádo tewaniá boil-PTCP D.D-ID stick red called so we cured ourselves by boiling those sticks —those ones called palo colorado

(155) i’yo-i pu’l-ká-e i’yoa-ré=pu weikaóba cure-IPFV D.D-ID-INSTR cure-PFV=D.D then back then people cured themselves with those

(156) póke wahi-pá=pu naati=pu rootóre i’yóí-ra because run.out-INCH=D.D thing=D.D doctor remedy-POS because those doctor’s remedies always ran out
weikáó wahi-pá-so pu'ká pu'ká
then run.out-INCH-SUB D.D-ID D.D-ID

i'noá-re eikó kusí-tere pálo kolorádo tewaniámé
bring-PFV then woods-between stick red called
so when they ran out of that, they brought palo colorado from the woods

kuú pu'ká pálo kolorádo pesú-ka ihí-re eikó
stick D.D-ID stick red boil-PTCP drink-PFV then
they boiled palo colorado and they drank it

weikaóba pu'ká-e yačah-pá-re no'no-á=pu yomá
then D.D-ID-INSTR stand.up-INCH-PFV father-EMPH=D.D all
then my dad got completely better with that

eikó pu'ká-e yačah-pá-re pu'ká
then D.D-ID-INSTR stand.up-INCH-PFV D.D-ID
so with that, he got better

kuándo no'nó yačah-pá-so
when father stand.up-INCH-SUB

ahkói o~hoá-i-teme tekihpaná-ka
everywhere PL--walk-IPFV-1PL.S work-PTCP
when my dad had gotten better, we went around working all over the place

kuándo teemé i'wá wa'ámi tekihpaná-ka koa-yai-téme eikó ahkói
when 1PL.S here there work-PTCP eat-IPFV-1PL.S then everywhere
when we went out working, we ate wherever then

oh~oá-teme raančó-či wa'ámi tekih~intu-ačí wa'ámi weikaóba
PL~walk-1PL.S ranch-LOC around work-there.is-LOC around then
we went around the ranches, wherever there was work

wa'ámi oh~oa-téme-a
around PL~walk-PL.S-EMPH

weikaóba no'no-á=pu tekihpan-ó-pa mehičío
then father-EMPH=D.D work-SUB-INCH Mejiquío

kahti-ó-pa ye'yé no'nó tiamé
be.seated.sg-SUB-INCH mother father also
we went around there, then my dad was working in Mejiquío because my mom
was there, so was my dad
(165) wa'amì oh~oa-téme=pu around PL~walk-1PL.S=D.D

kuándo tamó yetó-ka weikaópuwa owétepa enči i'wá when 1PL.NS invite-PTCP then toward here again here we were out there when they invited us then to come back here

(166) i'wá tehki i'yá-mia i'wá kolónia here work look.for-FUT here Colonia
to look for work here in the Colonia

(167) weikáo tekihpáná-iče tekihpáná-iče i'wá weiká then work-ITER work-ITER here then so we worked here daily then

(168) enči waré=pu-a tamó yetó-ka again toward there=D.D-EMPH 1PL.NS invite-PTCP he went back there again and he invited us

(169) weikáo póke teemé ečá-ya pamuúni then because 1PL.S plant-IPFV summer because then we used to plant in the summer

(170) wa'á=pu wa'amí oí-re=ne ečah-ká wa'amí tekihpána-ka there=D.D around walk-PFV=1SG.S plant-PTCP around work-PTCP I was there planting, working

(171) weikáo kuándo kikti-ó wa'á tehki then when there is not.SUB there work then when there wasn't work there

(172) kuépa-sa-pa
that's why-SUB-INCH

enči eh~ena-téme i'wá i'yá-mia i'wá obregón sonóa again PL~come-1PL.S here look for-FUT here Obregón Sonora when we'd finished again, we came here to Obregón Sonora

(173) weikaóba neipámiopa enči simi-sá-pa wa'á mehikio then later again go-SUB-INCH there Mejíquío then afterwards, we left again for Mejíquío

(174) weikáo weikaó-ba nenéka-re eikó tamó no'nó=pu ye'yé aháma then then-INCH get.mad-PFV then 1PL.NS father=D.D mother with then may dad got mad at my mom
(175) weikaó·ba ye'ye-á=pu wa'á itihpi-ré=pu-a
then-INCH mother-EMPH=D.D there stay-PFV=D.D-EMPH

no'ó poní ahama
1SG.NS brother with
then my mom stayed there; she stayed there with my brother

(176) póke neé-a=pu-a korónia kahti-á=ne
because 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D-EMPH Colonia be.seated.sg-EMPH=1SG.S
eikó tekihpána-ka
then work-PTCP
because I was in La Colonia, working, then

(177) werumá i'-ká=ne eikó·ba weikáo
big be-PTCP=1SG.NS then-INCH then
I was already grown-up at that time

(178) weikaó·ba i'wá ena-só-pa no'ó no'nó
then-INCH here come-SUB-INCH 1SG.NS father

aká=ne eikó·ba weh-čí
go.back=1SG.S then-INCH ground-LOC
so when my dad came, I went back on foot

(179) weeká mete-sá-pa taamári notuká
many make-SUB-INCH tamales lunch

weiká·pa no'=aka=né=pu
then-INCH 1SG.NS= go.back=1SG.S=D.D
when I had made a lot of tamales for lunch, then I went back

(180) mehikío simi-yái=ne=pu
Mejíquío go-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D

ye'yé nené-mia
mother see-FUT
I went to Mejíquío to see my mom

(181) napé paiká tawé-čí asi-ká=ne mehikío
however three day-LOC arrive-PTCP=1SG.S Mejíquío

weh-čí simi-ká
ground-LOC go-PTCP
however, it took me three days to get to Mejíquío, going on foot (walking)
(182) weiká wa'á tukaó asi-ka=né=pu pete-čí
then there night arrive-PTCP=1SG.S=D.D house-LOC
then I arrived at home at night

(183) wa'á asi-ká weikáo čiá=ne
there arrive-PTCP then say=1SG.S
rios-kúira čiá=ne eikó
God-take care say=1SG.S then
when I arrived I said "good night", that's what I said

(184) nooo kítica henté wa'á
INTERJ there.is.not people there
No, nobody was there

(185) kawé to'weré-tia kuú wa'á-pote pueta-čí-pote
good put-PASS stick there-up door-LOC-up
ki=moi-mičio henté-o wa'á yoré-muna ičikuá-me
NEG=enter-PURP people-EMPH there inside-toward steal-NMLZ
they had put the sticks above on the door very well, so people, thieves, couldn't get in,

(186) kítica no'ó ye'yé-a weikáo wa'á
there.is.not 1SG.NS mother-EMPH then there
my mom wasn't there

(187) wa'á čerepá-ka=ne eikó
there pass.the.night-PTCP=1SG.S then
so I passed the night there

(188) piari pa'á wa'ámi henté-o
morning early around people-EMPH

tihoé moči-ka-čí-áme inatu-ké-mia
man be.seated.pl-PTCP-LOC-NMLZ ask-APPL-FUT
In the morning, (I was) going around asking men where people were,

(189) akaná simi-ré ye'yé-a
where go-PFV mother-EMPH
čiá=ne eikó
say-1SG.S then
where did my mom go? I ask them then
(190) áa=pu wa'á oh~óe-me čiá=pu
INTERJ=D.D there HAB~live-NMLZ say=D.D
witiáme simi-ré=pu=pu ko'kori-ame i'tuá-mia
valley go-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D get.sick-NMLZ carry-FUT
aah! the one who lived there said: "they left for the valley, they were taking a sick
man

(191) wahká i'yóa rootóre-či i'toriá-re=pu
over.there cure doctor-LOC think-PFV=D.D
so the doctor could cure him, I think"

(192) ča~čá-pa eikó henté wa'á moči-ká-me
PL~say-INCH then people there be.seated.pl-PTCP-NMLZ
said the people who lived there

(193) weikáo-ba áa=pu meeré-pa si-má=ne=pu wa'átu
then-INCH INTERJ=D.D tomorrow-INCH go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D there:toward
i'ya-má=ne no'ó ye'yé
look.for-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS mother
aah! so tomorrow I'll go there to look for my mom

(194) čia=ní-á=ne eikó wa'á oh~óe-me
say=1SG.S-EMPH=1SG.S then there PL~live-NMLZ
I told the people that lived there, then

(195) meeré piari-a si-má=ne=pu i'ya-má=ne no'ó ye'yé
tomorrow morning-EMPH go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D look.for-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS mother
póke no'nó kité i'wá=pu wituáka kahtí
because father there is.not here=D.D over.there be.seated.sg
tomorrow morning I am going to look for my mom because my dad isn't here,
he's there

(196) weiká-ba meeré piari wa'ápi u'má-tu-a-pu kamióni
then-INCH tomorrow morning by.there run-MOV-EMPH=D.D truck
then the next morning a truck passed close by

(197) weikáo-ba pu'ká-či ená=ni-a wa'ákia
then-INCH D.D-ID-LOC come=1SG.S-EMPH toward.here
no'ó ye'yé i'yá-mia
1SG.NS mother look.for-FUT
so I came here in that truck to look for my mom
(198) weikáo asi-ká=ne wa'á kahéme inatuké=ni-a wa'á then arrive-PTCP=1SG.S there Cajeme ask=1SG.S-EMPH there then I arrived there to Cajeme and I asked

(199) wararúpe witória tewaniá-či wa'á kahti-áta ye'yé Guadalupe Victoria called-LOC there be.seated.sg-QUOT mother and they told me that my mom was in a place called Guadalupe Victoria

(200) weikaö-ba simi-yáí=ne i'yá-si-ka no'ó ye'yé then-INCH go-IPFV=1SG.S look.for-go-PTCP 1SG.NS mother then I went over there looking for my mom

(201) wa'á oi-yáí=pu no'ó poní-a there walk-IPFV=D.D 1SG.NS brother-EMPH
no'ó piní pirečió owitiáme ko'koriáme 1SG.NS sister other woman sick over there were my brother, my sister and another sick woman

(202) pu'-ká u'pá-ri-a ye'yé-a eikó D.D-ID bring-IPFV-EMPH mother-EMPH then weikaö-ba yačah-pá-so pu'-ká owitiáme weiká-pa then-INCH set-INCH-SUB D.D-ID woman then-INCH my mom brought her, when the woman got better

(203) i'wá tekihpána=ni-á=pu weiká-ba here work=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D then-INCH ye'tó-ka=ne i'wá korónia progresista wa'á invite-PTCP=1SG.S here Colonia Progresista there I worked here then and I invited her (to live) here in La Colonia Progresista

(204) wa'á oh-óe-ka tekihpána=ne eikó there HAB~walk-PTCP work=1SG.S then I lived and worked here then

(205) póke no'no-á=pu kíitia because father-EMPH=D.D there.is.not because my dad wasn’t here

(206) wahká pienáči pienáči močí-re over.there somewhere.else somewhere.else be.seated-PFV he was out there somewhere else
(207) eikó=pu temé  oh-ó-re
then-D.D 1PL.S  PL~walk-PFV

eikó ye'yé  ahamá=pu tekihpána-ka
then mother with=D.D work-PTCP
then we just went around working with my mom

(208) wa'ámi páke ye'yé  ko'~ko-miciency teemé tiamé
by.their so mother PL~eat-PURP 1PL.S too
so my mom could eat, and us too

(209) weikáo no'no-á=pu  pienáči  simi-ré=pu-a  ye'yé  tiamé
then  father-EMPH=D.D somewhere else go-PFV=D.D-EMPH mother too
then my dad left for somewhere else, my mom too

(210) pukaépa  i'wá itihpi-re ye'ye-á=pu
that's why here stay-PFV mother-EMPH=D.D
that's why my mom stayed here

(211) weikáo weiká-pa ye'ye-á=pu  newi-ré=pu-a  piréči tihoé aháma
then  then-1INCH mother-emph=D.D marry-IPFV=D.D-EMPH other man with
then my mom married another man

(212) ki=no'nó  parástro  i'yá-re  eikó  weikaó-va
NEG=father stepfather look.for-PFV then 1INCH
not my dad, she looked for a stepfather

(213) kuándo yeyé-a  newi-só  piréči ahamá  weiká-pa
when mother-emph marry-SUB other with then 1INCH

ahkói  oh-oá-teme-a=pu
everywhere PL~walk-1PL.S-EMPH=D.D
when my mom married another man, then we went around wherever

(214) teme-á=pu  ki=no'no-é-ka-teme  eikó
1PL.S-EMPH=D.D  NEG=father-have-PTCP-1PL.S  then

ahkói  oh-oé-ka-teme-a  wa'ámi  tehki-intu-ačí-ámi
everywhere PL~walk-1PL.S-EMPH by.their work-there is LOC-there
we had no dad, and we lived everywhere, wherever there was work

(215) póke teme-á=pu  tamó  ye'yé  tamó  no'nó  kuy-ná=pu
because 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D 1PL.NS mother 1PL.NS father help-PRS=D.D
because we helped our mother and our father
The text seems to be in a language that is not immediately identifiable as English. It contains phrases and words that appear to be from a Native American language, possibly a variant of Ute or another related language. The text is fragmented and does not form coherent sentences. It appears to be a collection of verb phrases, personal pronouns, and some descriptive terms. The context and meaning would likely require a linguist or someone fluent in this language to provide a proper translation or interpretation.
wa'á koa-yái=ni-a wa'á pinéri kahti-á=ne eikó there eat-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH there alone be.seated-EMPH=1SG.S then
ki=iniuwé-ka=ne owitiáme NEG=have-PTCP=1SG.S woman
I ate there, I lived alone there, I didn't have a wife then

eikaó=ni-a pinéri mmm eh-éna-re wa'átepa then=1SG.S-EMPH alone INTERJ HAB~come-PFV toward here

tekihpaná-mia paamúni-o-pa
work-FUT summer-EMPH-INCH
from then on I came here alone to work until the beginning of summer

(226) tekihpána-ke-ka i'wámi tekihpána-ka i'wá=pu
work-APPL-PTCP by here work-PTCP here=D.D
working over there, working here

(227) weiká=pu i'tó-ka=ne pu'-ká ko'aáme wa'á
then=D.D take-PTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID food there
then I used to take food there

(228) kuándó mačiribámpo tamó oh-óe-k-o-i
when Machiribampo 1PL.NS PL~walk-PTCP-SUB-IPFV

wa'ámi tekihpána=ne-a weikaó-ba paamúni
by there work=1SG.S-EMPH then-INCH summer
when we lived in Machiribampo, I worked over there in the summer

(229) senékači eh-éna=ni-a o'owétepa i'wá
sometimes HAB~come=1SG.S-EMPH toward here here

tekihpáname póke paamúni eça-yái=ne tewi-o pukaépa
work because summer plant-IPFV=1SG.S above-EMPH that's why
sometimes I came here to work, because in the summer I planted there, that's why

(230) weiká-pa i'wá tekihpána-sa-pa yoi-sá-pa
then-INCH here work-SUB-INCH earn-SUB-INCH
so, because I worked and made money

(231) weekó o i'tó-ái=ne eikáo weekó-o ko'aáme
a lot-EMPH take-IPFV=1SG.S then a lot-EMPH food
so I took a lot of food
(232) pukaépa tekihpáname paamúni eča-ká yomá that's why work summer plant-PTCP everything

wa'ámi eča-yáí=ne eikáó by.there plant-IPFV=1SG.S then
that's why I used to work in the summer, planting everything, I painted there

(233) pinéri kahti-á=ne ki=weeká i'tu-ái ko'áme alone be.seated-EMPH=1SG.S NEG=much take-IPFV food
I was alone, even though I didn't take much food

(234) pukaépa pasándona=ne=pu paamúni ečah-ká weikaóba that's why spend=1SG.S=D.D summer plant-PTCP then
I spent the season planting, then

(235) neipámio weikaóba wa'á čiá piipi temári later then there say one boy
then, later, a boy said,

(236) si-má=ne teiwámi weikaóba i'tó-ma=ne no'ó pini go-FUT=1SG.S with.luck then bring.there-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS younger.sister

no'ó ko'očí čiá eikó piiripi temári 1SG.NS older.sister say then one boy
I'm going to bring my younger sister, my older sister, the boy said then

(237) weikaóba u'pá-re eikó ahpó pini ahpó ko'očí then bring.here-IPFV then 3SG.N younger.sister 3SG.NS older.sister then he brought his younger sister and his older sister

(238) weikaóba neé-a=pu nawése-ka=ne then 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D say-PTCP=1SG.S
eikó pu'ká o'owitiáme weikaó then D.D-ID woman then
so I told a woman then

(239) ačinia ki=newi-náre=mu nó'-ma why NEG=marry-DES=2SG.S 1SG.NS-COMIT why don't you marry me?

(240) pinéri kahti-áí=ne wa'a čané-ka=ne alone be.seated-IPFV=1SG.S there say-PTCP=1SG.S
pu'ká o'owitiáme weikáo
D.D-ID woman then
I live alone, I say the woman like that, then

(241) o'owitiáme-o ki=kawé-hera
woman-EMPH NEG=well-want

ki=nawesá=pu
NEG=speak=D.D
the woman didn’t really want it, she didn’t speak

(242) weikačó-pa meré piari-a amó tuyé-ma=ne
a.while-INCH tomorrow morning-EMPH 2SG.NS say-FUT=1SG.S

weikápá senékači si-má=ne=pu
then maybe go-FUT=1SG.S=D.D
In a bit, I’ll tell you tomorrow morning, then maybe I’ll go with you

(243) weikaóba neé nawése nawése weikáo
then 1SG.S talk talk then

paránka-či ihtápa=ne eikó nerói
lever-LOC carry=1SG.S then water
then I talked and talked carrying water on the lever

(244) eikápá tiembó i'noe-ka-temé nawésa-mia wa'á noriá-či paiká nerói
then time have-PTCP-1PL.S talk-FUT there draw.well-LOC three water
then we had time to talk there at the draw well, getting water

(245) weikaópa wa'á wa'á namorandó-ka kawé o'owitiáme
then there there love-PTCP well woman
then I made the woman fall in love there

(246) weikápá weikaóba čaniá=ne eikó
then then say=1SG.S then
then I told her like this

(247) napé witiáme tekihpána=pu-a=pu
however valley work=D.D-EMPH=D.D

pete-či wa'ámi ye'ýé kahiti-áči
house-LOC by there mother be.seated.sg-LOC
let’s go to work in the valley, to the house where my mom lives
(248) weikápa u'pá-re=ne eikó u'pá-i=ne waá then bring.PFV=1SG.S then bring.PFV=1SG.S here then I brought her, I brought her here

(249) poé-či simi-ré karetéra-či ičikuáme o'owitiame road-LOC go-PFV high.way-LOC thief woman the woman's thief came along the high way

(250) weikaóba waá tamó pukamína simi-ré puú o'owitiame pahči-rá then there 1PL.NS behind go-PFV D.D woman older.brother-REL then, there, behind us came the woman's older brother

(251) mmm weikaóba puú waámi oi-ré=pu INTERJ then D.D by.there walk-PFV=D.D

yeki-ká poe-či-ámi weikaóba poé-či-a track-PTCP road-LOC-by.there then road-LOC-EMPH then he was tracking our path out there, our path

(252) mmm čiá=pu o'owitiáme pahci-rá PINTERJ say=D.D woman older.brother-REL mmm! the woman's older brother said

(253) ačiniá i'tó-ka=ne pu'-ká temári ki=a-se-pa-má=ne why follow-PTCP=1SG.S D.DID boy NEG=arrive-INCH-FUT=1SG.S why am I following this guy? I'm not going to catch him up

(254) eikó waá toi-sá then there stop-SUB

nowá-re ahpó pete-čí leave-PFV 3SG.NS house-LOC so he stopped and he went back to his house

(255) teme-á=pu o'owetépa e'-ena-temé kamičí-či ehpé-o 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D toward.here PL~come-1PL.S bus-LOC now-EMPH we came here, now by bus

(256) ahtá i'wá koróniá e'-ena-ka-temé until here Colonia PL~come-PTCP-1PL.S we came all the way here to the Colonia

(257) weikaóba i'wá tekilpána-sa-pií semána then here work-SUB-INCH one week
enčí simpa-ka-temé močiribámpo enčí
again go.pl-PTCP=1PL.S Mochiribampo again
then, when we had worked here for a week we went back again to Mochiribampo

(258) weikaóba tehpé temé pié semána ooká semána
then a.lot.of.time 1PL.S one week two week

ki=si-ká siyá tamó siyá=pu
NEG=go-PFV father.in.law 1PL.NS father.in.law=D.D
then when we’d been there for one week, two weeks, my father in law didn’t
arrive, our father in law

(259) o'owitiáme pa'čí-rá ki=ene-nári-a tisía neká-re
woman older.brother-REL NEG=come-DES-EMPH much be.angry-PFV
my woman’s older brother didn’t want to come, he got very angry

(260) weikaóba ahtá neipámi nawahi-re eikó asi-ré
then until later get.drunk-PFV then arrive-PFV
later, when he got drunk, he showed up

(261) o'owitiáme no'nó-ra eikó
woman father-REL then
then, my wife’s father said

(262) ačiniá i'tó-ka=mu pu'-ká o'owitiáme
why take-PTCP=2SG.S D.D-ID woman
Why did you take that woman?

(263) ehpé-o wewe-má=ne ehpé-o čiá=pu o'owitiáme no'nó-ra eikó
now-EMPH hit=FUT=1SG.S now-EMPH say=D.D woman father-REL then
now I’m really going to hit you, said my wife’s father

(264) weikápa no'=téya eikó=pu no'nó-ra=pu
then 1SG.NS=tell off then=D.D father-REL=D.D
then the father told me off

(265) ačiniá ki=no'=tuye-ká=mu čiá eikó aaa
why NEG=1SG.NS-tell-PTCP=2SG.S say then INTERJ
Why you didn’t tell me? he said then

(266) napé neč-a=pu no'ó pete-čí
however 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D 1SG.NS house-LOC
i'to-ká=ni-a pu'-ká o'owitiáme
take-PTCP=1SG.S-EMPH D.D=ID woman
however, I didn’t take the woman to my house

(267) weikáo ahtá ké tá'iria kahti-áï=ne
then until that be.comfortable be.seated.sg-IPFV=1SG.S
eikó o'owitiáme aháma wa'á
then woman with there
until then I was happy there with my wife

(268) neipá-ba asi-ká=pu o'owitiáme pa'či-rá
later-INCH arrive-PTCP=D.D woman older.brother-REL
then later, my wife’s older brother came

(269) weikaóba oh~oe-ka-temé eikó ooká-ka-teme
then PL~walk-PTCP-1PL.S then two-PTCP-1PL.S
there we lived there, the two of us

(270) weikáo neka-ré o'owitiáme
then be.angry-PFV woman
then the woman got angry

(271) weikáo puú simi-ré wa'á ahpó ko'očí kahti-áči
then D.D go-PFV there 3SG.NS older.sister be.seated.sg-LOC
then, she went to where her older sister lived

(272) wa'á yasa-ré eikó=pu
there be.seated.sg-PFV then=D.D
she was there, then

(273) póke nee-á o'owitiáme ki=né kaaká simi-ré
because 1SG.S-EMPH woman NEG=1SG.S angry go-PFV
because I didn’t get angry at the woman

(274) nahépa simi-ré=pu
just go-PFV=D.D
ki=póke ni-a ki=čia-ni-a-ni-á=pu
NEG=because 1SG.S-EMPH NEG=say=1PSG.S-EMPH=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D
she just left because I didn’t say anything to her

(275) póke naki-yá=ne-a eikó
because love-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH then
because I loved her then
(276) i'noé-ka=ne eikó=pu ooká teh-temari i'noé-ka=ne have-PTCP=1SG.S then=D.D two PL~boy have-PTCP=1SG.S I had two little boys then, I had

(277) eikó močíwi-pa then be.seated.pl~INCH they're still living

(278) i'wá kahti piripi here be.seated.sg one one of them lives here

(279) piiré-a wahká kahtiá-re naohóa other-EMPH far.away be.seated.sg-PFV Navajoa the other must have been living over there, in Navajoa

(280) ki=nané=ni-a wa'á pehte-rá pehté-ra-či weiká NEG=know= 1SG.S-EMPH there house-REL house-REL-LOC much I don't know where his house is

(281) kuándo teemé-a kuándo i'wá kuándo teemé-a=pu i'wá-o when 1PL.S-EMPH when here when 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D here-EMPH meanwhile, we are here

(282) weikaóba u'yé-ka=ne pu'-ká no'o ta-taná then take.from- NPTCP=1SG.S D.D-ID 1SG.NS PL~son then, I took my children from her

(283) piipi itané-ka=ne ye'yé-ra one ask-PTCP=1SG.S mother-REL I asked the mother for one

(284) weikaóba ye'yé-ra wa'á čía eikó then mother-REL there say then then the mother said

(285) i'towá=pu-a eikó piirípi no'o take=D.D-EMPH then one 1SG.NS take one, and one for me

(286) póke née ne-náre-ni-a no'o ta-taná weikáo because 1SG.S see-DES=1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS PL~son then I want to see my children too
(287) napé no'ó itó-so pu'-ká no'ó temari
however 1SG.NS take-SUB.D.D-ID 1SG.NS boy

ki=werumá-ka eikó nu'úti eikó
NEG=big-PTCP then small then
when I took my boy he wasn't grown up, he was young

(288) weikáo teemé-a pu'-ká pa'či-rá
then 1PL.S-EMPH D.D-ID older.brother-REL

no'ó kunyaó-a weikáo o'owitiáme pa'či-rá weikó
1SG.NS brother.in.law-EMPH then woman older.brother-REL then
so we, my brother in law, my wife’s older brother

(289) pu'-ká u'yé-ka=ne no'o piiripi
D.D-ID take.away-PTCP=1SG.S 1SG.NS one

no'ó taná ki=werumá nu'úti eikó
1SG.NS son NEG=big small then
I took mine, my child, he was very young

(290) ki=kawé nawésa ooká paamú-a eikó
NEG=well speak two years-EMPH then
he didn’t speak well, he was two years old then

(291) weikáo u'y'-ó-i pu'-ká temari weikáo wa'a čía=pu
then take.away-SUB-IPFV D.D-ID boy then there say=D.D then
when I was taking the child away, then she said

(292) kómo o'owitiáme simí-ře=pu-a piiré čía
since woman go-PFV=D.D-EMPH other say

ahpó ko'ócí kahti-áći weikáo
3SG.NS older.sister be.seated.sg-LOC then
since the woman was going away to other place, where her older sister lived

(293) weikáo teeme-á=pu weikaóba ye'ýé ye'ye-á=pu
then 1PL.S-EMPH=D.D then mother mother-EMPH=D.D

temari ye'ýé ye'ye-á=pu ki=ená-ka=pu pete-čí
boy mother mother-EMPH=D.D NEG=come-PTCP=D.D house-LOC

kiá-mia ko'ámeh pu'-ká temari
give-FUT food D.D-ID boy
then, we, then the child’s mother didn’t come to the house to give the child food
weikaóba teemé ko'áme yorá-ka
then 1PL.S food make-PTCP

kiá-ka kiá-teme pu'-ká temári no'ó taná
give-PTCP give-1PL.S D.D-ID boy 1SG.NS son
so we made food and gave it to the child, to my son

kui-ná puú pa'či-rá o'owitiáme kuya-temé
help-PRS D.D older.brother-REL woman help-1PL.S
my wife's brother helped, we helped each other

kuándo no'ó tekihpán-o weikáo
when 1SG.NS work-SUB then

puú ithipí-a pete-čí páke kiyá ko'áme
D.D stay-EMPH house-LOC for give food
when I worked then, he stayed at home to give (the child) food

wa'á čiá=pu nó'o o'owitiáme pa'či-rá eikó
there say=D.D 1SG.NS woman older.brother-REL then
my brother in law said this

ačinía kuándo nó'o simi-só tekihpáname
why when 1SG.NS go-SUB work

muú ithipí-ma pete-čí
2SG.S stay-FUT house-LOC

čia eikó
say then
because when I go to work you'll stay at home, he said then

aá pó entónses kawé puú eikó čiá=ne eikó
INTERJ so then well D.D then say=1SG.S then
aah! well, all right then, I said

poké kuándo weikáo tekihpána-i
because when then work-IPFV

si-simi-ri-a tehki-intu-áči weikáo
HAB~go-PFV-EMPH work-there.is-LOC then
because then when working, he used to go to work where there was work, then
(301) neé itihpi-a eikó ko'áme yoorá-ka pete-čí
1SG.S stay-EMPH then food make-PTCP house-LOC
I stayed at home, making food

(302) poké piíé ki=werumá-ka eikó wa'á
because other NEG=big-EMPH then there
because the other one (child) was very young then

(303) neipaóba weikaóba eh-ená-ka
then then ITER~come-PTCP

u'pá-ka=ne eikó i'wá raité-čí i'wá meetaréro
bring-PTCP=1SG.S then here lift-LOC here metal.cart
later I came here and I brought him in a lift on a metal cart

(304) wa'á u'-ká=ne raité
there take-PTCP=1SG.S lift
Someone gave me a lift there

(305) weikápa u'pá-ka=ne weiká-o wa'á waná obregón
then take-PTCP=1SG.S then there other side Obregón

waáki-a kanár álto tewaniá-čí wa'á
this.way-EMPH Canal Alto called-LOC there
then I brought him down here from Obregón, to the Canal Alto, there

(306) poké wa'á číá=pu tróke inó-ame
because there say-1SG.D.D car bring-NMLZ
because that's what the one who took the car said

(307) i'wá amó toi-má=ne
here 2SG.NS leave-FUT=1SG.S

poké kahéme senékačí no'ó weikáo ohó-na tránsito
because Cajeme maybe 1SG.NS then stop-PRS traffic officer
I'm going to leave you here because maybe the traffic officer will stop me in Cajeme

(309) i'wá amó toi-má=ne weikáo
here 2SG.NS leave-FUT=1SG.S then
I'm going to leave you here then

(310) wa'á wa'á ko~kočia-temé eikó
there there PL~sleep-1PL.S then
so we slept there
(311) peniatiáme tukaó-a wa'á
beautifl night-EMPH there
the night there was beautiful

(312) weikóa taha-yá eikó mečá wa'á
then shine-IPFV then moon there
the moon was shining there

(313) čere-pa-ka-temé
day.break-INCH-PTCP-1PL.S
we woke up there

(314) weikáo piari-pa wahká eikaópa mačene-ka-temé
then morning-INCH there then go.out-PTCP-1PL.S
then in the morning we went out over there

(315) eikópa puya-pa-ka-temé karetéra-čí weikáo
then go.out.pl-INCH-PTCP-1PL.S high.way-LOC then then
then we went out to the road

(316) weikápa así-té-ka así-ka-temé eikó i'wá so'onóa korónia
then arrive-CAUS-PTCP arrive-PTCP-1PL.S then here Sonora Colonia
then I made him arrive, we arrived here to the Colonia Sonora

(317) nó'o temari ye'tó-ka weikáo
1SG.NS boy invite-PTCP then
I brought my son

(318) weikáo wa'atépa tamó i'wá así-sá-ba weikaóba
then from.there 1PL.NS here arrive-SUB-INCH then
when we arrived from there

(319) weikaóba no'ó temari i'wá weri-pá-re=pu
then 1SG.NS boy here be.standing.sg-INCH-PFV=D.D
then my boy grew up here

(320) mandaó-ka=ne ihkwéra-čí
send-PTCP=1SG.S school-LOC
I sent him to school

(321) weikáo i'wá yasa-ré korónia sonóra
then here be.seated.sg-PFV Colonia Sonora
so he was here in the Colonia Sonora

(322) kečewéka yasa-ré neipá-o sekundária-čí
Quetchехuecca be.seated.sg-PFV later-EMPH junior.school-LOC
yasa-ré eikó
be.seated.sg-PFV then
later in junior school he was in Quetchhueca, he was there

(323) weikão ahtaké kuwé-pa-re pu'-ká sekundária
then until last-INCH-PFV D.D-ID junior.school
until he finished junior school

(324) obregón ki=mandaróa-ka=ne
Obregón NEG=send-PTCP=1SG.S
I didn’t send him to Obregón

(325) wa'á čiá=pu nó'o temarí kaonee-á=pu
there say=D.D 1SG.NS boy fuck-EMPH=D.D
my boy said this: fuck!

(326) weikão neé-a=pu ki=si-ma=né ihkwéra-či
then 1SG.S-EMPH=D.D NEG=go-FUT=1SG.S school-LOC
tekihpana-ma=né=pu amó kui-ma=né=pu čí̱a eikó
work-FUT=1SG.S=D.D 2SG.NS help-FUT=1SG.S=D.D say then
then I’m not going to go to school because I’m going to work and I’m going to help you, he said then

(327) poké weiká naté-na=pu ihkwéra-či preparatoria
because much cost-PRS=D.D school-LOC high.school
because high school costs a lot

(328) ki=ase-pa-má=pu ki=ase-pa-té-ma=mu
NEG=arrive-INCH-FUT=D.D NEG=arrive-INCH-CAUS-FUT=2SG.S
because it won’t be enough, you won’t have enough

(329) poké muú-a=pu simi-ná=pu
because 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D go-PRS=D.D

nó'o taatá pu'-ká inate-ma=mú=pu
1SG.NS grandfather D.D-ID take.care-FUT=2.SG.S=D.D
because you’re going to take care of my grandfather

(330) pu'káe ki=kawé tekihpana-ni=mu-á=pu muu-á=pu
that’s why NEG=well work-PRS=2SG.S-EMPH=D.D 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D
that’s why you don’t work well, you
(331) kómo ihkwéra-či naté-na=pu
    since school-LOC cost-PRS=D.D
    since school is very expensive

(332) ki=okápi tamó kooparóá-ni-pu ihkwéra-či=pu preparatória-či
    NEG=little 1PL.NS charge-PRS=D.D school-LOC=D.D high.school-LOC
    they charge us a lot in high school

(333) ki=ase-pa-té-na toomi muu-á=pu
    NEG=arrive-INCH-CAUS-PRS money 2SG.S-EMPH=D.D
    you don't have enough money

(334) ki=kawé tekilpána-ni
    NEG=well work-PRS
    since you don't work well

(335) poké nó'o taatá inaté-ka
    because 1SG.NS grandfather take.care-PTCP
    because (I was) taking care of my father

(336) poké taatá=pu ki=kawé kómo ki=kawé nené-na=pu
    because grandfather=D.D NEG=well since NEG=well see-pres=D.D
    tuká-pa-či kahtí
    night-INCH-LOC be.seated.sg
    and because my grandfather doesn't see well, he is in the dark

(337) ki=nené-na kawé poi-či
    NEG=see-PRS well road-LOC
    he doesn't see well

(338) poké sarampióni=pu-a siegandó-re pu'-ká ahamá
    because measles=DEMPH blind-PFV D.D-ID with
    because the measles made him blind

(339) weikaóba neipáó-pa kuu-é ahpó wewe-ré=pu
    then later-INCH stick-INS 3SG.NS hit-PFV=D.D
    then afterwards he hit himself with a stick

(340) kuú kay-ái weikáo
    piece.of.wood bring-IPFV then
    when he was bringing firewood
(341) pu’kaépa ehpé-o=pu ki=mači-té-na
    that’s why now-EMPH=D.D NEG=light-CAUS-PRS
    that’s why he doesn’t see now

(342) siémpre ehpé-o wa’á oh~oé=pu wa’ámi
    anyway now-EMPH there HAB~walk=D.D by.there
    and he lives there anyway

(343) oh~oé-ka wa’ámi kari teniénte huán de la barréra
    HAB~walk-PTCP by.there house Teniente Juan de La Barrera
    he lives there in his house, in Teniente Juan de La Barrera

(344) oh-oé-a=pu nó’o no’nó-a pehí
    HAB~walk-EMPH=D.D 1SG.NS father-EMPH still
    my father still lives there

(345) si tía očétia oí-ná-e pinéri
    yes very old walk-ISTR alone
    he’s very old and he walks alone

(346) wasité-ka koa-ní apoé pinéri
    make.tortillas-PTCP eat-PRS 3SG.S alone
    he makes himself tortillas to eat

(347) iwé’ta pehí o’očetíámé pehí nooénta sei paamoáme puú-a
    now still old still ninety six years D.D-EMPH
    he’s old, ninety six years old, he is

(348) no’nó-a sewawtí tewáe nó’o no’nó leiba teheida
    father-EMPH Sebastián called 1SG.NS father Leyva Tejeida
    My father’s name is Sebastián, my father Leyva Tejeida
Not ever
Nunca jamás

Don Alejandro Ruelas

(1) ihi-á=pu réi tewania-mé-a=pu
   D.P-EMPH=D.D king called-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
   This one that was called king

(2) tihoé=pu kuú i'ya-mé mukia-mé-a
    man-D.D firewood look.for-NMLZ carry.in.the.back-NMLZ-EMPH
    a wood-gathering man

(3) senépi piari si~simi-ré kuú kái-mia
    every morning ITER~go-PFV firewood bring-FUT
    he went every morning to bring back firewood

(4) weikaóba weikaóba
    then then

    kuú ihtapá-i ihtapá-i weikaóba
    firewood transport-IPFV transport-IPFV transport-IPFV then
    so much gathering wood, then

(5) kai-ká kuú ihtapá-i pete-čí nehí-mia
    bring-PTCP firewood transport-IPFV house-LOC sell-FUT
    transporting wood to sell it at home

(6) póke poé-ka ki=INUé-ka ko'áme weikaóba
    because poor-PTCP NEG=have-PTCP food then
    because he was poor and he didn't have anything to eat, then

(7) tihoé-pa simi-ré=pu-a kuú kai-ká weikaóba wa'á
    man-INCH go-PFV=D.D-EMPH firewood bring-PTCP then there
    the man went to gather wood, then there

(8) ahpó natepá-re kuú kay-áči werumá weri-óí maá
    3SG.NS meet-PFV firewood bring-LOC big be.standing.sg-IPFV Mauto
    they met where he gathered wood, there was a big Mauto tree

(9) pu'ká tu'mi-na-merá-re kuú kaya-me-á=pu
    D.D-ID blend-TZR-POT-PFV tree bring-NMLZ-EMPH=D.D
    He wanted to chop down the big tree, the wood-gatherer

(10) weikaóba ki=weikaóba te'pá inamó-re
    then NEG=then above hear-PFV
pu'-ká nawésa-me tihoé  
D.D-ID speak-NMLZ man  
then from above he heard a man that was speaking

(11) weikaóba tihoé kihči-ká-ta té'pa  
then man iguana-PTCP-QUOT above

čuk-ká-ta=pu-a  
be.on.four.legs-PTCP-QUOT=D.D-EMPH  
then that man was an iguana that was above (the tree)

(12) o'owéra-či wa'ápo simi-yá-me  
hole-LOC through.there go-IPFV-NMLZ  
that was going into a hole

(13) nawesá-ta=pu kihči-a eikáo  
talk-QUOT=D.D iguana-EMPH then  
that the iguana was talking then

(14) ki=no'=rúmine ki=no'=rúmine-ke=pu-a pu'-ká kuú  
NEG=1SG.NS=fall.down NEG=1SG.NS=fall.down-APPL=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID tree  
don't chop down my tree!

(15) póke i'wá-o oh~óe-ní-a=pu  
because here-EMPH HAB=walk-1SG.S-EMPH=D.D  
because I live here

(16) pu'kaépa ki=no'=rúmine eh~éra-ní=ne=pu weikáo  
that's why NEG=1SG.NS=fall.down INTS~want-PRS=1SG.S=D.D then  
that's why I don't want you chop it down then

(17) weikaóba kuú-kaya-me-a ne'n-i-áta owépote  
then firewood-bring-NMLZ-EMPH see-IPFV-QUOT upward  
then the wood-gatherer looked upward

(18) wa'á té'pa čuk-ka-ta puú kihči-a weikaóba  
there above be.on.four.legs-PTCP-QUOT D.D iguana-EMPH then  
up above was the iguana, then

(19) wa'á čiá-ta té'pa kihči-a  
there say-QUOT above iguana-EMPH  
up above the iguana was saying
(20) weikaóba weikaóba meré piarí ená-ni metia
    then then tomorrow morning come-PRS
    so, come earlier tomorrow

(21) čié-ta eikó kihčí-a
    say-QUOT then iguana-EMPH
    the iguana said then

(22) weikaóba kihčí-a meré ená=pu-a piarí
    then iguana-EMPH tomorrow come=D.D-EMPH morning
    kuú i'wá montó-á-ma=ne
    firewood here pile.up=FUT=1SG.S
    then the iguana (said), come earlier tomorrow, I'll pile up the wood here

(23) neé kai-má=ne kuú meré piarí=pu-a
    1SG.S bring-FUT=1SG.S firewood tomorrow morning=D.D-EMPH
    I'll make the firewood early tomorrow
    yo voy a hacer la leña mañana temprano

(24) ki=u'pá=pu-a te'púra eikáo
    NEG=bring=D.D-EMPH axe then
do'n't bring the axe, then

(25) čié-ta kihčí-a
    say-QUOT iguana-EMPH
    the iguana said

(26) weikaóba kihčí-a i'wá mani-má kuú i'wá piarí-o
    then iguana-EMPH here there.is-FUT firewood here morning-EMPH
    then the iguana (said) the wood will be piled up here in the morning

(27) ená=pu-a piarí-o pu'-ká ičió i'nó-mia
    come=D.D-EMPH morning-EMPH D.D-ID for take=FUT
    come in the morning to take these

(28) páke nehita-ré=mu-a weiká amó
    for sell-PFV=2SG.S-EMPH then 2SG.NS
    so you can sell them
(30) wéno ni-á no'=amá=ne no'ó pete-čí
ok. 1SG.S-EMPH 1SG.NS=go.back=1SG.S 1SG.NS house-LOC

neé-a weikaó=ne-a
1SG.S-EMPH then=1SG.S-EMPH
ok, I’ll go back home, then

(31) meré-o-pa no'ó ama=ni-á=pu-a
mañana-EMPH-INCH 1SG.NS go.back=1SG.S-EMPH=D.D-EMPH

weikaóba wa'áam=pu
then by.there=D.D
tomorrow I’ll go there, then

(32) wa'á wa'áam puye-má-ni-a
there by.there wait.for-FUT-1SG.S-EMPH

amó pete-čí nünka hamás tewaniá=pu
2SG.NS house-LOC Never Ever called=D.D
I’ll wait for you there in your house that’s called Never Ever

(33) wa'-čía-ta ki=kočí-nári-a wa'á pete-čí
there-cay-QUOT NEG=sleep-DES-EMPH there house-LOC
he said that he didn’t want to sleep there in that house

(34) simi-nári-a wa'á
go-DES-EMPH there

ahpó yetó-ri-ači pu'-ká tihoé puú kihčí
3SG.NS invite-IPFV-LOC D.D-ID man D.D iguana
that he wanted to go there to where the iguana had invited the man

(35) weikáu pu'-ká temari-á=pu weiká=pu
then D.D-ID guy-EMPH=D.D then= D.D

wa'á kihčí-a čane-ré=pu-a
there iguana-EMPH say-PFV=D.D-EMPH
then the guy, then, the iguana said there

(36) sim=pu-a no'ó pete-čí
go=D.D-EMPH 1SG.NS house-LOC
go to my house
(37) amó amó-a puye-má=ni-a
2SG.NS 2SG.NS-EMPH wait.for-FUT=1SG.S-EMPH
I'll wait for you

(38) weiká ámó simi-só amó newi-té-ma=ne no’ó mará aháma
then 2SG.NS go-SUB 2SG.NS marry-CAUS-FUT=1SG.S 1SG.NS daughter with
then, if you go I’ll get you to marry my daughter

(39) čia-ta čiá eikó
say-QUOT say then
that he said, he said then

(40) weikáo weikáo tihoé-a=pu ki=taéria
then then man-EMPH=D.D NEG=comfortable

kahtí yasa-ré kawé eikó ahpo pete-čí
be.seated.sg be.seated.sg-PFV well then 3SG.NS house-LOC
then, then the man didn’t feel comfortable at home any more

(41) puú simi-nári-a wa’a ahpo yetó-ri-ačí
D.D go-DES-EMPH there 3SG.NS invite-IPFV-LOC
he wanted to go there, to where he had been invited

(42) weikaóba weiká simi-ré eikaóba
then then go-PFV then
then, then he left, then

(43) toa-ré eikó pete-čí kuú yomá páke ahpó ye’yé
leave-PFV then house-LOC firewood all for 3SG.NS mother
then he left all the wood at home, for his mother

(44) ne-néhi-sa tari-mia ko’áme
ITER-sell-SUB buy-FUT food
(for her) to sell it to buy food

(45) i-weikaóba simi-ré
and-then go-PFV
and then he left

(46) eikó puú temári-a weikaóba simiá simi-ré
then D.D guy-EMPH then go go-PFV
then that guy then he walked, he left
(47) simi-ré simi-ré weikaóba wa'ámi poé-či
go-PFV go-PFV then by.there road-LOC
he left, he left then far along the way

(48) poé-či inatú-ke-ka
road-LOC ask-APL-PTCP

póke kí=mačí-ré=pu-a=pu ahpó oh-ó-ka-či
because NEG=know-PFV=D.D-EMPH=D.D-EMPH 3SG.NS HAB~walk-PTCP-LOC
on the way he asked because he didn't know where he lived

(49) weikaóba wa'ámi nateh-pá-re=pu-a naáti a'awáhe
then by.there find-INCH-PFV=D.D-EMPH thing spring
then far away he found a spring

(50) čiwaamó wa'á pe'íáta kowi-á wa'ami
around there all.over pig-EMPH by.there
Around, the boars were lying all over the place

(51) inatú-kia inatú-kia tuuyá
ask-APL ask-APL ask-APL say
he asked and asked and asked, he said

(52) póke kowí-a wačá-ni mmmm
because pig-EMPH snore-PRS INTERJ
but the boar was snoring mmmm!

(53) číá-ta kowí-a kí=mačí=ni-a pu'-ká-o wa'á núnka hamás
say-QUOT pig-EMPH NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH D.D-ID-EMPH there Never Ever
The boar said I don’t know that place called Never Ever

(54) kí=mačí=ni-a kí=oiná=ni-a kí=inámó=ni-a
NEG=know=1SG.S-EMPH NEG=walk=1SG.S-EMPH NEG=hear=1SG.S-EMPH
I don’t know it, I haven’t been there and I haven’t heard of it

(55) weikáo u'ma-tó-ka-ta eikó wa'ámi simi-ká simi-áta simi-áta
then run-MOV-PTCP-QUOT then by.there go-PTCP go-QUOT go-QUOT
then he ran then far away he left he left he left

(56) natehpáti-áta parowisi toowí naáti paároma
find-QUOT hare rabbit thing dove
he found a hare, a rabbit, that’s it, a dove
(57) ahtaké natépa-ka kohiwé
until find-QUOT buzzard.Aura
till he found a buzzard aura

(58) kohiwé wači-áta entónses eika=pú-á=pu
buzzard Aura say-QUOT then then-QD.D-EMPH=D.D-EMPH
then the buzzard Aura said

(59) temari inatú-ke-re pu'-ká tihoé pu'-ká onóri
guy ask-APPL-PFV D.D-ID man D.D-ID buzzard.black
the young man asks the man, the black buzzard

(60) ačiníá ki=inamoá=mu tihoé wa'ámi wa'ámi
why NEG=hear=2SG.S man by.there by.there

simi-yá=ne=pú núnka hamás
go-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D Never Ever
why didn’t you hear? (said) the man, when I was walking toward Never Ever

(61) ki=mači-yá=ne=pu pu'kaépa inatú-kia=ne amo
NEG=know-IPFV=1SG.S=D.D that's why ask-APPL=1SG.S 2SG.NS
because I don't know it, that's why I am asking you

(62) či-áta wa'ámi oy-ai=ni-a i'yá-ka=ni-a
say-QUOT by.there walk-IPFV=1SG.S-EMPH look.for- QPTCP=1SG.S-EMPH

ko'amé=ni-a wahká nawésa tihoé wahká
food=1SG.S-EMPH far.away speak man far.away

siná siná-ka nawésa-ka siná-ka
shout shout-PTCP speak-PTCP shout-PTCP
he said he was going around here looking for something to eat when he heard
someone shouting and talking

(63) wa'á čiá eikápa senékači=pú wa'á=pu wa'á=pu weikáo
there say then maybe=D.D there=D.D there=D.D then
then it could be there, then it's there

(64) wa'á=pú=ni-a mehká oiná=ni-a puú kohiwé
there=D.D=1SG.S-EMPH far.away walk=1SG.S-EMPH D.D buzzard.Aura
I was far away, said the buzzard Aura

(65) weikaóba neé-a simi-yá=ne simi-yá=ne
then 1SG.S-EMPH go-IPFV=1SG.S go-IPFV=1SG.S
then I walked and walked
weikaóba simi-ré eikó
then go-PFV then
wa'ápi wa'ápi wa'ápi ine-ré=pu ine-ré=pu
same.place same.place same.place be-PFV=D.D be-PFV=D.D
then I walked and I got closer and closer
(67) ahtaké wa'á asi-ré eikó
until there arrive-PFV then
until I arrived there
(68) wa'ápi-a asi-ká-me
same.place-EMPH arrive-PTCP-NMLZ
wa'á tekihpána-me wa'á puú réi tewánia-me
there work-NMLZ there D.D king called-NMLZ
then when I was already there,
I went up to where the one called King was working
(69) tihoé kahti-áta wa'á
man be.seated.sg-QUOT there
there was a man sitting there
(70) weiká pu'-ká réi entónse pu'-ká inatú-ke-re pu-áo tihoé-a=pu
then D.D-ID king then D.D-ID ask-APPL-PFV D-D-EMPH man-EMPH=D.D
then the man asked the king, he asked him
(71) neipá simi-ré=pu-a weikápua wa'á tekihpána-me
later go-PFV=D.D-EMPH then there work-NMLZ
I kept walking up to where there was a worker
(72) pu'káe eikó ine-ré=pu senepúrúa
that's why then be-PFV=D.D
that's why he was rich, that guy
(73) weiká pu'-ká réi tewá=pu
then D.D-ID king name=D.D
tihoé-a=pu wa'á inahté-na=pu karí
man-EMPH=D.D there take.care-PRS=D.D house
he made king the man who took care of the house
(74) eikó asi-ré eikó pete-čí=pu yomá wa'ámi pantaöni
then arrive-PFV then house-LOC=D.D all by.there pants
yomá wa'ámi sukihtiáme wa'ámi pantaoni-rá
all by.there patched.up by.there pants-REL
then he arrived at the (king's) house with his pants patched up, his pants sew up

(75) elo'o yomá wa'ámi ačitiáme pantaóni ki=kawéruma pantaóni
then all by.there anyway pants NEG=good pants

weiká čiá-ta eikó
then say-QUOT then
then, he was carrying the pants anyway, the worthless pants, then he said

(76) naatí puú-a wa'á oh-óe-me-a réi tewánia-me
thing D.D-EMPH there HAB~walk-NMLZ-EMPH king name-NMLZ
the guy who lived there, the so-called king

(77) entónses pú rei-á=pu wa'á čiá-ta
then D.D king-EMPH=D.D there say-QUOT
čané-ka-ta pu'-ká tekihpána-me
say-PTCP-QUOT D.D-ID work-NMLZ
then the king told the workers

(78) káni möki-a pu'-ká ikanáti simi-ká wa'á puebló-či čiá-ta
fast carry-EMPH D.D-ID fast go-PTCP there town-LOC say-QUOT
hurry up and carry that so you can go to the town, he said

(79) ikanáti páke tari-mi-ó pií kaambió pantaóni
fast for buy-FUT-SUB one cloth pants
hurry up so you can go buy a pair of pants

(80) pantaóni-te=pu-á=pu tihoé wa'á ená-ka-me
pants-CAUS=D.D-EMPH=D.D man there come-PTCP-NMLZ
we'll change the pants to the guy who came

(81) ikanáti moké=pu-a tooró wa'áka páke meri=pu-á=pu
fast carry=D.D-EMPH bull this.time for kill.sg=D.D-EMPH=D.D
hurry up, bring the bull, to kill it

(82) pahkó-ta=pu-a ehpéo=pu ená-re=pu réi čiá-ta
feast-make=D.D-EMPH now=D.D come-PFV=D.D king say-QUOT
to have a feast now, said the king

(83) puú réi tewánia-me puú meré-pa meeré ari-pá
D.D king called-NMLZ D.D tomorrow-INCH tomorrow afternoon-INCH
weikápa newi-té=pu-a=pu tihoé=pu
then marry-CAUS=D.D-EMPH=D.D man=D.D
the one called king (said), tomorrow afternoon we’ll marry the guy

entónses ki=noa-má=pu-a amó pete-čí
then NEG=leave-FUT=D.D-EMPH 2SG.NS house-LOC
so don’t you go home

i'wá oh-óe-ma=pu ehpéo
here HAB~walk-FUT=D.D now

mu-á=pu i'wá newi=mú no'o mára aháma
2SG.S-EMPH=D.D here marry=2SG.S 1SG.NS daughter with
here you’ll live here now, you married my daughter

ki=noa-má=mu pete-čí eikó muú čiá-ta eikó
NEG=leave-FUT=2SG.S house-LOC then 2SG.S say-QUOT then
you’re not going home, he told him then

weikóba newi-ré eikó newi-ré newi-ré
then marry-PFV then marry-PFV marry-PFV

wa'a itihpi-re eikó weikaóba
there stay-PFV then then
so he got married, he got married and he stayed there, then
Agustina Zayla Leyva
Life Story

(1) hustína tewa-ni-á=ne
Agustina name-PRS-EMPH=1SG.S
My name is Agustina,

(2) wiramári nawá-ka-me
Miramar born-PTCP-NMLZ
wa'a oineá weri-pá-ka-me
there from be.standing.sg-INCH-PTCP-NMLZ
I was born in Miramar and I grow up there.

(3) močiwámpo simpá-ka=teme weikáo
Mochibampo go.pl-PTCP=1PL.S then
Then, we left to Mochibampo,

(4) wa'a oineá simpá-ka=teme ihkwéra-či
there from go.pl-PTCP=1PL.S school-loc
no'ó piipi=ne aháma pa-páči aháma
1SG.NS sister=1SG.S with PL~brother with
from there we used to go to school with my sisters and brothers.

(5) uráapo moči-ká=teme eikó ihkwéra-či ooká paamóni
Burapaco be.seated.pl-PTCP=1PL.S then school-LOC two year
we went to school in Burapaco during two years.

(6) wa'a oineá mesa-či mui-ká=teme eikó ihkwéra-či
there from Mesa.Colorada-LOC enter-PFV=1PL.S then school-LOC
Then, we started school in Mesa Colorada,

(7) wa'a moči-ká-i we'eká-ka moči-ká=teme
there be.seated.pl-PTCP-IPFV many-EMPH be.seated.pl-PTCP=1PL.S
eikáo taamó po-póni aháma
then 1PL.NS PL~brothers with
we were many altogether my brothers

(8) wa'ápi kia=né-a=pú-a ko'áme wa'ásite-ka
there give=P1SG.NS-EMPH=D.D-EMPH food cook-PTCP
there, they gave me meals
(9) aapoé wasité-ka
3PL.S cook-PTCP
They coocked

(10) taamó kiá-ka señora
1PL.NS give-PTCP mrs.
the cook (mrs.) feed us

(11) senepí sawára-čí eh-éna-pa teemé pete-čí ye'łyé nené-mia taah tá
every saturday-LOC PL~come-INCNE 1PL.S house-LOC mother see-FUT father
every saturday we visited my mother and my father

(12) enči mači-ré-pa-so sin-simpa=temé ihkwéračí
again light-PFV-INCNE-SUB ITER~go.pl=1PL.S school-LOC
in the morning we returned to school

(13) kui-méá eikó tekihpana-méa taah tá
help-FUT then work-FUT father
we went to help my father to work

(14) ye'łyé nerói paiké-ka
mother water bring-PTCP
bringing water to my mother

(15) neotoé-ka ečihtiame aki-čí
water-PTCP field river-LOC
irrigating the field in the river

(16) ahtaké we~werí-pa-ka teemé eikó wâ'ási
until CON~be.standing-INCNE-PTCP 1PL.S then up.to.there
during our development

(17) narahpé o~hu-áiče tekihpaná-ka
many.times PL~walk-ITER work-PTCP
we were working all the time

(18) ye'łyé kui-ká napoh-ké-ka pa'ámuuní
mother help-PTCP clear-APPL-PTCP summer
we helped my mother to clear (the field) during summer

(19) eča-ká yomá kuwésare eikó ečah-ká
sow-PTCP all season then sow-PTCP
we sowed too during season
(20) aki-suépa kui-ká neotoé-ka eikó ye'yé river-border help-PTCP water-PTCP then mother we helped my mother to water the bank of the river

(21) ko'oré-ta-ka senékači fence-MAKE-PTCP sometimes sometimes we fenced

(22) wisahata-ka yomá ečihpu-áči pa'amuni clean-PTCP all field-LOC summer we cleaned the land, too, to sow during summer

(23) we-werí-pa wa'ási PL~be.standing-INCH up.to.there we grow up there

(24) neipá wa'ási too-ré-a aiwá wa'ási next up.to.there suffer-PFV-EMPH hungry up.to.there we were hungry there

(25) senékači ki=asé-pa ko'áme tamó weiká-k-o-pa sometimes NEG=arrive-INCH food 1PL.NS many-PTCP-SUB-INCH sometimes there was not enough food because we were many

(26) neipá=o wa'ási i'wá ena-ká=ne wa'ási next=EMPH up.to.there here come-PTCP=1SG.S up.to.there then I came here

(27) i'wá ki= too-ré aiwá-ni teemé tekihpána-ka yomá tawé here NEG=suffer-PFV hungry-PRS 1PL.S work-PTCP all day here, we are not hungry because we work all day

(28) i'wá=o weiká intú-na ko'áme here=EMPH much exist-PRS food here, there is a lot of food

(29) i'wá=o kahtí nesá wa'á ohó-ai eikó taamó=ma=pu-a here=EMPH be.seated.sg aunt there walk-IPFV then 1PL.S=COM=D.D-EMPH My aunt lives here and she is always with us

(30) sunú pena-ká wa'ámi corn gather-PTCP through.there we pick up corn somewhere
(31) kuú kai-ká o'ohu-ái teemé nesá aháma kusí-tere
    stick bring-PTCP PL~walk-IPFV 1PL.S aunt with woods-between
    we pick up sticks in the mountain with my aunt

(32) yomá tawé te~tehkípáni-a teemé eikó i'wá
    all day ITER~work-EMPH 1PL.S then here
    then, we work all day here

(33) ko'ñári-a kawé ki=tooré-a aiwa-nári-a
    eat-DES-EMPH well NEG=suffer-EMPH hungry-DES-EMPH
    not to be hungry

(34) sawanánto o'ínea eh~ena-pa waátepa tekihpana-méa sunú pepe-méa
    San.Bernardo from PL~come-INC toward here work- FUT corn gather-FUT
    we came here from San Bernardo to work and to pick up corn

(35) ahtá močí-ká-pa ehpé-o ki=mehká ohó-na teemé eikó
    since be.seated.pl-PTCP-INCH now-EMPH NEG=far.away walk-PRS 1PL.S then
    since we live here we don't travel too far

(36) i'wá oinéa tekihpana-méa wa'ámi
    here from work-FUT through there
    here, we work somewhere

(37) ko'kóri puha-ká toománte puha-ká
    chile gather-PTCP tomato gather-PTCP
    we pick up chilies and tomatoes

(38) napoh-ká ečitiáme wasačiámi yóri ečari-áči
    weed-PTCP field in.the.land white.man sowing-LOC
    we clean the cultivation, the field with the bosses

(39) ki=kaéna teté-na yo'ókia paikapi wa'ápi
    NEG=much pay-PRS few same.place
    they don't pay enough, they pay few money

(40) pukaépa ki=asé-pa-ni kawé ko'áme taamó ičiö
    that's why NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS well food 1PL.NS BEN
    that's why there are not enough food for us

(41) wa'ási wakirá ičiö ki=asé-pa-ni
    up.to.there clothing BEN NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS
    we lack clothes
(42) moči-wí teemé i’wá-o
be.seated.pl-PRS 1PL.S here-EMPH
We live here

(43) ki=toóre aiwá-ní teemé tekihpána-ka yomá tawé
NEG=suffer hungry-PRS 1PL.S work-PTCP all day
We are not hungry if we work all day

(44) ooká wa’a-pí inuwa-é=ne kukučí wa’ási
two same.place have-INS=1SG.S children up.to.there
I have only two kids

(45) na’apaká tekihpána-ní teemé ehpéo
both work-PRS 1PL.S now
They both work (with us) now

(46) ase-pá-me ko’áme ičió wakirá ičió ka’aká ičió yomá
arrive-INCH-NMLZ food BEN clothes BEN sandals BEN everybody
to have enough (money) for food and clothes and for sandals too

(47) senékači pii tawé reesípu-ka wa’a-pí
sometimes one day rest-PTCP same.place
sometimes we rest one day (a week) only

(48) paikápi yo’i-yáí toomí o’oká teemé tekihpána-ka
little earn-IPTV money two 1SG.S work-PTCP
Even though we earn only little money both of us work anyway

(49) teiwáme ki’te wa’á-o tehki kawé tekihpána-me o’owerú
mountains there.is.not there-EMPH work well work-NMLZ women
in the mountains there is no work for women

(50) tihoé ičió intú-na tekihpá-nare
men BEN there.is-PRS work-DES
there is work only for men

(51) i’wá weeká o’-hó-na taamó te~tehíme
here many PL~walk-PRS 1PL.NS PL~relative
here live many relatives

(52) yomá tawé taamó kawé tetewá-ní i’wá-o
every day 1PL.NS well see-PRS here-EMPH
they treat us well everyday
(53) taamó ihkòke-na wakirá sipičá yomá
1PL.NS give-PRS clothes dress everything
and they give us clothes, dresses

(54) ki=sí'pápáme oh~ó-na teemé i'wá=o wakirá wa'átia
NEG=tattered PL~walk-PRS 1PL.S here=emph cloth
we don't dress tattered clothes

(55) yomá taamó ihkòke-na taamá ma'čiáme
everybody 1PL.NS give-PRS
some friends give us things too

(56) ka'~káruma énte močí-wi i'wá-o
PL~nice people be.seated.pl-PRS here-EMPH
There are good people here

(57) nahpéo oh~uá-iče wa'áši o'h~óí-pa=teme
many.times PL~walk-ITER up.to.there up.to.there PL~walk-INCH=1PL.S
we moved many times, but now we set up here

(58) kari-wá-e-teme taamó ko~kočí-méa wa'áši
house-CLAS-INS-1PL.S 1PL.NS PL~sleep-FUT up.to.there
now, we have a house where to sleep

(59) ki=asé-pa-ni asé-pa kawé tamó kawé oh~oa-mé
NEG=arrive-INCH-PRS arrive-INCH well 1PL.NS well PL~walk-NMLZ
we don't have enough to live better

(60) serepií pámuní o'h~o-na-temé waáte mesa-čí-te
each.one year PL~walk-PRS=1PL.S toward.there Mesa. Colorado-LOC-toward
we go to Mesa Colorado every year

(61) taamó te~tehíma nené-mía waáte
1PL.NS PL~relative see-FUT toward.there

(62) senékaci eh~ené-pa-re wa'atépa taamó nené-mía
sometimes PL~come-INCH-PFV toward.here 1PL.NS see-FUT
sometimes they have come to see us
(63) tekihpana-méa i'wá-o taamó močik-áči work-FUT here-EMPH 1PL.NS be.seated.pl-LOC
to work here where we live

(64) ahpó ye'éme wa'ámi merikó močik-áči 3SG.NS cure through.there doctor be.seated.pl-LOC
to be cured here (where we live)

(65) yačah-pa-sá-pa no'~nóa-pa-re wa'áte enči be.seated-INCH-SUB-INCH PL~leave-INCH-PFV toward.there again
to show relief they go back there

(66) ye'yé ko'kória-e ko'kória-pa eh~ená-pa-re waatépa mother sick-INS sick-INCH ITER~come-INCH-PFV toward.here
when my mother is ill she comes

(67) ehpé-o yačah-pá-re wa'ási now-EMPH be.seated-INCH-PFV up.to.there
kawé kahti-áta ehpé-o wa'áasi well be.seated-QUOT now-EMPH up.to.there
Now she is recovered, she is well

(68) no'nó e'čá-re wa'ási a'áru pu'káe father cultivate-PFV up.to.there watermelon that's.why

    ki=ená-ni wa'atépa wa'ási
    NEG=come-PRS toward.here up.to.there
My father is cultivating watermelon that's why he does not come here

(69) ena-ri-ó-tia-ta ená come-PFV-SUB-QUOT-QUOT come

    ki=ena-m-ó tuča-ní-átia ehpé-o wa'ási
    NEG=come-FUT-SUB say-PRS-QUOT now-EMPH up.to.there
he said that he was going to come but he didn't

(70) yomá i'ipá-re wa'ási tirikó all harvest-PFV up.to.there wheat
he already picked the wheat up

(71) ahpó ečá-ri-a téwi 3SG.NS cultivate-PFV-NMLZ there
that he cultivated there
(72) no'o puyé-ka moči-ká-ta=pu-a
     1SG.NS wait.for-PTCP be.seated-PTCP-QUOT=D.D-EMPH
     they are waiting for me

(73) no'o sin-heriá-ta wa'áte pukaépa
     1SG.NS go.want-QUOT toward.there that's why
     they want me go there

(74) ki=ená-méra aapóe wa'atépa
     NEG=come-POT 3PL.S toward.here
     because they cannot come here

(75) ehpé-o wa'a oé=ne wa'ási
     now-EMPH here walk=1SG.S up.to.there
     I live here now

(76) sonóra tewané-či i'wá
     Sonora call-LOC here
     it's called Sonora

(77) ki=sí-méra ehpé-o wa'áte ihkwéра-či to'á ičió kukučí
     NEG=go-POT now-EMPH toward.there school-LOC stay BEN children
     I can not go there because the children are (attending) school

(78) ahtá kahu-só-pa simpá-ma=temé wa'áte
     until finish-SUB-INCH go.pl-FUT=1PL.S toward.there
     when they finish classes we are going to go there

(79) wa'ási puya-só-pa wa'ási ihkwéra-či kukučí
     up.to.there leave-SUB-INCH up.to.there school-LOC children
     when children leave school

(80) neipá wa'ási tekhipána-me temé eikéo
     last up.to.there work-NMLZ 1PL.S then
     then, we are going to work

(81) napoh-ká yo'orí aháma yo'orí-či ečariáčame
     weed-PTCP mestizo COM mestizo-LOC field
     cleaning the field of yori, where yori sow

(82) kokori'te tehpuča-ka yomá
     peppers cut-PTCP everything
     we are going to pick up peppers too
(83) naapé o-hó-ai o-hó-ka tekihpaná-ka however PL~walk-IPFV PL~walk-PTCP work-PTCP we have worked a lot

(84) ki=toore-iai-nári-a i'wá móči-ka tamó pete-wá-či NEG=suffer-hungry-DES-EMPH here be.seated-PTCP 1PL.NS house-POS-LOC so we don’t suffer from hunger here in our house

(85) yo'óri-a ki=kawé tamó natehké-na=pu-a mestizo-EMPH NEG=good 1PL.NS pay-PRS=D.D-EMPH yori don’t pay well

(86) paikápi wa'ápi paiká siendó wa'ápi natehté-na yo'óri-a little same three hundred same pay-PRS mestizo-EMPH yori pay few money, they pay three hundred pesos only

(87) ki=kawé asé-pa-ní yomá ko'ámé ičió NEG=good arrive-INCH-PRS everything food BEN there is not enough (money) for (buying) food

(88) naipáme simpá-ma-teme yoomá last go.pl-FUT=1PL.S everything

teiwáme néné-mia wa'áte tamó mačiyá luckily see-FUT toward.there 1PL.NS knowns then, we are going to visit there to see (the people we) know

(89) so'očí iyá-mia teiwáme fish look.for-FUT luckily to look for fish

(90) ihkwéra-či puuya-só kukučí wa'ási eikápa eikápa simpá-ma=tene wa'áte school-LOC finish-SUB children up.to.there then then go.pl-FUT=1PL.S there after children finish school we are going to go there

(91) wa'atépa e~-ená-sa-pa toward.here PL~come-SUB-INCH

wa'ási enčí tekihpana-méa simpá-ma=tene eikó up.to.there again work-FUT go.pl-FUT=1PL.S then then, when we return from there we are going to work again

(92) yo'osí tari-ké-ma kukučí ihkwéra-či mui-méa eikó notebook buy-APPL-FUT children school-LOC enter-POT then to buy notebooks for children for their return to school
(93) yomá itahtápi itá-ni wa'á-o ihkwéra-či
everything thing ask-PRE-EMPH school-LOC
in school, they ask for many things

(94) ehpé-o ki=tekihpana-ní=ne
now-EMPH NEG=work-PRE-1SG.S

kawé=pu i'wá močik-ó-pa kukučí
well=D.D here be.seated.pl-SUB-INCH children
Now, I am not working because I take care of children

(95) inaté-ka wasitę-ke-ka tekihpaná-ka wa'ámi enah-pá-me
take.care-PTCP cook-APPL-PTCP work-PTCP through.there come-INCH-NMLZ
taking care of them and cooking for the workers

(96) ki=to'ore-aiwa-mičio pú'-ka-oi
NEG=suffer-hungry-PURP D.D-ID-SUB
so they don't suffer from hunger

(97) ka~karóma no~nowa-mičio teiwáme
PL~well PL~return-PURP luckily
so they return well

(98) ahpó oh~ói-kačí
3SG.NS PL~walk-LOC
where they live
Pear story
Agustina zayla leyva

(1) apoé ini-ré yoorí
3SG.S be-PFV mestizo
‘There was a mestizo

(2) e'etiá oíča-ni puú
like.that start-PRS D.D
this way it starts

(3) pačúri no'ó nene-ri-a
just 1PL.NS see-PFV-REL
what I just saw

(4) natí-či wiréo-či
thing-LOC video-LOC
in the video

(5) pii tihoe očetiame wa'á
one man old there
an old man

(6) oi-yá tehpúča-ka naatí pu'-ká čintewaniá=pu péra
walk/IPFVcut-PTCP thing D.D-ID name=D.D pear
that was cutting those called pears

toht-amé tía si'~sióname
be.seated-NMLZ say PL~green
those green ones

(7) pu'-ká puha-kaí oi-yá te'pá natí-či
D.D-ID pick.up-PTCP walk-IPFV up thing-LOC
those he was picking up there

(8) ekarera-či i'móra-čipote oi-yá wihčipa-ka
ladder-LOC ladder-UP walk-IPFV -PTCP
in the ladder up there

(9) i'wa čuhčá natí pu'-ká naatí kontésio katiame
here hang thing D.D-ID thing
here he had a bag
(10) i'wá čuhčá-ka wa'á waátipo toa-si-á
here hang-PTCP there there put-go-EMPH
there he was putting them

(11) tóa
put
putting them

(12) weeká pui-sá-pa enčí
a.lot gather-SUB-INCH again
after he gathered a lot of them, again

(13) wa'á werumá-o warikátíame werumá c'éitia
there big-EMPH cest big like.that
he was putting them inside the big cest

(14) pu'-ká-čí toa-si-a waátipo
D.D-ID-LOC put-go-EMPH there
he was putting them there

(15) počiwá-si-a ikanátí ooká počiwá-ri-a wa'así
fill-go-EMPH quicky two fill-PFV-NMLZ up.to.there
he was filling them quickly, two of them

(16) neipá wa'á ená-ka piipi kuitá
last there come-PTCP one child
after that a child arrived

(17) wiskréta-čí wa'á e'-ená-ka
bike-LOC there ITER-come-PTCP
he was coming in a bike

(18) i'tó-ka piipi poči-káme pu'-ká wári
take-PTCP one one fill-NMLZ D.D-ID cest
he took a cest filled

(19) mmh wa'áltia wari-má wiskréta-čí werasá i'tó-ka ekipá
INTERJ everything cest-COM bike-LOC take-PTCP then
then he took everything in the bike

(20) i'wá u'má-to-ka piré natí puú čiwá pani-tu-áme
here run-MOV-PTCP other thing D.D goat taking.care-MOV-NMLZ
there was one (man) that was taking care of a goat
na ki=tóka=pu-a pu'-ká
but NEG=take=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID
but he didn’t took anything

natí warí wa’á aha-káme
thing cest there be.standing.pl-NMLZ
those cests that were there

piiré neipá ená-kame
other last come-NMLZ
the other that came after

puú i’tó-ka ekihpá pu’-ká-o
D.D take-PTCP then D.D-ID-EMPH
was the one that took those

e’e naatí warí poči-káme i’tó-ka ekipá wa’ámi
INTERJ thing cest fill-NMLZ take-PTCP then through.there
taking a filled cest

weikó mehká ihtó-ai-pa wa’ási
then far.away take-IPFV-INCH up.to.there
then when he was going far away

natehpá-ri-a o’owítiamé wa’á wisikréta-či ená-e
meet-PFV-EMPH woman there bike-LOC come-INS
he met a woman that came in a bike

ku’ri-ka nené-mia e’éitia
turn-PTCP see-FUT like.that
and turned his face like that

wiči-ka wa’á puú warí
fall-PTCP there D.D cest
the cest fell down

moké-to-ame puú-a wa’á
carry.in.the.back-MOV-NMLZ D.D-EMPH there
the one he took with him

wa’á yasa-ká itihpía eikó
there be.seated-PTCP stay then
then he stay seated there
(32) yomá či’rinasá pú’-ka náti  
all spread D.D-ID thing  
all those (pears) spread all over the ground

(33) weikoá wa’á aha-ri-á  
wa’á paiká teh-temári nu’-nútí-a  
then there be.standing.pl-IPFV-EMPH there three PL-boy INT~small-EMPH

wa’á čikekečúma  
there same.size  
there were other three little boys, of the same size

(34) weikó kui’-ká pepe-sá  
then help-PTCP pick.up-SUB  
then they helped him to pick them up

(35) počiwá-re enčí  
fill-PFV again  
they fill (the cest) up again

(36) wa’á toá-ri-a  
there put-PFV-EMPH  
they put them there

(37) eikaóba ki’yá-ka naatí enčí wa’á  
then give-PTCP thing again there  
then (they) gave him (the cest) again

(38) te’pá weré-ka eikó enčí wisikréta-či pu’-ká  
up put.standing-PTCP then again bike-LOC D.D-ID  
and he put it back on the bike

(39) ihčikó-ka-me=pu eikó mokóira-me mehká wiči-ré mokoirá  
steal-PTCP-NMLZ=D.D then hat-NMLZ far.away fall-PFV hat  
the thief, his hat fell down far away

(40) weikáó wa’á puú wa’á teh-témari weikaóba  
then there D.D there PL-boy then  
apěčúna-sa-pa kiyá-ka enčí pu’-ká mókori  
pick.up-SUB-INCH give-PTCP again D.D-ID hat  
then the boys after picking it up gave it back to him

(41) mókori-ta-mičio pu’-ká ihčiku-áme  
hat-MAKE-PURP D.D-ID steal-NMLZ  
in order for him to wear it (again), that thief
(42) wa’a ihto-áí-čia eikó
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then
when he was leaving

(43) kia-tiá=pu-a pu’-ká mókori
give-PASS=D.D-EMPH D.D-ID hat
they gave him the hat

(44) eikó kiyá-ka paiká pu’-ká
then give-PTCP three D.D-ID
then he gave them three (pears)

(45) ihkóke-re eikó pu’-ká ahpó itó-ai
give-PFV then D.D-ID 3SG.NS take-IPFV
he gave them what he had

(46) wa’a ihto-áí-čia eikó tihoé-a-ba
there leave-IPFV-QUOT then man-EMPH-INCH
then when the man was leaving

(47) puú teh-témari puú kiyá-tiá-me wa’a u’má-to-ka wa’a
D.D PL~boy D.D give-PASS-NMLZ there run-MOV-PTCP there
those boys, those who were given (the pears) passed by there

(48) tihoé wa’a-hu očétiname o’~o-i-áči pu’-ká puha-ká
man there-COP old ITER~walk-IPFV-LOC D.D-ID pick.up-PTCP

(49) ko’áme wa’átepa čuča-káme
food up.there hang-NMLZ
where the old man was picking up the food that was hung

(50) weikó nené-ka wa’a kiti-o piipi poči-káme
then see-PTCP there there.is.no-SUB one fill-NMLZ
then he saw that one of (the full cests) was missing

(51) ooká ahawá-i wa’ási
two put.standing-IPFV up.to.there
he had two of them

(52) paiká počíwa-méra=pu-a=pu eikó
three fill-POT=D.D-EMPH=D.D then
he was going to fill three
(53) nené-ka itihpi-ka eikó
see-PTCP stay-PTCP then
he kept watching then

(53) enčí wa'apóte ekihpá moéna-ka enčí wa'ápote i'morá-čipote
again up.there climb-PTCP again up.there ladder-up.there
and he climbed up there in the ladder

(54) počiwá-re eikó piré
fill-PFV then other
he fill up another

(55) neipá-o enčí tekih-k-ó-pa
last-EMPH again get.down-PTCP-SUB-INC
after he got down again

(56) u'má-to-ka wahá
run-MOV-PTCP other
the others passed by

(57) mako-ká pu'-ká ahpó ihkóke-tia pu'-ká
hold-PTCP D.D-ID 3SG.NS give-PASS D.D-ID
holding what they were given

(58) ihčiku-áme i'tó-ri-a
steal-NMLZ take-PFV-NMLZ
what the thief was taking

(59) ahpó ihkóke-ri-a
3SG.NS give-PFV-NMLZ
what the thief had given to them

(60) weikó nené-ka ihtihpi-ka wa'á
then see-PTCP stay-PTCP there
then he kept watching

(61) nené-ka ihtipí-ka wa'ámia ampákopa
see-PTCP stay-PTCP through.there
when they passed by there

(62) wahá mako-ká piipirípi pu'-ká
other hold-PTCP each.one D.D-ID
when each one of them were holding one (pear)
(63) puúčewási wa'á kahu-ká
    that's.it there finish-PTCP
    that's it, it finished like that

(64) wa'á no’ó tetewá-ri-a
    there 1SG.NS see-PFV-NMZ
    what I saw

(65) puú-če ini-ré wa'asi
    D.D be-PFV up.to.there
    that's it
APENDIX II

BASIC TRILINGUAL DICTIONARY
WARIHÍO-ENGLISH SPANISH
AND REVERSED INDEX
ENGLISH-WARIHÍO
aakí n. River; Río. teemé akiisuépa ohoé We live along the river Nosotros vivimos a la orilla del río.

a'aká n. Spit; Saliva. kuitá a'aká sawáemehu The child's saliva is yellow La saliva del niño está amarilla.

aakátori, akatóri n. Butterfly; Mariposa. aakátori paamúni muiyámé The butterflies reproduce in rainy times Las mariposas se reproducen en tiempo de lluvias.

aanío, anío n. Ring; Anillo. tararúne aanío yomá kukučí ičío I bought a ring for each one of the little girls Compré un anillo para cada una de las niñas [Note: Spanish borrow from anillo 'ring'.]

aanára n. Wing; ala. ihi kohkókowi kahpóna pií aanára This dove has her wing broken Esta paloma tiene una ala rota [Note: Spanish borrow from ala 'wing' plus the absolutive -ra.]

aapó pron. They; Ellos, ellas. aapó koاني sočí They are eating fish Ellos están comiendo pescado.

a'apé, aapé n. Peel, bark; Corteza, cáscara. u'pará a'apéra tunahkámehu / makučúní aapéra kaweruma i'ýowi witaisírí ičío The bark of the mezquite tree is very thick / the guamuchil tree peel is a good remedy for diarrhea. La corteza del mezquite es muy gruesa / la cáscara de guamuchil es buen remedio para la diarrea.

aaritúri adv. Late afternoon; Muy tarde. aaritúri no'wákame I returned late in the afternoon Me regresé muy tarde.

aarí adv. Afternoon; Tarde. no'ó ye'čí enáru tapaná aarí My aunt came here yesterday afternoon Mi tía vino ayer en la tarde.

a'arápa, a'rápa n. Harp; Arpa. riinó kasinare a'rápa pukač kičačátemera i'ká tukač Lino broke the harp, that's why he isn't going to play tonight Lino quebró el arpa y por eso no va a tocar esta noche [Note: Spanish borrow from arpa 'harp'.]

aaróso n. Rice; Arroz. muú kitá'írena aaróso You don't like rice A ti no te gusta el arroz [Note: Spanish borrow from arróz 'rice'.]

aaráwe n. Pumpkin; calabaza. puú aaráwe pikaré wa'ási That pumpkin got rotten Esa calabaza ya se pudrió.

aarówe n. Adobe; Adobe. no'ó no'nó karitáré aarówe My father built a house of adobes Mi padre hizo una casa de adobe [Note: Spanish borrow from adobe 'adobe'.]

aasúka n. Sugar; Azúcar. no'ó kukúru pu'érerani wařú yahčéka aasúka kahpég My uncle loves to put a lot of sugar to the coffee A mi tío le gusta hacerle mucha azúcar al café [Note: Spanish borrow from azúcar 'sugar'.]

aatá, a'atá n. Arrow, bow; Flecha, jara, arco. i'ká aatáke ko'imáne paiká mahói / kiteswani noó a'atáwa With these arrows I'm going to kill three deers / I don't find my bow Con estas flechas voy a matar tres vendados / no hallo mi arco.

aawá n. Horn; Cuerno. toorá kahpóre aawára The bull got his horn broken Al toro se le quebró un cuerno.

ačakári n. Crab; Cangrejo. ki'yámé weeká intóai ačakári akičí Long time ago there were many crabs in the river Antes había muchos cangrejos en el río.

ahawí v. To be standing (pl.); Estar
parado (pl.) kukuči ahawí
kuútere The children are
standing under the tree Los niños
estan parados debajo del árbol
ahčárame n. Pitchfork; Horqueta. ihí
ahčárame kawerumahu
caritaniamé ičió This pitchfork is
good to build a house. Esta
horqueta está buena para hacer
una casa.

ahimáni v. To peel off (agave);
Descortezar el ágave. wani weká
ahimáni John is peeling off a lot
of agave Juan está
descortezando mucho ágave.

ahiyá n. Guasima tree.; Guásima.
no’ó yečí petewaráči paonámína
werí ahyiá In front of my aunt's
house there is a guasima tree
Enfrente de la casa de mi tía hay
una guásima.

ahpó prn. Him, her, his, her, himelf,
herself; A él (ella), su, él (ella)
miísimo. apó karitáre ahpó
caríwá He built his own house El
construyó su casa.

ahpóna v. To be swollen; Estar
hinchado. ahpónané panáta My
cheek is swollen Tengo hinchado
el cachete.

ahpópani v. To expand; Hincharse,
expandirse. paani ahpópare The
bread already expanded El pan
ya se hinchó.

ahámá posp. With; Con. owítiame
nuúti simíná pedró ahámá The
little girl was going with Peter
La niña iba con Pedro.

aháme adj. Alive; El vivo. aháme
neipá mukurú The alive one died
later El vivo se murió después.

aháni v. To live; Vivir. wakási iwétá
pahí aháni The cow is still living
La vaca todavía está viva.

akačúpani, akačúpani v. To spit;
Escupir. puúa yomá tawé
akačúpani / no’ó kumú katiá
akačúpani He uses to spit all day
/ My uncle is spitting too much
El se la pasa escupiendo todo el
día / Mi tío está escupiendo
mucho.

akárúsuna v. To dribble; Babear.

tuitá weerú akárúsuna The baby
is dribbling too much El nino
está babeando mucho.

akičísuwérači n. Bank of the river;
Orilla del río. akičísuwérači
posotáme počíre nérói wa’ası
The deep pool made in the bank
of the river is full of water El
pozo que hicieron en la orilla del
río ya se lleno de agua.

a’ká n. Spít; Saliva. no’ó a’ká őč’korá
My spit is brown Mi saliva está
café.

amó prn. You, your, yourself; Te, a ti,
tu, a ti mismo. amó no’ó amó
nuréru amó karitamíchio amó
caríwá Your father told you to
build your own house Tu papá te
dijo que hicieras tu propia casa.

animári n. Animal; Animal, animales.
kusútere weeká ohóna animári
There are many animals in the
wood En el monte hay muchos
animales [Note: Borrow from
the Spanish animal 'animal'].

anísí n. Anis; Anís. ki’yámé no’ó yéyé
ečariá anísí Long time ago my
mother used to grow anis Hace
mucho mi amá sembraba anís
[Note: Borrow from the Spanish
anis 'anís'].

apečúna v. To rise; Alzarse,
levantarse. apečúna neröye kuú
with the water the stick rises Con
el agua se levanta el palo.

apečúnaní, apečúčani v. To lift;
Levantar. hustína apečúanarú
pu’ká kostári pinéri / kukuči
apečúčani epehtá ahpó
kokočiríči Agustina lifted that
sac by herself / The children are
lifting the petates where they
slept Agustina levantó ese costal
ella sola / Los niños están
levantando los petates donde
durmieron.

apoči adj. Against (him); Contra él.
yomá apoči simpánare
Everybody was against him
Todos estaban en contra de él.

apoč pron. He, She; El, ella. apoč
tekihpánare yomá tawé He
worked all day El trabajó todo el
**B - b**

bienéči  adv. Friday; Viernes. bienéči simáne I am leaving friday Me voy a ir el viernes [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'viernes']

**Č - č**

čaaró  n. Jaw; Quijada, mandíbula. čaatérene čaaró My jaw is dislocated se me trabó la quiijada.

čaatúra  n. Scissors; Tijeras. čaatúrae tehúnamane spíča With this scissors I am going to cut the fabric Con las tijeras voy a cortar la tela.

čačahkí  n. Mojarra (a type of fish); Mojarra. no'ó yeyé pasumára čačahkí My mom is going to cook mojarra Mi mamá va a cocinar mojarra.

čahará  n. Woodpecker; Pájaro carpintero. čahará owarátame čiiki The woodpeckers make holes in the hechos (kind of cactus) Los pajaros carpinteros hacen hoyos en los hechos [Note: čiiki 'hecho' is a kind of cactus.]

čahpáči  n. Hill; Colina. wa'á čahpáči ku'ripua You turn by the hill Ahi das vuelta en la colina.

čahpóri  n. Corn tortilla; Tortilla de maíz. čahpóri wetemá hitiame isawitére onapesóte The corn
tortillas are grilled under the hot coal and the ashes Las tortillas de maíz se tentaman enterradas debajo de las brasas y cenizas [Note: čahpórú is an special type of corn tortilla cooked in the way described in the sentence.]

čainá v. To stick; Atorarse. čairúne seekára kuúe My hand stuck among the branches Se me atoró la mano entre las ramas.

ča'ká n. Raven (female); Chanate (hembra). ča'ká tasótame The raven is making her nest El chanate hembra hace su nido.

čaminá v. To taste; Probar. čamirúne tuusí kawéruma mačča I tasted the cournflour to know if it was good Probé el pinole para ver si servía.

čanawiro n. Raven (male); Chanate (macho). neē maháwá čanawiro I am scared of ravens a mi me dan miedo los chanates.

čankaritáni v. To grow crests; Crestear, salir crestas. aaráwe čankaritáni Crests are growing in the pumpkins A las calabazas le están saliendo crestas.

čankárira n. Crest; Cresta. aaráwe wewéruma čankáríre The crests of the pumpkins are big Las crestas de las calabazas están grandes.

čání v. To say, to tell; Decir. puú no'ó čánérú He told me that El me dijo eso.

čapakhá n. Leg, tibia; Pierna, espinilla. tapaná kaňhpórune čapakhá Yesterday I broke my leg Ayer me quebré la pierna.

čapiná v. To hold something with the hand; Agarrar con la mano. hustina čapiré nakapóru Agustina held the coral snake with the hand Agustina agarro la coralillo con la mano.

čapí n. Bird (yellow breast); Pájaro de pecho amarillo. kútá čapiré pipí čapí The child caught a yellow breast bird El niño atrapó un pájaro [Note: This bird lives in hanged nests.]

čharewá n. Wood (small pieces); Leña (palitos que se juntan). weeká peperúné čarewá I gathered enough pieces of wood yá junté mucha leña [Note: čarewá are small sticks that you can pick up in the woods.]

čari'čaní v. To chop up; Partir, rajar (varios objetos). hustina čari'čaré kuú pácki Agustina chopped up the woods this morning Agustina partió los leños esta mañana [Note: čari'čani is used when someone chops up many sticks.]

čari'nani v. To chop up; Rajar, partir a lo largo (un solo objeto). hustina čari'nare kuú pácki Agustina chopped up the wood this morning Agustina partió el leño está mañana [Note: čari'nani is used when someone chops up only one wood.]

čawari n. Carp; Carpa (pez). no'ó yeyé kariwaráči ma'čiáchito akiči ohóna čawari In front of my mom's house down the river there are carp En frente de la casa de mi mamá hacia abajo en el río hay Carpas.

če'erépaní v. To get fever; Enfiebrarse. kútá utewáame če'erépaní The child has a high fever El niño tiene la fiebre muy alta.

če'haní v. To prick, to stab; Picar, apuñalar. tapaná páciki čeččaka ko'yákane weeká roowína Yesterday I fished many lobinas (by pricking them) Ayer en la mañana pezqué muchas lobinas.

čeřiwéma interj. Thanks; Gracias. čeřiwéma kinahkíne Thanks, but I don't want it Gracias, pero no quiero.

če'waní v. To hit; Golpear. kútá čewáre ahpó ye'yé The child hit his mother El niño golpió a su mamá.

če'winá v. To get (by exposure); Pegar. če'wiréne chopéye I got cold Me dio gripe.
če’eri n. Fever; Fiebre, calentura.
pakánawaa kawéruma iyó če’eri kó’koame ičió The pacanagua is a good remedy to cure fever El yerbalmano es un buen remedio para la fiebre.
čičió n. Potato (wild; Papa de monte).
čičioáremu paanáta čičió yo’vi koaká You stained your face eating raw wild potatoe Te manchaste la cara comiendo papa de monte cruda [Note: ‘čičió’ is a kind of potato of the wood.]
čhipuáme adj. Bitter; Amargo. neé wi’sunáru kahpé čhipuáme I threw the bitter coffee away Tiré el café amargo.
čihúrare adj. Round; Redondo. no’ó kiyá aaráwe čihihúrame Give me the rounded pumpkins Dame las calabazas redondas.
čikakári, čikakhári n. Bird; Pájaro. ehpé e’n’amu tihoé piari tapaná ari u’rápaka čikakhári Today we will have visitors because the chikajkari (bird) song yesterday hoy van a venir visitas porque ayer cantaron los chólowis [Note: ‘čikakári’ is a type of bird that according to warlhios sings when someone is coming to visit.]
čikihúni n. Riñón; kidney. ruupíta ma’čikihúretu pič čikihúni A kidney was removed from Doña Lupe a doña lupe le sacaraon un riñón.
čikúri, čikúri n. Mouse; Ratón. mi’si nanániru čikúri / čikúri imoári ičikuáme The cat ran after the mouse / Mice use to steal the grains El gato correteó al ratón / Los ratones se roban los granos.
čikéro, čikéro n. Barnyard; Corral. pedró yetépare kawái čikérochi Peter shuted the horses in the barnyard Pedro encerró los caballos en el corral.
činčí n. Bug; Chinché. čuhcúri weeká inuwáč činčí The dog has many bugs El perro tiene muchas chinches [Note: Borrow from the Spanish ‘chinche’].
čipuhténa v. To taste bitter (something); Sentirse amargo. kahpé no’ó čipuhténa I taste the coffee bitter Me sabe amargo el café.
čiputiáme adj. Dirty; Sucio. kuitá čiputiáme oiná The child is dirty El niño está sucio.
čirína v. To be spilled over, to be scattered; Estar desarramado. muñí yomá čirína The beans are scattered all over Los frijoles están todos desarramados.
čitoká n. Elbow; Codo. wáni čitoká temóčame John has his elbows rough Juan tiene los codos muy roñosos.
čiwatóro n. Billy goat; Chivo. čiwatóro čiwá no’norá The billy goat is the father of the nanny goat El chivo es papá de la chiva [Note: ‘čiwatóro’ is a compund word from two Spanish borrows; chiva ‘nanny goat’ and toro ‘bull’].
čiwá n. Nanny goat; Chiva. neé inuwáč pič čiwá pintó I have a stained nanny goat Yo tengo una chiva pinta.
čiwí n. Turkey; Guijolo. meéré me’rímáne pič čiwí I am going to kill the turkey tomorrow to cook it Mañana voy a matar el guijolo para guisarlo.
čiwáni v. To be torn; Estar roto (un pedacito). taakári yomá čiwáre All the tortillas torn apart Todas las tortillas se rompieron.
čo’añi v. To turn off; Apagar. tawetúri čo’añine ná’i I turn off the fire early Apagué la lumbré temprano.
čo’iñá v. To be off (of fire); Apagado, no haber lumbré. cho’iñá ná’i There is no fire No hay lumbre.
cho’koténa v. To taste acid something; Sentir ácido algo. muñí no’ó cho’koténa na’ítüre I taste the beans acid, they are rotten Los frijoles me saben ácido, están perdidos.
čo’koáme adj. Sour; Agrio. kuitá ihíre
The child drank the sour milk. El niño se tomó la leche agria.

To be acid; Estar ácido.

The beans are acid. Los frijoles están ácidos.

Mucus; Mocos. pi'we čo'mára kuitá Blow the child's nose! Limpiale los mocos al niño.

To smash, to punch; Machacar, dar un puñetazo.

Markó čonani mañi paatári metémia Marcos is smashing mescal to make wine. Marcos está machacando mezcales para hacer vino.

Turtledove; Tórtola.

wa'ami weraíame uparáci ahawí paiká čonipóro In that mesquite there are three turtledoves. En aquel mezquite están tres tórtolas [Note: Las tórtolas son de Dios por eso no las matan para comérselas.]

Cold; catarro. ma'čiriōpe čoopéiwačame I woke up having a cold. Amaneci con catarro.

To kneel; Arrodillarse. hustina čo'ppohkirituna ni'omía Agustina is kneeling to pray. Agustina se está arrodillando para rezar.

Knee; Rodilla. hustina ahpóna čo'ppoköría Agustina has her knee inflammed. Agustina tiene la rodilla hinchada.

Sap; Savia. toró čo'wíra kawéruma iyói tamé ko'koámé ičió The sap of the toro is a good remedy for the toothache. La savia de toro es buen remedio para el dolor de muelas [Note: 'toró' is a kind of tree: bursera penicillata (identification by Dodd and Gentry).]

Chicken; Pollo. me'rimánepu ooká čo'ori ko'amo yoamía I have to kill two chicken to make food. Tengo que matar dos pollos para hacer comida.

To hang up; Colgar.

wáni wa'ami moári čučahpáni

John is hanging the hasversack up there. Juan está colgado el morral allí.

To be hang, to be in four legs; Estar colgado, en cuatro patas (pl.). moári čučuwí eñkinači The bags are hang in the corner. Los morrales están colgados en la esquina.

To hang up, to insert; Colgarse, Encajar. tapaná no'ó čučará kuuči Yesterday I hanged up from the branč. Ayer me colgué del palo.

Dog; perro. čučurí kik'kire kuitá The dog bite the child. el perro mordió al niño.

To be hang; Estar colgado.

moári kuuči čučkú The hasversack is hanged in the tree. El morral está colgado en el árbol.

Sharp; Puntiagudo, filoso. i'yanine peetúri čučpáme I am looking for the sharp knife. Estoy buscando el cuchillo filoso.

Sharp end; Punta, filo. petúri čučpára kikawéruma The sharp end of the knife is not good. La punta del cuchillo ya no sirve.

Tree; Torote verde (tipo de torote que hace espuma, lo usan para lavar ropaj). kari ma'čiáči werí čunurí In front of the house there is a small čunurí. En frente de la casa hay un torote ciquito [Note: 'čunurí' is a type of plant: fouquieria mac dougalii (identification by Bye) and is used as a soap to wash clothes.]

To sharpen; Afilar.

tapaná čupahérune mačetá maomía Yesterday I sharpened the machetes to clear. Ayer afilé los machetes para desmontar.

Pinacate tree; Pinacate.

i'ká paamúni weeká intúna čupahúmí There are many pinacate trees this season. En esta temporada hay muchos pinacates.

Mouth; Boca. kuitá nu'úti
ču'waé The child has a little mouth El niño tiene la boca chiquita.
ču'wára n. Lips; Labios. kuitá sehtáname ču'waé The child has very red lips El niño tiene los labios muy rojos.

E - e

ečahpóa n. Beard; Barba. puúa kátia ečahpóa yoritupakámehu That (man) has thick beard, he must be a mestizo Ese tiene mucha barba ha de ser mestizo.
ečitiámé n. Crops, plant; Siembra, plantá. suunú ečitiámé kikawéruma The corn crops are very bad La siembra de maíz está muy mala.
eekání v. To blow; soplar, hacer viento. werú eekáru pái piari It was so windy this morning soplo mucho viento esta mañana.
eeká n. Air; Aire. eeká nahkine I need some air necesito aire.
eemé pron. You (pl.); Ustedes. eemé ithhipima petečí teeméa simpama mesčí You are going to stay in the house and we are going to La Mesa Ustedes se van a quedar en la casa y nosotros vamos a ir a La Mesa Colorada.
eepená v. To spread; Extender. hustina eeperé epehtá Agustina spread the petates Agustina ya tendió los petates.
eerá n. Blood; Sangre. werú mäčihenaréne eerá I bleeded a lot me salió mucha sangre.
e'eré n. Ant (red); Hormiga roja. e'eré no'o k'ik'irú čapakháči A red ant bite my leg Me picó una hormiga roja en la pierna.
eerántani v. To bleed; Sangrar. pedró tehpiuá werú eerántani Peter got wounded and is bleeding a lot Pedro se cortó y esta sangrando mucho [Note: 'eerántani' is a derived word from 'eerá' 'blood' plus the verbalizer -ta.]
chcá n. Sore; Llaga. chcá inuwaéne čapakháči I have a sore in my foot Tengo una llaga en el pie.
ehpé adv. Now; Ahora. ehpé ohoetemé močibámpo k'iyámio ohoekatemé wiramári Now we live in Močibampo, before we lived in Miramar Ahora vivimos en Mochibampo, antes vivíamos en Miramar.
ehpého n. Mirror; Espejo. kuitá ahpó ne'néné ehpéhočí The child is looking at himself in the mirror El niño se está viendo en el espejo [Note: 'ehpého' is a borrow from the Spanish 'espejo'.]
ehté n. Louse; Piojo. owítiamé nu'útí kiehtewani wa'asi The little girl does not have louses anymore La niña ya no tiene piojos.
ehté ka'wára n. Nit; Liendre. yomá ko'yárume ehté ka'wára kuitá / rolándo ehté ka'wára mo'očí I killed all the child's nits / Rolando has nits Ya le maté todas las lindres al niño / Rolando tiene lindres.
ehépa adv. Right now; Ahora mismo. ehépa u'pámane akičí I am going to bath in the river right now Ahorita mismo me voy a bañar en el rio.
ekahtá n. Shadow; Sombra. reesipúrune wa'atosí ehahtáci I rested in the shadow of the willow Descansé en la sombra del sauce.
emúri n. Crabs; Baibúrin. mačipasekamu emúri yomá kuitá Did you already take the crabs of the child? Ya le sacaste todos los baiburines a la niña?
enání v. To hiccup, to belch; Hipar, eructar. enání neéa ko'kóri ko'káka I am hiccuping because I ate chili pepper Tengo hipo porque comí chile.
enčí adv. Again; Otra vez. enčí enání
neéa I have hiccups again Otra vez tengo hipo.
enání v. To come; Venir. peterá tukaó enáre Petra came last night Petra vino anoche.
epehta n. Sleeping mat; Petate. kiyá epehta epemício Give him the sleeping mat to spread it Dale el petate para que tienda! [Note: 'epeha' is a sleeping mat made of palm leaves.]
erína adv. Difficult; Dificil. eríne kúta inatéka tekihpánaka yomá It is difficult to take care of the child working at the same time Es difícil cuidar al niño y trabajar al mismo tiempo.
erápora n. Vein; Vena. noó erápora wewerumáhu My veins are too big Mis venas son muy grandes.
e'túsani v. To sneeze; Estornudar. kúta e’túsani coopemerápápu The child is sneezing, he is going to get a cold El niño está estornudando, va a dar gripe
'e'é interj. Yes!; Sí! simamú kečeweka? e'é Do you want to go to Quetéchueca? Yes! I do ¿Quieres ir a Quetéchueca? Sí!. e'ona n. Steam; Vapor. tapaná taharúne e'ona e Yesterday I burned with the steam Ayer me quemé con el vapor.

H

ha'arí n. Gourd; Bule. ha'aríči nerohinaréne I want to drink water with the gourd Quiero tomar agua con el bule.
hamomína adv. Right; Derecho. ko'korénane sekačí hamomína My right arm hurts Me duele el brazo derecho.
heminá v. To be humid; Estar humedo. wakirá hemíná The shirts are humid Las camisas están húmedas.
howená adv. Left; Izquierdo. tehpurúne tomočí howení I got a wound in my left foot Me corté el pie izquierdo.
ho'wá n. Bones; Huesos. ko'korénane howačí senčačí inuwaéné dengé My bones hurts so much, I think I have dengue Me duelen mucho los huesos, creo que tengo dengue.
ho'wi n. Coyote; Coyote. i'ká kuwsári tetekína weka ho'wi in this season many coyotes come down En esta temporada bajan muchos coyotes.
huumi n. Buttocks; Nalgas. kainuutí huumíne I have big buttocks Tengo las nalgas grandes.

I

ičikuámé n. Thief; Ladrón. teirétu sunú ičikuámé tihoé The man that robbed the corn was discovered Descubrieron al hombre ladrón de maíz.
ičikóna v. To steal; Robar. maniwiři senepí ičikóna ipahčí Manuel uses to steal sweetcorns Manuel siempre roba elotes.
ičuhpáni v. To drip; Gotear. ičuhpáni kari The house is draping La casa se está goteando.
ihčoréwa n. Dirty; Mugre. ihčoréwač wakíra The shirt is dirty La camisa tiene mugre.
ihčoréwačn. Dirty; Sucio. o'owti'amé ihčoréwač oiná tekihpánaka wasačí The woman is dirty because she worked in the field La mujer está sucia porque trabajó en las tierras.
ihkoketáámé n. Gift; Regalo. weeká ihkoketáamé inuwačíene I have got many gifts Tengo muchos
regalos.

ihkókena v. To give; Regalar. no'ó mačía no'o ihkókeru piipi naapó My neighbor gave me a cactus Mi vecina me regaló un nopal.

ihláči n. Island; Isla. no'o kariwá akičikapoi poi ihlá werumá There is an island from my house up to the river De mi casa río arriba hay una isla grande [Note: 'ihláči' is a Spanish borrow from 'isla'.]

ihpícira n. Broom; Escoba. wa'amí weri ihpícira There is the broom Allá está la escoba.

ihpání, ipaní v. To throw; Tirar, aventar. wani ihpání tehté akiči / kuitá iparé te'ecáníame John is throwing stones into the river / The child threw away the toy Juan está tirando piedras en el río / El niño tiró el juguete.

ihetatáni, ihtátani v. To size, to count; Medir, contar. ihtatarúmu suunú / išikito ihetatáni ah pó we'ěwa Did you count the corn? / ¿Sisistro is measuring his land Ya contaste el maiz? / Ististro está midiendo su tierra.

ihtépuná v. To harvest; Pepenan. ihtepunátémé munú The we are harvesting beans Estamos pepenando frijol [Note: 'ihtepáni' is used for the harvest of the remains of the cultivate.]

ihí dem. This, these; Este, esta, estos, estas. ihí ñuhčúri k'i'kire kuitá This dog bite the child Este perro mordió al niño.

ihíkuri n. Bad witchcraft; Mal puesto. yahčekérétu ko'koame ihíkurie They made him sick with a bad witchcraft A él lo enfermaron con un mal puesto.

i'ká n. Heart, spirit, soul; Corazón, espiritú, alma. wani i'káči kokoréña John is sick from the heart Juan está enfermo del Corazon.

ikanáti adv. Fast; Rápido. ikanáti yowáwe ko'áme I prepare meal fast Yo hago la comida rápido.

ikuri n. Thread; Hilo. ikuri nahkíne maaká purímia I need thread to tie the hammock up Necesito hilo para amarrar la hamaca.

ikusúri n. Roast sweetcorn; Elote asado. tairénane ikusúri wasétiamé I love roast sweetcorn Me encantan los elotes asados.

imóra n. Ladder; Escalera. no'o iyéto i'móra moenamané karihámá Bring me the ladder to climb over the house Tráeme la escalera para subirme a la casa.

inamúná v. To listen, to understand; Oir, entender. inamúnúmu pu'ká siímáme Did you hear that scream? Oiste ese grito?

i'natukéná v. To ask; Preguntar. i'natukemané akaná ohóé hustina I am going to ask where Agustina lives Voy a preguntar donde vive Agustina.

inaténé v. To take care; Cuidar. no'o mará werumá no'o kuitá inaténé kuitá My older daughter helps me to take care of the child Mi hija mayor me ayuda a cuidar al niño.

inuwáe v. To have; Tener. inuwáene piipi sipíča sehýtámike I have a red dress Tengo un vestido rojo.

in yawntáme adj. Ugly; Feo. inyawntáme kuú ni'niámé The jumping sticks are ugly Los palos brincadores son feos.

ipáčípasutíame, ipáčíposori n. Boiled sweetcorn; Elote cocido. konaréní pi piipáčípasutíame I want to eat boiled sweetcorn Quiero comer un elote cocido.

ipahčí, ipahčí n. Sweetcorn; Elote. paiká ipahčí nahkíne we'pasuni towémia / kawé no'ó kiápua osá marikí ampá ooká ipahčí I need three sweetcems to cook a soup / Please give me twelve sweetcems! Necesito tres elotes para el cocido / Por favor déme doce elotes.

irówa n. Stick; Palo. i'ká irówae roroámame ná'porosí With this stick I am going to shake the cornflour drink Con este palo voy a revolver el atole [Note:
'írówa' is a special type of stick to shake some kind of food./

isawíra n. Little bell; Sonaja. karína metekère pipí isawíra kuitá Karína made a little bell for the child Karína le hizo una sonaja al niño.

isáwi n. Hot coal; Brasa. ne'né osá weeká ithípíre isáwi tukaó na'étéame A lot of hot coal remained from last nigth's fire Quedaron muchas brasas de la lumbre de anoche.

ita'píti n. Thing; Cosa. ke'có to'peniói aaki mukúsari weeká intoái kaukí so'cí yomá ita'píti Before they blocked the river with the Mucusari dam there were many lobsters, fishes, many things Antes de que taparan el río con la Presa El Mukúsari había muchos cangures, peces, muchas cosas.

itičíra, ithíčíra n. Comb; Peine. kinanénane anakí no'ó toaríací iitičíra / iyámine ithíčíra ohóníame I don't know where I left the comb / I am looking for the black comb No sé donde dejé el peine / estoy buscando el peine negro.

i'tóna v. To take; Llevar. i'tónake rolando močibampe I took Rolando to Mochibampe LLevé a Rolando a Mochibampe.

iwáni v. To be ripe; Estar maduro.

K - k

kaahéte n. Plate; Cajete. kaahetečí ya'casá muuní The cajetes are used to serve beans En el cajete se sirven frijoles.

kaaká n. Sandals; Huarahac. rolándo nahki kaaká vačikówa wíčíra Rolando wants sandals made of leather of scorpion Rolando quiere unos huaraches de piel de escorpín.

ka'aká n. Grandmother; Abuela paterna, bisabuelo. no'ó ka'aká peniátiame My grandmother is very pretty Mi abuela paterna es muy bonita [Note: 'ka'aká' is the mother of the father.]

kaámá n. Squah (kind of); Sehualca. kaámá pahčíra kawérumpa iyói kimuiyámé ičío owéru The squash seeds are a good remedy for women that can't produce milk Las semillas de sehualca son un remedio para las mujeres que no dan leche [Note: 'kaámá' is the curcumbita moschata (identification by Dodd).]

kaañá n. Duck (black); Pato (negro). kaañá ka'kéná akičí kapó That
duck is swimming up river Aquel pato se fue nadando rio arriba
kahkáme adj. Sweet; Dulce. ihi newéri katisá kahká weweruma
These pitayas fruit are very sweet Estas pitayas están muy dulces.
kahpé n. Coffee; Café. kahuré kahpé I ran out of coffee Ya se me acabó el café.
kahpóčani v. To break; Quebrar. markó kahpóčani kuú Marcus is breaking the sticks Marcos está quebrando los palos.
kahpóna v. To be broken; Estar quebrado. ihi kuú kahpóna These sticks are broken Estos palos están quebrados.
kahpópani v. To get broken; Quebrarse. ihi waankó kahpópani This bench got broken Este banco ya se quebró completamente.
kahpórame n. Short, small, round, rounded; Chaparro, corto, bola, boludo, redondo. kuitá kihkahpórame iniméra The child is not going to be short El niño no va a ser chaparro.
kahsi n. Hips, leg; Caderas, muslo. kuitá werumá kahsi The child has very fat legs El niño tiene los muslos muy gordos.
kahtí, yasaká v. To be seated (sg.); Estar sentado (sg.). rolando kahtí noó anomina Rolando is seated in front of me Rolando está sentado enfrente de mí.
kahé n. Tempisque (type of plant); Tempisque. akisuépa ahawi oká kahé o'cetiáme In the bank of the river there are two old tempisques En la orilla del rio hay dos tempisques muy viejos [Note: 'kahé' is the name for sideroxylon angustifolium (identification by Dodd and Gentry).]
kahén a n. Foothill; Falda del cerro. ohoetemé kawí kahénapote We live up the foothill Vivimos en la faldá del cerro hacia arriba.
kakahténa v. To taste sweet or salty;
Sentirse dulce o salado. naaráso noó kakahíta The oranges taste sweet las naranjas me saben dulce.
kakahóya n. Leather strap; Correa de huarache. piréci kakahóya temané kaaká I am going to change the leather straps to the sandals Voy a cambiarle las correas a los huaraches.
kakásti n. Box; Huacal. noó yeyé chísí tó'are kakásti My mother put the potatoes of the wood in the box Mi mamá puso las papas de monte en el huaful [Note: 'kakásti' is a box made from small sticks to storage food.]
ka'kéná v. To swim; Nadar. ihpi tapaná e'enasá mochibampo oiní ka'kéná ka'kéná The last time we came from Mochibampo we had to cross the river swimming La última vez que nos vinimos de Mochibampo tuvimos que atravesar nadando el rio.
ka'móri n. Jicama, sweet potato; Jicama, camote. owitiame ko'are ka'móri rimóni ahamá The little girl ate jicama with lemon La niña comió jicama con limón.
kaomisi n. Wild cat; Gato montés. kaomisi kustere oiní The wild cat lives in the wood El gato montés anda en el monte.
kaposánto n. Cemetery; Camposanto. iká kaposánto pé'tí yomá noó tethíma All my relatives are in this cemetery En este campo santo están todos mis familiares [Note: 'kaposánto' is a borrow from the Spanish 'camposanto.']
kaposóri, ka'pósóri n. Bowl (small); Lečúza (cica). tuká tetewáre naó kaposóri niniáme eekáci / ka'pósóri amó petéci wikitáso ko'kóame intúmera Last night I saw four bowls flying / When the owl sings in front of your house there will be sickness in your family Anoche vi cuatro lechuzas volando / Cuando la lechuza canta en tu casa va a haber
enfermedad.

kariči n. Jail; Cárcel. no’ó tehči kačiyowáretu pačamiá kariči They couldn’t put my uncle Chuy in jail a mi tío Chuy no lo pudieron meter a la cárcel

karihámpa n. Roof; Techo. karihámpa isú aaráwe pahčira Spread the pumpkin seeds in the roof of the house! Tiende las semillas de calabaza en el techo! [Note: 'karihámpa' is a compound word from 'kari' house and 'hámpa' above.]

karáči n. Rayen; Cuervo. kuitá karáči uhumuápuame suunű koayámé The child that frighten off the ravens that eat the corn El niño que espanta a los cuervos que se comen el maíz

karitani v. To build houses; Hacer casas. no’ó taná no’ó karitákeré My son built a house for me Mi hijo me hizo una casa.

kasará n. Garbage; Basura. montóare kasará He gathered the garbage Amontonó la basura.

kasaráči n. Rubbish dump; Basurero. kasaráči ihpápero no’ó kaaká yeyé My mother threw my sandals away into the rubbish dump Mi mamá tiró mis huaraches al basurero.

kasetiní n. Socks; Calzetines. rolándo kasetiníra kakahpréame The socks of Rolando are short Los calcetines de Rolando son cortitos [Note: 'kasetiní' is a borrow from the Spanish 'calzetines'.]

kasina v. To be broken (a plate); Estar quebrado (plato). yomá pehtóri kasípare All the plates broke Todos los platos se quebraron.

kauki n. Lobster; Cauque, kečó to’peníči aaki mokusari weeká intoáí kauki sočí yomá ita’piti Before they blocked the river with the Mocusari dam there were many lobsters, fishes, all sorts of fishes Antes de que taparan el río con la presa mokusari había caqués, pezcatos, de todo [Note: 'kauki' is a borrow from the Spanish 'caqué' that is a kind of lobster from sweetwaters.]

ka’wani To put eggs; Ovar. totóri ka’waré paiká ka’wá The chiken gave three eggs La gallina puso tres huevos.

kawerápani v. To cheer up; Alegrarse. kawerápane no’ó ye’yé enákopá I began to cheer up when my mom arrived Me alegré cuando llegó mi mamá

kawihámpa n. Clift; Voladero. no’ó poni te’pá wéri kawihámpa My brother is up there in the clift Mi hermano está arriba en el voladero [Note: 'kawihámpa' is a compound word from 'kawi' mountain and 'hampa' above.]

kawi n. Mountain, hill; cerro. kawi kuwárači werí tooró Over the top of that mountain there is a torote En la punta de aquel cerro está un torote.

kawé adv. Good, well; Bueno, bien. kawé na’pó i’wá weed off well here! Desyerben bien aquí!

kawái n. horse; caballo. kawái ohón’ame kahpré čapakhára The black horse broke his leg El caballo negro se quebró una pata [Note: 'kawái' is a borrow from the Spanish 'caballo'.]

kawérame n. Happy; Alegre. no’ó pačí warensia kečó mukuyá kawérame ohoyáí My brother Valentín was very happy Mi hermano Valentín era muy alegre.

kawéruma adj. Good; Bueno. kawéruma yoosi to’péníame kari The plastic sheets are good to cover the house El hule es bueno para tapar la casa.

ka’wá, ka’wá n. Egg; Huevos. totóri ka’waré paiká ka’wá / čočohká ka’wára katisatá’ya The chiken gave three eggs / The quail eggs
are delicious La gallina puso tres huevos / Los huevos de Codorniz son muy Buenos.

ka’óča n. Testicles; Testículos. no’ó wewerúne ka’óčači paráæ I hurt my testicles with the shovel me golpié en los testículos con la pala.

keemá n. Blanket; Cobija. hustína wičhoré yomá keemá akičí Agustina washed all the blankets in the river Agustina lavó todas las cobijas en el río.

keenorá n. Rainbow; Arcoiris. keenorá yuki keripátiame The rainbow blocks the rain El arcoiris tapa la lluvia.

keepá n. Snow; Nieve. sekaé čapínúne keepá I grasped snow Agarré nieve con la mano.

keepúna v. To understand; Entender. kuitá yomá keepúna The child understands everything El niño entiende todo.

kehso n. Cheese; Queso. no’ó yeyé ta’yámé kehsó meteré My mom made a very good cheese Mi mamá hizo un queso muy bueno [Note: 'kehso' is a borrow from the Spanish 'queso'.]

kepaní v. To snow; Nevar. kepaní tepaníami It is snowing up the mountains Está nevando para arriba.

keóči n. Vixen; Zorra. keóči wikoáre tukaó The vixen whistled last night La zorra silbó anoche.

ki adv. No, without; No, sin. tararúne trooké kipehtáame I bought a car without doors Compré un carro sin puertas.

kihči n. Iguana; Iguana. kihči no’ó paéná The iguana is calling me La iguana me está llamando.

kíičí n. Puppy; Cachorro. peníasina te’eka kíičí The puppy is playing nice El cachorro está jugando muy bonito.

kiintaéro n. Guitar player; Guitarero. nakimatémé pií kiintaéro čačatemíchio i’ká tukaó We need a guitar player to play tonight Necesitamos un guitarrero para que toque esta noche [Note: 'kiintaéro' is a borrow from the Spanish 'guitarro'].

kiintará n. Guitar; Guitarra. kiintará čačáte Play the guitar! Toca la guitarra! [Note: 'kiintará' is a borrow from the Spanish 'guitarra'.]

kikawéruma adj. Bad, useless; Malo, inservible. no’ó kakahóya kikawéruma The leather straps of my snadals are useless Las correas de mis huaraches no sirven.

kimačiriámé n. Blind; Ciego. kimačiriámé tihoé meténá kuú The blind man is cutting wood El hombre ciego está partiendo la leña.

kino’óéme n. Orphan; Huérfano. puú kino’óéme pinéri ohóe That orfand lives alone Ese huérfano vive solo [Note: 'kino’óéme' is a relative clause meaning 'the one who has no father' compund from 'ki-' negation 'no’ó' father '-e' to have and '-me' a nominalizer.]

kipetiámé adj. Lightweighted; Ligero, liviano. apečúna wapósí kipehtáámé Lift that light chilicote! Levanta el chilicote liviano! [Note: 'kipetiámé' is relative clause meaning 'the one that is not heavy' compund from 'ki-' negation, 'pehtí-' heavy and '-ame' a nominalizer.]

kisiká n. Pimple; Barro. ruuíppa weeká yahčání kisiká’pá Lupita has many pimples on her back Lupe tiene muchos barros en la espalda.

kitoaní v. To forbid; Prohibir. no’ó no’ó kitamó toani simpamíchio wairéchi mesačí My father forbid us to go to parties in La Mesa Mi papá nos prohíbe ir a los bailes de La Mesa.

kiutewáeémé n. Weak; Débil. tihoé kiutewáeémé kinapó’mé é’rare The weak man could not work El hombre débil no pudo trabajar.

kiyeyéemé n. Orphan (from mother);
Huérfano (de madre). kuitá kiyeyéeme ahpó no'nó aháma ohóe The orphan kid live with his father El niño huerto vive con su papa.

kiyoiná v. To lose; Perder. kiyoináne tomi I am losing money Estoy perdiendo dinero.

kiyá yomá quant. Majority; La mayoría (casi todos). kiyá yomá simpáre tihoé Most of the people left La mayoría de la gente se fue.

ki'ýami adv. Ago; Antes. ki'ýami paiká uurú inuwáekaine Some time ago I had three donkeys Antes tenia tres burros [Note: 'ki'ýami' refers to an event that happened more than one year ago.]

koácéna v. To patch; Remendar. hustina koácéna wakirá Agustina wants to patch the shirts Agustina quiere remendar las camisas.

koatá n. Forehead; Frente. rolando kisiká yahčáni koatá Rolando has a pimple in his forehead Rolando tiene un grano en la frente.

kočíná v. To sleep; Dormir. kuitá kočiré yomá ari The child slept all afternoon El niño durmió toda la tarde.

kočí n. Sister (elder); Hermana mayor. no'ó kočípu na'úti tanaémé My elder sister has a baby Mi hermana mayor tiene un bebé.

kohari n. Toad; Sapo. kohari neróči ninirú The toad jumped into the water El sapo brinco en el agua.

kočí n. Shrimp; Camarón. kočí po'acúmane I am going to fish shrimps Voy a anzuelear camarones.

kohso n. Stream; Arroyo. paá piarí pariúné nerói kohsoči / ye'eyé kariwárači mačéči pói kohso nuúti This morning I carried water from the stream In front of my mother's house there is a small stream Esta mañana acarrié agua del arroyo /

Enfrente de la casa de mi madre hay un arroyo chiquito.

kohtári n. Sack; Costal. mookéka kohtári suumú aháči toatái Take the sack to put corn inside LLévate el costal para que heches el maíz [Note: 'kohtári' is a borrow from the Spanish 'costal'.]

kohá n. Baby, newborn; Bebé, recién nacido. kawé ináté kohá Take good care of the baby! Cuida bien al bebé!

kohá owitiáme n. Baby girl; Bebé mujer. kohá owitiáme yaupátena tamé The baby girl is showing her baby theet A la bebé le están saliendo los dientes

kohá temari n. Baby boy; Bebé hombre (un año). kohá temari oisina The baby boy can walk already El bebé ya camina.

ko'koténa v. To taste spicy; Sentirse enchilado. muuní katiá no'ó ko'koténa The beans are too spicy for me Los frijoles me saben muy enchilados.

ko'koáme adj. Spicy; Enchilado. tariénane ko'áme ko'koáme I love spicy food Me encanta la comida enchilada.

ko'koñí v. To be spicy; Estar enchilado. nerói ko'koñí The water is spicy El agua está enchilada.

ko'kóri, kokóri n. Chili pepper; Chiltepín. ko'kóri ko'ko'mane / kokorí huparépuá I want to eat chili pepper / He gathered chili peppers Quiero comer chiltepines / El juntó chiltepines.

komóra adj. Hunchbacked; Jorobado. komóratona kiahpó tetepóčió He is walking hunched back not to be seen Va jorobado para que no lo miren.

koncóikina, koncóonyowa v. To stain; Manchar. no'ó sipičá koncóikiré to'iwé / kuita koncóonyowá yomá sarawë My dress stained with the plants / The child stained all the cloth diapers Mi vestido se manchó con las ramas
/ El niño manchó todas las zapetass.

koniwári n. Chia (a type of plant); Conivara (planta). koniwári pañhüra kawëruma i'yói witaísiri ićió The seeds of the chia are a good remedy for the diarrhea La semilla de la conivara es buen remedio para la diarrea.

ko'morasiipani v. To bend down; Agacharse.

cawé ko'morospamane na'pomiá I am going to bend down a lot to weed off Me voy a agachar mucho para desyerbar.

koomipani v. To hug; Abrazar. no'ó kuitá no'ó koomipare My child hugged me Mi niño me abrazó

koomórâme n. Hunchbacked; Jorobado. pu'ká karići ohoé pípi koomórâme A hunchbacked lives in that house En esa casa vive un jorobado.

ko'mórâni v. To be hunched with the head bowed; Estar agachado. yomá tawé ko'mórâkane tekìhpánaka I was working all morning hunched with the head bowed Estuve agachado toda la mañana trabajando

kooró n. Dove (big, gray with white neck); Paloma grande azul gris de cuello blanco. kooró peniätetíame tatanáe The dove has pretty sons La paloma tiene muy bonitos hijos.

ko'oré n. Fence; Cerco. no'ó kumó werumá ko'oréwae ahpó peteći My uncle has a big fence in his house Mi tio tiene un cerco muy grande en su casa.

kooraći, korací n. Squash; Calabacita. kuitá pu'seréna kooraći / moképare korací no'ó poni pasupüa ićió The child loves squash / My brother brought squashes to cook Al niño le gustan las calabacitas / Mi hermano trajo calabacitas para cocerlas.

ko'osí n. Anus; Ano. kuitá chihkókoreña ko'ó vị sukuná sí kwáka The kid is scratching his anus because has tapeworms El niño se está rascando el ano porque tiene lombrices.

kopéći n. Glow-worm; Luciérnaga. kopéći tuká ohoáme Glow-worms fly during the night Las luciérnagas andan de noche.

korohká n. Necklace, rosary; Collar, rosario. moökéka korohká amó peteći Take the necklace to your home! Llévate el collar para tu casa!

koronía n. Coronilla (a type of plant); Coronilla (planta). koronía kawëruma cópé ićió The coronilla is a good remedy for cold La coronilla es buena para el catarro [Note: 'koronía' is a borrow from the Spanish 'coronilla'].

kowi n. Pig; Cerdo. poonché iyahóre kowi iyakótémia wasáčite Poncho carried the pigs to shepherd in the landscape Poncho arré los cerdos a pastorear a las tierras.

koyačéna v. To patch; Remendar. koyačéna siipičá simiá pañhóći I am patching the dress to go to the feast Estoy remendando el vestido para ir a la fiesta.

ko'ýáni v. To kill (several entities); Matar (objeto plural). hustina ko'ýáre ooká totóri ahpó yecí ićió Agustina killed two hens for her aunt Agustina mató dos gallinas para su tía.

ko'áme n. Food; Comida. ko'áme onačípu The food is too salty La comida está salada.

kuaté n. Twins; Gemelos. no'ó ko'máre sauré kuaté k'ýá My comrade had twins last year Mi comadre tuvo gemelos el ano pasado [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'cuaté'.]

kuhtá n. Throat; Garganta, pescuezo. kikávé tehpuñare kuhtára čiwá pukač kikanáti mukuré You didn’t cut the throat to the goat properly and it died slowly Le cortaste mal el pezcuezo al
cabrito y no se murió rápido.
khuwá n. Snake (a type of); Culebra chicotería. khuwá chorí koayáme The snakes eat chikens Las culebras chicotería se comen a los pollos.
kuhupani v. To flash; Relámpaguear. tukaó we'esá kuhupare kiyukurú There was too much lightning last night but it didn’t rain Anoche relampagueó mucho pero no llovió.
kuitá n. child; niño. kuitá tetemúre čuhčúri The child kicked the dog El niño pateó al perro.
kukuri n. Uncle maternal (elder); Tío materno mayor, esposo de tía materna mayor. no’ó kukuri mukuré i’ká kuwésari My uncle died this summer Mi tío murió este verano
ku’ká n. Binorama (a type of plant); Binorama. ku’ká pehténeri ičió kawéruma i’yóí The binorama is a good remedy for the body weakness La binorama es un remedio muy bueno para las pesadillas (cuerpo pesado).
kumú n. Devil, uncle; Diablo, tío paterno mayor (porque el diablo es el hermano mayor de Dios). mocibámpo wa’api mamachénata kumú remónio The devil appears nearby Mochibampo Cerca de Mochibampo se aparece el diablo.
kupisái n. Glow-worm; Luciérnaga. kupisái paamúni puiyápame Glow-worms go out during summer Las luciérnagas salen en el verano.
ku’ríači n. Curve; Curva. wa’amí ku’ríači no’ó puyépua Wait for me in the curve of the road Espérame allá en la curva.
kuruña v. To be thick; Estar espeso. wanotání kuruña The cornflower soup is thick El atole está muy espeso.
kurusá n. Hawk; Gavilán, águila. kuruñá yomá a’četéiáme koani tuchiki Hawks eat all kinds of birds Los gavilanes comen toda clase de pájaros.
kurusí n. Cross; Cruz. no’ó no’ó meteré kurusí eeká ičió kiwatiáme u’matomičio My father made a cross to deviate the windy air Mi papá hizo una cruz para que el viento no pase muy fuerte.
ku’riná v. To turn; Voltear, dar vuelta. ku’riná só’čhi paisá / wa’á tanki ku’ripua owená sekači You turn the fish three times / Turn to the left in the tanques Volteas el pescado tres veces / En los tanques das vuelta a la izquierda.
kusikowí n. Porcupine; Puerco espin. kusikowí sa’pára kusi huyá The meat of porcupine smells like woods La carne de puerco espin huele a monto [Note: ‘kusikowí’ is a compound noun from ‘kusi’ ‘wood’ and ‘kowi’ ‘pig’].
kusi n. Woods, branch; Monte, rama. rolándo čárináré tosá kusiwara Rolando cracked the cotton branch Rolando rajó la rama del algodón.
kusimuni n. Beans (from the woods); Frijol de monto. konaráne kusimuni I feel like eating beans Tengo ganas de comer frijol de monto [Note: Compund word from muni ‘beans’ and kusi ‘woods’].
kusitere n. Woods; Monte. čánó yomá kuwésari oiná kusitere Chano is always walking into the woods Chano siempre camina entre el monte.
kutamóri n. Back of the neck; Nuca. pedró kutamóči ahpó weweré pukaé mukuré Peter hurt the back of his neck and died Pedro se golpió en la nuca y murió.
kutemóri n. Trunk; Tronco. wakahpi kutemóira wewerúma weweriπani The pochote’s trunks grow up very big Los troncos de pochote crecen muy grandes.
kumú n. Uncle paternal (elder); Tío paterno mayor. hustina kumúra enaméra meeré The paternal
uncle of Agustina is coming
tomorrow. El tío paterno mayor
de Agustina va a venir mañana.

kuuná n. Husband; Espeso. no'ó
kuuná naohoa simiré
tekihpánamia My husband left to
Navojoa to work Mi esposo se
fue a Navojoa a trabajar.

kuupá n. Hair; Cabello. hustina
peniátami kuupá Agustina has
very pretty hair Agustina tiene
un cabello muy bonito.

ku'wé adv. Soon; Luego. ku'wé
enapuapua Come back soon!
Venga luego!

kuwésari, kuwé adv. Spring;
Primavera. ki'ýá kuwésari
mawekeñe weinté meteró ma'apí
Last spring I cleared twenty
meters of land La primavera
pasada desmonté veinte metros
de tierra.

kuwête n. Fireworks; Cohete. cu'wičí
tañarí tatahtekemáne mariki
kuwête no'ó o'očiki The day of
deads I am going to burn five
fireworks in my grandparents
honor. El día de muertos le voy a
tronar cinco cohetes a mis
abuelos [Note: Spanish borrow
from 'coheté'.]

kuyawí n. Gourd plant; Planta de
bule. kuyawí echarúne wanaté
karipúka I planted a gourd plant
behind the house Sembré una
planta de bulé detrás de la casa.

kuú n. stick, wood, tree; palo, leña,
árboi. wani weweré čuhúri
kuué John hit the dog with the
stick Juan le pegó al perro con
el palo.

kuú siónane n. Green stick (a type of
oak); Palo verde. kuú siónane
cawéruma i'iyó kisíanáme ičió
The green stick is a good remedy
for urinary problems El palo
verde es buen remedio para el
mal de orin.

L - l

leyendóna v. To read; Leer. no'ó mará
penéná leyéndoka My daughter
knows how to read already Mi
hija ya sabe leer [Note: Spanish
borrow from 'leyendo' 'he is
reading'.]

M - m

maačéta n. Machete; Machete. tihoé
símpáre maacéta makohká The
men left with the machetes in
their hands Los hombres se
fueron con los machetes en las
manos [Note: Spanish borrow
from 'mache'.]

maahi n. Mescal (plant and drink);
Mezcal (planta o vino). mahirúne
maahí ko'kómiwatónari I
grilled mescal to eat with atole
Tatemé mezcal para comer con
atole.

maaká n. Cradle; Cuna. maakáchte
teká kuitá Put the child in the
cradle Acuesta al niño en la
cuna.
siembran mariguana.

maará n. daughter; hija. no'ó maará kipapakhónare pehtórí My daughter does not want to do the dishes mi hija no quiere lavar los platos.

ma'aré n. Balk; Viga de madera. ihí ma'aré kakahporamehu kiasepamápú karičí Those balks are too short for the roof Estas vigas están muy cortas para el techo.

maaskará n. Mask; Máscara. maaskará pahkóra ćuhčá yaumía sooní The masks used by the pascolas are for dancing sones Las máscaras que usan los pascolas son para bailar sones [Note: Spanish borrow from 'máscara'].

ma'asäame n. Plane; Avión. tapaná ul'matóre ma'asäame i'wá Yesterday a plane flew over here Ayer pasó un avión por aquí [Note: 'ma'asäame' is a nominalization: "the one that has wings"].

maatára n. Palm (of the hand); Palma de la mano. no'ó yehčí maatáračí mačhenáre pií tepurá My aunt got a wart in the palm of her hand A mi tía le salió un mezquino en la palma de la mano.

maatečí adv. Tuesday; Martes. maatečí simáne kečewéka Next tuesday I am going to Quetzehueca El martes voy a ir a Quetzehueca [Note: Spanish borrow from 'martes'].

maayó n. Mayo (name of other close indigenous group); Mayo (nombre de otro grupo indígena cercano). maayó hámane newríune I married a Mayo man Me casé con un mayo.

mačíná v. To know; Saber. no'ó kúkúri mačí karitača kawé My uncle knows how to build houses very well Mi tío sabe hacer casas muy bien.

mačipání v. To learn; Aprender. hustina mačipáre naiwáka yori osanáo paamúka Agustina learned Spanish when she was eight years old Agustina aprendió español a los ocho años.

mačipáni, mačipáni v. To take out;Sacar. wáni mačipáre kawá čikerčí mačipáruní suuní paiká riteró kostáríčí John took out the horses of the corral/ I took out three kilos of corn from the sack Juan sacó los caballos del corral/ Sacé tres litros de maíz del costal.

mačiri n. Scorpion; Alacrán. mačiri me'yáre weétó A scorpion killed Beto A Beto lo mató un alacrán.

mačirépaní v. To dawn (5 a.m.); Aclarar (5 a.m.). ehpé mačiréparé paá píari Today it downed very early Hoy aclaró muy temprano.

mačirétoi v. To dawn (3 a.m.); Amanecer (3 a.m.). no'ó komáre mačirétoi iwétá pahí wikahtákancha It was dawning already and my buddy was still singing Ya estaba amaneeciendo y mi compadre todavía estaba cantando.

mačiténá v. To be able to see; Poder ver bien. na'i no'ó mačiténá One can see well with the fire on Con la lumbre se puede ver bien.

mačiyá n. Person I know; Conocido. pií tíhoé mačiywáme tetewáne wa'á sonóračí I saw someone I know in La Sonora Vi a un conocido en La Sonora [Note: If mačiyá appears with a possessive pronoun the sense is 'friend'.]

mačetá, mačetá n. Machete; Machete. čupaté mačetá Sharp the machete! Afila el machete!

mačíwa v. To be visible; Visible, aparecer. i'wá oinía mačíwa kahé kawi kuačí weriáme The tempizque tree that is in the foothill is visible from here Desde aquí se ve bien el tempizque que está en la orilla del cerro.

mahtá n. Metate (flat stone for grinding); Metate. no'ó yeyé
tusuná naipásuni matačí My mother grinds nixtamal in the metate Mi mamá muele nixtamal en el metate.

mahói n. Deer; Venado. mahói mahayámé kusitere ohoéme The wild deer lives in the woods El venado bronco vive en el monte.

makučúni, ma'kučúni n. Guamuchil (a type of plant); Guamuchil. makučúni apéra kawéruma i'yói witaísiri tohsánáme ichió / ma'kučúni soonára kahká The cortex of the guamuchil is a good remedy for the white diarrhea / The guamuchiles are sweet La cáscara de guamuchil es buen remedio para la diarrea blanca (pujo) / Los guamúchiles están dulces.

makuráwi n. Warhió (the way they call themselves); Guarijújo de Sonora. teemé makuráwi maayó akičíkapo ohoé The makuráwi live along the mayo river Los Guarijíos vivimos a lo largo del río mayo.

manirá n. Huacal (a trap for fishing); Huacal (trampa para atrapar pezados). no'o no'no meteré manirá naó meteró tepékúma My father made a huacal of four meters long Mi papá hizo un huacal de cuatro metros de largo.

maniróčí n. Chichiquelíte (a type of plant); Chichiquelíte. hustina kisáwane maniróčí tapaná / maniróčí kawéruma i'yói če'eri ko'ko'óme ičió Agustina cooked chichiquelítes yesterday / The chichiquelítes are a good remedy for the kidney sickness Agustina guisó chichiquelítes ayer / Los chichiquelítes son un buen remedio para la enfermedad de los riñones.

mansanía n. Camomile; Manzanilla. mansanía kawéruma i'yói turapatiáme ičió The camomile is a good remedy for the cold La manzanilla es buena para el resfriado [Note: Spanish borrow from 'manzanilla'.]

maoná v. To clear (an area of trees); Desmontar. no'o tehčí maoná tepuráé My uncle is clearing the area of trees with the ax Mi tío está desmontando con el hacha.

mariki num. Five; Cinco. mariki kohtári nakímáne suunú ečimíá I need five sacks of corn to plant Necesito cinco costales de maíz para sembrar.

ma'sá n. Feather, wing; Pluma, ala. tučiki ma'sára peniáte'te The feathers of birds are very pretty Los plumas de los pájaros son muy bonitas.

matasúra n. Pestle; Mano de metate. matasúra wekaré The pestle got lost Se perdió la mano del metate.

matohká n. Shoulder; Hombro. kuitá mačenäre matokará The child got his shoulder dislocated Al niño se le sañó el hombro.

mayáká n. Centipede; Cienpiés (type of centipede, golden, that bites and is larger than tečuní, other type of centipede); pā' piri noó kirú mayáká This morning a centipede bit me Esta mañana me picó un cienpiés.

ma'í n. Nephew; Sobrino. amó ma'í tekipánani rupeháma Your nephew works with Lupe Tu sobrino está trabajando con Lupe.

maéna v. To think, to believe; Creer. maénane yukióo i'ká tukaó I think/believe it is going to rain tonight Creo que va a llover esta noche.

meečá n. Moon; Luna. tukaó mačánáre meečá pukaé kiyukumá chpéo Last night the moon appeared, so it will no longer rain Anoche salió la luna, por eso ya no va a llover.

mekóračí adv. Wednesday; Miércoles. mekóračí enamá no'o ye'yé močibamó oñia Next wednesday my mother is coming from Mochibampo El miércoles va a venir mi mamá de
Mochibampo [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'miércoles'.]

meeré adv. Tomorrow; Mañana. Meeré tiamé tekihpanápapu Tomorrow, we will work too Mañana también vamos a trabajar.

me'eria, meería n. Socks; Calcetines. Rolando kiu'hu'háni me'eria / si'páre no'ó meería Rolando does not wear socks / My socks tore Rolando no usa calcetines / Se me rompieron las medias [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'media'.]

méesá n. Table; Mesa. Ihi méesá kàhpóre pi' čapaháká The table has a broken leg Esta mesa tiene una pata quebrada [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'mesa'.]

mehká adv. Far away; Lejos. Howéwi mehká ithipina no'ó kariwáráči oíniá Howewi is located far away from my parents' house Howéwi está muy lejos de la casa de mis padres.

merikó n. Quack; Curandero. Merikó no'ó kiyáru i'yoi no'ó kočimíchio The quack gave me a remedy to sleep El curandero me dió un remedio para dormir [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'médico'.]

mesuná v. To be squash; Estar aplastado (piedra). Toomanté yomá mësüre all the tomatoes got squashed Todos los tomates se aplastaron.

metačíčáni v. To squash, to crush; Aplastar. Waní metačínare kuú A tree fell down over John A Juan lo aplastó un árbol.

metená v. To make; Hacer, construir. Tapaná meterúne paiká sikóri Yesterday I made three pots Ayer heice tres ollas.

me'yání v. To kill (one entity); Matar (objeto singular). Rupe me'yání maniwiri Lupe is killing Manuel Lupe está matando a Manuel.

misí n. Cat; Gato. Misí su'runáre kuitá The cat scratched the child El gato rasguñó al niño.

misí'tanára, misí'nu'úti n. Little cat; Gatito, misí'tanára té'ena ni'níka kuoči The little cat is playing and jumping over the sticks El gatito anda jugando y brincando en los palos.

močiwa v. To set; Sentar (pl). Močiwa kuoči nerói suwépa Set the children close to the water Sienta a los niños en la orilla del agua.

močiwa v. To be seated (pl.); Estar sentado (pl). Kukúchí močiwi nerói suwépa The children are seated close to the water Los niños están sentados a la orilla del agua.

mo'cóko, mo'óčóko n. Brains; Sesos. Mačenáre mo'cókora puú tihóé/ mahói mo'óčókora katia tá'ya the man's brains are visible / The deer's brains are delicious Se le salieron los sesos al hombre / Los sesos de venado son muy sabrosos.

mohté n. Twin; Gemelo. No'ó yehái tatanára mohté mukúrepá wá'así pirípi One of the twins of my aunt already died Uno de los gemelos de mi tía ya se murió.

mokewāri n. Palm case; Petaca de palma. Puyáná ikúri mokewāríči Take out the threads from the palm case! saca los hilos de la petaca de palma!

mokorá n. Scarf; Pañoleta, pañuelo. Tátá yomá tamó tatarékia mokorá tamó mokorätamíchio My father used to buy scarfs for us to wear Mi papá nos compraba pañoletas a todas para que nos las pusiéramos.

momohá n. Honey comb; Panal. Werú čo'wie momohá The honey comb has a lot of honey El panal tiene mucha miel.

mo'ókóri n. Hat; Sombrero. Rolando nataképare mo'ókóri močibámá Rolando forgot the hat in Mochibampo Rolando olvidó el sombrero en Mochibampo.

mookétóna v. To carry in the back; Traer en el lomo. Mecači
simikáñe mookétoka pií kostáři muuni I went The Mesa (Colorada) carrying in the back a sack of beans Fui a la Mesa (Colorada) cargando un costal de frijoles
mo'oñé n. Son in law; Yerno, markó kawéruma mo'oñé Marcos is a good son in law Marcos es un buen yerno.
mooró, moorá n. Blackberry; Mora. weeká čuhčáni ivakámé mooró The blackberry tree has a lot of ripe fruit La mora tiene mucha fruta madura [Note: Borrow from the 'mora'.]
mo'otokoçi n. Danduff; Caspa. mo'otokoçi wanímu matohkáci You have danduff over the shoulders Traes caspa en los hombros.
moréwa n. Smoke, fumes; Humo. nené osá teitu ma'piči mačenáni mo'réwa Look at down there in the ground! There is smoke mira allá abajo en las tierras, esta saliendo humo.
mo'téwání v. To climb; Subirse. mo'téwarúne kučipote I climbed to the top of the tree Me subí a lo alto del árbol.
mo'téwáténa v. To get on; Subir. mo'téwarterúne kuitchipote I got the child to the top of the tree Subí al niño a lo alto del árbol.
motočina v. To stumble; Chocar, tropezar. petérá motochiri teté tehpuré tonóči Petra stumbled with a stone and she hurt her foot Petra se tropezó con una piedra y se cortó el pie.
motosá n. Gray hair; Canas. ruupita weeká motosáwani mo'óči Lupita has many gray hairs Lupita tiene muchas canas.
mo'ó n. Head; cabeza. kúitá maénane weurumá mo'óčo I think the child has a very big head creo que el niño tiene la cabeza muy grande.
mo'áni v. To put in; meter (objeto plural). mo'á kukuči noremúna yukuméra Get the children inside (the house), its going to rain Mete los niños adentro porque va a llover [Note: 'mo'áni' is used when several entities are put inside.]
mo'óři n. Daughter in law; Nuera. neé inuwaenare pií mo'óři kawéruma I would like to have a nice daughter in law Yo quisiera llegar a tener una nuera Buena.
moári n. Sack; morral. moáriči toa muuni Put the beans in the sack Hecha los frijoles en el morral!
mučimáira n. Sister in law, brother in law; Cuñada, cuñado. no'ó mučimáira piáka tataná My sister in law has three sons Mi cuñada tiene tres hijos.
muhuná v. To shoot; Disparar, ponché mühré oorí Poncho shot at the lion Poncho le disparó al león.
muináti adj. Slow; Lento. muuirí muiniáti u'mani The turtles run slowly Las totugas corren lento.
mukukáme n. Corpse; Cadáver. no'ó ko'máre kahtiací tahékena pií mukukáme The viewing of the body is in my comrade's house En la casa de mi comadre están velando un muerto.
mukuná v. To die (sg.); Morir (sg). no'ó kumú mukuré kitótíapa merikóči My uncle died because they didn't take him to the doctor Mi tío se murió porque no lo llevaron al doctor [Note: 'mukuná' is used when one entity dies.]
murára n. Ear (of some plant); Espiga. taasáwi murára pačitání The ears of cane are producing seeds Las espigas de la caña están dando semilla.
muučíra n. Vagina; Vagina. kukuči mučiráci nawápani The children are born through the vagina Los niños nacen por la vagina.
muní n. Beans; Frijol. ta'irénane muní kesúma I love beans with cheese Me encantan los frijoles con queso.
muuri n. Turtle; Tortuga. muuri kusitere oiyáme The turtles live
in the woods Las tortugas andan en el monte.

muurá n. Mule; Mula. muurá no’o teteméru tapaná The mule kicked me yesterday La mula me patéo ayer [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'mula'.]

muusikó n. Musician; Músico. toiná pi muusikó pakhó iëió meeré They are lacking a musician for tomorrow's feast Falta un músico para la fiesta de mañana [Note: Borrow from the Spanish 'músico'.]

muú pron. You (sg.); Tú. muú asiré ari ehpé You arrived late today Tu llegaste tarde hoy.

muépuna v. To harvest; Recolectar, juntar. i’ká paamúni muepupuápu weká suunú We are going to harvest a lot of corn this year Este año vamos a recolectar mucho maíz.

mu’épuna v. To create, to produce, to gather, to breed; Criar, reproducirse, recolectar. no’o ye’ye mu’épuna čiwá / i’ká paamúni muepupuápu weká suunú My mother breeds goats / This year we are going to gather a lot of corn Mi mamá está criando chivas / Este año vamos a recolectar mucho maíz.

má’are n. Wood; Madera. kuú sehtáname kawéruma má’are kari iëió The wood of red stick is good to build houses La madera de polo colorado es buena para hacer casas.

N - n

naapó n. Nopal; Nopal. mookéme naapó nahkára / naapó no’o komare no’o ihkókeria weripáre werumá Go get some nopales! / The nopal tree that my comrade gave me grew up very much Ve a traer nopales! / El nopal que me regaló mi comadre creció mucho.

naapó nahkára n. Leaves of nopal; Penca de nopal. ta’irénane naapó nahkára wasétiname I love grilled nopal leaves Me encantan los nopales tatemados.

naapó takára n. Prickly pear; Tuna. naapó takára ivahpáni agóstočí The prickly pears ripen in August Las tunas maduran en agosto.

naaráni, na’aráni v. To cry; Llorar. kuitá naarárú yomá tukaó / inamúkane kuitá na’aróí The child cried all night long / I heard the child crying El niño lloró toda la noche / Oí que el niño estaba llorando.

naarásó n. Orange fruit; Naranja. kuitá puharé osá marikí naarásó tapaná The child cut ten orange fruits yesterday El niño aperó diez naranjas ayer.

naasiiname adj. Lazy; Flojo. Maniñiri naasiiname kitekihpamanáre Lazy Manuel does not want to work El flojo de Manuel no quiere trabajar.

na’cúná v. To be sticky; Estar pegajoso. na’cúnáne seekára se’órie My hands are sticky due to the honey (I took) Me quedaron las manos pegajosas con la miel.

na’cúpáme n. Glue; Pegamento. no’o Yetó ehpéche na’cúpáme kahumiá yawéra na’cúpateka Bring me more glue to finish sticking the violin Tráeme más pegamento para terminar de pegar el violín.

na’cúpáme n. To adhere, to stick; Adherirse, pegarse. saawára na’cúpáme The sleeves got stuck Las hojas se pegaron.

na’cúpáteni v. To stick; Adherir, pegar. na’cúpátenúne čapakhárea mesea I stucked the leg to the table Le pegué la pata a la mesa.

nahká n. Handle, ear; Oreja, asa. tahró kinaká The bucket has no
handle El balde no tiene asa.
nahkí v. To want, to love, to need; 
Querer, amar, necesitar. nahkí ne 
piipi kari I want a house Quiero 
una casa.
nahpučí n. Divide, mountain pass; 
Mirador, divisadero. te tetwáníne 
no'ó poni nahpučí weríaame I am 
observing my brother in the 
divide up there Estoy viendo a mi 
hermano alla arriba en el 
divisadero.
naiapásumi n. Nixtamal; Nixtamal. ihi 
naíapásumi kwasi apáre This 
nixtamal is raw Este nixtamal 
quedó crudo.
nairó n. Oilcloth; Hule. nairo chučé kari 
yukumápu Put the oilcloth over 
the house because is going to 
rain Ponle el hule a la casa 
porque va a llover.
naiwáčani v. To gossip; Murmurar. 
tehtemari naiwáčani amó eepé 
oiyópa People gossip because 
you go out too much La gente 
está murmurando porque tu 
sales mucho.
naiwačí v. To speak; Hablar. maniwíri 
káitia naiwačí Manuel speaks too 
much Manuel habla mucho.
ankačí n. Ear; Oído. čihkoročane 
ankačí My ear is itchy Tengo 
conozón en el oído.
nakahpúra n. Coralillo (a type of 
nakepúra) Coralillo. pii nakahpúra 
me'yare peteria tanara A coralillo 
killed Petra's son Una coralillo 
mató al hijo de Petra.
nanarakí n. Moss; Musgo, moho. ihi 
sisíyoki werí naranrákie These 
iron tools have a lot of moss 
Estos fierros tienen mucho 
mocho.
nanéna v. To know; Saber. puúa 
nanena ahpo yorá He knows 
what he does El sabe lo que 
hace.
nanéntona v. To remember; Recordar. 
nanéntone kahumiá i'ká tehkí i'ká 
semana I remembered that I have 
to finish this work by the end of 
the week Recordé que tengo que 
terminar este trabajo esta 
semana.
napapúna v. To pile up; Juntar, 
amonontonar. napapúrune weeká 
aaráwe I piled up many 
pumpkins Ya junté muchas 
calabazas.
napawína v. To join; Juntarse. 
napawína waakási yee póó The 
cows join in the field Las vacas 
se juntan en el llano.
napesó n. Ash; Ceniza. tukaó 
naétiame napesó kái kuitá 
itihpire Last night's fire produced 
a lot of ash La lumbre de anoche 
dejó mucha ceniza.
napo'ritiamé n. Danger; Peligro. ehpé 
tioi na'póritiamé simiyáta 
teitaita Nowaday, there is a lot 
of danger over there En estos 
días hay mucho peligro para 
allá.
napo'ání v. To gather; Recolectar, 
amontonar. napo’aruné weeká 
arawé pahkóc ko'köpume I 
gathered many pumpkins for the 
feast's food Junté muchas 
calabazas para la comida de la 
fiesta.
napá piripi quant. One of the two; Uno 
de dos nos. napá piripi ithipímera 
aktiapamia One of the two is 
going to stay working Uno de los 
dos se va a quedar a trabajar.
narakái n. Seashell; Caracol. tenahrái 
wa'apí kosóči tetewánake narakái 
I found a seashell in a stream 
near Tenahrái En un arroyo 
cerca del Tenahrái encontré un 
caracol.
nasuwwáni v. To fight; Pelear. 
nasuwwáruné no'ó poni hámá 
owitiame íchí I fought with my 
brother because of a woman Me 
peleé con mi hermano por culpa 
de una mujer.
nasóčani v. To untie (pl.); Desatar, 
soltar (opl.). pedró na'sóčani 
kawái Pedro unties the horses 
Pedro está soltando los caballos.
nasónani v. To untie (sg.); Desatar, 
soltar (osg.). pedró na'sónare 
kawái Peter untied the horse 
Pedro soltó el caballo.
nasipasi quant. Half; La mitad.
nasipasi simpáre tihoé Half (
most) of the people already left
Ya se fué la mitad (la mayoría).
natahképani v. To forget; Olvidar.
natahkeparúne simiái obregóni
ehpe I forgot that I had to go to
Obregon today Olvidé que tenía
que ir a Obregón hoy.
natapúna v. To pierce; Atravezar.
natapúrune kuúe kari I pierced
the house with a stick Atravezé
la casa con el palo.
natawina v. To go through; Atravezarse. natawíre ichérá
so'číchi The spear went through
the fish La lanza atravesó el
pescado.
natehténa v. To pay; Pagar.
natehtérune no'ó wíkiríá tiendáčí
I payed what I owed in the store
Ya pagué lo que debía en la
tienda.
nawá n. Root; Raíz. okocípi navára
ekweruma i'yówí čóopé ičíó The
okochopi (type of plant) root is a
good remedy for cold La raíz de
la corteza es buen remedio para
la gripa.
nawésání v. To talk; Hablar, platicar,
contar. nawésáníne amo ye'číma
I am talking with your aunt Estoy
platicando con tu tía.
nawésari n. Word, advice; Palabra,
consejos. no'ó no'ó nawésaríra
kawéruma iníře My father's
advice were good advices Los
consejos de mi padre eran
buenos.
nawáso, na'wáso n. Pocketknife;
Navaja. maniwiri merirétu
navásöe / na'wásoe ta'pána so'čí
Manuel was killed with a
pocketknife / One can cut a fish
with a pocketknife A Manuel lo
mataron con una navaja / Con la
navaja se parte (en dos) el
pescado.
na'í n. Fire; Lumbré. werú tahaní na'í
The fire is too strong La lumbre
está ardiendo mucho.
naó num. Four; Cuatro.
tatanaénarene naó I want to have
four children Quiero tener
cuatro hijos.
ná'íporosi n. Atole (a type of soup);
Atole. na'íporosi meterépua
ko'kómia He cooked atole to eat
El hizo atole para comer.
neasá n. Aunt maternal (elder); Tía
materna mayor, esposa de tío
materno mayor. wani neesára
enáre tapaná petečí John's aunt
came home yesterday La tía
materna mayor de Juan vino
ayer a la casa.
nehyání v. To answer; Contestar.
ruupé no'ó nehyáru yomá no'ó
inatukéria Lupe answer me
everything I asked her Lupe me
contestó todo lo que le pregunté.
nehání v. To sell; Vender. nehárune
uurú kiyá no'ó inuwéká I sold the
donkey that I had last year Vendí
el burro que tenía el año pasado.
neipá ord. Second; Segundo. neipá
navákame kútia epecé werumá
The second of my sons is the
taller one El segundo de mis
hijos es el más alto.
nekahtíame adj. Angry; Enojado.
tihoé nenekátiame kikawé yoáni
Angry men do not make things
properly Los hombres enojados
no hacen bien las cosas.
nekawá v. To get angry; Enojarse.
káti nekarúne no'ó poníma
ihiópa enčí I got very angry with
my brother because he is
drinking again Me enojé mucho
con mi hermano porque está
tomando de Nuevo.
nekúri n. Leech; Sanguíjuela. peterá
tanára pakihtére nekúri Petra's
son got leeches Al hijo de Petra
se le metieron sanguíjuelas.
nenekáni v. To argue; Discutir, pelear
hablando, wani pedró nenekáni
ahpó wíkiríá ičíó John and Peter
are arguing about the wage Juan
y Pedro están discutiendo por el
salario.
ne'nénéa v. To see; Ver. ehpéo kawé
ne'nénane Now, I can see very
well Ahora puedo ver muy bien.
nerói n. Water; agua. ki'té nerói
sikoriči There is no water in the pot no hay agua en la olla.
newéri n. Pitahaya fruit; Pitahaya.
neweri wehečae aaperači The pitahaya fruits have thorns on the skin Las pitahayas tienen espinas en la cascara.
neę pron. I, Yo. neę simináre moosiyo enči semánakači I want to go to Hermosillo next week Yo quiero ir a Hermosillo la siguiente semana.
neéra n. Soup; Caldo. ehpé ihinaričine ọwa neéra Today, I want to eat a bone soup Hoy quiero comer caldo de hueso.
nińo n. Godfather; Padrino. no'o kúita nińora peteči mačiači ohoę My son's godfather lives across the street El padrino de mi hijo vive enfrente de mi casa.
niná n. Godmother; Madrina. no'o mara ninára čorhoča ohoę My daughter's godmother lives in Chorijoa La madrina de mi hija vive en Chorijoa.
ninina v. To fly, to jump; Volar, saltar. kohkowí peeniá nokaká ninina Doves fly very nice Las palomas vuelan muy bonito.
ni'wáme n. Prayer; Rezador. ki'te ni'wáme piré yawi ičiō There is no prayer for the feast No hay rezador para el siguiente yawi (fiesta especial de los Warhíos) [Note: yawi is a special feast for Warhíos.]
ni'óniame n. Prayer; Rezo, misa. pahča ni'óniame kipeniátiame mačená The last prayer was ugly El rezo final estuvo feo.
nohkórame adj. Curved; Chueco. meesá pi' inuwá apahká nohkórame The table has a curved leg La mesa tiene una pata chueca.
nohpí n. Coal; Carbón. nakimánepu nohpí na'émia I need coal to set the fire Necesito carbón para atizar.
noiawa, noowía n. Fiancée; Novia. pedró noiawa newímera piréči tihoē aháma Peter's fiancé is going to marry other man La novia de Pedro se va a casar con otro hombre.
nokité'ná v. To touch; Tocar. wanita kinokiténare čikuri Juanca didn't want to touch the rat Juana no quiso tocar la rata.
no'no n. Father (of a man); Papá (de hombre). no'o no'no enaná i'wá My father wants to come here Mi papá quiere venir aquí.
noonóna v. To move; Moverse. noonórune wa'así weséa wa'amí I moved over there too much Ya me moví mucho para allá.
noowi n. Fiancées; Novios. peterá noowi'ora newímera piréči owitiame aháma Petra's fiancé is going to marry other woman El novio de Petra se va a casar con otra mujer.
noowi n. Worm; gusano. peeniátiame noowi The worm is pretty Es bonito el gusano!
no' prn. My, me, to me, myself; Mi, me, a mi, yo mismo. no'o no'no umáre kusíteré My father ran into the woods Mi padre corrió al monte [Note: first sg. non-subj ect pronoun.]
nu'úti adj. Small, little; Chico, pequeño, angosto, poco. neę pu'seréna nunúti kari I like small houses A mi me gustan las casas chicas.

0 - 0

očétúna v. To be old; Estar viejo.
očétúna waa'sí yau'méa I am too old to dance Yo ya estoy viejo para bailar.
očétíame, očétíame n. Old man; Viejito. puú očétíame pinéri ohoē/ puú očétíame paamúna umátoame That old man lives alone/ That old man is more than one hundred years old Ese viejito
vive solo/ Ese viejo tiene más de cien años.
ohčí n. Grasshopper; Chapulín. ohčí
ekawérumahu sočí iči / ohčí
sunú rahtátiame koayámé
Grasshoppers are a very good
bait / grasshoppers eat sweetcorn
Los chapulines son muy buena
carnada / Los chapulines comen
maíz tiernito.
ohčóname adj. Black; Negro. uwári
ohčóname / nee inuwáekai pailká
kawái ohčóname Uxalama (type
of plant) are black / I had three
black horses Las igualamas son
negras / Yo tenía tres caballos
negros.
ohčóri n. Blue corn; Maíz azul. ehpéó
ko’kárune yomá ohčóri Today, I
ate blue corn only Hoy comí
puro maíz azul.
ohkó n. Pine; Pino. wawičora poté
intúna weeká ohkó There are
many pines on the way to
Bavicora Rumbo a Bavicora hay
muchos pinos.
ohtóna v. To stretch; Estirar. ihí nairó
weeré ohtoře These oilcloths
stretched too much Estos hules
se estiraron mucho.
ohtóri n. Tescalamá (a type of plant);
Tescalamá (planta). wa’amí
ahakáme ohhtóri tetehpéruma
nawáe Those tescalamas have
very long roots Aquellas
tescalamas tienen las raíces muy
largas.
o’kéwa n. Tears; lágrimas. o’kéwa
o’ncé Tears are salty Las
lágrimas son saladas.
omatéře n. Armit; Axila. čuwí
weweripatéře po’wá omatéře
John already has hair in the
arms A Jesús ya le salieron
pechos en la axila.
o’ná n. Corncob; Olate. wakási koání
o’ná The cows are eating
corncobs Las vacas están
comiendo olozes.
onáeme adj. Salty; Salado. tairénane
muñi onáeme I like salty beans
A mi me gustan los frijoles
salados.
o’náeme n. Large corn; Mazorca. kowí
koání o’náeme The pigs are
eating large corns Los cochís
comen mazorcas.
o’očikí n. Grandfather (paternal);
Abuelo paterno. kuita o’očikíra
sawanantó ohoeri The child’s
grandfather lived in San
Bernardo El abuelo paterno del
niño vivía en San Bernardo.
o’očikíriríra n. Grandson, granddaughter;
Nieto, nieta, bisnieto, bisnieta.
nee inuwáenáre naó o’očikírarí
I want to have four grandsons
Quiero tener cuatro nietos.
o’očá n. Small lizard; Lagartija. iwáo
intúna weeká o’očá There are
many small lizards around here
Por aquí hay muchas lagartijas.
o’ohkómuni n. Wild beans; Frijol de
la sierra. wawikerote intúa
o’ohkómuni There are wild beans
toward Bavicora Hacia Bavicora
hay frijoles de la sierra.
oohí, o’ohí n. Bear; Oso. tanáná
no’nanáríto píí oohí tosháname /
tanáná tetewáruní píí o’ohí
tosháname A white bear
followed me yesterday / I saw a
white bear yesterday Ayer me
persiguió un oso blanco / Ayer vi
un oso blanco.
ooká num. Two; Dos. nakhíne ooká
korió muñihí I need two kilos of
beans Quiero dos kilos de
frijoles.
ooká siendó num. Two hundred;
Doscientos. no’ó kukúri
inuwáekai ooká siendó waakási
My uncle had two hundred cows
Mi tío tenía docientos vacas.
ooká weréwa num. Forty; Cuarenta.
paamúnané u’matóame ooká
weréwa I am more than forty
years old Tengo más de cuarenta
años.
o’omatéře n. Armit; Axila. rolando
hupáme o’omatéře Rolando’s
arms stink A Rolando le
apestan las axilas.
ooná n. Salt; Sal. weerú ooná
yahenéne koámé I use a lot of
salt in preparing food. Yo uso
mucho la sal en la comida.
o'ónôri n. Buzzard; Zopilote. yomá poéči kecëwëka no'ó na'nari'tóna o'ónôri A buzzard followed me all the way to Quechhueca En todo el camino a Quechhueca me siguió un zopilote.
oorôna n. Burner; Fogón. oorôna choipârë The burner turned off already El fogón ya se apagó.
oôri, o'orí n. Lion; León. pi' oôri yomá ko'yare ciwà tukaô A lion killed all the goats last night Un león mató todas las chivas anoche.
oosá num. Twice; Dos veces. oosá kahpòrûne wa'âpi no'ô kahpòriaecí I broke the same bone twice Me quebré dos veces el mismo hueso.
ootônì n. Button; Botón. wakirá toíténa pi' ootônì The shirt is missing a button A la camisa le falta un botón [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'botón'.]
oowarâtâni v. To pierce; Agujerear. čikûrî oowarâtâre kohtârî The rats pierced the bags Las ratas agujerearon los costales.
o'owârame n. Hole; Hoyo. i'wá wekâ intûna o'owârâme tohpókâira Here, there are many holes because there are moles Aquí hay muchos hoyos porque hay topos.
o'pâ n. Back; Espalda, lomo. yawêra o'parâ kahpôrë The back of the violin broke El lomo del violín se quebró.
oriwëça n. Oriechea (Kind of cactus); Choya. oriwëça kawëruma i'yôi sawíchio The oriechea is agood remedy for curing rash La choya es un buen remedio para el sarpulado.
osanâro num. Eight; Ocho. ruupîta osanâro tatañââ Mrs. Lupe has eight children Doña Lupe tiene ocho hijos.
osanâro osa mariki num. Eighty; Ochenta. tapanâ paamu're no'ô kuumú osanâro oosá marikì Yesterday my uncle turned eighty (years old) Ayer mi tío cumplió ochenta años.
osohkôra n. Papache (kind of fruit); Papache. ihi ku' ka'kâruma osohkôra takena / kuitá ta'irëna osohkôra This tree produces very good papache fruits / the child loves papache fruit Este árbol da buenos papaches / Al niño le gustan mucho los papaches.
osa mariki num. Ten; Diez. po'âchusa inimâne osa mariki so'cí ehpì I need to fish ten fishes today Necesito pezar diez pezados hoy.
osa mariki ampá mariki num. Fifteen; Quince. paá umatóre osa mariki ampá marikì ëurë wa'ami Fifteen squirrels passed by here a while ago Hace rato pasaron quince choloris por aquí.
owitiâme n. Woman; Mujer. Ëoríhoëo oinâ pië owitiâme pechiyâmë In Chorijoa, there is a woman that gives massages En Chorijoa hay una mujer que soba.
o'wi n. coyote; coyote. o’wi mahâtëre kawãi A coyote scared the horse El coyote asustó al caballo.
owâra n. Male; Macho. inuwaæaneñëe Ëuhëùi owëra I want to have a male dog Quiero tener un perro macho.
owisâni num. Siete; Siete. maniwiri inuwaëe owisâni Ëuhëùi inatëma karì Mr. Manuel has seven dogs that look after the house Don Manuel tiene siete perros que le cuidan la casa.
owisâni osa mariki num. Seventy; Setenta. owisâni osa marikì paamûpari eënâre no'ô no'nô moçiwâmpë Seventy years ago, my parents came to Mochibampo Hace setenta años que mis papás vinieron a Mochibampo.
o'yerâteña n. To tie knots; Hacer nudos. paiká o'yerâteñë witâri utewamiçio I tied three knots to the thread in order (for it) to be strong Le hice tres nudos al mecate para que resista bien.
o'yëna v. To tie; Atar, amarrar, kawé o'ye ku' kiwiçimíçio karì Tie the
sticks carefully so the roof won't fall down Amarra bien los palos para que no se caiga el techo.

o'yérači n. Knit; Nudo. witári o'yérači pewah téna The knots in the thread are too big Los nudos del mecate están muy grandes.

o'očiki n. Grandfather (paternal);

Abuelo paterno. no'ó o'očiki mesáči ohoé My (paternal) grandfather lives in La Mesa Colorado Mi abuelo paterno vive en la Mesa Colorada.

P - p

paakánawa n. Paakanawa (kind of herb); Yerbalmanso. we'è nokáyame suwérači intúna paakánawa There are paakanawa in the bank of the marshes En la orilla de los pantanos hay yerbalmanso

paakári n. Jacal (house made of a kind of grass); Jacal (Casa de zacate, tasol). no'ó poní ohoé paakáriči My brother lives in a Jacal Mi hermano menor vive en un jacal

paaká, pa'áká n. Hook; gancho (para apear fruta), carrizo. no'ó puheke maríki kahé paakáe weeká pa'áká inuwáene ko'retaméa Get me five tempizque fruits (using) the hook / I already have many carrizo sticks to build a fence Bajame 5 tempizques con el gancho / Ya tengo muchos carrizos para cercar.

paamúna v. Birthday; Cumplir años. ehpe' kuitá paamúna ootá Today is the child's second birthday Hoy el niño cumple dos años.

paamúni adv. Summer; Verano. i'ká paamúni kisimpamatemé močiwámpon We are not going to Mochibampo this summer Este verano no vamos a ir a Mochibampo.

paamúpari adv. Year; Año. i'ká paamúpari kikawéruma iníre ečitiámé ičió The harvest was very bad this year Este año estuvieron muy malas las cosechas.

paanáta n. Face, cheek, jaw; Cara, mejilla, guijada. wani weweréťu paanátači John was hit in the face A Juan le dieron un golpe en la cara.

pa'ápá n. Grandfather (maternal); Abuelo materno. amó pa'ápá amígwórači no'ó pa'ápá Your (maternal) grandfather is friend of my (maternal) grandfather Tu abuelo materno es amigo de mi abuelo materno.

paará n. Shovel; Pala. kitewáni paará I cannot find the shovel No encuentro la pala [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pala'.]

paaré n. Priest; Sacerdote. paaré weméra tapaná e'náre The new priest arrived yesterday El sacerdote nuevo llegó ayer [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'padre'.]

paátó n. Duck; Pato. kiintúna wa'asis paátó akiči There are almost no ducks in the river anymore Ya casi no hay patos en el río [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pato'.]

paatári n. Mezcal (a type of wine); Tesquino. paatári mokémé Bring me mezcal! Traíme tesquino! [Note: Wine made of mezcal.]

paatótana n. Godchild; Ahijado, ahijada. no'ó paatótana newiméra meeré My goddaughter is going to get married tomorrow Mi ahijada se va a casar mañana.

pačči n. Brother (elder); Hermano mayor. meeré enaméra no'ó pačči močiwámpon My elder brother is coming tomorrow from Mochibampo Mañana va a venir mi hermano mayor de
Mochibampo.

pahčí n. Seed; Semilla. hú'yé pahčíra yomá haarú ko'kotai táiria Take all the seeds out from the watermelon, so you can eat it with pleasure Quitale todas las semillas a la sandía para que te la comas agusto.
pahčá adv. First; Primero; neé pahčá asirú kiamó čítiá I arrived before you Llegué primero que tu.
pahčáni v. To put inside (sg); Meter (objeto sg). pahčá kuitá noremúna yukúméra Get the child inside (the house)because is going to rain Mete al niño porque va a llover.
pahkó n. Feast; Fiesta. pahkó simiméra pahká tawé The feast is going to last three days La fiesta va a durar tres días.
pahkórá n. Feast dancer; Pascola. kiasíná pahkórá pahí pahkóapao iniméra The feast dancers haven't arrived and the feast is about to begin No han llegado los pascolas y la fiesta ya va a empezar.
pahkótame n. Feast host (person that organizes the feast); Fiestaero. pahkótame kahúrera raamára meeré ičíó The feast host already built the jaco for tomorrow El fiestero ya hizo la enramada para mañana.
pahpá n. Potato; Papa. kuitá taíréna pahpá The child loves potatoes Al niño le gustan las papas.
pahúčí n. Brook (in the foothill); Arroyo en la falda de un cerro. kukučí u'upáni pahúčí The children are bathing in the brook of the foothill Los niños se están bañando en el arroyo de la falda del cerro.
pah'úrú n. Otter; Nutria (perro del agua). akičikapó weeká intóna pah'úrú There are many otters up to the river Río arriba hay muchas nutrias.
paičí n. Spring; Aguaje, manantial, pozó. kohóčiko kaapó paičí There is a spring toward the crossroads Rumbo a la quebrada hay un aguaje.
paiáká num. Three; Tres. kuitá kočiré paiáká oorá The child slept during three hours El niño durmió tres horas.
paiáka osá marikí ampá paiáká num. Thirty three; Treinta y tres. paiáká osá marikí ampá paiáká paamúñane I am thirty three years old Tengo treinta y tres años.
paiáká weréwa num. Sixty; Sesenta. no'ó nehíke paiáká weréwa suunú riteró Sell me sixty (liters) of corn Véndeme 60 litros de maíz [Note: They used to weigh the corn with a recipient of 1 liter.]
paiákápí cuant. Some; Algunas, algunos, varios, varias. paiákápí tehtémari asirépa Some people arrived already Algunas personas ya llegaron.
paiása num. Three times; Tres veces. kuitá pu'saré paiása yomá tukawári The child woke up three times last night El niño se despertó tres veces durante la noche.
paisórí n. Snake (a kind of); Culebras miticas en los manantiales. simiré paisórí wakipáre paičí The paisori left and the spring dried up Ya se fue la culebra y se secó el manantial [Note: These are mythical snakes that appear in springs.]
pakíná v. To come in; Entrar sg. pakirúne i'yámia no'ó ye'yé karičí I came into the house to look for my mother Entré a la casa a buscar a mi mamá.
pakoná v. To wash dishes; lavar trastes. hustíná papakhórè weeká pehtórí tapaná Agustina washed many dishes yesterday Agustina lavó muchos trastes ayer.
panisúná v. To pull; Jalar. utewáeme panisúrune witári no'ó tehu'náre seekára I pulled the rope so strong that I cut my hand Jalé muy fuerte el mecate y me corté la mano.
papóí n. Aunt paternaí (younger); Tía paterna menor, amó papóí no’o komárehu Your (paternal younger) aunt is my comrade Tú tía paterna menor es mi comadre.

parekókori n. Pepper (a kind of); Chile verde, weerú yahé parekókori koámé Put a lot of pepper in the meal Ponle mucho chile verde a la comida.

pa’rowisi n. Hare; Liebre. iwáo weeká intúna pa’rowisi kitowí čítia There are more hares than rabbits around here Por aquí hay mas liebres que conejos.

paré n. Tarantula; Tarántula, kuitá ki’kiré paré seekačí A tarantula bit the child in his arm Al niño le picó una tarántula en el brazo.

patóniame n. Children ready to baptize; Niños listos para bautizar. osá marikí patóniame ohóna pueblóčí There are ten children ready to be baptized in the pueblo Ya hay diez niños listos para bautizar en el pueblo.

patůsi n. Masse; Masa. no’o tusuké ooká kiró patůsi Prepare two kilos of masse (for me) Hazme dos kilos de masa [Note: A mixture made of cornflour.]

pa’wičūri n. Dew; Rocio. piári mačirépari pepipno pa’wičúreme The cucumbers have a lot of dew this morning En la mañana los pepinos amanecieron con mucho rocío.

pa’wi n. Mist, mog; Neblína. sawaráčí tukápói weerú wičiré pa’wi There was a lot of fog on saturday daybreak El sábado en la madrugada cayó mucha neblína.

pa’wé n. Sea; Mar. pa’wéme mehká itihpina iwáo The sea is too far away from here El mar esta muy lejos de aquí.

pa’wéčawi n. Aloe vera; Sávila. pa’wéčawi kawéruma i’yói tahitiáme ičió The aloe vera is a good remedy for burnings La sávila es un buen remedio para las quemaduras.

paéña v. To call; Llamar. karina u’mási amó paéña ye’yé Karina come here! Mom is calling you Karina ven, mi mamá te está llamando.

pa’a, paá n. Grass; Zacate. puá pa’a kawéruma aarowe meteniáme ičió / ihi pa’a kawerumáhu karičí čúcanía That grass is good to make adobes / This grass is good for (building) the ceiling Aquel zacate esta bueno para hacer los adobes / este zacate está bueno para el techo.

peeniátiame adj. Pretty; Bonito. peeniátiame sipích inuwaéne sipičáteme meéré I have a pretty dress to wear tomorrow Tengo un vestido bonito para ponérmelo mañana.

pecá n. Pear; Pera. ki’yáme weeká intuí pecá iwáo Long time ago, there were many pears by here Antes había muchas peras por aquí [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish ‘pera’].

peesó n. Peso (mexican current); Peso. pié kiró muuni osanáo peesó natená The kilo of beans cost eight pesos El kilo de frijoles cuesta 8 pesos [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish ‘peso’].

peesúna v. To peel; Peler. peesúnane waakásí I am peeling the cows Estoy pelando las vacas.

pehteténá v. To turn heavy; Ponerse pesado. kohtári sampré pehtetéparé The bags wet and they turned heavy Los costales se mojaron y se pusieron pesados.

pehtíaíme adj. Heavy; Pesado. no’o ki’ya kohtaría pehtiámé Give me the heavy bag A mi déme el costal pesado.

pehténá v. To be heavy; Estar pesado. yomá kohtaría pehténá All bags are heavy Todos los costales están pesados.

pehtóri n. Plate; Plato. anaká ahawí pehtóri Where are the plates? ¿Dónde están los platos?
pehí adv. Still, yet; Todavía. no’ó yeyé kiasíná pehí My mom hasn’t arrived yet Mi mamá no ha llegado todavía.

penehpání v. To learn; Aprender. penehpañine teesá naiwákak makuráwe I am learning a little of Warhiho Estoy aprendiendo poco waríhio.

penitiáme n. Teacher; Maestro. hustína no’ó penitiáme naiwákak makuráwi Agustina, my teacher, teaches me Warhiho Agustina mi maestra me enseña waríhio.

pe’sóní n. Pus; Pus. cuhéuri weerú pe’soní tehpuirái The dog has a lot of pus in its wound El perro tiene mucha pus en la cortada.

pe’tí v. To be lying down (pl.); Estar acostado (pl.). kuku’í pe’tí maačí karičí Children are lying down aoutside the house Los niños están acostados afuera de la casa.

pewatiáme adj. Hard; Duro. nahkine wehčí pewatiáme karitámea I need a hard ground to build a house Necesito un suelo duro para construir la casa.

pewaténa v. To feel something hard; Sentirse duro. kuú katísa pewaténa The stick feels very hard El palo se siente muy duro.

pewá adj. Hard; Duro, fuer. mevérei pewá The pitahaya fruits are hard Las pitahayas están duras.

peyóri n. Peyote (hallucinogenic drug); Peyote. susukitáme nokiténa peyóri Witches use peyote Los brujos usan el peyote [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'perote'.]

piari adv. Early morning; En la mañana. piari simikáne tekhpánami napokha weikaló aari tekhpánanine rolandó hamá I went to weed off early in the morning and by the afternoon I am going to work with Rolando En la mañana fui a desyerbar y en la tarde voy a trabajar con Rolando.

pičiwá n. Truth; Verdad, afirmar.

pičiwápua no’ó tuyé no’ó no’ó That is true, my father said it to me Esos es verdad, me lo dijo mi papá.

piená adv. Together; Juntos. tapaná wani tetewáre piená María pedró John saw Mary and Peter together yesterday Ayer Juan vio a María y Pedro.

pienáčí adv. In other place; En otro lugar. kiohoénarene pienáčí I don’t want to live in other place No quiero vivir en otro lugar.

pihtóra n. Gun; Pistola. no’ó teecí inuwáé pihtóra katewésa petecí My uncle has a gun he keeps in the house Mi tío tiene una pistola guardada en la casa [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pistola'.]

piintáwani v. To paint; Téñir, pintar. piintawáníne no’ó yeyyé kariwhára ihkáre I am painting my mother’s house with quicklime Estoy pintando la casa de mi mamá con cal.

pi’íní n. Sister (younger); Hermana menor. no’ó pi’íní ohoé choriñá paik tatanáe My younger sister lives in Chorijoa and she has three sons Mi hermana menor vive en Chorijóa y tiene tres hijos.

piisá n. Penis; Pene. kuita piisára pintóú The child’s penis has dots el piquito del niño está pintado.

piisi n. Husband of paternal younger sister; Esposo de tía paterna menor. markó piisira enáre tapaná tuká The husband of Marco’s (paternal younger) aunt arrived last night El esposo de la tía paterna menor de Marcos llegó ayer en la noche.

pikahkáme adj. Rotten; Podrido, pasado. ihpápa aaráwe yomá pakahkáme Throw away those pumpkins! They are rotten Tira esas calabazas podridas.

pikani v. To be rotten; Podrirse. aarú yomá pikani The watermelons are rotten Todas las sandías
están podridas.

piériri adv. Alone; Solo. no’ó teeći wani ohöe piériri kawici ipote My uncle John lives alone up hill Mi tío Juan vive solo cerro arriba.

pipá n. Tobbaco, marihuana; Tabaco, marihuana. kinakhiné no’ó tataná yenimičio pipá I don't want my children to smoke marihuana No quiero que mis hijos fumen marihuana.

piréći cuant. Other; Otro, otra. no’ó kia piréći takári Give me other tortilla! Dame otra tortilla.

pirína v. To be twisted; Estar torcido. nairó pirína The oilcloth is twisted El hule está torcido.

pirínaní v. To twist; Torcer. kawé pirínarún wiñári I twisted the rope very well Ya torcí bien el mecate.

pi’wapiña v. To clean; Limpiar. hustina pi’wapiña yomá mesésá Agustina is cleaning the tables Agustina está limpiando todas las mesas.

pi’wa n. Breast; Seno. čiwa pi’wa’ara sehtáname The breasts of the goat are red Las chichis de la chiva están rojas.

pi’weña v. To clean; limpiar. kawé pi’we’una mesésá I cleaned the table very well Limpié la mesa muy bien [Note: limpiar superficies, mesa, niños.]

pi’waní v. To clean; Limpiarse. pi’wanínee seekáçí I am cleaning my hands Me estoy limpiando las manos.

piyetésia n. Bunch; Manojo, tercio. muú mokétúma piyetésia kuú petečisi You are going to carry that bunch of woods to the house Tu vas a cargar ese tercio de leña hasta la casa.

pií quant. One; Un, una. pií tihoé me’yáre kawái A man killed the horse Un hombre mató al caballo.

pií sientó num. One hundred; Cien. i’iparúne suunú pií sientó ritoró I harvested one hundred liters of corn Coseché cien litros de maíz.

pio’weréwa num. Twenty; Veinte. witiú čečitiáči pepehkaíe pío weréwa aarú That summer, I harvested twenty watermelons En aquel verano pepené veinte sandías.

pio’pií num. One; Uno. tapaná meyårune pío’pií totóri koamé I killed a hen yesterday to cook it Ayer maté una gallina para hacerla comida.

po’áčúra n. Hook; Anzuelo. inuwaene paiká po’áčúra pío’pií werumá piítiú piítiúra I have three hooks, one big, one medium and other small Tengo tres anzuelos, uno grande, uno mediano y otro chico.

počiní v. To be full; Estar lleno. yomá kohtári pochéh suunú All bags are full of corn Todos los costales están llenos de maíz.

počwi’ání v. To fill; LLenar. počwiárune yomá kohtári suunú I filled all the bags with corn LLené todos los costales de maíz.

poçsimiéme n. Stranger; Forastero. tapaná asirú poçsimiéme moçwámpo A stranger arrived to Mochibampo yesterday Ayer llegó un forastero a Mochibampo.

pohtaroáni v. To bet; Apostar. pohtaroárune kawái no’ó kompá yumatonaria neé I bet for my comrade's horse that I was going to win the race Le aposté el caballo a mi compadre a que yo ganaba la carrera [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'apostar'.]

pohté n. Post; Madera, horcón. no’ó kuná ko’réte apoche My husband built a fence with posts only Mi esposo hizo un cerco de pura madera [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'poste'.]

po’ipáni v. To lie down; Acostarse. po’ipárune wehčí reesípápa I lay down in the ground because I was exhausted Me acoste en el suelo porque estaba cansado.

poitóna v. To drag oneself;
Arrastrarse. poítóka u'matókane ko'réch I had to drag myself to cross the fence Me tuve que arrastrar para cruzar el cerco.

poní n. Brother (younger); Hermano menor. no'o po'oní kinéwina pehí na inuwáe ooká tanán ooká owerúe My younger brother hasn't got married but he has two children with (two) different women Mi hermano menor no se ha casado pero tiene dos hijos con diferentes mujeres.

pooré adj. Poor; Pobre. póré temé kinuwáe ko'amétémé We are very poor that's why we don't have any food Somos muy pobres no tenemos comida [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pobre'.]

posání v. To be satisfied; Estar lleno. kina hawk inułi posaní I don't want more beans, I am satisfied Ya no quiero más frijoles, estoy lleno.

posóri n. Pozole (a type of plate); menudo. no'o yeyé pasuré posórí nawirá ičió My mother cooked pozole for christmas Mi mamá hizo menudo para la navidad [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pozole'.]

potačená v. To cover; Tapar, cubrir. potáčená tuhí kísó'orípamíchío I covered the tortillas to keep them from the flies Tapé las tortillas para que no se mosqueen.

potačepuna v. To uncover; Destapar. potačepúrune sikórí saenáriá ko'amé I uncovered the pot to smell the food Destapé la olla para oler la comida.

potačéra n. Lid; Tapadera. wekáhtérune potačéra sikórí sónáme I lost the lid of the blue pot Perdí la tapadera de la olla azul.

po'tání v. To uproot; Estar arrancado (matas). pohté po'táré Those posts are uprooted Esos horcones están arrancados.

po'wá n. Lamb; Borrego, lana.

kipu'sérénane po'wá sa'pára I don't like lamb's meat A mi no me gusta la carne de borrego.

po'í v. To be lying down (sg); Estar acostado (sg.). kúítá po'í yepré tamiñá The child is lying down in the yard under the sun El niño está acostado en el patio bajo el sol.

poé n. Road; Camino. ihí poé simíñá močiwa'mó Este road takes you to Mochibampo Este camino va a Mochibampo.

pueblócí n. Town; Pueblo. pu'ká pueblóčí pákapi eenté ohoé Very few people live in that pueblo En ese pueblo vive muy poca gente [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'pueblo'.]

puhé v. To bring down; Bajar. tapaná puhrúne maríkí kahé pákáré I brought down five tempizque fruit with the hook yesterday ayer bajé 5 tempizques con el gancho.

purirá n. Girdle; Faja. inuwáene purirá moenáníame ichió kawičí I have a girdle to climb mountains Tengo una faja para poder subir a los cerros.

purirára n. Mooring rope; Amarrar. ne'néo kawéruma purirára Look at that! That is a good mooring rope Mira, que buen amarrar.

pu'zeréná v. To like; Gustar. kúítá pu'zeréná tečka wehčí The child likes to play in the ground Al niño le gusta jugar en la tierra.

pusání num. Six; Seis. peterá kúítá naváre pusání suhtéka Petra's child was born with six fingers El niño de doña Petra nació con seis dedos.

puusí n. Eye; Ojo. kin'é'nemo oráine puusí hamomina I can't see with my right eye No puedo ver con el ojo derecho.

pu'í n. Roadrunner; Correcaminos. tapaná na'náritóruní pi'ú'í I chased a roadrunner yesterday Ayer perseguí a un correcaminos.

puú dem. That, those; Ese, esa, esos,
esas. puú totóri oowíra kiriwáme
katiá wikahtání That dappled hen
sings very often Ese gallo pinto
canta mucho.
póe natepáči n. Cross-road; Crucero,
enémame no’ó komáre póe
natepáči I will see my comrade
in the cross-road Voy a ver a mi
comadre en el crucero.

raagúna n. Small lake; Laguna.
raagúna kičikapo po’yáme
wakipáre The small lake up river
dried up La laguna que esta rio
arriba se secó [Note: Borrowing
from the Spanish 'laguna'.]
raangará n. Lamp; Lámpara. tahé
raangará tukahpásiparé Turn on
the lamp since it got dark Prende
la lámpara que ya se hizo noche
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'lámpara'.]
raangó n. Ranch; Rancho. raniéri
ranjówara werumáhu Danile’s
ranch is very big El rancho de
Daniel es muy grande [Note: Borrowing
from the Spanish 'rancho'.]
raantánasi n. Banana; Plátano. yaá
kokosas raantánasi / iwání
kieçania rantánasi Eat bananas! /
Bananas are not sowed here
Coma plátanos! / Por aquí no
siembran plátanos.
raanára n. Pomegranate; Granada.
kuijá koinchínkire čuwára
raanarae The child stained his
mouth with pomegranates El
niño se manchó la boca con
granadas.
rahtátiame adj. Soft; Blando. no’ó
ki’yá osokóra rahtátiame Give
me the sof papache fruit! Dame
el papache blandito!
reeču n. Milk; Leche. kimačinánine
reeču I don’t have any more milk
(in my breasts) Ya no me sale
leche [Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'leche'.]
reemóntio n. Devil; Demonio. ya’piti
kokočipasa enamápu reemóntio
Sleep now! If you don’t do it the
devil will come Ya duérmanse si
no va a venir el demonio [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'demonio'.]
resipúna v. To rest; Descansar.
resipúrune kuitápá simitémane
tekihpánaka I rested for a while,
now I am goign to continue
working Ya descansé un rato,
voy a seguir trabajando.
ribiró n. Book; Libro. pu’ká ehkuérači
paikápi ribiró intúna There are
few books in that school En esa
escuela hay pocos libros [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'libro'.]
rihtátiame n. Smooth; Liso. nahkíne
pií kuú rihtátiame iwá tekimiá I
need a smooth stick to place it
here Necesito un palo liso para
poner aquí.
ri’ikó adj. Wealthy; Rico. iwání
kiintúna ri’ikó apočé po’oére
There are not wealthy people
here, only poor people Por aquí
no hay ricos, solo pobres [Note:
Borrowing from the Spanish
'rico'.]
riimá n. Lime; Lima. riimá näráso
kawéruma čopéi ičió Limes and
oranges are good for (curing)
cold Las limas y las naranjas son
buenas para la gripe [Note:
Borrowing from Sapnish 'lima'.]
riimóní n. Lemon; Limón. puser’énane
yahcéka riimóní koáme I like to
pour lemon on the food Me gusta
hecharle limón a la comida
[Note: Borrowing from the
Spanish 'limón'.]
riisáme adj. Straight; Derecho, napoákané osá mariki kuú riisáme korétamia I gathered ten straight sticks to build a fence Junté diez palos derechos para hacer el cerco.

riítóro n. Liter (bottle of mezcal); Botella para mezcal. kiyá paíká riítóro Give me three liters (bottles) of mezcal Dame tres botellas de mezcal.

riosí n. God; Dios. itanérune riosí no’ kuitá yaçapamíchíi I ask God for my child to recover Le pedí a Dios que el niño se me aliviara [Note: Borrowing frm the Spanish 'Dios'.]

roowína n. Lobina (a type of fish);

saapáto n. Shoes; Zapatos. kuitá wekahtéré pi saapáto The child lost a shoe El niño perdió un zapato.

saawaéme n. Yellow; Amarillo. i’yáanie taharó saawaéme I am looking for the yellow bucket Ando buscando el balde amarillo.

saikásuri n. Potsherdl; Tepalcate. yahçé isáwi saikásuri Put red-hot coal to the potsherdl Ponle brasas al tepalcate.

saiséporí n. Morning star; Lucero. nené maçenáre saiséporí naochipa look! the morning star appeared, it is four o’clock already Mira ya salio el lucero, son las cuatro.

sakirá n. Pan, frying pan; Comal. ikačí sakirá werumáchi wasipaténa takari They cook the tortillas on this big pan En este comal grande cocen las tortillas.

saminá v. To be wet; Estar mojado. kitahanánare kuú samiyá The firewood won’t burn because is wet La leña no quiere prender porque está mojada.

samiyámé adj. wet; Mojado. no’ kiyá pu’ká kuú samiyámé Give me that wet stick Dame ese palo mojado.

loobína. inuwaéne paíká roowína naó kiró pehtiámé I have three lobina fish of 4 kilos each Tengo tres lobinas de cuatro kilos [Note: Borrowing from the Spanish 'lobina'.]

rusakái n. Glow-worm; Luciérnaga. mu’àrune paíká rusakái ootiačí I put three glow-worm into the bottle Puse tres luciérnagas en el frasco.

ruunéči adv. Monday; Lunes. ruunéči enamera no’ yeyé My mother is coming next Monday El lunes va a venir mi mamá.

S - s

sapari n. Lechugilla (kind of agave); Lechuguilla. karípúka werí sapari werumá There is a very big lechugilla behind the house Detrés de la casa hay una lechuguilla muy grande.

sapo’órí n. Wolf; Lobo. sapo’órí koyarépa paíká čiwá The wolves killed three swines already Los lobos ya mataron tres cabritos.

sa’pá n. Meat; Carne. nawiráci pasú’rutemé kowí sapápa We cook pork meat for Christmas En la navidad cocinamos carne de cerdo.

sarawéra n. Underwear; Zapeta, calzones. ooká sarawéra inuwaéne I have two underwears Tengo dos zapetas.

sa’rúči n. Verdolaga (type of vegetable); Verdolaga. pusérénane sa’rúčí kowí sa’paraeeme I like verdolagas with pork meat Me gustan las verdolagas con carne de cerdo.

sauná v. to get better (from an illness), to give birth; Curarse, parir. saurúne I got better Ya me cure.

sawaná n. Sheet; Sábana. končoinkiré sawaná The sheet got dirty Ya se
ensució la sábana

sawaráči adv. Saturday; Sábado.
sawaráči sāmān áwasaóčači I
will travel to Alamos next
saturday El sábado voy a ir a
Alamos.

sawá n. leave; Hoja. nahkine naaráso
sawára pasumía I want some
orange (three) leaves to prepare a
tea Quiero unas hojas de
naranjo para hacer te.

sawáiýme n. yellow corn; Maíz
amarillo. nahkine sawáiýme
koamičío I need yellow corn to
prepare meal Necesito maíz
amarillo para la comida.

sayawé n. rattlesnake; Cascabel. no’ó
pahči kikiré sayawé kiyá mukúré
my brother got bitten by a
rattlesnake and he almost died A
mi hermano le pico una cascabel
y casi se murio.

saéná v. to smell, to sense; Sentir,
oler. ki kawé saénane ehpé
kawé saénane kuitá tahtámie
I can’t smell well today/ I feel the
child is very hot (with fever) No
puedo oler bien hoy / Siento al
niño muy caliente.

seeká n. arm, hand; Brazo, mano.
kahporúne seeká ahámuna I
broke my left arm Me quebré el
brazo derecho.

seekúí n. black ant; Hormiga negra.
ko’yáruńe weeká seekúí I killed a
lot of black ants Mate muchas
hormigas negras.

seepúra n. enemy; Enemigo. pedró
me’áre no’ó poni ehpé no’ó
seepúra Pedro killed my brother,
now he is my enemy Pedro mató
a mi hermano, ahora es mi
enemigo.

seétó n. sand; arena. nerói werumá
ítoře yomá seeté the river’s flood
took the sand away la creciente
se llevó la arena.

seewá n. flower; Flor. owérú
pu’seréna seewá seséhtáneme
Girls fancy red flowers A las
niñas les gusta mucho las flores
rojas.

sehtáchurúki n. Cardenal (type of
bird); Cardenal. pu’ká kuucí
senépi aari ehenání wikahtámia
sehtáchurúki A cardenal sings on
that three every evening En ese
árbol se para a cantar un
cardenal todas las tardes.

sehtámame n. red; Rojo. n’ó s’pakére
sipicá sehtámame My red dress
tore Se me rompió el vestido
rojo.

seisépori n. Morning star; Lucero de
la mañana. no’ó ye’ye tetéwani
seisépori Mi mother is watching
the morning star Mi mamá esta
observando el lucero de la
mañana.

se’mučí n. hummingbird; Chuparrosa.
kuitá e’épé aséna se’mučí the
hummingbirds surprise the boy
Al niño lo sorprenden las
chuparrosas.

senépi cuant. each, every; Cada.

senépi píari simináne
tekihpánamia hustina kastíači
I go to work with agustina every
morning Cada mañana voy a
trabajar con Agustina.

se’nówí n. earthworm; Lombriz de
tierra. a’pučúna kuitá wa’á ohóna
se’nówí take the child away from
there because there are a lot of
earthworms Quita al niño de allí
porque hay muchas lombrices.

senékačhi adv. next time; La próxima
vez. senékačhi amó enasó amó
metekémane pí čahporí next
time you come I will cook some
(grilled) tortillas for you La
proxima vez que vengas te voy a
cocinar una tortilla a las brasas.

senépi adv. once, one time; Una vez.

senépi no’ó asišó petechí
pahkótatai one time you came
home, they made a party Una vez
que viniste a la casa, hicieron
fiesta.

serē n. Sotol; Sotol. ñ’ká seré
metemáne mariki warí I will
make five guaris with this sotole
Con este sotol voy a hacer cinco
guaris.

sesenéko adv. once in a while, every
now and then; De vez en cuando.
sesenéko ehenánimu i'wami you come here every now and then De vez en cuando vienes por aquí.

sewapóro n. acorn; Bellota. ko'haréne seweri sewapórorá I want to eat acorns from sibirí Quiero comer bellotas de sibirí.

sewékómorí n. eyebrow; Cefa. kuitá tunakáme sewékómormi that child has thick eyebrows El niño tiene las cejas muy tupidas.

seweră n. eyelash; Pestaña. o'ówéró tetehpéruma sewérá o'oçóname girls have long, black eyelashes Las niñas tienen las pestañas largas y negras.

seú n. bull; Toro. pedró na'nárire pií seú tapaná Pedro was chased by a bull yesterday A pedró lo corrió un toro ayer.

seórá n. anion; Cébolla. ko'aiwe pií takári seóráe I am eating a tortilla with onion me estoy comiendo una tortilla con cebolla.

se'émá n. Beehive; Enjambre, colmena. tewarúne ooká se'émá wa'amí kawiči I found two beehives in that hill Encontré dos enjambres en el cerro de allá.

se'óri n. bee, honey; Abeja, miel. no'o ki'kirú paiká se'órí paanátáci three bees bit me in the face Me picaron tres abejas en la cara.

si'ání v. to urinate; Orinar. kuitá werú si'ani the boy is urinating too often El niño está orinando mucho.

siikú n. navel; Ombligo. kuitá ahpóna siikúra the child's navel is swollen El niño tiene el ombligo hinchado.

siivá n. intestine; Intestinos. pu'seréne kowí siivára I like (to eat) pig's intestines A mi me gustan las tripas de cochí.

sikóri n. pot, jar; Olla, jarro. iyáníne sikóri muuníači pasuniáme I am looking for the pot where I cook beans Ando buscando la olla donde cozo los frijoles.

siminá v. to go; Ir. simirúne pahkóči kečewéka I went to Quetchehüeca's fiestas Fui a las fiestas de Quetchehüeca.

sinói n. snake (type of); Culebra. kuitá pu'seréná teeka sinóhama the child likes to play with the snakes Al niño le gusta jugar con las culebras.

sinání v. to scream, to yell; Gitar. no'ó yehíi rupita pu'seréná sináka my aunt lupe likes to yell A mi tía lupe le gusta gritar.

sipicá n. dress, skirt; Vestido, nagua, falda. no'o kúná no'ó ihkókeru pil sipicá pahcá semánáči my husband gave me a dress last week Mi esposo me regaló un vestido la semana pasada.

sipoyáme n. wizard, quack; Hechicero, curandero. siminárené sipoyáme kahátiači iyoámía topací ko'kóame I want to go to the quack because my stomach hurts Quiero ir con el curandero porque me duele el estómago.

si'pánani v. to tear; Romper. ko'oré no'ó si'panákéré pantańí the fence tore my jeans El cerco me rompió el pantalón.

si'páni v. to be torn (fabrics); Estar roto (tela). inuwaéne piípi wakirá si'páni I have a shirt and it is torn Tengo una camisa y está rota.

si'rúna v. Estar arrugado. no'ó kukúrí alehdario si'rúna paanátara my uncle Alejandro has a very wrinkled face Mi tío Alejandro tiene la cara muy arrugada.

sisína v. to shave, to scrape; Raspar, rasurar. kawe si'sí wehehí epehuápu scrape the ground well, so we can Raspa bien el suelo para tender allí.

siuráči n. city; Ciudad. teemáh kiohóna kawe siuráči we don't go to the city often Nosotros casi no vamos a la ciudad.

si'yá n. Father in law; Suegro. no'o si'yá ohoé pié tawé poesíiname my father in law lives a day away from here Mi suegro vive a
married next Thursday El jueves se casa la hija de doña lute.
suhtú n. finger, nail; Dedo, uña. no'ó čočorúne suhtuči martiyóe I smashed my finger with the hammer Me machuqué el dedo con el martillo.
sukani v. to sew; Coser. manivéra peniátiame sukaní ahpó kukuči ičió Manuela sews (makes clothes) very nicely for her family Manuela cose muy bonito para su familia.
su'kí n. wizard; Brujo. su'kí wa'á ohoeme pu'ká kariči kawéruma The wizard that lives in that house is very good El brujo que vive en esa casa es muy bueno.
sunuečapóa n. Corn hair; Barbas del maíz. sunuečapóa pasutíame kawérume iyó'i kisiénaniame ičió The tea of corn's hair is a good remedy for urination problems El té de barbas de maíz es buen remedio para el mal de orín.
su'rina v. to be scratched; Estar raspado, arañado. owéru su'rina senékači mi'sísire The girls are scratched, I think the cat did it Las niñas están arañadas, creo que fue el gato.
su'sú n. Grandmother (maternal); Abuela materna. kuítá su'surá katiá nahki The child's maternal grandmother loves him very much La abuela materna del niño lo quiere mucho.
suunú n. corn; Maíz. ik'á suumú táyame takari mačénani You can make very tasty tortillas with this corn Con este maíz se hacen muy buenas tortillas.
suunú murára n. Wheat ear; Espiga de maíz. suunú murára wewerumáhu The wheat ears are very big already Las espigas de maíz ya están bien grandes.
Drum's noise did not let me sleep last night Anoche no me dejó dormir e ruido de los tambores.
taamé n. Teeth; Dientes. kuitá yomá puiyáre tamára The child already has all his teeth Al niño ya le salieron todos los dientes.
taamári n. Tamal; Tamal. año nuevo pohkóči taamári meténatémé we are going to prepare tamales for new year's eve En la fiesta de año nuevo vamos a hacer tamales.
taarani v. To buy; Comprar. taarimáne kowi sa'para taamári metemíá I am going to buy pork meet to make tamales Voy a comprar carne de cochi para hacer tamales.
taátá n. Father (of a woman); Papá (de mujer). hustina taatára no'ó nawésé keemerá kuentó Agustina's father is going to tell me some Guarrijo stories El papá de Agustina me va a contar cuentos guarrijos.
ta'átái n. Uncle maternal (younger); Tío materno menor, esposo de tía materna menor. no'ó ta'átái mukunáre ahpó wehčí My (maternal, younger) uncle wants to die in his land Mi tío materno menor quiere morir en su tierra.
ta'ayame n. Tasty; Sabroso. ta'ayá takári aarína Is that flour tortilla tasty? Está sabrosa la tortilla de harina?
tahčináni, tahčináni v. To tighten; Apretar. kikávé tahčinarému kuú na'suméra/ kawé tahčinarííne kuú chkhínachi weríáme You tightened very bad the sticks, they are going to get loose/ I tightened the stick of the corner very well Apretaste muy mal los palos, se va a desbaratar/ Apreté muy bien el palo de la esquina.
tahčíčani v. To tighten; Apretar. kawé tahčícárííne yomá kuú karihámppa I tightened very well all the sticks of the roof Apreté muy bien todos los palos del techo.
tahčípani v. To tighten; Apretarse. panéwa tahčípani kuú The wirotes are tighten already Los wirotes ya se están apretando.
tahíwára n. Tajiguari (type of plant that burns); Tajiguari (planta que quema). ka'te no'nóte tahíwára tahímaëme Do not touch the tajiguari, you are going to get burned No toquen el tajiguari, se van a quemar.
tahkú n. Palm; Palma. ru'hína kari tahkuá The roof's (leaves of) palms are falling down Se están cayendo las palmas del techo.
tahtaténa v. To be hot; Tener calor. ooróna tamó tahtaténa yomá piari the grill keep us warm during the mornings La hornilla nos da calor todas las mañanitas.
tahtá v. to be hot (weather); Hacer calor. tahtácherá'íne I want the weather to be hot Quiero que haga calor.
tahtáme n. hot; Caliente. ka'te čápí siorkí tahtáme Do not grab the pot, it is hot No agarres la olla, está caliente.
tahhéná v. To light up; Encender. tahtahénane kačimba tukapásipare I am lighting the pipe up, because it is dark already Estoy encendiendo la cachimba porque ya oscureció.
tahhéra n. Pupil; Pupila. kuitá werumá iniipáru tahhéra máharépuapu The child has the pupils big, I think he got scared El niño tiene las pupilas grandes creo que se asustó.
taipóčaní v. To sweat; Sudar. no'ó yeyé werí taipóčare tukaó če'epáre My mother sweated too much last night because she had fever Mi mamá sudó mucho anoche porque tuvo fiebre.
ta'titéná v. To feel tasty; Sentirse sabroso. wepásuni no'ó ta'íténa I feel the cócido (soup) tasty Siento sabroso el cócido.
takahpáčí n. Tabachín (type of plant); Tabachín. takahpáčí navára
headache yesterday ayer me dolía mucho la cabeza.

ta'páni v. To be cracked (firewood); Estar rajado (leña). yomá i'ká kuú ta'panaré Ju This fire wood is all cracked Toda esta leña ya está rajada.

ta'rána v. To spread; Extender. ta'rána epetá kokocipuapuap Spread the petates because we are going to sleep now Extiende los petates porque ya vamos a dormir.

ta'ráni v. To be spread; Estar tendido, extendido. ha'rú paníra weré ta'ráni Watermelon plants are well spread Las matas de sandía están bien extendidas.

tasiná v. To cough; Tosar. owérú katiáas tasiná kokorepamáupáup The girls are coughing too much, they are getting sick Las niñas están tosiendo mucho se van a enfermar.

tasiréwa n. cough; Tos. yaçahpáruñ kitaariwewane I am better, I don't cough anymore Ya me alivié ya no tengo los.

tasukwitári n. Rope made out of ixtle; Mecate de ixtle. nahkine osañó meteró tasukwitári I need eight meters of rope Necesito ocho metros de mecate de ixtle.

ta'só n. Nest; Nido. totori kawaré naó ka'wa ta'sóchí The hen layed four eggs in the nest La gallina puso cuatro huevos en el nido.

taswí n. Sugar cane; Caña. kiechíwá taswí iwarí They do not sow sugar cane around here anymore Ya no siembran caña por aquí.

tataní v. To explode; Explotar. rímeta tataré turaé The jars exploded due to the coldness Los frascos explotaron con el frío.

tataréna v. To be hot; Tener calor. kuitá tataréna The child is hot El nino tiene calor.

tawé adv. Day; Día. ooká tawé ithihipá tamó simpamici ch mochibampo We still have to days until we go to Mochibampo Falan dos días para ir a
teémé pron. We; Nosotros. teeméa simpánaria pakhócci yauméa kitamó toáru We wanted to go to the party to dance, but they do not allow us Nosotras queríamos ir a bailar a la fiesta pero no nos dejaron.

teeísí n. Frog; Rana. tapaná kohóći mo'oći ninika teemó Yesterday in the brook, a frog jumped up to my head Ayer en el arroyo me brincó una rana a la cabeça

tee’só n. Cave; Cueva. teemé ohoéka teesócci kiyámé We lived in a cave for a while Vivimos en una cueva un tiempo.

te’eyáni v. To scold; Regañar. utewáeme teeyáruné kukući kitasá resisiniame simpáre Scold the children because they went away without asking for permission Regane fuerte a los niños porque se fueron sin pedir permiso.

tehiwi n. Biznaga (kind of barrel cactus); Biznaga. wičirúne tehiwi ampa sóirúne hümíiči/ kuitá sóiré tehiwée wehčára I fell over the biznaga and I got thorns all over my buttocks/ The child got hurt with the biznaga thorns Me cai sobre la biznaga y me espine las nalgas/ El niño se espino con las espinas de la biznaga.

tehkö n. Work, difficult; Trabajo, difícil. yapísika tekihpáname Hurry up to work! Apúrate a trabajar!

tehpúná v. To get hurt; herirse. čuhecúri werumá weré tehpuhé The dog got hurt badly El perro tiene una herida muy grande.

tehpúnani v. To cut; Cortar. tehpuñamane weeká aaru meeré píari I am going to cut a lot of watermelons tomorrow early Voy a cortar muchas sandías manana temprano.

tehpuñíači n. Wound; herida. čuhecúri pe’sóna ahpó tehpuñíači The dog has pus in the wound El perro tiene pus en la herida.
tehté n. rock; piedra. no'kiá tehté werumá Give me the big rock dáme la piedra grande.
tehté wičóniači n. Stone for washing (in the river); Piedra para lavar (lavadero en el río). neróí no'ó yetókere tehté wičóniači The water took away my washing stone el agua se llevó mi piedra para lavar.
tehtémari n. People; gente. yomá tehtémari simpáre sawanánto All the people went to San Bernardo Todá la gente se fue a San Bernardo.
tehtúri n. Ice; Hielo. i'ka kuwésari intúma weerú tehtúri kawíči This winter we will have a lot of ice in the mountains Este invierno va a haber mucho hielo en las montañas.
tehé n. Hail; Granizo. tukaó yukurú tehé It hailed yesterday Ayer llovíó granizo.
tehémi n. Snow; Nieve. tehémi kawíčipote peńiáte The snow up there on the mountains looks beautiful La nieve en las montañas se ve bonita.
tekačí n. Possum; Tlacuache. tekačí no'ó kokonérú ka'wá The possum ate my eggs El tlacuache me comió los huevos.
tekihpúna v. To put down; Bajar. tekihpúrune kuitá komíka kawíčipotepe I took the child on my arms when we went down the mountain baje al niño en los brazos del cerro.
tekihpáname n. Worker; Trabajador. tekihpáname e'nenápi tekíči ko'kömía The workers returned from work already to have lunch Los trabajadores ya regresaron del trabajo para comer.
tekihpánani v. To work; Trabajar. tekihpananine kokorí puháká I am working harvesting chile Estoy trabajando juntando chile.
tekiná v. To go down; Bajarse. kukučí tetehékire kawíčipotepe kuwé The children went down the hill very soon Los ninos se bajaron del cerro muy pronto.
tekúri n. Squirrel; Ardilla. tekúri yomá ko'kárë suúnú ečitiáme The squirrels already ate all the corn of the sowing Las ardillas ya se comieron todo el maíz de la siembra.
temari adj. Young; Joven. puú temari ečahé suúnú tekúri ko'káría That young boy sowed the corn that the squirrels ate Ese muchacho sembró el maíz que las ardillas se comieron.
temúñá v. To kick; Patear. no'ó kuná koayáre kawái kuitá tetemúkame My husband killed the horse that kicked the child Mi esposo mató al caballo que pateó al niño.
tepurá n. Wart; Mezquino. maría ihíre i'yóí ohók pasutiáme nuhimíčio tepurá María took ocote remedy to take off her warts María tomó remedio de ocote para quitarse los mezquinos.
teróki n. Heel; Talón. soirúne terókiči kikakača oiká A thorn hurt my heel because I was barefoot Me espiné en el talón porque andaba descalzo.
tesiwá adv. Poorly, with sadness; Pobre. tesiwá koáme kátiá čorówánine The food is scarce and I am very hungry No hay comida y tengo mucha hambre.
tetehkóre n. Trench; Trinchería. tetehkóre poyačité poí poé The way is near the trench Dónde está la trinchería está el camino.
tetehima n. Relatives; Parientes. no'ó tetehima e'náre pahkóči my relatives are here for the fests Ya llegaron mis parientes para las fiestas.
tewání v. To find; Hallar. tewarúne hustina I found Agustina Hallé a Agustina.
tewéká n. Sky; Cielo. tewéká si'ónani katawéči The sky is blue today El cielo está azul hoy.
tewání v. To be named; Llamar. no'ó nesa tewaeru rusía My aunt was named Lucia Mi tía se llamaba Lucia.
te'éna v. To play; Jugar. kukučí te'éna te'pákawičí The children are playing up in the mountain Los ninos están jugando arriba en el cerro.

téona v. To thunder (the sky); Tronar el cielo. teócani toomári yukihpäméra tukaó The sky is thundering, it is going to rain tonight Está tronando el cielo esta noche va a llover.

tiamé Too, also; También. tapaná wani tetewáre maría pedró tiamé yesterday Juan saw María and Pedro, too Ayer Juan vió a María y a Pedro (también).

tiända n. Store; tienda. puú tiændá inuwaé tihoé That man owns a store Ese hombre tiene una tienda.

tihoé n. Man, person; Hombre, persona. tapaná enáru pií tihoé iyáká owitiame A man came yesterday looking for (a) woman Ayer vino un hombre buscando mujer.

toaní v. To allow, to let; Dejar, permitir. no'o no'ño toarút simíčio pakhčči yaúmía/ amó toarúne tekhipánamía no'omá My father let me go to the party to dance/ I let you work with me Mi papá me dejó ir a la fiesta a bailar/ Te dejé trabajar conmigo.

točí n. Palo santo (type of tree); Palo santo. točí aapéra kawéruma iyóí ta'mé kokoame ičíó The cortex of palo santo is a good remedy (for curing) the toothache La corteza de palo santo es buen remedio para el dolor de muelas.

tohpá n. Stomach; Panza, estómago. no'o tohpa wičína My stomach is flabby Tengo la panza caída.

tohsáname n. White; Blanco. no'o trokewa tohsáname ná'ture tapaná My white truck broke down yesterday Mi troca blanca se descompuso ayer.

tohsánani v. To be white; Estar blanca. nenéo kuú tohsanasiwaré Look, the three got white Mira, el arbol se blanqueó.

toiwé n. Pasture; Pastura. ihi wakasi weerú toiwé nakhí wawátena This cows need a lot of pasture, they are too thin Estas vacas necesitan mucha pastura están muy flacas.

tomaritani v. To get cloudy; Nublarse. tomaritani yukihpäméra It got cloudy, it looks like it is going to rain Ya se nublo parece que va a llover.

tomori n. Green bean; Éjote. weeká tomorí towe'pasuni Put a lot of green beans into the cocido (soup) ponle muchos ejotes al cocido.

tomi n. Money; Dinero. nakhí tomo tomo močibampo simía I need money to go to Mochibampo Necesito dinero para ir a mochibampo.

toomikočí adv. Sunday; Domingo. toomikočí enaméra no'o piní čorijó oˈníá My sister is coming next Sunday from čhorjioa El domingo va a venir mi hermana desde čhorjioa.

toománite n. Tomato; Tomate. kíyá inuwačame toománte ečitiame karipú'ka Last year I had a tomatoes sowing behind my house El año pasado tenía una siembra de tomates detrás de la casa.

toomári n. Lighting, cloud; Rayo, nube. tapaná muhipúre toomári kuú A lighting fell in that three yesterday Ayer cayó un rayo en ese árbol.

toonó n. Foot; Pie. soipúne toonočí raosí I nailed a nail in my foot Me clave un clavo en el pie.

toonéwa n. Foam; Espuma. pu'serénane wiččó toonéwateka I like to produce a lot of foam when I wash the clothes Me gusta hacer mucha espuma cuando lavo.

toosoá n. Cotton; Algodón. kíyámé i'paíne toosoá I used to harvest cotton Antes yo pizcaba algodón.

topawári n. Stomach; Estómago. hútna kiarétu l'ýowi topawári
iśció Agustina was given a remedy for stomach ache A Agustina le dieron un remedio para el estómago.

topohká n. Torote prieto (type of tree); Torote prieto. topohká i'yóí kaweruma čopéí iśció The torote prieto (leaves) is a good remedy (for curing) cold El remedio de torote prieto es bueno para la gripe.

topésani v. To cover, to wrap; Tapar, envolver. topésa kuitá Cover the child properly Tapa al niño bien
torowáčí n. Toloachi (type of plant); Toloachi. torowáčí sawára kaweruma i'yóí ahpóniamé iśció The toloache leaves are a good remedy for (curing) inflammation La hoja de toloache es buen remedio para la inflamación.

tosari n. White corn; Maíz blanco. koiaréne tosari I feel like eating white corn Tengo ganas de comer maíz blanco.

totóri n. Hen; Gallina. totóri kichiwá čačápaní kininamútena The hens are making a lot of noise and they won't let me hear Las gallinas están haciendo mucho ruido y no me dejan oír.
totóri n. Hen; gallina. čo'óri ohóna ahpo yeyémá ahkáoi Chicken are around hens everywhere Los pollos andan con las gallinas para todas partes.

totóri owira n. Chicken; Gallo. inuwaše totóri owira kawé nasuáme I have a chicken that is good for fights (it is a good fighter) Tengo un gallo bueno para las peleas.

towí n. Rabbit; Conejo. ehpé ko'kopúapu towí salpára Today we are eating rabbit meat Hoy vamos a comer carne de conejo.

tučikí n. Bird; Pájaro. pi' tučikí tasotháre pu'ká kučí A bird built a nest on that three Un pájaro hizo un nido en ese árbol.

tukahpásipani v. To get dark; Oscurecerse. tukahpasipáru kokočípuapu It got dark, we must sleep Ya oscureció debemos dormir.

tukapání v. To get dark; Anochecer. tukapání so'pori peniáte maní It got dark already and there are very beautiful stars (up there in the sky) Ya anocheció y hay estrellas muy bonitas.

tukaó adv. night; noche. tukaó enaru yeyé My mother came last night anoche vino mi mamá.

tunakáme n. Thick; Grueso. tunahkáme wasitérene I made thick tortillas Hice las tortillas muy gruesas.

tu'nani v. To be thick; Estar grueso. iyosi tu'nani kiotohpúna i'ikia This rubber is thick, the needle cannot go through it El hule está grueso la aguja no puede atravesar.

tu'rámuna v. To be cold; Tener frío. tu'rámúnaní no'kía piréché keepá I am cold, give me another blanket Tengo frío dame otra cobija.

turáni v. To be cold (weather); Hacer frío. turáni kawíčí It is cold up there in the mountains Hace frío en las montanas.

tu'ráwa v. To be cold (weather); Hacer frío. katiá tu'ráwa suunú sekóma It is very cold, the corn is going to freeze Estás haciendo mucho frío, el maíz se va a congelar.

tusuná v. To chop; Moler. tusunání suunú wasitémía They are chopping corn to make tortillas Estoy moliendo maíz para hacer tortillas.

tu'umina v. To bend, to fold; Doblar, enrollar. pu'sarúne tu'uminarúne epehá I woke up and bent the petates Me desperté y enrollé los petates.

tuurrási n. Peach; durazno. oosá mariki tuurrási metenamé pi' ruúsé werumá You can make a big (peach)candy with ten peaches con diez duraznos haces un dulce grande.
tu'urúsi n. Spider; Araña. katía mahawáne tu'urúsi I am very afraid of spiders Las aranas me dan mucho miedo.
tuúsí n. Pinole (kind of flour used to prepare a beverage with the same name); Pinol. peterá ehpéche nakhí tuúsí Petra wants more pinole Petra quiere más pinole.
tuúsí n. Flour; Harina. no'ó yeyé tusuré tiriko tuúsí metemíá wasitémia My mother chopped a lot of wheat to make flour and prepare tortillas Mi mamá molió trigo para hacer harina y hacer tortillas.
tuyé v. To say, to tell; decir. waní no'ó tuyéna simotuká mochibampo Juan told me: I want to go to mochibampo Juan me dijo quiero irme a Mochibampo.
tá'ame n. Molar; Muela. tapaná kátia ko'korékan tá'áméci Yesterday I had molar ache Ayer me dolió mucho la muela.

u'aténa v. To feel (that something is) strong; Sentirse fuerte. ihi witári u'aténa hové wakásí i'káé This rope is (feels) strong, tie the cow up with it Este mecate está fuerte amarra la vaca con el.
uhéna v. To fart; Peverse. kuitá kátia u'uháni The child is farting too often El niño se está peyendo mucho.
uhúya v. To smell; Oler. peeníi uhúya sewá The flower smells good Huele bonito la flor.
u'mání v. To run, to scape; Correr, escapar. maníwiri senepí u'maní piri kecwekási Manuel runs everyday to Quechuehua Manuel corre todos los días hasta quechuehua.
u'máwe n. Woods; Bosque. no'ó komáre wekahtére kuitá u'máwetere Mi comrade lost her child in the woods A mi comadre se le perdió el niño en el bosque.
upará n. Mezquite (type of tree); mezquite. wanatékari pú'ka werí upará očetíame There is a very old mezquite behind the house Detrás de la casa está un mezquite muy viejo.
upání v. To bathe; Bañarse. neé upání senepí piri I bathe everyday Yo me baño todos los días.
upání n. To bring; Traer. u'párune kuú naeníame I brought fire wood to poke the fire Yo traje lena para atizar.
utewaémé n. Strong; Fuerte. pu'seráne u'urú utewaémé I like strong donkeys Me gustan los burros fuertes.
utewáci adj. To be forced (to do something); Forzado. apoé utewáci tekihpánare He was forced to work El trabajó obligado.
u'uná v. To grab; Coger. u'uná paáká takári ko'kómía Grab tree tortillas to eat Agarra tres tortillas para comer.
uupí n. Wife; Esposa. wání uupíra sewinačí ohoé John's wife lives in other town La esposa de Juan vive en otra parte.
uurú n. Donkey; Burro. no'ó téečí tararé uurú suunú mokemia aháči kuú aháma My uncle bought a donkey to bring corn and fire wood Mi tío compró un burro para acarrear maíz y lena.
u'urá n. Skunk; Zorrillo. ikanáti upása u'urá huyamú Take a shower soon, you smell like a skunk Ya banate rapido hueles a zorrillo.
uurápani v. To warn; Avisar. čuhčúri u'urápani akičí suwučačítau e'naméra tihóe The dog is warning that some people is coming up by the bank of the river (the dog shows the direction with the tail laying with the snout up) El perro está
avisando que va a subir gente por la orilla del río (el perro señala la dirección con la cola acostándose boca arriba).

uyáni v. To sprout; Brotar. uyáre muñí no’ó ēcária nao tawéči
The beans I sowed four days ago already sprouted Ya brótó el frijol que sembré hace cuatro días.

W - w

waačó n. Soldier; Soldado. amúri e’enaméra waačó weré ačaréti piipá i’wá wapi Soldiers are going to come soon because (someone) sowed a lot of marihuana near here Pronto van a venir los soldados porque sembraron mucha marihuana cerca de aquí.

waakeró n. Cowboy; Vaquero. pií waakéro no’ó tarikēnari no’ó poni nu’úti ko A cowboy wanted to buy my brother when he was a child Un vaquero quiso comprar a mi hermano cuando estaba chico.

waasíra n. handle of the frying pan; mango del sartén. saarténi kiwisí The frying pan does not have a handle anymore el sartén no tiene mango.

wa’atosí n. Willow; sauce. teitu watetú akičetétu weeká awi wata’osí There are a lot of willows on the way to the river Rumbo al río hacia abajo hay muchos sauces.

wačamó n. Batamote (type of plant); Batamote. wačamó i’yóí kawéruma witaisiri iči The batamote is a good remedy for (curing) diarrea El batamote es buen remedio para la diarrea.

wačikári n. Rib; Costilla. tapaná wičipárune kahpórene wačikáriá Yesterday I fell and I broke a rib Ayer me caí y me quebré una costilla.

wahéna v. To be straight; Estar derecho. wahéñina ko’koriápa o’pa I am stretching (getting straight) because my back hurts Me estoy estirando porque me duele la espalda.

wahkókora n. Tapacaminos (kind of bird); Tapacaminos (pájaro de noche). natehpárune wahkókora poé simulá I ran into a tapacaminos all the way down here Me encontré un tapacaminos por todo el camino.

wahsi n. Tail; Cola, rabo. tekerún miisí wahsírá I stepped on the cat’s tail Le pise la cola al gato.

wahóí n. Mosquito; Zancudo. e’éño muáé wahóí There are a lot of mosquitoes this time of the year En este tiempo hay muchos zancudos.

wahóna v. To whip; Batir. wahónasa tuusi Whip the pinole Bate el pinol.

wahónani v. To open; Abrir. wahonorúné pií kohtái itihpiámë suúnú I opened the last corn stack Abrí el último costal de maíz.

wakasi n. Cow; Vaca. wa’á ihtóna wakasi Here comes the cow ahí viene la vaca.

wakasi yaníra n. lengua de buey (kind of plant); Lengua de Buey (planta). no’ó no’ó no wasawáráčí weré werí wakasi yaníra In my father’s land, there grows a lot of lengua de buey En las tierras de mi papá hay mucha lengua de buey.

wakihpáni v. To get dry; Secarse. wakihpáre wakírápá kátía utevé ta’á The clothes are dry already because the sun is shining bright La ropa ya se secó porque el sol está muy fuerte.

wakihitáme n. Thin; Delgado, flaco. puú čuhúúri wakihitáme kátía nekahúña That thin dog is very furious Ese perro flaco es muy bravo.
wakíná v. To be dry; Estar seco. puú wakírá wakiná wakíratása This shirt is dry, put it on Esa camisa está seca, pón telá.

wakírá n. Shirt; Camisa. no’ó piipi wakírá st’páre The only shirt I have is already torn Mi única camisa ya se rompió.

wakiténá v. To dry; Secar. eeká ta’á aháma wakihpátere suunú The wind and the sun dried the corn El viento y el sol ya secaron el maíz.

wa’kání v. To be chipped off; Estar mochedado. sikóri ohónname wa’kání The black pot is chipped off La olla negra está de mochada.

wasi n. Mother in law; Suegra. no’ó wasíru kechó mukuyái kwérúma iniiríá My mother in law was a good person (before she passed away) Mi suegra era muy buena antes de morirse.

watání num. Nine; Nueve. kuitá paamúpáre watání The boy turned nine years old El niño cumplió nueve años.

waurí n. Chalate (type of plant); Chalate. waurí káita tál’yame The chalates taste good Los chalates saben muy buenos.

wayáwasí n. Guava; Guayaba. ehpéo iwápáni wayáwasí It is guava season Hoy es temporada de guayabas.

wa’ápi cuant. Only, in the same place; Solamente, en el mismo lugar. ooká takari wa’ápi maní There are only two tortillas Solamente hay dos tortillas.

wa’átia adv. So, that way, like that; Así. wa’átia no’ó yehe’í wa’átia tuyére ahpó taná So did my uncle said to his son Así le dijo mí tía a su hijo.

weeká adv. A lot; Mucho. weeká wikiriaene toomí I owe a lot of money Debo mucho dinero.

weéméra adj. New; Nuevo. inuwa’ene kawái weéméra mahayáme I have a new horse that is wild Tengo un caballo nuevo que es salvaje.

weeséro n. Calf; Becerro. ehpé nawérú weeséro tohsáname A white calf was born today Hoy nació un becerro blanco.

weetá n. Thorn; Espina. ihí oriwécha paikápí weetá This siville has only a few thorns Esta choya tiene pocas espinas.

wehórí n. Mud; Barro. ihí wehóri kwérúma sikóri meteniáme This mud is very good to make pots Este barro está muy bueno para hacer ollas.

weikó, eikó, e’ekó adv. Then; Entonces. weikó asirú no’ó no’ño ...then my father arrived ...entonces llegó mi papá.

wekáhtená v. To lose; Perder (objetos). wewekaterúne ooká muurá tenahári I lost two mules in the Tenahari Perdí dos mulas en el Tenahári.

we’kání v. To get lost; Perderse. tapaná we’karúne poe’í Yesterday I got lost in the way Ayer me perdí en el camino.

wepáni v. To beat, to hit; Golpear. no’ó weparúne seka’í páa piári I hit my arm this morning Me golpeé en el brazo esta manana.

we’pasúni n. Cocido (Kind of soup); cocido. we’pasúni káita ona’epú The cocido is very salty el cocido está muy salado [Note: palabra compuesta de we’pá y sunú.] 

we’rákí n. Palo colorado (type of plant); Palo colorado (planta). we’rákí kwérúma iyóí ikááei kó’koame ició Palo colorado is a good remedy for heart diseases El palo colorado es buen remedio para la enfermedad del corazón.

werekahtíame adj. Wide; Ancho. werekahtíame sipícá epehtáci The wide dress is on the petate El vestido ancho está sobre el petate.

weripáni v. To stand up, to grow up; Pararse, crecer. weripárune ikanáti te’ekúrune I stood up very
quickly and I got dizzy Me paré muy rápido y me marié.

werisina, mochisina v. To stand up; Levantarse. werisí / močísí Stand up! (Sg.) / Stand up! (Pl.) Levántate! levántense!

werumá adj. Big; Grande. amó puyémame werumá kuül weriáció kawi pu’kamina I am going to wait for you in the big tree that is behind the hill Te voy a esperar en el árbol grande que está detrás del cerro.

werupí quant. some; Algo de. no’ó komári khaťiačí sinnem werupí aarina itámi I am going to my comrade’s (house) to ask her for some flour Voy con mi comadre a pedirle un poco de harina.

werú cuant. A lot; Mucho, mucha. werú náhke ne’ó toománté ečtíame icó I need a lot of water for the tomatoes sowing Necesito mucha agua para la siembra de los tomates.

werí v. To be standing; Estar parado. ihpičíra werí ekhínačí The broom is (standing) in the corner La escoba está en la esquina.

werí v. To be standing; Estar parado (sg.). kuitá werí kúuteré The child is standing under the three El niño está parado debajo de árbol.

we’rá n. Earings; Aretes. no’ó yehí no’ó towé we’rá peniátiame My aunt left me a pair of beautiful earings Mi tía me dejó unos aretes muy bonitos.

werání v. To stand something; Poner parado. werúrune ihpičíra ekhínačí I put the broom (standing) in the corner Puse la escoba en la esquina.

wetemáhina n. to bury; Sepultar; enterrar. wetemahírúne sewá huyáwira no’ó kiyári komáre I buried the flowers that my comrade gave me Ya enterré los brotes de flores que me dio mi comadre.

wewé n. Bledo (type of plant); Bledo (planta). náhkimu wewé tuusi Do you fancy some bledo pinole (type of beverage)? Qúieres pinole de bledo?

we’ó n. Soil; Tierra. puuí we’ó katiá pewá kiwehime’ráine This soil is too hard, I cannot dig it Esa tierra está muy dura no puedo escarbar.

we’ó moréwa n. Dust; Polvo. no’ó puičí wíčírá we’ó moréwa kinenèmareine Some dust fell into my eyes, I cannot see Me cayó polvo en los ojos y no puedo ver.

we’ó nokáyiame n. Marsh; Pantano. wa’ápi karičí póí we’ó nokáyiame There is a marsh near my house Cerca de la casa hay un pantano.

wičaránki n. Sling; honda. ‘iká wičaránkie meyárune marikí tučíkí I killed five birds with this sling Con esta honda maté cinco pájaros.

wičíná v. To fall; Caer. troké wičírá owa’aráčí kačíka macípanáre The truck fell into a hole, and I cannot take it out of there La troca cayó en el hoyo y no se pudo sacar.

wičótíámé n. Clean; Limpio. ihi wakírá wičótíámé wakíratamáne This shirt is clean, I am going to put it on Esta camiseta está limpia me la voy a poner.

wihtá n. Faeces; Excremento. kuitá wihtá saióní The child’s faeces are green El excremento del niño está verde.

wiiká n. Song; Canción. inamúmerane wiiká I am going to listen to a song Voy a oír una canción.

wi’íná v. To be fat; Estar gordo. rolándo wi’íná wakítepamapú Rolando is fat, he has to lose some weight Rolando está gordo, tiene que adelgazar.

wi’ísúná v. To spill; Derramar, chorrear. natekeparúné na’lí čoamia yómá wiísúné neóra I forgot to turned the fire off, and the soup spilled Se me olvidó
apagar la lumbr y se derramo todo el caldo.

wiiyáme n. Fat; Gordo. tapaná éénáru pi tihoé wiiyáme inatukeka rolando A fat man came yesterday, he was asking for Rolando Ayer vino un hombre gordo preguntando por Rolando.

wikatáni v. To sing; Cantar maría wikahtáni pi wiiká nakeníame María is singing a love song María esá cantando una canción de amor.

wikatáme n. Singer; Cantador. pakhó iníméra kiasíná wikatáme pahi The party is going to start and the singers have not arrived yet La fiesta ya va empezar y no han llegado los cantadores.

wi'rána v. To be weak, to be bend; Estar débil, Estar doblado, lacio. wi'ráno kitekhipaname eraine I feel weak, I cannot go to work Estoy débil, no puedo ir a trabajar.

wisasóri n. Cloth, fabric; trapo, tela. ihi wisasóri papakhopúa hu pehtóri I use this cloth to wash the dishes Este trapo es para lavar los platos.

wisiku'ena v. To lie; Mentir. pedró wisiku'ena kipi̱chiwáhu yomá ahpó turia Pedro is lying, what he said is not true Pedro está mintiendo no es cierto todo lo que dijo.

witačóri n. Rotten corn; Maíz podrido. tapaná ko'ká temé witačóri kínweka koámé We ate rotten corn yesterday because we did not have any food Ayer comimos maíz podrido porque no teníamos comida.

witahkómori n. Mayate (kind of beetle that makes balls of excrement and drag them on its rear legs); Mayate (el que hace bolitas de excremento y las arrastra con las patas de atrás). kuitá ko'yáre pačá witahkómori The child killed three mayates El niño mató tres mayates.

witaní v. To defecate; Defecar. kuitá kitaré kawiyáme The child defecated is watered down El niño defecó muy aguado.

witísí n. Skin; Piel. no'ó witísíči puyapani oochúnme no'ó sekačí I have spots in my arm's skin Me están saliendo manchas en la piel de los brazos.

witári n. Rope; Mecate. oyé totóri ikaé witárié Tie up the hens with this rope Amarra las gallinas con este mecate.

wiwinó n. Sage; Salvia. wiwinó kaweruma iyówí če'éri ičió Sage is a good remedy for (curing) fever La salvia es buen remedio para la calentura.

---

ya'weró n. Violinist; Violinero. pakhó kahuré kiená ya'weró The party ended and the violinist did not arrive La fiesta ya terminó y el violenora no llegó.

yahcá v. To pour, to lay, to put; Verter, hechar. yahcá kuitá wanččéi resipútai Puit (sit) the child on the trunk, so he can rest Sienta al niño en el tronco a descansar.

yahká n. Nose; Nariz. rolandó werumá yahkáe Rolando has a big nose Rolando tiene la nariz grande.

yasaká v. To be seated; Estar sentado. yasaká simpata tekihipamamia You are sitting there, you have to go to work Están sentados, tienen que ir a trabajar.

yauči n. Chief, governor; Jefe, gobernador. no'ó tatáí rinó yauči iniré mesachi My uncle Lino was governor of Mesa Colorada Mi tío Lino fue gobernador de la Mesa Colorada.

yauná v. To dance; Bailar. yaunáne pií tonóe I am dancing on one
Estoy bailando con un pie.
yawéa n. Violin; Violin. yawé'oró
dienáru kasikopa yawéa The violinist did not come because his violin is broken El violinista
no vino porque se quebró el
violin.

ya'wátíame n. Adult; Adulta.
yawatíame ithipina petečí
Adult (people) stay home Las
adultas se quedan en la
casa.

ya'yáni v. to be melted; Estar
derretido. azúka yawáre
kiapičunamete The sugar
melted, it cannot be picked up La
azucar se derritió no se puede
recoger.

ye'cí n. Aunt maternal (younger); Tía
materna menor, esposa de tío
paterno menor, esposa de tío
materno menor. no'ó ye'cí hohé
chorijóa My maternal aunt lives in
Chorijóa Mi tía vive en Chorijóa.

yeení n. Tongue; Lengua. no'ó
ki'kirúne yeeníra koayá I bit my
tongue when I was chewing
(chewgum) Me mordí la lengua
cuando estaba masticando.

yee pó n. Woods; Llano. kukučí
simpáre te'áma yee pó The
children went to play to the
woods Los niños se fueron a
jugar al llano.

yeetépaní v. To shut in, to lock in;
Encerrar. hustína yetépaní
ekukučí wa'a oiyópa oorí
Agustina put the children in
because there is a lion in the
woods Agustina encerró a los
niños porque anda un león en el
monte.

yenání v. To try; Probar. yeení muñi
wasipáriae Try the beans to see if
they are ready Prueba los frijoles
para ver si ya están listos.

yepó nó n. Valley; Valle. tihoé
tetekina yepó nó Men are coming
down the valley Los hombres
descienden al valle.

yerówá n. Poison; Veneno. sayawí
yerówá katiá naporíte
Rattlesnake's posion is very
dangerous El veneno de la
cascabel es muy peligroso.

yesipání v. To sit down; Sentarse.
yesipári ne te'ekúruní I
sat down very quickly and I got
dizzy Me sentí muy rápido y me
mareé.

ye'yé n. Mother; madre. simikáne
nenémia no'ó ye'yé močibampo I
went to Mochibampo to see my
mother Fuí a ver a mi mamá a
Mochibampo.

yeya'í na. Weevil; Gorgojo. ihí muñi
muáwe yeeya'í These beans have
a lot of weevils Estos frijoles
tienen muchos gorgojos.

ye'íra n. Female; Hembra. ye'íra
epehey uteeáa ki o'íra čítiá
females are stronger than males
Las hembras son más fuertes que
los machos.

yo'ani v. To vomit; Vomitar. kúitá
yoyóro yómatuáa The child
vomited all night long El niño
vomité toda la noche.

yoiná v. To earn (money); Ganar
dinero). paikápi yoiná tem tá
tomí kiaséame koame We earned
some money, but it is not enough
for food Gánanos poco dine ro y
no alcanza para la comida.

yomá cuant. All, everything,
everyone; Todo, todos. yomá
nahkí piréči takári Everyone
wants another tortilla Todos
quieren otra tortilla.

yoorí n. Mestizo (of a mixed race);
mestizo. yoorí kiatíamemú You
look like a mestizo! Pareces
mestizo!.

yo'owí adj. Raw; Crudo. muñí yo'owí
ithipire pukaáe peewá Beans are
raw, that is why they are hard
Los frijoles quedaron crudos por
eso están duros.

yoráni v. To be sharp; Estar filoso.
pehtúri no'ó aháe meyá kowí
yoráni The knife with which I
kill pigs is sharp El cuchillo con
el que mato cochís está filoso.

yorátená v. To sharpen; Afilar. neé
kawé yoraténá petúri I am
sharpening the knife Yo estoy
afilando bien el cuchillo.
yo'wáni v. To make; *Hacer.* hustina yowáni koáme ahpó tetehima čenamiópa Agustina is making food because her relatives are coming Agustina está haciendo comida porque van a llegar sus parientes.
yukuná v. To rain; *Llover.* yukuheráne teiwáme kawičite I would like it to be rainy on the way to the mountains *Quiero que llueva rumbo a la sierra.*
yu'ki n. Rain; *Lluvia.* yu'ki rarahótiame yukuná This rain is one of thick drops *La lluvia es de gotas gruesas.*
yuwésuna v. To be sad; *Estar triste.* čuhčúri petečí ohoéme yuwésuna ahpó upí mukukó The dog (that lives in our house) is sad because its male died *El perro de la casa está triste porque se murió su hembra.*
yórí n. Mestizo (of mixed race); *Mestizo.* tekihpanarúne kuitápi pií yori kečeweka ename I worked for a while with a mestizo that came from Quetchehueca *Trabaje un tiempo con un yori que venia de Quechehueca.*
Reversed Index English-Warihío

A - a

A lot  adv. weeká;
cuant. werú.
acorn  n. sewapóro.
Adobe  n. aarówe.
Adult  n. ya'wátiame.
Afternoon  adv. aarí.
Again  adv. enčí.
Against (him)  adj. apočí.
Ago  adv. ki'ýámi.
Aír  n. eeká.
Alive  adj. aháme.
All, everything, everyone  cuant.
yomá.
Aloe vera  n. pa'wéčawi.
Alone  adv. pinéri.
Angry  adj. nekahtiame.

Animal  n. animári.
Anis  n. anísi.
Ant (red)  n. e'eré.
Anus  n. ko'osí.
Apple  n. maansána.
arm, hand  n. seeká.
Armit  n. omatére;
  n. o'omatére.
Arrow, bow  n. aatá, a'atá.
Ash  n. napesó.
Atole (a type of soup)  n. na'áiporosi.
Aunt maternal (elder)  n. neesá.
Aunt maternal (younger)  n. ye'čí.
Aunt paternal (younger)  n. papói.

B - b

Baby boy  n. kohá temará.
Baby girl  n. kohá owitiame.
Baby, newborn  n. kohá.
Back  n. o'pá.
Back of the neck  n. kutamóri.
Bad, useless  adj. kikawéruma.
Bad witchcraft  n. ihikuri.
Badger  n. teehóni.
Balk  n. ma'aré.
Banana  n. raantánasi.
Bank of the river  n. akičisuwéračí.
Barnyard  n. čičéro, čikéro.
bat  n. so'péčí.
Batamote (type of plant)  n. wačamó.
Beans  n. muuni.
Beans (from the woods)  n. kusímuní.
Bear  n. oohí, o'ohí.
Beard  n. ečahpóá.
bee, honey  n. se'óri.
Beehive  n. pse'émá.
Big  adj. werumá.
Billy goat  n. čiwahtóró.
Binorama (a type of plant)  n. ku'ká.
Bird  n. čikakári, čikahkári;
  n. tučlík.
Bird (yellow breast)  n. ča'pí.

Birthday  v. paamúna.
Bitter  adj. čihipúame.
Biznaga (kind of barrel cactus)  n.
  tehiwé;
  n. tehiwé.
Black  adj. ohočoname.
black ant  n. seekú.
Blackberry  n. mooró, moorá.
bladder  n. si'ári.
Blanket  n. keemá.
Bledo (type of plant)  n. wewé.
Blind  n. kimačiriame.
Blood  n. eerá.
Blue corn  n. ohcóri.
Boiled sweetcorn  n. ipačipasutáme,
  ipáčiposori.
Bones  n. ho'wá.
Book  n. ribiró.
Bow  n. atahpóri.
Bowl (small)  n. kapósori, ka'pósori.
Box  n. kakáhsti.
Brains  n. mo'óko;
  n. mo'óčóko.
Breast  n. pi'wá.
Brook (in the foothill)  n. pahúci.
Broom  n. ihpíčira.
Brother (elder) n. pačí.
Brother (younger) n. poní.
Bug n. činčí.
bull n. seú.
Bunch n. piyetésia.
Burner n. ooróna.

Butterfly n. aakátori, akatóri.
Buttocks n. huumí.
Button n. ootóní.
Buzzard n. o'onóri.

C - c

Calf n. weeséro.
Camomile n. mansasia.
Cardenal (type of bird) n. sehtáčurúki.
Carp n. čawari.
Cat n. miisí.
Cave n. teesó.
Cemetery n. kaposánto.
Centipede (type of centipede, golden, that bites and is larger than techni, other type of centipede) n. mayaká.
Chalate (type of plant) n. waurí.
Cheese n. kehsó.
Chia (a type of plant) n. koniwári.
Chichiquelitè (a type of plant) n. maniróčí.
Chicken n. čo'ori;
n. totóri owíra.
Chief, governor n. yaučí.
Child n. kuitá.
Children ready to baptize n. patóniame.
Chili pepper n. ko'kóri, kokorí.
Chumuri tree n. čumuri.
city n. siuráčí.
Clean n. wičotiame.
Cliff n. kawihámpa.
Cloth, fabric n. wisasóri.
Coal n. nohpi.

Cocido (Kind of soup) n. we'pásuni.
Coffee n. kahpé.
Cold n. čoopéí.
Comb n. itičíra, itihíra.
Coralillo (a type of snake) n. nakahpúra.
corn n. suunú.
Corn hair n. sunueçapóa.
Corn tortilla n. čahpórí.
Corncob n. o'ná.
Cornfield n. maapí.
Coronilla (a type of plant) n. korónia.
Corpse n. mukukáme.
Cotton n. to'osá.
cough n. tasiréwa.
Cow n. wakáí.
Cowboy n. waakeró.
Coyote n. ho'ví;
n. o'ví.
Crab n. ačakáíi.
Crabs n. e'múri.
Cradle n. maaká.
Crest n. čankáriára.
Cross n. kurusi.
Cross-road n. póe natepáčí.
Curve n. ku'ráčí.
Curved adj. nohkórame.

D - d

Dandruff n. mo'otókočí.
Danger n. na'poritiame.
daughter n. maará.
Daughter in law n. mo'óri.
Day adv. tawé.
Deer n. mahóí.
Devil n. reemónio.
Devil, uncle n. kumú.
Dew n. pa'wičíri.
Difficult adv. erina.
Dirty adj. čiputiame;

adj. ihčoréwa;
adj. ihčorewaeme.
Divide, mountain pass n. nahpúčí.
Dog n. čuhéurí.
Donkey n. uurú.
Dove (big, gray with white neck) n. kooró.
dress, skirt n. sipičí.
drum n. taambóra.
Duck n. paató.
Duck (black) n. kaani.
Dust  

_E - e_

each, every  

Ea — _cuant._ senepi.

Ear  

_Ear (of some plant)  _n._ murara.

Earrings  

_Early morning  _adv._ piari.

Earthworm  

_Egg  _n._ ka'wa, ka'awa.

Eight  

_Eighty  _num._ osanaro.

Elbow  

_Elder aunt,  _n._ so'oró.

Enemy  

_Evening star  _n._ arísopori.

Eye  

_Eyebrow  _n._ sewekómori.

Eyelash  

_F - f_

Face, cheek, jaw  

_Faeces  _n._ wihlé.

Far away  

_Fast  _adv._ ikanáti;

_Adv._ iwatiame.

Fat  

_Fat, grease  _n._ soowí;

_so'wí.

Father in law  

_Father (of a man)  _n._ no'no.

Father (of a woman)  

_Feast  _n._ pakhó.

Feast dancer  

_Feast host (person that orginize the feast)  _n._ pakhótame.

Feather, wing  

_Female  _n._ ye'íra.

Fence  

_Fever  _n._ če'éri.

Fiance  

_Fiancee  _n._ noowio.

_Footprint  _n._ ta'ara.

_Forehead  _n._ koató.

_Forty  _num._ ooká weréwa.

Four  

_Friday  _adv._ bienéči.

_Frog  _n._ teemó.

_Fifteen  _num._ osá mariki ampá

mariki.

_Finger, nail  _n._ suhtú.

_Fire  _n._ naí.

_Fireworks  _n._ kuwéte.

First  

_Fish  _n._ so'či.

_Five  _num._ mariki.

_Flour  _n._ tussí.

_Flower  _n._ seewá.

_Fly  _n._ so'óri.

_Foam  _n._ toonéwa.

_Food  _n._ ko'áme.

_Foot  _n._ toonó.

_Foothill  _n._ kahéna.

_G - g_

Garbage  

_Garlic  _n._ asusú.

Gift  

_Girdle  _n._ purirá.

Glow-worm  

_Glue  _n._ načupáme.

God  

_Godchild  _n._ paatótana.

Godfather  

_Godmother  _n._ niiná.

Good  

_Good, well  _adv._ kawéreuma.

Gourd  

_Gourd plant  _n._ kuyawí.

Grandfather (maternal)  

_Grandfather (paternal)  _n._ o'ócikí;

_Grandfather (paternal)  _n._ o'ócikí.

Grandmother  

_ka'aká._
Grandmother (maternal)  n. su'sú.  Guamuchil (a type of plant)  n. makučúni, ma'kučúni.
Grandson, granddaughter  n. o'očikiríra.
Grass  n. pa'á, pa'á.  Guasima tree  n. ahiyá.
Grasshopper  n. ohčí.  Guava  n. wayáwasi.
Gray hair  n. motosá.  Guitar  n. kiintára.
Green  adj. sióname.  Guitar player  n. kiintaéro.
Green bean  n. tomori.  Gun  n. pihtóra.
Green stick (a type of oak)  n. kuú sióname.

H - h

Hail  n. tehé.  Him, her, his, her, himself, herself  prn. ahpó.
Hair  n. kuúpa.  Hips, leg  n. kahsi.
Half  quant. nasípasi.  Hole  n. o'owárame.
Handle, ear  n. nahká.  Honey comb  n. momohá.
handle of the frying pan  n. waasíra.  Hook  n. paáká, pa'aká;
Happy  n. kawérame.  n. po'áčura.
Hard  adj. pewatiáme;  Horn  n. aawá.
     adj. pewá.  Horse  n. kawáí.
Hare  n. pa'rowísí.  hot  n. tahtáme.
Harp  n. a'araká, a'rápa.  Hot coal  n. isáwi.
Hat  n. mo'okóri.  House  n. kari.
Hawk  n. kurasá.  Huacal (a tramp for fishing)  n.
He, She  pron. apoé.  manirá.
Head  n. mo'ó.  hummingbird  n. se'múči.
Heart, spirit, soul  n. i'iká.  Hunchbacked  adj. komóra;
Heavy  adj. pehtíaame.  n. koomóráame.
Heel  n. teróki.  Husband  n. kuuná.
Hen  n. totóri;  Husband of paternal younger sister  n.
     n. to'óri.  piisi.
Hill  n. čahpáči.

I - i

I  pron. neé.  intestine  n. siíwá.
Ice  n. tehtuúri.  Island  n. ihláči.
Iguana  n. kihché.  In other place  adv. pienáči.

J - j

Jacal (house made of a kind of grass)  n. paakári.  Jicama, sweet potato  n. ka'móri.
Jail  n. kariči.  Juniper  n. aóri.
Jaw  n. čaaró.

K - k
Kidney  n. čikihpúni.
Knee     n. čopohkóri.
Knot     n. o'yérachi.

L - l

Ladder  n. i'móra.
Lamb    n. po'wá.
Lamp    n. raampará.
Landlord n. teckó.
Large corn n. o'naeme.
Late afternoon  adv. aaritúri.
Lazy    adj. naasíname.
Leather strap n. kakahóya.
leave    n. sawá.
Leaves of nopal  n. naapó nahkára.
Lechugilla (kind of agave) n. sapari.
Leech    n. nekúri.
Left     adv. howení.
Leg, tibia n. čapakhá.
Lemon    n. riimóní.

M - m

Machete  n. maačéta;
          n. mačéta.
Majority quant. kiyá yomá.
Male     n. owirá.
Man, person n. tihoé.
Mango    n. maängó.
Marsh    n. we'ě nokáyame.
Mask     n. maaskará.
Masse    n. patúsi.
Mattock  n. asaróní.
Mayate (kind of beetle that makes balls of excrement and drag
them on its rear legs)  n. witakhómori.
Mayo (name of other close indigenous
group)  n. maayo.
Meat     n. sa'pá.
Mescal (plant and drink)  n. maahí.
Mestizo (of a mixed race)  n. yoorí.
Mestizo (of mixed race)  n. yóri.
Metate (flat stone for grinding)  n. mahtá.
Mezcal (a type of wine)  n. paatári.
Mezquite (type of tree)  n. upará.
Milk     n. reechú.

lengua de buey (kind of plant)  n. wakasí yanirá.
Lid      n. potachea.
Lighting, cloud  n. toomári.
Lightweighted  adj. kipehtíame.
Lime     n. riimá.
Lion     n. oori, o'ori.
Lips     n. ču'wára.
Liter (bottle of mezcal) n. riitóro.
Little bell n. isawíra.
Little cat n. misi'tanára, misi'nu'úti.
Lobina (a type of fish) n. roowína.
Lobster  n. kauki.
Lose     n. ehté.

Mirror   n. ehpého.
Mist, fog  n. pa'wí.
Mojarra (a type of fish)  n. čačakhí.
Molar    n. támé.
Monday   adv. ruunéči.
Money    n. tomí.
Moon     n. mecá.
Mooring rope n. purirára.
Morning star  n. saisépori;
              n. seisépori.
Mosquito n. wahói.
Moss     n. nanaráki.
Mother   n. ye'yé.
Mother in law n. wasí.
Mountain, hill n. kawí.
Mouse    n. či'kúri, čikúri.
Mouth    n. ču'wá.
Mucus    n. čo'má.
Mud      n. wehchóri.
Mule     n. muurá.
Musician n. muusikó.
My, me, to me, myself  prn. no'ó.
N - n

Nanny goat  n. čiwá.
navel     n. siikú.
Necklace, rosary n. korokká.
Needle     n. i'kia.
Nephew     n. ma'l.
Nest        n. ta'só.
New         adj. weeméra.
Next time  adv. senékači.
Night      adv. tukaó.
Nine         num. watání.
Nit          n. ehté ka'wára.
Nixtamal    n. naipásuni.
No, without  adv. ki.
Nopal       n. naapó.
Nose         n. yahká.
Now          adv. ehpé.

O - o

Oilcloth  n. nairó.
Old man  n. o'čétiame;
n. oočétiame.
Once in a while, every now and then adv. sesenékó.
Once, one time  adv. senépi.
Onion      n. sóró.
One         quant. pii;
num. píipi.
One hundred num. píi siendó.
One of the two quant. ná'pá píripi.
Only, in the same place  cuant.
wa'ápi.
Orange fruit n. naaráso.
Oriwecha (Kind of cactus) n. oriwečá.
Orphan     n. kino'nóéme;
n. kiyeyéeme.
Other       quant. piréči.
Otter       n. pa'húri.

P - p

Paakanawa (kind of herb) n.
paakánawa.
Palm      n. tahkú.
Palm case n. mokewári.
Palm (of the hand) n. flewmatára.
Palo colorado (type of plant) n.
we'rakí.
Palo santo (type of tree) n. točió.
Pan, frying pan  n. sakirá.
Papache (kind of fruit) n. osokóra.
Pasture     n. toiwé.
Peach       n. tuurási.
Pear        n. peerá.
Peel, bark n. a'apé, aapé.
Penis       n. piisá.
People      n. tehtémari.
Pepper (a kind of)  n. parekókori.
Person I know n. mačiyá.
Peso (mexican current) n. peesó.
Pestle      n. matasúra.
Petate      n. takuepehtá.
Peyote (hallucinogenic drug) n. peyóri.
Pig          n. kowi.
Pimple      n. kisiká.
Pinacate tree n. čupahúmi.
Pine         n. ohkó.
Pinole (kind of flour used to prepare a beverage with the same name) n. tuusi.
Pitahaya fruit n. newéri.
Pitchfork   n. ahčáráme.
Plane       n. ma'asáame.
Plate       n. kaahété;
n. pehtóri.
Plow        n. a'áro.
Pocketknife n. nawásos, na'wásos.
Poison      n. yerowá.
Pomegranate n. raanára.
Poor         adj. pooré.
Poorly, with sadness  adv. tesiwá.
Porcupine   n. kusikówí.
Possum      n. tekačí.
Post         n. pohté.
pot, jar     n. sikóri.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potato</th>
<th>n. pahpá.</th>
<th>Priest</th>
<th>n. paaré.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potato (wild)</td>
<td>n. čičió.</td>
<td>Pumpkin</td>
<td>n. aaráwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potsherds</td>
<td>n. saikásuri.</td>
<td>Pupil</td>
<td>n. tahéra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pozole (a type of plate)</td>
<td>n. posóri.</td>
<td>Puppy</td>
<td>n. kičí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer</td>
<td>n. ni'wáme;</td>
<td>Skull</td>
<td>n. pe'sóni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n. ni'óniame.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>adj. peeniátame.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prickly pear</td>
<td>n. naápó takára.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Q - q         |                       |           |                     |
| Quack         | n. i' yöame;           |           |                     |
|               | n. merikó.             |           |                     |

| R - r         |                       |           |                     |
| Rabbit        | n. towí.              | Ring      | n. aanío, anío.     |
| Rain          | n. yulí.              | River     | n. aakí.            |
| Rainbow       | n. keenorá.           | Road      | n. poé.             |
| Ranch         | n. raanchó.           | Roadrunner| n. pu'i.            |
| Rattlesnake   | n. sayawé.            | Roast     | sweetcorn n. ikusúri.|
| Raven         | n. karáčí.            | Rock      | n. tehté.           |
| Raven (female)| n. ča'ká.             | Roof      | n. karhámópa.       |
| Raven (male)  | n. čanawíro.          | Root      | n. nawá.            |
| Raw           | adj. yo'owi.          | Rope      | n. witári.          |
| red           | n. sehtáname.         | Rope made | out of ixtle n. tasukiwitári.|
| Relatives     | n. tetehíma.          | Rotten    | adj. pikahkáme.     |
| Remedy        | n. i' yöí, i' yöwi.   | Rotten corn| n. witačóri.       |
| Rib           | n. wačnikári.         | Round     | adj. čihtráme.      |
| Rice          | n. aarósó.            | Rubbish   | dump n. kasaráči.   |
| Right         | adv. hamomína.        |           |                     |
| Right now     | adv. ehépa.           |           |                     |

| S - s         |                       |           |                     |
| Sack          | n. kohtári;           | Seed      | n. pahčí.           |
|               | n. moári.             |           |                     |
| Sadness       | adj. pyuwésuri.       | Seventy   | num. owísani osá marikí.|
| Sage          | n. wiwinó.            | Shadow    | n. ekahtá.          |
| Salt          | n. ooná.              | Sharp     | adj. chuhpáéme.     |
| Salty         | adj. onáeme.          | Sharp end | n. čuhpá.           |
| sand          | n. seeté.             | Sheet     | n. sawaná.          |
|              |                       | Sheet, letter| n. iyosi.          |
| Sandals       | n. kaaká.             | Shirt     | n. wakírá.          |
| Sap           | n. čo'wi.             | Shoes     | n. saapáto.         |
| Saturday      | adv. sawaráči.        | Short, small, round, rounded n. | kahpórame. |
| Scarf         | n. mokorá.            | Shoulder  | n. matohká.         |
| Scissors      | n. čaatúra.           | Shovel    | n. paará.           |
| Scorpion      | n. mačíri.            | Shrimp    | n. kočí.            |
| Sea           | n. pa'vé.             | Siete     | num. owísani.       |
| Seashell      | n. narakái.           | Singer    | n. wikatáme.        |
| Second        | ord. neipá.           |           |                     |
Sister (elder)  n. ko'či.
Sister in law, brother in law  n.
muchimáíra.
Sister (younger)  n. pf'ini.
Six  num. púsání.
Sixty  num. paiká weréwa.
Skin  n. wi'isi.
Skunk  n. u'urá.
Sky  n. tewéká.
Sleeping mat  n. epehtá.
Sling  n. wičaránki.
Slow  adj. muináti.
Small lake  n. raaguña.
Small, little  adj. nu'úti.
Small lizard  n. o'očá.
Smoke, fumes  n. moréwa.
Smooth  n. rihátiáme.
Snake (a kind of)  n. paisóri.
Snake (a type of)  n. kuhuwá.
snake (type of)  n. siníí.
Snare to fish (frog, cricket, flour)  n.
tečuni.
Snow  n. keepá;
n. tehémuri.
So, that way, like that  adv. wa'átia.
Soap  n. aóni.
Socks  n. kasetini;
n. me'eria, meería.
Soft  adj. rahtátiame.
Soil  n. we'é.
Soldier  n. waačó.
Some  cuant. paikápi.
some  quant. werupí.
Son  n. taná.
Son in law  n. mo'онé.
Song  n. wiiká.
Soon  adv. ku'wé.
Sore  n. ehčá, escá.
Sotole  n. seré.

Soup  n. neóra.
Sour  adj. čo'koámé.
Sowing, plant  n. ečitiáme.
Spicy  adj. ko'koámé.
Spider  n. tu'urúsí.
Spit  n. a'aká;
n. a'ká.
Spring  adv. kuwésari, kuwé;
n. paičí.
Squah (kind of)  n. kaamá.
Squash  n. kooráči, koráči.
Squirrel  n. teekuri;
n. tekúri.
star  n. so'pori.
Steam  n. e'óna.
Stick  n. irówa.
stick, wood, tree  n. kuú.
Still  adv. iwéta.
Still, yet  adv. pehí.
Stomach  n. tohpá;
n. topawári.
Stone for wasiníhg (in the river)  n.
tehté wíchoináči.
Store  n. tiendá.
Straight  adv. riisáme.
Stranger  n. poesimiáme.
Stream  n. kohso.
Strong  n. utewaémé.
Sugar  n. aasuka.
Sugar cane  n. tasáwi.
Summer  adv. paamúni.
Sun  n. ta'á.
Sunday  adv. toomíkoči.
Swallow  n. ta'kékeri.
Sweet  adj. kahkáme.
Sweetcorn  n. i'pahči, ipahči.

Tabachin (type of plant)  n.
takahpáči.
Table  n. méesá.
Tail  n. wahsí.
Tajiguari (type of plant that burns)  n.
tahíwaára.
Tamal  n. taamári.
Tank, puddle  n. tamkí.
Tapacaminos (kind of bird)  n.
wahkókóra.
Tarantula  n. paré.

Tasty  adj. tayá;
n. ta'ayáme.
Teacher  n. penitiáme.
Tears  n. o'kwéwa.
Teeth  n. taamé.
Tempisque (type of plant)  n. kahé.
Ten  num. osá mariki.
Tescalama (a type of plant)  n. ohtóri.
Testicles  n. ka'ócha.
Thanks  interj. čeríwéma.
That, those  dem. puú.
Then adv. weikó, eikó, e'ekó.
They pron. aapoe.
Thick n. tunakáme.
Thief n. ičikuáme.
Thin n. wakhiščíme.
Thing n. ita'pi'tí.
Thirty three num. paiká osa marikí ampá paiká.
This, these dem. ihí.
Thorn n. weescá.
Thread n. ikuri.
Three num. paiká.
Three times num. paísá.
Throat n. kúhta.
thursday adv. suwečí.
To adhere, to stick v. načupáni.
To allow, to let v. toańí.
To answer v. nehyáni.
To argue v. nenekáni.
To ask v. i'natukéna.
To bathe v. upáni.
To be able to see v. ma'čitena.
To be acid v. čo'kóní.
To be broken v. kahpóna.
To be broken (a plate) v. kasína.
To be chipped off v. wa'káni.
To be cold v. tu'rámuna.
To be cold (weather) v. turáni; v. tu'ráwa.
To be cracked (firewood) v. ta'páni.
To be dry v. wakińá.
To be fat v. wi'íná.
To be forced (to do something) adj. uteváčí.
To be full v. počíná.
To be hang v. čuhkú.
To be hang, to be in four legs v. čučúwi:v.
To be heavy v. pehténa.
To be hot v. tahtaténa; v. tatárińá.
to be hot (weather) v. tahtá.
To be humid v. hémína.
To be hunched with the head bowed v. ko'omóraní.
To be lying down (pl.) v. pe'tí.
To be lying down (sg) v. po'í.
to be melted v. ya'yáni.
To be named v. twáni.
To be off (of fire) v. čo'íná.
To be old v. očetúna.
To be ripe v. iwaní.
To be rotten v. pikáni.
To be sad v. yuwésuna.
To be satisfied v. posani.
to be scratched v. su'rińá.
To be seated v. yasaká.
To be seated (pl.) v. močiwi.
To be seated (sg.) v. kahtí, yasaká.
To be sharp v. yoraní.
To be spicy v. ko'kóní.
To be spilled over, to be scattered v. či'rińá.
To be spread v. ta'ráni.
To be squash v. mesuná.
To be standing v. werí; v. werí.
To be standing (pl.) v. ahawí.
To be sticky v. na'cúña.
To be straight v. wahčína.
To be swollen v. ahpóna.
To be tasty v. ta'íwa.
To be thick v. kuruná; v. tu'ráni.
To be torn v. či'wání.
to be torn (fabrics) v. si'páni.
To be twisted v. pi'rína.
To be visible v. ma'číwa.
To be weak, to be bend v. wi'róna.
To be wet v. saminá.
To be white v. tohsáníni.
to be wrinkled v. si'rińá.
To beat, to hit v. wepáni.
To bend down v. ko'omorasípaní.
To bend, to fold v. tu'umína.
To bet v. pohtaróáni.
To bleed v. eerátińá.
To blow v. eekáni.
To break v. kahpóchaní.
To bring v. upáni.
To bring down v. puhé.
To build houses v. karíáni.
to bury n. wetemáhína.
To buy v. taaraní.
To call v. paéna.
To carry in the back v. mookétóna.
To cheer up v. kawerápaní.
To chop v. tusuná.
To chop up v. čari'čani; v. čari'níni.
To clean v. pi'wapúna; v. pi'wená; v. pi'wáni.
To clear (an area of trees) v. maoná.
To climb v. mo'tewáni.
To come v. enáni.
To come in v. pakiná.
To cough v. tasíná.
To cover v. potačéna.
To cover, to wrap v. topésani.
To create, to produce, to gather, to breed v. mu'épuna, muépuna.
To cry v. naaaráni, na'aráni.
To cut v. tehpuñáni.
To dance v. yaúná.
To dawn (3 a.m.) v. ma'cirétoí.
To dawn (5 a.m.) v. ma'cirépani.
To defecate v. witání.
To die (sg.) v. mukuná.
To drag oneself v. poitóína.
To dribble v. akarúsuna.
To drip v. içuñáni.
To dry v. wakíféna.
To earn (money) v. yoiná.
To expand v. ahpópani.
To explode v. tataní.
To fall v. wiçiná.
To fort v. uhéña.
To feel something hard v. pewatéña.
To feel tasty v. ta'itéña.
To feel (that something is) strong v. u'atéña.
To fight v. nasuwañá.
To fill v. poçiwání.
To find v. tewani.
To flash v. kuhuípani.
To fly, to jump v. niníña.
To forbid v. kitoañí.
To forget v. natahkiepani.
To gather v. na'poání.
To get angry v. nekawá.
to get better (from an illness), to give birth v. sauná.
To get broken v. kahpópani.
To get (by exposure) v. čewíná.
To get cloudy v. tomarítáni.
To get dark v. tukahpásipani; v. tukapání.
To get dry v. wakihpání.
To get fever v. če'érépani.
To get hurt v. tehpúñá.
To get lost v. we'kání.
To get on v. mo'tewátena.
To give v. ihkókena.
To give fruit v. takéna.
to go v. siminá.
To go down v. tekiná.
To go through v. natawína.
To gossip v. naivwáčani.
To grab v. u'uná.
To grow crests v. čankariténí.
To hang up v. čučahpání.
To hang up, to insert v. čuhčání.
To harvest v. ihtépuna; v. muépuna.
To have v. inuwañe.
To hiccup, to belch v. enání.
To hit v. čewaní.
To hold something with the hand v. čapíña.
To hug v. koomípani.
To join v. napawína.
To kick v. temuná.
To kill (one entity) v. me'yání.
To kill (several entities) v. ko'yání.
To kneel v. čopohkorítuna.
To know v. mačiná;
	nanéná.
To lay something down v. teekáni.
To learn v. mačípání;
	penehpání.
To let, to allow v. toañí.
To lie v. wisikuñena.
To lie down v. po'ipání.
To lift v. apečúñani, apečúčani.
To light up v. tahéna.
To like v. pu'seréña.
To listen, to understand v. inamúna.
To live v. ahání.
To lose v. kiyoiná;

	v. wekahtéña.
To make v. metená;
	yo'wání.
To move v. noonóna.
To open v. wahónáni.
To paint v. pintáwání.
To patch v. koačéña;

	v. koyačéña.
To pay v. natehtéña.
To peel v. peesúna.
To peel off v. ahimání.
To pierce v. natapúña;

	v. oowarátíí.
To pile up v. napapúña.
To play v. te'éná.
To pour, to lay, to put v. yahčá.
To prick, to stab v. čehání.
To pull v. panisúna.
To push v. takihpúña.
To put down v. tekihpúña.
To put eggs — ka'wáni.
To put in \( v. \) mo'áni.
To put inside \((sg)\) \( v. \) pahčáni.
To rain \( v. \) yukuná.
To read \( v. \) leyendóña.
To remember \( v. \) nanétona.
To rest \( v. \) resípúna.
To rise \( v. \) apecúna.
To run, to scape \( v. \) u'máni.
To say, to tell \( v. \) čání; \( v. \) tuyé.
To scold \( v. \) te'eyáni.
To scream, to yell \( v. \) sináni.
To see \( v. \) ne'néna.
To sell \( v. \) neháni.
To set \( v. \) mo'čiwá.
to sew \( v. \) sukáni.
To sharpen \( v. \) čupahtéña; \( v. \) yorátena.
to shave, to scrape \( v. \) sisíná.
To shoot \( v. \) muhuná.
To shut in, to lock in \( v. \) yeetépaní.
To sing \( v. \) wikáhtáni.
To sit down \( v. \) yesipáni.
To size, to count \( v. \) ihtatáni, ihtatáni.
To sleep \( v. \) kočína.
To smash, to punch \( v. \) čonání.
To smell \( v. \) uhúya.
to smell, to sense \( v. \) saéná.
To sneeze \( v. \) e'túšáni.
To snow \( v. \) kepaní.
To speak \( v. \) naiwáni.
To spill \( v. \) wi'súna.
To spit \( v. \) akačúpaní, akačúpaní.
To spread \( v. \) eepéná; \( v. \) ta'rána.
To sprout \( v. \) uyáni.
To squash, to crush \( v. \) metačičáni.
To stain \( v. \) koncíökina, konchényowa.
To stand something \( v. \) weráni.
To stand up \( v. \) werísína, močísína.
To stand up, to grow up \( v. \) weripáni.
To steal \( v. \) ičíkóna.
To stick \( v. \) čainá; \( v. \) nacépátení.
To stretch \( v. \) ohtóná.
To stumble \( v. \) motočína.
To sweat \( v. \) taípóčáni.
To swim \( v. \) ka'kéna.
To take \( v. \) i'óná.
To take care \( v. \) inatéña.
To take out \( v. \) ma'čipáni; \( v. \) ma'čipáni.
To talk \( v. \) navésáni.
To taste \( v. \) čaminá.
To taste acid somethng \( v. \) čo'koténa.
To taste bitter (something) \( v. \) čiuphténa.
To taste spicy \( v. \) ko'koténa.
To taste sweet or salty \( v. \) kakahténa.
to tear \( v. \) si'pánáni.
To think, to believe \( v. \) mačéna.
To throw \( v. \) ihpáni, ipáni.
To thunder (the sky) \( v. \) tanačáni; \( v. \) teóna.
To tie \( v. \) o'yéna.
To tie knots \( n. \) o'yerátena.
To tighten \( v. \) tahčínáni; \( v. \) tahčičáni; \( v. \) tahčínáni; \( v. \) tahčipáni.
To touch \( v. \) nokiténá.
To try \( v. \) yenání.
To turn \( v. \) ku'rina.
To turn heavy \( v. \) pehketéna.
To turn off \( v. \) čo'ani.
To twist \( v. \) pi'rináni.
To uncover \( v. \) potečépuna.
To understand \( v. \) keepúna.
To untie (pl.) \( v. \) na'sočáni.
To untie (sg.) \( v. \) na'sónáni.
To uproot \( v. \) po'táni.
to urinate \( v. \) si'aní.
To vomit \( v. \) yo'ani.
To want, to love, to need \( v. \) nahki.
To warn \( v. \) u'urápaní.
To wash dishes \( v. \) pakóná.
To whip \( v. \) wahóná.
To work \( v. \) tekihpánáni.
To write \( v. \) iyoténa.
Toad \( n. \) kohari.
Tobacco, marihuana \( n. \) pipá.
Together \( adv. \) piená.
Toloachi (type of plant) \( n. \) torowáči.
Tomatoe \( n. \) toománéte.
Tomorrow \( adv. \) meeré.
Tongue \( n. \) yeení.
Too, also — tiámé.
Torote prieto (type of tree) \( n. \) topohká.
Town \( n. \) pueblocí.
Trench \( n. \) tetékóre.
Trunk \( n. \) kutemóri.
Truth \( n. \) pičiwá.
Tuesday \( adv. \) maatatéči.
Turkey \( n. \) čiwi.
Turtle  
Turtledove  
Twenty  
Twice  
Twin  

Twins  
Two  
Two hundred  

U - u

Ugly  
Uncle maternal (elder)  
Uncle maternal (younger)  
Uncle (paternal)  
Uncle paternal (elder)  

Underwear  
Us, to us, our, ourselves  

V - v

Vagina  
Valley  
Vein  
Verdolaga (type of vegetable)  

Violin  
Violinist  
Vixen  

V - w

Waremelon  
Waremelon seed  
Warrihío (the way they call themselves)  
Wart  
Water  
We  
Weak  
Wealthy  
Wednesday  
Weevil  

t. makuřáwi.  

Wing  
With  
wizard  
wizard, quack  
Wolf  
Woman  
Wood  
Wood (small pieces)  
Woodpecker  
Woods  

W - y

Year  
Yellow  

yellow corn  
Yes!  

Y - y

Yellow corn  

Yes!  

interj. e'é.
Yesterday  *adv.* tapaná.
You (pl.)  *pron.* eemé.
You (sg.)  *pron.* muú.
You, your, yourself  *pron.* amó.

Young  *adj.* temari.