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PICURÍS SYNTAX

by

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To the people of Picurís who
cherish their language and
value its preservation.

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Had it not been for the cooperation and considerable assistance of many individuals, this study might never have been made. Although it is impossible to mention all the people who helped me, several will be singled out for special recognition. Hopefully, all will accept this work as an expression of my gratitude.

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A. M. Zaharlick

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Picurís, the language spoken by the people of the Pueblo Indian community of Picurís, New Mexico, is one of the two Northern Tiwa languages of the Tanoan linguistic family. It is most closely related to the language spoken at the pueblo Indian community of Taos, located about thirty miles northeast of Picurís. Taos and Picurís, together with Isleta and Sandía, the two Southern Tiwa languages, make up the Tiwa branch of the Tanoan family.

The pueblo of Picurís is located on the Rio Pueblo, a tributary of the Rio Grande, in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of northern New Mexico in southern Taos County, about thirty miles southwest of the town of Taos and forty miles northeast of Santa Fe. The nearest town to Picurís is the small Hispanic community of Peñasco, two miles east of the pueblo. Over 8,000 feet above sea level, Picurís Pueblo is the highest Indian pueblo in the Southwest. It is located in a valley bounded on the north and west by the rugged Picurís Range, on the northeast by the Tres Ritos hills, on the southeast by the Truchas Mountain Range, and on the south by the Peñasco Plateau. Because

of its relatively isolated location, Picurís is one of the least studied of the pueblos. Paved roads have reached the pueblo only in the last decade. Its inhabitants have been referred to as "people of the hidden valley."

The most recent census data available for Picurís Pueblo is that obtained in the summer of 1974 when this author updated a revised version of a 1968 census list compiled by the United Pueblos Agency. In 1974 there was a total of 214 persons of Picurís descent on the tribal rolls. However, only about one-third of these, or 86, representing 21 households, actually lived in the village. Most of those who lived at Picurís were either under 21 or over 65, usually instances of grandchildren living with grandparents.

The same situation exists today. Adults are forced to leave the village to seek employment for there are very few jobs either in the village or in the nearby Hispanic towns. Some recently completed HUD housing at the pueblo has provided homes for several families. A few families obtaining this new housing had been formerly living off the reservation. Although the housing has enabled some families to move back to the pueblo, the number of residents has not significantly increased due to the present high death rate. Most nonresident Picurís believe that some day they will have a house built at the pueblo and move back--probably when they retire.

1.2. Picurís was a large and strong pueblo at the beginning of the historic period. It was a major link in an extensive, yet informal, system of trade and commerce between Pueblo and Plains Indians (Schroeder 1974:1). It appears that the 1540 Spanish expedition into the Southwest did not encounter the Picurís. The first known European contact with Picurís was made by the expedition of Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1590. The Spaniards were given one of the coldest receptions in Southwestern history (Schroeder 1974:1). The expedition records show that the pueblo was seven to nine stories tall, the tallest ever mentioned in Spanish documents.

In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate, the first colonizer of New Mexico, referred to Picurís Pueblo by name, the "Gran Pueblo de los Picurís." Oñate reported that the Picurís people traded and were allied with Apaches (Hammond and Rey 1953:400). In 1621, Fray Martin de Arvide established a mission at Picurís.

The pueblo of Picurís and its powerful leader, Don Luis, played a major role in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The pueblo, with a population estimated by Vetancourt (1871:318) at three thousand, joined Taos Pueblo and the Apaches de Achos on August 10. The Picurís killed their local clergy, profaned the church, and plundered the Spanish houses and fields. Then with Taos,

the Picurís joined the Tewas, Tanos, and Pecos Pueblo Indians to lay siege to Santa Fe (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945).

Twelve years later in 1692, Diego de Vargas won a bloodless victory in his reconquest of the Pueblos. Less than two years later, the northern Pueblos began to rebel again. By 1696 the Picurís abandoned their pueblo and took refuge in territory which today is part of Kansas (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:281). Some Picurís returning to the pueblo reported that the Apaches had enslaved their people. The Picurís on the plains wanted to return. In response, in 1706 Juan de Ulibarri went onto the plains and brought back sixty-two Picurís (Thomas 1935:60-61).

This historical overview indicates the former size and importance of Picurís Pueblo. In the short space of twenty-six years, the Picurís population was reduced to one-tenth of its strength prior to the Pueblo Revolt. For additional historical description consult Albert H. Schroeder's A Brief History of Picurís Pueblo: A Tiwa Indian Group in North Central New Mexico.

1.3. The people consider the Picurís language to be the language of the pueblo. It is used in all religious and ceremonial contexts, in conducting tribal council meetings, and in everyday conversation between adults.

All residents of the community also speak English and a few are fluent in Spanish, English, and Picurís.

The children attend school in Peñasco where they use English in the classroom and learn or expand their Spanish in dealing with their classmates and with other members of the local population. Adults have explained that for a number of years now the children have been increasing their use of English and are no longer learning Picurís, although the children still do "understand some Picurís." Despite the recognized need for English and Spanish, several years ago a number of adults began to express great concern for maintaining the Picurís language as a part of their Indian identity. This concern has become so great that a "bilingual" program has been started at the Peñasco Elementary School. With the consent and backing of the Picurís Tribal Council and the Picurís Education Committee, the author has worked with this program to provide materials, teaching aids, and some preliminary linguistic training for the two Picurís teacher aides employed by the school. Fourteen Picurís students are currently involved in this program, of whom only a few actually speak or understand any Picurís. The program at this stage in its development is primarily a language teaching program rather than a bilingual one.

1.4. The only works, other than the present study, that have been done on the Picurís language are the collection of some Picurís Children's Stories by John P. Harrington, with an analysis of the music which accompanies the stories by Roberts (1928), the recording of vocabulary items by George L. Trager (1937), the work of Felicia Harben Trager (1968, 1970, 1971), and an unpublished seminar paper by Judy Camero (1972). Felicia Harben Trager, in her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Picurís Pueblo, New Mexico: An Ethnolinguistic "Salvage" Study (1968), presented a description of the phonemic structure and made a preliminary analysis of the word constructions of the language. Her subsequent articles included a discussion of some morphemic-level changes within the traditional noun class system (1970) and a summary statement of Picurís phonology (1971). In her paper, Camero compared some verb material from Harrington's Picurís Children's Stories and material discussed by Felicia Harben Trager in her dissertation. A syntactic analysis, that is, an analysis of the structure and formation of sentence-level constructions, of Picurís has never before been attempted.

1.5. My interest in the American Southwest began shortly after I entered the Anthropology Department at The American University in September of 1971. I began to take courses in anthropological linguistics which emphasized

the linguistic treatment of the dynamics of cultural process. At the same time, I was exposed to the study of the same sorts of problems from a cultural anthropological point of view. Because several of the faculty members of the Anthropology Department, including my major professors, have regional specializations in the United States Southwest, my interest in that geographical area naturally grew. My classwork has included the study of linguistic method and theory, Southwestern linguistics, and the ethnology of Spanish-speaking and Southwestern American Indian groups. Beyond my linguistics training within The American University's Anthropology Department, I studied at the 1972 Summer Institute of Linguistics of the Linguistics Society of America held at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. This experience was made possible by a fellowship from the Ford Foundation and the Linguistic Society of America.

In the fall of 1972 I learned that George L. Trager was interested in finding someone to continue the Picurís research which his wife, Felicia Harben Trager, had begun eight years before her death. I met George L. Trager at the American Anthropological Association Meetings in Toronto in November, 1972. The following January George L. Trager invited me to examine the Picurís materials he and his wife had collected. I copied some of

the tape recordings and immediately began working with the language. One result of this initial investigation was the paper, "Pronominal Reference in Picurís" (1975), included here, in modified form, as part of Chapter III.

During the following summer I worked under George L. Trager's direction in his Summer Field Program at the Southern Methodist University Fort Burgwin Research Center in Ranchos de Taos, New Mexico. At this time my own fieldwork experience at Picurís was being enhanced by in-class training in elicitation techniques, phonetic recording, and directed interviewing. The two major tasks undertaken during this field experience were the verification of Felicia Harben Trager's recorded Picurís materials and the collection of additional ethnographic and linguistic materials.

In September 1973 I visited George L. Trager a second time to make copies of all his Picurís tapes and notes, including the research material of Felicia Harben Trager, as well as the Picurís vocabulary lists which George L. Trager had compiled in 1937, and other miscellaneous materials. Preliminary analysis of some of these data resulted in the paper, "Preliminary Outline of Picurís Syntax" (1973).

To gain a clearer historical perspective on the present Picurís language situation, I worked with John J.

Bodine on a synthesis of available historical and ethnographical data on Northern Tiwa culture history. I collected information obtainable in Washington until May 1974; then I continued the remainder of archival research in the Albuquerque, Taos, and Santa Fe, New Mexico area during June and July. A portion of August was spent on the analysis of the resulting historical and ethnohistorical data. During the summer I was able also to update the United Pueblo Agency 1968 tribal rolls for Picurís.

1.6. Systematic linguistic data collection began in September 1974. I worked primarily with a seventy-one year old woman who is considered to be one of the "grandmas" of the pueblo. I worked with her periodically from September through January. During this period some linguistic material also was provided to me by a sixty-year old man of the village and his forty-one year old wife. It was with this latter woman that I first worked with Harrington's text material. All three of these people are fluent in Picurís, English, and Spanish.

Most of my work with these people, whom I refer to as consultants, consisted of eliciting words, phrases, and sentences. Sessions with consultants were tape recorded for later transcription and analysis. I would prepare English vocabulary lists and grammatical

constructions beforehand and ask for the nearest Picurís "equivalent" during the recording sessions. As I came to recognize different types of words in the language, I was able to ask questions about the component identification of these words. Later, once I determined rules that appeared to govern the formation of particular constructions, I could offer the consultants additional examples for verification or modification.

At first this method proved satisfactory, but as I became aware of details of the syntax, I became dissatisfied for two reasons. First, I was experiencing more and more difficulty in eliciting the kinds of syntactic distinctions in which I was interested, and which I had reason to believe existed in the language. Frequently Picurís consultants would give me several ways of saying the same thing. In these instances, they were able to convey the idea, but not produce the distinction I was hoping to elicit. Efforts to force the response usually resulted in confusion. This confusion led to my second reason for dissatisfaction with the method. I was not sure that the method allowed the natural syntax of the language to emerge to its fullest extent. I suspected a filtering effect due to the kinds of questions I was asking--questions based upon my knowledge of English syntax.

During the time that I was collecting my linguistic data, I was living in Taos since there was no available housing at or near Picurís. This proved to be somewhat of a problem. None of the Picuris people has telephones at that time which made it difficult to arrange sessions and coordinate schedules. Often, due to community duties and obligations, my Picurís consultants were unable to work. Other times they were away from the pueblo visiting friends and relatives. Several times snow and poor road conditions prevented me from getting to Picurís. By January I had become concerned, for I was not progressing as rapidly as I had expected.

1.7. Then, in early February, I learned that a Picurís woman, married to a Taos man, was living at Taos Pueblo. I contacted her and was pleased to find that she was interested in working with me. We scheduled a three-hour session for the next morning.

This time I decided to try a new approach. Because I was not a fluent speaker of Picurís, it would have been difficult for this woman to give me the kinds of syntactic data I needed by just talking at me. Thus, we decided to turn to Harrington's Picurís Children's Stories. But this time, rather than working from the English translations of the stories, we started with Harrington's Picuris versions. It was at this point that the collection

of the needed syntactic data for the present study began.

I worked with this woman five days a week from February through June, usually in three-hour sessions, at her home in Taos Pueblo. She was thirty years old, a high school graduate, fluent in both Picurís and English, and quick to see some of the more intricate details of her language. Since Harrington did not provide a description of the symbols he used, our first task was to determine the sounds his symbols represented. We proceeded by sounding out Harrington's symbols until we could hypothesize what each word, phrase, and complete sentence meant. We then referred to Harrington's English translations to see if this procedure resulted in the same meaning as he intended. If it did, we wrote the expression using the symbols discussed in Chapter II. If it did not, then we would try to determine how the English expression could be rendered in Picurís so that it resembled the Picurís expression he presented. Once we were satisfied that the two coincided in meaning, we would note the changes that needed to be made in Harrington's transcriptions so that it could be read by Picurís speakers today. The result constitutes the texts which served as the corpus for the present syntactic analysis of Picurís grammar.

Following each session, I would transcribe each day's accomplishments according to the current usage of

my Picurís consultant. Then I would develop specific questions for the next session about the details of the actual constructions. During the next session we would examine each construction, morpheme by morpheme. When I came across new or unusual constructions, we would discuss them. She would offer additional examples of the same thing, and finally, when I felt I understood how it was used in specific contexts, I would give still other examples for her verification. This method worked very well for it allowed me to discover aspects of the syntax as I encountered them rather than forcing me to ask questions about what I thought might be there.

We proceeded in this fashion until we completed four texts. I felt I had sufficient data for a syntactic analysis since new types of constructions were no longer being encountered. These four texts are included as Appendix A and provide the data upon which this study is based. However, since the study is bounded by the types of constructions included in the texts, it in no way claims to include all syntactic processes in the language for most likely constructions exist which did not occur in the texts.

1.8. For comparison, two original short texts were elicited from this consultant. At the time these data were collected, it was felt that part of the study should

consist of a comparison between some of the constructions found in Harrington and current utterance material to see if there had been any significant changes in the language over the past fifty years. Preliminary analysis along these lines suggests that extensive and significant changes have occurred, and, hence, would be well beyond the scope of this study. Some examples from these two texts are included in the present study, although little note is made of the changes that have occurred. The two texts are included as Appendix B.

1.9. Another important source of data for the present study has been the work by other researchers on the Tiwa languages. These materials have included the published and unpublished research and analyses of George L. Trager who has worked on the Taos language since the 1930s, and the published and unpublished materials of Felicia Harben Trager who was the first to undertake a systematic investigation of the Picurís language. Also important have been the work of William L. Leap on Isleta and Elizabeth A. Brandt on Sandía. Since Taos, Isleta, and Sandía are closely related to Picurís, the linguistic details of these Tiwa languages were drawn upon to predict the processes operative in Picurís syntax today. The recent work of Leap, while largely unpublished, has played a major role in regard to the syntactic analysis.

1.10. The main goal of this study is to present a descriptive statement of Picurís syntax based on the available corpus. Such a descriptive statement will round out our knowledge of the structural outlines of the Picurís language and the data will permit the preparation of a comparative Tiwa grammar, an effort which George L. Trager began in 1942. Once the necessary syntactic data are available for Taos, Picurís, Sandía, and Isleta, it will be possible to compare and contrast general and specific properties which are contained in each of these Tiwa languages. More penetrating analyses of each of the languages and of Proto-Tiwa can then be made. A Proto-Tiwa perspective may be employed to suggest the kinds of changes which each of the languages has undergone and to identify those elements which each language has retained. A study of this kind would broaden current understanding of change processes operative, not only in the Tiwa languages, but, for language in general.

A descriptive statement of Picurís syntax is necessary also if work on Picurís semantics and semology is to be possible in the future. In order to determine how meaning is communicated, it is imperative that the linguistic meaning of syntactic constructions be understood, for much of the meaning in any language is conveyed by its structure. Only after the linguistic meaning is determined,

can referential meaning and semantic categories be fully understood.

When these Picurís language data are combined with ethnohistoric and historical data, it will be possible to construct a broader picture of the culture history of Picurís Pueblo and its people. Such combined data would provide a basis for language acculturation studies. It would be interesting to determine how the English, Spanish, and Apache languages have affected Picurís structure, if at all, and in which areas. These and other studies can follow once a description of the syntax is available.

It was noted earlier that Picurís people place a high value on maintaining their language and culture. A descriptive study of their language, and the kinds of studies mentioned above, can assist these people in documenting their cultural heritage. Specifically, updated copies of Harrington's Picurís Children's Stories and other text materials gathered as a part of the language investigation are now available for their museum as the beginning of an oral history library. This study also has provided a working orthography for the language, written versions of a few stories and some of their traditions, and the basic research needed for the preparation of bilingual and bicultural language teaching materials, such as a grammar and a dictionary.

1.11. In this study the term syntax is used to refer to the sentence-level arrangements and underlying processes involved in the formation of grammatical constructions. By syntactic arrangement is meant the patterns of combinations between bases and affixes in specific word, phrase, clause, and sentence-level constructions. By syntactic process is meant the rules and constraints which govern the possibilities of combination found in such specific constructions. Other terms are defined as they occur throughout the analysis.

On the whole the generative model used here proved satisfactory. It allowed for the identification and determination of different ways in which underlying sentences were raised to surface constructions. It permitted a distinction to be made between underlying structural differences and surface-level manifestations of the same underlying structure. It also allowed for a statement of the properties which all sentences have in common and the ways in which they can differ. Finally, it revealed covert aspects of the grammar which brought to light some of the relationships within, and between, sentences.

1.12. Each chapter of the study may be read as a topic in itself. Cross-references to other parts of the study are provided wherever necessary. Chapter II presents a

brief discussion of Picurís phonology based both on the work of Felicia Harber Trager and my own subsequent analysis of the phonology. All Picurís examples throughout the study are given in taxonomic phonemic notation. Chapter III deals with surface-level words and their structure. This chapter is included primarily to provide morphemic data for comparative purposes with other Tiwa languages. In Chapters IV, V, and VI each expression found in the texts is analyzed. Chapter IV contains the basic syntactic information about the language. In Chapter V, alterations to basic sentences are discussed. Complex constructions are analyzed in Chapter VI. In each of these three chapters, I present phrase structure and transformational rules and tree diagrams to illustrate clearly the relationship between the surface structure and the deep structure in the language. In Chapter VII, I conclude with a restatement of all phrase structure and transformational rules for Picurís. Also included are a few summary comments about the more important aspects of the language and its grammar.

CHAPTER II

PICURÍ'S PHONOLOGY

2.0. An analysis of the phonology of a language is helpful for understanding the composition and functioning of syntactic constructions. In order to analyze the syntactic constructions that appear in surface-level utterance material, it is essential to describe the relevant morphological and phonological (pitch, stress, tone, and transition patterning) elements in isolation, and, in turn, to observe the kinds of changes these elements undergo when they are combined into phrases, clauses, and sentences. The ways in which these elements are combined and recombined result in different kinds of syntactic constructions. In turn, these constructions signal specific meanings to native speakers. This discussion begins, therefore, with a description of the meaningful sound elements that occur in Picurí's utterance material, the phonemes.

2.1. As was stated in the introduction, the first systematic analysis of Picurí's phonology was that of Felicia Harben Trager (1968, 1971). The following

description is a summary of her work as recently verified by the present author. It serves as an overview of the surface-level details to assist the reader in following the discussion. No attempt has been made to analyze the underlying phonological rules. Field sessions with three Picurís informants in June and July of 1973 and the summer and fall of 1974 permitted minor modification of Felicia Harben Trager's analysis. Where such modifications were made, they will be specified.

2.2. The Picurís language has a total of thirty-five phonemes: fourteen consonants, six oral vowels, six nasal vowels, three stresses, three tones, and three kinds of transitional phenomena. Following George L. Trager (1972: 34), a phoneme, as an element of language sound structure, is defined as

a class of sounds that contrasts with every other such class in the language; its members, called ALLOPHONES, are phonetically similar, are in complementary, i.e., contrasting distribution, and are congruently patterned with the members of some other phonemes.

2.3. The Picurís language contains the following consonant phonemes:

stops:	p	t	č	k	'
spirants:		s	ʃ	x	h
nasals:	m	n			
lateral:		l			
glides	w		y		

Unaspirated fortis stops, /p t k/, occur in initial and medial position, but somewhat less tense before a glottal stop. All three occur in clusters with a following /' and /p t/ occur with a following /h/. Although one of its allophones is slightly aspirated, [k^C], /k/ does not appear in a cluster with /h/. However, the phoneme /k/ does occur with a following /w/, and, in one instance to date, a /k'w/ sequence in the term /k'w'ia^Ycéne/ 'magpie' has been noted. The above combinations yield the following consonant clusters: /p', t', k', ph, th, kw, k'w/. Examples of all consonant phonemes and the clusters in which they appear will follow at the end of this section.

The phoneme /č/ appears in free alternation as [ts] or [č]. For example, the term for 'chief of witches' /čàx⁺Yáwene/ (literally, 'witch-leader') was elicited with both [ts^Y] and [č].

Felicia Harben Trager (1968:28; 1971:20) noted that the phoneme /n/ has the allophone [ŋ] before a /w/ in normal transition, but so far no instances of this allophone have been found.

The phoneme /x/ occurs with considerably more friction noise than /h/. The difference and contrast between these two phonemes is clearly heard in the term for 'yesterday'/húxəŋ/. /x/ also appears in a cluster

with a following /w/, as for instance in the Picurís term for 'nine' /xw^h/.

The glottal stop tends to be weak. However, when combined with low tone, the glottal stop has a phonetic effect that is noteworthy. For example, the term for 'chokecherry', /'ém'ene/, was elicited by Felicia Harben Trager as phonetically [ʔ̠^h m^h 'EnE]. In this example, the /m/ becomes partially denasalized, devoiced, and tenser in anticipation of the glottal stop.

As far as it can be determined, the /ɣ/ occurs as [ɣ], [s^ɣɣ], and as [s^ɣ] in free alternation. All three allophones have been elicited from the same speaker for the term /ɣíwene/ 'lady'.

The /l/ is a standard [l] with some palatalization [ly] before /i/.

The consonants /m n l w y/ may be syllable final and are present in the following examples: /pám-/ stem form of /pám'emɔ̃/ 'flower'; /sén-/ from /sénene/ 'man'; /k'ál-/ from /k'aléñɔ̃/ 'food'; /t'áy-/ from /t'áyene/ 'person, Indian'; and /píw-/ from /píwene/ 'rabbit'.

Both Felicia Harben Trager and I have found some variability in the use of nasal consonants. The same lexical item will sometimes be elicited with an /n/ and sometimes with an /m/. Two examples are cited by Felicia Harben Trager (1968:29-30; 1971:31). The first /sénene/

'man, male' is expressed consistently with the base /n/, but its pair /sənēnɛ̃/ 'men, males' sometimes occurs as /sēmēnɛ̃/. The other example cited, the possessive prefix /kəŋəŋ-/ 'our two', was sometimes elicited as /kəŋəm-/. In addition to these same examples, I have found instances where a nasal is realized as a non-nasal, for example /pām'emɔ̃ or pān'emɔ̃/ 'flower' has consistent use of a nasal in its base, but the expression 'there are lots of flowers' was expressed as [ʼopisipāəwɪa], without any nasal element.

Examples of the consonant phonemes and the positions and clusters in which they occur are listed below:

/p-/:	/pɪne/	'heart'
/-p-/:	/pāpane/	'brother'
/t-, -t-/:	/tòtòne/	'older sister'
/k-/:	/kɪane/	'mother'
/-k-/:	/húlko/	'he is sick'
/č-/:	/čq̃/	'now'
/-č-/:	/pāču/	'three'
/ʼ-/:	/ʼɪ'ínɛ̃/	'corn'
/-ʼ-/:	/ʼò'òne/	'child, son'
/s-/:	/sénene/	'man'
/-s-/:	/wése/	'two'
/ɣ-/:	/ɣɪwene/	'lady, maiden'
/-ɣ-/:	/māɣe/	'six'

/x-/:	/xá'em ^y /	'arm'
/-x-/:	/nàxóne/	'adobe'
/h-/:	/hélé/	'what'
/-h-/:	/tipíahu/	'I am making it'
/m-/:	/músane/	'cat'
/-m-/:	/'amé/	'go'
/n-/:	/nā/	'I'
/-n-/:	/p'á'áne/	'water'
/l-, -l-/:	/lèlóné/	'chicken'
/w-/:	/wímu/	'one'
/-w-/:	/k'ówɛn/	'good, fine'
/y-/:	/yɔnt'ə/	'this'
/-y-/:	/wàyéne/	'meat'

The consonant clusters are:

/p'-/:	/p'ínéne/	'mountain'
/t'-/:	/t'áyene/	'Indian, person'
/k'-/:	/k'álene/	'food'
/ph-/:	/phà'áne/	'hair'
/th-/:	/thóne/	'house'
/xw-/:	/xw ^ɔ /	'nine'
/kw-/:	/kwí'one/	'little dog'
/k'w-/:	/k'wíàčéne/	'magpie'

2.4. The Picuris vowel phonemes are as follows:

		front	central	back
high	/	i ɨ		u ʊ
mid		e ɛ	ə ɘ	o ɔ
low			a ɶ	/

The vowel /e/ occurs as [e] under primary stress /ˈ/, as [E^h] under medial stress /˘/, and as [E] under weak stress, which is left unmarked. The same pattern holds for the allophones of /i/: [i, I^h, I] and for the allophones of /o/: [o, ɔ^h, ɔ]. The other three vowels show much less allophonic variation than the three just mentioned. /a/ is [a]; /ə/ is [ʌ[<]]; and /u/ is [u]. Final /i/, as in the suffixes /-çi, -ki/, has the allophone [I^h], frequently accompanied with partial devoicing. The length of the vowels is conditioned by tone and stress, but discussion of vowel length will be delayed until these phenomena are presented later.

Nasal vowels have more or less the same allophonic variation as do the oral vowels with respect to vowel quality, though there is less variation. Sometimes /ɶ/ has a raised, central allophone which is difficult to distinguish from /ɘ/. This situation suggests that these two phonemes may be in the process of falling together. Nasal vowels are most nasalized when they are not adjacent to a nasal consonant. Before a nasal consonant, a nasal vowel is more nasalized at its beginning than it is at the end; and, conversely, after a nasal consonant, a nasal vowel is

less nasalized at the beginning than it is at its end. Felicia Harben Trager describes these two phenomena together as the dissimilatory effect of a nasal consonant on a nasalized vowel. This dissimilation of the nasality of a vowel is most apparent between two nasal consonants where the vowel has only slight nasalization, as in /sénene/ 'man, male'. There is also anticipatory and residual nasalization of oral vowels adjacent to nasal consonants, for instance, in the term for 'road' [p'ɨne] where the oral vowel /i/ becomes nasalized, and, frequently, in the Class A suffix /-ne/, as in [ɨwenɛ] 'lady'.

As with the consonants, there is some inconsistency in the use of nasalized vowels. The same item may sometimes be elicited with a nasalized vowel and sometimes not. The second person independent pronoun /'ɛ̃/ 'you' is a good example, for it is as frequently pronounced /'é/ as it is /'ɛ̃/. Felicia Harben Trager cites, as this researcher has confirmed, that the possessive prefix /kə̀nən-/ 'our two' can be elicited either as /kə̀nən-/, /kanan-/, or as /kanam-/. These three examples illustrate the considerable degree of variability found in the occurrence of nasal phonemes in Picurís.

Only one instance of nasalized /ɥ/ was elicited by Felicia Harben Trager. That instance appeared in the Class C, second person plural possessive prefix, /mɥ/. Since this form, /ɥ/ varied with non-nasalized /u/ in the

same paradigmatic set, and since there was considerable variability in general between nasalization and non-nasalization, Felicia Harben Trager questioned the validity of establishing /ɥ/ as a separate phoneme. Ultimately, however, she decided in favor of listing it as a separate phoneme for two reasons: 1) the prefix in question historically has a nasal vowel and 2) it completes the pattern for the vowels by establishing six oral and six complementary nasal vowels--four in the front, four in the back, and four in the central region of the mouth. Comparative evidence from the other Tiwa languages further supports this claim.

Subsequent research by this investigator has uncovered additional data to justify /ɥ/ as a separate phoneme. In eliciting the present tense paradigmatic set for the verb 'do', three instances of /ɥ/ were found. One appeared in the first person plural verb prefix /kɥnɥ-/ 'we (pl.)', one in the third person dual verb prefix /'ɥnɥ-/ 'they two', and the other in the third person plural verb prefix, also /'ɥnɥ-/ 'they (pl.)'. The question was raised whether or not the nasalization of the high back vowel in these instances could be accounted for in terms of the anticipatory nasalization of an oral vowel adjacent to a nasal consonant. To determine whether or not this were the case, other paradigms were elicited.

Further investigation revealed other verb prefixes which contained instances of /ɥ/, but this time, instance which could not be accounted for by environmental conditioning. One of these nasalized high back vowels appeared in the second person plural verb prefix /mɥ-/ in the utterance /mɥk'alɕi/ 'you will eat'. This additional information does not of course establish whether or not /kɥnɔ-, 'ɥnɔ-, 'ɥnɔ-/ , the three prefixes discussed above, actually contain the phoneme /ɥ/ or contain /u/ which is realized as [ɥ] due to the anticipatory effect of the following /n/. It does, however, provide evidence that other instances of /ɥ/ do exist in the language besides that found in the Class C second person plural possessive prefix. Such evidence as that presented in the last example, /mɥk'alɕi/, suggests that other verbs may also contain a prefix with a nasalized /ɥ/ and establishes the phoneme /ɥ/ on firmer ground than had previously been the case.

The fact that the twelve vowel phonemes of Picurís form six pairs of oral and corresponding nasal vowels led Felicia Harben Trager (1968:26; 1971:30) to suggest the possibility of an alternative analysis. According to this second analysis, the nasalization of the vowels would be considered as a second component, or phoneme of nasalization, with the result that the inventory of vowels would be reduced from twelve to six, all of which could be

nasalized. She rejects this analysis, however, for to accept it would raise the problem of the component of nasalization for the consonants since /m/ and /n/ are always nasalized. She, therefore, treats the oral and nasal vowels as separate phonemes.

Some phonetic evidence discovered by the present researcher suggests that perhaps the problem of the nasalization component of the consonants is not as great as first suspected. As the example for 'flower' /pâm'emv/ suggests the nasal element of the stem /pâm- or pân-/ is not always realized when the form is incorporated into a larger construction, i.e., ['opisipâw₂wia] 'there are many flowers'. One possible explanation is that phonetically the nasalization is not being realized. However, this explanation is not satisfactory for /m/ or /n/ minus nasalization would be rendered as /b/ or /d/ respectively, neither of which appears as an element either in the expression cited or in native Picuris words. The situation presented in the above example cannot be accounted for in terms of the absence or presence of nasalization. The nasal consonants, therefore, are simply nasal consonants, not consonants plus a nasalization component.

If, on the other hand, only the vowels are considered, the situation would be no less complex. Besides complicating the analysis itself by treating vowels and

consonants differently, a separate nasalization component /N/ would need to be set up and specified where necessary. Thus, in many instances some nasalization consonant (NC) clusters would need to be specified in syllable final position, resulting in a much more complex phonotactic statement. As a phoneme, /N/ would be in contrast with /n/ in such clusters as -en, -eN, and -eNn. But, this in fact is not the case as the term for 'yesterday' clearly points out. This term has been elicited from the same speaker as [húxen], [húxeNn], and as [húxeN]. Moreover, the /N/ would be limited to environments immediately following a preceding vowel--again, calling into question the phonemic status of such a conditioned element.

Therefore, based on these arguments, it seems best to reject the alternate analysis suggested by Felicia Harben Trager and support the analysis which lists twelve separate vowel phonemes, six oral and six nasal. Examples of the occurrence of these twelve vowel phonemes are listed below:

/i:/	/χíwene/	'lady, maiden'
/ĩ:/	/xwĩ́/	'nine'
/e:/	/pé(1)	'summer'
/ē:/	/pēne/	'deer'
/a:/	/p'áne/	'moon'
/ā:/	/pā'áne/	'earth, land'

/ə/:	/thēne/	'house'
/q̄/:	/'ḡ'enḡ/	'blood'
/u/:	/p'û'únḡ/	'corn in the field'
/y/:	/muk'álč̄i/	'you will eat'
/o/:	/pōha/	'all'
/q̄/:	/'ḡ'ōmḡ/	'bone'

There is only one vowel cluster in Picurís:

/ia/:	/kiáne/	'mother'
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2.5. Besides the vowel and consonant phonemes, the Picurís language has three phonemes of stress: primary /ˈ/, secondary /ˌ/, and weak /˘/, which will generally be left unmarked.

Stress refers to the prominence of a syllable. In Picurís, stress refers to the loudness and length of the vowel nucleus, or, in some cases where the stressed syllable ends in /l m n/, the final consonant, rather than the vowel nucleus, evidences lengthening.

Stress phenomena are closely related to tone phenomena. The stress affects the allophones or pitches of tone, while tone phenomena add to the amount of lengthening of a syllable. A primary stress /ˈ/ on a syllable results in a higher allophone. For example, in a word which has /ˈ/ and middle tone, /músane/ 'cat', the slight rise with primary stress is an allophone of middle tone conditioned by the stress. In terms of syllable length,

/˘/ is the longest, /˘˘/ lengthens the syllable, but not as much as primary, and weak stress accounts for the shortest length. In the example /phà'áne/ 'hair', /-á-/ is the longest syllable /phà-/ is next in length, and /-ne/, is the shortest.

One phenomenon of vowel length traditionally has been called a reduplicated vowel. This reduplicated lengthening occurs when a syllable with low tone and medial stress precedes a syllable with primary stress. The following three terms are cases in point:

/˘í'íne/	phonetically →	[˘í˘'íne]	'corn'
/p'ù'úne/	phonetically -->	[p'ù˘'úne]	'corn in the field'
/˘ò'óne/	phonetically -->	[˘ò˘'óne]	'child, son'

Important to the structure of this language are the numerous stress sequences. Thus, /píwene/ 'rabbit' contrasts in pattern with /pìwéñe/ 'rabbits'. In this example and many like it, it is the stress patterns /˘˘˘/ and /˘˘˘˘/ that are the important marks of contrast. When the items are said, no matter how imperfect the rendering of the vowels, and of the contrast between /e/ and /ɛ/, they are understood only if the stress patterns are correct. The stress system, therefore, is one of contrasting word superfixes, with the three levels of stress occurring in different sequences.

2.6. There are three tones in Picurís: low, middle, high. In terms of occurrence, middle tone is the most frequent and high tone is the least frequent. High and low tone occur primarily on base morphemes. A few suffixes, however, have high tone, but prefixes and suffixes are mostly tone neutral structurally. Most prefixes and suffixes have middle tone phonemically. A slight rise or decline in pitch, phonetically, is anticipatory for prefixes with following base tone, and residual for suffixes with preceding base tone.

Following the convention employed by Felicia Harben Trager and other Tiwa scholars, the transcription used in this study combines stress and tone diacritical marks placed over the vowel phoneme symbols. The acute and grave accents are considered single marks, while the circumflex and wedge are double, as are the double acute and double grave. The single marks indicate primary or medial stress with middle tone. For the double marks, the first half indicates primary or medial stress, and the second half specifies low or high tone. The symbols are

á	primary middle	à	medial middle
ā	primary high	ǎ	medial high
â	primary low	ã	medial low

Weak stress is left unmarked, but the marking /˘/ is used to indicate weak stress in formulas. Since weak stressed

syllables have only middle tone, there is no need to indicate it in formulas.

The combination of tone and stress as superfixes establishes the prosodic characteristics of words and phrases. Since primary stress lengthens a syllable, and low tone lengthens it even more, the longest syllables are those with primary stress and low tone, indicated by /[^]/. Allophones of tones also are conditioned by adjacent tones. For example, if the tone pattern is low, middle, middle; the first middle tone has a lower allophone than the second due to the residual effect of the preceding low tone.

Tone contrasts are found chiefly in stems of one syllable. Direct contrasts are most easily heard when the two stems appear in sequence before a verb. For instance, /p'^à+m^òn'^àn/ 'he saw the water' contrasts with /p'^à+m^òn'^àn/ 'he saw the moon.' As these examples illustrate, it is the word and phrase superfixes that provide the contrasts which permit one expression to be distinguished from another.

2.7. There are three transition phonemes in Picurís: /⁺/, plus transition; /,/, sustained; and /./, final. According to George L. Trager (1962:17),

A transition phoneme is established wherever there are phonetic manners of transition from one phoneme to another such that differences in the timing, stretching, releases, pitch contours, intensity, scope, and the like of a sequence of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes contrast

with other occurrences of phonetically similar segmental and suprasegmental phonemes.

The /⁺/, or internal open transition, is found in utterance medial position. It occurs between words and between stems though some words may combine in normal transition. In addition, the /⁺/ often occurs between an affix and a base morpheme in a word. Its phonetic duration is shorter than that of /,/ or /./ and it does not affect the pitch quality of the adjacent vocalics. The most noticeable phonetic characteristic of /⁺/ is that it tends to limit regressive and progressive assimilation.

The sustained transition, /,/, also is found only in utterance medial position. The sustained transition always will be followed by additional segmental materials. It imparts the acoustic effect, with accompanying pause, of being unreleased to the final phoneme preceding it. When this transition follows a high tone, the allophone of the high tone exhibits a slight additional rise at the end [↗]; the middle tone is maintained evenly, [→]; and the low tone shows a slight drop, [↘].

The final transition /./, occurs only in absolute final utterance position and marks the transition from segmental material to silence. Generally, it has the same effect as the sustained transition, but with greater stretching of the preceding phoneme(s), and with a significantly longer pause. With middle tone, it is accompanied by a slight voice drop before silence.

2.8. Now that the phonemic elements have been established for Picurís, it is possible to discuss how these phonemic elements combine to form larger units in the language. Inspection of Picurís language materials suggests that segmental durations begin after initial silence and continue until one of two transition qualities is reached-- /, / or /./ . At that point the segmental duration ceases and silence resumes. For this reason, these two transition qualities are referred to as major transitions, for they mark the change from segmental flow to silence. Any segmental duration that precedes one of these two major transitions will be referred to as a phonological utterance.

All phonological utterances in Picurís contain at least one primary stress. In addition, if the utterance contains more than one vowel segment, secondary and weak stresses accompany them.

Within the phonological utterance itself, smaller segments of duration bounded by the plus transition are frequently found. The internal /+/ is a minor transition which marks the change from utterance segment to utterance segment. A phonological word refers to the portion of an utterance bounded either by initial silence and final /+/, by initial and final /+/, or by initial /+/ and final major transition. If a segment bounded by a /+/ also contains a primary stress quality, it will be considered a phonological phrase as well. Phonological words and

phrases do not necessarily coincide with grammatical words and phrases, although in some instances they do.

In order to illustrate what is meant by the terms phonological utterance, phonological phrase, and phonological word, the following line of Picurís text is offered:

'éwɛn, 'ipòha+wíá, tùwetáte. 'They are all Picurís.'

This sentence contains three phonological utterances:

(1) 'éwɛn, (2) 'ipòha+wíá, and (3) tùwetáte. The first utterance is a single phonological phrase consisting of one word. The second phonological utterance is also a single phonological phrase, but it consists of two phonological words, 'ipòha and wíá. The third utterance, also a single phonological phrase, contains one word, tùwetáte.

2.9. An investigation of phonological words in this language reveals that they contain at least one consonant segment and one vocalic segment. Since vowels are defined as segmental elements with syllabicity, a syllable can be defined as a unit that contains one vowel phoneme accompanied by its prevocalic consonant segment. It also may be accompanied by a postvocalic consonant segmental. Stress and tone quality also accompany each syllable.

In Picurís, a syllable has the following structure: $C_1V_1(C_2)$, where C denotes any nonvowel, V any vowel, and the numerals 1 and 2, the position of accompanying segmentals

in a syllable. C_1 may consist of any single consonant phoneme in the language, or of any of the permissible consonant clusters, i.e., /p' t' k' ph th kw xw k'w/. V_1 may consist of any one of the twelve vowel phonemes, or it may consist of the vowel cluster /ia/. Frequently, it has been found that the vowel cluster /ia/ is in free alternation with the vowel /e/. C_2 is optional and may consist of one of the following consonants: /m n l w y/.

Each syllable must be accompanied by one of the three tones: high, middle, or low. It must also be accompanied by one of the three stresses: primary, medial, or weak. However, of the nine stress-tone pairs that are potentially possible, only seven actually occur since neither high nor low tone appear with weak stress. Since each utterance must have at least one primary stress, a single syllable in isolation contains a primary stress. When a syllable is combined into larger units with other syllables, the stress may be reduced to either medial or weak. Tone quality is the same for a given syllable in isolation as it is for that same syllable in combination, for, unlike stress, it is an inherent quality of each syllable. To illustrate the difference between these two phenomena, the following example is offered: /'ĕ/ 'you', the independent second person pronoun, has high tone and primary stress in isolation, but when it is combined with other syllables, such as /kok'alĉi/ 'you will eat' to form

the expression /'ǂ^hkok'alč'i/, the primary stress on the /'ǂ/ syllable is reduced to medial. The high tone quality, however, is not affected by the combination.

There are n-syllables that may appear in a phonological word and n-phonological words that may appear in a phonological utterance. Any utterance syllable may appear in one of three utterance positions. If a transition quality follows the vowel or the /ia/ cluster or one of the C₂ elements, the syllable is considered to occur in word-final position. If silence precedes C₁, the syllable occurs in word-initial position. If the syllable occurs in neither of these two positions, it is in word-medial position. Generally, each syllable in a Picurís phonological word is in a C₁V₁ sequence. When one of the five consonants, /m n l w y/, that can appear as C₂ does occur in that position, the syllable is in word-final position, for it is followed only by a transition quality. This transition quality, or break, however, is not a phonemic unit for its presence is phonologically determined. There are no C₂C₁ sequences in the phonological word structure of this language.

Since the syllable structure of Picurís is straightforward, syllable division is quite simple. Because each syllable must contain a vowel, or /ia/ cluster, and must have at least one consonant in initial position, terms like wímu 'one' and péle 'summer' pose no problem for syllable

division. The /m/ of wímu and the /l/ of péle cannot be confused with C₂ elements for two reasons: (1) they do not occur in word-final position and (2) if /m/ and /l/ were part of the first syllable, there would be no initial consonant, or any consonant, in the second syllable. Since all syllables contain at least one initial consonant, it must be concluded that the /m/ and /l/ belong with the second syllable, and the division occurs after the first vowel in each of the terms. In summary, syllables in Picurís are isolated by the following principle:

Except for word-final syllables, syllable division occurs after vowels in phonological words.

CHAPTER III

WORDS AND WORD STRUCTURE IN PICURÍS GRAMMAR

3.0. Introduction

This chapter will give close attention to the morphemics of Picurís--the variety of morphemes and the way in which word constructions, and sometimes phrases, are derived from them. It should be noted, however, that it is not always possible to draw the boundary clearly between words and syntax in any grammar. Such is especially the case in Picurís where a large portion of the syntax often enters into the formation of word constructions. Every effort will be made to keep the discussion of syntax to a minimum, but some overlapping will be found between this chapter and those devoted to syntax. The information in this chapter is provided to allow a clearer reading of the texts.

3.1. A morpheme is defined by C. F. Hockett as "the smallest individually meaningful element in the utterances of a language" (Hockett 1958:123). That is, morphemes cannot be analyzed into any smaller word units and carry meaning. Following the orientation of George L. Trager

(1963, 1972), a morphemic analysis concerns itself with the nature of word varieties in the language. These varieties are determined through the segmentation of utterance materials into their minimal components--the morphs--which comprise the raw material of the grammar. Morphs that are complementarily distributed are grouped into more inclusive morphemic classes, identified and classified as either base, affix, or postfix components of word constructions. The varieties of such word constructions are then classified on the basis of the co-occurring component materials. The analysis proceeds from the methodological notion that the concern of a morphemic analysis is the isolation and identification of sets of morphemes whose recurrence in various kinds of recombinations makes up the shape of utterances in the language. The set of regularities that govern the formation of utterance constructions allows these recurring elements to combine in ways which are, as a result of the combination, meaningful to the speakers of the language.

3.2. Picurís Word Structure

The morphemic system of Picurís is quite complex, and it is possible that not all of the formations have been encountered in elicitation and fully worked out. A morpheme is sometimes a single syllable, but at other times a morpheme may be polysyllabic. Sometimes a morpheme

is equivalent to a word, but at other times it is not. Morphemic elements in Picurís words consist of bases of one or two syllables with an inherent tone; prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, usually of one syllable; postfixes, of one or more syllables; and word superfixes consisting of a stress pattern with one primary stress and one or more medial or weak stresses. The morphemics of Picurís will be presented in the form of statements about the components and formation of words and the kinds of words that exist.

A word in Picurís has been defined by Felicia Harben Trager as follows:

A word consists of a base, either unisyllabic or disyllabic, which has an "inherent" tone, and has one primary stress. Affixes may be added by prefixation or suffixation. A (+) may occur within a word as part of the stress pattern (word superfix), especially between prefix(es) and base. The syllables other than the primary stressed one (which may or may not be a base syllable) also have stress, and may have tone inherent in the morpheme. Where more than one base occurs, but the affixes of inflection and/or derivation belong to only one of them, we have a phrase-word or 'compound' (Felicia Harben Trager 1968:37).

Diagrammatically, the morphological word may be expressed as follows:

$$w_{\wedge} : (p-) - b - (-s) \ \& \ ^s \ \wedge / -\acute{-}$$

Where, \wedge represents morpheme, b any base, p- any prefix, -s any suffix, and the $-\acute{-}$ notation the relevant word

stress pattern. Since all words in Picurís contain a base form, word construction types in this language may be distinguished according to the varieties of accompanying affixal elements. Examination of Picurís utterances reveals three main word construction types: nouns, verbs, and particles. Nouns and verbs have their own inflection, particles do not.

3.3. Nouns

The category nouns in Picurís is established on the basis of morphemic suffixes and cross-referencing of the prefixes for possessive nouns, as well as subject-object prefixes occurring with verb forms (Felicia Harben Trager 1968:37; Zaharlick 1975:2). The morphemic suffixes, /-ne/, /-nɛ̃/, and /-mɔ̃/ immediately follow the noun base, creating the absolute form of nouns. These suffixes indicate relations with other parts of coreferential constructions, one of which classifies nouns as belonging to one of three classes--A, B, or C. Nouns usually occur in the lexicon in pairs, both having the same base but different suffixes, with one being translatable as singular and the other as nonsingular (two or more). The combinations are A and B, B and C, and A and C, as exemplified in the following:

A and B:	/ɪðɪéne/	'old man'	ɪðɪénɛ̃/	'old men'
B and C:	/če'émɔ̃/	'eye'	/če'énɛ̃/	'eyes'
A and C:	/p'ínene	'mountain'	/p'ín'enɛ̃/	'mountains'

A is always singular and C always nonsingular (either plural or abstract and numberless as in the term for 'water'), while B has the number opposite its partner.

The fact that these noun classes constitute an integral part and have an essential functioning in the verb cross referencing system further establishes their validity. However, as Felicia Harben Trager (1971) has suggested, a trend towards a "singular-plural" system is beginning to appear, with Class A as the "singular" and Class C as the "plural." Thus, unlike the situation in Taos and Isleta, the morphemic suffixes for both the Class B plurals and the Class C forms are the same. Consequently, the Picuris suffix pairings can be summarized as follows:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} -ne \\ \\ -m\check{\phi} \end{array} \right\} : -n\check{\phi}$$

3.31. Stem Extension

It will be noted that an additional vowel phoneme occurs between the base $\wedge/t\grave{a}m-$ and the noun class suffix $\wedge/-ne$ in the citation form for 'father' $/t\grave{a}m\acute{e}ne/$. Since this part of the noun is not part of compound constructions, or of the noun class suffixes, it is presumed to be affixal in character and will be referred to here as an extension element. The term stem will be used to refer to a noun

base and its accompanying extension elements. By comparing single-base noun forms to their corresponding compounded or incorporated forms, it is possible to distinguish stem forms from base forms.

Stem extension before a noun suffix occurs in one of two ways: (1) the addition of a glottal stop and reduplication of the final vowel (e.g., in /p'á'áne/ 'water', where the base is \wedge /p'á-) or (2) the addition of /(')e-/ (e.g., in /p'ínene/ 'mountain' or /p'in'ené/ 'mountains', where the base is /p'in-).

The occurrence of stem extension, and the form it will take, is not always predictable phonologically. For example, for noun bases with final \wedge /...a-, there is /p'áne/ 'moon' with no extension element, /p,á'áné/ 'water' with an extension consisting of glottal stop and reduplicated vowel, and /p'á'émé/ 'liver' with an extension consisting of /-'e-/. For the three forms presented, the only one that appears to be phonologically conditioned is the second /p'á'áne/ 'water'. It appears that bases with a final vowel with low tone and secondary or medial stress, (*) are followed by glottal stop and reduplicated vowel before the noun class suffix. Other such examples are

/thǎ'áne/	'day'
/'ò'óne/	'child, baby'
/'ì'íne/	'corn'

/phã'áne/	'hair'
/'ð'əmǝ/	'bone'
/tã'ănǝ/	'sticks'
/'cũ'úmǝ/	'face'

These forms contrast with others where instead of a glottal stop and reduplicated vowel, the stem extension consists of /'e-/, as in

/xã'emǝ/	'arm', 'wrist'
/'tũ'emǝ/	'arrow'
/'r'ɛ'emǝ/	'neck'
/'tãméne/	'father'
/'pãm'emǝ/	'flower'

In cases where a consonant appears in basal final position, the stem extension is the /-e-/ form, with or without the glottal stop: /p'ínene/ 'mountain', but /p'ín'enǝ/ 'mountains', where \wedge p'in- is the base.

The allomorphs of stem extension can be summarized as \wedge /'-, \wedge /'-e-, and \wedge /'-R-, where \wedge /'-R- represents a reduplicated vowel. The morpheme \wedge /'-' always occurs with \wedge /'-R-, and may or may not occur with \wedge /'-e-. \wedge /'-R- occurs after a base with final vowel with low tone, and medial stress; otherwise, stem extension, or the lack of it, does not appear to be phonologically conditioned.

Although stem extension occurs with all three noun class suffixes, it occurs invariably with \wedge /'-mǝ, least frequently with \wedge /'-ne, and somewhere in-between with \wedge /'-nǝ.

Following a base final consonant, \wedge -ne never occurs after the sequence \wedge -e-. However, many nouns in \wedge -ne are paired with nouns in \wedge -ne \check{v} , and nouns in this latter form may involve the addition of \wedge -'-, with or without \wedge -R- or \wedge -e-, and/or stress shift. Some examples are:

/p $\acute{\text{a}}$ ne/	'heart, middle'
/p $\acute{\text{a}}$ ne \check{v} /	'pumpkin'
/k $\acute{\text{e}}$ m $\acute{\text{o}}$ ne/	'fireplace'
/' ɲ ene/	'ant'
/p $\acute{\text{f}}$ 'ene \check{v} /	'hearts'
/p $\acute{\text{a}}$ ' $\acute{\text{a}}$ ne \check{v} /	'pumpkins'
/k $\acute{\text{e}}$ m $\acute{\text{o}}$ 'one \check{v} /	'fireplaces'
/' ɲ ' $\acute{\text{e}}$ ne \check{v} /	'ants'

From the above observations it may be concluded that the specification of occurrence is morphemic rather than phonological. It also is apparent that, unlike tone, stresses are part of word superfixes rather than phenomena inherent in the morpheme.

3.32. Noun Environments

Nouns occur in two kinds of environments in Picurís. They may occur in isolation in the absolute or citation forms given above, or they may combine with other morphs in the language to form more inclusive grammatical constructions. When they occur in combination, however, the noun suffixes are deleted.

Base forms of nouns are frequently found in other noun constructions or incorporated into verb constructions. For example, the base $\wedge/t\grave{a}m-$ of $/t\grave{a}m\acute{e}ne/$ 'father' combines with the base $\wedge/i\grave{o}i\acute{e}-$ or $/i\grave{o}i\acute{e}ne/$ 'old man' to form the compound $/t\grave{a}m^+i\grave{o}i\acute{e}ne/$ 'grandfather'. When the two bases are combined, the appropriate noun class suffix is added, in this case the animate, singular, Class A $\wedge/-ne$, and the phrase-superfix $^s\wedge/\text{~}^+\text{~}$ is assigned. Likewise, to form a noun phrase such as $/t\grave{a}mh\acute{u}y/$ 'like a father', or $/t\grave{a}m^+mi\acute{a}wke/$ 'for a father', the base of the noun is combined with the appropriate bound morph and the appropriate stress pattern.

Noun bases also are found inserted between verb prefixes and a verb base, or bases, and function as "verb objects." The verb expression, $/ti\grave{a}m^+m\hat{o}n\grave{a}n/$ 'I saw the father; contains the noun base $\wedge/t\grave{a}m-$ 'father' as well as the verb base $\wedge/m\hat{o}(n)-$ 'see'. For further discussion of compound words, phrases, and "verb objects," see the following chapters on Picurís syntax.

3.33. Noun Prefix Inflections

In addition to stem extension and suffix inflection, nouns also may have prefix inflections. These prefixes are complexes of morphemes which indicate relationships translatable as person and number of the possessor and show the class of the possessed noun. The possessor is indicated as the first, second, or third persons, and as singular,

dual, or plural in number. The class of the possessed object is shown as one of four: A, B, C, and L (local). In isolation L nouns appear with suffixes as A-C pairs and in prefix constructions as having L (singular) and C (nonsingular) reference.

3.331. Noun Prefixes

Prefixes with nouns may be grouped into the following paradigms identified by labels referring to the categories mentioned above:

Possessor		A	B	C	L
Sg.	1	'an-	'anəm-	'ono-	'anna-
	2	kə-	kəm-	ko-	kaṇə-
	3	'a-	'am-	'o-	'ana-
Du.	1	kaṇan-	kaṇəm-	kono-	kanṇa-
	2	maṇan-	maṇəm-	mono-	maṇṇa-
	3	'anaṇ-	'anəm-	'ono-	'anna-
Pl.	1	ki-	kim-	ku-	kiṇə-
	2	mjin-	mjim-	mju-	mjinṇa-
	3	'jn-	'im-	'u-	'jnnə-
					'ip-

The analysis of these morphemes into complexes is straightforward. In L, there is a morph -nā present all the way through, in position next to the base. Likewise, in B, there is an -m- similarly located. The only exception here is in the Class B plural 3 form, 'ip-. However, the informant did state that either the 'im- or the 'ip- form may be used and cause no difficulty in the analysis. A possible explanation for this form may be that it is due to some kind of denasalization of the final -m- segment appearing before a nonnasal segment. This form was elicited in the utterance /'ip⁺papa'ān^v/ 'their (pl.) older brothers' and no other comparable forms were provided in the available data. Added to this possibility is the fact that /m/ and /p/ are in morphophonemic alternation in this language. Thus, the occurrence of /p/ in this instance poses no particular problem.

Comparison of the dual forms for Classes A and B suggests that the final -n- segments in the A Class may be similarly segmented out as the Class A markers. This being the case, it is then necessary to set up a zero allomorph for the singular and plural forms. This decision seems appropriate despite the fact that the final segment in the Singular 1 and in the Plural 2 and 3 forms ends with an -n- segment. The rationale for this decision lies in the fact that the L forms appear to be the A forms with the addition of the -nā- morph. If this decision is not

made, it would be necessary to explain the presence of the -n- segment in the forms in question and its absence in the other forms for the L Class. Furthermore, it would be necessary also to explain its absence in the Singular 2 and 3 forms and the Plural 1 form for Class A. Consequently, it seems best to set up a zero allomorph for the Class A Singular and Plural forms.

A comparison of the Class C prefixes with those of the other three classes suggests that the greatest difference between these classes lies in the vowel distinctions and contrasts. There seems to be a regular correspondence between the /-o-/ vowels in the C prefixes and the /-a-/ vowels in the other three classes. Likewise, the /-u-/ vowels in the plural forms of C seem regularly to correspond to the /-i-/ vowels of the plurals in the other three classes. If these correspondences are kept in mind and the forms are compared, then it can be seen that the C forms have much the same shape as the forms in B without the -m- morph and the forms in L without the -nā- morph. Thus, it seems justifiable to set up a zero morph for the final position C forms to correspond to the -m- in B and the -nā- in L. Because these C forms contain vowel segments which contrast with

the vowel segments in the other classes, these forms are distinct Class C markers and present no problem in relation to Class A forms which also are marked by a zero morph in final position for their Singular and Plural forms.

The forms 'an- (A and L) and 'ānā- (B), kān(ā)- and mān(a)- show a regular loss of -ā- in predictable positions, namely before Ø in Class A and before -nā- in Class L. The presence of kānā- and ki-, and mānā- and mīn-, suggests that k-, m-, ānā-, i-, and in- also can be segmented. This leads to the further segmentation of '- in Singular 1 and Singular, Dual, and Plural 3, and of k- in Singular 2. This segmentation leaves the following morphs:

- Prestem (1st position): '-, k-, '-, k-, m-, '-,
k-, m-, '-;
- Prefix Stem (2nd position): (Classes A, B, L) -ān(ā)-,
-ā-, -ā-, -ān(ā)-, -ān(ā)-,
-ān(ā)-, -i-, -ī(n)-,
-i(n)-;
(Class C) -ono-, -o-, -o-,
-onq-, -onq-, -onq-, -u-,
-ū-, -u-;
- Poststem (3rd position): -n-, -m-, -nā-, Ø.

3.332. Summary of Noun Prefixes

In order to summarize the above allomorphs and morphemes, the prefix complexes will be listed with all morph divisions shown.

	A	B	C	L
Sing.				
1	' - ʔn - Ø	' - ʔnʔ - m	' - ono - Ø	' - ʔn - nʔ
2	k - ʔ - Ø	k - ʔ - m	k - o - Ø	k - ʔ - nʔ
3	' - ʔ - Ø	' - ʔ - m	' - o - Ø	' - ʔ - nʔ
Dual.				
1	k - ʔnʔ - n	k - ʔnʔ - m	k - onʔ - Ø	k - ʔn - nʔ
2	m - ʔnʔ - n	m - ʔnʔ - m	m - onʔ - Ø	m - ʔn - nʔ
3	' - ʔnʔ - n	' - ʔnʔ - m	' - onʔ - Ø	' - ʔn - nʔ
Plur.				
1	k - i - Ø	k - i - m	k - u - Ø	k - i - nʔ
2	m - ʔn - Ø	m - ʔ - m	m - u - Ø	m - ʔn - nʔ
3	' - ʔn - Ø	' - i - m	' - u - Ø	' - ʔn - nʔ

3.4. Verbs

As Felicia Harben Trager pointed out, verbs in Picurís are composed of a base or a compound of bases. To these are added the pronominal reference and other prefixes, and various verbal postbasal elements (Felicia Harben Trager 1968:46).

The distinguishing characteristic of this word type is the occurrence of any single element from one of two general paradigms of suffix forms with the word base. Some of the verbal postbasal elements are clearly suffixes, while others appear to be morphemes with special uses. The actual verb suffixes, however, specify both the mood and the relative position in time for the kind of activity described by the word base. The other verbal postbasal elements provide additional modification or specification. A prefix element, correlating verb "subject" reference to verb "object" reference, also co-occurs in all verb word constructions. Thus, the structure of the verb word in Picurís may be diagrammed as

Pronominal Reference Prefix Complex	Negative Affirma- tive etc., Prebases	Base(s)	Stem Extension	Temporal and Modal Elements	(Clitic)
1	2	3	4	5	6

As with nouns, some verb bases require a stem extension element before a suffix or postbasal element can be added. A common example is the base /m^hŋ/ which requires the addition of an /n/ in an expression such as /tim^hŋ'n/ 'I saw him'. In such cases, 3 and 4 in the diagram above are considered as one unit and referred to as a stem, or, in this particular case, a verb stem. The morphemes in position 2 in the diagram are optional. They will be given closer attention in the following chapters.

Felicia Harben Trager has called attention also to the fact that Picurís is similar to the other Kiowa-Tanoan languages with regard to the alternation of initial consonants for some verb bases (Felicia Harben Trager 1968:47). In effect, this alternation results in two stems, one "active" and the other "stative." Again, the most common example, and the only one which the present researcher has found is the stem $\wedge/m\hat{\phi}(n)$ - 'see', alternating with $/p\hat{\phi}$ as in $/th\delta p\hat{\phi}ne/$ 'watch', which is literally 'sun-look-A'.

Semologically, all Picurís verbs appear to be structured so that they may be glossed in the following way: One, two, or three or more actors or agents performed-an-act, caused-a-situation, or brought-about-a-condition affecting or involving someone or something as object. The implication of this statement is that all verbs are transitive, although in translation some are not. The actor or agent and the object are semologically found in the prefixes. The performance, the causing, or the bringing about are semologically found in the verb base. The mood, in which, and the time at which, the performance, causing, or bringing about occurred, are semologically specified in the suffix.

3.41. Verb Prefix Inflections

Prefix inflection of verbs is similar to that of nouns, but such inflection reveals enough difference to establish the two as separate entities. Like the noun

prefixes, the verb prefixes are complexes of morphemes composed of stem and appropriate pre- and poststem elements which specify subject-object correlation appropriate to the action referred to by the verb construction. They show relationships indicating the person and number of the subject and the class of the object. Again, there are three persons and three numbers for the subject, and there are five classes for the object: A, B, C, L for noun objects and R, if the object is pronominal and the same as the subject. Inspection of the distributions of these prefixes indicates that they may be grouped into one of several paradigmatic sets, each element of which is found to contain stems as well as pre- and poststem elements. Positionally, these stem elements indicate that the person morphemes come first, then the number morphemes, and in third place, nearest the verb base, are the class morphemes.

3.411. Verbal Prefix-Paradigms

The verbal prefix-paradigms are shown on the following chart. Only a few comments need to be made about the segmentation shown in the chart. These comments concern the dual forms for the A, L, and R classes. In these forms it can be noted that the second position contains a nasal consonant segment (n or m) as well as a vowel segment. It is felt that this nasal segment is a part of the second position morph. This is necessary to allow for the contrasts

Subject	Object of class				
	A	B	C	L	R
Sg. 1	ti-	pi-	ta-	tan̩-	ta-
2	'a-	'i-	ko-	'an̩-	'a-
3	∅	'i-	'o-	n̩-	ma-
Du. 1	'an-	p̩-	k̩m-	'ann̩-	k̩m-
2	m̩n-	p̩-	m̩m-	m̩nn̩-	m̩m-
3	'an-	p̩-	'am-	'ann̩-	'am
Pl. 1	'i-	pi-	ku-	'in̩-	kima-
2	m̩-	pi-	mu-	min̩-	mima-
3	'i-	pi-	'u-	'in̩-	'ima-

Segmentation of these forms follows from inspection:

Sg.

1 t - i - ∅ p - i - ∅ t - a - ∅ t - a - n̩ t - a - ∅
 2 ' - a - ∅ ' - i - ∅ k - o - ∅ ' - a - n̩ ' - a - ∅
 3 ∅ - ∅ - ∅ ' - i - ∅ ' - o - ∅ ∅ - ∅ - n̩ m - a - ∅

Du.

1 ' - an- ∅ p - a - ∅ k - a - m ' - an- n̩ k - am- ∅
 2 m - an- ∅ p - a - ∅ m - a - m m - an- n̩ m - am- ∅
 3 ' - an- ∅ p - a - ∅ ' - a - m ' - an- n̩ ' - am- ∅

Pl.

1 ' - i - ∅ p - i - ∅ k - u - ∅ ' - i - n̩ k - i - ma
 2 m - a - ∅ p - i - ∅ m - u - ∅ m - i - n̩ m - i - ma
 3 ' - i - ∅ p - i - ∅ ' - u - ∅ ' - i - n̩ ' - i - ma

between the Dual 1 and 3 forms and the Singular 2 form for these classes, as well as for the Dual 2 and Plural 2 forms for Class A.

Correlating prefix component with semological designation produces the following summary statement for the cross-referencing items:

Person prestem:

1st person: \surd t-, ' -, ' -, p-, p-, p-, t-, k-, k-,
t-, ' -, ' -, t-, k-, k-;

2nd person: \surd ' -, m-, m-, ' -, p-, p-, k-, m-, m-,
' -, m-, m-, ' -, m-, m-;

3rd person: \surd \emptyset -, ' -, ' -, ' -. p-, p-. ' -, ' -, ' -,
 \emptyset -, ' -, ' -, m-, ' -, ' -;

Number stem:

Singular: \surd i-, a-, \emptyset -, i-, i-, i-, a-, o-, o-,
a-, a-, \emptyset -, a-, a-, a-;

Dual: \surd $\bar{a}n$ -, $\bar{a}n$ -, $\bar{a}n$ -, \bar{a} -, \bar{a} -, \bar{a} -, \bar{a} -, \bar{a} -, \bar{a} -,
 $\bar{a}n$ -, $\bar{a}n$ -, $\bar{a}n$ -, $\bar{a}m$ -, $\bar{a}m$ -, $\bar{a}m$ -;

Plural: \surd i-, \bar{a} -, i-, i-, i-, i-, u-, u-, u-,
i-, i-, i-, i-, i-, i-;

Reference class poststem:

Class A: \surd all \emptyset

Class B: \surd all \emptyset

Class C: \surd \emptyset singulars and plurals, or -m- for
duals

Class L: \surd all -n \bar{a} -

Class R: \surd \emptyset singulars and duals, or -ma- for
plurals

The morphemic structure of any of the elements in the paradigm results from the combination of appropriate stem with

appropriate pre- and poststem elements. This combination derives from the particular metalinguistic subject-object correlation. Where the \emptyset morphs appear, they represent an occurrence of a "zero allomorph" of an element marked elsewhere as a recurring partial. For a complete analysis of the person, number, and class morphemes for both nouns and verbs, see Appendix C.

3.412. First and Second Person Object Prefixes

All of the prefixes discussed above involve actors of the three persons as subjects, but only third person objects. The following are the prefix forms which appear with objects of the first and second persons.

'a-	first and third person subjects and second singular objects
mān-	third person subjects and second dual objects
mā-	third person subjects and second plural objects
may-	second person subjects and first (sing., dual, plural) objects
ta-	third person subjects and first singular objects
'ān-	third person subjects and first dual objects
'i-	third person subjects and first plural objects; second and third singular subjects and third dual and plural objects
pān-	first person subjects and second dual objects; and first, second, and third dual subjects and third dual and plural objects
pi-	first person subjects and second plural objects; first, second, and third person plural subjects and third dual and plural objects; and first person singular subjects and third dual and plural objects

3.42. Verb Suffixes

Picurís verbs have suffixes which combine and specify both tense and aspect for the kind of activity described by the accompanying word base. There are three temporal positions: -hu present; -'an or -le, depending on the particular verb, past; and -xi future. Present information indicates that there are four marked mood distinctions: -mɔ existential (that something exists); -hu, 'an, -le, -xi stative (that something happens); -mɛn past durative (that the activity has duration); and -hɛn impending (that something is or was about to happen). The designation of some other moods, such as conditional, requires that an additional morpheme be placed immediately after the verb suffix, much like a second suffix. This "second suffix," however, will be considered of an order different from the preceding suffixes; its function will be discussed in Chapter IV. One other suffix, one marked by a zero allomorph, is frequently found in the text material and seems to mark a kind of indefinite past. Some examples of these suffixes are

/mɛhu/	'he is going'
/mɛ'an/	'he went'
/mɛcɨ/	'he will go'
/mɛmɛn/	'he was going'
/mɛhɛn/	'he is about to go'

/mɛ'ʌn'ʌn/	'if he went'
/mɛ/	'he went'
/tamʃ/	'I am (ready)'

All of the above suffixes belong to one paradigmatic set since any of them may be substituted for any of the others and result only in a change in the suffix-determined semological distinction. Another set of suffixes, however, is found to occur when one of the negation markers, -ya- or -wa-, appears. These suffixes have the following form: -pɔ future, -mɛn present, and -pu past. Examples of these are

/wamɛpɔ/	'he will not go'
/wamɛmɛn/	'he is not going'
/wamɛpu/	'he did not go'

This second set of suffixes also occurs with subordinate statements in Picurís.

3.43. Final Clitics

The examples included in the following sections and in the following three chapters come from the text material included as Appendices A and B. In each data list the Picurís is presented first, then its nearest English equivalent, and last, a number and letter designation corresponding to a line reference in the Appendices in which the expression is found.

A verb word also may contain a final clitic. The clitic occurs after the verb suffix in surface structure.

Its function is to add more specification to the verb expression. Consider these examples from the text material.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| (1) | tahəmən <u>wa</u> | 'he was taking me way out' | 20C |
| (2) | ti'əlmən <u>ha</u> | 'I was already driving' | 20E |
| (3) | taxiamə'ən <u>ha</u> | 'I was already ready' | 20B |
| (4) | tholkəmən <u>ha</u> | 'the sun was already setting' | 20E |
| (5) | wakiawia <u>ha</u> | 'it no longer is the mother' | 2P |

The clitic -wa 'way out' in (1) functions as an adverb to tell where 'he was taking me'. The clitic -ha 'already' in the next three expressions (2) - (4) also functions as an adverb telling when the verb activity was occurring. The same clitic -ha has a somewhat different connotation in (5) where it combines with the negation wa- to give the meaning 'no longer'.

The most commonly used clitic in Picurís is -yo. This clitic adds emphasis to its accompanying construction.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---|----|
| (1) | nəpupun <u>yo</u> | 'it happened/passed' | 8O |
| (2) | 'innəp'iamən <u>yo</u> | 'they laugh/talk' | 8M |
| (3) | 'innaywian <u>yo</u> | 'according to the custom;
their belief/way/custom' | 6J |
| (4) | mənək'owian <u>yo</u> | 'with good feeling' | 9M |
| (5) | kəhučiamən <u>yo</u> | 'as he is taken out for burial' | 7A |

Because greater emphasis can imply greater specificity, the -yo clitic is frequently found on relative clause

constructions. Consider the following examples in this regard.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| (6) | mo'eyo | 'that which looks' | 1F |
| (7) | 'innapupu'eyo | 'that which happened to them' | 8L |
| (8) | 'it'ake'eyo | 'that which they do' | 2I, 2L |
| (9) | yɔnt'əyo | 'this is the way' | 10A |

3.5. Particles

Besides the noun and verb expressions discussed in the previous two sections, there is one other set of basic expressions in Picurís--the particles. Particles may be viewed as free bases, for they appear unaccompanied in surface structure. That is, unlike nouns and verbs, they have no identifying affixes which distinguish them as belonging to any particular class in the language. The several different varieties of particles in Picurís are discussed below.

3.51. One subset of particles corresponds to what are frequently called "pronouns" in English. In Picurís these "independent pronouns" cross reference with first, second, and third person possessors or subjects, but they do not make any number distinctions.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------------------------|-----|
| (1) | nə | 'I; we (first person)' | 11L |
| (2) | 'ɛ | 'you (second person)' | 11K |
| (3) | 'ɛwɛn | 'he; she; it; they (third person)' | 1K |

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--|-----|
| (4) | nə ⁺ yo | 'I; we (first person, emphatic or specific)' | 14A |
| (5) | 'əwən ⁺ yo | 'he (third person, emphatic or specific)' | 15I |

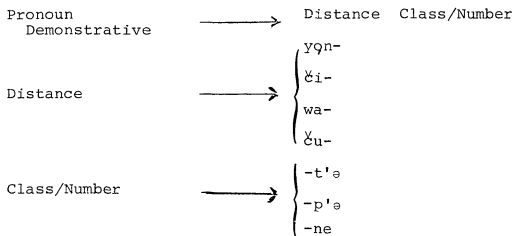
Notice in examples (4) and (5) that these particles can combine, through the plus juncture, with the -yo clitic. The resulting combination makes a more emphatic reference or one which connotes more specificity. In English this distinction is often made by changing the word stress pattern, as in "It ís him" vs. "it's hím."

3.52. Particles in the second subset are closely related to the first subset of particles, for they also function as "pronouns." These pronouns are similar to the "demonstrative pronouns" in English, "this, that, these, and those." In Picurís they cross reference with a noun or nouns, but, unlike the independent pronouns, they agree in number with the noun or nouns to which they refer. Reference also is made to the class of the noun. Examples (1) - (4) below make reference to nouns of Class A while examples (5) - (8) refer to nouns of Class B. Examples (5) and (6) refer to Class B singulars and (7) and (8) make reference to Class B nonsingulars.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|--|-----------|
| (1) | yɔnt'ə | 'this (Class A; person, animate object)' | 1G,
9J |
| (2) | čit'ə | 'that (Class A; person, animate object; near)' | 1J,
7L |

(3)	wat'ə	'that (Class A; person, animate object; not near)'	9F
(4)	čut'ə	'whoever; whichever; whatever'	1B, 7B
(5)	yɔmp'ə	'this (Class B)'	5I
(6)	čip'ə	'that (Class B)'	5M
(7)	činnə	'those (ones)'	6B, 8E
(8)	čune	'things; anyone'	8B, 8K

Even a cursory examination of these forms reveals a number of recurring partials which designate categories of semological interest. In each instance the first segment or morpheme specifies distance near to or away from the speaker, with yɔn- meaning 'here' (1) and (5); či- meaning 'near' (2), (6) and (7); wa- meaning 'not near' (3); and ču- meaning that distance is not specified (4) and (8). The other segment or morpheme in each expression indicates the class and number of the noun(s) referred to in the pronominal reference, here, -t'ə for Class A, -p'ə for Class B singular, and -ne for Class B nonsingulars. Phrase structure rules for these expressions are



Diagrammatically, these rules would appear as

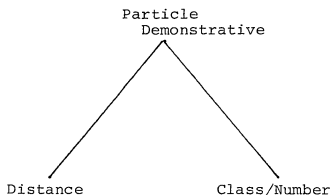


Figure 1

3.53. Particle words assigned to the third subset gloss as space concepts associated with either direction or distance. The following indications for direction are found in the text material:

(1)	tápupa	'east'	18D
(2)	té'opa	'north'	18D
(3)	ténɔn	'west'	18E, 7H
(4)	tákweθα	'south'	18E
(5)	húkwe	'southeast'	11A
(6)	wa ⁺ ténɔn	'southwest'	5J, 7J

There appears to be a recurring partial, tə-, in the first four forms. Native speakers were unable to segment out this partial. The same situation exists for the -kwe- partial in (4) and (5). It can be hypothesized, however, that tə- is related to the base in the word təəθα 'Village' (literally

meaning 'live-there'). Or, as Felicia Harben Trager has suggested, it may mean something like cardinal point (Trager and Trager 1970:34). Likewise -kwe would mean 'south'. Thus (4) would literally translate as 'place-south-there' and (5) a compound consisting of 'south' plus hu- which would connote the idea of 'southeast'. (6) is rendered literally 'place-west' in conjunction with a particle meaning 'far away', wa.

Examples from the text material of other distance or proximity particle words are

(1)	yj	'right there; right at'	12K, 13A
(2)	wa	'way over there'	4I
(3)	čiho	'(around) there'	2E, 11E
(4)	čitha	'there'	6H
(5)	thayo	'there (emphatic)'	1C
(6)	həw'aw	'(very) far away'	7N
(7)	yqhuy	'right here'	13I
(8)	yqhuyo	'right over here'	13N
(9)	yqhotayo	'right here (emphatic)'	17M
(10)	čihuyte	'from there'	7G
(11)	čithate	'from there'	8G
(12)	čihote	'from over there'	6G
(13)	thate	'from there'	2P
(14)	yqna'ay	'below here; down here'	12B
(15)	k'e'awkwil	'outside'	7F

Repeated here is a pattern similar to that found in the demonstrative pronouns (see section 3.52). Examples (7), (9), and (14) contain yɔ- which has a meaning that can be translated as 'here, next to the speaker'. Expression (1) yɪ also contains y- in initial position connoting immediacy, 'right there; right at'. It can be hypothesized that the -i- vowel in this example, and in (3), (4), and (10) - (12) represents the concept 'there, near or within sight of the speaker.' Combining this vowel with the y- would therefore convey the meaning 'right there'. Elsewhere the -i- vowel combines with initial ʃ- yielding the morpheme ʃi- 'there.'

Other elements give additional specificity. These include na'ay 'below; down' (14); -ho 'around; over' (3) (9); -tha 'there' (4), (5), (11), and (13), when specifically referring to a 'place' or particular 'spot'; -huy 'right (emphasis)' (7, (8), (10); as well as the clitics -yo for emphasis, (5), (8), (9); -ta 'in; at' (9); and -te 'from' (10) - (13). When -yo co-occurs with any of the other elements, -yo is always found in final position. Speakers were unable to further segment examples (6) and (15), hew'aw and k'e'awkwil, respectively. The following rule accounts for the various options for these forms:

Particles → Distance (Modifier) (Clitic) (Emphasis)
 Distance

Distance	→	{	tha
			yʔ
			ʕi
			wa
			həw
Modifier	→	{	-ho
			-tha
			-huy
			-na'ay
			-'aw
Clitic	→	{	-ta
			-te
Emphasis	→		-yo

3.54. Another subset of particles consists of words with a time reference. Numerous examples of these words appear in the text material. A listing of these forms follows:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------------|--------|
| (1) | thə | 'day' | 11B |
| (2) | thəllə | 'days' | 1H |
| (3) | ʕatthə | 'this day; today' | 11D |
| (4) | witthəleyo | 'for four days' | 7M, 8C |
| (5) | witthəlle | 'the fourth day' | 8O |

(6)	p'ənthələ	'the fifth day'	9E
(7)	thənnayo	'tomorrow; in one day'	12D
(8)	thəpiakən	'the next day'	7A
(9)	wəʎuxən	'the other day'	22A
(10)	huxən	'yesterday'	13B
(11)	maxə	'until; for'	1H
(12)	ɕan	'now; nowadays'	4C, 4D
(13)	ɕan'eha	'and then now'	7C
(14)	halo	'still'	4E
(15)	ɣəwtənyo	'later on; and shortly'	18J
(16)	heɕuwən	'at last'	14I
(17)	ɕun'akən	'long ago'	4C
(18)	hiawlotta	'early'	11F
(19)	wepannən	'sometimes'	6B
(20)	ɕutannən	'sometimes'	4E
(21)	mənʎoho	'then; maybe; and then'	11F, 11H, 11I
(22)	ʎoxomən	'once; then'	11A, 14D
(23)	hanko	'and then; then'	2M, 18P
(24)	wewe	'again'	2M
(25)	wewe'ən	'next time'	21B
(26)	ha	'then'	8N
(27)	hattə	'then'	2A
(28)	hayhən	'then'	2B
(29)	hayhənyo	'then'	1E, 5H

(30)	xuy	'then'	11N, 14A
(31)	hə'aytən	'and from there; after that'	13F
(32)	ha ⁺ nəwian	'during the night'	8J
(33)	nək'uthə ⁺ nək'uthəke	'once upon a time'	11A

Most of these words, but not all, appear to be single morphs. The first eight examples are a good case in point. Example (1) is an uninflected base representing the concept 'day'. Examples (2) - (3) illustrate the fact that the base, thə, in (1) can combine with both prebasal and postbasal elements. Notice that ca(t) 'this' and the numbers wi(t) 'four' and p'ənu 'five' precede the base thə, 'day' in (3) - (6); and ʔə, the plural marker, na 'in', and piakən, roughly 'when finished,' follow the base. Again -yo occurs in final position in (4) and (7). These elements are optional, but with their occurrence additional modifications accompany the base reference. A morphemic rule to summarize this information is

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Particle} \\ \text{Time} \end{array} \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{ca(t)-} \\ \text{wi(t)-} \\ \text{p'ənu-} \end{array} \right) \text{-b-} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{-le} \\ \text{-le} \\ \text{-na} \\ \text{-piakən} \end{array} \right) \text{(-yo)}$$

[thə]

with a phrase structure tree as

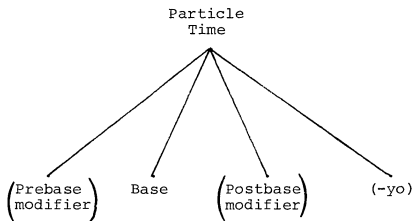


Figure 2

The prebasal modifier may be a demonstrative pronoun or a number and the postbase elements may consist of a plural marker, a clitic, and/or -yo. -Yo is placed as a separate node, for it has a separate and distinct function all its own. Throughout the grammar it is treated as a separate node since it is not subject to many of the rules of other categories of elements. It is very unrestricted in its occurrence, for it can appear with almost any expression in the language. However, when it does occur, it is in final position.

Examples (9) - (11) contain xę(n), but speakers did not acknowledge that this element had any meaning in and of itself. Example (13), čan'eha, contains the expression in (12), čan, with some additional grammatical material, in this case the relative clause marker, 'e (see section 6.4) and the coordinate clitic, ha 'and'. Similarly, example (25) wewe'aṅ contains example (24), wewe, plus the coordinate

clitic, 'an. Most of the other time concepts presented above do not yield to analysis, including (33) naḱ'uthe⁺naḱ'utheke 'once upon a time'. When questioned, speakers state that it is just the way you begin telling some of the stories. Thus, the translation given follows from the way fairy tales begin in English.

3.55. The next subset of Picurís particles does not fall into any one category. Rather, they are placed here because they do not fit elsewhere. A number of these particles do relate to one another, either in meaning or in function, and for this reason they will be clustered together. However, these particles do appear throughout the text material and function importantly as noun phrase and verb phrase modifiers or as important conjoining expressions.

Some of the more important noun phrase modifiers occurring in the texts are

(1)	wəṇ	'one'	7D
(2)	wesəṇ	'two'	5P, 7H
(3)	pačuwəṇ	'thirty-one'	1I
(4)	č'olowəṇ	'it is yellow'	1F
(5)	č'iake'ohəṇ	'a small one'	22D
(6)	waypa	'beside; by the side'	2N
(7)	k'owəṇyo	'the good (feeling)'	9N
(8)	k'owəṇ	'good'	9P
(9)	wel	'different'	6C

(10)	wel	'some'	2I, 2K
(11)	wel	'other'	12H, 12L
(12)	ha	'other'	2H
(13)	pəhə (n)	'all of them'	4G
(14)	čuta	'all of them'	5D
(15)	haw	'other'	2K
(16)	wo	'all'	7K
(17)	čiw	'all'	12L

The following are some of the more important verb phrase modifiers also found in the text material:

(18)	petha	'facing up'	5N
(19)	suytən	'softly; slowly'	7G
(20)	tən'e	'differently'	20H
(21)	wetən	'separate; apart'	1L
(22)	hənyo	'only'	1K

These verb modifying particles occur immediately preceding the verb or verbs which they modify.

The remaining group of terms in this subset consists of expressions with functions like some interjections, adverbs, introductory phrases, or conjunctions in English. They are

(23)	taxuy	'ok; very well'	12C
(24)	təxuyho	'very well; all right then'	11M
(25)	taxuyha	'all right then'	13Q

(26)	hoxuy	'very well'	12A
(27)	nəthia'ayyo	'very much'	14K
(28)	'owhən	'just; even'	22H
(29)	hal'ənhə	'maybe'	20A
(30)	thapa	'also'	1K
(31)	ho	'thus; this way'	90
(32)	hoyyo	'this is the way'	3B
(33)	hoko	'so; this'	21A
(34)	hokeyo	'so that is why'	8M
(35)	howən	'but'	4B
(36)	howənko	'but now'	5A
(37)	howənkowa	'but now, oh'	4E
(38)	howe'ən	'or else'	17M

There are four other particles which appear in the text material. These four may be referred to as "indefinite" pronouns. They are

(39)	wetən	'himself; herself (indefinite)'	11C
(40)	wənnən	'one at a time'	50
(41)	hota+mən	'the same thing'	12I
(42)	hetən	'something'	19D

3.56. The final subset of particles consists of words which have a grammatical function. Part of this group is equivalent to the wh- words in English--"who," "what," and

"why"--as well as variations of these words. Examples are

(1)	ho	'who'	11L
(2)	he	'what'	20F
(3)	hele	'what; whatever'	14J, 7B, 4L
(4)	heyo	'what'	17H
(5)	č ^v ohe	'what'	14A
(6)	hele'a	'by what'	11E
(7)	thahe'a	'or what'	20M
(8)	heleyi	'anything'	8K
(9)	həxəyo	'why'	11K

Each of these nine words has the structure //hV//, with o for the "who" form, e for the "what" forms, and ə for the "why" forms. Forms (3) - (8) consist of he 'what' and other morphemic material. The choice of appropriate morphophonetic modification depends upon the context and emphasis to be given to the form he. In most of the instances in the texts the particle precedes the subordinate clause (embedded sentence) and functions in some way to relate the subordinate clause to the independent clause. The details of their functioning will be explored when complex sentence constructions are discussed.

However, it is important to note that these same forms may take on a negative connotation when accompanied by a verb construction with a negative reference.

(10)	he	'nothing'	8N, 9L
(11)	hele	'no; none'	17E
(12)	wi ⁺ hele	'like nothing'	14F
(13)	ha	'no'	20

Other particles in this subset function to introduce a sentence, a subordinate clause, or a phrase. They are

(14)	męn	'so'	15H
(15)	xa	'and, then'	14J
(16)	xą	'that'	7J
(17)	thapa	'after; before'	7N
(18)	hiapa	'although'	15J
(19)	'ayxęn ... 'ąn	'if...'	2G and H, 2J
(20)	węm'a	'if one'	10B
(21)	thahe... 'a	'either ...or'	8E
(22)	thahe	'or'	8E
(23)	wihučun	'as many as'	15J, 15K
(24)	čoho ... 'a	'about'	7H
(25)	payo ... 'a	'by'	4B

Examples (14) and (15) appear with an independent clause: (16) - (20) and (23) with subordinate clauses; and (21), (22), (24), and (25) with noun phrases. Example (16) is used to introduce a subordinate clause which the speaker believes to be true or with which he/she is in agreement. Examples (19) and (20) both possess a conditional quality but they differ regarding the kind of expression which they

qualify. In the expression, 'Ayxən 'očone wia'an'an
'If it is a boy', 'ayxən precedes the noun phrase 'očone.
However, if a pronoun is used instead of a noun phrase, '-a
is used and is found to occur affixed and following the
pronoun, as in wəm'a+'itt'aypiw'an 'if one of their people
dies'.

The particles in (21), (24), and (25) are discontinuous, for along with the particle, in each instance an affix of '-a co-occurs. However, in each of these cases, the '-a is affixed to different types of expressions. In context they appear as

- (21) xiwlane+thahe+yoχene'a 'either wife or husband'
 (24) čoho+wesen+mile'a 'about two miles'
 (25) t'ayka'ane+payo+ikamia'a 'they are cured by Indian doctors'

In analyzing (21), it is instructive also to consider (22) above where thahe occurs without the accompanying 'a. It could be hypothesized that (21) is actually a sentence modifying the preceding Piwene+'aχaymo'e, also a sentence, both of which are embedded in a still larger construction. The details of Piwene+'aχaymo'e will be discussed in section 6.41 where it will be seen that this sentence partial also contains an embedded sentence. The '-a affixed to the second NP in (21) may be marking this fact in surface structure. (22) is not an embedded sentence, thus there is no '-a affixed to the NP following thahe.

This same hypothesis also may hold for the affixed 'a found in (24). In context it is found that the form in question is modifying a form which is modifying a third expression. Consider:

$\overset{x}{\text{Cihuyte}} | \text{tənq̃n} | \text{coho}^+ \text{wesen}^+ \text{mile}^+ \text{'a} | \dots$

All three of these expressions, each separated by a single bar juncture, function like "adverbs" in English. Notice, however, that the order is important; each succeeding term modifies the one immediately preceding it. A tree diagram of its structure would appear as in Figure 3. When the most deeply embedded Adverb Phrase, AdvP₃, is raised to the AdvP₂ node, a 'a is added to indicate the fact that the AdvP₃ is related to the whole AdvP₁. This situation gives rise to an important generalization: If any AdvP_{x+1} is raised to a dominant AdvP_x node, then $\wedge / -'a$ is added to the AdvP_{x+1} construction to note the fact. It is further stated that the 'a is a grammatical additive which coalesces phonologically, so that $\wedge / -'a$ from AdvP₃ & $\wedge / -'a$ from AdvP₂ to AdvP₁ yields not $\wedge / 'a - 'a$, but $/ - 'a /$.

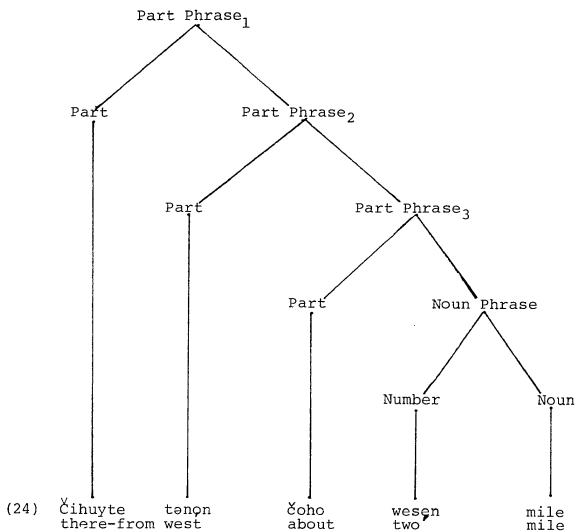


Figure 3

CHAPTER IV

PICURÍS SYNTAX

4.0. Introduction

Chapter III dealt with some common morphemes found in Picurís and the ways in which they combine to form nouns, verbs, and particles. These basic word constructions occur in higher level association with other basic word constructions and other grammatical material resulting in what are known as "syntactic" constructions. The term syntax is used to refer to the surface-level arrangements and underlying processes of grammatical construction. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the nature and variety of the syntactic constructions found in the texts used for this study.

4.1. Methodology for Picurís syntactic analysis

In this section on methodology the rationale is presented for the analytical approach utilized in this study, explanation for terminology employed, and description of the format followed in presenting the syntactic analysis.

4.1.1. Rationale

One of the primary objectives in this syntactic study of Picurís is the use of a descriptive method which

would allow not only direct comparisons to be drawn among all the Tiwa languages but also would permit the generation of explanatory hypotheses about Picurís syntax.

It was originally thought that the appropriate method for such an analysis would lie in the phonological approach of Trager and Smith (1951), and as used in Leap (1970). Since the other three Tiwa languages had been described using this method, a parallel description for Picurís would insure that future investigators could compare all four Tiwa languages without having to interpret from different analyses. The Trager-Smith phonological approach served the Tiwa scholars well since their purpose was to account for surface-level patternings and detail.

I considered the possibility of relying on a phonologically-based approach to Picurís syntax. This approach requires an explicit statement of the suprasegmental features of stress patterning and transition phenomena found in expressions in the language. The major corpus used in this study consisted of previously acquired and published material which did not specify suprasegmental features. Although Picurís speakers working with me did learn to read the Harrington text material, the suprasegmental features of their oral renderings did not conform to those they exhibited in natural conversation; frequently they paused when having difficulty pronouncing certain words, repeated words, and made false starts when in normal conversation

they would not have done so. Thus it was difficult to determine what were grammatical pauses and what were the results of reading errors or other miscues. The suprasegmental data necessary for a phonologically-based analysis either were largely unavailable or of questionable quality. Where they were available, my familiarity with Taos, Sandía, and particularly, Isletan Tiwa, affirmed the close structural similarity of Picurís to these other languages. It appeared to me that a phonologically-based syntax for Picurís would be little more than a restatement of what is known about the other Tiwa languages and not advance our understanding of Tiwa grammar in any meaningful way.

A further concern to me was that an approach be used which would allow analysis to go beyond description. There had been only a small number of people who had worked with the Tiwa languages and even fewer who had provided discussion or description of the syntactic structures of these languages. In "An Outline of Taos Grammar" (1946), George L. Trager made some general observations about Taos syntax and provided a few examples from a text. In a later article, "Taos IV: Morphemics, Syntax, Semology in Nouns and in Pronominal Reference" (1961), George L. Trager presented a more detailed analysis of Taos nouns and pronouns. His attention to syntax was primarily in relation to the cross-referencing system on the phrasal level. In his latest statement (1965), an unpublished manuscript, Trager again cited examples of

the kinds of "syntactic" units which occur in Taos, but made no systematic statement for Taos syntax.

To date there have been no syntactic statements published for either Sandía or Picurís. The first attempt at a systematic statement of the syntactic patterns of any language of the Tanoan subfamily has been that set forth by Leap (1970 and later) for Isletan Tiwa. A review of his work is in point at this time.

4.12. Isletan Syntax

In The Language of Isleta, New Mexico, Leap (1970:148) presented a phonologically-based analysis of the syntax of Isletan Tiwa. Given an utterance, he analyzed it into its grammatical components by observing the stress and transition patterns contained within the utterance structure. Each of the resulting components was treated in similar stress and transition terms.

The varieties of grammatical construction, as well as the level of construction within an utterance whole, were defined by reference to the kinds of operators that were involved in each construction's formation. The phrasal operator "combines two words into a phrase using appropriate minor transition, and reducing the primary stress on one component" (p. 148). The clausal operator "combines two phrases into a clause using appropriate minor transition, and retaining the stress qualities on both components"

(p. 148). Leap explained that the difference between the two operators lay in the kind of transition that was used to connect the material to be combined. Thus, the two expressions,

(1) yède, séanide. 'this one, the man'

and

(2) yède[†]séanide. 'this man'

differed, despite the fact that they had the same meta-linguistic referent. The two utterance portions of the first expression had been combined by the clausal operator, (´,´), while the two segments of the second expression were combined by the phrasal operator, (´+´). Leap (p. 151), following Trager, used the term "syntax" to refer to all instances of combination between bases. Leap (p. 151) distinguished three varieties of such combinations:

- a) compounding - the compounding of base and base as a preliminary part of word construction.
- b) phrasic combination - the combination of word elements (base with affixes), considered as phrasal components.
- c) clausal combination - the combination of phrase elements considered as clausal components.

Due to the phonological nature of the syntactic operators in these constructions, each combination involved

only two elements at a time. The resulting combination then functioned as a unit to combine with another component under an additional operator. This binary combination process continued until all elements had been combined. The details of the formation of the three varieties of syntactic constructions for Isletan Tiwa were then delineated.

Leap's subsequent discussions of Isletan syntax worked from a different perspective. In a brief presentation (1973), he discussed Isletan sentences in terms of phrase structure rules and transformational processes. He analyzed several sentences in terms of their obligatory and optional elements and accounted for their surface-level representations in terms of differing transformational rules.

From the same perspective, but in a more detailed treatment, Leap (1975) analyzed "negation" constructions in Isletan Tiwa. By examining them in the light of the total process of sentence formation, he concluded that negation was a syntactic phenomenon, not a morphemic phenomenon as previously considered. His analysis showed that Isletan Tiwa contained no negation element, abstract or otherwise in its deep structure, calling into question the assumption of a single Neg element in universal grammar. Negation was viewed as a syntactic consequence, as a subset of more general sentence detail. He reasoned that the locus in deep structure is Aux, which served other functions in other

environments; and the surface-level negative morpheme was an indicator that prefix deletion had occurred. "Negative reference" therefore emerged as a by-product of the deletion process.

In order to determine whether or not such a claim was Isletan-specific or more general, he turned to Navajo and English. Although the details of the analyses differed, Leap found that together they cast doubt upon the existence of negation as a universal category in natural languages. He believed that it was not justifiable to derive mechanically NEG as an abstract element out of any seemingly appropriate deep structure node. He concluded that the details of the place and function of NEG in the overall sentence formation/interpretation process had to be stated explicitly for each language.

Leap's analysis of Isletan Tiwa negation has demonstrated the utility of a generative model for the study of the Tiwa languages. The present work is designed not only to increase our knowledge of Tiwa syntax, but also, at the same time, to use an approach which, as yet, has seen limited application in the study of these languages.

4.13. Terminology

Because the approach used in this study differs from that used in most of the earlier Tiwa language descriptions, some problems arise in regard to terminology. Some

terms are specific to one approach or the other. Terms such as juncture, stress reduction, and phonological operators are generally associated with the Trager-Smith approach, while transformation, phrase-structure rules, and deep structure generally imply a transformational approach. In addition, some terms are shared by both approaches, for example, a distinction must be made between a surface-level verb phrase and a verb phrase as a component in deep structure since there is not a one-to-one correspondence.

For convenience, the terminology used in the Picurís discussion will follow that of Chomsky (1965), as it has become widely used and accepted. When comparisons are made with other Tiwa languages, discrepancies in terminology will be noted.

4.14. Procedure

The Picurís syntactic data to be discussed in this chapter come from the text material included as an appendix to this study. All of the grammatical material and construction types contained in these texts will be delineated and discussed. Following each Picurís expression is a line reference to the text material. By consulting the referenced material, the reader will understand better those grammatical details which are revealed only when viewed in context.

To the extent possible this discussion will proceed from basic to more complex constructions. In general, the

approach being used here employs a generative model. The basic nouns will be presented first since many of the basic rules are clearly illustrated by these constructions. The nouns will be followed by a tree diagram of their structure and the phrase structure and transformational rules which account for them. Next, verbs, particles, and more complex constructions will be analyzed in the same manner. The study will conclude with a summary statement of all the phrase structure and transformational rules discussed in the analysis.

4.2. Nouns

As was stated in section 3.3, nouns in Picurís are distinguished by the morphemic suffixes /-ne -n^ŷ -m^ŷ/ which accompany and immediately follow a base. The text material in the appendix provides numerous examples of simple nouns. For convenience, they are listed below:

<u>Class A</u>	<u>-ne</u>		
Yiwene		'woman'	1A
səne		'man'	7D
Yiwlane		'wife'	8E
YoYene		'husband'	8E
kiane		'mother'	2H
'o'one		'child'	1B
'opeyone		'girl'	2H
'oŷone		'boy'	2J

t'apiakane	'priest'	4K
piwene	'dead person'	6A
p'ayčelkone	'Cricket'	11B
toxwiane	'Coyote'	11B
kalene	'food'	1K
'i'ine	'corn'	1F
t'ala'ene	'work'	2I
t'uylene	'ceremony'	7L
wa'ane	'life'	9N
p'á'áne	'water'	6G
tholene	'sun'	5K
nɔwiane	'night'	12F
thoɣane	'evening'	8I
p'ɟne	'road'	5K
<u>Class C and B Plural -nɣ</u>		
ɣiwenɣ	'women'	3B
t'ay'enɣ	'people'	4A
sənenɣ	'men'	18J
xiačonɣ	'fetishes'	2F
p'asiačianɣ	'ghosts'	9C
kə́'snɣ	'bears'	12L
xənɣanɣ	'lions'	12L
xənč'elanɣ	'wildcats'	12L
kal'enɣ	'wolves'	12K

kakkaphoyonǾ	'bumblebees'	12G
pumele'enǾ	'wasps'	12G
pumele'enǾ	'winged stingers'	12H
Ǿ'olmolenǾ	'honey bees'	12G
mǾxe'enǾ	'fingers'	5P
p'axwinǾ	'springs'	6F
<u>Class B Singular -mǾ</u>		
ǾǾ'amǾ	'song'	5I

There is only one instance of a Class B singular noun /ǾǾ'amǾ/ 'song' in its absolute form in the text material. Whether this fact reflects the specific content of the stories or is an observation about the relative status of Class B singular nouns in Picurís is a question that will have to await further research. Felicia Harben Trager (1970) has suggested, and I suspect, that the traditional Tiwa noun class system is being reworked along the lines of the Spanish or English "singular-plural" system, with Class A as the "singular" and Class C as the "plural."

The nouns listed above are all single words, for each contains only one base with an "inherent" tone and one primary stress. Their suffixes distinguish them as belonging to one of three noun classes, and many of them contain the stem extension elements discussed in section 3.31. Their bases never appear unaccompanied, hence, they are bound bases. The absolute form in which they appear

above is their simplest form and will be considered as a basic unit of syntactic construction.

4.21. Phrase-words

When more than one base occurs in an expression with a single primary stress and with the accompanying inflectional and/or derivational affixes belonging to only one of them, the resulting construction is referred to as a "compound" or phrase-word. The text material contains examples of several different varieties of phrase-words. In the phrase-word, p'ep'á'ánǎ 'Christians' (literally, head-water-B) [6J], the base /p'e/ of the term p'e'emǎ 'head' is added to the base /p'à-/ of p'à/áne 'water'. The two bases are then combined with phrase-word superfix ([~]+[~]), the stem extension /'a/, and the Class B nonsingular suffix -nǎ. Likewise, the above holds for the expression t'aykǎ'áne 'Indian curers/doctors' [4B], where the base /t'ay/ of t'ay'éne 'Indian' is added to the base /kǎ/ of kǎ'áne 'curer' and the two are combined with the phrase-word superfix ([~]+[~]), the stem extension /'ǎ/, and the Class B nonsingular suffix -nǎ. In these two instances, two nouns are combined to form a new one.

In the phrase-word constructions kálǎǎye 'old wolf' [18K] and p'aǎm'ene 'warm water' [1K], the base of a noun is added to the base of another type of word, a particle, in order to modify the meaning of the noun base. These

last two examples differ in two ways from those in the paragraph above: (1) p'ep'â'âně and t'aykâ'âně are the result of the combination of two nouns while kâlχóŷe and p'aŷum'ene are the result of the combination of a noun and a particle, and (2) the order of surface-level components is different. In the case of the combination of two nouns, it appears that the noun that is being modified occurs after the noun that is modifying it, whereas the reverse is true when the combination is between a noun and a particle. Although the meaning is primarily semological in nature, it is of syntactic interest in terms of surface-level arrangements and the rules which underlie those arrangements.

In this connection the term čep'ayhiakâ'âně 'white doctors' (literally, eye-green-curers) [4D] is of interest, for it contains three separate bases, two noun bases, če 'eye' and kâ 'curer', and one particle, p'ayhia 'green'. If kâ is considered the focal point or head of the total noun construction, then it appears that modifying nouns occur before each base. On the other hand, if the modifying base is a particle, then in surface structure it will occur in a position immediately following the noun it modifies, as in kalχole, p'aŷum'ene, and čep'ayhiakâ'âně.

Meaning and context aside, it is suspected that such rules and arrangements allow the hearer to know that p'ayhia 'green' is modifying če 'eyes' and that the two,

as a unit, are modifying kâ 'curers' rather than some other combination of units. Because of the difference in position of modifying nouns and particles in surface structure, a transformational (T-) rule must be set up which will move nouns and particles to other positions in deep structure. If, for example, in deep structure modifying elements precede the elements which they modify, the display of čep'ayhiakâ'anč would appear as shown in Figure 4 and a T-rule would be required to invert če and p'ayhia under the NP₂ node before that NP₂ is combined in NP₁ to produce the proper construction. The expressions naḳwət'ay'enč 'four-legged beasts' [12J] and homaxot'ay'enč 'beasts of prey' [12M] may be similarly analyzed.

Noun phrase-words may also be composed of a combination of verb bases or of noun and verb bases, for example, in the expressions piwḡenene 'the throwing away of death' [7L], t'ayhəllene 'sick person' [4K], and p'jḳuyča'amč 'making the road song' [5I]. It was noted in section 3.2 that word construction types in this language are distinguished according to the varieties of accompanying affixal elements or their absence. This statement applies to phrase-word constructions as well as single words and is the reason why the above expressions are considered phrase-word nouns rather than verbs. Because the expression piwḡenene contains the Class A suffix /-ne/, it is classed as a noun expression. However, the two bases from which

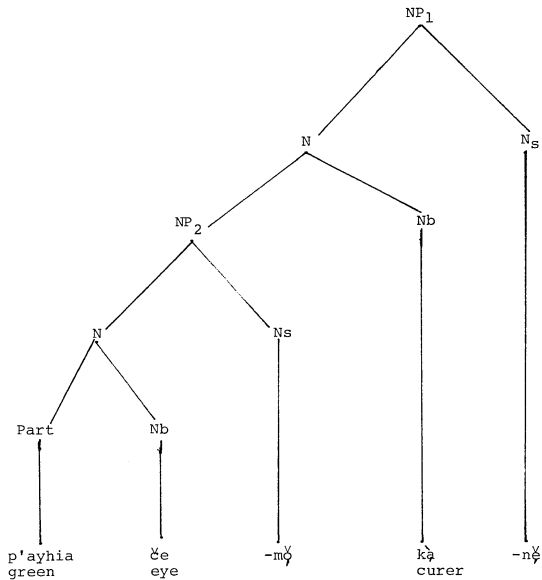


Figure 4

it is derived, piw and pən, are frequently found in verb constructions, although not exclusively, for piwene 'dead person' occurs just as frequently in the text material.

How do these verb-based, phrase-word nouns compare with those containing nouns and particles? The three examples cited above suggest that the same rules apply for the modifying verb bases as for the modifying particles and that these rules operate from a similar deep structural display, as the example p'ikuyčā'amŏ illustrates in Figure 5.

Again, a T-rule would move /p'ɨ-/ to the position in front of the base kuy as it did with particles under the NP₂ node before it was raised to the NP₁ node and the surface-level construction closed. This being the case, a more inclusive rule may be set up. This rule would state that verb bases or particles modifying nouns appear in a position following the nouns they modify.

The question then arises whether the NP₂ expression, p'ikuy 'laying the road', should be considered as a noun and therefore be positioned before the base /ča-/ or considered as a verb or particle which must be positioned after /cà-/ in surface structure. The other two examples, t'ayhəllene and piwəne, provide insights into this question.

The expressions t'ayhəllene and piwəne have the following structure: noun base-modifying verb base--Class A suffix /-ne/. This is represented as shown in Figure 6.

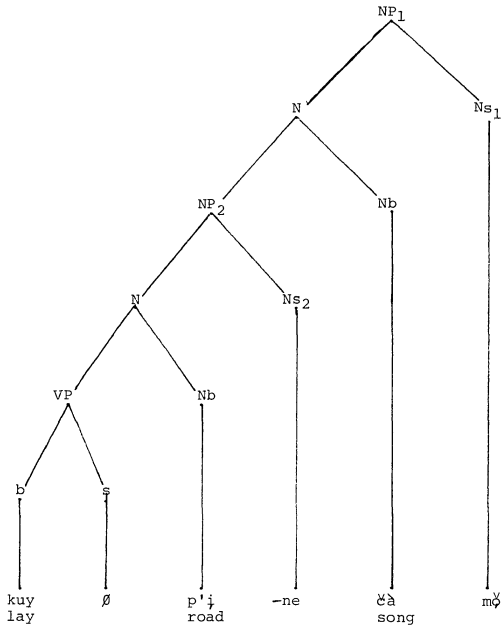


Figure 5

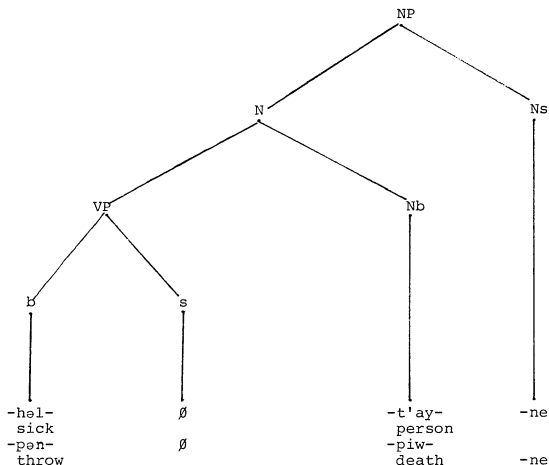


Figure 6

This deep structural display corresponds to the display under NP_2 in Figure 5 and would suggest that (1) the two deep structural displays are structurally alike and (2) the noun class suffix is a separate component of the whole structure entity. Thus, p'ɨkuy('ene) would be a lower level component of p'ɨkuyčà'ámǝ, and, as such, would be classified as a noun. It is therefore predictable that p'ɨkuy('ene) is found preceding the noun it modifies, here, čà'ámǝ. When the NP under the NP_2 construction is combined with the NP_1 node, the NP_2 noun class suffix is deleted and

the total construction is closed by the more dominant NP₁ noun class suffix.

Felicia Harben Trager (1968:48) noted that the last noun base in a compound word determines the noun class of the word. Observing the surface-level detail she noted that the word for "hand" is màné^om, the word for "finger" is màxê'ene, and the word for "thumb" is màxê'+^oYá'ene, with "hand," Class B singular; "finger" and "thumb," Class A. Morphemically, Felicia Harben Trager (1968:47-48) segmented these words into the following components:

/màné^om/ = /màn- 'hand'; /-e- stem extension; /-m^o Class B sg. noun; /^o word-superfix.

/màxê'ene/= /mâ-, allomorph of /màn-, 'hand'; /xê- "seed, part"; /-'e- stem-extension; /-ne class A sg. noun; /^o word-superfix. This translates literally as 'hand-part'.

/màxê'+^oYá'ene/= /màxê-/ 'finger'; /Yá- 'big'; /-e-, /-ne; /^o+^o word-superfix. This is literally 'big finger'.

In terms of the present analysis, the structural displays for these terms are shown in Figures 7, 8 and 9. Màné^om occurs with its Class B suffix as a single word, but when it is combined as a modifying noun or noun phrase into a larger noun construction, its Class B suffix and extension element are deleted. Because of this deletion

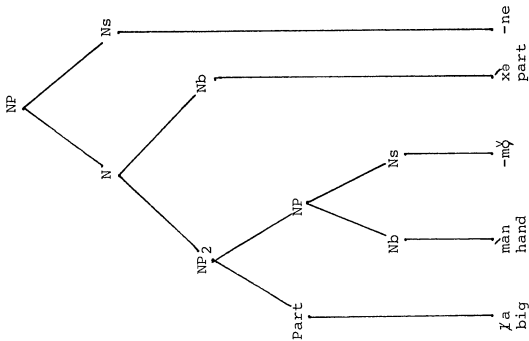


Figure 9

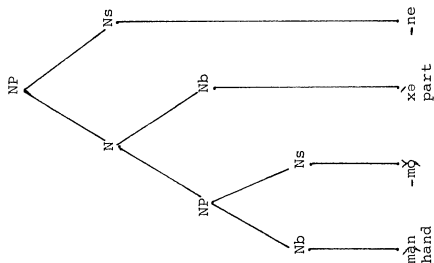


Figure 8

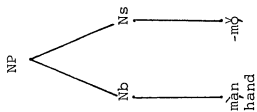


Figure 7

rule, and because a verb base such as /-həl-/ in t'ayhəllene or a particle such as /-ɣa-/ in māxə⁺ɣá'ene may occur as an element between a noun base and its noun class suffix, it is best to treat these suffixes as separate elements.

4.22. Noun Phrases

The expressions discussed in section 4.21 were considered compound or phrase-words because each one contained a single primary stress and inflectional and/or derivational affixes which belonged to one of the two or more bases found in each expression. When a single word or phrase-word identified as a noun is combined with additional grammatical material, one result may be a noun phrase. The varieties of grammatical material and the ways in which they combine with noun words or phrase-words to yield noun phrases will be described and diagrammed below.

4.221. Noun-Clitic Forms

Consider the following expressions:

(1)	t'aɣə' <u>aw</u>	' <u>on</u> his/the ears'	14E
(2)	ɣamɔ' <u>aw</u>	' <u>on</u> his/the mouth'	14E
(3)	če' <u>aw</u>	' <u>on</u> his/the eyes'	15A
(4)	p'ɪn' <u>aw</u>	' <u>in</u> the mountains'	12K
(5)	tə' <u>aw</u>	' <u>in</u> the Village'	6C
(6)	thəm' <u>aw</u>	' <u>at</u> home'	14O

(7)	č'ə'ay	' <u>on</u> his/the face'	5H
(8)	then'ay	' <u>at</u> his/the house'	14C
(9)	p'a'ay	' <u>by/at</u> the river'	12C
(10)	mānna	' <u>in/into</u> his/the hands'	5E
(11)	χamōna	' <u>in</u> his/the mouth'	6E
(12)	mesatonna	' <u>in</u> the church'	9D
(13)	t'ɨ'oma	' <u>in</u> a pottery dish'	5O
(14)	wayma	' <u>on</u> his/the side'	7B
(15)	četa	' <u>in</u> his/the eyes'	14E
(16)	p'ape	' <u>to, toward</u> the river'	15C
(17)	theppe	' <u>to</u> the house'	2M
(18)	p'immakwil	' <u>up to</u> the mountains'	18B
(19)	thəmmakwil	' <u>up</u> the hill home'	12E
(20)	p'aykwiw	' <u>down to</u> the river'	7P
(21)	māmpa	' <u>with</u> his paws'	15B
(22)	p'aχiawkwepa	' <u>to the other side</u> of <u>the river</u> '	13J

All of these noun expressions consist of a base followed by a (+), followed by a kind of "suffix." However, the "suffixes" which occur in these expressions are not the same as those which occur with these same bases in their absolute forms. This indicates that these morphs may not be suffixes but rather some other kind of grammatical material.

In Isletan Tiwa a set of morphs occurs which is similar in meaning and form to the Picurís morphs discussed

above. These morphs in Isletan Tiwa are referred to by Leap (1970:135) as clitics. In the remainder of section 4.221, Picurís data are examined to determine if the Picurís morphs may not be considered also to be clitics rather than suffixes.

The defining characteristic of Isletan Tiwa clitics is that they are recurring morphs which occur attached to complete words. The morphs from the Picurís examples above which appear similar to Isletan clitics differ in that they generally occur attached to bases, not to complete words. For Isletan Tiwa the deep structural display for a noun-clitic form would be that in Figure 10, where Nb means noun base, Ns means noun suffix, and Cl means clitic.

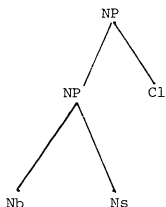


Figure 10

It can be hypothesized that the same deep structural display underlies Picurís noun-clitic constructions. However, to realize the Picurís surface structure in which the

"clitic" attaches to bases rather than complete words, the noun class suffix must be deleted and filled in surface structure by a zero allomorph (\emptyset). Doing so, the lineal string of surface-level elements would remain intact and elements like /-'ay -aw -pe/ would maintain their own comparative status as clitics. Structurally, a model of these words would have the following form, Nb-(Ns)-Cl. The -Ns- position would be filled by \emptyset and the -Cl element would then be fulfilling the criterion of occurring attached to a complete word. Word is defined here as base plus suffix. Such a format would allow the position immediately following the base or stem to be reserved exclusively for the noun class suffixes. Thus, the Picurís forms in question do not differ fundamentally from clitics in Isletan Tiwa and, in this study, are referred to by the same term.

Further justification for the model presented above comes from two other sources. Two Picurís expressions found in the text material comprise the first source--the expressions t'ay'ené'aw 'among the people' [4D] and kalene'ay 'on the wolf' [18A]. Structurally, these two expressions contain the components which the model predicts, or rather those that are found in deep structure: a base followed by a noun class suffix, followed by a (+) juncture and a clitic. The reason why the noun class suffixes have not been deleted in these instances remains to be determined, but, the examples themselves lend credibility to the kind

of analysis presented above. Similarly, the same conclusion can be drawn from three other expressions found in the text. The expressions highway⁺ay 'on the highway' [20C], basket⁺na 'in a basket' [22F] and Foodway⁺pe 'to Foodway' [22A] all contain an English loanword and what is now called a clitic. The consultant attached the elements /-ay -na -pe/ to the English words in an automatic fashion suggesting that this is a normal grammatical process in Picurís.

4.222. Compound Base Nouns Plus Clitic

The same ideas and principles of suffix deletion apply to compound base nouns. Four examples from the text material will illustrate this type of construction. They are the following:

(23)	'o' <u>owayma</u>	' <u>beside</u> the child'	1F
(24)	kan' <u>inpe</u>	' <u>to</u> Buffalo Tracks'	11D
(25)	kan' <u>in'ay</u>	' <u>at</u> Buffalo Tracks'	11A
(26)	čiw ^x wəthə' <u>ay</u>	' <u>at</u> the Eagle Tail Pile'	11B

The tree diagram for the first three examples would include two bases and two noun class suffixes in deep structure (Figure 11), while the display for the fourth example would include three bases and three noun class suffixes (Figure 12). Generally, one or more examples are used in a tree diagram to represent all examples described by that tree.

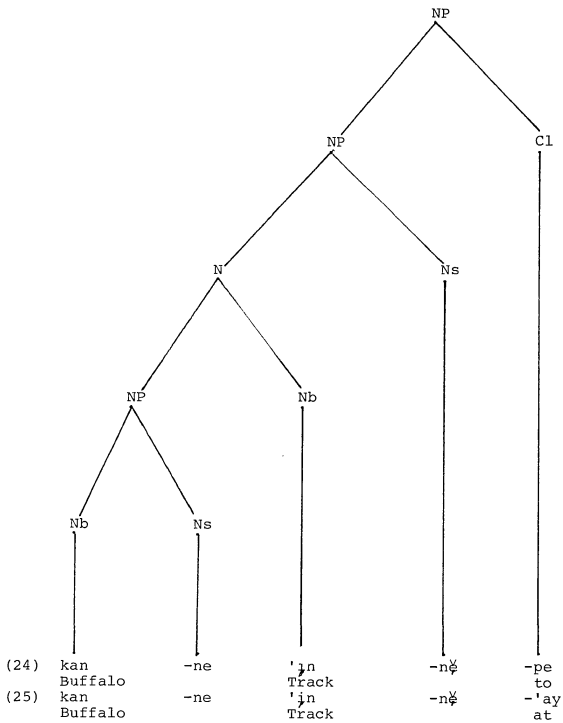


Figure 11

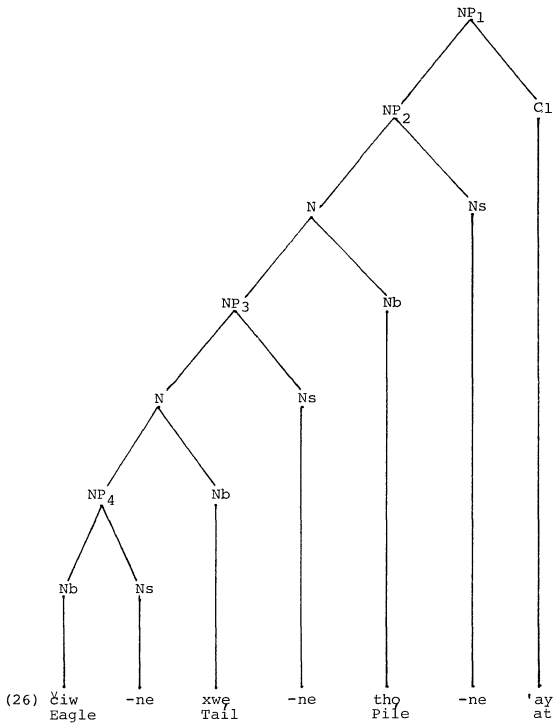


Figure 12

As before, a transformation to delete the noun class suffixes must apply each time one of the combinations is made, either between nouns or between noun(s) and clitic. This transformation is presented as T₄ in Chapter VII.

The next set of expressions contains only one base but two or more clitic forms:

(-7)	nōpin'aw	' <u>in the middle of</u> the night'	180
(28)	tumō'aw	' <u>all over</u> his/the body'	14E
(29)	p'jwaytha	' <u>there beside</u> the road'	11H
(30)	p'ikk'ētha	' <u>to</u> the mountain <u>top</u> '	18C
(31)	p'ānapittha	' <u>there in the middle</u> of the floor'	6I
(32)	t'awk'ēta	' <u>in the top</u> of the piñon tree'	18M
(33)	p'axwināte	' <u>from (in)</u> the spring'	6G
(34)	mesatonāte	' <u>from (in)</u> the church'	9B
(35)	k'olomāte	' <u>from (in)</u> the gourd'	17G
(36)	phal'awte	' <u>from inside</u> (the houses)'	19C
(37)	tēthate	' <u>there from</u> Picurís/the village'	1A
(38)	thək'ē ^v citate	' <u>there from the top</u> of the house'	18I

The deep structural display for expressions (27) - (37) might look like either Figure 13 or Figure 14.

To determine if Figure 13 or Figure 14 is more accurate depends largely upon whether the clitics are regarded as two separate clitics or as one compound clitic.

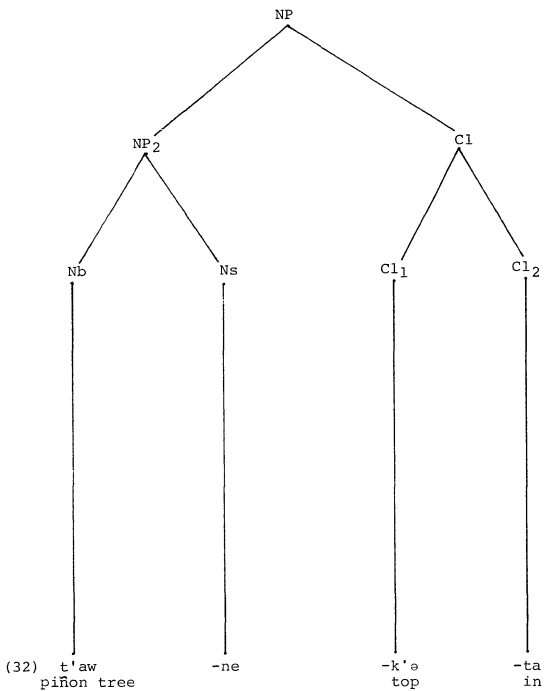


Figure 13

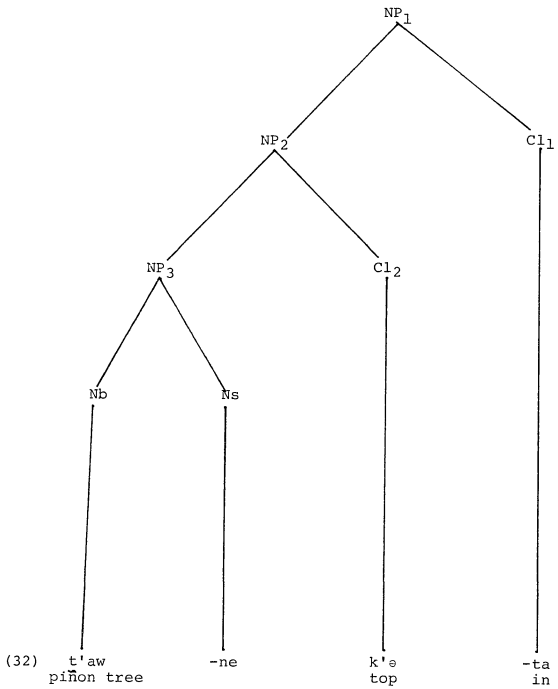


Figure 14

The data above provide at least one minimal contrast: mesatonna 'in the church' (12) and mesatonate 'from in the church' (34). In the first example only the /-na/ clitic is found, while in the second example both /-na/ and /-te/ occur. The /-te/ 'from' clitic changes the meaning of the expression from 'in the church' to 'from in the church,' but it makes this change by an addition, not a substitution as in English. What appears to be happening in Picurfs is further modification or qualification of one NP by another. This is accomplished by the embedding in deep structure of one clitic NP into another, as is illustrated in Figure 15. The surface-level representation of this embedding process appears as a string of clitics following a noun base. Furthermore, the data suggest that /-te/ never appears alone, but always following some other clitic form suggesting that the /-te/ must modify or qualify some other situation or condition, as examples (32) - (35) explicitly illustrate. When asked if several of the above expressions could be given without the first clitic, consultants confirmed that /-te/ cannot occur without a preceding clitic. For these reasons, it is suggested that Figures 13 and 14 describe the linguistic facts more clearly than does Figure 12, and they are used in the remainder of this study.

4.223. Other Clitics

The clitics discussed above basically function as locational or directional indicators. However, clitics may

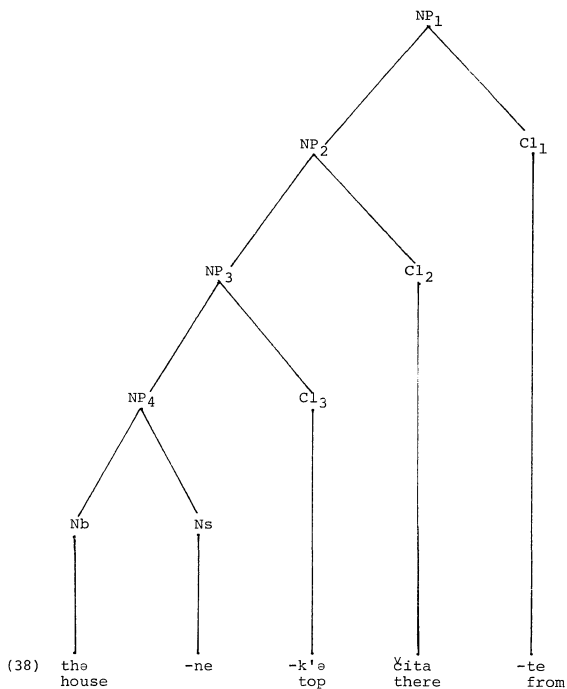


Figure 15

perform other functions as the following expressions will illustrate:

(1)	'očiw	' <u>including</u> children'	70
(2)	senʒiwphil	'men <u>and</u> women'	6N
(3)	Margaret'ən	'Margaret <u>with</u> (I)'	22B
(4)	phil'ən	' <u>with</u> them (2)'	22D
(5)	kuymayo	' <u>it</u> lay <u>beside</u> '	1E
(6)	wečepatayo	' <u>on</u> both sides'	6L
(7)	phaltahənyo	' <u>inside</u> their houses'	17C
(8)	'ohophillo	' <u>with</u> cedar sprigs'	7E

Expressions (1) - (4) contain a clitic which functions as a kind of "conjuncting" unit. The displays for these expressions do not significantly differ from those illustrated by Figures 10 and 14; the only difference is semological.

Again, it can be noted that no noun class suffixes appear in examples (1) or (2), and /-'ən/ is affixed to the English name Margaret in (3). Expression (4) deserves some further comment. Here, the clitic appears before the pronoun /-ən/ 'them' (2). It can be hypothesized that the surface-level positioning of the elements in this example is due to the fact that the /-'ən/ clitic occurs with a particle rather than a noun. See section 4.222 for an analogous situation with compound words.

Expressions (5) - (8) contain a /-yo/ clitic in final position. This clitic functions in a way that makes the

expression to which it is attached be more emphatic or definite. Speakers sometimes translate /-yo/ as 'the one' or 'it is'. In its occurrence, /-yo/ is unrestricted, for it is found in virtually all varieties of expression in the language. In the examples listed above, /-yo/ occurs after the following: noun-clitic phrases (6) and (8); a verb-clitic phrase (5); and a particle-clitic phrase (7). In (8) it appears as /-lo/ instead of /-yo/ due to phonological conditioning. It may appear postfixed to a simple or compound noun in absolute form, but the noun class suffix is retained when this occurs and appears in the surface-level expression. An example from the text is 'i'ineyo 'the corn' [1G], but it may occur on any noun in absolute form--seneneyo, xa'emoyyo, etc. Consequently, it is necessary to distinguish this particular clitic from the others, for the combination of /-yo/ with nouns in absolute form does not require the noun class suffix deletion rule. Otherwise, the underlying structure of this clitic is similar to that of other clitics in the language.

There is another set of words in the language in which the clitic appears to have "fossilized." Consider the following expressions:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| (1) | thək ⁺ ke | 'in the morning' | 9F |
| (2) | thol ⁺ ʒane | 'in the evening' | 20D |
| (3) | nɔ̄ ⁺ kwil | 'all through the night' | 60 |
| (4) | nɔ̄ ⁺ wian | 'during the night' | 8J |

When seeking to break down these expressions it was discovered that what appeared to be clitics could not be deleted and leave viable expressions in the language. For example, the word for 'morning' is the same as 'in the morning' (1). The other examples may be similarly analyzed. All of these examples are related to times of the day.

4.23. Summary

In Chapter III the basic structure of a noun was presented. In this section it was shown how basic noun material is combined with various other grammatical material to produce noun phrase-words and noun phrases in the language. Although it was shown that each of these forms displays considerable complexity in deep structure, through the operation of a generalized deletion rule, the surface-structure manifestations are often collapsed into single surface-level expressions. In the next section, verbs and verb constructions will be analyzed in a similar fashion.

4.3. Verbs and Verb Constructions

In Picurfs the characteristic which distinguishes verbs from the other word types, nouns and particles, is the occurrence of any single element from one of two general paradigms of suffix forms with the word base. The suffix forms from one of the paradigms (Set I) indicate affirmative and independent statements while the suffix forms from the

other paradigm (Set II) indicate subordinate statements (including negation).

These Picurís suffix forms combine and specify both tense and aspect for the kind of activity described by the accompanying word base. Mood (mode) and voice also are indicated in the verb complex. When used here, tense refers to a verbal category which specifies the time of the action. It is a grammatical label for the relationship expressed and may not always correspond to the natural or generally accepted meaning of past, present, and future. Such a situation also obtains for English. Under certain conditions a past tense marker may refer to a present or future time as well as past time, as is illustrated by the Aux did in the following three sentences:

- (1) If he did his chores regularly, he would have more time to play.
- (2) If he did his chores tomorrow, then he may go to the show today.
- (3) He did his chores yesterday.

Aspect refers to the duration or completion of an action rather than to its time relationship. An action may be completed or incomplete. The former is called perfective; the latter is referred to as imperfective or durative. The term durative will be used in this discussion in order to be consistent with other Tiwa descriptions. For the

same reason, perfective will not be specified. If durative is not indicated, perfective is implied.

Mode is a verbal category which reflects the perspective of the speaker on the action. Picurís suffixes indicate at least two modes--indicative and imperative. The indicative mode indicates that the speaker presents the material with assurance and the imperative mode indicates that the speaker commands or requests some action.

Voice is a category which specifies how the subject is related to the action expressed by the verb. Picurís has both an active and a passive voice. The active voice indicates that the surface-level subject performs the action expressed by the verb. The active voice is unmarked in surface structure. The passive voice indicates that the surface-level subject undergoes the action expressed by the verb. Passive verb constructions are explicitly marked in surface structure by one of several allomorphs of a passive morpheme.

All of these verbal categories are implicitly or explicitly represented in every verb construction, from the single verb-words to the more complex including compounds, phrases, and clauses. These verbal categories and grammatical types will be discussed in subsequent sections.

4.31. The Verb-Word

The most basic verb form in Picurís consists of a base, a tense-aspect-mode suffix, and a pronominal

reference prefix. All three of these elements are essential. For a discussion of the verbal prefixes see section 3.411. Voice is indicated in surface structure only when the form in question is passive (see section 6.5). The most basic (and most common) time references for the suffixes in Picurís are the present, future, and past tenses expressed through the indicative mode and the active voice. Perfective and durative aspects are also common. In surface structure, the present indicative is indicated by the suffix /-hu/, the future indicative by the suffix /-ǂi/, and the past indicative by the suffix /-'ǎn/, or, less commonly, the suffix /-le/. Which of the two past indicative forms is to be used is entirely dependent upon the particular verb base used since the difference between the two suffixes is allomorphic rather than morphemic. The following are tense/aspect examples from the text material:

Present Indicative: ʌ/-hu

(1)	sɔŋ <u>hu</u>	'he/she drinks, is drinking'	1K
(2)	mɔ <u>hu</u>	'he/she goes, is going'	2M
(3)	'owələ <u>lehu</u>	'he/she leaves, goes out; is leaving, is going out'	9B
(4)	t'ah <u>u</u>	'he/she does, is doing'	12J
(5)	tɔ <u>hu</u>	'he/she says, is saying'	11C
(6)	'itɔ <u>hu</u>	'they say, are saying'	13E

(7)	' <u>ɸmɛhu</u>	'he/she tells him, is telling him'	5A
(8)	' <u>ʔa'ɸmɛhu</u>	'I tell you, am telling you'	17L
(9)	' <u>i'ɸmɛhu</u>	'he/she says to them, is saying to them'	12O
(10)	' <u>ipolaset'ahu</u>	'they pray together, are praying together'	8I
(11)	' <u>imaɕihu</u>	'they talk about, are talking about'	8M

Future Indicative: ʌ/-ɕi

(12)	tame ^ɕ <u>ɕi</u>	'I must/will go'	14M
(13)	mame ^ɕ <u>ɕi</u>	'you must/will go'	15N
(14)	mapɸhame ^ɕ <u>ɕi</u>	'you must/will all go'	15P
(15)	' <u>ɸɕi</u>	'he must/will stay'	9E
(16)	mahu ^ɕ <u>ɕi</u>	'you must/will lead'	9N
(17)	' <u>ʔahan(n)ɸɕi</u>	'I will eat you up'	17M

Past Indicative: ʌ/'ʔan or -le

(18)	' <u>ʔanɿiw'ʔan</u>	'we (2) went down'	22A
(19)	' <u>ɸ'ʔan</u>	'she sat'	18M
(20)	' <u>ixwia'ʔan</u>	'he called them'	12G
(21)	<u>panmon'ʔan</u>	'we (2) saw them (2)'	22C
(22)	<u>wile</u>	'she climbed'	18G

Other frequently occurring verb suffixes are the past and future tenses of the durative aspect. Verb expressions

which contain these suffixes specify activities which are of an ongoing or continuous nature. There is no present durative suffix since all activity in the present is expressed by the present indicative suffix /-hu/, as examples (1) - (11) indicate. The past durative suffix is /-mən/ and the future durative suffix is /-hən/. The final nasal consonant of these suffixes may or may not be expressed, a situation which is not surprising given that the use of nasalization in Picurís is in a state of flux. Many examples which contain these durative suffixes are found in the text material.

Past Durative: /-mən

(23)	ti'q̄m̄m̄n	'I was telling/saying to her'	22G
(24)	tawen̄n	'I stopped/was stopping'	20J
(25)	tapim̄n	'I was afraid'	20E
(26)	tayt'am̄n	'I was doing it'	20H
(27)	'iʎiw̄m̄n	'he was biting them'	14F
(28)	'i'q̄m̄m̄n	'he was saying to them'	9J
(29)	'it̄m̄n	'they were telling him'	8N
		'they were saying it'	6F
(30)	'ikont'am̄n	'they were buying it'	22C
(31)	'ux̄aȳam̄n	'they named/were naming them, while naming'	6F
(32)	n̄q̄'āmm̄n	'he was doing it'	7F
(33)	č̄om̄n	'he was passing, while passing'	11I

Future Durative: /-hən

(34)	<u>təmehən</u>	'he was going/about to say'	13P
(35)	<u>tapočanhə(n)</u>	'I am going across to see'	13J
(36)	' <u>ipiwəhəy</u>	'like they are going/about to die'	4H
(37)	'ip'amolokole <u>hən</u>	'she was about to pick up the water jars'	17F
(38)	'o'okole <u>hən</u>	'she will pick up the child'	2C
(39)	'othək'ale <u>hən</u>	'he eats his breakfast'	11F

Some additional comments need to be made concerning the future durative expressions. The English translations of these Picurís expressions do not always imply some kind of impending durative action when the utterances occur in isolation. However, in context, it can be seen how these expressions do in fact connote a kind of impending, continuous, or habitual activity. Consider these expressions

(40)	' <u>ǵiahən</u>	'(once) he has been buried'	70
(41)	<u>kaliahən</u>	'(once) he had brought her'	18D
(42)	' <u>axǵiahən</u>	'(once) it is taken away'	2N
(43)	<u>sočaypiahən</u>	'(once) he is made to drink'	6H
(44)	' <u>onəwičiahən</u>	'(once) is is given to him by them'	5F
(45)	' <u>onəphYpiačiahən</u>	'(once) he has a plumero made for him'	5E
(46)	'i'ommiame <u>hən</u>	'(once) they were told by him'	15Q

In their context the activities indicated by these expressions have not actually occurred but they are believed to occur or expected to occur in a particular situation or at a given time in the future. The activities will happen only when or after something else occurs; then the specified activity will occur. The future durative marker /-hən/ signals the fact that the activity is anticipated but has not happened yet.

There exists one other suffix, /-mɔ/, which does not fit neatly into either of the categories mentioned above. Only a few examples of this suffix are found in the text materials. Three of the examples appear in similar expressions

(47)	tamɔ	'I am ready'	13M
(48)	ɔxiamɔ?	'are you ready?'	13L
(49)	taxiamɔ'ɔnha	'I was already ready'	20B

and the only other example appears in the expression

(50)	'innɔ'osiamɔ	'it is the way they bear their children'	3C
------	--------------	---	----

The occurrence of this suffix suggests a third set of aspect distinctions. The limited amount of Picurís data is not sufficient to allow for an analysis or a presentation of a third suffix set at this time. Data from the other Tiwa languages, however, would predict a third suffix set since

these languages contain much finer aspect distinctions than those presented here for Picurís. George L. Trager (1965:73) provides an example of a resultative manner of action for Taos with a /-mą/ suffix (pumą 'it is seen') which may correspond to the /-mɔ/ Picurís suffix. A third suffix set is only hypothesized, for confirmation must await additional data and further verification.

4.32. Suffixless Verbs

Although all verbs in Picurís must contain a prefix, base, and suffix, there are several examples in the text material of apparent "suffixless" verbs. All of these are related to a general or nonspecific, past, time/aspect reference, whereas the examples listed in section 4.31 refer to a specific time and aspect. However, all of these seemingly "suffixless" verbs can take any or all of the suffixes listed in section 4.31. Hence, it is hypothesized that the context provides whatever cues are required for the meaning, so that a specific, time/aspect, reference marker need not be used. Examples of these "suffixless" verbs are

(1)	mɛ	'he/she went'	11G
		'he/she was going'	12E
		'he/she has gone'	9K
(2)	'imɛ	'they went'	13G
(3)	wan	'he/she came'	11I
		'he/she arrived'	14J

(4)	'iwan	'they came, arrived'	18K
(5)	nəwan	'it came'	2A
(6)	'i'ɸ	'they stay, stayed'	8D
(7)	ɕən	'he crossed'	13K
(8)	thə	'he lived, dwelt'	11B
(9)	'away	'you called him'	21A
(10)	yokuy	'one lay'	1J
(11)	'omia	'he/she was asked'	17J
		'he/she was told'	17I
(12)	thəmia	'she was found'	18O
(13)	'iɣemma	'we have been defeated'	15I
(14)	tahoy'amia	'he made a bet with me'	13C
(15)	kal'ɔmɸ	'she said to the wolf'	17I
(16)	'okalwan	'a wolf came to her'	17H
(17)	'it'aythə	'the people lived, dwelt'	17B
(18)	map'a'ophuy	'he plunged into the water'	14G
(19)	'iɣiwɣəwe	'they brought the woman down'	18Q
(20)	p'ayɕelko'jɕ'eɕo	'he stepped on the Cricket'	11J

Examples (1) - (10) consist of a prefix, a verb base, and a \emptyset allomorph of the past tense morpheme. Examples (11) - (14) consist of a prefix, a verb base, a passive marker (see section 5.6 on passive constructions), and a \emptyset past tense allomorph. Examples (15) - (20) consist of a prefix, an embedded object (see section 5.31), a verb base, and a \emptyset allomorph.

There are several reasons why it is claimed that examples (1) - (20) are verb expressions despite the fact that they occur without their distinguishing suffixes. First, they occur with the verbal, pronominal prefixes; second, if they were nouns they would co-occur in absolute form with one of the noun-class suffixes, and they do not; and third, the base forms do and can occur with the past, present, and future indicative and/or durative suffix forms discussed above. For these reasons the preceding expressions are determined to be verb expressions with a \emptyset past tense allomorph. The relationship of these forms to other past tense morphemes requires further consideration. It may be that these forms are "aorist-like" constructions.

4.33. Summary

The deep structural display presented as Figure 16 accounts for all of the basic verb-word material discussed in section 4.3. The display summarizes the three essential elements of basic verb-words in Picurís--the pronominal prefix, the verb base, and the voice-tense-aspect-mode suffix. Each of these elements is set up as a separate component since the rules of the grammar operate upon them independently, as will be seen in all of the more complex constructions. This display does not account for constructions more complex than the basic ones represented by examples (1) - (10) from section 4.31.

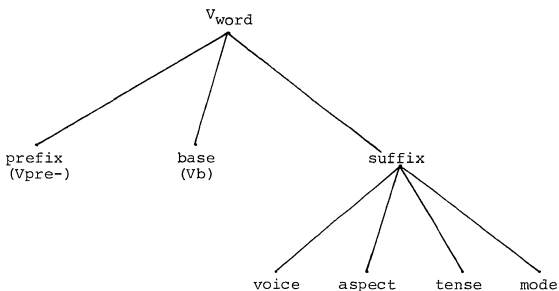


Figure 16

Sentences in Picurís may or may not have a specified subject or object reference. However, sentences must have a verb base referring to some type of action or state, a suffix denoting voice, time, mode, and aspect, and a person-prefix indicating involvement. Thus, a complete sentence reference in this language may consist of a verb-word alone. Consequently, Figure 16 also may serve as the display for basic sentences in the language. In order to employ the standard display used for all languages, a few adjustments must be made.

Figure 17 represents the underlying structure for all verbs and for many sentences in Picurís. Expansion of this basic sentence pattern is accomplished by further

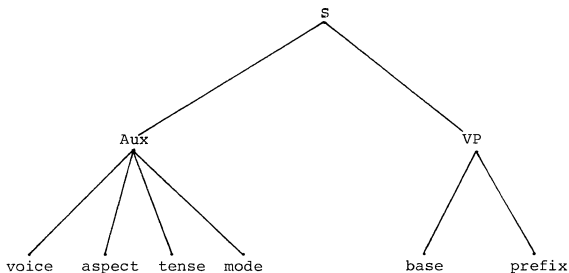


Figure 17

specification of sentence subject and/or object. The phrase structure rules that account for these basic sentences are

S	→	Aux VP
VP	→	Vb Vpre
Aux	→	voice aspect tense mode
voice	→	{ active passive
aspect	→	{ perfective durative
tense	→	{ past present future
mode	→	{ indicative imperative
NP	→	Nb Ns

CHAPTER V

ALTERATIONS OF BASIC SENTENCES

5.0. The foregoing analysis presented different ways in which noun phrases, verb phrases, and particles were expanded. The various expressions, however, did not affect the basic sentence patterning. In this section various ways of altering the basic sentence as a whole will be discussed. The modifications, in form, result from the processes of interrogation, embedding, reflexivization, and passivization.

5.1. Interrogation

Questions in Picurfs are produced in three different ways. The first way involves a change of intonation. The voice is raised at the end of the sentence producing a special pattern characteristic of questions. In examples (1) - (3) this special interrogative pattern is represented as *f* and is labeled Q- (question) intonation. This type of question is always answered by "yes" or "no" or some similar element.

The second way to indicate sentence interrogation is to place the particle hoko at the beginning of the

sentence. This particle, which has no specific meaning, is labeled Q-sentence in order to indicate its general interrogative function. Sentences of this second type also carry the special intonation pattern characteristic of questions. For this reason, the presence of hoko is not obligatory, for Q-intonation alone is sufficient to mark interrogation in a sentence. This type of question also is answered with "yes" or "no" or a similar element.

The third way of forming questions in Picurís is more common. In addition to Q-intonation, in these instances sentence interrogation is marked by the presence of one of several interrogative particles. These interrogative particles are labeled Q_{words}. Q_{words} in Picurís usually have he as a base and are equivalent to the wh words in English--why, what, where, when, and who. Interrogative particles immediately precede the clauses which they accompany. A question containing one of these interrogative particles can never have a "yes" or "no" answer.

Only three interrogative expressions are found in the text material. They are

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------|-----|
| (1) | 'Axiámý? ∫ | 'Are you ready?' | 13L |
| (2) | Hèyo ⁺ 'at'áhu? ∫ | 'What are you doing?' | 17H |
| (3) | Hèxèyo ⁺ 'è ⁺ kowat'è ⁺ ammé? ∫ | 'Why do you not speak?' | 11K |

The question in (1) is formed by the substitution of the

Q-intonation pattern for the standard verb intonation pattern. The questions in (2) and (3) result from the addition of Q-words and the Q-intonation pattern. There are no examples of questions with hoko in the text material, although consultants have provided examples of this occurrence. Therefore, it is claimed that all sentences in Picurís contain an optional Q element. This Q element may be realized as either Q_{sentence} or Q_{word}. The transformations which produce questions in Picurís follow:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \\ \underline{\text{Q}}_{\text{sentence}} \\ \text{SD: \# , X NP Aux VP, (Q}_{\text{sentence}}) \implies \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 3 \end{array}$$

SC: 1, (<u>hoko</u>), 2 Q _{intonation}

The transformational rule

- (a) transforms the abstract symbol Q_{sentence} into a general interrogative marker hoko and an interrogative intonation pattern;
- (b) either moves hoko to the beginning of the sentence or deletes it.

This transformation produces either Q_{intonation} questions or Q_{sentence} questions depending upon whether or not the particle hoko is deleted or retained.

T_{Qword}

SD: #, X, NP Aux VP, Q_{word} \Rightarrow
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 Q_{word} 2 3 Q_{intonation}

This transformational rule

- (a) repositions the abstract symbol Q_{word} in the sentence so that it comes at the beginning;
- (b) adds an interrogative intonation pattern.

5.2. Imperatives

The basic sentence pattern in Picurís may be altered by changing the mode from indicative to imperative. The forms listed below involve the imperative mode. These expressions occur in surface structure without an expressed suffix. Generally, though not always, they occur as base with the second person singular Class A prefix ('a- or 'an-) and correspond to what in English are considered "commands" or "requests." Examples of several imperative forms in Picurís follow:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-----|
| (1) | halo | 'wait' | 13H |
| (2) | 'awene | 'stop' | 20J |
| (3) | 'asqy | 'drink' | 6G |

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------------------|-----|
| (4) | 'ə'əlɣay | 'get on my back' | 17L |
| (5) | 'ə'əlɣayxuy | 'get on my back, then' | 17J |

Examples (1) - (5) apply only to the second person singular form, 'you'. In examples (6) and (7) reference is made to first persons in both singular and nonsingular forms:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------|-----|
| (6) | xɔmmənə | 'let me see' | 13I |
| (7) | xɔmmə | 'let's see' | 11C |

In both of these instances no specific reference is made to a second person, although a second person is implied. The first person singular and nonsingular references, however, are found following, rather than preceding, the verb base. Why this happens is not clear. It can be hypothesized that expressions (6) and (7) actually contain two sentences in deep structure, 'you let (1st person)' and 'I see', and that the rules of combination produce the resulting surface structure. Picurís consultants were unable to break down xɔmmə, consequently, such a claim and the details of combination must await further study of additional data.

Nonetheless, the forms in examples (1) - (5) can be considered. The data suggest that these forms operate from the same deep structural display as the forms presented above in section 4.33. The only difference is that a rule, an imperative rule, needs to be added which would delete

the suffix, or generate a \emptyset suffix, in surface structure. Leap (1970:127) describes a similar state of affairs for Isletan Tiwa and argues for the latter situation. For the sake of descriptive and panlanguage consistency, it seems best to assume the presence of an unmarked imperative suffix for such forms. Thus, a rule is needed that would supply a \emptyset in suffix position in surface structure when the imperative aspect is present in underlying Aux. The rule, then, would be something like the following:

Imperative Rule

SD: NP Aux (Imperative) Base Prefix
 1 2 3 4 5 ⇒⇒

SC: 1 5 - 4 - \emptyset

5.3. Verb Expressions Containing More than One Base

Throughout the text material are found compound base constructions containing verbal prefixes and suffixes. From inspection it can be seen that at least one base always refers to some kind of activity--the others may or may not. Frequently, one of the other bases is a noun phrase referring to a person or an object. In other expressions, two or more verb bases may co-occur. In some compound base expressions, particles may give more specification, qualification, or emphasis. Despite the

variety of bases which are compounded in these constructions, they are considered verbs due to the presence of verbal prefixes and suffixes. However, to distinguish them from simple verb constructions, they will be referred to as compounded verb expressions.

5.31. Embedded Objects

The first type of compounded verb expressions to be considered are those which contain one or more noun bases in addition to the required verb base. The structure can be written as

prefix_{verb} - base_{noun} - base_{verb} - suffix_{verb}

Numerous examples of this type appear in the texts.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| (1) | <u>p'akem</u> ḡhu | 'she goes on a picnic/to picnic' | 2E |
| (2) | <u>ka</u> l'ḡmḡ | 'she said to the wolf' | 17I |
| (3) | tiḡ' <u>a</u> tayhu | 'I am dipping/pouring water' | 17I |
| (4) | p' <u>a</u> taymḡn | 'she was dipping/pouring water' | 17G |
| (5) | 'it' <u>ay</u> 'ḡmḡhu | 'he tells the people' | 15H |
| (6) | ' <u>i</u> pumele'elhemḡ | 'he sent out the bees' | 140 |
| | | 'he turned loose the bees' | |
| (7) | <u>p'ay</u> ḡelko'omḡ | 'he said to the Cricket' | 12B |
| (8) | <u>ka</u> ḡhoy'ḡnḡi | 'we (2) will make a bet' | 11N |
| (9) | <u>p'ay</u> ḡelko'ḡḡ'eḡo | 'he stepped on the Cricket' | 11J |

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|
| (10) | ' <u>upiapaymən</u> | 'they lit the lights' | 20G |
| (11) | ' <u>iʔiwʔəwe</u> | 'they brought the woman
down' | 18Q |
| (12) | ' <u>o'okolehən</u> | 'she picks up the child' | 2C |
| (13) | <u>thəppulehuymən</u> | 'she takes along sacred meal' | 2E |
| (14) | ' <u>ok'ayəphiaphayhu</u> | 'they light their candles' | 6M |

In all verb constructions the prefix specifies both the person and number of the subject and the class of the object. In the type of compounded verb expression considered here, not only do the above specifications occur, but in addition, the actual object itself is indicated. Consider for a moment the expression

p'aycelkone	'ant'aywia'e	'ixwia'ən	12F & G
	'The Cricket called his people'		

and compare it with (5) above

'it'ay'əməhu	'he says to his people'	15H
--------------	-------------------------	-----

In the first expression the direct object, 'ant'aywia'e', is a separate word preceding the verb, while in the second expression, the direct object, t'ay, is a part of the verb construction. The reasons for the differences will become clear in the course of this discussion, but suffice it to say for the present that the direct object may be apart from or a part of a verb construction. When the object is

incorporated into the construction, as it is in examples (1) - (14), it will be referred to as an embedded object. The process of object-embedding is very common in Picuris and an understanding of this process is crucial to an understanding of the total grammar. It is hypothesized that the same holds true for the languages of Taos, Sandía, and Isleta.

All fourteen expressions above are derived from the same deep structure and are the result of the same transformational processes. The tree diagram (Figure 18) describes them. Parentheses are placed around the NP dominated by S because the NP that is included under this node is not stated explicitly in surface structure in the listing above. In these examples a zero morph is used to indicate the fact that the subject is third person singular and the object belongs to Class A. In context in the stories these expressions do have an explicit subject NP. The NP designation is included in the diagram because the cross-referencing system of the language requires it in order to determine the proper person and number for the verbal prefix. The convention of a Δ is used under the Aux node to indicate that the details of this construction are not fully delineated since they are not pertinent to the present discussion. For convenience, this convention is used when appropriate.

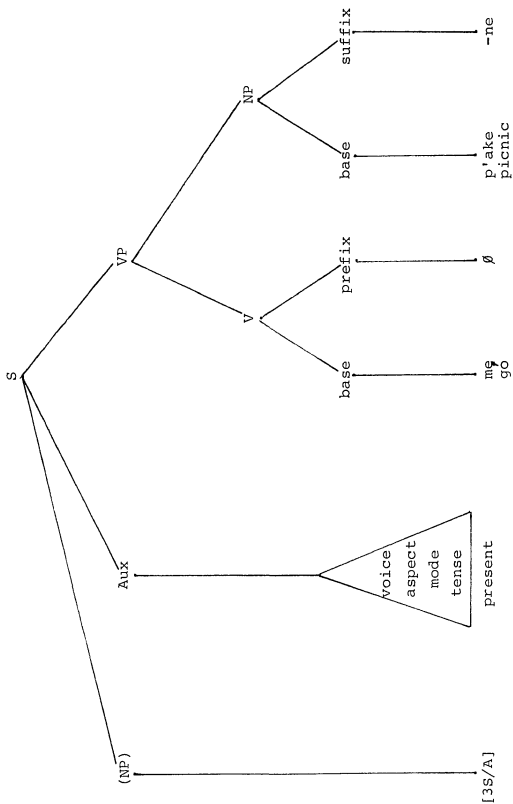


Figure 18

The following statement of phrase structure rules for Picurís summarizes the information presented in Figure 18.

S	→	(NP) Aux VP
Aux	→	Voice Aspect Tense Mode
VP	→	Verb (NP)
Verb	→	b pre-
NP	→	N Ns

The following transformational rules then apply.

- 1 The noun dominated by VP is moved to the position immediately before the verb base.
- 2 The noun class suffix of this relocated noun is deleted and replaced by \emptyset to mark the location.
- 3 The Aux element is added to the verb base in suffix position.
- 4 The [s/o] reference element is added to the verb construction in prefix position.

These transformational rules are ordered, meaning that they must apply in the order presented. For example, rule 1 must apply before rule 4, so that the prefix may be affixed to the noun base rather than to the verb base.

Another way to state the same transformational rules is to provide a description (SD) of the underlying structure and the results of the structural changes (SC).

SD: (NP) Aux Vb Vpre Nb Ns \Rightarrow
 (1) 2 3 4 5 6

SC: (1) 4 - 5 - \emptyset - 3 - 2

5.32. Embedded Noun Phrase-Words

The embedded object may consist of more than a single noun base. In the following examples the embedded objects consist of noun phrase-words discussed in section 4.21.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|----|
| (1) | <u>t'u</u> ^š <u>ce</u> ^š <u>at</u> 'amən | 'he is/was singing a sacred song' | 7G |
| (2) | ' <u>up</u> 'ep' <u>a</u> ^š <u>at</u> 'ahu | 'they sing Christian songs' | 60 |
| (3) | ' <u>ip</u> 'a <u>χ</u> <u>oltay</u> mən | 'they put the drops of water' | 6A |

In these three examples the embedded object consists of either two noun bases combined to form a single noun phrase as in examples (1) and (3); or three noun bases combined as in (2). The deep structure for (1) and (3) would appear as Figure 19 and for (2) as Figure 20.

It is obvious from Figures 18 - 20 structural descriptions and structural changes that all seventeen examples from sections 5.31 and 5.32 are similar. The differences represented by the examples in 5.32 are due primarily to the degree of embedding found in the object NP.

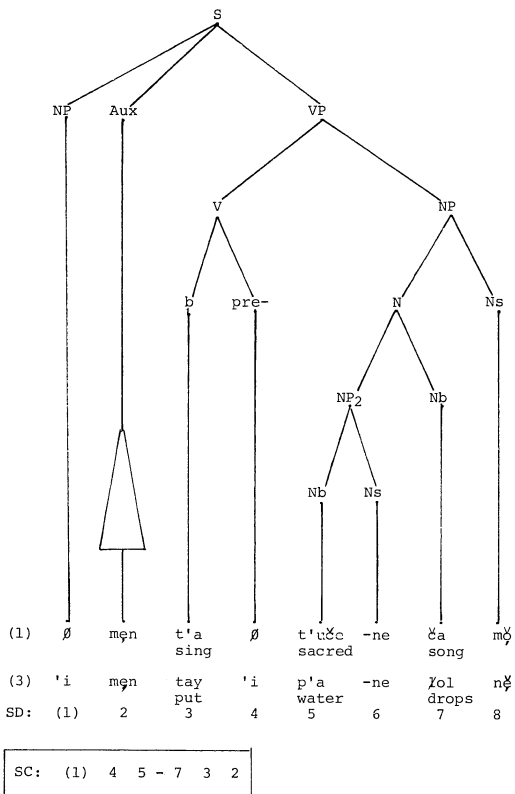


Figure 19

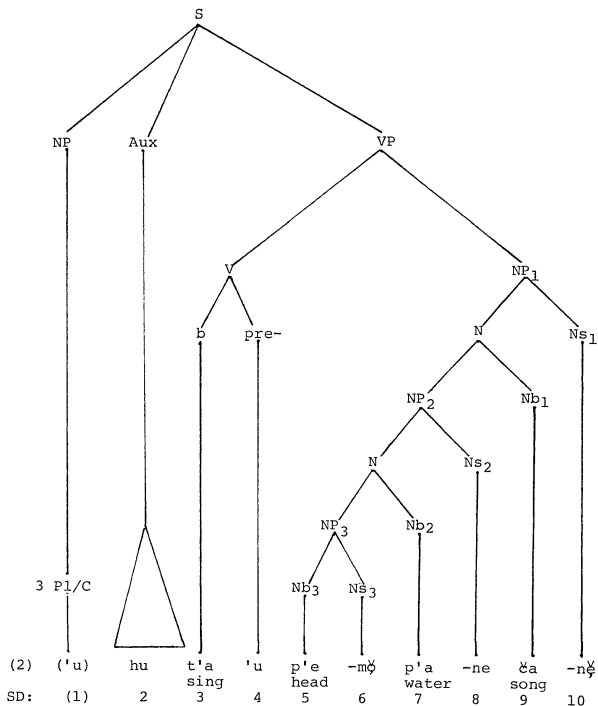


Figure 20

Beginning with the most deeply embedded, those elements under the NP₃ node are combined by the appropriate transformations until they form a single NP₁ immediately dominated by VP. At this point the exact same transformations as in section 5.31 apply.

Other possibilities for embedding exist, as the next two expressions indicate.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------------|-----|
| (4) | <u>takarz</u> 'očomęn | 'I was meeting cars' | 20G |
| (5) | ' <u>akiawia</u> | 'she is its mother' | 1H |

The English word "cars" occurs in (4) indicating that the embedding process is not limited to native Picurís expressions; nonnative vocabulary is subjected to the same transformational rules as native expressions.

Example (5) is included here to demonstrate that the embedded object may consist of a noun base with a possessive prefix. In this case it is found with the existential verb wia. As a unit possessive noun expressions are subject to the same grammatical processes as other verbal object noun phrases. Expression (5) differs from the previous examples in that it contains a possessive construction with its own internal structure and grammatical processes. Because the possessive elements of this construction, 'akia-, are the most deeply embedded, they are combined before the construction as a whole is moved to the position before the verb base. As usual, for any embedded noun

object, the noun class suffix is deleted when the object NP is relocated. The possessive prefix is retained, however, in order to indicate the possessive nature of the noun. The internal structure of the possessive construction and its transformations are discussed in section 6.3.

In the text material is found one example where it is not the direct object that is embedded, but rather a prepositional phrase. It occurs in the reflexive verb construction

(6) map'a'ophuy 'he plunged into the water' 14G

Since by definition the subject and the object of a reflexive construction, together, are expressed by the reflexive prefix, the presence of any embedded direct object would be redundant and therefore not expected to occur. In fact, in Picurís there are no lexical items which might be termed reflexive pronouns and consequently no way to indicate a reflexive direct object in sentence structure. Therefore, when a noun base was found before the verb base in expression (6), it was evident that this noun base was some construction other than a direct object. In deep structure this noun base is seen to be the head noun of a locative phrase, as illustrated by Figure 21.

Since the subject NP is the same as the object NP, (l=5), the reflexive transformation replaces the regular

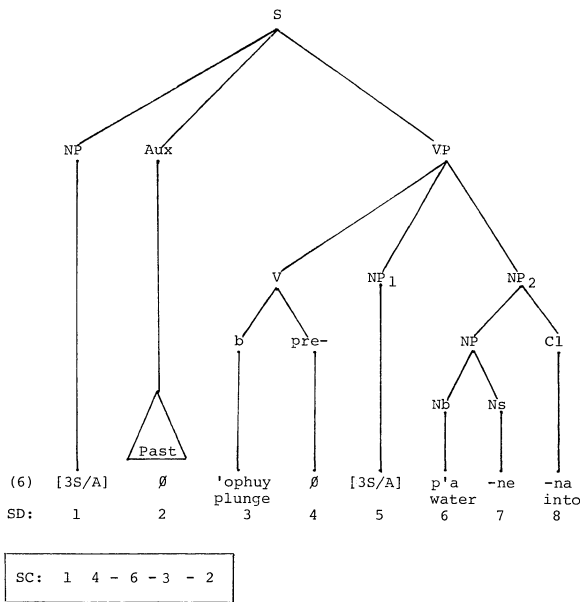


Figure 21

verb prefix with the reflexive prefix and delete the NP₁ object ($\emptyset \rightarrow \underline{ma}$ and $5 \rightarrow \emptyset$). This leaves only V and NP₂ under the VP node. When the noun is combined with the Cl under the NP₂ node, the noun class suffix -ne is deleted. Since there is no longer an NP₁ under the VP node, the NP₂ is moved to the position immediately before the verb base. However, of particular note is the fact that the clitic, -na, also is deleted when the prepositional phrase is embedded in this reflexive verb construction, leaving the base, p'a-. Then the other transformations apply to close the construction by adding the Aux element to the verb base in suffix position and the verb prefix to the noun base, p'a-.

From this example it can be hypothesized that a general rule exists in Picurís grammar which will permit the embedding of prepositional phrases in sentence constructions which have reflexive reference. The rule would appear as

V construction + Reflexive \implies Reflexive Prefix -
(NP₂) - Vb - V suffix.

5.4. Reflexivization

Recall from section 3.4. that the prefix element in a Picurís verb construction correlates verb "subject" to verb "object." This is always the case. The prefix identifies the person and number of the subject and the

class of the object. There are cases, however, when the subject and the object are identical. In these instances a particular set of verbal prefixes are employed, referred to here as reflexive prefixes. These reflexives must agree in person and number with the subject-object of the sentence. The following are examples from the text material:

(1)	<u>mā</u> ʔayhu	'he sits'	8G
(2)	<u>mā</u> xwiwehu	'she gets up'	2B
(3)	<u>mā</u> ṇā'opehu	'he splashes himself'	15D
(4)	<u>mā</u> ṇā'opemēn	'he was splashing himself'	14H
(5)	<u>mā</u> tōhōmēn	'he gave a yell'	18P
(6)	<u>mā</u> ʔawia'ʔn	'he signaled (by yelling)'	18J
(7)	<u>mā</u> 'elʔay	'she got on his back'	18A
(8)	' <u>ima</u> cimēn	'they were talking about'	8K
(9)	<u>kimā</u> piamēn	'we were laughing'	22I

Notice that in all cases the translation shows that the subject performs some kind of activity in which the subject alone is involved--sitting, getting up, getting on, yelling, talking, laughing, or splashing. If the activity specified by the verb base were directed at or toward another person or object, one of the class-identifying prefixes would occur to specify the class of the object. However, since the activity involved in examples (1) - (9) is directed at the specified subject, the appropriate reflexive prefix is used to indicate the one-to-one correspondence of object and subject.

These forms appear to resemble the regular verb expressions discussed in section 3.4. However, there are some differences. The nature of these differences is similar to the nature of reflexivization in English. Both Picurís and English have an obligatory rule of reflexivization which operates on structures such as that in Figure 22.

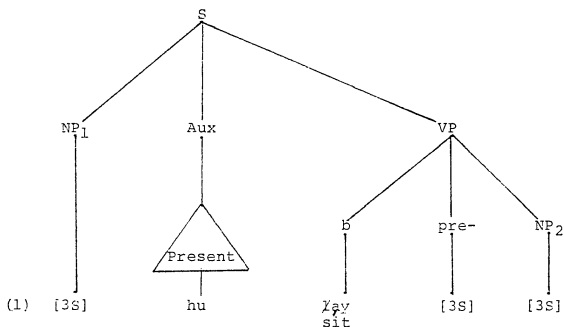


Figure 22

Whenever the subject of the sentence is identical with some other NP within the sentence as in Figure 22, the verb prefix in Picurís must be selected from the reflexive set. The following reflexive rule for Picurís would operate on the above structure and any other structures where the two NPs are identical:

prefix \longrightarrow reflexive/ $NP_S = NP_O$

Reflexive prefixes not only are found in simple verb constructions, they occur in more complex constructions as well. Consider these examples from the text.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------------|-----|
| (10) | <u>ki</u> ma <u>so</u> puhu | 'it is happening to us' | 20M |
| (11) | <u>ki</u> ma <u>so</u> 'o <u>o</u> ci | 'we will meet' | 12C |
| (12) | <u>ka</u> msom <u>o</u> ci | 'we (2) shall see each other' | 12D |
| (13) | <u>ma</u> p'a'ophuy | 'he plunged into the water' | 14G |
| (14) | <u>ma</u> k'opay'ayh ^h eny ^o | 'she dresses up, then' | 2C |
| (15) | <u>ma</u> ^h o <u>me</u> taket ^h en | 'he went first/ in front
of them' | 13G |
| (16) | <u>ma</u> t ^h o <u>h</u> em ^h epun'awte | 'from his summoning them' | 18L |

Examples (10 - (12) contain -so- between the reflexive prefix and the verb base; (13) contains an embedded object; (14) - (16) contain final clitics; (14) and (15) contain a morph between the prefix and verb base; and (16) contains more than one verb base. The details of these various constructions will be discussed in subsequent sections; these examples are presented here only to demonstrate the fact that the reflexive transformation also applies to complex constructions.

The reflexive prefix also occurs in negative constructions.

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------|----|
| (17) | <u>mi</u> ya <u>x</u> wi <u>w</u> em ^h en | 'she does not get up' | 1I |
| (18) | <u>mi</u> ya <u>x</u> ay <u>m</u> e | 'he/she does not go away' | 8H |

As these two examples illustrate, the reflexive prefix mā- becomes mi- in negative constructions. A phonological rule is needed to make this conversion. The rule is

$$a \longrightarrow i/ _ ya$$

Further details of these negation constructions will be explored in section 6.5.

5.41. The Prefix nā-

When the correlation between the subject and object is of an indefinite nature, a nā- prefix is used in Picurís. This prefix is generally found in expressions which refer to time, as in the following expressions:

(1)	<u>nā</u> wan	'it came (time)'	2A
(2)	<u>nā</u> 'ammən	'he was doing it'	7F
(3)	<u>nā</u> puymən	'when it passes (time)'	9E
(4)	<u>nā</u> pupunyo	'it happened/passed'	80
(5)	<u>nā</u> nak'eməppupun'ayte	'after it got dark'	17C
(6)	<u>nā</u> nā'e	'during this time'	1J
(7)	<u>nā</u> cəpu'e	'that happened'	8L
(8)	<u>ni</u> yapupuwayhən	'as if/like nothing had happened'	8N

Like the other prefixes, nā- is not limited to a particular kind of construction. In (4) and (5) it occurs with a final clitic, in (6) and (7) in a relative clause construction,

and in (8) in a negative construction with final clitic. Notice in (8) that the same phonological rule that changed a to i before -ya- with the reflexive prefix mā- applies here. The same tree structure and operations apply with the prefix nā- as with the reflexives, the only difference being that nā- is used instead of a reflexive since both the subject and object are indefinite--not referring to a particular person or number.

5.5. Embedded Particles

In section 3.5 it was pointed out that particles play a number of different roles in Picurís. Those particles occurred independently in surface structure; the particles discussed in this section occur embedded in verb constructions between the verb prefix and the verb base. If a noun is embedded in such a verb construction, the particles precede both the noun and verb bases.

5.51. In the first set of examples the particle -so- is embedded.

(1)	tisothāč̣i	'I will find him'	11E
(2)	kināso ^o puhu	'it is happening to us'	20M
(3)	'ānāso ^o puč̣i	'it (what) will happen to me'	14B
(4)	'ānāso ^o kač̣ač̣i	'he will find out'	13F
		'we will show him'	
(5)	kimāso ^o oč̣oč̣i	'we will meet'	12C

- (6) k̄ansom̄oci 'we (2) shall see each other' 12D
 (7) 'ansoȲayt'aykwiwil 'his people are the strongest' 12A

The particle -so- provides strong affirmation or added emphasis to the activity specified by the verb base. In deep structure, -so- is a particle associated closely with the verb. It is placed under the VP node. Figure 23 is the tree diagram for examples (1) - (6).

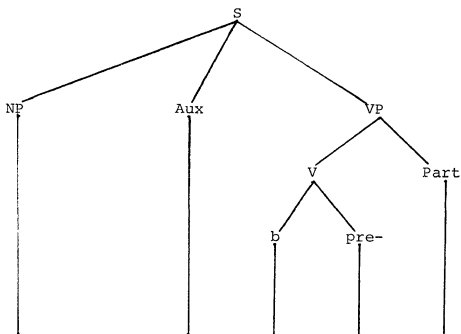


Figure 23

The surface structure forms are realized by moving the Part under the VP node to a position immediately before the verb base, much like situations in which noun phrases are dominated by VP. This move is accomplished by the following transformational rule:

^TParticle Movement

SD: (NP) Aux [Vb Vpre PartP (N Ns)]_{VP} ⇒
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: (1) 2 5 - (6 - ∅) - 3 4

Using the appropriate lexicon and applying the Particle Movement Transformation to Figure 23, the expressions in (1) - (6) result.

Expression (7), 'ansoɣɔyt'aykwiwil', is somewhat more complex. In deep structure it would appear as Figure 24. The following transformational rules apply to this deep structure:

- 1 kwiwil, Part₂, is relocated to follow t'ay in accordance with the rule that moves modifying particles to the position immediately following nouns which they modify (the Particle-Noun-Phrase-Word Transformation).
- 2 the resulting construction under NP₂, ɣɔyt'aykwiwilnɔ̃, is moved to the position immediately before the verb base and the noun class suffix is deleted (the Object Movement Transformation).
- 3 the Part under the NP₂ is moved before the

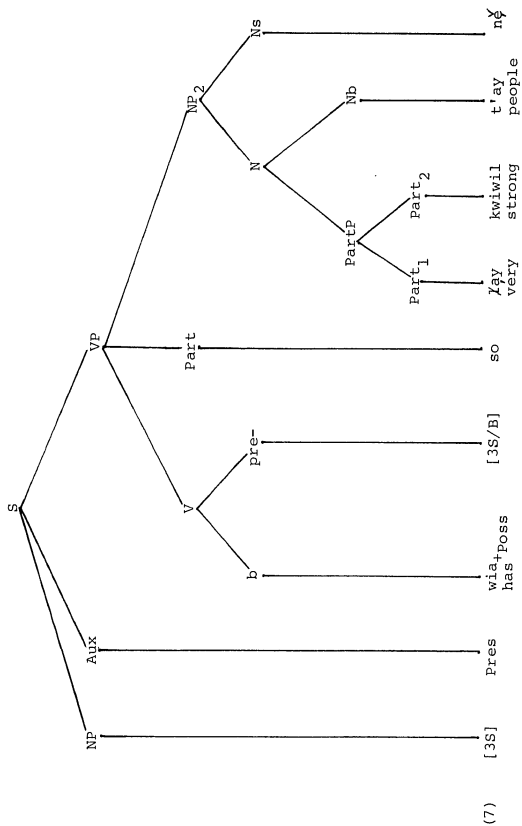


Figure 24

relocated NP₂ construction producing the expression soɣayt'aykwiwilwia (the Particle Movement Transformation).

- 4 the Possessive Transformation is applied to incorporate the possessive element into the prefix resulting in the possessive prefix 'ḡn (see section 6.3).
- 5 the construction is closed by the application of the Aux Suffixation and Verb Prefixation Transformations yielding 'ḡnsoɣayt'aykwiwilwia.
- 6 the wia Deletion Transformation deletes the wia resulting in (7) (see section 6.3).

5.52. The particle -pḡha- is similar to -so- but it modifies noun objects rather than verbs. Consider these examples.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---|-----|
| (1) | mḡpḡhameḡci | 'you must/will all go' | 15P |
| (2) | 'ipḡhaxwia'ḡn | 'he called all of them' | 12I |
| (3) | 'ḡnpḡhapumele'elhemmia | 'all of his bees were sent
out/turned loose' | 14D |
| (4) | 'ipḡhakwḡphal'ayḡen | 'after all of them had
arrived' | 12O |

Examples (1) and (2) are straightforward. They consist of a prefix, the embedded particle -pḡha, a verb base, and an Aux suffix, in order. Example (3) is a passive construction, indicated by -mia in surface structure, with a complex

embedded noun phrase. The incorporated noun phrase is made up of the particle -p̄q̄ha- and an embedded sentence indicated by the possessive prefix 'ʼān-'. Example (4) is a dependent adverbial clause containing the clitic -ʼayh̄en 'after'. Within the construction are two verb bases, which indicate the presence of two separate sentences in deep structure, kw̄a- 'arrive' and -phal- 'finish'. The particle -p̄q̄ha- accompanies the verb kw̄a-, the more embedded of the two, and, unlike the previous example, it occurs without an accompanying noun phrase. In this instance -p̄q̄ha- modifies an object which is specified only in the verb prefix.

5.53. The particles -čʼo-, -wa-, -wi-, and -yo- also may be embedded in verb constructions.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---|-----|
| (1) | m̄əčʼom̄ɛtaket̄ɛn | 'he started ahead of the rest;
he went first in front of them' | 13G |
| (2) | 'uwak'aletta | 'before they eat' | 8I |
| (3) | wa'elwiatha | 'before he is carried' | 7D |
| (4) | wakuytha | 'of where he is lying' | 6L |
| (5) | watholk̄emm̄em̄pe | 'toward where the sun
sets' | 7I |
| (6) | wipiwphal | 'already dead' | 5D |
| (7) | yokuy | 'one lay' | 1J |

The particles -čʼo- 'first' and -wa- 'before' in examples

- (1) - (3) function as adverbs of time. The embedded -wa-

'way over' in (4) and (5) function as adverbs of place. The particles -wi- (6) and -yo- (7) are also considered adverbs, adding emphasis to the activity. All of these particles, as adverbs, are found under the VP node in deep structure and are moved to their surface structure position by the Particle Movement Transformation.

5.54. Throughout this work, reference frequently has been made to the embedded particle -nā-. The meaning of -nā- is dependent upon its context. Sometimes -nā- refers to a place with the meaning 'there'. At other times -nā- has a nonspecific reference with the meaning 'it' or 'them'. At still other times the nonspecific reference takes on a religious connotation. But, whatever its meaning, in deep structure it is located under the VP node as either a noun particle or an adverb particle. If -nā- is a noun particle, it is subject to the Object Movement Transformation; if an adverb, it is subject to the Particle Movement Transformation. In the following list of examples, -nā- occurs in various kinds of constructions.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| (1) | 'onāmelehu | 'she prays/asks for' | 2J, 2L |
| (2) | 'onāmelemēn | 'she prays (past) there' | 2G |
| (3) | 'onāxaymēn | 'he kept getting them' | 22H |
| (4) | 'onāsiahu | 'he is putting them in there' | 22F |
| (5) | 'inat'ēmēn | 'he was hitting them' | 15B |

(6)	'inaxa	'they call it; it is called'	7L
(7)	'inaxuy	'they remained/stayed there'	17D
(8)	'inayhowehu	'they believe'	7J
(9)	'inayhowemən	'they believe (past)'	9A
(10)	'onaxohu	'he is picking things up'	22E
(11)	'onayp'issian	'(wherever) there are mountains'	6D
(12)	innap'iamənyo	'they laugh/talk (there)'	8M
(13)	mānā'opehu	'he is splashing himself'	15D
(14)	mānā'opemən	'he was splashing himself'	14H
(15)	mānāk'owianyo	'with good feeling'	9M
(16)	'ānāpīxokwen	'she became afraid'	17N
(17)	'ānānāpu'e	'that which I was supposed to do'	20F
(18)	'ānāso <u>p</u> uči	'it (what) will happen to me'	14B
(19)	'ānāso <u>k</u> ačači	'he will find out'	13F
(20)	nā <u>č</u> ilemeway	'like he was sweeping there'	7F
(21)	'ināthiapunna	'whenever they can get around to it'	5D
(22)	nānāk'eməpupun'ayte	'after it got dark'	17C
(23)	nāpənhuyhu	'he is throwing away death'	7H
(24)	'ināt'uy'am'a	'they still perform their cere- monies'	4F
(25)	'onāpia <u>č</u> ehu	'it is made for her'	1L
(26)	'onāphīpia <u>č</u> iahən	'a plumero is made for him...'	5E
(27)	nāpiwənhuy <u>p</u> u'e	'he who took death to throw it away'	9G

In examples (4), (7), (11) - (14), and (20) -nā- acts as an adverb with the meaning 'there'. In (1), (2), (8), (9), (15), (24), and possibly (23) and (27), -nā- has a religious connotation, for in these instances, reference is made to something sacred. In all of the remaining examples -nā- has either a singular or nonsingular non-specific reference.

The embedded -nā- in (1) - (10) occurs without any additional grammatical material. An embedded noun -p'is- 'mountains' also occurs in (11). The constructions in (12) - (15) are reflexive, with an emphatic -yo clitic in examples (12) and (15). Examples (16) - (19) contain possessive prefixes indicating the presence of an embedded sentence in their deep structures, with (17) constituting a relative clause, and (18) and (19) containing the emphatic, affirmative marker -so-. Examples (20) - (22) contain final adverbial clitics and Set II verb suffixes indicating their dependent subordinate status. Example (23) contains an embedded noun, 'pən- 'death', and (24) an embedded noun, -t'uy- 'ceremonies' and a clitic -a with the meaning 'still'. Example (25) is a passive construction and (26) is a passive construction with an embedded object -phi- 'plumero'. The construction in (27) is a relative clause with an embedded object, piw 'death' and two verb bases, pən 'throw away' and huy 'take'.

5.6. Passivization

Up to this section all of the constructions have been in the active voice, meaning that the subject performed the action expressed by the verb. In this section, passive constructions will be discussed. In the passive the subject is acted upon rather than performing the action. These constructions are transformationally derived from underlying active sentences and in surface structure they are indicated by the presence of an affix having the form Cia (consonant + ia). This passive morpheme occurs between the verb base and the Aux suffix.

Many examples of passive constructions appear in the texts. A few of the less complex examples of this construction type follow:

(1)	' <u>qmmia</u>	'he/she was asked/told'	17I, 17J
(2)	ta' <u>qmiq</u>	'I was told; he told me'	20J, 21A
(3)	' <u>owlia</u>	'she was taken up'	18C
(4)	th <u>q</u> mi <u>a</u>	'she was found'	18O
(5)	'i <u>χem</u> mi <u>a</u>	'we have been defeated'	15I
(6)	ta' <u>qmiawm</u> en	'I was told by him' 'he was telling me'	21B
(7)	xay <u>m</u> iahu	'it is given a name' 'it is named by her'	1C
(8)	' <u>ap</u> ' <u>et</u> iahu	'it is thrown away'	2O
(9)	m <u>a</u> ow <u>i</u> ahu	'he is left (there)'	6K

(10)	t'əphali <u>ah</u> u	'she was scolded very much'	19A
(11)	pumeli <u>ah</u> u	'he was stung; he was being stung'	14D
(12)	pumeli <u>am</u> ən	'he was stung'	14I
(13)	'iç'i' <u>ali</u> amən	'we were asked by them'	20L
(14)	ka <u>li</u> ahən	'when he had brought her' 'when she was brought by him'	18D
(15)	'ə <u>li</u> ahən	'after he has been buried'	70
(16)	k'uç' <u>ia</u> hu	'it is laid'	1E
(17)	'əxəç' <u>ia</u> hən	'it is taken away'	2N

An abstract element, Passive (Pass), was identified as part of the base rule for the Aux element in 4.33. The only function of this component is to trigger the Passive Transformation.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{T}_{\text{Passive}} \\
 \text{SD: NP}_1 \text{ Aux Pass [Vb V}_{\text{pre}} \text{ (Nb Ns}_{\text{NP}_2}) \text{]}_{\text{VP}} \implies \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7
 \end{array}$$

SC: 1 5 - (6) - 4 - <u>-Cia</u> - 2

The transformational rule

- (a) transforms the abstract marker Passive into the verbal affix -Cia and attaches it to the verb base;

and (b) reorders the elements of the underlying sentence to conform to their appropriate surface-level positions. (See Figure 25)

Passive verb expressions also may contain embedded noun objects. Consider these next examples.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|-----|
| (18) | tahoy' <u>q</u> amia | 'I was made a bet by him' | 13C |
| | | 'he made a bet with me' | |
| (19) | 'othəxoč' <u>ik</u> kiahu | 'a/his lunch is tied to him' | 7B |
| (20) | 'iwalp' <u>apholia</u> hu | 'they are sprinkled with
medicine' | 9I |
| (21) | 'okāč <u>apia</u> č <u>eh</u> u | 'their medicine songs are sung' | 5B |
| (22) | 'onāphī <u>pi</u> ač <u>eh</u> ən | 'a plumero is made for him' | 5E |
| (23) | 'onā <u>pi</u> ač <u>eh</u> u | 'it is made for her' | 1L |
| (24) | 'ā <u>pi</u> ač <u>eh</u> u | 'it is sung to him' | 5J |
| (25) | 'ānpiwč <u>apia</u> č <u>eh</u> u | 'a death song is sung to him' | 5H |
| (26) | 'onāwič <u>ia</u> hən | 'it is given by them' | 5F |
| (27) | 'ānpohapumele' <u>əlhem</u> mia | 'all of his bees were sent
out/turned loose' | 14D |
| (28) | 'āmaŷe' <u>o</u> č' <u>ik</u> kiahu | 'a string (old weed) is tied
to his (wrist)' | 1D |

Notice that (21) contains a noun object composed of two noun bases, kā 'medicine' and ča 'song(s)'. Examples (22), (23), and (26) contain the embedded particle -nā- 'it' (usually referring to something of a religious nature). In (27), the

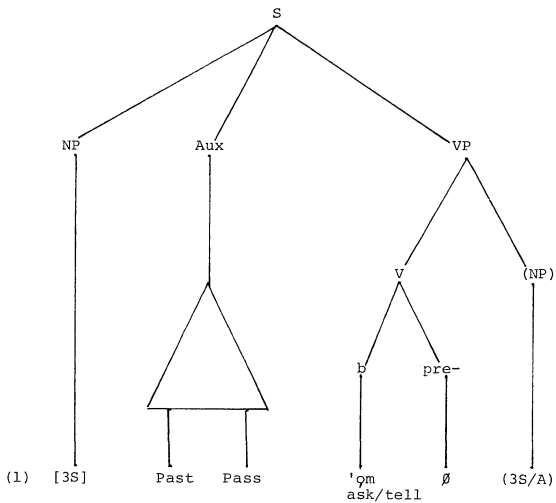


Figure 25

particle, -pəha- 'all', the noun base pumele 'bees', and an embedded sentence represented by the possessive prefix -ən- are found. Notice also that the passive indicator -čia- is changed by a phonological rule to -^vce- after the segment -pia- in examples (21) - (25). It is interesting also to note the contrast in surface-level representation between the Picurís examples and the English translations. In the Picurís examples the underlying noun object is still treated in surface structure as an object, i.e., it is incorporated into the verb complex. For the English translations of (19) and (21) - (28) the same underlying noun objects become surface-level noun subjects.

The next ten examples of passive constructions involve greater complexity, either in the form of added grammatical elements or in the increased number of embedded elements.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| (29) | 'ikəmia'a | 'they are cured by them' | 4B |
| (30) | huciačikke | 'for/ so that/ he will be led' | 5L |
| (31) | 'ayp'asiačiamənta | 'as the water is being put in' | 6E |
| (32) | wayəənniamənta | 'as he emerged/came up' | 15E |
| (33) | way'əmiaputta | 'like/as/the way he had been' | 14P |
| (34) | 'ənpənp'a'ək'u ^č iahənyo | 'a black rainbow is put, | 5G |
| | | then ...' | |
| (35) | 'i'əmmiaməhən | 'as they are told by him' | 15Q |

- (36) sɔçaypiahən 'after he is made to drink' 6H
 (37) p'asɔçaypiahu 'he is made to drink water' 5N
 (38) kəhuçiamənyo 'as he is taken out for burial' 7A

The grammatical material added to the passive constructions in (29) - (35) indicates that the passive expressions are part of larger constructions in the language. In (29) an additional -a is affixed to the passive verb construction to indicate that the noun phrase preceding the construction, t'àykə'ánɛ⁺payo 'by Indian doctors/curers,' is the sentence object and not the sentence subject. This indication is necessary, for nouns which generally occur before verb constructions, function as subject noun phrases. In deep structure the expression t'àykə'ánɛ⁺ikámia'a would appear as Figure 26. Since the noun phrase under the VP node, NP₂, contains a clitic, actually two clitics, -pa and -yo, it cannot be incorporated into the verb construction. It is, therefore, moved to the position immediately before the entire verb construction. The -a affix on the verb refers to this relocated noun phrase-clitic construction to indicate that it is an object NP and not a subject NP. The surface structure for this example is obtained by

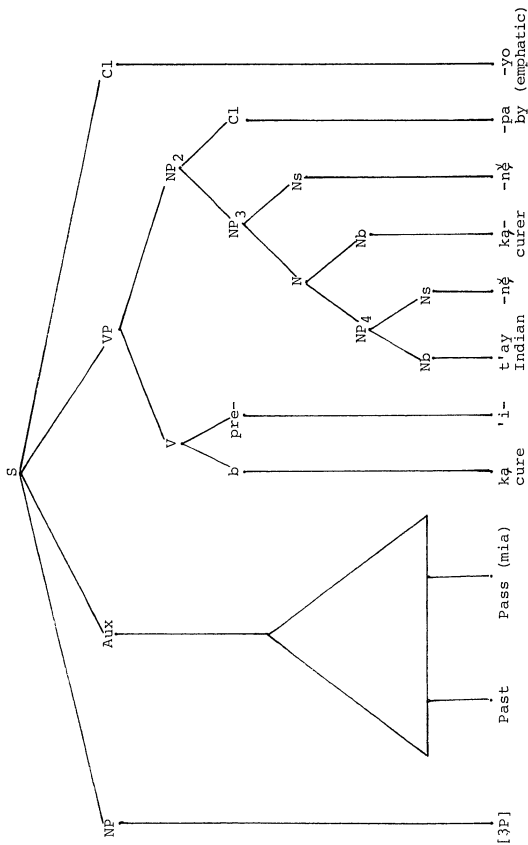


Figure 26

the application of the following transformational rule:

^T
NP-Cl Movement
 SD: NP₁ Aux (Pass) [Vb Vpre- N Ns Cl]_{VP} ⇒
 1 2 (3) 4 5 6 7 8

SC: 1 6 - ∅ - 8 5 - 4 - (<u>Ci_a</u>) - 2

The clitic -ke 'so that, for' in (30) functions as a subordinate conjunction to join its passive verb expression to the main sentence construction. Likewise, the same is true for the discontinuous morphemes in (31) and (32)-- /'ay or way ...-ta/ 'as'. The same discontinuous morpheme, /way ... -ta/, occurs in (33), but this time it occurs with a Set II verb suffix, -pu, instead of with a Set I suffix. The use of the Set I suffixes in (31) and (32) and the use of a Set II suffix in (33) is attributed to the difference in levels of the sentence in question. The first two cases involve constructions which are on the same level as the main verb construction. The clitic or discontinuous morpheme simply combines the two into one complete sentence. On the other hand, (33) is a construction which is subordinated as a modifier to an element in the more dominant sentence construction. Therefore, (33) must contain a suffix which indicates its subordinate status. Like the clitic -ke, the clitic -hen in (35) and the clitics -hen

and -yo in (34) also function as subordinate conjunctions to attach their accompanying clauses to other clauses. For a more detailed discussion of these clitics see section 6.2.

Constructions (36) and (37) are very similar. Both contain an embedded sentence with a Pass element. They differ only in that the noun object p'a 'water' is expressed in (37) and not in (36). In deep structure both are described by Figure 27. The Passive Transformation is applied to S₂ to produce p'asqCia for (37) and sqCia for (36). These constructions are then moved to the position immediately before the verb base by the object movement transformation. The Aux element and the verb prefix are then affixed by the appropriate transformations and the expressions p'asqCiapiahu and sqCiapiahun result. Phonological rules transform Cia into čay and the expressions in (37) and (36) are produced.

Expression (38) differs in one important respect from (36) and (37). The Pass element in (38) is a component of the main verb rather than of a verb in an embedded sentence. Compare the underlying structure of (38), indicated by Figure 28, with that of examples (36) and (37), illustrated by Figure 27. First, the appropriate transformations are applied to S₂ to produce kamen. Then,

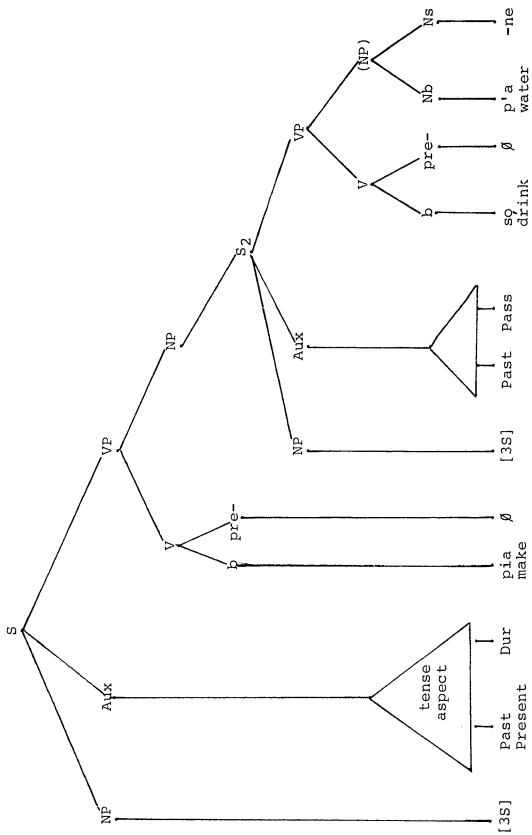


Figure 27

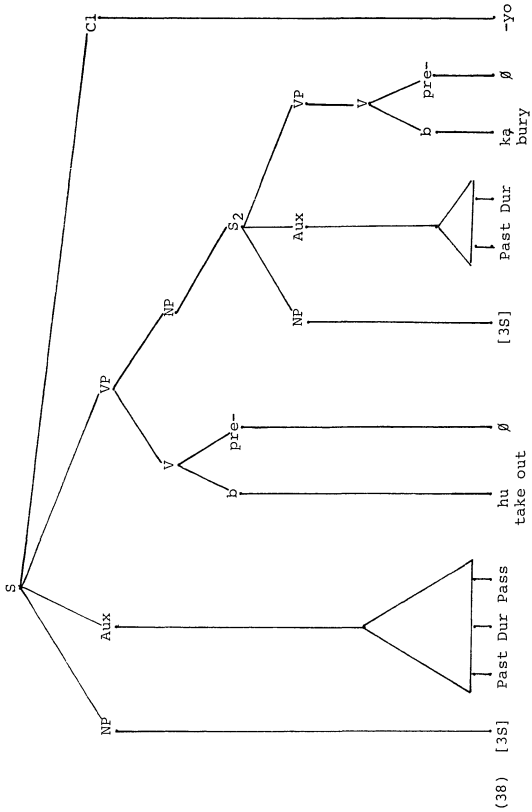


Figure 28

the Passive Transformation is applied to S_1 to produce kəhučiamən. Finally, the construction is closed by the affixation of the emphatic clitic -yo.

CHAPTER VI

COMPLEX CONSTRUCTIONS

6.0. All of the syntactic constructions discussed so far have been basic constructions of words or sentences or alterations of these basic forms. In this chapter complex constructions will be discussed. A complex construction is defined as a construction involving at least two sentences in deep structure. Two or more sentences may combine in deep structure to produce one unit in surface structure; or, the surface-level unit may be a sentence embedded in and subordinated to a more dominant one in deep structure. Included in the category of complex constructions are verb expressions with two or more verb bases, verb constructions with accompanying clitic, possessive verb constructions, relative clause constructions, and negation. These construction types will be dealt with in separate sections.

6.1. Plural Verb Bases

In section 5.31 the first type of verb expression containing more than one base was discussed. This type was composed of a single verb base and its accompanying noun base. The second type of verb expression having more

than one base consists of those with plural verb bases and has the following structure:

prefix_{verb} - base_{verb} -base_{verb} - (base_{verb}) -suffix_{verb}

The basic verb structure of prefix - base - suffix is still present, as represented in examples (1) - (7). Consider these examples

(1)	' <u>itheməhu</u>	'they go to live'	7K
(2)	' <u>itukaməhu</u>	'they go to bathe'	8A
(3)	tapo ^χ anhe	'I am going across to see'	13J
(4)	taytey ^{wamə} çi	'I will go to visit'	11E
(5)	' <u>upumelehəl</u>	'their sting hurts; it hurts when they sting you'	16C
(6)	<u>toməhən</u>	'he was going/about to say'	13P
(7)	' <u>ipinəməhu</u>	'they go feeling/thinking'	10A

Two verb bases are found in these examples, rather than one. If every verb is the core of a separate sentence in deep structure, at least two sentences underlie each of these words. In order for these two sentences to be included in a single surface-level word, syntactic rules must have been applied which had the effect of reducing the number of clauses in the structure of each of the sentences.

Each of the Expressions (1) - (7) contains two basic sentences, as Figure 29 illustrates. Expression (1)

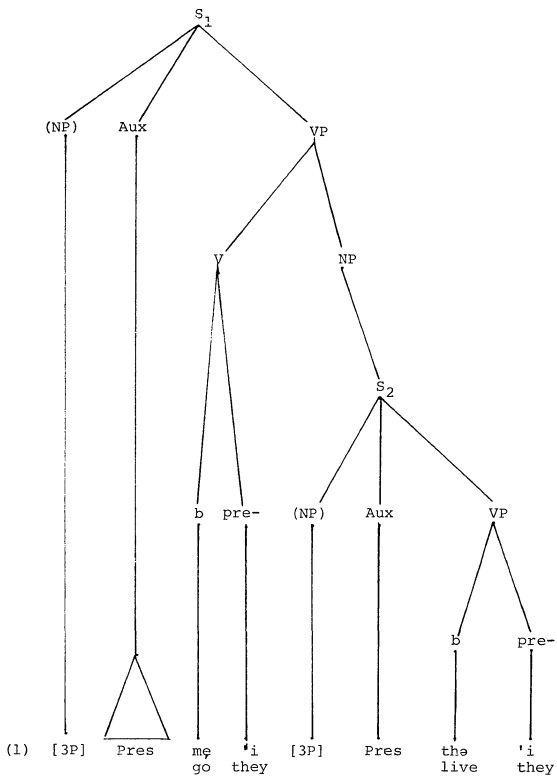


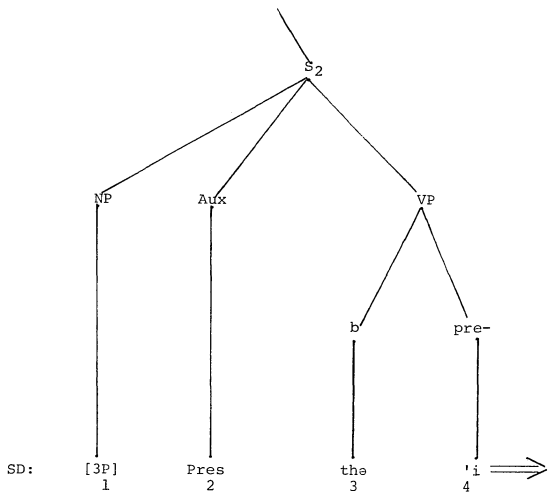
Figure 29

specifically illustrated by Figure 29, contains two sentences--(1) 'imehu 'they go' and (2) 'ithəhu 'they live'. The second one, 'ithəhu, functions in direct relationship to the verb mə 'go'. A few basic transformational rules are required to combine the two sentences into a single surface-level clause. The first rule rearranges the S₂ elements into their proper surface-level form. Figure 30 describes the necessary reordering of the S₂ elements.

Following this reordering, the complete S₂ node is treated like any other NP dominated by VP and is moved to the position immediately before the verb base in the dominant sentence, producing Figure 31. Similar to any other extraposed NP, the Aux element suffix is deleted when the S₂ node is moved before the verb base in S₁. The usual transformations are applied to close the construction. First, the Aux element is added to the verb base in suffix position. This transformation produces the following:

[3P] 'ithəməhu 'i-

But, before the other transformation can apply to add the prefix 'i- to the construction, the prefix 'i- of the embedded object must be deleted. The deletion rule is



SC: 1 4 3 2

Figure 30

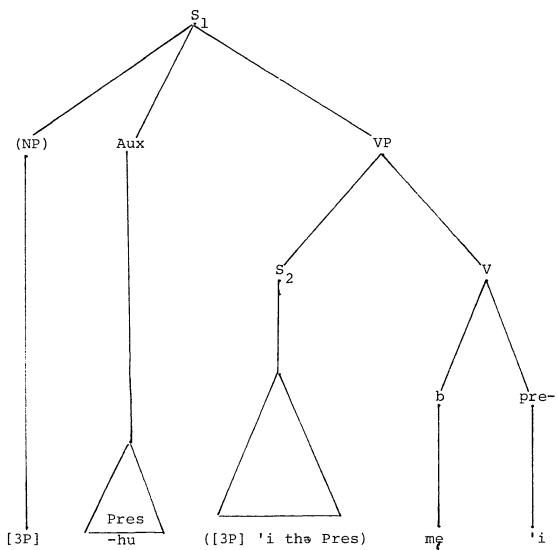


Figure 31

T_{Prefix-Deletion}

SD: X [Vpre₁- Vb] Vb Aux Vpre₂- \implies
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 \emptyset - 3 - 4 - 5 6

Condition: Vpre₁- = Vpre₂-
(2 = 6)

Following the deletion of Vpre₁-, the last transformation can be applied to affix the prefix and close the construction.

All of the preceding phrase structure rules and transformational processes are basic to an understanding of Picurís grammar, for it is with these few rules and transformations that a great many of the sentences of Picurís are generated. The morphemic material may differ, but the same rules and transformations obtain.

There are two different types of changes that may occur in the morphemic material to produce different expressions. One type of change involves merely the substitution of one morpheme for another in the same morphemic class, i.e., a change in lexical items. Expressions (1) - (7) represent this type of morphemic change. The second type of morphemic change involves the substitution of one grammatical category for a different one. For example,

a pronoun may substitute for a noun, or, in the case of the embedded objects in examples (1) - (7), a sentence may take the place of a regular NP. The rule below illustrates one example of this type of change.

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{S}) \quad (\text{PartP}) \quad (\text{Cl}_2) \\ (\text{PartP}) \quad (\text{N Ns } \begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{Cl}_1 \end{array}) \end{array} \right\}$$

Because of these substitution possibilities, a great number of expressions in the grammar are able to be described by only a small number of rules and transformations.

Consider now the following examples:

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|-----|
| (8) | <u>nəpən</u> huyhu | 'he goes to throw death away' | 7H |
| (9) | 'ə'ə <u>lɛ</u> əneçi | 'you will send across' | 130 |
| (10) | 'okal <u>xwiawe</u> le | 'he went out to call the
wolves' | 18E |
| (11) | p'axay <u>ɣiw</u> | 'she went down to get water' | 17G |
| (12) | <u>ɣukkuy</u> tha | 'he was lying there basking' | 11I |
| (13) | kowatə' <u>əm</u> mə? | 'do you not speak?' | 11K |
| (14) | 'ut'apiakə <u>xwia</u> 'ə <u>lhuy</u> 'ayhenyo | 'they usually
send for the priest' | 4J |
| (15) | 'ipəhək <u>wəp</u> hal'aytən | 'after all of them had
arrived' | 120 |
| (16) | tatəwə <u>ɕim</u> ən'aw | 'where I walked to visit' | 13B |
| (17) | tip'a' <u>ole</u> məko | 'since I am going to take up
the water' | 17K |

(18) 'imāṇṭ'ilephale 'they gathered for a search' 18K

These last examples differ from the ones in (1) - (7) by having other elements in addition to the two or more verb bases. Example (8) contains an embedded -nā- before the first verb base. When used in this way -nā- has a non-specific reference similar to "it" in English. However, in Picurís it is used only when reference is made to "time" or something that has a religious connotation. In this example -nā- refers to 'death' or 'the spirit of death'. Some people explain that when -nā- is used in this fashion, some deeper meaning or significance is implied.

The expression 'ā'əlḥānḥi' 'you will send across' contains three verb bases, 'əl' 'send', 'ḥān' 'cross', and 'ḥi' 'come'. In deep structure this expression contains three sentences as shown in Figure 32. If 1 = 5 = 9, then 4 equals 8 and 12. The auxiliaries, 2, 6, and 10 are also equal. Consequently, only the first condition, 1 = 5 = 9, must be stated. The other conditions automatically follow. Since all three sentences contain the same subject noun phrases, auxiliaries, and verb prefixes, they are combined into a single expression by the processes of object-embedding and deletion of redundant items.

In addition to two verb bases, examples (10) and (11) contain an embedded noun object. These noun objects, together with their adjacent verb bases, are elements of

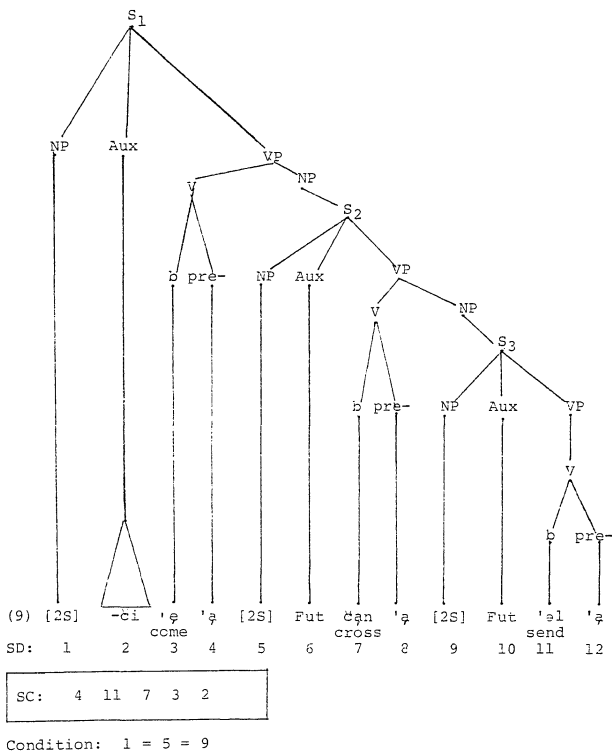


Figure 32

an embedded sentence in deep structure, described by Figure 33. As can be seen from these examples all elements of the embedded sentence which are expressed in surface structure are fronted to the position immediately before the verb base of the dominant sentence. In this sense, complete sentences are incorporated into surface-level verb expressions. By these processes the surface-level ordering of elements can be explained. It is also easier to see how the grammar is reduced to a relatively few basic operations.

Other grammatical elements are also added to these complex verb constructions. In (12) the clitic -tha, meaning 'there', is suffixed to the construction for added specification. The negation element -wa- occurs in (13) along with a rise in intonation, to produce an interrogative expression with a negative reference, kowatə'əmmə?.

Item (14) is a grammatically complex expression containing, in lineal order 1) the verb prefix; 2) a complex noun object containing three bases; 3) three verb bases; 4) a conjunctive clitic; and 5) the emphatic clitic, -yo. The affixed clitics modify the complex verb construction as a whole and are considered elements of the dominant sentence. If they were elements of the embedded subordinated sentence(s), they would be incorporated into

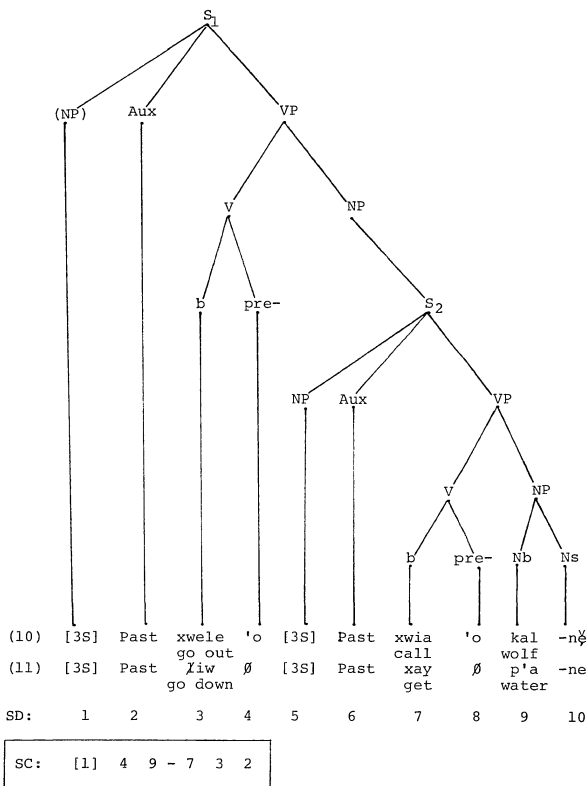


Figure 33

the construction. With the occurrence of these clitics, additional optional elements must be incorporated into the phrase structure rules.

S	→	(NP) Aux VP (Cl ₁) (Cl ₂)
Cl ₁	→	{ Place Conjunction
Cl ₂	→	<u>-yo</u>

The deep structural display for (14) appears in Figure 34.

Starting with the most deeply embedded sentence, S₅, the elements are combined to produce the segment t'a-. This element is then embedded in object position in S₄ to produce the expression t'apia-. T'apia- is combined with the noun base -kà- and this entire unit is then combined with the suffix -ne to yield t'apiakà'ane 'priest', the noun object of S₃. The 'a-, between the base -kà- and the suffix -ne, is a linking vowel supplied in surface structure by the phonological rules since t'apiakà'ane is its absolute form. When this unit is moved before the verb base in S₃, the -ne suffix is deleted, as is the case with all transposed objects. The embedding of the object NP under S₃ produces 'ut'apiakà'axwia 'they called the priest'. This unit is then embedded as the object of S₂ yielding 'ut'apiakà'axwia'əl 'they sent to call the priest'. The latter expression is again embedded in S₁ as the object of huy, yielding the complex expression 'ut'apiakà'axwia'əlhuy

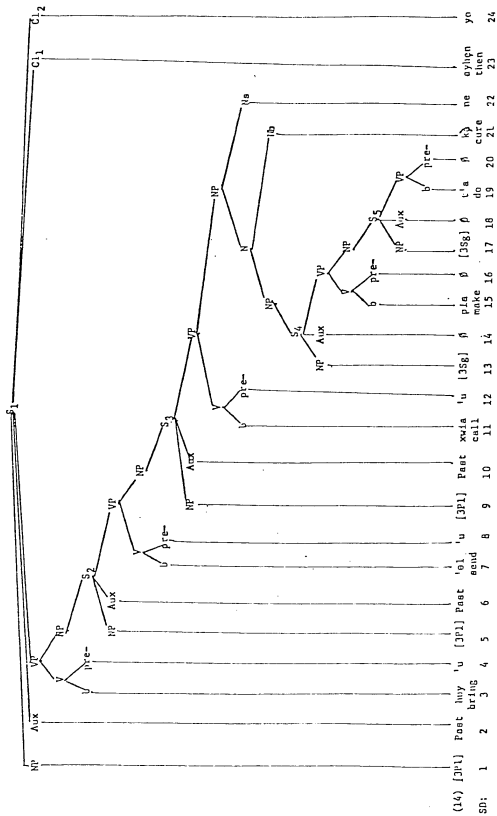


Figure 36

'they went to send to call the priest.' Finally, this entire construction is combined with the two clitics, -'ayhən 'then' and -yō (emphatic) to close the construction. S₄ and S₅ are combined since they contain the same NP subjects. S₁, S₂, and S₃ are combined for the same reason.

Example (18) is very similar to (9), for it also contains three verb bases, -nq-, -t'ile-, and -phal-. The only difference between (9) and (18) is that (18) contains a reflexive prefix, 'ima- 'they-themselves' instead of one of the regular Class A, B, or C prefixes. The deep structure for both (9) and (18) is identical with the difference in surface structure resulting from the operation of the reflexive transformation in (18).

Examples (15) - (17) contain two verb bases and a final clitic. Example (16) has a clitic of place, -'aw 'where'; (15) has the subordinate conjunction, -'aytən 'after' and the embedded object, -ppha- 'all'; and (17) has the subordinate conjunction, -ko 'since' and the embedded noun object, p'a- 'water'.

6.2. Verb-Clitic Constructions

Throughout this study reference has been made to verb constructions which have an accompanying clitic. A form of this type appears in deep structure as a basic sentence and clitic

prefix - verb base - suffix - clitic

The clitic in this type of construction serves one of several different functions. The most common function is to link a sentence to a larger sentence, and, in the process, subordinate it. Frequently, the clitic refers to a place and has the locative meaning 'where' or 'there'; the verb-clitic construction adds more information to the dominant sentence by describing more specifically where something occurs. A second common function of the clitic is very similar to the first, for it, too, subordinates a deep-structure sentence to a larger one. But, this time, the clitic, rather than referring to a place, refers to a temporal location. It is generally translated as either 'when' or 'after'. Besides those which refer to place and time, other subordinating clitics are found also. The more common of these are -ke 'that', -way 'as if', -ko 'since, because', -pa 'because, by,' -ʔn 'if' and -way- ... -ta 'as, the way'.

The verb-clitic construction need not always have a subordinate status. In some cases the clitic functions as a coordinating conjunction rather than a subordinating conjunction. Yet, in other cases, it functions to link a noun phrase to a verb phrase.

6.21. The constructions listed below provide examples of the first type of function. Here, the clitics link and subordinate a sentence in deep structure to a larger

sentence. Generally, the clitics in these examples have the meaning 'where' or 'there'.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|-----|
| (1) | ' <u>ithəppe</u> | 'to where they live' | 9C |
| (2) | ' <u>ithən'aw</u> | 'where they live' | 15N |
| (3) | pi <u>wtha</u> | 'where he died' | 8G |
| (4) | kuy <u>tha</u> | 'where he lay/was lying' | 7P |
| (5) | mə' <u>aw</u> | 'there/where seen' | 6D |
| | | | |
| (6) | kuy <u>thate</u> | 'from where she lay' | 2B |
| (7) | kuy <u>thate</u> | 'from where he is lying' | 7C |
| (8) | pi <u>wthate</u> | 'from where he died' | 8J |
| | | | |
| (9) | wakuy <u>tha</u> | 'there where he lay' | 6L |
| (10) | 'ip'asia ^č <u>īathəppe</u> | 'to where the ghosts live' | 5K |
| (11) | 'it'awt ^l <u>l̄kimmakwil</u> | 'she went up a tall piñon tree' | 18F |
| (12) | Yukkuy <u>tha</u> | 'he was lying there basking in the sun' | 11I |
| (13) | 'ənt'ayxi <u>ataytha</u> | 'to where his people were waiting inside' | 13P |

The underlined clitics in each of these examples are locatives which attach an underlying sentence to a dominant sentence for the purpose of providing additional verb specification. Since a sentence is attached to the clitic, the expression is referred to as a locative clause. Examples

(1) - (5) represent the most basic form for a locative clause. Examples (6) - (8) are the same except that each contains two clitics instead of one, -tha 'there, where' and -te 'from'. In addition to the final clitic, expression (9) contains an embedded particle -wa- 'way over,' (10) an embedded noun, p'asiačia(nč) 'ghosts', and (11) an embedded noun t'aw - 'piñon tree' and an embedded modifying particle tiji 'tall'. The expression Yukkuytha in (12) contains, in addition to the clitic -tha, two verb bases, Yuk 'get warm, bask in the sun' and kuy 'lie'. These verb bases indicate the existence of two separate sentences in deep structure. The -tha clitic is a component of the most dominant sentence and only after the two sentences are combined into one is the clitic affixed to the construction. The unit as a whole is raised to a higher node and the raised construction serves as a dependent locative clause.

Expression (13) illustrates the utilization of several grammatical possibilities in one construction. In addition to its verb base, (13) contains an embedded object consisting of an embedded sentence indicated by the possessive prefix 'an- 'his', and a compound clitic consisting of the two clitics -tay 'in' and -tha 'there', respectively.

6.22. The next group of verb-clitic constructions differs from those above in that they have an expressed verb suffix in surface structure.

(1)	<u>thəpputha</u>	'where he lived'	8C
(2)	<u>kuyputtha</u>	'where he was lying'	7F
(3)	<u>piwənthā</u>	'where he is dying'	5C
(4)	'uxəyāhuyj	'they name these here'	6C
(5)	<u>kəmməpe</u>	'toward where it sets'	5K
(6)	'ənt'ayxia'əmpə	'to where his people were waiting'	15G
(7)	'ənt'ayxia'əm'ay	'at where his people were waiting'	14J
(8)	tatəwāçimən' <u>aw</u>	'where I went for a walk/ to walk'	13B
(9)	məçəməməpun' <u>awte</u>	'from his summoning'	18L

Examples (1) - (5) consist of a verb prefix, a verb base, a verb suffix, and a clitic. In addition to these elements, (6) and (7) contain embedded noun phrases with possessive reference. Example (8) contains two verb bases, təwa 'walk' and çi 'go'. Example (9) contains two verb bases, çəmə 'signal' and mə 'go', and two clitics, -aw 'where' and -te 'from'.

6.23. The next set of examples also consists of dependent locative clauses, but, rather than having a place reference, they have a time reference. The following examples are grouped together because the clitics in them are similar to one another. These clitics are translated as 'when' or 'after.'

(1)	'owəlemən' <u>ay</u>	'when he came out/emerged'	14H
(2)	'owəletən	'as/when he came out'	15F
(3)	piw' <u>ayte</u>	'after he died/dies'	9D
(4)	'iwan' <u>aytən</u>	'after/when they came'	18P
(5)	'iɣaywan' <u>ayte</u>	'after/since many of them came'	4E
(6)	'o'osay' <u>ayte</u>	'after she gives birth to a child'	1I
(7)	'ipɔhakwəphal' <u>ayhən</u>	'after they all had arrived'	12O
(8)	nəŋək'emɔpupun' <u>ayte</u>	'after it got dark'	17B

The first four examples are basic for this construction type. Example (5) contains an additional embedded particle, ɣay 'many' and (6) an embedded noun, 'o'o- 'child'. In (7), appear an embedded particle, pɔha 'all' and two verb bases, kwə 'arrive' and phal 'finish'. Three verb bases, k'e 'set', mɔ 'see', and pu 'happen', along with an embedded -nə-, are found in (8).

Two other segments which refer to time are also found in the text material. One of these is the clitic -nə 'whenever' and the other is the embedded particle -wa- 'before'.

(9)	'iɣayhəlpian <u>na</u>	'whenever they get very sick'	4H
(10)	'inəthiapun <u>na</u>	'whenever they can get around to it'	5D
(11)	<u>wa</u> 'əlwiatha	'before he is carried there'	7D

Notice that -na- in (9) and (10) functions in a similar fashion to the clitics in examples (1) - (8) above, differing only in form. Notice also that the time reference in (11) is indicated by the infix -wa- 'before'. It may be that this time reference marker is infixed because a place reference clitic, -tha, is found in final position.

6.24. The time and place clitics discussed above are among the more common of the subordinating conjunctions in Picurís. Subordinating conjunctions discussed below have the meaning "that" or "for," "as if," "since" or "because" or "about," "by," "if," and "as" or "the way." All of these, together with the time and place clitics, link and subordinate one sentence to another.

6.241. One of the more important subordinating conjunctions is the clitic -ke. It generally implies a purpose for action. Consider its usage in the following constructions:

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|----|
| (1) <u>wilke</u> | 'that he runs; for him to run' | 2K |
| (2) <u>čewke</u> | 'that he hunts; for him to hunt' | 2K |
| (3) <u>paltake</u> | 'that she cook; for her to cook' | 2H |
| (4) <u>telke</u> | 'that she grind; for her to
grind' | 2H |
| (5) <u>yawiake</u> | 'that he be brave; for him to
be brave' | 2J |

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|-----|
| (6) | piyat'ay'ān <u>ke</u> | 'I never talk to people; I
do not speak to people' | 11M |
| (7) | wač <u>ike</u> | 'for his recovery' | 5C |
| (8) | 'imekeč <u>ikke</u> | 'for she will feed them' | 2F |
| (9) | ti'əl <u>ike</u> | 'for I will drive; so I will
drive' | 20B |
| (10) | hučiač <u>ikke</u> | 'for he will be led' | 5L |

In the first four examples the -ke clitic occurs with a basic verb construction. In (5) it occurs with a passive construction and in (6) with an expression having a negative reference. In (7) - (9) -ke occurs in constructions with future reference and in (10) on a passive construction with future reference.

6.242. The subordinating clitic -way is found in the next four examples. It is translated "as if."

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|-----|
| (1) | 'ipiw <u>heway</u> | 'as if they were dying/ about
to die' | 4H |
| (2) | načile <u>meway</u> | 'as if he was sweeping' | 7F |
| (3) | 'itānmiaw <u>meway</u> | 'as if we were wanting help' | 20L |
| (4) | niyapupu <u>wayhēn</u> | 'as if nothing had happened' | 8N |

Example (1) is a basic verb-clitic construction, (2) contains an embedded particle -na- 'it', and (3) contains the embedded base tān 'help'. Example (4) has a negative reference and contains the segment -hēn following the -way

clitic. It is not clear what this final -hen is, but, it is hypothesized that it is part of a discontinuous morpheme having a negative reference.

6.243. The subordinating clitic -ko occurs in the next four examples. Its meaning is variable, as the following examples illustrate:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--|-----|
| (1) | 'ip'ep'ako | 'since they are Christians' | 4G |
| (2) | wakko | 'when he arrived/came' | 140 |
| (3) | 'ipuđiko | 'because it (something) will/
might happen to them' | 19D |
| (4) | tip'a'olemeko | 'I am already about to take
up the water' | 17K |

In (1) -ko occurs in a construction with an embedded noun phrase, p'ep'a 'Christians' and has the meaning "since."

In (2) -ko occurs only with a verb base and has the meaning "when." It has the meaning "because" in (3) where it occurs with a basic verb construction. Finally, in (4), -ko represents the conjunction "about" and occurs with two verb bases, me 'go' and 'ole 'take up', and an embedded noun, p'a- 'water'.

6.244. The subordinating conjunction -pa is also variable in meaning.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------------|----|
| (1) | 'i'e'epa | 'by those who stay' | 6H |
|-----|----------|---------------------|----|

- (2) 'ʔanʔit'əwia'epayo 'by (whoever) cuts its 1B
 navel cord '
 (3) 'akwəŋʔiwilemɛ'epa 'because his wife did 18H & I
 not come up quickly'

In all three of these examples -pa occurs with an accompanying relative clause construction. In (2) -pa accompanies a complex relative clause construction containing an embedded noun phrase made up of an embedded sentence and a passive verb construction. The construction is closed with the emphatic clitic -yo. In (1) and (2) -pa has the meaning "by." In (3) -pa has the meaning "because" which is similar to the meaning of the -ko clitic discussed above. The expression in (3) is also a complex relative clause construction. It consists of an embedded sentence, indicated by the possessive prefix 'a- and the embedded noun object ʔiw- 'his wife'; an embedded adverb particle, -kwəŋ 'not quickly'; and the Set II verb suffix -mɛ.

6.245. The next subordinating clitic, -ʔan 'if', imparts a conditional quality upon its accompanying clause. The following are examples of this type of construction:

- (1) wia'ʔan'ʔan 'if it is/was/were' 2H, 2J
 (2) 'innəmia'ʔan 'if they think/want' 4I
 (3) 'ʔanəthiamɛ'ʔan 'if he can help it' 7N
 (4) 'itt'aypiw'ʔan 'if their people die' 10C
 (5) 'ʔamawia'a'ʔan 'if he has neither/not either' 8F

6.246. Finally, the subordinating clitic -ta or way ...
ta has the meaning "as" or "the way."

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| (1) | ' <u>otholwēlemēnta</u> | 'as the sun rises' | 9F |
| (2) | ' <u>iyayt'</u> akepu(n) | 'the way they used to do' | 4C |
| (3) | ' <u>iyaytaymēnta</u> | 'as they are putting them in' | 6B |
| (4) | ' <u>iyaywiatta</u> | 'as there are' | 12M |
| (5) | <u>way'</u> āmiaputta | 'the way he had been' | 14P |
| (6) | <u>way'</u> ānniamēnta | 'as he emerged/came up' | 15E |
| (7) | ' <u>ayp'</u> asia'āciamēnta | 'as the water is put' | 6E |

This clitic is generally part of a discontinuous morpheme, although it is possible for either of its parts to occur independently as in (1) and (2). Notice the change in the form of the first part of the morpheme as it occurs with different verb prefixes in (2) - (4) and (5) - (7). Rather than having a w in initial position, (7) contains a glottal stop. This alternation between glottal stop and w is common in Picurís. This discontinuous morpheme occurs with both active and passive verb constructions as the examples above illustrate.

6.25. The clitics in the next set of verb-clitic constructions function as prepositions to connect their accompanying noun phrases to their associated verb phrases.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------------------------|----|
| (1) | ' <u>ānāthēkittha</u> | 'his home; to where he lives' | 4K |
| (2) | ' <u>ān'āmqwīama</u> | 'in his mouth' | 6A |

- (3) 'a_nxawiatha 'to his wrist' 1D
 (4) 'a'o'othə'emiawke 'for her child' 2G

In each of these examples the accompanying noun phrase consists of a sentence with a possessive reference. In (1) - (3) the sentence has the form "he has a N." The noun phrase in (4) is more complex. It consists of a sentence of the same form embedded in another sentence. In deep structure, (4) would appear as Figure 35. The surface-level form of this construction is reached through the application of a number of separate transformations. First, the Possessive Transformation is applied to the node dominated by NP₅ to produce the possessive expression 'a'o'othə 'her child'. This construction then is embedded in S₂ by the Object Movement Transformation producing 'a'o'othəwia 'he is her child'. Third, the wia Deletion Transformation is applied to delete wia, leaving 'a'o'othə. Fourth, since NP₃ has the same referent as NP₄, the Relative Transformation is applied producing 'a'o'othə'e 'he who is her child'. Finally, the clitic -miawke 'for' is attached to the relativized noun phrase, NP₂, resulting in the surface-level form 'a'o'othə'em*ia*wke 'for he who is her child' or, more simply, 'for her child'.

6.26. The last set of verb-clitic constructions also contains clitics which link one sentence to another, but, rather than subordinating one sentence to the other, these

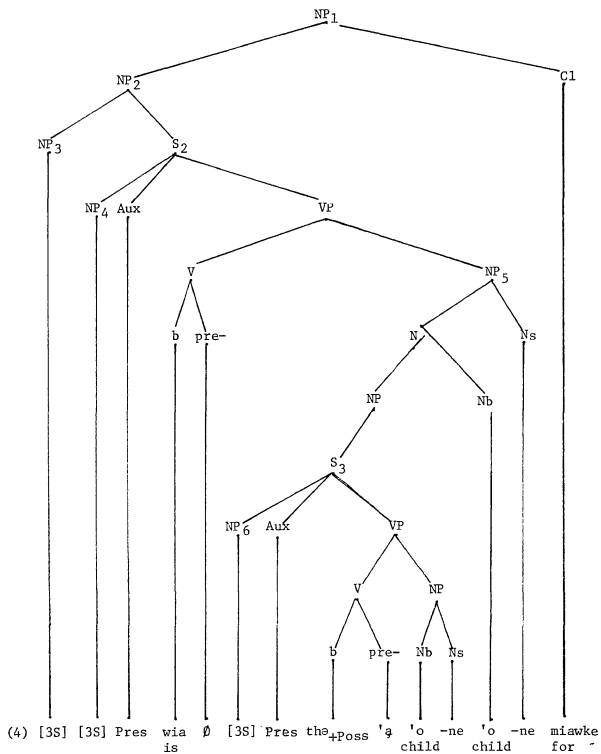


Figure 35

clitics connect parallel and equal entities. Clitics of this type are referred to as coordinate conjunctions. In the following examples the coordinate clitic is 'ayhən 'then'.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|-----|
| (1) | thoʒan' <u>ayhən</u> | 'after it gets dark' | 19B |
| (2) | 'ipp'atay' <u>ayhən</u> | 'they pour the water, then' | 5P |
| (3) | 'ip'amoloməç'o' <u>ayhən</u> | 'she left the water jars
and then' | 17N |
| (4) | wan' <u>ayhənyo</u> | 'when he arrived; after
arriving' | 4L |
| (5) | č'ən' <u>ayhənyo</u> | 'he comes in and then' | 9H |
| (6) | mək'opay' <u>ayhənyo</u> | 'she makes herself nice/
dresses up and then' | 2C |
| (7) | 'ut'apiakəxwia'əlhuy' <u>ayhənyo</u> | 'they usually send
for the priest then' | 4J |

In (1) the clitic 'ayhən is attached to a phrase which translates literally as "sun-past." In (2) it is attached to a verb phrase containing an embedded noun, p'a- 'water'. In (3) the clitic is attached to a verb phrase containing two noun bases, p'a- 'water' and molo- 'jars'. The last four examples, (4) - (7), contain the same 'ayhən suffix but with an additional -yo clitic for emphasis. The construction in (6) is reflexive with an embedded particle -k'o- 'nice'. For a breakdown of construction (7) see Figure 34.

When the passive voice is used in a verb construction, the coordinate clitic -'ayhənyo is changed to -hənyo. This change in form, however, does not affect its meaning or functioning, as evidenced by the following examples:

- | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------------|----|
| (8) | k'u ^ʔ chia <u>hənyo</u> | 'after he is laid' | 5N |
| (9) | 'ank'əmmia <u>hənyo</u> | 'when they have finished' | 5M |
| (10) | 'ənpħənp'a'ək'u ^ʔ chia <u>hənyo</u> | 'a black rainbow is
put, then...' | 5G |
| (11) | 'i'əmmiamə <u>hənyo</u> | 'they are told, then...' | 9P |

6.3. Possessive Verb Constructions

In section 3.33 it was stated that possession in Picurŋis is indicated by a particular set of possessive prefixes occurring with noun objects. These prefixes specify the person and number of the possessor and the class of the possessed noun. However, closer inspection reveals that a possessive prefix is a surface-level manifestation resulting from the application of a possessive transformation upon a more complex underlying structure. In fact, a "simple" noun expression, such as 'əkiane 'his mother', is derived from an underlying sentence containing the verb wia 'be' and a possessive element (Poss), shown in Figure 36.

The following possessive transformation is applied to this underlying structure to produce the expression 'əkiane.

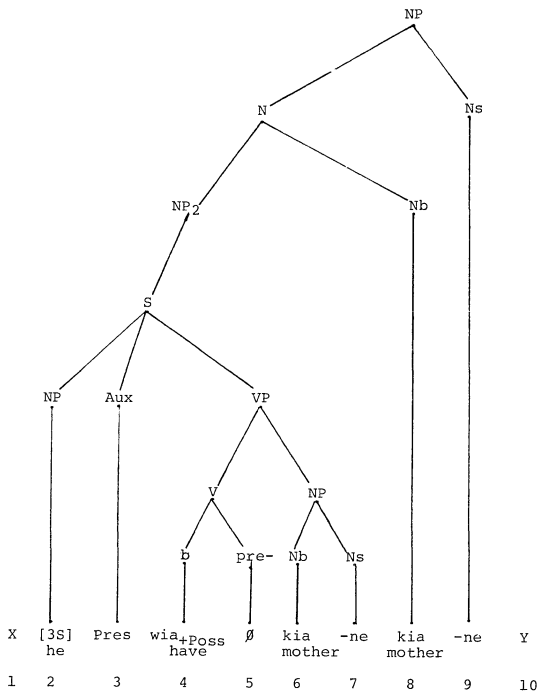


Figure 36

^T
Possessive (Required)

SD:	(X)	(NP)	Aux	<u>wia</u> _{+Poss}	Vpre-	N	Ns	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Ns	(Y)	⇒				
		9	10					

SC: (1) 5_{+Poss} 6 7 (10)

This possessive transformation has the effect of deleting the NP subject, the auxiliary element, and the wia verb base of the underlying sentence. One of the NP objects including base and suffix is also deleted. Only the verb prefix with incorporated possessive element and one of the NP objects are retained. Since the expression is not embedded in a larger construction, the noun class suffix, ne, of the NP object is not deleted.

Possessive expressions can, and frequently do, occur in larger constructions in the language. The three expressions below contain a verb base and clitic in addition to the possessive expression.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------|----|
| (1) | ' <u>an</u> Yamqwiama | 'in his mouth' | 6A |
| (2) | ' <u>an</u> xawiatha | 'to his wrist' | 1D |
| (3) | ' <u>an</u> athekittha | 'to where his house is' | 4K |

Expressions (1) - (3) are derived from the same deep structure.

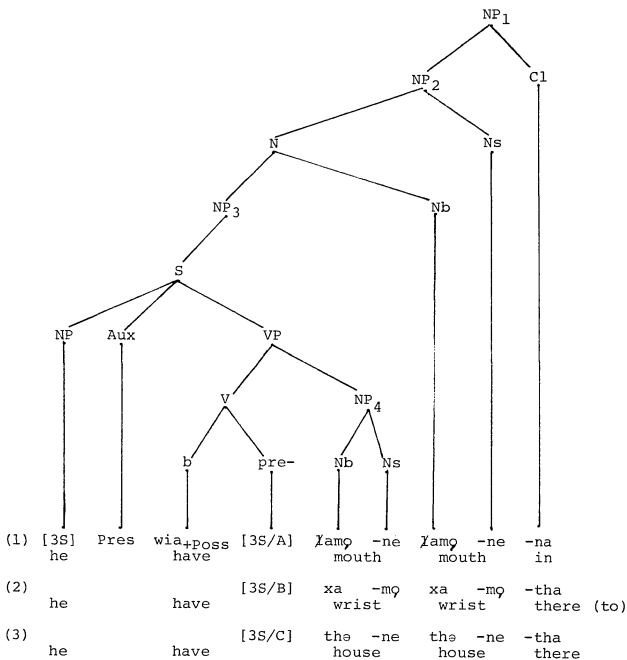


Figure 37

The occurrence of a possessive prefix in each of these examples signals that the possessive transformation has been applied. However, these examples contain an explicit wia or (or -ki) in surface structure suggesting that the possessive transformational rule needs to be modified. In examples (3), 'anath~~ə~~kittha, -ki occurs with the possessive prefix rather than wia. The same situation obtains for the expression

kaxw~~ə~~ki 'you have the tail' 16D

These are the only two such examples in the text material. It appears that -ki is a surface-level variant of wia and is used in those cases in which the quality of possession is of a more temporary nature than when wia is used. In these two instances -ki is used because possession of "the house" and "the tail" may be only temporary. On the other hand, wia is used when referring to relatives or body parts since it is believed that both of these are possessed all of the time.

Before attempting a modification of the possessive transformational rule, first consider the following expressions from section 4.221:

a)	Iamona	'in his/the mouth'	6E
b)	četa	'in his/the eyes'	14E
c)	thəppe	'to the house'	2M

Translation suggests that these constructions are similar to examples (1) - (3), but actually they differ in at least one important respect. Although the words in a) - c) may have an implied possessive meaning, they are not possessive, for, unlike the expressions in (1) - (3), they do not contain a possessive prefix indicating that the possessive transformation has been applied. As noted in section 4.221, the words in a) - c) consist of a noun base, a zero allomorph in suffix position, and a final clitic combined to form a noun phrase. Likewise, the words in (1) - (3) consist of a noun base, zero allomorph, and final clitic, but in addition, each contains an embedded sentence, x has y. The verb base wia and the possessive prefixes are surface-level indications of this fact.

Why then does wia occur in surface structure in some instances of possession and not in others? For example, why does wia not occur in the expression 'ǝkiane' while it does occur in (1) - (3)? Is the deletion of wia part of the Possessive Transformation or is it an additional rule which is applied under certain specific circumstances? Answers to both of these questions will be developed now.

It would seem that the occurrence of a possessive prefix alone would be sufficient to distinguish a) - c) from (1) - (3), but the data above have already shown that this is not the case. In the example 'ǝkiane 'his mother',

the possessive prefix 'ʔ- occurs with the noun, kiane. As shown above, possessive prefixes are verb prefixes, therefore 'a- should occur under the verb phrase node in close association with the verb wia+Poss (see Figure 38).

The same syntactic rules which apply to any S node, apply to the S₂ node in Figure 38 producing the verb expression 'ʔkiawia. The wia verb base and the verb prefix with its incorporated possessive element act as a unit and occur in surface structure. It would appear then that the possessive rule did not delete wia from 'ʔkiane. Why then does 'ʔkiane not have a wia expressed in surface structure?

The next four word constructions are helpful in this regard.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--|-----|
| (4) | ' <u>ʔkiawia</u> | 'she is its mother' | 1H |
| (5) | ' <u>ʔnʔayt</u> 'aykwil | 'his people are the strongest' | 15J |
| (6) | ' <u>ʔnwalk</u> 'owian | 'his good medicine; his
medicine is good' | 9G |
| (7) | ' <u>innaywianyo</u> | 'it is their way/belief;
according to the custom' | 6J |

Notice in (4) that wia occurs in surface structure with 'ʔkia(ne). Notice also that the addition of wia has changed the meaning of the expression from "his (or its) mother" to "she is its mother." Evidently wia in (4) is serving a different function than the wia in the underlying structure

in 'akiane. The wia in the underlying structure of 'akiane indicates possession by acting as a unit with the prefix. The wia in (4) does not act as a unit with the prefix to indicate possession, rather, it is the main verb in the dominant sentence in the underlying structure. In this instance the prefix alone indicates the possessive quality of the imbedded sentence. Expression (4) is generated from the deep structural display shown in Figure 38.

If some minor modifications are made in Figure 38 by the addition of an optional -yo clitic and by a substitution of a particle phrase for the NP under the VP node, expression (7), innaywianyoy, can also be generated. The tree diagram for (7) is Figure 39.

Expressions (5) and (6) again are different. Both contain the verb wia in the dominant sentence, but this time wia does have a possessive quality. Compare their structure in Figure 40 with (4) and (7) above.

First, kwiwil, in (5), is relocated to follow t'ay; and k'o, in (6), moves to the position behind wal in accordance with the rule that moves modifying verbs and particles to the position immediately following nouns which they modify. The noun phrase-words layt'aykwiwlŋ and walk'one result. These two object noun phrases are then embedded in the larger verb phrase and the noun class suffixes are deleted. The possessive transformation is

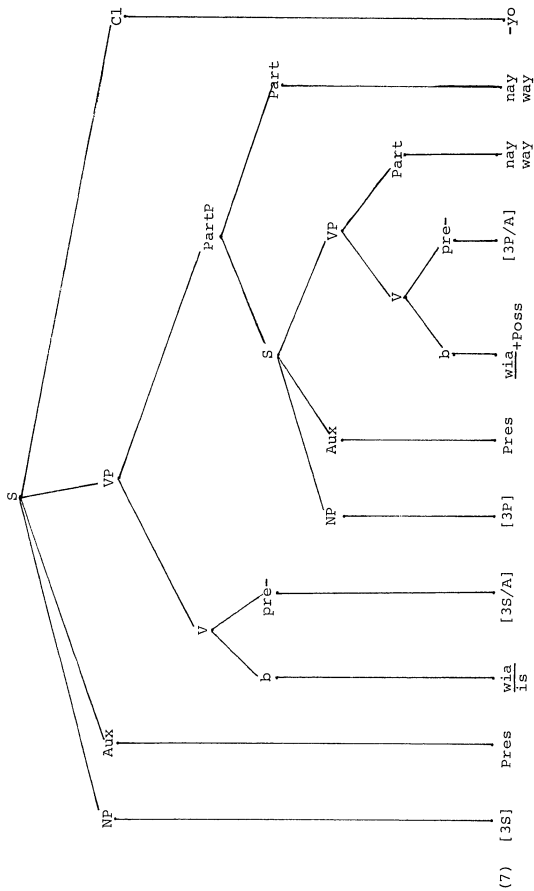


Figure 39

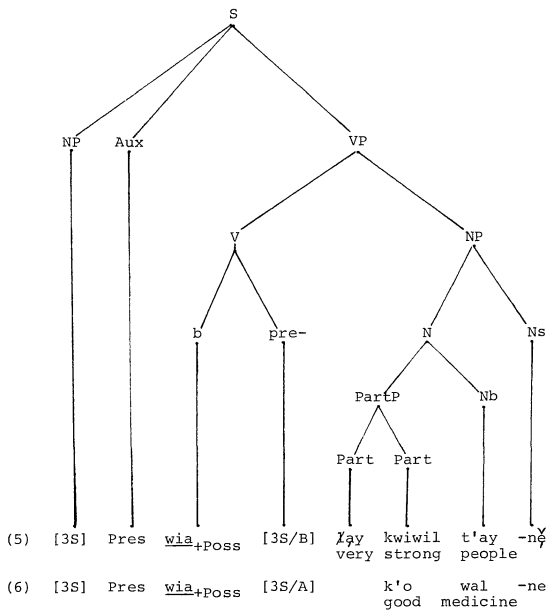


Figure 40

applied to incorporate the possessive element into the prefix yielding in these two instances the prefix 'an-'. All elements are then combined in the usual manner to produce the expressions 'anʔayt'aykwiwilwia and 'anwalk'owian'. The second of these two constructions is the same as (6), but it can readily be seen that the first differs from (5) since it contains wia in final position and (5) contains no such wia. Because (5) and (6) are generated from the same deep structure and are alike in all respects except for this one detail of surface structure, it is reasonable to assume that an optional transformation has been applied in (5) and not in (6).

^TWia Deletion (Optional)

SD: Vpre- (Part) N (Part) -wia - Ø Aux
 1 (2) 3 (4) 5 6



SC: 1 - (2) - 3 -	$\begin{cases} (Ns) \\ (4) \end{cases}$
-------------------	---

Condition: wia is in final position.

Since this rule is optional, wia may occur in surface structure (6), but it does not always need to occur (5). This deletion rule is not restricted in its application to wia expressions containing a possessive element in deep structure. Frequently in Picurís an expression such

as "she is a mother" is rendered as kíane 'mother' and one like "he is the governor" as tápóne 'governor'. In both of these instances, wia has been deleted from the surface-level detail.

Sufficient data are now available to answer the two questions which were asked earlier. Wia occurs in surface structure in some instances and not in others due to the fact that in some cases wia is deleted from surface structure by the application of a wia deletion transformational rule. It is an additional rule which may be applied when wia occurs in surface structure in final position. The deletion rule cannot be applied in the first three examples in this section since a clitic and not the verb base wia occurs in final position.

This being the case, it is now necessary that the possessive transformational rule be modified to reflect the above observations. The possessive rule needs to be changed so that it does not delete wia from surface structure.

Former Rule:

^TPossessive (Required)

SD:	(X)	(NP)	Aux	<u>Wia</u> _{+POSS}	Vpre-	N	Ns	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Ns	(Y)	⇒					
	9	10						

SC: (1) 5 _{+POSS} - 6 - 7 (10)

New Modified Rule:

^TPossessive (Required)

SD:	(X)	(NP)	Aux	[<u>wia</u> _{+POSS}	Vpre-	N	Ns	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			Ns] _{VP}	(Y)	⇒⇒			
		9	10					

SC: (1) 5 _{+POSS} - 6 - ∅ - <u>wia</u> (10)
--

^TWia Deletion (Optional)

SD:	Vpre-	(Part)	N	(Part)	-	wia	-	∅	Aux	⇒⇒
	1	(2)	3	(4)	5	6				

SC: 1 - (2) - 3 - (Ns) (4)

Condition: wia is in final position.

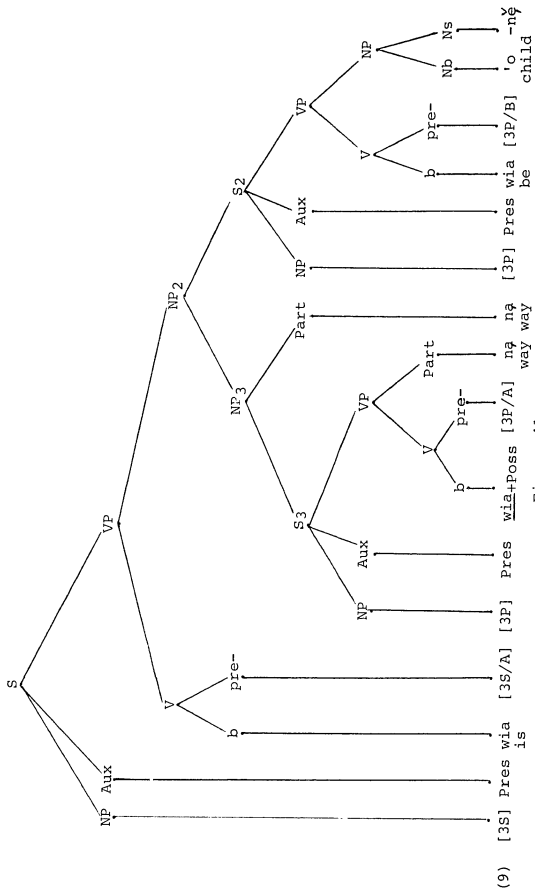
Consider now these possessive verb constructions.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---|----|
| (9) | ' <u>ĩn̄n̄</u> 'osiam̄ | 'it is the way they bear
their children' | 3C |
| (10) | ' <u>in̄t̄</u> 'uy'ām'a | 'they still perform their
ceremonies' | 4F |

(11)	'othëkkalehën	'he ate his breakfast'	11F
(12)	'anãthiamë'än	'if he can help it'	7N
(13)	'innãmiamia'än	'if they think/want'	4I
(14)	'amawia'a'än	'if he has neither'	8F
(15)	'ok'ayãphiaphayhu	'they light their candles'	6M
(16)	'annaykaçapu	'I did not know'	20F
(17)	'anãpìxokwën	'she became afraid'	17N

Construction (9) contains two separate embedded sentences-- one immediately dominated by NP₂ under the VP node, S₂; and the other, S₃, as part of the NP₃ construction immediately dominated by the same NP₂ under the VP node as in S₂ (see Figure 41). The following transformations are then applied to form the construction 'jinnã'osiamõ.

- a) Starting with S₃, the possessive transformation is applied forming the expression 'jinnãwiamia.
- b) The wiamia deletion rule deletes wiamia from final position leaving 'jinnã-
- c) The particle nã is combined with 'jinnã to produce 'jinnãnã.
- d) The equivalent phrase rule then deletes the second particle leaving 'jinnã again.
- e) Then, in S₂, the NP object is moved to the position immediately before the verb base, wiamia, and the noun class suffix is deleted producing the expression, [3P/B] 'owiamia Pres.



- f) NP₃ is combined with S₂ to produce the NP₂ object under the VP node, 'inn̩[3P/B]'owia Pres.
- g) The prefix deletion rule deletes the second prefix leaving 'inn̩'owia Pres.
- h) This NP₂ construction is fronted to the position before the verb base wia of the dominant sentence and the Aux suffix is deleted producing 'inn̩'owiwia.
- i) The second wia is deleted by the equivalent phrase rule which deletes the second of two like expressions.
- j) The prefix, here \emptyset , and the Aux suffix -m̩ are affixed closing the construction.
- k) The phonological rules then change w in wia to s and the surface-level expression 'inn̩'osiam̩ is rendered.

Examples (10) and (11) are similar to (9) above although less complex. Each contains an embedded object phrase composed of a noun and a prefix indicating possessive quality. In deep structure the object noun phrase contains an embedded sentence, and, once the elements of the object noun phrase are combined, they are fronted as a unit to the position immediately before the main verb base. In deep structure, expression (10) contains an additional clitic node, not shown in the tree diagram above, for the element

-a gives additional amplification to the expression by adding the meaning "still." Phonological constraints require the addition of the linking vowel e between the l and h in (11).

Examples (12) - (14) also require the additional clitic node for the -'an in final position in deep structure. In these cases the -'an clitic adds a conditional quality to the expression. Example (15) has an embedded noun phrase object containing an embedded sentence with wia_{+Poss}. Finally, examples (16) and (17) also contain a verb wia with possessive quality. In (16) this verb expression is contained in an embedded subordinate sentence, whereas in (17) the wia verb base with possessive quality is the main verb in the dominant sentence. Although the possessive quality of these last two expressions is not clearly marked in the English translation meaning, the Picurís expressions explicitly mark their possessive nature in the prefix forms.

Given the tree diagrams above, the possessive transformation must be applied, for there is no lexical item for wia + Poss, nor are there abstract possessive noun prefixes as previously stated in section 3.33. As a matter of fact, as the above discussion suggested, possessive prefixes are verb prefixes--not noun prefixes at all. Like any other verb prefixes, possessive prefixes designate the person and number of the subject, i.e., the possessor, and

the class of the object, i.e., the noun possessed. Possessive prefixes differ from other verb prefixes in one respect only--they indicate, by their surface-level forms, the fact that their deep structures include wia plus possessive. Because they differ in this way, they explicitly signal the fact that the possessive transformation has been applied. For this reason, possession in Picuris must be considered a syntactic phenomenon and not a morphemic phenomenon as surface-level examination had indicated earlier. By considering the total process of construction formation, it can be seen, much as Leap has shown for negation in Isletan Tiwa, that possession is a syntactic consequence, or by-product, of the operation of certain Picuris grammatical processes which enables possessive reference to emerge from deep structure.

6.4. Relativization

Relativization is a process whereby a sentence is subordinated as a modifier to a noun phrase or particle phrase when the particle phrase is functioning as a pronoun. Unlike the expressions in section 6.1, relative clauses are not, by themselves, subjects or objects. Rather, they function as modifiers of subject or object noun and pronominal particle phrases.

Within a noun phrase, the noun being modified by a relative clause is called the head noun. The

relative clause characterizes the head noun by providing additional specification for it. The underlying representation of a relative clause must, therefore, contain a noun which is semantically coreferential to a head noun. Only if S_2 contains a noun that is identical with one in S_1 can the relativization transformation take place. The term "identical," as used here, means that S_1 and S_2 contain nouns that have not only the same grammatical structure, but also the same lexical referent.

In Picuris surface structure, relative clauses generally follow head nouns and appear as dependent clauses with the relativization marker 'e attached to the verb. These constructions are formally marked as subordinate constructions, for they contain a Set II verb suffix used only in constructions when the accompanying verb is dependent for its occurrence on some other verb (see section 6.1). Constructions of this type are derived from the relative transformational rule.

6.41. Each of the following two sentences contains a relative clause:

- a) KakkaphoyonǾ Pumele'enǾ C'olmolenǾ thapa wel
 Bumblebees Wasps Honeybees also other
Pumele'enǾ 'uk'iwasia'e 'ipǾhaxwia'Ǿn
 Stingers they-wing-have-rel. he-them-all-call-past.
 'He called all the Bumblebees, Wasps, Honeybees,
 and other Stingers which have wings.' 12G-I.

b) Thapa piwene 'āliahēn pōhan
After dead person bury-passive-past all

t'ay'enē 'očiw piwene
people children-including dead person

kuytha 'ič'en'e p'aykwiw
lay-there they-come in-rel. river

'itukaməhu. 7N-8A

they-bathe-go-present.

'After the dead person has been buried, all the people, including children and all who have been in where the dead person was lying, are to go down to the river to bathe'.

In the first sentence the relative clause is 'uk'iwasia'e 'which had wings'; it modifies the NP wel Pumele'enē 'other Stingers'. In the second sentence the relative clause is 'ič'en'e 'who have been in'; it modifies the NP pōhan t'ay'enē 'all the people'.

Below are listed the fourteen relative clauses found throughout the Picurís text material with their accompanying noun phrases. The relative clauses from a) and b) are repeated as (1) and (2). All of these complex noun phrases may occur in the same environments as less complex noun phrases. The examples below include only the relative clauses and accompanying noun phrases.

After each example the reader is referred to the text line reference for sentence context. The elements which compose the relative clause are underlined in each of the following examples:

- (1) Pumele'enǝ 'uk'iwasia'e 12H
'Stingers who have wings'
- (2) pəhan t'ay'enǝ piwene kuytha 'içen'e 70-P
'all the people who have been in where
the dead person was laying'
- (3) Pəhan t'ay'enǝ çita 'i'ə'epa 6H
'by all the people who are present there'
- (4) 'in'o'čo'o çiake'ohən about two years old
wia'e hallan 22D & E
'their little boy, a small one who is
about two years old'
- (5) Çinne wel p'axwinǝ T'ə'aw 'onayp'issian
mə'aw 'osia'e 6B-D
'different springs of the mountains
about the Pueblo'
- (6) wat'ə sənene nəpiwənhuypu'e 9F-G
'that man who threw death away'
- (7) nəkwət'ay'enǝ yj p'in'aw 'ithə'e 12J-K
'the four-footed animals that live in
the mountains'

- (8) wən sənene he'amq'e 7D
'a man who is no kin to him'
- (9) wo t'ay'eně 'ipiw'e 7K
'all the people who die'
- (10) 'ĩ'íne č'olowen mọ'eyo 1F
'An ear of yellow corn'
- (11) 'ĩ'íne 'akiakuypu'e 2M & N
'the ear of corn which lay as its mother'
- (12) Īiwene 'o'one siačiapu'eyo 2P-3A
'the woman who bore the child'
- (13) Piwene 'aĭaymọ'e 8D
'the dead person's nearest relative'
- (14) 'it'aymọyo'e piyat'ay'ąnke 11L & M
'I never speak to such looking
people as that'

Each of the noun phrases being modified by the above relative clauses is a constituent of a more dominant sentence. In deep structure the relative clause appears as a sentence subordinated to or embedded in one of these noun phrases as illustrated by Figure 42. When the dominant sentence and the subordinate sentence are combined into one complex sentence, the shared noun in S_2 is completely deleted, as can be seen

in the examples above. However, as in all Picurís verb constructions, if the deleted noun is the sentence subject or object, it is still represented by the subject-object prefix in the relative clause construction.

All of the preceding remarks concerning the formation of relative clauses, the relativization marker, and the deletion of NP₂ of the subordinated sentence are taken into account in the formulation of the relativization transformation.

T_{Relative}

SD: NP₁ # X NP₂ Aux VP #
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 \Rightarrow

SC: 1 3 6 - 5	Set _{II}	'e

Condition: NP₁ = NP₂

This transformational rule

- (a) deletes the identical noun in the subordinated sentence, NP₂;
 - (b) erases the sentence boundary markers around the subordinated sentence;
- and (c) introduces the relativizer 'e in the subordinated sentence and attaches it to the resulting subordinate sentence construction.

Within the general structure of the relative clause, many kinds of construction possibilities are found. Example (9) illustrates the most basic structure, consisting of the verb prefix 'i-, the verb base piw, the subordinate present suffix \emptyset , and the relativizer -'e. Verbs that are subordinated and which are expressed in present time, as are most of the verbs above, have an Aux suffix expressed as \emptyset in surface structure. Subordinate verbs which express a past time contain -pu as an Aux suffix in surface structure (6), (11), and (12).

The other thirteen examples above are grammatically more complex. The nature of this complexity reveals that the relative transformation is applied only after the embedded sentence has undergone other transformations. For example, in (1) the object k'iwa(n \emptyset) 'wings' is moved before the verb base, the Aux \emptyset is suffixed to the combined bases, and the 'u- prefix is affixed to the noun-verb complex, all before the relative transformation is applied. Then, to delete Pumele'en \emptyset and the sentence boundary markers and to affix the relativizer -'e to the embedded construction, the relative transformation is applied. The entire construction is then raised to the dominant NP node and as a unit is combined with other dominant sentence elements.

In examples (2) and (7) additional words are found between the head noun and the actual relative clause construction. These words, piwene⁺kuytha 'where the dead

person was lying' and yi⁺p'in'aw 'in the mountains', additionally modify the verbs in the embedded sentences. In this sense each set of words functions as a locative noun phrase. In expression (2) this locative phrase is itself an embedded sentence (see Figure 43). Expression (7) differs only in that it contains two particle phrases under the VP node of the embedded sentence, instead of one, as in sentence (2). The VP node of the embedded sentence for (7) would appear as in Figure 44. As has been discussed in another section (6.2), locative noun phrases, like noun objects, are moved to a position before the verb base, but, unlike noun objects, they generally are not embedded in the verb construction itself. Rather, they occur immediately before the verb constructions which they modify. Such is the case in (2) and (7), as well as in (3) and (5). Again, this rearrangement takes place before the relative transformation is applied.

Expression (3) presents an interesting contrast, for it represents an instance where grammatical material occurs in a construction after the relativizer -'e, rather than before. In deep structure this construction would appear as it does in Figure 45. As before, the appropriate transformations are applied to the embedded sentence. The relative transformation is applied to the new construction and the resulting relative clause is raised to the NP node dominating the embedded sentence. The clitic -pa is added

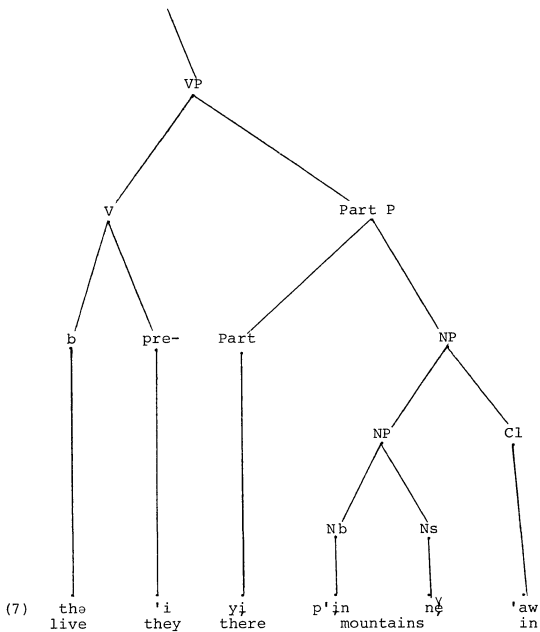


Figure 44

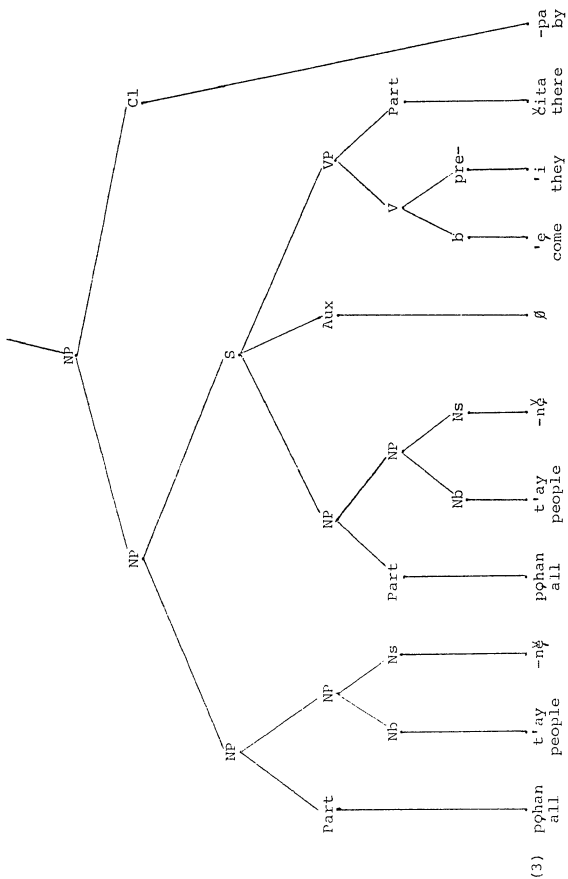


Figure 45

to form the even more dominant NP node and as a unit the whole is combined with other elements to form a complete sentence. Thus it can be seen that the additional grammatical material occurring after -e in (3) is the result of higher-level syntactic operations rather than a syntactic operation preceding a relative transformation on the same level.

The fourth construction is similar to (3) in that the term hallan 'about' occurs after the relative clause wia'e. Again, hallan is part of a larger construction. Since the English term "about" is used before "two years old" and hallan, translated 'about', is given after the relative clause, it appears that hallan is part of a discontinuous morpheme, much like the -a following mile in the expression Čoho wesen mile'a 'about two miles'.

Expression (5) is a complex expression consisting of a head noun phrase composed of three separate terms, činnę wel p'axwinę 'those different springs,' a relative clause 'osia'e 'that there are,' and two locative expressions. One locative expression consists of a noun and clitic T'ə'aw 'about the Pueblo' and the other of a particle and an embedded sentence, 'onayp'issian⁺mə'aw 'in the middle of the mountains'. Literally, this last expression is translated as "in the middle there are mountains there," but, combined with the relative clause expression, free translation renders it "in the middle of

the mountains." These data suggest that relative clauses may play an important role in the formation of certain types of possessive expressions. In this regard, example (10) is also of interest for the relative clause c'olowen⁺mq⁺eyo, literally, 'it that looks yellow,' performs an adjectival function. Here, instead of being rendered "an ear of corn that looks yellow (emphasis)," it is translated as "an ear of yellow corn." Granted, these remarks are based primarily upon translation meaning, but, nonetheless, the data are suggestive enough to warrant further investigation into the relationship that may exist among relative clauses, adjectives, and possessive expressions in Picurís.

The relative clause in (8), he'amq'e 'who is no kin to him', consists of an expression with a negative reference. In (14) the negative reference is not carried by the relative clause, but by the expression which contains the head noun, t'ay('enǵ) 'people'. Expression (14) is also interesting in another respect. This is the only case in which the head noun, the noun being modified by the relative clause, is incorporated into the dominant verb complex. Because the head noun in this expression is under the verb node in deep structure, it is moved before the verb base along with the expression which modifies it. Consequently, the relative clause precedes its head noun and the dominant verb expression in this instance.

The relative clause in the sixth expression contains two verb bases indicating that it, in itself, consists of a dominant and a subordinate clause. In addition, it contains an embedded noun -piw- 'death' and an embedded particle -na- 'it'. (Figure 46) The surface level arrangement of this construction confirms the fact that all the required transformations are applied to the embedded sentence under the #S# node before the relative transformation occurs.

Expression (11) contains an embedded possessed object 'akia- 'as its mother' in its relative clause. The relative clause in (13) also contains a possessive phrase, but rather than consisting of a possessive prefix and a noun, it consists of a possessive prefix and a particle, 'aɣay. The possessive connotation of this expression again attests to the suggested close interaction between relative clauses and possessive expressions in the language.

Expression (12) contains a different type of construction as part of its relative clause formation. This construction type is signaled by the occurrence of -ɕia- and results from the operation of the passive transformation (see section 5.6).

Finally, a brief note is made regarding the positioning of the -yo clitic in (10), (12), and (14). Notice that -yo occurs following -'e in (10) and (12), while it precedes -'e in (14). This difference in positioning can be

accounted for by deep structure detail. In (14) the -yo clitic is part of the embedded sentence which becomes relativized, whereas, in (10) and (12) the -yo clitic is part of the most dominant noun phrase construction and is affixed only after the embedded sentence has undergone relativization and become part of the more dominant noun phrase construction.

6.42. Consider now these relative clause constructions.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---------------------|--|----------------------|---------------|
| (1) | čut'ə | <u>'aɫəyɔ'eyowa</u> | 'his next nearest
(relative)' | 8F | |
| (2) | hele | <u>həlt'apu'e</u> | 'whatever bad that he did' | 4L | |
| (3) | wel | čune heleyi | <u>načəpu'e</u> | <u>'innəpupu'eyo</u> | 8K-L |
| | | | 'of other things, anything
that happened, that hap-
pened to them' | | |
| (4) | čit'ə | <u>nana'e</u> | 'and during this time' | 1J | |
| (5) | čune | <u>'imiawmə'e</u> | 'those who wish' | 8B | |
| (6) | Pəhan | <u>'ant'aywia'e</u> | sən ⁺ ɹiwphil | <u>čitha</u> | <u>'i'ə'e</u> |
| | | | 'All of his relatives, men
and women, that are there' | 6M-N | |
| (7) | čut'ə | <u>kalhəkkepu'e</u> | 'of the food that he
used to like' | 7B-C | |

The variety and detail of these relative clause constructions is similar to those discussed above. However,

they differ in that these relative clauses modify a particle or a particle phrase instead of a head noun. But, as might be expected, the reference alluded to by the particles has either already been specified or is being specified by the relative clause itself, and, therefore, easily inferred. For instance, ʏcut'ə 'that one' in (1), through specification by its following relative clause, takes on a noun-like quality which indicates that ʏcut'ə actually refers to "that person" or "that next nearest relative." In other words, these particles, elsewhere referred to as demonstrative pronouns (see 3.52), function in the same way as nouns, and can, therefore, function also as head nouns.

6.43. The last set of relative clause expressions is found to occur without any overtly expressed head noun or particle.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---|-------|
| (1) | <u>kaʏay⁺t'aykwiwil'e</u> | 'your best man' | 13N |
| (2) | <u>'Ixə'e</u> | 'it is called' | 5I |
| (3) | <u>'ə'o'othə'emīawke</u> | 'for her child' | 2F |
| (4) | <u>'ənt'aywia'e</u> | 'his people' | 12F |
| (5) | <u>həl'e</u> | 'to a sick person' | 5A |
| (6) | <u>'Asətthə'e</u> | <u>'akwənyiwīlemə'epa</u> | 18H-I |
| | | 'Her husband, when his wife
did not come up from below
quickly' | |

In each of these expressions the term which is being modified by the relative clause expression is a pronoun, which, in Picurís, is generally not expressed in surface structure. Unless emphasis is desired, there is no need for explicit pronoun indication, for the necessary reference required for clarity is indicated by the verb prefix--a grammatical element which is always required. Therefore, although it appears that these relative clauses are occurring without a head noun, in actuality they are modifying a pronoun which, despite the fact that it occurs unexpressed in surface structure, is taking the place of and fulfilling the functions of a head noun.

6.44. Conclusion

In summary it can be said that relative clauses are embedded sentences which generally follow and modify head nouns, pronouns, and certain particles functioning as demonstrative pronouns. In deep structure the embedded sentence contains a noun coreferential to the head noun which it characterizes by providing additional specification. The embedded or subordinate sentence is combined with the dominant expression by means of a relative transformation which (1) deletes the identical noun in the subordinated sentence; (2) erases the sentence boundary markers around the subordinated sentence; and (3) introduces the relativizer -'e in the subordinated sentence and

attaches it to the resulting subordinate sentence construction. The relative transformation applies subsequent to all other transformations to form the subordinate sentence construction.

6.5. Negation

In this section, Picurís expressions with a negative reference will be discussed. Most Picurís affirmative sentences have negative counterparts. The following are the negative examples found in the text material.

(1)	'uwawəlemə	'they do not go out/go forth'	19C
(2)	'owawəlemə	'he does not go out/go forth'	7N
(3)	'owatəntiamə	'it (that) did not help him any'	14F
(4)	'owa ⁺ praysez ⁺ məmə	'he doesn't look at the prices'	22G
(5)	kowato'əmmə	'do you not speak?'	11K
(6)	'iyat'amə	'they do not do; they no longer do'	4D
(7)	ɣəwtiya'əmia	'I did not last very long'	15L
(8)	piyat'ay'ənke	'I never talk to people; I do not speak to people'	11M
(9)	niyapupuwayhən	'as if nothing had happened'	8N
(10)	miyaxaymə	'he/she does not go away'	8H
(11)	miyaxwiwemə	'she does not get up'	1I
(12)	məməpə	'you must not go'	15O

(13) mɔ́pínɛpɔ

'you must not think any
more about it'

9L

Comparing (1) 'uwawəlemɛ with its affirmative counterpart, 'uwəlehu, it is noted that the negative expression differs from the affirmative one in two respects. In surface structure, the negative expression contains the marker -wa- after its prefix and a Set II verb suffix rather than a Set I verb suffix. The same observation holds for examples (2) - (5), despite the fact that the expressions in (3) - (5) are grammatically more complex.

Examples (6) - (8) contain the infix -ya- instead of -wa-. This difference is accounted for by a phonological rule which changes w to y following i in surface structure. Examples (9) - (11) also contain ya following i in surface structure. However, these instances differ from (6) - (8) in that the i in (9) - (11) results from the application of a second phonological rule which changes an underlying ɔ̄, in the prefix nɔ̄-, to i before w in surface structure. This second phonological rule is applied before the other phonological rule which changes w to y after i.

Although the expressions in (12) and (13) contain subordinate suffixes with future reference, these examples differ from the others above by not having a -wa- or -ya- expressed in surface structure. Instead, these examples contain high, rather than mid, tone on the prefix nɔ̄-.

This difference is also accounted for by a phonological rule which rewrites $m\bar{a} + ya$ as $m\bar{a}^y$.

It can, therefore, be said that a negative sentence in Picurís is one which contains in surface structure a Set II (subordinate) suffix and a -wa- surface marker, or one of the phonological variants of wa--ya or high tone on the prefix $m\bar{a}^y$ -. The question that now arises is why are sentences with negative reference marked in this fashion?

Leap (1974:3-4), in his discussion of Isletan Tiwa negation, finds a similar set of circumstances. He argues that Isletan negative sentences involve clause subordination as indicated by their temporal suffixes. He is drawn to this conclusion by the fact that such suffixes are generally found associated with subordinate or dependent clauses. Since a sentence can only be subordinated in the syntactic presence of a dominating "main" sentence construction, Leap concludes that a corresponding affirmative sentence must underlie the negative expression.

Applying this same reasoning to Picurís, the deep structure for (1) above would appear to be as shown in Figure 47. The affirmative expression, 'uwəlehu 'they go out/go forth,' is subordinated under a noun phrase node in the dominant sentence construction. As in Isletan Tiwa, the first noun phrase in the dominant sentence is the same as the first noun phrase in the subordinated sentence. In addition, the dominant construction contains

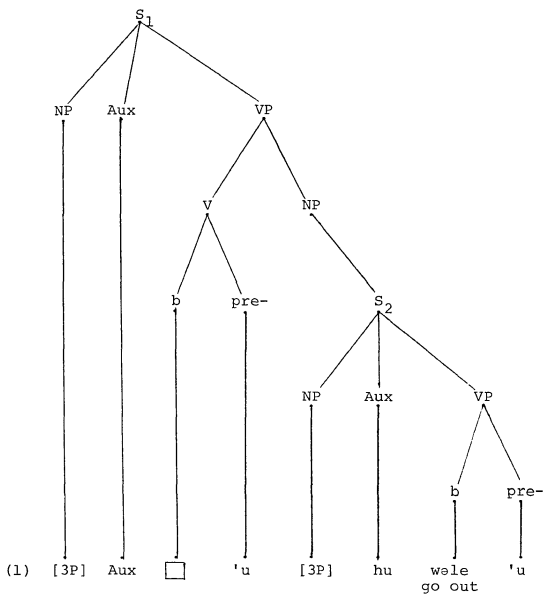


Figure 47

an unspecified Aux component, an empty verb base, and the appropriate cross referencing verb prefix. This display yields the following underlying sentence string:

[3P] Aux □ 'u [3P] hu wəle 'u.

Simultaneous application of the regular sentence-internal transformations to both sentences, produces the following:

[3P] 'u- □ -Aux [3P] 'u wəle hu.

The transformations are applied simultaneously in order to preserve their equivalency. The second sentence is then marked as subordinate by the replacement of the -hu suffix in S₂ by -mɛ, the temporally equivalent dependent suffix.

3P of the subordinated sentence is then deleted by the noun phrase equivalence transformation producing 3P 'u-Aux 'u wəle mɛ. The noun phrase equivalence transformation then deletes the second prefix leaving 3P 'u Aux wəle mɛ. This string differs from the expression in (1) only in that the "negative marker" -wa- occupies the surface position correlate of the Aux element in deep structure. This situation in Picuris exactly parallels one of the negation possibilities described by Leap for Isletan Tiwa (1974:6). It is thus concluded that negative markers in Picuris and Isletan Tiwa are surface-level manifestations of an underlying Aux component. As Leap has explained, negative markers are a consequence of a subordinate prefix

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.0. Language is the learned system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a society, interact and communicate in terms of their culture (Trager 1972:7). Through internalizing his language, a speaker is able to translate his thoughts into utterances and to deduce the meaning of the utterances of others. A speaker also is able to create and understand novel utterances, ones which he has never before encountered. He is able to do these things because the sound-meaning correlations of his language are governed by rules rather than being random and arbitrary.

A linguistic analysis is an attempt to discover and describe language regularities by recognizing both pattern and structure. Rules or principles express the regularities found in the structure of a language. These terms also are used for the statements made to describe these regularities. The grammar of a language, therefore, is the compilation of its rules.

The main goal of this study has been to present a descriptive statement of Picurís syntax in terms of

constructions contained in the Harrington texts, included as Appendix A to this study. The data for the syntactic analysis came from four texts originally published by Harrington in 1928, but updated in 1975 with the help of a Picurfs consultant. In the updating process, aspects of Harrington's transcriptions were changed or modified, but the actual constructions have remained intact. During the data collection phase each construction was broken down morpheme by morpheme in order to identify the patterns in the surface-level arrangements. In the analysis phase each construction was categorized according to the types of grammatical elements it contained. The data in each category were analyzed starting from the most basic form to the most complex. A deep structural display was presented for each category of constructions. Displays were compared to surface-level forms in order to determine how the latter were derived. The resulting transformational rules were sequentially applied to each deep structure string, starting with the most deeply embedded, until the surface-level forms were obtained. This process was continued until all of the constructions in the four texts were considered.

7.1. As used in this study, syntax refers to the sentence-level arrangements and the underlying processes involved in the formation of grammatical constructions. In order to discern the sentence-level arrangements, it was necessary

to delineate the patterns of combinations between bases and affixes in specific words, phrases, clauses, and sentence-level constructions. The processes underlying the formation of grammatical constructions were revealed as a result of discovering the language-wide rules and constraints which govern the possible combinations permitted in specific constructions.

7.2. The grammar of Picurís can be summarized by two sets of rules. The base or phrase structure rules describe the most basic underlying structures of the language. These rules also specify the options and the possibilities for the expansion of each deep-structural component. The second set of rules, the transformational rules, account for the configurational differences between the deep and surface structures. Both sets of rules attempt to capture the regularities implicit in the linguistic data.

7.21. The textual analysis has revealed the following base rules for the Picurís language.

Summary of Base Rules

<u>B 1</u>	#S#	→	#Ŝ# (#S# + Cl ₁)
<u>B 2</u>	#Ŝ#	→	(PartP) (NP) Aux VP (Cl ₁) (Cl ₂) (Q)
<u>B 3</u>	Cl ₁	→	}
			Cl _{subord}
			Cl _{coord}

<u>B 4</u>	Cl ₂	→	Emphatic
<u>B 5</u>	Q	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Q_{\text{sentence}} \\ Q_{\text{word}} \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 6</u>	PartP	→	(NP) Part $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PartP} \end{array} \right\}$ (Cl ₂)
<u>B 7</u>	VP	→	V (NP) (NP) (PartP)
<u>B 8</u>	V	→	b pre-
<u>B 9</u>	Aux	→	Tense Aspect Mode Voice
<u>B 10</u>	Tense	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Past} \\ \text{Present} \\ \text{Future} \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 11</u>	Aspect	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Perfective} \\ \text{Durative} \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 12</u>	Mode	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Indicative} \\ \text{Imperative} \\ \text{Stative} \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 13</u>	Voice	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Active} \\ \text{Passive} \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 14</u>	NP	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ((S) (\text{PartP}) (\text{Cl}_2)) \\ ((\text{PartP}) (\text{N Ns} (\text{Cl}_1^S))) \end{array} \right\}$
<u>B 15</u>	N	→	(NP) Nb

A Picurfs sentence may be a basic sentence or a coordinated structure composed of two or more basic sentences linked by a clitic. Recursiveness is an important property of the grammar as it accounts for the possibility of generating an unlimited number of basic sentences within one complex sentence. Base Rule 1 permits recursiveness. The #S# in Base Rule 2 represents a basic sentence which must contain an auxiliary component and a verb phrase. These two elements are optionally preceded by a particle phrase and or a noun phrase and optionally followed by one or two clitics and/or Q (interrogation).

Certain elements have been deliberately omitted from Base Rule 2 because additional data will be required before they can be adequately treated. These elements include intonation, junctures, and the stress patterns which are required elements in every sentence.

The first type of clitic, Cl_1 , may be rewritten as either a coordinating or subordinating clitic (B 3). The second type of clitic, Cl_2 , is rewritten as an emphatic clitic (B 4). By Base Rule 5, Q may be rewritten as either an interrogative sentence or as an interrogative word. Base Rule 6 expands a particle phrase into a required particle, optionally preceded by a noun phrase and optionally followed by either a noun phrase or another particle phrase. These particle phrases may be moved rather freely within a sentence.

Base Rule 7 expands a verb phrase into a required verb and one or two optional noun phrases and/or a particle phrase. In Base Rule 8 the verb is divided into two required components--a base and a prefix. The Aux element in Base Rule 9 is expanded into its four components, each of which is expanded in the next four Base Rules, 10 - 13.

There are several different options for the rewriting of a noun phrase (B 14). It may be expanded as a sentence and/or a particle phrase, optionally followed by a Cl₂. Or, it also may be expanded as a noun and noun suffix optionally followed by either a clitic or a sentence. By convention, at least one of these options must be chosen, although two or three may be selected simultaneously. The four possibilities are a sentence and a particle phrase; a particle phrase and a noun and noun suffix; a particle phrase, a noun and noun suffix (NP) and a sentence; or a noun and noun suffix with clitic (NP+Cl). Base Rule 15 expands a noun to a required base preceded by an optional noun phrase.

It was noted earlier that recursiveness is an important property of the grammar. This recursive property is derived from the interaction of S, NP, and N according to the following rules.

S	→	(NP)	Aux	VP	(B 2)
NP	→	(S)	(N	Ns)	(B 14)
N	→	NP	Nb		(B 15)

Every sentence is allowed to contain one or more noun phrases, which in turn may contain a noun or a sentence, which in turn contains a noun phrase, and so on. These rules predict that, in principle, there is no limit to the length of a sentence or noun phrase in the language.

7.22. The transformational rules of the language modify the base rules by deleting elements or replacing them, by inserting particular elements, and by rearranging the constituent structure.

Summary of Transformational Rules

^T₁ Compound-Noun-Phrase-Word

SD: [N Ns N Ns]_{NP} \implies
 1 2 3 4

SC: 1 - \emptyset - 3 - 4

^T₂ Particle-Noun-Phrase-Word

SD: [Part N Ns]_{NP} \implies
 1 2 3

SC: 2 - 1 - 3

T₃ Sentence-Noun-Phrase-Word

SD: [[Aux Vb Vpre- NP]_S (N) Ns]_{NP} ⇒⇒
 1 2 3 4 (5) 6

SC: 4 - 2 - (5) - 6

T₄ Noun-Clitic

SD: N Ns Cl ⇒⇒
 1 2 3

SC: 1 - ∅ - 3

T_{5Q} Sentence

SD: #, X NP Aux VP, (Q_{Sentence}) ⇒⇒
 1 2 3

SC: 1, (hoko), 2 Q_{intonation}

T_{6Q} Word

SD: #, X, NP Aux VP, Q_{Word} ⇒⇒
 1 2 3 4

SC: 1 Q_{Word} 2 3 Q_{intonation}

^T₇ Imperative

SD: NP Aux (Imperative) Vb Vpre- \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 5 - 4 - \emptyset

^T₈ Object Movement

SD: (NP) Aux [Vb Vpre- N Ns]_{VP} \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: (1) 2 5 - \emptyset - 3 4

^T₉ Reflexivization

SD: (NP) Aux [Vb Vpre- NP ([N Ns Cl]_{NP})]_{VP} \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC: (1) 4 - +Reflexive (6 - \emptyset - \emptyset) - 3 - 2

^T₁₀ Particle Movement

SD: (NP) Aux [Vb Vpre- PartP (N Ns)]_{VP} \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: (1) 2 5 - (6 \emptyset) - 3 4

^T₁₁ Passivization

SD: NP₁ Aux Pass [Vb Vpre- (N Ns_{NP2})]_{VP} ⇒⇒
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 5 - (6 - ∅) - 4 - Cia - 2

^T₁₂ NP-Cl Movement

SD: NP₁ Aux (Pass) [Vb Vpre- N Ns Cl]_{VP} ⇒⇒⇒
 1 2 (3) 4 5 6 7 8

SC: 1 6 - ∅ - 8 5 - 4 - (Cia) - 2

^T₁₃ Wia Deletion (Optional)

SD: Vpre- (Part) N (Part) - wia - ∅ Aux ⇒⇒
 1 (2) 3 (4) 5 6

SC: 1 - (2) - 3 { (Ns) }
 { (4) }

Condition: wia is in final position.

^T₁₄ Aux Suffixation

SD: (NP) Aux (N) Vb Vpre- ⇒⇒
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: (1) 3 - 4 - 2 5

^T₁₅ Verb prefixation

SD: (NP) (N) - Vb - Aux Vpre- \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: (1) 5 - 2 - 3 - 4

^T₁₆ Possessive

SD: (X) (NP) Aux [wia₊ POSS Vpre- N Ns
 (1) (2) 3 4 5 6 7
 N Ns]_{VP} (Y) \Rightarrow
 8 9 (10)

SC: (1) 5_{+Poss} - 6 - \emptyset - wia (10)

^T₁₇ Prefix-Deletion

SD: X [Vpre₁- Vb] Vb Aux Vpre₂- \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 \emptyset - 3 - 4 - 5 6

Condition: Vpre₁- = Vpre₂-
 (2 = 6)

^T₁₈ Relativization

SD: NP₁ # X NP₂ Aux VP # \Rightarrow
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 3 6 - 5_{Set II} - 'e

Condition: NP₁ = NP₂

T₁₉ Negation

SD: NP₁ Aux₁ Vb₁ Vpre₁- NP₂ Aux₂ [Vb₂
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Vpre₂- (NP)]_{VP} ⇒
 8 9

SC: 1 4 - wa - (9) - 7 - 6_{subord}

Condition: NP₁ = NP₂ and Vb₁ =

T₂₀ Conjunction Reduction

SD: X₁ NP₁ VP₁ # X₂ NP₂ VP₂ # Cl_{coord} ⇒
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

SC: 1 2 3 5 7 9

Condition: NP₁ = NP₂

VP₁ ≠ VP₂, but are of the exact same
 grammatical nature.

T₂₁ VP Conjunction Reduction

SD: VP₁ # Z VP₂ # Cl_{coord} ⇒
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 3 4

Condition: $VP_1 = VP_2$, and if VPs contain NPs,
then $NP_1 = NP_2$.

7.3. Together, the base rules and the transformational rules make up the grammar of Picurfs. These rules specify the relationship between the meanings of sentences and their surface structures. The surface structure of a sentence consists of a string of lexical elements grouped into hierarchically arranged units. Sometimes meaningless elements occur in surface structure. At other times elements of meaning are not explicitly expressed in the surface structure. However, meaning, whether expressed in surface structure, or not, is present in underlying structure. These covert categories of language structure are revealed by transformational rules.

The syntactic derivation of a sentence involves the sequential application of a series of rules. The result of each rule's application is an intermediate structure which serves as input for the next rule. Many of the rules are ordered; that is, they must be applied in a specified sequence. A good example of the importance of sequence is provided by the ordering of the Object Movement and Particle Movement transformational rules. These must be applied before the Aux Suffixation and Verb Prefixation rules. This

ordering is necessary so that the prefix can be affixed to the relocated noun base or particle rather than to the verb base. Of course, it must be remembered that the sequential relationships are purely structural, not ones which a speaker consciously considers as he constructs a sentence. Through this process transformations yield the modified or derived structures which more closely resemble surface structure forms.

The transformational rules consist of reduction, insertion, and rearrangement. The Compound-Noun-Phrase-Word, the Noun-Clitic, the Prefix-Deletion, and the Conjunction Reduction rules are reduction rules for Picurís. These rules limit the redundancy of underlying structures by allowing the deletion of repeated or unnecessary elements. Insertion rules have the opposite effect. These rules insert into sentences, elements which have no independent meaning. The inserted elements do not occur in the deep structure, but they mark in surface structure the fact that a transformation has occurred. The QSentence transformation is an example of this type of rule.

Rearrangement rules change the configuration of tree structures. The simplest type reorders the elements in a clause or similar construction. The Particle-Noun-Phrase-Word, the Particle Movement, the Aux Suffixation and Verb Prefixation rules are all examples of simple rearrangement rules. Other rearrangement rules involve the

reorganization of particular structures. Examples of this type are the Sentence-Noun-Phrase-Word, the Reflexivization, the Possessive, and the Negation transformations. These rules are quite common and account for many of the striking differences between underlying and surface structures.

The Imperative and the Object Movement rules employ both rules of reduction and rearrangement. The QWord transformation utilizes both insertion and rearrangement. Wia Deletion involves both reduction and insertion in the case of embedded noun phrases. The Passivization, NP-Clitic, and Relativization rules employ a combination of all three. Most of these transformational rules are obligatory when applied, others, such as Wia Deletion, are applied optionally.

The first four transformations listed above pertain to noun phrases. Transformations 5 - 15 alter the most basic forms of underlying structures. Transformations 16 - 21 involve complex sentences.

A complex sentence is one which consists of more than one clause. A clause consists of a verb and an auxiliary, together with their associated noun and particle phrases. In a tree diagram, a clause is labeled S. The clauses of a complex sentence may be bound together by means of embedding or conjoining.

When one clause functions as a constituent of another, the relationship between them is referred to as

subordination. The "lower" or subordinate clause of such a sentence is said to be embedded in the "upper" or main clause. All subordinate clauses can be derived from regular deep structure sentences through the use of appropriate transformations.

The source of all subordinated constructions lies in the rewriting of NP as #S#. The subordinate constructions which occur in Picurís are complement clauses, relative clauses, locative clauses, and possessive expressions.

If the NP under the VP node (the direct object NP) is rewritten as #S# by Base Rule 14, the resulting construction is a complement clause. A complement clause has been shown in section 6.1 to be the source of all constructions in the language containing more than one verb base, as well as the source of all negative expressions (section 6.5). A complement clause, by itself, functions as an object. In surface structure it contains a Set II auxiliary suffix to indicate its dependent status.

The rewriting of NP as noun and noun suffix followed by #S# is the source of all relative clauses. Relative clauses do not, by themselves, function as subjects or objects. Rather, they act as modifiers of noun phrases. In section 6.4 it was noted that #S# together with noun phrase may occur in either subject or object position in a basic sentence. In surface structure the relative clause construction follows the NP which it modifies. It is

identified as having a Set II auxiliary suffix and the clitic 'e in final position.

The rewriting of NP as #S# followed by a clitic accounts for the subordinate constructions discussed in sections 6.2 - 6.25. All of these constructions may be regarded as locative clauses since the clitic in each construction identifies the location or spatial orientation designated by its accompanying clause. In surface structure these forms are identified by the presence of Set II suffixes and final clitics. The choice of clitic in each case depends upon the constituent structure or the place and time characteristics of the associated verb.

Base Rule 15 rewrites a noun base as an optional NP followed by a noun base. Possessive expressions in Picurís result from the rewriting of this optional NP as #S#. In surface structure these expressions are indicated by a change in prefix form.

Coordination, or conjoining, is another basic syntactic device used to combine two or more clauses into a complex sentence. In a coordinated construction neither clause is a constituent of the other. The source of all coordinated constructions derives from Base Rule 1 which rewrites #S# as #S̄#, followed by #S# and a coordinating clitic. The constructions discussed in section 6.26 provide some examples of clauses which are explicitly marked as conjuncts in surface structure. However, coordination

frequently is implied rather than expressed in surface structure sentences in Picurís. In these instances the clauses are simply juxtaposed to each other.

A surface structure sentence may consist either of two or more full sentences as described above, or of two or more reduced sentences. Grammatical units, other than clauses, may be conjoined, resulting in many noun and/or verb phrases occurring in a single conjoined structure. These conjoined structures differ from conjoined clauses only in surface structure, for in deep structure all are derived from underlying clauses. The surface-level forms of conjoined phrases are the result of the application of the Conjunction Reduction rules. These rules can be applied optionally whenever the conjoined clauses are identical in all but one corresponding constituent. The effect of these rules is to collapse the clauses into a single clause and to conjoin the nonidentical constituents. If the clauses that are to be conjoined have no identical elements in deep structure, conjunction reduction cannot take place. The result in surface structure is a complex sentence consisting of two sentences juxtaposed to one another.

7.4. A second objective of this syntactic analysis has been to use a descriptive method which would permit the generation of explanatory hypotheses about Picurís syntax.

It is believed that the method selected has met this objective. As the rules above indicate, the generative model did allow for a descriptive statement of the syntax to be made. But, in addition, it allowed for the generation of explanatory hypotheses about the interrelatedness of the grammar.

A few of the more interesting hypotheses formulated and discussed involved embedding, subordination, and possession. It is hypothesized that the surface-structure ordering of noun phrase-words is the result of the embedding of noun phrases and particles into underlying sentences. Another hypothesis attributes the source of all subordinate clauses to the rewriting of NP as #S# and its various options. A third hypothesis suggests that possessive prefixes are not noun prefixes, as originally suspected, but are verb prefixes instead.

The method has also permitted other hypotheses to be suggested for future research. One of these hypotheses suggests that a close relationship exists between relative clauses, certain types of modifying particles, and possessive expressions. Another hypothesis proposed that the so-called "passive" constructions need to be reanalyzed. More data may prove that they are not, in fact, passives at all. This is indicated by the fact that the underlying object is not found in subject position. The analysis of possessive expressions for Picurís and negative expressions for Isletan,

Tiwa and Picurís indicate that some surface-level elements, originally considered as components of deep structure, are actually subsets of more general sentence detail. It is hypothesized that possessive and passive constructions can be analyzed similarly.

7.5. This description of Picurís syntax completes our knowledge of the structural outlines of the Picurís language. It is now possible to compare these data with descriptions of the other Tiwa languages in order to construct a Tiwa grammar--an accomplishment George L. Trager envisioned nearly forty years ago. Preliminary analysis demonstrates that there is still a great deal of similarity to be found among these languages despite the significant reduction in surface structure found in the Southern Tiwa languages. Though people in these pueblos have been in contact with Spanish-speaking and English-speaking peoples for centuries, their languages have retained their basic integrity. This continuity certainly warrants scholarly attention in the future.

Appendix A
Harrington Text Material

BIRTH CUSTOMS

- 1A Təthate ʒiwene 'o'osay,
Village-there-from woman child-give birth
"Picurifs"
- 1B čut'ə 'o'one 'anʒit'ə⁺wia'epayo
whoever child his-navel cord-cut-be-rel.-by-emphasis
possession
- 1C xaymiahu. Xayməmen thayo
3 sg./A-name-passive-pres. Name-passive-dur. there-
emphasis
- 1D 'o'one, 'anxawiatha 'amaʒe'oc^v'ikehu.
child his-wrist-be-there 3rd S-old-weed-tie-passive-
pres.
- 1E Hayhənyo, 'akiane kuymayo k'učehu.
Then-emph. its-mother lay-by-emph. 3 Sg./A-lay-passive-
pres.
- 1F 'I'ine č'olowen mɔ'eyo, 'o'owayma
Corn yellow-it is look-rel.-emph. child-beside-on
- 1G 'ak'učiahu. Yont'ə 'i'ineyo
it-put down-passive-pres. This (person) corn-emph.
- 1H 'o'one 'akiawia pačuwen thəllə maxə. ʒiwene
child its-mother-be thirty-one days until Woman
- 1I 'o'osay'ayte, pačuwen thəlləyo miyaxwiwemə
child-bear-after thirty-one days-emph. 3 Sg./R-not-
get-up-
past dur.
- 1J 'ə'o'ophil yokuy. Čit'ə nana'e
her-child-with one-lay. That (person) time-rel.
- 1K p'aʒum'ene hənyo sɔnhu, thapa kalene 'əwen
water-warm only drink-pres. also food she
- 1L wetən 'onɔpiačehu.
separate for her-make-passive-pres.

- 2A Hattā pačuwēn thellə nawan,
Then thirty-one days 3/Sg./L-come-past
- 2B Ūiwene kuythate maχwiwehu, hayhēn
woman lay-there-from she-get-up-pres. then
- 2C maχ'opay'ayhēnyo, 'o'okolehēn,
she-dress up-and then child-pick up-dur.
- 2D Thēpiap'ikk'ətha
morning-mountain-top-there "Morning Mountain"
- 2E p'akemēhu. Thēppulehuymēn Čiho
picnic-go-pres. Sacred meal-take along-dur. there
- 2F xiačonč 'imekečikke. Wan'ayhēn,
fetishes she-them-feed-will-for She-come-after
- 2G 'onāmelemēn 'ā'o'othē'emīawke. 'Ayxēn 'o'one
she-pray-dur. her-child-live-rel.-for If child
"possession"
- 2H 'opeyone wia'ān'ān, kiane telke, paltake, ha
girl be-past-if mother grind-for cook-for and
- 2I wel Ūiwenč t'ala'ene 'it'ake'eyo
other women work they-work-for-rel.-emph.
- 2J 'onāmelehu. 'Ayxēn 'o'one wia'ān'ān, yawiake,
she-pray-pres. If boy be-past-if brave-be-for
- 2K čewke, wilke, haw wel sēnenč t'ala'ene
hunt-for run-for and other men work
- 2L 'it'ake'eyo onāmelehu. Hayhēnyo
they-work-for-rel.-emph. she-pray-pres. Then-emph.
- 2M kiane wewe thēppe mēhu. Hanko 'i'ine
mother again house-to go-pres. And then corn
- 2N 'o'one waypa 'akiakuypu'e 'axačiahēn
child beside-by its-mother-lay-past-rel. it-take away
passive-dur.
- 2O 'ap'stiahū. Hattā ha 'i'ine 'o'one
it-throw away-passive-pres. Then no corn child
- 2P thate wakiawiaha, hayhēn Ūiwene 'o'one
there-from no-mother-be-longer then woman child

BIRTH CUSTOMS
(Free Translation)

When a woman of Picurís bears a child, whoever cuts the child's navel cord names the child. While the child is being named, a string is tied to its wrist. And then it is laid where its mother is lying. An ear of yellow corn is laid beside the child. This ear of corn becomes the child's mother for thirty-one days. The woman does not get up for thirty-one days after she gives birth to the child, but lies along with her child. And during this time she drinks only warm water, and food is made for her apart.

At the end of the thirty-one days the woman gets up from her lying and dresses up nicely and goes to picnic to the top of "Morning Mountain." She takes along sacred meal to give to the fetishes there, and arriving there she prays for her child. If the child is a girl, the mother prays that she may grind, cook, and do well the other kinds of work that women do. And if the child is a boy, she prays that he may be brave, a hunter, a runner, and do well the other kinds of work that men do. Then the mother goes back to her house. And then the ear of corn which lay as a mother by the side of the child is taken

away and thrown away. From then on the ear of corn is no longer the child's mother; from then on the woman who bore the child is the real mother.

This is the way the Picurís women bear children.

DEATH CUSTOMS

- 4 A Təthate t'ay'enǝ 'ihəlpiana,
Village-there-from people they-sick-get-when-ever
"Picuris"
- 4 B t'aykə'ǝnǝ payo 'ikəmia'a. Howən
Indian-doctors by-ones they-cure-passive-by. But
- 4 C Čan, t'aykə'ǝnǝ Čun'akən 'iyayt'akepun,
nowadays Indian-doctors long ago they-as-do-used past
- 4 D Čan 'iyat'amə, Čep'ayhiakə'ǝnǝ t'ay'enǝ'aw
now they-no-do-longer eye-green-doctors people-among
"white doctors"
- 4 E 'iɣəwan'ayte. Howənkowa, Čutannən halo,
they-many-come-since But-now-oh sometimes still
- 4 F t'aykə'ǝnǝ 'inət'uy'am'a.
Indian-doctors their-ceremonies-perform-still
- 4 G Təthate t'ay'enǝ pohan 'ip'ep'ako,
Village-there-from people all of them they-head-water-
since "Chris-
tians"
- 4 H 'iɣəhəlpiana, 'ipiwəway
They-very-sick-get-when they-die - about-dur.-like.
- 4 I 'innəmia'ǝn, wa K'uhanətha,
they-think-past way over there sheep-eat up-there
"Peñasco"
- 4 J 'ut'apiakaxwia'əlhuy'ayhənyo,
they-do-make-cure-call-send for-then-emph.
"priest"
- 4 K hattə t'apiakane t'ayhəllənǝ 'ənatəkittə
then priest person-sick his-house-is-there
- 4 L wan'ayhənyo, t'ayhəllene, hele həlt'apu'e,
come-(when)-emph. sick person whatever bad-do-past-rel.

- 5 A t'apiakane 'oməhu. Howenko halo, həl'e
priest he-him-tell-pres. But now still sick-rel.
- 5 B thapa wel t'ay'enə pa 'okačapiačehu,
also some people by they medicine-song-make-passive-
pres.
- 5 C 'ayxən wačike. Hattə piwəntə, thahe
if be-will-for Then die-dur.-there or
- 5 D wipiwhal, čuta 'inəthiapunna,
real-die-with/finished all of them they-get around-
whenever
- 5 E wel t'ay'enə pa 'onəphīpiačiahən, mənna
some people by they-root-put-passive-dur. hands-in
- 5 F 'onəwičiahən hattə
they-there-give-passive-dur. then
- 5 G 'ənpənp'a'ək'učiahənyo
his-back-rainbow-put-passive-dur.-emph.
- 5 H č'ə'ay hayhənyo 'ənpiwčapiačehu.
face-on then-emph. his-die-song-make-passive-present.
- 5 I "Ixə'e "p'ikuyč'a'amə." Yəmp'ə č'a'amə
They-call-rel. road-lay-song This (thing) song
- 5 J 'əmpiačehu wa tənən
it-to-him-make-passive-pres. way over there west
- 5 K 'ip'asiačiatəppe, tholene kəmməppe p'ine
they-ghosts-live-there sun set-dur.-where road
- 5 L pa hučiačikke.
by lead-passive-will-for
- 5 M čip'ə piwč'a'amə 'ənk'əmmiahənyo,
That (thing) die-song they-to-him-finish-passive-
and then
- 5 N petha k'učiahənyo, p'asočaypiahu.
facing up lay-passive-after water-drink-passive-made-
pres.
- 5 O T'ay'enə wənən t'ij'oma
People one at a time pottery dish-in
- 5 P 'ipp'atay'ayhən wesən məxə'enə 'up'ataymən
they-water-dip-after two fingers they-water-dip-dur.

- 6 A hayhən piwene 'ənʎamqwiama 'ip'aʎoltayməŋ,
then dead person his-mouth-is-in they-drops-dip-
dur.
- 6 B wepanənən 'iyaytayməŋta ʎinnə
sometimes they-as-put in-dur.-as those (ones)
- 6 C wel p'axwinʎ 'uxəyahu+yj. Tə'aw
different springs they-name-pres.-there Village-
among
- 6 D 'onayp'issian mo 'aw 'osia'e.
wherever-mountains-are middle-in they-be-(rel.)
- 6 E Piwene ʎamona 'ayp'asiaʎiaməŋta
Dead Person mouth-in him-water-put-passive-dur.-as
- 6 F p'axwinʎ wənən 'uxəyayməŋ 'itəmən:
springs one-at-a-time they-name-dur. they-say-dur.
- 6 G ʎihote p'axwinate p'a'ane 'asoy!"
Over there-from spring-in-from water drink
- 6 H Pohən t'ay'enʎ ʎitha 'i'ə'epa, soʎaypiahən,
All people there they-stay-rel.-by drink-passive-
make-dur.
- 6 I thapa p'ənapittha k'uʎiahənyo
also floor-in-middle-there lay-passive-dur-emph.
- 6 J p'ep'ə'ənʎ 'innaywianyo ʎitha
head-water-people their belief-one there
"Christians"
- 6 K məʎowiahu. Pənapittha
him-leave-passive-pres. Floor-in-middle-there
- 6 L nəwian kuy wakuytha weʎepatayo
night-during lay over there-lay-there two-on both
sides
- 6 M 'ok'əyəphiaphayhu. Pohən 'ənt'aywia'e,
they-candles-light-pres. All his-people-be-rel.
"relatives"
- 6 N sən'ʎiwphil, ʎitha 'i'ə'epa,
men-women-together there they-stay-rel.
- 6 O 'up'ep'aʎat'ahu nəkwil.
they-Christian-songs-sing-pres. night-all.

- 7 A Hattə thəpiakən kəhuciamənyo
Then day-next bury-take-passive-dur.-emph.
- 7 B wayma 'othəxoč'ikkiahu, hele čut'ə
side-on they-lunch-tie-passive-pres. what whatever
- 7 C kalhəkkepu'e. Čan'eha, halo kuythate
food-like-used-past-rel. And then now still lay-there-
from
- 7 D wa'elwiatha, wən sənene he'amə'e
before-move-passive-there one man not-related-rel.
- 7 E 'ohəphillo wapiwene
he-cedar sprigs-with-emph. over there-dead person
- 7 F kuyputtha k'e'awkwil nəčileməway nə'ammen,
lay-past-there outside he-sweep-dur.-like he-do-dur.
- 7 G t'učəčat'amən suyten 'owəlehu. Čihuyte
sacred-song-sing-dur. softly he-go out-pres. There-from
- 7 H tənən čoho wesən mile'a nəpənhuyhu
west about two miles-about he-throw away-take-pres.
- 7 I wa tholkəmmempe. Tətəhate t'ay'enə
there sun-set-dur-there Village-there-from people
- 7 J 'inəhowehu xə wa tənən tholkəmmempe
they-believe-pres. that over there west sun-set-dur-there
- 7 K wo t'ay'enə 'ipiw'e 'ithəməhu. Yont'ə
all people they-die-rel. they-live-go-pres. This (person)
- 7 L t'uylene 'inaxə piwənene. Cit'ə sənene
ceremony they-it-call die-throw That(person) man
- 7 M napiwənhuypu'e witthəleyo 'əthen'awte
he-die-throw away- four-days-emph. his-house-from
take-past-rel.
- 7 N həw'aw 'owawelemə 'ənəthiamə'an. Thapa
far-away he-not-go-dur. he-can help-it-if Also
- 7 O piwene 'əliahən, pohan t'ay'enə, 'očiw,
dead person bury-passive-dur. all people children-
including
- 7 P piwene kuytha 'ič'en'e, p'aykwii
dead person lay-there they-come in-rel. river

- 8 A 'itukamehu.
they-bathe-go-pres.
- 8 B Ćihuyte Ćune 'imiawme'e
From then on anyone they-want-dur.-rel.
- 8 C wa piwene thepputha wittheloyo
over there dead person live-past-there four-days-emph.
- 8 D 'i'e. Piwene 'a'aymq'e,
they stay Dead person his closest-relative-rel.
- 8 E Ćiwlane thahe Ćo'ene'a, thahe Ćinne
wife or husband-either or those
- 8 F 'amawia'a'an, Ćut'e 'a'aymq'eyowa,
he-be-(have-not)-if whichever his-nearest-relative-rel.
- 8 G piwtha ma'ayhu. Ćithate wittheloyo
die-there he-sit there-pres. From then on four-days-
emph.
- 8 H miyaxayme. Wittheloyo Ćitha 'i'e.
he-not-go away-dur. Four-days-emph. there they-stay
- 8 I Tho'ane 'uwak'aletta, 'ipolaset'ahu.
In the evening they-before-eat-before they-pray-do-
pres.
- 8 J Ha nowian cit'e piwthate
And night-during that (person) dead person-there-
about
- 8 K 'ima'imeŋ wel Ćune heleyi
they-talk about-dur. other things anything
- 8 L na'Ćopu'e, 'innapupu'eyo
it-happen-past-rel. to them-happen-past-rel.-emph.
- 8 M 'ima'ihu. Hokeyo, 'innap'iamenyo,
they-talk about-pres. So-emph. they laugh-past dur.-
emph. So that's why
- 8 N ha 'itomeŋ he niyapupuwayheŋ
then they-say-dur. nothing it-not-happen-past-like-
dur.
- 8 O 'i'e. Hattā witthellē na'pupunyo
they-sit. Then the fourth day it-happen-past-emph.

- 9 A cit'ə nɔwiane t'ay'enɛ 'inɔhowemən piwene
that night people they-believe-dur. dead person
- 9 B mesatonate 'owəlehu, hayhən wa
church-in-from he-leave-pres. then over-there
- 9 C tənɔn tholkəmɛmpe p'asiacianɛ 'ithəppe
west sun-set-dur.-there ghosts they-live-there
- 9 D məhu. Howən piw'ayte witthəleyo mesatoma
go-pres. But die-after four-days-emph. church-in
- 9 E xə 'eɕi. Hattə p'annuthələ nəpuymən
said that there-will Then fifth-day it-pass-dur.
- 9 F thəkke 'otholwələmɛntə, wat'ə sənene
morning-in it-sun-rise-dur.-as that (person) man
- 9 G nəpiwənhuyɔ'u'e, 'ənwalk'owian
he-death-throw away-take-past-rel. his medicine-good-be
- 9 H ɕ'ən'ayhənyo, ɕinnɛ t'ay'enɛ
come in-then-emph. those people
- 9 I 'iwalp'apholiahu, cit'ə sənene
he-them-medicine-sprinkle-passive-pres. that man
- 9 J 'i'omɛmən: "ənənt'aywia'e, yont'ə
he-them-say-dur. my-people-be-rel. this (person)
- 9 K piwene hattə p'asiacianɛ 'ithəppe mɛ.
dead person already ghosts they-live-there go
- 9 L Hokeyo he məpinəpɔ.
So-emph. nothing you-not-think about-will
"anymore"
- 9 M Mənək'owiano məthəppe məmɛɕi.
Your-good-be-emph. your-house-where you-go-will.
- 9 N Hayhən k'owənyo wa'ane məhuɕi."
Then good feeling-emph. life you-lead-will
- 9 O Ho piwene 'ant'aywia'e
This-way dead person his-people-be-rel.
"possession"
- 9 P i'omniame⁺hənyo, 'ithəppe k'owən
they-tell-passive-dur.-then they-live-to good

- 10 A 'ipinɛmɛhu. Yont'əyo
 they-feeling-go-pres. This-one
 (It is their way)
- 10 B Təthate t'ay'enɛ 'innawia, wɛm'a
 Village-there-from people their-be one-if
 "Picurís"
- 10 C 'itt'aypiw'ən.
 their-people-die-past.

DEATH CUSTOMS

When the people of the Pueblo are sick, they are doctored by native medicine men. Nowadays the Indian medicine men are not as active as they used to be long ago, since the white doctors have come more among the people. But at times the Indian medicine men still perform their ceremonies. Since the people of the Pueblo are all Christians, if they should get very sick and think that they are going to die, they usually send for the priest at Peñasco; and when the priest arrives at the home of the sick person, the sick person confesses to the priest. But still some of the Indians sing their medicine songs to a sick person for his recovery. When a person is dying, or even already dead, or whenever they can get around to it, the people make a plumero for him, giving it into his hands, and put a black rainbow on his face, and then a death song is sung to him. It is called "making the road song." This song is sung to him so that the road will lead him southwest toward where the sun sets.

When they finish singing this song to him, he is laid face up and is told to drink water. The people one at a time pour water into a pottery dish, dipping two

fingers in, and then put a few drops at a time into the dead person's mouth, each time representing different springs of the mountains about the Pueblo. As the water is put into the dead person's mouth, they name one spring each time, saying, "Drink from such and such a spring!" After all the people who are present there have told him to drink the water, he is then laid, face up, in the middle of the floor, and is left there according to the custom of the Catholics. As the person lies during the night in the middle of the floor, candles are lighted on both sides of where he is lying. All of his relatives, men and women, that are there, sing Christian hymns all through the night.

And the next morning as he is taken out for burial, a bag of lunch is tied to his side, of the food that he used to like. Then, before he is carried from where he is lying, a man who is no kin to him comes in with cedar sprigs, and as the dead person is taken from where he is lying, the man with the cedar sprigs pretends that he is sweeping out death, singing a sacred song softly as he goes outside. From there he goes southwest for about two miles to throw death away toward where the sun sets. The people of the Pueblo believe that all the people who die go southwest, toward where the sun sets, to live. This ceremony is called the throwing away of death. The man who threw death away is not supposed to go out very far

from his house, if he can help it, for four days. After the dead person has been buried, all the people, with children and all who have been in where the dead person was lying, are to go down to the river to bathe.

After that, those who wish may stay at the dead person's house for the next four days. The dead person's nearest relative, wife or husband, or if he has not either, his next nearest, sits at the place where he died. From there he or she does not get up for four days. They remain there for four days. In the evening, before they eat their supper, they all pray together. And in the evening they do not talk about the person who has just died, but of what has happened to them in the past. So they sit around and talk as if nothing had happened. According to the belief of the people, the dead person goes out of the church on the evening of the fourth day, and goes southwest toward where the sun sets, where the home of the dead is. For four days after dying it is supposed to remain in the church. And early on the fifth day, as the sun is rising, the man who threw death away comes back in with good medicine. And the people are sprinkled with this medicine by the man, he saying to them, "My people, this dead person has already gone to the home of the dead. So you must not think any more about it. You must all go to your houses with good feeling. And then you must lead a good life." As the

dead person's people are told thus, they all go to their houses with good feeling.

This is the custom of the people of the Pueblo when one of their people dies.

THE CRICKET AND THE COYOTE

- 11 A Nək'uthə, nək'uthəke, ʕoxomən hukwe Kan'jin'ay,
Once upon a time once southeast Buffalo-Tracks-
at
- 11 B P'ayčelkone thə. Ha Toxwiane ʕiwxwətho'ay
Cricket live And Coyote Eagle Tail Pile-at
- 11 C thə. Wən thə Toxwiane wetən tɔhu: "xommə
live One day Coyote himself say-pres. Let's see
- 11 D ʕatthə hukwe Kan'jinpe he
today sout'east Buffalo Tracks-by-there that way
- 11 E tayteywameʕi, xommə hele'a ʕiho tisothaʕi."
I-visit-go-will let's-see what there I-aff.-find-will
- 11 F Thəkke hiawlotta 'othəkk'alehən mənčoho,
Morning-in early he-breakfast-eat-dur. then
- 11 G hukwe Kan'jinpe mə. Kan'jin'ay
southeast Buffalo Tracks-to go Buffalo-Tracks-at
- 11 H wan'ayxən, mənčoho P'ayčelkone p'ijwaytha
come-when then Cricket road-side-there
- 11 I ʕukkuytha wan. ʕihokwil ʕomən mənčoho
warm-lie-there come There-when pass-dur. then
- 11 J P'ayčelko'jč'ečo. P'ayčelkone pa Toxwiane 'omniə:
Cricket-step-on-past Cricket by Coyote tell-past
- 11 K "Həxəyo 'e kowatɔ'ammə?" Hattə Toxwiane
"Why you you-not-talk-do-dur. Then Coyote
- 11 L tɔhu: "Nə ho 'it'aymoyo'e
say-pres. I who people-look-one-rel.
- 11 M piyat'ay'əнке." "Taxuyho," P'ayčelkone
I-them-not-talk-never All right then Cricket
- 11 N tɔhu, "kənhoy'ənci xuy, xommə ʕut'ə'a
say-pres. we-bet-dó-will then let's see which (person)-
either

- 12 A 'anšoʔayt'aykwiwil." "Hoxuy,"
they aff.-very-people-strong (est) Very well
- 12 B Toxwiane P'ayčelko'omę, "thənnayo xuy, yona'ay
Coyote Cricket-say-pres. tomorrow then here-below
- 12 C p'a'ay kimąso'očočı." "Taxuy," P'ayčelkone
water-by we-aff.-meet-will OK Cricket
- 12 D tųhu, "thənnayo wewe kənsomųči."
say-pres. tomorrow again we (2) aff.-see-will-each
other
- 12 E Toxwiane thəmmakwil mę.
Coyote home-up the hill go-pres.
- 12 F Cit'ə nqwiane P'ayčelkone 'ant'aywia'e
That night Cricket his-people-be-rel.
- 12 G 'ixwia'an. Kakkaphoyonų, Pumele'enų, Č'olmolenų,
he-them-call-past Bumble bees Wasps Honeybees
- 12 H thapa wel Pumele'enų 'uk'iwasia'e
also other Winged Stingers they-wing-have-rel.
- 12 I 'ipųhaxwia'an. Thapa Toxwiane hota men
he-them-all-call-past Also Coyote same-thing-dur.
- 12 J t'ahu. Čit'ə nqwiane nəkųet'ay'enų
do-pres. That night land (ground)-dog-people
"four-legged beasts"
- 12 K yj p'in'aw 'ithə'e — Kal'enų,
right there-mountains-in they-live-rel. Wolves
- 12 L Xənʔanų, Xənč'elanų, Kəənų, ha čiw wel
Lions Wildcats Bears and all other
- 12 M homąxot'ay'enų 'iyaywiatta 'ixwia'an.
beasts of prey-people they-there-be-many he-them-call-
past
- 12 N Thepiakən 'otholwəlemen, Toxwiane
Morning-next it-sun-rise-past-dur. Coyote
- 12 O 'ant'aywanhu. "Ipųhakwųphal'ayųen, 'i'omęhu:
his-people-come-pres. They-all-arrive-when he-them-say-
pres.

- 13 A "Anant'aywia'e, yi hukwe Kan'in'ay
My-people-be-rel. right-at southeast Buffalo Tracks-at
- 13 B huxen tatəwačimən'aw P'ayčelkone pa
yesterday I-visit-walk-dur.-where Cricket by
- 13 C tahoy'amia. Hokeyo čatthe
he-me-bet-by-make That is why today
- 13 D məpixwia'aŋhu." "Hoxuy," xə wel
you-I-call-past-have-pres. Very well that some
- 13 E homəxo'enə 'itəhu: "čatthəyo P'ayčelkone
beasts of prey they-say-pres. today-one Cricket
- 13 F 'aŋsokačəci." Hə 'aytən Toxwiane
he (his)-aff.-find out-will And from there Coyote
- 13 G məc'omətaketən Kan'inpe 'ime.
he-first-go-in-front-just Buffalo Tracks-to they-go
- 13 H P'a'ay 'iwan'aytən Toxwiane təhu: "Halo
River-by they-come-as Coyote say-pres. Wait
- 13 I yəhuy məyxiawiawən xəmmanə P'ayčelkone
right here you-wait-must let me see Cricket
- 13 J tapəčənhə. Mənčəho p'aχiawkwepa
I-see-across-about to Then river-the-other-side
- 13 K čan. P'ayčelkone thən'ay wan'ayhən, P'ayčelkone
cross Cricket house-at come-when Cricket
- 13 L xiawia hattə. "Aχiamə?" Toxwiane
ready-be then You-ready-be Coyote
- 13 M P'ayčelko'omə. "Hattə tamə," P'ayčelkone təhu;
Cricket-say Yes I-am Cricket say-pres.
- 13 N yəhuyo xuy kaχəyt'aykwiwil'e,
right over here then your-very-person-strong (est)-rel.
- 13 O 'ə'əlčəneči." "Hoxuy," Toxwiane
you-send-across-come-will. Very well Coyote
- 13 P təmehən P'aχiawkwepa 'ant'ayxiataytha,
say-dur.-about river-across his-people-wait-inside-there
- 13 Q wewe čan. "Taxuyha" Toxwiane 'it'ay'omə
again cross All right then Coyote he-them-people-say

- 14 A "na^oyoxuy tač'oč^oqanči, xomma čohē
I-one then I-first-cross-will Let's see what
- 14 B 'a^onnasopuči." Menčohō čan. P'ayčelkone
to me-aff.-happen-will Then cross Cricket
- 14 C then'ay wan'aytēn. P'ayčelkone pa
house-(at) arrive-as Cricket by
- 14 D 'a^onpqhapumele'elhemmia. Čoxomēn pumeliahu
his-all-bees-send out-dur.-past Once sting-pass.-
pres.
- 14 E četa t'a^oxe'aw žamq'aw, tumq'aw. Wel
eye-in ear-on mouth-on body-all over Some
- 14 F 'i^oxiwemēn howēnko wi hele 'owata^ontiamē.
he-them-bite-dur. but then like nothing to him-not-help-
dur.
- 14 G p'a'ay wan'ayxēn, map'a'ophuy
River-to come-when he-water-plunge-into
- 14 H ma^oq'opemēn, wewe 'owelemēn'ay
he-himself-splash-dur. again he-come out-dur.-where
- 14 I pumele'enč pa pumeliame^on, hečuwēn
bees by sting-passive-dur. at last
- 14 J 'ant'ayxia'ēn'ay wan. Xa tōhu: "Hele
his-people-wait-dur.-at come Then say-pres. What
- 14 K P'ayčelkone 'ant'aywia'e nathia'ayyo
Cricket his-people-be-rel. very much
- 14 L 'ixelqanpisi."
they-weapons-many
- 14 M "Taxuy, xomma nayo čan tameči,"
Very well Let me-see-emph. now I-go-will
- 14 N Xēnžane tōhu. Menčohō me. P'ayčelkone
Mountain Lion say-pres. Then go Cricket
- 14 O then'aw wakko wewe P'ayčelkone 'ipumele'elhemē.
house-to come-when again Cricket he-them-bees-send
out dur.
- 14 P Thapa Toxwiane way'q^omiaputta pumeliahu
Also Coyote like-do-passive-past-as sting-passive-
pres.

- 16 A 'ithəppe 'imə.
 their-homes-to they-go
- 16 B Hokeyo ɕoxomɕn pumele'enɛ̃
 That is why once (then) bees
- 16 C 'upumelehəl.
 they-sting-hurt.
- 16 D Kaxwɛki.
 You have the tail.

THE CRICKET AND THE COYOTE

Once upon a time the Cricket dwelt southeast at Kan'in'ay and the Coyote dwelt at Cuxwetho'ay. One day the Coyote said to himself, "I think today I will go for a walk down southeast to Kan'in'ay to see what I can find there."

Early in the morning he ate his breakfast and then went to Kan'in'ay. Then arriving at Kan'in'ay he came to where the Cricket was lying basking beside the road. As he passed there, he stepped on the Cricket. The Cricket said to the Coyote, "Why do you not speak?" The Coyote said, "I do not speak to such looking people as that." "Very well," said the Cricket, "we will make a bet then to see whose people are the strongest." Very well," said the Coyote to the Cricket, "we will meet tomorrow then down by the river." "Very well," said the Cricket, "we shall see each other again tomorrow." Then the Coyote went home.

That night the Cricket called his people. All the Bumble Bees, Wasps, Honey Bees, and other winged stingers he called. And the Coyote was doing the same. That night he called all the four-footed animals that live in the

mountains--the Wolves, the Mountain Lions, the Wildcats, the Bears, and other beasts of prey that are there.

The next day as the sun was rising the Coyote's people began to come. After all of them had arrived he said to them, "My people, over southeast at Kan'in'ay, where I went for a walk yesterday, the Cricket asked me to bet. That is why I am calling you today." "Very well," said the other beasts of prey, "we will show the Cricket today." Then the Coyote started ahead of the rest, and they went to Kan'in'ay.

When they came to the Picurís River, the Coyote said, "Wait here. I am going across the river to see the Cricket." He then went across the river. Arriving at the Cricket's home, the Cricket was already waiting for him. "Are you ready?" said the Coyote to the Cricket. "Yes, I am ready," said the Cricket; "you are to send your best man here." "Very well," said the Coyote, and then went back across the river to where his people were waiting. "Very well," said the Coyote to his people, "I will go over first, to see what is going to happen to me." Then he went across. When he arrived at the Cricket's home, the Cricket turned all the Bees loose on him. He was stung by the Bees in his eyes, ears, mouth, and all over his body. He bit some of them, but that did not help him any. When he came to the river he plunged

into the water and dived, but when he emerged the Bees stung him again. At last he arrived where his people were waiting, and said, "The Cricket's people are well supplied with weapons."

"Very well, I will go this time," said the Mountain Lion. Then he went. When he arrived at the home of the Cricket, all the Bees were turned loose again. He was stung the way the Coyote had been, in the eyes, ears, mouth, and all over his body. The Mountain Lion bit some of them and hit others with his paws, and ran toward the river. When he arrived at the river, he plunged in. When he emerged from the water the Bees stung him again. When he came out of the water he went to where his people were waiting and said to his people, "My people, the Cricket has defeated us. His people are stronger. Although I have many teeth, although I have many claws, I did not last very long among the Bees. And so now, my people, you must all go to your homes. Do not go over to where the Bees live. You must go to your homes." As the Mountain Lion told them thus, they all went to their homes.

And this is why it hurts when bees sting you.

You have a tail.

- 18 A Kalene 'ay mə'əlɣay.
Wolf-on she-got on his back
- 18 B ʎoxomɛn Kalene pa ɣiwene p'immakwil
Once Wolf by woman mountain-go up
- 18 C 'owlia. P'ikk'ətha
he-her-take up-passive Mountain-top-there
- 18 D kaliahɛn, ʎoxomɛn Kalene tɛpupa tɛ'opa
bring-passive-dur. then Wolf east north
- 18 E tɛnɔn tɛkwetha wel 'okalxwiawe.
west south other he-them-wolves-call-go-out
- 18 F ɣiwene mɛnɕoho 'it'awtɪljimmakwil
Woman then she-pinyon tree-tall-there-go up
- 18 G wile.
climb
- 18 H 'Asətthə'e ʎoxomɛn 'akwɛnɣiw-
Her-husband then his-not-quickly-wife
- 18 I wilemɛ'epa, thək'əʎitate
come up-dur.-rel.-because house-top-there-from
- 18 J məɣawia'ɔn. ɣewtɛnyo sɛnɛnɛ 'unɔxɛlkamphil
he-signal-past Later on men their-weapons-with
- 18 K 'iwan. Kalɣoɣe wa
they-came. Wolf-Old over there
- 18 L mətɔhɛmɛpɛn'awte, wan'ayhɛn
he-signal-go-dur.-place-there-from come-after
- 18 M ɣiwene t'awk'əta yo 'ɛ'ap. Sɛnɛnɛ
woman pinyon-tree-top-in one sit-past Men
- 18 N 'imɔnɔ'tilephale. Mɛnɕoho
they-look-for-spread out-finished. Then
- 18 O nɔpin'aw wɛn sɛnɛne pa ɣiwene thɔmia.
night-middle-in one man by woman find-passive.
- 18 P Hanko sɛnɛne mətɔhɛmɛ. Wel 'iwan'aytɛn,
Then man give yell-past Other they-came-after
- 18 Q 'iɣiwɣewe wewe thɔppe. Liwene
they-woman-bring down-past again house-to Woman

- 19 A sēnen^χ pa t'əphaliahu.
 men - by mad-really-passive-pres.
- 19 B Hokeyo ɕoxomən ʎiwen^χ thoʎan'ayhən
 That is why then women evening-after
- 19 C phal'awte wetən 'uwawəlemə
 inside-the houses-from alone they-not-go out-dur.
- 19 D hetən 'ipu^χiko.
 something to them-happen-will-because

THE WOMAN AND THE WOLF

Once upon a time the people were dwelling at Picurís. The women, after it got dark, were to remain inside their houses.

And one woman in the night had no water. She took the water jar and went down to P'aynon to get water. As she was pouring the water with her gourd, a Wolf came to her. "What are you doing?" he said. "I am pouring water," the woman said to the Wolf. "Get on my back, then," the Wolf said to her. "I am already about to take the water to my house," said the woman. "Get on my back, I said to you, or I will eat you up right here." The woman got afraid, left the water jar, and got on the Wolf's back.

And the Wolf took the woman up to the mountains. When he had brought her to the mountain top, the Wolf went northeast, northwest, southwest, and southeast, to call the other wolves. The woman then climbed a tall pinyon tree.

Her husband, when his wife did not come up from below quickly, yelled as a signal from the top of the house. And shortly men with their weapons arrived.

When the Old Wolf arrived from his summoning (the other wolves), the woman was sitting in the top of the pinyon tree.

The men all gathered for a search. And then at about midnight one man found the woman. Then the man gave a yell. After the rest came they took the woman home again. The woman was scolded very much by the men. And that is why the women, after it gets dark, do not go forth from inside the houses alone, for something might happen to them.

Appendix B

Text Material from a Picuris Consultant

DRIVING INCIDENT

- 20 A Tačon'əlnapewəŋmekəŋ, hele hal'əŋha,
I-first-drive-learn how-when well maybe
- 20 B taxiamo'əŋha, ti'əlčike
I-ready-be-past-already I-drive-will-for
- 20 C on the highway. Hayhən 'etowpa tahəmənwa,
on the highway Then' Nelson-by he-me-take out-dur.
way
- 20 D highway'ay ti'əlčike. Tholχane
highway-on I-drive-will-so In the evening
- 20 E tholkəmənha, ti'əlmənha tapimən, howən
sun-set-dur. already I-drive-was-as I-afraid-was but
- 20 F 'əŋnaykačəpu he 'əŋŋəŋəpu'e,
I-not-know-past what I-suppose to do-past-rel.
- 20 G ta cars'owcomən 'upiapaymən nə ta
I-cars-meet-dur. their-lights-light-dur. I I -
- 20 H lights dim 'əŋčipu'e, tən'e tayt'amən.
lights dim I-must-past-rel. differently I-do-dur.
"should have"
- 20 I 'Etowpa tat'ə'aməmən. Hayhən 'Etowpa
Nelson-by he-me-scold-dur. past. Then Nelson-by
- 20 J ta'omiəŋ "'Awene," hayhən tawənən
he-me-tell-past Stop then I-stop-past
- 20 K p'ijwaytha. Wewe wən χatowwan'əŋ.
road-beside-there Again one car-come-past
- 20 L 'Ič'i'aliamən homahe'a 'itəŋmiawmeway
They-us-ask-dur. matter-what they-us-help-want-dur.-if
- 20 M thahe'a kinəŋəŋəpuhən. 'Etowpa
or what to us-aff. happen-pres. Nelson-by

- 21 A ta'omia 'eyo 'away. Hoko
he-me-tell-past you-one you-called This
- 21 B wapia'ampō wewe'an ta'omiawmen.
not-light-do-future next time he-me-tell-dur.

DRIVING INCIDENT

When I first learned how to drive, well, maybe, I was already ready, so I will drive on the highway. Then Nelson took me way out on the highway so I will drive. In the evening when the sun was already setting, as I was driving, I was afraid, but I did not know what I was supposed to do. I was meeting cars with their lights on. I dimmed the lights, but I should have done differently. Nelson scolded me. Then Nelson told me "Stop." Then I stopped there beside the road. Again a car came and they were asking us what's the matter and if we wanted help, or what happened. Nelson told me that I called him. Do not do that with the lights next time he was telling me.

FOODWAY INCIDENT

The other day we went down to Foodway. Margaret and I saw her relatives. They were buying, then their little boy, who was with them--a small one who was about two years old--he was picking up things and putting them in the basket. Then I was telling his mother: This one does not even look at the prices, he just keeps getting them and putting them in, I was telling his mother. Then we were all laughing.

Appendix C
Analysis of Person, Number, and Class Morphemes
for Nouns and Verbs in Picurís

Appendix C

ANALYSIS OF PERSON, NUMBER, AND CLASS MORPHEMES FOR NOUNS AND VERBS IN PICURÍ'S

Person Morphemes

Based on the prefix material in Chapter III, an analysis of person morphemes is presented. Person morphemes appear in first position in prefix complexes. Included here, and also in the next two sections on number and noun class morphemes, are the independent pronouns.

- First person:
- √1st: a/√nā; a base form appearing as the word nā
 - a/√t-: in verbs with √Sg., except Class B object reference;
 - a/√p-: in verbs with √Sg., Class B reference; in verbs with √Du. and with √Pl. accompanied by √B;
 - a/√'-: in nouns with √Sg.; in verbs with √Du. and with √Pl. accompanied by √A and by √L;
 - a/√k-: elsewhere. In nouns with √Du. and with √Pl. accompanied by √C and by √R;
- Second person:
- √2nd: a/√'ē; a base form appearing as the word 'ē
 - a/√k-: in nouns with √Sg.; in verbs with √Sg. accompanied by √C;
 - a/√'-: in verbs with √Sg., except for ones accompanied by √C;

	a/p-:	in verbs with √Du. and with √Pl., accompanied by √B;
	a/m-:	elsewhere. In nouns with √Du. and with √Pl.; in verbs with √Du. and with √Pl., except ones accompanied by √B;
<u>Third person:</u>	√3rd:	a/ʔewən: a base form appearing as the word 'éwən
	a/p-:	with verbs with √Du. and with √Pl., accompanied by √B;
	a/m-:	in verbs with √Sg., accompanied by √R;
	a/∅-:	in verbs with √Sg., accompanied by √A and by √L;
	a/'-:	with all nouns with √Sg., with √Du. and with √Pl.; in verbs with √Du. and with √Pl., except with those accompanied by √B; and in verbs with √Sg., except those accompanied by √A, √L, or √R.

Number Morphemes

Morphs that are allomorphs of number morphemes appear in second position in prefix complexes.

<u>Singular:</u>	√Sg.:	
	a/ʔan(ʔ)-:	in nouns after √1st, except when accompanied by √C;
	a/-ono-:	in nouns after √1st, accompanied by √C;
	a/-ʔ-:	in nouns with √2nd and with √3rd, except when accompanied by √C;
	a/-o-:	in nouns with √2nd and with √3rd, when accompanied by √C; in verbs after √2nd and √3rd and accompanied by √C;

- ^a√-i-: in verbs after √1st, √2nd, and √3rd when accompanied by √B, in verbs after √1st when accompanied by √A;
- ^a√-β-: in verbs after √3rd when accompanied by √A and by √L;
- ^a√-a-: elsewhere.

Dual: √Du.:

- ^a√-q-: with verbs after √1st, √2nd, and √3rd with √B and √C;
- ^a√-q̄n(a)-: with nouns after √1st, √2nd, and √3rd, except with √C; with verbs after √1st, √2nd, and √3rd with √A and √L;
- ^a√-onq-: in nouns with √1st, √2nd, and √3rd with √C;
- ^a√-am-: in verbs with √1st, √2nd, and √3rd with √R.

Plural: √Pl.:

- ^a√-u-: in nouns after √1st and √3rd with √C; in verbs after √1st, √2nd, and √3rd with √C;
- ^a√-y-: in nouns after √2nd with √C;
- ^a√-q-: in verbs after √2nd with √A;
- ^a√-jn-: in nouns after √2nd and √3rd with √A and √L;
- ^a√-j-: in nouns after √2nd with √B;
- ^a√-i-: elsewhere.

Noun Class Morphemes

It was established in Chapter III that the suffixes of nouns are cross referenced with possessive prefixes and

that the noun classes are specified by the verb prefixes. This system of reference makes it possible to identify the third position morphs in the prefix sets.

Class A--

- √A: a√-ne: as absolute with noun stems
 a√-n-: with nouns with √Du.
 a√-∅-: elsewhere. In all noun and
 verb prefix complexes.

Class B--

- √B: a√-m[̃]: and √n[̃]: as absolute with noun stems
 a√-m-: in all noun prefix complexes
 a√-∅-: in all verb prefix complexes

Class C--

- √C: a√-n[̃]: as absolute with noun stem
 a√-m-: in verbs with √Du.
 a√-∅-: elsewhere. In all nouns and
 verbs with √Sg. and √Pl.

Class L--

- √L: a√-ne and √-n[̃]: as absolute with noun stems
 a -n[̃]- in all noun and verb prefix
 complexes

Class R--

- √R: a√-m-: in verbs with √Du.
 a√-ma-: in verbs with √Pl.
 a√-∅-: in verbs with √Sg.

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