

Pima Bajo is a Uto-Aztecan language from the Tepiman branch spoken by no more than 500 persons. The Pima Bajo country is located in the Southeastern part of Sonora Mexico, and also in the Central Western part of Chihuahua in Mexico. The study is based mainly on the unpublished data collected in Yepáchic Chihuahua which in comparison with the Pima Bajo spoken in Sonora is less innovator. References to Névome, an older Piman variety from a document written between 1621 and 1672, are made.

The volume contains: A sociolinguistic setting of the ethnic group. A brief description of the phonemic inventory, the phonological processes, the stress and the syllable. An outline of the morphology of the language. The syntax part discusses clause structure and the syntax of arguments for independent and dependent constructions. Emphasis is given to pronouns and the way they are used as arguments of a predicate.


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A Grammatical Sketch of Pima Bajo

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0. Introduction¹

Pima Bajo or "*Oob No'ok*," along with Upper Piman, O'odham, Northern and Southern Tepehuan, has been classified by Miller (1983:121) as part of the Tepiman branch of the Uto-Aztecan family. The language is currently spoken in the Sierra Madre Occidental at Yécora and Maycoba in southeastern Sonora, México, and also at Yepachi, in west-central Chihuahua. According to Garza Cuarón and Lastra (1991), the total number of native speakers does not exceed 550. However, the *Coordinadora Estatal de la Tarahumara* -- institution created by the government of the State of Chihuahua to attend all indigenous affairs -- reports a number close to 2,000 speakers. Dunnigan (1983:) writes about the difficulties of studying the Pima Bajo; he mentions them as "grouped into many small and widely separated clusters, each consisting typically of a few closely related nuclear families." For this reason, it is not improbable, that at the present time, they sum less than 500. Less than 20 published works treat the grammar and morphology of this language. None attempts a full coverage.

My first interest to work in Pima Bajo began in 1980, after an invitation addressed by Ken Hale to give special attention to one of the most endangered languages spoken in Sonora, México. After two or three short trips to small towns like Onavas, Tónichi and Yécora, all of them in Sonora, looking for some Pima Bajo speakers, I began my own field work in Yécora, Sonora in 1982. The Pima Bajos live in small scattered *rancherías* (4-10 family members), taking care of their few domestic animals and land; they are likely to sympathize with a seminomadic life. Their population shows low density; they lack crucial food crops; their sociocultural organization is simple; and, exogamy is common between couples of different *rancherías*. The Pimas only congregate in Maycoba, Yepachi or Yécora during their festivities. They are not recognized as talkative people, and based on the brief periods of time they spend together, I could characterize them as shy, laconic and not companionable. They spend most of their time quiet taking care of their children and smiling at those who pass by. This particular language behavior made me think that perhaps in the Pima culture the language is not as socially marked as in some other cultures.

¹ I would like to thank Ken Hale, David Shaul, and Dean Saxton for sharing their data, and to Susan Steele, Jane Hill, Janine Scancarelli, Eloise Jelinek, Ofelia Zepeda, and Pamela Munro for sharing their insights. I am grateful to Ken Hale and Noel Rude for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to all my language helpers.

During my first three years of work, I only had references about O'odham (Papago), a copy of the *Arte de la Lengua Névome que se dice pima, propia de Sonora, con la Doctrina Christiana y Confesionario analizados* -- an old manuscript of the oldest version of Pima published by Buckingham Smith in 1862. Also, there was a dictionary from old Névome published by Pennington (1979), and the studies of Tepiman and Southern Tepehuan elaborated by Bascom (1965) and Willett (1978), (1980a) and (1980b). After a period of time, during 1985, two scholars shared their data with me: Ken Hale provided me a copy of his field notes from Yécora and Maycoba, and Escalante his short stories elicited in Pilares, Sonora. With these materials, together with my own data elicited in Yécora from 1982 to 1987 with the support of the native speakers Panchita Lau, Lola Duarte, and Cleotilde Galaviz, I could finish my dissertation on *Arguments and Clausal Relations in Pima Bajo* in 1991, and *Textos y Gramática Pima* by Escalante and Estrada (1993). From 1991 to 1992, while I worked with Pima Bajo in Yepachi, Chihuahua, my best helpers were Teresa Alvarez and Manuel Coronado. Part of this work has been discussed in Estrada (1994c) and will be included in the volume *Pima bajo de Yepachi, Chihuahua* (forthcoming).

A brief summary of the content of the most important references on Pima Bajo is as follows: Escalante (1961) and Stover (1984) provide phonological descriptions; Hale (1983) makes reference to the use of the connective *ko* in the dialect spoken in Onavas -- now extinct -- and Yécora. Névome, the oldest recorded dialect, is described in Smith (1862), a grammar based on a XVII century manuscript, as I previously mentioned. Shaul (1986) is a study of the structure of Névome, and Pennington (1979) published the vocabulary. There are brief studies of the syntax of connectives and pronouns in Estrada (1992a, 1992b), and a study of dialectal variation in Estrada (1994c). Escalante and Estrada (1993) is a collection of texts with an accompanying phonological and morphological sketch. Shaul (1994) also provides a sketch of the language. Finally Estrada (forthcoming) is a phonological description, a text, a dialogue, a collection of sentences, and a basic vocabulary.

Interesting, however, is the anthropological description elaborated by Dunnigan (1970) and (1983). In his 1983 study, Dunnigan provides the kinship terminology of the highland Pima for male and female ego. A list of kinship terms, some of them mentioned in Dunnigan (1983:224) and some others elicited by me, are provided immediately.

(1) kaak	paternal grandmother
vɨsk	paternal grandfather
hu'ul, mɨ'ɨli	maternal grandmother
baab	maternal grandfather
kaak	great grandfather
hadin, hahadnim (pl.)	brother/sister
siis	older brother/sister
siipidi	younger brother/sister

mar	son/daughter
dɨ'ɨ, daad	mother
'oog, maam	father
hadin (priim)	cousin
hadin marad	nephew
kuus, kumili	older paternal uncle
haakili	younger paternal uncle
'oog, 'oks	older paternal aunt
voviti	younger paternal aunt
dɨ'ɨ siis	older maternal uncle
yɨsk	younger maternal uncle
daad	older maternal aunt
tatili	younger maternal aunt

The organization of the present study intends to provide the necessary information for understanding the sounds, morphemes, phrases and sentences of Pima Bajo.²

1. Phonemic Inventory

The phonemes of Pima Bajo include thirteen consonants, two glides, and five vowels. Vowel length is distinctive.

(2)	Consonants				Vowels		
	p	t	k	'	i	ɨ	u
	b	d	g			o	
	v	s		h	a		
	m	n					
		l			i:	ɨ:	u:
	w		y			o:	
						a:	

1.1. Consonants

Not all consonants occur in initial, medial or final position.³ Palatalization of coronals in contact with a high front vowel is common, but sometimes an unpalatalized consonant is also produced. The consonants with examples of their allophones are:

² Most of the examples illustrated in this article are from my own, some others are taken from Hales's field notes and Escalante and Estrada (1993).

³ In Spanish loanwords Pima shows four extrasystemic phonemes: the vowel e, and the consonants ch, f and ñ.

Table 1.

/p/	[p]	/parisa/	[parisa]	'jackrabbit'
		/uup/	[uup]	'skunk'
		/ap/	[ap]	'you'
/t/	[t]	/tikpaana/	[tikpaana]	'work'
		/aatim/	[aatim]	'we'
	[č]	/tit/	[čič]	'our'
		/timitim/	[tīmčim]	'tortilla'
/k/	[k]	/kig/	[kig]	'good'
/ʼ/	[ʼ]	/aʼat/	[aʼat]	'lice'
/b/	[b]	/baab/	[baab]	'grandfather'
		/ab/	[ab]	'to'
/d/	[d]	/daad/	[daad]	'mother'
		/hod/	[hod]	'rock'
	[y]	/in daad/	[iñ yaad]	'my mother'
		/bid/	[biy]	'mud'
	[r]	/soigadi/	[soigar]	'pet'
/g/	[g]	/sudagi/	[sudagi]	'water'
		/gig/	[gig]	'fell'
/v/	[v]	/vav/	[vav]	'mountain'
		/bav/	[bav]	'beans'
/s/	[s]	/soigadi/	[soigar]	'pet'
		/saʼi/	[saʼi]	'grass'
	[š]	/siavag/	[šiavag]	'star'
		/siik/	[šiik]	'deer'
/h/	[h]	/hod/	[hod]	'rock'
/m/	[m]	/maam/	[maam]	'father'
/n/	[n]	/nukad/	[nukad]	'keep, have'
		/aani/	[aafi]	'I'
/l/	[l]	/kili/	[kili]	'man'
		/mivali/	[mivali]	'fly'
	[lʷ]	/li/	[li]	'small'
	[r]	/parisa/	[pariša]	'jackrabbit'
		/sari/	[sari]	'ragged'

1.2. Vowels

The five Pima Bajo vowels are classifiable according to position (front, mid, back), tongue height (high, mid, low), and length (short, long). Long vowels tend to be pronounced short when a change of meaning is not threatened. It is also common that short unstressed vowels be neutralized to []. Furthermore, as in Tarahumara -- another Uto-Aztec language from the Sonoran branch (Lionnet ms.) -- vowels in Pima Bajo tend to vary (Estrada 1994); the underlying form of these vowels is recoverable only by comparisons with other Tepiman languages and historical observations.

Table 2.

/i/	/giʼi/	[giʼi]	'plow'
/ɛ/	/gɛʼɛ/	[gɛʼɛ]	'big (pl.)'
/a/	/taʼi/	[taʼi]	'fire'
/u/	/up/	[up]	'bottom'
/o/	/oʼi/	[oʼi]	'sand'

1.3. Stress

Every word in Pima Bajo has one stress which is predictable according to the following:

- i. Stress the long vowel in the word.

(3)	tikpáana	'work'
	mavɛɛs	'five'
	konóoli	'buzzard'

- ii. If there is no long vowel, stress goes on the first syllable in the word.

(4)	tákav	'yesterday'
	móʼo	'head'
	kási	'fox'
	vóhi	'bear'

- iii. Stress the first vowel of a postposition.

(5)	kiitám	'at home'
	oidigtám	'in town'
	amvuika	'for you'
	toʼopdám	'at the top of the church'

2. Phonological processes

Phonological processes involve coronals and vowels. The changes which occur are due to historical tendencies that are also observed in other Tepiman languages.

2.1. Consonants

2.1.1. Coronal consonants following the high front vowel /i/ have a tendency to be palatalized. However, it is possible -- in only several of these words -- to hear both forms from the same speaker: the palatalized and the non-palatalized one.

Examples:

(6)	/tɨmitim/ /tit/ /oidig/ /in daad/ /si' / /aani/ /li/	tɨmčim čič oyig iñ yaad ši' aañi l'i	'tortilla' 'our' 'town' 'my mother' 'very' 'I' 'small'
-----	--	--	--

2.1.2. Syllable final /s/ tends to be aspirated.

Examples:

(7)	/hostam/ /baasadi/	hohtam baahar	'to hurry' 'chest (possess)'
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2.1.3. The aspirate /h/ tends to alternate with a glottal stop /ʔ/:

(8)	mahta bahi siklaha	ma'ta ba'i sikla'a	'ashes' 'steam, ripe' 'pot (Sp. cajete)'
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2.2. Vowels.

Vowels are less stable than consonants. The changes which occur involve unstressed vowels.

2.2.1. Word final vowels tend to be devoiced. This process is mainly restricted to the Pima Bajo from Yepachi, Chihuahua.

(9)	siiki parɨsi naaka	siikI parɨsI naakA	'deer' 'jackrabbit' 'ear'
-----	--------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

2.2.2. Postonic or word final vowels can be deleted.

Examples:

(10)	gogosi uupa tɨmitim	gogs uup tɨmč	'dog' 'skunk' 'tortilla'
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2.2.3. Non-stressed vowels tend to vary in their articulation point. In dialectological surveys it

has been observed that the Pima from Yepachi tend to have /o/, where the Pima from Maycoba or Yécora show either /ɨ/ or /a/. This, however, is not a systematic process.

Examples:

(11)	mɨvili siika tɨmita (m)	mɨvali siiki tɨmiti (m)	'fly' 'deer' 'tortilla'
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2.2.4. When the syllabic cluster <di> occurs at the end of a word, it tends to change to an [r].

(12)	bidi ɨlidi	bir ɨlir	'mud' 'like, want, think'
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2.3. Metathesis

This process is very common in Pima Bajo.

(13)	vuih toah	vuhi toha	'eye' 'white'
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3. Morphology

This section describes inflectional and derivational processes.

3.1. Nouns

There is no case morphology signaling case relations in Pima Bajo nouns, that is, the grammatical relations of subject, direct object, and indirect object. In certain sentence types, word order SOV indicates that the first noun or personal pronoun is the subject and the second one the object, although the word order SOV is fairly free (as will be presented later).

(14)	a.	Huan	Marii	nɨid-im
		John	Mary	see-CONT ⁴

⁴ The abbreviations used throughout this paper are the following:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

'John sees Mary'

- b. naksɪli li oob kii
 scorpion DIM person sting(PERF)
 'The scorpion stung the child'

However, if the nominal is accompanied by the article, or a personal pronoun is used, the basic grammatical relations, subject and object, will be signaled.

- (15) a. ɪg kɪl ɪk gogosi givim
 ART(SUBJ) man ART(OBJ) dog strike
 'The man strikes the dog'
- b. aan am-niid-im
 1s(SUBJ) 2s(OBJ)-see-CONT
 'I see you'

Needless to say, that Pima Bajo does not have agreement except later for a couple of suppletive verbs. So, grammatical relations are not systematically manifested.

Nouns, however, are marked plural by reduplicating the first syllable, as in (16a-e), or by an epenthetic /r/ or /h/ between the two halves of a long vowel in the first syllable of a word, as in examples (16f) to (16k).

AL	alienable
APLIC	applicative
ART	article
CAUS	causative
COMPL	completive
CONT	continuous
DER	derivative
EVID	evidential
FUT	future
INT	intensive
HAB	habitual
LOC	locative
OBJ	object
PERF	perfective
pl	plural
POSS	possessive
POSP	postposition
PROB	probability
REM	remote
s	singular
Sp	Spanish
SUBJ	subject

(16)	singular	plural	gloss
a.	misi	mimisi	'cat'
b.	kɪl	kɪkɪl	'man'
c.	nov	nonov	'hand'
d.	hod	hohod	'stone'
e.	ban	baban	'coyote'
f.	aagar	a'agar	'horn'
g.	oob	o'ob	'people'
h.	iim	i'im	'squash'
i.	tooko	to'oko	'spider'
j.	vaagar	vahagar	'cane'
k.	suudag	suhudag	'water'

Two other forms of reduplication in nouns are illustrated below. The words in (17) change a stem /v/ into a /p/ once reduplication is realized, and the words in (18) reduce the long vowel of the base form.

(17)	vuih ⁵	vupi	'eye'
	vosog	voposog	'mouse'
	vɪg	vɪpɪg	'red'
(18)	maar	mamar	'son/daughter'
	koos	kokos	'nest'

Possession in Pima Bajo can be expressed by two juxtaposed nouns, the rightmost one showing the possessive suffix -ga(r)-r as in (19-21).

- (19) Huaan kii-ga
 John house-POSS
 'John's house'
- (20) tos-kil naaka-r
 pig nose-POSS
 'the pig's nose'
- (21) Marii iip-gar
 Mary skirt-POSS
 'Mary's skirt'

Possession is also marked by a pronominal prefix, with or without the possessive suffix.

- (22) in-kii-ga
 1s-house-POSS
 'my house'

⁵ The underlying form for 'eye' is *vuih*. After reduplication, the /u/ is deleted, as well as the /h/.

(23) am-vonam
2s-hat
'your hat'

(24) in-kar-gar
1s-car-POSS
'my car'

In addition, however, Pima Bajo nouns are classified in three sets according to their occurrence with the alienable suffix *-ga-* and the possessive suffix *-r*. The three classes are: a) Those which are inherently possessed and marked with the suffix *-r* in the third person. These include body and plant parts, and some clothes:

(25) Huaan mo'o-r ko'ok
John head-POSS hurt (HAB)
'John's head hurts'

(26) ðk-mo'ovi-r toah
3s-shirt-POSS white
'His/her shirt is white'

(27) uus tatka-r
tree root-POSS
'The tree's root'

b) Inalienables which are marked by the alienable suffix *-ga-*:

(28) mðm-kii-ga si' gi'ðd
2pl-house-AL INT big
'Your house is big'

(29) aani in-sapaat-ga-r soma
1s 1s-shoe-AL-POSS sew (PERF)
'I sewed my shoe'

(30) Hosee kar-ga-r
John car-AL-POSS
'John's car'

(31) in-machet-ga-r
1s-machete-AL-POSS
'It is my machete'

c) Things which cannot be possessed: nature objects like *tas* 'sun', *masad* 'moon', *dìvor* 'land' and animals. In order to express possession of an animal, the word *soigar* 'its pet' must be used.

(32) gogosi in-soi-ga-r tuk
dog 1s-pet-AL-POSS black
'My dog is black' (lit. 'My pet is a black dog')

(33) Peier kav soi-ga-r muk
Pete horse pet-AL-POSS died (PERF)
'Pete's horse died'

Some Pima Bajo nouns, and certain other base forms, undergo derivation by the use of the following suffixes: *-pig*, *-mag*, *-kor/-kar*, *-kam*, and *-dam*.

Base forms are modified by the privative suffix *-(p)ig* to create either a noun or adjective; examples are given in (34).

(34) naakpig 'deaf' (cf. naak 'ear')
suuhurpig 'castrated' (cf. suuhur 'testicles')
vuilpig 'untied' (cf. vuil 'to tie')

The suffix *-(m)ag* derives adjectives from nouns:

(35) manteekmag 'fatty' (cf. manteek < Sp. manteca)
huhulmag 'painted' (cf. huhul < huhuv 'to grease, paint')
onmag 'salty' (cf. on 'salt')
liimpiag 'clean' (cf. liimpi- < Sp. limpio)
kupadag 'busy' (cf. kupad- < Sp. ocupado)
hoarag 'pigeonholed' (cf. hoar 'basket')

The suffix *-kor/-kar* derives instruments; the distinction between *-kor* and *-kar* is unpredictable:

(36) tðmitkor 'comal' (cf. tðmit 'to make tortillas')
mðhitkar 'branding iron' (cf. miihim 'to burn')
laaniskar 'lance' (cf. laanis < Sp. lanza)
hiuuhkor 'scissors' (cf. hiuuhk 'a cut')
bihskar 'belt' (cf. bis 'to wrap')

The suffix *-kam* signifies 'that pertaining to...' and the agentive *-dam* 'one who...'. Both suffixes are illustrated in (37).

(37) biibitkam 'manure' (cf. biibit 'to defecate')
pistol'uupkam 'gunman' (cf. pistol < Sp. pistola)
sonoorabdahkam 'people from Sonora'
tðtivigdam 'player' (cf. tðtiv 'to play')
kiiknahtadam 'mason, builder' (kiik 'houses', naht 'to build')
puñetamdám 'puñetero, valiant man'
tikpaandám 'worker' (tikpaan 'to work')

Stover (1984) calls attention to the Pima suffix *-ap* which modifies nouns, numerals or verbs. The suffix *-ap* derives locative nouns.

(38)	dìvìr	'soil'	dìvìrap	'earth', 'floor'
	hias	'to bury'	hiasap	'cemetery'
	pueert	'door'	pueertap	'through the door'
	gook	'two'	gookap	'two places'
	tuak	'out'	tuakap	'outside'

3.2. Adjectives

Plurality is optionally marked in adjectives by the same reduplication process described for nouns. Examples of reduplicated adjectives are provided below.

(39)	singular	plural	gloss
	toah	totah	'white'
	oam	o'am	'yellow'
	gì	gìgìd	'big'
	tìv	tìtìv	'tall'

Numerals may be modified by a reiterative suffix *-av*:

(40)	gook	'two'	gookav	'two times or twice'
	vaik	'three'	vaikav	'three times'
	mu'ik	'many'	mu'ikav	'many times'

3.3. Verbs

The verb or predicate within main clauses expresses tense/aspect or mood by modifying its base form either by truncation, giving the perfective, or by the use of special suffixes. Imperfective continuous (with the suffix *-im*) and perfective verb forms are illustrated below.

(41)	Imperfective	Perfective	gloss
	aahim	aai	to fit
	vakim	vaak	to enter
	basim	bai	to put
	bìihim	bìi	to get
	doalim	doar	to be born
	gìgim	gìg	to rope
	gì'ìlim	gì'ìr	to grow
	hiasim	hias	to bury
	huugim	huu	to eat

kuihim

kuuk

to bark

The Pima Bajo tense/aspect/mood suffixes may be organized in three different sets:

(42) a.	Tense	Future	-hag
		Non-Future	{ 'habitual' \emptyset / -i
			{ 'remote' -tad
	b.	'completive'	-va ⁶
		'continuous'	-im
	Aspect	'imperfective'	\emptyset
		'perfective'	truncation
	c.	'potential'	-da / -di
		'evidential'	-ti
	Mood	'imperative'	-in
		'probability'	-ia
		'irrealis'	-an

Sentences illustrating some of the suffixes in (42) are provided below:

(43) aan noki-hag
1s speak-FUT
'I will speak'

(44) aap sosk-ia
2s cry-PROB
'You will cry'

(45) aapim ga'i gai-va

⁶ Escalante and Estrada (1993) mentions a prefix 'a- marking completive aspect. The following is an example.

'a hurnì
COMPL late
'It's late'

⁷ However, further research in this language has been useful to recognize such kind of constructions as an example of the Pima medio-passive or reflexive passive (cf. section 4.5).

- 2pl meat roast-COMPL
'You just finished roasting meat'
- (46) okis tɨkpaan-im-tad
woman work-CONT-REM
'The woman was working'
- (47) aan huun aag-im
1s corn want-CONT
'I want corn'
- (48) ɨg kil mir-tɨ
ART man run-EVID
'The man will be running'
- (49) tɨkpaan-in
work-IMP
'Work!'

Verbal suppletion in Pima Bajo, as in other Uto-Aztecan languages, is restricted to a small group of verbs and operates on an absolutive basis. That is, with a singular or plural subject, and in transitive verbs like 'kill', suppletion distinguishes between a singular or plural object.

(50) Subject agreement:

singular	plural	gloss
kiik	giivk	'to stand'
mir	vopo	'to run'
gii	suuli	'to fall'
dah	dara	'to sit'

Object agreement:

mua'a	koi	'to kill'
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Examples of some of these verbs are provided below:

- (51) aan kiik aani
1s stand(HAB/sg) 1s
'I am standing'
- (52) aat givk aatim
1pl stand(HAB/pl) 1pl
'We are standing'
- (53) aan am Maikis-tam dah
1s LOC Maycoba-POSP sit(HAB/sg)

- 'I am in Maycoba'
- (54) aat am Maikis-tam dara
1pl LOC Maycoba-POSP sit(HAB/pl)
'We are in Maycoba'
- (55) huan mua'a g siik
John kill(PERF/sg) ART deer
'John killed a deer'
- (56) huan koi gook siik
John kill(PERF/pl) two deer
'John killed two deer'

Derivational verbal morphology includes suffixes which modify the valence of a verb (like the applicative or benefactives *-lia* and *-id*, and causative *-tad*), or suffixes which derive verbs from nouns (like *-t* 'build', 'make').

- (57) gɨvkam huhu-lia-in ab ta'am am a hikit-kam
vigorously spread-APL-IMP DIR LOC LOC DET cut-NMLZ
'Spread (it) vigorously over there on the wound'
- (58) ko'okol viɨg-lia
chili red-APL
'The chili will become all red'
- (59) 'am aap voho-va it-gɨgɨs-id
LOC 2s begin-COMPL 1pl-greet-DITR
'You begin greeting us there'
- (60) hɨgam vɨpag vakis vasip-id
3pl then liquor serve-DITR
'Then they will serve some liquor (tesgüino)'
- (61) sudag in vloh-tad
water 1s vomit-CAUS
'The water forced me to vomit'
- (62) in kɨsam-tad
1s tickle-CAUS
'He/she tickled me'
- (63) tatbal naa-t-ia bankah-gar
wood make-DER-PROB chair-POSS
'Chairs are made from wood'

- (64) huaan gɨ ki-t-ia
 John big house-DER-PROB
 'John is going to build the house bigger'

Compound verbs could be derived by preposing a noun or an adjective to the verb. Some examples are provided:

- (65) taval dɨg-kat
 board hole-be (IMPF)
 'The board is perforated'

- (66) ikos soroin-kat
 fabric wrinkle-be (IMPF)
 'The fabric is wrinkle'

- (67) huaan lii-nat-ia ki
 John small-do-PROB house
 'John will reduce the house'

Modality is expressed with the auxiliary verb *apad* 'can'. Such kind of relationship is signaled by a structure involving a single clause. These clauses are not very common.

- (68) aan im apad nɨia hikam-kad
 1s NEG can see (IMPF) fog-INST
 'I could not see due to the fog'

- (69) aan apod tɨkpana hɨdol maas vi'is
 1s can work (IMPF) only morning early
 'I can only work early in the morning'

4. Syntax

The sentence consists of at least a predicate, plus one or more nominals, postpositional phrases and particles. The nominals that head noun phrases (4.1) are either a noun or a pronoun. Nouns can be modified by determiners, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals or quantifiers. Postpositional phrases are nominals with a suffixed postposition. The most common postpositions are locatives, but there are also committatives, benefactives and instrumentals (4.6). Predicates are not always verbal. Other parts of speech, such as adjectives, also function as predicates.

The order of words in Pima Bajo is rather loose. The verb can come in almost any position, but the most common position is final. However, the language does show some verb final properties: it has postpositions, the order of noun and modifier is quite rigid (adjectives, numerals, articles, and demonstratives precede nouns). Relative clauses, however, follow the head

noun. But subordinate clauses (complement and headless relative clauses) precede the verb with a non-finite suffix.

4.1. Noun Phrase

Subject and object noun phrases in Pima Bajo may be headed by a noun (common or proper) or a pronoun. Nouns are not obligatorily accompanied by a modifier, so it is very common to have noun phrases formed by a single noun.

- (70) huan si' ko'ok
 John INT sick (HAB)
 'John is sick'

- (71) huan li naksɨli soint
 John DIM scorpion squash (PERF)
 'John squashed a small scorpion'

- (72) aan kav niar
 1s horse buy (PERF)
 'I bought a horse'

- (73) huan vonam aada-hag
 John hat put on-FUT
 'John will put on his hat'

4.2. Modifiers

Within a noun phrase, a noun can be optionally modified by a demonstrative as in (74), an indefinite article or determiner (75), an adjective (76), a quantifier (77), or a numeral (78). Relative clauses which also participate in the formation of a noun phrase will be shown later.

- (74) ɨg okis nok-im
 DEM woman speak-CONT
 'That woman is speaking'

- (75) aap maat (hɨ)g dukkam
 2s know (HAB) ART whiteman
 'You know the whiteman'

- (76) tuk gogosi in-kɨi
 black dog 1s-bit (PERF)
 'The black dog bit me'

- (77) aan *si' mu'i* suspon niar
 1s INT QUANT (RDP) chicken buy(PERF)
 'I bought many chickens'
- (78) aan *gooka vatap bii*
 1s two fish catch(PERF)
 'I caught two fish'

There are only six basic numerals in Pima Bajo; all other numerals are obtained by nominal compounding or modification. The complete set of basic numerals is provided in (79).

- (79) *hɨmako* 'one'
gooka 'two'
vaika 'three'
makova 'four'
maviisi 'five'
vusani 'six'

Compound numerals are obtained by the juxtaposition of two basic nominals or by combining a basic numeral with another word. The compound numerals are provided in (80).

- (80) *gook makova* 'eight'
a'ipis viis 'ten'
hɨmk oob 'twenty' (lit. 'one person')

All other numerals are obtained by modifying a basic or a compound numeral by means of an adpositional phrase. The adpositional phrase is introduced by the particle *dam*.

- (81) *vusani dam hɨmako* 'seven'
vusani dam vaika 'nine'
a'ipis viis dam hɨmak 'eleven'
hɨmk oob dam gooka 'twenty two'

Other kinds of constructions obtained by modification of nominals are comparatives, modified names, and descriptive adjectives. Adjectival comparison is expressed by adposition of a nominal introduced by the particle *ko*. No comparative or superlative degree inflection is available.

- (82) aan *si' gɨ'id* ko aapi
 1s INT big:RDP ko 2s
 'I am bigger than you'
- (83) aan *si' diin* ko igi
 1s INT smoke ko DEM
 'I smoke more than he (that one)'

- (84) *ig si' gɨ tɨbit* ko a-maar
 3s INT as tall ko 3s-child
 'He is as tall as his son'

Names with a title, as well as family and given names, are not commonly used in Pima Bajo but only for official purposes. For such reason, the order provided to those nouns is the same as in Spanish: the title or given name in first place, and the name or family name in second position.

- (85) *san fransisk* 'San Francisco'
ti beniit 'Tío Benito'
pančiiit lau 'Panchita Lau'

Descriptive adjectives are ordered to the right of the head or modified noun.

- (86) *naas dukom* 'Nacho, el blanco'

The last type of nominal modifiers are the demonstratives. There are two demonstratives in Pima Bajo, both indicating a relative distance from the speaker.

- (87) *idi* 'this' (proximal)
ig 'that' (distal)

Those forms are illustrated in (88) and (89).

- (88) *idi tɨvad kɨl*
 DEM tall man
 'This tall man'

- (89) *ig tuk vonam*
 DEM black hat
 'That black hat'

The demonstrative *ig* is homophonous with the article, and according to this, it will also mark case as follows: subject (nominative) *ig*, and non-subject or object (accusative/oblique) *ik*.

- (90) *ig okasi ik laat ha'at-dun-ia*
 DEM(SUBJ) woman DEM(OBJ) plate something-make-PROB
 'That woman will make something in that plate'

- (91) *li oob ik ha'a giig-ia uus-kad*
 DIM person DEM(OBJ) pot hit-PROB stick-INSTR
 'The child will hit that pot with the stick'

The demonstrative is not, however, obligatory.

- (92) kova-in giig-ia há'a uus-kad
 NEG-IMP hit-PROB pot stick-INSTR
 'Don't hit the pot with the stick'

4.3. Order within the noun phrase

As it was previously mentioned, the order in noun phrases is quite rigid, and it is as follows. The adjective precedes the noun.

- (93) aan toaha kav niar
 1s white horse buy(PERF)
 'I bought a white horse'
- (94) ig kil tuk gogosi mua
 DEM man black dog kill(PERF)
 'That man killed a black dog'

Demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and the article (a reduced form of the distal determiner) always precede the adjective and the noun, as it has been previously illustrated in (77), (78), (88-92). In (95) the numeral *vaik* 'three' precedes the adjective *toota* 'white', and in (96) the quantifier *mu'i* precedes the noun *tomin* 'money'.

- (95) aan vaik toota i'ipor niar
 1s three white dress buy(PERF)
 'I bought three white dresses'
- (96) ig okis mu'i tomin in-maa
 DEM woman QUANT money 1s-give(PERF)
 'That woman gave me a lot of money'

As well as other Tepiman languages, Pima Bajo has also floating quantifiers. According to Munro (1984), the quantifiers in O'odham and Pima Alto (Upper Pima from Arizona, USA) -- both Tepiman languages -- are ordered preceding the modified noun. The same order is observed in Pima Bajo.

- (97) aan si' mu'i suspon niar
 1s INT QUANT chicken(pl) buy(PERF)
 'I bought many chickens'
- (98) ig kil viis gogosi nuukad
 DEM man QUANT dog(pl) take care(PERF)
 'That man takes care of all dogs'

However, unlike Upper Pima, which according to Munro (1984) permits a floating quantifier of

the subject, the direct object, or the indirect object -- examples in (99, 100 and 101) -- floating quantifiers in Pima Bajo have only been attested for subjects and objects. Examples are provided in (102), (103) and (104).

Upper Pima

- (99) Hegam ceceoj 'o vees feid heg Alice
 those men 3AUX all see ART Alice
 'All the men saw Alice'
- (100) Hegai 'uuvi 'o vees ha-feid hegam ceceoj
 that woman 3AUX all them-see those men
 'The woman saw all the men'
- (101) Heather 'at vees ha-maa heg 'o'ohan hegam 'u'uvi
 Heather 3AUX all them-give ART book those women
 'Heather gave the book to all the women'

Pima Bajo

- (102) gogosi viis koi-va
 dog(pl) QUANT die-COMPL
 'All the dogs died'
- (103) aan si' mu'i niar suspon
 1s INT QUANT buy(PERF) chicken(pl)
 'I bought many chickens'
- (104) aan viis koi mivil
 1s QUANT kill(PERF/pl) fly
 'I killed all the flies'

4.4. Personal pronouns

Pima Bajo has three sets of pronominal forms: the independent or complete pronouns, the reduced or cliticized, and the pronominal prefixes:

	Independent		Reduced/Clitic		Prefixed	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1s	aani	aatim	aan	aat	(n)in-	tit-
2nd	aapi	aapim	aap	aap	am-	mim-
3rd	hiig	higam	hiig	higam		a-

In the following section the functions of the pronominals are described.

4.5. Grammatical functions

In Section 3.1. Pima Bajo was described as having no case morphology signaling grammatical relations of subject, direct object, and indirect object. Grammatical functions, however, may be marked by means of word order SOV, subject and object forms of the article and the demonstrative or by the use of a particular set of pronominal forms. For example, with any intransitive verb, the subject will be given by a proper noun, a common noun phrase, or an independent or also a reduced/clitic pronoun.

- (106) *Peier* ab duv
Pete DIR come (PERF)
'Pete had come'
- (107) #g *gogosi* kuih-im
ART dog bark-CONT
'The dog is barking'
- (108) *aatim* aasi'-im
1pl laugh-CONT
'We are laughing'
- (109) *aap* kokos
2pl sleep (IMPF)
'You sleep'
- (110) *aani* 'am ab-nor oidig-tam
1s LOC DIR-go (PERF) town-POSP
'I went to the town'

When the independent or complete pronouns stands alone as the subject of a verb, they must be ordered final.

- (111) *tohi* vaki-ag aani
cave enter-FUT 1s
'I will go into the cave'
- (112) *viv* diid aapi
tobacco smoke (PERF) 2s
'You smoked tobacco'

The reduced form in contrast, is always ordered before the verb, but not necessarily adjacent to it:

- (113) *aan* 'am ab-nor oidig-tam
1s LOC DIR-go (PERF) town-POSP

- 'I went to the town'
- (114) *aan* vav-vui himi-ag
1s mountain-DIR go-FUT
'I'm going to the mountain'
- (115) *vuitot* aan tɨkpaan-ia
just 1s work-PROB
'I am just beginning to work'

Both the reduced and independent pronominal forms may co-occur signaling the subject of an intransitive expression. The independent pronoun will be ordered post-verbal, functioning as an emphatic element.

- (116) *aan* tasir-av koos aani
1s noon-up sleep (HAB) 1s
'I sleep until noon'
- (117) *aan* takiv vaak tohiv aani
1s yesterday enter (PERF) cave 1s
'Yesterday I went into a cave'

In transitive expressions, both arguments may be noun phrases like in (118-119), with SOV word order signaling the subject and the object, but the object may be postposed (120). Both, however, the subject and object (121-122), or at least one of the arguments (123-125), can be substituted with a pronoun.

- (118) *Hosee* hari vakin-a
Joe pot wash-FUT
'Joe will wash the pot'
- (119) *kav* gogosi kɨia-tad
horse dog kick-REM
'The horse kicked the dog'
- (120) *Hosee* vakin-a g' harri
Joe wash-FUT ART pot
'Joe will wash the pot'
- (121) *aan* am-niid
1s (SUBJ) 2s (OBJ) -see (PERF)
'I saw you'
- (122) *ap* in n-iir
2s 1s see (PERF)
'You saw me'

- (123) aap tit-giig-va
2s(SUBJ) 1pl(OBJ) -knocked-COMPL
'You just knocked us'
- (124) aan huu huun
1s eat(PERF) corn
'I ate corn'
- (125) aan naid aani k vav
1s see(PERF) 1s ART mountain
'I saw the mountain'

The SOV order is rigid unless an independent pronominal form occurs final emphasizing the subject.

In ditransitive sentences, the arguments can be all lexical noun phrases.

- (126) Marii timiti maa li oob
Mary tortilla give(PERF) small person
'Mary gave a tortilla to the child'
- (127) Beniit kafee Hosee ho'ir
Benito coffee Joe offer(PERF)
'Benito offered coffee to Joe'

If one of the non-subject arguments would appear as a pronominal, there is an apparent preference to be the indirect object.

- (128) aan buur am-niaar
1s burro 2s-buy(PERF)
'I bought you a burro'
- (129) Marii timitim in-tana
Mary tortillas 1s-ask(PERF)
'María always asked me for tortillas'
- (130) Beniit kafee a-ho'ir
Benito coffee 3s-offer(PERF)
'Benito offered him coffee'

Furthermore, it is also notorious that Pima Bajo shows a preference for the direct object to be non-overt.

- (131) Beniit a-ho'ir
Benito 3s-offer(PERF)

'Benito offered (it) to him'

In Pima, there are no inherently reflexive verbs. A reflexive sentence is obtained, as any other transitive construction, with an expression with a pronominal prefix corresponding to the direct object. It is not rare that the independent emphatic pronoun occurs in reflexive constructions:

- (132) aan in-hikti aani
1s(SUBJ) 1s(REFL) -cut(PERF) 1s
'I cut myself'
- (133) aap am-niir ispeh-tam
2s(SUBJ) 2s(REFL) -see(PERF) mirror-POSP
'You saw yourself in the mirror'

Reciprocals are also indicated by the prefixed pronominal forms.

- (134) ig kikiil a-kok-va maiks-tam
DET RDP-man 3pl(REC) -fight-COMPL Maycoba-POSP
'The man ended fighting at Maycoba'

Pronominal prefixes also represent the possessor in possessive noun phrases.

- (135) in-mo'ovid tuakap kata
1s.POSS-shirt outside be-IMPRF
'My shirt is thrown outside'
- (136) gogosi am-soigar toaha
dog 2s.POSS-pet white
'Your dog is white'
(lit. The dog your pet is white')
- (137) huan in-ki-ga-r him-dad
Juan 1s-home-AL-POSS go-REM
'John went to my home'

As well as other Tepiman languages Pima Bajo has no passive in the traditional sense. According to Ken Hale and Jane Hill (p.c.) Pima uses the non-specific reflexive or third plural prefixed pronominal form to build a kind of medio-passive, similar to the *se* construction from Spanish.

- (138) gi'ni okasi dihi-va a-gasi-va
young woman sit-COMPL 3pl-comb-COMPL
'The young woman just sat and was combed'
- (139) in tia a-muuka

1s(POS) aunt 3pl-die(PERF)
'My aunt was dead'

(140) lii oob kig a-dun-i
DIM person good 3pl-do-EVI
'(The) boy will become good'

(141) a-kuupa pueert
3pl-close door
'(The) door was closed'

4.6. Postpositional Phrases

Postpositions are suffixed to nominals. A postposition modifying a noun may indicate direction, location or position, instrument, benefit, or company.

(142) in-papaa Yikas-vui him
1s-father Yécora-to go(PERF)
'My father went to Yécora'

(143) kafee mees-tam dah
coffee table-on be(IMPF)
'The coffee is on the table'

(144) to'opa tieend-vuihpsis kiik
church store-in front of be(IMPF)
'The church is in front of the store'

(145) aan vainim-kad a-hikti-a
1s knife-with 3s-cut-FUT
'I will cut it with a knife'

(146) aan kafee niar Panchiit-vuika
1s coffee buy(PERF) Panchita-on behalf of
'I bought some coffee on behalf of Panchita'

(147) aan kii-vui okis-viin himi-a
1s house-POSP woman-with go-FUT
'I will go home with the woman'

Sometimes, but not very often, a postposition is added directly to a pronoun.

(148) in kin in-viina-ga
1s husband 1s-POSP-POSS
'My husband is my companion'

(149) li oob in-vuihpsis dah
small person 1s-POSP be(sg)
'The child is seated in front of me'

4.7. Sentence Formation

Pima Bajo sentences are of two types: verbal and non-verbal. The following are examples of verbal predicates.

(150) himiva
'(He/she) just left'

(151) vadia
'(He) will wash (it)'

(152) tukihag
'(It) will go out'

In addition to their predicates, of course, verbal sentences may contain adverbs, particles and nominal or pronominal arguments.

(153) aan am tikpaan-im-tad
1s LOC work-CONT-REM
'I used to be working there'

(154) ig okis tikpaan-im-tad kii-tam
ART woman work-CONT-IMP house-POSP
'The woman was working in the house'

(155) as am ig okis tikpaan-im-tad
QUOT LOC ART woman work-CONT-IMP
'It's said that the woman was working there'

(156) ig okis si' tikpaan-im-tad
ART woman INT work-CONT-REM
'The woman was working very much'

The basic word order is SOV, though this order is not rigid.

Non-verbal predicates are obtained with a noun or an adjective used as predicates and are not inflected with tense/aspect. However, a suffixed *d* occurs in non-verbal attributive predications.

- (157) aan si' gá'i-d
1s INT big-d
'I am big'
- (158) ig kili si' gi' tív-i-d
ART man INT INT tall-d
'That man is very tall'
- (159) aan si' lii-d
1s INT small-d
'I am small'

In other attributive predications, the suffix *-d* doesn't show up, but here it is possible to identify a stative suffix *-k* which otherwise marks perfective:

- (160) kavlik tiihivik
sierra high-k
'The sierra is high'
- (161) si' gaakm+k aani
INT skinny-k 1s
'I am skinny'

The forms *igi* and *ete* [eté] (without no difference documented between them) occur in equational predications like those in (162) to (167). The form *igi*, documented as *igui* in the *Arte de la Lengua Névome* (1862:66) has been documented to be a "partícula que no significa, y que se añade sólo *elegantis causa* y para la buena pronunciación".⁷

- (162) plataan igi
banana igi

⁷ Some examples showing the use of *igui* are the following:

Névome
hunug' an' igui
'I have corn'

Pim' an' igui cavaio soiga
'I don't have a horse'

Pim' an' igui dah
'I don't have a mother'

hunu an' igui mu thanu
'I ask you for some corn'

Pare humu mumu ni thanitut' igui...'
'Father made me ask you for some corn...'

- 'It is a banana'
- (163) Huaan paail igi
John priest igi
'John is a priest'
- (164) in kompaal igi
1s compadre igi
'It's my compadre'
- (165) si' lootam ete, baluup
INT crazy ete Guadalupe
'Guadalupe is crazy'
- (166) aan igi / aan oob ete
1s igi / 1s pima ete
'I am / I am pima'
- (167) oks ete
woman ete
'It's a woman'

Aside from these constructions, it is possible to have non-verbal predications expressing identity or membership without a copula or any other equivalent particle.

- (168) Huaan meester
John professor
'John is a professor'
- (169) aan Lool
1s Lola
'I am Lola'
- (170) Marii ooba
Mary pima
'Mary is a pima'
- (171) okos g' kavar
woman ART fat
'The woman is fat'
- (172) kii si' vitot
house INT new
'The house is new'
- (173) aan d'i'ir
1s mother (POSS)
'I am a mother'

4.8. Adverbial particles

Pima Bajo has a number of single morpheme adverbs such as *iva* 'also', *si* 'much', *ip* 'also, once again', *sil* 'by there', *am* 'there', *hudil* 'alone', *ap* 'really'.

- (174) *aan gook iva maamar*
1s two ADV kids(pl)
'I also have two kids'
- (175) *taval si' kig daapak*
board ADV good smooth
'The board is smooth'
- (176) *aan ip kig vapkiihl*
1s ADV good cowboy
'I am also a good cowboy'
- (177) *am vopohag sil hihim-va gam ho'og*
ADV rest (IMPF/pl) ADV go(pl)-COMPL there side
'They will sleep and go to that side'
- (178) *li oob kaam am vo'o*
DIM person bed ADV rest (IMPF/sg)
'The boy is resting on the bed'
- (179) *aan hudil m+r*
1s alone run (IMPF/sg)
'I run alone'
- (180) *am mar si' ap maas*
2s child INT really pretty
'Your child is really pretty'

4.9. Sentence types

4.9.1. Negatives

Negation of a predicate is effected by means of the negative particles: *im* (in old Névome *pim*), or the emphatic negative *kova*. While the negative *im* is either first in the sentence or preverbal, the emphatic negative is always first.

- (181) *im m+r duv*
NEG running come (PERF)

'She/he didn't come running'

- (182) *aan im tikpan*
1s NEG work (PERF)
'I didn't work'
- (183) *im am-kanaast-gar*
NEG 2s-basket-POSS
'It isn't your basket'
- (184) *aan gogos im nuukad*
1s dog(pl) NEG have (HAB)
'I don't have dogs'
- (185) *kova uus-kar g+gi hari*
NEG stick-INSTR hit (HAB) pitcher
'Don't hit the pitcher with the stick'

4.9.2. Interrogatives

In interrogative sentences, an interrogative or indefinite pronoun is used. In general, those indefinite pronouns are placed initially or after the subject pronoun.

- (186) *iktu' aap vui-him*
Q-word 2s do-CONT
- (187) *aap iktu' vui-him*
'What are you doing?'

The complete set of indefinite pronouns is provided in (188):

- (188) *iktu'* 'what'
iri 'who'
i'ikig 'how'
ibigi 'where'
iktu'ig 'why'
ikidig 'when'

Examples of other interrogative sentences are provided below.

- (189) *iktu' aap vuih-im?*
Q-word 2s do-CONT
'What are you doing?'
- (190) *iri ga'i ga'ih-im?*
Q-word meat roast-CONT

'Who's roasting meat?'

(191) ɨ'ɨkig aap duukig nuukad?
Q-word 2s year have(IMPF)
'How old are you?'

(192) ɨ'ɨkig aap maamar?
Q-word 2s RDP-son
'How many kids do you have?'

(193) ɨbigi aap gɨi aapi?
Q-word 2s fell(PERF) 2s
'Where were you born?'

(194) iktu'ig aap soak-im?
Q-word 2s cry-CONT
'Why are you crying?'

(195) ikidig aap dɨvi-hag?
Q-word 2s come-FUT
'When will you come?'

In Yes-no questions the intonational contour changes, but sometimes the ending particle *ahig* 'too' is added.

(196) aap aag-im viv ahig?
you like-CONT tobacco too
'Did you want tobacco, too?'

(197) aap a mo'o ko'ok ahig?
you 3s head hurt(IMPF) too
'Does your head hurt, too?'

4.9.3. Imperatives

Imperative sentences have the second position suffix *-in*.

(198) bɨih-in g vatap
catch-IMP ART fish
'Catch the fish!'

(199) am vuupih kup-in
2s eyes close-IMP
'Close your eyes!'

(200) suudag-in ii'i
water-IMP drink
'Drink the water!'

The second person subject is normally omitted, but for emphasis it could be retained:

(201) hias-an g' gogis, aapi
bury-IRR ART dog you
'Bury the dog, you!'

(202) aap-in kiik
2s-IMP stand up
'You, stand up!'

Negation in imperatives shows the emphatic negative particle *kova* 'don't' co-occurring with the suffix *-in*:

(203) kova kuup-in am vuupih
don't close-IMP 2s eyes
'Don't close your eyes!'

(204) kov-in kis-ia gɨ naksɨli
don't-IMP step-PROB ART scorpion
'Don't step on the scorpion!'

5. Complex constructions

According to Estrada (1991), Mountain Pima has three different particles which function as connectives in complex clauses: the conjunction *kɨi*, the relativizer *kik* and the subordinator particle *ko*. In Estrada (1996) a fourth connective *aitikiga* is discussed. However, the language also uses several connectives taken from Spanish.

5.1. Coordination

Two or more noun phrases, or two or more predicates, can be conjoined by the Pima Bajo particle *kiti*.

(205) Huan kɨti Beniit si' tɨtɨvad
John and Benito INT tall(pl)
'John and Benito are tall'

(206) Marii kɨti Roos oidig-tam nonos

Mary and Rose town-LOC walk(PERF/pl)
'Mary and Rose walked to town'

(207) in daada ko'a ga'i kiti naba
1s grandmother eat(IMPF) meat and nopales
'My grandmother eats meat and nopales'

(208) Huan kav soi-gar muuk kiti g' Marii kav soi-gar
John horse pet-POSS die(PERF) and ART Mary horse pet-POSS
'John's horse died and Mary's horse (also)'

(209) aan in vakin-im kiti ni'i-im
1s 1s bath-CONT and sing-CONT
'I am taking a bath and singing'

Pima Bajo also conjoins sentences and noun phrases by simply chaining (cf. Longacre, 1985).

(210) aan oob-kad no'ok duuk-ad no'ok
1s Pima-with speak(IMPF) Spanish-with speak(IMPF)
'I speak Pima and Spanish'

(211) aan si' siahulin siv aan kosi
1s INT tired now 1s lie(IMPF)
'I was tired and now I am resting'

(212) okis tieend-vui him-ia ga'i nial-ia
woman store-DIR go-PROB meat buy-PROB
'The woman will go to the store and will buy meat'

It is to be noticed that more complex coordinated constructions introduce Spanish conjunctions. This is the case of adversative coordination.

(213) Hosee him-ia pero an im
Joe go-PROB but 1s NEG
Joe is leaving, but not me'

(214) aani ip apod pero an im hihi
1s also can but 1s NEG want(IMPF)
'I could, but I don't want to'

(215) uus am tiihida-tad pero an im hig-an
tree LOC climb-REM but 1s NEG want-IRR
'I could have climbed the tree, but I didn't want to'

(216) huan im ko'okol is pero aani ahig
John NEG chile plant(PERF) but 1s
'John didn't plant chile, but I did'

(217) aan nukat-kad himak kava per aan gagar
1s have-REM one horse but 1s sell(PERF)
'I used to have a horse, but I sold it'

Disjunctive coordination pairs constructions introducing the Spanish conjunctions *o* 'or' if both conjuncts are positives, and *ni* 'neither' if are negatives.

(218) am kavaliio tuko o toah?
2s(POS) horse black or white
'Is your horse black or white?'

(219) aan im maata ni asom gii Peiro
1s NEG know(IMPF) nor how fell(PERF) Pete
'I don't know when nor how Pete fell'

However, there is a subordinating particle -- *ko* -- which behaves as a conjunction of contrast in same (220) and different (221) subject coordination.

(220) aan tɨkpaan-an ko-n im mait-ia tɨkpaan-an
1s work-IRR ko-1s NEG saber-PROB trabajar-IRR
'I could work, but I don't know how'

(221) aap tɨkpaan-im ko-n aan titv-im
2s work-CONT ko-1s 1s play-CONT
'You are working, but I am playing'

5.2. Relative Clauses

Pima Bajo relative clauses are accomplished by suffixation. The verbal suffix *-kik* takes the place of other tense suffixes. Aspectual affixes, however, may be present (see (227)). In general, the relative clause is ordered after the head noun. In identical reference clauses the nominal could be freely omitted, but in switch reference or objective clauses a prefixed object pronominal occurs as subject.

(222) ig kil gis-kik baamak
DEM man fell-REL mad(PERF)
'The man that fell got mad'

(223) okosi in-nid-kik ni'i-im
woman 1s(SUBJ)-see-REL sing-CONT
'The woman I saw was singing'

Relative clauses, however, do not need to be immediately adjacent to the head noun; in any case, the relativized verb will obey verb-final order.

- (224) aat hug-ia supon kii-daam kia-kik
 1pl eat-PROB chicken house-POSP be-REL
 'We will eat the chicken that is in the house'
- (225) aan nair kıl suspon gaagar-kik
 1s see(PERF) man RDP-chicken look-REL
 'I saw the man who was looking for chickens'

Relative clauses may also be placed at the beginning of the main sentence

- (226) ig kili am dah-kik Hosee hıgai
 DEM man LOC sit-REL José 3s
 'The man sits there; he is José'
- (227) kav sa'i ko'i-im-kik ko'ok
 horse grass eat-CONT-REL sick(IMPF)
 'The horse that is eating grass is sick'
- (228) hıgai am dah-kik hıgai Hosee
 3s LOC sit-REL 3s José
 'That one seated there is José'

or postposed; when this happens, the suffix *-kik* is not used, and by the occurrence of the subordinator particle *k(o)*, the relative clause looks more like an adjunct-like clause.

- (229) aan mua gogosi si'a k in-kii
 1s kill(PERF) dog INT ko 1s(OBJ)-bit(PERF)
 'I killed the dog that bit me'
- (230) aan kii gogosi si'a ko tuko
 1s kick(PERF) dog INT ko black
 'I kicked the dog, the black one'
- (231) nui aan nıid ko daa
 buzzard 1s see(PERF) ko fly(PERF)
 'I saw the buzzard that flew'

As well as any other Uto-Aztec language, Pima also distinguishes among subject and object relative clauses. In subject relative clauses, the subject of the relative clause co-referential with the head noun, may be omitted as in examples (222) and (224-227). In object relative clauses, the subject is marked as dependent by using a prefixed pronominal form (cf. (105) above) as in *in-nıid-kik* in example (223) and (232-234).

- (232) takav sigaar in-niar-kik aan dıin-im
 yesterday cigar 1s buy-REL 1s smoke-CONT
 'I am smoking the cigar I bought yesterday'

- (233) li oob am-gıv-kik in marad
 DIM person 2s hit-REL 1s son
 'The child you hit is mine'
- (234) gi'ıd g' siik in-mı'a-kik
 big DET deer 1s kill-REL
 'The deer I killed is big'

Relative clauses may be also obtained by using the interrogative particle or pronoun *aitikiga*. In these type of clauses, switch reference use of pronominals does not show up.

- (235) aan nukad vainom aita-kik ap in-hivig-id
 1s have(IMPF) knife that-REL 2s 1s(OBJ)-lend-DTRVZ
 'I have the knife you lent me'
- (236) aan ki-tam nukad vainom aita-kik im ningar
 1s house-POSP have(IMPF) knife that-REL NEG mine
 'I have at home a knife which is not mine'
- (237) ik kili mua gogosi aita-kıga in-kıik-im-tad
 DET man kill(PERF) dog that-REL 1s(OBJ)-bit-CONT-REM
 'The man killed the dog that was biting me'

5.3. Complement Clauses

Clauses functioning as complements are obtained by using one of three different desiderative verbs: *aagim*, *hihik* and *ılid*. The object clause will be introduced by the subordinator *ko*. By means of those three lexical elements, Pima, as many other Uto-Aztec languages, chooses between identical and different reference clauses. Clauses with different subjects are obtained by using the verbs *aagim* or *hihik*.

- (238) aan aag-im ko aap i'a kii-an
 1s want(CONT) ko 2s there be-IRR
 'I want you to stand up there'
- (239) ig hıhik ko-n huun hug-an
 3s want(PERF) ko-1s corn eat-IRR
 'He wanted me to eat corn'

Since the subject is not co-referential, it must be expressed in the subordinate clause. The subject could be either a reduced pronominal form as in (238), or a cliticized affix, like in (239). Such affix is characteristic of subordinated clauses in Pima, and it only cliticizes to the particle *ko*.

In identical reference clauses, the inherently reflexive desiderative verb *ılid* 'to want' must

be used. In those clauses, the subject of the main clause -- an independent or reduced pronominal form is co-referential with the subject of the subordinate clause -- a prefixed pronominal form.

- (240) *aan supnaakar niali-hag in-#lid*
 1s egg buy-FUT 1s want
 'I want to buy eggs'
- (241) *aan im t#kpaana-hag in-#lid*
 1s NEG work-FUT 1s want
 'I don't want to work'
- (242) *aap gook kav niali-hag am-#lid*
 2s two horse buy-FUT 2s want
 'You want to buy two horses'
- (243) *aap si'ik gaag-an am-#lid*
 2s RDP:deer look for-IRR 2s want
 'You want to look for deer'

5.4. Adverbial Sentences

In Pima, there are a number of different sentences introduced by the particle *ko*; complement clauses were illustrated in Section 5.3. In general, the particle *ko* can be combined with a subject marker giving as a result a switch reference particle. The use of the subject marker, however, is not obligatory and may be accompanied by another subject marker. The complete set of this type of subject markers combined with the particle *ko* are provided immediately.

- (244) *ko-n* 1st person singular
ko-p 2nd person singular
ko-t 1st person plural
ko-pim 2nd person plural
ko 3rd person singular or plural

Any two clauses related by the particle *ko* will be considered subordinate clauses. If an event cause another, the causative relation is signaled by the order of clauses. The effect clause will be introduced by *ko* or by the Spanish loan word *porque* [porke] sometimes reduced to [pork].

- (245) *aan hiim-ia ko aan im t#kpaan-im*
 1s go-PROB ko 1s NEG work-CONT
 'I am leaving because I am not working'
- (246) *aan t#kpaan-im-tak si'a porke in-tomin v#is huhog-va*
 1s work-CONT-REM INT SUBOR 1s-money all finish-COMPL
 'I worked hard because all my money finished'

- (247) *#lg#il si'a hulniok pork vakat*
 boy INT tire(PERF) SUBOR stand-up-outside(PERF)
 'The boy is tired because (he) was standing up outside'

A conditional or concessive relationship between two clauses is typically expressed by subordination with *ko* or by using the particle *t#mosa* 'although'.

- (248) *Peier im ab duv-an ko aan vuus ha'at aan a-vuah*
 Pete NEG DIR come-IRR SUBOR 1s all work 1s 3s-do(PRES)
 'When Pete doesn't come, I do all the work'
- (249) *aan tan an macheet ko aan n#id-im*
 1s ask-IRR machete ko 1s see-CONT
 'If I see him, I will ask him for the machete'
- (250) *aap ab duvi-an ko aan vi#nka*
 2s ADV come-IRR ko 1s to be with
 'If you come, I will be your companion'
- (251) *aan am him-ia t#mosa dud-an*
 1s LOC go-PROB although rain-IRR
 'I will go although it is raining'
- (252) *aan im nohod-ia t#mosa aap in-namki-an*
 1s NEG help-PROB although 2s 1s-pay-IRR
 'I cannot help you although you will pay me'

It is however possible to obtain this kind of construction expressed without any explicit particles. In such expressions, the verbal suffix *-ia* will be obligatory within the if-clause, the subjunctive or irrealis suffix *-an* is optional in the second clause.

- (253) *aap am him-ia-di, am hoota-in*
 2s LOC go-PROB-POT LOC hurry-up-IMP
 'If you are leaving, hurry up!'
- (254) *aap him-ia-di, tus-an tai*
 2s go-PROB-POT extinguish-IRR fire
 'If you are leaving, turn off the fire'
- (255) *him-ia #liad him-ia h#m-an*
 go-PROB want(IRR) go-PROB go-IRR
 'If they want to leave, they could leave'

Final clauses are obtained either, by subordination with *ko* or the Spanish nexus *para* 'for' [pak] or *para que* [paké], or juxtaposition. The verbal suffixes *-ia* 'probability' and/or *-an* 'irrealis or

subjunctive' will occur in any case.

- (256) aan am-aagd-ia ko aap maat-an
 1s 2s-tell-PROB SUBOR 2s know-IRR
 'I am telling you (it) for you to know it'
- (257) Huan ab him pake ab kova nñid-ia
 John DIR go(PERF) so-that DIR NEG(EMPH) see-PROB
 'John left, so you won't see (him)'
- (258) Marii him am-kii-vui, kova am-nñid-ia
 Mary go(PERF) 2s-house-DIR NEG(EMPH) 2s-see-PROB
 'Mary went to your home, so (she) won't see you'

- (260) aan-in tisk-an, tuapad-ia dursin
 1s-IMP clim-IRR lower-PROB peaches
 'I will climb to lower some peaches'

Spanish colloquial expressions are as well employed to form subordinate clauses. An example is the sentence illustrated in (261), where the Spanish expression *falta que* [falta ke] -- closely equivalent in English to 'be probably' -- is used to subordinate clauses.

- (261) vaapt-in am iikos falta ke dud-an
 bring-in-IMP LOC clothes because rain-IRR
 'Bring in those clothes because it will probably rain'

Temporal clauses expressing simultaneous or consecutive events are also obtained by using either, the particle *ko* or by juxtaposition. Examples of consecutive events are provided in (262) and (263), and simultaneous events in a (264).

- (262) hose him-a kos-ia vitot apim ab dub-an ko
 Joe go-FUT sleep-PROB just 2s DIR come-IRR SUBOR
 'John will sleep just till you come'
- (263) aan ko'ok-d-an taata ko am vo'i
 1s sick-POT-IRR feel(IMP) SUBOR LOC lie down(PERF)
 'I feel like sick, thus I lied down'
- (264) kova in-oama kuanda in-ko'i-m-d-an
 NEG(EMPH) 1s-bother(IMP) while 1s-eat-CONT-POT-IRR
 'Don't bother me while I am eating'

6. Text⁸

The following text was elicited from Manuel Coronado in Yepachi, Chihuahua in 1991.

ɛgai vohi kiti movili

Idi himak kueent, vaigva akumirdad mo'or, ig ha'ata iahtaga. am tai viis ibig darat. igai vohi kiti movili humai anaama'a am voi. igai vohi ik tɛ'ighig ik movili: masi tasi kig, movili, aapi am ho'oga hima? movili namo. aapi ai duniati matia. ha'i o'oga ani hima. igai vohi ik kaid. aitɛ'iko aapi si'i bamok dɛ'ivait sivi? igai movili namo. an im maata si' an bamok dɛ'ivait, pero aapi kova in tu'itki as an ho'oga himia, aani 'uban an nanta hima, hɛ'ikid an nuukad a'a, pake in buahkam viis ani avagmidkam, si' an bagartak kukuh as viis ha'ato doadkam, an im doadik ko im asu'o. kuandam kɛ'id dodaim asoskia mulia. ani ab i'i aha'ato komaram, igaim, igaim in im maata, kak an am gahkam, ani si'i li'it. igai vohia ab am kɛs huma'as 'o... 'ai ho'oga. aapi si li'it, aituuni duumagid gɛ'gid ha'at doakam? aapi mukon, paltia'am kɛisin 'ooba huma huhut dah. igai movali namo: tumos ani si li'itu, pero aan si' bagardai, kova as doadka 'am gɛ'gid ha'ato, gɛ'gid ha'ato, igai vohi, ikai aita kova, duma kova at natia dumat geer. vui haskat gɛ'gid ha'at totpka. aapi va'iga 'am koknirai. ani ... va... am va'iga vɛsidi movili dahipis kova si gid. at natia kova vusi oidiga matia. huma hihim. va'igiti igai. aigo va'ipid vohi gɛ'gid ha'at. igai movali va'ipid vɛsida movili. am lailak tasa, aiduusi geera sonta. vɛsa vohi kokniahiva 'ob va'idia kuihim. tɛdada gɛ'gid ha'ato doakam komaram kɛkasa. 'a gɛ'gid 'ai duunia higam sa'a kɛ'iga-vina. komaram igai kɛktiakik ... movali komaram. ga'a totkam im maata, aitiakubiin 'akopta. igai aiho'og avopoti hukaitia. aati pima agimva geera. hukai movali dagitkat. si' gɛ'gid siahuli gid si' gɛ'gid suromdakat. ha'at doakam sulig vopok. si gɛ'gid suromdakat.

Translation

The Bear and the Flesh Fly

This is a story from long ago that runs in my mind, and it used to be narrated when everybody was around the fire.

A bear and a flesh fly met each other on the way. The bear told the fly:

"It looks like a good day, fly, where are you going? Do you know about something?"

"I am going by there" (answered the flesh fly).

The bear questioned him:

"Why are you so angry today?" He asked the fly.

"I really don't know if I am angry, and please don't ask me where I am going. I am going where I want to, because I have wings, and they can take me any place where I like. I am very brave, and I

⁸ This text will be published in Spanish in the Pima Bajo volume for the collection *Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas de México*.

shout at every animal. I don't fear anybody, and if I bite them, they will cry and run away. Then I can remain on their backs, and they won't even notice that I am there, because I am very small."

The bear looked, struck the ground, and then... on the other side. "If you are so small, how do you dominate big animals? You can die if a person hits you with his nail."

The fly answered him:

"Of course, I am very small, but I am also brave and I am not afraid of any big creature or big animal."

Then the bear asked him again: "Why don't we declare a war? Let's make a war; all big animals would be willing to hit each other. Tomorrow you will fight here."

"I ... for sure ... will be with all other flies..."

"It will be a big fight, we will do it and all the town will know it."

Then they both left, and went to bring other animals. The bear brought all big animals, and the fly brought all the flesh flies.

Early that day the war began. All the bears wanted to fight. People heard them roaring. And all the big animals were bitten on their backs. It was a big thing.

They were there with a lot of bites on their backs. They were bit... by the flies on their backs... They looked for them all scared, without even knowing where those who attacked them were. They ran everywhere.

"We don't want the war now."

The flies left them alone.

It was a great shame, a very big sadness. All the big animals were falling and running. It was a very big sadness.

Gloss

idi himak kueent vaigva akumrdad mo'or, ig ha'ata iahtaga
DEM a story TEMP runs(REM) head DEM thing true

am tai viis ibig darat
LOC fire all LOC be(IMPF/pl)

igai vohi kiti movili humai a naama'a am voi
DEM bear CONJ flesh fly then REFLX found(PERF) LOC camino

igai vohi ik t'ig-hag ik movili: -masi tasi kig, movili,
DEM bear DEM direct-FUT DEM fly seems day good fly

aapi am ho'oga hima,
2s LOC DIR go(FUT)

movili namo: aapi ai dun-ia-ti mat-ia
fly say(PERF) 2s some do-PROB-EVI know-PROB

ha'i ho'oga ani hima
some DIR 1s go(FUT)

igai vohi ik kaid: "ait'iko aapi si'i bamok d'ivait sivi?
DEM bear 3s say(PAS) why 2s INT angry wake up(EVI) today

igai movili namo
3s fly ask(PERF)

an im maata si' an bamok d'ivait
1s NEG know(IMPF) INT 1s angry wake up(EVI)

pero aapi kova in tu'itki as an ho'oga him-ia
but 2s NEG 1s ask(IMPF) QUOT 1s DIR GO-PROB

aani 'uban an nanta hima
1s place 1s want(IMPF) go(FUT)

h'ikid an nuukad a'a, pake in buahkam viis ani a
vagmidkam
because 1s have(IMPF) wing(pl) so 1s take(CONT) all 1s 3pl
like:DER

si' an bagartak kukuh as viis ha'ato doadkam
INT 1s brave(DER) shout(IMPF) QUOT all living things/animals

an im doadik ko im asu'o
1s NEG fear(PERF) SUBOR NEG thing

kuandam k'id dodaim a sosk-ia mulia
when bit(IMPF) living things 3pl cry-PROB run(PROB/pl)

ani ab i'i a ha'ato komaram, igaim, igaim in im maata-kik
1s DIR LOC 3pl animals back(POSP) DEM DEM 1s NEG know-REL

an am gahkam, ani si'i li'it
1s LOC side(POSP) 1s INT small

igai vohia ab am kis huma'as 'o... 'ai ho'oga
DEM bear DIR LOC kick(PERF) then 'o... other side

aapi si li'it aituuni duumagid g'g'd ha'at doakam?
2s INT small how dominate(DTRV) big living things

aapi muk-an, paltia'am k'is-in 'ooba humak huhut dah
2s die-IRR few step(IMP) person one nail be(HAB)

igai movali namo:
DEM fly answer(PERF)

tumos ani si li'itu, pero aan si' bagard-ia
of course 1s INT small but 1s INT brave-PROB

kova as doadka 'am g'g'd ha'ato, g'g'd ha'ato
NEG(ENF) QUOT fear(IMPF) LOC big(pl) things big(pl) creatures

igai vohi, ikai aita kova, duma
DEM bear DEM Wh-word NEG(ENF) do(FUT)

kova at nat-ia dumat geer-vui

NEG(ENF) 1pl make-PROB do(IMPF) war-DIR

haskat gɨgɨd ha'at totpka
hit(IMPF) big(pl) creatures fight(FUT)

aapi va'iga 'am koknirai
2p tomorrow LOC fight(PROB)

ani ... va ... am va'iga vɨsidi movili dahiti
1s/... COMPL LOC bring(FUT) all flesh flies be(EVI)

kova si gɨd at nat-ia kova vusi oidiga mat-ia
NEG(ENF) INT big 1pl do-PROB NEG(ENF) all town know-PROB

huma hihim va'igiti ɨkai
together go(CONT) bring(evi) DEM

aigo va'ipid vohi gɨ'gɨd ha'at
then bring(PERF) bear big(pl) creatures

ɨgai movali va'ipid vɨsida movili
DEM fly bring(PERF) all flies

am lailak tasa, aiduusi geera sonta
LOC early(PERF) day then war begin(IMPF)

vɨsa vohi kokn-ia-hi-va 'ob va'id-ia kuihim
all bear fight-PROB-go-COMPL person call-PROB roar(CONT)

tɨdada gɨgɨd ha'ato doakam komar-am kɨkasa
then big(ol) living things back-POSP bit(IMPF)

'a gɨgɨd 'ai duun-ia hɨgam sa'a kɨ'igavina
3s big 'ai do-PROB 3pl everywhere bits-with

komaram ɨgai kɨktiakɨk ... movali komaram
back-POSP DEM bit(APL/REL) fly back-POSP

ga'a totkam im maat-an
look(IMPF) scare NEG know-IRR

aitiak ubin 'a kopta
where place-IMP REFLX fight(IMPF)

ɨgai aiho'og 'a vopoti hukaitia
DEM all/places REFLX run(pl/EVI) everywhere

aati pima agim-va geera
1pl NEG want-COMPL war

hukai movali dagitkat
DEM flies leave(REM)

si' gɨ'ɨd siahuli, gɨd si' gɨ'ɨd suromdakat

INT big shame great INT big sadness(REM)

ha'at doakam sulig vopok
living things fall(pl/PERF) run(pl/PERF)

si gɨ'ɨd suromdakat
INT big sadness(REM)

Much remains to be said about the grammar of Pima Bajo, of course. This is a report of work in progress, offered at this point simply because little has yet been published of this important member of the Tepiman sub-family. The hope is ultimately to develop an adequate reference grammar for the language.

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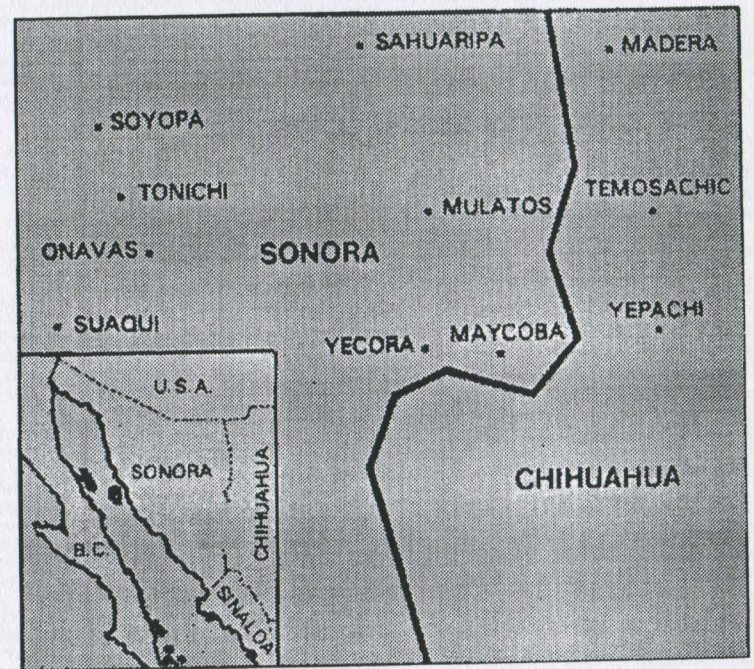
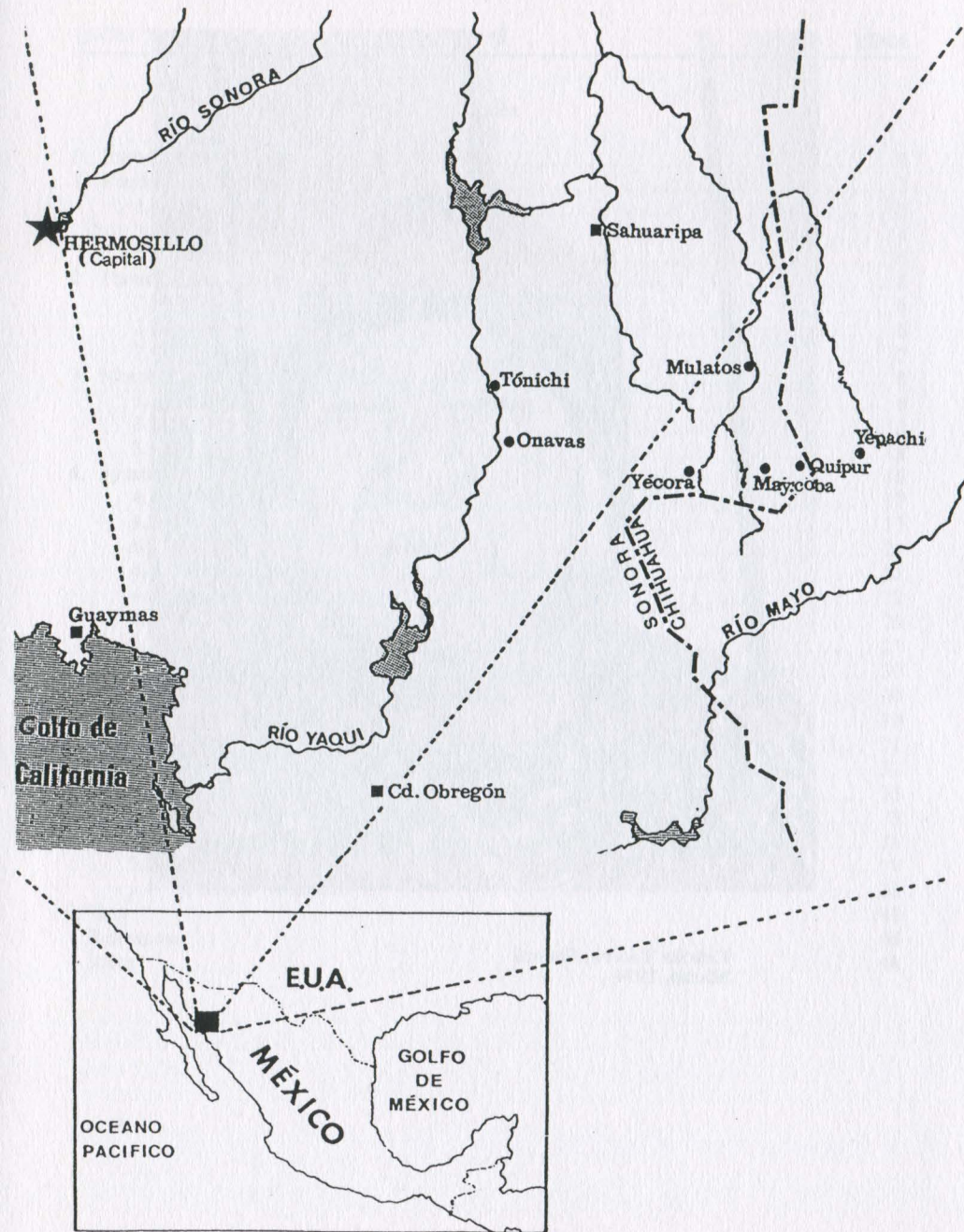
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Index

0. Introduction	1
1. Phonemic Inventory	3
1.1 Consonants	3
1.2 Vowels	4
1.3 Stress	5
2. Phonological processes	5
2.1 Consonants	6
2.2 Vowels	6
2.3 Metathesis	7
3. Morphology	8
3.1 Nouns	8
3.2 Adjectives	12
3.3 Verbs	19
4. Syntaxs	16
4.1 Noun Phrases	17
4.2 Modifiers	17
4.3 Order within the noun phrase	20
4.4 Personal pronouns	21
4.5 Grammatical functions	22
4.6 Postpositional Phrases	26
4.7 Sentence Formation	27
4.8 Particles: question particles, only, but, just, then, not again, more, very	30
4.9 Sentence types	30
4.9.1 Negative Sentences	30
4.9.2 Interrogative Sentences	31
4.9.3 Imperative Sentences	32
5. Complex constructions	33
5.1 Coordination	33
5.2 Relative Clauses	35
5.3 Complement Clauses	37
5.4 Adverbial Sentences	38
6. Text	41
References	46
Index	48



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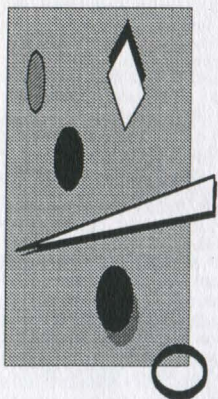
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