

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

8312968

Shaul, David Leedom

A GRAMMAR OF NEVOME

University of California, Berkeley

PH.D. 1982

**University
Microfilms
International** 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy.
Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages _____
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) 80 & 95 seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

A Grammar of Nevome

By

David Leedom Shaul

A.B. (University of Arizona) 1973

B.Mus. (University of Arizona) 1974

M.A. (University of Arizona) 1975

C.Phil. (University of California) 1981

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

Jesse O. Sawyer Date
Kenneth Hale
Wallace D. Chafe
Johanna Nichols
Leanne Dintona

DOCTORAL DEGREE CONFERRED

DECEMBER 4, 1982

.....

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Introduction.....	1
0.1	Goal and Scope of Study.....	1
0.2	Background Information.....	2
0.3	Significance of this Research.....	5
0.4	Phonological Sketch.....	6
0.5	Abbreviations.....	9
	 Chapter One: The Clause.....	 10
1.0	Overview.....	10
1.1	Predicates.....	13
1.1.1	Verbal Predicates.....	13
1.1.2	Morphophonemic Processes and Verb Derivation.....	19
1.1.2.1	Morphophonemic Processes.....	19
1.1.2.2	Verb Derivation.....	21
1.1.3	Verb Inflection and Aspects.....	23
1.1.3.1	Aspect.....	23
1.1.3.2	Tense.....	27
1.1.3.3	Number Marking.....	31
1.1.4	Statives and Stativization.....	32
1.1.5	Possessive Predicates.....	38
1.1.6	Equational Predicates.....	41
1.2	Nominals and Case Marking.....	43
1.2.1	Noun Phrases.....	45
1.2.2	Nouns.....	48
1.2.2.1	Noun Classes and Nevome Morphosyntax.....	48
1.2.2.2	Noun Inflection: Plural Marking.....	50
1.2.2.3	Noun Derivation and Nominalization.....	51
1.2.3	Pronouns: Personal and Demonstrative.....	57
1.2.4	Indefinites.....	62
1.3	Clisis and Similar Forms.....	68
1.3.1	Subject Marking: the AUX construction.....	68
1.3.1.1	Modals.....	70
1.3.1.2	The Particle <u>iqui</u>	72
1.3.2	Possessor and Object Marking.....	80
1.3.3	Reflexive-reciprocal Marking.....	81
1.3.4	Indefinite Bound Forms.....	84
1.4	Adverbials.....	90

	Chapter Two: Operations on Clause Constituents.....	95
2.1	Proposition Modification.....	95
2.1.1	Imperatives.....	95
2.1.2	Question Formation.....	97
2.1.3	Fronting, Emphasis and Deletion.....	98
2.2	Scope Phenomena.....	100
2.2.1	Negation and Cessative <u>pi</u>	100
2.2.2	Intensification.....	103
2.2.3	Quantification.....	104
	 Chapter Three: Clause Expansion.....	 110
3.1	Valence Shifting.....	110
3.1.1	Applicative.....	111
3.1.2	Causative.....	113
3.1.3	Stativization.....	115
3.1.4	Passive.....	115
3.2	Conjunction.....	117
3.2.1	Conjunction of Nominals and Adverbs.....	117
3.2.2	Conjoining Predicates.....	118
3.3	Subordination.....	130
3.3.1	Nominalization.....	130
3.3.2	Relative Clause Equivalents.....	131
3.3.3	Complementation.....	132
	 Chapter Four: Towards a Comparative Grammar of Northern Tepiman.....	 139
4.1	Overview.....	139
4.2	Reconstruction of Variability in Tepiman.....	141
4.2.1	Introduction.....	141
4.2.2	Subject Clisis in Modern Tepiman Languages.....	142
4.2.2.1	Subject Clisis in Papago-Pima (Upper Piman).....	142
4.2.2.2	Subject Clisis in Modern Pima Bajo.....	145
4.2.2.3	Subject Clisis in Modern Tepehuan Varieties.....	145
4.2.3	Subject Clisis in Colonial Tepiman.....	146
4.2.3.1	Subject Clisis in Colonial Pima Bajo (Nevome).....	146
4.2.3.2	Subject Clisis in Colonial Tepehuan.....	149
4.2.4	Conclusion.....	150

0.1 GOAL AND SCOPE OF STUDY

This study has two goals. The main goal is to provide a description of the structure of Nevome, a language of the Tepiman branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. A secondary goal is to point out the significance of Nevome for Uto-Aztecan studies and for historical linguistics by comparing basic features of its morphosyntax with comparable features in closely related languages.

The study first outlines the essential features of the morphosyntax of the Nevome language. Since this language is extinct, knowledge of it must be gleaned from the documentary sources listed below. Consequently, native speaker judgements are not possible.

Sources for Nevome fall into two categories: reference works and ecclesiastical texts. The scope of this study is confined to the former. Citation speech acts from the grammar and from the vocabulary form the data base. Citation speech acts are those which are produced only for purposes of illustration. As a result, they usually have a full complement of nuclear arguments, in contrast to running text, which frequently expresses only one overt nuclear argument per predicate. Thus, this study of extant citation speech acts in Nevome is a prerequisite to the pragmatic analysis of the extant literature in the language. The data base, illustrations, sentences and phrases, was processed as raw data in order to produce a functional grammar of Nevome. The resulting analysis was compared point for point with the analysis found in the colonial grammar. Differences and similarities on key points have been noted; trivial differences have not been reported. The present grammar, then, is neither a translation nor a reworking of its colonial predecessor.

The original grammar of Nevome, described in the section below, was written in the Latin mold. Its author, Baltasar de Loaysa, was not slavish in his application of this model to Nevome, but since his work follows the parts of speech model, it is difficult to get a global view of the language's morphosyntax. The present study takes a function-to-form approach. The first three chapters present: the clause and its constituents, operations on the simple clause, and complex structures. The presentation follows the current style of grammar formulation. A final chapter lists the main differences and similarities between Nevome and modern Upper Piman, the Tepiman language which is the best described in the literature. It ends with the discussion of one major problem in Tepiman historical linguistics.

0.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Nevome language is an older variety of Piman. Piman refers to the Papago and Pima dialects of southern Arizona and the Pima Bajo dialects (both Mountain and Plains) of central Sonora, Mexico. This dialect chain, of which Nevome was a part, belongs to the Tepiman subfamily of Uto-Aztecan (cf. Bascom 1965). Nevome is in the Pima Bajo portion of the chain.

Nevome is an older variety of Pima Bajo. It is described in an Arte (Grammar) which was transcribed and published as Smith (1862). The Arte is accompanied by a Doctrina and a Confessionario. Pennington (1979:xix) attributes the grammar to one Baltasar de Loaysa (1608-1672). Loaysa's authorship of this Nevome grammar is confirmed in a manuscript attributed to Antonio Benz (ca. 1774: leaf 135, p.1). There is mention of a Pima Bajo grammar in 1663 (Pennington 1979:xx), which is probably

Loaysa's. A Vocabulario accompanied the Arte and textual materials. The sermons in Nevome attributed to Moyano (n.d.) are presumably related to the other documents in or about Nevome. The entire set of Nevome materials was preceded by a now-lost grammar by Francisco Olinano, which was dated 1630 by the manuscript attributed to Benz (ca. 1774: leaf 135, recto).

These materials represent the scattered remnants of a Nevome version of the standard set of works typically produced by Jesuit missionaries during the colonial period in Mexico (grammar, catechism, confessional, vocabulary, sermons). This Nevome material was compiled for missionary use among the Plains Pima Bajo between 1630, the date of Olinano's grammar, and ca. 1672, the date of Loaysa's death. Very likely, it was composed well before this date, as the reference to a Pima Bajo grammar in 1663 would indicate. Pennington (1979:xix) suggests that Oñabas, the center for the Jesuit activity among the Plains Pima Bajo, was the place where the Arte was composed. The works from which our knowledge of Nevome derives were meant to service a large speech community and were written by a team of persons.

Dispersal of the Nevome materials began in 1757, when the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain. Manuscript versions of the Arte, Vocabulario, Doctrina and Confessionario were taken back to Spain, where Buckingham Smith studied them and made transcriptions of them. The work of Smith (1862) is the published version of his transcriptions of the Arte, Doctrina and Confessionario. The grammar is 86 printed pages and contains over 650 illustration sentences. The 22-page confessional has a Spanish translation, but the 5-page catechism is in Nevome only, as is the Act of Contrition appended to it. Pennington (1979) is a critical

edition of Smith's previously unpublished transcription of the Nevome Vocabulario, which contains about 500 illustrative sentences. The organization is Spanish-Nevome, and the printed version is 118 pages long. Part of this vocabulary is copied in the manuscript attributed to Benz (ca. 1774).

The second part of the Benz manuscript (dated 1774; leaf 147, recto) shows that copies of the Nevome linguistic materials remained in use in Sonora after 1757 by the Franciscan missionaries who replaced the Jesuits. This latter part of the Benz manuscript (22 pages) is a fragmented series of lecciones designed to bridge the gap between the language attested in the documents and contemporary usage. Examples of the lecciones are clearly Upper Piman, and it is clearly stated (leaf 154, verso) that the language of the documents is Pima Bajo and is not comprehensible to the Pima Alta among whom the unknown author of the lecciones worked.

The sermons in the manuscript attributed to Moyano (n.d.) may also be part of the Franciscan mission effort in the Pimeria Alta centered at San Xavier near Tucson. This manuscript shows that its copiers were familiar with certain sound changes that distinguish northern Piman varieties (Papago and Pima dialects) from Nevome. The fact that it was attributed to Moyano, who was active in the Pimeria Alta around 1814, may also indicate that the sermons manuscript was copied at San Xavier or a satellite community. The incomplete copy of the sermons is in several different hands, and was associated with the Benz manuscript at the time both were acquired by the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

0.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS RESEARCH

The time span between records of Nevome (starting in 1630) and modern varieties of Pima Bajo such as those recorded in Hale (1964, 1979) is approximately three hundred years. Hence, the opportunity exists to document linguistic change. Since similar colonial records also exist for Northern Tepehuan (Rinaldini 1743), the nearest Tepiman language to the south, it may be possible eventually to trace developments in Tepiman morphosyntax, complementing the phonological reconstruction of Tepiman by Bascom (1965).

According to Hale (1980:4), the language of the Arte "is not a direct ancestor of Papago [a northern Piman dialect], but it is extraordinarily close to Papago, and it could be a sister dialect thereof (i.e., a member of the same dialect chain or lattice) at the time the Arte was written." The author of the lecciones in the second part of the Benz manuscript (ca. 1774: leaf 134, verso) says "la lengua sea substanciante la misma" (the language [of the Pimeria Baja] is substantially the same) as that of the Pimeria Alta, but that there are significant differences. We thus have record of a fairly narrow time depth. This narrow time depth is ideal for the micro-study of linguistic change.

Such opportunities to use written records are rare in Native American languages. Comparative Tepiman offers a laboratory for testing ideas and theories about linguistic change, in Uto-Aztecan languages and in general. The final chapter of this study will address one such issue.

0.4 PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

All citations are made as they appear in the original material (Smith 1862, edition of the Arte; Pennington 1979, critical edition of the Vocabulario), with two conditions: (a) a dash [-] has been inserted to mark morpheme boundaries within words, and (b) phonological words (defined by contraction marked in the original by an apostrophe) have been written as a single word where a space intervenes between portions of a single word in the original material.

A tentative interpretation of the orthography is given in phonemic terms in Table I below. This interpretation rests on Bascom (1965) and on comparison of cognates between Nevome and other Piman varieties. The glottal stop (/'/) occurs at the beginning of all vowel-initial words; thus, written icama may be rendered as /'ikama/. Glottal stop may be represented in some words by a sequence of two vowels: coa 'eat' = /ko'a/. This is not always true, as the language does permit diphthongs: bua is equivalent to /bua/. Phonemic rendering of Nevome materials must be done without reference to other Piman dialects.

Vowel length, which is also phonemic in Piman, glottal stops and stress have not been restored to Nevome forms cited in the present study. Citations are made from Proto-Tepiman and from Piman and Tepehuan varieties in support of the interpretation wherever this has been possible.

<u>Grapheme</u>	<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
a	/a/	
b, p	/b/	
c, k, qu	/k/	
d, t	/d/	
e	?	Rare. Spanish /e/ is replaced by /i/ or /a/
g	/g/	
h, j, gu	/h/	
i	/i/	
l	/l/	Substitutes for Spanish /d/
m	/m/	
n	/n/	
o	/o/	
p, b	/p/	
r, rh	/r/	Alveolar to retroflex: "ranges from s to r and h" (A2)
s, x	/s/	
t, d	/t/	
u, v	/u/ or /ɨ/	
v, b	<i>β</i> /	
x	/ɣ/	

TABLE 1: NEVOME GRAPHEMES AND PHONEMES

Several phonological processes may be observed in the written record of Nevome. Contraction, termed synalephsis in the Arte, was written with an apostrophe. Examples of this abound, and may be seen in almost every illustration analyzed here. This record of contraction allows the grouping of morphemes as phonological words.

Other phonological processes include truncation of verb stems for perfective aspect, a shift from v to p under reduplication in some stems, reduplication (partial and complete) and i-ablaut.

<u>truncation</u>	maca	'give'	ma	'gave'
<u>v -> p</u>	vaso	'grass'	vapso	'grasses'
<u>redupl.</u>	vana	'coyote'	vavana	'coyotes'
	hota	'stone'	hohota	'stones'
	cosoba	'skull'	cocsoba	'skulls'
<u>i-ablaut</u>	gaha	'roast'	gahi	'roasted'

Truncation and i-ablaut are important formative processes in verb morphology and are discussed under this topic. Reduplication is used with nouns, adpositions, some statives and some verb stems to signal plural and distributive number. Reduplication is discussed where appropriate. The v -> p shift, which is ancient in Uto-Aztecan, occurs finally and medially with some stems when they reduplicate.

0.5 ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person		
3	third person	NEG	negative
		NOM	nominalizer
A	<u>Arte</u>	NUM	numeral
ald	already (<u>va-</u>)		
APL	applicative	OPT	optative
AUX	auxiliary		
		P	perfect(ive)
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
CES	cessative	pl	plural
CON	conative	PROG	progressive
COND	conditional	PST	past
CONJ	conjunction, conjunctive	PTC	particle
DEM	demonstrative	Q	question marker
DET	determiner	QUO	quotative
dist	distal		
ds	different subject	R	reflexive
DUB	dubitative	RPT	repetitive
E	irrealis marker	S	stative
EMPH	emphatic	sg	singular
		ss	same-subject
F	future	s.o.	someone
freq	frequentive	s.t.	something
GER	gerundive		
I.	intensifier	V	<u>Vocabulario</u>
IMP	imperative		
INSTR	instrumental	WAS TO	'was to' (<u>-macada</u>)
IO	indefinite object		

CHAPTER ONE: THE CLAUSE

1.0 Overview

A syntactic clause contains a predicate frame, i.e., a predicate and required arguments. The arguments may be realized in Nevome as nominals or as clitics. A syntactic clause may also contain modifications that fit the predicate frame to real or hypothetical contexts. These modifications will be considered to be adverbials syntactically.

Arguments in Nevome, whether realized as nominals or as clitics, are marked for two cases. Actor and experiencer roles are marked by subject case. Patient, goal, beneficiary and actors of subordinate clauses are in the oblique case. Word order serves to mark case with nominals, nouns having no morphological case. Actual differences in form distinguish subject from oblique case in pronouns, demonstratives and indefinites.

Nevome clauses are predicate-final, and the order of nominals is, as expected typologically, subject plus oblique, where oblique is an object-patient function.

...co huna s-apua caiba-na (A22)
and corn S-good grow-COND
'that the corn may grow well'

padre haibani si-ni-maqui-macada... (A23)
priest cow(s) S-me-give-WAS TO
'the priest was to have given me cattle'

When there is more than one object, the direct object precedes the indirect object.

hakia hunu ica numatcam'-ap'-ta ma... (A14)
 so much corn DEM person-2s-P give(P)
 'however much corn you gave to this person'

The principle of SOV order holds when there is complementation in main and complement clauses.

When adverbials precede the predicate, the SOV order holds.

sta maria damactum-'mi humasuri ta-vusia ti-stuodiga dios buy
 St. Mary heaven-LOC always us-for our-lord God to
 'St. Mary in heaven always speaks to the Lord, our God, on our

nuoku (V67)
 speak
 behalf'

An object nominal or an adverbial may be fronted.

pedoro ohana pare a-t'-io vanna (A61)
 P. write priest 3s-P-F erase
 'the priest will erase Peter's writing'

m'-hukiti pare t'-igui mu-gugu (A61)
 your-eating priest P-E you-beat(P)
 'the priest will beat you for what you ate'

A subject-marking auxiliary construction (hereafter referred to as AUX) may appear at various positions in the clause: with an initial conjunction or otherwise in second position, before the predicate, and after the predicate. The AUX is underscored.

dod'-ap-iki mu-mama bupo-ca-na (V89)
 OPT-2s-E your-father like-S-COND
 'would that you were like your father'

quico t'-igui dada (V73)
 four P-E arrive(P, pl)
 'four arrived'

pim'-an'-igui' haitu uniga (V30)
 NEG-1s-E s.t. own
 'I own nothing'

tuburhi apima t'-io quiquio-ta (V10)
 willow 2pl P-F bows-CAUS
 'you will make bows of willow'

cox'-tu pima ay divia an'-ta (A31)
 sleep-GER NEG hither arrive(P, pl) 1s-P
 'on account of sleeping, I did not come here'

Clauses may be introduced with adverbs or interjections. These may precede the conjunction if more than one element is present. Clause-initial adverbs and conjunctions are underlined in the examples that follow.

hiquia co'-n'-igui nuhi (V118)
 show me &-1s-E see(P)
 'let's have a look (and) I (will) see it'

ia am'-s'-himi-macad'-an'-igui (A96)
 surprise LOC-S-go-WAS TO-1s-E
 'oh, I was to have been there!'

duri v'-an'-t'-igui hapu du (A96)
 satisfaction ALD-1s-P-E thus do(P)
 'to my satisfaction I did it already'

ay g'-himu... (A93)
 hither IMP-go/come
 'come here'

1.1 PREDICATES

Predicates may specify three basic relations in the real world: events, qualities and identities. Event-naming predicates are verbs. I will use the term 'stative' to specify predicates naming qualities or states of being. Identity predicates are nominals and may be of two sorts: possessive ('X has/is associated with Y') and equational ('X equals Y'). In Nevome, possessive and equational predicates pattern mechanically like stative predicates. They may be contrasted with verbal predicates in that only verbal predicates have the basic aspectual categories of imperfective and perfective.

Derivation includes changes of form classes (for example, nouns into verbs) or shifts of valence (stativization, passive, causative, applicative). Valence shifting will be considered by itself.

If a predicate frame requires only a subject nominal, it is intransitive. Predicates having two nuclear arguments are transitive. Predicates requiring three arguments to be marked or understood are ditransitive (a word used in preference to the term "dative"). All predicates in Nevome are intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive in resolution in basic or derived forms. The only exception is the applicative, which may be termed hypertransitive (four nuclear arguments). The applicative is discussed in the section on valence shifting.

1.1.1 VERBAL PREDICATES

Verbs in Nevome are distinguished from other predicative types in that they must have one of two primary aspects. Other aspects occur in the data, and there is a well developed tense system. Some verb stems

mark number by reduplication (plural of actor or object), but number marking on the verb is not general for all verbs. With transitive stems that reduplicate for number, number agreement is with the direct object. With intransitive stems, number agreement is with the subject.

Verb predicate frames may require adverbials as nuclear terms. Examples of verbal predicate types are given below.

Intransitives

ni-cuna Parhi buy ni-bua-ca t'-igui hi (V31)
 my-husband P. to me-leave-& P-E go(P)
 'my husband left me and went to Parral'

pare n'-aba usiga (V111)
 priest me-LOC suspect
 'the priest suspects me'

an'-t'-igui hupi (V9)
 1s-P-E appease/pacify
 'I am appeased'

Note that some verbs that might be expected to be transitive are intransitive in Nevome (e.g., 'suspect' and 'appease'). Lexical entries for these two verbs might appear as follows in a case-grammar strategy.

usiga suspect [agent, adverbial]
 adverb = postpositional phrase with LOC as postposition

hupi be soothed/placated [experiencer]

Stance Verbs (Verbs of Position)

As in all Piman, Nevome has a set of verbs indicating relative position of nominals which vary according to number and animacy of referent(s). The Vocabulario (V47-48) outlines the following set. Plural forms follow the slash.

	<u>inanim. ref.</u>	<u>anim. ref.</u>
be lying	catu/vutu	daca/darhaca
be standing	cuhca/tutu	cuhca/guguhucca

Two additional sets of stance verbs are given in the glosses for Spanish estar which are pertinent here.

be lying	voho/vovo
sit down	daha/daraha
be sitting	dahibua/darhaivorha

These forms are comparable to Papago forms, but the Papago system is different, as seen below. The Nevome forms are given in parentheses.

	<u>inanim.</u>	<u>animate</u>
be lying	ka:č/wi:č (catu/vutu)	wo'o/wo:p (voho/vovo)
be standing	kɨ:k/čũ:č (cuhca/tutu)	kɨ:k/gɨ:gok (cuhca/guguhucca)
be sitting		daha/dadha (daha/daraha)
sit down		dahiwua/dadhawua (dahibua/darhaivorha)

ohana ia catu (V47)
writing here be lying
'the map is here'

hunu ia vutu (V47)
corn here be lying(pl, inanimate)
'here is corn'

am'-da-ca-da pare (V48)
LOC-be located-link-PST priest
'the priest was here'

am'-darha-ccada humatcama (V48)
LOC-be located-PST people
'the Indians were there'

These examples show that Nevome had plural agreement in verbs with mass or aggregate nouns, as modern Upper Piman has. In Nevome, as in Upper Piman, plants must be inanimate in class (cf. Mathiot 1962, 1967).

Transitive

harr an'-t'-igui ada (V45)
 arriero(s) 1s-P-E send(P)
 'I sent the mule drivers'

hoi-kiti an'-t'-igui ni-tuaccana (V62)
 thorn-INSTR 1s-P-E R-stick(P)
 'I stuck myself with a thorn'

pedoro ni-vusipa miha-t'-igui nuhi
 Peter me-near mass-P-E hear(P)
 'Peter heard mass near me'

One of the arguments of transitive verbs may be zero. Presumably, identity must be established prior to deletion.

an'-t'-igui vuhi (V22)
 1s-P-E grasp(P)
 'I grasped it'

hugai nuoqui ni-cahi-da-ni (V46)
 this speech me-hear-APL-IMP
 'Listen to this speech for me'

The last example shows a deleted subject with an imperative. This is normal, although a subject may be overt with an imperfective.

Transitive predicates may mark two specialized kinds of patient arguments. Patients may be reflexive or unspecified. Reflexives indicate identity with the subject.

m'-huguitatud ap'-ta (V37)
 R-get even 2s-P
 'you got even'

an'-t'-igui n'-ictu (V26)
 1s-P-E R-cut(P)
 'I cut myself'

BUT: mu-buy parh'-an'-igui n'-urida (V86)
 you-to bad-1s-E R-think/consider
 'I think badly of you'

Unspecified objects, called "implicit accusative" in the Arte, are marked by tu- and are restricted to animate reference; the Arte states that it is used only "for living beings" (A82).

cabanu 'to scold'
 tu-cabanu 'to scold living beings'

pima s-tukitoa tu-cucu aigui (A82)
 NEG S-have reason s.o.-bite E
 '(you) without reason (will) not bite anyone' (said of a child who "has a bad habit of biting", A82)

Ditransitive

taco hunu qui nucadama an'-t'-igui tahnu...(A91)
 yesterday corn E headman 1s-P-E ask for
 'yesterday I asked the headman for corn'

paparh huipuidag-cama capita an'-t'-io gargarha (V44)
 bad(pl) heart-one captain 1s-P-F exchange(pl obj)
 'I will hand over the ones with bad hearts to the captain'

haitu hunu ap'-t'-io si-n'-oiguida (V80)
 s.t. corn 2s-P-F S-me-pity
 'you will be generous with some corn towards me'

hucudoi pan ap'-ta ma (A14)
 whom bread 2s-P give(P)
 'to whom did you give bread?'

Some predicate frames require adverbial complements to appear in the clause.

...hucaidi doaki pima si-tai masi (A84)
 because mountain NEG S-high appear
 'because the mountain does not appear to be high'

...hap-ap'-t'-io nuocu (A86)
 thus-2s-P-F speak
 'you will speak in such a way'

asinuhi hap'-an'-igui aaga (A91)
 same as thus-1s-E say
 'it is the same as I say'

Analysis of certain adverbials as nuclear is based on the fact that adverbials may appear in the scope of negation of the verb, and the fact that certain predicates ('appear', 'speak', 'say', 'do') rarely occur without an adverbial complement of 'thus'. It should be noted that the nuclear adverbial may precede the AUX.

The predicate frames of some verbs may have other adverbials than 'thus'.

urida intr. 'consider as' [experiencer, (reflexive),
 adverbial] ; perfect uri

api s-tuoti bupo m'-urida (V48)
 2s S-man like R-think
 'you consider yourself to be a gentleman'

pare coadague sivu-urida aag' (A49)
 priest food bitter-think say
 'the priest says he considers the food to be bitter'

apimu vudurh Movas mia urida posa humosuri mucat an'-t'-igui
 2pl be(pl) M. near think but always far 1s-P-E

uri (A49)
 think
 'you consider Movas to be near, but I always considered it to be far'

pare n'-aba usiga (V111)
 priest me-LOC suspect
 'the priest suspects me'

...posa gocsi bupo an'-igui uri (A49)
 but dog like 1s-E consider
 'but I consider you to be a dog'

Some adverbial is always implicit or explicit when urida is used; the adverbial corresponds to an object in English. This adverbial may be a subordinate clause or a postpositional phrase, as shown above.

1.1.2 MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES AND VERB DERIVATION

Morphophonemic processes in Nevome include reduplication (for plural number, distributive number, repetitive aspect), truncation (for perfect stem), suppletion (for perfect stem, plural subject or object number, or imperative stem), and i-ablaut. These processes have been discussed in conjunction with the grammatical categories which they mark. A more detailed treatment of i-ablaut and combining stems is given here.

1.1.2.1 MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES

The i-Ablaut

The final vowel of a verb stem may change to i with the future in -mucu, with certain verbalizers, when the verb is used as an imperative or to form a perfect stem. The i-ablaut is not the only way of forming perfect stems.

The Arte lists the following final syllables as those which may be affected by i-ablaut.

-bu	bubu	'grasp/pick up'	->	bubi
-bua	hukibua	'forget'	->	huquibi
-ca	tuca	'place/put it'	->	tuqui
-cu	nuocu	'speak'	->	nuoqui
-du	coatudu	'watch/spy'	->	coatudi
-ga	tuga	'find something'	->	tuiqui
-gu	xurigu	'many things fall'	->	xurigui
BUT:	tutuga	'name/designate'	=	(same form)
-ha	gaha	'roast/bake'	->	gahi
BUT:	iha	'urinate'	=	(same)
-ho	coho	'sleep' (pl)	->	cohi
-hu	ahu	'arrive somewhere'	->	ahi
-ia	divia	'arrive'	->	divi
-mu	himu	'go'	->	himi
BUT:	doaimu	'thunder'	=	(same)
-nu	nunu	'wake up'	->	nuni
-oa	natora	'finish'	->	natori
-po	vaita-hopo	'go to call' (pl)	->	vaita-hopi
-pu	cupu	'?'	->	cupi
-rha	murha	'run/flee'	->	murhi
BUT:	orha	'gather corn'	=	(same)
-rho	tonorho	'shine'	->	tonorhi
-rhu	oimurhu	'walk along'	->	oimurhi
-su	gusu	'fall'	->	gusi
-ta	buhata	'sweat/ooze'	->	buhasi
BUT:	vaita	'to call'	=	(same)
-to	oto	'dribble/leak'	->	osi
-xo	coxo	'sleep'	->	coxi

Note that -ta and -to turn into -si if the stem has i-ablaut.

Other processes include reduplication (for plural stems; see discussion under 1.1.3, Verb Inflection and Aspects), truncation (for perfect stems), and suppletion (for plural stems). Examples of these are given in the sample dictionary entries below, which also include examples of i-ablauted stems used as perfect stems and combining forms.

himu	go (singular subject)
hi	gone (singular subject)
hihimu	go (plural subject)
hihi	gone (plural subject)
himi-	combining form of <u>himu</u>
himi-mucu	will go
himi-ni	go! (IMP)

gucusu	fall
gui	fell (perfect stem)
gucsi-	combining form of <u>gucusu</u>
divia	arrive (singular subject; imperfective & perfect stem)
dada	arrive (plural subject; imperfective & perfect stem)
haquiarida	count it/them
haquiari	counted it/them

Most verbs do not have plural marking, so most dictionary entries would be like that for gucusu (with *i*-ablaut) or haquiarida (with truncation for perfect stem), as above. As with plural marking, most verbs do not have formally distinct combining stems.

1.1.2.2 VERB DERIVATION

Several suffixes in Nevome clearly derive verbs from nouns. Several others derive compound verbs, serve as aspects, or as complementizer.

Three verbalizers form transitive verbs from nouns. These include the following.

-ta 'make ____' (P form: -ta)
 tuburhi apimu-t'-io quiquio-ta (V10)
 willow 2pl-P-F bows-make
 'you will make bows from willow'

-piga 'remove ____' (P form: -pi)
 scatuhi s'-hohota-rhaga igui ; hohot'-piga-ni (A48)
 pinole S-stones-abundant E ; stones-remove-IMP
 'the flour is full of stones; remove the stones'

-mada 1. 'fill with ____' (P form: -mada)
 2. 'apply ____ to'
 coadagae pim'-ap'-t'-io matae-mada (A48)
 food NEG-2s-P-F ashes-fill
 'you will not (= don't) fill the food with ashes'

v'-at'-t'-igui ha-ona-mada (A48)
 ald-1pl-P-E them-salt-apply
 'we have already salted it (mass or aggregate noun)

A number of verb stems may be suffixed to other verb stems, as in most Uto-Aztecan languages. These compound verbs tend to have aspectual meaning. These include: -himu (-hihimu plural) 'go', and -murha (-oppo plural) 'run'. When suffixed, -himu means 'go along verb-ing', 'keep verb-ing', or 'become ____'.

sicoanna	'weed it'
sicoannahimu	'go along/keep weeding (singular subject)'
sicoannahihimu	'go along/keep weeding (plural subject)'

Pedoro ia qui-ta-himu-cada... (A51)
 Peter here house-make-PROG-PST
 'Peter was making a house here'

api s'-tohodama ni-buy himu (A42)
 2s S-anger me-to get
 'you get angry at me'

pima aba si s-toni coiva-ta hup'-himu (V102)
 NEG LOC I S-hot because-P cool-get
 'it is not hot because it got cool'

The suffixation of 'run' (-murha; pl. -[h]loppo) means 'go (to) ____'.

The perfect forms of this verb, when used as a suffix, are: -mu, -ho.

The use of -murha may trigger i-ablaut.

maha	roast something
mahi-mura, -mu	go to roast it (singular subject)
mahi-hoppo, -ho	go to roast it (plural subject)

taco mu-gaga mu-sicoani-da-mu'-an'-ta (A55)
 yesterday your-field you-weed-APL-go-1s-P
 'yesterday I went to weed your field for you'

vusi ati pare gaga sicoanna-ho-t'-igui (A55)
 all 1pl priest field weed-go(pl)-P-E
 'all of us went to weed the priest's field'

1.1.3 VERB INFLECTION AND ASPECTS

Verbs distinguish two major aspects: perfect and imperfect. The imperfect is the base or zero form and the perfect is the marked form, marked by truncation, i-ablaut, suppletion; a few stems are identical with the imperfect. Each verb therefore has two basic stems to which tense affixes may be added. Some verbs mark number: plural or singular of actor argument (if the verb is intransitive in base form) or number of patient (if the verb is transitive in base form).

1.1.3.1 ASPECT

As stated above, verbs in Nevome distinguish two aspects: imperfect and perfect. The difference between these two is shown below in a minimal pair.

v'-an'-igui ohana (A79)
 ald-1s-E write
 'I'm already writing'

v'-an'-t'-igui oha (A79)
 ald-1s-P-E write(P)
 'I already wrote'

gatuca an'-t'-io oha (V36)
 afterwards 1s-P-F write(P)
 'I will have written them'

The third example shows the perfect aspect with future tense.

The imperfect stem, which is the citation form, may function as a verbal complement or verbal noun.

ohana si-mat-cad'-an-igui... (A27)
 write S-know-PST-1s-E
 'I used to know how to write'

haitu an'-igui ohana-t'-urha (A26)
 s.t. 1s-E write-P-think of
 'I'm thinking of writing something'

icama ohana pim'-an'-igui si'-buy'-masi... (A64)
 these write NEG-1s-E S-get-POTENTIAL
 'I can't take hold of these writings...'

However, i-ablaut may apply to a verb stem to produce a verbal noun identical to the perfect stem.

ica nuoki s-tukitōa-ni (V78)
 this speech/word S-remember-IMP
 'remember this word/speech'

The perfect stems of a verb are formed according to the following patterns: truncation, i-ablaut, suppletion, or the perfect stem may be the same as the imperfect. The perfect stem is underlined.

truncation:

<u>icoima</u>	-> icoi	wash the hands
<u>maca</u>	-> ma	give

i-ablaut:

gaha	-> gahi	roast something
coho	-> cohi	die (plural subject)
ahu	-> ahi	arrive somewhere

no change:

<u>divia</u>	arrive (singular subject)
<u>dada</u>	arrive (plural subject)
<u>vosca</u>	sweep
<u>onamada</u>	to apply salt to something

suppletion:

coa	-> hu	eat it
bua	-> du	do/make it

There are four other clear-cut aspects in the Nevome data: cessative, potential, repetitive/frequentive, and transitional/inceptive.

The suffix -toa indicates that an action has ceased. This suffix may trigger i-ablaut or be used with irregular combining forms.

coa	eat it (combining form: <u>huki-</u>)
huquitoa	stop eating
ducu	rain
dukitoa	stop raining

Pedoro ia qui-tahimu-cada posa s-tuotca-t'-igui
P. here house-make-PROG-PST but S-lazy-P-E

ba-ggui-toa (A51)
somewhere-house-CES
'Peter was building a house, but he quit out of laziness'

A potential aspect is formed with the suffix -masi.

do-burh ti-stuodiga dios nunaspa durhu si-murhi-masi (V64)
who-be our-lord God near from S-go-POTENTIAL
'who is able to flee/run from the presence of God, our lord?'

Reduplication may produce a repetitive aspect.

v'-at'-t'-igui ha-ona-mada (A48)
 ald-1pl-P-E them-salt-apply
 'we have already salted it (mass or aggregate noun)

A number of verb stems may be suffixed to other verb stems, as in most Uto-Aztec languages. These compound verbs tend to have aspectual meaning. These include: -himu (-hihimu plural) 'go', and -murha (-oppo plural) 'run'. When suffixed, -himu means 'go along verb-ing', 'keep verb-ing', or 'become ____'.

sicoanna	'weed it'
sicoannahimu	'go along/keep weeding (singular subject)'
sicoannahihimu	'go along/keep weeding (plural subject)'

Pedoro ia qui-ta-himu-cada... (A51)
 Peter here house-make-PROG-PST
 'Peter was making a house here'

api s'-tohodama ni-buy himu (A42)
 2s S-anger me-to get
 'you get angry at me'

pima aba si s-toni coiva-ta hup'-himu (V102)
 NEG LOC I S-hot because-P cool-get
 'it is not hot because it got cool'

The suffixation of 'run' (-murha; pl. -[h]oppo) means 'go (to) ____'.

The perfect forms of this verb, when used as a suffix, are: -mu, -ho.

The use of -murha may trigger i-ablaut.

hukia pim'-ap'-ta teop'-urha vapcu? (V27)
 many times NEG-2s-P church-in enter(redup)
 'how many times have you not entered into the church?'

The Vocabulario (V44) notes that vapcu means 'enter', but "refers to many persons entering or a single person entering many times". Reduplication of verb stems may be plural or repetitive in meaning.

The use of -himu (plural -hihimu), 'go', for a transitional ('become/get _____') or progressive aspect has been noted.

huhasiga mu-tharahn'-himu (V36)
flowers R-expand-TRANSITIONAL
'the flowers are beginning to unfold'

api s'-tohodama ni-buy himu (V42)
2s S-anger me-to get
'you got angry at me'

Pedoro ia qui-ta-himu-cada (A51)
P. here house-make-PROG-PST
'Peter was making a house here'

The transitional aspect with -himu may occur as the principle predicate (suffixed to an adverbial to form a predicate) or suffixed to a verb stem.

1.1.3.2 TENSE

Tense is marked by a verb suffix on either a perfect or imperfect stem. One basic aspect (perfect) and future tense may also be marked in the AUX construction.

Despite the fact that the perfect particle ta usually co-occurs with a perfect stem, the particle ta usually appears with a perfect stem.

baibitki ap'-ta nuoku (V32)
excessive 2s-P speak
'you talked too much'

si-masco urha amu-buy an'-t'-igui nuoku (V98)
S-appearing in you-to 1s-P-E speak
'I was speaking to you in public'

In the first example above, it is possible that only a perfect meaning is intended. The Vocabulario gives no perfect form of nuoku, and the

gloss of the example indicates a perfective meaning. However, in the second example, the gloss indicates an action in progress in the past.

Tense in Nevome is based on an interaction of tense and aspect marking on the verb on one hand, and the particles io and ta on the other. The verb marking includes aspect (marked on the verb stem) and suffixed tense markers: $-\emptyset$ (zero, present), -cada (past), -mucu (future), -na (conditional), -macada ('was to' verb). The particles io (future) and ta (perfective aspect) tend to co-occur with the tense-aspects of the verb, but are independent, as shown below.

Two logically possible combinations (pluperfect, 'was to have') are rare in the data. In place of a future perfect with -mucu attached to the perfect stem, the perfect stem is usually used with io, the future particle used in the AUX construction and independently, which does not usually occur with the imperfect future (i.e., -mucu used by itself). All perfect tenses usually require the use of ta, the perfect clitic, in the AUX.

The following categories are the tense-aspects that actually occur. Each tense is a verb marking and AUX type, with the AUX being optional in some cases. See section 1.3 (Clisis and Similar Forms) for a discussion of the Nevome AUX.

	<u>verb marking</u>	<u>AUX type</u>
present	$-\emptyset$	set A
future	<u>-mucu</u>	set A
past	<u>-cada</u>	set A
was to	<u>-macada</u>	set A
conditional	<u>-na</u>	set A
optative	<u>-na</u>	set A, with <u>dod-...-ki</u>
subjunctive	<u>-na</u>	set A, with <u>co-...</u>
perfect	(P stem)	set B
pluperfect	(P stem) + <u>-cada</u>	set B
future perfect	(P stem)	set C
future pluperfect	<u>-cada</u>	set C

The optative marking with verb in -na and type A AUX is distinguished from the subjunctive (which has the same verb marking and usually co-occurs with the same AUX type) by the initiator doda- ('would that'). The subjunctive frequently occurs with the initiator co- ('and'). Both the optative and the subjunctive are discussed in Chapter 3 (Structural Complexity).

Examples of tense-aspects are given below.

ani haquiarida	I count
ani haquiarida-mucu	I will count
ani haquiarid'-cada	I counted/was counting
ani haquiarida-macada	I was to count
dod'-an'-iki haquiarida-na	would that I counted
co'-n'-igui haquiarida-na	that I would count
an'-t(a) haquiari	I counted/have counted
an'-t(a) haquiari-cada	I had counted
an'-t'-io haquiaria	I will have counted
an'-t'-io haquiarid-cada	I was to have counted

hakiarida-macad'-an'-igui (A36)
count-WAS TO-1s-E
'I was about to count'

dac'c-ami an'-igui dac-cada (A58)
sit-LOC 1s-E sit-PST
'I was sitting where he is sitting'

The past marker -cada has an allomorph -tada or -itada.

-(i)tada / ____ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} s & x \\ k & g \end{matrix} \right\}$

sicoanna	weed
sicoanna-cada	used to weed, weeded
ohana	write
ohana-cada	used to write
vacu	enter
vac-tada	used to enter
amoga	preach
amog-tada	used to preach

The final vowel of the verb stem may delete with either allomorph. When -cada/-tada is used, the Spanish imperfect generally translates it, and may indicate a habitual sense. Note that in statements of truth, zero tense is used.

humosuri apimu diosi tutuhanucugai baibitu (V96)
 always 2pl God orders disobey
 'you always break the commandments of God'

baagui humosuri si-tatabakatu baupa ami nanapo-ta (V84)
 eagles always S-high rocks LOC nest-make
 'eagles always make nests on high rocks'

It should be noted that -cada/-tada may occur with the perfect marker ta to indicate a past complete, usually translated by the Spanish pluperfect.

an'-t'-haquiarid'-cada (A66)
 1s-P-count-PST
 'I had counted'

sicoanna-cad'-an'-igui (A66)
 weed-PST-1s-E
 'I used to weed'

sicoanna-cad'-an'-ta (A66)
 weed-PST-1s-P
 'I had weeded'

It should be noted that -mucu and -macada may both trigger i-ablaut.

guguba
 guguba-mucu

beat (counterexample)
 will beat

bubu
 vubi-mucu

grasp
 will pick something up

nunu
 nuni-macada

awake/get up
 was to have gotten up

1.1.3.3 NUMBER MARKING

Plurality of actor is suppletively marked in some intransitive verbs, and plurality of object is suppletively marked in some transitive verb stems. The Arte states that this matter "pertains to the vocabulary" (A9), that is, to the lexicon. Only a few verb stems distinguish number.

tuhanu	carry it down
tuopagu	carry many down
cuhca	be fixed/motionless (one)
guguhucca	be fixed/motionless (many)
divia	one arrives
dada	several arrive

uburhi vusi hunu cupurhu'-t'-igui suri (V69)
 air/wind all corn flat-P-E do (pl. of bua)
 'the wind flattened all the corn (plants)'

am'-darha-cada humatcama (V48)
 LOC-sit(pl)-PST people
 'the people are sitting there'

am'-da'-cada pare (V48)
 LOC-sit(sg)-PST priest
 'the priest was there'

n'-oiti ap'-t'-io hi (A16)
 me-after 2s-P-F go
 'you will go behind me'

icama saiducama bumatu apimu-t'-io hihi... (A22)
 these Spaniards with 2pl-P-F go(P,pl)
 'you will go with these Spaniards'

A mass or aggregate noun such as 'corn' or 'people' triggers plural number agreement. Sometimes, however, transitive verbs agree with an indirect object in number.

icama saiducama bumatu apimu-t'-io hihi... (A22)
 these Spaniards with 2pl-P-F go(P,pl)
 'you will go with these Spaniards'

A mass or aggregate noun such as 'corn' or 'people' triggers plural number agreement. Sometimes, however, transitive verbs agree with an indirect object in number.

ica hunu apimu gorh amu-buy (V90)
 DEN corn 2pl IMP R-get/take/exchange [< buhi]
 'divide this corn among (lit. 'to') yourselves'

1.1.4 STATIVES AND STATIVIZATION

Statives are predicates that describe qualities or states or being in the real world.¹ The predicate frame of a stative requires that one nominal be specified as the entity which the state characterizes. There are several ways in which a stative idea may be expressed.

1. with noun + tui(t)ca 'seem'
2. with a stative stem + -ca
3. with the pattern s-_____ -ma
4. with a stative + stance verb

Frequently, the stative marker s- is prefixed to a stativized predicate.

Examples of all four of these patterns follow.

1. Pedro pima ibigui-dama tuica (V33)
 P. NEG heart-one be thus
 'Peter is not one in whom one may confide'

- 2a. ica ariguri haba sabari-ca (V57)
 DEM boy thus creaky-S
 'this boy is creaky-voiced'

- 2b. dod-ap-iki mu-mama bupo-ca-na (V89)
 OPT-2s-E your-father like-S-COND
 'would that you were like your father'
3. ti-stuodiga dio(s) ti-vupui ikiti pima si-nuhida-ma (Vxx)
 our-lord God our-eyes INSTR NEG S-see-able
 'we cannot see God with our eyes'
4. ... posa vuoga s-apua tutuduxi catu ... (A84)
 but road S-good curved sit/be
 'but the road is curved well'

The other ways in which a stative stem may be used are: as a verb modifier, adjective, or substantive. For the latter topic, see noun phrases (1.2.1).

Stative stems reduplicate to indicate plurality of referent, though this is sporadic.

parh	bad
paparh	bad (plural)
s-toa	white
s-totoa	white ones
s'-vugu	red
s'-vupugui	red ones
gubu	big
gugurhtu	big ones

In Nevome, statives are distinguished formally from verbs in that they have a diagnostic -ca in the present tense and optative, as attested in the stative paradigm given by Loaysa (A49). The unattested forms in the positive column are modeled on analogy of modern Upper Piman, which adds all inflections to stative predicates with an intervening -k(a) (see footnote 1). When negated, the -ca is absent from the Nevome forms. The unattested optative negative form is supplied on analogy of

the rest of the Nevome negative stative paradigm. The form -cada in the negative column is the past tense marker, which is possibly historically related to stative -ca.

	<u>positive</u>	<u>negative</u>
present	si-ovi-ca	pima i-hovi
past	[si-ovi-ca-cada]	pima i-hovi-cada
perfect	[si-ovi-ca]	pima t'-igui i-hovi
pluperfect	[si-ovi-ca]	pima t'-igui i-hovi-cada
optative	dodaki i-hovi-ca-na	[dodaki pima i-hovi-na]

n'-api azucari vunaida hum(usi) co i-hovi-ca-na (A50)
 Q-2s sugar mix in DUB and S-sweet-S-COND
 'did you mix in sugar as if (it) were sweet?'

The most general pattern for deriving stative predicates is: s-
_____-ma. This has a semantic force ranging from potential to desiderative.

- ma
1. 'able'
 2. 'be characterized by'
 3. 'seem possible to' (with tuitca 'seem')
 4. 'want'

1. ica s-tohodama humusi oy si-nadoi-ma igui (A60)
 DEM S-difficult as if soon S-finish-ma E
 'although this (is) difficult, (it) will soon be finished'
2. si-nuoki-ma pima si-cahi-mut'-an'-igui (A58)
 S-speak-ma NEG S-hear-want-1s-E
 '(he/she) is talkative; but I don't want to listen'
3. aspi duni-ma t'-igui tuitca (A60)
 possibly do-ma P-E seem
 'it seems do-able'
- 4a. haitu an'-t'-igui mu-tuhanu, co'-p'-ta pima hap si-duni-ma (A25)
 s.t. 1s-P-E you-order &-2s-P NEG thus S-do-ma
 'I ordered you to do something, and you did not want to do it'

- 4b. dod-api-qui pima pi-nuocu-na coiva si-nuoki-ma (A81)
 OPT-2s-E NEG stop-talk-COND because S-speak-ma
 'would you would never speak because you are a chatter-box'

Note that -ma triggers i-ablaut, and that stems with -ma are used as predicates, modifiers and nominals.

The prefix -s is a stative marker that may also occur with subordinate structures. With stative predicates, it does not occur if the environment is negative or irrealis.

hovi	sweet/sweet thing
pima i-hovi	not sweet
doda-ki i-hovi-ca-na	would it were sweet
aspi duni-ma	possibly do-able

The shape si is only used before a consonant-initial root. Forms such as s-gubuca 'hit-able' and s-toa 'white' show that si- was weakly stressed and is different from the intensive morpheme si, which is always in a non-reduced form. It is likely that the prefix s(i)- developed from the intensifier.

As noted before, s(i)- is frequently used in subordinate clauses.

si-nuoki-ma pima si-cahi-mut'-an'-igui (A58)
 S-talk-able NEG S-hear-want-1s-E
 '(he/she) is talkative, (but) I don't want to listen'

Stativization must be seen as a valence-changing operation: it may reduce the number of arguments (e.g., a transitive verb, as above) to one, and its structure is identical in form to complementation (s-___- complementizer), a typical derivation.

There are several markers with more specialized meanings than -ma or -ca that have stative-like meanings: -r(h)aga, -staga, -spi and -mu/-coho. All derive statives from verb stems and all seem to be of

limited distribution and/or meaning.

-r(h)aga

1. 'be skillful at/know how to'
2. 'be abundant'
3. 'be worthy of'

ohana	wrote
ohana-rhaga	capable of writing
aata	make pots
aata-rhaga	skilled at making pots
vaso	grass/hay
s-vaso-rhaga	be much grass/hay
buhogurhida	believe
buhogurhida-rhaga	be worthy of being believed

dios nuoki si-si-vuhogurhida-rhaga igui; posa pcada pimu
 God word I.-S-believable-worthy E ; but truly NEG
 'The word of God is worthy of belief; however, you do not

si-buhogurhida-muta (A60)
 S-believe-want
 want to believe it'

-staga

1. 'be difficult to'
2. 'be tenacious at'
3. 'have resistance to'

bamu	get angry (singular subject)
bamustaga	be difficult to anger
bacoho	get angry (plural subject)
bachohistaga	be difficult to anger (plural subject)
ohana	write
ohanastaga	persistent at writing
duba	rot
dubastaga	rot resistant

joan vnu si-naba-mu-staga aag, posa vurh pim'-an'-igui
 J. 1s S-drunk-die-hard to say but be NEG-1s-E
 'John says that I am hard to get drunk, but I am one (who is)

nab'-mu'-staga ... (A56)
 drunk-die-hard to
 not hard to get drunk'

The suffix -staga may trigger i-ablaut.

<u>-spi</u>	'remains verbed'
vuri	is tied
vuri-spi	remains tied (singular subject)

This is the i-ablaut (nominalized) form of Piman *-spV, 'be in contact with'.

ihasa	bury it
ihaspi	persistently buried thing

pim'-at'-va suri kia vusi ihaspi (A63)
 NEG-1pl-EMPH do(P) still all buried
 'we have not done/removed it; (it) is still all buried'

The Arte notes that "it does not seem that this type of noun is formed from all verbs" (A63).

<u>-mu</u>	1. be _____
	2. to become _____
pl. <u>-coho</u>	3. be desirous of doing

As an independent verb, mu (plural coho) means 'die'. Nevome, like most Uto-Aztecan languages, uses the suppletive pair for 'die' to classify emotional and bodily sensations. Apparently, this pair is productive in Nevome (for example, with 'eat' and 'weed' in the examples above).² A transitional aspectual sense ('get/become _____ed') is indicated with some of these stems indicating emotional and bodily feeling. The emotive-bodily states with which -mu/-coho are attested in Nevome include: anger, thirst, tired, hungry, drunk, and urinate.

coa	eat (combining form: <u>huki-</u>)
s-huki-mu	dying to eat (= want to eat)

sicoanna weed
sicoanna-mu dying to weed

ba-mu get angry (singular subject)
ba-coho get angry (plural subject)

pihi-mu be tired
naba-mu be drunk
tono-mu be thirsty

haibani s-huki-mu-cad'-an'-igui hucai di pare an'-t'-igui
cows S-eat-die-PST-1s-E for reason priest 1s-P-E

 tahnu (A56)
 ask
'I was dying to eat beef, so I asked the priest (for some)'

An instance of a stativized form appearing to be a derived verb in function occurs in the following example.

s-gubu-ca-himu-cada igui... (V98)
S-stiff-S-get-PST E
'it was getting stiff/hard'

Here, the word s-gubuca appears with the transitional use of himu 'go' discussed above.

1.1.5 POSSESSIVE PREDICATES

To indicate possession ('have X'), a noun may be used as a predicate using the following pattern:

$$\text{noun} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ga \\ -ca \end{array} \right\}$$

The -ga suffix is an inalienable marker (see section 1.2.2.1 on noun classes). The stative marker -ca is only affixed directly to inalien-

able noun stems in Upper Piman. In the attested Nevome forms, only -ga or -ca is used. While it seems that these two items form a mutually exclusive set (\pm inalienable), it could be that the stative marker appeared in Nevome on inalienable stems (stem-ga-ca).

hunu-ga to have corn
(dada'-ca) to have a mother

an'-igui dah
1s-E mother
'I have a mother'

an'-igui dah-cada
1s-E mother
'I used to have a mother'

in'-t'-igui dah
1s-P-E mother
'I had a mother'

dah'-cad'-an'-t'-igui
mother-PST-1s-P-E
'I have had a mother'

an'-t'-io dah
1s-P-F mother
'I will have had a mother'

dah'-ca'-mucu
mother-S-F
'I will have a mother'

dod'-an'-iki dah'-ca'-na
OPT-1s-E mother-S-COND
'would I had a mother'

dah'-ca'-macad'-an'-igui
mother-S-WAS TO-1s-E
'I was to have a mother'

The examples above constitute the only paradigm the Arte gives for the possessive predicate (A46). Presumably, the noun dada 'mother' is reduced to dah. The stative marker -ca appears sporadically, but it never appears with the perfect stem.

A pair of possessive verbs also existed in Nevome. These supplete for animacy: xoiga 'possess an animate being', vs. uniga 'possess an inanimate object'. Examples of these are given below.

cabaio an'-igui soriga (V38)
horse 1s-E possess (= xoiga)
'I have a horse'

pim'-an'-igui haitu uniga (V38)
NEG-1s-E s.t. possess
'I own nothing'

pim'-an'-igui cavaio soiga (A45)
NEG-1s-E horse possess
'I don't have a horse'

The possessive verbs are semantically equivalent to the derived stative possessive predicate. An example of a possessive predicate apparently synonymous to xoigu is:

cavaio-g'-an'-igui (A46)
horse-S-1s-E
'I have a horse'

Here, -g' is the alienable marker of other Piman dialects. Its use is not required with the verb xoigu.

The stative-like possessive predicate may occur with negative, interrogative, and contexts where the thing possessed is inanimate.

pim'-an'-igui xixi (A46)
NEG-1s-E older sibling
'I don't have an older sibling'

n'-api' ogga (A46)
 Q-2s father
 'do you have a father?'

pare pim'-ubai ki (V81)
 priest NEG-where house
 'the priest doesn't have a house anywhere'

While Nevome has an animacy distinction similar to that of Upper Piman, it lacks one based on alienability.

1.1.6 EQUATIONAL PREDICATES

Constructions that specify identity between two nominals are equational predicates. One of the nominals is considered to be the predicate. In Nevome, there are three means of constructing equational predicates.

1. A + vrh + B
2. noun + -ca
3. zero copula

In the first pattern, A or B may be either a simple nominal or a clause. The copula is the particle vrh. In the second pattern, the stative marker is used, as in forming possessive predicates. The third pattern is simple juxtaposition. There is no clear way in the data to draw semantic or pragmatic distinctions between them.

1. ica vrh ni'-tat'coriga (V90)
 DEM be my-sin
 'this is my carnal sin'

... posa vrh pim'-an'-igui nab'-mu'-staga (A56)
 but be NEG-1s-E drunk-die-hard to
 'but I am not one who is resistant to getting drunk'

ti-stuodiga dios ... pcai vurha su-ma tuitca (V77)
 our-lord God truly be S-marvelous
 'our lord God is truly a marvelous one'

ica vurh vutu tuoti, posa buotcama as igui mia occi-ca-maccada
 DEM be now man but long ago DUB E near woman-S-WAS TO
 'this one is now a man, but anciently was probably a woman'

coiva vusi m'-hona si si-moi-ca (A50)
 because all R-body I. S-soft-S
 because all of his body is very soft'

do-hr-ta m'-hipuidaga sai-dodoa (V73)
 who-be-P (?) your-heart bad-suffer
 'who is the one who made your heart bad?'

2. vutu m'-haduni-ca-mucu an'-igui (V90)
 now your-relative-S-F 1s-E
 'now I will be your relative'

doda-ki haduni-ca-na! (V90)
 OPT-E relative-S-COND
 'oh, if we were relatives!'

3. pima mia n'-adhuni posa asco n'-aduni (A90)
 NEG near my-relative but far my-relative
 '(he/she) is not a near relative, but a distant relative'

asinuha hap'-an'-igui aga (A91)
 same as thus-1s-E say
 'it is the same as I say'

hugai joan aspi (A93)
 DEM J. possibly
 'perhaps that is John'

...coiv'-apimu pcai diabro tuturhu... (A96)
 because-2pl truly devil children
 'because you are truly the Devil's children'

The copular particle also has a plural form.

do-vurhumu apimu? (A14)
 who-be(pl) 2pl
 'who are you?'

do-vurhumu ati (A14)
 who-be(pl) 1pl
 'who are we?'

do-vurhumu hugama? (A14)
 who-be(pl) DEM
 'who are they?'

The clitic do- is distinct in Nevome from the copula. This is not true in modern Upper Piman, where d- and wiɟ (cognate to Nevome do- and vurh) are allomorphs of the copula³.

A variant of the Nevome copula is the form vdurhi.

pedro vdurhi t'-igui mu'gugu (A13)
 P. be P-E R-beat(P)
 'Peter's the one who beat himself'

ani vdurdhi ta divia (A13)
 1s be P arrive
 'I am the one who arrived'

1.2 NOMINALS AND CASE MARKING

A nominal is an independent (non-clitic) pronoun (personal, demonstrative, indefinite), a single noun, or a noun phrase. A case distinction (subject vs. oblique) is present in pronouns, but is not marked in nouns. However, the use of demonstratives with nouns in noun phrases marks case with nouns indirectly. The indefinites 'who' and 'what' also have case forms. Clitics (section 1.3) present a third means of marking case.

All nominals distinguish two numbers (singular, plural). Nouns have some additional features (count vs. mass vs. aggregate) that may interact with number as well as the feature of animacy which interacts with verbs. There is also data for a class distinction based on inalienability.

The subject case, as noted above, is used for agent (or actor) and experiencer roles. The oblique case, the Arte notes (A75), signals direct and indirect objects of verbs and indicates the subject of subordinate clauses. Examples of subjective vs. objective use of oblique case may be seen in the section on noun phrases (1.2.1), pronouns (1.2.3), clitics (1.3), and subordinate clauses (3.1, ff.).

Oblique case is also used as the case of the possessor in a possessive noun phrase (possessor + possessed), and as the object of postpositions.

ica surca bunaiga-di ay g'-n'-vapida (A18)
 DEM shoe partner-POSS LOC IMP-me-bring
 'bring me the mate to this shoe'

ica hunu ikiti s-apua-mucu (V60)
 DEM corn INSTR S-good-F
 'with this corn he/she will be satiated'

In the two examples above, ica is in the oblique case; the subject form would be ida.

Apparently, the vocative function is also rendered by oblique case.

co-si mu pedro ubai da? (V121)
 &-I. you P where live
 'and you, Peter, where do you live?'

In this example, mu 'you' is oblique, rather than subjective.

An unusual feature of Nevome case usage is the use of oblique as the case for item A in the equational construction.

ica vurh ni-cuna (V77)
DEM be my-husband
'this is my husband'

ica vurh n'-aridaca (V88)
DEM be my-boy
'this is my servant'

ica vurh sadu-burh m'-haduni (V90)
DEM be what(Q)-be your-relative
'how is this your relative?'

There is no logical explanation for this feature, which is contrary to Uto-Aztecan languages with a subject:oblique case system. Usually the subject form is used for both the A and B items in equational constructions in other Uto-Aztecan languages.

1.2.1 NOUN PHRASES

Simple (non-conjoined) noun phrases in Nevome may have one or two nouns. Noun phrases with single nouns consist of some modifier plus noun. A double-noun construction is used to indicate a possessive relationship.

A single-headed noun phrase consists of an indefinite, demonstrative, numeral, or stative plus noun. If the noun (= nominal) is in the oblique case, the modifier is marked overtly for oblique case if possible.

noun phrase = { demonstrative
indefinite
numeral
stative } + noun

haitu hunu some corn (s.t. corn)
ica tamusi this knife (DEM knife)
goco toro two bull(s) (NUM bull)
s-tucu duburha dark earth

hugai nuoqui ni-cahi-da-ni (V46)
DEM speech me-hear-APL-IMP
'listen to that speech for me'

tuca bui durh vusi haitu parhu (V85)
north to from all s.t. ruined/bad
'from here to the north all things are ruined'

maco occi an'-t'-igui 'i-dohdo (V53)
one woman 1s-P-E ?-have sex
'I had sex with one/a woman'

maco tuoti t'-igui n'-dohdo (V53)
one man P-E me-have sex
'a man had sex with me'

Other examples of demonstrative + noun are in 1.2.3 (Pronouns: Personal and Demonstrative).

Statives appear as noun modifiers in two ways: as adjectives (direct, preposed modifiers) and as what may be described as a postposed relative clause.

guh tasa (from V86)
big day/sun
'whole day'

paparh hipuidag-cama (from V44)
bad(pl) heart-one
'bad-hearted ones'

gug'-uburhi kiti gug'-sudagui tubaki hucama mu-tutua-himu (V87)
 big-wind INSTR big-water cloud(s) up to R-ruffle-go
 'the ocean is ruffled up to the clouds by the big wind'

haitu si s'-hona-cama n'-huki-tud'-apimu (V106)
 s.t. I. S-salt-one me-eat-CAUS-2pl
 'you make me eat salty things'

The second (relative) construction is frequent in the Nevome data.

Examples of noun phrases more complex than two elements are rare, but do occur.

doda-ki icama goco gagto mu-bupo-cama! (V108)
 OPT-E these two bows R-like-one
 'would that these two bows were alike!'

doda-ki icama goco usi m'-hasit'-cama! (V65)
 OPT-E these two poles R-equal(?)—one
 'would that these two poles were alike!'

It is suggestive that both examples are situations of comparison, and that the complex noun phrases explicitly reflect this. Additional examples of noun phrases with three or more members may be seen in the section on quantification (2.2.3).

A possessive noun phrase consists of two nouns in the pattern: possessor + possessed. The marker -di 'his/her' can be used to mark the possessed noun, but is not always present. Possession may also be indicated by clitics.

Pedoro honiga-di (A13)
 P. wife-POSS
 'Peter's wife'

Pedoro xoiga (A12)
 P. captive/animal
 'Peter's captive/domesticated animal'

Francisco gaga (A13)
 F. field
 'Francis' field'

The Arte adds that the particle -di "is used for exactness when the genitive of possession is specifically stated; thus they do not simply say /pedoro onnigga/ but rather /pedoro onniggadi/ 'the wife of Peter'" (A12).

Some noun stems in Nevome were inalienable when possessed. See section 1.2.2.1 (Noun Classes).

Possessive noun phrases may involve recursion.

vusi haitu ica saiducama uniga ni-vopi-carh-urha gorha vapsa (V79)
 all s.t. DEM soldier possess my-sleep-INSTR-in IMP put(pl)
 'put all of this soldier's possessions [all of the things of the
 soldier] in my room'

It is noteworthy that variability in word order (possessor + possessed OR possessed + possessor) is lacking in Nevome. There is nothing comparable to the movable word order of Upper Piman.

1.2.2 NOUNS

The discussion of the Nevome noun will treat noun classes, which group around three different parameters (animacy, set theory, alienability). The sole inflection on Nevome nouns (plural marking) is also discussed. Finally, two kinds of derivation (those having syntactic consequences and those that do not) are discussed.

1.2.2.1 NOUN CLASSES AND NEVOME MORPHOSYNTAX

Animacy, alienability and set-theory resolutions of nouns in Nevome affect certain other forms.

<u>phenomenon</u>	<u>construction affected</u>
alienability set theory	possessive construction verb plurals, distribution of <u>ha-</u> 'them'

Noun classes affect different portions of Nevome grammar, and they have varied application. Not all of the three categories given above have global application. It is possible that the passive construction may have been used for certain contexts where the animacy of nouns was involved.⁴

Set resolution (count, mass, aggregate) of nouns may affect the predicate in that verbs that mark number are sensitive to these classes, as is marking with ha- 'them'. Mass and aggregate nouns have an inherent plurality and if used with an intransitive verb will trigger plural marking (as above). If used with a transitive verb as an object, the verb will agree in number (plural) with it and not the subject.

vusi haitu ica saiducama uniga ni-vopi-carh-urha gorha vapsa (V79)
all s.t. DEM soldier possess my-sleep-INSTR-in IMP put(pl)
'put all of this soldier's possessions [all of the things of the
soldier] in my room'

In this example, the semantic plurality of uniga 'possession(s)', which is singular in form, triggers plural verb agreement.

The inherent plurality of mass and aggregate nouns when used as objects may also trigger agreement with the verb by means of ha- 'them', a prefixed object clitic that refers to their plurality as a group.

Q. n'-apimu ta haibani istuburi ona-mada? (A48)
Q-2pl P cow jerky salt-apply
'have you salted the beef jerky?'

A. v'-at'-t'-igui ha-ona-mada (A48)
ald-1pl-P-E them-salt-apply
'we have already salted it/them'

Here, the semantic plurality of haibani istuburi 'beef jerky' is tracked by the use of ha-.

1.2.2.2 NOUN INFLECTION: PLURAL MARKING

Nouns distinguish singular and plural number. Singular is unmarked and plurality is shown by reduplication, which may be full, partial, or internal. If an initial v- is involved in a reduplication, it becomes p in the reduplicand.

maina	mamaina	bundle(s) (full)
hota	hohota	stone(s) (full)
tucurhu	tutcurhu	owl(s) (partial)
vaso	vapso	grass(es) (partial)
savosi	savovosi	small tree(s) (internal)

There are exceptions to the rule of v changing to p.

abu	avpu	small bowl(s)
bava	bavpa	boulder(s)

With compound nouns, both members may reduplicate.

ari-gurhi	gugurhi	boy(s)
ari-va	-vapa	girl(s)

Some nouns do not formally mark the plural, having an inherently plural meaning. These mass and aggregate nouns may trigger plural agreement with verbs, even though they are singular in form (see section 1.2.2.1 for details). Other nouns are plural in shape, but both singular and plural in meaning.

tatama	tooth, teeth
coconi	crow, crows

1.2.2.3 NOUN DERIVATION AND NOMINALIZATION

Although some noun derivations are primarily lexical, there is a more general process of nominalization in Nevome. The more lexical nominalizers are discussed first.

There is a suffix -parha that indicates 'former' or 'deceased'. It does not appear to be restricted to animate nouns.

ni-mama-parha	my late father
ni-xoiga-parha	my former animate possession
gaga-parha	former field

hugai mura ni-xoiga-parha hupama si-buhi-mut'-an'-igui (A80)
 DEM mule my-own-former back S-get-want-1s-E
 'I want to get back my formerly owned mule'

A formative of limited distribution is -dama 'one who'.

vutu mado s-tu-coco-dama orio-mada-mut'-an'-igui (V87)
 now one S-IO-sick-one oil-apply-want-1s-E
 'now I want to anoint a sick person'

The formatives -daga 'one who' and -cama 'one who' are much more frequent in the data than -dama. It is likely that -dama is lexically conditioned.

The formative -daga '-er' is added to a verb and may trigger i-ablaut.

nuocu	speak
nuokidaga	speaker

With the stative marker s(i)-, it may mean 'one good at ____ing/one easily ____ed'.

si-nuokidaga	chatterbox, one who is prone to speak
si-nuhi-daga	one good at singing
si-bacohi	get angry (plural subject)
si-bacohi-daga	ones easily angered

The formative -daga may also be used with statives to form nouns and also appears with some nouns.

s-toa	white
s-toa-daga	one that is white
humatcama	human/person
humatcama-daga	humanity

The suffix -cama 'one/one who is characterized by' usually appears with the stative marker s(i)- and apparently does not trigger i-ablaut.

nuida	see
si-nuidda-cama	he who looks at everything
coxo	sleep
s'-coxo'-cama	one who sleeps a lot

This suffix may also be added to adverbs and postpositions to yield nouns.

vutu	now
vutu-cama	that which is now
taco	yesterday
taco-cama	that which was yesterday
vrha	in(to)
vrha-cama	that which is in
buto	below
buto-cama	the one below

When suffixed to nouns, -cama indicates a possessor.

hunu	corn
hunu-cama	one who has corn
aana	wing
aana-cama	winged one

The suffix -cama may also signify 'person' or indicate 'person from the place of ____'.

humat-	(human reference)
humat-cama	person
Movas	Movas
Movas-cama	Movasite

There is an instrumental suffix -carha that differs from the post-position ikiti 'by means of'.

ohana	write/mark
ohana-carha	instrument for writing or marking
vosca	sweep
vosca-carha	broom
guba	beat
gubi-carha	beating device

The i-ablaut is triggered by -carha.

The perfect form of the verb (i.e., the stem with i-ablaut) may be used as a noun signifying 'thing that is ____ed' or 'result of verb'.

vacu	enter
ni-vaki	my entrance
comicu	embrace/clasp/hug
ni-comiki	that which I embraced
vinorha	wrap/pack it up
ni-vinorhi	that which I wrapped up

It is very frequent that the perfect form is possessed. Although there may be no overt possessor marking, this usage is typified by possession, perhaps to disambiguate its use as a verbal and not a verb. The Arte refers to the construction as "possessive predicates" (A61 ff.).

A number of verbs form the 'result of verb' with a special suffix: -iga, -guiga, or -kiga. The basic form of the suffix may be taken as -(k)iga.

banisan-a	tear it
banisan-iga	tear, rip (noun)
durhain-u	avoid
durhan-iga	avoidance
ictu	cut it
ictu-guiga	cut (noun)
tat-ui	crack, split it
tat-kiga	crack/split (noun)

Another specialized resultative is -(s)pi.

vurha	tie/fasten it
vuri	tied up
vurispi	thing tied up
ihasa	bury it
ihaspi	buried thing

The Arte notes that "it does not seem that this (result of verb nominalization) is formed from all verbs" (A63). Like those in -iga, only transitive verbs are involved.

The 'result of verb' nominalization may distinguish tense. The past reference has been treated above. A present resultative is formed by adding -da (the applicative) and possessor marking.

ohana	write
ohanada	that which one is actually writing
n'-ohanada	that which I am writing
m'-ohanada	that which you are writing

The future resultative is made by possessor marking and the addition of the suffix -cugai to the imperfect stem.

ohana	write
n'-ohanacugai	that which I will write

n'-ohana'-cugai s'-amurhida-mut'-api posa pim'-an'-t'-io m'-agui (A62)
 my-write-NOM S-know-want-2s but NEG-1s-P-F you-tell(P)
 'you want to know what I will write, but I will not tell you'

The suffix -cugai may also be used as a nominalizer added to verbs without tense reference.

governaro tutuanu-cugai si-bu(h)ogurhida-raga... (A60)
 governor order-NOM S-obey-worthy
 'the governor's orders should be obeyed'

Another kind of nominalization in Nevome that has tense distinction is called locative nominalization by Loaysa, the author of the Arte: "I call those verbals 'locative' which signify the location or place where the action of the verb is, was or is to be carried out" (A58). Actually, there are four tense distinctions: present, habitual, past, and future.

-cami	place where verbing is done
cuhca	be standing
cuhcami	place where X is standing
vsa	plant it
vasicami	place where planting is going on
-carhami	place usually used for verbing
vovo	lie down
vovi-carhami	bed
coa	eat
coa-carhami	eating place
pan-ta-carhami	bakery (bread-make-place)

-parhami	place formerly used for verbing
cohoda	kill
Cohodi-parhami	Killing Place, "a place where the Nevome formerly made a <u>matanza</u> (ritual killing) of Hyakis" (A59)
vovo	be lying
ti-vovi-parhami	our camp
-aicami, io-____-cami	place where verbing will take place
sicoanna	weed it
io-sicoanna-cami	place to be weeded
voho	be lying
vohi-aicami	place to be down
guguba	beat it/one
gugub'-aicami	place where beating is to be done

As may be seen, i-ablaut may be present in locative nominalizations.

Resultative, locative and instrumental nominalizations may have a domain of application greater than a single stem. Domains below are underlined.

mu-sicuri sicoanna-da (A61)
 your-younger brother weed-APL
 'that which your younger brother weeds'

pim'-at'-va suri kia vusi ihaspi (A63)
 NEG-1pl-EMPH take(pl) still all buried
 'we have taken it already; (it) is all still buried'

ai cat-cami an'-t'-igui vohi (A58)
 low be-NOM 1s-P-E lie(P)
 'the low place of my lying'

pare vohi-aicami xudaqui apimu t'-io uoti (A59)
 priest lie-NOM water 2pl P-F carry(P)
 'you will carry water to where the priest will be sleeping'

oppo cun-cami tumusi an'-ta vsto... (A58)
 poplar stand-NOM knife 1s-P hide(P)
 'where the poplar stands I hid the knife'

mu-nuoqui vurha soig'-n'-urida'-carha (A58)
 your-word be sad-R-feel-INSTR
 'your words are the means of my being sad'

The large scope of nominalizations, the tense distinctions of resultatives and locative nominalizations, and the use of the applicative -da as the present resultative show that nominalization in Nevome may derive nouns or that it may involve subordination in the form of relativization.

1.2.3 PRONOUNS: PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE

Pronouns are distinguished in Nevome from pronominal clitics in that they are marked syntactically in some environments (object marking, reflexive marking, possessor marking), obligatory in some (vocative), and unmarked in others (subject, demoted subject).

Person pronouns (first and second persons) have the following subject forms. Subject forms are used for actor/agent and experiencer roles.

ani (an)	I
api (ap)	you (sg)
ati (at)	we
apimu (amu)	you (pl)

The Arte (A12) notes a dialect variation for apimu: in Tecoripa and Subagui the form is apimi.

The independent oblique forms of the personal pronouns (used for patient roles, indirect object, vocative and subordinate subjects) are as follows:

nu, nunu	me
mu, mumu	you (sg)
tu, tutu	us
amu, amumu	you (pl)

The reduplicated forms are often used in subordinate clauses to mark a demoted subject.

Full personal pronouns as subjects are not syntactically equivalent to the pronominal clitics. In the following example, the independent form of the pronoun occurs in the SOV pattern, whereas the clitic forms may be placed after the object or after the verb.

an- vs. ani

ani ni-gaga sicoana-cada (A75)
 1s my-field weed-PST
 'I was weeding my field'

ni-gaga sicoana-cad'-an'-igui (A75)
 my-field weed-PST-1s-E
 'I was weeding my field'

ni-gag'-an'-igui sicoana-(ca)da (A75)
 my-field-1s-E weed-PST
 'I was weeding my field'

The use of the clitic subject marker seems to attract the use of the evidential marker igui. Different positioning of the subject clitic may have a discourse value. Assuming that all morphosyntactic variation is meaningful or functional in some way, a pragmatic value may be inferred here, since the Arte gives all of these as syntactically equivalent. A lack of inferential value (supplied by igui) in the first example would suggest that the use of subject clitics may be itself a discourse-sensitive factor. See section 1.3.1.2 (The Particle igui).

Examples of personal (first and second person) pronouns follow. The use of the oblique pronouns to indicate demoted subjects is treated in the chapter on structural complexity (Chapter 3).

vusi ati ia darha-cama huhudurico nuocu (V30)
 all 1pl LOC sit-one different speak
 'all of us here speak differently'
 dod'-api-ki mu-mama bupo-cama! (V65)
 OPT-2s-E your-dad like-one
 'oh, were you like your father!'

ap'-cad'-api parh hipuid-cama... (A12)
 although-2s bad heart-one
 'although you are incorrigible...'

api s'tohodama ni-buy himu (V19)
 2s S-tiresome me-to get
 'you tire me'

pim'-api ni-buy coatuda-na (V47)
 NEG-2s me-to spy-COND
 'don't spy on me'

aitcat'c'-ami aspumusi vohi-mucu ati (V19)
 L.L.-LOC/at sometimes lie-F 1pl
 'sometimes we will spend the night in the town of Las Lajas'

apimu humosuri mu-nuoki-da-himu (V71)
 2pl always R-speak-APL-go around
 'you always go around quarreling'

These examples suggest emphatic usage.

The demonstratives, which also serve as third person pronouns, have two degrees of distance, although the locative adverbs have more. The following are their forms.

subject

ida	this
idama	these
hugai	that
hugama	those

oblique

ica	this
icama	these
huca	that
ɲucama	those

These forms may be used as pronouns or as determiners to noun phrases, in which case they mark the case on the noun phrase. There is no independent third person pronoun, other than the demonstratives.

doda-ki pima s-coco-ca-na (V38)
 OPT-E NEG S-sick-S-COND
 'oh, were he/she not sick'

Examples of demonstratives as pronouns follow.

Demonstratives as Pronouns

do-vurhumu hugama? (A14)
 who-be(pl) those
 'who are they'

ica damana pim'-haitu an'-t'-io asi du (A16)
 DEM up to NEG-s.t. 1s-P-F thus do(P)
 'beyond this, I will not do anything'

hakia hugai ap'-t'-io ma (A14)
 so much DEM 2s-P-F give(P)
 'you will give so much to that one'

In general, the use of demonstratives as pronouns occurs in equational constructions and in deletion contexts. The form ida is rare.

Demonstratives as Determiners

ica mura an'-t'-io aagga (V49)
 DEM mule 1s-P-F try/test(P)
 'I will try this mule'

ica ariguri babana-ni (V58)
 DEM boy guide-IMP
 'guide this boy!'

idama arrigugurhi humosuri mu-dadag'-himu (V72)
 DEM boys always R-fight-PROG
 'these boys are always fighting each other'

A number of unusual cases occur in the corpus where demonstratives show the unexpected case marking.

ica arhiguiru si-soacu supima (V82)
 DEM boy S-cry much
 'this boy cries much/a lot'

icama vurh bunaiga-ma (A18)
 DEM be partner-PL (?)
 'these are brothers' (...hermanos)

hugai nuoqui ni-cahi-da-ni (V46)
 DEM speech me-hear-AOL-IMP
 'listen to this speech for me'

In the examples above, oblique forms of the demonstratives are used where there should be a subject form, or else a subject demonstrative is used with an object. I suggest that, barring spelling or transcriptional error, case-marking with demonstratives was breaking down.

hakia hunu ica humatcam'-ap'-ta ma hakia hugai ap'-t'-io ma (A14)
 so much corn DEM person-2s-P give so much DEM 2s-P-F give(P)
 'however much corn you gave to this person, you will give the same amount to that (person)'

Here, the first clause has ica which is an object marker and therefore in oblique case, but the oblique case is not used in the parallel clause. Instead of huca, hugai is used.

1.2.4 INDEFINITES

Indefinites correspond not only to the WH-words of English, but also to indefinites; the two classes are not distinct in Uto-Aztecan. These morphemes in Nevome form a series beginning with the initial h-. Although this is not attested for some of the Nevome forms, comparative Tepiman assures that there was once an h- present in forms where it is absent.

urho who/someone (subject)
hucudoi who/someone (oblique)

urho aspi t'-igui-buy (A47)
s.o. DUB P-E-get(P)
'someone took it'

hucudoi ap'-ta vai (A14)
s.o. 2s-P call(P)
'whom did you call?'

hucudoi pan ap'-ta ma? (A16)
s.o. bread 2s-P give(P)
'whom did you give bread to?'

pim'-hucudoi an'-t'-igui vay (A14)
NEG-s.o. 1s-P-E call(P)
'I called no one'

astu, asi, hastiu what?
haitu something

asi vurh? (A90)
what be
'what is (this)?'

s-apua g'-nuhida c-ap'-pim'-hastiu-i-du-na (V85)
S-well IMP-look &-2s-NEG-s.t.-?-do(P)-COND
'look well so that nothing new happens'

nunu haitu mu-tahnu aguida... (A76)
 1s s.t. you-ask tell
 'when I was about to tell you something'

haitu an'-t'-io mu-ma (A14)
 s.t. 1s-P-F you-give(P)
 'will I give you something?'

haitu humusi s'-cagtui co-'n'-igui matu-na (V46)
 s.t. as if S-valuable &-1s-E choose-COND
 'as if he/she had something good for me to choose'

hugai ti-stuodiga Dios vusi haitu hapu-du-cama (Catech. 5)
 DEM our-lord God all s.t. thus-do-one
 'our lord God (is) the one who made all things'

haitu ni-vihi-da-ni (V31)
 s.t. me-leave-APL-IMP
 'leave me some'

iquido when/sometime

ikido hubana Matapa buy an'-t'-io norha (A86)
 when back M. to 1s-P-F return
 'on some occasion I will return to Matapa'

pim'-an'-t'-iguito hap'-tatoa (V67)
 NEG-1s-P-when thus-want
 'that has never been my intent'

ubai, vbai where/somewhere

mu-sicuri vbai-durhu t'-igui gui? (A85)
 your-younger brother where-from P-E fall(P)
 'where did your younger brother fall from?'

maco ariguri hubui huki'-t'-igui gu (V50)
 one boy somewhere distance-P-E live(P)
 'one boy is absent from the village'

hakia
 1. how much/so much
 2. how many times?

...hakia hugai ap'-t'-io ma (A14)
 so much DEM 2s-P-F give(P)
 'you will give so much to that one'

hakia an'-t'-io agui (A92)
 how many times 1s-P-F tell(P)
 'how many times have I hold you?'

It was previously noted that the word hab(a) 'thus' was required by certain verb frames. Its use is also productive, as the affirmative of the notion 'how'.

pare pima haba hukibuha bupo t'-cabana (A86)
 priest NEG thus formerly like us-scold
 'the priest doesn't scold us as before'

vutuhaba pim'-haba pare t'-io ni-gugu (V84)
 from now on NEG-thus priest P-F me-beat(P)
 'from now on the priest will not beat me anymore'

hasio such an amount

hasio an'-t'-igui mu-nunurha co'-p'-ta pima ai divia (A87)
 amount 1s-P-E you-wait(P) &-2s-P NEG hither arrive(P)
 'I waited for you for a long time, and you did not arrive here'

hukia how many times?

hukia pim'-ap'-ta teop-urha vapcu? (V27)
 how many times NEG-2d-P church-in enter(P)
 'how many times have you not entered the church?'

hukiapa
 1. how many things?
 2. in how many places?

hukapia cavorha scugurina-mut'-api (V27)
 how many altogether buy-want-2s
 'how many things do you want to buy, altogether?'

huhumatcapca hukiaba darha (V27)
 persons how many sit(pl)
 'how many Indians are there?'

huki'-huhumatcama t'-igui dada (V73)
 how many-people P-E arrive(P,pl)
 'how many Indians came?'

huquio how often?

huquio ap'-t'-ay divia? (A92)
 how often 2s-P-hither arrive(P)
 'how often did you come?'

husio how much time?

husio ia ap'-t'-io da (V27)
 amount here 2s-P-F sit
 'how long will you be here?'

There is another form that should be noted here, since it resembles the phonological shape of indefinites and is similar in meaning. Its use, however, may be restricted to use as a noun modifier.

humai (an)other

humai humatcama t'-igui am'-agui (A13)
 other person P-E me-tell(P)
 'another person told me'

There is a specialized use of the form for 'one' as a determiner that functions as an indefinite article. This form distinguishes subject and oblique case.

mado, maddo one/a/an (subject)
 maco, macco one/a/an (oblique)

maco tuoti an'-t'-igui amuri (V53)
 one man 1s-P-E have sex (woman speaking)
 'a man had sex with me'

maco tuoti t'-igui n'-dohdo (V53)
 one man P-E me-have sex (man speaking)
 'a man had sex with me'

maco asarhi an'-t'-igui viha (V31)
 one willow 1s-P-E let go
 'I relinquished one willow basket (chiquihuite)'

mado ti-bumatu (A14)
 one us-with
 'one of us'

mado amu-bumatu (A14)
 one you-with
 'one of you'

macco occi an'-t'-igui abamabua (V76)
 one woman 1s-P-E fondle
 'I fondled a woman'

mado tu-bumatu daca-ma (A14)
 one with-us sit-adverbial
 'one who is with us'

maco busiki bababat'i guigui (V29)
 one ship rocks(against) strike (RPT)
 'a ship dashed against (the) rocks'

In some examples with maco, no case distinction seems to obtain. The Arte (A14) is the source for suggesting that the distinction between maco and mado is one of case. Indeed, the subject and oblique cases given match the comparable forms of demonstratives. On the other hand, the Vocabulario (V118) states that maco refers to animate referents (example: maco hotae 'one stone') and that mado refers to animate referents (example: maddo humatcama 'one person'). The examples above are

ambiguous: with some examples this animacy condition holds, but not with all. There seems to be some support for the Vocabulario theory. The case distinction is attractive, although the distinction seems to be confused in the data.

The indefinite system of Nevome has a semantic feature in common with the cognate system in Upper Piman. The indefinite system of Papago (Saxton and Saxton 1969:133) is characterized by the presence or absence of a medial or final /s/. Forms with the /s/ are used in negative and interrogative contexts. Forms with /s/ are further characterized by /i/ as the first vowel in the stem instead of /a/. The Nevome system shows both vowels a and u (phonetically [a] and [i]) with s as a medial consonant.

haitu	something
astu	what
hikia	so much/how much/how many times
hasio	such an amount
huquio	how often
husio	how much time

Only one of these pairs splits clearly along interrogative:affirmative lines. The examples above show that at least some of the non-/s/ forms may be negated (pima haitu). There is also some evidence that a dubitative particle si 'I don't know' may have been responsible for the Upper Piman series.

ikido-si	I don't know when (A86)
vbui-si	I don't know where (A85)
pima-s	nothing (A90: <u>pima</u> 'not' + <u>si</u> or <u>astu</u> 'what')

Two series of indefinites, one unmarked and the other marked (negative, question, dubitative) were present in Nevome.

1.3 CLISIS AND SIMILAR FORMS

By definition, clitics are grammatical markers that are phonologically dependent. Unlike affixes, they are characterized by movement possibilities. The subject clitics in Nevome have considerable variability of position. On the other hand, other bound pronominal forms related to the subject clitics (used for marking objects, possessors and reflexive-reciprocal objects) do not vary in position, and must be regarded as affixal.

1.3.1 SUBJECT MARKING: THE AUX CONSTRUCTION

As discussed above, the AUX is a syntactically optional construction that centers around a subject marker, which is either a full pronoun or a subject clitic. In many cases, the core is a clitic. The AUX construction tends to attract modals. Modals are treated immediately after the discussion of AUX.

Maximally, an AUX consists of the following constituents.

$$(\text{initiator}) - \text{clitic} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{t(a)} \\ \underline{rha(a)} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{io}) + (\text{modal})$$

The core construction is: clitic + ta or rha + io. Ta is the normal, unmarked perfective clitic. rha, 'long ago' indicates the remote past. rha may, like ta, appear in a full or reduced form. ta is required with the perfect, pluperfect, future perfect and future pluperfect tenses, as

noted above in section 1.1.3.2 on tense. Initiators, listed before the examples below, are required for clause linkage as well as the categories of optative and subjunctive (see section 1.1.3.2).

va-	'already' (abbreviation: ald)
na-	information question
co-	'and', subjunctive marker (conditional verb form)
doda-	optative marker (with conditional verb)
coiva-	'because'

v'-an'-t'-igui ohana-cada co-'p'-ta divia (A80)
 ald-1s-P-E write-PST and-2s-P arrive(P)
 'already I had written when you arrived'

n'-api domig'-ab' fiest'-ab'-vpa teop'-vrha vapai? (Confessionario)
 Q-2s Sunday-on fiesta-on-also church-in enter
 'do you go to church on Sundays and fiestas?'

hukibutu ni-mama rh'-igui mucu (A81)
 long ago my-father ago-E died
 'my father died long ago'

coiv'-apimu-'peai diabro tuturhu... (A96)
 because-ye-truly devil children
 'because you are truly the devil's children'

dodaki sapua ducu-na, co hunu sapua caibana! (A22)
 would that good rain-COND & corn good grow-COND
 'would that it would rain good so that the corn would grow good!'

coi'-t'-x'-igui divia (A83)
 still not-P-QUO-E arrived
 'it is said that he still has not arrived' (xa is a quotative)

The usual AUX constructions are listed below. The construction is neither fixed nor syntactically obligatory. Further, third person must be overtly marked by nominals (in tenses with imperfect aspect) since there are no third person subject clitics in Nevome.

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
1st sg.	an(i)	an't'	an't'io
2nd sg.	ap(i)	ap't'	ap't'io
3rd sg.	hugai	hugai t'	hugai t'io
1st pl.	at(i)	at't'	at't'io
2nd pl.	apimu/amu	apimu t'	apimu t'io
3rd pl.	hugama	hugama t'	hugama t'io

Set A is used with the present, past (-cada), 'was to' tense (-macada), future (-mucu) and conditional (-na). Set B coordinates with the perfect and pluperfect (P form + -cada). Set C coordinates with future (-mucu) or future perfect (P form + -mucu). The initiators noted above and bound forms of indefinites may occur at the beginning of an AUX. Set A is actually the full pronoun series that may be reduced in the first and second persons.

1.3.1.1 MODALS

Modals are particles that are frequently found after an AUX construction, but do not appear there obligatorily. Largely of pragmatic function, modals serve to contextualize the clauses in which they occur, and, as such, may be considered to be adverbials. The most frequent modals in the Nevome data will be surveyed, after which an extended discussion of the modal iqui (irrealis) is given.

The particle pcai is a modal indicating truthfulness ('verily/truly').

coiv'-apimu pcai diabro tuturhu... (A96)

because-2pl truly devil children
'because you are truly the Devil's children'

Two dubitative modals occurs in the data base: humusi 'as if'
(Upper Piman hims) and as.

haitu humusi s'-cagtui... (V46)
s.t. as if S-valuable
'as if it were valuable'

...posa babotčama as igui mia occi-ca-maccada... (A50)
but anciently DUB E near woman-S-WAS TO
'but in ancient times apparently was a woman'

Other modals common in the Nevome materials include: xa (quota-
tive), tum (conative), and pa (suffixed as -va), which is an emphatic
possibly related to pcai.

divia xa (A82)
arrive(P) QUO
'they say (he/she) arrived'

tum an'-t'-igui ahi (A82)
CON 1S-P-E catch up(P)
'I nearly caught up'

tum an'-t'-igui gai (A81)
CON 1s-P-E reach(P)
'I nearly caught up'

Juan tum va'tumi t'-igui (V20)
J. CON drown P-E
'John almost drowned'
ni-cuna tum t'-igui ni-cabanu (A82)
my-husband CON P-E me-scold
'my husband constantly scolded me'

v'-an'-igui tum aguida pima naco (A82)
ald-1s-E CON tell NEG endure/able
'I have already said (it) a thousand times'

ti-stuodiga Dios pa tum s'-ti-oiguida (A82)
our-lord God EMPH CON S-us-pity
'our lord God shows us mercy indefinitely'

The modal tum displays the same semantic range as the cognate Upper Piman čim (Hale 1969): intent or unachieved action (depending on the aspect and tense of the predicate) or characteristic state of affairs.

1.3.1.2 THE PARTICLE IQUI

There is in Nevome an almost ubiquitous particle igui or aigui. Loaysa states that this form "is added solely for decorative purposes and for pronunciation" (A66). In Tepeguana, the Colonial form of Northern Tepehuan, there is a cognate form iqui(a) that Rinaldini (1743:51-52) states is meaningless and ornamental. I will refer to Tepeguana (Tep) and Nevome data in order to suggest that Nevome igui is an irrealis marker.

Rinaldini (1743:53) reports that atiqui or iqui(a) "signifies nothing; and is only added to bound personals" [Personas obliquas, oblique personals = bound oblique clitics]. Hence, syntactically it positions as a modal.

Juu-pi-t-iqui (Tep)
eat-2s-P-iqui
'I have already eaten'

Ju-pi-t-iquia (Tep)
eat-2s-P-iqui
'you have already drunk'

Ii-pi-t-iqui (Tep)
drink-2s-P-iqui
'you have already drunk'

Ju-t-iqui (Tep)
eat-P-iqui
'he/she has already eaten'

The following are given as equivalents for the above.

Jua-pi-ta (Tep)
 eat-2s-P
 'you have already eaten'

Ii-pi-ta (Tep)
 drink-2s-P
 'you have already drunk'

Jua-ta (Tep)
 eat-P
 'he/she has already eaten'

Rinaldini notes that this variation of the perfect aspect is much used. He shows that it also is used with adverbs and the future tense. Its use here marks a distant, unrealized event, or perhaps an event that is reported.

Daggiu-ma-p-iqui cojoli co-n Juggu-iquia-que (Tep)
 grind-?-2s-E chiles &-1s eat-E-F
 'grind some chiles so that I may eat'

= Daggiu-vina-ni cojoli (Tep)
 grind-?-IMP chiles
 'make ground chiles'

In-guidda-p-iqui quin foiga muvapali, co-n dam jimia-gui (Tep)
 me-lasso-2s-E my horse spurred &-1s on go-F
 'lasso my spurred horse for me so that I may ride on it'

= In-guidda-ni quin foiga (Tep)
 me-lasso-IMP my horse
 'lasso my horse for me'

Note that the examples marked with iqui make explicit a condition or implication that is not formally stated as in the imperative equivalent.

Rinaldini gives some examples where iggui clearly marks an implied or unrealized event or state.

Bonna meit but: Saquiti iggui-va (Tep)
 hat NEG heavy cotton cloth E-EMPH(?)
 'hats are not heavy; like it is cotton cloth'

Scibi meit beiga, juvonajo anu-iqquia u-maia-que (Tep)
 now NEG good tomorrow 1s-E you-give-F
 'now is not good; I'll give it to you tomorrow'

The force of iqui is clearly discourse-related. In the first example, it underscores additional information. In the second example, it refers to an implied situation.

An irrealis meaning seems to hold for the Nevome iqui as well.

Statement: v'-an'-t'-igui haitu hu (A94)
 ald-1s-P-E s.t. eat(P)
 'I have already eaten something'

Answer: nag'-ap'-t'-si haitu hu (A94)
 DUB-2s-P-S s.t. eat(P)
 'maybe you have eaten something'

The first speaker implies something in this brief exchange, and the hearer reacts (with the conditional/dubitative naga...-si construction) as if the first speaker had only implied that he had eaten. This suggests that Nevome iqui may be used as an evidential that implies or infers a situation; and that it is in paradigmatic contrast to the dubitative naga...-si 'maybe'. Igui infers or implies a situation, or present a situation or a supposition.

Loaysa notes also (A83) that iqui may be used with the quotative particle xa.

coi'-t'-x'-igui divia (A83) (Nev)
 not yet-P-QUO-E arrive(P)
 'though it has been said that he hasn't arrived yet'

va'-t'-x'-igui divia (A83) (Nev)
 ald-P-QUO-E arrive(P)
 'it is said that he has already arrived'

divia xa (A83) (Nev)
 arrive(P) QUO
 'it is said that he arrived'

This suggests that Nevome igui is also an irrealis marker.

Other examples of Nevome igui suggest that it implies that a past situation or a situation removed from the speech context.

mia igui (A50) (Nev)
 near E
 'it is near'

mia-cad'-igui (A50) (Nev)
 near-PST-E
 'it was near'

hukibutu ni-mama t'-igui [mucu] (A81) (Nev)
 long ago my-father P-E die(P)
 'long ago my father died'

= ni-mama rh'-igui mucu (A81)
 my-father long ago-E die(P)
 'my father died long ago'

ni-noivita si s'-hoi-rhaga aigui hucaidi
 my-cassock I S-thorn-full E for that reason
 'my cassock was full of thorns, so I ordered you

si-m'-hoi-piga-ta-ni an'-igui (A48) (Nev)
 S-2s-thorn-remove-order-IMP 1s-E
 to remove the thorns'

Igui is not used in stating a truth or habitual practice.

oocci humosuri mu-voniada (V79)
 woman always R-tear out hair
 'women always tear out their hair'

Jua-pi-ta (Tep)
 eat-2s-P
 'you have already eaten'

Ii-pi-ta (Tep)
 drink-2s-P
 'you have already drunk'

Jua-ta (Tep)
 eat-P
 'he/she has already eaten'

Rinaldini notes that this variation of the perfect aspect is much used. He shows that it also is used with adverbs and the future tense. Its use here marks a distant, unrealized event, or perhaps an event that is reported.

Daggiu-ma-p-iqui cojoli co-n Juggu-iquia-que (Tep)
 grind-?-2s-E chiles &-1s eat-E-F
 'grind some chiles so that I may eat'

= Daggiu-vina-ni cojoli (Tep)
 grind-?-IMP chiles
 'make ground chiles'

In-guidda-p-iqui quin foiga muvapali, co-n dam jimia-gui (Tep)
 me-lasso-2s-E my horse spurred &-1s on go-F
 'lasso my spurred horse for me so that I may ride on it'

= In-guidda-ni quin foiga (Tep)
 me-lasso-IMP my horse
 'lasso my horse for me'

Note that the examples marked with iqui make explicit a condition or implication that is not formally stated as in the imperative equivalent.

Rinaldini gives some examples where iggui clearly marks an implied or unrealized event or state.

Bonna ma mei but: Saquti iggui-va (Tep)
 hat NEG heavy cotton cloth E-EMPH(?)
 'hats are not heavy; like it is cotton cloth'

Scibi meit beiga, juvonajo anu-iqquia u-maia-que (Tep)
 now NEG good tomorrow 1s-E you-give-F
 'now is not good; I'll give it to you tomorrow'

The force of iqui is clearly discourse-related. In the first example, it underscores additional information. In the second example, it refers to an implied situation.

An irrealis meaning seems to hold for the Nevome iqui as well.

Statement: v'-an'-t'-igui haitu hu (A94)
 ald-1s-P-E s.t. eat(P)
 'I have already eaten something'

Answer: nag'-ap'-t'-si haitu hu (A94)
 DUB-2s-P-S s.t. eat(P)
 'maybe you have eaten something'

The first speaker implies something in this brief exchange, and the hearer reacts (with the conditional/dubitative naga...-si construction) as if the first speaker had only implied that he had eaten. This suggests that Nevome iqui may be used as an evidential that implies or infers a situation; and that it is in paradigmatic contrast to the dubitative naga...-si 'maybe'. Igui infers or implies a situation, or present a situation or a supposition.

Loaysa notes also (A83) that iqui may be used with the quotative particle xa.

coi'-t'-x'-igui divia (A83) (Nev)
 not yet-P-QUO-E arrive(P)
 'though it has been said that he hasn't arrived yet'

va'-t'-x'-igui divia (A83) (Nev)
 ald-P-QUO-E arrive(P)
 'it is said that he has already arrived'

divia xa (A83) (Nev)
 arrive(P) QUO
 'it is said that he arrived'

This suggests that Nevome igui is also an irrealis marker.

Other examples of Nevome igui suggest that it implies that a past situation or a situation removed from the speech context.

mia igui (A50) (Nev)
 near E
 'it is near'

mia-cad'-igui (A50) (Nev)
 near-PST-E
 'it was near'

hukibutu ni-mama t'-igui [mucu] (A81) (Nev)
 long ago my-father P-E die(P)
 'long ago my father died'

= ni-mama rh'-igui mucu (A81)
 my-father long ago-E die(P)
 'my father died long ago'

ni-noivita si s'-hoi-rhaga aigui hucaidi
 my-cassock I S-thorn-full E for that reason
 'my cassock was full of thorns, so I ordered you

si-m'-hoi-piga-ta-ni an'-igui (A48) (Nev)
 S-2s-thorn-remove-order-IMP 1s-E
 to remove the thorns'

Igui is not used in stating a truth or habitual practice.

oocci humosuri mu-voniada (V79)
 woman always R-tear out hair
 'women always tear out their hair'

hupa hihi-di si s-uama huba (V88)
 skunk urine-POSS I. S-bad smell
 'skunk urine smells bad'

The notion that igui has a pragmatic value is to be inferred from the following syntactically equivalent clauses. The first example has SOV word order, no igui, and a full pronoun as subject. The second two contain igui and subject clitics.

ani ni-gaga sicoana-cada (A75)
 1s my-field weed-PST
 'I was weeding my field'

ni-gag'-an'-igui sicoana-(ca)da (A75)
 my-field-1s-E weed-PST
 'I was weeding my field'

ni-gaga sicoana-cad'-an'-igui (A75)
 my-field weed-PST-1s-E
 'I was weeding my field'

If the variable placement of subject clitics has discourse salience, the unmarked SOV word order may be assumed to be pragmatically neutral. The neutral ordering lacks igui (as well as subject clitics), but the other two clauses, which have subject clitics, do have igui.

When no clitic marking is used, for example with third person singular subjects which lack a subject clitic, SOV word order is maintained and igui is added at the end of the clause.

baagui tasa nuid-tu pim'-ikido s-cupi-ogi aigui (V35)
 eagle sun see-& NEG-when S-close-reverse E
 action
 'when the eagle looks at the sun, it never has the eyes closed'

ni-moho saboca aigui (V31)
 my-head be light E
 'my head is light'

ica tarh-aba si-vapagui aigui (V17)
 DEM foot-LOC S-ache E
 'this foot aches'

taccabi haquimuri huc-cada igui, vuto aba pima s-tucu (V105)
 yesterday river dry-PST E now LOC NEG S-deep
 'yesterday the river was dry; now it is not deep'

pim'-an'-igui hap-caitu posa mu-siculi ni-nuoki-tuda (V59)
 NEG-1s-E thus-say but your-younger me-speak-CAUS
 brother
 'I didn't say it but your younger brother made me speak'

haimuri ia comari-ca; posa ami si-s-tuca (V105)
 river here shallow-S but LOC I.-S-deep
 'here the river is shallow, but there it is deep'

In the two examples dealing with 'river', the speaker reports situations in the actual time of speaking as truths, and hence there is no igui present. In reference to the 'river' in the past or in another place, igui is used.

This evidential marking tactic -- putting igui at the end of clauses when subject clitics are not possible -- also may be used where no third person singular subject appears.

pima ap'-t'-io urhu coiva s-tuca igui (V105)
 NEG 2s-P-F bathe(P) because S-deep E
 'don't bathe, because (the river) is (too) deep'

n'-aba-bua igui (V39)
 me-LOC-do(?) E
 'he/she suspects me'

ica arigui ga s'-coboguیدا coiva vihuguimu aigui (V58)
 DEM boy IMP S-glut since hungry E
 'fill this boy because (he) is hungry'

These examples suggest that modals have no effect on word order in Nevome.

1.3.2 POSSESSOR AND OBJECT MARKING

The following clitic forms are used to mark person of possessor with nouns and person of object with verbs.

ni-	my/me
mu-	your/you
ti-	our/us
amu-	your/you
ha-	their/them

The third person singular is unmarked. Either a third person is assumed with a transitive or ditransitive verb when there is no marking, or else a nominal is used to mark the object.

ni-cuna	my husband (A2)
mu-dada	my father (A17)

...co hunu mu-maca-na (A80)
 & corn you-give-COND
 'that (he) would give you corn'

pare si t'-igui ni-gugu (A81)
 priest I. P-E me-beat(P)
 'the priest really beat me'

otatki natoa-ca huhumatcama ap'-t'-io ha-ma (A2)
 canes finish-after people 2s-P-F them-give
 'after the canes are finished, you will give them to the people'

coiva apimu am'-haduni s-tuto-cadama gogocsi bupo urida
 since 2pl your-relatives S-sick-ones dogs like think

hucaidi pim'-iquido ha-s'-oiguida (A49)
 for reason NEG-when them-S-pity
 'because you consider your sick relatives to be like dogs,
 therefore (you) never pity them'

Q: n'-ap-ta aarigugu(r)i vai (A2)
 Q-2s-P boys call(P)
 'did you call the boys?'

A: v'-an'-t'-igui ha-vai (A2)
 ald-1s-P-E them-call(P)
 'I have already called them'

The following examples show that there was some variability in positioning the object markers, but only within the verb word.

a-si-mu-gugba-mut'-an'-igui (A81)
 2pl-S-2pl-beat-want-1s-E
 'I want to beat all of you'

...pim'-iquido ha-s'-oiguida (A49)
 NEG-when them-S-pity
 'that (you) never pity them'

There is also an unspecified object marker, tu-.

pima s-tukittoa tu-cucu aigui (A82)
 NEG S-surely IO-bite E
 'you will not bite any of them anymore'

The tu- marker is not productive.

1.3.3 REFLEXIVE-RECIPROCAL MARKING

The following set of clitics are used to mark reflexive and reciprocal reference to person.

ni-	myself
mu-	yourself
mu-	himself/herself
(?)	ourselves
amu-	yourselves
mu-	themselves

These forms are used for reflexive objects and mark suus type possession ('one's own' vs. someone else's). The plural forms are used for

reciprocal marking, as discussed below. The reflexive-reciprocal prefixes are used as possessor markers and object markers on verbs.

pedro...mu-tuturhu (A2)
P. R-children
'Peter's own children'

...coiva vusi m'-hona si-si-moica (A50)
because all R-body I.-S-soft
'because all of his own body is soft'

oocci humosuri mu-voniada (V79)
women always R-tear out hair
'women always tear out their own hair'

an'-t'-igui n'-ictu (V26)
1s-P-E R-cut(P)
'I cut myself'

m'-huguida-tud ap'-ta (V37)
R-get even-CAUS 2s-P
'you got even'

api s-tuoti bupo m'-urida (V48)
2s S-man like R-think
'you consider yourself to be a gentleman'

ica hunu apimu gorh-amu-buy (V90)
this corn 2pl IMP-R-get(P)
'divide this corn to (/among) yourselves'

mu-buy parh'-an'-igui n'-urida (V48)
you-to bad-1s-E R-think
'I dislike you'

Some verb frames require a reflexive object (huguidatuda 'to get even' and urida 'to think or consider one's self as').

The following example shows the homophony of the sound sequence mu (it can be: second singular reflexive, third singular reflexive, third plural reflexive).

tonda t'-igui mu-sicuri mu-novi-kiti (V71)
 injure P-E your-younger R-hand-INSTR
 brother
 'your younger brother was injured by his own hand'

A reciprocal construction requires the use of a reflexive marker and the particle aipa, or a reflexive marker alone.

apimu vusi aipa-durhu m'-ustoa (V46)
 2pl all reciprocal-from R-hide
 'you hide yourselves from one another'

goco vusikiki gug'-uburhi-kiti m-ap-susuri t'-igui (V29)
 two ships big-wind-INSTR R-LOC or P-E
 thus-collide
 'two ships collided with each other because of the wind'

Nevome, like Upper Piman, had an independent reflexive pronoun vdurhi (cognate to Upper Piman hi-jil) and the reduplicated form mumu.

ti-stuodiga dio mumu-kiti m'-hap'-duni kiti pcai vurha
 our-lord God R-INSTR R-thus-do INSTR truly be

sumatuitca (V77)
 marvelous
 'our lord God is truly marvelous by himself and his works'

pedro vdurhi t'-igui mu-gugu (A13)
 P. be P-E R-beat
 'Peter beat himself'

vusi huhumatcama vutugti vdurhi ti-stuodiga jesu christo
 all people among self our-lord J. C.

s-cocom'-am'-t'-igui dodoa (A12)
 S-sick-LOC-P-E suffer
 'of all people, only Jesus Christ himself suffered more'

The use of either mumu or vdurhi in Nevome is clearly emphatic. Like other independent pronouns, they are not the essential markers of the reflexive-reciprocal category.

1.3.4 INDEFINITE BOUND FORMS

Indefinite bound forms, always used interrogatively, are clause-initial elements. The basic set is as follows.

do-	who?
ba- ~ bu-	where?
xatu-	what?
xa- sa-	how?
xaco	how?
xatukiti	why?

The series is incomplete, although modifications for the general indefinite marker xa render certain essential indefinite functions. There is no bound form of ikido 'when'. If ikido appears as a clause-initial element, it may fail to attract the AUX.

ikido humaia pima s-apu ap-t'-igui gusu (A86)
 when until NEG S-good 2s-P-F live
 'how long will you live badly?'

ikido mu-mama io divia? (A86)
 when your-father F arrive
 'when will your father arrive?'

Questions formed with do- 'who' do not require an AUX at all.

do-vurhumu apimu? (A14)
 who-be(pl) 2pl
 'who are you?'

do-vurhumu ati? (A14)
 who-be(pl) 1pl
 'who are we?'

This suggests that do- is independent of the AUX, being an independent pronoun of interrogative force that is phonologically dependent.

Variability of positioning is found for ba- or bu- 'where', which may not attract the AUX.

b'-ap'-t-am 'ustoa? (V42)
 where-2s-P-LOC hide(P)
 'where did you hide?'

ba-'pimu t'-io vohi (V19)
 where-2pl P-F lie(P)
 'where will you sleep?'

pare bu igui t'-hi (A85)
 priest where E P-go(P)
 'where did the priest go?'

b'-api oidaga? (V81)
 where-2s village
 'where is your village?'

Pedro ba oimurh? (V8)
 P. where wander
 'where is Peter going?'

It is not obligatory to use ba-; the full form ubai may be used instead.

The clause

vbai ap'-ta vohi (A83)
 where 2s-P lie(P)
 'where did you lie?'

is equivalent to

ba vohi ap'-ta (A83)
 where lie(P) 2s-P
 'where did you lie?'

The Arte gives another synonymous pair.

bu-p'-t'-hi (A85) = vbui ap'-t'-hi (A85)
 where-2s-P-go(P) where 2s-P-go(P)
 'where did you go?'

Such variation may represent pragmatic differences, given that the two expressions are morphosyntactically different and semantically synonymous. Although all variation may be assumed to be functional, citation speech acts do not reveal enough to pinpoint the pragmatic value of the independent form versus the clitic form.

The independent form for 'what' (astu) may be reduced (ast-) and treated as a clause-initiator. It may attract the AUX.

astu api ni-buy aag (A15)
 what 2s me-to say(P)
 'what do you want me to say?'

ast'-ap-t'-io ni-ma (A14)
 what-2s-P-F me-give(P)
 'what will you give me?'

In these examples, phonological reduction is present optionally. Again, variation is assumed to be functional. Since the morphosyntactic difference does not have a semantic value, the difference must be pragmatic.

There is a related form asi, which seems to be an independent form.

asi vurh huca (A90)
 what be DEM
 'what is that?'

The relation of asi to astu is obscure.

Forms containing xa-/sa- complete the range of clause-initial interrogatives. They differ from the other forms in this semantic set in that they usually attract the AUX construction.

xatu- satu- what?

ica vurh sadu-vurh m'-haduni? (V90)
DEM be what-be your-relative
'how is it that he is your relative?'

xata-vurh? (A90)
what-be
'what is (it)?'

Q. sat'-igui am'-tui (V85)
what-E LOC-happen
'what has happened there?'

A. pim' t'-igui astui [verb] (V85)
NEG P-E s.t.
'nothing has (happened)'

xata-kiti why (what + by means of = how?)

xa-p'-tu-kiti pima n'-huhuguida (A90)
xa-2s-tu-INSTR NEG me-answer
'why do you not answer me?'

xaco how?

xaco-'p' si ta vuhi (A89)
how-2s S P take/get(P)
'how did you get it?'

The Nevome system of clause-initial interrogative clitics is not self-consistent. There is a potentially significant morphosyntactic variation: some of these forms attract the AUX (as Upper Piman bound interrogatives do), and some do not.

There is a dubitative clause-initiator nagasi 'perhaps/it could be so'. Like the specialized forms of xa, nagasi attracts and incorporates subject clitics. In response to a question 'did it rain in Oñabas?', one could answer

naga-t'-si ducu (A94)
 DUB-P-S rain(P)
 'perhaps/it could have rained'.

Loaysa was clearly aware of the attraction of subject clitics to certain elements: "when the statements contain a pronoun, the pronouns are placed in the middle of the construction with some variation" (A94). This is in reference to nagasi, but clearly covers the forms with xa as well.

nag-an'-si am'-io hi (V99)
 DUB-1s-S LOC-F go(P)
 'maybe I will go there'

Q. siarh toniche buy ap'-t'-io hi (A94)
 tomorrow T. to 2s-P-F go(P)
 'will you have gone to Toniche tomorrow?'

A. nag'-an'-si am'-io hi (A94)
 DUB-1s-S LOC-F go(P)
 'it could be that I am going'

Statement: v'-an'-t'-igui haitu hu (A94)
 ald-1s-P-E s.t. eat(P)
 'I have already eaten something'

A. nag'-ap'-t'-si haitu hu (A94)
 DUB-2s-P-S s.t. eat(P)
 'it could be that you have eaten something'

Statement: vusi haimuri buy at'-t'-io hi (A94)
 all river to 1pl-P-F go(P)
 'all of us will go to the river'

A. nag'-apimu si am'-io hihi (A94)
 DUB-2pl S LOC-F go(P,pl)
 'maybe you are all going there'

Loaysa notes: "it appears that it (nagasi construction) is only used in responses (A95); it should be noted that these responses are to both questions and statements, and that they have to do with evidentiality.

Another modal that attracts subject clitics is the optative, "the particle dodaki in the middle of which is inserted the pronoun (A22)", although the third person singular is zero.

dod-api-ki pima s'-toasacu-na (V32)
OPT-2s-E NEG S-change-COND
'if only you would not change'

doda-ki s-apua ducu-na co hunu s-apua caiba-na (A22)
OPT-E S-good rain-COND & corn S-good grow-COND
'if only it would rain so that the corn would grow well!'

The Arte states that the construction with dodaki may be modified by asidvai 'how is it possible?'; asidvai may also be used alone.

dod'-asidvai am'-an'-himu-na (A22)
OPT-possible LOC-1s-go-COND
'would it were possible that I could go there!'

asidvai pedro sicoanna (A22)
possible P. weed
'how is it possible that Pedro weeds?'

When asiduai is used with the optative, the optative fails to attract the subject clitic, if one is possible. The adverbial asiduai is an explicit marker of the pragmatic value implicit in such constructions as dod-an-iki (OPT-1s-E), where the subject clitic has been incorporated in the optative marker, with the almost ever-present iqui (iki, ki) present. Here, then, is an actual example of a fuller form that has pragmatic meaning being used as an alternative to clitic movement.

1.4 ADVERBIALS

An adverbial is an adverbial phrase or a single adverb. Adverbs may be basic vocabulary items such as 'yesterday', 'fast', 'here' and the like, or derived from other form classes. Modals are discussed in 1.3.1.1-2. Postpositions have already been referred to in the section on nominals (1.2), but they will be more fully treated in this section.

Adverbial phrases may consist of several adverbs, or may be a postpositional phrase.

pim'-ikido hupama an'-t'-io norha (A85)
 NEG-when back 1s-P-F return
 'I will never have occasion to return'

oi aspi toi aspumusi pare io divia (A93)
 soon possibly ? possibly priest F arrive
 'possibly the priest will arrive sooner'

An adverbial phrase forms a coherent unit. It is possible to have more than one adverbial in a clause.

toma-cu Movas buy an'-t'-igui ... (A17)
 winter-S M. to 1s-P-E
 'in the winter I (verb) to Movas'

An adverbial may be intensified.

hupa hihi-di si s-uama huba (V88)
 skunk urine-POSS I. S-rotten smell
 'skunk urine smells bad'

An adverbial may be negated.

mu-tutki pima si-buhogurhida tuitca (V111)
 your-dreams NEG S-believable seem
 'your dreams are not believable'

Adverbials are thus an independent clause constituent, since they are capable of being negated. Negation is a test (see Chapter 2) of clause-level constituency.

Postpositions, which may never be preposed as in Upper Piman, may attach to single nouns or noun phrases, pronominal clitics or to whole clauses.

ti-stuodiga dios tuturh tu-dugu vonid'-akitu (A64)
 our-lord God child us-save-IN ORDER TO
 'in order for our lord God's son to save us'

surima mu-bupo an'-igui nuoku (V92)
 perfectly you-like 1s-E speak
 'I speak exactly like you'

n'-urha s'-tu'-cocod'-an'-igui (V67)
 me-in S-IO-sick-1s-E
 'I am sick inside of me'

Postpositions, as in all Uto-Aztecan, may be reduplicated to indicate a distributive number.

dodoakimu buy vapsoca (V43)
 mountains to be in front-S
 'there are mountains in front of each other'

In this example, vaso 'in front of' reduplicates to vapso, before being stativized as the predicate of the clause.

Adverbials usually are located in the clause between the subject and the predicate. This holds when several adverbials are present, and also holds for nominalized clauses.

sta. maria dama(ca)tuma-'mi humosuri ta-vusi va ti-stuodiga
 St. M. heaven-LOC/at always us-for EMPH our-lord

dios buy nuoku (V67)
 God to speak
 'St. Mary in heaven always speaks to God our lord on our behalf'

ti-stuodiga Jesucristo Santisimo Sacramento-urha pima
 our-lord J.C. Holy Sacrament-in NEG

si-mu-nuhida-ma aigui (V67)

S-R-see-able E

'our lord Jesus Christ is invisible in the Holy Sacrament'

It is possible to prepose adverbials in front of the clause, before the subject nominal if one is present. This is treated in section 2.1.3 (Fronting, Other Emphasis and Deletion).

It is possible to derive verb forms as adverbs: verb + ma.

ti-stuodiga Dios tuturh... mui s-cocoma t'-igui vhi... (A64)

our-lord God son much S-sick P-E get(P)

'our lord God's son suffered much'

pima saiturhuma masi-ma oimurhu (V31)

NEG badly appear-ma go around

'to go around decently'

si-vagui-ma n'-urida co-'ni si-vutu Movas buy himu-na (A80)

S-be good-ma R-feel &-ls I-now M. to go-COND

'I feel myself to be well and so would liketo go to Movas'

There is also a means of deriving adverbs from numerals: vacia 'three' becomes vaico 'three times' by a vowel change. The other simple numerals pattern likewise.

Like several other Sonoran Uto-Aztecan languages, Cora and Guarijio for example, Nevome has a locative system that is made up of a distal dimension and a topographical dimension. Saxton and Saxton (1969:129) present the following paradigm for Upper Piman.

	<u>-m 'facing away'</u>	<u>-n 'facing sideways'</u>	<u>-Ø 'facing toward'</u>
here	im	in	ia
there	am	an	ab
yonder	gam	gan	ga

In addition, there is a fourth degree of distance (invisible): gad.

There are Nevome equivalents of this set.

imu, ima	by way of here
ina	by this way, by way of here
ia	here, hither
ami	there
ana	by there, by way of there
abu	there
gamu	yonder, over there
ganu	by yonder
(ga)	(wanting)
garhu	ex. garhu hubana 'from time to time' (A86; lit. LOC + back to)

There is a static:dynamic distinction restricted to 'here'.

ia an'-igui dac-cadda (A83)
here 1s-E be sitting-PST
'I was here'

mia-durhu an'-igui ay himu... (A85)
near-from 1s-E hither go
'I came from nearby'

This distinction does not seem to be present in Upper Piman.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. In Upper Piman, statives are distinct from verbs and nouns in that they have diagnostic morphology: an abstractive -ču 'one' and a predicative -jɛ (Hale 1959:146-147). Statives in Upper Piman share an inflectional scheme with essive (locative), stance, equational and possessive ('have X') predicates, which is distinct from verbs in that the link -k(a) must connect the tense-aspect marker and the stem (Saxton and Saxton, 1969:118-119). As seen below, statives in Nevome are also formally distinct from verbs.
2. Such items as 'eat' and 'weed' may actually belong to the group of derivations in -ma. This would mean Loaysa confused -mu 'die' with -ma (adverbial).
3. The plural form contains an old Uto-Aztecan plural marker (-mi) that is also found in Nevome pronouns and demonstratives. The clitic do is not a variant of the copula vrh(umu), although it may be related to the source of Upper Piman d-, which is usually analyzed as an allomorph of wid, the Upper Piman cognate of vrh. It is clear from the following examples that Upper Piman d- and wid are interchangeable. See Munro (1977).

d-o s-kɛ:g 'u:vi hɛg Heather (Munro 1977:107)
 be-AUX S-pretty woman DET H.
 'Heather is a pretty woman'

s-kɛ:g 'o wid 'u:vi hɛg Heather (Munro 1977:107)
 S-pretty AUX be woman DET H.

A rule of copula movement is necessary for Upper Piman, but no such rule is needed for Nevome.

4. Nevome, like some other Southwestern languages (see Witherspoon 1980 and Hale 1972) may have had an animacy hierarchy: human over animate over inanimate. If a lower-ranked noun is the actor in a transitive predicate frame and a higher-ranked noun is the object, a specialized construction is triggered. In the case of the single example from Nevome and Apachean, Tanoan, but not Keresan, this specialized construction is a passive or passive-like construction. In the following example, 'stone' (inanimate) is the subject grammatically, and 'me' (human) is object. The structure used is the passive (see section 3.1.4 for details).

ica hot'-kiti s'-coco'-an'-t'-igui ni-dodoa (V69)
 DEM stone-INSTR S-sick-1s-P-E R-suffer
 'I was injured by this stone'

PLEASE NOTE:

**Duplicate page numbers. Text
follows. Filmed as received.**

University Microfilms International

In other languages with the animacy hierarchy, lower-ranked nouns are not tolerated as subjects of active clauses. In Nevome, however, inanimate and abstract nouns occur freely as subjects.

ni-coco-guia ni-gubu-daga hukiova-himu (V54)
 my-sick-NOM my-strong-NOM consume-PROG
 'my sickness consumed my strength'

t'-hipuitdaga peai pima si-cohi-ma (V66)
 our-souls truly NEG S-die-able
 'our souls are imperishable'

ica susca pima bunaiga-ma (V23)
 DEM shoes NEG partner-pl
 'those shoes are not mates'

CHAPTER TWO: OPERATIONS ON CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

2.1 PROPOSITION MODIFICATION

2.1.1 IMPERATIVES

There are two ways of making an imperative. The first is to prepose the particle ga (for singular subject) or the particle gorha (plural subject) before the verb. The second pattern is to suffix -ni for singular and -vorha for plural to the verb.

dodorimama-da-ni! (V79)
quiet-PST-IMP
'be quiet!'

dodorima-vorha (V79)
quiet-IMP
'be quiet!'

vosca-ni!
sweep-IMP
'sweep!'

vosca-vorha!
sweep-IMP
'sweep!'

Pedro ga vaita
P. IMP call
'call Peter!'

Pedro gorha vaita
P. IMP call
'call Peter!'

Some stems are affected by i-ablaut when used in an imperative construction.

<u>stem</u>	<u>gloss</u>	->	<u>i-ablauted form</u>
himu (hihimu)	'go'	->	himi (hihimi)
vacu (vapai)	'enter'	->	vaki (vapki)
nunu	'wake up'	->	nuni

The Arte (A73) states that in using preposed imperative particles, "something is always placed in front of these two particles".

pedro ga vaita (A73)
P. IMP call
'call Peter!'

oi ga vaita (A73)
soon IMP call
'call (him/her) soon!'

ai g' himi (A73)
hither IMP go
'come here!'

If a direct object is involved, the word order remains strictly OV, even with imperatives marked with the suffixes.

ica gaga huqui-da-ni (V71)
DEM field edge-make-IMP
'make boundaries (around) this field!'

ica nuoki s-tukitoa-ni (V78)
DEM speech S-remember-IMP
'remember what I say!'

vusi haitu ica saiducama uniga ni-vopi carh-urha gorha vapsa (V95)
all s.t. DEM soldier possess my-sleep INSTR-in IMP put(pl)
'put all this soldier's things in my room!'

An imperative construction may have a modifying clause without otherwise disturbing the word order.

ia gorha-tusida co-pimu pima tutugosi-da-na (V95)
here IMP-regard &-2pl NEG dust-make-COND
'look here so that you will not make dust!'

The subject of an imperative is usually not expressed, but it may be. In this case, the word order of SV is not violated.

api tutuga-ni (V85)
2s named-IMP
'name them!'

ap'-ica huhosiga hubaguida-ni (V87)
2s-DEM flower smell-IMP
'smell this flower!'

Thus, the SOV order holds in the formation of imperatives, which is the opposite of what happens in Upper Piman.

However, an imperative may have a fronted object nominal.

ica hunu apimu gorh amu-buy (V90)
DEM corn 2pl IMP R-take/get
'divide this corn among yourselves!'

Here, the verbal predicate is last. In Upper Piman, imperatives are usually predicate-initial.

Negative imperatives, on the other hand, always involve the use of overt second person marking with the future tense.

coadagae pim'-ap'-t'-io matae-mada (A48)
food NEG-2s-P-F ashes-fill
'don't fill the food with ashes!'

pim'-ap'-t'-io xoxo (A68)
NEG-2s-P-F cry(P)
'don't cry!'

2.1.2 QUESTION FORMATION

Questions may be formed either by the use of interrogatives (full forms or bound forms) or by the use of a clause-initial na-. The first

possibility has already been treated in Section 1.3.1. The second strategy is used to form yes-no questions.

n'-ap'-ta am'-hi (A89)
 Q-2s-P LOC-go(P)
 'did you go there?'

n'-apimu ta am'-nonorha (A89)
 Q-2pl P LOC-return(P,pl)
 'did you all return there?'

n'-api Teop'-vra Padra misa ha(b)-buada aigo nuhida
 Q-2s church-in priest mass thus-do elsewhere look

hohoqui vui aspumusi? (Conf., 11)
 women to possibly
 'when you are in Church, while the priest does mass, (do you)
 look elsewhere, or at the women?'

A few other instances probably indicate intonational modulation as the sole marker of interrogation.

ap'-as-t' tugui (V85)
 2s-thus-be named
 'how are you called?'

2.1.3 FRONTING, EMPHASIS AND DELETION

Fronting of object nominals is fairly common.

pedoro ohana pare a-t'-io vanna (A61)
 P. write priest 3-P-F erase
 'the priest will erase Peter's writing'

It is also possible to prepose an adverbial.

freno ikiti mura mu-guita (V43)
 bridle INSTR mule R-X
 'bridle the mule'

ica damana pim'-haitu an'-t'-io asi du (A16)
 DEM beyond NEG-s.t. 1s-P-F thus do(P)
 'I will do nothing beyond this'

An initial adverbial may attract the subject clitic.

buscap'-an'-t'-igui bahini; tuni urha humuspcai (V119)
 all over-1s-P-E have blister; mouth in mainly
 'I had blisters all over, mainly in the mouth'

Verb deletion as old information may be implied by the following.

Q. sat'-igui am'-tui (V85)
 what-E LOC-what (satui 'what/s.t.')

'what's new?'

A. pim'-t'-igui astui (V85)
 NEG-P-E s.t.
 'nothing (happened)'

Predicates marked with -macada 'was to verb, be about to verb' occur clause-initially. If the subject is realized as a clitic, it follows the predicate.

hakiarida-macad'-an'-igui (A36)
 count-WAS TO-1s-E
 'I am about to count'

si-vativi-mut'-an'-igui (V13)
 S-bathe-want-1s-E
 'I want to bathe'

We may now turn to verb-initial clauses where full nominals, not clitics or other bound forms, realize the arguments of the predicate.

tonda-t'-igui mu-sicuri mu-novi-kiti (V71)
 injure-P-E your-younger R-hand-INSTR
 brother
 'your younger brother injured (himself) with his own hand'

ni-vita-viga-mucu api (V97)
 me-feces-remove-F 2s
 'you will remove feces (from) me'

divia humusi padre io-'ni am'-himu-na (A22)
 arrive as if priest F-1s LOC-go-COND
 'if the priest arrived, I might go'

These three examples -- the only clear ones in the data -- have nothing much in common contextually. One is a report, one may have imperative force, and one is the semantic equivalent of a conditional sentence.

Another example, however, which has an AUX before an initial intransitive verb, may be used to infer the emphatic status of verb-initial constructions.

va-t'-igui huhuca ti-vituga (V97)
 ald-P-E run out our-supplies
 'our supplies have already run out'

2.2.1 NEGATION AND CESSATIVE pi

Predicates, nominals and adverbials may be negated with the particle pima. Examples with predicates follow.

pcai vurh api pima s-tukittoa (A82)
 truly be 2s NEG S-reason
 'truly (it) is that you are unreasonable'

ti-stuodiga dios s-cocoma pima suhima igui (V65)
 our-lord God S-sick NEG undergo E
 'our lord God does not suffer sickness'

Pima may also be used to negate nominals, which are often indefinite, and also adverbials.

pim'-hucudoi an'-t'-igui vay (A81)
 NEG-s.o. 1s-P-E call
 'I didn't call anyone'

pim'-ikido hupama an'-t'-io norha (A85)
 NEG-when again 1s-P-F return
 'I will never return'

pima aba an'-t'-io mu-gugu (V84)
 NEG LOC 1s-P-F you-beat(P)
 'I don't have to beat you any more'

pim'-ubai an'-t'-igui tu (V59)
 NEG-where 1s-P-E find(P)
 'I didn't find it/him/her anywhere'

pare pima muca ia-va oimurh (A84)
 priest NEG far here-EMPH wander
 'the priest does not go far from here'

In some cases, it is not possible to tell whether the negated constituent is an adverbial or a predicate, or whether the adverbial is part of a negated predicate.

...hucaidi doaki pima si-tai masi (A84)
 so mountain NEG S-high appear
 '...so the mountain doesn't seem high'

It is not possible to determine the scope of negation above; pima may negate either an adverbial or an adverbial plus predicate is negated.

The negative particle may be dislocated from the negated constituent.

hunu pima t'-igui amhu (V60)
 corn NEG P-E be enough(P)
 'there was not enough corn'

...pim'-an-t'-igui ay divia (V65)
 NEG-1s-P-E hither arrive(P)
 '...it was not I arriving here'

A dislocated negative particle may refer to a nominal or adverbial constituent.

pim'-an'-igui haitu nuhida (V80)
 NEG-1s-E s.t. look
 'I saw nothing'

pim'-t'-igui astui (V85)
 NEG-P-E s.t.
 'nothing happened'

pim'-an'-igui haitu uniga (V38)
 NEG-1s-E s.t. possess
 'I don't own anything' (not one thing)

The negative is usually adjacent to the thing in its scope -- the AUX intervening is not necessarily significant.

pim'-an'-igui mucat' vsa (A84)
 NEG-1s-E far plant
 'I don't plant far (but I still plant)'

There is a shortened variant of pima (pi) that has a cessative meaning.

v'-an'-t'-igui pi icusta (A80)
 ald-1s-P-E CES weave
 'already I have stopped weaving'

pim'-an'-t'-igui icusta (A80)
 NEG-1s-P-E weave
 'I am not weaving'

The cessative particle may be negated. It therefore has a status that is distinct from the negative.

dod'-api qui pima pi nuoca-na coiva si nuoki-ma (A81)
 OPT-2s E NEG CES speak-COND since S speak-ma
 'would that you would not cease speaking because you are a
 chatterbox'

This short version of the negative particle appears in Upper Piman as the negative particle, while pima means 'no'.

It should be noted that the adverb coi 'not yet' has a negative force.

Q. na pedora coi t'-igui divia (A90)
 Q P. not yet P-E arrive(P)
 'hasn't Peter arrived yet?'

ascai
 A. astup va-t'-igui diviha (A90)
 yes ald-P-E arrive(P)
 'yes, he has already arrived'

The forms ascai or astup are used instead of the form huhu in affirmatively answering a negative question.

2.2.2 INTENSIFICATION

The particle si (often eliding to s- before a vowel) is an intensifier. Loaysa states (A81) that it "serves only as a decoration, like the particle igui". This clitic is usually preposed to the predicate.

...co-'ni si vutu buy himu-na (A80)
 &-1s I. now to go-COND
 '...that I would go to Movas now'

pare si t'-igui ni-gugi (A81)
 priest I. P-E me-beat(P)
 'the priest really beat me'

There is a stative identical to the intensive marker: si-, frequently reduced as s(i). It occurs with statives, complement clauses and verbs of mental state.

si-daa	love
s'-hupuda	to fear/be afraid of
si-doactu	be afraid
s'-oiguida	1. to pity 2. to help

When a stative is negated, the variant pi replaces the particle si-. Examples may be found in the section on stative predicates. Examples of its use with subordinate clauses may be found in Chapter 3.

ti-stuodiga dios nuoki si-si-vuhogurhida-rhaga igui (A62)
 our-lord God word I.-S-obeyed-worthy E
 'our lord God's word is worthy of being obeyed'

ti-stuodiga dios pcai si-si-namucal-daga... (V54)
 our-lord God truly I.-S-reward-one
 'our lord God truly (is) a rewarder'

buhocama si-s-apua ap'-ta hapu-du (V56)
 truly I.-S-good 2s-P thus-do(P)
 'you have done it very well'

These examples show that stative si- is distinct from the intensifier si.

In Upper Piman, the stative marker si- deletes in negative contexts. This is not true of Nevome.

ti-stuodiga dios pima s'-cuga mutuitdiga m'-oanida-mucu (V92)
 our-lord God NEG S-good deeds you-forgive-F
 'our lord God will forgive you of your sins'

2.2.3 QUANTIFICATION

Four quantifiers occur frequently in the corpus: maco or mado 'one/a/an', vusi 'all', haitu 'some' and muy 'many'. Maco and mado were discussed with demonstratives. Haitu in its quantifier meaning differs from its meaning as a noun modifier, and is therefore treated here.

Haitu 'some' seems to occur only with mass or aggregate nouns.

Three typical examples follow.

haitu hunu ap'-t'-io si-n'-oiguida (V80)
 some corn 2s-P-F S-me-pity
 'you will show me some mercy with some corn'

haitu onna coadaga-ba guiguida-ni (V47)
 some salt food-LOC powder-IMP
 'put some salt on the food'

haitu coadaga an'-t'-igui viha (V31)
 some food 1s-P-E leave(P)
 'I left some food'

Examples of muy 'many' usually occur with mass or aggregate nouns.

mui vusi tuta-cami (V89)
 many trees erect-one
 'many erect trees' (vusi = Upper Piman u'usi 'sticks')

muy tuburi ia tutu (V48)
 many willows here stand
 'there are many willows here'

mui haitu i'-hovima nucad'-an'-igui (V39)
 many s.t. S-tasty guard-1s-E
 'I guard/look after many sweet/tasty'

hakimuri mui sicor-maa gugurh himu-cada (V103)
 river many circular-ma big(pl) go-PST
 'the river went making many big circles'

In the last example, an adverbial is quantified.

The most frequent quantifier in the body of data is vusi 'all'.

There is an adverbial form vusio 'completely'.

n'-hona vusio s'-gubu-ca (V54)
 my-body completely S-stiff-S
 'my body is completely stiff'

tuca bui vusi haitu parhu (V85)
north to all s.t. bad
'to the north all things are ruined'

vusi haitu si-gagu (V37)
all s.t. S-need
'all things are needed'

uburhi vusi hunu cupurhu-t'-igui suri (V69)
wind all corn flat-P-E do(P,pl)
'the wind has made all the corn flat'

sudaqui urha vusi an'-t'-igui duppi (V64)
water in all 1s-P-E sink
'all of me sank in water'

In the last example, the adverbial form vusio is expected; actual forms are not predictable.

vusi totoli nono duduba (V63)
all chicken eggs rotten(pl)
'all of the chicken eggs are rotten'

vusi viva t'-igui vahuta (V64)
all tobacco P-E be moist
'all the tobacco got wet'

n'-ona-ba vusi-ap'-an'-igui s-coco (V38)
my-body-LOC all-LOC-1s-E S-sick
'I am sick in my whole body'

vusi icama dodoaki mu-bui vapsoca (V54)
all DEM hills R-to be in front of s.t.
'all of these hills are in front of each other'

vusi pedora haitu-daga t'-igui huhuca (V40)
all P. s.t.-one P-E end
'Peter doesn't have much of anything'

In these examples, locatives and subject clitics may be quantified with vusi. Most of the nouns are aggregate or mass nouns, although count

nouns may be quantified. In the last two examples above, a noun phrase is quantified, the quantifier preceding as a modifier.

Unlike Upper Piman, there is no quantifier displacement ("float") from the constituent modified as described in Munro (1981). There are, however, in Nevome quantifiers which are postposed to their head nouns.

aguida-ni co-p' aariguguri vusi ti-stuodiga dios nuoki
tell-IMP &-2s boys all our-lord God word

teop'-urha aaga-na (V104)
church-in say-COND
'tell that all the boys recite the word of God in church'

icama vusi aari nonosi tutuga vorha (V85)
these all ? children name IMP
'give names to all these children'

ica arigurhi gugurhuga vusi-t'-igui cohi (V78)
DEM boy ancestors all-P-E die(P)
'all of this boy's ancestors have died'

In the previous examples with vusi, it was seen that count nouns and noun phrases could be quantified. There is no morphosyntactic reason for the position seen here; it is contrary to the basic pattern of Nevome modifiers. Since it is not nearly as frequent in the data as the preposed pattern, it is likely marked.

In the following example, it seems that the quantifier vusi takes singular agreement.

vusi hakimuri buy at'-t'-io hi (A94)
all river to 1pl-P-F go(P,sg)
'all (of us) will go to the river'

Here the quantifier vusi is used as a pronoun and takes a singular verb.

In the following example, the vusi quantifies 'us', agreeing with a plural verb (darha).

vusi ati ia darha-cama huhudurico nuocu (V38)
 all 1pl here sit-one differently speak
 'all of us here speak differently'

It appears that quantifiers may also be nominalized.

vusai-cama tumusi parhai pima haitu si-matu-ma (V39)
 all-one knife(s) ruined NEG s.t. S-know-ma
 'all the knives are bad (ones); there is none to choose from'

CHAPTER THREE: CLAUSE EXPANSION (STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY)

Structural complexity involves expanding the clause, either in terms of the number of constituents in a clause or the relation of a clause to (an)other clause. This may include adding or subtracting the number of arguments specified by the predicate frame (valence shifting), conjoining of clause constituents or whole clauses, or the various types of subordination (nominalization, relative clauses and complementation in Nevome are discernable as a group by formal criteria).

The following sentence may be taken as typical of Nevome clause expansion. As a cultural aside, it should be noted that this illustration may represent an attempt by the Jesuits to explain natural phenomena to the Nevome in terms of physical reality rather than as manifestations of supernatural force (other citations discuss cloud formation and the rainbow -- themes, like the earthquakes discussed below, which are important in Meso-America and Southwestern religious experience).

uburi duburha urha catu-ma ai vusani-muc-tu duburha [hoin-] (V113)
 wind earth in be-ma hither exit-F-CONJ earth move
 'because the wind inside the earth comes out, the earth moves'

The underlined sequence is a relative clause modifying the sentence-initial uburi 'wind'. The entire sequence before the conjunctive -tu 'while' is a reason clause to the succeeding statement about earthquakes.

The three categories of structural complexity are primarily heuristic, even though each type is semantically and functionally distinct and even though most of the valence shifting suffixes (applicative, causative and stativization) are formally distinct from the conjunctive

suffixes as a position class. A number of formal features, however, do serve to define several of the phenomena here analyzed as structural complexity. The use of the stative marker s(i)- is characteristic of stativization and some complementation. The i-ablaut is perhaps the main marker of nominalization, but also characterizes most derivations from verbs. The use of oblique case to mark demoted arguments that cannot appear in the oblique prefix slot on the verb typifies both causative and complementation. The lack of a one-to-one correspondence between the meaning of an analytic class and the formal properties of its members does not make a neat typology of Nevome sentence level syntax, but the properties mentioned here do help define the analytic construct of structural complexity in opposition to ordinary clause level morphosyntax.

3.1 VALENCE SHIFTING

Predicates have a valence of one, two, three or four arguments. It is possible to add argument (applicative) to one, two or three valence predicates or to make one-place predicates transitive (causative). It is also possible to subtract an argument from a one- or two-place predicate by stativization or passive. The applicative may create a hypertransitive predicate by adding a benefactive argument.

The following terms are used in discussing valence: intransitive (1-place predicate), transitive (2-place predicate), ditransitive (3-place predicate) and hypertransitive (4-place predicate).

3.1.1 APPLICATIVE

The Arte terms one-argument predicates as "neutral" (intransitive or stative) and transitive stems as "active". The function of the applicative (which is the term the Arte uses) is to shift an intransitive or stative verb to a transitive verb. If applied to a transitive verb, the result is a benefactive. If applied to a ditransitive, the result is hypertransitive.

The applicative marker is -da. If applied again to a stem that has an applicative already, the form of the double marker is -doda, rather than the expected -dada.

intransitive to transitive

bamainu	something melts
bamaini-da	melt it

transitive to ditransitive

nucada	watch/guard s.t. (-da is part of stem)
nucadi-da	guard s.t. for someone

ditransitive to hypertransitive

thanu	ask one for s.t.
thani-da	ask one for s.t. for someone else

The author of the Arte states that the applicative "is constructed with three cases, the above stated [nominative = subject, accusative = oblique case as direct object role] for the radical verb and the third the dative of the person for whom it is asked (A48)."

The position in the clause of nominals with applicative predicates is shown in the following examples.

ica xaivori m'-vamaini-do-da-mucu api (A53)
 this wax you-melt it-APL-APL-F 2s
 'you melt this wax for yourself'

ica xaivori ic-ta bamainid'-an'-igui (A53)
 this wax this-P melt it-1s-E
 'I melted this wax'

nucada 'guard/watch it'

ica tamusi ga n'-nucadi-da (A53)
 this knife IMP me-guard-APL
 'guard this knife for me'

The applicative is a transitivizer and a benefactive. In the examples above the benefactive argument, when present, is marked as a personal object clitic on the verb. The actor is marked in the AUX which immediately follows the predicate. The object remains before the predicate.

Following are typical examples of the usage of the applicative as ditransitive (benefactive) and as transitivizer.

pima habiaba hunu apimu t'-io n'-usi-da posa babi upu
 NEG only corn 2pl P-F me-plant-APL but beans also
 'you will not only plant corn for me, but you will also plant

apimu t'-io n'-usi-da (V85)
 2pl P-F me-plant-APL
 beans for me'

ica misa si hoinu (A52)
 DEM table I. move
 'this table moves a lot'

vs. ica misa si-hoini-da-ni (A58)
 DEM table S-move-APL-IMP
 'someone moves this table a lot'

An example of a hypertransitive construction (with tahnu 'ask someone for something') is given below.

Francisco amumu haitu haibani pare ni-tahni-d'-orhi-t'-igui (A78)
 F. 2pl some cattle priest me-ask-APL-want-P-E
 'Francis wants you (pl) to ask the priest for cattle for me'

Complementation (with orhi-, for example) will be discussed below in section 3.3.3 The subject amumu has been positioned according to the SOV principle and is in oblique case as a demoted subject. The argument 'Francis' is positioned before amumu according to the same principle. As highest subject, it would not be in oblique case, since it is the highest subject.

The applicative is recursive.

ica xaivori n'-tam'-vamaini-do-da-mucu api (A52)
 DEM wax me-P-you melt-APL-APL-F 2s
 'you will melt this wax for me'

The predicate frame of vamainidoda might be derived as follows.

vamainu	melt X
vamainida	melt X Y
vamainidoda	melt X Y Z

where X equals a subject, Y equals an object and Z equals a benefactive.

3.1.2 CAUSATIVE (ARTE: COMPULSIVE)

The causative marker is -tuda. The meaning of this operator is 'A causes B to verb'. Note that the applicative (3.1.1) may function as a causative.

tubanu	descend
tubani-tudu	make one come down (<u>-u</u> = <u>-a</u>)

sicoanna weed it
sicoanna-tada make someone weed it (-tada = -tuda)

[ni-gaga sicoanna-mucu ap'-igui]
my-field weed-F 2s-E
'you will weed my field'

--> ni-gaga mu-sicoanna-tuda-mucu an'-igui (A54)
my-field you-weed-CAUS-F 1s-E
'I will make you weed my field'

[hunu mu-tahnu an'-igui]
corn you-ask for 1s-E
'I ask you for corn'

--> pare hunu mumu ni-thani-tuda-igui... (A54)
priest corn you me-ask for-CAUS-E'
'the priest made me ask you for corn'

tasa muyo tubaiki-aba kior-thuda (V10)
day/sun many times cloud(s)-LOC rainbow-CAUS
'the sun many times forms a rainbow in the clouds'

uburhi gug'-sudagui urha vusikiti himi-tuda (V83)
wind big-water in ship go-CAUS
'the wind moves the ship in the ocean'

The causative also had specialized usage.

vibac an'-igui aag-tuda (V99)
tobacco 1s-E say-CAUS
'I would like (some) tobacco'

This example shows that there was some lexicalized use of the causative. Another specialized use is to create a transitional ('become/get verbed').

duburha earth

mu-duburha-tuda
R-earth-CAUS
'convert into earth'

There is another causative marker in the language, the verb formative -ta 'to make ____'. This was discussed in section 1.1.2.2 (Verb Derivation).

3.1.3 STATIVIZATION

The derivation of statives from verbs creates intransitive predicates (section 1.1.4, Statives and Stativization). Stativization is by definition valence shifting, but the process has been treated in the earlier section for two reasons. One, most stativizers may be applied to nouns as well as to verbs. Two, statives derived from verbs may be used as modifiers and nouns as well as predicates.

3.1.4 PASSIVE

This construction involves a role shift from actor to patient with the deletion of the subject. As such, it is not a canonical passive, obligatorily lacking an agentive.

The Arte states the following in regard to this matter: "Note First: In this language they do not render the passive the person by whom the action of the verb is performed, as in Latin and Spanish; e.g., 'I love Pedro' vs. 'I am loved by Pedro'. They simply say 'I am loved' without saying by whom. I ascertain that other languages of this Province have this feature. The Heve [Eudeve] have it (Arte, 6.17)."

An impersonal passive is formed by two different markers: am(u)- and ha-. With the first, the AUX is built on the marker amu as the first part. The promoted subject must be prefixed to the oblique slot on the verb. The AUX, with amu- as base, appears after the verb.

<u>vusivoinu</u>	'to help'
am't'io ni-vusivoi (Arte, 8.5)	'I will be helped'
am't'io mu-vusivoi	'you will be helped'
huc'am't'io vusivoi	'that one will be helped'
am't'io ti-vusivoi	'we will be helped'
am't'io amu-vusivoi	'you (pl) will be helped'
am't'io ha-vusivoi	'they will be helped'
(OR hugama am'-t'-io vusivoi	
DEM LOC-P-F help)	

The 3rd person singular (obligatorily) and third person plural (optionally) are marked outside the AUX and predicate by independent pronouns. However, a 3rd person singular may be understood.

pim'-am'-t'-igui sicoa (A41)
 NEG-PASS-P-E weed(P)
 'it was not weeded'

The passive marker am(u)-, frequently reduced to am-, may be related to the personal clitics, i.e., the reflexive marker mu-.

gug'-uburhi-kiti gug'-sudagui tubaki hucama mu-tutua-himu (V87)
 big-wind-INSTR big-water cloud(s) up to R-ruffle-PROG
 'the ocean is fluffed up to the clouds by the big wind'

If this amu- and mu- are related, then the development of one passive construction in Upper Piman may be explained. In Upper Piman, the reflexive i- (reduced from an earlier m±) is used to mark passivized predicates. Upper Piman also has a passive formed by attaching m- to the AUX.

It is also possible to use ha as a passive marker instead of amu-.

ha ni-gugub-aqitu padre t'-ay divia (A43)
 ha me-beat-CONJ priest P-hither arrive(P)
 'as I was about to be beaten, the priest arrived'

ha ni-vusivoini-akitu an'-t'-ay divia (A43)
ha me-help-CONJ 1s-P-hither arrive(P)
 'I came here to be helped'

cacabra ha haquirid'-akitu io gugu huca (A43)
 she-goats ha count-CONJ F [strong?]
 'the she goats are to be counted'

apcada humo ha mu-gugub'-ay humosuri ni-nuoki ap'-t'-io
 if once ha you-beat-CONJ always my-word 2s-P-F

buhoguri (A44)
 obey(P)
 'if you are beaten once, you will always obey my word'

The ha marker, which precedes the object slot on the verb in all the examples, is related to the 3rd person plural clitic ha- 'them'. This lends credence to the position that the ha represents an unspecified 3rd person plural agent.¹ Since no independent oblique 3rd person pronouns exist that parallel nunu, mumu, et al. to mark demoted subjects, it is plausible that the only 3rd person oblique form in Nevome (ha- 'them') would be used to mark a 3rd person plural subject that was demoted in a passive construction. It seems that the ha passive requires an (understood) human agent, while the amu passive does not.

3.2 CONJUNCTION

3.2.1 CONJUNCTION OF NOMINALS AND ADVERBIALS

Nominals may be conjoined with the adverbial vpu 'still' used as a postposition after the second nominal conjoined. The particle aspi alternating with aspumusi indicates a contrast ('or'). It is positioned before or after the nominal that is the second member of a conjoined pair.

pedoro joan vpu an'-t'-io gugu (A95)
 P. J. also 1s-P-F beat(P)
 'Peter and John, I will beat'

mumu an'-igui apsumusi mu-sisi
 mu-sisi aspi s-Toni busani s'-hihimi-orhida (A95)
 you 1s-E or your brother T. LOC S-go(pl)-want
 'I want you or your older brother to go to Toniche'

It was also possible to conjoin adverbials with vpu.

ti-stuodiga dios mumu-kiti m'-hap'-duni kiti upu pcai
 our-lord God R-INSTR R-thus-do INSTR also truly
 vurha sumatuitca (V77)
 be marvelous
 'our lord God is marvelous in and of himself and by his works'

Nominals that are conjoined constitute a plural entity for purposes of verb agreement.

joan ani vpu siarh mu-bumatu io hihi (A95)
 J. 1s also tomorrow you-with F go(P,pl)
 'John and I will go with you tomorrow'

In this example, the plural verb hihi agrees with the nominal joan ani vpu.

3.2.2 CONJOINING PREDICATES

Predicates and whole clauses may be conjoined by juxtaposition, by a class of predicate-final conjunctive elements, or by clause-initial conjunction.

Juxtaposition (zero conjunction, morphosyntactically) probably was marked by intonation.

ica tumusi an'-igui vanicoanna, pima vurh n'-uniga (V32)
 DEM knife 1s-E borrow NEG be my-possess
 'I am borrowing this knife; (it) is not mine'

ti-stuodiga dios si s-apua si-nuha-dama; damacatum'-ami vusi
 our-lord God I. S-good S-see-able heaven-LOC all
 'our lord God sees very well; from heaven he sees very clearly

ti-tuitdiga si s-apua nuhida (V92)
 our-deed(s) I. S-good look
 all of our deeds'

Juxtaposed clauses may have same or different subjects, as the examples show. While there is no formal relationship, such as a conditional or causal relation, the two ideas are related pragmatically.

There is a general, semantically neutral conjunction co in Nevome.

v'-ap'-ta divia, co-si mu-mama ikido io divia? (A95)
 ald-2s-P arrive &-DUB your-father when F arrive(P)
 'you already have arrived, and when is your father going to arrive?'

Juxtaposed clauses may have same or different subjects, as the examples show. While there is no formal relationship, such as a conditional or causal relation, the two ideas are related pragmatically.

There is a general, semantically neutral conjunction co in Nevome.

v'-ap'-ta divia, co-si mu-mama ikido io divia? (A95)
 ald-2s-P arrive &-DUB your-father when F arrive(P)
 'you already have arrived, and when is your father going to arrive?'

pare divia humusi co hunu mu-maca-da (A80)
 priest arrive DUB & corn you-give-APL
 'would that the priest would arrive and give you corn'

The specific meaning of the conjunctive relationship must be inferred from context when co is used by itself as in the second example above where the conjunction has a temporal effect. More specific conjunctives existed in Nevome; these are discussed below.

Very frequently, co attracts subject clitics and other particles, forming an AUX construction.

va usi-abcad'-aigui co-n'-t'-igui parhai amidurhu divia (A28)
 ald plant-time-E &-1s-P-E P. from arrive(P)
 'it was already planting time when I arrived from Parral'

However, that co does not always attract subject clitics.

v'-ap'-ta divia co-si mu-mama ikido io co-si ikido
 ald-2s-P arrive(P) &-DUB your-father when F &-DUB when
 'you have already arrived, and when will your father arrive

ap'-t'-io humapa ay norha? (A95)
 2s-P-F again hither return(P)
 and when will you come here again?'

doda-ki s-apua ducu-na co hunu s-apua caiba-na (A22)
 OPT-E S-good rain-COND & corn S-good grow-COND
 'would it would rain well so that the corn might grow well'

Co may conjoin a question to a statement or to another question, as above.

Occasionally, co appears non-initially in the clause.

dod'-am'-ki ni-gaga sicoana coiva humopa co-n'-t'-io
 OPT-2pl-E my-field weed because shortly &-1s-P-F
 'would that you would weed my field because shortly I will

us-cada (A40)
 plant-PST
 be planting'

The order here may be due to the presence of another conjunction at the beginning of the second clause, or it may be an emphatic device.

As is true of most conjunctive devices in Nevome, co may be used whether the subject references of the two clauses are identical or not.

different subjects

doda-ki s-apua ducu-na co hunu s-apua caiba-na (A22)
 (analysis immediately above)
 'would it would rain well so that the corn would grow well'

same subject

doda-ki padre divia-na co hunu ni-maca-na (A22)
 OPT-E priest arrive-COND & corn me-give-COND
 'would that the priest would arrive and give me corn'

There does not seem to be any formalized switch-reference device in Nevome conjunctives. If the subject of clause-two is different from the subject of clause-one, it must be expressed. Otherwise, deletion is the norm.

pare haibani si-ni'-maqui-macada posa saiurh an'-igui
 priest cows S-me-give-WAS TO but shy 1s-E
 'the priest was to have given me cattle, but I am shy,

hucaidi pima ha-s'-thani-muta (A23)
 so NEG them-S-ask for-want
 so (I) don't want to ask (him) for them'

Despite its overall semantic neutrality, co does have a purposive usage.

suri an'-t'-io agui co-'pi suri cahuda-na (A79)
 clearly 1s-P-F tell(P) &-2s clearly hear-COND
 'I will tell you clearly so that you may hear clearly'

si-vaguima n'-urida co'-ni si vutu Movas buy himu-na (A80)
 S-well R-feel &-1s I. now M. to go-COND
 'I feel well so now I can go to Movas'

Other clause-initial conjunctions are independent words phonologically (written separately, most of the time) that come at the beginning of the second clause. Many attract subject clitics (apcada 'although',

coiva 'because'), while others do not (posa 'but', hucaidi 'therefore').

Simple contrast in Nevome is accomplished by posa 'but', which appears at the beginning of a clause or predicate.

am'-an'-igui s'-himi-mutada posa pare pima (A95)
 LOC-1s-E S-go-want but priest NEG
 'I want to go there but the priest doesn't'

Reason clauses may be constructed with either coiva, hucaidi or hukiti.

s'-cobot'-an'-igui hucaidi pima-aba haitu s'-huki-muta (v48)
 S-satiated-1s-E so NEG LOC s.t. S-eat-want
 'I am full, so (I) do not want anything to eat'

goverano pim'-ami daha co-'n'-t'-hukiti mu-taguivadurh pima
 governor NEG-LOC be &-1s-P-therefore your-(benefactive) NEG
 'the governor is not there, so I will not greet him on your

gugusi (A80)
 greet
 behalf'

The form coiv(a) 'because' gives a reason without presenting the clause as a conclusion.

pim'-an-t'-io vohi ... coiva s-apua masabaga (V19)
 NEG-1s-P-F lie(P) because S-good moon shine
 'I will not sleep (here)...because the moon is shining bright'

The sense of 'although' is conveyed in Nevome by esti, tametsi or apcada; it may be a coordinate structure.

apcad'-ani pima oidaca vrha oimurhu apcada vusi
 although-1s NEG village in wander around still all
 'although I don't wander around the village, still I know

amu-nuoqui si-matu (A96)
 your-speech S-know
 all your chatter'

When it is used by itself, apcada means 'nevertheless'.

apcad'-ap'-t'-io s'-oigui (A96)
 nevertheless-2s-P-F S-deserve/have mercy on
 'nevertheless, you will have deserved it'

The form bunoga 'then' introduces a consequential clause.

vusi haitu huhuc-xa ... bunoga t'-stuodiga dios vusi
 all s.t. end-after then our-lord God all
 'after all things end ... then our lord God will reward

ti-tuidiga io namuca (A95-96)
 our-deeds F reward
 all our deeds'

The alternative notion ('or') is accomplished by two different means: aspumusi + nominal, or nominal + aspi.

mumu am'-igui	{	aspumusi mu-sisi or your-brother mu-sisi aspi your-brother or	}	s-toni busani T. LOC
you 1s-E				

s'-hihimi-orhida (A95)
 S-go(pl)-desire
 'I desire you or your elder brother to go to Toniche'

A number of coordinate pairs of conjunctions are used in the Nevome data.

pim'-urhoi si-n'-ohada an'-upu pim'-hucudoi s'-ohoda (V45)
 NEG-s.o. S-me-envy 1s-also NEG-s.o. S-envy
 'no one envies me, nor do I envy anyone'

ti-stuodiga dios pima habi-aba s-tuoti posa si burh
 our-lord God NEG thus-LOC S-headman but I. be
 'our lord God is not only a lord, but also is

saiduca (V51)
 glorious
 glorious'

The use of apcada ... apcada 'although ... still' was noted earlier in this section. Another example:

apcada naranjo ap'-ta tonictu apcada hupama t'-igui hipo (A93)
 although orange 2s-P cut still back P-E sprout
 'although you cut the orange, still it sprouted back up'

The form apcada is also used with humuspcai (humusi 'as if' + pcai 'truly') to form a comparative structure.

ap'-cad'-api parh hipuid-cama mu-dada humuspcai (A12)
 although-2s bad heart-one your-mother more
 'although you have a bad heart, your mother is much worse'

A superlative notion is expressed with the postposition vutugti used with vusi 'all'.

vusi humatcama vutugti mu-sicoan-orid'-an'-igui (A12)
 all people among you-weed-desire-1s-E
 'I want you, out of all the people, to weed'

Here, the coordination is between a quantifier and a postposition.

The coordinate idea of 'just (as) ... so' is conveyed in Nevome by the pair cosasi ... hap. The form hap has the following given as alternates: hapupu, hucobugo, hapuba and hapuca.

cosasi ti-stuodiga dios s'-t'-oiguida hucobugo apimu t'-io
 just as our-lord God S-us-pity so/thus 2pl P-F
 'just as God is merciful to us, so you will be merciful unto

si n'-oigui (A76)
 I. me-pity
 me'

When conjunctions are used, they are usually clause-initial, with dependent clauses usually following an initial conjunctionless clause.

pim-an-t'-io vohi posa suri an'-t'-io hi coiva s-apua
 NEG-1s-P-F lie(P) but direct 1s-P-F go(P) because S-good
 'I won't sleep (here), but must go at once because the moon is

masabaga (V19)
 moonshine
 shining well'

The clause headed by a conjunction may be preposed or center-embedded.

coiv'-apimu pcai diabro tuturhu, pima ti-stuodiga dios
 since-2pl truly devil children NEG our-lord GOD
 'because you are the Devil's children, (you) don't want

si-buhogurhida-muta (A96)
 S-obey/believe-want
 to believe in/obey our lord God'

coiv-ap'-ta ni-gugu juan vutu s'-hukica (V31)
 since-2s-P me-beat(P) J. now S-pleased/glad
 'because you beat me, John is glad'

sisirha coiva pima t'-igui ducu, pima t'-igui hibaita (V54)
 citrons because NEG P-E rain NEG P-E bear fruit
 'the citrons, because it didn't rain, did not bear fruit'

When the subject referents of two clauses in a conjunctive relation are identical, the subject is not usually expressed in the clause that appears second. With impersonal predicates (mostly about weather and time), there is no overt subject.

urhadura apimu-t'-io n'-agui (V78)
 be midday 2pl-P-F me-tell(P)
 'when (it) is midday, you will tell me'

The weather verbs in the examples above illustrate this point: ducu 'rain' and masabaga 'moon shine'.

There are a number of conjunctive verb suffixes in Nevome. These constitute the final position class on the verb word; they are added

last after tense-aspect. All of them, except for the simulfactives -tu and -da, are used regardless of whether the subjects of the two conjoined clauses are identical in reference or not. They are all attached to the predicate of the first clause.

The consecutive -ca 'after' does not require the use of bunoga 'then'.

hunu usa-ca n'-usi pim'-an'-ta tuhisi (A30)
 corn plant-CONJ my-planting NEG-1s-P clean up
 'after planting my corn, I did not clean up my planting'

totori cuahonu-ca ap'-ta ni-nunta (A88)
 chickens vocalize-CONJ 2s-P me-waken
 'after the chickens crowed, you awoke me'

joan tamituana-ca oi-t'-igui mucu (V42)
 J. relapse-CONJ soon-P-E die
 'after John's relapse (he) soon died'

Note that subject-two is expressed if subject-one equals subject-two in reference, with subject-one being deleted.

A more specific consecutive -ay has the sense of 'as soon as/whereupon'.

hucaga oidagu buy divi'-ai humop'-an'-t'-io vohi (A20)
 DEM village to arrive-whereupon immediately-1s-P-F lie(P)
 'as soon as I arrive at the village, I will immediately sleep'

mumu haibani muh'-ai huhumatcam'-an'-t'-io s'-oigui (A20)
 you cattle kill-CONJ people-1s-P-F S-have mercy on
 'upon your killing the cow, (the) people will sympathize'
 [the Arte reads: "will leave, out of sympathy (?)"]

A conditional is formed by suffixing -xa, the dubitative, to the first predicate of a two-clause sentence.

sicoan'-xa hunu an'-t'-io usi (A33)
 weed-CONJ corn 1s-P-F plant(P)
 'when you have weeded (it), I will have planted'

mu sicoan'-xa Movas buy an'-t'-io hi (A33)
 you weed-CONJ M. to 1s-P-F go(P)
 'when you have weeded (it), I will go to Movas'

tasa gaimbua-xa an'-t'-io vatimu (A88)
 sun descend-CONJ 1s-P-F bathe
 'when the sun goes down, I will bathe'

In the last two examples, the event in the first clause conditions or makes possible the event or situation in the second clause.

The simulfactives vary according to same-subject or different-subject conditions. The suffix -tu is used when the two subjects are coreferentials; -da is used when the two are not. This is the only specific switch-reference device in the language.

oimurh-tu an'-t'-igui gui (A31)
 wander-CONJ 1s-P-E fall(P)
 'while passing by, I fell'

nunu ni-gaga sicoana-da francisco t'-igui divia (A??)
 I my-field weed-CONJ F. P-E arrive(P)
 'while I was weeding my field, Francis arrived'

tutu mu-noivita xoma-da mu-sicuri oipurha t'-igui mun (A31)
 we your-clothing sew-CONJ your- needle P-E break
 younger brother
 'while we were sewing your clothing, your younger brother
 broke the needle'

The first subject is usually an oblique independent pronoun.

The suffix -tu may be used in some switch-reference contexts.

ohan-tu an'-t'-igui siadi (V55)
 mark-CONJ 1s-P-E dawn
 'while I was writing, (it) dawned'

humosuri api tumu sorig-tu siadi-da (V55)
 always 2s CON recount-CONJ dawn-CONJ(?)
 'you are always telling when it is dawn'

It could be that this construction with -tu occurs only with impersonal predicates, such as those noted above.

The suffix -akitu or -actu 'in order to' creates a specialized kind of reason clause.

ti-stuodiga dios tuturhu diabro amidurhu ti'-duguvonid'-akitu
 our-lord God children devil from us-save-CONJ
 'in order to save us from the Devil, our lord God's son

m'-guma-tu-t'-igui (A29)
 R-person-CAUS(P)-P-E
 changed into a human'

nuhid'-akitu
 s-apua mu- nuhi'-actu io an'-igui ica-bupo cuhea (A29)
 S-good you-see-CONJ F 1s-E DEM-like stand
 'in order to see you well, I'm going to stand like this'

pedoro {vait'-akitu} an'-t'-igui ani {hi
 {vait'-actu} call-CONJ 1s-P-E 1s {go(P)} (A29)
 P. am'-norha
 LOC-return
 'I {went } in order to call Peter'
 {returned there}

The first example is equivalent to the following construction.

Pedro vaita-mu an-ta (A21)
 P. call-go(P) 1s-P
 'I went to call Peter'

The mu is the verb murha 'go', which is used as a secondary verb 'to go to ___' (P form: -mu).

There is also a set of conjunctive suffixes that conveys the idea 'be time to ___'. A basic suffix -abagu may be added to a lexical verb to form an impersonal predicate. The perfect form is in -aba, and a pluperfect or past is in -abcada. There is a future in -abguimucu and a conditional in -abaguna. The affix -gu- may be replaced by conjunctives

such as -ca and -xa. The construction may trigger i-ablaut in the lexical verb.

usa	to sow
usi-abagu	to be time for sowing
usi-abca	was/is the time for sowing'
usi-abxa	when it is time for sowing

va usi-ab-cad'-agui co-n'-t'-igui parhai amidurhu divia (A28)
 ald plant-time-PST-E &-1s-P-E P. from arrive(P)
 'it was already time for planting when I arrived from Parral'

usi-ab-ca parhai amidurhu an'-ta divia (A28)
 plant-time-CONJ P. from 1s-P arrive(P)
 'after it was time to plant, I arrived from Parral'

usi-ab-xa an'-t'-io ai divia (A28)
 plant-time-DUB 1s-P-F hither arrive(P)
 'when it was time for sowing, I arrived'

The suffix -aguida fits into this system. It gives the idea 'being about to ___' to a lexical verb.

Movas buy himi'-aguida an'-t'-igui mu-vai (A34)
 M. to go-CONJ 1s-P-E you-call(P)
 'being about to go to Movas, I called you'

mu-vohi'-aiguida ay an'-t'-io divia (A34)
 you-sleep-CONJ hither 1s-P-F arrive(P)
 'as you will be about to go to bed, I will have arrived'

Two things should be noted about the conjunctive suffixes. One is that tense-aspect is often absent from the verb to which the suffixed conjunctive is attached. The other point is that the main clause following a conjunction may have a conjunction.

guc'si-himu-cad'-an'-igui posa m'-aba-ni-tutonid-ca... (V111)
 fall-S-go-PST-1s-E but you-LOC-R-support-CONJ
 'I was about to fall but I supported myself on you'

3.3 SUBORDINATION

3.3.1 NOMINALIZATION

Nominalizers, which may include zero suffix, attached to a predicate of a clause allow such a clause to function as a nominal in a matrix clause. The nominalizers were treated in section 1.2.2.3 (Noun Derivation), where their clause scope was discussed. This section will review their use in matrix clauses.

Examples of nominalizations as subjects and objects in a matrix clause follow.

ni-sonictki vusi t'-igui tuispita (A62)
 my-cutting all P-E decay/consumed
 'that which I cut up was all used up'

n'-ohana'-cugai s'-amurhida-mut'-api ... (A62)
 my-write-NOM S-know-want-2s
 'you want to know what I wrote'

n'-usi'-cugai si-gugu an'-igui (A62)
 my-plant-NOM S-need 1s-E
 'I need that which I planted'

pedoro ohana pare ta'-io vanna (A61)
 P. write priest P-F erase
 'the priest will erase what Peter wrote'

m'-aridaga pedoro mucada t'-igui saidodoca (A61)
 your-servant P. sharpen P-E lose
 'your servant went around losing what Peter sharpened'

na ni-nuoki an'-ta m'-agui huki-ap'-t'-io bua (A75)
 Q my-word 1s-P you-tell(P) distance-2s-P-F do
 'will you have forgotten what I have told you?'

In the examples in the Arte, the nominalization, if used as an object in the matrix clause, is usually after the subject of the main clause,

although the last example shows that this does not have to be the case.

Nominalized clauses may also appear as the object of a post-position.

pare n'-hukibua-cugai-kiti t'-igui n'-gugu (V87)
 priest my-forget-NOM-INSTR P-E me-beat(P)
 'the priest beat me because of what I forgot'

3.3.2 RELATIVE CLAUSE EQUIVALENTS

Nevome lacks relative clauses. Equivalent structures in Nevome include: nominalization, simple juxtaposition, and equational constructions.

The Arte states that "the relative [pronoun] qui, quae, quod does not exist in this language; it is supplied by the participles of the verb (A31)." The participles that Loaysa refers to are the nominalizers -dama, -cama and -cugai. An example of a relative construction, the first line of the Pater Noster, is convenient.

T'-Oga tidamacatum'-ami da-cama s'-cuga m'-gu-na
 our-father heaven-LOC link-NOM S-good R-X-COND
 'our Father, the one (who) is in heaven, may your name

mu-tuguiga
 your-name
 be regarded as good'

The underscored sequence functions as a relative clause modifying oga. It has no relative pronoun in the modifying clause coreferential to the head noun. Instead, oga may be seen as pivotal: it is the modified noun and the head noun of the relative clause at the same time.

Other such nominalizations found in the data show the same structure, encouraging the positioning of the modifying clause after the nominal modified.

...s-cocom'-an'-t'-igui dodoa Poncio Pilato tuhanu-cugai (Credo)
 S-sick-PASS-P-E suffer P. P. order-NOM
 'who suffered for us under Pontius Pilate'

macco humatcama pima s-tu-cocoda-ca[ma] taco s-ampa
 one person NEG S-IO-sick-NOM yesterday S-sudden

t'-igui mucu (V30)
 P-E die
 'an Indian (who) was not sick died suddenly yesterday'

vur'h hugai cat tidamacatmu'-ami (V51)
 be DEM sit/be heaven-LOC
 'that one who is in heaven'

soiga mu-dodoa-carhami infierno tuguiga-ma (V66)
 miserable R-suffer-place of hell name-ma
 'miserable is the place of suffering which is called Hell'

It is possible that equational constructions functioned as relative clause equivalents.

apimu vudurh Movas mia urida posa humosuri mucat an'-t'-igui
 2pl be M. near think but always far 1s-P-E
 'you are the ones who have always considered Movas to be near,

uri (A49)
 think(P)
 but I thought always that it was far'

The Spanish gloss for this example indicates 'you have always held Movas to be near, but I hold it to be far'. A literal translation would read more like: 'you are the ones who ...'.

3.3.3 COMPLEMENTATION

Nevome has a well-developed system of complementizers. A number of characteristics define them as a class. First, the main verb is always followed by the complementizer, which is usually phonologically bound to

the first element -- the verb -- by elision. Second, the lower subject, where possible (coreferential subjects are deleted; if the second subject is different than the first, it is expressed), is expressed in the oblique case. Third, there is a trend to put both subject nominals in front of the verb complex. Most tense-aspect markers are applied to the complementizer (the exception is urha 'think'), providing evidence of the unitary status of the verb compound. Other features that may be apparent with complement predicates are the use of the stative marker s- with some intransitive predicates and i-ablaut on some of the main verbs.

Clitic subjects of the higher verb tend to follow the complement predicate, as has been noted.

The complement -muta 'want' has special tense forms.

-muta	imperfect
-mutada	perfect, future
-mumucu	subjunctive
-muna	optative
-mumacada	'was to (have)' tense

si-vativi-mut'-an'-igui (V13)
 S-bathe-want-1s-E
 'I want to bathe'

mu-tuguiga si-matu-mutad-an'-igui posa pim'-haba si-matu-muta (v85)
 your-name S-know-want-1s-E but NEG-thus S-know-want
 'I wanted to know your name, but (now) I don't want to know it'

The Arte notes that -muta "serves to form statements of only one supposition [same subject] (A25)."

mumu an'-igui cauari s'-haquiard'-orida (A25)
 you 1s-E eggs S-count-want
 'I want you to count the eggs'

pare nunu haibani pima s'-haquiarid-orid'-t'-igui (A25)
 priest me cattle NEG S-count-want-P-E
 'the priest did not want me to count the cattle'

... posa pare pim'-tutumu sicoannid'-ori'-t'-igui (A55)
 but priest NEG-us weed-want-P-E
 'but the priest didn't want us to weed'

Note that the stative marker s- may be used with compound predicates with -orida (P form: -ori).

The form urha 'think/imagine' may be used with same subjects or different subjects.

haitu an'-igui ohana-t'-urha (A26)
 s.t. 1s-E write-P-think
 'I think I wrote something'

mumu an'-igui si-ni-guguba-mucu-urha-dada (A26)
 you 1s-E S-me-beat-F-think-Tense (PST ?)
 'I thought you were going to beat me'

Urhida 'consider as' is a variant of urha.

apcad'-api tahi s'-ihovi-urida apcada sivu'-urid'-an'-igui (A49)
 although-2s flour sweet-consider still bitter-consider-1s-E
 'although you consider the flour to be sweet, I hold it to be bitter'

api s-tuodi bupo m'-urida ... (A49)
 2s S-man like R-consider
 'you think yourself to be a gentleman'

... posa humosuri mucat an'-t'-igui'-uri (A49)
 but always far 1s-P-E-consider
 'but I've always considered it to be far'

It is used where the lower clause has a non-verbal predicate (noun, stative, or adverb) due to its semantic relation to urha.

The complementizer ogurhida 'ascertain/suppose/guess' directly adds tense markers.

padre vutu ica tas'-quiri si-divi-ogurhi d-cad'-an'-igui (A26)
 priest now DEM sun/day- S-arrive-suppose-PST-1s-E
 INSTR
 'I thought the priest came today'

padre si-mu-gugub-o[gu]rid-cad-an'-igui (A26)
 priest S-you-beat-suppose-PST-1s-E
 'I thought the priest was beating you'

Not all mental predicators may be used with different subjects. The verbs si-matu 'know' and amurhida 'understand' require the same subject.

pim'-an'-igui haquiarida si-matu (A22)
 NEG-1s-E count S-know
 'I don't know how to count'

ohana si-mat-cad'-an'-igui posi vusi an'-t'-igui hukibu (A27)
 write S-know-PST-1s-E but all 1s-P-E forget
 'I used to know how to write, but I forgot it all'

ohana amurhid'-cad'-an'-igui ... (A27)
 write understand-PST-1s-E
 'I used to understand how to write'

Aaga 'say' is used as a complementizer. Logically, and actually, different subjects may be in each clause.

joan si-mu-cocoda-mucu aaga (A26)
 J. S-R-sick-F say
 'John says he will be sick'

joan mumu liari vugadi si-ni-guguba-ca aag (A26)
 J. you every day S-me-beat-S say(P)
 'John said that you beat me every day'

pare quia buhimug-ca aag hu si-himi-muta (A86)
 priest still morning-S say LOC(?) S-go-want
 'the priest says that it is still morning and that he wants me to go'

pare coadague sivu-urida aag' (A49)
 priest food bitter-think say
 'the priest says that he considers the food to be bitter'

The complements of aaga, like those of urha 'think', may take the stative marker -ca in the present tense, and, presumably, in the other tenses.

Complementation is an alternative analysis to the secondary verb mentioned in the section on verb derivation (1.1.2.2). In particular, compound predicates with himu 'go' and murha 'run' might be analyzed as complementizers. They meet the first, but not the second and third criteria set out at the beginning of this section.

The notion of 'order/command' is realized by suffixing -tani to a lexical verb, or by putting the full verb tuhanu after a lexical verb.

medias an'-igui tai-mu-suriga-tanni (V120)
 stockings 1s-E outside-you-put-order
 'I order you to put the stockings outside'

pim'-an'-igui haitu mu-tuhanu (V75-76)
 NEG-1s-E s.t. you-order
 'I am not demanding anything of you'

pare oi aspi ti-gaga sicoana t'-io ti-tuhanu (A25)
 priest soon likely our-fields weed P-F us-order
 'the priest is likely to order us to weed our fields soon'

taco hakida ay si-m'-himi-tani an'-t'-igui (A26)
 yesterday amount hither S-you-go-order 1s-P-E
 'yesterday I ordered you to go to Toniche'

ni-vusivoinu-tan'-am'-igui (A42)
 me-help-order-PASS-E
 'it is ordered to help me' OR 'I am ordered to be helped'

ni-guguba-tani am'-t'-igui (A42)
 me-beat-order PASS-P-E
 'I was ordered to be beaten'

guguba-tani
 nunu si mu- guguba tuhanu am'-t'-igui (A42)
 me S you-beat-order PASS-P-E
 'I was ordered to beat you'

amumu si-ni-muha-tan-tada am'-t'-igui posa pim'-apimu ta
 2pl S-me-kill-order-CAUS(?) PASS-P-E but NEG-2pl P

ni-muha (A42)
 me-kill
 'you were ordered to kill me, but you didn't kill me'

Both forms pattern typically as subordinating structures. Such examples
 as the last imply rule ordering: complementation before passive.

FOOTNOTE TO CHAPTER 3

1. One may construct a model of Nevome argument demotion. The added argument always occupies the oblique slot (oblique prefix) on the verb, bumping any argument already there to be expressed as an independent oblique pronoun, positioned in front of the verb. A hierarchy of deep case roles that are affected by this process follows.

demoted agent > indirect object > direct object

If a demoted agent is present, the object slot (verb prefix) will be reserved for it, and so on down the hierarchy. This strategy allows for distinguishing the argumentation that arises with certain types of structural complexity. The following example shows that the independent oblique pronouns may also occur for emphatic purposes as well as to disambiguate complex argumentation.

mumu ni-guguba-tuda api (V86)
 you me-hit-CAUS 2s
 'you make me hit you'

Here, the independent oblique pronoun (mumu) is not used to mark a demoted argument, but rather as an emphatic pronoun.

There are two factors favoring a relational analysis of Nevome structural complexity. One, the oblique case marks demoted arguments. Two, these demoted arguments in oblique case position as O according to the SOV ordering. Three reasons may be given against such an analysis. One, the oblique case is used for both direct and indirect objects. Two, indirect objects may outrank a direct object. Three, there is no isomorphic relationship between independent oblique pronouns and demotion.

CHAPTER 4: TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF NORTHERN TEPIMAN

4.0 Overview

Nevome lacks the following features that typify Upper Piman:

- * an article similar to Papago g and Pima hig
- * AUX construction not obligatory as a clause constituent, except in dependent clauses in -co
- * the construction: locative + noun + postposition
- * modal particle i or i-movement (cf. Kroch and Marshall 1973)
- * generalized switch-reference device
- * floated quantifiers
- * final vowel devoicing
- * palatalization of č, j, and ñ
- * free word order

Most of the morphosyntactic differences between Nevome and modern Upper Piman relate to the movement possibilities of various clause constituents. Using an X-bar model of Papago syntax, Hale (in Hale, Jeanne, and Platero 1977) posited that the core of Papago syntax is at the triple-bar level. The initial expansions are "specifiers": AUX for the clause, determiner for the noun phrase, and spatial determiner for the adpositional phrase. The distinctive specifiers of Papago syntax (AUX, noun determiner g or hig, and locative determiners to postpositional phrases) are not completely wanting in Nevome morphosyntax, but they are certainly not characteristic of the data considered here. Certain kinds of movement (prepositional usage of postpositions, floated quantifiers, movement of the modal particle i) and "free word order" (all six possible arrangements of S, O, and V pertain) are lacking in Nevome morphosyntax.

The chief differences that distinguish Nevome from modern Upper Piman are archaisms.

- * case marking on pronouns
- * fairly rigid word order
- * characteristics of an SOV language
- * several means of marking subject, which are semantically, but not syntactically, equivalent
- * variable positioning of subject clitics
- * slightly more elaborate tense-aspect system
- * lack of a general subordinator like Upper Piman ma- and Southern Tepehuan ma
- * headless relative clauses

Most of these differences are either related to the observations that have been made regarding word order or else represent slightly more elaborate morphological systems. One major syntactic difference between the two varieties is the way subordination is treated. While complements and relative clauses are marked in modern Upper Piman by a general subordinator, Nevome has relative clauses without relative markers.

There are, of course, many features that Nevome and Upper Piman varieties have in common. A selective list follows of some syntactic features which are identical or nearly identical in both varieties.

- * system of complementizers
- * locative system
- * valence-shifting markers (perhaps more used in Nevome)
- * derivational morphology
- * numeral system
- * modal system
- * subject, object and tense-aspect clitics

I will discuss several major morphosyntactic differences here. These have to do with the role of subject marking as an aspect of the overall case marking tactics of the grammar, the relation of case marking strategies to word order, and the function of positional variation of constituents.

4.2 Reconstruction of Variability in Tepiman Languages

4.2.1 Introduction

Models used in historical linguistics have tended to be reductionistic. An abstraction such as a reconstruction or theoretical construct may sometimes be removed from observable data, requiring bridging argumentation. While such a procedure is needed in some situations such as archaeology, it is desirable to have theories of particular languages, or language in general, conform as closely as possible to observable data in order to achieve a theory of linguistic change.

I will show here that in some cases, a complex or variable reconstruction is preferable to a simplex one, using an example where a complex reconstruction can explain a case of language change which a simplex explanation cannot. The example is subject marking with clitics in the Tepiman branch of the Uto-Aztecan family, shown in Map 1. I will first discuss the situation of the modern varieties, and will then treat the Colonial (ca. 1600 - 1750 A.D.) varieties of Tepiman.

Steele (1977) proposes that subject clitics in Uto-Aztecan followed the stages given in (1).

(1) independent pronouns > second position clitics > verb proclitics

I will show that this model must be revised so that there is some variation during a stage preceding the development of second position clitics. In this variable stage, subject clitics could appear after the final constituent in the clause, in the second position, or clause-finally.

4.2.2 Subject Clisis in Modern Tepiman

4.2.2.1 Subject Clisis in Papago-Pima (Upper Piman)

Subject clitics are the basic means of marking subject reference in Upper Piman. The subject clitics are the core of a construction shown in (2).

(2) (initiator/conjunction)-subject clitic-(t)-(o) + (modal)

The -t- is present with perfective aspect and the -o- is present with future tense. The entire structure has been called an auxiliary (hereafter, AUX) in the literature on Tepiman languages, and a similar structure has been proposed for universal grammar (Akmajian, Steele and Wasow 1979). The discussion here centers on the development of this category in one branch of Uto-Aztecan and does not address the issue of universality.¹

While independent pronouns exist in Upper Piman, their use is purely for pragmatic effect, as seen in (3). All AUX constructions in the examples below (and in all successive examples) are underscored.

(3a) čikp an-t
 worked 1s-P
 'I worked'

(3b) čikp an-t a:ñi
 worked 1s-P I
 'it was I who worked'

Because the nuclear arguments are marked with clitics (objects are marked with verb proclitics), it is possible to have free word order. As will be seen, there is a correlation in Tepiman between the presence

of an obligatory AUX and syntactically free word order. This indicates that pronominal clitics and nominals (nouns, independent pronouns, noun phrases) are not syntactically equivalent.

Basic word order is variable in modern Upper Piman. One account of the syntax of Upper Piman posits an underlying neutral order of VSO (Saxton and Saxton 1969:115). An alternative account (Hale in Hale, Jeanne and Platero 1977) posits SOV as the basic order, but either account must provide for permutations. Some syntactic contexts in Upper Piman require verb-initial order (questions, imperatives). This is shown in (4) and (5).

(4) n-a-t ma: g Pančo g Hosi g wisilo ?
 Q-3s-P gave DET Frank DET Joe DET calf
 'did Frank give Joe the calf?'

(5) oig ma:k g Hosi g wisilo
 IMP give DET Joe DET calf
 'give Joe the calf'

The same syntactic contexts in an older variety of Piman (Colonial Pima Bajo, discussed below) show the older order of SOV inherited from Uto-Aztecan.

(6) n-ap-ta hucudoi oui tohoi?
 Q-2s-P any woman want
 'have you wanted some woman?'

(7) Joan ga vaita co Zuaki buy himu-na
 John IMP call & Z. to go-COND
 'call John, so that he can go to Zuaque'

Much of the word order variation in Upper Piman is sensitive to discourse factors. Given a VSO order, Saxton and Saxton (1969) account for permutation by such factors as emphasis or reply to questions; see (8).

- (8a) mua a-t g Panco g wisilo (neutral)
 killed 3s-P DET Frank DET calf
 'Frank killed the calf'
- (8b) wisilo a-t mua g Panco
 calf 3s-P killed DET Frank
 'the calf is what Frank killed'
- (8c) Panco a-t g wisilo mua
 Frank 3s-P DET calf killed
 'Frank's the one, the calf is what he killed'

A full study of the pragmatic function of word order in Upper Piman should be undertaken, preferably by a native speaker.

In contrast to the variable word order of Upper Piman, the word order of Papago-Pima songs and ritual speech is rigid. This was noted by Underhill (1946:36) and Bahr and Haefer, who pointed out that auxiliaries are frequently lacking from song texts (1978:94). Shaul (1981), using data sampled from Saxton and Saxton (1975), Densmore (1929) and Bahr and Haefer (1978), characterized the syntax of Papago and Pima songs as in (9), which presents possible orderings of clauses in the song texts sampled.

- (9) O S V
 S O V
 S A V
 S V₁ V₂

S = subject; O = Object; V = verb; A = adverbial

Each clause in a song tends to have three constituents following the orders outlined. AUX is rare in song texts. This supports the correlation stated above that rigid word order implies a lack of AUX.

4.2.2.2 Subject Clisis in Modern Pima Bajo

Data on subject marking and word order variability in modern Pima Bajo varieties is scant. Hale (1980:74) noted that in the modern Pima Bajo of Oñabas, the AUX does not appear in main clauses. Consequently, it would be expected that word order is rather rigid, since it is word order that marks subject case with third person arguments in main clauses. Analysis of the clause data in Hale (1964) confirms this. The data, shown in Chart 1, shows that most clauses in this body of data do not begin with a predicate or verb.

4.2.2.3 Subject Clisis in Modern Tepehuan Varieties

Bascom (ca. 1977:3) states that neutral word order in Northern Tepehuan is VSO. A constituent subject or object may be fronted for emphasis. Subject clitics occur in second position, grouped with other clitics as shown in (10).

(10) BASE-subject clitic-NEG- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{\{tense/aspect\}} \\ \text{\{modal\}} \end{array} \right\}$

Analysis of the Northern Tepehuan data in Bascom (1964) reveals that out of 19 clauses, 16 (5 transitive, 11 intransitive) clauses are not verb-initial. Analysis of another text in Northern Tepehuan (Bascom 1959) shows a consistent verb-initial position for transitive, intransitive, and stative clauses, with one exception only.

In Southern Tepehuan, the position of the verb varies in the four texts given by Mason (1918). Verb-initial constructions appear after the main actors in the discourse have been established.

For Southeastern Tepehuan, Willett (ca. 1979) observes that subject marking is by suffixes to the first element of the clause. Full forms of personal pronouns may occur preverbally as topic, or rarely at the end of a clause in conjunction with corresponding clitic forms, apparently for emphasis. Concerning word order, he states, "it appears indisputable the SE Tepehuan is a verb-initial language (p. 61)." This order may be obscured by topicalization of nominals, focus of nominals, deletion of nominals in predicate chaining, and reliance on the clitics to track subject and object reference.

In the modern Tepehuan varieties, subject and object marking is done obligatorily by clitics, and full pronouns are used for pragmatic purposes only. This is also true of Upper Piman, but only partially true of modern Pima Bajo. The principle of using positional variation for pragmatic purposes holds for all the Tepiman languages. In the older stages, the position of the clitics varied instead of the position of nominals.

4.2.3 Subject Clisis in Colonial Tepiman

4.2.3.1 Subject Clisis in Colonial Pima Bajo (Nevome)

Nevome has an AUX construction very similar to the one given for Upper Piman in item (2) above. However, there are a number of reasons for claiming that the AUX in Nevome is not an obligatory clause constituent. One of the clitics (ta, a perfective marker; io, a future marker) may be absent; for example, ta may be absent from a perfective future clause, where both ta and io would be expected. The AUX order may be reversed and its components may be discontinuous. Finally, full pronouns may be used instead of subject clitics, despite the fact that

subject clitics and independent pronouns are not syntactically equivalent in Nevome. The facts suggest that the AUX in Nevome was a variable, non-obligatory constituent of the clause.

In (11), there is an example of a discontinuous AUX construction.

- (11) va-t'-ni-s-cocoguiga igui durarha
 already-P-my-S-sickness MODAL mitigate
 'my illness has already gotten better'

In (12), the order of the AUX (subject clitic-ta-io) appears reversed.

- (12) va-t'-igui usi-ab-cada io t'-igui padre divia
 already-P-MODAL plant-time-PAST F P-MODAL priest arrive(P)
 'it will already be time for planting when the priest
 will have arrived'

A marker may be omitted from the AUX, as seen in (13).

- (13) api upu: pima ni-bumatu io hi
 you also NEG me-with F go(P)
 'you also would not go with me'

The subject may be marked with an independent pronoun only, as in (14), and ta/io marking may occur with independent pronouns, as in (15).

- (14) ni-tubaki-aba kior-thuda-mucu ani
 my-cloud-LOC rainbow-CAUS-FUT I
 'I will put a rainbow in my clouds'

- (15) s-tug'amu tuidig-kiti damacatuma apimu-t'-io nuarhu
 S-good deed-INSTR heaven you(pl)-P-F buy(P)
 'with good works you will buy heaven'

Even though the independent pronouns are semantically equivalent to subject clitics, they are not syntactically equivalent to them. When both subject marking devices are used together, it is for emphatic purposes, as in (16).

- (16) Pedro vait-akitu an-t'-igui ani hi
 P. call-in order to 1s-P-MODAL I go(P)
 'I went in order to call Peter'

Loaysa, the author of the Nevome Arte (ca. 1650) noted this variable subject marking: "when the pronoun serves in the nominative [case] as the agent [persona que hace], it is prefixed or suffixed indifferently." His apt examples are given in (17).

- (17a) ani ni-gaga sicoana-dada
 I my-field weed-PAST
 'I weeded my field'
- (17b) ni-gag'-an'-igui sicoana-dada
 my-field-1s-MODAL weed-PAST
- (17c) ni-gaga sicoana-cad'-an'-igui
 my-field weed-PAST-1s-MODAL

Since the variation here is semantically equivalent, it may be suggested that the person marking of subjects varied for pragmatic purposes.

The AUX in Nevome is an incomplete system in that it has no third person subject clitics. To mark third person subject, a demonstrative, noun or noun phrase must be used. The perfective and future markers, when present, either cluster together (not always in second position; 18a), or else attach to the first constituent in the clause (18b).

- (18a) mumura ica tucargue ima t'-io viho
 mules DEM night LOC P-F weaken(P)
 'the mules will not weaken this night'
- (18b) va-t'-igui naranjo huha-ta
 already-P-MODAL orange flower-make
 'already the oranges are flowering'

The use of demonstratives as noun phrase modifiers helps to distinguish case with third person arguments. So does the SOV word order. It is the

lack of a complete set of subject clitics that prevents clisis from functioning as a basic subject marking device. It should be noted that Nevome had a surface case distinction (subjective/objective-oblique) in demonstratives which either qualified a nominal or acted as independent third person pronoun. Although demonstratives may mark case with nouns, most nouns appear without demonstratives, and, because nouns do not have surface case distinctions, word order is the primary device for marking the nuclear case of nouns.

4.2.3.2 Subject Clisis in Colonial Tepehuan

In order to describe subject clitic placement in Colonial Tepehuan (Tepeguana), I surveyed the examples in Rinaldini (1743). A summary of this data is given in Chart 2.

The position of the subject clitic was variable in Colonial Tepehuan, but predictable on syntactic grounds. In relative clauses with the na initiator, in subordinate clauses with na, and in conjoined clauses with the initiator co, the subject clitic is placed after the na or co and the verb is always final. In clauses marked with the perfective particle ta, the subject clitic is suffixed with the ta to the verb or the following order is used: full pronoun + copy clitic + verb. A clitic used by itself will be suffixed to the first constituent.

A full pronoun used to mark subject is variable in position, with no syntactic patterning suggest itself. This is different from Nevome. Another difference is that the order of the AUX in Colonial Tepehuan (initiator-clitic-ta; no future clitic existed) does not occur reversed.

Despite these differences, a variation in clitic positioning within the clause is evident in Colonial Tepehuan, and there is no third person

singular subject clitic. Hence, both the Nevome and Colonial Tepehuan systems of subject clitics are incomplete. It is noteworthy that the Colonial Tepehuan AUX is less flexible than the Nevome construction, and that word order in main clauses only in Colonial Tepehuan is free. This supports the correlation between free word order and the presence of an obligatory AUX proposed above.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The features listed below in (19) are true of the two recorded varieties of Colonial Tepiman languages.

- (19)
1. rigid SOV word order, even in imperatives and questions
 2. incomplete subject clitic set
 3. variability in the positioning of clitics
 4. a two-way contrast in surface cases (in Nevome, with traces in Colonial Tepehuan)

Since each branch of Tepiman is represented in these generalizations, a similar system may be reconstructed for Proto-Tepiman. In this proto-system, full pronouns or clitics could be used to mark first and second person subjects. The case roles of third person singular subjects (and third person plural in Nevome) had to be marked by SOV order or by case-bearing determiners.

If one looks at modern Upper Piman, Northern Tepehuan and Southern (Southeastern) Tepehuan, a different picture emerges.

- (20)
1. nominals and predicate vary in position
 2. a complete set of subject clitics exists
 3. clitics must occur in second position
 4. there is no surface case marking

A reconstruction based on this, ignoring modern Pima Bajo, which is intermediate, would be incompatible with the situation for the proto-language suggested in (19). The two models can be merged, since both situations resulted from the same parent system. This requires several stages, but an initial system of subject marking with several options must precede the development of second position clitics. Thus, Proto-Tepiman must have had several subject marking strategies, where positional variation had pragmatic value. While SOV ordering and surface case distinctions (inherited from Proto-Uto-Aztecan) marked third person subjects, first and second person subjects, could be marked by either independent pronouns or by subject clitics. It was the clitics which varied in position. When a subject marking strategy based on the use of clitics developed, a trend clearly seen in the Colonial data, any pragmatic functions of variable positioning were transferred to nominals.

Hence, the development of subject clitics in Tepiman may be presented as in (21).

(21) <u>Stage I</u>	>	<u>Stage II</u>	>	<u>Stage III</u>
pronouns		clitics		second position clitics

Here, pronouns refers to subjective, independent pronouns, and clitics in Stage II were variable in position. Proto-Uto-Aztecan may have been at Stage I. Stage II languages include: Proto-Tepiman, Nevome. Stage III languages include: Northern and Southern Tepehuan, and Upper Piman. Modern Pima Bajo appears to be intermediate between Stage II and Stage III.

When the schema presented in (21) is extended to representative languages of each branch of southern Uto-Aztecan (Chart 3), it may be seen that the possibility of intermediate ancestors with variable subject clitics applies to branches other than Tepiman.

(22) SOV/variable clitics:	Nevome (Tepiman branch); Yaqui and Tarahumara (Taracahitic)
VSO/2nd position clitics:	N. Tepehuan, S. Tepehuan, and Upper Piman (Tepiman)
VX/verbal proclitics:	Cora, Huichol (Corachol); Nahuatlan branch

It may be seen that the various outcomes (Stage III) cross-cut each branch, with the exception that the second position clitics develop only in Tepiman languages.² Using the data in (22), the development of subject clitics in Uto-Aztecan languages proposed by Steele as shown in (1) above may be revised as follows.

(23) <u>Stage I</u>	>	<u>Stage II</u>	>	<u>Stage III</u>
pronouns		clitics		second position clitics verb proclitics

This in no way detracts from Steele's valuable observations of the tendencies present in Uto-Aztecan languages to form AUX constructions (Steele 1979).

Thus a good reconstruction is not necessarily simplex. A single abstraction may not account for variation present in the ancestor. It may be necessary to reconstruct variation in order to account for parallel but separate developments in daughter systems.

Pending work on Tepiman pragmatics, it may be suggest that it may not be enough to reconstruct sound patterns, morphemes, noun and predicate syntagmas, lexical features and the like. It may be necessary to posit pragmatic factors at the proto-level that affect the outcome of morphosyntax in daughter languages.

It has been recently stated in the literature that grammatical change ("reanalysis") is a gradual process that begins in some unmarked grammatical contexts and spreads to other contexts in a process of "actualization" (see, for example, Timberlake 1977).

If grammatical contexts are influenced by pragmatic factors, then it may be inferred that social factors (preferred or frequent discourse strategies) select among possible variants for change in the basic design of the grammar. For example, Derbyshire and Pullum (1981) note that SOV languages are the likely source of OVS languages, which apparently grammaticalized object preposing, a pragmatic operation.

Givon (1977) has noted that in SV languages (ones in which S must always precede the verb), word order is rigid. Means other than word order must be used to mark pragmatic functions. In Uto-Aztecan, one thinks of modals, evidentials and intonation, and variable subject clitics with regard to this matter.

Another correlate of SOV languages is that they tend to have surface case marking, as in Nevome and most northern Uto-Aztecan languages. Case marking may even develop in languages after a SVO to SOV shift (Tai 1976).

Givon (1977:186) also states that the morphosyntactic feature which permits variable word order (VS or SV) is subject agreement on the verb. This is shown by the Upper Piman situation, except that the obligatory

subject marker, a clitic, forms a clause-level constituent by itself (the AUX) rather than appearing as part of the verb complex.

It must be realized that proto-systems must have had variation. There must be variation within subsystems of a parent language or some change would never occur (change may also result from borrowing or substratum). There has been recent successful work with variable reconstruction with kin term and types (Aberle 1974; Dyen and Aberle 1974) and with color terms and categories (Kay 1975; MacLaury 1982). An example of reconstruction of variability in a phonemic system is Hinton (1980). The principle of variable antecedent systems is applicable to grammatical systems as well.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

1. Akmajian, Steele and Wasow (1979) compare the AUX category of English with the AUX structure of Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subfamily. The latter structure is like the Upper Piman construction shown in (2) above. They find the following properties common to both the Luiseño and English AUX: (a) trend toward second position in the clause, (b) both are involved in question formation, and (c) both may not occur in a non-tensed clause. Word status, similar distribution, and like semantic properties (modal, tense, aspect) of both AUX's suggest a universal category. It should be noted, however, that the AUX in Uto-Aztecan forms a constituent with a subject clitic as the core, whereas the AUX in English is a part of the verb phrase.

2. When data from representative languages of each branch of Northern Uto-Aztecan are added to Chart 2, it may be seen that an AUX constructed like that of Upper Piman in item (2) above is found only in the Takic subfamily, with partial development of such an arrangement in Tubatalabal, which forms an isolate within the Uto-Aztecan family. Why this drift should maximize in the middle of the old Uto-Aztecan dialect chain is not readily apparent.

CHART 1
VERB-INITIALNESS IN MODERN ONABAS PIMA BAJO

	<u>Transitive</u>		<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Stative</u>	
	V-	X-	V-	X-	V-	X-
number	17	174	13	123	23	39
percent	4.3%	45%	3.3%	31.6%	6%	10%

A total of 389 examples were counted. Interrogative and imperative clauses were not counted; equational, possessive, essive and impersonal clauses/predicates were also not included. V- is verb or stative initial, and X- is other-initial.

CHART 2
SUBJECT MARKING IN COLONIAL TEPIMAN

<u>Function</u>	<u>Construction</u>
Questions: 3	subj. + verb verb + subj.
Questions: 1,2	verb-cl. adv.-cl. + verb
Comparison: 3	verb + noun1 + <u>mat</u> + noun2
Statements: 3	adv. + verb + subj. subj. + verb + adv. subj. + obj. + verb
Statements: 1 & 2, Tr. (with clitic)	X-cl. + obj. + verb cl-obj.-verb verb-cl.-P + verb
Statements: 1 & 2, Intr. (with clitic)	adv.-cl. + verb NEG-cl. + adv. + verb adv. + cl.-P + verb
Statements: 1 & 2, Tr. (with pronoun)	pron. + obj. + verb pron. _i + pron. _i + NEG-indef + obj.-verb NEG-cl.-P + verb + obj. NEG-cl.-P + obj. + verb
Statements: 1 & 2, Intr.	adv. + pron. + verb
Relative Clause	DEM noun + relative clause (SOV) subj.
Subordination with <u>na</u>	clause1 + <u>na</u> -(cl.)-(P) + X + verb
Conjunction with <u>co</u>	clause1 + <u>co</u> -(cl.)-(P) + X + verb
Verb Paradigm with Perfective	pron. + verb verb-cl.

Abbreviations other than those previously listed: cl. = subject clitic;
 adv. = adverb; indef. = indefinite-interrogative pronoun; obj. = object
 clitic or object nominal; pron. = independent pronoun; subj. = subject
 nominal.

CHART 3
WORD ORDER AND SUBJECT MARKING IN SOUTHERN UTO-AZTECAN LANGUAGES

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Word Order</u>	<u>Subject Marking</u>
Nahuatlan	Pochutec	SVO/VOS	verb prefix
	Cl. Nahuatl	SVO/VOS	verb prefix
Corachol	Cora	VSO	verb prefix (optional)
	Huichol	OSV	verb prefix
Tepiman	Upper Piman	variable	2nd position clitic
	Nevome	SOV	variable clitic
	N. Tepehuan	VSO	2nd position clitic
	S. Tepehuan	VSO	2nd position clitic
	Tepeguana	variable	variable clitic
Taracahitic	Yaqui	SOV	variable clitic
	Tarahumara	SOV	optional clitic

REFERENCES CITED

- Aberle, David F. 1974. Historical Reconstruction and its explanatory role in ethnology, a study in method. In J. G. Jorgensen, ed. **Comparative Studies by Harold S. Driver and Essays in his Honor.**
- Akmajian, Adrian, Susan Steele and Thomas Wasow. 1979. The category of AUX in Universal Grammar. **Linguistic Inquiry** 10:1-64.
- Bahr, Donald M. and J.R. Haefer. 1978. Song in Piman curing. **Ethnomusicology** 22:89-122.
- Bascom, Burton W. 1959. Tonomechanics in Northern Tepehuan. **Phonetica** 4:71-88.
- _____. 1964. Problems 85, 126 and 166. In William Merrifield, et al., **Manual for Morphology and Syntax.** Santa Ana, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- _____. 1965. **Proto-Tepiman (Tepehuan-Piman).** Dissertation, University of Washington.
- _____. ca. 1977. **Northern Tepehuan Grammar.** Ms.
- Benz, Fr. Antonio. ca. 1774. **Vocabulary of the Pima Language with Grammatical Notes.** Manuscript, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- Derbyshire, Desmond C. and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1981. Object-initial languages. **IJAL** 47:192-214.
- Densmore, Frances. 1929. Papago Music. **BAE Bulletin** 90.
- Dyen, I. and David F. Aberle. 1974. **Lexical Reconstruction: the Case of Proto-Athapaskan Kinship.** New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Givon, Talmy. 1977. The drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: the pragmatics of tense-aspect. In Charles N. Li, ed. **Mechanisms of Syntactic Change.** Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hale, Kenneth. 1959. **A Papago Grammar.** Dissertation, Indiana University.
- _____. 1964. Pima (Oñabas, Sonora). Ms.
- _____. 1969. Papago /čim/. **IJAL** 35:203-212.
- _____. 1972. A new perspective on American Indian linguistics. In A. Ortiz, ed. **New Perspectives on the Pueblo.** Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- _____. 1980. Some remarks on Papago conjunction. Paper given at the Uto-Aztecan Historical Linguistics Symposium, LSA Summer Institute, University of New Mexico, June 1980.

- _____, LaVerne Jeanne and Paul Platero. 1977. Three cases of over-generation. In Culicover, Wasow and Akmajian, eds. **Formal Syntax**. New York: Academic Press.
- Hinton, Leanne. 1980. Irrataba's gift. **Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology, Papers in Linguistics**.
- Kay, Paul. 1975. Synchronic variability and diachronic change in basic color terms. **Language in Society** 4:257-70.
- Kroch, Anthony S. and Byron Marshall. 1973. Movement rules and modals expressed in Papago. **IJAL** 39:80-88.
- Loaysa, Baltasar. 1862. **Grammar of the Pima or Nevome, A Language of Sonora**. Buckingham Smith, ed. New York: Shea's Library of American Linguistics. Reprint, New York: AMS Press.
- MacLaury, Robert. 1982. Prehistoric Mayan Color Categories. Ms.
- Mason, J. Alden. 1917. Tepecano, A Piman language of western Mexico. **Annals of the New York Academy of Science** 25:309-416.
- Mathiot, Madeleine. 1962. Noun change and folk taxonomy in Papago. **American Anthropologist** 64:330-350.
- _____. 1967. The cognitive significance of the category of number in Papago. In Dell Hymes and Wm. E. Bittle, eds. **Studies in Southwestern Ethnohistory**, 197-237. The Hague: Mouton.
- Moyano, Fr. Francisco. n.d. **Sermons in the Pima Language**. Manuscript, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- Munro, Pamela. 1977. Copular sentences in Pima. **Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society**: 103-113.
- _____. 1981. Floated quantifiers in Pima. Paper given at Conference on the Syntax of Native American Languages. University of Calgary, March 6-8, 1981.
- Pennington, Cambell, ed. 1979. **Vocabularies in Lingua Nevome. The Pima Bajo of Central Sonora, 2**. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Rinaldini, Benito. 1743. **Arte de la lengua Tepeguana, con vocabulario, confesionario y catechismo**. Mexico.
- Saxton, Dean and Lucille Saxton. 1969. **Papago-Pima and English Dictionary**. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- _____. 1975. **Legends and Lore of the Papago and Pima Indians**. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Shaul, David L. 1981. Piman song syntax. **Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society**: 275-283.

- Steele, Susan. 1977. Clisis and diachrony. In Charles N. Li, ed. **Mechanisms of Linguistic Change**, 539-582. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- _____. 1979. Uto-Aztecan: an assessment for historical and comparative linguistics. In Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, eds. **The Languages of Native America**, 444-544. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Tai, James H.-Y. 1976. On the change from SVO to SOV in Chinese. **Papers from the Parasession on Diachronic Syntax**, 291-304. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Timberlake, Alan. 1977. Reanalysis and actualization in syntactic change. In Charles N. Li, ed. **Mechanisms of Syntactic Change**, 141-177. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Underhill, Ruth M. 1946. **Papago Indian Religion**. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Willett, Thomas L. ca. 1979. Clause types in southeastern Tepehuan. Ms.
- Witherspoon, Gary. 1980. Language and culture and culture and language. **IJAL** 46:1-13.