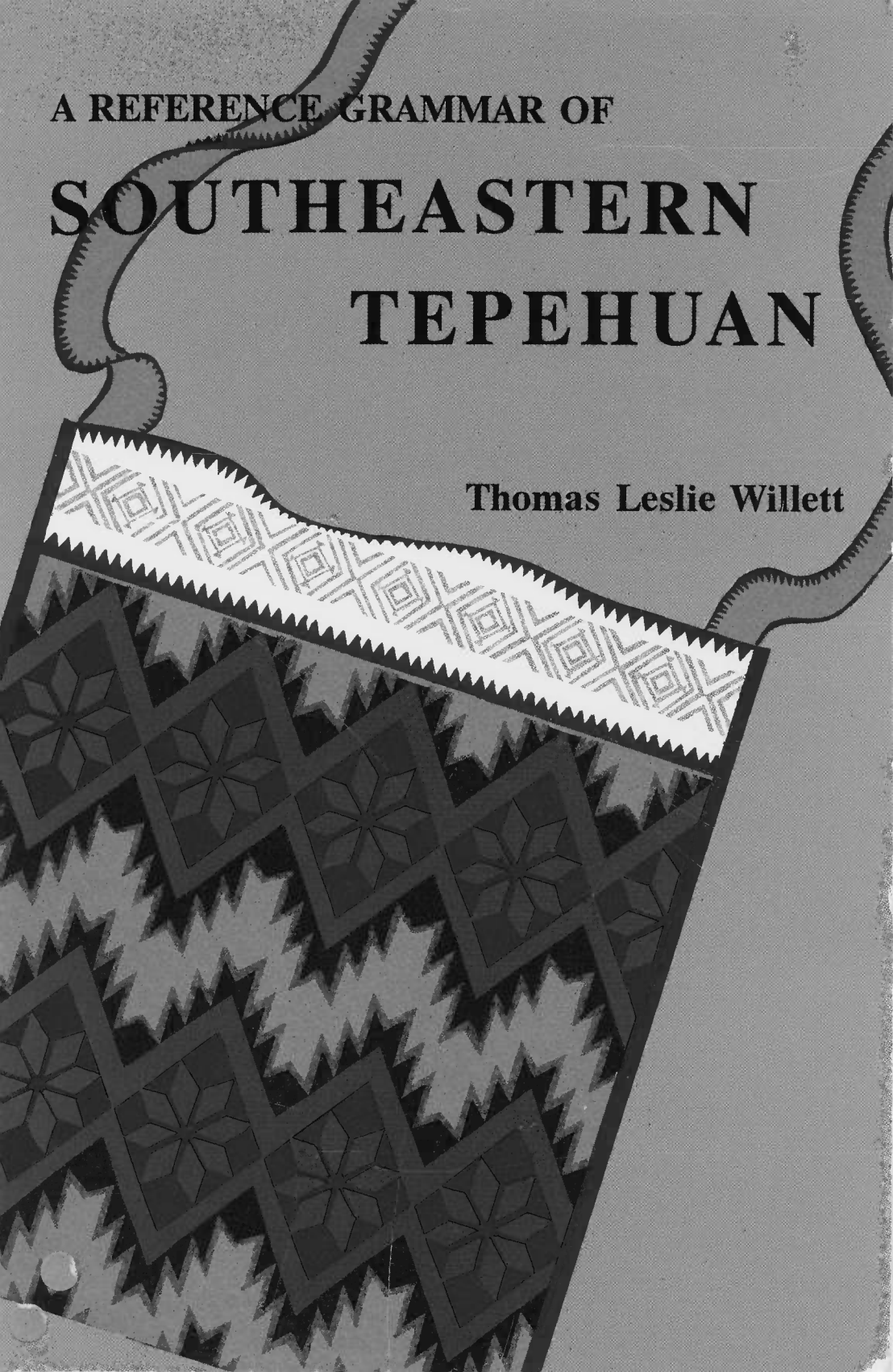
A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF SOUTHEASTERN TEPEHUAN

Thomas Leslie Willett



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List of Abbreviations

AFF	Affirmation
ALT	Alternative
ANT	Anticipation
APL	Applicative
ART	Article
ATR	Attributive
ATT	Attempt
AWY	Away
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CFR	Confirmation
CLM	Climactic event
CLR	Clarification
CND	Conditional
CNTF	Counterfactual
CON	Connected action
CRE	Creation
DA	Deliberate action
DBT	Doubt
DC	Direct command
DEM	Demonstrative
DES	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Direction
DIS	Distal
DP	Developing process
DSC	Disclaimer
DST	Distinctiveness
DUR	Durative
EMP	Emphasis
EXH	Exhortation
EXS	Existential
EXT	Extent
FUT	Future
IA	Interrogative alternative
IMP	Imperative
INC	Inception
INF	Inference
INJ	Interjective
INSTR	Instrument
INT	Intent
LIT	Literally
LOC	Location
MOT	Motion
NEG	Negative
NPS	Nonpresent static
OBJ	Objective
OWN	Ownership
PC	Polite command
PE	Perceived evidence
PI	Past imperfective
PL	Plural
POS	Possessor
PP	Past punctiliar
PRE	Precision
PRF	Past perfective
PRX	Proximal
RCP	Reciprocal
RDP	Reduplication
REK	Reported evidence known
REM	Remote
REP	Repetition
RES	Resultative
REU	Reported evidence unknown
RFL	Reflexive
RLZ	Realization
RP	Result of process
SC	Strong command
SG	Singular
SIM	Simplicity
STA	Static
STS	Status
SUB	Subordinator
TEM	Temporary
TERM	Termination
TND	Tendancy
TRNS	Transfer
TWD	Toward
UNI	Unintended
1p	First-person plural
1s	First-person singular
2p	Second-person plural
2s	Second-person singular
3p	Third-person plural
3s	Third-person singular

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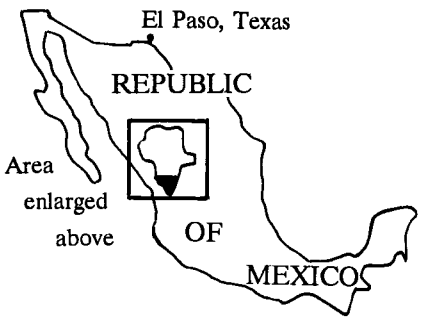
Map of the Southern Tepehuan region



1
Introduction

This work is a reference grammar of Southeastern Tepehuan, a Uto-Aztecan language of Mexico. The purpose of this study is to provide a thorough description of the meaning that is conveyed through the grammatical structure of this previously unstudied language. To do this, I first summarize the basic phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure to give the reader a familiarity with the forms encountered in the analysis of meaning that follows. Then I describe in detail how speakers of this language utilize these formal properties to communicate most of the common semantic notions found in languages around the world.

The main part of this grammar is a systematic description of the MEANINGS CONVEYED through word classes and through a variety of grammatical morphemes, both BOUND and FREE. Thus, emphasis is given to morphology over syntax: since Southeastern Tepehuan is a synthetic language, most of the meanings expressed by syntactic means in analytic languages are expressed in this language in the morphology. Emphasis is also given to meaning over form, since I do not attempt to fit the morphemes described into any formal theoretical framework. Furthermore, I do not attempt to match the semantic notions to their formal manifestations in any precise way (§3.6). Rather, as I describe each meaning, I also describe the form or forms used to express it. This lack of an explicit, rigorously defined mapping of meaning onto form means that I have chosen to concentrate on the description of the meanings of individual morphemes as opposed to seeking for an underlying system of either meaning or formal expression.

The outline of this volume is as follows. The first three chapters lay the groundwork for the description of grammatical meaning. In this first chapter, I give a brief overview of the physical and cultural milieu in which the speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan live. I also describe the basic theoreti-

cal orientation of the grammar and the kinds of data it is based on. In chapter 2, I describe the phonology, including syllable structure and phonological and morphophonological processes. In chapter 3, I describe the structure of the clause, including verb, noun, and adverb phrases, and linking particles.

The next twelve chapters describe grammatical meaning. First, in §§ 4–6, I describe situations, settings, and entities, areas of meaning which are primarily conveyed through word classes in Southeastern Tepehuan. Next, in §§7–12, I describe tense, aspect, mode, valence, deixis, and specification, all areas of meaning which are primarily conveyed through the grammatical affixes, particles, and periphrasis. Then, in §§13–15, I describe coordination, subordination, and continuity, areas of meaning which are primarily conveyed through conjunctions.

In the concluding chapter, I discuss Southeastern Tepehuan in relation to some popular typological parameters and discuss the importance of studying language from the standpoint of meaning as well as form. Throughout the grammar, I use numerous examples, so that the reader is given a thorough exposure to the types of structures employed by native speakers in everyday communicative situations. In addition, a short text is given in the Appendix.

1.1 Background of Southeastern Tepehuan

There are about 15,000 native speakers of the Southern Tepehuan language, nearly all of whom live in the southernmost portion of the state of Durango, Mexico.[1] This is a mountainous region in which the Southern Tepehuan people have lived since long before the conquest of Mexico by the Spanish. The area abounds in both flora and fauna.

Southern Tepehuan is related to Northern Tepehuan, spoken in southern Chihuahua, Mexico, and to the Pima and Papago languages, spoken in southern Arizona, U.S.A., and northern Sonora, Mexico. These four languages form the Tepiman group, part of the Sonoran branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family (Bascom 1965). A fifth language called Tepecano, though now extinct, was also part of the Tepiman group (Mason 1916). It was probably most closely related to Southern Tepehuan, since it was spoken in the northern regions of the neighboring state of Jalisco.

[1]This population estimate is larger than the census figures cited by Sánchez Olmedo (1980); it is based on conversations with him and other Mexicans who have first hand knowledge of the Tepehuan area.

The dialect described here is called Southeastern Tepehuan because it is spoken principally in the Municipio de El Mezquital in southeastern Durango. Another dialect, Southwestern Tepehuan, is spoken principally in the southwestern Municipio de Pueblo Nuevo. There is a high degree of intelligibility between these two dialects (Casad 1974), but little data are available from the latter beyond that obtained by survey teams.

Historical and anthropological data on the Southern Tepehuans are scarce, but enough has been pieced together to give a rough idea of the origins and present status of life among these isolated, indigenous people. In the following two sections I give a brief overview of the geography and culture of this group.

1.11. Geography. Southeastern Tepehuan is spoken principally in the Ejido de Santa María Ocotán y Xoconostle, located in the southern portion of the Municipio de El Mezquital, in the state of Durango, Mexico.[2] The region is in the heart of the Sierra Madre Occidental. It is surrounded by mountainous ridges, between which are hidden many small valleys. The region has altitudes as high as 3000 meters (10,000 feet) above sea level and as low as 500 meters (1,500 feet). The area's principal rivers, the Mezquital and the Huazamota, both flow toward the Pacific coast, emptying into the ocean southwest of Durango in the neighboring state of Nayarit.

The irregularity of the terrain in this region accounts for the variety of topographical zones. That is, there are areas of pine forests and there are areas of hardwood forests; there are high plateaus, and there are sharply dropping valleys. The lower areas have hot, dry climates, while the higher areas have temperate climates with considerable rainfall during the summer and consistent frost during the winter.

The variation of altitude and climate in this region also accounts for the variety of flora and fauna that exist there. As to flora, there are extensive forest areas throughout the region, some of which yield wood for the lumber industry run by the Southeastern Tepehuan community. Several types of fruit trees also grow in both high and low areas, some of which are wild and some of which are cultivated. Among those native to the area are bananas, plums, and avocados; among those more recently introduced into the area are apples and peaches. The crops traditionally cultivated by the Tepehuans are corn, beans, and two kinds of squash. Other crops are grown occasionally on an experimental basis, although there is little arable

[2]The information given in this section, including the maps, is taken from Sánchez Olmedo (1980), supplemented by my own observations.

land due to the ruggedness of the mountains and the lack of sufficient water for irrigation.

As to fauna, there are mammals typical of the forest, except that bears are now extinct, and deer and squirrel, often hunted for traditional festivals, are scarce. There are also many kinds of wild birds, reptiles, and insects; scorpions are especially prevalent in this part of the country. In the rivers, there is an assortment of crustaceans and fish. Animals traditionally domesticated by the Tepehuans are cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, turkeys, pigs, horses, and donkeys.

1.12. Culture. According to the best available records, the Southern Tepehuan people have inhabited the region in which they presently live for at least one thousand years.[3] Before that they most likely lived in the region near the present-day border between Arizona and Sonora, where they were part of a hunting and gathering culture in the desert. From there they migrated southward along with other Southern Uto-Aztecan groups and took up residence in the mountains and plains of northwest Mexico, where they began to become dependent on farming. Once established there, they were influenced by several waves of Mesoamerican colonization, resulting in the adoption of ceramics, simple platform architecture, and a form of religious ceremony called the *mitote,* or sacred dance in Spanish (Tepehuan: *xiotahl*). Although the etymology is somewhat controversial, the Spanish name for these people, *tepehuán,* appears to have derived from the Aztec word *tepetl* hill.[4]

During the Spanish Conquest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Southern Tepehuans acculturated to the Spanish political system, to their style of clothing, to plow agriculture with draft animals, and to Christianity. Because of their isolation, they remained very much the same from the seventeenth century until the mid-twentieth century, when the Mexican government began to implement policies of integrating indigenous peoples into the national life. Efforts in the areas of land rights, education, and technology have resulted in changes in the political and economic systems of the Southern Tepehuan people. Traditional living patterns are changing from scattered ranches to concentration in villages with access to roads and schools.

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[3]The information given in this section is from Elizabeth Willett (1981c, 1984) and from a collection of stories and essays about the Southeastern Tepehuan religious system by two native speakers (Ramírez Galindo and Ramírez Solís, n.d.)

[4]Andrews' (1975) vocabulary also contains the Aztec word *tepehuah,* meaning 'hill owner'.

While linguistically more closely related to the Tarahumaras and Northern Tepehuans, who now inhabit the mountainous regions of the state of Chihuahua, the Southern Tepehuans are culturally more like the Coras and Huichols, who now inhabit the mountainous regions adjacent to the Southern Tepehuans in the states of Jalisco and Nayarit. Although greatly influenced by Roman Catholicism, they also maintain a traditional religious ceremonial system which is opposite in most aspects to their practice of the Catholic system. Whereas the celebrations of Catholic *fiestas* are characterized by self-indulgence, spectacular show, and ritual items external to the material culture, the traditional celebrations of the *mitote* are characterized by abstinence, simplicity, and ritual effects taken from the natural environment and traditional lifestyle.

The central feature of the traditional celebration is the *mitote*, or sacred dance. In this ritual, men and women dance in pairs of the same sex, going opposite ways around a fire to the continuous rhythm of a musical bow on a gourd resonator. The ceremony begins at sundown and ends at sunrise, both times accompanied by prayers offered by the elders. It is traditionally observed twice a year—at the beginning of planting season, to pray for rain, and at the beginning of harvest season, to dedicate the new crops. A relatively recent innovation has been to celebrate the *mitote* a third time, at New Year, to invoke blessing on the newly elected tribal leaders.

Besides the communal celebration, held by the Southeastern Tepehuans near Santa María Ocotán, the cultural and political center of the dialect area, each extended family celebrates its own *mitote* in May and October of each year at a private dancing place. It is at these family celebrations that children are dedicated after birth and inducted into adult life at age fifteen. Because of the increasing involvement of the younger generation with schooling and work outside the tribal area, a gradual secularization of these rites has been evident in recent years.

1.2 Theory and method

In the remainder of this chapter I discuss the theoretical and methodological approach which I used in writing this grammar. In §1.21 I give a rationale for the study of grammatical meaning, which is the focus of the reference grammar presented here. In §1.22 I describe the three types of data used and how they were managed.

1.21. Focus on meaning. A number of different approaches have been used to write a grammar of a language. Some grammars are primarily DESCRIPTIVE in nature, seeking to arrive at generalizations about how native

speakers use their language, based on samples of speech or writing. Other grammars take a more THEORETICAL tack, using linguistic data as a means of developing insights into the nature of language and linguistic inquiry, in general. Still others use a PEDAGOGICAL approach, organizing the presentation so as best to impart a speaking or reading knowledge of the language. And some have COMPARISON as their prime objective; they probe into the historical dimension of a language or language family to see how the forms presently observable have evolved over time.

While most modern grammars include elements from more than one of these approaches, the standard practice is to take one of them as the main goal for analysis and as the basic orientation for presentation of the data. The prime objective of this grammar is description. That is, I try to spell out the facts of Southeastern Tepehuan as accurately and as exhaustively as is feasible. To accomplish this, I occasionally rely on theoretical orientation or comparative information, but these are not the main focus.

Many of the descriptive grammars written in the last century have been STRUCTURALLY ORIENTED, seeking to account for the contrastive FORMS known to exist by listing them in an organized fashion and labeling them according to their apparent purpose in the grammatical system. Others have been more SEMANTICALLY oriented, seeking to account for the various MEANINGS encountered and matching them up with the forms that encode them. Grammars whose primary goal is to describe form usually fall short of a full account of the meanings expressed in the language, whereas grammars that focus on meaning usually also encompass the full range of forms used. Several illustrations of recent grammars will help clarify this point and show why I chose to write a grammar that concentrates on the description of meaning.

The predominant practice among FORMALLY ORIENTED grammars has been to list the linguistic elements in the language under the traditional parts of speech. This can be seen, for instance, in the series of grammars produced by the University of California, which aims at archiving the many native languages spoken in the California area that face extinction. This series, begun in the 1930s under the direction of Mary Haas, sought to follow the anthropological linguistic practice of the day by focusing on the forms used in these languages, often to the exclusion of their possible meanings. The result was that, while much was discovered about the forms of the morphemes in these languages, not as much was recorded that is of benefit to the present-day study of their use to convey many meanings now known to be common to languages around the world. A well-known example is Bright 1957. Even more recent grammars in this series, such as Langdon 1970, still concentrate on notions of word formation and derivation while giving only sparse

treatment to such common universal meaning categories as tense, aspect, and modality.[5]

Another common tendency in grammars oriented around the forms of the language is to describe them in a way that coincides with the theoretical framework used by the author for analysis. Thus, for example, in TAGMEMIC grammars, many produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s, discussion normally begins at the lowest level of the grammatical hierarchy—the word. Then, once the structural properties of words are explained and illustrated, the discussion shifts to the phrase level, and so on up through clauses, sentences, and several levels of discourse. At each level a minimum of information is given, enough to distinguish the various possible structures, without much reference to their frequency or usage. The result is a highly formatted grammar that is primarily a taxonomy of forms, often with meaning labels that are difficult to interpret. A typical grammar of this type is Pickett 1960. Another, based on the more recently developed theory of RELATIONAL grammar, is Kimenyi 1980.

MEANING-BASED grammars oriented around a particular theory of meaning often result in a similarly limited statement about the language described. This is because, in their zeal to avoid the limitations of the formal descriptive mold, they often neglect to describe forms that play an important role in communication in that language. Instead, they focus on the semantic processes central to their theory. For example, Gonzalez (1981) concentrates on the 'semantic', 'presemantic' and 'postsemantic' processes that he feels derive known surface structures from posited semantic structures. While his chosen theoretical model handles nouns and verbs adequately, he must modify it extensively in order to describe adverbs and particle-like phenomena. In the end, while he has provided much significant data on the language, most of it is tied up in the mechanism of the theory, which makes it hard to access and even harder to interpret.

Grammars written from a FUNCTIONAL perspective have fewer of the drawbacks of others using a meaning-based approach. The scope of these grammars is generally broader, taking in both the notional boundaries of the forms described, i.e., SEMANTICS, and the conditions determining their usage, i.e., PRAGMATICS. They also usually include factors of interpersonal communication known to be present in all languages which affect the use of forms at various levels of morphological and syntactic complexity. They are not normally as theoretically oriented, but seek to describe the facts of

[5]An above-average grammar in this tradition is Andrade 1933, which attempts to explain all semantic areas covered by the various word classes and exemplifies them better than most.

the language in less technical, yet just as precise, terms. This then makes the grammar of interest both to the professional linguist, because of its depth of coverage, and to the interested nonprofessional because of its clearly descriptive nature.

As with formal grammars, grammars of this sort vary as to the amount of the language they attempt to cover.[6] They also differ as to how much theoretical orientation they choose to rely on in the analysis and how much theoretical significance they choose to put on the results. For example, Caughley (1982) chooses to limit his coverage to the central means of predication, while at the same time basing his study on a Hallidayan theory of the functions of speech. On the other hand, Johnston (1980) covers the entire range of linguistic forms with a minimum of theoretical discussion. Those terms he uses are known to most linguists and do not attempt to break new ground; it is based on the general functional view of language which originated in Europe and which is gaining in influence as an alternative to the transformational-generative paradigm in America.

Probably the best example of a well-balanced grammar is Li and Thompson 1981, both for the coverage afforded, as well as for the minimum of theoretical specifics used. Their approach is fundamentally functional, with clear emphasis on the meanings and usage of the forms they describe which, though not listed exhaustively, nevertheless include most of the common words and phrases.

In sum, then, I have chosen to write a grammar that describes both the 'competence' of speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan to communicate with other members of their immediate speech community, and the 'performance' of such speakers as exemplified in a large corpus of spoken data. For the theoretical frame of reference, I have relied upon an eclectic interpretation of both traditional and current understandings of the universal semantic characteristics of language as they are found mostly outside the realm of transformational-generative theory. The primary objective of this grammar is to explore the various areas of meaning conveyed. But since language is a form-meaning composite, it will be necessary also to describe the forms used to convey these meanings. For this reason I first sketch the structural facts about Southeastern Tepehuan before proceeding to the details of how these structures convey meaning. In this way readers interested in either aspect of the language can more easily find the information they desire.

1.22. Use of data. The data upon which this grammar is based were gathered by Elizabeth Willett and myself during our fieldwork in the town

[6]An example of a formal grammar with limited scope is Scott 1973, in which the author considers only 'discourse level' phenomena.

of Santa María Ocotán, Durango, from 1975 to 1980, and in Durango City from 1982 to 1984. During most of this time we were in regular contact with native speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan. This provided us with enough interaction in varying speech situations to pass a minimum speaking proficiency test administered by our sponsoring agency, the Summer Institute of Linguistics. We also recorded many stories, conversations, and other portions of natural spoken language, as well as taking notes on what we saw and heard about both the language and the culture. For much of the time we worked with individual speakers to help them prepare literature in their language, which provided us with some highly edited texts as well.

The present corpus consists of three different types of language data: (a) more than two hundred pages of field notes, (b) about the same amount of native-authored texts, and (c) a dictionary in progress that contains several hundred illustrative sentences. The field notes document a variety of isolated but largely unelicited instances of natural speech that were written down, along with their meanings or contexts, with the assistance of native speakers. Most of the texts are folklore, but I have also included several present-day narratives, some procedural and descriptive texts, and a long prayer. These were first recorded and later transcribed by native speakers. The sentences in the dictionary were specially written by a well-educated bilingual to illustrate the shades of meaning distinguishable among the lexical entries.

To make maximum use of the present database, I utilized several computer programs designed to manage data from previously unwritten languages. For example, I obtained a concordance for each grammatical morpheme showing all instances of its occurrence in the three data sources. These provided me with ample documentation for the various uses of each morpheme described in this grammar, as well as a ready supply of examples. Other programs which I utilized helped me find specified strings in the data files, establish relative orderings of affixes, and print out cited examples in the practical orthography.

In the examples cited in this grammar I have followed the standard practice of using three lines for anything beyond a single morpheme. The first line is the actual utterance written in the practical orthography. The second line gives morpheme-by-morpheme glosses; glosses of grammatical morphemes in uppercase type and are usually abbreviated, while glosses of word stems are written out in lowercase. The third line is a free translation of the utterance into English, literal enough to correspond closely to the form of expression used in Southeastern Tepehuan, wherever possible.

Another convention that I follow in citing examples in this grammar pertains to implicit information. I generally try to give as much of the

linguistic context as seems necessary to make clear the meaning being illustrated. This most often corresponds to the traditional sentence length citation, but sometimes is shorter and sometimes is longer. Whenever this is not enough to make the meaning clear, however, or where something is implicit in Southeastern Tepehuan that would be made explicit in English, I have included extra information between parentheses in the free translations.

2
Phonology

In this chapter, I summarize the major aspects of Southeastern Tepehuan phonology which underlie the orthographic conventions used in examples cited in later chapters. Elizabeth Willett (1981a, 1982, 1985) adequately explains these phenomena using a generative phonological approach, based on the model proposed by Chomsky and Halle (1968). My purpose here is to expand on her work, not by reanalyzing it in terms of a different model, but by explaining it in less technical terms, without reference to underlying forms and rigorous rules. In this way I hope to make the results of her research better known, since it will then be more understandable to those without a thorough knowledge of generative phonology.

The chapter is divided into PHONOLOGICAL and MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL aspects. Any property or rule that is general enough to apply throughout the language without reference to morpheme boundaries is considered strictly phonological; the rest are considered morphophonological. In particular, several rules rely on the presence of a beginning or ending stem boundary or of a particular morpheme; all of these are here considered to be morphophonological.

I first (§2.1) explain basic syllable structure and give the inventories of consonants and vowels. Next (§2.2) I describe the purely phonological processes as groups of rules relating to common features of the phonology. Then (§2.3) I describe the morphophonological processes in a similar manner. Finally (§2.4), I describe the practical orthography which is based on these inventories and processes.

2.1 Segmental phonology

The original segmental analysis of Southeastern Tepehuan was based on Grimes's (1969) method of first dividing speech into breath groups, then successively breaking these down into rhythmic, syllabic, and phonetic segments. This was compared to Bascom's (1965) comparative phonology of Pima, Papago, Northern and South(east)ern Tepehuan to come up with the inventories of consonants and vowels discussed here. In §2.11, I describe how the sounds thus distinguished combine into syllables. In §§2.12 and 2.13, I describe the phonetic properties of the consonants and vowels, respectively.

In this grammar I follow the convention of enclosing phonetic citations between square brackets ([ ]). Also, in these phonetic citations I represent length with double letters, indicate stressed syllables in polysyllabic stems with a preceding apostrophe (ˈ), and indicate other syllable boundaries with a period. Since Southeastern Tepehuan does not mark gender in its person-number marking (§11.2), I use the generic pronouns 'he', 'him', and 'his' in glosses to refer to any animate being, whether human or animal, masculine or feminine.

2.11. Syllables. All syllables in stems and most syllables in affixes of native Southeastern Tepehuan words begin with a single consonant; a few suffixes, however, begin with a short vowel followed by a consonant. All of the consonants occur frequently at the beginning of syllables, except the liquid [ř].[7] No syllable onsets contain consonant clusters.

Syllable nuclei are single vowels or vowel sequences. Single vowels are all short; vowel sequences are either long vowels or diphthongs. All vowels occur both short or long, but only certain combinations of vowels occur in diphthongs. These are listed in §2.13.

Syllables are either open or closed; that is, they may or may not end in a consonant. All single consonants occur as syllable codas, except [h] and [y]. The sequence [ʔC] is also frequent syllable-final; all such sequences occur with concurrent vowel rearticulation except those involving nasals created by deobstruentization (§2.22). No other consonant clusters occur in syllable codas.

All syllable types occur everywhere in native Southeastern Tepehuan words, except that open monosyllabic stems do not contain short vowels; that is, the nuclei of all monosyllabic stems not ending in a consonant are vowel sequences.

[7]This sound occurs word initially only in a few known words, all of which are apparently borrowed from Aztec.

2.12. Consonants. The consonants of Southeastern Tepehuan are: voiced stops [b], [d], and [g]; voiceless stops [p], [t], [k], and [ʔ]; spirant [v], [s], and [h]; nasals [m] and [n]; liquid [ř]; and semivowel [y]. Examples of words containing these sounds are given in (1) through (6).

(1) voiced stops:
[baan] 'on top of'
[daa] 'he is seated'
[gaa] 'cornfield'

(2) voiceless stops:
[paa] 'where?'
[taat] 'father'
[kaat] 'it is in a horizontal position'
[ʔaa] 'he said'

(3) spirants:
[vam] 'he got up'
[sap] 'reportedly'
[huun] 'corn'

(4) nasals:
[maa] 'he gave it to him'
[na] 'that'

(5) liquid:
[ka'řuum] 'banana'

(6) semi-vowel:
[yoo] 'it flowered'

The alveolar consonants [d], [t], [s], [n], and [ř] are palatalized contiguous to [i] or a palatalized consonant (§2.21); the corresponding alveopalatal consonants are [dž], [tš], [š], [ñ], and [gʲ]. Furthermore, the voiced stops [b], [d], and [g] and the voiced affricate [dž] deobstruentize syllable-finally, creating preglottalized nasals at the same point of articulation (§2.22); the corresponding variants are [ʔm], [ʔn], [ʔŋ], and [ʔñ].

The voiced spirant [v] changes to [f] when it occurs word-finally, as seen in example (7); this is consistent with a language-general pattern of word-final devoicing (§2.22). [v] also changes to [p] in the morphologically conditioned environment of reduplication (§2.33). In addition, the liquid [l]

is used only in words borrowed from Spanish. It contrasts with [gl^{y}], as shown in (8).

(7) [viv] > [vif] 'tobacco'

(8) [pagl^{y}] 'priest'
[pal] 'shovel' (Sp. *pala*)

2.13. Vowels. The vowels of Southeastern Tepehuan are: [i], high front unrounded; [u] and [ï], high back rounded and unrounded; [o] and [ʌ], mid back rounded and unrounded; and [a], low back unrounded. Examples of [ï] and [ʌ] are given in (9); the other vowels are illustrated in the examples cited above.

(9) ['tïï.tï?] 'it is named'
['tʌʌ.tʌf] '(they are) long'

Four vowels change to other vowels in certain environments. One of these changes is phonologically conditioned—[ʌ] changes to [a] before [i] or [y], as seen in (10). The other three changes—[o] to [a], [ï] to [i], and [u] to [ï] or [ʌ]—are morphologically conditioned because they occur across morpheme boundaries (§2.36).

(10) ['kʌʌ.ya?] > [kaaya?] 'he will hear it'
[?ʌi] > [?ai] 'he arrived; he caught (a cold)'

Vowel length is PHONEMIC (in traditional terminology) or UNDERLYING (in generative terminology) in Southeastern Tepehuan; that is, it is not predictable. Many instances of long vowels are seen in the above examples. Three others, showing minimal contrasts between long and short vowels are given in (11). However, although long vowels are common, few minimal contrasts exist between long and short vowels because other rules place accent on long vowels and reduce long vowels to short ones in unaccented syllables (§§2.31 and 2.32).

(11) ['vuu.pugl^{y}] 'tied up' vs. [hiš-vu'puugl^{y}] 'it's narrow'
['vïï.pï?] 'before' vs. [hiš-vï'pïï?] 'they're red'
[kos] 'nest' vs. [koos] 'he is sleeping'

Seven different diphthongs occur in Southeastern Tepehuan, all of which involve a high vowel as either an on-glide or an off-glide. A list of these diphthongs, with examples, is given in (12).

(12)	[ui]:	[dui]	'plum'
	[ïi]:	[sïitš]	'gull'
	[oi]:	[voi]	'trail'
	[ai]:	[tai]	'fire'
	[io]:	[ka'šio]	'fox'
	[ia]:	[vi'viatam]	'spring (of water)'
	[ua]:	[suak]	'he is crying'

A three vowel sequence occurs only when a stem ending in a diphthong precedes the Strong Imperative suffix [-iñ] (§2.35). Speakers often maintain the original diphthongs, however, by deleting the initial [i] of the suffix. Also, the sound [e] occurs only in borrowed words; two examples are given in (13).

(13)	[mees]	'table'	(Sp. *mesa*)
	[po'deeř]	'able to'	(Sp. *poder*)

2.2 Phonological processes

The rules for phonological and morphophonological processes, only partially apparent during the segmental phase of analysis, were later elaborated by E. Willett (1981a), who considered the rules Bascom (1965) and others had posited for the Tepiman languages, and investigated Southeastern Tepehuan phonology in a generative framework. Many of the examples I cite in this chapter also appear in her work.

In the following sections I discuss those processes that are phonologically conditioned, i.e., those that do not involve morpheme boundaries of any kind. Environments for these rules involve other segments and syllable boundaries, including the ends of words. Although I do not discuss the morphologically conditioned processes until §2.3, I sometimes refer here to their interaction with one of the phonological processes.

I first (§2.21) discuss the language-general process of palatalization of alveolar consonants. Next (§2.22), I discuss the related processes of final voicelessness and deobstruentization which affect nearly every segment of the language. Then (§2.23), I discuss the consistent process of final vowel dropping. Finally (§2.24), I discuss processes that apply in all environments that contain the glottal consonant [h].

2.21. Palatalization. The alveolar consonants [d], [t], [s], [n], and [ř] palatalize contiguous to the high vowel [i] or another palatalized consonant. The alveopalatal consonants thus produced are [dž], [tš], [š], [ñ],

and [gl^{y}], respectively, which are written *dy*, *ch*, *x*, *ñ*, *hl* (§2.4). The contrasts between each alveolar consonant and the corresponding alveopalatal consonant are illustrated in examples (14) through (18), where [ʔn] is the third-person-singular possessor suffix, [hiñ] is the first-person-singular possessor prefix, and [hum] is the second-person-singular possessor and object prefix (§11.2).

(14)	['daa.kaʔn]	'his nose'
	[hiñ'džaak]	'my nose'
(15)	['too.naʔn]	'his leg (foot)'
	[hiñ'tšoon]	'my leg (foot)'
(16)	[hum'soiʔ]	'your domesticated animal'
	[hiñ'šoiʔ]	'my domesticated animal'
(17)	[no'viʔñ]	'his arm (hand, paw)'
	[hiñ'ñov]	'my arm (hand)'
(18)	['gaʔ.řa]	'he sold it'
	[hum'gaʔ.gl^{y}i]	'he (has) sold it to you'

Palatalization takes place within words, even across morpheme boundaries, as seen in (19). Many speakers also consistently palatalize across word boundaries, but others do not, except in certain common or frozen phrases. For this reason, word-initial alveopalatal consonants are not written, except in such phrases.

(19)	[tu'hoo.hoi.džaʔ]	'he will look at it'
	[hiš.tšu'hoo.hoi.džam]	'he wants to look at it'
	['daa.gaʔ]	'he will take it (in his hand or paw)'
	[ši'džaʔ]	'grab it!'

Palatalization is also evident in word-final palatalized consonants that have no apparent conditioning environment. This common situation occurs whenever the palatalizing vowel [i] is dropped at the end of a word (§2.23). An example is given in (20), where [i] is present in the first word before the suffix [ʔñ], but is absent in the second word that uses the prefix [hiñ].

(20)	[ka'kʌʌ.gl^{y}iʔñ]	'his hip'
	[hiñ.ka'kʌʌgl^{y}]	'my hip'

Palatalization also interacts with the post-accent vowel deletion and cross-boundary vowel deletion rules (§§2.32, 2.35) to produce forms like those cited in (21).

(21) [tu'bii.ño.gl^{y}iš] 'it is loaded (cargo)'
[hiñ.va'kuañ.dža.ʔap] 'please wash it for me'

2.22. Voicelessness and deobstruentization. All of the consonants and vowels in Southeastern Tepehuan tend toward voicelessness before syllable boundaries, whether word-medial or word-final. For the voiced stops this tendency results in segments of significantly different phonetic shape. For other voiced consonants this tendency produces voiceless variants, and for voiceless consonants it produces aspiration. For vowels this tendency causes vowel rearticulation after glottal stop and voiceless off-glides elsewhere.

The alveolar stops [b], [d], and [g] and the voiced alveopalatal affricate [dž] all change in a similar way at the end of syllables, i.e., before another consonant or word-final; specifically, they all become preglottalized nasals at the same point of articulation. In this environment, they are pronounced similarly to syllabic nasals in English. For instance, [ʔn], the variant of [d], sounds like the flap-nasal combination in *button.* Examples of these variants are given in (22) through (25).

(22) ['kai.baʔ] 'it will ripen'
[kaiʔm] 'it (has) ripened'

(23) ['duu.duʔ] 'it will rain'
[duuʔn] 'it (has) rained'

(24) ['gaa.gaʔ] 'he will look for it'
['gaaʔŋ.gaʔ] < [gaag.gaʔ]
< [gaa.gaa.gaʔ] 'he will look around for it'

(25) ['bai.džaʔ] 'he will cook it'
[baiʔñ] 'he (has) cooked it'

Not only does the voiced velar stop [g] deobstruentize in syllable-final position, it also assimilates to the following consonant. This assimilation is illustrated in (26). Furthermore, if the deobstruentized variant of [g] occurs word-finally, the nasal portion is deleted, leaving only the glottal stop. This change from [g] to [ʔ] is illustrated in (27).

(26) ['gaa?ŋ.ga?] 'he will look around for it'
['gaa?m.mï.ř a?] 'he will go to look around for it'

(27) ['soi.ga?n] 'his domesticated animal'
[hum 'soi?] 'your domesticated animal'

When a glottal stop occurs syllable-finally the vowel before it rearticulates. This rearticulated vowel is voiceless unless followed by a voiced consonant. In the examples cited in (28), capitalized vowels represent voiceless vowels. Orthographically, these rearticulated vowels are not written.

(28) ['gia?A.taf] 'cactus (type of maguey)'
['?oo?o.dam] 'indigenous person'
[ši?Iš.ka 'vak] 'it is too hard'

This rule of vowel rearticulation applies to every occurrence of a glottal stop in the language except those created by deobstruentization. That is, there is no vowel rearticulation between the glottal and the nasal of the preglottalized nasal variants of voiced obstruents. This is illustrated in (29).

(29) [kïkïï ?ï.dam.kï?n] 'with scissors'

Other segments devoice or aspirate word-finally. Voiceless obstruents aspirate, and voiced fricatives and flaps devoice. Vowels and nasals partially devoice. Only [h] and [y] are unaffected by this rule, because they exhibit different behaviors at word boundaries (§§2.24, 2.35). The phonetic detail shown in the examples in (30) is not normally indicated, either in phonetic transcriptions in this grammar or in the practical orthography.

(30) [va 'taap^{h}] '(the bird has) hatched'
[hiñ.maak^{h}] 'he is giving it to me'
[va 'kaaš^{h}] 'meat'
[banN] 'coyote'
[muuL^{y}] 'turtle'
[hiñ.maaA] 'he gave it to me'
[hiš.bai?I] 'it is good'

2.23. Final vowel drop. Vowel deletions occur in three environments in Southeastern Tepehuan: word-finally, after an accented syllable, and in unaccented syllables. The first of these deletions is phonologically conditioned, as discussed in this section. The other two deletions are

conditioned by accent placement, a morphologically conditioned rule; these are discussed in §2.32.

Short vowels are deleted word-finally when they are preceded by a vowel-consonant sequence, except in instances where the preceding consonant is an [h] (or was historically; cf. §2.24). That vowels are deleted in this environment can be seen by comparing words that take an optional suffix, such as in (14), (15) and (17) above, and (31) below. Only short vowels are deleted in word-final position; long vowels and diphthongs are not, as seen in (32). The example in (33) shows that the final vowel does not drop after [h].

(31) [tu'hua.na-t] 'he was working'
[tu'huan] 'he is working'

(32) [ʔa'g̱lʸii] 'child'
['yaa.tui] 'potato'

(33) ['voo.hi] 'bear'

This deletion of word-final vowels interacts with palatalization to leave palatalized consonants at the ends of words without any apparent conditioning environment. As explained in §2.21 above, this is because the vowel [i] that conditioned the palatalization has been deleted. Many common words show evidence of having had a final [i] historically, such as those in (34).

(34) [tšioʔñ] 'man'
[ta'pïïš] 'flea'

2.24. Rules involving [h]. There are four processes involving present or historical instances of the consonant [h]. Three of these are phonologically conditioned—intervocalic [h]-drop, changes in the sequence [hiV], and [h]-assimilation; these are discussed in this section. The fourth, [hV]-drop, is morphologically conditioned, and is discussed in §2.37.

First, [h] drops between two single vowels to form a vowel sequence—either a long vowel or a diphthong. This rule accounts for some otherwise anomalous plural forms, such as those in (35) (see §2.33 for an explanation of regular plural formation through reduplication). It also accounts for the fact that some diphthongs are not reduplicated, since an [h] historically

occurred between the two vowels. Examples of this situation are given in (36).[8]

(35)	[hiñ.ha'duuñ]			'my relative'
	[hiñ'haa.duñ]	<	[*hiñhahaduni]	'my relatives'
(36)	[bai]	<	[*bahi]	'tail'
	['baa.bai]	<	[*baabahi]	'tails'

Second, apparently as a historical consequence of intervocalic [h]-drop, all instances of the sequence [hiV] are changed to [yVV]. That is, the [h] is dropped, the high vowel is changed to [y], and the following vowel is doubled. This change not only accounts for the diachronic development of several words from Proto–Tepiman to Southeastern Tepehuan, such as those illustrated in (37), but it also accounts for some seemingly irregular synchronic changes in a few verb stems, such as that illustrated in (38).[9]

(37)	[*hiosigai]	>	['yoo.ši?]	'flower'
	[*tïhia]	>	[tï'yaa]	'girl'
(38)	[*duuduhi-a?]	>	['duu.du.y-a?]	'it will rain'

Third, when a vowel in a syllable after accent drops (§2.32), and that vowel was preceded by the sequence [VVh], where VV is any vowel sequence, i.e., long vowel or diphthong, the [h] is left facing a consonant. In this case, the [h] assimilates to that following consonant, causing consonant doubling. The environment necessary for this rule to apply is most often created by reduplication of words beginning with [h], such as the second word cited in (39).

(39)	[hiñ'hii.kugl^{y}]			'my uncle'
	[hiñ'hiik.kugl^{y}]	<	[*hiñhiihiikugl^{y}]	'my uncles'

[8]An asterisk is used in the remaining examples of this section to indicate probable Proto-Tepiman forms, to which several phonological rules apply.

[9]The final vowel in (38) is reduced by a morphologically conditioned long vowel reduction rule (§2.32).

2.3 Morphophonological processes

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss those sound alternations that are morphologically conditioned, i.e., those that involve stem or affix boundaries in general or those that take place only in the environment of specific morphemes. In Southeastern Tepehuan these processes are more numerous than the strictly phonological ones. Furthermore, they provide many of the environments that allow the more language-general phonological processes to apply.

In §§2.31 and 2.32, I first discuss accent placement and related processes. Next, in §2.33, I discuss the process of reduplication, which also involves a change in one consonant. Then, in §2.34, I discuss perfective stem formation. Finally, in §§2.35 through 2.38, I discuss several changes that happen around the boundary between a stem and its affixes.

2.31. Accent placement. Accent in Southeastern Tepehuan is usually a combination of additional loudness and higher pitch. The two prosodies generally coincide, except in connected discourse, where the pitch of a syllable is further influenced by intonation patterns. This sometimes causes an accented syllable to receive a lower tone than those around it, especially at the end of phonological phrases (E. Willett 1981a:16–17, 1982:176).

All native Southeastern Tepehuan words are accented on one of the first two syllables of the stem, including reduplicated forms. Of these two syllables, it is the HEAVIER one that is accented. If, however, they are equally HEAVY, then the first syllable is accented. There are two degrees of HEAVINESS: (a) LIGHT, an open syllable with a short vowel; and (b) HEAVY, a closed syllable with a short vowel or a syllable with a long vowel or a diphthong.[10]

Examples of words accented on the first syllable are given in (40); examples of words accented on the second syllable are given in (41). Notice that in both cases it is the first HEAVY syllable that is accented. Thus the only time that the second syllable is accented is when the first syllable is light.

[10]This is a slight modification of Elizabeth Willett's analysis. She posited THREE degrees of heaviness to accommodate the syllable structure at the time the rule of accent placement applied in the development of words in her generative model. When referring to surface forms, however, a rule referring only to two degrees is sufficient (T. Willett et al. 1983).

(40) ['ko?.kogl^{y}] 'chili pepper'
['duiñ.kař] 'pipe'
['tuu.miñ] 'money'
['bai.dža?] 'fruit'

(41) [ya'kua] 'mushroom'
[to'vaa] 'turkey'
[tï'maitš] 'tamal'
[ta'pïïš] 'flea'

Throughout this grammar, reference is made to noun, verb, or adverb stems, the parts of words carrying the central meaning (§3.1). For phonological discussion, it suffices to know that a stem may be composed of either a simple root, a reduplicated root (§2.33), a truncated root (§2.34), or a root plus a stem-formation affix (§3.1). The rule of accent placement crucially depends on the presence of the initial stem boundary, since it is only the first or second syllable of STEMS that are accented. The examples cited in (42) illustrate this fact; here, as elsewhere, a hyphen indicates a morpheme boundary.

(42) ['nïi?-kař-tam] 'sacred dancing place'
[hiš-'tšai-ma?] 'it is fire-colored'
[va-hi-tšu-ñ-'?aa.gi-?ñ] 'he then began speaking to me'

Several special types of stems are affected by accent placement. Stems that are the result of long reduplication (§2.33) are accented on the first syllable, as shown in (43). Conversely, stems that result from short reduplication are accented on the second syllable, as in (44). Stems truncated for past perfective (§2.34) which are normally accented on the truncated syllable shift the accent to the remaining (first) syllable, as in (45). And stems that are resyllabified by the addition of a suffix may shift the stress to the second syllable if it is heavier, as in (46).[11]

(43) [dïï?] 'hole'
['dïï.dï?] 'holes'

(44) [?uuš] 'tree'
[?u'?uuš] 'trees'

[11]The stem vowel in [va.tu'huu] in (45) is lengthened in the process of perfective stem formation (§2.34).

(45) [va.tu.hu'gi-a?] 'he will now eat'
[va.tu'huu] 'he already ate'

(46) [hiñ-'kom] 'my back'
[ko'mi-?ñ] 'his back'

2.32. Accent-induced vowel changes. There are three changes in stem vowels that interact with the placement of accent. The most noticeable is the deletion of vowels in every second syllable after an accented syllable. Two other less common processes also occur in unaccented syllables—long vowels reduce to short vowels and [o] changes to [a].[12]

First, vowels are deleted from every second nonfinal, open syllable following an accented syllable. All vowels are affected by this deletion rule, in contrast to final vowel drop, by which only short vowels are deleted (§2.23). Also contrary to final vowel drop, post-accent vowel deletion deletes vowels AFTER [h], but it does not delete them BEFORE [h] or [y]. This rule has the effect of closing nonfinal syllables, creating consonant clusters across syllable boundaries.

Short vowels are the ones most often deleted. The examples in (47) show that, in forms with long reduplication, a second-syllable short vowel is deleted when the first syllable is accented while those in (48) show an identical deletion in forms with short reduplication. The same thing also happens in nonreduplicated forms, as shown in (49).

(47) ['nak.sïř] < [nakasïř] 'scorpion'
['naan.ka.sïř] < [naanakasïř] 'scorpions'

(48) [to'paa] 'pestle'
['tot.pa] < [totopaa] 'pestles'

(49) [ši.?o'miñ] 'break it!'
['?om.ñi-a?] 'it will break'

[12]The three rules in this section are considered to be morphophonological because they apply only in stems. This means that they do not apply to affixes except those stem-formation affixes that participate in the resyllabification of the stem (§2.31). The fact that these rules apply only in the environment of accent, which itself relies on the presence of an initial stem boundary, also make them morphophonological. This differs from a phonological rule such as [h]-assimilation (§2.24) which can apply potentially anywhere the structural description is met, but which is known only to apply after postaccent vowel drop.

Long vowels and diphthongs are also deleted in the same environment. An example of long vowel deletion is given in (50), and diphthong deletion in (51).

(50)	[hiñ-'ñuu.tšiš]			'my brother-in-law'
	[hiñ-'ñuuñ.tšiš]	<	[hiñ-'ñuuñuutšiš]	'my brothers-in-law'
(51)	['sui.magl^{y}]			'deer (SG)'
	['suis.magl^{y}]	<	[suisuimagl^{y}]	'deer (PL)'

Second, long vowels reduce to a single vowel in unaccented syllables. Thus, words which now end in a single vowel, such as ['tot.pa] in (48) above, originally had a long vowel in that position. Diphthongs, however, do not reduce in unaccented syllables. Examples of this nonreduction are given in (52).

(52)	['hoo.dai]	'stone'
	['yaa.tui]	'potato'

Third, the vowel [o] changes to [a] in an unaccented syllable when the vowel of the accented syllable that follows it is also [o]. While this change most often occurs in reduplicated forms, it is not restricted to them. It is sometimes also seen in the singular of forms whose plural retains the [o] because of lengthening in the reduplication and subsequent accent placement. An example of this vowel change is given in (53).

(53)	['hoo.šia?]			'dish'
	[ha'hoo.šia?]	<	[hohoošia?]	'dishes'

2.33. Reduplication. Plurals of nouns and adjectives and multiple aspects of verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan are formed by repeating the initial CV(V) sequence of the stem. This reduplicated syllable occurs immediately prior to the first syllable of the unreduplicated root. Reduplicated stems fall into two unpredictable groups according to whether the reduplicated syllable is LONG (containing a long vowel or a diphthong) or SHORT (containing a short vowel). The following informally stated rules describe the changes that occur in reduplicated stems.

1. LONG REDUPLICATION of a syllable containing a SHORT VOWEL or a LONG VOWEL (but not a diphthong) results in a reduplicated syllable that contains a long vowel of the same quality as the first vowel of the stem.

2. LONG REDUPLICATION of a syllable containing a DIPHTHONG results in a reduplicated syllable that contains the same diphthong.
3. SHORT REDUPLICATION results in a reduplicated syllable that contains a short vowel of the same quality as the first vowel of the stem.
4. Long reduplication results in an accent shift to the reduplicated syllable and resyllabification of the reduplicated stem. In this process, some vowels that are present in the unreduplicated form may disappear in the reduplicated form, and vice versa (§2.32).
5. The first [v] after a vowel in the reduplicated stem changes to a [p]. The change from [o] to [a] (§2.32) is also frequent in reduplicated forms.

Several patterns of reduplicated stems result, since these rules are applied to both monosyllabic and disyllabic stems whose initial syllables may be either open or closed and contain either a short or long vowel or a diphthong. On the next two pages is a list of these patterns, including examples of nouns which pluralize in the prescribed manner. Some logically possible patterns do not exist because the language does not allow the indicated syllable structure. Other patterns exist, but all the known words reduplicate the same way, either long or short. These cases are noted where applicable.

Although there are many different syllable patterns affected by reduplication, the majority of plurals in Southeastern Tepehuan fall into one of two categories: (a) LONG reduplication of disyllabic stems with OPEN first syllables (IA2a and IB2a); or (b) SHORT reduplication of disyllabic stems with CLOSED first syllables (IIIB2b and IIIC2b). In other words, most singular nouns are bisyllabic; those that have open first stem syllables tend to reduplicate long, while those that have closed first stem syllables tend to reduplicate short.

2.34. Perfective stem formation. The formation of the past perfective stem of verbs involves two related processes: (a) the first syllable of bisyllabic roots is made into a vowel sequence (i.e., long vowel or diphthong), if it is not already; and (b) the final syllable of roots of two or more syllables is truncated.

Since most verb roots are bisyllabic, the combined effect of these two processes is that most perfective stems consist of a single, open syllable

I. RULE 1. LONG REDUPLICATION—SHORT OR LONG VOWELS

A. Short first stem vowel
1. Monosyllabic stem
a. Open: none
b. Closed: [ban] 'coyote' → ['baa.ban]
[nop] 'owl' → ['noo.nop].
2. Disyllabic stem
a. Open first stem syllable:
[ku'řat] 'woodpecker' → ['kuuk.řat]
[tï'řok] 'lizard' → ['tïït.řok].
b. Closed first stem syllable:
['nak.mïgʲ] 'bat' → ['naan.ka.mïgʲ]
['tïř.viñ] 'rope' → ['tïït.řo.piñ].

B. Long first stem vowel
1. Monosyllabic stem
a. Open: all reduplicate short; cf. IIIB1a.
b. Closed: [koo?] 'snake' → ['koo.ko?]
[hiñ'kaam] 'my cheek' → [hiñ'kaa.kam].
2. Disyllabic stem
a. Open first stem syllable:
[tïï.kogʲ] 'ground squirrel' → ['tïït.kogʲ]
['pii.pigʲ] 'chick' → ['piip.pigʲ].
b. Closed first stem syllable: all reduplicate short; cf. IIIB2b

II. RULE 2. LONG REDUPLICATION—DIPHTHONGS

A. Monosyllabic stems with diphthongs all historically contained an [h] between the vowels of the diphthong, causing reduplication by Rule 1.
1. By pattern IA1a:
[hiñ'vui] < [*hiñvuhi] 'my eye' →
[hiñ'vuu.pui] < [*hiñvuupuhi].
2. By pattern IA1b:
[bai?ñ] < [*bahid] 'his tail' →
['baa.bai?ñ] < [*baabahid].

B. Disyllabic stem
1. Open first stem syllable:
['gio.tïř] < 'plain' →['gio?n.tïř] < [giogiotïř]
['sui.magʲ] < 'deer' → ['suis.magʲ] < [suisuimagʲ].
2. Closed first stem syllable: all reduplicate short; cf. IIIC2b.

III. RULE 3. SHORT REDUPLICATION

A. Short first stem vowel
   1. Monosyllabic stem
      a. Open: none
      b. Closed: [ho?] 'hide' → [ha'ho?]
         [huk] 'pine' → [hu'huk].
   2. Disyllabic stem
      a. Open first stem syllable: all reduplicate long; cf. IA2a.
      b. Closed first stem syllable: none

B. Long first stem vowel
   1. Monosyllabic stem
      a. Open: [gaa] 'cornfield' → [ga'gaa].
         (This is the only known case of this pattern. A few nouns of this type, however, apparently have reduplicated forms without singular forms; for example: [va'poo] 'body hair'.)
      b. Closed: [sï?] 'wolf' → [sï'sï?]
         [hiñ'huř] 'my heart '→ [hitš.hu'huř] 'our hearts'.
   2. Disyllabic stem
      a. Open first stem syllable:
         ['haa.řaš] 'crab' → [ha'haa.řaš]
         ['voo.hi] 'bear' → [va'poo.hi].
      b. Closed first stem syllable:
         ['kař.vaš] 'goat' → [ka'kař.vaš]
         ['haan.nugl^{y}] 'clothes' → [ha.'haan.nugl^{y}].

C. Diphthong for first stem vowel
   1. Monosyllabic stem
      a. Open: [voi] 'trail' → [va'poi]
         [tai] 'fire' → [ta'tai].
      b. Closed: [maiñ] 'straw mat' → [ma'maiñ]
         [ʔuiʔm] 'falcon'→ [ʔu'ʔuiʔm].
   2. Disyllabic stem
      a. Open first stem syllable:
         [hiñ'vui.vas] 'my face' → [hitš.vu'pui.vas] 'our faces'
         ['vai.ñum] 'metal' → [va'pai.ñum].
      b. Closed first stem syllable:
         ['duiñ.kař] 'pipe' → [du'duiñ.kař]
         [nïiʔš.kagl^{y}] 'toy top' → [nï'nïiʔš.kagl^{y}].

with a vowel sequence. This sequence becomes a long vowel if the initial consonant of the deleted syllable was neither glottal (i.e., [ʔ] or [h]) nor a coronal (i.e., alveolar or alveopalatal) obstruent.[13]

Alternatively, this sequence becomes a diphthong ending in [i] if the initial consonant of the deleted syllable WAS glottal or a coronal obstruent. Examples of monosyllabic perfective stems derived from bisyllabic verb roots are given in (54).

(54)	[ʔoo]	'harvested'	<	[ʔoř a]	'to harvest'
	[mïï]	'ran'	<	[mïglʸi]	'to run'
	[koi]	'slept'	<	[koosï]	'to sleep'
	[ʔïi]	'planted'	<	[ïši]	'to plant'
	[nai]	'made fire'	<	[naada]	'to make fire'
	[maa]	'gave'	<	[maki]	'to give'

Open monosyllabic roots do not truncate in the perfective, but closed monosyllabic roots lose their final consonant. If the vowel of a nontruncating root is long, then in the corresponding perfective stem this vowel is a diphthong whose first member is the same vowel quality as in the root and whose second member is [i]. If the monosyllabic root was a diphthong, it remains so. There are no open monosyllabic stems with short vowels (§2.11). Examples of monosyllabic perfective stems derived from monosyllabic verb roots are given in (55).

(55)	[kʌi]	'heard'	<	[kʌʌ]	'to hear'
	[bia]	'removed'	<	[biaʔ]	'to remove'

Monosyllabic verb roots are relatively infrequent, however. So, too, are roots of more than two syllables. For these, the perfective stem is formed by deletion of the final syllable without altering the preceding syllable. Examples of polysyllabic perfective stems are given in (56).

(56)	[ma'goo]	'got tired'	<	[ma'goo.ñi]	'to get tired'
	[hu'řuñ]	'sojourned'	<	[hu'řuñ.dža]	'to sojourn'
	['hoo.hoi]	'looked at'	<	['hoo.hoi.dža]	'to look at'
	[sa'vaʔñ.ši]	'bought for'	<	[sa'vaʔñ.ši.dža]	'to buy for'

[13]Although the alveopalatal variant [glʸ] of the consonant [ř] could be considered partially obstruent, it behaves as [ř] does, i.e., as a coronal nonobstruent, in the application of this rule.

For a few verbs, the simple root and the Perfective stem are the same. Why these verbs do not truncate is not known. An example is given in (57).

(57) [kapiasa] 'kicked' < [kapiasa] 'to kick'

2.35. Cross-boundary vowel deletions. In polysyllabic Southeastern Tepehuan words, diphthongs tend to reduce at morpheme boundaries. This tendency shows up in two morpheme-specific processes, in both of which the lower of the two vowels of the diphthong is normally deleted. In one process, the diphthong results from the joining of a vowel-initial suffix to a verb stem. In this case, lower vowels are deleted, except [a] when it occurs after [i] or [ï]. In the other process, a verb stem ends in a diphthong. In this case all lower vowels are dropped without exception.

The first of these two processes occurs when two vowels of differing heights come together across the boundary between a verb stem and a verbal suffix. Since all verb stems end in vowels, the addition of one of several verbal suffixes that begin with a vowel creates a diphthong. In this situation, the lower of the two vowels is deleted, unless that vowel is [a] and it is preceded by [i] or [ï]. There are two specific morphological environments in which this situation arises.

First, if the final stem vowel of the verb is nonhigh, and if the suffix added to the verb begins with [i], then the final stem vowel is deleted. Examples of this environment are given in (58).

(58) [tu'soo.mi.mïk] < [tu'sooma-imïk] 'he was sewing'
['gaa.gim] < ['gaaga-im] 'he is looking for it'

Second, if the verb stem ends in [u] or [o], and if the future suffix [-a?] is added to it, the vowel of the suffix is dropped since it is the lowest. This happens to the few native verbs that end in [u] or [o], and also to all the borrowed Spanish verbs to which one of these same vowels is added to the Spanish form of the infinitive (§3.11). Examples of these two cases are given in (59).

(59) ['ʔoi.poʔ] < ['ʔoipo-aʔ] '(they) will walk around'
[po'dee.řoʔ] < [po'deeřo-aʔ] 'he is able to'

There are many instances of the use of the future suffix [-a?] with verb stems ending in [i] or [ï]. In all these cases, the diphthong thus created is not reduced, as seen in (60). Also, when a suffix beginning in [i] is added

to a borrowed verb, the resulting high vowel sequence is not reduced, as seen in (61).

(60) [ma'kia?] < [maki-a?] 'he will give it to him'
[ko'šia?] < [koši-a?] 'he will sleep'

(61) [?is.tu'dia.řui.mïk] 'he was studying' < [?istudiařu-imïk]

The second of the two processes of diphthong reduction occurs when a verb suffix is added to a stem which ends in a diphthong. In this instance the lower vowel is always dropped, as seen in (62).[14] Notice that in the first example in (62), after the [a] is deleted, the resulting sequence [ii] is reduced to [i] by post-accent long vowel reduction (§2.32).

(62) ['tït.vim] < [tïtvia-im] 'he was playing'
['vat.vi.řak] < [vatvia-řa-k] 'he went to bathe'

These two diphthong-reduction processes are apparently limited to the suffixes illustrated above, because when the strong imperative suffix [-iñ] is added to a verb stem, no vowels are deleted when the stem ends in a single vowel. When the stem ends in a diphthong, however, speakers sometimes delete the initial vowel of the suffix. Since the latter case is the only time that a three-vowel sequence occurs in this language, this may be why speakers are ambivalent about allowing it. An example of each of these cases is illustrated in (63).

(63) ['?aa.daiñ] < ['?aada-iñ] 'put it on (clothing)!'
[biaiñ] < [bia-iñ] 'remove it (from fire or water)!'

2.36. Cross-boundary vowel changes. Two vowels have variants at morpheme boundaries. The high back unrounded vowel [ï] fronts to [i] before two specific suffixes, and the high back rounded [u] of a specific prefix unrounds to [ï] or unrounds and lowers to [ʌ] in harmony with the first stem vowel. Both are described in this section.

First, [ï] fronts to [i] before a morpheme boundary which is followed by a vowel or a nasal consonant. This process is observed when the future suffix [-a?] or the desiderative suffix [-m] (§9.33) is added to verb stems ending in [ï]. This is consistent with the fact that no [ïa] vowel sequences

[14]In one known example of this situation the diphthong does not reduce before [k]: [ši'vat.viak] 'bathe!' Thus this rule may not apply if the diphthong is followed by an obstruent.

occur elsewhere in the language. An example of this process is seen in (64).

(64)	['ʔïïʔ.biaʔ]	<	[ʔïïʔbï-aʔ]	'he will smell it'
	[hiš'ʔoi.glʸim]	<	[hiš-ʔoiglʸï-m]	'he wants to walk'

Second, the vowel in the extent prefix [tu-] (§8.4) harmonizes to the first vowel of the following verb stem if that vowel is [ï] or [ʌ]. The prefix [tu-] occurs close to the beginning of the stem; only a reduced form of an animate object prefix (i.e., one consonant; cf. §2.37) can occur between it and the first stem consonant. Thus, this rule applies whether the vowel of the prefix and the vowel of the stem are separated by one or two consonants, as seen in the examples in (65).

(65)	[tu'hua]			'he worked'
	[tu'ʔaaʔga]			'he spoke'
	[tu'ʔoo]			'he harvested'
	[tu'ʔii]			'he drank'
	[tï'tïk.ka]	<	[tu-tïkka]	'he asked'
	[tïm'nïiʔñ]	<	[tu-m-nïiʔñ]	'he saw you'
	[tʌ'kʌʌ]	<	[tu-kʌʌ]	'he hears'

2.37. Deletion of [h] plus vowel. One process involving [h] occurs only at morpheme boundaries; three others occur anywhere in words (§2.24). In its simplest terms, the morphophonological rule is as follows: [h] and a following nonstem high vowel are deleted when this sequence is PRECEDED by a syllable with a short or glottalized vowel and FOLLOWED by a segment, not a boundary.

There are two morphological environments where this process takes place. One of these is when a prefix of the form [hVC], where the V is high, is preceded by a syllable which ends in a short vowel. In this case the [hV] sequence is deleted and the [C] becomes the phonological coda of the preceding syllable. This accounts for a number of contractions of common prefixes with particles or other prefixes that often precede them. These are listed in (66) and (67) for contractions with prefixes and with particles respectively.[15] In both tables, a prefix beginning with [h] but followed by a nonhigh vowel is included for comparison. The use of these contractions is illustrated in (68).

[15]The forms cited in these tables, and in (70) in the next section, are written in the practical orthography (§2.4) to facilitate comparison with examples cited in following chapters.

(66) Contractions of [h]-high-vowel prefixes with other prefixes

Preceding prefix		(ATR) *jix-*	(EXS) *jir-*	(1sO) *jiñ-*	(2sO) *jum-*	(1pO) *jich-*	(3pO) *ja-*
va-	(RLZ)	*vax-*	*var-*	*vañ-*	*vam-*	*vach-*	*vaja-*
ca-	(TEM)	*cax-*	*car-*	*cañ-*	*cam-*	*cach-*	*caja-*
pu-	(SIM)	*pux-*	*pur-*	*puñ-*	*pum-*	*puch-*	*puja-*
tu-	(EXT)	—	—	*tuñ-*	*tum-*	*tuch-*	*tuja-*
xi-	(IMP)	—	—	*xiñ-*	*xim-*	*xich-*	*xija-*
ba-	(TWD)	*bax-*	—	*bañ-*	*bam-*	*bach-*	*baja-*
mu-	(AWY)	*mux-*	—	*muñ-*	*mum-*	*much-*	*muja-*

(67) Contractions of [h]-high-vowel prefixes with particles

Preceding particle		(ATR) *jix-*	(EXS) *jir-*	(1sO) *jiñ-*	(2sO) *jum-*	(1pO) *jich-*	(3pO) *ja-*
gu	'the'	*gux*	—	*guñ*	*gum*	*guch*	*gu ja-*
na	'that'	*nax*	*nar*	*nañ*	*nam*	*nach*	*na ja-*
gu'	'but'	*gu'x*	*gu'r*	*gu'ñ*	*gu'm*	*gu'ch*	*gu' ja-*
no'	'if'	*no'x*	*no'r*	*no'ñ*	*no'm*	*no'ch*	*no' ja-*
va'	'then'	*va'x*	*va'r*	*va'ñ*	*va'm*	*va'ch*	*va' ja-*

(68) [guñ'mař] < [gu-hiñ-mař] 'my son (daughter)'
[gu.ha'mař] < [gu-ha-mař] 'their son (daughter)'
[no?š'va?] < [no?-hiš-va?] 'if it is wet'

The other environment is when a suffix of the form [hVV] (where the first vowel is high) is preceded by a stem syllable containing a short vowel; in this case also the [hV] sequence is deleted, and the second vowel forms a sequence with the preceding vowel. An example of this deletion is given in (69), along with a parallel instance in which the preceding vowel is long and therefore does not allow the deletion.

(69) [ši'kaip.gai] < [ši-kaipga-hïi] '(and) shell beans'
[ši.tšu.?o'řaa.hïi] '(and) harvest corn'

2.38. Subject auxiliary changes. The grammatical subject in Southeastern Tepehuan is designated by a set of enclitics that occur with all types of verbs (§11.21). As is common in Uto-Aztecan languages, these subject enclitics are

usually suffixed to the first constituent of the clause (T. Willett 1981). In most cases, however, this enclitic is preceded by an auxiliary of the form [(ʔ)V], whose vowel changes from its basic, postverbal form in specific phonological contexts. In this section, I describe the variants in this subject auxiliary as a morpheme-specific process.

There are three positions that the subject morpheme (i.e., auxiliary plus subject enclitic) can occupy in the clause: (a) following the verb, in verb-initial clauses; (b) following a noun, adverb, conjunction, or interjection, in clauses where one of these precedes the verb; and (c) as the first constituent of the clause, i.e., as an independent pronoun preceding the verb.

In each of these positions the subject enclitic remains the same, but the form of the subject auxiliary is different. Following the verb it has the form [ʔV] in the nonperfective, where the vowel is [i] for first person and [a] for the second person. In the perfective, however, the auxiliary changes to [a] after a consonant and [Ø] after a vowel in both persons. This is because the subject morpheme is longer than one syllable in this context (cf. E. Willett 1981a:43 for the precise rules). Following a fronted constituent the auxiliary also has the form [a] after a consonant and [Ø] after a vowel, in both the perfective and the nonperfective. As an independent pronoun it always has the form [ʔa], except in the third person, where demonstrative pronouns are used (§11.24). (70) summarizes these changes for all occurrences of the subject auxiliary with the subject enclitic.

(70) Spelling changes in the subject morpheme

Following verb:	1s	2s	1p	2p	3p
PAST after C	*-añich*	*-apich*	*-achich*	*-apimɨt*	*-amɨt*
PAST after V	*-ñich*	*-pich*	*-chich*	*-pimɨt*	*-mɨt*
NONPAST	*-'iñ*	*-'ap*	*-'ich*	*-apim*	*-'am*
Preceding verb:					
after C	*-añ(ich)*	*-ap(ich)*	*-ach(ich)*	*-apim(ɨt)*	*-am(ɨt)*
after V	*-ñ(ich)*	*-p(ich)*	*-ch(ich)*	*-pim(ɨt)*	*-m(ɨt)*
Clause-initial	*añ*	*ap*	*ach*	*api'm*	——

Two slight variations in pronunciation of the various forms of the subject morpheme have been observed. First, although the nonperfective, postverbal form of the second-person plural [apim] is bisyllabic, it is sometimes pronounced with the glottal stop, i.e., as [ʔapim], as are the other postverbal subject morphemes. Since this form is very seldom used, the data are not as conclusive as for the others. Second, some speakers seem to aspirate slightly

before [a] when pronouncing the postconsonantal forms. This was written as a preceding [h] early in the development of the practical orthography but no longer is, since it is considered unnecessary by many literate speakers.

The subject morpheme also forces a contraction with the negative adverb [tšam]. That is, when [tšam] occurs before the subject morpheme in interrogatives or imperatives, it changes to [tša?], to which is suffixed the appropriate form of the subject enclitic, usually second person. Examples of this morpheme-specific process are given in (71) and (72).

(71) [tša?-pim-ha-huan-da-?]
NEG-2p-DO-DUR-FUT
(You all) don't do that!

(72) [tša?-p-nïi?n]
NEG-2s-see
Don't you see it?

2.39. Confirmation question formation. Yes-no questions in South-eastern Tepehuan requiring confirmation add the enclitic [-a] after the portion of the statement in question (§9.12). When this enclitic follows a consonant, that consonant is doubled, creating a new syllable beginning with the second part of the rearticulated consonant and ending with the vowel [a]. When the enclitic follows a vowel, that vowel is lengthened, creating a new syllable beginning with a glide of the same quality as that original vowel and ending with the vowel [a]. Examples of this morphophonological process are given in (73) through (75), where a colon in the phonetic transcription marks the beginning of the added syllable.

(73) [hiř-man'san:n-a-ka?-ř-tu'řas.no:o-a]
EXS-apple-CFR-ALT-EXS-peach-CFR
Is it an apple or a peach?

(74) [dži?-ř-hum-va'?ak:k-a]
DEM-EXS-2s-house-CFR
Is this your house?

(75) [aa-hï?:?-a]
INJ-yes-CFR
Oh really?

The rising intonation present on some questions is here placed on the final syllable, the one formed by the suffixation of [-a]; it is pronounced

with a slight exaggeration in the voice, emphasizing the syllable boundary. This is most noticeable when the final vowel is also [a], as in [ba-daa:a-a] (there-sit-CFR) 'Is he there?', where two long vowels are pronounced with a down-up glide between them. This deliberate pronunciation of the newly suffixed syllable indicates that the confirmation enclitic [-a] is phonologically bound to the word it follows, but is morphologically a separate word.

2.4 Orthography

In the remainder of this grammar, citations of the phonological segments described in this chapter are usually written in the practical orthography that Elizabeth Willett and I developed in consultation with native speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan (T. Willett et al. 1983). This orthography is shown in (76) and (77), which summarize the inventories of consonants and vowels. Parentheses are used in these tables to enclose phonologically predictable variants, and curly brackets are used to enclose phonetic sounds occurring only in borrowed words.

(76) Consonants (orthographic symbols)

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	*b*	*d*	*(dy)*	*g*	
voiced	*('m)*	*('n)*	*('ñ)*	*('n)*	
voiceless	*p*	*t*	*(ch)*	*c, qu*	*'*
Spirants	*v*	*s*	*(x)*		*j*
Nasals	*m*	*n*	*(ñ)*		
Liquids		*r*	*(hl)*		
Semivowel		*{l}*	*y*		

(77) Vowels (orthographic symbols)

	Front	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	*i*	*ɨ*	*u*
Mid	*{e}*	*ë*	*o*
Low		*a*	

In conformance with Spanish orthographical conventions, [h] is written *j*. Furthermore, [k] is written *qu* before the vowels [i, ï, ʌ] and [e] and as *c* elsewhere. Similarly, [g] is written *gu* and the combination [gu] is written

as *ü* before these same three vowels; [g] is written as *g* elsewhere. Furthermore, word-initial glottal stops are not written, so that orthographic words beginning with a vowel are pronounced with a preceding glottal stop. Also, when two glottal stops occur together, only one is written. Finally, word-final [i] is written *y*.

Several other orthographic conventions are also observed when writing Southeastern Tepehuan. First, the alveopalatal variants of alveolar consonants (§2.21) are written everywhere except word-initially. Second, rearticulated vowels (§2.22) are not written. Third, long vowels are written the same as short vowels except in open syllables. There they are written as a vowel with an acute accent, since they are always stressed in this environment (§2.31), to avoid ambiguity in accent placement. The one exception to this is the vowel *ë* [ʌ]; because it already has a diacritic, it is not written with an accent mark even when stressed. An acute accent is also written over a few vowels in monosyllabic words ending in a consonant, such as *cós* [koos] in (11) above, to avoid ambiguity.

3
Clause Structure

In this chapter, I summarize the major aspects of the clause-level morphology and syntax in Southeastern Tepehuan. My purpose here is to provide a convenient outline of the structural aspects of clauses in this language, both for those readers who are interested in this sort of information only, and for those who want to better understand the examples cited in the chapters that follow. The facts presented here are a combination of my previous research (T. Willett 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983, 1987, T. Willett and Solís 1983) and insights gained while doing the semantic analysis presented in §§4–15. Unless otherwise indicated, I use traditional grammatical terminology to avoid biasing the analysis toward any particular theory.

In §3.1, I give an overview of the major constituents of clauses, including the analytical presuppositions upon which formal distinctions are made. In the remainder of the chapter I discuss each of the clause constituents in more detail. In §3.2, I describe the verb phrase, including stem formation and the ordering and occurrence with patterns of prefixes and suffixes. In §3.3, I describe the noun phrase, including stem formation, possession, determiners, postpositions, and pronouns. In §3.4, I describe the adverb phrase, including WH forms; and in §3.5, I describe linking particles, i.e., conjunctions and interjections.

3.1 Major clause constituents

The analytical presuppositions upon which the description of clause structure in Southeastern Tepehuan is built are as follows. First, a DISCOURSE is understood to be any meaningful utterance. That is, a discourse

is a behavioral unit by which a speaker communicates linguistically with a hearer for such purposes as informing, questioning, or commanding. Discourses include unilateral speech acts, such as folklore tales, and multilateral speech acts, such as conversations.

Second, discourses in Southeastern Tepehuan are made up of three types of syntactic units: words, phrases, and clauses. WORDS are chosen from one of the major word classes: verbs, adverbs, and nouns.[16]

Word STEMS convey the central meaning; stems consist of a basic ROOT that can be augmented by STEM-FORMATION processes and affixes. Other AFFIXES convey meanings of varying degrees of relevance to the central meaning. There are three types of PHRASES: verb phrases, adverb phrases, and noun phrases. Each contains the corresponding word plus or minus modifiers, either one of the minor word classes, i.e., quantifiers and postpositions, or one or more PARTICLES. CLAUSES consist of a verb phrase with or without accompanying noun and adverb phrases.

Third, simple phrases consist of one word stem with or without modifiers, while complex phrases consist of two or more simple phrases joined by a conjunction, including zero conjunction. Simple clauses consist of one verb phrase with or without noun or adverb phrases. There is no structural analog to the complex phrase for clauses, since clauses are joined together into meaningful sequences by coordinating and subordinating conjunctions pursuant to the discourse plan of the speaker. Thus, the traditional notion SENTENCE has no status as a separate grammatical unit in my analysis of Southeastern Tepehuan discourse structure. In this GRAMMAR the term SENTENCE is used only in an informal sense to mean a short utterance which consists of at least one clause. These are orthographically represented using sentence punctuation according to conventional notions of what constitutes a 'complete thought'.[17]

Fourth, the form that individual morphemes can take varies along a continuum from single lexical items to syntactic combinations of lexical items, or PERIPHRASIS. Forms of linguistic expression that occur between these two extremes are derivational and inflectional affixes and particles, or free grammatical elements. This continuum is represented by the

[16]There is no separate word class of 'adjectives' in southeastern Tepehuan, since the attribution of qualities is done by stative verbs (§4.14).

[17]In a study of 'sentence components' in southeastern Tepehuan (T. Willett 1980b), I did not argue for the existence of the sentence as a structural unit, but instead pursued an initial categorization of interclausal relations. In two other studies of monologue discourse in Southeastern Tepehuan (T. Willett 1983, 1987) I showed that introductory and concluding portions of some texts have strings of several consecutive clauses, all of which are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, apparently to indicate their relative backgrounding with respect to the events described in central

schema in (78), in which those expression types to the left are more fused than those to the right (Bybee 1985:12).

(78) lexical — derivational — inflectional — particle — periphrasis
item affix affix

Because the form of linguistic expression is a continuum and not a set of discrete entities, I do not always make a sharp distinction between forms that are marginally of two types. For instance, several suffixes in §§7–12 could be considered derivational by some criteria and inflectional by other criteria, but there is no analytical reason why they must be classified definitively as one or the other. Rather their status is left indeterminate, since they possess both semantic and formal properties common to both types of affixes. However, I do distinguish those derivational affixes that are involved in stem formation (§§3.21, 3.23; cf. §§4, 5).

The major constituents of the clause in Southeastern Tepehuan are shown in their normal order relative to each other by the schema in (2). The term LINKING refers to conjunctions and interjections that link the clause to previous clauses. The term FOCUS refers to the place in the clause preceding the verb where a noun or adverb phrase occurs when it is in focus.

(79) [Linking] — [Focus] — VP — [NPs] — [Adv Ps]

The schema in (79) illustrates several basic facts about Southeastern Tepehuan. First, Southeastern Tepehuan is primarily an 'inflectional' or 'fusional' language; most propositional meaning is conveyed through the verb and its associated affixes and particles. Thus, only the verb is obligatory to a well-formed clause. Second, it is fundamentally a verb-initial language, since nouns occur after verbs when not in focus. However, there is no relative ordering of nouns among themselves (§16.1); rather, their grammatical roles in the clause are indicated partly by verbal affixes (§10 and §11.2) and partly by pragmatic inference. Third, nouns and adverbs

portions. To posit the sentence as a grammatical unit in these texts would require me to explain why many sentences in noncentral portions have no 'independent' clauses in them. For this reason I chose not to formally define the sentence, but rather to consider Southeastern Tepehuan discourses as sequences of clauses organized thematically, but not structurally, into clusters tentatively labeled 'thematic paragraphs' following Givón (1983). Further study of the internal semantic and structural aspects of Southeastern Tepehuan discourse is still needed, but in §15.2 I suggest an analysis of the systematic use of clause conjunctions that is not dependent on the notion of foregrounding versus backgrounding.

can be 'focused' or 'topicalized' by fronting. This is often done in discourse to introduce a new or returning participant (§15.1) or to emphasize a particular aspect of the setting, such as the time or location. Fourth, conjunctive and interjective particles, including relativizers and complementizers, normally occur at the beginning of the clause (§14). Occasionally a noun or adverb phrase, such as *mi dy̨r* 'from there', precedes one of them.

Not represented in (79) is the position of the subject enclitic (§11.21), which occurs as a suffix on the first constituent of the clause. This can be a linking particle, a fronted noun or adverb, or the verb. This enclitic can also occur alone in focus position as a clause-initial pronoun. In most instances the enclitic is preceded by a phonologically determined auxiliary (§2.38).

3.2 Verb phrase

The VERB PHRASE is the central constituent of the clause in Southeastern Tepehuan. It consists of a verb word plus modifying particles. The VERB WORD consists of a stem plus affixes. The minimal elements of the verb phrase are represented by the schema in (80), where an equal sign (=) indicates the phonologically bound affixes and a dash (–) indicates free forms.

(80) Prefixes = STEM = Suffixes – Particles

Verb stems are composed of a basic root which can be augmented by four stem-formation processes: reduplication, truncation, suppletion, and the addition of stem-formation suffixes; these are all described further in §3.21. To the stem are bound numerous prefixes and suffixes which modify the meaning of the stem in terms of tense, aspect, and person-number; prefixes are described further in §3.22 and suffixes in §3.23. In this section I give an overview of verbal affixes and particles.

Verbal AFFIXES can be classified according to two criteria, one semantic and one structural. The semantic criterion is similarity of meaning; the structural criterion is occurrence with verb stem types. A chart summarizing these two criteria is given in (81). Stem types and affix classes are here written in capital letters; morpheme glosses are abbreviated. All known affixes are included except the two verbalizing suffixes, *tu-* (ownership) and

-ta' (creation), since these are added to noun stems, not verb stems (§3.21).

Not all occurrence restrictions among affixes are represented in (81), but only those which have general semantic motivation.[18] That is, some affixes occur only with one type of verb stem, some with only two types, and some with all four types. Those in the first tier—copula, process, past perfective, movement, valence, action aspect, conjunction, action mode, and action tense—occur only with the verb stem type directly above them in the table. That is, copula and process affixes occur with the stem type of the same name, and all the rest occur with action stems. Those in the second tier—static, deixis, and dynamic aspect—occur with two stem types each: i.e., static with static stems, and deixis and dynamic aspect with dynamic stems. Those in the third tier—subject, object, general tense, and general aspect occur with all stem types.

Verbal PARTICLES are all modal in nature; four evidential particles and seven judgment particles signal epistemic meanings (§9.2). The evidential particles are: *dyo*, which signals perceived evidence; *sap*, which signals reported evidence unknown to the hearer; *sac*, which signals reported evidence known to the hearer; and *vac*, which signals evidence upon which an inference is based. The judgment particles are: *ji*, *jia*, *jigu'*, and *jigüi*, which signal fine shades of emphasis, i.e., a high degree of certainty; *cugui*, which signals affirmation, or average certainty; *mo*, which acts as a disclaimer signaling a low degree of uncertainty; and *chi*, which signals doubt, i.e., a high degree of uncertainty.

These epistemic particles occur after the verb word, except when fronted to become part of a sequence of linking particles introducing the clause. Only two of the judgment particles, *mo* and *chi* can be fronted. All four evidential particles can be fronted, but one, *dyo* changes meaning from perceived evidence to an interjection meaning opinion.

3.21. Verb stem formation. Native verb roots in Southeastern Tepehuan are divided into two major classes, static and dynamic. Roots that are borrowed from Spanish become either static or dynamic stems by the appropriate affixation. Verb stems consist either of simple verb roots or of roots augmented by a stem formation affix or process.

Stem-formation affixes derive a verb stem from another word class or obligatorily mark a stem as pertaining to a particular class. Only the

[18]Discussion of specific occurrence restrictions among affixes with similar meanings is summarized in §§3.23 and 3.24 and detailed in §§7–12. An exhaustive treatment of all possible formal occurrences is not considered relevant to the focus of this volume.

(81) Distribution of affixes with verb stem types

STATIC STEMS		DYNAMIC STEMS				
COPULA	STATE	PROCESS	ACTION			
jix- ATR *jir-* EXS		*-im* DP *-ix* RP	PAST PERFECTIVE		MOVEMENT	
STATIC *-ca* NPS			*-ich*	1s, 2s, 1p	*-tu'*	MOT
			-ɨt	2p, 3p	*-ica*	TRNS
			-(t)	3s		
			VALENCE		ACTION ASPECT	
			-xi	BEN	*ma-*	DST
			-t(u)	CAU	*-da*	DUR
			-hl(i)	CAUS	*-xim*	RES
			-(i)dya	APL	*-cho*	TERM
			CONJUNCTION		ACTION MODE	
			-(jɨ)y	CON	*xi-*	IMP
					vi-	PC
			ACTION TENSE		*-(i)ñ*	SC
			-c	PP	*-m*	DES
			-imɨc	PI	*-(mɨ)ra*	OBJ
		DEIXIS			DYNAMIC ASPECT	
		ba-	TWD, up		*ji-*	INC
		mu-	AWY, REM		*(ju)p-*	REP
		mi-	DIS			
		ya-	PRX			

SUBJECT				GENERAL TENSE	
-'iñ, -(a)ñ	1s	*-'ich, -(a)ch*	1p	*-(a)'*	FUT
-'ap, -(a)p	2s	*-(')(a)pim*	2p	*-t*	PI
-Ø	3s	*-(')(a)m*	3p	*-Ø*	PRES
OBJECT				GENERAL ASPECT	
(ji)ñ-	1s	*(ji)ch-*	1p	*tu-*	EXT
(ju)m-	2s	*jam-*	2p	*va-*	RLZ
Ø-	3s	*ja-*	3p	*ca-*	TEM
				pu-	SIM

structural properties of these affixes are discussed in this section; their meanings are further discussed in the corresponding sections of §4.

Static verb roots consist of two types, copulas and states. Copula roots are either attributive or existential, and states are either resultant states or states of being. Attributive roots are qualities and obligatorily occur with the attributive prefix *jix-*. Existential roots are nouns and a few shape words; they obligatorily occur with the existential prefix *jir-*. Resultant states are the stative forms of actions that resemble, but are not formally derived from, the corresponding dynamic stems. States of being are a small set of roots unrelated to any others in the language. Stems denoting nonpresent static situations are obligatorily marked with the suffix *-ca*.

Dynamic verb roots also consist of two types, processes and actions. Process roots are those few that regularly occur with either the developing process suffix *-im* or the result of process suffix *-ix*. Most dynamic roots are action roots; these can be either intransitive, unitransitive, or bitransitive. No special stem-formation affixes denote actions.

Derivation of verb stems from other than native verb roots is of two kinds, verbalization of native noun roots and borrowing of Spanish verb roots. Verbalization of noun roots is done by the addition of one of two affixes. States of being denoting ownership are derived by the addition of the prefix *tu-* to noun stems. Actions denoting the creation of an entity are derived by the addition of the suffix *-ta'* to noun stems.

Spanish verbs are sometimes borrowed into Southeastern Tepehuan in their infinitive forms. Those that become static stems, such as *paltar* from Spanish *faltar* 'to lack something', are used 'as is' for present states, since the present tense of native words is a zero suffix. For past and future states, however, they obligatorily add the nonpresent static suffix *-ca* before the past or future suffixes, the same as with native stems, as in (82).

(82) *cham tu'-ñ paltar-ca-t*
NEG what-1S lack-STA-PI
I didn't lack anything.

Those borrowed verbs that become dynamic stems, such as *cu'mrar* from Spanish *cobrar* 'to charge a payment', are also used 'as is' for the present tense, the same as with present states. But for past and future processes and actions, the suffix *-u* is obligatorily added to the borrowed infinitive before the future suffix, as in (83), or before the general past imperfective suffix *-t*. That is, the suffix *-u* (sometimes pronounced [o]) marks BORROWED nonpresent dynamic stems in the same way that the suffix *-ca* marks BOTH NATIVE AND BORROWED nonpresent static stems. However, in the past perfective tense, the

borrowed dynamic stem is NOT truncated as native stems are; instead, the borrowed stem ends with the suffix *-u*, as in (84).

(83) *Jɨ'c-ap jiñ-cu'mrár-u-'?*
how^much?-2S 1S-charge-U-FUT
How much will you charge me?

(84) *Jɨ'c-am-ɨt jum-cu'mrár-u?*
how^much?-3P-PRF 2S-charge-U
How much did they charge you?

There are three stem formation processes for verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan. First, REDUPLICATION of the first consonant-vowel sequence indicates iteration or distribution (§8.4). This is a morphophonological process that interacts with accent placement and vowel dropping rules to resyllabify the resulting reduplicated stem (§2.33). Second, TRUNCATION of the last consonant-vowel sequence of a dynamic stem indicates past perfective tense (§7.3). This is also a morphophonological process that interacts with other processes to resyllabify the resulting truncated stem (§2.34).

Third, SUPPLETION occurs in a few stems for distribution, i.e., plural absolutive (§8.4). There are two kinds of suppletive stems: (a) those that resemble their unreduplicated roots but contain at least one vowel or consonant that is not predicted by the phonological rules of reduplication, such as those listed in (85); and (b) stems that are significantly different from their unreduplicated forms, such as those listed in (86).

(85)	*cuana, cócosa*	'take off'
	jupna, jupsa	'pull out, off'
	jurñi, jurqui	'pass through'
	tɨmñi, tɨtmigui	'get down'
	vacuana, vopcona	'wash'
	vavo, vosga	'take out'
(86)	*bɨica, uica*	'carry'
	guɨxi, suhlgui	'fall; return'
	muqui, co'ya	'die'
	mu'a, códa	'kill'
	quɨcvo, gu'qui	'stand up'

3.22. Verb prefixes. There are twenty-one verbal prefixes that denote copula, aspect, mode, deixis, and object person-number. In (81), these

prefixes are classified according to meaning similarity and occurrence with verb stem types. In (87), they are classified according to their linear order relative to each other and the verb stem.[19]

(87) Verb prefix order classes

<table>
<tr><th>5</th><th>4</th><th>3</th><th>2</th><th>1</th><th>0</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">mu-
mi-
(ju)p-</td><td colspan="4">vi-</td><td rowspan="3">Stem</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">va-
ca-</td><td rowspan="2">ji-
xi-
(ji)x-
(ji)r-</td><td rowspan="3">tu-</td><td rowspan="3">(ji)ñ-
(ju)m-
Ø-
(ji)ch-
jam-
ja-</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">ma-
pu-</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">ba-
ya-</td></tr>
</table>

The prefixes in (87) are grouped into sets that span at least one relative order class; these classes are numbered from the stem outward. The prefixes in each set are mutually exclusive and those in adjacent spans can occur together with the same verb stem; those in overlapping spans never do. For instance, *va-* often occurs with *ji-*, but it never occurs with *ca-* or *ma-*.

As (87) shows, there are five order classes of prefixes and eight sets of prefixes that span one or more order classes. Closest to the stem are six first-order prefixes designating person and number of the object and the rarely used prefix *vi-* denoting polite command. All other prefixes can occur with the object prefixes except *vi-*, but the only prefixes that can occur with *vi-* are those of the fifth-order class, i.e., *mu-*, *mi-*, and *(ju)p-*. Next closest to the stem is the second-order prefix *tu-* which denotes the aspectual meaning of extent.

Five sets of prefixes occur in the third to fifth orders, three of which are single-order classes. Two of the third-order prefixes are the copula prefixes *(ji)x-* and *(ji)r-*, another is the inception prefix *ji-*, and a fourth is the imperative prefix *xi-*. The two fourth-order prefixes denote related aspectual meanings: *va-* (realization) and *ca-* (temporary). Two fifth-order prefixes denote two related meanings of spatial deixis: *mu-* (direction toward the speaker, or remote location) and *mi-* (distal location). The other fifth-order prefix, *(ju)p-*, denotes repetition.

[19]The results reported in (87) were obtained by the use of the PARADIGM program (Grimes 1983). The verb stem-formation copula prefixes *jix-* and *jir-* are included here, but not the verbalizing prefix *tu-*, signifying ownership, since it is added to noun roots.

Two other sets of prefixes span more than one order class. One set, which spans the fourth and fifth orders, denotes two related aspectual meanings: *ma-* (distinctiveness) and *pu-* (simplicity). The other set, which spans the third to fifth orders, denotes two related meanings of spatial deixis: *ba-* (direction away from the speaker) and *ya-* (proximate location).

Although (87) accurately represents the relative orderings and occurrence restrictions for all Southeastern Tepehuan verbal prefixes taken TWO AT A TIME, it does not necessarily predict the combinatory possibilities of MORE THAN TWO prefixes from adjacent orders. That is, while there are several combinations of THREE nonzero prefixes that can occur with the same verb stem, only a few combinations of four prefixes occur and no known five-prefix combinations occur. Examples of the three and four prefix combinations are given in (88) through (93).

(88) *mu-va-tu-vai*
REM-RLZ-EXT-draw^water
there he then drew water

(89) *ma-ji-ñ-vaidyac*
RLZ-INC-1s-invite
he then began to invite me

(90) *ba-tu-m-jochxi-m*
TWD-EXT-2s-send^for-DP
(they) are sending for you

(91) *no'-ñ va-x-chu-'ia'nta-m*
CND-1s RLZ-ATR-EXT-cleanse-DES
if I want to (ritually) cleanse myself

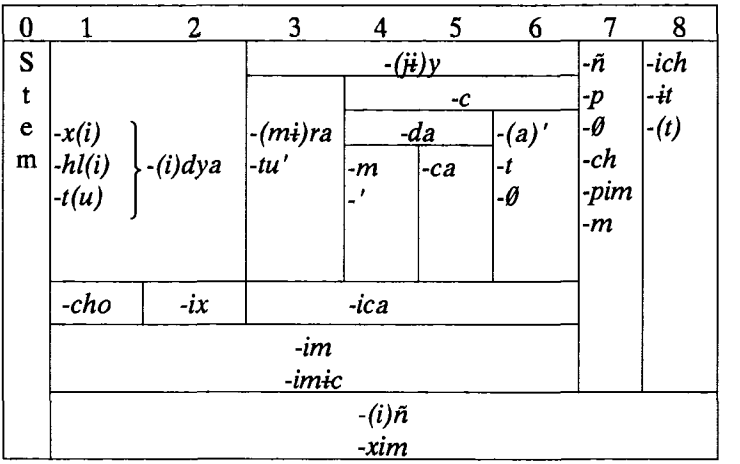
(92) *va-ji-chu-ja-'águidya-'-iñ*
RLZ-INC-EXT-3p-tell-FUT-1s
I will then begin telling them

(93) *jup-ca-xi-ch-jɨpi'ñca-'-ich*
REP-TEM-INT-1p-rest-FUT-1p
we will now rest again (from our sacred festival)

3.23. Verb suffixes. There are thirty-one verbal suffixes that denote static stems, processes, movement, valence, conjunction, subject, and tense-aspect-mode. In (81), these suffixes are classified according to meaning

similarity and occurs with verb stem types. In (94), they are classified according to their linear order relative to each other and the verb stem.[20]

(94) Verb suffix order classes



The suffixes in (94) are grouped into sets that span at least one relative order class; these classes are numbered from the stem outward. The suffixes in each set are mutually exclusive, except for the three first order suffixes followed by a curly bracket (cf. §10.2); those in adjacent spans can occur together with the same verb stem, but those in overlapping spans do not. For instance, *-(a)'* often occurs with *-da*, but it never occurs with *-t* or *-(i)ñ*.

As (94) shows, there are eight order classes of suffixes and sixteen sets of suffixes that span at least one order class. Two of the eight sets spanning only one order are used in every clause, and two others occur with them. Farthest from the stem are three eighth-order suffixes designating person-number in the past perfective. These obligatorily occur with the six seventh-order suffixes designating person-number of the subject. These subject enclitics always occur on the first major constituent of the clause, either a linking particle, a fronted noun or adverb phrase, or the verb. Next farthest from the stem are three sixth-order suffixes indicating general tense: *-(a)'* (future), *-t* (past imperfective), and *-Ø* (present). One of these always

[20]As with (87) the results in this table were obtained by the use of the PARADIGM program (Grimes 1983). The verb stem-formation suffixes *-ca* 'nonpresent static', *-im* 'developing process', and *-ix* 'result of process' are included here, but not the verbalizing suffix *-ta'*, signifying creation, since it is added to noun roots.

occurs on each verb word, unless one of the two action tense suffixes is used instead, either the past punctiliar *-c* or the past imperfective *-imɨc*.[21] The fifth-order suffix *-ca* obligatorily occurs before *-(a)'* or *-t* on non-present static verb stems only.

The rest of the sets of suffixes that span only one order class mark various meanings. Both fourth-order suffixes occur with the attributive prefix *jix-*: *-m* signals desire and *-'* signals tendency. One third-order suffix, *-(mɨ)ra*, is used to indicate action with an objective, either andative or venitive; the other, *-tu'*, marks actions accomplished while the agent is in motion. One of the second-order suffixes, *-(i)dya*, is used widely to mark the transitivizing applicative meaning; it also obligatorily occurs when one of the first-order suffixes is used, either the benefactive suffix, *-xi*, or one of the causative suffixes, *-t(u)* or *-hl(i)*. The other second-order suffix, *-ix*, marks the result of a process, and the other first-order suffix, *-cho*, marks the termination of an action.

Six other sets span two or more order classes. The durative suffix *-da* occurs on many action stems, sometimes after other first- to third-order suffixes, and the transfer suffix *-ica* occurs on a few action stems, sometimes after other first- to second-order suffixes; both are always followed by one of the sixth-order general tense suffixes. The past punctiliar suffix *-c* can occur after the third-order objective suffix *-(mɨ)ra*, and the connected-action suffix *-(jɨ)y* can occur after the second-order suffix *-(i)dya*; neither can occur with a general tense suffix. The process suffix *-im* and the past-imperfective suffix *-imɨc* do not occur with any other suffixes except subject enclitics, while the strong-command suffix *-(i)ñ* and the resultative suffix *-xim* do not occur with any other suffix.

Although (94) accurately represents the relative orderings and occurrence restrictions for all Southeastern Tepehuan verbal prefixes taken TWO AT A TIME, it does not necessarily predict the combinatory possibilities of MORE THAN TWO prefixes from adjacent orders. That is, not including eighth-order subject enclitics which occur in all clauses (but not necessarily on the verb word), there are several combinations of three suffixes that can occur with the same verb stem, and a few combinations of four suffixes can occur; only one known five-suffix combination occurs. Examples of combinations of three and four nonsubject suffixes are given in (95) through (101), and the combination of five suffixes is given in (102).

[21]No tense marker is used with the connected action suffix *-(jɨ)y*, the strong command suffix *-(i)ñ*, or the resultative suffix *-xim*; the zero present tense suffix is understood to occur with the process suffix *-im*.

(95) *jix-cóxi-m-ca-t*
ATR-sleep-DES-STA-PI
he was sleepy (lit. he wanted to sleep)

(96) *xi-m-chiñ-xi-dya-m*
ATR-2s-kiss-BEN-APL-DES
he wants to kiss you

(97) *jich-xava'n-xi-dya-'*
1p-buy-BEN-APL-FUT
he will buy it for us

(98) *ja-vatvi-ch-dya-'*
3p-bathe-CAUS-APL-FUT
he will bathe them

(99) *jiñ-bii-dy-ica-'*
1s-carry-APL-TRNS-FUT
(please) bring it to me

(100) *va-do'ñ-cho-ra-'*
2s-leave-TERM-OBJ-FUT
he will then go leave it off

(101) *jiñ-'ai-chu-hl-dya-c*
1s-arrive-CAUS-CAUS-APL-FUT
he brought it (lit. made it arrive) to me

(102) *tu-mam-tu-xi-'ñ-dya-t*
EXT-learn-CAUS-BEN-APL-DUR-PI
he was studying (lit. causing himself to learn)

3.3 Noun phrase

The noun phrase in Southeastern Tepehuan consists of a noun word obligatorily augmented by one or more determiners and sometimes by a modifier. The noun word consists of a stem, to which can be added affixes denoting possession and postpositions denoting spatial orientation. The elements of the noun phrase are represented schematically in (103), where an equal sign (=) indicates the phonologically bound forms and a dash (–) indicates free forms.

(103) Determiners – Possessor = STEM = Postposition – Modifier

Determiners are quantifiers and articles, which are described in §3.31. All possessor affixes are prefixes, except one; postpositions are commonly used, although an occasional preposition is possible. These two bound forms are described in §3.32. Personal, demonstrative, possessive, and indefinite pronouns are used in place of nouns to designate the speaker, the hearer, or a third-person entity; and relative pronouns are either restrictive or nonrestrictive. All pronoun forms are described in §3.33. In this section I discuss noun stem formation and the use of modifiers.

Noun stems are mostly simple roots. Occasionally, one of three stem-formation suffixes is used to form a noun stem from a root of another word class. Two of these are added to verb roots: *-dam* designates the agent of an action, and *-car* the instrument. And the suffix *-cam* is added to an adverb or attribute root to indicate the entity corresponding to that quality. Examples of each of these stem-formation suffixes are given in §5.

Most noun roots can be reduplicated for plurality. This is a morphophonological process that interacts with accent placement and vowel drop rules to resyllabify the resulting noun stem. The process of reduplication, including numerous examples of reduplicated noun stems, is described in §2.33. Two known noun roots have suppletive plural stems: *ma'ncam* 'person' versus *ja'tcam* 'people'[22] and *viapma'* 'young man' versus *vípivoc* 'young men'.

Simple noun phrases consist of one noun stem. Occasionally, however, a modifying phrase consisting of an attribute stem in an infrequent modifying use is conjoined to this stem. That is, attributes are nearly always the predicate of the clause, but occasionally they can be used as an adjective modifying a noun. In this case, an article occurs between the noun stem and the modifier. The noun usually comes before the modifier, as in (104), but can also follow it, as in (105).

(104) *Goc-ap* *jiñ-ga'hli-dya-'* *gu* *imay* *gu-x* *mamoic.*
two-2s 1s-sell-APL-FUT ART squash ART-ATR fresh
Please sell me two soft squashes.

(105) *Ba-ípoñi-dya-'* *gu-x* *mamoic* *gu* *jága'n* *gu* *tua.*
TWD-sprout-DUR-FUT ART-ATR fresh ART leaves ART oak
The (new) leaves of the oak tree are sprouting.

[22]These nouns may be derived by the addition of the suffix *-cam*, since *ma'n* is the native word for 'one'. The putative root **ja't*, however, does not occur elsewhere in the language.

When the modifier is a quantifier, it forms a compound noun stem with which only one article is used, as in (106) and (107). A modifying phrase can also be used in place of a noun phrase when the noun it modifies is clear from the context, as in (108).

(106) *Añ ɨhli'ñ na-m jimi-a' mummu na-m paxiar-po-' gu*
1s think SUB-3p go-FUT there SUB-3p visit-OBJ-FUT ART

jumay siman.
other week
I think they will go there to visit next week.

(107) *Va' pui' aich-am-ɨt gu-x chamam tanohl na-m-ɨt*
then thus bring-3p-PRF ART-ATR five day SUB-3p-PRF

tu-ñio.
EXT-pray
They thus completed the five days of prayer.

(108) *Cham pɨc i'ov gu tɨmcahl gu-x u'uam, gu-x*
NEG DIM delicious ART tortilla ART-ATR yellow ART-ATR

chóto dyo gui-x i'ov ji joidyam.
white PE CLR-ATR delicious EMP perfectly
Yellow tortillas aren't very good, but white ones are really delicious.

Complex noun phrases consist of more than one noun stem. These can be either compounds, where the first stem modifies the second without intervening article, as in (109); or simple noun phrases juxtaposed to form a genitive-like construction, as in (105) and (110).

(109) *Ma'n ua'-iñ jiñ-cotvo a'm gu quɨhlí tacárui'.*
one carry-1s 1s-shoulder on ART rooster chicken
I am carrying a rooster on my shoulder.

(110) *Mismo íbay jum-tɨtɨ' gu mero íbai'ñ-ga-'n gu íbay.*
same nopal RFL-call ART actual fruit-STS-POS ART nopal
The fruit of the nopal (cactus) is also called nopal.

3.31. Determiners. Noun-phrase determiners in Southeastern Tepehuan are of two types—quantifiers and articles. Quantifiers are a minor word

class consisting of numbers and other expressions denoting specific or generic quantification (§5.4), and articles are grammatical particles used to indicate definiteness or indefiniteness (§12.2).

Whenever an entity is referred to by a noun, it is obligatorily preceded by one of two articles indicating that that entity is viewed as specific and unitary. These articles are *gu* 'the' and *dyi* 'this', as illustrated in (111). To indicate that the entity is nonspecific, a numeral quantifier occurs before the article, usually *ma'n* 'one', as illustrated in (112). Occasionally, only the quantifying number is fronted, while the rest of the noun phrase remains in its normal, postverbal position, as in (113).

(111) *Jix-ví-p mo túta-' dyi-m mataima'n na*
ATR-fine-2s DSC grind-FUT ART-2s boiled^corn SUB
Grind your corn gruel extra fine

va'-x i'ov-ca-' gu timcahl.
then-ATR delicious-STA-FUT ART tortillas
so the tortillas will be really delicious.

(112) *Mu-pai' sap múqui-x ma'n gu ma'ncam.*
there-where REU die-RP one ART person
They say a person is dead nearby there.

(113) *Ma'n mi'-ñi quic gu casnir sai' chir.*
one there-PRE stand ART sheep grass in
There is a sheep standing there in the grass.

Besides numbers, other expressions are used to quantify the noun, such as *jumay* 'another' or *mui* 'many'. These quantifiers can also occur before the article, whether the noun phrase is fronted or not, or they can occur alone in front of the verb.

3.32. Noun affixes. Noun affixes are of two types. Possessor affixes occur closely bound to the stem, while postpositions normally occur following the stem and other affixes. Possessor affixes are part of the system of person-number deixis (§11.2); postpositions are a minor word class denoting nondeictic spatial orientation (§5.5).

The person and number of the possessor of an entity is denoted by a set of five prefixes and one suffix: *(ji)ñ-* 'first-person singular', *(ju)m-* 'second-person singular', *-d* 'third-person singular', *(ji)ch-* 'first-person plural', *jam-* 'second-person plural', and *ja-* 'third-person plural'. The three prefixes that contain high vowels following the initial [h] reduce to only the final

consonant in certain environments (§2.37). The suffix *-d* always occurs word finally as the preglottalized nasal variant *-'n* (§2.22) or its palatalized equivalent *-'ñ* (§2.21).

The relation of the possessed entity to the possessor is signaled by two suffixes which always occur between the stem and the possessor suffix *-d*. One of these, *-ga*, denotes a special status analogous, but not identical, to alienability. In combination with *-d*, it forms a general possession postposition used in questions and pronouns, as illustrated in (114). The other is the diminutive suffix *-tuc*, which is occasionally used in combination with a possessor affix, as in *jiñ-ahlí-chuc* (1s-child-DIM) 'my (beloved) child'.

(114) *a.* *Jaró ga-'n dyi gagox?*
who? POS ART dog
Whose dog is this?

b. *Añ ga'n dyo.*
1s POS PE
It's mine.

Postpositions are used with nouns to indicate the relative position of entities, such as *sai' chir* (grass in) 'in the grass' in (113) above. A few postpositions also occur as prepositions, but usually in a slightly longer form. The typological significance of the use of prepositions versus postpositions is discussed further in §16.1; examples of postpositions are given in §5.5. Although postpositions are phonologically bound to the noun stem, they are usually written as separate words.

3.33. Pronouns. There are five types of pronouns in Southeastern Tepehuan. PERSONAL pronouns are used to denote first- and second-person entities, while DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns are used to denote third-person entities. POSSESSIVE pronouns are used to denote the person and number of the possessor of an entity; RELATIVE pronouns are used to introduce relative clauses; and INDEFINITE pronouns replace explicit nouns.

The personal pronouns, *añ* 'first-person singular', *ap* 'second-person singular', *ach* 'first-person plural', and *api'm* 'second-person plural', are used to refer to the speaker(s) and hearer(s). They are formed by a morphophonological process that adds the correct form of the subject auxiliary to the subject enclitics (§2.38). Pronouns normally occur clause initial, in which case no subject enclitic occurs elsewhere in the clause. Occasionally, however, they are used for emphasis, in which case they can occur preverbally, or rarely postverbally, in addition to the subject enclitic. When the first-person and second-person singular pronouns are used alone as responses, they usually occur with

the precision suffix -', as in (115). Further examples of personal pronouns are given in §11.21.

(115) *a.* *Taxchav dyo va'.*
thanks PE then
Thank you very much.

b. *Ap-i' ji.*
2s-PRE EMP
(Thank) YOU.

Demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to entities, whether animate or inanimate, other than the speaker(s) and hearer(s). Entities within the speaker's view are referred to with *dyi* 'this', and entities out of view are referred to with *güi'* 'that'. When more precision is required to refer to two or more entities that are in view, another precision suffix, *-ni*, is used to create four demonstratives: *dyi'ñi* 'this (proximal)', *dyi'* 'this (distal)', *gu'ñi* 'that (remote, in sight)', and *güi'* 'remote (out of sight)'. Examples of the use of demonstrative pronouns are given in §11.24.

Possessive pronouns are formed by adding the general possession postposition *ga'n* to the personal and demonstrative pronouns. This results in six possessive pronouns: *añga'n* 'mine', *apga'n* 'yours (sg.)', *achga'n* 'ours,' *api'm ga'n* 'yours (pl.)', *dyi' ga'n* 'his (in sight)', and *güi'ga'n* 'his (out of sight)'. In the last two, it is the current location of the possessor, not the possessed entity, that determines which is used.

Relative pronouns all begin with the general subordinating particle *na*. This particle is used alone to introduce nonrestrictive relative clauses; restrictive relatives are introduced by a demonstrative pronoun followed by *na*. Examples of the contrast between the two types of relatives are given in §14.1. Occasionally a qualifying particle is used after *na* to make the identity of the entity referred to more precise. The most commonly used relative pronouns are listed in (116).

(116)

na	'that'	*na jax chu'm*	'which'
na jaroi'	'who'	*na qui'n*	'with which'
na tu'	'what'	*na ji'c*	'as many as'

Relative pronouns always follow the noun they modify. They can also be used in place of a noun to introduce 'headless' relatives, as in (117). In

addition, the qualifying particles in (116) are also used as question words, which occur as the beginning of the clause. These forms are listed in (118); an example is given in (114) above.[23]

(117) *Cham jai'ch na qui'n bi'spa-'.*
NEG exist SUB with fasten-FUT
There's nothing to fasten it with.

(118)	*jaró?*	'Who?'	*jax chu'm?*	'Which?'
	tu'?	'What?'	*ji'c?*	'How many?'

Indefinite pronouns are either specific or nonspecific. Specific indefinites are formed from the same stems used for question words, as shown in (119); one of them, *jaroi'*, has a slightly different form. Nonspecific indefinites also use the same stems but add the relative phrase *na pix*, as shown in (120).[24]

(119)	*jaroi'*	'someone'
	tu'	'something'
	jax chu'm	'one of them'
	ji'c	'as many as'

(120)	*jaroi' na pix*	'whoever'
	tu' na pix	'whatever'
	jax na pix chu'm	'whichever'

3.4 Adverb phrase

The adverb phrase consists of an adverb stem plus modifying postpositions. Adverbs modify the verb by specifying time, location, and manner. They normally occur at the end of the clause, but can be fronted for emphasis. Lists and examples of adverb stems are given in §6.[25]

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[23]The question words formed from adverbs, along with their corresponding relative forms, are listed in §3.4.

[24]The indefinite forms of ADVERBS are also listed in §3.4

[25]Infrequently, an adverb stem occurs preceded by the definite article *gu*, as in *jix-xijay gu dihl* (ATR-hard ART alone) 'it's hard (to do it) alone'. This use of *gu* with adverbs has not yet been analyzed. The only other known occurrences are: *gu xiv*, *gu pui'*, *gu dirap*, *gu tuca' (ja'c)*, *gu mic dir*, and *gu vajic dir*.

Some postpositions used with nouns are also used with adverbs, such as *dɨr* 'from'. Others are used only with adverbs, such as *ja'p* 'area'. These and other postpositions are described more fully in §5.5.

Several adverbs are used to form question words and relative adverbs; these are listed in (121). As with pronouns, all relatives are introduced by the general subordinating particle *na*. The forms *jax* and *jɨ'x* are used before attributes to question the amount that is present or the extent to which it is true, as in (122) and (123).[26]

(121)

Question	Relative	Gloss
pá	*na pai'*	'where'
pá duc	*na pai'dyuc*	'when'
jax	*na jax*	'how much (before *jix-*)'
jɨ'x	*na jɨ'x*	'how much (before *jir-*)'
jax ja'c	*na jax ja'c*	'how'
jax dyuc	*na jax dyuc*	'how, in what way'
jax va'	*na jax va'*	'why'

(122) *Jax* *jix-xijay?*
how^much? ATR-hard
How hard is it?

(123) *Jɨ'x* *jir-mɨc?*
how^much? EXS-far
How far is it?

Some of these same stems are also used as indefinite adverbs, both specific and nonspecific, as listed in (124) and (125), respectively.

(124)

pai'	'somewhere'
pai'dyuc	'sometime'
jax dyúji	'somehow'

(125)

pai' na pɨx	'wherever'
pai' na pɨx dyuc	'whenever'
jax na pɨx	'however'
jax na pɨx ja'c	'in whatever way'

[26]For an explanation of the probable derivation of the adverb stem used for 'when,' see footnote 47, page 139.

3.5 Linking particles

The particles that link the clause which they introduce to the preceding clause are of two types—conjunctions and interjections. Conjunctions are either coordinating or subordinating. Coordinate conjunctions link clauses of the same semantic relevance, and subordinate conjunctions link clauses of lesser relevance to those of greater relevance. In a social context, interjections link the utterance to follow with previous utterances.

There are nine coordinating conjunctions, seven of which are particles. The two others are the zero conjunction and the connected action suffix *-(ɨ̈)y*. Of the particles, all but one are used to link clauses; several are also used to link noun or adverb phrases. The coordinating conjunction *gam* 'and' is used only to link noun phrases describing entities of a similar nature. The coordinating conjunctions *guio* 'and', *piam* 'or', *day* 'just', and *sia* 'although' are also used to link noun or adverb phrases, as well as clauses. The coordinating conjunctions *va'* 'then', *cu* 'so', and *gu'* 'but' are used to link clauses only. Examples of all the coordinating conjunctions are given in §13.

There are seven subordinating conjunctions, all of which are used to introduce clauses. All seven begin with the general subordinating particle *na*, which is used alone as a relative pronoun and to introduce nonfinite clauses. That is, it introduces nonrestrictive relatives, a participial-like clause, and an infinitive-like clause. The other six subordinating conjunctions are formed with *na* plus a qualifying particle. They are *na pai'* 'where', *na pai'dyuc* 'when', *na jax* 'how', *na jax ja'c* 'in what way', *na va'* 'in order that', and *na gu'* 'because'. The first four of these are formed from relative adverbs (§3.4). The last two are formed from coordinating particles: *na va'* comes from *na* 'that' plus *va'* 'then', and *na gu'* comes from *na* 'that' plus *gu'* 'but'. Examples of all the subordinating conjunctions are given in §14.

There are several interjections, some more commonly used than others. The three most common are: *ea* 'ok', *ah* 'oh', and *dyo* 'well'. Others include *ë* 'uh huh', *mi'!* 'careful!', *mi'a* 'leave me alone!', *jaxñia?* 'what (did you say)?', and *ɨ̈y* 'huh?'. Examples of the three common interjections are given in §13.3.

3.6 Correlation to meaning

The summary of the formal aspects of Southeastern Tepehuan grammar is now complete. In the following chapters the discussion shifts from these STRUCTURAL properties to the SEMANTIC elements that they encode. Thus the remainder of this volume is a description of the categories of GRAMMATICAL MEANING expressible in this language. These notational categories

are organized into three broad areas corresponding to their primary means of formal expression.

First, Southeastern Tepehuan speakers normally refer to situations, entities, and settings by the use of word classes; i.e., verbs, nouns, adverbs, quantifiers, and postpositions. These categories of meaning are those revealed by grammatical analysis rather than by lexical analysis, since speakers are generally much less aware of grammatical meaning than they are of lexical meaning (§16.2).

Second, most of the meanings encompassed by the notions of tense, aspect, and mode are expressed in Southeastern Tepehuan by the derivational and inflectional morphology, corresponding to a known universal tendency. Some of these meanings, however, are conveyed through the use of particles which, because they are (a) fixed in position with respect to the word they modify, (b) members of a closed class of similar forms, and (c) sufficiently general in meaning, can be considered affixal in function.

Furthermore, the fact that a few agent-oriented modal meanings are expressed by means of periphrasis corresponds to a lesser known universal tendency (§9.3). Also, the categories of valence, deixis, and specification, although less likely to be expressed by grammatical morphemes in the world's languages, are also primarily expressed in Southeastern Tepehuan by affixes and particles, contributing to the conclusion that, formally speaking, this is a highly synthetic language (§3.1).

Third, the meanings of coordination, subordination, and continuity are expressed in Southeastern Tepehuan through the use of conjunctions. The study of these linking particles in oral discourse has shown that they signal, not only the semantic relevance of conjoined clauses to the speaker's communicative purpose, but also how closely related he views the events and states he describes.

4
Situations

4.1 Static situations

In Southeastern Tepehuan, STATIC SITUATIONS are those which are viewed as not involving an event of any sort; rather, a specific state of affairs is seen to be present or a particular entity or quality is seen to exist. The state of affairs at a given point in time can be viewed as either the result of a previous event or merely as in existence by virtue of the nature of things. The existence of some entity or some quality present in an entity is not attributed to any cause. These four types of meanings are further described in the sections that follow: in §4.11, I describe resultant states, and in §4.12, states of being; in §4.13, I describe the predication of the existence of entities, and in §4.14, the attribution of qualities to entities.

One fact that semantically distinguishes static situations from dynamic situations is that the state of affairs is assumed to be in existence at the time of speech or the time of reference established in the context, unless specifically noted otherwise. The time at which the state began is not relevant, nor is the time at which the state may end. Furthermore, the only other two time-frame possibilities for static situations are either that the state was present for an undetermined amount of time before the speech or reference time, or that it will be present at some time afterwards.

Morphologically, this three-way distinction of time reference for static situations is signalled as follows. For static situations not present at the speech or reference time, the NONPRESENT STATIC suffix *-ca* is added to the stem. This class-specifying morpheme is then followed by either the general past suffix *-t*, for those states that were present before the specified time but no longer are, or the general future suffix *-(a)'*, for

those states that will be present after the specified time (cf. §7). For static situations that ARE present at the time referred to by the speaker, no suffix is used.

4.11. Resultant states. To Southeastern Tepehuan speakers, STATES are static situations predicated about some state of affairs that exists in their cultural perception of the universe. Sometimes these states are accepted as existing without reference to the event that may have caused them; these states of being are described in the following section. Alternatively, states can be viewed as the result of some previous event, whether or not that event is overtly mentioned or simply inferred in the context; these resultant states are described in the present section.

Resultant states are of two semantic types: (a) those that result from a change of POSITION of an agent or patient, and (b) those that result from some OTHER EVENT involving an agent.[27]

First, states that result from the change of position of an agent or patient constitute a very limited set of verb stems, all of which are listed in (126). Next to these state verbs are listed the action verbs whose resulting states they describe. The first two action verbs in each set are actions performed by an agent different from the patient; the second two, excluding the fourth set, are actions performed by the agent-patient himself. The singular (SG) and plural (PL) designations in the glosses of both states and actions refer only to the patient of the given verb.

Examples of sentences utilizing resultant state verbs are given in (127)–(130). As is evident in the glosses of these examples, state verbs denoting position are obligatory whenever the predication describes the location of the patient.

Second, states that result from the action of an agent, other than to change the position of a patient, are much more numerous. Most of these have corresponding dynamic stems that describe the action that precipitates the static situation described. Three of these static stems are illustrated in (131)–(133); the stems given in isolation after each are the corresponding dynamic stems.

[27]I use the terms AGENT and PATIENT in their common linguistic sense. Specifically, by the term AGENT I mean the means whereby a particular event came about, and by the term PATIENT I mean the entity which is passively affected by the event (paraphrasing Crystal 1985:11, 223, 257).

(126)

State		Action	
dá	'be seated (SG)'	*dása'*	'set (SG)'
dará	'be seated (PL)'	*darása'*	'set (PL)'
		xidyaivu'	'sit (SG)'
		xidyaraivu'	'sit (PL)'
quic	'be standing (SG)'	*quísa'*	'stand (SG)'
tút	'be standing (an PL)'	*tuttu'*	'stand (PL)'
guguc	'be standing (inan PL)'	*quicvoidya'*	'stand up (SG)'
		gu'quia'	'stand up (PL)'
vo'	'be lying (an SG)'	*vóda'*	'lay (an SG)'
vóvoc	'be lying (an PL)'	*vopda'*	'lay (an PL)'
		vo'ya'	'lie (SG)'
		vópoya'	'lie (PL)'
cát	'be lying (inan SG)'	*tiquia'*	'lay (inan SG)'
vit	'be lying (inan PL)'	*tu'a'*	'lay (inan PL)'

(127) *Ba-dá-ca-'-ap cavuimuc?*
up-seated-NPS-FUT-2S tomorrow
Will you be there tomorrow?

(128) *Bai' quí-ca-t gu u'i' vípi'.*
up^there is^standing-NPS-PI ART bird before
A bird was there earlier.

(129) *Mi'-m vóvoc gu a'ahl.*
down^there-3P are^lying ARTchildren
The children are lying there.

(130) *Pá vit gu-ñ sussac?*
where? are-lying ART-1S sandals
Where are my sandals?

(131) *no' irvan di'-ca-' guit gu oiñga'n ja'p na vacua*
if inside hole-NPS-FUT CNTF ART world like SUB gourd
if the world were to have a hole in it like a gourd (cf. *di'ya'* 'poke hole in something')

(132) *Jix-ja-mat-'iñ güi'.*
ATR-3p-KNOW-1s DEM
I know them. (cf. *machia'* 'learn (come to know) something')

(133) *güi' na-m jɨ'c chacuy vopcoñ-ix*
DEM SUB-3p how^many not^yet wash(PL)-RP
those that are not yet baptized (lit. washed) (cf. *vopcona'* 'wash something (PL)')

Examples (131)–(133) illustrate the three ways that static verb stems are morphologically analogous to their corresponding dynamic stems. In (131), as in (126), the stems are often similar in form, but there is no strict derivational relationship. In (132), a form of the dynamic stem is prefixed by the attributive prefix *jix-* (§4.14), but again no formal derivational process exists between the two related stems. Example (133), however, illustrates the regular change of verb class from dynamic process to static state by the addition of the result of process suffix *-ix* to the full form of the root (cf. §4.21).

All these states are thus semantically and somewhat morphologically related to the actions precipitating them. Because of this they could all be considered the equivalents of the past participles of those dynamic stems. But Southeastern Tepehuan does not have formal past participles, so the relationship remains primarily one of meaning rather than of form. That is, since past perfective dynamic stems (§§2.34, 7.3) are not used with copular auxiliaries, they are not past participles in the usual sense, nor are they of the same form as static verb stems. In the more general sense of past participle, however, i.e., a 'word derived' from a verb and used as an 'adjective', static verb stems that have related dynamic stems can be thought of as the corresponding participles. The 'derivation', however, often does not involve as regular a correlation in form as it does in meaning.

4.12. States of being. Besides resultant states, there are other states expressed by Southeastern Tepehuan verb stems that do not have known dynamic stems to which they correspond. These stems describe more generic situations or those more inherently static. The number of native, underived static verbs without dynamic counterparts is very limited. All such known stems are listed in (134); several are illustrated in (135) through (140).

(134)	*via'*	'have'	*(jix)jai'ch*	'be present'
	tu'i'	'be like'	*jixmax*	'able to be seen'

quio	'live at (SG)'	*jix'a'*	'want something'
oidya'	'live at (PL)'	*jixñá*	'like to eat'
dua	'be alive (SG)'	*jixñia*	'(able to) see'
dudua	'be alive (PL)'		

(135) *Na gu' cham ja-via' gu vác, cham mat va' gu quis.*
SUB but NEG 3P-have ART cows NEG know then ART cheese
Because he doesn't have any cows, he doesn't know (how to make) cheese.

(136) *Mic jix-chu-max ya' dir.*
far ATR-EXT-seeable here from
One can see a long ways from here.

(137) *Ma'n mi'-ñi quic gu va'ac juptu'm.*
one there-PRE stand ART house empty

Cham jaroi' mi-quio.
NEG anyone LOC-live
There's an empty house. No one lives there.

(138) *Day jucgam ja'c jix-jai'ch gu umu'.*
just pine^forest DIR ATR-exist ART palm^grass
Palm grass is found only in pine forests.

(139) *Pui'-pix jix-'a' na-ñ maqui-a' gu-ñ rilú gu Juan.*
thus-DIM ATR-want SUB-1S give-FUT ART-1S reloj ART John
John wants me to give him my watch for nothing.

(140) *Vahl cha'm dá gu quis no'-p jix-ñá.*
basket on sit ART cheese CND-2S ATR-like^to^eat
There's cheese in the basket if you want some.

While the set of native, nonderived static verb stems of this type is small, two derivational processes are used to add large numbers of static verb stems to its ranks. One of these processes verbalizes nouns by the addition of the ownership prefix *tu-*. The other process borrows words from Spanish that are viewed as describing static situations.

First, the addition of the OWNERSHIP prefix *tu-* to a noun makes it into a static verb stem with the meaning 'to own *x*'. This stem is then inflected as are other static verb stems. Although the number of attested instances of the application of this process is small, it is potentially applicable to any

noun in the language. Perhaps its limited application is due not to the nature of the process itself, but to the fact that seldom is it necessary to predicate the ownership of one's possessions. Ordinarily the nouns involved would be entities in another predication, optionally marked for possession by the possessor affixes (§11.25). The process of verbalization of nouns is illustrated in (141) and (142).[28]

(141) *Day ma'n tu-sa'ua-'iñ.*
only one OWN-blanket-1S
I have only one blanket.

(142) *Ɨ'c-ap tu-mámar?*
how^many?-2S OWN-children
How many children do you have?

Second, many Spanish verb stems are borrowed into Southeastern Tepehuan, either to complement or to replace existing stems. The form of the borrowed stem is always the Spanish infinitive (ending in *-r*). When the borrowed stem functions as a static verb in Southeastern Tepehuan, the static suffix *-ca* is used with it for nonpresent situations in the same way that it is used with native static stems (§4.1). In contrast, the suffix *-u* is used for this same purpose with dynamic stems (§3.21). Not only is this further evidence of the clear semantic distinction between the two major types of verbs, but it also shows that some situations which may be viewed as actions in another culture are viewed by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers as not involving an action. Two instances of this situation are cited in (143) and (144). Other instances of the use of borrowed verb stems seem to be more inherently static, such as that cited in (145).[29]

(143) *Sap cham bai' na-ñ usar-ca-' jumay.*
REP NEG good SUB-1S use-NPS-FUT another
It is reportedly not good for me to use another.

(144) *Tujuan-da-' na bán jum-'ayudar-ca-'.*
work-DUR-FUT SUB on RFL-help-NPS-FUT
He worked to support himself.

[28]The ownership prefix *tu-* is homophonous with the extent prefix (§8.4). They are here analyzed to be separate morphemes because of their distinctly different meanings and their putatively different historical sources.

[29]Because the sound [f] is a variant of [v] in Southeastern Tepehuan, Spanish words beginning with [f] are pronounced with beginning [p], instead.

(145) *na va' cham tu' paltar-ca-'*
SUB then NEG what lack-NPS-FUT
that he then would not lack anything

In the examples cited in (143) through (145), no known Southeastern Tepehuan verb stem is equivalent in meaning to those borrowed from Spanish. Sometimes, however, a stem is borrowed even when a native stem with the same meaning exists. It is often the case that when the same meaning occurs twice in the same immediate context, both the native stem and the borrowed stem are used to complement each other, as in (146).

(146) *Jum-pinsar va' ... ja'p sap jum-'a'.*
RFL-think then thus REU RFL-want
So he thought, "...," thus he thought.

4.13. Copula of existence. In Southeastern Tepehuan, there are also static situations which predicate the EXISTENCE of an entity, time, or place. Morphologically, all predications of this type consist of the EXISTENTIAL prefix *jir-* added to the appropriate noun or adverb stem. Since all entities exist by definition, any noun is a potential existence stem. Not all adverbs, however, can be predicated in this way, but only those that refer to a specific time or place.

Both regular nouns and derived nouns (§5) can be predicated. Examples (147) through (151) illustrate the predication of nonderived nouns, and (152) through (155) illustrate the predication of derived nouns.

(147) *Jir-chio'ñ a ca' uví a?*
EXS-man CFR IA woman CFR
Is it a boy or a girl?

(148) *na-ñ añ jir-ahlí-ca-t*
SUB-1s 1s EXS-child-NPS-PI
when I was a child

(149) *Dai-pui' va-r-quis-ca-'.*
only-thus RLZ-EXS-cheese-NPS-FUT
That's all it takes for it to become cheese.

(150) *Ma-m-má cointa na-r jïguiahli'.*
DIS-RFL-gave notice SUB-EXS war
(Then) he realized that there was a war.

(151) *Cham jir-macguim-'in, jax dyuy?*
NEG EXS-healer-1S how? way
But how? I'm not a healer.

(152) *Ap cham jir-co'dam na-p jiñ-pahlvuidya-'.*
2S NEG EXS-slaughterer SUB-2S 1S-help-FUT
Are you a slaughterer? I need your help.

(153) *Na-ñ pai' quio pui' ip jir-jucgam.*
SUB-1S where live thus also EXS-pine^forest
Where I live is also an area of pine forests.

(154) *Day na-ñ jir-ni'dam. Day gu-ñ ógax jir-duñvia'cam.*
only SUB-1S EXS-dancer only ART-1S uncle EXS-steward
I'm just a dancer. But my uncle is a steward (of this festival).

(155) *Jax chu'm jir-vipi'cam?*
how? looks EXS-first^one
Which (one) is the first one?

Although there are many adverbs of place and time (§§6.1, 6.2), only those that refer to SPECIFIC places and times can be predicated. This is undoubtedly because those with such definite referential meaning are more like nouns than adverbs in that they are also names of spatial and temporal concepts. Examples of predicated adverbs are given in (156) through (158).

(156) *Xiv jir-viarnis, cavuimuc va'-r sápat.*
today EXS-Friday, tomorrow then-EXS Saturday
Today is Friday, so tomorrow must be Saturday.

(157) *mas gama ja'c dir na sac jir-Járax Cham*
more farther DIR from SUB REP EXS-crab place
from farther away, from a place known as Crab Place

(158) *Jir-tatsav dyo, jix-juc joidyam.*
EXS-warm^climate PE ATR-warm nice
It's a warm climate, so it's (always) warm (out).

As is evident from these examples, names of the days and months, all borrowed from Spanish, and all place names can be predicated, as can some terms descriptive of climatic conditions. Other adverbs that can be

predicated include the names of the seasons in the growing cycle (e.g., *jirtábac* 'it is the dry season') and names of natural geographical phenomena (e.g., *jir'a'nsap* 'it is a slope').

4.14. Copula of attribution. ATTRIBUTION in Southeastern Tepehuan is a descriptive predication telling what an entity is like. This includes all qualities that in many languages form a separate word class of 'adjectives'. In Southeastern Tepehuan, no adjective-like word occurs without either the attributive prefix *jix-* or the existential prefix *jir-*. That is, all qualities are predicated as static situations.

Nearly all qualities are morphologically marked by the ATTRIBUTIVE prefix *jix-*; only a few, mostly three-dimensional shape adjectives (E. Willett 1981b), take the existential prefix *jir-* (§4.13). Examples of qualities are given in (159). Most attribute stems occur only in this construction, but some also occur in a different form as verbs; e.g., *jix-gac* 'it's dry' versus *gaqui* 'to dry (up, off)'.

(159)	*jircavúhlic*	'it's spherical'	*jixcumáhlic*	'it's flat'
	jirguë'	'he's big'	*jixgac*	'it's dry'
	jirmɨc	'it's far'	*jixmuca'*	'it's itchy'
	jirsarvac	'he's fat'	*jixquɨ'*	'it's clean; he's healthy'
	jixbai'	'it's good (to do)'	*jixvɨt*	'he's heavy'
	jixbam	'he's angry'	*jixvɨ'*	'it's red'
	jixcavac	'it's hard'	*jix'abar*	'he's beautiful'
	jixchuc	'it's black'	*jix'i'ov*	'it's delicious'

The attribution of a quality is nearly always the main predication of a clause, as in (160) through (165). Occasionally, however, a quality is used to modify a noun, in which case it is not the main predication. But even in this case, it is still marked with a stative prefix, as in the first clause of (166), where *jixjuc gu chamarra* is the subject of *jum'a'*.

(160) *Jix-dya'ra' gu casnir sa'ua na gu' mɨ durar.*
ATR-expensive ART sheep blanket SUB but long lasts
Wool blankets are expensive because they last so long.

(161) *Casɨ gammɨjɨ jix-jɨpi'ñ-ca-' no'-r jucgam.*
almost always ATR-cold-NPS-FUT CND-EXS pine^forest
It's almost always cold in the pine forest.

(162) *Jix-va' dyi-m camis. Cuana-'-ap cu gaqui-a',*
ATR-wet ART-2s shirt remove-FUT-2s so dry FUT

jumai-p ca-xi-chɨ'y-a'.
other-2s TEM-IMP-put^on-FUT
Your shirt is wet. Take it off so it will dry and put on another one.

(163) *Joidyam jix-moic gu toc sa'ua.*
perfect ATR-soft ART cotton blanket
A cotton blanket is nice and soft.

(164) *Uhlñi-a'-ap gu jajannuhl no' va-x-chu-gac.*
gather-FUT-2s ART clothes CND RLZ-ATR-EXT-dry
Bring in the clothes when they're all dry.

(165) *No'-r sarvac gu ux, guíhlim jix-xijay na-ñ soiñchia-'.*
CND-EXS thick ART tree very ATR-hard SUB-1s cut^down-FUT
If the tree is thick, it's very hard to chop down.

(166) *Jix-quɨ' gu chamarra jum-'a' na-ñ*
ATR-good ART jacket RFL-want SUB-1s

tɨ'-ca-' no'-x jɨpi'ñ.
wear-NPS-FUT if-ATR cold
It's necessary to wear a good jacket when it's cold.

The second and third clauses of (166) also happen to describe static situations, each different from that of the first clause: in the second clause, *nañ tɨ'ca'*, a nonpositional resultant state occurs; and in the third clause, *no'x jɨpi'ñ*, a quality occurs in a more common, predicative usage.

In the rare event that a quality is predicated as a noun, the combination of the two prefixes *jir-jix-* is used. This is illustrated in (167), where the quality *jixchumñigam* 'is rich' is made into a derived noun by the addition of the existential prefix.

(167) *Jir-jix-chumñigam-'ap vac jia.*
EXS-ATR-rich-2s therefore EMP
So then you ARE a rich person!

Desideratives and tendencies (§9.33) are both morphologically marked as qualities. This may be because, at the time of predication, the desire for something or the tendency to act in a certain way is considered to be a

quality attributable to the entity described. An example of each is given in (168) and (169), respectively.

(168) *Tu'-p jix-xava'da-m?*
what?-2s ATR-buy-DES
What do you want to buy?

(169) *Jix-chu-juana-ra' gu-ñ ñan.*
ATR-EXT-work-TND ART-1s mother
My mother is a workaholic.

4.2 Dynamic situations

In Southeastern Tepehuan, DYNAMIC SITUATIONS are those which are viewed as involving an event of some sort. This differs from static situations in which no event takes place, but rather a state of affairs, often the result of some event, is present. EVENTS are viewed as one of two types: (a) a process, in which a patient changes over time, or (b) an action, in which an agent acts, the effect of which is described from the point of view of the agent himself, a patient, a recipient, or a combination of these. In §4.21 I discuss processes, and in §4.22 I discuss actions.

4.21. Processes. PROCESSES in Southeastern Tepehuan are predications about the change of state of a patient. The agent causing the change of state is not specified; to do so requires the predication of an action. Also, the use of a process verb means that the speaker views the event as occurring over a relatively longer period of time than the corresponding action. For example, the sentences in (170) and (171) denote a process in progress and finished, respectively, while the sentence in (172) denotes a similar action performed by an agent. Notice that in the sentences of both (170) and (171) no specific time frame or agent is in focus, while in (172) the agent is specified and the time frame is understood to be the immediate future.

(170) *Sarñ-im dyi jannuhl.*
tear-DP ART cloth
This cloth is tearing (gradually, by itself).

(171) *Sarñ-ix dyi jannuhl.*
tear-RP ART cloth
This cloth is (has been) torn.

(172) *Sarña-'-iñ dyi jannuhl.*
tear-FUT-1S ART cloth
I am going to tear this cloth (intentionally).

When referring to a process IN PROGRESS, the DEVELOPING PROCESS suffix *-im* is used with the appropriate stem. No tense suffixes are used with this combination; the difference between past and present processes, when necessary to distinguish, is stated in, or is inferable from, the context. Thus, for example, the sentence in (173) was uttered about a past situation, but this is not explicitly marked. Rather, it is inferred in this situation, since a speaker cannot say 'I come down toward the speaker', except when referring to a past action of his own, as he was doing in this instance. In contrast, the action verb used in (174) is restricted to the marked time frame; notice that the directional adverb in this sentence indicates action away from the speaker.

(173) *Añ bai' ca-timñ-im.*
1S TWD TEM-descend-DP
Meanwhile I was coming down.

(174) *Añ mui' ca-timñi-a'.*
1S AWY TEM-descend-FUT
Meanwhile I will go down.

Reference to the END state of the process is accomplished by the use of the RESULT OF PROCESS suffix *-ix* with the appropriate stem. This suffix is similar in form and meaning to the attributive prefix *jix-* (§4.14), but their distribution is nearly complementary.[30]

That is, *-ix* is added to process verbs to denote the state that occurs when the process is finished, while *jix-* is added to stems denoting qualities, thus changing them into static verbs. Verbs ending in *-ix* require the use of the nonpresent static suffix *-ca* when reference is made to the past or the future (§4.1); otherwise the end state will be assumed to be in effect at the time of the utterance, or at the current time referred to in the context. These verb forms also use the same restricted set of tense and aspect affixes as do static verbs (§3.1), emphasizing the fact that Southeastern Tepehuan speakers view end results of processes as static, not dynamic, situations.

[30]A few cases are attested where both affixes occur with the same stem, but most speakers' reaction in these instances is that one of the affixes is redundant.

Although most processes can be viewed either as IN PROGRESS or as FINISHED, one or the other of these viewpoints is usually more commonly expressed, depending on the situation. Another example of a process that occurs frequently as both developing and result is given in (175) and (176). Other situations typically viewed in both stages are *omñi* 'break', and *jagui* 'be consumed (chemically)'. Examples of situations often viewed in both stages are listed in (177), and examples of situations often viewed in the developing stage are listed in (178).

(175) *Va-júgu-im dyi cu'a'.*
RLZ-use^up-DP ART firewood
This firewood is getting used up.

(176) *Va-jugu-ix gu cu'a'.*
RLZ-use^up-RP ART firewood
The firewood is used up.

(177) *vaqui* 'enter'
vusñi 'leave'
tisdi 'ascend'
jurñi 'get late'
guixi 'fall, return'

(178) *tapñi* 'split (wood)'
iara 'make fall'
iqui 'cut'

In some instances, a situation is viewed as a developing process only or as the result of a process only, but not both. This is because either the END STATE of an observable process is viewed as different from the predictable result of that process, or because the amount of time required for that process to be IN PROGRESS is not viewed as typical of processes, even though the end state is evident. An example of the former case is given in (179), where the end result of the process reported in (173) is here reported in the past perfective. An example of the latter case is given in (180), which is the end result of the action described in (181).

(179) *no'-ñ-ich bai' va-tim*
if-1S-PRF TWD RLZ-descend
when I had come down

(180) *Tu-moicdy-ix* *dyi* *gá.*
EXT-break^ground ART cornfield
This cornfield is broken up (for cultivation).

(181) *Tu-moica'n* *dyi* *chio'ñ* *gá-tir.*
EXT-break^ground ART man cornfield-in
This man is breaking ground in (his) cornfield.

4.22. Actions. ACTION verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan denote events in which at least one semantic argument is an agent. The types of situations that are encoded by action verbs are: (a) those that involve ONE semantic argument, always an agent; (b) those that involve TWO semantic arguments, one of which is an agent and the other of which is either a patient or a recipient; and (c) those that involve THREE semantic arguments, i.e., agent, patient, and recipient. When only one argument is involved it is normally animate; when two are involved, at least one of them is animate; and when three are involved, at least two of them are animate. In this section, I discuss the semantic distinctions among these three types of actions.[31]

First, some actions describe events that involve only an AGENT. No other argument is mentioned in any of these actions, even though some may conceivably have been involved in the situation described. These actions are expressed syntactically as intransitive verbs, since only a subject is involved. Examples of actions involving agents alone are given in (182) through (185). In (182) and (183), the agents are specific individuals, while in (184) they are not specified; in (185) the agent is inanimate.

(182) *Añ* *ca-xi-cox-mir-a'.*
1S TEM-IMP-sleep-REM-FUT
I'm going (home) to sleep now.

(183) *Mi'* *tu-'a'ga-'am* *gu* *chichio'ñ.*
there EXT-talk-3P ART men
Some men are talking (down) there.

(184) *Mi'* *ti-m-ni'.*
there EXT-RFL-dance
(People are) dancing there. (Sp. *Allí se están bailando.*)

[31]My use of the term RECIPIENT is analogous to my use of AGENT and PATIENT mentioned above (footnote 27). Specifically, RECIPIENT here means 'the animate being which directly benefits from the action' (cf. Crystal 1985:32).

(185) *Na jax quia'pɨx ji-yóta' gu juhlic na*
SUB how recently INC-flower ART century^plant SUB

va'-x i'ov.
then-ATR delicious
When the century plant has just blossomed is when it really tastes good.

All actions that have corresponding resultant states (§4.11) are examples of situations involving only an agent. Other common one-argument actions are listed in (186).

(186)

gaqui	'dry up'	*mɨi*	'burn'
i'bi	'breathe'	*qui'vi*	'chew'
jimi	'go, come'	*suaqui*	'cry'
juana	'work'	*tɨtvia*	'play'
juruñdya	'sojourn'	*tɨ'ya*	'say'
mɨhli	'run'	*vatvia*	'bathe'

A few situations, such as those describing meteorological conditions, can be said to be agentless. The syntax, however, requires the verbs used to describe these situations to mark a subject (§§3.1, 11.21), indicating that the inanimate forces of nature are considered to be the agents involved. Semantically, then, situations of this type are most closely related to those involving only one agent. Two representations of the same meteorological situation are given in (187) and (188), the first with explicit agent and the second without; both are marked for third-person-singular subject.

(187) *Day na-Ø-t vaquɨcvo dyi dúc.*
only SUB-3s-PRF RLZ-stopped ART rain
Only the rain has stopped (that's all).

(188) *Mo chi bai' ji-dyúdu-'-Ø ja'xñi.*
dubious TWD INC-rain-FUT-3s later
I think it might start to rain later.

Agentless situations in which only a patient is involved semantically, such as experiencing hunger or cold, are all expressed by static verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan. This is because the speakers of this language view the experiencing of sensations and emotions as the attribution of that quality to the patient.

Situations involving the CREATION of an entity or quality are rendered as single-argument situations syntactically, although in the creation of an entity both an agent and a patient are involved. These are few in number and they all involve the addition of a dynamic verbalizing suffix to a noun or static verb stem. Stems designating the creation of an ENTITY are formed from the noun stem designating the entity created plus the creation suffix *-ta'*; this is then inflected for subject to designate the agent of the creation. Some verbs of this type describe the fabrication of common cultural objects from available natural materials, such as *vahl-cha'* 'weave a basket' and *va'c-cha'* 'construct a house'. Others describe the creation of a relationship with an animate patient, such as *joñ-cha'* 'to marry a wife'. Stems designating the creation of a QUALITY are formed from the static verb stem designating the quality created, minus its attributive or existential prefix, plus the creation suffix. Some of these describe the change in status of a person, such as *jum-tumñigam-ta'* 'become rich,' while others denote a change in quality of a natural phenomenon, such as *tucgam-ta'* 'grow dark'.

Second, some actions describe events that involve two arguments. These can be semantically subdivided into those that involve an AGENT and a PATIENT and those that involve an AGENT and a RECIPIENT. Syntactically, these are expressed as transitive verbs, since both a subject and a direct or indirect object are involved in the action. Other entities may also be involved in these situations, depending on the context, but they are not conceived of as part of the action described. Many of the verbs describing actions of this type take the applicative suffix *-(i)dya* (§10.1).

Examples of actions involving an agent and a patient are given in (189) through (192). Such actions are distinguished by the fact that, whether the patient is animate or inanimate, it is the only other argument possible in the situation; i.e., there is no recipient of the action, but only the patient passively affected by the action. In both (189) and (190) there is an inanimate patient, so no object prefix occurs on the verb. But in (191) and (192) the patient is animate, and the appropriate object prefix is used. Other common actions involving only an agent and a patient are listed in (193).

(189) *Xiv-ach jugi-a' gu atuhl, cavuimuc gu vacax.*
today-1p eat-FUT ART gruel tomorrow ART meat
Today we drink the (ritual) gruel, tomorrow we (eat) the (ritual) meat.

(190) *Gu o'dam ja'tcam ti-ni'-am gu xiotahl.*
ART Tepehuan people EXT-dance-3p ART sacred^dance
The Tepehuan people dance the 'mitote'.

(191) *Ma'n va-ñ-ñam gu-ñ ami', am jiñ-vaidya-c para Masaclán.*
one RLZ-1S-met ART-1S friend fully 1S-invite-PP to Mazatlán
Then a friend of mine met me and invited me (to go with him) to Mazatlán.

(192) *Añ bai' ca-ja-ṅii'ñ gu u'j'i ba'-ñi ux cha'm.*
1S up TEM-3P-look^at ART birds up-PRE tree on
I'm looking at some birds up in a tree.

(193)

aiya	'reach'	*moto*	'carry on the head'
bɨica	'carry'	*oidya*	'accompany'
caaya	'hear'	*quɨ'ya*	'bite'
cupa	'close'	*quɨ'mpiga*	'fix'
ɨxi	'plant'	*tɨgui*	'find'
jójoidya	'look at'	*yaspa*	'bury'

Examples of actions involving both an AGENT and a RECIPIENT are given in (194) through (197). Such actions are distinguished by the fact that, whether the recipient is animate or inanimate, it is the only other argument possible in the sitation; i.e., no patient or entity is affected by the action, except for the person to whom or for whom the action is performed. All the verbs in (194) through (197) have an animate object prefix, since recipients are always animate. The first two verbs occur with the applicative suffix (§10.1) while the second two do not, illustrating that some two-argument situations are inherently applicative, while others are not. Other common actions involving only an agent and a recipient are listed in (198).

(194) *Jiñ-pahlvuidya-'-ap a cavuimuc? Tu-darsa-'-iñ gu co'cohl.*
1S-help-FUT-2S CFR tomorrow EXT-plant-FUT-1S ART chili
Will you help me tomorrow? I'm going to plant chilies.

(195) *Xi-ja-ñio'cdya-i-'ap gu-m jáduñ na-ch gu' cham*
IMP-3P-greet-CON-2S ART-2S relatives SUB-1S but NEG

ya' ca-bɨiy-a'.
here TEM-pass-FUT
Say good-bye to your relatives (now) since we won't be coming back by here.

(196) *Mi'ñi-ñ ca-m-nɨ́ra-'.*
there-PRE TEM-2s-wait^for-FUT
I'll wait for you right over there.

(197) *Jax cu-p-ich va'-ñ guɨv?*
how? so-2s-PRF then-1s hit
Why did you hit me?

(198)	*chiñxidya*	'kiss'	*tɨi'dya*	'dress'
	cocxichdya	'put to sleep'	*uamxidya*	'request help'
	gaquídya	'dry off'	*vatvichdya*	'bathe'
	mattu	'inform'	*xichdya*	'breast-feed'
	sɨ́xidya	'prick'		

For all native two-argument stems, the agent is the subject of the clause and the patient is the grammatical object (§11.22). However, one borrowed verb stem of this type is morphologically unique in that the designations of the agent and patient are marked by the object and the subject, respectively. This stem, *co'rar* 'like, love' is undoubtedly borrowed from Spanish *gustar*, which has both the same meaning and the same argument structure.

Finally, some actions describe events that involve all three semantic arguments—AGENT, PATIENT, and RECIPIENT. Syntactically, these are expressed as transitive verbs, since subject, direct object, and indirect object are all involved. Morphologically, they are signaled by the presence of the applicative suffix (§10.1), indicating that the action is applied to an animate argument, in this case always the recipient. They differ from two-argument actions that use the applicative suffix in that the third argument is also viewed as part of the situation described. Examples of this type of action are given in (199) through (202).[32] Other common actions involving an agent, a patient, and a recipient are listed in (203).

(199) *Añ dyo gui-m maqui-a' ji ja'p sap tɨtda.*
1s PE CLR-2s give-FUT EMP thus REU told
"I will give it to you," he told him.

[32]The verb stem *maquia'* 'give' is the only known stem of this type that does not use the applicative suffix. Andrews (1975) notes that in Classical Aztec this same root was the only one designating an applicative situation that was not explicitly so marked. Perhaps this is because it is the only situation that is always a three-argument action in nature.

(200) *Ma'n kilo-p jiñ-ga'hli-dya-' gu on gu-x ví.*
one kilo-2s 1s-sell-APL-FUT ART salt ART-ATR fine
Please sell me one kilogram of fine-grained salt.

(201) *Ɨ'c-ap jiñ-cu'mráro-' na-p tu-ñ-vopcoñ-dya-'*
how^much?-2s 1s-charge-FUT SUB-2s EXT-wash-APL-FUT

gu-ñ jajannuhl?
ART-1s clothes
How much will you charge me to wash my clothes?

(202) *Jaró ba-m-bɨi-dya-c gu-m sa'ua?*
who? TWD-2s-pass-APL-PI ART-2s blanket
Who brought you your blanket?

(203)	*águi'ñdya*	'explain to'	*quɨ'mpixdya*	'fix for'
	aichuhldya	'deliver to'	*sava'ñxidya*	'buy for'
	a'ñdya	'put onto'	*somdya*	'sew for'
	bɨidya	'bring to'	*taiñvuidya*	'lend to'
	ga'hlidya	'sell to'	*tɨ'ñxidya*	'watch for'
	gáguidya	'find for'	*vacuañdya*	'wash for'

As is evident from the stems cited in (198) through (203), some two- and three-argument actions also involve causative and benefactive meanings. In §10.2, I show that the suffixes used to mark these explicit meaning—benefactive *-xi* and causatives *-t(u)* and *-hl(i)*—are not as common as the applicative suffix *-(i)dya* and that, when they do occur, they obligatorily occur with the applicative suffix.

[blank]

5
Entities

In Southeastern Tepehuan, all entities perceived in the cultural environment are referred to by noun stems. Most of these stems are used to refer to entities only, but some are derived from verb and adverb stems. Furthermore, all entities are conceived of as classified simultaneously according to two independent parameters: countable or uncountable, and animate or inanimate. In §5.1 I describe the general nature of entities and the types of noun stems that are used to refer to them. Then in the following two sections I describe the classification of entities in terms of countability (§5.2) and animacy (§5.3).[33]

Besides the three major word classes of verbs, adverbs, and nouns, there are two smaller word classes that can accompany nouns, and sometimes adverbs, to modify their meanings. One is the class of QUANTIFIERS, or words that tell how many or how much of an entity the speaker is referring to. The other is the class of POSTPOSITIONS, or words that tell how entities or locations are oriented in relation to other entities in the situation. In §5.4 I discuss quantification, and in §5.5 I discuss orientation.

5.1 Types of entities

Nearly all ENTITIES are conceived of by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers as objects perceivable in time and space; that is, there are few names for abstract concepts.[34] In order to discuss such intangible concepts, reference is made to the interaction of concrete entities, and predications are made

[33]Most of the concepts presented in these sections were first discussed in E. Willett 1981b.

[34]Only one clear case of an abstract noun is attested: *biogui'* 'hunger, famine'.

about how they interact with each other. For instance, while there is no known noun stem for 'jealousy' as an abstract entity, there is the dynamic verb stem *jɨ̈gam* which is used to predicate how one person FEELS jealousy for another, as in (204).

(204) *Ya'-ch- jɨ̈gam -'am.*
here-1p- jealous -3p
They are jealous of us here.

Therefore, in the discussion that follows, reference to entities is to concrete entities, perceivable as existing, having existed, or going to exist in the world system as the speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan know it. This does not, however, rule out reference to mythological or supernatural entities not perceivable by members of other cultures, since these play an important role in the traditional belief system of the Southeastern Tepehuan people.

Most noun stems refer to semantically simple entities. Examples of noun phrases containing only one noun referring to one entity are given in (205). These examples illustrate that nouns other than place names are obligatorily preceded by the article *gu* (§12.2).

(205) *gu nacsɨ̈r*
ART scorpion
the scorpion

gu cúpa-'n
ART hair-3s
his hair

gu cutúna-'n gu-x chuc
ART blouse-3s ART-ATR black
the black blouse

Susba'n-tam
frogs-place
Frog Town

gu Juan
ART John
John

Semantically complex entities are denoted by two types of morphologically complex noun phrases in both of which the first noun modifies the second. In one of these, two noun stems are juxtaposed within the same noun phrase, forming a compound noun. In the other, two simple noun phrases are juxtaposed to form a compound noun phrase. Examples of each are given in (206) and (207), respectively.

(206) *gu ahlí chio'ñ*
ART child man
boy (male child)

gu súdai' mamra'n
ART water offspring
(tiny) vermin that live in water

gu bi'ñ-vac
ART clay-house
house made of adobe

(207) *gu joñ-ga-'n gu ja'nñi-'ñ*
ART wife-STS-3s ART relative-3s
his relative's wife

gu quɨi'ñ-cam co' gu víña-'n
ART bite-one snake ART wine-3s
rattlesnake wine

Noun stems may also be derived from other types of stems by the addition of stem-formation suffixes. Two suffixes, *-dam* 'one who does *x*' and *-car* 'instrument for doing *y*' are added to verb stems; a third suffix, *-cam* 'one corresponding to *z*', is added to an adverb stem or to a quality. Two examples of each of these are given in (208), (209), and (210).

(208) *gu sava'n-dam*
ART sell-one^who
the seller

gu tujuan-dam
ART work-one^who
the worker

(209) *gu* *som-car*
ART sew-INSTR
the needle

gu *vai'ñdya-car*
ART get^water-INSTR
the water jug

(210) *gu* *gatuc-cam*
ART last-one
the last one

gu-ch *soi-'-cam*
ART-1p humble-STS-one
Our Humble One (Jesus Christ)

Loan words from Spanish and Aztec are used to refer to many entities for which there is not a native Southeastern Tepehuan noun stem.[35] Normally the final vowel is dropped from nouns borrowed from Spanish, and vowel raising (*e* to *i*, *o* to *u*) takes place. Examples are given in (211).

(211) *cavay* 'horse' (Sp. *caballo*)
cusiñ 'kitchen (house)' (Sp. *cocina*)
ribus 'shawl' (Sp. *rebozo*)
návat 'non-Tepehuan' (Aztec: *nahuatl*)
túmiñ 'money' (from Aztec?)

Most entities are conceived of as independent of other entities. Some, however, are viewed as obligatorily possessed by another entity, such as kinship relations and body parts. If the possessed entity is not part of the predication, the possessor is marked with the status suffix *-ga* (§12.4) and the third-person-possessor suffix *-'n* (§11.25). Examples are given in (212).

(212) *gu-ñ mo'* (ART-1s head) 'my head'
gu totna-'n (ART legs-3s) 'his legs'
gu-m xicu' (ART-2s sibling) 'your younger sibling'
Jaróga-'n? (who?-STS-3s) 'Whose is it?'
Jir-añga-'n. (EXS-1s-STS-3s) 'It's mine.'

[35]A man once asked for a ride in my truck using the following trilingual utterance: *cha-'p me das un ride?* (NEG-2s 1s give a ride) 'Won't you (please) give me a ride?' The English noun *ride* undoubtedly came through Spanish, where it is in current use.

5.2 Countability

All entities referred to in Southeastern Tepehuan are conceived of as either countable or uncountable. COUNTABLE means that the entity is conceived of as a separable unit from others referred to by the same noun stem. UNCOUNTABLE means that the entity is conceived of as an aggregate collection of similar or identical items, or as an undifferentiated mass. The morphological indication of whether a noun is countable or not is whether it reduplicates for plural (§§2.33, 12.1); noun stems referring to countable entities have a reduplicated stem for plural (i.e., more than one), whereas noun stems referring to uncountable entities do not reduplicate.

Most nouns refer to countable entities. Many examples of nouns referring to countable entities are given in both their singular and plural forms in §2.33; several of them are repeated here in (10).

(213)	*bai'ñ, bábai'ñ*	'tail'	*maiñ, mamaiñ*	'straw mat'
	cai'ñ, cácai'ñ	'seed; pit'	*ṅii'xcahl, ṅiṅii'xcahl*	'toy top'
	curat, cucrat	'woodpecker'	*nop, nónop*	'owl'
	guiotɨr, guio'ntɨr	'plain'	*pípihl, pippihl*	'chick'
	járax, jajárax	'crab'	*sɨ', sɨsɨ'*	'wolf'
	jiñ-cam, jiñ-cácam	'my cheek'	*tɨrviñ, tɨtropiñ*	'rope'
	jo', jajo'	'hide'	*vaiñum, vapaiñum*	'metal (tool)'
	juc, jujuc	'pine tree'	*voy, vapoy*	'trail'

The few nouns that refer to uncountable entities are either collections of items such as foods and some plants, or mass items such as natural phenomena. Examples of nouns referring to uncountable entities are given in (214). One of these, *jiji'ñ* 'intestines', is a rare example of a noun whose only stem is a reduplicated stem, indicating that the entity it refers to, although physically countable, is always conceived of in the plural.

(214)	*bav*	'bean(s)'	*súdai*	'water'
	ɨxchoc	'seed (for planting)'	*tɨmcahl*	'tortilla(s)'
	jiji'ñ	'intestines'	*yóxi'*	'flower(s)'
	oidya'	'hill(s); year(s)'		

5.3 Animacy

All entities in Southeastern Tepehuan are not only conceived of as either countable or uncountable but also as either animate or inanimate. ANIMATE

nouns refer to humans, animals, and a few other entities usually conceived of as possessing animate characteristics, such as a sewing machine, because it has moving parts. INANIMATE nouns refer to all other entities. This distinction is reflected morphologically in two ways—in the person-number marking and in the marking of possession.

First, personal pronouns, derived from the person-number enclitics (§§ 2.38, 11.21), refer exclusively to first or second person (singular and plural); third-person reference is possible only by the use of the demonstrative pronouns (§11.24). This corresponds to the fact that, in most speech situations, the first- and second-person referents (i.e., the speaker and the hearer, respectively) are animate, while third-person referents are more often inanimate. Furthermore, a first- or second-person object is always marked with a prefix on the verb (§11.22), since it is always animate; but a third-person object is marked only if the referent is animate, otherwise the object prefix is zero.

Second, possession of domesticated animals and certain human relations, such as wife and father-in-law, are marked for a special status relation by the suffix *-ga* (§12.4). This is in addition to the normal set of possessor affixes (§11.25) by which reference can be made to the possession of many entities, both animate and inanimate. The limited use of *-ga* contrasts with the less limited use of the diminutive suffix *-tuqui*, which is used with both animate and inanimate nouns (§12.4).

5.4 Quantification

Whenever an entity is referred to by a noun in Southeastern Tepehuan, it is normally preceded by an article indicating definiteness (§12.2). In this case, the implicit assumption is that only one entity is being referred to, and that entity is viewed as a unified whole. Occasionally, however, the speaker wishes to QUANTIFY (i.e., specify the amount of) the entity, to indicate either how many of them, or how much of it, he has in mind. To do so he must use one of the adjectives of quantification, either specific or generic, in addition to, or sometimes instead of, an article.

Numbers are adjectives of SPECIFIC QUANTIFICATION. Although there is evidence that Southeastern Tepehuan at one time had a counting system based on the number twenty, all that exists in current usage are the numbers 'one' through 'five' and 'ten'. All other numbers are borrowed from Spanish, and even the remaining native terms are often replaced by their Spanish counterparts. Thus, for instance, the old word for 'twenty', *o'm*, which in Proto-Tepiman meant 'foreigner' or 'enemy' (Bascom 1965), is no longer in common use.

Numbers are used in Southeastern Tepehuan in both literal and figurative senses. In the literal sense, a number is used to specify a certain number of items. Instances of such uses are common in Southeastern Tepehuan, especially in folklore, where the numbers 'two' and 'five' are frequently used for ceremonial reasons (E. Willett 1981c). The native numbers that are still used are listed in (215); examples of the literal use of numerals are given in (216) through (218).[36] In these examples the numbers replace the article, since they are more specific. The number 'one', *ma'n*, however, is used in conjunction with the article *gu* to mark indefiniteness (§12.2).

(215)

ma'n	'one'	*mácov*	'four'
goc	'two'	*jixchamam*	'five'
vaic	'three'	*mambix*	'ten'

(216) *Goc tanohl pix va-paltar na va-tu-m-náda-'*
two day DIM RLZ-lack SUB RLZ-EXT-RFL-make^fire-FUT

bán Matividá Ta'm.
on Natividad on
There are only two more days until the beginning of the Nativity Festival (lit. until they light the fires for "Nativitas de las Aguas" Day).

(217) *No'-ñ jix-'a' na-ñ jir-macguim-ca-', jix-chamam*
CND-1s ATR-want SUB-1s EXS-healer-NPS-FUT ATR-five

oidya'-ñ aichdya-' na-ñ jiñ-xidyut-da-'.
year-1s complete-FUT SUB-1s 1s-taboo-DUR-FUT
If I want to be(come) a healer, I must complete five years of ritual abstinence.

(218) *Mambix dáman goc jir-ma'n docen.*
ten plus two EXS-one dozens
Ten plus two makes one dozen.

When the number 'one' or the number 'two' is used with an uncountable entity, it is understood to be in the figurative, not literal sense. For instance, if a person asks for *ma'n timcahl* 'one tortilla' he really means

[36]It is not clear why the number 'five' obligatorily occurs with the attributive prefix *jix-*. It is apparently derived from Aztec *maitl* 'hand'.

'very few', like English *a couple of.* Similarly, *goc cu'a'* 'two firewood' doesn't mean two pieces of firewood, but a relatively small quantity in comparison to the entire stock. Another example of this usage is given in (219).

(219) *Va-x-caim a gu-m gá cu-p goc*
RLZ-ATR-ripe CFR ART-2s cornfield SO-2s two

jiñ-ga'hl-idya-' (gu junva')?
1s-sell-APL-FUT ART corn^ear
Is your cornfield ripe yet? (How about) selling me several ears?

This figurative use of numbers is one type of GENERIC QUANTIFICATION; that is, the modification of the amount of the entity in a less specific way by the use of modifiers denoting NONNUMERIC quantity. Other quantifiers of this type are listed in (220) and are illustrated in (221) and (222).

(220)

jai'	'others'	*mui'*	'many'
ji'c	'about'	*navap*	'every'
ji'cchi	'a few, several'	*tac*	'half, part'
ji'ma'n	'every other, some'	*vix*	'all'
jumay	'another'		

(221) *Xion-da-'-ap dyi jác na va' vix tatnaqui-a'.*
stir-DUR-FUT-2s ART popcorn SUB then all burst^open-FUT
Stir the popcorn (continuously) so it will all pop.

(222) *Cham jax vua sia-p-ich mui' tu-mataim xiv, na-ñ*
NEG how do even^if-2s-PRF much EXT-cook^corn now SUB-1s

gu' cavuimuc jai'-m pahlvuidya-' na-p tu-túta-'.
but tomorrow others-2s help-FUT SUB-2s EXT-grind-FUT
It doesn't matter if you cook a lot of corn today, because tomorrow I will help you grind (some of) it.

5.5 Orientation

A set of modifiers that occurs much more frequently with nouns in Southeastern Tepehuan than do quantifiers is the set of postpositions. This small word class is used to indicate the RELATIVE ORIENTATION of the entity

modified. They are NOT used to indicate grammatical relations, except for the 'oblique' relation of instrumentality. Some postpositions are also used to modify the location, time, or manner specified by adverbs. I here first describe postpositions used with nouns, then those used with adverbs.

Whether or not the noun representing an entity is quantified, it can be modified to indicate the SPATIAL ORIENTATION of the entity in relation to other entities involved in the situation described by the use of postpositions. These locational meanings are NOT DEICTIC as are the locational adverbs (§6.1) and prefixes (§11.1); rather, they are RELATIONAL, since they describe locations from the point of view of entities other than the speaker or hearer. The most common postpositions used with nouns are listed in (223), and several are illustrated in (224) through (230).

(223)

am	'on (topography or body part, non3s)'	*ja'c*	'in the direction of'
		quɨr	'among'
a'm	'on (body part, non3s)'	*quɨ'n*	'with'
bán	'on top of'	*ram*	'on (body part, 3s)'
ca'm	'by means of (general)'	*tam*	'place (of)'
dam	'over, above'	*ta'm*	'on (the surface of)'
dɨr	'from'	*tɨr*	'inside of'
dɨt	'between'	*vɨta'*	'under'

(224) *Guíhlim jix-'ɨxvi' gu ban. Quícham dɨr*
very ATR-thievish ART coyote home from

ja-'u'tɨc gu tatcarui' sia gu cacarvax.
3p-carry^off ART chickens even ART goats
The coyote is very thievish; he carries off chickens and even goats right from (people's) homes.

(225) *Jai' gu ja'tcam jix-max-'am na-m jix-mátɨt*
other ART people ATR-visible-3p SUB-3p ATR-know^how

sovcoñ gu ta'mlas puru vaiñgas quɨ'n, day na-m
hew ART boards purely axe with just SUB-3p

jix-dya'ra-m ga'ra.
ATR-expensive-RFL sell
There are people who know how to hew boards with just an axe, but they sell them at a high price.

(226) *Súdai' chir oiri gu vatop tu-du'npic.*
water in walk ART fish EXT-swim^under^water
The fish is in the water swimming.

(227) *Maxdyi-ch va' paxiar-po-' Susba'n-tam.*
day^after^tomorrow then visit-OBJ-FUT frogs-place
Then we'll go and visit in Frog Town the day after tomorrow.

(228) *Jaró ga'n dyi carvax na ba'-ñi quic joday ta'm?*
who? POS ART goat SUB there-PRE stand rock on
Whose goat is that standing on the rock?

(229) *Mo'-ram das-tu' gu vai'ñdya-car dyi uví.*
head-on put-MOT ART draw^water-thing ART woman
That woman is carrying a water jug on her head.

(230) *Topá bán jum-sonvia gu co'cohl.*
mortar on RFL-chop ART chili
Chilies are crushed in a mortar (using a pestle).

Most of the postpositions listed in (223) are used only with nouns, but a few have other uses. In particular, *dir* also means 'from' when used with adverbs (discussed below); it also forms a part of several locative adverbs (§6.1). Also, *qui'n* is used with adverbs (discussed below). Furthermore, the postposition *dam* is homophonous with the noun-formation suffix *-dam* 'one who' (§5.1).

Several postpositions are used with adverbs. Those listed in (231), for instance, occur with locative adverbs, augmenting their primary meanings. Occasionally, when the situation warrants, two of these postpositions may occur. Examples of postpositions with locative adverbs are given in (232)–(234).

(231) *dir* 'from'
ca'n 'at (previously designated)'
ja'c 'in the direction of'
ja'p 'in the area of'

(232) *Mi' dy̶i̶r ba-ñ-b̶i̶i'ñ por pavor gu-ñ vonam na-p*
there from TWD-1S-bring please ART-1S hat SUB-2S

mia'n dá. Cham tu-'aix-'iñ ya' di̶r.
near sit NEG EXT-reach-1S here from
Please hand me my hat from there, since you're close (to it). I can't reach it from here.

(233) *Bammi̶-ni ca'n oiri̶ gu cavay güi' na-p ga'nga.*
there-PRE at walk ART horse DEM SUB-2S look^for
The horse you're looking for is up there.

(234) *Gama ja'c-apim va-ñ-ñi̶ra-da-' na pai' dy̶i̶r*
farther DIR-2P RLZ-1S-wait-DUR-FUT SUB where from

ja'p b̶i̶i-x gu voy para Tová-tam.
area pass-RP ART trail for turkey-place
You (PL) please wait for me farther ahead where the trail to Turkey Town goes off.

The postpositions listed in (235) occur with temporal adverbs. The use of each is different in temporal contexts than it is in locative contexts. Example of these uses are given in (236) and (237).

(235) *ja'c* 'at the time of'
qui̶'n 'within (a period of time)'

(236) *Tuca' ja'c jix-ñia gu tucur na gu' guë'guër tu-vúpuy.*
night time ATR-see ART owl SUB but big OWN-eyes
The owl can see at night because it has big eyes.

(237) *J̶i̶'c tanohl qui̶'n jum-'a'j̶i̶ ya' di̶r?*
how^many? day within RFL-arrive here from
How many days does it take to get there from here?

A few postpositions also occur as prepositions, but not in the same form. Rather, they occur as full adverbs followed by a noun phrase, much like a prepositional phrase in English or Spanish. In most cases a productive postposition still exists, so that the use of prepositions may be an innovation that has resulted from contact with Spanish. Three contrastive examples are given in (238) through (240).

(238) *bán gu mes* *vs.* *gu mes ta'm*
on ART table ART table on
on the table

(239) *v̶i̶ta'n gu va'ac* *vs.* *gu va'c v̶i̶ta'*
under ART house ART house under
under the house

(240) *damd̶i̶r gu súdai'* *vs.* *gu súdai' dyam*
atop ART water ART water on^top
on top of the water

The only known postposition that can function in identical form as a preposition is *bán* 'on top of', but its use as a postposition is now largely limited to ritualistic contexts, such as prayers. A rare nonritualistic example of *bán* as a postposition is given in (230) above. More common is its use as a preposition in a locative sense, as in (238) above, or in a temporal sense, as in (216) above.

6
Settings

All predications in Southeastern Tepehuan describe a situation, either static (§4.1) or dynamic (§4.2), and most make reference to the entities involved in the situation (§5). Many predications are also accompanied by specific indications of other aspects associated with the situation described, here referred to as the SETTINGS. The two aspects of a setting that are usually specified are those of location and time of the situation. Two other aspects that often are specified as well are the manner in which a situation occurs and, in the case of dynamic situations, the direction of any movement involved. I describe the expression of notions of location and direction in §6.1, the expression of notions of time in §6.2, and the expression of notions of manner in §6.3.

6.1 Location and direction

In Southeastern Tepehuan, designation of the location in which a situation takes place is usually part of any predication about that situation. This designation can be either about the GENERAL LOCATION of the situation in relation to the speaker's position, or it can be about the SPECIFIC LOCATION of the situation in relation to other entities in the vicinity. Designation of one type of location neither requires nor precludes designation of the other. Furthermore, if the predication is about a dynamic situation, the designation of the DIRECTION in which the moving participant is proceeding is also necessary.[37]

[37]The information in this section is drawn mostly from T. Willett and Solís 1983, which also includes an analysis of place names in Southeastern Tepehuan.

The notions of general location and direction are integrally related in Southeastern Tepehuan. Both are based on two pertinent aspects of the situation as viewed by the speaker. Also, both have very similar forms of expression. Their only difference lies in the semantic context of their expression: general location is potentially expressible in the description of any situation, while direction is limited to dynamic situations, since it refers to motion to or from the speaker.

The predication of the GENERAL LOCATION of a situation is determined by the interaction of two interrelated parameters. Both parameters involve the relation between the locus of the situation described and the location of the speaker at the time referred to in the utterance. The first parameter is the relative DISTANCE of the situation described from the speaker; the second is the relative HEIGHT. These two parameters are diagrammed in (241) along with the choices of general locative adverbs that they determine.

(241)

	Higher	Same level or lower
PROXIMAL	*bai'*	*ya'*
DISTAL	*bai'*	*mi'*
REMOTE	*bammi*	*mummu*

The general locational setting is always stated from the point of view of the speaker or of the animate entity whose viewpoint the speaker may temporarily assume in the utterance. The speaker's view of HEIGHT is divided into two areas by an imaginary plane extending from his feet perpendicularly outward in all directions. Within each of these two areas, the speaker has a different view of DISTANCE. As (241) shows, there is a two-way distinction for distance from the speaker for situations located ABOVE this imaginary plane, and a three-way distinction for distance from the speaker for situations located ON or BELOW this plane. In particular, *bai'* is used for either proximal or relatively distal situations located above the speaker's plane of observation. Examples of the use of the adverbs in (241) are given in (242) through (245).

(242) *Ya'-ni mia'n-ap xi-quicvo-y no'p xi-chu-ñ-'a'guidya-m.*
here-PRE here-2S IMP-stand-CON if-2S ATR-EXT-1S-talk^TO-DES
Stand here close if you want to talk to me.

(243) *Ma'n bai' quic gu u'i' ux cha'm.*
one there stands ART bird tree on
There is a bird up in the tree (nearby).

(244) *Mi'-ñi-ja'c vɨpta'n-ach bɨiy-a' na mas jir-paréjo.*
there-PRE-area below-1p go^to-FUT SUB more EXS-flat
Let's go down there below where it's flatter.

(245) *Mummu campu santo oipo-'am gu cacvay.*
there field sacred walk-3p ART horses
The horses are over (down) there in the cemetery.

Both proximal and distal locations are always considered to be within the sight of the speaker: PROXIMAL locations are in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, and DISTAL locations are a RELATIVELY SHORT distance away. Thus the general locations specified in (242) through (244) are assumed to be visible to the speaker at the time of the utterance. In (242) it is proximal, denoting a location close enough to talk face-to-face. In (243) and (244) it is distal; (243) denotes a location nearby, close enough to observe a bird, while (244) denotes a location farther away but within an easy walk.

In contrast, REMOTE locations are always considered to be a relatively long distance away, and they may or may not be visible. Thus the general location specified in (245) must be interpreted by the hearer according to the situation as he understands it at the time of the utterance. That is, *mummu* could either mean the speaker sees the horses wandering in the cemetery as he is speaking, or it could mean that he saw them there previous to the time of the utterance but still believes them to be there when reporting the fact. Furthermore, speakers choose between *bammɨ* and *mummu* for reference to locations out of their range of vision by reference to their general understanding of how the location they are referring to is situated relative to their own location at the time of speech.

The DIRECTION of movement of the agent in the description of a dynamic situation is also seen from the point of view of the speaker or the entity whose viewpoint the speaker assumes. Direction is always indicated in situations involving movement unless it is inferable from the location stated in the predication, as in (244). The notion of direction also involves two parameters, the interrelation of which also determines the form of expression. These two parameters determining direction are diagrammed in (246), along with the choices of directional adverbs they determine.

(246)

Restricted opening	TOWARD	AWAY
No	*bai'*	*mui'*
Yes	*bɨjɨ*	*mɨjɨ*

The first of these parameters is whether the movement is TOWARD or AWAY from the speaker's reference point. This reference point is the place from which the speaker observes the movement of an agent different from himself, or the place from which the speaker, as agent, begins or ends his own movement. Any movement which takes the agent farther from the point of reference is considered directionally AWAY; that is, either an agent moves farther from the speaker or the speaker moves away from his original location. Conversely, any movement which brings the agent closer to the point of reference is considered directionally TOWARD; that is, either an agent comes closer to the speaker or the speaker moves toward his eventual location.

The second parameter is whether the movement is into or out of a RESTRICTED OPENING or not. That is, there is a pair of directional adverbs for movement toward and away from the reference point for movements that are into or out of what the speaker considers to be the only possible place into or from which to move in that direction. There is another pair of directional adverbs for movement that is not so restricted. Examples of the use of these two pairs of directional adverbs are given in (247) through (250).

(247) *Bai' gor sap xi-jim.*
TWD 2p REP IMP-go
You all were told to come.

(248) *Mui'-m va-vópo-' gu cacvay.*
AWY-3p RLZ-run-FUT ART horses
The horses are running that way.

(249) *Na pai' dyuc mo guë' va-mɨi-m na va' bɨjɨ*
SUB when DSC big RLZ-burn-DP SUB then TWD

va-ñioc sap va' jia.
RLZ-talk REU then EMP
When (the fire) was blazing, (someone) spoke (from inside of it).

(250) *Mɨjɨ ji-vá joday vɨta' gu to'm.*
AWY INC-enter rock under ART rabbit
The rabbit disappeared under the rock.

It is not relevant to the specification of direction whether the situation described is or is not within sight of the speaker, as it is with general location. Pragmatically, however, a speaker will not ordinarily designate

movement into or out of a restricted opening unless that opening is visible to him. Thus the designation of restricted direction will normally be accompanied by reference to some entity that at least partially constitutes a border for the opening.

The expression of both general location and direction is sometimes shortened to the first consonant and vowel of the adverb stem. Since many of these stems begin with these same segments, this can create an ambiguity that, in many instances at least, is compatible with either meaning. In (251), for instance, the form *mu* could mean either 'there (at the school)' or 'away (from the school)'. Similarly, in (252) the *mu* could either mean 'there (outside)' or 'away (from here)'.[38]

(251) *Goc óra-ñ qui'n ja'cguixi-a' mu dir iscoila.*
two hour-1s with return-FUT LOC from school
I will return from school (with)in two hours.

(252) *Mu dirap-ap xi-ji-mí-ji no'-p jix-chitvi-m.*
LOC outside-2s IMP-INC-run-CON if-2s ATR-play-DES
Go outside if you want to play.

While the designation of general location is very common, the designation of SPECIFIC LOCATION is less so. When the speaker wishes to relate more than the minimum information about the location of the situation described relative to his own position, he can specify its relation to some other entity in the vicinity of the locus of the situation. This designation may either accompany that of general location, as in (253), or replace it, as in (254).

(253) *Bammi-ni oidya' ta'm oipo-'am gu-ch cacvai-'.*
there-PRE hill on walk-3p ART-1p horses-STS
Our horses are (wandering about) up there on the hill.

(254) *Mapdir-ap ba-ñ-xispidya-' na cham gay*
one^side-2s TWD-1s-support-FUT SUB NEG sideways

guixi-a' (dyi bíñor).
fall-FUT ART load
(Please) hold up (the other) side of this load so it won't fall (while I secure it).

[38]The use of the same two beginning segments in the form of locative verb prefixes is further described in §11.1.

In (253), as in (245), a more specific location is mentioned in addition to the general location of the situation described. This is the normal pattern when no other locational aspects are referred to in the immediate linguistic context. The general location need not be specified, however, when it is clearly inferable from a knowledge of the nonlinguistic context, as in (254), where it is understood to be proximate. Another context in which only specific location is likely to occur is when it contrasts with a general location, as in the first clause versus the second clause of (255).

(255) *Të'cov-ap* *dása-y* *dyi* *quis* *na* *cham* *mi'*
high-2s put-CON ART cheese SUB NEG there

juguioca-' *gu* *gagox.*
eat^up-FUT ART dog
Put the cheese up high (enough) so the dog won't eat it.

Other common adverbs designating specific location are listed in (256). These are part of the overall system of specification of SPATIAL ORIENTATION in Southeastern Tepehuan. The adverbs of general location and their corresponding prefixes (§11.1) are the means of specifying locational deixis; the adverbs of specific location and the system of postpositions (§5.5) are the means of specifying nondeictic locational meanings. Two of these postpositions, *dir* 'from' and *ja'c* 'toward', are used in the formation of several of the adverbs listed in (256).

(256)

vipgandir	'behind'	*cocva'n*	'at the edge'
vita'n	'under'	*sosna'n*	'at the bottom'
dumahl	'down low'	*cúgaram*	'at the top of'
damdir	'above'	*mui'cap*	'in many places'
sacahlic'am	'on a ridge'	*tai'ja'c*	'slope upward'
guiotir	'(on a) plane'	*a'nsapja'c*	'slope downward'
irvandir	'inside of'	*ju'ñdyaram*	'on the inside edge'
dirapdir	'outside of'	*jugui'ñ*	'on the outside edge'
gamai'	'farther on'	*o'nsopdir*	'on the left side of'
gamaja'c	'ahead'	*qui'ndir*	'on the right side of'
gaidyir	'on the side of a slope'		
vasdir	'on the other side (out of sight)'		
vási'ndir	'on the other side (in sight)'		
xia'hlvuija'c	'east (lit. toward the sunrise)'		
jurnipja'c	'west (lit. toward the sunset)'		

6.2 Time

Designation of the time of the situation described in a predication in Southeastern Tepehuan is not as common as is the designation of location or direction, nor is there a distinction between general and specific temporal adverbs as there is for locational adverbs. Rather, the use of a temporal adverb of more or less generality is often necessary to establish specific temporal relationships within the general time frame of the predication. That is, the designation of the general frame of reference for the time of the situation described is accomplished by use of tense suffixes (§7). Sometimes, however, the speaker makes a more specific temporal reference in the form of an adverb of TIME.

Though quantitatively more specific than tense, temporal adverbs vary in their relative specificity. Some designate a particular unit of time, as in (257); others designate a particular portion of time within that unit, as in (258).

(257) *Vas-tacav-ach bai' va-jimi-a' guit, gu' ji*
farther-yesterday-we TWD RLZ-go-FUT CLR but EMP

na-t gu' ma-ch-'o'ñxi ma'n gu buru'x.
SUB-PRF but PP-1p-hide one ART donkey
We were going to leave (for here) the day before yesterday, but one of our donkeys got lost.

(258) *Casi gu' jurnic ji na-ch-ich va' pic bai' ji-ji.*
almost but evening EMP SUB-1p-PRF then barely TWD INC-go
It was nearly evening before we finally left.

The reference to time can also be relative, within an unstated unit of time. For instance, the references to 'before' and 'after' in (259) are understood to apply to earlier or later in that same afternoon, since Tepehuans eat their main meal sometime between midday and evening. But they could also be interpreted to mean 'earlier' or 'later', in a more general sense, i.e., where the unit of time is unspecified, as in (260).

(259) *Ap vipi' tu-jugui-a' na-p gu' cham joiñi', añ va' gatuc.*
2s before EXT-eat-FUT SUB-2s but NEG move 1s then after
You eat first, since you eat more slowly; then I'll eat later.

(260) *Api'm gamai' va-jim-da-', ach gatuc mu-jim.*
2p ahead RLZ-go-DUR-FUT 1p after AWY-go
You (PL) go on ahead and we will go later.

These same two temporal adverbs are good examples of the relation between time adverbs and locational adverbs, since *vípɨ'* can mean either 'before' or 'earlier', while *gatuc* can mean either 'after' or 'later'.

All temporal adverbs can be used to designate time in either a static or a dynamic situation. The above examples illustrate the use of temporal adverbs in the description of dynamic situations; example (261) illustrates the same for a static situation. Other common temporal adverbs are listed in (262).

(261) *Jix-chatoiñ-ca-t ji xiv dyi tanohl.*
ATR-hot-NPS-PI EMP NOW ART day

Góqu-im-añ-ich ji-vatvia.
two-times-1S-PRF INC-bathe
It sure was hot today. I bathed twice.

(262)

vasmutacav	'two days before yesterday'	*ɨrav tuca'*	'at midnight'
vastacav	'the day before yesterday'	*catucgav*	'early in the morning (before dawn)'
cavuimuc	'tomorrow; in the morning'	*capbuimuc*	'early in the morning (after dawn)'
maxdyi	'the day after tomorrow'	*jichdyam duc*	'at midday'
jumay maxdyi	'two days after tomorrow'	*miaduc*	'in the early afternoon'
jano'	'at that time'	*jumidyac*	'in the late afternoon'
jixquɨ'ncov	'early'		
ja'xñi	'later'	*ma'nim*	'once'
tatav	'in the daytime'	*góquim*	'twice'
tuca'	'at night'	*vaiquim*	'three times'
guë' tuca'	'late at night (before midnight)'	*mácovim*	'four times'
		jixchamámim	'five times'
		mui'quim	'many times'

6.3 Manner

Manner is the aspect of the setting of a situation that is least often designated in Southeastern Tepehuan. It is included in the predication

when the speaker wishes to clarify something about the way in which a static situation exists or a dynamic situation happens. That is, occasionally the speaker refers to a nonlocation, nondirectional, nontemporal aspect of the setting of the situation described in a predication. If such a reference is not one of those covered by the more general area of aspect (§8), then an adverb of MANNER is used. The number of adverbial stems of this type is relatively small; two common ones are illustrated in (263); several others are listed in (264).

(263) *Parvan som dyi-ñ camis, ampɨx jum-sombio'c.*
badly sewn ART-1S shirt exactly RFL-come^unsewn
This shirt is poorly sewn; it comes right apart.

(264)

aixim	'of all kinds'	*jotmoda'*	'quickly'
ali'ch	'a little'	*mi'pui'*	'the same way'
am	'fully'	*pui'*	'thus; on foot'
chacuy	'not yet'	*pui'pɨx*	'free'
jɨ'xñi	'this size'	*xi'*	'too much'
joidyam	'perfectly'		

The negative adverb *cham* is probably the most frequently used manner adverb. Its meaning is always the same—negation of the predication in the clause in which it occurs, whether that clause is subordinate syntactically, as in (254), (255), and (259), or coordinate, as in (265). In the predication of static situations, the attributive prefix *jix-* is never used in clauses containing *cham*, such as (266), but the existential prefix *jir-* always is, as seen in (267).

(265) *Gu pippihl dyo ji na ja-cua' gu tobav,*
ART chicks AFF EMP SUB 3P-eat ART chicken^hawk

gu guë'guër cham ji.
ART big^ones NEG EMP
It's just the chicks that the chicken hawk eats, not the larger (chickens).

(266) *Cham quɨ' tu-'i'mda' dyi ma'ncam.*
NEG good OWN-spirit ART person
This person has a bad spirit.

(267) *Cham jir-'am.*
NEG EXS-exact
It isn't right.

The meanings of some other, less common manner adverbs border on either the meaning of time or of location. For instance, *sahl* in (268) designates a modification of the time of a dynamic situation, while *sacahl* in (269) designates a modification of the location of the participants.

(268) *Sahl tu-'oiṙ gu muhl.*
slowly EXT-walk ART turtle
Turtles (lit. the turtle) walk slowly.

(269) *Sacahl-apim xi-gu'quia-' cu-ñ jam-ditratár-o'.*
in^line-2P IMP-stand-FUT SO-1S 2P-photograph-FUT
Stand in line (you guys) so I can take your picture.

7
Tense

In Southeastern Tepehuan it is obligatory to use markers of TENSE to designate at what time an event takes place or a state exists. Moreover, this designation is always deictic in nature. That is, the speaker must place the situation in time either with respect to the moment at which he describes it or with respect to the moment at which another person, from whose perspective the speaker is viewing the situation, perceives it. The first of these temporal reference points, here called SPEECH TIME, is that which predominates in conversation and first-person discourse (e.g., personal narratives). The second, here called REFERENCE TIME, is that which predominates in second- and third-person discourse (e.g., procedural texts and folklore).

Three basic tenses are distinguished in Southeastern Tepehuan; these form a coherent formal category (§3.23). The present tense is used to designate situations that occur simultaneous with speech or reference time; the past tense designates situations that occurred prior to speech or reference time; and the future tense is used to designate situations that will occur subsequent to speech or reference time.[39] But the temporal context of a situation is not the only meaning conveyed by tense markers. Two other types of meanings, one aspectual and the other modal, are also conveyed by indicators of tense.

First, every indication of time through tense carries with it the further indication of whether the situation is viewed as perfective or imperfective in nature. PERFECTIVE tenses are those that view the situation as temporally

[39]In the light of recent discoveries about the meaning of future morphemes in many of the world's languages (e.g., Bybee and Pagliuca 1987; Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1988), the present analysis of tense as a coherent SEMANTIC category in Southeastern Tepehuan may be modified after further investigation.

bounded in at least one point, while IMPERFECTIVE tenses are those that view the situation as unbounded, or ongoing in time, with no reference to its temporal limits. That is, in a perfective tense the situation is seen as having either a distinct beginning point or a distinct ending point or both, while the amount of time the situation occupies is not relevant. In contrast, in an imperfective tense the temporal limiting points of a situation are not relevant; instead, the focus is on the duration of the situation. The distinction between perfective and imperfective is thus also obligatorily indicated for every situation, just as is the time of its occurrence. The present and future tenses are both viewed as inherently imperfective, although their meaning can be modified by the use of a perfective aspect. Past tense has three forms, two perfective and one imperfective. The two perfective pasts differ in whether the focus is on only the endpoint of the situation or on the situation as a whole.

Second, some indications of time through tense are also expressions of modal meanings. This is most prominent in the future tense, which usually indicates a prediction that the situation will occur in the future. Also, tense is the factor that distinguishes between the three possible meanings of both the imperative prefix *xi-* and the conditional particle *no'*.

But besides the nontemporal meanings, a tense marker may also be used to indicate a temporal meaning other than its usual one, e.g., future tense can indicate past imperfective in a certain context. Thus it is clear that tense does not mark only deictic time, but also aspectual and sometimes modal meanings as well. Each of the temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings of the tense markers are discussed in the sections that follow. In §7.1, I discuss the meanings associated with present tense, and in §7.2, those associated with future tense. In §7.3, I discuss the meanings associated with the three forms of the past tense: past perfective, past punctiliar, and past imperfective.

7.1 Present tense

The present tense is unmarked in Southeastern Tepehuan. That is, the verb stem occurs in its full form plus or minus any affixes, appropriately adjusted by phonological rules, such as final vowel drop. For instance, in (270) the simple verb root occurs without its final short vowel, while in (271) another simple root occurs in its full form.

(270) *Chacuy dúduc jia, day na am tiron [tironi].*
not^yet rains EMP only SUB fully thunder
It's not raining yet (this season), only thundering.

(271) *Ma'n mi' vatvia [vatvia] quia'.*
one there bathe just
One (person) is bathing there right now.

These examples also illustrate the primary meanings of the present tense. Temporally, in both (270) and (271) the situation designated occurs at speech time. Aspectually, in (270) an action is considered to be characteristically true, and in (271) an action is seen as presently in progress. In the first case, reference is made to the habitual nature of the situation described; in the second case, reference is made to its relative duration. Thus the PRESENT TENSE is normally used in Southeastern Tepehuan to designate both that the situation is SIMULTANEOUS with speech or reference time and that it is IMPERFECTIVE in nature.

Temporal simultaneity follows from the fact that present is the least marked tense. That is, if a situation is not specifically designated as having occurred in the past or going to occur in the future, then it is assumed to occur in the present. How imperfectivity relates to the present tense, however, must be more fully elaborated.

Comrie (1976) characterizes continuous and habitual as the two basic distinctions in the imperfective aspect. That is, if a situation is not viewed as a whole, as in the perfective aspect, then it will be viewed as either habitual or continuous. For states, the habitual meaning doesn't apply, since states are not repeatable. But the continuous meaning is synonymous with temporal simultaneity, since a state either exists—present tense—or it does not exist—past tense or future tense (§4.1). When it does exist, it is viewed as continuously in existence; neither its beginning nor its ending point is relevant to its current existence. This explains why the present tense for states in Southeastern Tepehuan has only the meaning of continuity, or EXISTING STATE. For events, however, two other imperfective meanings are signaled by the present tense, as described below.

Comrie also characterizes progressive as a specific type of continuity that applies only to events, not states. In Southeastern Tepehuan, the progressive meaning, as well as the more general habitual meaning, is signaled by the present tense. This follows from the fact that, for events in Southeastern Tepehuan, temporal simultaneity is synonymous with imperfectivity in both the habitual and the continuous senses. In the habitual sense, an event that typically occurs over an extended period of time is always viewed as present tense, i.e., as presently occurring, or bound to occur, again. If it no longer occurs it probably had not yet become habitual and, of course, if it has not already occurred it can hardly be habitual. In the continuous sense, an event that is currently IN PROGRESS is also viewed as present tense, since at the present moment its nature as a continuous

activity is observable. This is distinct, however, from continuity in the more general sense of occurring over an unspecified period of time, whether or not the present moment occurs within that period. Such a meaning is marked only for actions in Southeastern Tepehuan by the durative suffix *-da* (§8.5).

Thus, the present tense for events in Southeastern Tepehuan marks both temporal simultaneity with speech or reference and two imperfective aspects: when an event is viewed as characteristically occurring over an extended period of time, then the present tense designates the HABITUAL ASPECT. Alternatively, when an event is viewed as currently ongoing at speech or reference time, then the present tense designates the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT.

An example of the habitual use of the present tense is given in (270) above, where an event that typically recurs at a certain season of the year is described using the present tense. This usage is sometimes termed GNOMIC, since the situation described always has held and always will. Two further examples are given in (272) and (273) below. In (272) an action is seen as characteristic of a person's behavior, and in (273) another action is seen as the appropriate thing to do with a certain item. Here the statements are not as timeless as that of (270), although (273) is undoubtedly true for a much longer period of time than is (272). But the speaker of each asserts it to be true for a sufficiently lengthy period to be considered habitual behavior.

(272) *Guë' cua'-iñ gu on.*
big eat-1S ART salt
I eat a lot of salt.

(273) *Jum-qui'via pix gu chicli, cham tu'-m ba'.*
RFL-chew only ART gum NEG what-RFL swallow
You only CHEW gum, you don't swallow it.

An example of the progressive use of the present tense is given in (271) above, where the speaker observes an action in progress at the time of speech. Notice that the verb in (271) does not occur with either the durative suffix *-da* (§8.5), nor the extent prefix *tu-* (§8.4), nor is it reduplicated for distributive (§8.4). The reason for the first of these nonoccurrences is discussed above: in the progressive meaning, the focus is on the fact that the event is currently in progress, regardless of the length of time it has been or will be so, while in the durative meaning the focus is on the fact that the event is (or was or will be) in progress during an unspecifiable period of time that may or may not include the present moment. For this

reason the progressive meaning is one of the uses of the present tense; it cannot be expressed as such in another tense.

The more general form of continuity, however, occurs in all tenses. In (274), for example, the action is viewed as currently in progress, as reflected in the use of the present tense.[40]

(274) *Vixxic dir-am da'ñ-chu'-n nan-car-am gu cas.*
both^sides from-3p hold-MOT-DUR ear-INSTR-on ART pot
They are carrying the pot by its handles.

In contrast to (274), (275) describes an action that is viewed as continuous (which is marked by the durative suffix *-da*; cf. §8.5) but not currently in progress, as reflected in the use of the future tense in conjunction with an adverb designating future time. Similarly, (276) describes an action that is viewed as continuous but not currently in progress, as reflected in the use of the past imperfective tense in conjunction with a resulting event in the past perfective.

(275) *Cavuimuc mui' ya' va-'oipo-da-'-am gu ja'tcam.*
tomorrow many here RLZ-walk-DUR-FUT-3p ART people
Tomorrow there will be a lot of people (walking) here.

(276) *Magó-ñ-ich na-ñ jim-da-t.*
tire-1s-PRF SUB-1s GO-DUR-PI
I'm tired from walking.

For a similar reason, the progressive use of the present tense does not obligatorily occur with the extent prefix *tu-*, which for events denotes relative temporal duration. In the progressive meaning, the focus is on the fact that the event is currently in progress, while the meaning of extent focuses on the fact that the situation described is one that takes a relatively longer period of time to accomplish, i.e., it is neither iterative nor semelfactive, but normally extends over a culturally determined period of time. Thus, for example in (277), an extended action is viewed as presently in progress; in (278) it is viewed as already terminated; and in (279) it is viewed as yet to begin.[41]

[40]The durative suffix *-da* here occurs syllable-finally as *'n*, but since the motion suffix *-chu'* ends in a glottal stop, only one of the two contiguous glottal stops is pronounced.

[41]The verb root *jugui* 'eat' has several suppletive forms, probably due to its frequency and cultural salience (cf. Bybee 1985:57).

(277) *Añ ya' tu-cua'.*
1S here EXT-eat
I am here eating.

(278) *va-tu-jú-ñ-ich*
RLZ-EXT-eat-1S-PRF
I already ate.

(279) *maic-ach va-tu-coi'-po'*
EXH-1P RLZ-EXT-eat-OBJ
Let's go eat.

Two further examples demonstrate the semantic differences between the use of the extent prefix and the durative suffix with respect to the habitual use of the present tense. In (280), the meaning of extent is shown to be compatible with a habitual meaning, since the sentence is in the present tense. But the sentence in (281) is not in the present tense, so a durative meaning is shown NOT to be compatible with habitual, just as Comrie predicts. If, however, the future tense in (281) is considered to be one of its legitimate uses as indicating present tense (§7.2), then this may be how the language expresses something that can be viewed as both durative and habitual at the same time.

(280) *Jix-bai' tu-cua'-iñ mu-ñ qui'am.*
ATR-good EXT-eat-1S there-1S home
I always eat well at home.

(281) *Tu-cua'-da-' nai' ga'n-tir gu vapaisihl.*
EXT-eat-DUR-FUT all^directions cornfields-in ART badgers
Everywhere badgers eat the corn in the fields.

The progressive use of the present tense is also neither incompatible with, nor obligatory for, the distributive use of reduplication (§8.4), since the latter means that the action is repeated in the same or different locations, while the former simply means that the action is in progress, regardless of whether it is iterative, semelfactive, or neither. Thus, in (282), a distributive meaning is combined with a progressive meaning, while in (283) it is not. Furthermore, events described as distributive can also be habitual, as in (284).

(282) *ɬ'qui-'iñ gu cu'a'.*
cut^up(RDP)-1S ART firewood
I am cutting firewood.

(283) *ɬ'qui-a'-iñ mas tu'tpuhlic dyi cu'a'.*
cut^up(RDP)-FUT-1S more short^PL ART firewood
I'm going to cut this firewood into shorter pieces.

(284) *Cham cavac gu sóvohl tirviñ. Am-pix ɨ'quɨ*
NEG durable ART palm rope fully-DIM break(RDP)

no'-t va-gá.
if-PRF RLZ-dry
Rope made from palm leaves is not durable; it breaks easily once it dries.

In addition to its use to express temporal simultaneity with speech or reference time, the present tense has another temporal use; namely, it is occasionally used to describe an action EXPECTED TO OCCUR in the future. While prediction is the chief modal meaning of the future tense (§7.2), and intention is one of the meanings of the use of both the imperative prefix *xi-* and of the anticipation interjection *ea* in the first person (§9.31), the present tense can be used to indicate a combination of prediction and intention. That is, the use of the present tense to describe an action that has not yet occurred signals that the agent of that action EXPECTS to carry it out. The agent may be either the speaker himself, as in (285), or another person, as in (286).

(285) *Ja'xñi-ñ guio bai'-p va-jim.*
later-1S again TWD-REP RLZ-go
I'll be back later.

(286) *Cavuimuc ba-jim gu-x cai' Corian cam.*
tomorrow TWD-go ART-ATR governor Durango of
The Governor of Durango (State) is coming tomorrow.

In (285), the speaker asserts that he intends to return himself at a later time. That this time is relative and not absolute is seen by comparing (285) to (287), a common phrase that is uttered when someone leaves his house on an errand that he does not anticipate will delay him very long. The reference to 'later' in (285) signals that he DOES anticipate his errand to delay him a long time, but he intends to return just as much as does the speaker of (287).

(287) *Xív-añ ba-jim.*
NOW-1S TWD-GO
I'll be right back.

There is little linguistic evidence that (287) refers to a future event. Rather, the circumstances surrounding the utterance furnish the necessary clues. Pragmatically, the speaker cannot be coming toward himself at the time of speech; thus the utterance is viewed as referring to an expected future coming, especially when spoken when one is actually leaving. Thus even the reference to 'now' is considered relative, i.e., 'relatively soon'. In contrast, the sentence in (288) is an ordinary use of the present tense of the same verb to describe a situation in the progressive aspect.

(288) *Ba-jim gu dúc.*
TWD-GO ART rain
The rain is coming.

The contrast between the use of present tense and the use of future tense to predict intended events is also illustrated in (289), where the speaker predicts his departure the same day, which in turn will make it possible for him to fulfill his intention to return the next day. In a similar situation, illustrated in (290), although the departure predicted by the speaker is also necessary in order for him to arrive at his destination early, the arrival is not stated as an intention but rather as another prediction.

(289) *Ca-jimi-a'-iñ xiv jiñ-qui'am, cavuimuc-añ va' guio*
TEM-GO-FUT-1S now 1S-home tomorrow-1S then again

bai'-p va-'oiri ja'quia'n-ni.
TWD-REP RLZ-walk at^this^time-PRE
I'm going to go home now, (but) tomorrow at this time I'll be here again.

(290) *Catucgav-ach jimi-a' na gu'-r ali'ch tanohl,*
early^morning-1P GO-FUT SUB but-EXS small day

na-ch va'-x qui'ncov aiy-a'.
SUB-1P then-ATR early arrive-FUT
We're going to leave in the morning because the days are short, so we can arrive early.

7.2 Future tense

The future tense in Southeastern Tepehuan is marked by the suffix *-(a)'*. If the stem or suffix preceding it ends in *a*, the long vowel sequence is reduced to a single vowel (§2.32). If the preceding stem or suffix ends in *o* or *u*, the *a* of the future suffix drops because it is the lower of the two vowels (§2.35). If the preceding stem or suffix ends in *ɨ*, this vowel changes to *i* before the future suffix (§2.36). Examples of these vowel changes are given in (291); the morpheme break between the stem and the future suffix is always indicated AFTER the last stem vowel.

(291)	*gága-'*	[gaga-a']	'look for'
	ñiocda-'	[ñioc-da-a']	'be talking'
	tuttu-'	[tuttu-a']	'stand something up'
	coi'po-'	[coi'po-a']	'go to eat'
	coxi-a'	[cosɨ-a']	'sleep'

While the meaning of PRESENT tense is primarily temporal and aspectual (§7.1), the meaning of FUTURE tense is primarily temporal and modal. Aspectually, the future tense is imperfective in nature, since the situations described are viewed as on-going, without reference to temporal endpoints. If the beginning point of a future situation is in focus, this is signaled by the use of the realization suffix *va-* or the inception suffix *ji-* (§8.1).

The primary meaning of the FUTURE TENSE in Southeastern Tepehuan is temporal; that is, it nearly always refers to a situation which will occur SUBSEQUENT to speech time or reference time. Occasionally, however, it is used to refer to the past imperfective, but in this usage, which is common only in setting passages in discourse, the future suffix is always accompanied by another indicator of imperfectivity. For example, (292) and (293) are both the first sentence of native myths. In (292) the durative suffix *-da* occurs with the future tense, as does the static suffix *-ca* in (293).

(292) *Dyo gu' mu-pai' jim-da-' ji gu tu' jarírux.*
INJ but LOC-where GO-DUR-FUT EMP ART what donkey^driver
Well, a certain donkey driver was going along.

(293) *Ah dyo sac mu-pai' sap quio-ca' ma'n gu ma'ncam.*
INJ INJ REP there-where REP live-NPS one ART person
Well, it's told that a person was living (somewhere).

Except in this context, however, the use of the future tense always indicates that the situation described will occur in the future. But reference

to future time is seldom the SOLE meaning conveyed by the future tense. It also usually conveys a prediction that the situation referred to will, in fact, occur. Furthermore, the future tense used with actions can convey intention and request or suggestion, depending on the mode of predication used and the person of the agent of the action. And the use of the future tense in the conditional mode conveys hypothesis. Each of these meanings is here discussed in turn.

First, when a static situation is described using the future tense, the meaning conveyed is that the speaker PREDICTS that the situation will occur in the future. The two meanings of prediction and future time go together since in the indicative mode the assertion that a situation will occur is tantamount to predicting its occurrence. Examples of the use of the future tense in this way are given in (294), for a state of being, and in (295) for the result of a process.

(294) *Joidyam jix-chu-max-ca-' gu tuca' ja'c*
perfectly ATR-EXT-visible-NPS-FUT ART night DIR

no'-r xicórac gu masa'n.
if-EXS full ART moon
We will be able to see perfectly at night if the moon is full.

(295) *Na-p pai'dyuc ba-jim, jugui-x-ca-' gu cu'a'.*
SUB-2s when TWD-go use^up-RP-NPS-FUT ART firewood
When you come, the firewood will be all used up.

Prediction of a future occurrence is also the meaning conveyed when using the third person to describe the agent of an action. This is because, whether the agent is animate or inanimate, the speaker does not control its actions, but can predict only what it will most likely do in a given situation. Examples of this use of future tense are given in (296) and (297).

(296) *Cham ji'xcat ov miiy-a' gu tay no'-x va' gu*
NEG never quickly burn-FU ART fire if-ATR wet ART

cu'a'.
firewood
The fire won't burn well if the firewood is wet.

(297) *Mui' ya-'aiy-a'-am gu ja'tcam na-r piasta-ca-'.*
many here-arrive-FUT-3p ART people SUB-EXS festival-NPS-FUT
Many people will come for the festival.

Second, when the agent of the action described in the indicative mode is first or second person, the meaning of the future tense is often modified by other modal meanings. In first-person actions, the predication carries with it an INTENTIONAL force as well. In second-person actions, the prediction carries with it the force of a REQUEST or a SUGGESTION. The intention expressed by the future tense in the indicative mode is not as strong as that expressed by the imperative mode (§9.14), where the agent's previous deliberation is stressed. Also, the request expressed by the future tense is not as strong as that expressed by the present tense (§7.1), making it more like a suggestion in many instances. Examples of these two uses of the future tense are given in (298)–(301).

(298) *Goc masa'n-añ juruñdya-' bammi Méjic.*
two month-1S stay-FUT there Mexico
I'm going to stay two months (up) in Mexico City.

(299) *Mu-tisdi-a'-ich ya'-ni dyi ux cha'm.*
AWY-go^up-FUT-1P here-PRE ART tree on
We will climb up (into) this tree.

(300) *Mu-jim-da-'-ap mu-ñ qui'am, jum-maqui-a'-iñ ma'n*
AWY-GO-DUR-FUT-2S there-1S home 2S-give-FUT-1S one

gu carvax gu ali'ch.
ART goat ART little
Go to my ranch and I will give you a little goat.

(301) *Iscoil-ap vua-' dyi ahlí na va' machi-a' gu letras.*
school-2S put-FUT ART child SUB then know-FUT ART alphabet
(You should) put this child in school so he can learn to read and write.

In (298) the first-person-singular agent not only predicts but also intends to carry out the action described. In (299), the first-person-plural agent is represented by the speaker as both predicting and intending the action on behalf of his companions; this may also be viewed as a mild form of exhortation. In (300), the speaker is requesting the second-person agent to carry out one action so that he can accomplish another action he intends to carry out. And in (301) the speaker is suggesting, or exhorting, the second-person agent to carry out an action the results of which he predicts on behalf of the third-person patient. These examples illustrate that the

intermingling of other modal meanings with prediction is both prevalent and complex.

When the future tense is used in the imperative mode (§9.14), prediction is not the primary meaning, but rather weak command, as in (302). This differs from the use of the present tense in the imperative mode, which signals a command that the speaker wants carried out, as in (303). The future tense in this context does not necessarily imply obligation, making it a more polite form.

(302) *Ap bai' xi-pidír-o' tu' na-x i'ov.*
2s TWD IMP-pedir-FUT what SUB-ATR delicious
You order what (you think) tastes good.

(303) *Bai' xi-jím-añ jum-vatvi-ch-dya-'.*
TWD IMP-go-1s 2s-bathe-CAUS-APL-FUT
Come here so I can bathe you.

Third, the use of the future tense in the conditional mode (§9.13) distinguishes the counterfactual case from other conditionals. An example of a counterfactual condition is given in (304). The counterfactual particle *guit* is obligatory in this construction, reinforcing the unreality of the situation described.

(304) *Yamero biica-' guit gu titvicar.*
almost carry-FUT CNTF ART toy
He almost took the toy (away with him).

7.3 Past tense

The past tense in Southeastern Tepehuan can be either perfective or imperfective. The most common form for dynamic situations is past perfective, which looks only at the endpoint of the action. A few dynamic situations are also conceivable as entirely accomplished at a point in time, for which the past punctiliar is used. The only past tense possible with static situations is the past imperfective, and sometimes it is also used to describe dynamic situations as ongoing in the past. Each of these meanings is discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

The past perfective tense in Southeastern Tepehuan is marked by truncation of the verb stem and lengthening of the remaining vowel (§2.34). Most dynamic verbs have past perfective stems formed by truncation, but some have untruncated or have suppletive forms. A few dynamic stems do

not have a perfective stem, but use the past punctiliar (discussed below) instead. Truncation also affects stems which contain derivational suffixes such as the applicative suffix *-(i)dya* (§10.1). Examples of roots and past perfective verb stems are given in (305).

(305)	*baidya, bai'ñ*	'cook'	*ni'ya, niy*	'dance'
	capni, cap	'clap'	*ñio'cdya, ñio'qui*	'greet'
	dagui, dá	'find'	*oidya, oy*	'follow'
	guivca, guivca	'freeze'	*quisa, quiy*	'stand'
	iqui, í	'cut'	*sispa, sis*	'close'
	jimi, jí	'go'	*tañxidya, tañxi*	'get for'
	muqui , mú	'die'	*vacuana, vacua*	'wash'

The PAST PERFECTIVE is used only with verbs describing dynamic situations. By using it the speaker shows that he views the event described as FINISHED. That is, the endpoint of the event is what is in focus, not the time that the event may have taken to complete. Since this is, by far, the most common form of the past tense, it means that Southeastern Tepehuan speakers most often view the events of the past as perfective; that is, that they no longer occur. However, when they wish to view the events as occurring in the past for any length of time, they use the past imperfective, and when they wish to view the events as points in time, they use the past punctiliar. These less common forms of the past tense are discussed further below.

Every occurrence of a past perfective stem obligatorily occurs with the perfective subject suffix (§11.21). This suffix, which occurs immediately after the subject enclitic, has three forms that vary according to the person. Examples of the use of the past perfective are given in (306)–(309). In each case the speaker focuses on the fact that the event is finished.

(306) *Va-tútim-ach-ich, gamai'-ch-ich biy vix*
RLZ-get^down-1p-PRF farther-1p-PRF pass all

ju'ñdyaram gu alambri.
edge ART wire
(So) we got off (the train) and went on (by foot) all along the fence.

(307) *Am bíc-am-it, mummu ja'c-am-it tiy va-'aich.*
fully carry-3p-PRF there DIR-3p-PRF ATT RLZ-bring
They took it and tried to bring it (down) there.

(308) *Pu-ñiñia-ñ-ich na-t ti-ñ-'i'nquia na-ñ ca-cós.*
SIM-wake^up-1S-PRF SUB-PRF EXT-1S-frighten SUB-1S TEM-sleep
I woke up when I had a nightmare (lit. when it frightened me while I was sleeping).

(309) *Vaic tanohl-añ-ich cham tu-jú. Guíhlim jix-'io'm tu-ñ-ay.*
three day-1S-PRF NEG EXT-eat very ATR-fast EXT-1S-sicken
I didn't eat for three days. (Some disease) made me VERY sick.

The PAST PUNCTILIAR in Southeastern Tepehuan is marked by the suffix *-c*, which occurs at the end of the nonperfective stem. It is a much less common form of past than the perfective, occurring on only a limited number of stems. Yet when it does occur, it obligatorily occurs with one of the perfective subject suffixes illustrated in (306) through (309). Moreover, most stems that are known to use the past punctiliar suffix can also occur in the perfective. Examples of the past punctiliar are given in (310) and (311).

(310) *Xi-cúpa-c yavi qui'n gu puerta na-t va-vus.*
IMP-close-PP key with ART door SUB-PRF RLZ-leave
He closed the door with the key when he left.

(311) *Tapñi-x dyi ta'mla, jiñ-xísi-c.*
split-RP ART board 1S-prick-PP
This board is (roughly) cut; I just got a sliver (lit. it pricked me).

Like the past perfective, the past punctiliar is used only to describe dynamic situations. Its use indicates that the speaker views the event described as having been accomplished as a unit, from beginning to end, in a point in time in the past. Thus, for example, the speaker of (310) has in mind the entire action of closing the door and locking it with a padlock. If he had only wanted to view this action as finished, he could have used the perfective form *cú* instead. Similarly, in (311) the speaker views the pricking of his finger as an entire action, rather than focusing only on the endpoint, as in (312).

(312) *Jiñ-xiy gu somcar na-ñ ca-tu-som.*
1S-prick ART needle SUB-1S TEM-EXT-sew
The needle pricked me while I was sewing.

Because of its meaning as viewing the entire event as a unit, the past punctiliar is the only past nonimperfective tense semantically compatible with

the meanings marked by the objective suffix *-(mɨ)ra* (§9.31), i.e., andative and venitive. This is because when an agent is viewed as having gone to a different location to accomplish an action and then returned to the location of the speaker, the situation is described as punctiliar, as in (313).

(313) *Cham tu' vatvi-ra-c-añ-ich, day gu jajannuhl*
NEG what bathe-OBJ-PP-1s-PRF only ART clothes

na-ñ-ich tu-vopcoñ-mɨra-c.
SUB-1s-PRF EXT-wash-OBJ-PP
I didn't go to bathe, I just went to wash clothes.

The past punctiliar occasionally occurs in juxtaposition with the past perfective in a construction that describes how an agent accomplished two actions in close succession. The enabling first action is represented using the past punctiliar, since it must be accomplished in its entirety before the resulting second action can begin; the second is then represented using the past perfective, to show that the endpoint of the combined actions is in focus. Examples of this construction are given in (314) and (315).[42]

(314) *Dágui-c bai' ev-vua tay chɨr.*
hold-PP TWD CLM-throw fire in
Grabbing it, he THREW it into the fire.

(315) *Pui' cham tu-juga-c va-tu-juana-m.*
thus NEG EXT-eat-PP TEM-EXT-work-OBJ
He went off to work without eating.

The PAST IMPERFECTIVE can be expressed by two different forms. One is the suffix *-t* which occurs on static and dynamic stems. The occurrence of this form is more common than the past punctiliar, but nowhere near as common as the past perfective. The other is the suffix *-imɨc*, which occurs on dynamic stems only, but is not common. This form is apparently derived

[42]The prefix *-ev* on the verb *ev-vua* in (314) is a rare form of emphasis, not discussed in §9.21, that occurs only on CLIMACTIC EVENTS in narratives. It takes the form *'e*C, where C is the lengthening of the first consonsant of the verb stem. Also, as mentioned in footnote 41, the irregular stem *jugui* occurs in (315) with a different final stem vowel.

from the developing process suffix *-im* and the past punctiliar suffix *-c*, with an intermediate vowel that always drops at the end of process stems.[43]

In either form the meaning of past imperfective is the same: it describes a situation as having occurred for an unspecified period of time in the past but is no longer occurring at speech or reference time. The two forms are, however, in near complementary distribution in that a stem that uses *-t* does not normally use *-imɨc*, and vice versa. Examples of stems that refer to the past imperfective with *-t* are given in (316) through (319), and examples of stems that use *-imɨc* are given in (319) and (320).

(316) *Cham ya-'oirɨ-t-'ap na-r piasta-ca-t?*
NEG here-walk-PI-2S SUB-EXS festival-NPS-PI
Weren't you here during the festival?

(317) *Ai-p-ich a gu bo'mcox na-p mu-ca-mai'yasa-t?*
hit-2S-PRF CFR ART squirrel SUB-2P AWY-TEM-shoot^at-PI
Did you hit the squirrel you were shooting at?

(318) *Cósɨ-t-'iñ dyo, cham jum-cai-ñ-ich va'.*
sleep-PI-1S PE NEG 2S-hear-1S-PRF then
Yes, I was sleeping, so I didn't hear you (calling).

(319) *Vajɨc guíhlim tu-m-cocd-imɨc na-r jɨguiahli-ca-t.*
long^ago very EXT-RFL-fight-PI SUB-EXS war-NPS-PI
Long ago there was a lot of fighting in a war.

(320) *Jaroi' tac jiñ-'ɨxchoi gu-ñ chamarra. Tɨy*
someone UNI 1S-rob ART-1S jacket ATT

ga'ngu-imɨc-'iñ vɨx tanohl.
look^for-PI-1S all day
Someone must have stolen my jacket. I've been looking for it all day.

These examples illustrate that there is no appreciable difference in meaning between the two forms of the past imperfective. One might say

[43]Since the developing process suffix *-im* most probably derives from the generic stem for motion *jimɨ* 'go, come', the appearance of the vowel [ɨ] here is not surprising. Furthermore, the combination of *-imɨ* with *-c* is also attested with that same stem, as in the following example: *Tacav-añ-ich mu-jimɨ-c Tová-tam* (yesterday-1S-PRF there-go-PP turkey-place) 'Yesterday I went to Turkey Town (and back)'.

that the use of *-imic* is stressing the duration of the past event more, but no apparent contextual clues, either linguistic or nonlinguistic, have yet been found that would support such a conclusion. Rather, it appears that the form of the past imperfective is largely, if not entirely, lexically determined. Nevertheless, there is one anomalous linguistic clue that may help differentiate them, namely, that the *-t* form never takes the perfective subject suffixes, but the *-imic* form usually does. That is, stems with *-imic* normally occur with perfective subject, but several instances of their occurrence without perfective subject are attested. One of these is one of the few known stems that can use both forms of the past imperfective: the form with *-t* is seen in (316) above, and the form with *-imic* is seen in (321) below.

(321) *Cham pai'-m tí-ñ-ich na-r piasta-ca-t.*
NEG where-2s find-1s-PRF SUB-EXS festival-NPS-PI

Cham mu-oihl-imic-'ap?
NEG there-walk-PI-2s
I didn't see you at the festival. Weren't you there?

[blank]

8
Aspect

Within the broad framework of the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect that permeates the meaning of tense in Southeastern Tepehuan, several more specific aspectual meanings are also distinguishable. These meanings give relevant detail about the temporal contours of the situation described (Bybee 1985, Comrie 1976), but they are not obligatorily marked as is tense. In the discussion that follows, they are grouped according to similarity of function, first the perfective aspects, then the imperfective aspects. Aspects primarily perfective in nature are inception, termination, and realization (§8.1); distinctiveness and simplicity (§8.2); and resultative (§8.3). Aspects primarily imperfective in nature are distribution, repetition, and extent (§8.4); temporary and durative (§8.5); and motion and transfer (§8.6).

8.1 Inception, termination, and realization

Three perfective meanings closely related to the beginning and ending points of a situation are inception, termination, and realization. The first of these looks exclusively at the beginning point of a situation, the second looks at the ending point, and the third focuses on one or the other, depending on the tense.

First, INCEPTION is marked by the prefix *ji-*. When used in reference to a dynamic situation, the meaning is that the event was, is, or will be beginning at speech or reference time. That is, the focus is on the beginning point of the event, not on how long it takes place nor when it ends. Examples of this use of inception with dynamic stems are given in (322)–(325).

(322) *Góqu-im-añ-ich ji-'ia na-ñ ca-tɨtvia gu vasquisvol.*
two-time-1s-PRF INC-fall SUB-1s TEM-play ART basketball
I nearly fell down twice while I was playing basketball.

(323) *Ya' va-ji-aiy-a'-am gu ja'tcam na-m*
here RLZ-INC-arrive-FUT-3p ART people SUB-3p

tu-jójoidya-' na-r piasta-ca-'.
Ext-look^at-FUT SUB-EXS festival-NPS-FUT
Then the people will begin to arrive here to watch the festival.

(324) *Va-ji-sarñ-im gu jannuhl.*
RLZ-INC-tear-DP ART cloth
The cloth is beginning to tear.

(325) *Gu gagox va' mui' ji-torqui, gamai' ji-mɨ́ gu vác.*
ART dog then AWY INC-bark farther INC-run ART cow
The dog began to bark at her, (and) the cow started to run away from it.

As these examples illustrate, the inceptive aspect is common with both past tense and future tense, but it does not occur with the present tense, except with developing processes. This may be because the beginning point of an action is perceivable only before or after it occurs, not as it occurs, which underscores the perfective nature of the inceptive aspect.

When inception is used with reference to a static situation, the meaning is that the state is COMING into existence, or that the entity involved is STARTING TO BECOME what is described, as in (326). This meaning is rarely expressed in this way, however. Rather, a few verb stems exist that describe a gradual change of state as an agentive action, such as *tuchlidya* 'become black, blacken'. But, more commonly, the end state which is the result of the process is stated in the future tense, such as *jix'u'uamca'* 'They will be (yellowish) brown'.

(326) *Chacuy bay dyi turasno. Quia'pɨx va-ji-r-covcohl ji'ma'n.*
not^yet ripe ART peaches recently RLZ-INC-EXS-hard some
These peaches are not ripe yet; a few of them are just beginning to harden.

A common phrase is formed using the inceptive prefix *ji-* preceded by the general locational adverb *bai'* 'toward'. However, the meaning of this combination is not always apparent. In some cases, it is clearly equal to the

sum of its parts, as in *bai' jijí* (TWD INC-go) 'he left for here', and in others it is marginally so, as in *bai' jivam* (TWD INC-rise) 'he got up'. But in other cases the meaning is not so easily predictable from the individual morphemes, as in *bai' ji-ñiñia* (TWD INC-wake^up) 'he woke up'.

Second, TERMINATION is marked by the suffix *-cho*. In contrast to inception, which is commonly used with both static and dynamic stems, the termination suffix is restricted to use with a few action stems, and means that the action is viewed as completely terminated. The fact that most action verbs do not use this suffix shows that seldom is attention called to the finality of the termination of an action. Most of the verb stems that are known to take this suffix are listed in (327). One of these is derived from a stem that no longer exists except when suffixed by *-cho*. The others denote routine cultural activities; in one of these, *coi'cho* 'finish eating', the terminal suffix occurs with a suppletive form of the stem *jugui* 'eat'. Thus, although the meaning of this suffix is considered inflectional in many languages, in Southeastern Tepehuan, it is more like a derivational suffix because of its limited usage. An example of a common terminal action is given in (328).

(327) *coi'-cho* (eat-TERM) 'finish eating'
i'-cho (drink-TERM) 'finish drinking'
ti'ñ-cho (find-TERM) 'remember'
do'ñ-cho (hold?-TERM) 'drop'
nii'-cho (dance-TERM) 'finish dancing'

(328) *va-tu-coi'-cho-ñ-ich*
RLZ-EXT-eat-TERM-1s-PRF
I have finished eating.

Third, REALIZATION is marked by the prefix *va-*. The meaning of this very common morpheme nearly always corresponds to that of the Spanish adverb *ya*. When used with the past tense, it means that the event described is ALREADY completed; that is, it emphasizes that the ENDING POINT of the event occurred prior to speech or reference time. When it is used with the present tense, it means that the event described is NOW occurring or the state described is NOW in existence; that is, it emphasizes that the BEGINNING POINT of the situation occurred prior to speech or reference time. When used with the future tense, it means that the event or state described will NOW begin immediately, or that it WILL begin at the time referred to; that is, it emphasizes the BEGINNING POINT of the situation will occur subsequent to speech or reference time.

In all these cases, what is in focus is the limiting point of the situation, whether beginning or ending, that is CLOSEST IN TIME to the person from whose perspective the situation is being viewed, thus drawing attention to the fact that the situation has been, is about to be, or eventually will be, REALIZED IN TIME AND SPACE. The realization prefix is used prolifically in all types of speech situations; a few examples are given in (329)–(335).[44]

(329) *Ɨ'c va-namɨc xiv gu riprescos mu Juctɨr?*
how^much? RLZ-cost now ART soda^pop there Pine^Grove
How much does a soda cost now in Pine Grove?

(330) *Day na-ch va-tɨ-'ɨxi-a' jia no'-t va-du'n.*
just SUB-1p RLZ-EXT-plant-FUT EMP if-PRF RLZ-rain
As soon as it rains, we (then) plant.

(331) *Chacuy tu-'oirɨ dyi ahlí. Tɨy goc oidya' va-via'.*
not^yet EXT-walk ART child ATT two year RLZ-have
This child can't walk yet, even though he's already two years old.

(332) *Ɨ'c-ap-ich ya' va-juruñ ya' Juctɨr?*
how^many?-2s-PRF here RLZ-stay here Pine^Grove
How long have you been here in Pine Grove?

(333) *Sispa-idya-t-'ap dyi puerta no'-p-ich pai' va-jí.*
fasten-APL-PI-2s ART puerta CND-2s-PRF where RLZ-go
Fasten this door if you go anywhere.

(334) *Ap gamai' va-jim-da-', gama ja'c-añ va-m-'aiy-a'.*
2s ahead RLZ-go-DUR-FUT ahead DIR-1s RLZ-2s-reach-FUT
You go on ahead and I will catch up with you.

(335) *Va-r-tiampo na-ch va-tu-jugui-a'. Va-x-bio'-ap?*
RLZ-EXS-time SUB-1p RLZ-EXT-eat-FUT RLZ-ATR-hungry-2s
It's time to eat. Are you hungry?

[44]I do not yet have an explanation for the rare occurrence of the suffixes used on the initial verb in (333). The applicative suffix (§10.1) does not signal here the application of the action to an animate entity, nor is the past imperfective usually used with requests (§9.14).

8.2 Distinctiveness and simplicity

Two related perfective meanings view the situation described as a whole to give an evaluation of it. One of these is an assessment of the relative uniqueness of the occurrence of an event; the other is a commentary on the fact that the state or event described is the only significant thing that occurred. Both of these meanings are expressed by the use of prefixes, neither of which is very frequently used due to the very specific meaning it represents. But their occurrence on a wide variety of stems indicates their potential application to any appropriate situation.

The first of these meanings, which signals the DISTINCTIVENESS of an event, is marked by the prefix *ma-*. This prefix is used only in the past tense to denote that the event described was either RARE or UNUSUAL, or that its occurrence at that time was UNEXPECTED. Sometimes both meanings are distinguishable, as in the exclamation *madu'n tuca'!* 'It rained unexpectedly last night!' This utterance contrasts with a similar one that does not manifest the distinctiveness of the action: *du'n tuca'* 'It rained (again, as expected) last night'. Other examples of the use of *ma-* are given in (336)–(338).

(336) *Dicó ma-'aich mu-pai' na súdai'.*
barely DST-take here-where SUB water
He barely managed to get him to where there was water.

(337) *Mi tu-juana-t-'iñ goc siman na-ñ-ich ma-'ia,*
there EXT-work-PI-1S two week SUB-1S-PRF DST-fall

ma-'om gu-ñ chon.
DST-break ART-1S leg
I had worked there (only) two weeks when I fell and broke my leg.

(338) *Añ ya' dir ma-jí Tuxpa na-ñ-ich va-tu-juana-m.*
1S there from DST-go Tuxpan SUB-1S-PRF RLZ-EXT-work-OBJ
(Once) I went from here to Tuxpan to find work.

In (336), taken from a myth, a unique occurrence for that story is reported. In (337), the experience was both unique and unexpected for the speaker. In (338), the fact that the speaker often went looking for work, but only once did he go to a certain place and experience certain events, is demonstrated by the contrast between the use of the realization prefix *va-* (§8.1) and the distinctiveness prefix *ma-*.

The second meaning, that of SIMPLICITY, is marked by the prefix *pu-*. The meaning expressed by the use of this prefix is that the situation described is viewed as the only state or event of significance, or as the logical consequence of a previous event or state. A similar notion is expressed by the manner adverb *pui'* 'thus, similarly', from which the prefix apparently was derived. The meaning of the prefix is best translated as 'merely, just, only'; it emphasizes the relative isolation of the situation described in the speaker's mind. As such, it serves as a sort of diminutive of situations. Examples of the use of this prefix are given in (339)–(342).

(339) *Tacáv-añ bai' pu-dá quícham vɨx tanohl.*
yesterday^1S up SIM-sit home all day
Yesterday I just stayed home all day long.

(340) *Gu gagox bai' ec-quɨy bai'-ram, bai' pu-say gu tatmu-'n.*
ART dog up CLM-bite tail-in up SIM-sink^in ART teeth-3S
The dog BIT (the cow) in the tail, just sinking its teeth into it.

(341) *Mi'-ch va' pu-tu-juan-da-' jɨ'c goc siman.*
there-1P then SIM-EXT-work-DUR-FUT some two week
We then just worked there for about two weeks.

(342) *Do'nco-ñ-ich gu jarru. Pu-jay, pu-susua-ñ-ich.*
drop-1S-PRF ART jug SIM-break SIM-cry-1S-PRF
I dropped the jug; it broke and I cried.

8.3 Resultative

The suffix *-xim* signals the meaning RESULTATIVE. That is, it refers to a past event, the end result of which is permanent and presently observable. Although the result of process suffix *-ix* expresses a similar meaning for processes, the resultative morpheme specifically points to the current relevance of a past ACTION. Yet it is rarely used, and the context in which it occurs most often is with words descriptive of an action involved in cooking, such as those listed in (343). Two examples of the use of the resultative suffix are given in (344) and (345).

(343)

atuhlxim	'liquified'	*jidyohlxim*	'boiled'
gai'xim	'broiled'	*junmaxim*	'made into tamales'
guisarxim	'fried'	*mamaixim*	'baked'

(344) *Pu-chu'm sava'hl-añ-ich jup-duiñ-xim.*
SIM-look buy-1S-PRF REP-make-RES
I bought it (already) made like this.

(345) *Jivsoñ-xim gu mansan.*
peel-RES ART apple
The apple is peeled.

The resultative suffix *-xim* is most likely derived from the two process suffixes *-ix* (result of process) and *-im* (developing process). Its use on borrowed words, such as *apuntároxim* 'written down' (from Sp. *apuntar* 'write down') suggests that it is still productive. In one instance it has apparently lexicalized to form the manner adverb *aixim* 'sufficient, abundant', probably derived from *ai* 'arrive, reach'.

8.4 Distribution, repetition, and extent

Three imperfective aspects describe the extension of a situation over time and space. The first two of these applies only to actions; one denotes the notions of iterativity and multiple loci, the other denotes a single repetition. The first of these is represented on verbs by reduplication, the second by a prefix. The third imperfective aspect applies to all situations, but with states refers to an expansion in location, and with events refers to an expansion in time; it is also signaled by a prefix.

First, reduplication of action verbs marks the two closely related notions of iteration and distribution. ITERATION, i.e., the multiple occurrence of an action either in the same location or in separate locations, is rare as the sole meaning expressed by reduplication. Only two known verb stems seem to do so: *t̶i̶t̶icca* 'ask repeatedly' and *ga'nga* 'search for something in multiple locations.' A more common meaning represented by reduplication is DISTRIBUTION, which denotes that the action is performed by more than one agent or to more than one patient. Intransitive verbs are only reduplicated for plural agent, and transitive verbs are only reduplicated for plural patient. Thus it could be said that reduplication of verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan means a PLURAL ABSOLUTIVE. Examples of reduplicated action verbs are given in (346)–(348).

(346) *Clavus jum-'a' no'-ñ ta'mlas jix-chu-va'c-cha-m*
nails RFL-want if-1s board ATR-EXT-house-CRE-DES

na-ñ qui'n sissapa-'.
SUB-1s with fasten-FUT
Nails are needed to fasten the boards when building a wooden house.

(347) *Jiñ-pahlvuidya-'-pim. Tu-ja-vapaiñmi'chdy-a'-iñ gu-ñ*
1s-help-FUT-2p EXT-3p-brand-FUT-1s ART-1s

cacvai-' cavuimuc.
horses-STS tomorrow
(You all) please help me brand my horses tomorrow.

(348) *Mi'-ñi vóvoc-'am mui' gu ja'tcam. Jai' mummu*
there-PRE lie-3p many ART people others there

vo'ya-'-am na-m mi' cocxi-a'.
lay-FUT-3p SUB-3p there sleep-FUT
Many people are lying there (closer); others will lie down over there (farther) to sleep.

The stem *sissapa* 'fasten (PL)' in (346) is the reduplicated form of *sispa* 'fasten (SG)', and the stem *vapaiñmichdya* 'brand (PL)' in (347) is the reduplicated form of *vaiñmi'chdya* 'brand (SG)'. In (348) the static stem *vóvoc* is reduplicated for plurality (§12.1), and the stem *cocxi* 'sleep (PL)' is the reduplicated form of *coxi* 'sleep (SG)', but the stem *vo'ya* 'lie down' is not reduplicated. This illustrates the fact that, while some verb roots reduplicate for plural absolutive, many others do not. Furthermore, there are a few stems, such as *i'bia* 'breathe' and *tiẗvia* 'play', that occur only in their reduplicated forms, presumably because the actions they denote are inherently iterative or distributive. Also, there are a few verbs which indicate distribution by using suppletive stems (§3.21).

Second, the prefix *(ju)p-* is used to mark the notion of REPETITION. Unlike iteration, which denotes SEVERAL repetitions of an action in the same or different locations, repetition denotes that the action is performed again ONLY ONCE in the situation described. There are two distinct uses of this meaning. It can either mean that the same agent is performing the action AGAIN, as in (349) and (350), or that a different agent ALSO is performing the action, as in (351) and (352).

(349) *Pa-p duc jai'p va-tu-baidya-' gu carum*
when?-2s ... others-REP RLZ-EXT-COOK-FUT ART banana

cu-ñ guio bai'-p va-coi'-ra-'?
SO-1s again TWD-REP RLZ-eat-OBJ-FUT
When are you going to cook some more bananas so I can come again to eat (some)?

(350) *Pa-p ja'c quio-ca-t vajic na-p-ich va'*
where?-2s DIR live-NPS-PI long^ago SUB-2s-PRF then

mo ya' ja'c jup-va-tu-va'qui?
DSC here DIR REP-RLZ-EXT-house
Where did you live before? Why are you coming to live here (now)?

(351) *Guë'-p xi-chocsohldya-' dyi viñvoy na-ñ va'*
big-2s IMP-make^suds-FUT ART ?-plant SUB-1s then

jai' qui'n jup-vatvia-'.
other with REP-bathe-FUT
Please soap up that ?-plant so that I too can use it to bathe with.

(352) *Gu u'uv pui'-m map jup-xi-m-da'ngui-ji na jax*
ART women thus-3p together REP-IMP-RFL-hold-CON SUB how

gu chichio'ñ, day na-m palip mácam ti-ni',
ART men just SUB-3p a^little different EXT-dance

cham túdac-'am.
NEG jump-3p
The women also hold onto each other like the men, only they dance (the sacred dance) a little differently—they don't jump (as they move around in a circle).

In (350) to (352), the suffix *(ju)p-* occurs in its unreduced form, while in (349) and (351), the initial [*h*] plus high vowel are deleted (§2.37). Also, in the second clause in (349), it occurs with the adverb *guio* 'again', reinforcing the repetition. These two morphemes often occur conjoined, as in (353).

(353) *Cham ca-'ɨ-ñ-ich xiv gu bav. Asta gamai'*
NEG TEM-plant-1s-PRF now ART beans until next^year

chi mo na-ñ va' guio-p ɨxi-a'.
DBT DSC SUB-1s then again-REP plant-FUT
I didn't plant any beans this time. Maybe I'll plant some again next year.

The prefix *(ju)p-* is used frequently with a few verb stems; in two cases it appears to act as a derivational suffix. Its frequent occurrence with the two speaking verbs *cai'cha* 'say' and *tída* 'tell' is probably an effect of the use of these verbs in conversation, where repeated turns are the norm. This is probably not true of its obligatory occurrence with the stem *duñi* when it means 'make' and with *tu'i'* 'be (present) at'. The stem *duñi*, which changes to *vua* in the present tense, is illustrated in (354) with the prefix *(ju)p-* and in (355) with the prefix *jax-*, which changes the meaning to 'do'. (355) also illustrates the combination *jup-cai'ch* as the generic intransitive speaking verb.[45]

(354) *Gu vipsu'hl vɨxchu'-m jup-vua gu casnir vapó.*
ART Huicholes everything-3p REP-make ART sheep wool
The Huichol Indians make many things of sheep's wool.

Third, the prefix *tu-* marks the meaning of extent. EXTENT is the spatial or temporal expansion of the situation. For states, extent always denotes a SPATIAL EXTENSION; that is, the state described is conceived of as extending over a wide area, as opposed to a state not marked with *tu-*, which is not so extended. Contrastive examples of static stems with and without the extent prefix *tu-* are seen in (356) versus (357) and (358) versus (359).

[45] The prefix *jax-* is apparently the same as the adverb *jax* 'how'; this is the only known instance of its use as a prefix. The directional postposition *ja'c* is used in a similar manner as a derivational prefix with the stem *guɨxi* only: *ja'c-guɨxi* means 'return', but *ji-guɨxi* means 'fall from a height', where *ji-* is the inceptive prefix, and *mai'-guɨxi* means 'get lost', where *mai'* is a rarely used adverb which means 'hurriedly away from the speaker'. The prefix *mai'* also occurs on a number of other stems, such as *mai'-vua* 'lose something; throw something away' and *mai'-mɨhlchu'* 'flee', where *mɨhlchu'* means 'run' in the ordinary sense. Still another putative derivational prefix occurs on both the stems *vua* and *guɨxi*; e.g., *jɨc-vua* 'forget' and *jɨc-guɨxi* 'make a mistake'. Further lexical analysis may reveal why these five prefixes appear to be derivational in nature but consistently occur BEFORE all other prefixes, and why the two stems *guɨxi* and *vua* so often interact with them.

(355) *"Tu'-p jax-vua?" jup-cai'ch gu Juan.*
what?-2s how-do REP-say ART John

"Ya'-ñ pɨx ja'p oirɨ" jup-cai'ch gu Pedro.
here-1s DIM area walk REP-say ART Peter
"What are you doing?" John asked.
"I'm just (walking) around here," answered Peter.

(356) *Joidyam jix-'abar cusvio dyi ma'ncam gu bai'mcar.*
perfectly ATR-beautiful carry ART person ART bag
That's a beautiful embroidered bag that man has.

(357) *Joidyam jix-chu-'abar ba-ja'p jucgam.*
perfectly ATR-EXT-beautiful up-area pine^forest
It's very beautiful up in the pine forest.

(358) *Guíhlim jix-chɨva'. Cham max na pai' va-dú.*
very ATR-cloudy NEG visible SUB where RLZ-be^sun
It's very cloudy; the sun is not visible.

(359) *Cham bai' tu-max na-ñ tɨy tɨ-nɨi'ñ.*
NEG good EXT-visible SUB-1s ATT EXT-look
Nothing is visible, although I'm looking very hard.

For actions, extent always denotes a TEMPORAL EXTENSION. Stems that occur with *tu-* describe an action that is viewed as longer in duration than corresponding stems without *tu-*. That is, some actions are viewed as normally occupying a relatively longer period of time to accomplish in the Southeastern Tepehuan culture. This is not the same as the progressive meaning of the present tense (§7.1), since a progressive action must necessarily be going on at speech or reference time. Nor is extent the same as the durative aspect (§8.5), since durative actions are viewed as ongoing for varying periods of time. Rather, extended actions are those that are viewed as always taking a culturally understood period of time to accomplish. Several contrastive examples of action stems with and without the extent prefix *tu-* are given in (360)–(366).

(360) *Jix-bai'-p mo vacuana-' dyi savuirax. Guíhlim jix-guio'.*
ATR-well-2s DSC wash-FUT ART pants very ATR-greasy
(Please) wash these pants well; they are very greasy.

(361) *Va-tu-vopco-ñ-ich gu jajannuhl vípi'.*
RLZ-EXT-wash-1s-PRF ART clothes before
I already washed clothes earlier.

(362) *Cha'-p sava'n gu cu'a'?*
NEG-2s buy ART firewood
Won't you buy some firewood?

(363) *Tová-tam-ach tu-sava'n-po-' jí'cchi gu cosas.*
turkey-place-1p EXT-buy-OBJ-FUT a^few ART things
We're going to Turkey Town to buy a few things.

(364) *Voptop-am gágu-im dyi u'ji' na-m jugui-a'.*
fish-3p look^for-DP ART birds SUB-3p eat-FUT
These birds are looking for fish to eat.

(365) *Vác tu-gága-m na-ch-ich cham ja-tí*
cows EXT-look^for-OBJ SUB-1p-PRF NEG 3p-find

tacav jurnic.
yesterday afternoon
He went to look for some cows that we didn't find yesterday afternoon.

(366) *Ca-tu-jugui-a'-iñ ya' na-ñ va-x-bio'.*
TEM-EXT-eat-FUT-1s here SUB-1s RLZ-ATR-hungry
I'm going to eat here, since I'm hungry now.

In (360) the stem *cuana* 'wash' (SG) is viewed perfectively, since its duration is not in view. In (361), however, the distributive form of the same stem, *vopcona* 'wash' (PL), is viewed imperfectively, i.e., as an action whose well-understood duration is currently in focus. Similarly, in (362) the focus is on the action of buying in its perfective sense as a whole action, while in (363) the speaker focuses on the extended time needed for shopping. In (364), the stem *gaga* 'look for' is used to describe the process that shore birds are engaged in continually. This illustrates the fact that the meaning of extent is limited to actions; it does not apply to processes, whose development is continuous for an undetermined period time (§4.21). In (365) the same stem, *gaga*, is used to describe an action whose normal duration is well understood from previous experience. The second verb stem in (364), *jugui* 'eat', is there used to view the action as a single unit

in time, whereas in (366) the same stem is used with the common, extended view of taking time to eat.

While the use of the extent prefix for temporal duration is very common, its meaning precludes its use with some actions that are never viewed as extended, i.e., as taking a specified period of time to accomplish, such as *aiya* 'arrive', *cupa* 'close', and *jaiqui* 'break'. On the other hand, its meaning also obligates its use with other actions that are always viewed as extended, such as *(tu)jójoidya* 'look at' and *(tu)moicda* 'till (the ground)'. In addition, the addition of *tu-* to a few stems results in a specific meaning that is different from, yet related to, the meaning of the stem without *tu-*. For instance, the stem *juana* 'do' exists only without the extent prefix in frozen phrases such as *Cha'p juanda'!* 'don't do that!', 'leave it (me) alone!' But the combination *tujuana* always means 'work', especially in one's cornfield, but it can be extended to mean work in general. Similarly, *ñioqui* means 'talk' but *tuñioqui* means 'pray'. These stems have lexicalized the meaning of *tu-* in understandable yet very specific ways.

None of the meanings of the extent prefix described here seem compatible with the prefix *tu-* that verbalizes nouns with the meaning 'to own' (§4.12), unless one wants to stretch the meaning of extent to mean 'possess for an extended period of time'. The alternative analysis is to view the two prefixes as simply homonymous. This seems preferable in light of the fact that the two are used with different classes of stems; that ownership has a limited distribution, but extent has a broad distribution; that extent has two closely related general meanings, while ownership is much more specific in meaning; and that the two prefixes may possibly have different historical sources (Eugene Casad, personal communication).

8.5 Temporary and durative

Two other imperfective aspects denote that a situation occurs for a limited time, of either shorter or longer duration. The temporary aspect applies to all types of situations but it is less frequent, while the durative aspect is limited to actions but is more frequent. Both of these aspects are discussed here and compared to other similar meanings.

The TEMPORARY ASPECT is marked by the prefix *ca-*. It can be used to describe any type of situation in any tense. Its presence signals one or more of the following meanings: 'during', 'meanwhile', 'temporarily', and 'for the time being'. It denotes the fact that the situation described is, was, or will be in occurrence for a limited time, yet without specifying the beginning or ending points of such time. Examples of the use of the temporary prefix are given in (367)–(370).

(367) *Vɨpɨ'ñ ca-mamoisa-' dyi cavay na-ñ va' va-m-ga'hlidya-'.*
before TEM-tame-FUT ART horse SUB-1s then RLZ-2s-sell-FUT
I will first tame this horse before I sell it to you.

(368) *Tu-juguio-p-ich gu cacñi' na-p ca-tu-ga'r-idya-ɨ?*
EXT-use^up-2s-PRF ART cloth SUB-2s TEM-EXT-sell-DUR-PI
Did you use up all the cloth you were selling?

(369) *Susdɨ gu-ñ nónov na-ñ cham jɨ'xdya' ca-tu-juan.*
blister ART-1s hands SUB-1s NEG never TEM-EXT-work
My hands blistered because I never work anymore.

(370) *Ca-x-mamoic dyi turasno. Chacuy bay.*
TEM-ATR-soft ART peach not^yet ripe
These peaches are still green; they're not ripe yet.

In (367), the temporary prefix *ca-* occurs with the future tense, and in (368) it occurs with the past imperfective tense. In both cases it describes an action that is performed only until a desired result is obtained, a meaning akin to 'meanwhile'. In (369), it is used with the present tense to refer to an action that was going on DURING which time another action took place. And in (370) it is used to show that a state is temporarily in existence, but is expected to change soon. These meanings also combine easily with negation (§5.3), as seen in (371).

(371) *Cham ca-'ípo dyi mansan na-m-ɨt dɨr juguio gu*
NEG TEM-sprout ART apple SUB-3p-PRF from eat^up ART

carvax gu jága-'n.
goat ART leaf-3s
This apple tree hasn't sprouted since the goats ate off its leaves.

The DURATIVE aspect is marked by the suffix *-da*. This suffix occurs only with action stems and signals a more general imperfective aspect than either extent, marked by the prefix *tu-* (§8.4), or the progressive meaning of present tense (§7.1). That is, the durative aspect denotes that an action is, was, or will be in progress during a period of time whose limits are not specified. Thus, an action that is viewed as durative does not necessarily conform to the normal limits for the duration of the said action; it often shows that, on the contrary, the time involved in the action goes beyond the culturally understood limits. Nor is an action that is viewed as durative necessarily in progress at speech or reference time; it could have occurred

entirely in the past or be predicted to occur entirely in the future. Examples of the use of the durative suffix *-da* are given in (372)–(375).

(372) *Mo-p mam-tu-x-dya-' dyi xíga'n na-x*
DSC-2s KNOW-CAUS-BEN-APL-FUT ART puppy SUB-ATR

máti-t ja-vipia-da-' gu carvax.
learn-PI 3p-tend-DUR-FUT ART goats
You ought to teach this puppy how to tend sheep (while it's still young).

(373) *Joidyam jix-juc vuan-da-' gu súdai' pai'*
perfectly ART-warm go^out-DUR-FUT ART water where

na-r toiñcam.
SUB-EXS hot^spring
The water runs nice and warm from hot springs.

(374) *Cha-'p mi-ja-dam bibí-da-' dyi' na-m mi' vóvoc.*
NEG-2s LOC-3p-over pass-DUR-FUT DEM SUB-3p there lie

Gacóhl-ap biiy-a'.
around-2s pass-FUT
Don't step over those people that are lying there. Go around (them).

(375) *Mu sap pai' na quio va-'ay, ua'-da-t gu ahlí.*
there REP where SUB live RLZ-arrive carry-DUR-PI ART child
He arrived home carrying the child.

These examples illustrate that the durative suffix *-da* most often occurs with the future suffix *-(a)'*, whether or not the reference is to the future. For instance, in (372) the reference is to the future, but in (373) and (374) it is to the habitual nature of the present; (373) describes a natural phenomenon, and (374) describes a regularly practiced ritual. Occasionally, however, the durative aspect is viewed as currently in progress, as in example (274) in §7.1, or as occurring over a period of time in the past, as in (375). This latter example further illustrates that, since the durative aspect is imperfective, the only past tense form that can occur with it is the past imperfective.

8.6 Motion and transfer

Two suffixes are used in Southeastern Tepehuan to denote situations describing movement. One signals an action performed by an agent while he is in motion; the other signals the purposeful transport of a patient from one location to another. Morphologically, the number of verb stems with which these two suffixes occur is very small. Semantically, these two suffixes have in common the fact that the agent involved is himself in motion; they differ only in their focus. In the first, the focus is on the AGENT, i.e., what activity he is performing or what state he is in while he is in motion. In the second, the focus is on the PATIENT, i.e., what is the identity of the object being transferred from one place to another.

The MOTION suffix *-tu'*, often palatalized to *-chu'*, denotes situations in which an action is carried on by the agent, or the agent is in a certain position, while he is moving from one place to another. The means of locomotion is normally not specified; it can be either walking, running, or riding (e.g., on a horse or in a motor vehicle). The primary criterion distinguishing motion from other dynamic situations is that, while moving toward a destination, the agent is also engaged in some other action or is situated in a particular positional state. When this meaning is intended, the speaker utilizes the motion suffix *-tu'* with the appropriate verb stem, resulting in an action verb stem.[46]

The set of actions that are viewed as instances of motion is relatively small. This limited usage suggests that the process of deriving motion stems by suffixing *-tu'* is no longer productive. But while the number of stems that normally occur as motions is small, many unusual usages are also attested. Most of the common verb stems to which the motion suffix *-tu'* can be suffixed are listed in (376). They are suggestive of a wide range of activities that can be viewed as accomplishable simultaneously with other bodily movement. Examples of motion verbs are given in (377) and (378), which are a more common use, and a more innovative use, respectively.

[46]These stems usually end in [i], resulting in the palatalization of [t] to [ch] (§2.21). A morphophonological process associated with this suffix is anomalous: when *-tu'* is followed by the durative suffix *-da* (§8.5), the two are always separated by an alveolar nasal, as in the pair *gamtu'* 'carry in pocket' versus *gamtu'nda'* 'be carrying along in pocket'. Thus the motion suffix might be better analyzed as having the form *tug*, where the final velar stop not only deobstruentizes syllable-finally, but also drops its nasal word-finally (§2.22). The analysis is complicated, however, by rare occurrences of *tu'* followed only by the nasal, such as *da'ñchu'n* 'be going along holding', where the durative meaning is present; in this instance the suffix *-da* apparently loses its final vowel, then deobstruentizes syllable-finally. The infrequency of *-tu'* followed by *-da* makes resolution of this problem difficult.

(376) *jim-chu'* (go-MOT) 'walk'
mɨhl-chu' (run-MOT) 'race'
dai-chu' (sit-MOT) 'ride seated (SG)'
gu'gui-chu' (stand-MOT) 'ride standing (PL)'
ɨx-chu' (plant-MOT) 'go along planting (corn)'
tuc-chu' (carry-MOT) 'carry on back (animate)'
vai'ñ-chu' (invite-MOT) 'take along (animate)'

(377) *Tuc-chu'* *dyi* *uví* *gu* *mara-'n* *sia*
carry^on^back-MOT ART woman ART offspring-3s even

cu *gu'* *tɨy* *va-tu-'oirɨ.*
so but very^much RLZ-EXT-walk
This woman is carrying her child even though (the child) is now perfectly capable of walking.

(378) *Pui'* *sap* *va'* *cham* *tɨ-nɨidy-im,* *cup-chu'.*
thus REP then NEG EXT-look-DP closed-MOT
And he didn't look (where they were taking him), (but) kept (his eyes) closed.

The TRANSFER suffix *-ica* denotes an action in which an agent is transporting something from one location to another. In this type of dynamic situation, the focus is not on what other activity the agent is engaged in while in motion; rather, it is on the fact that the reason for his movement from one place to another is to transport some object to another location. The stems that are used in conjunction with this suffix show that Southeastern Tepehuan speakers view purposeful transport of objects as limited to certain routinely cultural activities. Most of the stems that are known to occur with *-ica* are listed in (379); an example of one is given in (380).

(379) *bɨ-ica* go^by-TRNS, 'take/bring (SG)'
ua'-ica carry-TRNS, 'take/bring (PL)'
bíñor-ica load^onto-TRNS, 'transport on'
tɨvɨr-ica rope^hold-TRNS, 'lead by rope'
mót-ica head/shoulder^hold-TRNS, 'carry on head/shoulder'
dá-x-ica sit-BEN-TRNS, 'carry on horseback'

(380) *Vɨxxic* *dɨr-ach* *mótica-'* *dyi* *cu'a'* *na* *gu'*
both^sides from-1P carry-FUT ART firewood SUB but

guíhlim *jix-vɨt.*
very ATR-heavy
Let's carry this (piece of) firewood (on our shoulders) by both ends because it is very heavy.

There are no known verb stems that occur with either the motion or the transfer suffix. This means that Southeastern Tepehuan speakers may view these actions as mutually exclusive semantically: one cannot transport something in the same way that one goes along doing something. However, the fact that they are both small sets may indicate, instead, that these morphological processes are not productive, and are for the most part restricted to certain commonly occurring situations.

9
Modality

This chapter deals with the meanings expressed in the notional area of modality. Unlike tense and aspect, which deal with the SITUATIONAL setting of a proposition, modality deals with the proposition in its social or INTERACTIONAL setting. That is, while tense primarily describes temporal deixis and aspect focuses on the internal constituency of a situation, modal meanings convey how the speaker interacts with the other participants in the social setting surrounding the utterance, how he views the factuality of his own utterance, and what conditions apply to the agent designated in the utterance (Lyons 1977, Bybee 1985, Palmer 1986).

In §9.1, I discuss the modes of speech; that is, how the speaker modifies his utterance to correspond to the social conventions of communication in his culture. Following this, I discuss the two other main areas of modality that apply within one or more of these speech modes. In §9.2, I discuss epistemic modality, or how the speaker indicates what is his own view of the reliablity of his utterance as fairly representing the situation he describes. And in §9.3, I discuss agent-oriented modality, or what conditions the speaker sees as applying to any agent involved in the situation he describes.

9.1 Modes of speech

Four modes of speech can be distinguished in Southeastern Tepehuan. The indicative mode is used to assert statements about a situation as the speaker understands it. The interrogative mode is used to elicit the hearer's views about it. The conditional mode is used to suggest to the hearer what the speaker sees as possible alternative situations, given

certain conditions. And the imperative mode is used to exhort the hearer to act in relation to the speaker's wishes about a given situation. Each of these modes is discussed separately in the following sections.

9.11. Indicative mode. In Southeastern Tepehuan, the INDICATIVE MODE is the mode used for the assertion of statements about the situation described as the speaker understands it. This includes assessments of how the speaker, the hearer, and any other participant is involved in the situation, given in terms of tense, aspect, agent-oriented modality, valence, deixis, etc. In addition, the assessment can be either positive, which is unmarked, or negative, which is marked by negative adverbs. That is, the primary meaning expressed by the use of the indicative mode is DECLARATION, or ASSERTION OF TRUTH OR FALSITY. Most of the discussion of meaning in this grammar applies to declarations; only those meanings discussed in the next three sections do not.

Thus the basic or unmarked utterance in Southeastern Tepehuan is a declarative statement, an unqualified assertion of fact about all relevant aspects of the situation described. This basic declaration can be modified in two ways (Bybee 1985:170): either the mode of speech can be changed or the degree of assertion can be qualified. In the first case, a change in intonation or the addition of grammatical morphemes can change an indicative utterance into an interrogative (§9.12), a conditional (§9.13), or an imperative (§9.14) utterance. In the second case, a declaration can be qualified by particles of epistemic modality to indicate both the degree of certainty about the truth of the statement, such as emphasis or doubt (§9.21), or the speaker's source of information for making the statement, such as direct or reported (§9.22).

9.12. Interrogative mode. The INTERROGATIVE MODE is used to ask for information from the hearer about a given situation. The main difference between the meaning conveyed by the indicative mode and the interrogative mode is that, in the interrogative mode, instead of ASSERTING the description as factual, the speaker INQUIRES whether some or all of the information he has about the situation is correct, or ELICITS further information to clarify his understanding. Some questions require a statement in response; others require only a yes or no answer. Many questions differ from their corresponding declarations in their intonational contours. Several interrogative particles are used to elicit specific information about a situation or to signal the reason for the inquiry.

There are three types of questions used by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers—content questions, yes-no questions, and rhetorical questions. CONTENT QUESTIONS are those that require a declaration in response, either

to supply information not already known about a situation or to choose between alternative descriptions of the situation. YES-NO QUESTIONS are those that require only assent or dissent to the description of a situation already given. RHETORICAL QUESTIONS are those that require no linguistic response.

These three main question types and their variations are distinguished from each other and from declarations both phonologically and morphologically. Phonologically, a change in intonation occurs in several question forms: declarations normally end with a drop in intonation, but some questions end with a rise in intonation. This applies to all yes-no questions and those content questions that do not contain WH-words. Morphologically, WH-words and three particles are used to convey specific interrogative meanings.

There are three ways to ask a content question. One is by the use of a WH-word to elicit specific information about a given situation, its setting, or the entities involved. The WH-words are listed in (381), and examples of three are given in (382)–(384).[47]

(381)	*jaró?*	'who?'	*jax ja'c?, jax dyuc?*	'how? (event)'
	tu'?	'what?'	*jax?, jɨ'x?*	'how? (attribute)'
	pá?	'where?'	*jax chu'm?*	'which?'
	pá duc?	'when?'	*jɨ'c?*	'how much?, how many?'
	jax va'?	'why?'		

(382) *Pa-p jich-maqui-a' lugar na-ch jich-'uhlbioca-'?*
where?-2s 1p-give-FUT place SUB-1p 1p-unsaddle-FUT
Where do you want us to put our (horse) riding gear?

(383) *Jɨ'c va-tu-mámar gu cavay güi' na-ñ-ich*
how^many? RLZ-OWN-offspring ART horse DEM SUB-1s-PRF

jum-ga'hli?
2s-sell
How many offspring does the horse I sold you now have?

[47]The word for 'when' is a combination of *pá* 'where' and the present tense form of an apparently defective verb denoting the movement of the sun across the sky. Thus *pá duc* is literally 'Where is the sun (in the sky)?'. Two other temporal expressions are also formed from this otherwise unused verb paradigm. One is *pá ja'p duc?* 'At what time of day?', to which the usual response is to point to a part of the sky where the sun will eventually be and say *ba'ñi ja'p duc*, which literally means 'when the sun is up there'. The other expression is *pá vadú?* 'What time of day is it?', to which one common response is *të'cov vadú* 'It's already late morning' (*të'cov* means 'high').

(384) *Jaro-m ga'hli dyi-m arpus na va' ja'p jix-vuichic?*
who?-2s sell ART-2s bag SUB then thus ATR-ugly
Who sold you that bag? It's so ugly.

For some content questions the meaning of CLARIFICATION is also present. This meaning is expressed by the use of the particle *gui*; it indicates that the speaker wants to get more detail about a certain entity or setting element involved in the situation, or he wants to establish that the information he has is correct. Accordingly, this particle has two main uses in the interrogative mode: in content questions and in rhetorical questions. Examples of these two uses of *gui* are given in (385)–(388).

(385) *Gui ap jir-pá-cam? Susba'n-tam a ca' Bíñi-cam a?*
CLR 2s EXS-where?-from frogs-place CFR IA pass-from CFR
And where ARE you from? Frog Town or Great Pass?

(386) *Gu-m tat gui? Jax jum-ihli'ñ xiv?*
ART-2s father CLR how? RFL-feel now
And your father? How is he today?

(387) *Tu' gui ba-ja'c jup-ca-bíj-im na-t gu' va-mú?*
what? CLR TWD-DIR REP-TEM-pass-DP SUB-PRF but RLZ-die
What does he want around here anymore, since he died?

(388) *Gui na-ñ añ jum-águi'ñ na-p cham ja-juan-da' gu-m*
CLR SUB-1s 1s 2s-tell SUB-2s NEG 3p-DO-DUR ART-2s

juju'hl na-m-it va' pu'-ñi va-m-dóda.
brothers SUB-3p-PRF than thus-PRE RLZ-2s-accomplish
Didn't I tell you to leave your brothers alone?
That's why they did this to you.

In (385) and (386), the speaker is asking for clarification, i.e., soliciting further information. In (387) and (388), however, the speaker is not soliciting information but asking a rhetorical question. In (387), extracted from a folklore text, the speaker is emphasizing the fact that the dead person's spirit will not be welcomed if it returns. (388), taken from the same text, is what the same speaker says to the spirit when it returns, emphasizing the reason for his previous murder.

The occurrence of the clarification particle *gui* is not common; it is most often used to ask clarifying content questions, as in (385) and (386). The use of rhetorical questions in Southeastern Tepehuan is also infrequent, and most

often these are short phrases, such as *Jax gui mas?* 'What else?' (Sp. *¿Qué más?*) and *Jax dyuy?* '(There's) no way!' (Sp. *¿Pues cómo?*) The particle *gui* occurs in only one noninterrogative environment—in the complex epistemic phrase *dyo gui ji*, used for affirmation (§9.21).

One other way to ask a content question does not utilize either a WH-word or *gui*, but rather the INTERROGATIVE ALTERNATIVE conjunction *ca'*. This alternative conjunction is used in questions instead of *piam* 'or' which is used only in noninterrogatives (§13.2). Its presence signals that the speaker does not know which of two alternative descriptions of a situation is correct; therefore he is eliciting the opinion of the speaker. Examples of the use of *ca'* are given in (389) and (390).

(389) *Vai-p-ich gu atoxcor, ca' mu pup dá dírap?*
put^in-2s-PRF ART chair IA there just sit outside
Did you put the chair in, or is it still outside?

(390) *Jix-mátit-'ap a'da gu-m sapátux, ca'-ñ*
ATR-know^how-2s put^on ART-2s shoes IA-1s

ji-m-'a'ñ-dya-'?
INC-2s-put^on-APL-FUT
Can you put your shoes on yourself, or (do you want) me to help you?

The interrogative alternative conjunction *ca'* is also used with the sequential conjunction *va'* (§13.1) to indicate a type of rhetorical question, an example of which is given in (391). Here the speaker is not entirely decided on which description of the situation he thinks is most accurate, and ponders the question to himself in the form of a rhetorical question. One further use of *ca'* is in so-called 'tag questions', where it is always followed by the negative adverb *cham*, as in (392).

(391) *Mi' ti-tipxi'ñ gu u'uan. Ca' va' tu-bíñor-im?*
there EXT-get^down ART paper IA then EXT-load-DP
He's unloading paper. Or is he loading it?

(392) *Guio va' na-p cantar-da-' jia, ca' cham?*
and then SUB-2s sing-DUR-FUT EMP IA NEG
And you also sing, right?

Yes-no questions are of two types. In POLAR yes-no questions, the speaker is not sure which response the hearer will give. The simplest form

of a polar question is the same as the corresponding declaration, but pronounced with question intonation, as in (393). In CONFIRMATION yes-no questions, the speaker suspects which response the hearer is likely to give, but seeks to have it confirmed nontheless. Confirmation questions differ from polar questions only by the further presence of the clitic *-a*. This type of yes-no question is most often used when the speaker sees the situation himself, but wants to engage the hearer in conversation about it. To do so, he states an obvious truth about the situation and suffixes the confirmation enclitic to it, as in (394) and (395).

(393) *Jix-ñá-'ap gu bav?*
ATR-like^to^eat-2S ART beans
Would you like some beans (to eat)?

(394) *Api'm jir-jum-sispidy-im a?*
2P EXS-RFL-sibling-DP CFR
Are you two siblings?

(395) *Do'nco-p-ich a dyi vacua na va' vuan gu súdai'?*
drop-2S-PRF CFR ART gourd SUB then go^out ART water
Did you drop this gourd? It's leaking water.

The confirmation enclitic *-a* occurs following the part of the clause in question. Its addition always causes the formation of a new syllable; this syllable begins with the second half of the geminate consonant or vowel that ends the word to which it is attached (§2.39). When the entire predication is in question, it follows the verb, as in (394); when some other consitutent is in question, the confirmation enclitic follows it, instead, as in (396).

(396) *Ap a mas jir-guë'?*
2S CFR more EXS-big
Are you older?

When the speaker wishes the hearer to choose between two alternatives, either of which seems equally likely, the confirmation enclitic occurs with both alternatives, which are linked by the interrogative alternative conjunction, as in (397). When the speaker gives a short response that does not include a predicate, the confirmation enclitic follows it also, as in (398).

(397) *Jax chu'm-ap mas jix-ñá gu quis, gu carvax*
how? looks-2s more ATR-like ART cheese ART goat

quis a, ca' gu vác quis a?
cheese CFR IA ART cow cheese CFR
Which (kind of) cheese do you like better, goat's (milk) cheese or cow's (milk) cheese?

(398) *Sihlcam a?*
true CFR
Really? (lit. Is that true?)

When the speaker expects his yes-no question to be answered negatively, he often phrases the question using a negative adverb. When he also wants to use sarcasm or talk down to the hearer, he will put the negative adverb *cham* first, followed by the subject enclitic, forming a contraction (§2.38). For instance, the question in (393) can be rephrased as in (399) to make fun of a child who is not hungry or is a fussy eater. When such sarcasm is not implied, and the speaker's question is sincere, the subject is marked with a pronoun which occurs BEFORE the negative adverb, as in (400).

(399) *Cha'p ná gu bav a?*
NEG-2s like^to^eat ART beans CFR
(You mean) you don't like beans?

(400) *Ap cham mat na pai'dyuc ya-'aiy-a' gu-m tat?*
2s NEG know SUB when LOC-arrive-FUT ART-2s father
You don't know when your father will arrive, do you?

9.13. Conditional mode. The CONDITIONAL MODE is used to describe situations that did not occur, are not presently occurring, or are not predicted to occur, but which COULD OCCUR if the proper conditions are met. These conditions are ranked according to the likelihood of their occurrence and are usually, but not always, made explicit. Whenever they are explicitly stated, the clause stating the condition is always introduced by the conditional particle *no'*. Also, when the condition is known to be improbable or contrary to fact, the counterfactual particle *guit* is used.

Southeastern Tepehuan distinguishes three types of conditional situations: reality condition, hypothetical condition, and counterfactual condition.[48]

In a REALITY CONDITION, the speaker expects the conditions necessary for the occurrence of a given situation to be fulfilled soon, or that the occurrence of these conditions is common enough that they will inevitably be fulfilled again. In this type of condition, *no'* translates as 'when' in the sense of 'as soon as'. In a HYPOTHETICAL CONDITION, the speaker knows the conditions necessary for the occurrence of a given situation could conceivably be fulfilled, but he has no reason to assume that they will be. In this type of conditional, *no'* translates as 'if' in the usual sense of 'in the event that'. In a 'counterfactual condition', the speaker wishes the conditions necessary for the occurrence of a given situation would be, or could have been, fulfilled, even though he knows they did not, or most likely will not, occur. In this type of condition, *no'* translates as 'if only'.

These three types of conditions are clearly distinguished by the morphology of the sentences by which they are expressed. In a reality condition, the CONDITION CLAUSE (the 'protasis' or 'if-clause') is always introduced by the conditional particle *no'* and the verb is always in the past perfective tense, while the CONSEQUENCE CLAUSE (the 'apodosis' or *'then*-clause') is in either the present tense, for statives and imperatives, or the future tense. In a hypothetical condition, the condition clause is also introduced by *no'* and the verb is in either the present tense or the future tense, while the consequence clause is always in the future tense. In a counterfactual condition, the condition clause is optional; when it is present it is introduced by *no'* and the verb is always in the future tense, as is the verb of the consequence clause. In addition, each such clause contains the counterfactual particle *guit*.

Examples of these three types of conditions are given below. Examples (401)–(403) illustrate three reality conditions, in all of which the verb of the condition clause is in the past perfective. This signals that the speaker considers the condition a foregone conclusion; it is only a matter of time until it comes about. In (401), the consequence clause is an imperative in the present tense; this is a command to be carried out after completing the previous action. In (402), the consequence clause describes a static situation in the present tense; this is the normal result when the accompanying action occurs. In (403), the consequence clause is in the future tense, describing what the agent will do after he has completed the previous action.

[48]Three similar distinctions are made for English and Mandarin Chinese by Li and Thompson (1981). I use here the same labels they use, but I characterize the meanings in Southeastern Tepehuan in a slightly different way.

(401) *Naspa-i-'ap gu-m maiñ no'-p-ich va-vam.*
fold-CON-2s ART-2s mat CND-2s-PRF RLZ-get^up
Fold up your mat when you get up.

(402) *Guíhlim jix-co'c gu mímiv no'-t jiñ-quiy.*
very ATR-hurt ART bee CND-PRF 1s-bite
It really hurts when one is stung by a bee.

(403) *No'-ñ-ich va-ti-biy gu bav, day na-ñ*
CND-1s-PRF RLZ-EXT-pick ART beans just SUB-1s

va-tu-jidyóra-'.
RLZ-EXT-boil-FUT
After I pick the beans, I just cook them.

Examples of hypothetical conditions are given in (404)–(406), in all of which the consequence clause is in the future. This signals that the speaker views the consequences as fairly certain to be accomplished; thus they are couched in terms of a predication of what WILL happen if the necessary conditions are met. In (404) and (405) these conditions are stated in the present tense, indicating that they are likely to be fulfilled; this is, by far, the most common way to express hypothetical conditions. Occasionally, however, this condition is stated in the future tense, as in (406), indicating the speaker's assessment that it is less likely to be fulfilled.

(404) *Asta gu vaiñgas qui'n na-ñ iqui-a' gu ux*
until ART axe with SUB-1s cut-FUT ART wood

no'-r sarvac.
CND-EXS thick
If the wood is thick, one cuts it with an axe.

(405) *Jiñ-biica-'-ap no'-p Vódamtam ja'c jim.*
1s-carry-FUT-2s CND-2s Mezquital DIR go
Please take me to Mezquital if you're going that way.

(406) *Jum-'oidya-'-ich mummu-m qui'am no'-p*
2s-go^with-FUT-1p there-2s home CND-2s

jich-ga'hlidya-' gu imay.
1p-sell^to-FUT ART squash
We will go with you to your ranch if you will sell us a squash (when we get there).

Instances of both reality conditions and hypothetical conditions are numerous, but instances of counterfactual conditions are much less so. Nevertheless, counterfactual conditions are sometimes employed to describe a situation that, from the speaker's point of view, should have occurred if certain conditions have been fulfilled or would idealistically occur given the unlikely fulfillment of the appropriate conditions. For example, in (407) the speaker states what he would do in the event his wish ever came true, and in (408) the speaker states what would have happened if he had done something previously.

(407) *No'-ñ via'-ca-' guit ma'n gu radio, vix tanohl*
CND-1s have-NPS-FUT CNTF one ART radio, all day

tu-sav-da-'-iñ guit ji.
EXT-play-DUR-FUT-1s CNTF EMP
If (only) I had a radio, I would play it all day long!

(408) *No'-ñ mu-jimi-a' guit tacav mu mercado, ya'*
CND-1s AWY-go-FUT CNTF yesterday there market here

aichdya-'-iñ guit gu carum.
bring-FUT-1s CNTF ART banana
If I had gone to the market yesterday, I would have brought home some bananas.

In (407) and (408), the condition clause and the consequence clause are both in the future tense, indicating that they are predicted only. To this is added the meaning of improbability by the presence of the counterfactual particle *guit*. This seldom-used particle also occurs in sentences describing two kinds of contrary-to-fact situations: (a) those that might have happened but didn't, and (b) those that the speaker hopes will happen, spoken in what is sometimes referred to as the 'optative mood'. An example of each of these is given in (409) and (410), respectively.

(409) *Vastacav-ach* *sap* *bai'* *va-jimi-a'* *gu̇it,* *gu'* *ji*
day^before^yesterday-1p REP TWD RLZ-go-FUT CNTF but EMP

na-t *gu'* *ma-ch-'o'nxi* *ma'n* *gu* *buru'x.*
SUB-PRF but DST-1p-hide one ART donkey
We were going to leave for here yesterday, but we lost a donkey (lit. it lost itself on us).

(410) *Ojalá* *na-pim* *cocvada-'* *gu̇it.*
hope SUB-2p fill^up-FUT CNTF
I hope you (PL) get full.

In (407) and (408) above, it is only the nonlinguistic context that determines whether the conditional is to be interpreted in the optative sense or in the 'might have' sense. Occasionally, the linguistic context itself helps clarify this, as in (411).

(411) *Aixim* *na-p* *sarvac* *iam* *sava'da-'* *gu̇it* *gu*
sufficient SUB-2s thick more buy-FUT CNTF ART

ti̇rviñ. *Xi'-r* *ardi'ch* *dyi'* *na-p-ich* *ya-'aich.*
rope too^much-EXS thin DEM SUB-2s-PRF here-bring
You should have bought a thicker rope. This one that you brought is too thin.

9.14. Imperative mode. The IMPERATIVE MODE is used to get the hearer to act according to the speaker's understanding of a given situation. This includes the meanings of command, request, prohibition, and exhortation, all of which are necessarily restricted to actions, since they are the only types of situations requiring an agent, and to second person, since it is the hearer who is the addressee and intended agent of the action commanded. The use of several affixes and particles with both the present and the future tense determine the types and degrees of imperatives.

When a COMMAND is used, the speaker is TELLING the hearer to do something. There are four types of commands used by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers: direct, weak, strong, and polite. A DIRECT COMMAND is the most common way of telling someone to do something; it implies that the speaker has the right to do so, based on his relationship with the hearer, a relationship such as that of a parent to his child or a community official to a member of the community. It also implies that the speaker expects the command to be carried out relatively soon, since he considers it to be a necessary and reasonable demand. This type of command is

marked by the presence of the imperative prefix *xi-* in the present tense, second person singular or plural, as in (412) through (415).[49]

(412) *Bai' xi-jím-añ jum-tii'-dya-' gu-m camis.*
TWD DC-GO-1S 2S-put^ON-APL-FUT ART-2S shirt
Come here so I can put your shirt on you.

(413) *Xi-sísap dyi yavi. Tu' cuv jum-nua' gu súdai'.*
DC-close ART faucet what SUB RFL-spill ART water
Close that faucet; the water is leaking out for no reason.

(414) *Gor xi-vigui'ñ gu candyir. Guíhlim jix-chucgam.*
2P DC-light ART candle very ATR-dark
Light a candle, you guys. It's very dark (in here).

(415) *Ma'n-ap xi-xovcona-y gu son na-p bán vuhli-a'*
one-2S DC-sharpen-CON ART stake SUB-2S on tie-FUT

dyi buru'x.
ART donkey
Make a stake to tie this donkey to.

In (414), where the addressee is second-person plural, the plural imperative pronoun *gor* is used. Sometimes the action of the command is tied to another action, in which case the connected action suffix *-y* (§13.1) occurs with the direct command suffix *xi-*, as well, as in (415).

The direct command is the basic form of a command, but its meaning can be modified in three ways, one to strengthen the force of the command and two to weaken it. The most common modification of the direct command is to weaken it by using the future tense instead of the present tense with the direct command prefix, but marking the subject as second person as if it were not a command. This has the effect of softening the force of the command so that it comes across as somewhat less direct, resulting in a WEAK COMMAND. Instances of weak commands are numerous; three are given in (416)–(418).

[49]The first-person-singular subject marking on the verb in (412) goes with the second verb. It here occurs suffixed to the first verb because no conjunction or adverb occurs to introduce the second clause (§11.21). This is a signal of a high degree of continuity between the two events (§15.2).

(416) *Xi-juguioca-'-ap dyi bav na-m va' gu vacax*
IMP-eat^up-FUT-2s ART beans SUB-3p then ART meat

mi'-p xi-m-bídya-'.
there-2s IMP-2s-serve-FUT
Eat up those beans so they can serve you some meat.

(417) *Bai'-p xi-mim-da-'-ap gu ja'á cu jótom*
TWD-2s IMP-burn-DUR-FUT-2s ART pot so quickly

baiy-a' gu bav.
cook ART beans
Stir up the fire under the pot so the beans will cook faster.

(418) *Xi-quicvo-'-ap, ja'c-ap xi-jimi-a' na cham mi'-m*
IMP-stand-FUT-2s DIR-2s IMP-go-FUT SUB NEG there-2s

quiispa-' gu troqui.
step^on-FUT ART truck
(Please) get up and move back so a truck won't run you over.

Two other command forms are expressed using different affixes. If the speaker wishes to make his command stronger, he uses the present tense form with the STRONG COMMAND suffix *-(i)ñ* instead.[50] The strong command is rarely used; it is reserved for situations in which the speaker feels that his command is so important it must be obeyed without question, either because it is urgent or because it is absolutely vital to the welfare of the addressee. Two examples of strong commands, (419) and (420), seem to combine these two meanings.

(419) *Mu-ñioc-dya-iñ dyi gagox! Guíhlim tu'i' na*
AWY-talk-APL-SC ART dog very be^like SUB

ba-ja'c ti-nii'ñ.
TWD-DIR EXT-look
Scold that dog! It's awful (how) it's looking at me!

[50]All speakers palatalize the nasal in this suffix, although speakers vary as to whether they pronounce the *[i]* when it follows a diphthong, since it is the only place where a three vowel sequence occurs in the language (§2.35).

(420) *Cha'-p juan-da' dyi'! Mai'-vua-(i)ñ!*
NEG-2s DO-DUR-FUT DEM away-throw-SC
Leave that alone! Throw it away!

If the speaker wishes to make his command less direct and more polite, he uses the present tense form with the POLITE COMMAND prefix *vi-*. The polite command form is also rarely used; it is reserved for situations in which a direct command is appropriate, but the speaker wishes to show deference to the hearer with the hope that this will help insure compliance to his command. This form is clearly weaker than a direct command, as evidenced by the difference in meaning between *mu-xi-jim* (TWD-DC-go) 'go away!' and *mu-vi-jim* (TWD-PC-go) 'go away now'. It also seems less strong than a weak command, although good evidence for such a comparison is lacking. From the examples of polite commands in (421) and (422) it may be concluded that this type of command is somewhere between a direct command and a request (discussed below) in meaning.

(421) *Vi-ñásap gu-m sa'ua na cham jaroi' quiispa-'.*
PC-fold ART-2s blanket SUB NEG someone step^on-FUT
Please fold up your blanket so no one will step on it.

(422) *Bai' vi-tímihl-mir gu buru'x na-t gu' va-jur.*
TWD PC-lead-OBJ ART donkey SUB-PRF but RLZ-get^late
(Please) go bring in the donkey; it's late.

When a REQUEST is used, the speaker is ASKING the hearer to do something. Although this form of inducing action is less direct than a command, it often has the same effect. In this sense it might be considered an 'indirect speech act'. There are two forms of requests used by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers. In a DIRECT REQUEST, the speaker informs the hearer that he wants the hearer to do something, and that he expects that he will, given that his request is both reasonable and easy to carry out. This form of request is expressed by the use of the present tense form of the verb without any of the above-mentioned command affixes. Examples of direct requests are given in (423) and (424).

(423) *Jiñ-chaiñvui'ñ gu-m vacua cu-ñ bán bii-ra-' gu súdai'.*
1s-lend ART-2s gourd SO-1s on carry-OBJ-FUT ART water
Please lend me your gourd so I can go get some water.

(424) *Jiñ-bii-'ñ-mir gu talach güi' na va'c vita' cát.*
1s-carry-APL-OBJ ART pick DEM SUB house under lie
Please go and get me the pick that is under the house.

The direct form of a request is used infrequently, however. The more common form of a request is the INDIRECT REQUEST, which is also expressed without the use of command suffixes, but using the future tense. In this form of request the speaker informs the hearer what he wants done, but couches it in the form of a prediction. The effect is that the hearer is given the opportunity to gracefully refuse the request without offending the speaker. This is the least forceful, most polite form used in this language to get the hearer to do something. Accordingly, the examples of indirect requests given in (425)–(427) are glossed here as questions, although in Southeastern Tepehuan they do not have question intonation (§9.12).

(425) *Mi' dyir-ap jiñ-bii-dy-ica-' ma'n gu sa'ua.*
there from-2s 1s-carry-APL-TRNS-FUT one ART blanket
Will you please bring a blanket for me from there?

(426) *Jiñ-pahlvuidya-'-ap-añ jup-xi-dya-' dyi-ñ*
1s-help-FUT-2s-1s remove-BEN-APL-FUT ART-1s

cavai-' gu susca-'n.
horse-STS ART shoes-3s
Will you please help me remove my horse's shoes?

(427) *Jiñ-vacuañ-dya-'-ap gu-ñ camis gu-x chua.*
1s-wash-APL-FUT-2s ART-1s shirt ART-ATR white.

Ti'y-a'-iñ cavuimuc na-r piasta-ca-'.
put^on-FUT-1s tomorrow SUB-EXS festival-NPS-FUT
Will you please wash my white shirt for me? I'm going to wear it tomorrow to the festival.

Neither a command nor a request necessarily implies urgency. However, if the speaker wishes to communicate this meaning as well, he can preface his imperative statement by one of the two forms of the anticipation

interjection (§13.3), either *ea* or *eco-*.[51] In this way he indicates that he wants the action carried out as soon as possible. Thus, the combination of *ea* with *xi-* in second person, present tense indicates an IMMEDIATE COMMAND, as in (428), and the combination of *eco-* without *xi-* in the second person, future tense indicates an IMMEDIATE REQUEST. Instances of the former are common, since if one is giving a command it is often the case that one wants it done soon. However, instances of the latter are rare, since one seldom asks for a request to be done immediately. The example given in (429) is taken from a prayer and may be restricted to similar ritual contexts.

(428) *Ea-p jum-'o'hlia qui'n xi-quicvo cu-ñ jum-tahliaro-'.*
ANT-2s 2s-knees with DC-stand SO-1s 2s-spank-FUT
Get on your knees (right now) so I can spank you!

(429) *Eco-pim mas bian bammi dir ja'c mo ñoqui-a'*
ANT-2p más good there from DIR DIS speak-FUT

gu cocdai'.
ART sickness
Better still, you could just speak to this sickness from up there (in heaven)...

Besides commands and requests, two other forms of imperatives are used occasionally by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers. One is PROHIBITION, or the negation of a direct command, in which the speaker tells the hearer NOT to do something. Prohibitions are always introduced by the negative adverb *cham* to which is contracted the second person singular or plural subject marker *-p(im)*. The verb in a prohibition is always in the future tense and usually in the durative aspect, indicating that the prohibition is not just momentary. Examples of prohibitions are given in (430) and (431).

(430) *Cha'-p mia'n quic-a'. Mi'-m quiiya.*
NEG-2s near stand-FUT there-2s kick
Don't stand (too) close. (The animal) will kick you.

[51]The first form of this interjection, *ea*, can stand alone or can take the subject clitic as a suffix. The second, *eco-*, occurs only with the subject clitic. The reason that one form occurs here with immediate commands and the other with immediate requests is coincidental; i.e., it is not related to the meanings expressed.

(431) *Cha'-pim damdir mi-dararri-da-' dyi-ñ arpus.*
NEG-2p on^top there-sit-DUR-FUT ART-1s bag

Jix-jaic-gam mi-chu-jim.
ATR-break-able there-EXT-go
Don't sit on my bag. There are breakable items inside.

One imperative form signals EXHORTATION, i.e., that the speaker wants the hearer to participate with him in an action. This is different from the other imperative forms which indicate that the hearer is to carry out the action without the speaker. The general tone of an exhortation is the same as that of a request; that is, the speaker informs the hearer that he would like his mutual participation, but leaves the hearer the option to refuse the exhortation gracefully. There are two forms of an exhortation, depending on whether the hearer is singular or plural. Most commonly the speaker is exhorting only one person, in which case the particle *maic* introduces the exhortion, as in (432). Occasionally the speaker exhorts more than one person, in which case the plural imperative pronoun *gor* is also used, as in (433).

(432) *Maic-ach ti-tic-po-' gu yóxi' mu chiop.*
EXH-1p EXT-put-OBJ-FUT ART flowers there church
Let's go place some flowers at the church.

(433) *Maic gor na-ch tu-juan-po-'.*
EXH 2p SUB-1p EXT-work-OBJ-FUT
Let's go (off) to work.

Most exhortations call for the addressee to go with the speaker to another location to do something. For this reason, the verbs of most exhortatory sentences use the objective suffix *-mira* 'go to' (§9.31). Those that do not use *-mira* are verbs that inherently involve motion, such as *jimi* 'go'. Sometimes the distinction in number of the addressee of an exhortation is neutralized by the use of the contracted form *maigor* for either singular or plural. This form could be substituted for *maic (gor)* in either (432) or (433) without affecting understanding.

9.2 Epistemic modality

The concept of noninteractional modality in language has its roots in classical logic, where it is held that there are three possible types of

propositions (Lyons 1977, Givón 1982): (a) necessarily true, or analytic propositions; (b) contingently true, or synthetic propositions; and (c) necessarily false, or contradictory propositions. From this beginning, traditional modal logic developed into the study of how propositions are qualified in terms of necessity and possibility. This type of logic, known as ALETHIC MODALITY, views the proposition from a purely objective standpoint. Natural language, however, seldom treats propositions in such purely objective terms. Rather, the speaker's viewpoint is normally involved in every utterance. For this reason, linguists often distinguish between DEONTIC MODALITY, which involves the speaker as an actor in the situation described in his proposition, and EPISTEMIC MODALITY, which reflects the speaker's attitude toward the truth of the proposition itself.

Bybee (1985) shows that the traditional notion of deontic modality is not extensive enough to cover all of the ways that the speaker can be involved as actor in the proposition. That is, to obligation and permission must be added the notions of ability, desire, and intention, the result of which is the more linguistically relevant conceptual domain of AGENT-ORIENTED modality. In §9.3, I show that Southeastern Tepehuan, like most other languages, expresses such agent-oriented modality primarily by periphrastic means rather than by the use of affixes or grammatical particles. In this section and §§9.21–9.22, I show that epistemic modality, also like most other languages, is represented by grammatical morphemes in Southeastern Tepehuan.

While agent-oriented modality is quantitatively less subjective than epistemic modality, it is qualitatively more subjective than alethic modality. In other words, because the speaker must take some viewpoint on everything he says, this will be reflected in the way he presents every proposition. Alethic modality, *per se,* then, is never part of a linguistic utterance, but it is inextricably involved in the speaker's viewpoint as reflected in epistemic modality. That is, statements of necessity and probability are always viewed through the eyes of the speaker.

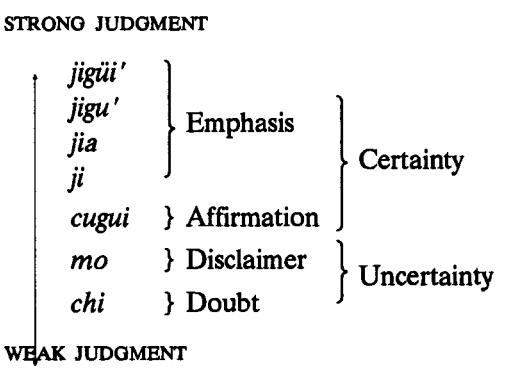
It is for this reason that Palmer (1981:153) views epistemic modality as that portion of the meaning conveyed by language that "expresses the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth of what is being said." But as other studies have shown (Lyons 1977, Chafe and Nichols 1986, Palmer 1986, T. Willett 1988), this commitment reflects both the RELIABILITY and the SOURCE of the speaker's knowledge about the situation he describes. That is, epistemic modals express the speaker's own evaluation of the status of his understanding of the situation described. Data from many languages show that these modals can best be understood as reflecting one or the other, and sometimes both, of the subdomains of epistemic modality that Lyons (1977) calls OBJECTIVE and SUBJECTIVE epistemic modality. For ease of reference, I

here refer to these two areas by JUDGMENT and EVIDENCE, respectively, following Palmer (1986). I discuss judgments in §9.21 and evidentials in §9.22.

As is true in the majority of languages, however, epistemic qualification, either of judgment or of evidence, is not obligatory in Southeastern Tepehuan. That is, a statement that does not contain one of the particles just described is unmarked for these meanings.

9.21. Judgments. As is typical of languages in general, Southeastern Tepehuan speakers make varying degrees of JUDGMENT about the possibility that their description of a given situation is accurate. These judgments are made primarily about declarative statements made in the indicative mode (§9.11), but they are sometimes used to qualify conditional or consequence statements made in the conditional mode (§9.13) or commands or requests made in the imperative mode (§9.14). They indicate to the hearer the degree of certainty the speaker has about whether or not his statement accurately represents the situation described.

(434) Judgment particles



(434) shows the degrees of judgments possible in Southeastern Tepehuan, ranked in relation to each other on a continuum from strong to weak. The strongest of the judgments, signaled by varying forms of the particle *ji*, signals a 'categorical assertion'; that is, by it the speaker shows his full commitment to the truth of the statement made. This unequivocal affirmation, referred to here as EMPHASIS, can take one of four forms, the strongest of which, *jigüi'*, is also the lengthiest and the least strong of which, *ji*, is also the shortest. Two of these are illustrated in (435), which is taken from a short narrative.

(435) *Mummu na-t guɨy, mi' pup gui'voc pu-tu-cam*
there SUB-PRF fall there merely trembling SIM-EXT-lay

jigüi', mi' pup múqui-x óras gu gagox,
EMP there merely die-RP awhile ART dog

na-t gu'-x io'm guɨy jia.
SUB-PRF but-ATR hard fall EMP
The dog just lay there trembling where he fell, (as if) dead for awhile, because he had fallen so hard.

The three longest forms of emphasis are also the least common forms. Instances of *jigüi'* and its apparent pronunciation variant *jigu'* are not common, indicating that only occasionally is that much emphasis necessary or desirable. Instances of *jia* are relatively more frequent, but *ji* alone is by far the most common form of emphasis used, both alone and in combination with other particles. Examples of the use of *ji* alone are given in (436)–(438); in (436) it is repeated twice for extra emphasis. This example also contains an instance of the less frequent particle *jigüi'*.

(436) *Dyo gu'-p ji mo mu-jimi-a' ji, jum-dɨco'n-da-'-ap*
INJ but-2s EMP DSC AWY-go-FUT EMP RFL-struggle-DUR-FUT-2s

jigüi'.
EMP
Well, you just go there and give it all you've got!

(437) *Jix-juc ji mu-ja'p tatsav na gu'-r vɨpta'n.*
ATR-warm EMP AWY-DIR hot^clime SUB but-EXS lowlands
It's warm in hot country because it is lowland.

(438) *Jugui-a'-ap ji dyi'. Cha'-p mi' pɨx dá-ca-'.*
eat-FUT-2s EMP DEM NEG-2s there DIM sit-NPS-FUT
Eat this, don't just sit there.

Approximately half of the occurrences of *ji* are in combination with other particles. While many such combinations occur infrequently, a few are very common. Three of these are complex conjunctions: *gu' ji na gu'* 'but (instead)', *cu ji gu'* 'but', and *day ji na gu'* 'just that' (§14.3). A fourth, the interrogative alternative conjunction *ca'* 'or' (§9.12) is often used in combination with *ji*, as in (439). Several other combinations involve *ji* and another modal particle; in each case the meaning of each contributing

particle is transparent. An example of *ji* following the counterfactual particle *guit* is given in (402) (§9.13) above. Another such common combination is given in (440).

(439) *Mi' pui' va-bii-x-ca-' a dyi alambri,*
there thus RLZ-pass-RP-NPS-FUT CFR ART wire

ca'-ch ji të'cov iam bii-ch-dya-'?
IA-1p EMP high a^bit pass-CAUS-APL-FUT
Is this where the wire should go, or should we put it up a little higher?

(440) *Ji', day dyi' mo va-ji-jipdya dyo gui ji.*
yes just DEM DBT RLZ-INC-get^cold PE CLR EMP
Yes, it seems to have gotten cold all right.

The emphatic particle *jia* is sometimes used to signal meanings like rhetorical question or 'tag question'. These meanings reflect the probable origin of the particle, since it appears to be a combination of *ji* and the confirmation clitic *-a* (§9.12). Thus its use as an indicator of strong affirmation is mixed with the notion of obtaining a confirmation that this judgment is, in fact, correct. Depending on the amount of question intonation used, *jia* can mean anything from emphasis, as in (435) above, to an overt request for definitive confirmation, which begins with *Jia na . . . ?* 'isn't it true that . . . ?' Other uses of *jia* are somewhere between these two extremes. In (441), for instance, it is used rhetorically where the answer is obvious and no response is necessary; but in (442) it is more like a 'tag question', requiring a conversationally appropriate response.

(441) *Ji', day na va-x-jipdyar jia.*
yes just SUB RLZ-ATR-cold^out tag
Yes, hasn't it gotten cold though?

(442) a. *Chacuy bay jia dyi turasno.*
not^yet ripe tag ART peach
These peaches aren't ripe yet, are they?

b. *Chacuy dyo. Quia'pix va-ji-r-covcohl ji'ma'n.*
not^yet PE recently RLZ-INC-EXS-harden some
No, not yet. A few of them are just beginning to harden.

When *jia* is used as a request for confirmation, it can combine with *ji* in which both emphasis and a degree of questioning are clearly present. An example of this phenomenon is given in (443). Furthermore, as with *ji*, *jia* combines readily with other modal particles, as in (444). In both of these examples *jia* expresses a politely questioning meaning.

(443) *Ah gu' mui' juruñ-ap-ich ji jia!*
INJ but many stay-2p-PRF EMP EMP
Oh, so you stayed a long time, didn't you?

(444) *Magó-p-ich vac jia.*
tire-2s-PRF INF EMP
So then you got tired, huh?

The next strongest degree of judgment used by Southeastern Tepehuan speakers is signaled by *cugui*. This particle is used to AFFIRM the certainty of a statement with an average degree of commitment; i.e., the speaker takes the truth of the statement for granted without intending to either emphasize or de-emphasize it, as illustrated in (445).

(445) *Entonces, ach bai' va-títis cugui, va-jí-ch-ich.*
so 1p up RLZ-ascend AFF RLZ-go-1p-PRF
So we got on (the train) and left.

This particle is also of transparent origin. It most likely derives from the enablement conjunction *cu* (§13.1) plus the clarification particle *gui* (§9.12). The sum of the meanings is a bit less transparent, however, since *cu* signals a close relation between two situations, while *gui* signals that the speaker is a bit incredulous that the situation is as it appears, and wants to have it clarified for him. Since the combined meaning of affirmation is constant across all occurrences, however, it may be that the interrogative meaning of *gui* has been affected by the definiteness of *cu*, so that together they constitute a definitive clarification. This analysis seems further justified by the fact that the particle *cugui* occurs most often in a formulaic phrase of positive response, such as *Jix-bai' cugui* 'that's good; that's fine' and *Ea cugui* 'ok; fine; agreed'.

While the first two judgments express two degrees of CERTAINTY, the second two express two degrees of UNCERTAINTY. The use of the particle *mo* indicates that the speaker is reasonably certain about the truth of his statement, but does not want to make too strong a commitment to it. It is a type of DISCLAIMER signaling that it is the speaker's understanding that the content of his utterance is at least potentially true, as in (446). In contrast, the use of the particle *chi* expresses only marginal certainty about the truth of the statement.

It is used to indicate the least amount of commitment, or doubt, on the speaker's part about the truth of his description of the situation, as in (447).

(446) *Ganai' pix oiri dyi-m cavai-'. Dyi' mo-m*
back^and^forth DIM walk DEM-2s horse-POS DEM DSC-2s

o'ñxidya-'.
lose-FUT
Your horse is pacing back and forth (restlessly).
He might get away from you (if you're not careful).

(447) *Mi' chi pai' oiri.*
there DBT where walks
Perhaps he's around there (somewhere).

To qualify more overtly what he believes to be possibly true, a Southeastern Tepehuan speaker has two choices: either he can present the description of the situation as the complement of the verb 'think, imagine', as in (448); or he can combine *mo* with a negative adverb to preface the statement, as in (449). Both of these imply a relative certainty but an unwillingness to say definitely whether the statement is accurate or not.

(448) *Añ ihli'ñ na bammi-ni dyá quia'mi-'ñ.*
1s think SUB there-PRE sits house-3s
I think (believe) he's up at his house.

(449) *Cham mo mi' dyá.*
NEG DSC there sits
He's probably there.

The disclaimer particle *mo* implies slightly different meanings depending on the mode of speech in which it occurs. In the indicative mode, as in (439) above, it indicates POSSIBILITY. In the imperative mode, where it often accompanies a request (§9.14), it softens the request by emphasizing the SUBJECTIVITY of the view that it is a good idea, as in (450). In both the conditional and interrogative modes, it indicates a bit of surprise or INCREDULITY that the situation is likely to occur, as in (451) and (452).

(450) *Mo-pim të-quëquë' na-m jaroi' ji-'ága-' na-t ganáro.*
DSC-2p EXT-listen SUB-3p who INC-say-FUT SUB-PRF win
(Why not) listen to see who they say won.

(451) *Pa-p duc ja'c gu̱ixi-a' no'-p-ich mo ma-paxiara-m?*
when?-2s ... DIR return-FUT if-2s-PRF DSC DST-visit-OBJ
When will you return if, in fact, you go visiting?

(452) *Mo-x o' a dyi uví na va' guíhlim*
DSC-ATR strong CFR ART woman SUB then very

sarvac móto' gu cu'a'?
thick carry^on^head ART firewood
Is that woman strong, or what, to be carrying very thick (pieces of) firewood?

As with the markers of certainty described above, *mo* also occurs frequently with other modal particles. Two common combinations are *Dyo gu' mo* 'well, uh...', used to introduce statements in an unassuming manner, as in (453); and *Ecoñ mo* 'I think I'll...', used to introduce statements of intention (§9.31) where the probability of the intended action is not certain, as in (454).

(453) *Dyo gu' mo añ ja'p-ni pi̱x mo-x tu-mat na-m*
well but DSC 1s thus-PRE DIM DSC-ATR EXT-know SUB-3p

tu-'a'ga-da-' gu siñóris-ca-t.
EXT-say-DUR-FUT ART elders-NPS-PI
Well, uh, I just know what (I've heard) the elders say.

(454) *Eco-ñ mo ti̱'m-mi̱ra-' no' mo-r si̱hlcam.*
ANT-1s DSC see-OBJ-FUT CND DSC-EXS true
I'm going to see if it is really true.

The doubt particle *chi* is much less freqently used than *mo*, and, more often than not, occurs with other particles, including *mo*. This latter combination seems to be of moderate uncertainty, neither fairly certain as with *mo* alone, nor fairly uncertain as with *chi* alone, as seen in (455) and (456). Examples of *chi* with two other particles are given in (457) and (458), the former with the sequential conjunction *va'* (§13.1) and the latter with the emphatic particle *jia* in an inquisitive usage, which was described above.

(455) *Cham bai' vopguɨ dyi-ñ mataima'n. Mo chi cham*
NEG good soften ART-1s boiled^corn DSC DBT NEG

ca-cac dyi matay.
TEM-taste ART lime
My boiled corn didn't get soft. Maybe the lime is bad.

(456) *Jɨ'c chi mo-ñ taiñvuidya-'-ap gu túmiñ?*
how^much? DBT DSC-1s lend-FUT-2s ART money
How much money might you be able to lend me?

(457) *Xiv cham. Jumay tanohl chi va'.*
now NEG another day DBT then
Not now. Perhaps another day.

(458) A: *Ɨ gu jil damdɨr.*
break ART thread on^top^of
The top thread broke.

B: *Jɨ' a. Xi'-x cumáhlic chi jia dyi*
yes CFR too^much-ATR thick DBT EMP ART

jannuhl, piam cu-r ard'ich dyi jil.
cloth or SO-EXS thin ART thread
Really? Then the cloth is too thick, or else the thread is too thin.

9.22. Evidentials. The second major meaning of epistemic modals is that of the type of EVIDENCE the speaker has for the statements he makes. It is a meaning less often expressed grammatically in the world's languages (Bybee 1985). Elsewhere (T. Willett 1988) I have shown that, in those languages that do grammaticize the source of the speaker's information, three major types of evidence are distinguishable: (a) that which is PERCEIVED by the speaker, for which he claims first-hand knowledge; (b) that which is REPORTED to the speaker, for which he can claim second-hand or third-hand knowledge; and (c) that which causes the speaker to INFER the situation described from the circumstantial evidence at his disposal. Southeastern Tepehuan speakers distinguish these three types of evidence by the use of four grammatical particles, as shown in (459).

(459) *dyo* (perceived by speaker)
sap (reported to speaker, unknown to hearer)
sac (reported to speaker, previously known to hearer)
vac (inferred by speaker)

PERCEIVED EVIDENCE, i.e., evidence that is personally attested to by the speaker via one or more of the physical senses, is signaled by *dyo*. This particle is normally used in response to a question or a declaration, and is used to show that the speaker himself can vouch for the validity of his statement. For instance, (460) is appropriate as a response to either the question 'what are you doing?' or the informal form of greeting 'you're working, are you?', used when encountering someone busy doing something.

(460) *Tujuan-'iñ dyo.*
work-1s PE
(Yes,) I'm working.

The particle *dyo* follows the predicate, as in (460), whenever it is the entire situation that is attested by the speaker. Another example is given in (461); there *dyo* occurs immediately after the predicate. If, however, only a particular part of the situation is the focus of the response that asserts perceived evidence, then *dyo* either follows the fronted constituent expressing the entity or setting element in focus, as in (462), or it follows this constituent in an abbreviated response in which the understood predicate is elided as in (463).

(461) *Jiñ-capiasa dyo gu cavay tacav na-ñ ca-'uhlis.*
1s-kick PE ART horse yesterday SUB-1s TEM-unsaddle
The horse kicked me yesterday while I unsaddled it.

(462) *Cavuimuc-añ dyo mi-'aiy-a'.*
tomorrow-1s PE there-arrive-FUT
I will arrive there tomorrow.

(463) *"Goc oidya' dyo" jup-cai'ch gu Juan.*
two year PE REP-say ART John
"Two years (I worked there)," John said.

The exact nature of the perceived evidence usually is unstated; that is, although it is assumed to be a sensory mode of perception, probably visual (a so-called 'eye-witness'), the precise mode is not normally made explicit,

as in the examples above. If challenged to state the means by which he perceives the situation described, however, the speaker can make it explicit, as in (464).

(464) *Nɨi'ñ-'iñ dyo, na-ñ gu' añ vɨx jim-da-t na-r piasta-ca-t.*
see-1s PE SUB-1s but 1s also go-DUR-PI SUB-EXS festival-NPS-PI
Yes, I saw it, because I, too, went to the festival.

The particle *dyo* can also be used as an interjection (§13.3), either alone or followed by the coordinating conjunction *gu'* 'but' or the subordinating conjunction *na*. In this usage the meaning of perceived evidence is at least implied, since the interjection normally introduces the expression of the speaker's opinion, which is ordinarily based on his own preception of things.

Two types of REPORTED EVIDENCE can be expressed grammatically in Southeastern Tepehuan: that which was previously known to the hearer and that which was not. The latter of these, reported evidence previously UNKNOWN to the hearer, is expressed by the particle *sap*. This particle is common both in everyday conversation and in folklore. In conversation the word is used to repeat to another what the speaker heard someone else say. This report can be heard either from a direct witness, as in (465), or it can be a rumor or general knowledge, of which the original source is not known, as in (466).

(465) *Oidya-'-ap gu-m tat. Jimi-a' sap para*
go^with-FUT-2s ART-2s father, go-FUT REU to

Vódamtam cavuimuc.
Mezquital tomorrow
(You should) accompany your father. He says he's going to Mezquital tomorrow.

(466) *Maic-ach tu-viñ-po-' gu junvo'. Ba'-ñi*
EXH-1p EXT-suck-OBJ-FUT ART sugar^cane there-PRE

pai' sap va-m-'ai-ch.
where REU RLZ-RFL-arrive-CAUS
Let's go suck on some sugarcane. There's (supposed to be) some (lit. some has been brought) up there.

This conversational use of *sap* is extended in folklore to mean that the story being told is not original with the speaker, but it comes from a reliable source, namely oral tradition, passed down by the elders to those

willing to learn it. In this use it occurs frequently, once per clause. In conversation, *sap* normally occurs as the second constituent of the clause, and this is often the case in folklore as well, as for instance in (467), which is a typical beginning for a folktale. But *sap* also gets put to extensive use as a clause introducer, usually in combination with the additive conjunction *va'*. The clause it introduces can describe either an action, as in (468), or a state, as in (469).

(467) *Ma'n mu-pai' sap quio gu ma'ncam.*
one there-where REU live ART person
(It is told that) there once lived a man in a certain place.

(468) *Intoncis sap va' bai' va-'aichuhl-am-it.*
then REU then TWD RLZ-bring-3p-PRF
So they then brought (the flowers to her).

(469) *Sap va'-r póbri-ca-' güi' na bai' pui'-r quí-cam.*
REU then-EXS poor-NPS-FUT DEM SUB there thus-EXS pure-one
Now he who was the Holy One was (very) poor.

An even more common use of *sap* in folklore is in the quotative formulas *ja'p sap cai'ch* 'thus he said' and *ja'p sap titda* 'thus he told him', the only two ways to report the action of speaking, one intransitive and one transitive, that are used in Southeastern Tepehuan folklore. Another, reporting the action of thinking to oneself, *ja'p sap jum'a'*, is the only native phrase used for such purposes.[52]

If part of the description reported about the situation was previously KNOWN by the hearer, this is marked by the particle *sac*. This is a much less frequently used marker of reported evidence, occurring only occasionally in either conversation or folklore. It is used when the speaker reminds the hearer of information he knows the hearer is already aware of. This can be either a reference to a report that they have both previously heard, as in (470), or to something that the hearer himself has previously said to the speaker, as in (471). Thus it serves as an anaphoric reference to a previous situation.[53]

[52]The phrase *ja'p sap jumpinsar*, where *pinsar* comes from Spanish *pensar* 'think', is also used with the same meaning.

[53]This is a slightly different analysis of the reported evidence particles in Southeastern Tepehuan than that reported in T. Willett 1988. There I characterized *sap* as signaling exclusively second-hand evidence and *sac* as signaling exclusively third-hand evidence. The analysis presented here is based on a more exhaustive data base and is thus considered to be more accurate.

(470) *Añ mi'-ñi dy̨ir ja'c jim na sac jir Járax Cham.*
1s there-PRE from DIR come SUB REK EXS-crab place
I'm coming from a place over there called "Crab Place".

(471) *Va-j̨i̱pir gu-m bí na-p sac tu-jugui-a'.*
RLZ-get^cold ART-2s food SUB-2s REK EXT-eat-FUT
Your food is already cold. (You said) you were going to eat.

If the speaker wishes to qualify his statement to indicate that his description of the situation is merely an INFERENCE on his part, he does so by means of the particle *vac*. This informs his listener that, on the basis of evidence of the results of the situation described, he has inferred the situation that caused it, as in (472). The specific type of evidence upon which this inference is based, however, is not made explicit.

(472) *Dámañ dara-t vac dyi turasno. Pui' cu-t va'*
shallow sit-PI INF ART peach thus so-PI then

ia'ray gu j̨i̱vihl.
fell ART wind
These peach trees must have been planted shallowly. That's why the wind blew them over.

The inferential particle *vac* is infrequently used, and it seldom occurs alone. It most often occurs in combination with one of the emphatic particles (§9.2). Emphasis combines easily with that of inference, since the speaker who makes an inference often will emphasize it to make the assertion of truth stronger, as in (473).

(473) *Quia'p̨i̱x va-x-cóxi-m-ca-t-'iñ, loigo va-xia'.*
recently RLZ-ATR-sleep-DES-NPS-PI-1s then RLZ-dawn

Jir-i̱hli'ch tuca' vac jia.
EXS-small night INF EMP
I just got to sleep and it was morning. It must be that the nights are short.

But *vac* also occasionally occurs with the perceived evidence particle *dyo*, which seems at first to be contradictory. Several of the instances of this occurrence, however, are of *dyo* in its use as an interjection (§13.3). All those that are not are used in a situation in which the speaker is making an inference based on information the hearer has just given him. He

indicates by the presence of *vac* that his conclusion is in fact an inference, but that since he has just heard the information on which it was based, it is also in a sense based on perceived evidence. For instance, immediately preceding the utterance given in (474), the hearer has just informed the speaker that it takes a day and a half to walk to his ranch from where they are now talking.

(474) *Uh, jir-mic dyo vac.*
INT EXS-far PE INF
Wow, it's a long way then.

Another thing all occurrences of *dyo* and *vac* have in common is that they all describe states. In fact, all inferences in Southeastern Tepehuan are either based on existing states or on past actions; no inferences are known to be made about present actions or future states or actions.

9.3 Agent-oriented modality

Up to this point, the discussion of modality in this chapter has been concerned with how the speaker uses his description of a given situation to carry out different kinds of communicative acts and how he indicates his own attitude toward what he is saying. These two broad areas of meaning are discussed under modes of speech (§9.1) and epistemic modality (§9.2). A third area of modality is also prevalent in languages, one which concerns not the situation as a whole, but rather the AGENT of the action involved. Because this area of meaning covers much more than the traditional domain of deontic modality, borrowed from modal logic, I here refer to this broad area as agent-oriented modality, following Bybee (1985). That is, this area covers not only permission and obligation, but also ability, desire, intention, and other related meanings.

The expression of these meanings in Southeastern Tepehuan follows the general tendency for the expression of modal meanings predicted by Bybee (1985:166), namely that markers of modal meanings designating conditions on the AGENT of the situation described WILL NOT occur often as inflections on verbs, while markers designating the way the SPEAKER uses his description to interact with his hearer WILL occur often as inflections. As can be seen from the discussion in the preceding sections, nearly all modes of speech and markers of epistemic modality are grammatical morphemes, either inflections or particles. The discussion in the following sections shows that, in contrast, few of the markers of agent-oriented modality are expressed solely by grammatical morphemes. Rather, most of these mean-

ings are expressed by periphrastic means, some of which include grammatical morphemes.

In §9.31, I discuss meanings related to purposeful action—intention, deliberate action, andative and venitive. Two of these meanings are expressed inflectionally, the other two periphrastically. In §9.32, I discuss meanings expressing lack of purpose or lack of fulfillment of purpose—attempted and unintended action. One of these is expressed using a particle, the other using an adverb of manner. In §9.33, I discuss desire and tendency, both of which are expressed as states, i.e., with stem-formation morphemes. And in §9.34, I discuss ability, obligation, and permission, all of which are expressed by periphrasis.

9.31. Intention, deliberate action, and objective. Three agent-oriented modal meanings are closely connected to the notion of PURPOSEFUL ACTION. Two of these are marked by the use of the imperative prefix *xi-* with a nonsecond-person subject; intention is marked by first person, and deliberate action by third person. A third meaning, immediate intention, is marked by an interjection expressing anticipation. And two other meanings, andative and venitive, are marked by the combination of the objective suffix *(mi)ra* and the appropriate directional prefix.

INTENTION is the agent's premeditated purpose to perform an action. In Southeastern Tepehuan, two types of intention are expressed, both of which are always in the first person. The less common form of intention is expressed by the use of the imperative prefix *xi-* with the future tense. This same prefix is used with the present tense for commands (§9.14) and with the past tense for deliberate action, as discussed below. The expression of intention is always in the first-person singular, as in (475) and (476).

(475) *Na-ñ pai'dyuc mu-jimi-a' mu-ja'c Juc-tir, xi-ja-'águi'ñ-dya-'-iñ*
SUB-1S when AWY-GO-FUT AWY-DIR pine-in INT-3P-tell-APL-FUT-1S

na jax chu-tu'm-cam ya' Mejic.
SUB how EXT-appear-like here Mexico
When I go (back) to Pine Grove, I'm going to tell (everyone) what it's like here in Mexico City.

(476) *Va-sava'hl-añ-ich dyo. Xi-gámo-'-iñ ya'-ni*
RLZ-buy-1S-PRF PE INT-put^in^pocket-FUT-1S here-PRE

jiñ-'arpus a'm.
1S-bag into
I just bought it. I'm going to put it here in my bag.

Often the intended action is integrally associated in the speaker's mind with another action. In this case he expresses intention by the use of the connected action suffix *-(ɨ)y* (§13.1) instead of the future tense, as in (477). The fact that the action is intentional is signaled by the use of the imperative prefix *xi-* and the use of the future tense with the accompanying action, resulting in the implication that the first action must be performed before the second can be attempted.

(477) *Vɨpɨ'-ñ xi-cajóna-y gu casnir vapó na*
before-1s INT-fluff^up-CON ART sheep wool SUB

va'-x bai'-m vidyiñdya-'.
then-ATR good-RFL spin^thread-FUT
First I'll fluff up the wool so it will be easier to spin it into thread.

Another, more common means of expressing intention is to preface the statement by one of two forms of the anticipation interjection (§13.3). In the imperative mode, this interjection is used with second person in the present tense to express immediate command, and with the future tense to indicate immediate request (§9.14). In the indicative mode, when the speaker himself intends to do something IMMEDIATELY following the time of speech, he normally prefaces the statement of his IMMEDIATE INTENTION with *ea* (or *eco-* plus subject enclitic). This statement is always in the future tense, and always in the first person, as it is with intention that is not immediate. But unlike nonimmediate intention, the expression of immediate intention does not require the use of the imperative prefix *xi-*, nor is it restricted to the singular of the first person. The examples given in (478)–(480) illustrate these differences.

(478) *Ea na-ñ cúpa-' dyi puerta.*
ANT SUB-1s close-FUT ART door
I'm going to close this door (now).

(479) *Eco-ñ mo mummu xi-m-do'ñcho' qui'ñgov.*
ANT-1s DSC there INT-2s-drop doorway
I'll show you out to the doorway.

(480) *Ea na-ch guio bai'-p vaidya-'.*
ANT SUB-1p again TWD-REP invite-FUT
(It's agreed). Let's invite him back.

In (478) and (479) the speaker describes an action he is about to perform. One of these is expressed with *xi-*, the other without, with no apparent difference in meaning. In (480), the speaker is expressing the collective intention of a group of people. This differs from the exhortative, expressed by *maic* (§9.14), in that the exhortative is used to motivate the hearer to adopt the same intention to act as the speaker has. In (480) and similar contexts, however, the speaker is not motivating but speaking as the representative of a group of people who share the same intention. But the expression of intention in this way is limited to first person. To express the intention of another person the speaker must use the reported evidence particle *sac* to repeat what the hearer has already stated as his intentions, or the particle *sap* to indicate that he is reporting only what he has heard about a third party's intentions (§9.22).

What the speaker CAN report without qualification, though, is what he views as DELIBERATE ACTION. That is, when he sees a third party acting in a way that seems PURPOSEFUL, as if that party is carrying out its own previous intentions, then he uses the imperative prefix *xi-* with the third person. If the deliberate action has already taken place, the past tense is used, and if it is currently going on, the present tense is used. If the deliberate action is viewed as normally performed for a specific purpose, then the future tense is used. Examples of each of these situations are given in (481)– (483).

(481) *Míji xi-mí gatuc dir gu gagox. Pá va-m-'ay?*
there DA-run after from ART dog where? RLZ-2s-arrive
The dog ran after (you). Where did he catch up to you?

(482) *A'na' xi-vapsa-tu' vonma-ran dyi visu'hl.*
feathers DA-put^in-MOT hat-on ART huichol
That Huichol (man) has feathers in his hat.

(483) *Guio vuimguidyac jai'-m mu-ja'p jup-xi-ja-jotsa-'*
and next^day others-3p AWY-area REP-DA-3p-send-FUT

na-m jup-navdyi-po-'.
SUB-3p REP-hunt-OBJ-FUT
And the next day they again send some (young men) off to hunt.

Instances of deliberate action reported in the past tense are common, while those reported in the present tense are rare. This is undoubtedly because it is easier to evaluate motives such as deliberate action from hindsight than when it is still going on. Furthermore, since most actions are

viewed perfectively, there is little opportunity to view them in progress; and processes, which can be viewed as developing, are not agentive. Instances of deliberate action reported in the future tense are limited to those actions which are viewed as normally performed and for a specific purpose, such as the ritual hunt described in (483). This differs both from habitual actions (§7.1), which are regularly repeated but not necessarily viewed as purposeful, and from tendencies (§9.33), which are repeated so often as to become characteristic of the agent involved, whether or not they are still purposefully performed.

Two other purposeful actions involve movement of the agent from one location to another in order to perform the action. These are marked by the use of the objective suffix *-(mɨ)ra*—which is related to the verb stem *mɨhli* 'run'—and the corresponding direction prefix (§11.1). The ANDATIVE meaning focuses on the agent's movement AWAY FROM the speaker's location at speech time for the EXPRESS OBJECTIVE of performing the action described by the verb. The VENITIVE meaning is the same except that the movement is TOWARD the speaker's location at speech time. Examples of each of these meanings are given in (484)–(487).

(484) *Mo-ñ bai' va-m-tañ-mɨra-' gu vacax no'-p-ich*
DSC-1S TWD RLZ-2S-order-OBJ-FUT ART meat COND-2S-PRF

va-mua dyi toxcohl.
RLZ-kill ART pig
I may come and buy some meat when you kill this pig.

(485) *Góc-ap jiñ-cua'ñ-dya-ra-' ja'xñi cu-ñ*
two-2S 1S-get^firewood-APL-OBJ-FUT later SO-1S

qɨi'n baidya' gu pan.
with cook ART bread
Go get me some firewood later to cook the bread.

(486) *Mu-dɨr ba-jimi-a'-am na-m ba-m-namqui-ra-'*
there-from TWD-GO-FUT-3P SUB-3P TWD-2S-meet-OBJ-FUT

no'-p mui' va-jim.
COND-2S AWY RLZ-GO
They're coming to meet you (to see) if you're going.

(487) *Maic-ach tu-'i'-po' gu atuhl mu-cucsiñ.*
EXH-1p EXT-drink-OBJ-FUT ART gruel there-kitchens
Let's go drink gruel at the (ceremonial) kitchens.

As is apparent in these examples, there are two morphophonological alternations that occur only with the objective morpheme. The first is that, depending on the syllable structure of the stem to which it is attached, the suffix takes either the long form *-mɨra* or the short form *-ra*.[54] The second is that, when the agent is plural, the suppletive form *-po* is used instead of either of the others. This is the only suffix known to have a suppletive form for the plural; it occurs in the presence of the plural absolutive, the same meaning that conditions some verb stem changes (§3.21).

The examples cited in (484)–(487) all occur in the future tense. This is, by far, the most common use of the objective suffix, i.e., to indicate actions that the agent INTENDS to go or come to perform. It can also occur in the present tense, but only in the imperative mode. That is, when the hearer is commanded or requested to become the purposeful agent of a specific activity, the objective suffix is used, but always in the long form without its final stem vowel. Examples (488) and (489) illustrate a command and a request, respectively.

(488) *Cha'p jiñ-juan-da-'! Mu-xi-tɨtvi-mɨr!*
NEG-2s 1s-bother-DUR-FUT AWY-DC-play-OBJ
Leave me alone! Go play somewhere else!

(489) *Jiñ-bɨi'ñ-mɨr ma'n gu cu'a', jax chu'm na-x gac.*
1s-bring^to-OBJ one ART firewood how looks SUB-ATR dry
Please bring me a piece of firewood, whichever one is dry.

The objective suffix is also used in the past tense, but always with the meaning 'went to' or 'came to'. That is, from the speaker's point of view, if the agent is no longer present, it is because he has left to go to another location to perform a specific action. The implication is that the agent

[54]This conditioning, not discussed in §2, is as follows. The long form *-mɨra* follows stems which, after the final stem vowel is dropped, end in a consonant preceded by either a vowel or a glottal stop (which is followed by a rearticulated vowel). The short form *-ra* follows stems which do not drop the final stem vowel because they end in a vowel sequence (i.e., long vowel or diphthong) or a vowel-glottal sequence, or the final vowel is preceded by a consonant cluster (created by postaccent vowel drop). There are only two apparent exceptions to this distributional analysis. What complicates it, however, is that many stems, none of which are known to take the objective suffix, end in *ra*. For this reason no firm rule about the form of this suffix has yet been formulated.

either told the speaker of his intentions before leaving, or the speaker overheard him tell another. Or, if the agent IS present, then he has just arrived in order to perform the action he himself describes. Instances of this usage are as infrequent as is the use of the objective suffix in the present tense; two examples are given in (490) and (491).

(490) *Namqui-ra-'-ap gu-m xix na-t*
meet-OBJ-FUT-2s ART-2s older^sibling SUB-PRF

vaiga-m. Ba-pahlvuidy-ica-'-ap ma'n gu valdi.
get^water-OBJ TWD-help-TRNS-FUT-2s one ART pail
Go meet your older sibling and help him with one of the pails of water he went to get.

(491) *Xi-chu-sava'da-c chi gu tu' na-t ba-tu-táñi-m.*
DA-EXT-buy-PP DSC ART what SUB-PRF TWD-order-OBJ
He must have bought everything he had come to get.

The past tense form of the objective suffix, i.e., *-m*, is always perfective. It must not be confused with three other suffixes that can be added to dynamic verbs stems that also end in [m]. The desiderative suffix *-m* (§9.33) obligatorily occurs with the attributive prefix *jix-*; the objective suffix never does. The developing process suffix *-im* (§4.21) contains the vowel [i] as part of the suffix, forcing the final stem vowel to drop if it is different; the objective suffix is always added to the stem in its full form, i.e., after the final stem vowel. Similarly, the addition of the resultative suffix *-xim* forces the final stem vowel to drop; the addition of the objective suffix does not.

This truncated form of the objective suffix is used occasionally by the speaker himself to refer to his intention to go elsewhere to perform some common cultural activity, such as work or sleep. In this use, the past perfective form refers to immediate future intention, as in (492). This use, however, is restricted to a few verb stems which usually occur in common phrases, while the other uses of the objective suffix are not.[55]

(492) *Añ ca-cóxi-m. Ya' ca-r-'iñuv.*
1s TEM-sleep-OBJ here TEM-EXS-close?
I'm going (home to) sleep now. We'll be seeing you.

[55]This is analogous to the use of the past perfective on the verb *jimi* 'go' to signal immediate intention to leave, such as in *va-jí-ñ-ich* (RLZ-go-1s-PERF) 'I'm going now' (Sp. lit. *ya me fui).*

9.32. Attempted and unintended action. Two grammatical particles mark actions that are either attempted without certain results or performed without intending to achieve what resulted. Both are necessarily limited in their distribution. Together they complement the meanings of purposeful action described in the previous section, since all of those implied that what was intended was indeed performed. Here, however, we see the ways Southeastern Tepehuan speakers can signal that their purposes are not always fulfilled, or things happen to them that are not intended.

When the focus of the description of a situation is on the fact that the agent ATTEMPTED to perform some action, but his efforts were less successful than anticipated, the ATTEMPT particle *t̶i̶y* is used. The actions reported in this way can have one of four possible outcomes: (a) the attempt EVENTUALLY succeeded in the desired results, but only by persistent effort, as in (493); (b) the attempt ended in FAILURE to achieve the desired results, as in (494); (c) the attempt resulted in a situation that was both UNINTENDED AND UNEXPECTED by the speaker, as in (495); or (d) the attempt is still in progress, so that the results are as yet UNCERTAIN, as in (496).

(493) *Pa-p ja'c oihli-mi̶c? Añ ya' t̶i̶y jum-ga'nga.*
where?-2s DIR walk-PI 1s here ATT 2s-look^for
Where have you been? I've been looking for you.

(494) *Bammi̶ Guiotam-am pup oipo gu-m sasoi-'.*
there plain^place-3p just walk ART-2s animals-POS

Cham a'-am na-ñ bai' t̶i̶y ja-sassda.
NEG want-3p SUB-1s TWD ATT 3s-herd
Your cattle are still over in Great Plains. They didn't want to come when I tried to herd them (here).

(495) *Cham mat-'iñ na-t jax dyuc bi̶c gu tatcarui' gu*
NEG know-1s SUB-PRF how way carry ART chickens ART

ban, na-m gu' t̶i̶y të'cov voppo.
coyote SUB-3p but ATT high lie
I don't know HOW the coyote carried off the chickens, since they were perched up high.

(496) *Tɨy tu-ñ-mamtuxi'ñ-'iñ na-ñ siquer jix-bai'*
ATT EXT-1S-teach-1S SUB-1S even ATR-good

ñioc-da-' gu castil.
speak-DUR-FUT ART spanish
I'm studying hard so I can at least speak Spanish well.

When the reference is to the known results of the action, as is the case in situations (a) through (c), above, the past tense is used with *tɨy*, as in (493) through (495). But when the reference is to as yet unknown results, as is the case in situation (d), then the future tense is used with *tɨy*, as in (496). Nearly all instances of the use of *tɨy* in the database are of situations where the results are known.

When the focus of the description of a situation is on the fact that the action was performed WITHOUT THE SPEAKER'S KNOWLEDGE, then the UNINTENDED particle *tac* is used. The presence of this particle can signal either that the action was performed UNINTENTIONALLY or that the results of the actions were UNEXPECTED. In either case the results of the action were not part of the purpose of performing the action. When the agent is the speaker himself, the results are usually both unintended and unexpected, as in (497). When the agent is not the speaker, the results may have been intentional, but to the speaker are totally unexpected, as in (498). Or the speaker may, by viewing the results of the action, assume that the action was unintentional on the part of the agent, as in (499).

(497) *Om gu-ñ gát. Tac gu' xi' guë' vañís-añ-ich.*
break ART-1S bow UNI but too big stretch-1S-PRF
My bow broke. I stretched (the bowstring) too far.

(498) *Va-cup gu tianda. Va-jí tacgu quio-cam.*
RLZ-close ART store RLZ-GO UNI ART live-one
The store is closed; the owner went home.

(499) *Jaroi' tac mai'iovo gu túmiñ.*
someone UNI lost ART money
Someone lost some money.

The use of the unintended particle *tac* is limited to the past tense. Undoubtedly this is because the speaker cannot evaluate whether the results of the action are unintended or unexpected until after they happen. Furthermore, although this evaluation is a type of inference about the results of an action, it is not an evidential (§9.22). Inferentials are used to

indicate a conclusion, based on the evidence at hand, about what action caused the observable results. Here, however, the focus is not on WHAT the causing action was, but on the fact that it was NOT INTENDED. In fact, the causing action may be very well known, as in (497). But even if it is not, the speaker is not asserting the he can infer what it is. Rather he is asserting that the fact that it happened was not something he had anticipated.

9.33. Desire and tendency. Two agent-oriented modal meanings are expressed in Southeastern Tepehuan as attributives (§4.14). Both the desire and the tendency to do something are viewed as qualities that are attributable to the agent of the potential action in question. Each of these is expressed by the use of the attribution prefix *jix-* and an accompanying suffix distinguishing it from other static situations.

When a potential agent is viewed as DESIRING to do something, the situation describing such a desire is expressed by the attribution prefix *jix-* preceding the verb stem of the corresponding action and the DESIRE suffix *-m* following the verb stem, including the final stem vowel. The result is a static verb used to describe the desire to perform the action as a quality attributable to the potential agent, as in (500) and (501).

(500) *Mi' oiṙ gu jois na-p sac jix-ñio'cdya-m.*
there walk ART juez SUB-2s REK ATR-greet-DES
There's the judge; you wanted to talk to him.

(501) *Súsac-añ xi-'áday no'-ñ jix-chu-juana-m.*
sandal-1s INT-put^on CND-1s ATR-EXT-work-DES
I (always) put on sandals when I want to work.

The potential agent is normally animate, but sometimes desire is attributed to inanimate objects as well, as in (502). The second clause of this example shows that the weather has here been anthropomorphized. Although desire is not a commonly expressed meaning, it is nevertheless a productive morphological process, capable of application to any action verb stem in all three persons.

(502) *Am jix-dyúdui-m tu-tu'i' jia. Ca' pui' pix jup-jum-dú?*
fully ATR-rain-DES EXT-look EMP IA thus DIM REP-RFL-happen
It really looks like it wants rain. Or did it just happen (to cloud up)?

When an agent is viewed as characteristically performing a certain action, this tendency is expressed by the prefix *jix-* (attribution) and the suffix

-' (tendency) following the final stem vowel. The result is a static verb stem used to describe the TENDENCY to perform the action as a quality attributable to the agent, as in (503) and (504).

(503) *Guíhlim jix-chɨsdi-' gu vaisɨhl na gu'-x mu'muc*
very ATR-climb-TND ART badger SUB but-ATR sharp

gu jútu-'n. Sia vápay cha'm tɨssa'n.
ART nails-3S even cliff on go^up
The badger is a good climber because its nails are sharp; it even goes up (the sides of) cliffs.

(504) *Jix-'ɨxvi-' güi' na pui' tɨ' "misturabón".*
ATR-rob-TND DEM SUB thus say mountain^lion
The (animal) called "mountain lion" is a thief.

The expression of this meaning is not common, and as these examples illustrate it is most often applied to animals. This is probably because they more easily exhibit habitual behavior that can be categorized as typical. Tendencies do occasionally refer to humans, however, such as *jix-dyaidya-'* 'he rides (a horse) well'. But the form of expression for tendencies is also used to attribute qualities to inanimate entities as well when these are characteristically true of those entities, such as *jixmɨidya'* 'it's flammable' or *jix'ípoñi'* 'it grows well'. In fact, this construction is more often used to describe the characteristic qualities of inanimate entities than the tendencies of animate entities. For this reason, plus the fact that some anomalous forms exist, this construction appears less grammatical than lexical.

9.34. Ability, obligation, and permission. Several periphrastic constructions in Southeastern Tepehuan are used to express the ability of an agent to perform an action, the obligation incumbent on him to perform an action, and the permission he may or may not have to do so. One of these constructions is built on a native expression for 'it is good'; the others are built on phrases borrowed from Spanish, some of which involve the words for 'able' and 'place', and another which means 'have to'. None of these constructions is very common, but each has its place when the meaning it conveys needs to be expressed.

The most frequently used of these constructions is that built around the phrase *jixbai' na* 'it is good that'. Since *na* is the general subordinating conjunction (§14), this phrase is always followed by a clause describing a situation in which an agent is involved. Depending on the context, this phrase

and its negative, *cham bai' na,* can mean ability, weak obligation, or strong obligation with occasional overtones of permission and root possibility.

In several instances this construction means that the agent has the physical or mental ABILITY to perform the action described in the complement clause. An example of an instance where this is the only meaning conveyed is given in (505). Often, however, this meaning is augmented by the implication that the agent has also been given PERMISSION to complete the action, as in (506), or that he not only is able, but that external conditions permit it, as in (507).

(505) *T̶i̶-x aixcam xi-m-tat-'ap, gu' ji na gu'*
ATT-ATR politician ATR-2s-think-2s but EMP SUB but

cham bai' na-p jax t̶i̶'y-a'.
NEG good SUB-2s how say-FUT
You THINK you're a politician, but you really don't know how to talk (like one).

(506) *Mi-ja'p t̶i̶-d̶i̶' na-x bai' na-ñ mu-vaqui-a'*
there-area EXT-hole SUB-ATR good SUB-1s AWY-enter-FUT

d̶i̶v̶i̶r v̶i̶ta' ja'c.
ground under DIR
There was a (big) hole there you could go down into to get underground.

(507) *Cham túcav t̶i̶-d̶i̶' gu chiov, gu' ji na gu'*
NEG deep EXT-hole ART cave but EMP SUB but

cham bai' na-ñ cúpa-'.
NEG good SUB-1s close-FUT
A cave is not very deep, but you can't close it off (because the opening is too wide).

Examples like (507) are the only way to convey a meaning like root possibility in Southeastern Tepehuan, and these instances are rare. Permission, however, can be made more explicit by the use of a phrase meaning 'give place', where the native word for 'give', *maqui,* is used, but the word for 'place', *lugar,* is borrowed from Spanish. Again, this construction is not common, but its meaning is plain in the appropriate context. One example is given in (382) in §9.12; another is given in (508). A similar construction,

meaning 'to be permissible', also uses *lugar* along with the static verb *(jix)jai'ch* 'to exist', as in (509).

(508) *Jix-bai' va-cup, cham tu-mac-'am lugar. Bai'*
ATR-good RLZ-close NEG EXT-give-3p place there

guguc-'am gu policíos.
stand-3p ART policemen
It was closed off; they were not permitting (anyone to enter). Policemen were standing there.

(509) *Guio na-m gu' mismo mi'-p jum-navaich-dya-'*
and SUB-3p but same there-REP RFL-libation-APL-FUT

no'-m va-r-vípivop, na va' va-x-jai'ch-ca-'
CND-3p RLZ-EXS-teens SUB then RLZ-ATR-exist-NPS-FUT

lugar na-m i'y-a' gu viñ guio na-m atoxcor
place SUB-3p drink-FUT ART wine and SUB-3p cane^chair

ta'm va-m-jɨppi'ñdya-'.
on RLZ-RFL-rest-FUT
And in the same place they are given the sacred wine (for the first time) when they are teenagers, so they can then drink alcohol and sit on cane chairs.

Another way to express ability is by the use of the Spanish verb *poder* 'able to'. This most frequently conveys the meaning of physical ability without the implication of permission, as seen in (510). Sometimes, however, it can convey the idea that circumstances force the agent to make a choice to do something else, a choice which then prevents him from performing the action described; (511) is an example.

(510) *Tantiar-'ap a na-p poder na-p tu-bíñora-'*
estimate-2s CFR SUB-2s able SUB-2s EXT-load-FUT

dɨhl dyi jun, ca'ñ ji-m pahlvuidya-'?
alone ART corn IA-1s EMP-2s help-FUT
Do you think you can load this corn by yourself, or should I help you?

(511) *Cham poder-'iñ na-ñ jum-som-dya-'. Day na-ñ*
NEG able-1s SUB-1s 2s-SEW-APL-FUT just SUB-1s

jum-taiñvuidya-' gu-ñ máquina-'.
2s-lend-FUT ART-1s machine-STS
I can't sew it for you. Instead I will lend you my sewing machine.

The construction *jixbai' na* is used to convey two kinds of obligation, strong and weak. When it is REQUIRED that the agent perform the action described in the complement clause, then a STRONG OBLIGATION is being conveyed, as in (512). When it is RECOMMENDED that the agent perform the action, then a WEAK OBLIGATION is being conveyed, as in (513). In the latter case, the meaning of permission is sometimes also implied, as in (514).

(512) *No'-ñ-ich jú gu bámas, cham bai' na-ñ*
CND-1s-PRF eat ART sacred^tamales NEG good SUB-1s

jix-bam-ca-'.
ATR-mad-NPS-FUT
If I have eaten sacred tamales, (then) I'm not allowed to get mad (at anyone).

(513) *Jax ja'c jix-bai' na-ch duñi-a'?*
how? way ATR-good SUB-1p do-FUT
What is the best thing for us to do?

(514) *Bammi jich'o'ntam jix-bai' na*
there sacred^dancing^place ATR-good SUB

tu-m-danda-' gu guë'-cam gu Dios vuiñor.
EXT-RFL-adore-FUT ART big-one ART God with
Up at the sacred dancing place (is where) one should worship God Almighty.

Strong obligation can be conveyed only by the NEGATION of *jixbai' na*, however, as in (512). That is, the taboos associated with sacred rites are always obligatory on the participant, but are usually things that he must not do. To express in a POSITIVE way what a devout person should do, the Spanish phrase *tiene que* 'have to' is borrowed with its meaning of strong obligation. Most speakers change the pronunciation of this phrase slightly, as in (515).

(515) *No'-ñ xi-ñ-chiañi-m vuiñor gu macguim, tianis que*
CND-1S ATR-1S-beg-DES with ART healer have to

na-ñ tu-ñ-'uañ-dya-' priméro.
SUB-1S EXT-1S-clean-APL-FUT first
If I want to petition a healer (to heal me), I first have to confess my sins (lit. cleanse myself).

There is textual evidence for a native term for strong obligation which may be archaic. This is also a periphrastic expression, namely the combination of the locative adverb *a'm* 'on (body)' (§5.5) with the stative verb *jum'a* 'it is necessary'. For instance, instead of using *tianis que* in (515), it would be possible to say *jiñ'a'm jum'a'* (1S-on RFL-want) 'it is incumbent upon me', where *jiñ'a'm* is used in a figurative rather than a literal sense.

10
Valence

VALENCE refers to the number of arguments that can occur with a verb or the role that an argument has in the situation described (Bybee 1985). In Southeastern Tepehuan, three suffixes indicate that the situation in the current utterance is specifically applied to an animate entity that would not otherwise have been conceived of as being involved in the situation. One of these occurs with a large number of verbs and marks the applicative nature of the action. Two others are used much less frequently, but occur when specifically marking a causative or benefactive meaning. In this chapter, I first discuss the applicative suffix in §10.1, then I discuss the causative and benefactive suffixes in §10.2.

10.1 Applicative

The most common valence-changing suffix used in Southeastern Tepehuan is the applicative suffix *-(i)dya*. This suffix denotes the application of the action by the agent on or toward another animate argument. It differs from both of the causative suffixes *-t(u)* and *-hl(i)* and the benefactive suffix *xi-* (§10.2), but it obligatorily occurs with each of them. That is, the applicative suffix can occur alone, but it must occur when a causative or benefactive suffix is used. According to Langacker (1977:144), applicatives are common in Uto-Aztecan languages, and their normal semantic effect is to add an argument to the verb. This means that verbs that are inherently intransitive become transitive, and inherently transitive verbs become ditransitive.

The applicative suffix occurs with a large number of verb stems. The addition of this suffix to a verb stem signals that the action is directed

toward another animate entity, whether or not an inanimate entity is also involved in the situation (T. Willett 1981). It thus figures in the morphological marking of both two- and three-argument actions (§4.22). Examples of the use of the applicative suffix are given in (516)–(519).

(516) *Jiñ-vacuañ-dya-'-ap dyi-ñ sa'ua. Guíhlim jix-'icóra'.*
1s-wash-APL-FUT-2s ART-1s blanket very ATR-dirty
Please wash my blanket for me. It's very dirty.

(517) *T̈ivañ-dya-'-ap dyi ahlí na cham bai' dÿir ji-guïxi-a'.*
lower-APL-FUT-2s ART child SUB NEG there from INC-fall-FUT
Get that child down so he won't fall from up there.

(518) *Cha'-p via' gu viñ? Ali'ch-ap jiñ-choi'-dya-'.*
NEG-2s have ART wine little-2s 1s-pour-APL-FUT
Don't you have any wine (to) pour me a little?

(519) *Túcav d̈ir dá gu-ñ cumpahl. Jáx-añ dyuy ñio'c-dya-'?*
deep from sit ART-1s godfather how?-1s way greet-APL-FUT
My (child's) godfather is sitting so far inside. How can I possibly greet him?

Southeastern Tepehuan speakers view some situations as more inherently applicative than others, and they view some situations as always applicative in nature while others never are. This fact is graphically reflected in the morphology, since some verb stems always use the applicative suffix, some never do, and some do when a situation that is otherwise not applicative is so conceived. For instance, the verbs *vaidya* 'take someone along' and *taiñvuidya* 'lend something to someone' are always applicative. These verbs have an animate patient and recipient respectively. In contrast, most verbs with inanimate patients or recipients are never applicative, such as *jica* 'cut, snip' and *tuispa* 'grind.' Then there are some verbs that can have animate patients but are never viewed as applicative, such as *n̈ira* 'wait for' and *mu'a* 'kill.'

There are, however, a large number of verbs, like those in (516) through (519), which can be viewed as either applicative or not, depending on the context. For instance, the verb *ẗisdi* 'go up' occurs WITHOUT *-(i)dya* in (520) since it is intransitive, with only an agent, while in (521) it occurs WITH *-(i)dya* since it is transitive, with an agent and a patient.

(520) *Loigo juc ta'm tɨsdi-a' gu bo'mcox no'-t ardi*
then pine on go^up-FUT ART squirrel if-PRF chase

gu gagox.
ART dog
The squirrel will run right up into a pine tree when a dog chases it.

(521) *Bai'-p xi-chɨsa'ñ-dya-' dyi ahlí camion ta'm, na gu'*
up-2s IMP-go^up-APL-FUT ART child truck on SUB but

cham tɨssa'n gu dɨhl.
NEG go^up ART alone
Put this child up into the truck; he can't get up by himself.

In a similar way, the verb *soma* 'sew' in (522) is transitive, with an agent and a patient, while the stem *somdya* in (523) 'sew for' is ditransitive. Examples (516)–(523) are illustrative of many similar pairs of verbs, some without the applicative suffix and some with it. In each instance if its use, the situation described has one more semantic argument than the analogous situation described without it.

(522) *No' va-sísap gu cutun, mas jir-pácil na-ñ*
if RLZ-baste ART shirt more EXS-easy SUB-1s

sóma-' máquina ta'm.
sew-FUT machine on
If the shirt is basted, it's easier to sew on a (sewing) machine.

(523) *Ma'n-ap jiñ-som-dya-' gu cutun.*
one-2s 1s-SEW-APL-FUT ART shirt
Please sew a shirt for me.

10.2. Benefactive and causative. Most verbs that use either the benefactive suffix *-xi* or one of the causative suffixes *-hl(i)* or *-t(u)* in conjunction with the applicative suffix *-(i)dya* denote an action involving both the recipient and the entity affected; that is, they are three-argument actions. The BENEFACTIVE suffix is used to show that the action is done by the agent specifically for the benefit of the recipient, as in (524) and (525).

(524) *Jax chu'm gu macguim-ap jix-'a' na-ñ*
how? looks ART healer-2s ATR-want SUB-1s

jum-'umua'ñ-xi-dya-' na-m uam-xi-dya-'?
2s-request-BEN-APL-FUT SUB-2s heal-BEN-APL-FUT
Which healer do you want me to request to heal you?

(525) *Chiñi-a'-ap gu-m xix cu-m timiñ-xi-dya-'*
ask-FUT-2s ART-2s sibling SO-2s lower-BEN-APL-FUT

gu-m sa'ua na gu' të'cov dá.
ART-2s blanket SUB but high sit
Ask your (older) sibling to get your blanket down for you because it's up high.

While the applicative suffix occurs on a large number of verb stems, the benefactive occurs on very few. Two other suffixes that also occur very infrequently are the CAUSATIVE suffixes *-t(u)* and *-hl(i)*. Since there is no apparent difference in meaning between these two forms, they must have developed from different lexical sources having the same meaning, namely that the agent caused the action to happen to or for another animate entity. Examples of the causative suffixes are given in (526) and (527).

(526) *Matay qui'n jum-tua-hli-'ñ gu va'ac.*
lime with RFL-white-CAUS-APL ART house
One uses lime to whitewash a house.

(527) *Ja'xñi-ñ ja-vatvi-ch-dya-' gu a'ahl.*
later-1s 3p-bathe-CAUS-APL-FUT ART children
I will bathe the children later.

As is evident in the above examples, the benefactive and causative suffixes always occur before the applicative suffix, and they usually occur one at a time. In a few known stems, however, more than one causative or benefactive suffixes occur together. In one of these, *ai-chu-hl-dya* (arrive-CAUS-CAUS-APL) 'bring (take) something to (for) someone', the second causative suffix functions as a benefactive, since the stem *ai-ch-dya* means 'bring (take) something', i.e., 'make it arrive'. The other stem is *mam-tu-x-dya* 'study (lit. teach oneself)', where the causative suffix occurs before the benefactive. This stem, which without the benefactive and not reduplicated for iteration is *mat-tu* 'inform someone', is clearly related to *jix-mat* 'know'.

The benefactive suffix occurs before the causative suffix in *joch-xi-chu-hl-dya* 'send for someone', the only known stem in which all the valence suffixes occur together.

[blank]

11
Deixis

Tense (§7) is the primary means of expressing TEMPORAL DEIXIS in Southeastern Tepehuan, with occasional help from temporal adverbs (§6.2), while LOCATIONAL DEIXIS is expressed by both locational adverbs (§6.1) and their shorter affixal versions, (§11.1). In addition, PERSONAL DEIXIS is expressed by person-number affixes and associated pronouns (§11.2).

11.1 Spatial deixis

SPATIAL DEIXIS is reference to the direction or location of the situation described relative to the location of the speaker. Such reference is made for a given situation by one of four spatial deixis prefixes, two of which can indicate either direction or location. These prefixes, all reduced forms of the general location and direction adverbs (§6.1), are shown in (528) and (529).

(528) *ya-* (proximal, same level or lower)
mi- (distal, same level or lower)
mu- (remote, same level or lower)
ba- (higher)

(529) *ba-* (toward speaker)
mu- (away from speaker)

For reference to the LOCATION of the situation relative to the speaker, the same two parameters hold as for locative adverb—distance and height. Moreover, the same three distinctions of distance apply when the location of

the situation is on the same level or lower than the speaker: proximate, for situations considered to be in the immediate vicinity of the speaker; distal, for situations farther removed from the speaker but still relatively close; and remote, for situations far removed from the speaker's location, whether in sight or not. However, whereas there is a distinction made for distance among locative adverbs when the location of the situation is higher than the location of the speaker, no such distinction is made among spatial deixis prefixes. That is, one prefix denotes any situation considered to occur in a location that is higher than the location of the speaker at the time of the utterance. Examples of the use of the spatial deixis prefixes are given in (530)–(534). The last two examples, (533) and (534), show the prefix *ba-* used for situations close to and far from the speaker, respectively.

(530) *Cúpa-im-'iñ dyi-ñ gá na-m cham ya-vapqui-a' gu vác.*
close-DP-1s ART-1s cornfield SUB-3p NEG LOC-enter-FUT ART cow
I'm fencing in my cornfield so the cows won't get in.

(531) *Tu'-p mi-quísa-' na-p va' túcav ti-di'r-im?*
what?-2s LOC-stand-FUT SUB-2s then deep EXT-dig-DP
What are you going to put there? You're digging so deep.

(532) *Tu-ñ-mamtuxdy-imic-añ-ich na-ñ-ich jax mu-'ay.*
EXT-1s-study-PI-1s-PRF SUB-1s-PRF how LOC-arrive
I (began) studying as soon as I got there.

(533) *Guíhlim guë' ba-cat gu matay calintón tir.*
very big LOC-lie ART ash firebox in
There is a large amount of ash (up) in the firebox.

(534) *Ba-dá a quia'mi-'ñ gu Anselmo?*
LOC-sit CFR home-POS ART Anselmo
Is Anselmo (up at his) home?

The use of the prefixes *ba-* and *mu-* for reference to location is infrequent and limited primarily to static situations. However, these same two prefixes are used to indicate the DIRECTION of movement in dynamic situations toward and away from the speaker, respectively. In situations in which movement is present, these prefixes usually are clearly directional in meaning, although some cases exist in which the meaning also could be locational. Since no movement is involved in static situations, the meaning of these two prefixes in those cases is clearly locational. Examples of the use of the spatial deixis prefixes for direction are given in (535)–(538).

(535) *Mu-daiy-a'-ap avion ta'm, ca'-p ji dɨvɨr ta'm mu-jimi-a'?*
DIR-fly-FUT-2s plane on IA-2s EMP ground on DIR-GO-FUT
Are you going to fly (there), or are you going by land?

(536) *Vɨx bai' pu-gu'quɨ bán gu ɨbay na-ñ-ich jɨ'c*
all good SIM-stand on ART cactus SUB-1s-PRF how^many

mu-tu-mumú.
DIR-EXT-shoot^arrows
All (the arrows) I shot stuck right in the cactus.

(537) *Pui' sap ba-jɨ́ bai' dyɨr Susba'n-tam.*
thus REU DIR-go there from frogs-place
He (reportedly) came from Frog Town on foot.

(538) *Cham ga'quɨ dyi ac na gu' viviatam dɨr ba-mɨr.*
NEG dry ART river SUB but spring from DIR-run
This river never dries up because it comes from a spring.

One of the direction prefixes must be used with the verb *jimɨ* 'go, come', as seen in (535) and (537), unless some indication of direction is present elsewhere in the linguistic context. For other verbs, the direction prefixes are the normal means of indicating direction, unless a more specific indication is made by a locative adverb. Only these two directional prefixes are used; no prefixes exist that correspond to the directional adverbs *bɨjɨ* and *mɨjɨ* for movement out of or into a restricted opening (§6.1).

11.2 Person and number

Person and number are the two areas of Southeastern Tepehuan grammar in which agreement or concord is evident. Neither of them refer to the situation described in the utterance but only to the PARTICIPANTS in the situation. While the person of these participants has little effect on the meaning of the verb describing the situation, their number does sometimes affect this meaning. Accordingly, as predicted by Bybee (1985), the marking of number is slightly more grammaticized in Southeastern Tepehuan than is the marking of person: the markers of person are usually inflectional affixes, but in certain instances are 'free' pronouns. Number is marked in these same ways when it occurs with person marking, but when it is the sole agreement category it is marked by reduplication, which is a morphophonological process (§2.33). Thus, while the marking of the two

meanings together is the same, the marking of number alone (§12.1) is more grammatical.

The meaning of each person and number is straightforward. FIRST PERSON always refers to the speaker, SECOND PERSON to the hearer (or addressee), and THIRD PERSON to any other entity involved in the situation described. In addition, SINGULAR NUMBER refers only to one entity, while PLURAL NUMBER refers to more than one. These are the only persons and numbers grammatically distinguished in Southeastern Tepehuan.

The marking of person is always accompanied by the marking of number, but not vice versa. The person and number of the grammatical subject are marked by subject enclitics (§11.21), the grammatical object by object prefixes (§11.22), reflexive and reciprocal subject-object by a subset of the object prefixes (§11.23), third person entities by demonstrative pronouns (§11.24), and the person and number of the possessor of an entity are marked by possessor affixes (§11.25).

11.21. Subject. The grammatical subject of the clause in Southeastern Tepehuan is the principal entity involved in the situation described. In static situations, the subject is the entity that is in the state described or whose existence or attribute is predicated. In dynamic situations, the subject is the entity that undergoes a process of change or is the agent of an action.

The subject is one of two grammatical meanings that is always marked in Southeastern Tepehuan clauses; the other is tense (§7). The person and number of the grammatical subject are marked by a set of portmanteau enclitics that occur with both static and dynamic verbs. These enclitics form a simple paradigm of three persons and two numbers as shown in (539).

(539)	*-ñ*	(1s subject)	*-ch*	(1p subject)
	-p	(2s subject)	*-pim*	(2p subject)
	Ø	(3s subject)	*-m*	(3p subject)

As is common in Southern Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1977, Steele 1977), the subject enclitics in Southeastern Tepehuan always occur suffixed to the first constituent of the clause.[57] This constituent is sometimes a member of one of the three major word classes, i.e., verb, noun, or adverb (§§4, 5, and 6), which is fronted for focus (§3.1); but the subject enclitic can also follow either a clause-initial conjunction or interjection

[57]The present-day Southeastern Tepehuan means of designating subject developed from a more extensive auxiliary that occurred in second position in the clause and that contained a pronoun copy of the person and number of the subject (T. Willett 1981).

(§§13 and 14). As explained in §2.38, these enclitics are often preceded by an auxiliary of the form *'i* for first person or *'a* for second and third person which changes to *a* or Ø, depending on what precedes it. Also, as explained in §2.4, the initial glottal stop of the subject morpheme is not written if it immediately follows another glottal stop, such as in the future suffix *-(a)'*. Examples of the use of the subject enclitics are given in (540)–(545).

(540) *Ca-xi-níra-'-iñ na-x bai' ca-xi-gaqui-a' gu-ñ gá*
TEM-INT-wait-FUT-1s SUB-ATR good TEM-DA-dry-FUT ART-1s cornfield

na-ñ va' va-tu-'ora-'.
SUB-1s then RLZ-EXT-harvest-FUT
I will wait for my cornfield to get good and dry before I harvest (the corn).

(541) *Vípi'-p vuhli-a' gu cácai-'ñ na va' cham qui'n*
before-2s tie-FUT ART thighs-3s SUB then NEG with

jum-quiiyasa-', dispois va' gu nonvi-'ñ.
2s-kick-FUT after then ART arms-3s
First tie (the mule's) back legs so he can't kick you with them, then (tie) his front legs.

(542) *Cham ov-Ø ja'ngui gu cu'a' no'-Ø-x va'.*
NEG quickly-3s use^up ART firewood CND-3s-ATR wet
The firewood won't use up very fast if it's wet.

(543) *Pai'dyuc-ach paxiar-po-' para Masaclán no'-ch mui'*
sometime-1p visit-OBJ-FUT to Mazatlán CND-1p much

va-via' gu túmiñ.
RLZ-have ART money
Someday we will go to Mazatlán for a visit, whenever we have lots of money.

(544) *Pá-pim duc va-'aiy-a' mu-ja'p jam-quíquia'am?*
when?-2p RLZ-arrive-FUT there-area 2p-homes
When will you (PL) arrive at your homes?

(545) *Méjic oi'ñ-ca-t-'am gu vajic-cam gu o'dam, day*
Mexico live-NPS-PI-3p ART old-one ART Indian just

na-m mácam tu-ñioc-da-t.
SUB-3p different EXT-talk-DUR-PI
Some Indians lived in Mexico City long ago, but they talked differently (than we do).

While the generalization that the subject enclitic occurs after the first constituent holds in the vast majority of instances, it is nevertheless not an absolute rule in independent clauses. Occasionally, as in (545), the subject enclitic occurs after the verb, even when another constituent occurs before the verb. Or the constituent it follows may be an entire noun phrase or adverb phrase, as in (546). In dependent clauses, however, the subject enclitic always occurs directly after the clause-initial conjunction, such as *na* in (540) and (545) and *no'* in (541)–(543). In the infrequent instance that the conjunction is omitted to mark maximum continuity of the clause with the preceding one (§§13.1, 15.2), the subject enclitic is suffixed to the final constituent of the preceding clause, as in (547).

(546) *Mi' dyir-ap jiñ-bidyica-' por pavor ma'n dyi sa'ua.*
there from-2s 1s-bring-FUT as favor one ART blanket
Please bring me one of the blankets from over there.

(547) *Bai'-gor sap xi-jím-ach xi-ch-mamtuda-y. Va-r óras.*
TWD-2p REU IMP-go-1p INT-1p-pray-CON RLZ-EXS hours
Come on you (PL), it's time to pray (together).

Subjects, which we have seen encoded as morphological enclitics, can also appear as pronouns. Only first and second person have personal pronouns; when a third-person subject is in focus, a demonstrative pronoun is used (§11.24). All four personal pronouns consist of the corresponding subject enclitic preceded by the auxiliary vowel [ʔa], as in (548).[58]

(548) *añ* (1s subject) *ach* (1p subject)
ap (2s subject) *ápi'm* (2p subject)

[58]It is uncertain why the 2p pronoun contains a glottal stop. Probably it is because, being very infrequently used, it has not reduced over time like the others. It is most likely analyzable as *ap-i'-m*, where *ap* stands for (2p), *-i'-* stands for precision (§12.3), and *-m* stands for (nonfirst plural).

Pronouns are used whenever the speaker wishes to focus on the subject, normally to contrast it with another entity present in the situation, whether explicitly mentioned or not. More often than not, this focus on the subject takes precedence over focus on any other entity or on any element of the setting. In this case, the pronoun occurs alone at the beginning of an independent clause or immediately following the conjunction in a dependent clause. In addition, the focus may require that the pronoun be used in connection with an adverb or particle. Examples of the use of personal pronouns are given in (549)–(552).

(549) *Añ vi̱pi̱' vatvia-' na gu' ápi'm guë' gastar gu*
1s before bathe-FUT SUB but 2p big use ART

súdai' gu-x juc.
water ART-ATR warm
I will bathe first, because you (PL) use a lot of warm water.

(550) *Ap jix-mátit tu-mumú gat qui̱'n?*
2s ATR-know^how EXT-shoot bow with
Do you know how to shoot (arrows) with a bow?

(551) *Jiñ-xispidya-'-ap na-ñ tu-bíñora-'. Jix-vit gu*
1s-support-FUT-2s SUB-1s EXT-load-FUT ATR-heavy ART

añ dihl. Goc dit jum-'a'.
1s alone two between RFL-want
Please support (the cargo) for me so I can load it.
It's (too) heavy for me alone; it requires two people.

(552) *Ach va-tu-co'i-m bammi̱-ch qui'am no'-p ca-ch-ni̱ra.*
1p RLZ-EXT-eat-OBJ there-1p home CND-2s TEM-1p-wait
We're going up to our house to eat, if you will wait for us.

As is evident from these examples, the use of a pronoun obviates the need for the marking of the subject elsewhere in the clause. It is for this reason that the personal pronouns are considered to be the focused form of subject marking, while the use of the subject enclitic elsewhere is the nonfocused form. In terms of frequency, the use of the subject enclitic as a suffix of the first major constituent of the clause is by far the most common means of marking the subject. Occasionally a personal pronoun is used in addition to a subject enclitic elsewhere in the clause. These

infrequent instances are cases of special emphasis on the subject, as in (553).

(553) *Ya' oi'dya'-ich ach.*
here live-1p 1p
(And) this is where WE live.

Whenever the past perfective tense is used, the subject enclitic is immediately followed by one of the past perfective enclitics shown in (554), except when the subject enclitic is part of a pronoun. Since the past perfective is the most commonly used past tense, these perfective enclitics are also frequently used, as illustrated in (555)–(559). They occur with all the subject enclitics, except in independent clauses when the subject is third person. In this case no perfective enclitic occurs, as in (560).

(554) *-ich* (1s, 1p, 2s)
-it (2p, 3p)
-t (3s)

(555) *Mai'vua-ñ-ich gu-m xir na-p-ich jiñ-chaiñvuy.*
lose-1s-PRF ART-2s saddle SUB-2s-PRF 1s-lend
I lost the saddle that you lent me.

(556) *Aptuvús ta'm-ach-ich va-jí mi' dyir Vódamtam*
bus on-1p-PRF RLZ-go there from Mezquital

para Corian.
to Durango
We went by bus from Mezquital to Durango.

(557) *Asta na-Ø-t pai'(dyuc) bia na-Ø-t va' iar.*
until SUB-3s-PRF when trip SUB-3s-PRF then fall
He didn't make him fall until he tripped him.

(558) *Va-cócoi-m-it gu a'ahl.*
RLZ-sleep-3p-PRF ART children
The children have gone to sleep.

(559) *Cham va-momgo-pim-it a na-pim guguc?*
NEG RLZ-tire-2p-PRF CFR SUB-2p stand
Aren't you (PL) tired from standing up?

(560) *Jup-jiñ-chɨtda-Ø gu-ch jepe-chuc na-ch sap cham*
REP-1s-tell-3s ART-1p BOSS-DIM SUB-1p REU NEG

tu-juana-' xiv.
EXT-work-FUT now
The boss told me that we aren't going to work today.

Although Southeastern Tepehuan has no passive construction, the effect of defocusing the subject can be accomplished by the use of the third person plural as an unspecific agent, such as people in general in (561), or as a completely inexplicit agent in (562). Another means of defocusing the subject is to use a reflexive prefix (§11.23).

(561) *Ca-xi-'ɨxcho-'-ap dyi quis na-m cham*
TEM-IMP-hide-FUT-2s ART cheese SUB-3p NEG

jich-jugui'ñ-dya-' gu ja'tcam.
1p-eat^up-APL-FUT ART people
Hide this cheese so people won't eat it up on us.

(562) *Tu-Ø-'umua'ñdya-'-ap na-m jum-bínohl-dya-' gu*
EXT-3s-request^help-FUT-2s SUB-3p 2p-load-APL-FUT ART

jun, na-p gu' cham poder ap dɨhl.
corn SUB-2s but NEG able 2s alone
Ask someone to load that corn for you, because you can't (do it) by yourself.

In (561), the explicit but generic subject is *ja'tcam* 'people' which, contrary to Spanish, is always third-person plural. In (562), the hearer is first requested to ask 'someone' to help him, since the third-person-singular object prefix, a zero morpheme (§11.22), is used. Then, in the second clause, which is the complement of the verb *umua'ñdya* 'request help', this potential agent of *bíñohldya* 'load for someone' is referred to only by the third-person-plural subject enclitic, showing that the hearer has no specific person in mind.

11.22. Object. The grammatical object of the clause in Southeastern Tepehuan is another entity that is involved in the situation described, along with the subject. In static situations it is rare to have an object because states are normally predicated only about subjects; they occur only as patients of verbs of emotion, such as *jixjoi'ñ* 'to like someone or

something'. In dynamic situations, objects often occur as the patient or the recipient of an action.

When an animate object is present in the situation, its person and number are marked by a set of portmanteau verb prefixes, which form a simple paradigm of three persons and two numbers, as shown in (563). The object prefix is always the closest prefix to the verb stem.

(563)	*(ji)ñ-*	(1s object)	*(ji)ch-*	(1p object)
	(ju)m-	(2s object)	*jam-*	(2p object)
	Ø	(3s object)	*ja-*	(3p object)

As is evident from a comparison of (563) with (539), the object prefixes for first person have the same final consonant as do the corresponding subject enclitics. Also, the second-person object prefixes share bilabiality with their subject counterparts, and the third-person singular is a zero morpheme in both paradigms. Furthermore, as explained in §2.37, the three object prefixes that begin with [h] followed by a high vowel drop these two segments when they are preceded by a syllable with a short or glottalized vowel, usually a particle. The resulting contraction is a word which begins with the particle and ends with the last vowel of the object prefix, as in *mi-m* in example (567), which comes from *mi'* plus *jum-*. Examples of the use of these object prefixes are given in (564)–(572).

(564) *Mi' dy̰r-ap jiñ-jupñi-dya-' gu joi', por pavor.*
there from-2s 1s-take^out-APL-FUT ART thorn as favor
Please take the thorn out of there for me.

(565) *Ya'-p ca-xi-ñ-ñ̰ra. Añ mi'-ñi ja'c ca-jí óras.*
here-2s TEM-DC-1s-wait 1s there-PRE DIR TEM-go hours
Wait for me here. I'm going over there for a minute.

(566) *Ada-i-'ap gu-m súsac na cham jum-s̰ixi-a' gu joi'.*
put^on-CON-2s ART-2s sandal SUB NEG 2s-prick-FUT ART thorn
Put on your sandals so you won't get pricked by a thorn.

(567) *Mia'n-ap Ø-vuhli-a' gu-m cavai-' na-m cham*
close-2s 3s-tie-FUT ART-2s horse-STS SUB-3p NEG

mi'-m ḭxdya-'.
there-2s rob-FUT
Tie your horse nearby so no one will rob (you of) it.

(568) *Cham dyo vix jich-'aiy-a' gu caldo, na-t gu' ahli'ch*
NEG PE all 1p-reach-FUT ART soup SUB-PRF but little

tu-mua gu duñi-a'-cam.
EXT-kill ART do-FUT-one
There won't be enough soup for us all, since the steward (of the festival) killed too small (a cow).

(569) *Mas jir-'am na-pim tu-'a'nda-' na-t jaroi'*
más EXS-right SUB-2p EXT-declare-FUT SUB-PRF who

pui' jam-chia, na-m va' cham jam-cúpa-'.
thus 2p-order SUB-3p then NEG 2p-close-FUT
It would be better for you (PL) to say who ordered you (to do this) so (the authorities) won't lock you up.

(570) *Dicó ja-tí-ñ-ich gu cacvay na-ñ-ich goc*
barely 3p-find-1s-PRF ART horses SUB-1s-PRF two

tanohl ja-gágui-mic.
day 3p-look^for-PI
I finally found the horses that I'd been looking for for two days.

(571) *Jotmoda'-p tu-ja-máca-y dyi a'ahl. Guíhlim*
quickly-2s EXT-3p-feed-CON ART children very

cai'ch-'am na-m jix-bio'.
say-3p SUB-3p ATR-hungry
Hurry up and feed these children! They're making so much noise (because) they're hungry.

(572) *Pa-ch ja-tuttu' gu-ch bu'mbruxi-'?*
where?-1p 3p-stand ART-1p donkeys-STS
Where should we leave our donkeys (standing)?

In transitive clauses with two arguments, the object prefix marks the person and number of the nonagent, whether it is a patient, as in (570), or a recipient, as in (571). The fact that the object is the patient in (565) through (570) and in (572) illustrates that this is the usual case in clauses with only two arguments. In clauses with three arguments, however, the object prefix always marks the recipient. This is illustrated by (564), where

the patient is inanimate, and by the second verb in (567), where both the patient and recipient are animate.

In none of the examples given above is there any choice to be made as to which of two possible objects to mark with the object prefix, since in no instance are both the patient and the recipient animate and nonthird-person singular. Such instances are, in fact, rare, but when they do occur the recipient is always the argument marked. This is illustrated in (573), where the third-person-plural animate patient is marked by the object prefix in the first clause, where no recipient is present; but in the second clause it is the second-person-singular animate recipient that is marked.[59]

(573) *Mui' gu tatcarui'-ñ ya' ja-'ua'. Góc-añ jum-ga'hlidya-'.*
many ART chickens-1S here 3P-carry two-1S 2S-sell-FUT
I've got a lot of chickens here. I'll sell you two.

On very rare occasions, the use of a personal pronoun (548) is needed to focus on the object, in which case the pronoun occurs with the object prefix. In the example in (574), the first-person pronoun *añ* occurs in focus position, i.e., after the conjunction, with the subject enclitic of the second clause suffixed to it, and the first-person object prefix forms a contraction with the particle *mo*.

(574) *Jix-bai' dyo, na gu' áñ-am chi mo-ñ mu'a-'.*
ATR-good PE SUB but 1S-3P DBT DSC-1S kill-FUT
Good, because I suspect it is ME they are going to kill.

11.23. Reflexive and reciprocal. Three subsets of the object prefixes given in (563) above are used to mark person and number in other contexts. Two of these subsets are used with verbs: three object prefixes are used for reflexive meanings, and two are used for reciprocal meanings. Both of these are discussed in this section. The third subset is used with nouns to mark possession (§11.25).

When the referent of the subject and the object are the same, then a REFLEXIVE prefix occurs on the verb in place of an object prefix. Which of three possible reflexive prefixes is used depends on the person and number of the referent, as shown in (575).

[59]This suggests that semantic hierarchies for the assignment of subject and object to arguments, such as those proposed by Dik (1978), may have some descriptive accuracy. I have not, however, attempted to evaluate any here; and my previous study of object marking (T. Willett 1981) considered only a syntactic explanation. There I did not even consider animacy to be a relevant factor, as I do here.

(575) *(ji)ñ-* (1s reflexive)
(ji)ch- (1p reflexive)
(ju)m- (nonfirst reflexive)

Since the object must be animate, either inherently or by extension (§5.3), to be morphologically marked by the object prefix, this same requirement applies to the referent that is marked by the reflexive prefix. It must also be the agent of the action or the experiencer of the emotion verb. Also, the first two segments of the reflexive prefixes drop in the same environment as do their homophonous object prefix counterparts. Examples of the use of the reflexive prefixes are given in (576)–(581).

(576) *No'-ñ jix-mat na-r ti'nguiac, nailo-m a'*
CND-1s ATR-know SUB-EXS rainy^season plastic-RFL want

na-ñ ua'-da-' na-ñ qui'n jiñ-ta'vidya-'
SUB-1s carry-DUR-FUT SUB-1s with RFL-protect-FUT

no'-t bai' ji-dyu'n.
CND-PRF TWD INC-rain
If I know it's rainy season, I need to carry a plastic to protect myself with when it starts to rain.

(577) *Ach va-jí mi'-ñi vita'n. Mi' daraivu'-ich, jich-jipi'ñca-'-ich.*
1p RLZ-go there-PRE below there sit-1p RFL-rest^1p
We're going down below. We're going to sit down there and rest ourselves.

(578) *Dihl jum-tajan-Ø gu toc no'-t va-gá.*
alone RFL-open^up-3s ART cotton CND-PRF RLZ-dry
Cotton opens up by itself when it has dried.

(579) *Jum-jipi'ñ-'am gu'-ñi mi' na pai'-x íca'*
RFL-rest-3p DEM-PRE there SUB where-ATR shady
Those (people) are resting there where it's shady.

(580) *Xi-m-da'ngui-i-pim jam-nónov-'am na-pim pai'dyuc*
IMP-RFL-hold-CON-2p 2p-hands-on SUB-2p when

mui' ji-jurqui-a'.
AWY INC-CROSS-FUT
Take hold of each other's hands when you start to go across.

(581) *Jáx-ap-ich jum-gav? Jum-biac-ap-ich a?*
how?-2s-PRF RFL-sprain RFL-trip-2s-PRF CFR
How did you sprain yourself? Did you trip?

Reflexive morphology is also used in Southeastern Tepehuan for what in other languages might be called the passive voice. One example of this use is seen in (576) in the common expression *jum'a'* 'it is necessary'. Rather than signaling coreferentiality of subject and object, the reflexive prefix without overt subject marking designates situations in which the agent is either unspecific or unstated. This is analogous to the use of the third-person-plural subject enclitic for the same meaning (§11.21); of the two, the use of the reflexive is more common. Two other examples of this use of the reflexive prefix are given in (582) and (583).

(582) *Mi'-ñi-m ga'ra gu timcahl, pes sap namic gu kilo.*
there-PRE-RFL sell ART tortilla peso REU cost ART kilo
They're selling tortillas there at one peso per kilo.

(583) *Gat qui'n tu-m-sav-da-' no' ti-m-ni'*
bow with EXT-RFL-play^music-DUR-FUT CND EXT-RFL-dance

gu xiotahl.
ART sacred^dance
They play the (musical) bow when(ever) they dance the sacred dance.

The reflexive in these examples is glossed 'they' for the unspecified agent, but it could just as easily have been glossed in a more passive-like way, such as 'tortillas are being sold there' in (582). Moreover, these examples show that the meaning of inexplicit subject is possible even if there is a patient present in the situation. In (582) and the second clause of (583), there is an explicit patient, but the agent is inexplicit. The latter use is also seen in the common expression *mi' timni'* 'they're dancing there' or 'there is a dance there'. In the first clause of (583), no patient is present, but another entity occurs as instrument along with the agentless verb.

The two plural reflexive prefixes are occasionally used to indicate a RECIPROCAL meaning, i.e., where the agent and the patient are performing the same action to each other. Examples of the use of the reciprocal prefixes are given in (584) and (585).

(584) *Añ ca-xi-jí. Va-ch-chigui-a'-ich cavuimuc.*
1s TEM-INT-go RLZ-RCP-find-FUT-1p tomorrow
I'm going now. We'll see each other tomorrow.

(585) *Jum-'o'iñ-'am dyi a'ahl, cham tu'-m cocda-'am.*
RCP-wrestle-3p ART children NEG what-RCP fight-3p
Those children are wrestling; they're not fighting.

11.24. Demonstratives. Deictic reference in Southeastern Tepehuan can also be made by the use of demonstrative pronouns. These differ from personal pronouns (§11.21) in that they always make reference to an entity that is third person, while personal pronouns refer only to first and second person. Also, demonstrative pronouns can refer to either animate or inanimate entities, while personal pronouns refer only to animate entities. Futhermore, demonstrative pronouns are used in the formation of restrictive relative clauses (§14.1), while personal pronouns are not.

DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns are used to make minimal reference to an entity other than the speaker and hearer, whether animate or inanimate, singular or plural, that is involved in the situation described. That is, when the speaker wishes to refer to a third entity without naming or describing it, he can use either of two demonstrative pronouns, depending on the relative distance of that entity from the speaker. If the entity is relatively close, he can refer to it with *dyi'*, the PROXIMAL demonstrative; if it is relatively far, he can refer to it with *güi'*, the DISTAL demonstrative, which is also used for any reference to an entity not in sight at the time of speech. Both of these pronouns can mean 'he', 'she', 'him', 'her', 'it', 'that', 'them', or 'those', as illustrated in (586)–(588).

(586) *Ya' va-'ay gu pahl. Jir-'am na-ch dyi'*
here RLZ-arrive ART priest EXS-right SUB-1p DEM

umua'ñdya-' na-x mat gu mamtu'n.
request^help-FUT SUB-ATR know ART prayers
The priest has arrived. It would be good to invite him (to lead our mass) since he knows the prayers.

(587) *Jir-'añ-ga-'n dyo dyi'. Pá-p-ich tí?*
EXS-1s-STS-POS PE DEM where?-2s-PRF find
Yes, that's mine. Where did you find it?

(588) *Ach tu-jua-ch-ich tacav, güi' ba-ja'p pu-m-ɟɨpi'ñ.*
1p EXT-work-1p-PRF yesterday DEM there-area SIM-RFL-rest
WE worked yesterday, but HE just sat there (resting).

Examples such as these account for about half of the instances of the use of demonstrative pronouns. The other half consists of their use as the head of a RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE. Restrictive relative clauses are those that have a demonstrative pronoun before the relativizer *na*, signifying the meaning 'the one that' or 'those that'. This type of relative clause is used whenever the identity of the entity referred to is not clear from the context; it is the more common type of relative clause used in Southeastern Tepehuan (§14.1). It can be used following a noun phrase, i.e., article plus noun, as in (589), or as a HEADLESS relative, as in (590).

(589) *Cócosa-'-ap dyi jóday dyi' nam ɟɨ'c*
remove-FUT-2s ART rocks DEM SUB-3p how^many

jir-guë'guër, na va' tu-m-parijáro-'.
EXS-big SUB then EXT-RFL-level-FUT
Take out those rocks that are big so they can level off (the road).

(590) *Ya-ja'p sap bɨiy-a' gu-ñ xix cavuimuc*
LOC-area REU pass-FUT ART-1s older^sibling tomorrow

na-m namquidya-' güi' na-m ua'tu'n.
SUB-2s pay^to-FUT DEM SUB-2s owe
My brother says he will come by here tomorrow to pay you what he owes you.

As with personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used in conjunction with adverbs or particles, such as in *dyi' pui'* 'like that'. They can also be made more precise by the use of the suffix *-ni*, which is different from the suffix *-i'* used on personal pronouns for the same purpose (§12.3), but is the same as that used on locative adverbs.

11.25. Possession. Most entities can be possessed; some entities are obligatorily possessed. In Southeastern Tepehuan the person and number of the possessor are always marked by an affix on the noun representing the entity, as described in this section. Two other relationships that can accompany possession are status and diminutive (§12.4).

Whenever an entity is conceived of as pertaining to another entity, the person and number of the latter entity, the POSSESSOR, is marked by the use of one of the following possessor affixes listed in (591).

(591)

(ji)ñ-	(1s possessor)	*(ji)ch-*	(1p possessor)
(ju)m-	(2s possessor)	*jam-*	(2p possessor)
-d	(3s possessor)	*ja-*	(3p possessor)

These affixes are identical to the object prefixes except for third- person singular, which is zero for objects but, as a possessor, is a suffix. Furthermore, the three possessor prefixes that begin with [h] followed by a high vowel drop the [hV] in the same environments as their object prefix counterparts (§2.37).

Possession can mean either that the possessed entity has been acquired by the possessor for his own use, such as an animal, a house, or a piece of clothing; or it can mean that the possessed entity is an integral part of the possessing entity, such as a body part, a relative, or the leg of a table. In the former case, i.e., those entities that are acquirable, the marking of possession is not required; in the latter case, i.e., those entities that inherently belong to the possessor, the marking of possession is obligatory. Obligatory possession is similar to the traditional notion of INALIENABLE possession, but it is different from the status relation (§12.4). Examples of the use of the possessor prefixes are given in (592)–(597).[60]

(592) *Mic tu-'a'ji dyi-ñ tirviñ. Joidyam jix-bai'*
far EXT-reach ART-POS rope perfectly ATR-good

qui'n tu-m-guigui-a'.
with EXT-RFL-wrap-FUT
My rope can reach a long way. It's just right to lasso (things) with.

(593) *Day na-p niidya-t na cham jum-mo'-am guixi-a'*
just SUB-2s watch-PI SUB NEG POS-head-on fall-FUT

gu vaiñgas.
ART axe
Just be careful that the axe doesn't fall on your head.

[60]The suffix *-d* most often occurs as its syllable-final variant *-'n* (§2.12).

(594) *Mi' pui'-p jum-avasar gu mara-'n ja'ṗ na*
there thus-REP RFL-behave ART offspring-POS like SUB

gu táta-'n.
ART father-POS
The child behaves like his father.

(595) *Pa-m duc sap ya-'aiy-a' gu-ch a'mi'?*
when?-3p REU here-arrive-FUT ART-POS friends
When are our friends supposed to arrive?

(596) *J̵i'c-am aix gu sasoi-ga-'n gu-m*
how^many?-3p reach ART animals-STS-POS ART-POS

cumpahl, v̵ix gu ja-mámar qui'n?
godfather all ART POS-offspring with
How many (domesticated) animals does your (child's) godfather have now, including all their offspring?

(597) *Na pai'dyuc t̵ímo-' dyi ami' na tu-'a'ga,*
SUB when finish ART friend SUB EXT-talk

v̵íx-apim va' mo capñi-dya-' gu jam-nónov.
all-2p then DSC clap-APL-FUT ART POS-hands
When this guy has finished speaking, you should all clap your hands for him.

12
Specification

There are times when a Southeastern Tepehuan speaker wishes to be specific in his reference to an entity or some other aspect of the situation he describes, or to indicate some special relation that exists between two entities. In such cases, he will use one of several grammatical morphemes denoting SPECIFICATION. This is a notional area made up of meanings which add to the lexical item they modify the idea of SPECIFICITY or SPECIAL RELATION. For nouns this is expressed as plurality (§12.1), definiteness (§12.2), and status (§12.4). For pronouns this is expressed as precision (§12.3), and for nouns and adverbs, this is expressed as diminutive (§12.4).

12.1 Plurality

Plurality of entities and attributes is marked by reduplication of the first syllable of the stems of the corresponding nouns and qualities (§2.33). A referent is considered plural if more than one entity is involved in the situation described. All countable nouns pluralize; only those nouns considered to be uncountable do not (§5.2).

Most attributes are reduplicated to agree in number with the entity which they describe. This reduplication takes the same form as it does for nouns for all attributes that take the attributive prefix *jix-*. Those that take the existential prefix *jir-*, however, all pluralize in a slightly irregular manner: they reduplicate the first syllable with a long vowel and insert a glottal stop between this syllable and the first syllable of the stem.[61] An illustrative list of reduplicated attributes is given in (598).

[61]There is one known exception to this rule: *jirguë'*, which already ends in a glottal stop, reduplicates as *jirguë'guër*.

(598)

SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
jix'abar	*jix'a'bar*	'beautiful'
jixmaicac	*jixmaimcac*	'sweet'
jixqui'	*jixquiqui'*	'good'
jixvi'	*jixvipi'*	'red'
jixvit	*jixvípit*	'heavy'
jixcavac	*jixcápac*	'hard'
jirtëv	*jirtë'tëv*	'long'

12.2 Definiteness

All nouns are marked by an article as either definite or indefinite depending on the referent's role in the discourse (§15.1). A noun is considered DEFINITE if reference is made to a specific entity whose identity is known at least to the speaker, if not also to the hearer. A noun is considered INDEFINITE if reference is made to an entity which, though not uniquely identifiable in the mind of the speaker, is conceived of as falling into the general classes of items denoted by the noun used. Morphologically, there are two oppositions that express this contrast, both of which involve the general article *gu*, in one case as a definite article and in the other case as an indefinite article.

The first opposition is between the use of *gu* as a definite article and its modification by the number *ma'n* 'one' to express indefiniteness. If the speaker wishes to refer to an entity as definite, he will precede the noun referring to that entity by *gu* alone. But if the speaker wishes to refer to an entity as indefinite, he will use *ma'n* preceding the article. Contrastive examples of this first opposition between definite and indefinite reference are given in (599) and (600).

(599) *Va-mu'a-im-'am gu chio'ñ.*
RLZ-kill-DP-3p ART man
They are killing the man.

(600) *Va-mu'a-im-'am ma'n gu chio'ñ.*
RLZ-kill-DP-3p one ART man
They are killing a man.

The second opposition is between the use of *gu* as an indefinite article and the use of *dyi* as a definite article. If the speaker wishes to refer to an entity as definite, he will precede the noun referring to that entity by *dyi*,

a shortened form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun (§11.24). But if the speaker wishes to refer to the entity as indefinite, then he will use *gu* instead. Examples of this second opposition between definite and indefinite reference are given in (601) and (602).

(601) *Mui' ya-'ai-m-ɨt gu ja'tcam na-r piasta-ca-t.*
many LOC-arrive-3P-PRF ART people SUB-EXS festival-NPS-PI
Many people came to the festival.

(602) *Jax chu'm ñi'oc quɨ'n tu-'a'ga-'am dyi ja'tcam?*
how? looks word with EXT-speak-3P ART people
What language are those people speaking?

The choice between definite and indefinite is unambiguous in sentences like (599) and (602), where the choice of articles clearly signals the speaker's intended meaning. In sentences like (600) and (601), however, where only *gu* is used, the interpretation of definiteness depends more on the context of the utterance, or what Zubin and Li (1986) call PRAGMATIC MATCHING. That is, the hearer must decide whether the noun following *gu* is definite or indefinite based upon extralinguistic factors involved in the context of the utterance. In (600), for instance, the fact that the speaker is looking at a picture depicting the situation described is a good indication that he means the reference to 'man' to be the specific one who is the victim of the crime. In contrast, in (601), the fact that the sentence was uttered as a commentary about a past event in which hundreds of people participated is warrant to interpret the reference to 'people' as indefinite, since no specific individuals were in view at the time. This interpretation is reinforced by the use of the quantifier *mui'* 'many', meaning people in general.

12.3 Precision

Both personal and demonstrative pronouns can be made more specific by the use of two suffixes. Similarly, many temporal and manner adverbs can be made more specific by the use of one of the same suffixes. In both cases, the meaning added to the stem is that of PRECISION, i.e., making the reference more precise in order to distinguish the entity or setting element from others or simply to emphasize it clearly.

Three of the four personal pronouns (§11.21) can be made more specific by the addition of the precision suffix *-i'*: first-person singular *áñi'*, first-person plural *áchi'*, and second-person singular *ápi'*. The fourth personal

pronoun, second-person-plural pronoun is used much less frequently and has only one form, *ápi'm*, which already includes segments identical to the precision suffix *-i'*. These precise forms of the personal pronouns are rarely used, but do occasionally occur either as vocatives or when particular emphasis is placed on the referent. Examples of these uses are given in (603)–(605).

(603) *Jaró ɨ'qui-a' dyi cu'a', áñ-i' a ca' áp-i' a?*
who? cut^up-FUT ART firewood 1s-PRE CFR IA 2s-PRE CFR
Who is going to cut up this firewood, you or me?

(604) *"Añ-i' dyo-m maqui-a'," ja'p sap ɨtda. "Añ jum-maqui-a'."*
1s-PRE PE-2s give-FUT thus REU told 1s 2s-give-FUT
"*I* will give it to you", he told him. "I'll give it to you."

(605) *"Ap-i', jiñ-jaduñ," ja'p sap cai'ch . . .*
2s-PRE 1s-relative thus REU said
"You, my relative," he said . . .

The two demonstrative pronouns (§11.24) use a different precision prefix *-ni* with a similar meaning as *-i'* has with personal pronouns. When a demonstrative occurs alone *-ni* is sometimes used to indicate either relative proximity to the speaker or more precision in the reference, as in (606) and (607). When both demonstrative pronouns are used in the same context to distinguish between two referents, *-ni* usually occurs on both to emphasize the difference between them, as in (608).

(606) *Dyi'-ñi sap jir-jum-vonam na-p-ich sac mai'vua tacav.*
DEM-PRE REU EXS-2s-hat SUB-2s-PRF REK lose yesterday
They say this is your hat that you (supposedly) lost yesterday.

(607) *Quia'-pix-am-ɨt va-ji-jí gu'-ñi troca ta'm na*
just-DIM-3p-PRF RLZ-INC-go DEM-PRE truck on SUB

mummu-ni quic.
there-PRE stand
They are just now leaving in that truck (that is standing) right over there.

(608) *Jum-cocda-'am gu maiccam. Dyi'-ñi bai'*
RCP-fight-3p ART drunks DEM-PRE TWD

va-x-gui'vi-m gu'-ñi.
RLZ-ATR-hit-DES DEM-PRE
The drunks are fighting. This one is about to (wants to) hit that one.

The expression of precision on demonstratives is more frequent than on personal pronouns but less common than the use of unmodifiied demonstratives. Precision can also be indicated on articles by prefacing the article with a demonstrative pronoun, with or without the precision suffix. This construction is less frequent than the suffix *-ni* on demonstratives, probably because the article is already definite in most instances. Example (609) illustrates a common context in which a demonstrative is used with an article.

(609) *Añ ihli'ñ na ca-ñ-dyurar dyi' dyi siman na va' mo*
1s think SUB TEM-1s-last DEM ART week SUB then DSC

va-jugui-a', na-ñ va' jai' va-ñisitar-da-'.
RLZ-run^out-FUT SUB-1s then other RLZ-need-DUR-FUT
I think that (this corn) will last me this week and then run out; I will then need to buy more.

The suffix *-ni* is also used to mark precision on adverbs. For instance, all the general location adverbs (§6.1) can be made more specific by the addition of *-ni*, as illustrated in (610) and (611). Also, a few adverbs of manner (§6.3) commonly occur with the precision suffix, as illustrated in (612) and (613).

(610) *Bammi-ni na pai'-x ti-m-tído' pix am*
up^there-PRE SUB where-ATR EXT-RFL-blue DIM fully

oipo-'am panas gu suismahl.
walk-3p seem ART deer
Way up there where it's bluish it looks like there are some deer roaming.

(611) *Tu' u'i'-dya-' dyi' na ba'-ñi dá ux*
what? bird-DUR-FUT DEM SUB there-PRE sit tree

cha'm na va' joidyam tu-cú?
on SUB then perfectly EXT-sound
What kind of bird is that up there in the tree that is singing so beautifully?

(612) *Bueno sap va' pu'-ñi caich jia gu táta-'n.*
well REU then thus-PRE said EMP ART father-3p
Well, that's just what her father said.

(613) *Ja'p-ni sap va' jum-dú dyi sapoc na-ñ cay ip añ.*
like-PRE REU then RFL-do ART story SUB-1s hear also 1s
(And) that's how this story that I heard ends.

The adverb *ja'pni* 'like that' used in (613) commonly occurs in the narrative ending formula *ja'pni daipui'* 'that's all'. Another common usage of *-ni* is on the interrogative adverb *jax* 'how' in the idiomatic expression *Jax-ñi a?* (how-PRE CFR) 'What did you say?' It is also an obligatory part of the temporal adverbs *ja'xñi* 'later' and *ja'quia'ni* 'at this exact time' (§6.2).

12.4 Status and diminutive

Two special relations that exist between entities can be marked on nouns—status and diminutive. Both of these are extensions of the meaning of specificity, since they indicate an extra dimension of the tie that already exists between two entities. The diminutive relation is also marked in an analogous way on verbs and adverbs. In Southeastern Tepehuan, the person and number of the possessor of an entity are obligatorily marked by affixes for certain entities, mostly relatives and body parts (§11.25). Another set of possessed entities can bear a special relation here called the STATUS relation.[62]

This relation consists of a close but alterable tie between the possessing and the possessed entities. It is different from the traditional INALIENABLE

[62]This term was first used for this relation by Elizabeth Willett (1981b). In Papago, the cognate suffix is used to mark alienability, characterized by Mathiot as "an association between entities... of genuine ownership" (1976:41). Without extensive comparison of examples from both languages, it is difficult to determine if the meanings expressed by the cognate suffixes in the two languages are comparable.

relation in that members of the class of entities which can bear the status relation, although often obligatorily possessed, are always alienable. For first- and second-person possessors, the entities that bear the status relation are limited to things such as domesticated animals and certain non-blood kinship relations. For third-person possessors, the entities with the status relation include mostly inherent parts of plants and animals and inanimate objects in a culturally defined category of 'basic possessed items', such as houses (Nichols 1986:151).

The status relation is marked by the status suffix *-ga*, which is suffixed to the noun stem and which takes one of two forms. When a possessor prefix is used (§11.25), the status suffix drops its final vowel and the [g] becomes a glottal stop (§2.22), as in the first occurrence in (614), and in (615) and (618). When the third-person-singular possessor suffix is used, the status suffix precedes it, as in (616)–(618).

(614) *Pa-m ja'c jix-joi'ñ gu-m cacvai-'?*
where?-3p DIR ATR-like ART-2s horses-STS

Ca-ja-'oidya-t ma'n gu añ-ga-'n.
TEM-3p-go^with-PI one ART 1s-STS-POS
Where do your horses like (to roam)? One of mine went with them.

(615) *Chacuy va-jú a gu-m junu-'?*
not^yet RLZ-use^up CFR ART-2s corn-STS
Hasn't your corn used up yet?

(616) *Jix-mat-'ap gu joñ-ga-'n gu Macario? Alponsa sap ti'.*
ATR-know-2s ART wife-STS-3s ART Macario Alfonsa REU call
Do you know Macario's wife? Her name is Alfonsa.

(617) *Upsu-ga-'n qui'n ti-quiqui' gu nacsir.*
stinger-STS-3s with EXT-bite ART scorpion
The scorpion stings with its stinger.

(618) *Jum-xichui' gu cúpar-ga-'n gu-ñ jóco-'. Cham ca-mimí.*
RFL-break ART top-STS-3s ART-1s flashlight NEG TEM-burn
The top to my flashlight is broken. It doesn't light anymore.

The status suffix *-ga* is also used in conjunction with the third-person-singular possessor suffix *-d*, in its syllable-final form *-'n*, as a general marker of alienable possession. This combination is used in the question form *jaró*

ga'n? 'Whose is it?' and with pronouns, to form possessive pronouns, such as *añga'n* in (614).

Another relation that entities can bear to their possessor is that of DIMINUTIVE. This relation is marked by the suffix *-tuqui*, and indicates that the possessor feels a close attachment to the possessed entity. For animate entities, this is usually one of affection or endearment; for inanimate entities, it is usually one of preference or partiality, based on their usefulness to the possessor. While not limited semantically to any particular types of entities, the set of nouns with which the diminutive suffix *-tuqui* occurs is small. Examples of first- and second-person diminutives are given in (619) and (620); an example of third-person diminutive is given in (621).[63]

(619) *Jax chu'm ti-nii'ñ gu-m ahlí-chuc? Xi-m-'oi'ñ?*
how? looks EXT-look ART-2s child-DIM ATR-2s-follow
Which (parent) does your child look like? Does he take after you (in looks)?

(620) *Ap mi' tiy gu-m lápis-tuc mes ta'm.*
2s there put ART-2s pencil-DIM table on
You put your pencil on the table.

(621) *Ja'p duc tu-ganar-u gu Guerrero, tu-'u'uc-am-it*
thus way EXT-win-PRF ART Guerrero EXT-carry-3p-PRF

gu ja'tcam-tugui-'ñ gu vapaiñum.
ART people-DIM-3s ART metal
In this way (General) Guerrero won (the battle) and his men took the firearms (of their defeated enemies).

A diminutive meaning also is applied often to adverbs and verbs. With adverbs it has a restrictive sense, indicating a limitation on the meaning of the stem. With verbs it is like a diminutive aspect, indicating that the situation described is of minor degree, intensity, or importance. These meanings are expressed by three particles: *pix*, *pic*, and *ahl*.

The particle *pix* is used with locative adverbs to express the meaning 'only (here, there)', as in (622), and with temporal adverbs to mean 'just (now, then)', as in (623). It also occurs as a composite part of several other adverbs, such as *ampix* (fully-DIM) 'precisely, exactly', *quia'pix*

[63]It is not clear why the second consonant of this suffix is [g] only in third person singular forms when the corresponding possessor suffix is added to it. Perhaps the [k] voices between vowels.

(recently-DIM) 'just now' or 'very recently', *pui'pix* (thus-DIM) 'just like that' or 'free of charge'; and it is used to form indefinite adverbs like *tu' na pix* 'whatever' and *pai' na pix* 'wherever'.

(622) *Ya'-ñ pix ja'p oiri tu-paxiar-'iñ.*
here-1S DIM area walk EXT-visit-1S
I'm just here visiting.

(623) *Ma'nim pix ti-nii'ñ-'ñ Méjic.*
once DIM EXT-look-1S Mexico
I've only seen Mexico City once.

With verbs, *pix* conveys the idea that the state or event is less than what might otherwise have taken place. It is similar to, but not the same as, the simplicity aspect, expressed by the prefix *pu-* (§8.2). The prefix signals that the situation it modifies is the ONLY state or event that could reasonably be expected under the circumstances described. The particle, in contrast, shows that the situation is LESS than what could reasonably be expected. Examples of this use of *pix* are given in (624) and (625) for an action and a state, respectively.

(624) *Jum-vipñi-a' pix gu junvo', cham tu'-m ba'.*
RFL-suck-FUT DIM ART sugarcane NEG what-RFL swallow
You only suck on sugarcane; you don't swallow it.

(625) *Jix-gaidyac pix va-dua gu tóna-'n dyi buru'x.*
ATR-crooked DIM RLZ-heal ART leg-3S ART donkey
This donkey's leg healed crooked.

The particle *pic* is used almost exclusively with other adverbs and particles to form expressions that indicate that the situation described is less than complete or than expected. These expressions include *cham pic* 'not very' and *sap pic va'* 'incredible, unbelievable'. Another common occurrence is with the adverb *jax* 'how', as in (626).

(626) *Ea na-ch tigui-a' na jax pic tui'-ca-'.*
INJ SUB-1P find-FUT SUB how DIM appear-NPS-FUT
Let's go see what shape it's in (lit. how it appears).

The particle *ahl* also conveys a meaning similar to the diminutives mentioned above. It is used in a wide variety of contexts to indicate that

the situation is sufficient for the circumstances, but barely so, as illustrated in (627) and (628).[64]

It also commonly occurs with a diminutive meaning with the adverb *palɨp* 'a little', as in (629).

(627) *Via'-iñ dyo, goc ahl (gu tatcarui').*
have-1S PE two DIM ART chickens
Yes, I have a few (chickens).

(628) *Ahl mo mui' xi-jim-chu' sap jɨvɨhl quɨ'n ahl gu*
DIM DSC AWY DA-go-MOT REU wind with DIM ART

dúc na jax a'.
rain SUB how want
So the rain went as fast as it could, blowing all it wanted (but it still barely kept up with the frog).

(629) *Cham quɨ' vúsai' gu quis, palɨp ahl jup-dú.*
NEG right result ART cheese little DIM REP-make
The cheese didn't turn out well; it just made a little.

Both *pɨc* and *ahl* are used occasionally in a sarcastic way to describe situations where expectations have been exceeded, as in (630) and (631).

(630) *Goc pɨc ja-tutqui-chu'-iñ gu a'ahl.*
two DIM 3P-carry-MOT-1S ART children
I'm only carrying two children on by back!

(631) *Mi' va' dyo gui ji sap va' con gánas ma-du'n,*
there then PE CLR EMP REU then with force DIS-rain

pero-x io'm ahl!
but-ATR rapidly DIM
And then it (reportedly) rained there with much force. Wow, did it rain!

[64]The use of *goc* 'two' in (627) is idiomatic (§5.4).

13
Coordination

When the meanings of two phrases or clauses are linked in such a way that both are viewed as of equal semantic relevance to the speaker's communicative purpose, then their relation is one of COORDINATION. This relation is signaled by the use of a coordinating conjunction, showing that both units are to be interpreted as bearing the central or HEAD relation to each other. This contrasts with the relation of subordination in which one unit bears the MODIFIER relation to the other (§14).

There are three types of coordinating conjunctions in Southeastern Tepehuan. An ADDITIVE conjunction signals that the relation between the meanings of two phrases or clauses is a temporal or logical one. Four of these conjunctions are particles, one is a suffix used only with clauses, and one has no morphological shape, but is signaled by intonation; all are discussed in §13.1. An AUGMENTATIVE conjunction signals that the relation between the meanings of two phrases or clauses is not temporal or logical, but rather a coincidental or a deliberate association or alternation, depending on the circumstances of the situation described. Six particles of this type are discussed in §13.2. An INTERJECTIVE conjunction signals that the connection between the meaning of the phrase or clause it introduces and the meaning of a previous phrase or clause is interactional, i.e., part of the conversational interchange between speaker and hearer. Three common interjective conjunctions are particles; they are discussed in §13.3.

13.1 Additive coordination

Six conjunctions are used to signal additive coordination in Southeastern Tepehuan. One of these is used exclusively with noun phrases, two others

are used exclusively with clauses, and the others are used with both types of structural units. Each is discussed here in turn.

Two conjunctions signal additive coordination among entities. One of these is used exclusively with noun phrases that refer to entities that are referentially distinct but are conceived of as belonging to the same class of entities. This conjunction, *gam*, is used to append an entity to another of a SIMILAR nature or function. That is, the similarity need not be inherent in the nature of the entities themselves, but may be a similarity of function in a given cultural context. Examples of the use of the similar appending conjunction are given in (632) and (633); in (632) entities of a similar nature and function—edible birds, are linked, and in (633) entities that function as adornments are linked.

(632) *Jix-ja-ná gu pippihl gu tobav gam gu u'ji'.*
ATR-3p-like ART chicks ART chicken^hawk and ART birds
The chicken hawk likes (to eat) chicks and (other small) birds.

(633) *Ya' tu-m-'ua' gu cacñi' gam sóso'm para gu u'uv.*
here EXT-RFL-carry ART clothes and necklace for ART women
Here is an assortment of clothes and necklaces for women.

A separate article occurs with the appended entity in (632), since it is separated from the entity to which it is conjoined by the subject noun phrase. The article is usually not repeated when the conjoined entities occur contiguous to each other in the clause, as in (633). More than one entity can be added by this same means, as in the list given in (634).

(634) *Ya' va-tu-m-'aich gu baidya' ma'n camion:*
here RLZ-EXT-RFL-deliver ART fruit one truck

carum gam mango gam sandíyas gam narancas...
banana and mango and watermelon and orange
A truckload of fruit just arrived (with) bananas, mangos, watermelons, oranges, etc.

The other conjunction signaling additive coordination is used not only with noun phrases, but also with adverb phrases and with clauses. This conjunction, *guio*, is used to append the referents of each of these units when they are DISSIMILAR in nature or function. That is, since entities can be very similar, but settings and situations usually are not, its use with noun phrases signals that the linked entities are NOT conceived of as similar

in nature or function, while its use with adverb phrases and clauses indicates a general additive coordination.

An example of the contrast between the meanings of *gam* and *guio* is given in (635), where the speaker mixes two similar items and one dissimilar item in the same list. Another example of *guio* to link entities is given in (636). In (637), an example is given of the use of *guio* to link settings, and (638) and (639) show its use as a coordinator of clauses.

(635) *Ya' sap tu-m-ga'ra vɨxchu': cortis gam risbus*
here REU EXT-RFL-sell everything fabric and shawls

guio sap valas ɨp.
and REU bullets too
Lots of things are being sold here, (including) fabric, shawls, and bullets.

(636) *Tuca' ja'c vusac gu nacmɨhl guio gu tucur, na-m*
night time go^out ART bat and ART owl SUB-3p

gu' cham ñiññia gu tatav ja'c.
but NEG see ART day time
At night the bat and the owl come out (to hunt), because they can't see during daylight hours.

(637) *Ma'n siman vɨx tanohl guio vɨx tuca' na duqu-ímɨc.*
one week all day and all night SUB rain-PI
It rained for one week, day and night.

(638) *No'-ñ-ich mu-vá na pai' cup gu tur,*
CND-1s-PRF AWY-enter SUB where closed ART bull

va-tu-got-da-' guio va' bai' ji-dyai'ññi-a'.
RLZ-EXT-snort-DUR-FUT and then TWD INC-chase-FUT
If you (lit. I) go in where a bull is kept, he will snort and begin to chase you (lit. me).

(639) *Tutur quɨ'n-ach tɨ-'ɨs guio na-ch tu-jimchuda-'.*
bulls with-1p EXT-plant and SUB-1p EXT-plow-FUT
We use oxen to plant with and to plow (for weeding).

As illustrated in (638) and (639), when *guio* is used to coordinate clauses it is often followed by another conjunction, either the sequential particle *va'*

(discussed below) or the general subordinating particle *na* (§14). There are three probable explanations for this. One is that the additional conjunction helps distinguish the use of *guio* with clauses from its use with phrases. Another is that *guio* by itself normally is not specific enough to signal the kind of relation that exists between clauses (§15.2), while on the phrase level it can only mean the simple appending of one entity or setting to another. A third explanation is that *guio* is used also as, or is homophonous with, an adverb meaning 'again', as in (640).[65] All three of these considerations probably have some bearing on this ocurrence pattern.

(640) *Guio sap jup-tu-m-tucgamta-' pai'dyuc.*
again REU REP-EXT-RFL-darken sometime
They say there's going to be another solar eclipse someday.

Two additive conjunctions are used only with clauses; one is more general than the other. The more general one is the suffix *-(ɨ)y* (connected action), which indicates that the action described by the verb to which it is attached is integrally related to some other situation in the immediate social context. That is, its presence signals that the action in question has a close connection to some other situation, but nothing specific about the nature of the connection is indicated. This suffix usually occurs in one of two highly constrained syntactic contexts. Either it occurs with the imperative prefix *xi-* (§§9.14, 9.31), as in (641)–(643), or it occurs as part of a compound predicate, as in (644).[66]

(641) *Bai'-p xi-ñ-chañ-xi-dya-y gu-ñ sapátux*
TWD-2s IMP-1s-order-BEN-APL-CON ART-1s shoes

no'-p-ich va-jí para Corian.
CND-2s-PRF RLZ-go to Durango
Please get my shoes for me if you go to Durango City.

(642) *Bɨica-'-ap dyi viñ, mummu xi-ga'ra-y.*
carry-FUT-2s ART wine there IMP-sell-CON
Take this wine and sell it there (where you are going).

[65]In this use, *guio* always occurs with the repetition prefix *(ju)p-* (§8.4).

[66]The longer form of the suffix *-(ɨ)y* occurs if the final stem syllable is accented, otherwise the sequence *ɨi* is deleted (§2.37). This suffix also has the pronunciation variant *-ji* in both contexts, for which no phonological explanation has been found.

(643) *Jo' súsac-añ xi-'áda-y no'-ñ-ich va-ṅi'i-m*
hide sandal-1s IMP-put^on-CON CND-1s-PRF RLZ-dance-OBJ

gu xiotahl.
ART sacred^dance
When I go to dance the sacred dance, I (must) put on sandals made of (cow)hide.

(644) *No'-ch-ich va-ch-gav, na-r rimédio gu bai-'ñ*
CND-1p-PRF RLZ-1p-sprain SUB-EXS remedy ART tail-3s

(gu jov) na-ch ɨqui-ji jich-júhli-a'.
ART opossum SUB-1p cut-CON 1p-rub-FUT
If we sprain ourselves, the opossum's tail is a remedy; we (just) cut it (open) and rub it on.

The use of *-(ɨ)y* in compound verb constructions such as (644) is infrequent. Its most common use is that exemplified in (641)–(643). That is, it can occur with *xi-* in any of that prefix's uses, as the indicator of a command or as a marker of intention or deliberate action. Occasionally *-(ɨ)y* occurs in clauses with these same meanings without *xi-*, as in (645). Furthermore, when several verbs are used to describe a series of interrelated actions, the connected action suffix occurs on all of them, as illustrated in (646).

(645) *Vóda-i-'ap dyi ahlí. Va-x-cóxi-m.*
lay^down-CON-2s ART child RLZ-ATR-sleep-DES
You should lay that child down; he's sleepy.

(646) *Jum-sava'da-'-iñ dyo (gu tacárui') na-p xi-mua-ɨy.*
2s-buy-FUT-1s PE ART chicken SUB-2s IMP-kill-CON

Gu ma'o-'n-ap xi-ɨqui-y guio gu jútu-'n.
ART head-3s-2s IMP-cut-CON and ART feet-3s

Xi-vapopga-i-'ap, puru tuc-ga'n-ap va' ba-ñ-biidyica-'.
IMP-pluck-CON-2s pure body-POS-2s then TWD-1s-bring-FUT
OK, I'll buy (the chicken) from you if you kill it, cut off its head and feet, pluck it, and bring me just the body (ready for cooking).

The more specific additive conjunction used only with clauses is the particle *cu*. When used by itself as a conjunction, this particle signals that the action in the preceding clause is what is necessary to ENABLE the action in the clause

introduced by *cu*. This implies that the action in the previous clause must also occur first temporally, but this is not the primary meaning conveyed. Rather, *cu* focuses on the fact that the previous action must occur first logically or else the succeeding action will not be possible as the speaker envisions it. Examples of the use of *cu* are given in (647) and (648).

(647) *Bai'-p xi-mimda-' gu ja'á cu jótom baiy-a' gu bav.*
TWD-2s IMP-burn-FUT ART pot so fast cook-FUT ART beans
Fire up that pot so the beans will cook fast.

(648) *Vávo-'-ich cavuimuc gu pres cu mu-va-jimi-a',*
take^out-FUT-1p tomorrow ART prisoner so AWY-RZL-go-FUT

na gu' vac cham jax-vua.
SUB but INF NEG how-do
Tomorrow we will let out the prisoner so he can go (home), since he hasn't done anything (wrong).

Although the meaning expressed by *cu* is similar to that expressed by the subordinating conjunctions of purpose, cause, and reason (§14.3), the enablement conjunction is not only more general but also implies a higher degree of continuity between the events than do the others (§15.2).[67]

This fact may explain why the particle *cu* also forms part of several other adverbial expressions, where its alleged use as a 'connector', i.e., inserted for ease of pronunciation, can, instead, be seen as semantically motivated. Expressions in which *cu* is used are listed in (649); two are illustrated in (650) and (651).

(649)

ni ji'x cu cham	'not at all'	*no' cu va'*	'if then'
sia cu (gu')	'even though'	*pui' cu va'*	'for this reason'
piam cu gu'	'or alternatively'	*para que cu*	'so that'
cu (ji) gu'	'but'	*ojalá cu*	'hopefully'
jax cu va'?	'why?'	*(n)usu cu*	'or else'
tu' cu va'?	'for what?'		

[67]In Tepecano (Mason 1916), *na* was a "weak" proclitic, occasionally used to introduce relatives, but more frequently occurring at the beginning of clauses "without apparent cause." In contrast, *cu* was "more forcible," sometimes introducing subordinate clauses, but more frequently used at the beginning of a clause, particularly at a "break in continuity." In Southeastern Tepehuan, the opposite situation holds; i.e., *na* is the ubiquitous STRONG subordinator, sometimes used to introduce new topics or themes, while *cu* is a WEAKER coordinating particle of various uses.

(650) *Pui' cu-m va' cham pic ca-jai'ch xiv (gu suismahl),*
thus SO-3p then NEG DIM TEM-exist now ART deer

na-m-it gu' vix va-ja-coy.
that-3p-PRF but all RLZ-3p-kill
That's why there aren't as many deer any more, because (nearly) all of them have all been killed.

(651) *Jax cu-p-ich va' chacuy tu-vop? Guíhlim*
how? SO-2s-PRF then not^yet EXT-weed very

jix-sa'i' gu-m gá.
ATR-grassy ART-2s cornfield
Why haven't you weeded yet? Your cornfield is full of grass.

All of the expressions in (649) are made up either of particles that are used elsewhere or of borrowed words. In each, *cu* serves as a linking element, to the extent that whenever the subject enclitic occurs with any of these expressions, it is always suffixed to *cu*. In this sense *cu* functions something like an inflectable auxiliary. This generalization is reinforced by its occurrence at the beginning of clauses expressing incredulity, as in (652).

(652) *Cux mo-x mu'muc a dyi-m u'ú na-t va'*
SO-ATR? DSC-ATR sharp CFR ART-2s arrows SUB-PRF then

mo bai' pu-quicvo bán dyi ta'mla.
DSC there SIM-stand on ART board
Your arrows are sharp, aren't they? They stuck in that board up there.

Two other additive conjunctions are used with either phrases or clauses. The particle *va'* is used to indicate that the situation described follows the previous situation either temporally or logically. That is, the clause in which it occurs describes a situation which is part of a SEQUENCE of which the preceding situation is also mentioned in the context. This sequence can be either of events, in which case it is temporally ordered, or of states, in which case it is logically ordered. Examples of the use of the sequence particle *va'* used by itself as a conjunction are given in (653)–(655).

(653) *Xi-vacuana-'-ap va' gu jóxia' no'-p-ich va-coi'-cho.*
IMP-wash-FUT-2S then ART dish CND-2S-PRF RLZ-eat-TERM
Please wash the dish when you finish eating.

(654) *Cavuimuc va-m-jugui-a' gu vacax, va-vusñi-a'*
tomorrow RLZ-RFL-eat-FUT ART meat RLZ-go^out-FUT

va' gu piasta.
then ART festival
Tomorrow we eat the (ritual) meat, and then the festival is over.

(655) *Tutur qui'n tu-juan gu chio'ñ, gu uví va'*
bulls with EXT-work ART man ART woman then

tu-baidy-im.
EXT-cook-DP
The man works with bulls, and the woman does the cooking.

As these examples illustrate, when *va'* is used alone as an additive conjunction, it does not introduce the clause; rather, it usually follows the verb, but also can follow a focused entity, as in (655). Furthermore, the temporal uses are more frequent than the logical uses, and both usually occur paired with another of the same type. That is, *va'* is not used to form long strings of sequences, but only to focus on specific sequential links.

But although the use of the sequential particle alone is frequent, more often than not it occurs in combination with another particle. Besides those expressions given in (649) above, *va'* also combines with the general subordinator *na* to form the purpose conjunction *na va'* (§14.3). As an additive conjunction, *va'* combines with *guio* to mean 'and then' in either the temporal or the logical sense. This combination is common in texts, to introduce the description of either successive items in a series, as in (656), or successive events in a narrative. Other combinations that are commonly used for the same purpose are *sap va'* 'then reportedly' and *mi (dyir) va'* 'from there then'.

(656) *"Guio va' gu túmiñ mummu-ñjup-jum-'aichuhldya-',"*
and then ART money there-1S REP-2S-deliver-FUT

ja'p sap titda "na-p pai' quio."
like REU told SUB-2S where live
"And I will also deliver the money to you (in addition to the animals)," he told him, "there where you live".

Zero conjunction is also used for additive coordination with either phrases or clauses. For instance, in long lists of nouns, the speaker will often revert to zero conjunction rather than repeat *guio* or *gam* with each one, as in (657). When clauses are joined without overt conjunction, it is an indication that the speaker assumes the relation between them is so obvious it need not be stated, as in (658).

(657) *Vixchu' tu-m-'a' na-ñ tu-via'-ca-' no'-ñ-ich*
everything EXT-RFL-want SUB-1S EXT-have-NPS-FUT CND-1S-PRF

va-sava'hl gu camionet: pinsas gam bomba, yávis, gátu,
RLZ-buy ART pickup pliers and pump keys jack

ripacciones . . .
parts
When (you) buy a truck, (you) need to have all (kinds of) things (to go with it), (such as) pliers, a pump, keys, a jack, spare parts, etc.

(658) *Jiñ-pahlvuidya-'-ap-añ jupsa-' dyi postis.*
1S-help-FUT-2S-1S remove-FUT ART posts

Jai'-ñ mi-chuttu-'.
others-1S there-stand-FUT
Please help me remove these posts. I (want to) put other ones in.

In (658) there are three clauses. The first two are linked without conjunction or drop in intonation, so that the pronoun referring to the subject of the second is phonologically suffixed to the subject enclitic of the first. This is the highest form of continuity possible between two events (§15.2). The second two are linked only by a slight pause and drop in intonation, indicated by the period.

13.2 Augmentative coordination

While conjunctions of additive coordination signal that there is a temporal or logical relation between the meanings of the conjoined units, conjunctions signaling augmentative coordination do not. That is, augmentative conjunctions signal that the link between the meanings is not a consequence of temporal of logical necessity; rather, they are an incidental association of otherwise opposite or incompatible meanings. Three particles of augmentative

coordination signal that the association is contrary to normal temporal or logical consequence, and three others indicate that the association is one of stating available options.

The most common conjunction used to signal a contrary association is *gu'*, which is used to conjoin clauses only. This conjunction occurs both alone and in combination with several other particles, but in each case the meaning it adds is that of ADVERSENESS. This can reflect contradiction, skepticism, or other negative connotations. By far the most common use of *gu'* is in combination with the general subordinating conjunction *na* to form *na gu'* 'because', which signals a break in continuity (§14.3). It also occurs in combination with other augmentative conjunctions (discussed below) and some modal particles; and it occasionally occurs alone or with the enablement particle *cu*. Examples of these last three uses of *gu'* are given in (659)–(662).

(659) *Parvan pix ji-m-duc dyi ma'ncam, tiy gu' guíhlim*
badly DIM INC-RFL-do ART person ATT but very

jir-jix-chumñigam.
EXS-ATR-rich
That person is very poorly dressed, although he is very rich.

(660) *Quia'pix-am-it va-ji-chu-vihl dyi cacarvax. Vac gu'*
recently-3p-PRF RLZ-INC-EXT-chew ART goats INF but

mo jix-cocma'n-'am.
DSC ATR-full-3p
These goats have just begun to chew their cuds. They must be full (of grass) by now.

(661) *Jotmoda'-p xi-bii-ra-y gu súdai', ap gu' gam*
quickly-2s IMP-carry-OBJ-CON ART water 2s but merely

dá. Bai' va-jim gu dúc.
sit TWD RLZ-go ART rain
You should go get some water quickly, not just sit there! The rain is coming.

(662) *Vaiñchuda-'-ap dyi-ñ cuxir. Jum-namquidya-'-iñ*
make^cover-FUT-2s ART-1s knife 2s-pay-FUT-1s

cu gu' no'-p-ich va-tɨ́mo ji.
so but CND-2s-PRF RLZ-finish EMP
Please make a (leather) cover for my knife. I will pay you, but not until you finish.

In (659) and (660), *gu'* occurs with the modal particles *tɨy* and *vac*; in (661) it occurs alone, and in (662) with *cu*. Each time it is glossed 'but' to indicate its general adversative meaning. In every case that *gu'* occurs in combination, that combination is used clause initially; but when *gu'* occurs alone, it often does not, as in (661). Other common combinations involving *gu'* are the conjunctions *no' gu'* 'but if', illustrated in (663), and *gu' ji na gu'* 'it's just that' (Sp. *nada más que*), illustrated in (664), and the interjections *dyo gu'* 'yes but' and *ah gu'* 'indeed' (§13.3).

(663) *No' gu' cham tu-juana-', añ dyo cham tu-juana-'.*
CND but NEG EXT-work-FUT 1s PE NEG EXT-work-FUT
If he doesn't work, I'm not going to work (either).

(664) *ɬhli'ch-dyi-m dɨr pu-ch-má (dyi ahlí), casɨ na-t*
little-DUR-DP from SIM-1p-give ART child, almost SUB-PRF

jax guɨy, gu' ji na gu' xiv na pai'dyuc va-r-guë',
how born but EMP SUB but now that when RLZ-EXS-big

guio-p va-'a', vaidyi-dya-' sap.
again-REP RLZ-want invite-DUR-FUT REU
They gave us (this child) when he was tiny, almost new-born, but now that he is grown they want him back again and are (reportedly) inviting him (to go with them).

Two other conjunctions are used to signal more specific contrary associations than *gu'*. One is the concessive particle *sia* 'even, although', which is probably borrowed from Spanish *sea* 'be (subjunctive)'. *Sia* is used to conjoin both phrases and clauses. When it links two phrases, it always occurs alone, as illustrated in (665) and (666); when it links two clauses, it occurs either alone or followed by *cu* 'so', as illustrated in (667) and (668). In the latter case, *gu'* (adversative) is sometimes used as well, as in (669).

(665) *(Gu totbav) ja-cua'-am gu u'ji' piam gu vapsic,*
ART chicken^hawk 3p-eat-3p ART birds or ART mice

sia gu pippihl-am ja-cua'.
even ART chicks-3p 3p-eat
Chicken hawks eat birds or mice; they even eat little chickens.

(666) *Guíhlim jix-bai'-x ñia gu mistuiñ sia tuca' ja'c.*
very ATR-good-ATR see ART cat even night time
Cats see very well even at night.

(667) *Sia-m vavat oi'dya' gu mímiv, mu-tisdi-ji dyo*
although-3p steep live ART bees AWY-go^up-CON PE

(gu jov), ja-juguioca-'.
ART opossum 3p-eat^up-FUT
Although the bees live high up, the opossum will climb up there and eat them.

(668) *No'-r jix-jip-quir, cham ji'xcat ípoñi-a' gu duy*
CND-EXS ATR-cold-place NEG never sprout-FUT ART plum

sia cu-ñ-ich tiy daray.
even SO-1s-PRF ATT plant
Plums will never grow in a cold climate, even if you try hard to plant them.

(669) *Puy ípon dyi son sia cu gu' va-'iqui-x.*
still grow ART stump even so but RLZ-cut-RP
This stump is still sprouting although it's cut (off).

The other conjunction signaling a specific contrary association is (exclusive) *day* 'just'. The presence of this conjunction at the beginning of a phrase or clause indicates that there is some consideration that needs to be brought to the hearer's attention that will alter his conception of the situation so far described. This could be a potential situation that may occur in connection with the situation currently being described, or it could be a hitherto unmentioned entity or setting element that the speaker wants to bring into his description to balance it. In either case, the meaning is augmentative because the speaker does not view the information he adds as an inherent part of the situation, but as a help in eliminating some alternative interpretations.

As with *sia* 'although', *day* 'just' occurs alone with phrases, as illustrated in (670) and (671), but is followed by another conjunction, in this case, the general subordinator *na*, when used with clauses, as illustrated in (672)–(674). In (674), *day ji* is followed by the subordinating reason conjunction *na gu'* in a combination that adds extra emphasis to the exclusive meaning.

(670) *Ua'ma-im-'ich. Day jác-ach cua'.*
starve-DP-1p just toasted^corn-1p eat
We're starving; we just have toasted corn to eat.

(671) *Day bai' dy̧r Susba'n-tam para ba-ja'c jix-chu-va',*
just there from frogs-place toward TWD-DIR ATR-EXT-wet

pero para gamm̧j̧ ja'c attiro-x tu-gac.
but toward farther DIR distant-ATR EXT-dry
It's wet only on this side of Frog Town, but on the other side it's all dry.

(672) *Tu-tan-m̧r gu ripresco̧s mu-tianda. Day na-p*
EXT-order-OBJ ART sodas there-store just SUB-2p

mo cham m̧quidya-'. Ahlio-'ap mo.
DSC NEG delay-FUT hurry-2s DSC
Go to the store and get some sodas, but don't take a long time. Do it fast!

(673) *Va-cu'a'ñ-cho-ñ-ich dyo. Day na-ñ ui'ca-'*
RLZ-get^firewood-TERM-1s-PRF PE just SUB-1s carry-FUT

mu-ñ qui'am.
there-1s home
I finished gathering firewood alright. I just need to take it back home.

(674) *Ja'p tu'm na gu vas̨c (gu jov), day ji na gu'*
like looks SUB ART mouse ART opossum just EMP SUB but

guë' iam palp, tëv gu bai-'ñ.
big more little long ART tail-3s
The opossum looks like a mouse, only it's a little bigger and has a long(er) tail.

Three conjunctions are used to show that the connection between two conjoined phrases or clauses is one of alternative selection. One of these, the interrogative alternative conjunction *ca'*, is limited to questions (§9.12). Another, *ja'pi* is even less common; its use is restricted to direct contradiction of an interlocutor, as in (675).

(675) *Ja'pi na-p ba-vaidy-ica-' ji. Ach ya' ńra-'.*
contrary SUB-2s TWD-invite-TRNS-FUT EMP 1p here wait-FUT
Rather, you must bring him here. We'll be waiting.

In contrast, the general conjunction *piam* (alternative) means that the phrases or clauses so linked are clear alternatives in the mind of the speaker. When linking phrases, it usually occurs alone, as illustrated in (676); when linking clauses it usually is followed by either *cu (gu')* or *na*, as illustrated in (677) and (678).

(676) *Gu cupahl jir-juc gu osa'm-ga-'n piam var-ga-'n gu u'ux.*
ART incense EXS-pine ART pitch-STS-3s ALT sap-STS-3s ART trees
Incense is (made from) pine pitch or the sap of (other) trees.

(677) *Piam cu gu' mi-dyá (gu quio-cam), dyo gu' bai' ji-bïiy-a'*
ALT SO but there-sit ART live-one INJ but TWD INC-get-FUT

dyo gu caraviñ, mu'a-' dyo güi'. Piam cu gu' cham, dyo
PE ART rifle kill-FUT PE DEM ALT SO but NEG INJ

gu' ja-juguioca-' dyo (gu tobav) vix na-m ji'c
but 3p-eat^up-FUT PE ART hawk all SUB-3p how^many

mi-pai' oipoda'.
there-where walk-DUR-FUT
Or if (the homeowner) is there, then he will grab his rifle and kill him. Or if not, then (the chicken hawk) will eat up all (the chicks) that are there.

(678) *Na pai'dyuc múqui-x-ca-' gu-ch chat, mo-x xidyú na-ch*
SUB where die-RP-NPS-FUT ART-1p father DSC-ATR taboo SUB-1p

jiññac-da-', piam na-ch vatvia-da-', piam na-ch
shout-DUR-FUT ALT SUB-1p bathe-DUR-FUT ALT SUB-1p

tu-jiquiac-da-', piam na-ch cavay cha'm oiri-da-'.
EXT-chop-DUR-FUT ALT SUB-1p horse on walk-DUR-FUT
While Our Father is (ritually) dead, it's forbidden to shout, or bathe, or chop (wood), or ride a horse.

It is not clear why the subordinator *na* occurs with other coordinating conjunctions, like *guio*, *day*, and *piam*. It may have to do with its general pervasiveness throughout the language (§14); or it may be that the combinations in which it occurs are somehow not the same type of coordination as the others. The same observation could also be made about the use of *cu*, 'so' with several coordinating conjunctions, like (649) above. Since both are very short, and since both serve both as general and as specific conjunctions, they may be good examples of fully grammaticized, and thus very generalized, morphemes (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985).

13.3 Interjective coordination

The additive and augmentative conjunctions discussed in the previous two sections occur in all types of discourse in Southeastern Tepehuan, both monologue and dialogue. The interjective particles discussed in this section, however, normally occur only in conversation. That is, they mean that the speaker is responding to or initiating an interchange with someone else. Only the three most commonly used particles are described here, two of which serve other functions in the language as well.

First, the particle *ea* is used to express ANTICIPATION. It is used both at or near the beginning of clauses and as the introductory element of several frozen phrases. When it introduces a clause with verbs in the first person, its meaning is that of intention (§9.31). That is, the speaker states his intention to carry out an action as an expression of his anticipation of obtaining the desired results. When the verb is in the second person, the meaning can be either immediate command or immediate request (§9.14). That is, the speaker's anticipation to have the command or request carried out comes across as indicating urgency on his part. When the third person is used, however, no other meaning but that of anticipation is expressed, as in (679) and (680).

(679) *Mo-p vóda-' dyi tová. Ea no'-m-ɨt cham tatquɨ.*
DSC-2S incubate-FUT ART turkey INJ CND-3P-PRF NEG hatch
Try incubating that turkey. See if the eggs won't hatch.

(680) *Ea no'-m podéro-' dyi'-ñi na-m ja-tɨgui-a' güi'.*
INJ CND-3P be able DEM-PRE SUB-3P 3P-find-FUT DEM
Let's see if these (children) can find those.

The meaning of anticipation is also expressed in several frozen phrases commonly used in conversation, among which are *ea cu gui* 'very good; fine', *ea na pui' tu'i'ca'* 'agreed; let it be so', and *ea mi'x máti'* 'we'll see what happens'.

Second, the particle *dyo* is used to emphasize that the situation is being described from the speaker's viewpoint. It is used both at the beginning of a clause and after the first phrase of a clause. When it is used after a phrase, its meaning is that of perceived evidence (§9.22). That is, the speaker, by placing the particle after a noun, adverb, or verb phrase emphasizes that from his viewpoint, that aspect of the situation is uncontestable, since he verifies it with his physical senses. When *dyo* is used at the beginning of the clause, however, the speaker's viewpoint is taken as opinion instead. That is, when the speaker introduces his description of a situation with the viewpoint particle, he is indicating that he is offering his own assessment or conviction in the matter, as illustrated in (681) and (682).

(681) *a. Pa-p duc guio bai'-p va-'oirɨ?*
where-2S sun again TWD-REP RLZ-walk
When will you come again?

b. Dyo no' guio-p va-r-'o'rabac na-ñ va' cham
INJ CND again-REP RLZ-EXS-harvest SUB-1S then NEG

uama-'.
starve-FUT
Why, when it's harvest time again, so I won't starve.

(682) *Dyo añ ma'n-im jí mu-ja'p u'x-chɨr na-ñ-ich ma-ñ-xávu-m.*
INJ 1S one-time go AWY-DIR trees-in SUB-1S-PRF DST-1S-fast-OBJ
Well, once I went off into the forest to fast.

The viewpoint particle also occurs as an interjection in combination with the adversative particle *gu'* and the subordinating particle *na*. The combination

dyo gu' means that the speaker is being modest about stating his opinion. This is illustrated in (683), which is the polite response to the cultural greeting 'rest yourself awhile'. How different in meaning the combination *dyo na* is is not clear, but it may also be a means of making the speaker's opinion seem more unassuming. This is illustrated in (684), which is a polite way of introducing a statement of opinion.

(683) *Dyo gu' añ ya' va-ñ-ɟɨpi'ñ ji.*
INJ but 1S here RLZ-1S-rest EMP
Well, I'm already resting here.

(684) *Dyo na-ñ ja'p jam-ɨida-'.*
INJ SUB-1S like 2P-say-FUT
Well, I'm going to tell you (PL) something.

Third, the particle *ah* is used to ACKNOWLEDGE what the speaker's interlocutor has just said or done. This interjection, which is borrowed from Spanish, is used extensively in Southeastern Tepehuan to preface a remark, especially when the speaker is in agreement with what was said or approves of what was done. It can occur both alone and in combination with other particles, most often *dyo (gu')*, as illustrated in (685)–(687).

(685) *Ah, va-ɨii-p-ich gu-m camis gu xiv-cam.*
INJ RLZ-put^on-2S-PRF ART-2S shirt ART now-one
Oh, you put on your new shirt!

(686) *Ah dyo sɨhlcam, vɨix ba-ja-'ay ji. Añ ja'p jiñ-'a'*
INJ INJ correct all up-3P-fit EMP 1S like 1S-want

na-m cham ba-ja-'aiy-a' vɨix.
SUB-3P NEG up-3P-fit-FUT all
Oh, I see, they all DID fit! I thought they wouldn't all fit.

(687) a. *Tu'-pim jaxvua?*
what?-2P do
What are you (PL) doing?

b. *Ah dyo gu' ach ya' tu-vipi-a' ji dyi casnir.*
INJ INJ but 1P here EXT-guard-FUT EMP ART sheep
Oh, we're just here taking care of these sheep.

The particle *ah* is also used as part of several frozen phrases denoting assent, such as *ah dyox bai'* 'oh, that's fine', *ah pui' dyo* 'oh, yes, of course', *ah gu' pu'jani jia* 'oh, really!', and *ah ea cu gui* 'ok, fine; great'. Furthermore, it is often used in folktales as the signal that another speaker is taking his turn, as in (688). This is necessary when two interlocutors have several exchanges in succession; the narrator can pause to help disambiguate who is speaking to whom.

(688) *"Ah," sap va'-p cai'ch gu buru'x. "Dyo gu' no'-p*
INJ REU then-REP speak ART donkey INJ but CND-2s

añ jup-jiñ-bi̱ica-' mummu na-ñ-ich pai' dyi̱r
1s REP-1s-carry-FUT there SUB-1s where from

ba-m-bi̱c jano'," ja'p sap ti̱tda.
TWD-2s-carry that^time like REU told

"Oh", said the donkey. "Well, OK, if you will take me back to where I brought you from," he told him.

14
Subordination

When the meanings of two clauses are linked in such a way that one is viewed as having less semantic relevance to the speaker's communicative purpose, then the relation of that clause to the other is one of SUBORDINATION. This relation is signaled by the use of a subordinating conjunction, showing that one clause is to be interpreted as bearing the MODIFIER relation to the other. This contrasts with the relation of coordination in which both units bear the HEAD relation to each other (§13).

There are four types of subordinating conjunctions in Southeastern Tepehuan, all of which occur at the beginning of the subordinated clause. A RELATIVE conjunction signals that the clause that follows contains information that modifies the noun phrase immediately preceding it. The relative pronoun is either the general subordinating particle *na* alone, or *na* followed by a qualifying word (§13.1). A SPATIAL-TEMPORAL conjunction signals that the information in the clause that follows modifies the meaning of the preceding or succeeding clause as to specifics of time and place. These conjunctions all begin with *na* and are followed by another particle (§13.2). A LOGICAL conjunction signals that the information in the clause that follows further modifies that of the preceding clause by specifying reason, purpose, or manner. These conjunctions also all begin with *na* and are followed by another particle (§13.3). A COMPLEMENT conjunction signals that the information in the clause that follows modifies that of the preceding or succeeding clause by describing a situation that is either simultaneous with or potentially subsequent to the situation described in the modified clause. Complement clauses are always introduced by *na* alone (§13.4).

The most striking fact about the morphology of subordination in Southeastern Tepehuan is that EVERY subordinating conjunction begins with the particle *na*, which I refer to as the GENERAL SUBORDINATING PARTICLE;

moreover, in many cases, *na* is the ONLY subordinating conjunction used. Furthermore, in all cases the subject enclitic is suffixed to *na*, whether or not another particle is combined with it. These facts indicate that this particle is both broad in scope and central to the use of subordination in this language. Elsewhere (T. Willett 1983, 1987) I explored the pervasiveness of this particle in discourse, attempting to fit its various uses into both the traditional notions of foregrounding and backgrounding and the newer notion of textual macrostructure. In §15.2, I contrast this type of analysis of the use of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in Southeastern Tepehuan with a much different explanation that seems to better establish the context in which the meaning of *na* can be interpreted.

14.1 Relative subordination

Relative clauses in Southeastern Tepehuan are of two kinds—restrictive and nonrestrictive. Restrictive clauses, in which a demonstrative pronoun occurs before the relativizing particle *na* (§11.24), are the most common. Nonrestrictive relative clauses are introduced by *na* alone; these are discussed first here.

NONRESTRICTIVE relative clauses in Southeastern Tepehuan are those in which NEW INFORMATION is given about a referent, the identity of which the speaker presupposes is already known to the hearer (Thompson 1971). Sentences containing this type of relative clause, always have the same structure: noun phrase + *na* + clause, where the general subordinating particle *na* is the relativizer. Nonrestrictive relatives are thus used in the case that the speaker wants to supply nonidentifying information about the referent, as illustrated in (689) and (690).

(689) *Bai'-p xi-ñ-b̶i̶idya-y gu-ñ sa'ua na bammi̶ pup*
TWD-2s IMP-1s-bring-CON ART-1s blanket that there just

dá na-p pai' quio.
sit that-2s where live
Please bring me my blanket that is still at your house.

(690) *Jir-'ap-ga'n a dyi troca na mi'-ñi quic̶?*
EXS-2s-NPS-POS CFR ART truck that there-PRE stand
Is that your truck standing there?

RESTRICTIVE relative clauses are those that have a demonstrative pronoun before the relativizer *na*, signaling the meaning 'the one that' or 'those

that'. This type of relative clause is used whenever the speaker explicitly states the IDENTIFYING INFORMATION which he presupposes the hearer uses to distinguish the unique referent (Thompson 1971). This is the more common type of relative clause used in Southeastern Tepehuan. It can be used following a noun phrase, i.e., article plus noun, as in (691) and (692), or as a HEADLESS relative, as in (693) and (694).

(691) *Cócos-'ap dyi ta'mlas dyi' na-x io'm*
take^off-2s ART boards DEM SUB-ATR very

va-x-caconvi'ñ, jai'-p ba-sissapa-'.
RLZ-ATR-rotten others-2s there-affix-FUT
Take down those boards that are really rotten and put up some other ones.

(692) *Gúpuca tac gu timcahl güi' na-ñ-ich tacav tu-dú.*
harden UNI ART tortilla DEM that-1s-PRF yesterday EXT-make
The tortillas that I made yesterday already got hard.

(693) *Cham mat-'ap na-r jaroi'-dya-' güi' na ti-'ixi'ñ*
NEG know-2s SUB-EXS who-DUR-FUT DEM SUB EXT-rob

ya-ja'p gu vác?
here-area ART cow
Do you know who it is that is robbing cows around here?

(694) *Jiñ-biidyica-'-ap dyi' na-x javoc. Dyi' na-x*
1s-carry^for-FUT-2s DEM that-ATR light DEM that-ATR

vit va' añ dihl biica-'.
heavy then 1s alone carry-FUT
Please carry the light thing(s) for me. I will carry the heavy one(s).

An example contrasting the use of restrictive relative clause with a nonrestrictive relative clause is given in (695). The restrictive relative is last in the sentence and begins with the demonstrative *güi'*; the nonrestrictive relative follows the nouns *vaiñum* 'brand' and begins with *na*. This sentence was uttered as part of the response to an inquiry, addressed to the speaker of (695), about whether a certain bull, visible at the time, is the one he supposedly lost. His reply is "no", since the bull that is visible does not have his brand on it. Thus the fact that the brand to be drawn is that of the speaker is presupposed in (695), requiring the use of a nonrestrictive

relative after *vaiñum*, while the new information added is that a different bull (not the one visible) wears that brand. In contrast, the fact that the bull bearing that brand is the lost one is identifying information, requiring the use of a restrictive relative after *tur*.

(695) *Cha'-p via' ma'n gu u'uan na-ñ mi-m-jupñi-dya-'*
NEG-2S have one ART paper that-1S LOC-2S-draw-APL-FUT

gu vaiñum na das gu tur güi' na-ñ-ich mai'vua?
ART iron that put ART bull DEM that-1S-PRF lose
Don't you have a piece of paper for me to draw you (a picture) of the brand on the bull that I lost?

Sometimes another word is used after *na* to further modify the head noun by restricting it to, say, a certain number or position. Examples of three common such uses are given in (696)–(698). In (696), a headless relative follows a noun that it does not modify; since the relative beginning *na ji'c* refers to a countable quantity, it cannot refer to the noun *ja'tcam* 'people', which is uncountable, but to the aforementioned oaks, which are countable (§5.2). The relatives *na qui'n* 'with which' in (697) and *na bán* 'on which' in (698), however, do follow the nouns they modify. Other less commonly used combinations are *na jaroi'* 'who', *na jax chu'm* 'which', and *na tu'* 'what'.

(696) *Cham pic ca-tua' ya' Juc-tir. Vix va-'ia'rai-m-it gu*
NEG DIM TEM-oak here pine-in all RLZ-cut^down-3P-PRF ART

ja'tcam güi' na ji'c mia'n ca-túti-t.
people DEM SUB how^many near TEM-stand-PI
There aren't many oak trees left here in Pine Grove; people have cut down those that used to be nearby.

(697) *Om gu sirruch na-ñ qui'n ca-jiquiac gu ta'mla.*
break ART saw SUB-1S with TEM-saw ART board
The saw that I was cutting the board with broke.

(698) *Mi' ji-vá gu co' vita'n dyi joday na-p bán dá.*
there INC-enter ART snake under ART rock SUB-2S on sit
A snake just went under the rock you're sitting on.

Occasionally a relative clause is formed by placing the qualifying word BEFORE *na* to indicate INDEFINITE reference. In this case, the qualifying word

acts as a pseudo-head and *na* acts as the relative pronoun. This form of the relative is used when the speaker does not want to specify an entity distinctly, but prefers to make an indefinite reference to it only by specifying its general nature. For instance, instead of using the relative pronoun *na jaroi'* 'who', the speaker would use *jaroi' na* 'someone who', as in (699). In (700), a similar example is given involving *jaxchu'm na* 'whatever one that' following a noun. Another common indefinite relative is *tu' na* 'something that'.

(699) *Na pai'dyuc ji-jurñi-a' gu xiotahl, umua'ñdya-'-am*
SUB when INC-get^late-FUT ART festival request^help-FUT-3p

jaroi' na-x mátɨt guɨv gu gat na va' tu-sasvia-'.
someone SUB-ATR know hit ART bow SUB then EXT-play-FUT
On the last day of (lit. when it gets late) the sacred festival, they get someone who knows how to play the musical bow.

(700) *Ma'n-ap jiñ-chaiñvuidya-' gu-m cavai-' jaxchu'm*
one-2s 1s-lend-FUT ART-2s horse-STS whatever^one

na-x mamsu-'.
SUB-ATR tame-TND
Please lend me one of your horses, whichever one is tame (enough).

In the above instances, the pronoun was indefinite, but the speaker had in mind some SPECIFIC entity. When he prefers to make the reference UNSPECIFIC, then the qualifying pronoun, adverb, or adjective is followed by both *na* and the diminutive particle *pɨx* (§12.4). A list of such unspecific, indefinite expressions is given in (701), including those formed from spatio-temporal and logical subordinating conjunctions. An unspecific indefinite relative pronoun is illustrated in (702); others are illustrated in the corresponding sections below.

(701) *jaroi' na pɨx* 'whoever' *pai' na pɨx ja'c* 'whatever direction'
tu' na pɨx 'whatever' *pai' na pɨx dyuc* 'whenever'
jax na pɨx chu'm 'whichever' *jax na pɨx* 'however'
pai' na pɨx 'wherever' *jax na pɨx ja'c* 'in whatever way'

(702) *Tu' na pɨx jix-ñá gu vaisɨhl.*
what SUB DIM ATR-like^to^eat ART badger
The badger likes to eat (almost) anything.

14.2 Spatial-temporal subordination

Two types of subordinate clauses in Southeastern Tepehuan give modifying information about the spatial and temporal aspects of the situation described. These take the same form as relative clauses, except that a noninterrogative form of the spatial or temporal question word (§3.33) follows the general subordinating particle *na*. The resulting clauses can be used either to modify a locative or temporal adverb, or they can be used as headless modifiers in the same way that relative clauses are used without demonstrative pronouns.

Subordinate clauses specifying LOCATION or DIRECTION are introduced by the spatial conjunction *na pai'* 'where'. These are used to modify either an immediately preceding locative or directional adverb, as in (703) and (704), or a location or direction established elsewhere in the previous clause, as in (705) and (706).

(703) *Jir-gay bai' na pai' quic dyi va'ac.*
EXS-slope there SUB where stand ART house
It's a slope there where that house is.

(704) *Mi' dá chi gu-x cai' mi' na pai' tu-'opicína-'.*
there sit DBT ART-ATR governor there SUB where OWN-office-STS
I wonder if the (tribal) governor is in (lit. there where he has) his office.

(705) *Bijí ji-vá gu bo'mcox na pai' di' dyi tua.*
TWD INC-enter ART squirrel SUB where hole ART oak
The squirrel went into a hole in the oak tree.

(706) *Vási'ndir-ap ja-do'ñcho-' gu vác na pai'-x sa'i'.*
other^side-2S 3P-leave-FUT ART cows SUB where-ATR grassy
Please take the cows to the other side where it's grassy.

Reference to an INDEFINITE location or direction can be made by the same two types of constructions employed with relative clauses (§14.1). That is, the qualifying spatial word can be used as a psuedo-head previous to *na*, as in (707), or an indefinite locative adverb can be used, as in (708).

(707) *Pai' na-x sa'i'-ch mo ṫiviapo-' na-m va' cham*
where SUB-ATR grassy-1p DSC stay-FUT SUB-3p then NEG

ua'ma-' gu-ch cacvai-'.
starve ART-1p horses-STS
We should spend the night where it is grassy so our horses won't die of hunger.

(708) *Pai' na ṗix ja'c jix-joi'ñ dyi buru'x. Cham ov*
where SUB DIM DIR ATR-like ART donkey NEG quickly

ṫigui-a'-iñ no'-ñ-ich ṫiy va-gága-m.
find-FUT-1s CND-1s-PRF ATT RLZ-look^for-OBJ
This donkey likes to wander off anywhere (he can).
I don't find him quickly when I go looking for him.

Subordinate clauses specifying TIME are introduced by the temporal conjunction *na pai'dyuc*.[68] These are sometimes used to modify a preceding temporal adverb, as in (709), but more often are used alone to establish the time reference for a situation, as in (710) and (711).

(709) *Jano' na pai'dyuc jum-cambiar gu-x cai',*
that^time SUB when RFL-change ART-ATR governor

mui' mi-m-jumpa'n-'am gu ja'tcam Juc-ṫir.
many there-RFL-gather-3p ART people pine-in
At the time that they change the (tribal) governor, many people gather in Pine Grove.

(710) *Ṫicca-'-ap gu Juan na pai'dyuc va-r-jimda-m para Corian.*
ask-FUT-2s ART John SUB when RLZ-EXS-go-DES to Durango
Please ask John when he wants to leave for Durango City.

(711) *Víx-apim gugúqui-a' na pai'dyuc ya-'aiy-a' gu pahl.*
all-2p stand-FUT SUB when here-arrive-FUT ART priest
Please all stand up when the priest comes.

[68]The form *pai' dyuc* 'when', literally means where 'the sun is (in the sky)'. Since the noninterrogative form cited here is never split by the subject enclitic, it is written as one word. The interrogative form *pá duc* (§9.12), however, is written as two words, since the subject enclitic always occurs suffixed to *pá*.

There is no indefinite subordinating expression for time as there is for location and direction. Rather, when *na pai'dyuc* is used at the beginning of a clause, as in (712), it usually indicates more indefiniteness than when it is used after the verb, i.e., in a subordinate clause. The corresponding indefinite adverb for time is *pai' na pix dyuc*, illustrated in (713). Also, the logical subordinating conjunction *na jax* (§14.3) sometimes is used in reference to an uncertain time, in which case it has the meaning 'as soon as' or 'at the moment that', as in (714).

(712) *Na pai'dyuc ja'c jimi-a' gu tiva', bai' ji-chatoiñqui-a'.*
SUB when DIR go-FUT ART cloud TWD INC-get^hot-FUT
When(ever) the cloud moves, it's going to get hot!

(713) a. *Pá-pim duc guio bai'-p va-paxiar?*
where?-2s sun again TWD-REP RLZ-visit
When will you (PL) come to visit again?

b. *Pai' na pix dyuc dyo. Cham dáxix-cam na-ch*
where SUB DIM sun PE NEG establish-one SUB-1p

guio ya-ja'p jup-va-ch-chigui-a'.
again here-area REP-RLZ-1p-find-FUT
Whenever. There's no set time for us to see each other again.

(714) *Am cacpañi-a' gu cacarva-'n gu guioda' na jax*
fully clap-FUT ART wings-3s ART dove SUB how

ji-dyai'y-a'.
INC-fly-FUT
A dove's wings make a clapping noise when it takes off.

14.3 Logical subordination

Three types of subordinate clauses in Southeastern Tepehuan give modifying information about the logical aspects of the situation described. These all take the same form as relatives and spatial-temporal subordinate clauses, except that the appropriate logical qualifying word follows the general subordinating particle *na*. One type of logical subordinate clause expresses the reason that a situation occurs, another signals the purpose for its occurrence, and the other indicates the manner in which it occurs.

Subordinate clauses specifying the REASON for the occurrence of a given situation are introduced by the conjunction *na gu'* 'because'. This conjunction is the combination of the general subordinating particle *na* plus the adversative particle *gu'*, which as a coordinating conjunction means 'but' (§13.2). This combination is used to introduce subordinate clauses that state the reason why a given situation occurs, thus expressing the meaning 'because', as illustrated in (715)–(717).

(715) *Mui'-m co' gu animalis tábac ja'c na gu'*
many-3p die ART animals dry^season time SUB but

attiro tu' ga'qui, nichchu' súdai' cu pai' jai'ch-ca-'.
utterly what dry nothing water so where exist-NPS-FUT
Many animals die during the dry season because it dries up severely; there isn't any water anywhere.

(716) *Ja-qui'vñi-dya-'-ap gu xixpihl dyi mataima'n na-m*
3p-chew-APL-FUT-2s ART chicks ART boiled^corn SUB-3p

gu' chacuy ba' gu e'nter.
but not^yet swallow ART whole^PL
Chew the corn gruel for the chicks (before feeding it to them), because they can't yet swallow whole (grain).

(717) *Ya' añ jir-jiñ-dyivir, na-ñ gu' vajic dir ya' ti-'is.*
here 1s EXS-1s-land SUB-1s but long^ago from here EXT-plant
This is my land, because I have been planting here since long ago.

The combination of *na* and *gu'* is also part of two complex coordinating conjunctions, *gu' ji na gu'* and *day ji na gu'* both of which mean roughly '(but) it's just that'. The example given in (718) shows the latter of these used in the same context as the coordinating conjunction *cu gu'* 'but' and the subordinating conjunction *na gu'* 'because'.

(718) *Jup-cai'ch-'am sia cu-ñ-ich tɨy va-mú, cu gu' sap*
REP-say-3p even SO-1s-PRF ATT RLZ-die so but REU

ya-'oirɨ-da-'-iñ. Day ji na gu' cham jaroi'
here-walk-DUR-FUT-1s just EMP SUB but NEG someone

ca-ñ-ñii'ñdya-' na-ñ gu' va-x-'uan-ca-'.
TEM-1s-look^at-FUT SUB-1s but RLZ-ATR-pure-NPS-FUT
It is said that after I die I will still walk around here. But no one will see me (then), because I will be in a purified state.

Subordinate clauses specifying the PURPOSE of the occurrence of a given situation are introduced by the conjunction *na va'* 'so that'. This conjunction is the combination of the general subordinating particle *na* plus the sequential particle *va'*, which as a coordinating conjunction means 'then' (§13.1). This combination is used to introduce subordinate clauses that state the purpose for the existence of a given situation, as illustrated in (719)–(721).

(719) *Mi' xi-sonbia gu co'cohl. Vɨnda-'-ap gu sospocahl*
LOC IMP-grind ART chili mix-FUT-2s ART green^tomato

na va'-x i'ov-ca-'.
SUB then-ATR delicious-NPS-FUT
Grind up the chili and mix it with some green tomatoes so it will taste (really) good.

(720) *Tɨcca-'-ap no' ga'ra na-p va' tañi-a'.*
ask-FUT-2s CND sell SUB-2s then order-FUT
Ask him if he is selling it so you can buy it.

(721) *Xi-ja-'i-ch-dya-i-'ap dyi cacvay gu súdai'*
IMP-3p-drink-CAUS-APL-CON-2s ART horses ART water

na-m va' cham tonco-'.
SUB-3p then NEG thirst-FUT
Give these horses some water to drink so they won't die of thirst.

In all these examples the verb in the subordinate clause is in the future tense, indicating that the situation given as the purpose is predicted to occur subsequent to speech time. This is the most common use of the conjunction *na va'*. Sometimes, however, the verb that follows it is in the

present tense, in which case the meaning is that the speaker is unsure of the purpose of a situation presently occurring, as in (722). When *na va'* is used at the beginning of the utterance, as in (723), the speaker leaves unspoken the preceeding thought 'I don't understand'.

(722) *Na pai'dyuc io'm va-x-ca'oc na-m va' tɨy*
SUB when very RLZ-ATR-sick that-3P then ATT

va-rimédio-tu-'n. Jax dyuì-p ca-dudyi-a'?
RLZ-treatment-CAUS?-DUR how? do-REP TEM-heal-FUT
When he is really sick they (start to) try getting him treated. How can he possibly get better (that way)?

(723) *Na-p va'-p cai'ch na-p cham ná gu mansan!*
SUB-2S then-REP speak SUB-2S NEG like ART apple
And you say that you don't like (to eat) apples!

The meaning of purpose is different from that of both intention and objective (§9.31). Intention is limited to first person and signals the speaker's own intent to perform a particular action. In contrast, the meaning of purpose is not limited to either to first person or to actions, but can describe any situation in any person. Objective is also limited to actions, and is further limited in that it always implies that the agent goes to another location to perform the action. In contrast, the meaning of purpose is not limited either to actions or to andative or venitive meanings, but can describe any situation in any location. Thus the meaning of purpose, conveyed in a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *na va'*, is more general than either of the other two. It expresses the intended outcome of an action by stating what situation can or will result from it. The only restriction on this type of clause is that it does not occur in the past tense, since that would no longer be stating an intended purpose but an accomplished fact.[69]

Subordinate clauses specifying the MANNER of occurrence of a given situation are introduced by the conjunction *na jax*. This conjunction is the combination of the general subordinating particle *na* plus the qualifying manner word(s) *jax (ja'c)* 'how'. This combination is used to introduce subordinate clauses that state the manner in which a given situation occurs, thus expressing the meaning 'how' or 'in what way', as illustrated in (724)–(726).

[69]The description of an intended purpose that was not accomplished can be expressed using the future tense, the conditional mode, and the counterfactual particle *guit* (§9.13).

(724) *Ni-jɨ'x cu-m cham jiñ-jɨgui'ñ na-ñ jax ja-chɨtda.*
not-how^much SO-3P NEG 1S-believe SUB-1S how 3P-tell
They didn't believe anything of what I told them.

(725) *Va-tu-'a'gu-idya-m-ach-ich gu jois. Aver na jax*
RLZ-EXT-talk-APL-OBJ-1P-PRF ART judge a^ver SUB how

jup-xi-'ɨhli'ñ.
REP-IMP-think
We went to talk to the (tribal) judge. (It remains) to be seen what he will think (about it).

(726) *Cavuimuc-añ guio bai'-p va-jim na-p*
tomorrow-1S again TWD-REP RLZ-go SUB-2S

jiñ-'águ-i'ñ-dya-' na jax ja'c jum-vua gu súmas.
1S-talk-APL-DUR-FUT SUB how way RFL-do ART sums
Tomorrow I'll come again for you to explain to me how to do (mathematical) addition.

The combination *na jax* also occurs in several idiomatic expressions related to the way a situation occurs or is expected to occur or not occur. The most common of these are illustrated in examples (727)–(730). The form *na jax dyúji* in (729) has a corresponding interrogative form commonly used as a tag question to express the futility of the situation, as in (730).

(727) *Cham mat-'iñ na jax jir-jum-dú-cam dyi' pui'.*
NEG know-1S SUB how EXS-RFL-happen-one DEM thus
I don't know the significance of this (happening).

(728) *Ea na jax pɨc tu-tu'i'-ca-'.*
INJ SUB how DIM EXT-be^like-NPS-FUT
We'll see what it's (going to be) like.

(729) *Cham tu' via'-iñ (gu túmiñ) na-ñ jax dyú-ji*
NEG what have-1S ART money SUB-1S how do-CON

jum-taiñvuidya-'.
2S-lend-FUT
I don't have any (money) to lend you.

(730) *Cham vìa'-iñ gu túmin, jax dyu-y?*
NEG have-1S ART money how? way-CON
I don't have any money, so how can I (lend you any)?

Although each of the expressions built around *na jax* in (727)–(730) indicate a certain degree of indefiniteness, the only fully indefinite form of this subordinate conjunction is the corresponding indefinite adverb *jax ña pɨx (ja'c)*, meaning 'however' or 'in whatever manner (possible)', as in (731).

(731) *Dyo gu' ap ji va'-p tɨ'y-a'. Jax ña pɨx jigu'.*
INJ but 2S EMP then-REP say-FUT how SUB DIM EMP
Well, YOU say. Whatever (you want is fine with me).

14.4 Complement subordination

The types of subordination discussed in the previous three sections account for most, but not all, of the instances of the use of subordinate conjunctions in Southeastern Tepehuan. There are three other types of subordinate clauses whose only conjunction is the general subordinating particle *na*. One of these uses is as an object complement of verbs that takes clauses as objects. The other two uses are comparable to nonfinite clauses in English; one is used to describe a situation that occurs simultaneously with another situation, and the other is used to describe a potential situation that could occur subsequent to another.

Many verbs in Southeastern Tepehuan take a clause as direct object, such as verbs of perception, speaking, and causation.[70] In all cases the object clause is introduced by the general subordinating particle *na*, to which the subject enclitic is obligatorily attached (§11.21). Otherwise, the syntax of the complement clause, as with all other subordinate clauses, is the same as in nonsubordinate clauses (§3.1). Examples of complement clauses are given in (732)–(734).

[70]Since the use of causative affixes is very limited (§10.2), the chief means of expressing the meanings 'cause (something to happen)', and 'make (someone do something)' is through separate predicates like *jotsa* 'send (someone)', e.g., *jiñ-jot na-ñ jum-pahlvuidya-'* (1S-send SUB-1S 2S-help-FUT) 'he sent me (here) to help you'.

(732) *Ja'p-ap tɨ́da-' na-x ca'oc gu mara-'n, na*
like-2S tell-FUT SUB-ATR sick ATR offspring-3S SUB

ba-ch-joch-xi-dya-' gu túmiñ na-ch quɨ'n chiñia-'.
TWD-1P-send-BEN-APL-FUT ART money that-1P with ask^for-FUT
Please tell him that his child is sick, (and) that he (should) send us money to get (a remedy) with.

(733) *Cu-p-ich cham nɨi'ñ na mi' pu-quɨc na-ch-ich ya-'ay.*
SO-2S-PRF NEG see SUB there SIM-stand SUB-1P-PRF here-arrive
You didn't see him standing there when we came?

(734) *"Jiñ-'oidya-'-ap no'-p jix-'a' na-p tu-quio-ca-'*
1S-accompany-FUT-2S CND-2S ATR-want SUB-2S EXT-live-NPS-FUT

gammɨjɨ," jup-cai'ch gu viapma' am gu tɨyá.
always REP-speak ART young^man to ART young^woman
"Come with me if you want to always live (with me)," the young man (traditionally) says to the young woman.

While the use of *na* as a complementizer is straightforward, two other uses of *na* as the introducer of nonfinite clauses are not as obvious. In particular, its use in one case corresponds to what in some languages are called PARTICIPLES, GERUNDS, or *-ing* forms and in another case to what are usually referred to as INFINITIVES. These characterizations are based on the meanings that each of these constructions convey; there is no formal correspondence. That is, a participle-like construction is commonly used to describe a situation that is SIMULTANEOUS with another situation, while an infinitive-like construction normally refers to a POTENTIAL situation that could occur subsequent to another. These two meanings are signaled in Southeastern Tepehuan by the use of subordinate clauses introduced by the particle *na* without the qualifying nonquestion words described in the above sections, and followed by regular inflected verbs. Thus no truly nonfinite FORMS exist in Southeastern Tepehuan, only analogous MEANINGS.

Examples of the use of *na* in a participle-like construction are given in (735)–(738). In each case, the situation described in the subordinate clause in question is viewed as simultaneous with that of the previous clause. In this sense, the second situation modifies the first situation by giving additional information about what else was going on at that same time.

(735) *Om gu novi-'ñ gu Juan na ca-tɨtvia gu pilot.*
broke ART arm-3s ART John SUB TEM-play ART ball
John broke his arm while playing (with a) ball.

(736) *Túcut-'ap dyi ahlí. Jix-caiyum cai'ch na suac.*
carry-2s ART child ATR-boisterous speak SUB cry
Please carry this child. He's making a scene (with his) crying.

(737) *Jix-co'c map-dɨr gu-ñ vuy. Ni-jɨ'x cu cham*
ATR-hurt next-from ART-1s eye not-how^much so NEG

bai' tu-max na-ñ tɨy xi-chɨ-nɨi'ñ.
good EXT-visible SUB-1s ATT IMP-EXT-look
One of my eyes hurts. I can't see very well (while trying to look).

(738) *Uana-'-ap dyi mes. Guíhlim tu'i' na-x icóra'.*
clean-FUT-2s ART table very appears SUB-ATR dirty
Please clean (off) this table. It looks (bad) since it is (so) dirty.

All of these simultaneous clauses are in the present tense, which is the most common means of referring to a situation that is simultaneous with another that is or was occurring. Occasionally, however, the past tense is also used to indicate a situation that occurred at the same time as another, as in (739) and (740). Or the future tense is used to refer to a situation that will occur at the same time as another, as in (741) and (742).

(739) *Va-tañor na-ñ-ich bai' ji-ñiñia.*
RLZ-sunshine SUB-1s-PRF TWD INC-wake^up
The sun was shining when I woke up.

(740) *Añ vɨx jim-da-t na-r junta-ca-t bammɨ Corian.*
1s too go-DUR-PI SUB-EXS meeting-NPS-PI there Durango
I also went to the meeting up in Durango City.

(741) *Ap vɨx jimi-a' na-m sac jugar-po-' cavuimuc*
2s too go-FUT SUB-3p REK play-OBJ-FUT tomorrow

para Tová-tam?
to turkey-place
Are you also going tomorrow to play in Turkey Town?

(742) *Jimi-a'-iñ cavuimuc Cova'ram, tu-caiy-a'-iñ na sac*
go-FUT-1s tomorrow Candle^Town EXT-hear-FUT-1s SUB REK

jir-junta-ca-'.
EXS-meeting-NPS-FUT
I'm going to Candle Town tomorrow to the meeting.

Examples of the use of *na* in an infinitive-like construction are given in (743)–(745). In each case, the situation described in the subordinate clause in question is viewed as POTENTIALLY occurring SUBSEQUENT to that of the previous clause. In this sense, the second situation modifies the first situation by giving additional information about what could result from it.

(743) *Cavuimuc sap ya-'aiy-a' gu pahl na ja-vopcona-'*
tomorrow REU here-arrive-FUT ART priest SUB 3p-wash-FUT

gu a'ahl güi' na-m ji'c chacuy vopcoñ-ix.
ART children DEM SUB-3p how^many not^yet baptize-RP
The priest will arrive tomorrow to baptize those children whom are not yet baptized.

(744) *Va-x-choiñ dyi vaiñum. Va-r-'am na-p sac*
RLZ-ATR-hot ART metal RLZ-EXS-right SUB-2s REK

tu-vapaiñmi'chdya-' gu vác.
EXT-brand-FUT ART COW
This metal is hot; it's ready for you to brand the cows (which you said you wanted to do).

(745) *Ya-'ëc tuca' ma'n gu maim-cam, va-ji-ch-'oy.*
here-came night one ART drunk-one RLZ-INC-1p-bother

Agre'n ba-'a' gu viñ na-ch ga'hl-idya-'.
irrational TWD-want ART wine SUB-1p sell-APL-FUT
A drunk came here last night to bother us. He was senselessly asking us to sell him wine.

These examples illustrate that the subsequent clause is always expressed in the future tense, regardless of the tense of the previous clause. In (743), the first situation is in the future tense; in (744), the first situation is in the present tense; and in (745), the first situation is in the past tense. In each case, the subordinate clause following it tells of a situation that, respectively, will occur,

can now occur, or would have occurred subsequent to that first situation. The constant of meaning between these various contexts is that the subsequent situations are all POTENTIAL at the time the preceding situations occur.

This meaning of potentiality is exploited by the frequent use of this type of subordinate clause followed by the negative adverb *cham* to describe a situation that is considered undesirable. That is, a main clause describes a situation in which some action is taken or recommended that will avoid the occurrence of the potential situation described in the subordinate clause, as illustrated in (746)–(748).

(746) *Mi' dyir-ap varguidya-' gu-ñ mataima'n no'-t*
there from-2S put^water-FUT ART-1S boiled^corn CND-PRF

va-gá, na cham mi' miiy-a'.
RLZ-dry SUB NEG there burn-FUT
Please add water to my corn gruel if it dries up so it won't burn.

(747) *Jix-dyopi'ñ-ap iqui-a' dyi ta'mla na cham tapñi-a'.*
ATR-careful-2S cut-FUT ART board SUB NEG split-FUT
Cut this board carefully so it won't split.

(748) *Va-x-cóva'n-'iñ, va-x-bai', na-ñ cham mi' toxcoñia'.*
RLZ-ATR-full-1S RLZ-ATR-good SUB-1S NEG LOC upset-FUT
I'm full; that's enough. I don't (want to) get indigestion.

The meaning of the potential subordinate clause is different from that of the purpose subordinate clause (§14.3). Purpose clauses describe situations that are the intended result of a previous action, while potential situations are those that are the results of an action that may occur whether intended or not. This difference is reflected in the morphology: purpose clauses have an extra morpheme, the sequential particle *va'*, that indicates the speaker plans for that situation to follow the previous situation in a purposeful succession. In addition, purpose clauses sometimes describe resulting situations that are already occurring, while potential clauses describe only those situations that can occur or could have occurred. This difference is also reflected in the morphology: purpose clauses can occur in both present and future tenses, while potential clauses occur only in the future tense.

Thus it appears that the potential meaning is more general than the purpose meaning, since it refers to more situations than just those possible situations that are planned, but also to those that may occur without planning as a result of some previous action. That is, of all the situations

that can conceivably occur subsequent to another situation, only some are intended to occur. That this is true for the facts presented above can be seen by inserting the sequential particle *va'* in each of the potential clauses in examples (743)–(748). In each case the result is a viable purpose clause. For instance, (743) could just as easily have been uttered as: *Cavuimuc sap ya'aiya' gu pahl na va' javopcona' gu a'ahl*... 'The priest is coming in order to baptize the children....' Conversely, if this same particle were deleted from examples (719)–(721) in §14.3, the results would be viable potential clauses. But doing the same to examples (722) and (723) would not yield viable potential clauses, since the situations referred to in these clauses are more specific; i.e., those that are presently occurring.

The fact that the more general meaning corresponds to the construction with less morphological substance is not surprising, since grammatical morphemes in general tend to reduce in size as they broaden in meaning (Bybee 1985, Bybee and Pagliuca 1985, 1987). Furthermore, these same facts fit into the explanation given in §15.2 regarding the generality of the meaning conveyed by conjunctions as it relates to their phonological length, namely that the more predicatable the conjunctive meaning, the less specific is the conjunction and, correspondingly, the less morphology is needed to signal it.

15
Continuity

In this chapter, I discuss an analytical notion that is not yet as well established as that of coordination and subordination, but which nevertheless offers a new perspective on an old problem, namely, why discourses are divided into coordinate and subordinate clauses in what often seems to be an arbitrary way. It is not my purpose here to develop further the theory surrounding this notion, nor even to defend what has already been proposed. Rather, I simply describe the notion of continuity in discourse as I understand it, and illustrate it by reference to a Southeastern Tepehuan folklore text. Specifically, in §15.1, I discuss continuity of participants, which is the best known application of this notion to date; then I show how it works in the sample text given in the appendix. In §15.2, I describe how continuity of propositions is currently proposed; then I show how it can be used to explain the distribution of coordinate and subordinate clauses in the sample text in a much different way from explanations that rely on the traditional notions of foreground and background.

A minimum of theoretical orientation is necessary, however, before proceeding, since the notion of continuity is based on some fundamental presuppositions about linguistic discourse. It is generally held that the CLAUSE is the basic unit for the communication of meaning. It follows, then, that discourses are sequences of clauses organized in accordance with the semantic themes or topics they are intended to communicate. These organized sequences, often termed PARAGRAPHS, are recognizable for their UNITY OF THEME (Grimes 1975, Longacre 1979, Givón 1983), although how their structure reflects this unity is still the subject of much debate. What is important to the discussion here is that in any discourse there is a purposeful connectedness, or CONTINUITY, to the meanings that the speaker wants to get across to the hearer.

It is in this context of thematic continuity between clauses that the notion of the continuity of propositions and participants makes sense. That is, it must be assumed (a) that the speaker of a given discourse knows what he wants to say; (b) that within his language there are conventional ways of referring to the situations that he wants to describe, with their corresponding entities; and (c) that he utilizes these conventional means to communicate his intended meaning. Thus, the way in which he views the relation of one situation to another will be reflected in a systematic way in the discourse. Similarly, the way in which he views the participation of entities in these situations will also be systematically expressed. It is the way that these two types of continuity are systematized in Southeastern Tepehuan that is of primary concern in the following two sections.

The sample text which appears in the appendix is a folktale that recounts the establishment of the human race at the beginning of the world. It was first given orally by a native speaker to a small audience and simultaneously tape-recorded. The transcription was made by another native speaker who edited it minimally for grammatical inconsistencies. The narrator is considered an excellent story teller by his contemporaries, although since he has always lived on the fringe of the dialect area, speakers from the heart of the area recognize certain variations in his speech style, which are noted below. The text is typical of folklore tales told in Southeastern Tepehuan, yet short enough to be presented here in its entirety.

The written text is divided into probable thematic paragraphs according to my intuitions about breaks in thematic continuity. Orthographic sentences, indicated by Arabic numerals, end with longer phonological pauses preceded by a significant fall in intonation and followed by abruptly higher intonation at the beginning of the next sentence; commas indicate shorter pauses. Morpheme glosses are given directly below each sentence cited, and free translations are given at the end of each paragraph.

15.1 Participant continuity

Within the thematic paragraph there are two major strands of continuity—continuity of propositions and of participants. Continuity of propositions deals with the systematic way in which the speaker presents his view of the situations he is describing (§15.2). Continuity of participants deals with the systematic way in which he portrays the entities involved in these situations. In this section, I discuss participant continuity in Southeastern Tepehuan and illustrate it in the sample text.

PARTICIPANTS are those entities which the speaker views as playing a role in the situations which he describes in the development of the theme of

his discourse. From among the many participants in the situations he describes he will necessarily choose to view some as more integrally involved and thus more central to the meaning he wishes to communicate. The way in which he consistently refers to these centrally participating entities constitutes a pattern of participant continuity that is usually traceable thoughout a text.

While the thematic paragraph is, by definition, about the same theme, there is no absolute correlation between theme and the participants involved in the situations used to portray that theme; yet there usually is a statistically significant correlation (Givón 1983). That is, a thematic paragraph does not necessarily involve the same participant(s) throughout, but one participant or set of participants is normally the one most integrally involved in the situations described. Semantically, this is normally the participant most closely related to the theme of the paragraph; grammatically, it is normally the one most often coded as either topic or subject. This frequency of involvement, and thus mention, makes it the most continuous participant in the paragraph.

The way in which reference to participants is made and maintained in Southeastern Tepehuan texts consists of two related scales, one semantic and one grammatical.[71] The semantic scale consists of the three roles a participant can play in a situation: agent, patient, or recipient (§4.22), and other roles, such as accompaniment, as in (751) in the sample text. Whenever an entity is an agent it is more likely to be the central participant of the thematic paragraph than when it is a patient or a recipient. Similarly, a patient or recipient is more likely to be the central participant than some other, nonagentive semantic role. Normally, if an entity is the central participant it may be first introduced as a nonagent, but it will then become the agent in succeeding situations. The scale of semantic role continuity is summarized in (749).

[71]The two scales described here represent the most obvious considerations involved in the issue of ANAPHOR RESOLUTION. Other considerations that influence both the SPEAKER, who must choose how to refer to participants, and the HEARER, who tries to match these references to potential participants include such things as speaker gestures, culturally conditioned world knowledge, and the store of previous information given about the participants. These all contribute to the final choices made in a complex interaction of considerations which Zubin and Li (1986) call PARALLEL PROCESSING, in which SIGNAL-BASED, INFERENCE-BASED, and FOCUS-BASED comprehension strategies all play a part. Although these other considerations are not within the scope of the present study, I recognize that their influence on the choice of the signal used is a factor which I do not account for here.

(749) Semantic role continuity

MORE CONTINUOUS
↑ agent
| patient, recipient
↓ other
LESS CONTINUOUS

The grammatical scale consists of the five morphological means of referring to participants: subject enclitic (§11.21), pronoun (§§11.21, 11.24), definite and indefinite noun phrase (§12.2), and focused noun phrase (§3.1). Whenever an entity is the central participant, it is most often referred to by its minimal designation of person and number in the subject enclitic. When there are other participants in the context with the same person and number, which most often occurs when both are third person, then a more specific type of reference is used, depending on how much likelihood there is that the other participant could also be viewed as a central participant. If reference is made to a central participant after only a brief mention of another participant, a pronoun may suffice. Otherwise a definite noun phrase may need to be used to clarify the reference. These three grammatical means are those used repeatedly throughout a text for continuous reference to the central participants.

Two other grammatical means are employed for presentation of participants into the discourse. That is, when a participant is mentioned for the first time, it is discontinuous with the previous participant since it is different from it. The means used for presentation depends partly on the centrality of the participant at that point in the discourse and partly on its proposed centrality throughout the rest of the discourse. If the entity is only of marginal importance to the theme of the discourse, then the reference may be made by an indefinite noun phrase (§12.2). However, if the participant is viewed as playing or going to play a central role in the discourse, then it may be presented in a focused noun phrase, i.e., placed before the verb in the clause. This usually indicates that the participant will be the center of attention for a least a small portion of the discourse, e.g., one thematic paragraph. The scale of grammatical marking reference is summarized in (750).

(750) Grammatical marking continuity

MORE CONTINUOUS
↑ subject enclitic
pronoun
definite noun phrase
indefinite noun phrase
↓ focused noun phrase
LESS CONTINUOUS

To illustrate how participant continuity is managed in Southeastern Tepehuan discourse, I here trace the means used through the sample text given in the appendix. In the first paragraph, three of the four instances of focused noun phrases occur. The first, at the beginning of (752), is the only mention of an inanimate participant, while the second two, at the beginning of (753), introduce two animate participants that figure in the first part of the tale. The first reference seems inappropriate, since that entity is not mentioned again until the postpositional phrase in (774). Its prominence at this point is possibly a consequence of the need for contrast with the main participants which were less prominently introduced in the preceding clause.

The first mention of the main participants—the man and the dog—is made by reference to indefinite noun phrases at the end of (751). The first is assumed to be indefinite only because it is the first mention, since the morphology is ambiguous; it could also be considered a definite reference to what is to become the main participant of the tale (§12.2). A noun phrase is used for the first reference to the gourd; although also ambiguous, it is probably indefinite here because it is a patient and because its place in the clause suggests a low degree of prominence (T. Willett 1980a). Definite noun phrases are used to refer once each to God as the understood agent of creation and to the corn that the man took with him; again both are judged definite based on the context. There is no doubt that the reference to the world in the first clause of the discourse is definite, given the definite article. The two noun phrases referring to the gourd in (753) and (754) are most likely definite, since there it is viewed as a participant already known to the hearer.

The rest of the participant reference in this paragraph is done by means of affixes. Three reflexive prefixes, which replace the subject enclitic (§11.23), are used to indirectly refer to the unseen forces of nature, two in (751) and one—a repetition of an earlier one—at the end of (752). Because of the introductory nature of this paragraph, only twice is a subject enclitic—both times zero for third-person singular—used to maintain reference to a

previously mentioned participant, i.e., in the first two clauses of (752). There the man is shown to be the one who, along with his dog, survived five years on the corn he took along with him.

Participant reference in the next two paragraphs shows much more continuity than in the first paragraph, where a large number of participants were introduced for the first time. Here we see that the use of noun phrases, all considered to be definite because of their reference to previously mentioned entities, is restricted to the minimal reference necessary for disambiguation of participants. The first one does not occur until the end of (756), since up until that time the gourd is the known agent. Then the birds enter the picture again, followed immediately by another reference to the gourd. The world and the birds are mentioned once each again later in paragraph 2 when they both occur in the same context.

Subject enclitics are used for the rest of the participant reference in these two paragraphs. The first three clauses of paragraph 2 are marked for third-person singular by a zero morpheme because the gourd is the agent of them all. The second clauses of (758) and (760) use the same enclitic to refer to the world as patient. In the first case it is not mentioned until the next clause, and in the second case it is mentioned only in an adverbial phrase, but in both cases it is the only entity that pragmatically can dry up and get hard. A zero subject enclitic is also used in (761) and (762) to refer to the man, the only participant that could conceivably put up a house and let the birds go. And it is used in (763), once to refer to the man, since in paragraph 3 the dog is viewed in the accompaniment role, and once to refer to the dog as patient, since it is the only pet among the participants. Furthermore, the third-person-plural perfective enclitic is used three times. In (759), where no noun phrase occurs, we infer that the referents are the man and dog, since it is the instinctive activity of the birds that makes them aware of the changes outside the gourd. In (762), both references are to the birds, since they then leave the gourd in search of food as birds are prone to do.

The first reference via pronoun in the discourse occurs in (762).[72] There the intended referent is ambiguous, since demonstratives are not marked for number. It most likely refers to the birds, however, because the current agent at that point is the man and since demonstratives are most often used to refer back to a previous main participant after another main

[72]The apparent demonstrative pronouns—*güi'* in (757) and (759) and *dyi'* in (760)—are actually homophonous interjections that this and other speakers occasionally use to introduce successive events in a narrative. They are distinguished primarily by their position immediately following the introductory conjunction; in subordinate clauses, demonstratives occur after the verb, instead.

participant has been the agent. Also, the fact that the birds are the current agents in the next two clauses points to the demonstrative as the indicator of the shift.

In the fourth and climactic paragraph, participant reference greatly simplifies for two reasons. First, the field of participants has now been narrowed to the man and the dog, with one-time references to some tortillas (765) and the dog's outer blouse (773) as patients. The second reason is that all the action in this paragraph is seen from the man's perspective. As a consequence, he is the current agent for a long string of clauses starting with (764) and continuing through the first clause of (771). Then, after the copula verb identifying the woman in her true form in (771), she becomes the current agent for the next three clauses. In anticipation, she is also the referent of the zero subject enclitic in the clause preceding her identification. Then, after the demonstrative signals the shift of agency back to the man at the beginning of (773), the man is agent again of the next two zero subject enclitics. Then, in (775), another copula reidentifies the woman, who resumes current agency in the next three clauses.

Two forms of demonstrative occur in this paragraph in three different usages. First, the same remote form used in (762) for shift back to a previous main participant as agent is used for the same purpose in (773). Second, the same form is used in (767), not to signal a shift, but apparently to affirm that no such shift has occurred, since the presence of another agent was just hinted at in the preceding two sentences. Third, the proximal-distal form is used in (777) to refer to the story itself, not to any of the participants. This is an abrupt shift, reinforced by the notion of proximity of the story to the hearers as opposed to the remoteness of the participants in the story.

In the last paragraph, participant reference is made more complicated by the introduction of new participants. The third-person-plural subject enclitic is used in (778) and (779) to reference the new couple as joint agents. Their offspring are introduced in (779) in a split noun phrase; the half referring to the boys is fronted, and the half referring to the girls is not. This is similar to the splitting of the reference to fire and corn in (752); apparently both nouns of a complex noun phrase are not always fronted, as they are in (753). These newly introduced participants immediately become the agents for the next three clauses until, by extension, the narrator's hearers are included among them in (781) by the use of the first-person-plural subject enclitic. This is then generalized to all people by an apparently indefinite noun phrase in another copula construction. In conclusion, the narrator again refers to the story itself by a definite noun phrase.

15.2 Propositional continuity

The second major strand of continuity perceivable within the thematic paragraph is continuity of propositions. While continuity of participants deals with the systematic way in which a speaker portrays the entities involved in his discourse (§15.1), continuity of propositions deals with the systematic way he portrays the situations he describes. In this section, I discuss propositional continuity in Southeastern Tepehuan and illustrate it in the sample text.

PROPOSITIONS are the purposely biased ways that a speaker presents his view of the situations he describes in the development of the theme of his discourse. That is, from among the many possible ways in which to construe the situations he describes, he will necessarily choose those that are consistent with the theme that he is developing and thus more pertinent to the meaning he wants to communicate. The way in which he shows how these situations are connected with each other in natural or purported temporal or logical sequence constitutes a pattern of PROPOSITIONAL CONTINUITY that is traceable throughout a text.

While the thematic paragraph is by definition centered around the same theme, there is no necessary correlation between the theme and the propositions used in the development of that theme. But current research (e.g., Contini-Morava 1987) is beginning to reveal that languages consistently code degrees of connectedness between propositions, such as the events in a narrative, in order to bring out their relation to the theme of the discourse, e.g., the usually unstated purpose for telling a narrative.

The plausibility of such propositional continuity is suggested by Givón (1983) by his reference to ACTION CONTINUITY within the thematic paragraphs of narratives. He views this as a complex relation between the events of a narrative which, although more abstract and thus less easily discernible than what he calls TOPIC CONTINUITY of participants, is nevertheless an integral ingredient in the overall thematic unity that makes a discourse coherent.

In order to generalize from Givón's notion of topic continuity to that of event continuity, we can restate Givón's hypothesis about topic continuity as follows: the same topic corresponds to maximal continuity of participants in a narrative, while a different topic corresponds to maximal discontinuity. By the same line of reasoning, one can then conceive of other scales of continuity that are also prevalent in narrative discourse. For instance, maximal SPATIAL CONTINUITY would most likely correspond to no change in the locus of events and maximal spatial discontinuity to a complete change in that locus. Similarly, maximal CAUSAL CONTINUITY could be viewed as the fulfillment of the necessary and sufficient conditions for

the occurrence of the succeeding event; maximal discontinuity of causation would then be equivalent to no causal link at all, while medium continuity of causation would involve the presence of at least some enabling conditions. And, most obviously, a scale of TEMPORAL CONTINUITY would view simultaneous events as maximally continuous, temporally overlapping and sequenced events as lesser degrees of continuity, and totally unsequenced events as maximally discontinuous.

Thus, when a speaker presents his view of various situations in the form of organized propositions, he will purposefully construe them as more or less continuous in one of three ways. Either (a) he will emphasize their shared properties of time, location, and participant; (b) he will link them in a sort of CONCEPTUAL NESTING to simulate such a connection; or (c) he will present them as part of conventional frames of action, from which the hearer can deduce the necessary connections. In the first case, the events are continuous by nature, and the hearer need only use his pragmatic knowledge to infer the relevant connection between them. In the second case, the events are linked by a stated or implicit cause or shared perspective, making one event easily predictable as a consequence of the other. In the third case, one event is an action and another is a state, such as bodily position, that frequently accompanies it, so that the hearer can make the connection by inference.

In order to account for the use of conjunctions in Southeastern Tepehuan, I here adapt a current hypothesis about event continuity in English narrative to propositions about all types of situations in Southeastern Tepehuan.[73] Specifically, I suggest that the conjunctions discussed earlier in this chapter can all be placed on a scale that combines the temporal, spatial, and logical (i.e., causal) scales into the continuum of propositional continuity shown in (751). The coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are shown in separate columns to facilitate discussion.

Two observations can be made about this categorization of conjunctions. First, the more continuous the relation between two situations is, the less it is necessary to specifically mark that relation and the more the hearer is left to infer the connection. That is why less morphology is used at the more continuous end of the scale and more morphology is needed as continuity decreases, since the specific relations are less easily inferable and must be more plainly marked.

[73]The analysis presented in this section is an application to Southeastern Tepehuan of a theory of discourse continuity developed by David Zubin in class lectures for graduate courses in discourse analysis at the State University of New York at Buffalo during 1986 and 1987.

(751) Propositional continuity

	Conjunctions	
MORE CONTINUOUS	Coordinate	Subordinate
↑ conceptual nesting	*Ø*	*na*
simultaneity	*-(ɨ)y*	*na pai', na jax*
partial overlap	*cu*	*na va'*
strict sequencing	*va', guio*	*na pai'dyuc*
delayed sequencing	*piam, day*	*na gu', na jax (ja'c)*
nonenablement	*sia*	
↓ hiatus	*gu'*	
LESS CONTINUOUS		

Second, subordinating conjunctions on the whole indicate a higher degree of continuity than do coordinating conjunctions. In particular, the general subordinating particle *na* appears to be used in the case that the speaker chooses to indicate more continuity than would otherwise be inferred. This is because subordinate conjunctions are used to embed some clauses within others, which is a reflection of the fact that the speaker conceives of the situations they represent as similarly nested conceptually. That is, when he wants to portray situations as individual units, he normally uses coordinate morphology. But when he wants to portray some as integrally associated with others so that they merge into composite situations, then he normally uses subordinate morphology.

Examples of these observations are given in the sections corresponding to each of the conjunctions listed in (751). For instance, in §13.1, the coordinating zero conjunction is shown to be the indicator of the highest degree of continuity between situations possible, and the connected action suffix *-(ɨ)y* is shown to link actions that occur, or are conceived of as occurring, as one composite action. Similarly, the enablement conjunction *cu* is shown to be used in cases where two situations are conceived of as overlapping in time and causation, and the sequential conjunction *va'* and the appending conjunction *guio* are shown to link situations in strict temporal or logical sequence. In §13.2 it is shown that the alternative conjunction *piam* and the exclusive conjunction *day* relate situations that do not normally occur together, while the concessive conjunction *sia* and

the adversative conjunction *gu'* indicate situations than are more or less contradictory, thus not very continously linked at all.[74]

In the examples in §14, the reasons behind the corresponding ranking of subordinate conjunctions are illustrated. For instance, when *na* is used alone as a complementizer or relativizer, the situations described in the clauses it introduces are conceived of as conceptually nested in the situations described in the clauses they modify. This means that *na* alone is more continuous than when used with other particles. This can be further demonstrated by a comparison of the examples in (752) and (753), the first of which is the same as example (739) in §14.4.

(752) *Va-tañor na-ñ-ich bai' ji-ñiñia.*
RLZ-sun^shine SUB-1S-PRF TWD INC-wake^up
The sun was shining when I woke up.

(753) *Vatañor nañich pai'dyuc bai' jiñiñia.*
The sun was shining (at the time) when I woke up.

In (753), the full subordinate conjunction *na pai'dyuc* 'when' is used, making explicit reference to the temporal relation between the two events; it focuses on the fact that the sun began shining before the speaker woke up. In (752), however, the speaker presents these two situations as occurring simultaneously rather than in the normal sequence, thus construing them as more continuous than in (753). Similar uses of *na* alone instead of *na* plus another conjunctive particle all demonstrate the same purposeful heightening of the link of continuity between the situations. For instance, if the particle *gu'* were not used in (754) the connection between the two events would be much more continuous than if it were used.

(754) *Tïi-p guivca-ñ-ich tuca' na-p-ich [gu'] cham*
ATT-REP freeze-1S-PRF night SUB-2S-PRF but NEG

jiñ-chaiñvuy ma'n gu-m sa'ua.
1S-lend one ART-2S blanket
I nearly froze to death last night, since you didn't lend me one of your blankets.

[74]The interjective conjunctions discussed in §13.3 are not included in this discussion because their meanings are interactional. For simplicity, I have chosen to focus only on monologue discourse, which makes it hard to characterize in the same terms conjunctions used primarily in dialogue.

The use of *na* with coordinating particles *va'* and *gu'* also shows that *na* adds a higher degree of continuity to the meaning of these particles. That is, *gu'* by itself signals the discontinuous connection of HIATUS, or break, in the temporal, spatial, and logical continuity; but the combination *na gu'* is relatively more continuous because it signals the delayed link of logical explanation. Similarly, *va'* by itself signals strict sequencing, while the combination *na va'* signals the logical overlap of purpose. That is, an action is performed with the view in mind of enabling another situation to occur.

Applying this analysis of the marking of continuity of propositions to the sample text in the appendix yields a different type of explanation for the distribution of subordinate versus coordinate clauses than does one based on the traditional notion of foregrounding and backgrounding. The facts to be considered are as follows. Out of sixty-two clauses in the text, thirty-five—more than half—are subordinate, i.e., they contain the particle *na*. In the first paragraph this ratio is a striking ten out of eleven subordinate clauses. In the next two paragraphs, the ratios are almost as high: seven out of eight and eight out of eleven. Only in the fourth paragraph, where most of the action takes place, is the ratio low: six out of twenty-four. The last paragraph is also half subordinate clauses: four out of eight.

Since foregrounding is normally associated with independent coordinate clauses and backgrounding with dependent subordinate clauses, this means that texts like this creation myth, in which most of the clauses are subordinated by *na*, the majority of the text must be considered background. Since this leaves little foregrounded material in the first three paragraphs, one is faced with two alternatives. The first alternative is to revise one's view of the notion of narrative line to include the possibility that not every event necessary to the development of the story is included on this skeleton of the narrative, but only certain, arbitrarily selected ones.

The other alternative, which I find more plausible (T. Willett 1983, 1987) is to posit a third, intermediate level of GROUNDING which, in the case of Southeastern Tepehuan, includes all those clauses headed by *na* where one would have expected an independent clause to occur. Although not without precedent in other languages (Jones and Jones 1979, Longacre 1982), this solution still seems somewhat ad hoc in that it must expand the notion of narrative line—itself a suspect analytical notion—to include this intermediate level of prominence.[75]

[75]The analysis of text as macrostructure and microstructure (e.g., van Dijk 1977) is analogous to the narrative line analysis in that it also segments the text into levels of information prominence (T. Willett 1983).

The notion of CONTINUITY OF PROPOSITIONS, while as yet equally lacking in empirical verification, nonetheless provides an altogether different analysis of these facts. In this view, the thematic strand that runs through the text is not a static narrative line that must closely correspond to the way the situations described actually occur in the real world. Rather, it is a dynamic construct, established by the speaker in the course of his narrative by the balance of continuity he chooses to use in describing those situations he includes in his narration. This is, then, a highly subjective construct that depends entirely on the speaker's point of view, not on an objective interpretation of supposed reality. It most likely varies each time the speaker narrates the same discourse, even one that is part of oral tradition, because each time the speaker consciously or unconsciously chooses to construe things somewhat differently.

In these terms, a graph of the changes in continuity between propositions in a text like the one in the appendix would jump up and down the scale something like the charting of a human heartbeat, alternating between more continuous propositions and less continuous ones as a reflection of the speaker's purposeful construal of the situations described as sometimes closely related and sometimes not. At certain times, however, two or more highly continuous clauses are contiguous, indicating situations that are closely linked in the speaker's mind and thus potentially part of his central thematic thrust.

For instance, in the first three paragraphs of the creation myth, high continuity is not maintained for more than two clauses until (762), at which time the events surrounding the parting of the birds from the man are highlighted by three straight clauses of highest continuity. Similarly, in the fourth paragraph, the five clauses in (768)–(770) provide a portrayal of another peak activity time, as do the eleven clauses at the end of the paragraph. Then the last paragraph is a mixture of more and less continuous situations as are the first three paragraphs.

Thus it appears that, by manipulation of grammatical devices—here the abundant use of the subordinating particle *na* in coordination with other conjunctive particles—the speaker is able to highlight his descriptions of some situations over others. This could be viewed in the traditional vein as backgrounding large portions of the text in order to foreground the central events of the narrative. Or it could be viewed as the use of continuity of propositions to signal which sequences of events are more closely connected than others. Under either analysis, the fact remains that Southeastern Tepehuan discourse reflects the complex interrelation of conjunctive meanings employed by the speaker.

[blank]

16
Conclusion

In the preceding twelve chapters I have given a detailed description of the meanings conveyed through the word classes, affixes, and particles that make up the grammatical system of Southeastern Tepehuan. The basic structure and ordering of these elements was discussed in the two chapters prior to those. This format has contributed directly to my purpose of describing this language with a semantic focus rather than a structural one.

By way of conclusion, I address two issues pertinent to the grammatical description of any language. The first issue is how the language fits into some of the typological classifications popular among linguists today. In §16.1, I discuss why I feel Southeastern Tepehuan does not fit very well. The second issue is related to the first, namely, why a description of how meaning is conveyed in a language is the most useful sort of description upon which to base cross-linguistic comparisons. This is the topic of §16.2.

16.1 Typological comparison

Typological classification of languages remains a popular pursuit among linguists. The focus, however, is nearly always on structural similarities between languages which, by themselves, give us only half the story. Only recently has much attention been given to semantic similarities (Comrie 1976, 1985, Hopper 1982, Bybee 1985, Chung and Timberlake 1985, Palmer 1986, T. Willett 1988) which must be studied just as seriously as their structural correlates in order to give us a balanced view in language

comparison (§16.2).[76] To illustrate the futility of forcing languages into typological molds solely on the basis of their form, I here show how the most common typological comparison—basic word order—and one of its usual and most plausible corollaries—prepositions versus postpositions—are diffucult, if not impossible, to apply to Southeastern Tepehuan.

The first question linguists most often raise about a newly encountered language is about its basic word order. Normally this is couched in the now familiar terms of the relative ordering of verb, subject, and object. While Southeastern Tepehuan is predominantly a verb-initial language (§3.1), there are two problems one encounters when trying to apply the rest of this typological parameter to this language. The first problem is the uncertainty about what constitutes the designation of subject. The second problem is that the relative order of nouns has no bearing on their grammatical roles in the clause.

The term SUBJECT in the basic word order typology usually means a noun phrase referring to the grammatical subject. In Southeastern Tepehuan such nouns or pronouns are infrequently used in ordinary discourse, but subject enclitics denoting the person and number of the subject obligatorily occur in every clause (§11.21). Furthermore, when noun phrases are present, they usually occur AFTER the verb, but subject enclitics are usually phonologically attached to elements occurring BEFORE the verb. This makes for a difficult typological choice. Does one say that the 'subject' is missing from many clauses, or does one say that it is always present but shifts its position according to whether anything comes before the verb in the clause? In either case the result is far from a categorical generalization about verb-subject order tendencies.

If we refer, instead, to the relative position of the object with respect to the verb, which many linguists (e.g., Lehmann 1978) claim to be a more fundamental syntactic construction, the situation in Southeastern Tepehuan is still difficult to categorize, since the person and number of animate objects are obligatorily marked as a verb prefix, but the usual position of optional object noun phrases is postverbal, unless it is fronted for focus. Thus one is faced with a dilemma similar to that posed by subject marking; that is, is the OBJECT to be used for typological comparison the verbal prefix or the normally postverbal noun?

Another disconcerting fact for typologists is that there are few instances in nonelicited discourse of clauses that contain two nouns. This means that there is little evidence upon which to base a generalization as to the

[76]However, Sapir (1921) presaged this interest in semantics, purposefully neglected by the Bloomfieldian and Chomskyan paradigms, with his ideas about the meanings that are conveyed by the various types of grammatical forms.

relative order of subject versus object. Elsewhere (T. Willett 1981) I point out that this is not a problem for effective communication, since the grammatical relations borne by the referents of any nouns occurring in the clause are marked by the subject enclitic and object prefix, and not by the place of the noun in the clause. Ambiguity occurs only when both subject and object are third-person singular, and, even then, other clues are available in the context to help the hearer keep the referents straight.

Thus we see that a typological parameter that originated to describe languages that always designate subject and object by noun phrases tells us little when applied to a language that is not structured in the same way. This same conclusion applies to the parameter of prepositions versus postpositions. Greenberg (1966) claims that verb-initial languages tend to have prepositions, while verb-final languages tend to have postpositions. Since Southeastern Tepehuan uses mostly postpositions (§5.5), it seems to be a clear exception to that potential universal. The problem is that Southeastern Tepehuan also uses some prepositions, which makes it hard to classify the language definitively as either a preposing or a postposing language. This, in turn, makes the correlation between word order and these phenomena of dubious value.

These difficulties are typical of the application of structural typologies to languages that do not have structures that fit the generalized description. Rather than force the data to fit the description, it would seem better to modify the description to fit the appropriate structural type. But a more serious problem with the kinds of typological universals currently under investigation is that many do not take serious account of the meanings that correlate with them. This oversight stems largely from the prevailing notion that grammar is independent of meaning. For instance, Vennemann (1975) claims that phonological change is the ultimate cause of syntactic change, since it is because of the inevitable reduction of morphemes marking crucial grammatical relations that compensating word-order changes occur. In the following section I discuss why I find such a view of language to be ill founded.

16.2 Meaning and form

In this final section I return to the discussion, begun in §1.21, of the reasons for my decision to write a descriptive grammar based on meaning. The focus on description is motivated by both pragmatic and theoretical factors, while the focus on meaning is motivated primarily by theoretical factors. I further elaborate on these considerations here in order to emphasize my view of their importance to linguistic inquiry as a whole.

The reason I chose to write a descriptive grammar, as opposed to a theoretical, pedagogical, or comparative grammar, was that such a grammar was lacking for Southeastern Tepehuan. In a field where analysts are increasingly forced to specialize in certain areas of the overall task of elucidating the nature of human language, it has become more important than ever that some of them focus on the continuing need for adequate data collection and presentation. Theories about language can be only as good as the data upon which they are based. Moreover, while it is realistic to think of describing languages without taking a specific theoretical viewpoint, it is not realistic to think of taking a specific theoretical viewpoint without first investigating the descriptions of some actual languages. That is, without careful analysis of the forms used in individual languages and, more importantly, the circumstances governing their use, no credible linguistic theories can be formulated.

So it is that linguists who have exposure to other languages, especially those for which an adequate description does not yet exist, have an obligation to provide the relevant data for the larger linguistic community. It is only after a good descriptive grammar of a language exists that theoretical or pedagogical grammars of that language, or comparative grammars of that language and those related to it, can be formulated. Without the facts, there can be no theorizing on the facts, no teaching of the facts, and no comparison of those facts to other facts. Thus, while linguistics as a discipline will always need theorists, practitioners that apply the theory, and comparativists that supply generalizations about areal traits, it also will always need descriptivists, or field linguists, at least as long as there are still languages spoken in the world about which little is known.

That explains why this grammar is descriptive. But why it focuses on meaning is not as easily explained, since what constitutes the RELEVANT DATA that should serve as input for theory making in linguistics is a persistently controversial issue. Both the early structuralist tradition, influenced by behaviorism, and the subsequent generativist tradition, influenced by rationalism, consider only data about the formal properties of language to be relevant; meaning is considered largely unknowable and unimportant, except as a means to distinguish between forms.[77] An alternative paradigm is currently emerging in which linguists consider data about language universals to be most relevant. If this resulted in the study

[77]Givón (1979) rightly attacks the generativist assumption that language can be studied in the form of PRESANITIZED sentences away from any discourse context. He also points out that specific grammatical phenomena are directly related to semantic choices made by the speaker in the formation of the message he wishes to communicate to a specific hearer.

of the universal properties of meaning as well as form, then comparative work could focus on the patterns of distribution between lexical and grammatical devices for the expression of meaning across languages (Kibrik 1986). At present, however, the trend is to focus on the structural traits of language,[78] with little consideration of the semantic notions they are used to communicate.

What is needed more than anything else, in my view, is a concentration on WHAT MEANINGS are conveyed through the forms regularly found across languages. The reasons I hold this view seem so fundamental as to be easily overlooked. Language is first and foremost a covariation between form and meaning. How then can we adequately account for this covariation when we ignore the meaning side of language as irrelevant or at best undiscoverable? It seems to me both illogical and unscientific to discount half of the field of investigation because we see no way to handle it using our present analytical tools. That is, rather than assuming that the organization of linguistic meaning is not discoverable because it is not as easily segmentable as the formal side of language, let us, instead, describe the meaning expressed in whatever manner possible to begin with, and afterwards seek to discover and explain its basic nature in more general terms. Then, as patterns of meaning begin to emerge, such as those described in this volume that coincide with the findings of other authors, we can begin to work on discovering underlying organizational properties. We must neither assume *a priori* that meanings have the same structure as the forms that convey them nor that meaning is unstructured. Rather we must assume that it is organized differently, albeit just as systematically. The fact that a formalizable structure is not yet apparent is no reason to abandon the task.[79]

At this stage of our knowledge about languages, it is apparent that linguistic meaning is conveyed through three different types of linguistic form, namely, the lexicon, the grammar, and the discourse. It is already well established that the grammatical structure is divisible into two distinct aspects, morphology and syntax. It follows, then, that the types of meaning conveyed through each of these subareas will be different from each other, but may still have some things in common that are not shared with

[78]For instance, Lehmann (1978) states that, of the three main components of language, typological analysis takes syntax as the most significant for comparison between languages. This is because, in his view, neither phonology nor semantics are as central to language, since they overlap with other areas, i.e., phonology with auditory sciences like acoustics, and semantics with cognitive sciences like psychology.

[79]Givón (1979) further attacks the generativist preoccupation with formalism as being neither empirical nor explanatory, two traits that the descriptions of both form and meaning must possess BEFORE they can be formalized.

meaning conveyed through the lexicon or through discourse. Similarly, much evidence has been adduced to show that the meaning conveyed through the lexicon is much different from that conveyed through the grammar (Gleason 1962; Halliday 1966; Apresjan, Mel'cuk and Zolkovsky 1969, 1973; Mathiot 1967, 1978, 1985) and that the meaning conveyed through the discourse is different from either of these (Grimes 1975, van Dijk 1977, Reid 1978, Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Contini-Morava 1987). Yet despite their clear differences, there are areas of overlap between each of these types of meaning, areas that point to characteristics of meaning in general as opposed to form.

This work is an investigation into the meanings conveyed by the grammar, primarily in the morphology, of Southeastern Tepehuan, as well as the areas of meaning that overlap between grammar and lexicon, i.e., in word classes, and between grammar and discourse, i.e., in the conjunctions. By focusing on meaning in this language, I have shown not only that it is possible to describe meaning in ways that are understandable, but that these meanings are comparable to those found in other languages. This is a demonstration of the rich potential there is in the study of meaning in language. When carried out on all aspects of a large number of languages, this type of approach should lead to the discovery of the SEMANTIC TRAITS that characterize language in general, as well as reveal the COMMUNICATIVE MOTIVATION for many of the structural traits of language already identified. This, then, could lead to new and improved typological universals that more truly reflect both aspects of language, its form AND its meaning.

Appendix
A Myth About Creation

Paragraph 1

(751) *Dyo vajic na-t pai'dyuc ya'-m puner-u dyi*
well long^ago SUB-PRF when here-RFL place-PRF ART

oi'ñga'n, na-t tu-m-sur, na-t va' ya' puner-u
world SUB-PRF EXT-RFL-flood SUB-PRF then here place-PRF

gu Dios gu vacua, na-t va' mi' vá gu chio'ñ
ART God ART gourd SUB-PRF then there enter ART man

víma'n ma'n gu gagox.
with one ART dog

(752) *Guio va' gu tay na-t bic vix guio va' gu jun*
and then ART fire SUB-PRF took too and then ART corn

jixchamam, na-t bán avontár-u gu cinco años na-t
five SUB-PRF on survive-PRF ART five years SUB-PI

tu-m-su'ngui-ch ya' dyi oi'ñga'n.
EXT-RFL-flood-make here ART world

(753) *Guio va' gu curat guio va' gu quio' na-m-it*
and then ART woodpecker and then ART flicker SUB-3p-PRF

mi-vap, na-t tis va' gu vacua para-ch dyam.
there-enter SUB-PRF ascend then ART gourd to-1p over

(754) *Cinco años sahl va' (...) mi'pui', seis años qui'n na-t*
five years slowly then (pass) this^way six years with SUB-PRF

va' guio va-timñ-im va' gu vacua.
then again RLZ-descend-DP then ART gourd

(751) Long ago when the earth was made, when it flooded, then God put a gourd here, and a man went into it along with a dog. (752) And he also took fire and five corn with which he survived the five years that it was flooded here on the earth. (753) And then a woodpecker and a flicker went in, and the gourd went up toward the sky. (754) Five years (went by) slowly this way; by the sixth year the gourd then was coming down.

Paragraph 2

(755) *Mi' dyir chi va' na-t va-gá va', na-t va' guio*
there from DBT then SUB-PRF RLZ-dry then SUB-PRF then again

yammi-p ji-dyaivu.
here-REP INC-sit

(756) *Cu ji gu' mácam ja'c ji chi (...), cu ji gu' es*
so EMP but other DIR EMP DBT (land) so EMP but is

la misma ji oi'ñga'n.
the same EMP world

(757) *Na va' güi' mu-tu-tattam-da-' gu quio' guio gu*
SUB then INJ AWY-EXT-peck-DUR-FUT ART flicker and ART

curat, na gu' di' chi gu vacua bai' pai' dyir.
woodpecker SUB but hole DBT ART gourd there where from

(758) *Mi' pu-tattam-da-' jia, na-t pai' tu-gá jia, na-t*
there SIM-peck-DUR-FUT EMP SUB-PRF where EXT-dry EMP SUB-PRF

pai' cavca gu oi'ñga'n.
where harden ART world

(759) *Entonces na-m-ɨt gu' va-mat jia, na gu' dyi' na-m*
then SUB-3p-PRF but RLZ-learn EMP SUB but INJ SUB-3p

mu-vuan-da-' gu curat guio gu quio'.
AWY-go^out-DUR-FUT ART woodpecker and ART flicker

(755) After that the earth dried up, and the gourd settled back down. (756) Probably (it landed) in a different place, but it's the same earth. (757) Then the flicker and the woodpecker went out pecking, because the gourd had a hole in it. (758) They pecked there where it was dry, where the earth was hard. (759) So the man and the dog found out (that the earth was drying), because the birds were going in and out continually.

Paragraph 3

(760) *Entonces na-t va' güi' va-vus va' gu ma'ncam jia,*
then SUB-PRF then INJ RLZ-leave then ART person EMP

na-t pai'dyuc va-x-chu-cavac ya' dyi oi'ñga'n.
SUB-PRF when RLZ-ATR-EXT-hard here ART world

(761) *Entonces na-t va' va-puner-u gu va'ac va' mu-pai'.*
then SUB-PRF then RLZ-put-PRF ART house then LOC-where

(762) *Na-t va-ja-do'ñcho güi', va-jí-m-ɨt jigüi' na-m-ɨt*
SUB-PRF RLZ-let^go DEM RLZ-go-3p-PRF EMP SUB-3p-PRF

va-tu-co'i-m.
RLZ-EXT-eat-OBJ

(763) *Day ji gu gagox vɨma'n na va' mi' ji-ví, na*
just EMP ART dog with SUB then there INC-stay SUB

gu'-r soi-ga-'n jia.
but-EXS pet-STS-3s EMP

(760) So then the man went out, when it was all hard here on the earth. (761) So then he put up a house nearby. (762) Letting the birds go, they then left to go find food. (763) Only the dog then remained with him because it was his pet.

Paragraph 4

(764) *Tu-juan-da-'* *va'* *ji'cchi* *tanohl* *qui'n.*
EXT-work-DUR-FUT then several day with

(765) *Na* *mi-'áji-dya-'* *na* *va'* *mi'* *va-vit-ca-'*
SUB there-arrive-DUR-FUT SUB then there RLZ-lie-NPS-FUT

gu *timcahl.*
ART tortillas

(766) *Gu'* *primer* *gu'* *dihl* *ca-tu-dú-da-'* *ji.*
but first but alone TEM-EXT-make^tortillas-DUR-FUT EMP

(767) *Sap* *va'* *ma-'ispiar-u* *güi'.*
REU then DST-espiar-PRF DEM

(768) *"¿Jaró* *va'* *tu-dú-da-'",* *ja'p* *sap* *jum-'a'.*
who then EXT-make^tortillas-DUR-FUT like REU RFL-want

(769) *Mu-pai'* *va-dá* *na* *dir* *ba-x-chu-max* *pui'* *na* *bammi-ni.*
there-where RLZ-sit SUB from TWD-ATR-visible thus SUB there-PRE

(770) *Pui'* *xi-chi-'ic* *na-t* *va-tu-juana-m.*
thus IMP-EXT-lead^to^understand SUB-PRF RLZ-EXT-work-OBJ

(771) *Bueno,* *na-t* *va'* *gu'* *bai'* *ji-'ay* *jia,* *na-t* *pai'*
bueno SUB-PRF then but there INC-arrive EMP SUB-PRF where

miji *dir* *vus,* *gu'-r* *uví.*
there from leave but-EXS woman

(772) *Mu-ja'p* *xi-bic* *gu* *súdai',* *guio* *bammi-p* *ji-vá,*
there-area IMP-get ART water again there-REP INC-enter

bai' *va-tu-baidy-im* *jigüi'.*
there RLZ-EXT-cook-DP EMP

(773) *Bai' ji-'ay güi', bai'-ja'p dá gu cutúna-'n gu-x chuc.*
there INC-arrive DEM there-area sit ART blouse-3S ART-ATR black

(774) *Dágui-c bai' ev-vua tay chir.*
grab-PP there CLM-threw fire in

(775) *Ja'p-ni pui' va' pup jir-ma'ncam gu gagox, jix-vi'*
like-PRE thus then simply EXS-person ART dog ATR-red

ti-ti'-cam jup-jum-dú.
EXT-dress-one REP-RFL-happen

(776) *Dihl pui' chu'm ti-ti'-ca-t, mi' va-tu-baidy-im.*
alone thus looks EXT-dress-NPS-PI there RLZ-EXT-cook-DP

(777) *Ja'p-ni-m dú dyi'.*
like-PRE-RFL happen DEM

(764) He then worked for a few days. (765) Arriving there (at the house), he saw tortillas piled up. (766) But previously he had made tortillas by himself. (767) Then he decided to spy. (768) "Who is making the tortillas?" he thought. (769) He sat nearby from where he could see, like up there. (770) But he had said that he was going to work. (771) Well, as he approached (the house), (someone) came out, but it was a woman! (772) She went nearby to get water, went back in again, and began cooking. (773) He then entered (the house) and saw her black blouse off to one side. (774) He grabbed it and THREW it into the fire! (775) That's the way the dog became a person; it turned into a red-dressed (woman). (776) She had dressed herself that way, and was there cooking (777) That's how this happened.

Paragraph 5

(778) *Mi' dyir gu' na-m-it va-tu-mamra-t va'.*
there from but SUB-3P-PRF RLZ-EXT-offspring-PI then

(779) *Gu chichio'ñ ji'c mambix-am-it ay guio gu u'uv*
ART men some ten-3P-PRF arrive and ART women

mambix ip, vainti.
ten too twenty

(780) *Mi'-m-ɨt mismo bai' ji-m-ja-jóñi-ch, cada va'*
there-3p-PRF same TWD INC-RFL-3p-wife-make each then

nai'-m-ɨt va' va-tu-'oi'ñ-cha, na-m-ɨt va'
all^around-3p-PRF then RLZ-EXT-live-make SUB-3p-PRF then

va-mui'-dya jia.
RLZ-many-DUR EMP

(781) *Na-ch va' va-r-mui' na jɨ'x jir-pueblo va' ya'.*
SUB-we then RLZ-EXS-many SUB how^many EXS-town then here

(782) *Ja'p-ni ja'c sap jum-dú dyi sapoc.*
like-PRE way REU RFL-happen ART story

(778) After that then they had children. (779) They had ten boys and ten girls, twenty (in all). (780) These same (children) then intermarried there, and then went off separately to make their homes; thus they multiplied. (781) We then are many people here. (782) That's the way this story reportedly happened.

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This work is a grammatical description of Southeastern Tepehuan, a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the state of Durango in northern Mexico. The description is nonformal and emphasizes explanations of how speakers utilize the structural properties of the language to communicate semantic notions. A summary of basic phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures, is followed by a discussion of meanings conveyed through the grammar.

The semantic description begins by exploring the meanings conveyed through word classes, used to express dynamic and static situations, temporals and spatials. The focus then shifts to closed classes, where tense, aspect, and modality are explored.

To complete the survey of grammatical meaning, the particles used for coordination and subordination are described, followed by a nontraditional explanation of how these forms are used in discourse.

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