Ute Reference Grammar

T. Givón

Culture and Language Use 3

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Ute Reference Grammar

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Volume 3

Ute Reference Grammar
by T. Givón

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To the memory of Sunshine Cloud Smith

Table of contents

Preface

This is the first of a three-volume set describing the Ute language – grammar, texts, and dictionary. All three volumes are much revised and expanded renditions of the three-volume description (1979, 1980, 1985) produced during my work on the Ute Language Project for the Southern Ute Tribe. From the start, we knew we faced an emergency, with the language rapidly approaching extinction. This motivated the frenetic pace of our work in the 1970s and 1980s, culminating in descriptions that were somewhat flawed and incomplete. I have been struggling to undo the damage ever since.

Many people contributed to the Ute Language Project in various way and at different times. First and foremost are the charter member of the Ute Language Committee for the Southern Ute Tribe, 1976–1985: Lorraine Cloud Baker, Edna Russell Baker, Annie Bettini, Fritz Box, Frances Buck, Pearl Casias, Julius Cloud, Mollie Buck Cloud, Neil Buck Cloud, Ralph Nash Cloud, Bertha Burch Groves, Martha Burch Myore, Eva Taylor O'John, Georgia McKinley Pinnecoose, Sunshine Cloud Smith, Euterpe Taylor, LaVeta Vigil.

Many other tribal members contributed their knowledge of words, phrases and stories during the early years of the project: Renee Cloud Baca, Naomi Red Bajarano, Levy "Dusty" Baker, Eddie Box, Sr., Kenneth Burch, Ernestine Burch, Annabelle Eagle, Jack Frost, Lillie Frost, Stanley Frost, Essie Kent, Isobel Kent, Vida Baker Peabody, Harry Richards, Mellie Baker Santistevan, Darlene Frost Vigil, Daisie Watts, John Williams, Sr. Others helped me over the years as I worked to expand and refine my understanding of the language and the culture: Everett Burch, Bradley Hight, Alden Naranjo, Jr., Dorothy Frost Naranjo, Douglas Remington.

One person should perhaps be singled out for his role in initiating the Ute Language Project, in supporting me with advice and encouragement during the early years of the project, and in otherwise making my life on the Rez as rewarding, enjoyable and mind-blowing as it has been for the past thirty-eight years – the late Leonard Cloud Burch, long-time Chairman of the Southern Ute Tribal Council. Together with long-time tribal attorney, the late Frank "Sam" Maynes, and the Superintendent of the Ute Agency, the late Raymond DeKay, Leonard guided me through the thickets and booby-traps of life on the Rez, nudging me gently, forgivingly and by example towards a better understanding of what this enterprise was all about.

I am indebted to three friends for their patience and encouragement: Zarina Estrada Fernández, Pam Munro, and Marianne Mithun. Describing the language of other people, especially an endangered language of tenacious, patient survivors such

as the Utes, requires an equal measure of tenacity and patience, the latter of which I cannot claim to have matched. For better or worse, I fell in love with the country, the language and the people thirty-eight years ago, and have been in love ever since. I will remain ever in the debt of the Ute people for allowing me access, however frustratingly limited at times, to a beautiful country, a beautiful language, and the tantalizing vision of a beautiful, fast receding way of life.

T. Givón
White Cloud Ranch
Ignacio, Colorado
September, 2010

Foreword

In the summer of 1975 the Southern Ute Tribal Council authorized the start of the Ute Language Program. Our language had been retreating slowly, our young had ceased to learn and use it. Unless something was done soon, we felt, the Ute language was in grave danger of disappearing from the face of the earth. No people can maintain their cultural identity without a language, the vehicle of their thoughts, dreams and aspirations. If we are to remain Ute, we must protect our language from dying out, we must help it regain its rightful place in our lives, and in the hearts and minds of our people, especially our young.

Our first task was to gain an accurate description of the language as it is, meaning an alphabet, a dictionary, a grammar book and a story collection. On such a description we could then base any further work of teaching and maintaining the language. This book represents the first tangible results of our Ute Language Program. It is the product of cooperation between our Ute Language Committee and our tribal linguist, and I would like to congratulate them all on their efforts, dedication and fine work.

This book is just the beginning, it is not a final product. We hope that it will stimulate discussion, debate, and the interest of our people in our Ute language. We hope that it will draw comments, corrections and suggestions, so that it may become a firm foundation upon which we can build further; so that the next edition of this book may be a more complete one.

We would like to share the work we have done here with our brothers and sisters of the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe and the Northern Ute Tribe. We all speak the same language, we are the same people, and ultimately our language should be written as one language for the entire Ute nation; so that it may live in the hearts of our children and their children after them, just as it lived in the hearts of our fathers and their fathers before.

Leonard C. Burch, Chairman
Southern Ute Tribal Council
Ignacio, Colorado
September 1979

Namu-máy-vaa-tʉ

'ícha-'ura núu-'apaghapi 'áa-pə'əqwatʉ 'ura-'ay. Kách-'ura pə'ə-na-aqh púupa núuchi tʉvʉchi 'apagha-ta-na. 'áavʉ-'ura núu-'apaghapi nasu'a-rʉka-kwa'ay. Táwi tuachi-u-vaa-chugwa-av ka-núu-wáygya-wa-tʉ-mʉ. Toghosapa-'ura núu-'apagha-pi ma'ay-ti-kya-paani, 'úvwayaqh-'ura 'iya-tukhwa miya'ni-vaani.

Nʉ́mʉ-ga núu-'apaghapi pə'ə-qwa-paachi tʉ́ʉ-'ásti-kya-y, 'umʉ míi-mhpʉ chi-u pʉchuchugwa-qha-paaku, súuvatʉ-mʉ-aani núuchi-u pʉ-pʉnikya-vaaku, pu-puchuchugwa-vaaku, náagha-tʉ tavay 'umʉs máa-pani pə'ə-qwa-paa-tʉ-mʉ-sapa 'ura-'ay, kách-'uru tʉ́sapa púupa núuchi tʉ́u-wáygya-ta-na-av sumua-qha-paa-'wa-ni.

'ícha-'ura 'anə́-pə'ə-qwa-na-aqh 'ura-'ay, súuvatʉ-ni-'ura piya-yis 'ura-vaa-tʉ. Súuvatʉ-mʉ-ni núuchi-u núu-'apagha-na-av piyəmhchi-kya-y, ma-vaa-tʉ pʉ́ka-tʉ su'a-qha-paachi.

'áavʉ-'ura tʉvʉchi núu-waygya-rʉ-mʉ ka-'ava'na-wa-tʉ-mʉ miya'ni, náagha-tʉ tavay-'ura ká-miya'ni-vaa-'wa-tʉ-mʉ. 'úru-'ura pə'ə-kway-ku-aqh, núu-'apagha-pi ka-ma'ayh-paa-'wa-tʉ. Togho-sapa-'ura nʉ́mʉ pə'ə-qwa-y-aqh.

Núu-wáygya-rʉ-mʉ

First word

This is our new book of the Ute language. The way it is to be spoken rightly has never been written down before. Now our language can be looked at, written and read. We have stopped speaking Ute to our children. For this reason our language is in danger of dying out, it may go away from us.

We would very much like to have our language written down, so that the young ones will learn it, so that other Utes will see it and come to know it, so that some day they too may write it like this, so that the way the Ute language should be spoken will never be forgotten.

This one is only the first book we have put together, others will follow. Other Utes love the language too, so we hope they will find this book to their liking.

There are few speakers of our language left now, and some day they will not be walking the earth any more. This is why we must write it down, so that our language will not be lost. For this reason, we have written this book.

Ute Language Committee
Southern Ute Tribe
Ignacio, Colorado,
August 1979

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Ute, Numic and Uto-Aztecan

Ute belongs to the northern division of **Uto-Aztecan**, a language family that spans the distance from the Rocky Mountains to the Popocatepetl volcano south of Mexico city. Within Northern Uto-Aztecan, Ute belongs to the **Numic** sub-family, the northern-most branch. And within Numic, Ute is part of the cluster of closely related **Southern Numic** languages. The Numic sub-family is divided into three main branches:

- **Northern**: The Shoshone cluster
- **Central**: The Northern Paiute cluster
- **Southern**: Chemehueve, Kawaisu, Southern Paiute, Ute

Anthropologists suggest that the Numic people spread from south-eastern California in two waves. The northern and central branches began their spreading as far back as 2,500 years ago, first going north to the western fringes of the Great Basin (today's eastern Oregon and western Nevada); then perhaps 1,000 years later spreading east across the Great Basin through Nevada, western Utah and southern Wyoming. One Shoshone group, Comanche, made it all the way to the Llano Estacado of west Texas.[1]

The migration of the Southern branch from California is more recent, probably within the last 1,000 years. Two groups, Chemehueve and Kawaisu, are still in southern California. The Southern Paiute and Ute went up the Colorado river to the Grand Canyon region, from where some of the Southern Paiute proceeded north up the Kaibab Plateau of present-day Utah. Others went further up the Colorado and the San Juan rivers, from whence some So. Paiute reached as far as Blanding in present-day southeastern Utah. The Utes migrated the farthest, up the rivers and into the Colorado Rockies and the mountains of eastern Utah. Thus, while the Northern Paiute and Shoshone clusters are distinct languages, Ute, Southern Paiute, Chemehueve and

1. See Aikens (1994), Jorgensen (1994).

Kawaisu can be considered closely-related dialects of the same language, with separation depths of 500-to-1,000 years.

At the time of early contact with the encroaching Spanish and Anglo settlers, beginning ca. 1600AD, about seven Ute bands roamed the mountains of western Colorado and eastern Utah. Their approximate ranges were:[2]

i. Northern bands:

- **Uintah**: The north-eastern corner of Utah, including the Uintah and Wasach ranges and the lakes of the Wasach front.
- **Yampa ('iya-paa)/White River**: The North-eastern corner of present-day Colorado around the drainage of the White and Yampa Rivers.

ii. Central bands:

- **Grand (Pariyʉ-Núuchi̲)**: Around western-central Colorado's Grand Mesa, Grand Valley and the Colorado river.
- **Tavi'wachi̲/Uncompagre ('aka-páa-gharʉrʉ̲)**: Western Colorado's Uncompagre Plateau, the western slopes of the San Juan range and the drainage of the Uncompagre and Gunnison rivers and further east.

iii. Southern bands:

- **Weeminuchi̲ (Wʉgama Núuchi̲)**: South-Western corner of present-day Colorado and south-eastern corner of present-day Utah.
- **Moghwachi̲**: Southern drainage of the San Juan Range extending into No. New Mexico.
- **Capote (Ka̲puuta)**: North-western New Mexico around Chama, Tierra Amarilla, Colorado's San Luis Valley and the upper drainage of the Rio Grande's north fork.

The dialect boundary that divides the Northern from the Central and Southern Ute bands involves primarily phonology (pronunciation), and to a lesser extent lexicon. Regular visits among the bands, cross-marriages, ceremonial exchange and war-time alliances kept dialect differences among the Ute bands to a minimum.

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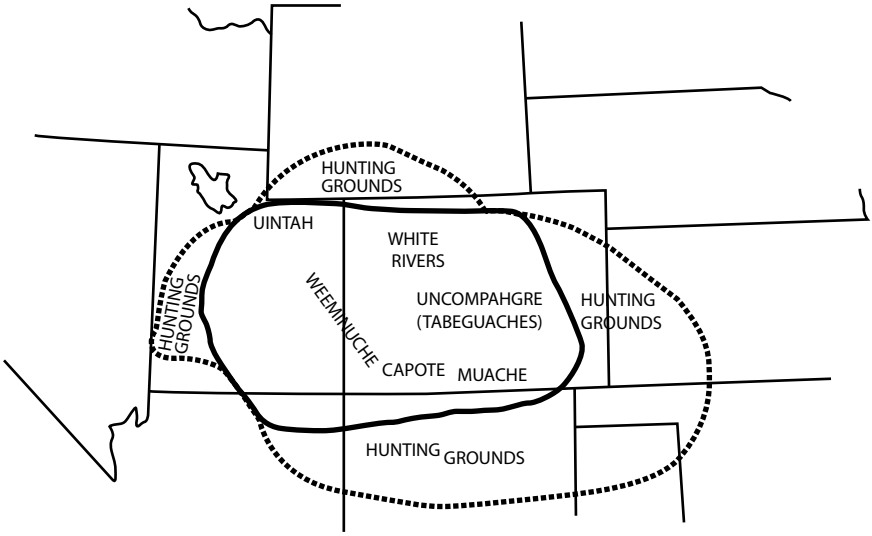
2. From Jefferson et al. (1972). Given the hunting-and-gathering culture of the Utes, the home ranges of the bands were rough approximations. The band names given here were not necessarily their native names, but often designations by outsiders, mostly by Spanish explorers.

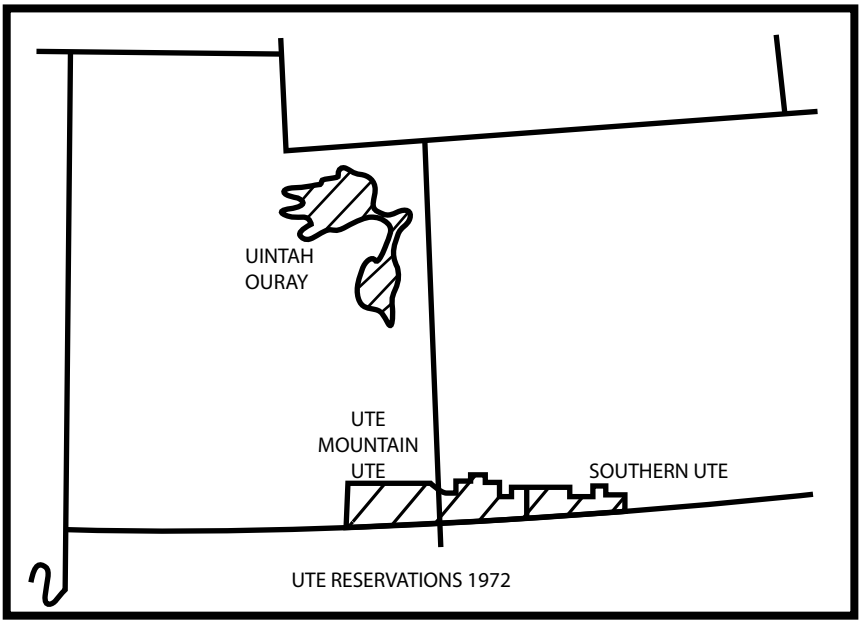


THE UTE DOMAIN (till 1870's)

The two southern-most bands, Capote and Moghwachi̲, borrowed some agricultural practices from the Spanish in northern New Mexico sometime after 1,600AD, with lexical borrowing of names of domestic animals and crops, some of which spread later to the other bands. The early borrowing of horses from the Spanish was a transformative cultural event, greatly increasing the Utes' mobility in hunting and warfare. Still, Ute culture on the whole remained a remarkably resilient hunting-and-gathering adaptation, and significant foreign cultural impact did not begin till the American expansion to the West after the Civil War.

The name *Ute*, designating both the people and their language, is not native, and its origin is unclear. It is first found in Spanish documents as *Yuta*. The Utes' self-designation harks back to *núuchi̲* 'person', thus *núuchi-u* 'the people', with the language being referred to as either *núuchi* 'of the people' or *núu-'apaghapi̲* 'the people's speech'. Currently, the Utes occupy three separate federally-recognized reservations:

- Uintah-Ouray (No. Ute) in northeastern Utah, comprising the Uintah, Tavi'wachi̲/ Uncompagre and White River/Yampa bands.
- Southern Ute in southwest Colorado, comprising the Capote and Moghwachi̲ bands.
- Ute Mountain in southwest Colorado and southeast Utah, comprising the Weeminuchi̲ band.



1.2 Earlier sources

One of the earliest sources where Ute language materials, albeit rather limited, can be found is the report of the 1776 Spanish expedition led by two Franciscan padres, Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fr. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, into Ute territory of both western Colorado and eastern Utah (Warner ed. 1976). Ca. 25–30 Ute vocabulary items are interspersed in the report, primarily person and place names. The informal Spanish transcription of the Ute sounds makes some of the items hard to decipher, but the phonological differences between the southern and northern dialects can already be discerned, in particular the homorganic consonant-nasal clusters characteristic of the northern dialect. On the whole, neither the two padres nor their lay companions were interested in the language or culture of the people they were purporting to proselytize.[3]

The first extensive ethnographic and linguistic description of Ute and many other Numic dialects from present-day Utah, Colorado and Nevada is found in the

3. In this, their attitude contrasts sharply with that of a fellow Franciscan who undertook to describe Nahuatl, the southern-most outpost of Uto-Aztecan, two centuries earlier (Molina 1571).

voluminous manuscripts left by the great Western explorer John Wesley Powell.[4] Designated presciently as Southern Numa (Southern Numic), extensive lexical, grammatical and ethnographic material from two northern dialects of Ute – Uintah and Yampa/White river – as well as closely-related Southern Paiute from the Kaibab and Kanab areas are found in Powell's manuscripts. While the transcription and spelling used by Powell are less than ideal, the materials as he wrote them are easily accessible to someone who knows Ute. What is more, they reveal the keen sensibilities of a natural-born linguist.

Somewhat disappointing are the Ute materials left by Edward Sapir, based on 6 weeks of elicitation work with a single Uintah speaker.[5] Dating from 1909, Sapir's Uintah materials pre-date his discovery of the phonemic principle. His transcribed Uintah texts, published only in 1930–31, are thus over-burdened with predictable phonetic detail, as well as with great variation in the rendition of the same lexical and grammatical items. His transcriptions also lack inter-morphemic cuts and interlineal glosses. The overall result is that morphological information is often obscured or misrepresented in Sapir's Uintah materials. Further, the traditional Uintah texts collected in 1909 predate the field availability of recording machines. As a result, clauses were elicited one by one with long interruptions for writing and preliminary analysis. The grammar of natural, fluent narrative is thus badly mis-represented in Sapir's Uintah texts.[6]

Lastly, very useful Ute language materials can be found in James Goss's work on the Southern Ute reservation in the early 1960s (Goss 1961, 1962, 1972). These materials focus on lexicon and phonology, with the former being more useful. At the time of his Ute language work, Goss practiced then-fashionable 'deep' generative phonology,

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4. Collected and edited lovingly by Fowler and Fowler (eds 1971).

5. Sapir's Uintah texts from 1909 were published as part 2. of Sapir (1930–1931), which focused primarily on Southern Paiute. The latter materials are much more extensive and of higher quality, though the transcription still suffers from over-phoneticization and other drawbacks found in the Uintah materials. Sapir designated So. Paiute as "a Shoshone language", a considerable retreat from John Wesley Powell's apt designation as "Southern Numa" (Southern Numic). Around that time, Sapir also published a 4-page linguistic description of Ute (Sapir 1910). Paradoxically, the data collected by the dilettante adventurer John Wesley Powell are much more accessible to today's linguist (let alone Ute speakers) than the data published by the great Edward Sapir.

6. Reference-marking devices (anaphoric zeros, pronouns, demonstratives, articles and full noun phrases), tense-aspect modal marking of the verbs, and inter-clausal connectives (adverbials, conjunctions) are extremely sensitive to referential and thematic continuity (see chs 6,7,8,17,18). Most of Sapir's clauses take the fully-expanded form of the paragraph-initial or chain-initial clause.

positing 'underlying' lexical representations that did justice neither to the synchronic surface phonetics nor the rule-governed phonology of Ute. Following the precedent set by N. Chomsky and M. Halle, Goss's Ute phonology is an attempt – probably unintended – to represent historically-older forms as the 'underlying' ones, deriving the current 'surface' forms by ordered rules that, to quite an extent, recapitulate the diachronic order of sound changes.[7]

1.3 What is grammar?

The bulk of the information about a language and how it is used in communication is distributed in two main repositories:

- **lexicon (dictionary)**: the inventory of words and their meanings
- **grammar**: how words are combined into meaningful utterances

The lexicon is the mental repository of relatively stable, communally-shared **concepts** about the world. By 'relatively stable' we mean that the current meaning of 'chair', 'woman', 'horse', 'mountain', 'needle', 'blue', 'eat' or 'desire' is not likely to change from one minute (or hour, or day, or year) to the next. By 'communally shared' we mean that members of the same speech community assign the same meanings to the same words.

By 'world' we mean first the **external world** of concrete entities – objects, persons, geographic features, natural phenomena, flora, fauna and artefacts. But the lexicon is also a repository of concepts about states, events and actions in which entities may partake. The lexicon also contains concepts of the **social-cultural world**, such as kin and social relations, institutions, customs, rules and laws, politics, religion, art, music, etc. Lastly, the lexicon also contains concepts about the **psychological world**, such as wish, intent, desire, love, hate, knowledge, memory, belief, thinking, grieving, speaking, etc.[8]

The sound code of the lexicon and the grammar are both **codes**. That is, they are systems of conventional signs. The lexical code is more concrete, obvious and arbitrary, being made out of, most commonly, **speech sounds**. Thus the fact that English

7. See Chomsky and Halle (1968). Further Ute ethnographic materials may be found in Kroeber (1901), Mason (1910), Stewart (1942, 1948) and Jorgensen (1972).

8. The relative stability and the communal sharing of the word meanings are, of course, a matter of degree. Words do change their meaning over a time. And different sub-parts of a speech community – family, clan, tribe, village, city, county or state/nation – exhibit different degrees of shared meaning.

God is coded in Spanish as *Dios*, in Hebrew as *Elohim*, in Arabic as *Allah* and in Ute an *Núu-maroghoma-pʉgatʉ* doesn't impinge on the fact that those sound sequences represent roughly the same – or similar – concept.[9]

The grammatical code is much more complex and abstract, and in some sense is less arbitrary. At its most basic and concrete, grammar is fashioned out of the combination of four major coding devices:[10]

(1) **Primary grammar-coding devices**:
   a. **Morphology**: the small affixes attached to lexical words
   b. **Intonation**:
      - clause-level melodic contours
      - word-level stress, tone or melodic contours
   c. **Rhythmics**:
      - pace and length
      - pauses
   d. **Sequential order**: rules that govern the order of words and morphemes as they are combined into longer utterances

These concrete coding devices combine in coding **clauses** ('sentences'). The clause is the basic unit of language-coded information processing and communication.

While it is relatively easy to perceive and understand the **semiotic relation** between lexical words and the concepts they code, the relation between grammar and what it codes is more complex and abstract. Roughly, grammar codes two major functional domains:

- **event/state information** about who did what to whom when where and how, a relatively concrete domain; and
- **discourse pragmatics**, a more complex and abstract domain pertaining to the communicative context in which event/state information is transacted in connected discourse.

Event/state information, like the lexicon, is about the external, social-cultural or psychological world. Discourse pragmatics, on the other hand, is about the **communicative processes** itself – about the sequencing of information in connected discourse, or the communicative interaction between the speaker and hearer.

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9. Cross-cultural sameness or similarity of concepts and word-meanings is again a matter of degree.

10. Grammar also includes various more-abstract elements, such as constraints and government-and-control rules.

The entire combinatorial system of language as a tool of communication is organized as three hierarchic levels:

(2) **Language as a hierarchic combinatorial system**:

a. **words**, coding concepts;
b. **clauses**, coding events or states where lexical words are combined;
c. **multi-clausal discourse**, where clauses are combined into larger chunks of coherent communication such as clause-chains, paragraphs, episodes or whole texts.

The hierarchic, combinatorial relation between lexical words, event/state clauses and multi-clausal discourse, and the privileged role of grammar in coding multi-clausal coherence, may be illustrated with the following simple example. Consider first the set of lexical words in (3) below:

(3) **Lexical words**:

eventually	police	conclude
dancer	drive	insane
director	proposition	lewdly
shoot	gun	smuggle
theater	night	before

We understand the meaning of these words regardless of the clauses in which they may be embedded.

With the addition of appropriate grammatical morphology, we can combine the lexical words in (3) into coherent simple clauses, as in (4) below (with the grammatical morphemes bold-faced):

(4) **Propositions (clauses)**:

a. Eventually **the** police conclud**ed that** […]
b. [**Someone**] dr**o**ve **the** dancer insane.
c. **The** director propositio**ned the** dancer lewdly.
d. **The** dancer sh**o**t **the** director with **a** gun.
e. **The** dancer smuggl**ed the** gun into **the** theater **the** night before.

We understand the meaning of these isolated clauses regardless of the discourse context in which they are embedded – provided of course that we understand the meaning of their component words and the function of the grammatical morphemes.

With proper adjustment of the grammatical morphology and the application of other syntactic rules, we can now combine the five simple clauses in (4) into the coherent multi-clausal discourse in (5):

(5) **Multi-clausal discourse**:
   a. Eventually **the** police conclud**ed that**,
   b. **having been** driv**en** insane
   c. **by the** director's lewd propositio**ning**,
   d. **the** dancer sh**ot him** with **a** gun
   e. **which she had** smuggled into **the** theater **the** night before.

Now, if we were to re-order the connected clauses in (5) without re-adjusting their grammatical structure, the resulting discourse, as in (6) below, would be incoherent:

(6) c. **By the** director's lewd propositio**ning**
   b. **having been** driv**en** insane
   d. **the** dancer sh**ot him** with **a** gun
   a. eventually **the** police conclud**ed tha**t
   e. **which she had** smuggl**ed** into **the** theater **the** night before.

Some of the incoherence of (6) is of course due to the new order itself: Events have their own real-world coherent order. Normally one aims a gun and presses the trigger before one shoots the gun, and the victim falls dead only subsequently. But if we now re-adjust the grammatical form of the clauses in (6), the re-ordered sequence may yield a coherent – if different – discourse, as in (7) below:

(7) c. **Because he** propositio**ned her so** lewd**ly**
   b. **and thus** drove **her** insane,
   d. **the** dancer sh**ot the** director with **a** gun, **which**,
   a. **as the** police eventually conclud**ed**,
   e. **she had** smuggl**ed** into **the** theater **the** night before.

What this simple-minded example demonstrates is that it is the **communicative coherence** requirements of multi-clausal discourse, rather than the event semantics of isolated clauses, that motivate our specific packaging of the same event/state clauses into different grammatical forms.

1.4 What is a reference grammar?

1.4.1 Mental vs. descriptive grammar

What was said in the preceding section about lexicon and grammar pertains to these two core components of human communication as **mental entities**, i.e. systems of knowledge and processing embedded in the speaker-hearer's mind. A reference grammar does not pretend to be a description of the speaker-hearer's mental grammar. Rather, it more modestly aspires to describe the regularities found in the

speaker-hearer's observed acts of communication. In such an endeavor, the linguist collaborates with the speakers in producing a systematic description of their speech behavior.

1.4.2 Descriptive vs. pedagogic grammar

A reference grammar is descriptive rather than pedagogical. It presents information about the grammar in a sequence and manner that, hopefully, make it easier to understand grammatical structures consciously and analytically. It is not a teaching grammar, nor a school textbook. It does, however, aspire to represent accurately all the information about the grammar that can subsequently be the basis for writing teaching materials. A descriptive grammar is thus a prerequisite to a pedagogical grammar.

1.4.3 Synchronic vs. diachronic grammar

Like the lexicon, grammar is always in the midst of change. While communally such change may be slow and gradual, it produces considerable – if sometime subtle – usage variation among speakers, as well as within the speech of the same speaker. Language change is a sub-conscious, spontaneous, ever-present natural phenomenon that happens on the fly during communication. A reference grammar, by necessity, overemphasizes the uniformity of grammatical usage within the speech community. But since change is always ongoing, today's **synchronic** grammar bears the unmistakable footprints of the protracted **diachronic** changes that brought it – over years, decades, centuries and millennia – to its current state. While our Ute reference grammar is primarily a synchronic description, it takes a conscious account, whenever possible, of the diachrony of various grammatical sub-systems. It thus conforms to the proposition that synchronic states of grammar, irregular and baffling as they may seem, find their best and most coherent explanation in the sequence of diachronic changes that brought them into being.[11]

1.4.4 Literacy and spoken language

Language is fundamentally a spoken instrument of communication. In cultures that have a long tradition of literacy, there is a considerable difference – in pronunciation, lexical usage and grammar – between the spoken and written varieties. Most often, the spoken dialect(s) are more progressive and innovative, while the written dialects are

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11. For the theoretical arguments that justify these innocuous assertions, see Givón (1971, 2009).

more conservative. Writing systems, in particular, are often historical, representing the way words used to be pronounced long ago.

In a traditional small-scale society whose language has not been committed to writing till recently, the descriptive linguist has it both easier and harder. Easier because s/he can represent in a written form the pronunciation and grammar of the language the way it is spoken now. Harder because the people may be literate and educated in a different language, and are thus accustomed to another writing system and literary tradition.

In writing this description of Ute grammar and its companions text collection and dictionary, I have strived to represent the spoken language of the tribal elders who contributed their time, knowledge and love of their language to this enterprise. In a traditional oral society, the language of older people, particularly story-tellers and orators, is the closest we have to a 'literary dialect'. But it is still a natural oral language, with all its unedited spontaneity, variability and beauty. While committing the language to writing may make it seem more streamlined and rule-bound, I hope its wild beauty still shines through.

1.5 The data

The work culminating in this reference grammar is the result of 35 years of study of the Southern dialect of Ute, primarily on the Southern Ute Reservation in and around Ignacio, Colorado. The initial work was carried out while I was the director of the Ute Language Program for the So. Ute Tribe from 1976 to 1985. The speakers who contributed the information were primarily tribal elders between the ages of 60 and 85. Their contributions involved direct elicitation sessions with relatively few speakers, recorded texts contributed by a much larger group, and commentaries by the entire group during meetings of the Ute Language Committee over nine years.

The information developed during the first 10 years of work in the Ute Language Program was published by the So. Ute Tribe in three successive volumes – a dictionary, a reference grammar and a text collection.[12] Subsequently, I continued to study the language on my own, working with individual speakers and studying the collected texts. This volume, the first of a three-volume series, is a revised, corrected and expanded version of our original Ute Reference Grammar from 1980.

For necessary reasons of presentation, many of the illustrative examples cited throughout the book are based on clause-level elicitation, a communicative artifact. Such examples were, however, constructed by analogy with examples found

12. Givón (1979, 1980, ed. 1985).

in natural text. And whenever possible, they were supplemented or superceded by examples from our Ute texts.

1.6 Intended audiences and uses

While being a description of the southern dialect of Ute, this book is applicable to all dialects, with obvious adjustments, primarily for the sound system, for the northern dialect. Cross-band differences, even within the same reservation, tend to be exaggerated, and represent natural cross-communal variation. Some of the variation is due to the recent narrowing of the communicative sphere and the shrinking of the speakers pool. On the Southern Ute reservation, no more than ca. 50 fluent speakers remain, most of them over 65 years old. The speaker pools in Ute Mountain and Northern Ute are larger but shrinking. If the language is to survive, minor usage differences must be ignored, perennial resentments must be put aside, and efforts by the three Ute tribes must be pooled.

This book is intended, at least potentially, for four disparate audiences. First, for Ute speakers who wish to think about their language more consciously and systematically. Second, for younger Ute people who wish to learn about the Ute language. Third, for language teachers and teaching-materials writers, as reference book and guide in the preparation of Ute teaching materials. And lastly, for linguists interested in learning about a beautiful language. It would be only natural that some of the intended audiences find themselves less well-served than others. All a linguist can do is keep trying. Implicitly, this book may also be used as a gentle introduction to grammar, and how to write grammatical descriptions.

1.7 Organization of the book

We open with a description of Ute **phonology** (sound system) and **orthography** (ch. 2). We then follow with a chapter on word classes and word structure (ch. 3), a prerequisite to both the dictionary and grammar. The next cluster of chapters deal with the structure of **simple clauses**, beginning with the description of predicate types, verb classes, participant roles and grammatical relations (ch. 4). A diachronic chapter follows, reconstructing the history of the Ute case-marking system (ch. 5). The next three chapters describe the core grammar of simple clauses, noun phrases and verb phrases: the tense-aspect-modality and negation system (ch. 6), the grammar of referential coherence (ch. 7), and the grammar of larger noun phrases (ch. 8).

Several subsequent chapters deal with the structure of **complex clauses**. Chapters 9, 12, 13, and 17 deal with various types of **subordinate clauses**. Chapter 10 deals

with **de-transitive voice,** and ch. 11 with the diachrony of passive clauses. Chapter 14 describes the grammar of **non-declarative** speech-acts (questions, commands).

A description of possession clauses (ch. 15) and comparative clauses (ch. 16) follows. Chapter 18 furnishes an overview of **clause chaining** in connected discourse, already introduced in various earlier chapters (6,7,8,12,17). Chapter 19 deals with **lexical derivation**, a process relevant to both the grammar and the dictionary. And the short ch. 20 lists some of the common interjections and set expressions.

1.8 Abbreviations of grammatical terms

These abbreviations appear primarily in upper case (capitals) in the inter-lineal glosses of Ute examples, or in phrase-structure tree diagrams. The meaning and use of the term are amply explained and illustrated in the relevant chapters.

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb, adverbial
AGT	agent (role)
AN	animate
ANT	anterior (aspect)
ASP	aspect
ASS	associative (role)
BEN	benefactive (role)
BKGR	background (aspect)
C	clause
CAUS	causative
CLO	closure (aspect)
COMP	complementizer, complement clause
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative (role)
DEF	definite
DEFUN	defunct
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direction
DU	dual (number)
EMPH	emphasis
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future (mode)
GEN	genitive, possessor (case)
HAB	habitual (aspect)
HORT	hortartive (mode)
IMM	immediate (aspect)
IMPER	imperative (speech-act)
INAN	inanimate
INCEP	inceptive (aspect)
INCL	inclusive
INST	instrumental (role)
INT	intensive (aspect)
INVIS	invisible
IO	indirect object (case)
IRR	irrealis (mode)
LOC	locative (role)
MANN	manner (role)
MASS	mass (number)
MOD	modal (suffix)
N	noun
NEG	negative (mode)
NOM	nominal, nominalizer (suffix)
NP	noun phrase
O	object (case)
OWN	possessive-reflexive
PAR	participle (aspect)
PART	partitive
PASS	passive (voice)
PAT	patient (role)

PERF	perfect, anterior (aspect)
PL	plural (number)
POSS	possession
P	post-position
PP	post-positional phrase
PRED	predicate (case)
Q	question (speech-act)
QU	quantity (question)
RECIP	reciprocal (voice)
RED	reduplicated, repetitive (aspect)
REFL	reflexive (voice)
REL	relative marker, relative clause
REM	remote (aspect)
SG	singular (number)
SU	subject (case)
SUB	subordinator (suffix)
SUBJUN	subjunctive (mode)
TOP	topic
V	verb
VIS	visible
VP	verb phrase
WH	WH-question pronoun
1P	first person plural
1S	first person singular
2P	second person plural
2S	second person singular
3P	third person plural
3S	third person singular

CHAPTER 2

Sound system and orthography

2.1 Preliminaries

This chapter describes the sound system and orthography of Ute. It is not intended as a complete phonology, which should include at the very least:

- the inventory of all speech sounds used in the language;
- the phonological processes (rules) that apply to the sounds in all phonetic and morphemic environments.

Of these two, our aim here is for a reasonably complete – if not fully technical – phonetic description of the speech sounds (phonemes) of Ute and their articulation, together with the most common predictable variants (allophones) of those sounds.[1] Of necessity, some phonological processes will also be noted. However, a truly coherent description of the phonology of the language above and beyond the surface phonetic facts should probably be a historical one.[2] This is because the current sound system of Ute, like those of other languages, reflects past – and still ongoing – phonological changes that have followed each other over the centuries. A full historical phonology of the language is, however, outside the scope of this book.

This chapter also describes and explains the practical orthography (alphabet) we have adopted. Where this orthography diverges from the most common practices of academic linguistics, such deviations were undertaken in the interest of simplifying keyboard use and dispensing with excessive diacritic marks above and below the letters.[3] In this connection, one may as well note that members of the three Ute tribes are

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1. A fuller, more technical phonetic description of Ute, including acoustic phonetics, may be found in Oberly (2008).

2. This observation often goes unacknowledged. Thus, for example, Chomsky and Halle's (1968) *Sound Pattern of English* was, implicitly but obviously, a recapitulation of the historical phonology of English, recast as 'synchronic' ordered rules.

3. For earlier and less-clement versions of this orthography, see Givón (1979, 1980, ed. 1985).

all literate in English, and that a measure of orthographic carryover from English to Ute is both unavoidable and desirable.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Vowels and their pronunciation

Vowel sounds are typically open and resonant, with no narrow obstruction of the air-steam at the point of articulation. They are produced, typically, with the vocal cords vibrating, although Ute also has silent (de-voiced, whispered) vowels is some contexts. Basic Ute vowels can be characterized in terms of three articulatory features:

- Point of articulation;
- tongue height;
- lip rounding.

Table 2.1 below presents the basic vowels of Ute, with phonetically-predictable variants (allophones) given in square brackets. For vowels, the frontal point of articulation is, roughly, at the palatal level; the central point of articulation is at the palatal-velar level; and the back point of articulation is at the velar level. Back vowels are typically rounded, unless otherwise indicated. Front and central vowels are typically un-rounded, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 2.1. Ute vowels
point of articulation

front	front-rounded	central	back-unrounded	back	tongue height
i		[ɨ]	ʉ	u	**high**
[e]	ɵ			[o]	**mid**
[æ]		a			**low**

In the space below, Ute vowels – including their predictable variants (allophones) – are described in order, and examples of Ute words that include the various vowel sounds are given. Whenever possible, pronunciation hints from English, Spanish or other languages may be given.

/i/ (high front vowel)

This vowel is pronounced roughly like the English vowel is '**see**', 'pl**ea**se' or 'Lou**i**se'. However, it can be either long or short (see further below). It may be found in Ute words such as:

(1) sí-gyarʉ ‘grey’ (inan.)
kani-gyatʉ ‘home owner’
míi-pʉchi ‘a small one’
ˈuni-ˈni ‘doing/living’
píischi-u ‘children’

/u/ (high back rounded vowel)

This vowel is pronounced roughly like the English vowel in ‘f**oo**l’ or ‘sh**oo**t’, and can be either long or short. It may be found in Ute words such as:

(2) t**úu**-kwarʉ ‘black’ (inan.)
kam**u**chi ‘hare’
n**úu**chi-**u** ‘(Ute/Indian) people’
k**u**c**u**-p**u**k**u** ‘cow’

/ʉ/ (high back unrounded vowel)

This vowel does not exist in English, but is the most common vowel in Ute, where it can be either long or short. In may be found in Ute words such as:

(3) t**úʉ**-ˈay ‘it is good’
ˈ**ʉʉ** ‘yes’
karʉ-ˈnapʉ ‘chair’
tʉpʉychi ‘rock’
káa-pʉga ‘(s/he) sang’
kʉrʉki ‘(s/he) is getting up’

[ɨ] (high central vowel)

This vowel is a predictable variant (allophone) of the high-back-unrounded vowel [ʉ], and is not indicated in our orthography. It is pronounced as in the unstressed English vowel in words such as ‘parr**o**t’, ‘pell**e**t’, ‘pest**i**cide’, ‘gam**u**t’, or ‘b**a**zaar’. It is typically, but not consistently, found when the basic vowel /ʉ/ is unstressed and follows a frontal or palatal consonant, as in:

(4) ˈátʉ-maykh- ‘saying well’
sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ ‘white’ (an., sg.)
ˈʉmʉ-sʉ-ga ‘and (as for) you’
tʉí-yʉ ‘deer’ (obj. form)

/a/ (low central vowel)

This vowel is pronounced roughly like the English vowel in ‘f**a**ther’, ‘c**a**r’, ‘J**o**hn’ or ‘t**o**p’, and can be either long or short. It may be found in Ute words such as:

(5) s**á**-ghar**ʉ** ‘white’ (inan.)
ˈ**a**k**a**-ghar**ʉ** ‘red’ (inan.)
m**a**m**a**chi ‘woman’
m**áa**mchi-u ‘women’ (more than two)
t**áa**-taˈw**a**chi-u ‘men’ (more than two)

[e] (mid front vowel)
[æ] (low front vowel)

These two vowels are two versions of a predictable variant of the vowel **/a/**, and neither is marked in our orthography. Younger speakers often use the variant [e], as in the English words 'b**ai**t' or 'l**a**te' or 'g**e**t'. Older speakers most commonly use the variant [æ], as in the English words 'c**a**t', 'n**a**p, or 'm**a**n'. The phonetic environment that most commonly conditions this variant of /a/ is proximity of the glide /y/ or the front vowels /i/ or /ɵ/.

(6)	**phonetic variant**		**underlying phonemic version**
	kani-gyætʉ	'home owner'	/kani-gya-tʉ/
	sinaævi	'wolf'	/sinaa-vi/
	ˈini-kyæ-tʉ	'made'	/ˈini-kya-tʉ/
	ˈɵæ-qarʉ	'yellow' (inan.)	/ˈɵa-qa-rʉ/
	ˈura-ˈæy	'is'	/ˈura-ˈay/

/ɵ/ (front mid rounded vowel)

This vowel was probably, historically, a predicted variant of [o], but that situation has been reversed, so that **/ɵ/** is now the more common (unmarked) vowel and **[o]** its predictable variant ('allophone') in a restricted set of environments. This vowel is not found in English, but can be found in French words such as f**eu**ille ('leaf') or German words such as K**ö**ln (Cologne). It may be seen in Ute words such as:

(7)	pɵˈɵ-kwa-tʉ	'book'
	ˈɵa-qa-rʉ	'yellow' (inan.)
	ˈɵɵ-vi	'bone'
	mɵchɵ-pʉ	'facial hair', 'moustache'

[o] (back mid vowel)

This vowel is the predictable, less-frequent (marked) variant of **/ɵ/**. It is pronounced roughly as in the English words 'd**oo**r', 'fl**oo**r', 'f**ou**r' or 'm**o**re', but can be either long or short. It appears only before or after the back consonant sounds **[gh]**, **[q]** or **[qh]**,[4] as in the Ute words:

4. The distribution statement of [q]/[qh]/[gh] vis-a-vis [o] is somewhat circular, since one of the two conditioning environments of [qh] and [gh], both predictable variants of /k/, is the phonetic environments [o]– or –[o]. While this may be a problem for theoretical phonology, it will not concern us here.

(8) t**o**gh**o**y-aqh 'it is good', 'thanks'
t**o**gh**o**a-vi̲ 'rattle-snake'
qh**o**qh 'bull-snake'
'agh**o**-chi̲ 'dish'
'aqh**o**-tʉ̲ 'thick' (inan.)

Since the two variants [**o**] and /**ɵ**/ are so strikingly different to both the ear and the palate of English speakers, we have elected to mark both in our Ute orthography.

2.2.2 Short vs. long vowels

Ute vowels can be either short (single vowel) or long (double vowel), and the difference is significant for meaning and must be marked in the writing system. The difference between long and short vowels is independent of whether the vowels are stressed or not. In some cases, one gets minimal pairs marked solely by vowel length. In others, just a phonetic contrast. Thus consider:

(9)

short vowel		**long vowel**	
whc**a**-y	'wrapping'	whc**áa**-y	'swirling'
m**á**y-kya	'said'	m**aa**y-kya	'found', 'saw'
s**á**-gha-rʉ̲	'white' (inan.)	s**áa**-gha-rʉ̲	'raw'
p**i**wa-n	'my spouse'	p**íi**schi-u	'boys'
tʉka-y	'eating'	tʉ́ʉ-'a-tʉ̲	'good'
		'ʉʉ	'yes'
pɵ'ɵ-kwa-tʉ̲	'book'	**'ɵɵ**-vi̲	'bone'
'uru	'it' (obj.)	**'úu**-pa	'that-a-way' (invis.)

2.2.3 Stressed vs. unstressed vowels

Ute vowels are either stressed or unstressed, and one vowel in each lexical word must be stressed. The obligatory word-stress can appear in only two possible positions in the word:[5]

- second vowel of the word (most common pattern; unmarked)
- first vowel of the word (less common pattern; marked)

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5. This description applies to simple words. The situation of compound words, made out of two or more lexical stems, is a bit more complex. The primary word-stress is defined on first lexical stem in the compound, but the second (or third) may be also carry one word-level stress, albeit somewhat reduced. This situation is reminiscent of the stress-reduction rules of English compounds. In only one exceptional word – *mʉrʉ́ka-chi̲* 'white person' – is the stress placed on the third syllable. This may be due to early borrowing from Spanish (*americano*). Some speakers have regularized the stress on this word to the more common second-vowel position – *mʉrʉ́ka*-chi̲.

Examples of both patterns are:

(10)

second-vowel stress		**first-vowel stress**	
'aá-vʉ-n	'my upper arm'	'áa-vʉ-n	'now I…'
tʊó-vʉ-n	'my hind quarter'	tóʊ-vʉ-n	'my thigh/lap'
pagʉ́	'fish'	págʉ	'trout'
suwá	'almost'	súwa	'straight out'
pʉká	'hard', 'vigorously'	pʉ́ka	'persistently'
mamáchi	'woman'	máama-chi-u	'women'
sarí-chi	'dog'	sí-gwana-chi	'hawk'
pukú-n	'my horse'	púku	'horse'
'ʊó-vi	'bone	'ó'aqa-y	'stalking'
toghóy	'straight', 'good'	qhóqh	'bull-snake'

In some of the minimal pairs above, the two words are clearly semantically related. In some cases, minimal pairs marked by stress are the result of a morphological process – first-syllable reduplication – that has subsequently undergone simplification. Thus consider:

(11)

simple form:	pʉníkya	'(s/he) sees'
old reduplicated form:	pʉ-pʉ́nhkya	'(s/he) sees all over the place'
new reduplicated form:	pʉ́nhkya	'(s/he) sees all over the place'

The stress alternation in (10), above, between 'woman' (second-vowel stress) and 'women' (first vowel stress) is likewise due to plural formation by first-syllable reduplication.

Since the second-vowel stress pattern is, by a wide margin, the most common one in the language, and since there are only two possible patterns, our Ute orthography marks only the more exceptional (marked) pattern, that of first-vowel stress, leaving the more common second-vowel stress unmarked.[6]

2.2.4 Silent vowels

In some environments, either phonological or grammatical, Ute vowels may be de-voiced, silenced or whispered. The origin of this feature was probably purely phonetic, and the most common environments are still those of unstressed or de-stressed vowels at the

6. This follows, in the main, the convention used in Spanish, where the stress is left unmarked when it falls on the second-from-last vowel of the word, and is marked only when it falls elsewhere, the much less frequent case(s). Spanish word-stress placement is, up to a point, a mirror image of the Ute pattern.

word-final or, less commonly, word-initial position.[7] This is most conspicuous with nouns, as in:

(12)	**voiced vowel**		**silent vowel**	
	puk**ú**-n	'my horse'	púk**u̲**	'horse'
	kan**í**-vaa-t**ʉ̲**	'at the house'	kán**i̲**	'house'
	pach**á**-n	'my shoe'	pách**a̲**	'shoe'
	mamá-ch**i**-u	'(two) women'	mama-ch**i̲**	'woman'
	t**ʉ**ká-'nap**ʉ**-vwa-n	'on the table'	t**ʉ**ka-'nap**ʉ̲**	'table'
	t**ʉ**ká-p**i**	'food' (obj.)	t**ʉ**ká-p**i̲**	'food' (subj.)

Older speakers still whisper such silent vowels, so that one can, when listening carefully, tell which vowel is being whispered. It is clear that one could not dispense with writing the underlying vowel when it is silent, since it is still lurking there, and may come back to life.

Another phonetic environment where vowels can become de-voiced is in unstressed syllables beginning with a voiceless consonant (k,p,t,s,ch), or with a nasal (n,m) or a glide (w). In the case of nasals and glides, the silent vowel most commonly appears as a whispered [h]. Thus consider:

(13)	n**ʉ**ka-y	'dancing'	mama-kwa-n**h**ka-p**ʉ̲**	'Beardance'
	pagha-'n**i**	'walking about'	pagha-'n**h**-kya	'walked about'
	p**ʉ**níkya	'seeing'	p**ʉ̲**-pún**h**kya	'seeing here and there'
	w**ú**-w**h**chaay	'swirl on and on'	w**h**caay	'swirl'
	n**u**kwí	'flowing', 'running'	páa-n**h**kwi-t**ʉ̲**	'river'

In many cases, no variant is available to help us recover the identity of the underlying whispered vowel. In such cases, we use the letter [h] to mark the whispered vowel in our orthography.

The voiced vs. silent vowel contrast is used massively and systematically in one important grammatical context – to mark the distinction between the subject (also predicate and citation form) and non-subject (object, indirect object, possessive) forms of the noun and its modifiers. The subject/predicate form for most nouns has a

7. Ute vowels nowadays are most commonly either stressed, unstressed or silent. There is probably a good argument that the language used to have three degrees of stress on vowels, much like English: primary stress, secondary stress and un-stressed. The latter became the reduced vowel (schwa) in English. In Ute, it became de-voiced. The situation is more complex in compound words.

silent final vowel, the non-subject form the fully voiced vowel. With nouns that have no inherent suffix, the last vowel of the stem shows the variation. Thus consider:

(14) a. **Subject**:
'ícha kánį tú'atų 'this house is good'
this/SUBJ house/SUBJ good/PRED

b. **Predicate**:
'ícha-'ara kánį 'ura-'ay 'this is a house'
this/SUBJ-be house/PRED be-IMM

c. **Object**:
'ichá kaní 'ásti'i '(I) want this house'
this/OBJ house/OBJ want

d. **Indirect object**:
kani-naagh-tukh 'uru yuga-puga '(s/he) entered into the house'
house/OBJ-in-to the/OBJ enter-REM

e. **Possessed**:
kani yuuruwa-pų 'the house's door'
house/GEN door-SUF/SUBJ

Most Ute nouns come with a suffix, and it is the word-final suffix vowel that displays the voicing variation:

(15) a. **Subject:**
'áapa-chį 'u 'avatu-mų 'that boy is big'
land-SUF/SUBJ the/SUBJ big-AN

b. **Predicate:**
'ína-'ara 'áapa-chį 'ura-'ay 'this (one) is a boy'
this/SUBJ-be boy-PRED be-IMM

c. **Object:**
'aapa-chi 'uway punikya-puga '(s/he) saw the boy'
land-SUF/OBJ the/OBJ see-REM

d. **Indirect object:**
'áapa-chi-wa wúuka-puga '(s/he) worked with the boy'
land-SUF/OBJ-with work-REM

e. **Possessed:**
'áapa-chi kanį 'the boy's house'
boy-SUF/GEN house/SUBJ

Since the subject noun in Ute is often left unexpressed, and since the optional subject and object suffix pronouns on the verb are identical, the final vowel voicing distinction plays a potentially important role in disambiguating clauses. Thus compare:

(16) a. **Subject**: mama-ch**i̲** pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u
woman/SUBJ see-REM-3s/OBJ
'the woman saw him/her'

b. **Object**: mama-ch**i** pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u
woman/OBJ see-REM-3s/SUBJ
's/he saw the woman'

In our Ute orthography, silent vowels are underlined.

2.3 Consonants and their pronunciation

Consonants are typically more closed and less-sonorous articulations, as compared to vowels. In Ute, they can be defined by three main articulatory features:

- **Point of articulation**: the stationary point along the palate, upper teeth or upper lip at which the moving part – either the tongue or the lower teeth or lip, makes a full or partial closure of the air stream;
- **Voicing**: whether the glottis – voice box – does vibrate (voiced) or does not vibrate (voiceless) during the articulation of the consonant;
- Other manners of articulation:
  - **Degree of closure**: whether the closure at the point of articulation is complete (stop), or partial (fricative), or both in order (affricate).
  - **Nasalization**: Whether the air stream goes out only through the oral cavity, (oral consonant), or also simultaneously through the nasal cavity (nasal consonant), i.e. with the epiglottis held open.
  - **Gliding**: Whether the tongue is moving toward or away from the point of articulation during the articulation (glide).

Both nasal and glide consonants in Ute are voiced by default.

Table 2.2. below lists all Ute consonants according to their articulatory features. Consonants that are predictable variants (allophones) are given in square brackets.

Table 2.2. Ute consonants
position of articulation

manner	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t	ch	k	[q]	'
voiceless fric.		s		[kh]	[qh]	[h]
voiced fric.	v	r		g	[gh]	
nasal	m	n				
glide	w		y			

/p/ (voiceless bi-labial stop)
/v/ (voiced bi-labial fricative)

The consonant /p/ is pronounced as in English '**p**oor', '**p**ick', '**p**at' or 'ho**p**'. One can see it in Ute words such as:

(17)
páa	'water'
'áa**p**a-chi̱	'boy'
tʉvʉ-**pʉ̱**	'earth'
pía-n	'my mother'
'i**p**i-chi̱	'red clay used for body painting'

Historically, this consonant used to be found only in word-initial positions, alternating with **/v/** in mid-word (inter-vocalic) positions. The consonant /v/ is pronounced as /b/ and /v/ in inter-vocalic positions in Spanish, as in words such a *ha**b**as* or *la **v**erdad*. Traces of this old predictable (allophonic) variation can be still found in examples such as:

(18)
initial/voiceless		**medial/voiced**	
pía-pi̱	'female'	kava-**v**ía-p(i̱)	'mare'
		horse-female	
pagʉ	'fish/trout'	**'**aká-**v**agʉ	'red fish'
		red-fish	
pʉ́a-n	'my kin'	núu-**v**ʉ́a-n	'my Ute kin'
		Ute-kin-my	

However, at both word-medial and word-final – that is, before a silent final vowel – both /p/ and /v/ can be found now, and can indeed form minimal pairs. Thus compare:

(19)
voiceless		**voiced**	
'i**p**i-chi̱	'red clay'	**'**i**v**i-chi̱	'stick'
'áa**p**a-chi̱	'boy'	**'**áa**v**as	'Haba beans' (Sp.)
pía-**p**i̱	'female'	pa**'**a-**v**i̱	'insect'
páa-**p**ʉ̱	'blood'	**'**áa**v**ʉ̱	'now'
'úu-**p**a	'that-a-way'	ma-**v**a	'there' (vis.)
nana-**p**ʉ-chi̱	'little old man'	mama-saghoy-**v**ʉ-chi̱	'little old woman'

/t/ (voiceless dental stop)
/r/ (voiced dental tap)

The consonant /t/ is pronounced as its English counterpart, as in '**t**ick', '**t**en**t**' or 'pa**t**'. It can be seen in the Ute words:

(20) **t**ua-chi-n ‘my child’
tʉi-y**ʉ̲** ‘deer’
'avat**ʉ̲** ‘big’ (inan.)
túu-kwa-r**ʉ̲** ‘black’ (inan.)
táa ‘shirt’
toghoyaqh ‘it is good’, ‘thank you’
mava-**t**ukh ‘moving to the right’, ‘that -a way’ (vis.)

Like /p/, above, /t/ used to appear only in word-initial positions, and alternated with /r/ in mid-word (intra-vocalic) positions. To this day, /r/ is not found at the beginning of words. The voiced variant /r/ is pronounced like the non-initial Spanish /r/ in words such as *para* (‘for’) or *volver* (‘return’). Typical examples in Ute are:

(21) sa**r**i-ch**i̲** ‘dog’
Núu-ma**r**oghoma-p**ʉ**ga-t**ʉ̲** ‘The Creator’
sá-gha-**r**ʉ̲ ‘white’ (inan.)
p**ɵ**r**ɵ̲**-i ‘(they) are walking’

Traces of the old allophonic variation are still seen in examples such as:

(22)	**initial/voiceless**		**medial/voiced**	
	tuach**i̲**	‘child’	núu-**r**uach**i̲**	‘Ute child’
	tʉi-y**ʉ̲**	‘deer’	sá-**rʉ**i-y**ʉ̲**	‘white deer’
	táa	‘shirt’	**'**aka-**r**áa	‘red shirt’

Like the /p/-/v/ anternation, above, /t/ and /r/ can both appear, and thus contrast, in word-medial and word-final positions, suggesting that the older allophonic variation has again become partially phonemicized. Thus compare:

(23)	**voiceless**		**voiced**	
	mava-**t**ukh	‘that-a-way’ (vis.)	mava-**r**ukhw**a̲**	‘down there’ (vis.)
	'ini-kya-**tʉ̲**	‘made’	pana-qa-**rʉ̲**	‘shining’, ‘money’
	túu-**t**áa	‘black coat’	**'**aka-**r**áa	‘red shirt’

/k/ (voiceless velar stop)
/g/ (voiced velar fricative)

The consonant /k/ is pronounced just like its English counterparts in ‘**c**old’, ‘ki**ss**’, ‘brea**k**’, ‘ta**ck**’ or ‘Mac’. It can be found in Ute words such as:

(24) **k**an**i̲** ‘house’
'a**k**a-gha-r**ʉ̲** ‘red’ (inan.)
pu**k**u-n ‘my horse’
kuchu-puk**u̲** ‘cow’

Historically, /k/ appeared only in word-initial positions, and alternated with its voiced counterpart /g/ in medial – intra-vocalic – positions. Traces of the old alternation can be still found in examples like:

(25)

initial		**medial**	
kani	'house'	núu-**g**an(i)	'tipi'
kwana-chi	'eagle'	sí-**g**wana-chi	'hawk' (lit. 'grey eagle')
kava	'horse'	sá-**g**ava	'white horse'

The consonant /g/ still cannot appear in word-initial position. It is pronounced as in the Spanish words *pagar* ('pay') or *luego* ('then').

[kh] (voiceless velar fricative)

This consonant is one of a series of velar or uvular fricatives that are, or used to be, predicted (allophonic) variants of /k/ or /g/ (see below). Its distribution is restricted to some word-final environments, themselves the consequence of de-voicing of final vowels. This sound does not exist in either English or Spanish. It can be found in Ute in words such as:

(26)

ma-vaa-tu**kh**wa	'that-a-way' (vis.)
'uwa-vaa-chu**kh**wa	'towards him/her' (invis.)
kani-ru**kh**wa	'under the house'

[q] (voiceless uvular stop)
[qh] (voiceless uvular fricative/affricate)
[gh] (voiced uvular fricative)

These three consonants are, historically, predicted variants of /k/ or /g/. None of them exist in English or Spanish, but the two fricatives, [qh] and [gh], can be found in either German (***ach***) or French (*Paris*), respectively. The two voiceless consonants, [q] and [qh], are both – to this day – predictable variants of /k/ in two separate phonetic environments:

(27) **Predictable phonetic conditions for velarization**:
- between two vowels /a/ (a–a).
- before or after the vowel [o] (o–)/(–o).[8]

The voiced variant [gh] is a predictable variant of /g/ in terms of its velar position (condition (27) above). However, its voicing, much like the voicing of /g/, is not fully predictable. Like other voiced stops in Ute, it cannot appear in word-initial positions.

8. We have already noted (FN 3, above) the circularity of the conditions governing the sounds [o] and [q/qh/gh].

But in word-medial positions it can now contrast with [qh]. One may thus consider it a predictable velar variant of /g/. Examples of these three consonants in Ute words are:

(28)

pana-**q**a-rʉ	'shining' (inan.), 'money'
'aka-**gh**a-rʉ	'red' (inan.)
sá-**gh**a-rʉ	'white' (inan.)
sá-**qh**a-**q**a-tʉ-mʉ	'white' (an., pl.)
qo**qh**	'bull-snake'
to**gh**oy-a**qh**	'thanks', 'it's good', 'Towaoc'
to**gh**oa-vi	'rattle-snake'
'agho-ci	'dish'
pa**gh**a-**'**ni	'walking about'
Núu-maro**gh**oma-pʉgatʉ	'the Creator'

In a purely phonemic writing system, one could dispense with all these three predictable variants and use only /k/ and /g/. However, to both the ear and the mouth the velar consonants of Ute are rather striking, and are found in many high-frequency words and grammatical morphemes. We have chosen to preserve them in our orthography out of respect to the traditional pronunciation of the elders who contributed their knowledge of the language to our Ute Language Project.

/ch/ (voiceless palatal stop)

This consonant is pronounced as its English counterpart in words such as '**ch**ur**ch**', '**ch**ild', or 'pea**ch**'. It can be found in Ute words such as:

(29)

mama-**ch**i	'woman'
chaqha-**ch**i-n	'my younger brother'
wi**ch**i-**ch**i	'bird'
wii-**ch**i	'knife'
mə**ch**əpʉ	'facial hair'
chúu**ch**i	'pipe', 'sucker-fish'

/'/ (glottal stop)

This consonant doesn't exist in English or Spanish, but is very common in Ute. To begin with, all words that seem to the untrained ear to begin with a vowel in fact begin with a glottal stop, as in:

(30)

'áapa-chi	'boy'
'aka-gha-rʉ	'red' (inan.)
'ipi-chi	'red clay used as body paint'
'úu-pa	'that-a-way' (invis.)
'əə-vi	'bone'
'ʉʉ	'yes'

Some people may choose not to mark /ˈ/ in this word-initial position on grounds of predictability. However, Ute is fairly close to the idealized CVCV syllable structure, once de-voiced vowels (and related historical changes)[9] are accounted for. So that dispensing with word-initial /ˈ/ would obscure this otherwise strong regularity. Further, in many environments /ˈ/ is not predictable, and thus must be marked, as in:

(31)

pagha-ˈni	'walking about'
paghay-ˈway	'walking'
ˈura-ˈay	'being'
pʉni-ˈni	'looking'
paˈa-manuni	'completely, all'
taˈwa-chi̱	'man'

What is more, in many cases one finds minimal pairs, where meaning contrasts depend on the presence vs. absence of the glottal stop. Thus compare:

(32)

no glottal stop		**glottal stop**	
maa-vi̱	'vegetation'	maˈa-vi̱	'weeds'
ˈʊa-qa-rʉ̱	'yellow' (inan.)	ˈʊˈa-qa-y	'sneaking on'
kʉ-i	'taking'	kʉˈi	'biting'
tapʊni	'be bound together'	tapʊˈni	'knocking'
maay	'finding'/'seeing'	maˈay	'rubbing'
pʉi-n	'I'm sleeping'	pʉˈi-n	'my eye'

/s/ (voiceless dental fricative)

This consonant is pronounced just like its English counterpart in words such as 'sit', 'masses', 'boss', 'past', or 'kiss'. It may be seen in Ute words such as:

(33)

sari-chi̱	'dog'
múusa-chi̱	'cat'
sá-gha-rʉ̱	'white' (inan.)
sí-gwana-chi̱	'hawk'
ma-sʉʉ-vʉ-n	'my finger(s)'

/m/ (labial nasal)

This Ute consonant is pronounced much like its counterpart in English. It can be seen in Ute words such as:

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9. There is both etymological and synchronic-variation evidence that suffixal sequences such as *-ni-ˈi*, *-na-ˈa* and *-wa-ˈa* have been changed into *-ˈni*, *-ˈna* and *-ˈwa*, respectively, probably through de-voicing of the first vowel into the unstable intermediates *-nˈi*, *-nˈa* and *-wˈa*, respectively.

(34) **m**a**m**a-ch**i̲** ‘woman’
míi-p**ʉ̲**-ch**i̲** ‘small’
ˈʉ́mʉ̲ ‘you’ (sg.)
múusa-ch**i̲** ‘cat’
mɵchɵ-p**ʉ̲** ‘facial hair’

/n/ (dental nasal)

This Ute consonant is pronounced much like its counterpart in English. It can be seen in Ute words such as:

(35) **n**a**n**apu-ch**i̲** ‘little old man’
ˈína̲ ‘this’ (an.)
nʉ́**ˈ** ‘I’
núu-ch**i̲** ‘person’, ‘Indian’, ‘Ute’

/w/ (labial glide)

This Ute consonant is pronounced much like its counterpart in English. It can be see in Ute words such as:

(36) **w**áy-ni ‘two’ (subj.)
wíi-t**ʉ̲**-s ‘long time ago’
ka**w**a-ch**i̲** ‘frost’
ma**w**is**i̲**-p**ʉ**ga ‘(he/she) appeared’
wii-ch**i̲** ‘knife’

There is, in addition, a predictable process of *labialization*, whereby the glide /w/ is inserted following the consonant /k/ (or /g/), yielding /kw/ (or /gw/), if the consonant is preceded by the vowels /u/, /o/ or /ɵ/. This is most conspicuous in the case of four morphemes – all suffixes – whose underlying form is /-ka/ or /-ga/: The plural marker and anterior aspect marker on the verb, the color adjective suffix, and the possession verb/suffix. In addition, /k/ or /g/ in the same four morphemes may also undergo *palatalization* – the insertion of the glide /y/ – if the preceding vowel is /i/ (or /y). As illustrations of both processes, consider:

(37) a. káa-qha ‘(s/he) sang’
káa-qha-y ‘(they) are singing’
pana-qa-r**ʉ̲** ‘shining’ (inan.)
puwa-gha-t**ʉ̲** ‘(s/he) has medicine power’

b. kar**ʉ**-ka ‘(s/he) sat’
kar**ʉ**-ka-y ‘(they) are sitting’
tagup**ʉ**-ga-t**ʉ̲** ‘(s/he) has Sundance power’

c. tagu-kwa '(s/he) was thirsty'
tagu-kwa-y '(they) are thirsty'
túu-kwa-rʉ 'red' (inan.)
túu-gwa-tʉ '(s/he) has bone marrow'

d. pɵ'ɵ-kwa '(s/he) wrote'
pɵ'ɵ-kwa-y '(they) are writing'
'ɵtɵ-kwa-rʉ 'brown' (inan.)

e. 'ini-kya '(s/he) did'
'iní-kya-pʉga '(they) did'
sí-gya-rʉ 'grey' (inan.)
kani-gya-tʉ '(s/he) has a house'

Similar labialization and palatalization are also found with the locative or irrealis suffix /-va/, as in, respectively:

(38) ma-vaa-tʉ 'there' (vis.)
tʉvʉ-pʉ-vaa-n 'on earth'
'u-vwaa-tʉ 'there' (invis.)
'i-vææ-tʉ 'here'

(39) káa-**vaa**-ni '(s/he) will sing'
'avi-**vææ**-ni '(s/he) will lie down'
káa-maku-vwaa-ni '(s/he) will finish singing'

There is some evidence suggesting that both labialization and palatalization were much more general phonologically-conditioned processes in the language, not confined to only a few morphemes.

/y/ (palatal glide)

This Ute consonant is pronounced much like its counterpart in English. It can be seen in Ute words such as:

(40) yogho-vʉ-chi 'coyote'
tugu-paya 'sky', 'upward'
yáakwi 'disappearing'
togho-y 'straight', 'good'
toghoy-aqh 'thank you', 'it is good'
tʉi-yʉ 'deer' (obj.)

2.4 Hyphenation conventions

Ute is a morphologically complex language, whereby most words, be they nouns, verbs or adjectives, have a complex internal structure (see ch. 3). That is, they are made

of multiple sub-parts (morphemes). There is good evidence, both phonological and grammatical, that the sub-parts of a Ute word are *not* themselves independent words, but rather are parts of a single word. The same is true with word compounds, where two or more lexical word-stems are joined together to make a compounded single word. In this reference grammar, we have chosen to place hyphens between all parts of the word, be they compounded lexical stems or small-size grammatical (or derivational) morphemes. This practice was chosen in order to make as clear as possible the grammatical structure of the language. Whether such a practice is advisable in a practical orthography for people who already know the language, or for language learners at various stages of proficiency, is an important issue but one that will not be addressed here.

2.5 Capitalization conventions

The capitalization conventions of English can be easily adopted for Ute, though some technical problems will require further deliberation. Of the two major conditions for capitalization in English: (i) names, and (ii) the beginning sentences, the first is probably more important. The second is not absolutely necessary, and we did not use it in this book. Punctuation with a period [.] is quite adequate for marking sentence boundaries. The comma [,] is used as in English, to mark short mid-sentence pauses. And […] is used to mark longer pauses, hesitations or discontinuity.

CHAPTER 3

Word classes and word structure

3.1 Preliminaries

As noted earlier (ch. 1), a grammar may be defined as the set of conventions (rules) used to combine meaning-bearing **words** and **morphemes** into information-bearing **utterances**. The distinction between **meaning,** a property of words or morphemes, and **information**, a property of utterances, is fundamental to our understanding of how human language is used as an instrument of communication. The description given in this chapter, of the types of words found in the language and their internal structure, is a pre-requisite for describing the rest of the grammar. However detailed our description may be, what we do in this chapter remains incomplete in two distinct ways. First, with respect to **lexical words**, the bulk of the information about them will be given in our Ute dictionary.[1] And second, the more comprehensive information about **grammatical morphemes** is given in the subsequent chapters of this book, where the various **grammatical constructions** of Ute are described together with their attendant morphology.

The distinction between lexical words and grammatical morphemes is fundamental to the workings of any language. One may distinguish between these two classes first by noting their starkly different functions. Lexical words tend to code our general knowledge about phenomena in our **universe of experience**; roughly, the types of states or events encountered, and the types of entities that partake in those states/events. This universe of experience does not encompass only physical reality ('woman', 'cat', 'tree', 'rock', 'water', 'hill', 'red', 'large', 'eat', 'break', 'run', etc.), but also social and cultural constructs ('husband', 'medicine-man', 'celebration', 'court', 'chief', 'lawful', 'polite', 'mediate', 'marry' etc.), as well as mental processes ('mind', 'love', 'fear', 'hate, 'painful', 'suspicious', 'want', 'know', 'expect', etc.). Our general knowledge of the universe of experience tends to determine the **reference** or **contents** of communication, that is, what we communicate about.

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1. The planned third volume in this series is our revised Ute Dictionary. The earlier version may be seen in Givón (1979).

Grammatical morphemes, on the other hand, are not about the universe of experience, but primarily about the **communicative process** itself. As integral part of grammatical constructions, they are thus not about the contents of communicated information, but primarily about the mechanics of communicating in specific **discourse contexts**, given the particular mined-set of the **interlocutors** at the very time when information is being transacted.[2]

In terms of a more down-to-earth diagnostic, a cluster of properties help us distinguish between lexical words and grammatical morphemes. These distinguishing properties are summarized in Table 3.1., below.

Table 3.1. Words vs. morphemes

criterion:	**words**	**morphemes**
a. **morphemic status**:	free	bound
b. **phonological size**:	large	small
c. **stress**:	stressed	unstressed
d. **semantic size**:	large	small
e. **class size**:	large	small
f. **class membership**:	open	closed
g. **function**:	world-view	grammar (communication)

- **Morphemic status**:

Lexical words tend to be free, independent words, although often they may not appear without some bound morphemes attached to them. Grammatical or derivational morphemes tends to be bound morphemes, i.e. **affixes** attached to the lexical **word-stems**.

- **Phonological size**:

Lexical words tend to be larger (longer). Grammatical and derivational morphemes tend to be smaller (shorter).

- **Stress**:

Lexical words tend carry more prominent intonation or stress. Grammatical and derivational morphemes tend to be unstressed.

2. See discussion in ch. 1. For the gory details of how grammar is used as an instrument of communication, and how this boils down to the speaker's guessing the hearer's mental states during on-going communication, see Givón (2001, 2005).

- **Semantic size**:

Lexical words tend to be semantically complex. That is, they are clusters of many semantic features. Each lexical word is thus a member of many semantic fields. Grammatical and derivational morphemes, on the other hand, tend to be semantically simpler, more classificatory and more abstract. They may often code a single feature, or a small cluster of features.

- **Class size**:

Lexical words come in a few large classes. Grammatical and derivational morphemes come in many small classes.

- **Membership**:

The membership of lexical classes is relatively open. New members may be added and old members may be dropped as new words are coined or meanings of old words are changed. Cultural change is the prime cause of adding or dropping lexical vocabulary. The membership of grammatical classes, on the other hand, is relatively closed. The adding or dropping of members is still possible, and is indeed one aspect of grammatical change. However, like most other types of grammatical change, changes in the membership of morpheme classes do not reflect cultural change, but rather changes in the communicative system itself.

As a quick English illustration of the difference between lexical words and grammatical morphemes, consider the following three renditions of the opening lines of a novel (McMurtry 1962) in (1) below. Version (1a) retains only the lexical vocabulary. Version (1b) retains only the grammatical morphology. Version (1c) is the original text:

(1) a. One afternoon about ten day Dad die
decide ought look ranch.
course be over every inch hundred time,
be Dad ranch.

b. -s after -ed
I -ed to the.
Of I had -en over of it a -s,
but it had -en -s then, and not mine.

c. One afternoon about ten day**s after** Dad di**ed**
I decid**ed I** ought **to** look **over the** ranch.
Of course I had b**een** over every inch **of it a** hundred times,
but it had b**een** Dad**'s** ranch **then**, **and not mine**.

Version (1a) approximates a pidgin language rendition of the text. While cumbersome, the skeleton of the intended contents (1c) is still discernible. Version (1b) conveys none of the contents. Its various elements are of course most helpful in elucidating the precise message in (1c), but only when combined with the lexical vocabulary.

In this chapter, we will limit our description of grammatical morphology to some extent. To begin with, we will describe primarily morphemes that are bound, as prefixes or suffixes, to lexical words rather than to larger constructions. The bulk of the information about the grammatical morphology of Ute will be given in the subsequent chapters that cover specific grammatical constructions. Further, we will describe several classes of grammatical morphemes that violate some criteria given in Table 3.1., above, in that (a) they are independent words; (b) their phonological size is not minimal; and (c) they bear the Ute word-stress. Such exceptional behavior is due to the fact that all grammatical morphemes are derived historically from lexical words. The more structural components of this historical process, called **grammaticalization**, are gradual, so that if a morpheme is 'young', and is caught early enough in the process, it may function as both a grammatical operator and a lexical word, thus retain its older form.

3.2 Lexical word classes

3.2.1 Membership criteria

The four major lexical word-classes in Ute are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. We distinguish between them by a cluster of three major criteria that *tend to* coincide but don't always do. These criteria are:

- **Meaning**: The kind of meanings (semantic features) that tend to be coded by a particular word-class.
- **Syntactic distribution**: The typical position(s) in the clause that words of a particular class tend to occupy.
- **Morphology**: The kind of bound morphemes – either grammatical or derivational – that tend to be affixed to words of a particular class.

Like other natural types, lexical word-classes include both members that are highly prototypical, i.e. abide by most or even all membership criteria, and some that are less prototypical. This is a fact of natural classification.[3] In general, the semantic and syntactic criteria for class membership tend to be more reliable and universal than

3. For a discussion of natural classification and the concept of 'prototype', see Givón (2001, chs 1,2; 2002, ch. 2).

morphological criteria, with which they don't always coincide. Such mismatches are most often due to historical change of both form and meaning.

3.2.2 Nouns

3.2.2.1 Semantic properties

The traditional definition of nouns as "names of persons, places or things", while intuitively appealing, is woefully imprecise. To begin with, a noun is not a 'name' of an individual, but rather the label for a **class** of entities that share many but not all of their features. At best, one can list the most common semantic characteristics of the prototype 'noun', allowing for the existence of less prototypical members that nevertheless abide by the syntactic and morphological criteria.

- **Durability**: Prototypical members of the class 'noun' are temporally durable. That is, they tend to be physical objects whose cluster of properties – size, shape, color, hardness, consistency, component materials, component parts etc. – do not change rapidly over time. If it is a chair, a child, a rock, a woman, a horse, a hill, a star, sand, wind or water right now, it will most likely still be the same thing in five minutes, or in a month, or in a year from now. Of course, a fine gradation still exists. A child may change faster than a tree, a tree faster that a house, and a house faster than a rock.
- **Complexity**: One important reason for the relative durability of prototypical nouns is that each one is a cluster of multiple features. Like all natural classes, nouns tend to exhibit strong **feature-association**. Thus, the noun 'horse' has prototypical size, shape, color, weight, sound, smell, part-whole composition, behaviors and cultural uses. Consequently, when a horse may be uncharacteristically small, or pink colored, or with exceptionally long ears, or is missing a leg, or is too wild to ride, the presence of the rest of the features insures that it is still a horse.
- **Concreteness**: The durability of prototype nouns also owes much to the fact that they are concrete (physical), and made out of relatively durable materials. Each of the bundled properties – size, color, shape, etc. – changes relatively slowly on its own.
- **Compactness**: Prototypical nouns tend to be spatially compact rather than scattered all over the map. That is, the sub-parts of a prototypical noun tend to occupy contiguous space. Scattered nouns such as 'celebration', 'Tuesday', 'rain', 'sand', 'crowd', 'nation' etc. do exist, but they are not prototypical.
- **Individuation**: One important consequence of the prototype noun being compact, is that it tends to appear as a relatively small **figure** vis-a-vis the much vaster **ground** surrounding it. Again, some nouns may be non-prototypical in that they occupy a larger portion of the ground, e.g. 'rain', 'ocean', 'sky', 'mountain'. Or else they may be un-individuated **masses** like 'water', 'sand', 'blood' or 'air'.

3.2.2.2 Syntactic properties

By syntactic properties we mean the **distribution** of nouns in distinct syntactic slots inside the clause. Since we have not yet described the syntactic structure of Ute clauses, the discussion here will be informal. Nouns occupy five major syntactic positions in clauses.[4] First and second, the positions of **subject** and **object**, as in:[5]

(2) ta'wa-chi 'u sivaatu-chi paqha-qa
man/SU the/SU goat/O kill-ANT
'**the man** killed **a goat**'

Third, the position of **indirect object** marked with a post-position, as in:

(3) múusa-chi 'u kani-náagha-tukhwa yʉga-pʉga
cat/SU the/SU house/O-in-to enter-REM
'The cat went **into the house**'

Fourth, the position of nominal **predicate**, as in:

(4) 'icha-'ara pə'ə-qwa-tʉ 'ura-'ay
this-be book/PRED be-IMM
'This is **a book**'

And fifth, the position of **possessor/genitive** noun modifier in the noun phrase, as in:

(5) 'áapa-chi pə'ə-qwa-tʉ tʉ́ʉ-'a-tʉ 'ura-'ay
boy/GEN book/SU good be-IMM
'**The boy's** book is good'

3.2.2.3 Morphological properties

3.2.2.3.1 Noun suffixes and noun classes

The vast majority of Ute nouns come with an obligatory suffix. Traditionally referred to as 'absolute' suffixes, these morphemes bear the unmistakable footprints

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4. The use of noun stems as modifiers in noun-noun compounds is considered a lexical derivation process, and will be discussed in a subsequent chapter (ch. 19). The use of noun-verb compounds – noun incorporation – is also a highly productive syntactic process and will be discussed further below (see also ch. 19). Such incorporation often leads to the creation of new lexical words.

5. Ute word-order is highly flexible, and is motivated by discourse-pragmatic considerations such as topicality/importance or predictability/accessibility (see ch. 7, 17 as well as Givón 1983, 1988). Word-order in Ute is *not* used to indicate the grammatical roles of subject and object. However, when clauses are used in isolation, and in examples not taken from natural text, the old Numic historical word-order of subject-object-verb (SOV) tends to predominate, a convention maintained in out-of-context examples here.

of having been, at some time in the distant past, a coherent **noun-classifier** system. As in the case of many other languages, the old semantic basis of the classification has been largely obliterated, but clear traces of some of its earlier features still survive, either in the strong association of particular semantic types with particular suffixes, or in the consistent derivational use of some suffixes.[6]

In addition to their now largely submerged semantic classificatory capacity, Ute noun suffixes also play several important grammatical roles, either in the marking of grammatical relations (see sec. 3.2.2.3.3. below as well as ch. 4), or in the grammar of reference (ch. 7).[7] We will discuss the various noun suffixes in order.

a. **The animate suffix -chi**

The vast majority of nouns in this class are animates – humans or other sentient beings, as for example:

(6)	**humans**	**possessed kin terms**	**other animates**
	núu-chi̲ 'person', 'Ute'	tua-chi-n 'my child'	múusa-chi̲ 'cat'
	mama-chi̲ 'woman'	togho-chi-n 'my grandfather' (pat.)	sari-chi̲ 'dog'
	ta'wa-chi̲ 'man'	kʉnuu-chi-n 'my grandfather' (mat.)	múupʉ-chi̲ 'owl'
	na'achi-chi̲ 'girl'	kagu-chi-n 'my grandmother' (pat.)	kwana-chi̲ 'eagle'
	'áapa-chi̲ 'boy'	wh̲cii-chi-n 'my grandmother' (mat.)	pawi-chi̲ 'beaver'
	kʉma-chi̲ 'stranger'	pavi-chi-n 'my older brother'	páacha-chi̲ 'bat'
	mʉrʉká-chi̲ 'White'	'áa-chi-n 'my father's younger brother'	wichi-chi̲ 'bird'

There are, however, many exceptions to even this semantically-most-consistent class. One type of exceptions involves animate nouns that take other suffixes, such as **-vi/-pi** or **-tʉ/-rʉ** (see below). Other exceptions involve a small group of animate nouns that come without an inherent suffix, thus often with a silent final vowel in the citation form; such as:

(7) púku̲ 'horse', kúchu̲ 'buffalo', túku̲ 'cougar' tɵchay'a̲ 'prairie dog'
pagʉ 'fish', 'áya̲ 'turtle', pachukwi̲ 'otter'

All of these are old native nouns, and their existence may suggest that the animate suffix **-chi** may have been a later historical development in the Southern Numic dialect cluster.

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6. See Givón (1970), Greenberg (1977), Craig (ed. 1986), Denny and Creider (1986). A more general discussion of Ute lexical derivation processes is given in ch. 19.

7. Greenberg (1977) has shown a similar association in Bantu between the noun-class prefixes and the grammar of referentiality; see also Givón (1973).

Several ancient kinship terms also come without a class suffix, but rather display the final vowel -**a**- that may have been, at some earlier time, a suffix marking all obligatorily possessed nouns (see ch. 5). Thus consider:

(8) pʉ́a-n 'my kin' mʉ́a-n 'my father' pía-n 'my mother' piwa-n 'my spouse'

As we shall see directly below, body parts, when expressed as possessed, display this suffixal vowel too. It also appears as part of the reflexive-possessive suffix -**av** (see ch. 10), as well as in some possession constructions (see ch. 15).

Lastly, a very small group of animate nouns take the suffix -yʉ, as in e.g.:

(9) parí-yʉ 'elk' tʉi-yʉ 'deer' pəni-yʉ 'skunk'

b. **The suffix -vi/-pi**

As noted in our earlier discussion of Ute phonology (ch. 2), the sounds /v/ and /p/ in Ute used to be phonetically predicted variants (allophones) of each other. It is thus plausible to assume that -**vi** and -**pi** used to be a single classifying noun suffix. Many nouns that take this class are either animates or body parts. Thus consider:

(10)

human		**animate**		**body parts**	
sinawa-vi	'The Creator'	pia-pi	'female'	pʉ'i-vi	'eye'
ta'wa-vi	'chief'	kumaa-vi	'male'	'nʉka-vi	'ear'
tatawaa-vi	'son in law'	toghoa-vi	'rattlesnake'	ma-sʉʉ-vi	'finger'
náa-vi	'teenage girl'	múua-vi	'fly'	ta-ʉʉ-vi	'toe'
		pə'a-vi	'flea'	'qova-vi	'face'
				tʉci-vi	'head'
				yu'ua-vi	'leg'
				wa'a-pi	'penis'
				mə'ə-vi	'hand'
				tá-pi	'heel'
				'əə-vi	'bone'
				tʉkua-vi	'flesh', 'meat'

Given the numbers, it may be plausible to assume that earlier on the -**vi/-pi** suffix marked only body parts. This assumption, however, is complicated by the fact that body parts are obligatorily possessed, and thus do not require a suffix in their normal use. Indeed, their possessed form appears most commonly without the -**vi/-pi** suffix, but rather with the suffix -a- that is also characteristic of several kinship terms. Thus:

(11)

pʉ'i-a-n	'my eye'	nʉka-a-'u	'his/her ear'
tʉci-a-mʉ	'your head'	yu'u-a-'u	'his/her leg'
'ichatw-a-n	'my body part'	nap-a-n	'my foot'
kʉchi-a-'u	'his/her saliva'	ní-a-n	'my name'
kʉchi-a-n	'my saliva'	mugu-a-mʉ	'your heart'

The noun 'foot' in its non-possessed form appears without any suffix but ends with the vowel -**a** – *napa*. And the noun *nía* 'name' likewise takes no suffix. The current

state of affairs is clearly the product of much historical change and restructuring. This is also reflected in the fact that some body parts take the suffix -**vʉ/-pʉ** (see further below), as in:

(12) məvətˈə-pʉ̲ 'nose' wʉgʉ-pʉ̲ 'vagina' pʉʉ-vʉ̲ 'fur'
ˈáa-pʉ̲ 'horn' páa-pʉ̲ 'blood' məchə-pʉ̲ 'facial hair'

What is more, some inanimate objects also take the -**pi/-vi** suffix, as in:

(13) káa-vi̲ 'mountain(s)' maa-vi̲ 'vegetation' tə́ənа-pi̲ 'wild cherries'

Finally, the -**pi/-vi** suffix also has a derivational use in some object or activity **nominalizations**, as in:

(14)

verb			**derived noun**	
ˈapagha-	'speak'	>	ˈapagha-pi̲	'language', 'speech'
tʉka-	'eat'	>	tʉka-pi̲	'food'
sumua-	'forget'	>	sumua-pi̲	'something forgotten'

c. **The derivational suffix -tʉ/-rʉ**

The noun suffix -**tʉ/-rʉ** is used extensively in Ute to derive nouns from verbs, i.e. in nominalizations. As we shall see later on, the original function of this suffix was probably to mark subject nominalizations; that is, the performer of the action, the possessor of the property, or the undergoer of the state. This includes, most conspicuously in Ute, subject relative clauses (ch. 12).

There are several patterns that are particularly productive in producing new lexical nouns with this suffix. The first involves the habitual tense-aspect, marked with the suffix *-miya* and designating a habitual or professional performer of the action, as in:

(15)

verb	**derived noun**
wʉ́ʉka-miya '(s/he) works'	wʉ́ʉka-mi-tʉ̲ 'worker'
work-HAB	work-HAB-NOM
pəˈə-miya '(s/he) writes'	pəˈə-mi-tʉ̲ 'writer'
write-HAB	write-HAB-NOM
pəˈə-ti-miya '(s/he) teaches'	pəˈə-ti-mi-tʉ̲ 'teacher'
write-CAUS-HAB	write-CAUS-HAB-NOM
káa -miya '(s/he) sings'	káa-mi-tʉ̲ 'singer'
sing-HAB	sing-HAB-NOM
nhka-miya '(she) dances'	nhka-mi-tʉ̲ 'dancer'
dance-HAB	dance-HAB-NOM
tʉi-tʉna-miya '(s/he) hunts deer'	tʉi-tʉna-mi-tʉ̲ 'deer-hunter'
deer-hunt-HAB	deer-hunt-HAB-NOM
wii-ˈʉrʉ-miya '(s/he) makes knives'	wii-ˈʉrʉ-mi-tʉ̲ 'knife-maker'
knife-make-HAB	knife-make-HAB-NOM

Another highly productive subject nominalization pattern is based on expressions of inherent (inalienable) possession of an object or a property, marked with the defective verb *-ga* 'have' (see ch. 15), as in:

(16)	**noun**	**derived possessor noun**
	kan**i** 'house'	kani-gya-t**ʉ** 'home-owner' house-have-NOM
	piwa-n 'my spouse'	piwa-gha-t**ʉ** 'married person' spouse' spouse-have-NOM
	puku-n 'my horse'	puku-gwa-t**ʉ** 'horse-owner' horse-have-NOM
	puwa-v**i** 'medicine power'	puwa-gha-t**ʉ** 'medicine-person', medicine-have-NOM
	násaa-v**i** 'sexiness'	násaa-gha-t**ʉ** 'sexy person' sex-have-NOM

This derivation pattern may be found in some old nouns whose origin is not clear. For example the noun *kwiya-gha-t**ʉ*** 'bear' is clearly coined along this pattern, perhaps from the verb root *kwiya-* 'lick' or *kwiya-'ay* 'be burnt'.

Another derivational pattern with the subject nominalizing suffix **-tʉ/-rʉ** involves its combination with the anterior (and erstwhile passive) verbal suffix **-ka**, yielding object nominalizations, as in:

(17)	**verb**		**derived noun**	
	'ini-	'make', 'do'	**'**ini-kya-t**ʉ**	'made/manufactured object'
	pə**'**ə-	'write'	pə**'**ə-qwa-t**ʉ**	'book'
	t**ʉ**su-	'grind'	t**ʉ**su-kwa-t**ʉ**	'flower'
	kwi**'**a-	'encircle'	kwi**'**a-qa-t**ʉ**	'fence'

A similar derivation pattern with the inanimate suffix **-pʉ** will be seen further below.

The use of the **-tʉ/-rʉ** suffix in subject nominalization is also attested in the names of natural weather phenomena, some of which are derived from verbs, as in:

(18)	**verb**		**derived noun**	
	nʉ́a-y	'wind blowing'	nʉ́a-r**ʉ**	wind'
	'uwa-y	'rain falling'	**'**uwa-r**ʉ**	'rain'
	turu**'**ni-(y)	'whirlwind blowing'	turu**'**ni-r**ʉ**	'whirlwind'
	'sʉkha-kar**ʉ**-i dust-sit-IMM	'dust blowing'	sʉkha-karʉ-r**ʉ**	'dust storm'

d. **Derivational use of the suffix -chi**

As noted above, the suffix -**chi** most consistently marks animate nouns. There is evidence, however, that it was also used as a derivational suffix. To begin with, it marks a small group of important personal items – tools – on which the life of a hunter-gatherer depended crucially, and which were carried on one's person. The marking of this exceptional group with the animate suffix endows them with special importance, and thus in a way, metaphoric personhood. The most conspicuous members of this group are:

(19)

mara-chi̲	'mortar'	mu'a-chi̲	'pestle'
'agho-chi̲	'dish'	wii-chi̲	'knife'
'áa-chi̲	'bow'	'úu-chi̲	'arrow'
chúu-chi̲	'pipe'	wh̲ca-chi̲	'basket'

The last item in (19), 'basket', is of particular interest because of being clearly derived from the verb wh̲cha- 'wrap', 'bind', 'twist'. The suffix -**chi** is thus the nominalizing marker here. The old history of the derivational use of this suffix is further underscored by seeing -**chi**, by itself or in combination with the suffix -**pʉ**/-**vʉ** (see further below), as a diminutive marker, as in:

(20)

verb source	**noun source**	**diminutive noun**
nana- 'grow'	nana-pʉ 'adult man'	nana-pʉ-chi̲ 'little old man'
––––––––	'áapa-chi̲ 'boy'	'áapa-vʉ-chi̲ 'little boy'
––––––––	mama-chi̲ 'woman'	mama-pʉ-chi̲ 'little woman'
––––––––	mama-saghoy-vu̲ woman-belly	mama-saghoy-vʉ-chi̲ 'little old woman'
yogho- 'fuck'	––––––––––	yogho-vʉ-chi̲ 'coyote' ('little fucker')
–––––––––	sari-chi̲ 'dog'	sari-vʉ-chi̲ 'little dog'
–––––––––	––––––––––	sari-chi-chi̲ 'funny little dog'
	tʉka'na-pu̲ 'table'	tʉka'na-pʉ-chi̲ 'little table'
	wii-chi̲ 'knife'	wii-chi-chi̲ 'little knife'
–––––––––	núu-chi̲ 'person'	núu-chi-chi̲, 'dwarf'
–––––––––	––––––––––	núu-chi-vʉ-chi̲ 'dwarf'
–––––––––	–––––––––	wi-chi-chi̲ 'bird' (typically small)
–––––––––	–––––––––	na'a-chi-chi̲ 'little girl'
–––––––––	–––––––––	múu-pʉ-chi̲ 'owl'
–––––––––	ta- 'foot'	ta-vʉ-chi̲ 'rabbit' ('small foot'?)
–––––––––	náasa-pʉ'i- sexy-eye-	náasa-pʉ'i-chi̲ 'sexy' ('sex-eyed')
saghwa- 'green'	––––––––––	saghwa-chi̲ 'greenery' (Saguache)
–––––––––	tava-y 'day'	tava-chi̲ 'sun'
–––––––––	tʉvʉ-pu̲ 'earth'	tʉpʉy-chi̲ 'rock' (small size)

The earlier use of the suffix -**chi** in subject nominalization may also be seen in examples such as:

(21)

verb		**derived noun**	
paqha-	'open'	paqha-chi	'hole'
mʉi-	'go ahead', 'lead'	mʉi-chi	'stubborn'
kʉma-	'different'	kʉma-chi	'stranger', 'Comanche'
cha'a-	'grab'	tapi-cha'a-chi	'sheriff' ('heel-grabber')
yagha-	'cry'	tugwa-yagha-chi	'night crier' (a night bird)
kwáa-	'run'	kwáa-chi-chi	'car' ('little runner')
yʉchi-	'fly'	yʉchi-chi-chi	'airplane' ('little flier')

e. **The inanimate suffix -pʉ/-vʉ**

Most inanimate nouns in Ute take the suffix -**pʉ**/-**vʉ**, including natural objects, natural phenomena and plants. As examples, consider:

(22)

tʉvʉ-pʉ	'earth'	kuku-pʉ	'dust'	ká-pʉ	'sunflower'	kuna-vʉ	'bag'
cíi-vʉ	'bead(s)'	kana-vʉ	'willow'	kamu-pʉ	'pine-cone'	yʉu-pʉ	'fat'
mavita-pʉ	'bracelet'	wa'a-pʉ	'pinyon'	pawa-pʉ	'cedar'	sawa-vʉ	'sage'
siwa-pʉ	'sand'	sʉnʉ-pʉ	'trash'	puwa-vʉ	'medicine'	tʉʉ-pʉ	'flint'

However, some nouns with this suffix are animates or body parts, as in:

(23) kʉ́ʉ-vʉ 'locust', 'cicada' məchə-pʉ 'moustache' kanaqo-pʉ 'chin' pʉʉ́-vʉ 'fur' kutu-pʉ 'buttocks', 'ass' kʉchi-pʉ 'saliva' məvət'ə-pʉ 'nose' tamu-vʉ 'muscle' tagha-pʉ 'orphan' pʉtʉ-vʉ 'plume' 'áa-pʉ 'horn' 'aa-vʉ 'upper arm'

The suffix -**pʉ** is also used extensively in lexical derivations, often marking cognate objects of active intransitive verbs, as in:

(24)

verb		**derived noun**	
sʉ'i-	'urinate'	sʉ'i-pʉ	'urine'
kwicha-	'defecate'	kwicha-pʉ	'feces'
'uu-	'fart'	'uu-pʉ	'fart'
tʉgʉy-	'be hungry'	tʉgʉy-pʉ	'hunger'
nhka-	'dance'	nhka-pʉ	'dance'
kiyasʉ	'augh'	kiyasʉ-pʉ	'laughter'
piki-	'be rotten'	piki-pʉ	'rotten thing'
tavasʉ-	'be dry'	tavasʉ-pʉ	'dry thing'
tʉ'asi-	'be frozen'	tʉ'asi-pʉ	'ice'
mucha-	'stick out'	mucha-pʉ	'visor'

This suffix is also used to derive some objects of transitive verbs, that is, in a so-called **absolutive** pattern:

(25)

verb		**derived noun**	
wh̲cha-	'wrap'	whcha-pʉ̲	'band'
'ivi-	'drink'	'ivi-pʉ̲	'drink'
tʉka-	'eat'	tʉka-pʉ̲	'edible things'
'ʉa-	'cultivate'	'ʉa-pʉ̲	'field'
kwi'a-	'encircle'	kwi'a-pʉ̲	'fence'

Finally, in combination with the anterior (old passive) suffix -**ka**, the suffix -**pʉ** is also used to derive objects of transitive verbs, duplicating the pattern seen in (17) above:

(26)

verb		**derived noun**	
kʉ̲cɵ-	'pound'	kʉ̲cɵ-qwa-pʉ̲	'a pounded thing'
kukwa-	'gather firewood'	kukwa-ka-pʉ̲	'gathered firewood'
wʉnʉ-'a-	'notch'	wʉnʉ-'h̲-ka-pʉ̲	'a notch', 'a notched thing'
chi̲ka-vi'na-	'cut'	chi̲ka-vi'na-qa-pʉ̲	'a cut piece'
cʉ̲kʉra-	'splinter'	cʉ̲kʉra-qa-pʉ̲	'a splinter'
cha̲pagha'na-	'cut open'	cha̲pagha'na-qa-pʉ̲	'a thing cut open'

Another derivational pattern uses the suffix -**pʉ**, combined with the suffix, -**'na**, to derive names of instruments used to perform particular actions, as in:

(27)

verb		**derived instrument noun**	
tʉka-	'eat'	tʉka-'na-pʉ̲	'table'
karʉ	'sit'	karʉ-'na-pʉ̲	'chair'
'avi-	'lie'	'avi-'na-pʉ̲	'bed'
pɵ'ɵ-	'write'	pɵ'ɵ-'na-pʉ̲	'pen', 'pencil'
'ʉa-	'cultivate'	'ʉa-'na-pʉ̲	'hoe', 'plow'

f. **Suffixless nouns**

As noted earlier above (7), several old animate nouns come without an inherent suffix. Their final stem-vowel is then fully voiced in the object or possessive form, or when they are followed by a suffix. In the same vein, some inanimate nouns also come without an inherent suffix, as in:

(28) káni̲ 'dwelling' páa 'water' táa 'shirt'
sávʉ̲ 'rope' pácha̲ 'shoe' pɵ́ɵ 'trail'

Some borrowed nouns, most of them ending with the vowel /a/, also follow this pattern, such as:

(29) páana 'bread' (Sp. *pan)*
muruuna 'melon' (Sp. *melones*)
sa̲tiiya 'watermelon' (Sp. *sandía*)
kava 'horse' (Sp. *cavallo*)
kuchiina 'pig' (Sp. *cochino*)

3.2.2.3.2 Plural formation

Only animate nouns can be pluralized in Ute, and three main pluralization patterns are recognized.

a. **The plural suffix -u**

In this, most common, plural formation pattern, the suffix **-u** is added after the noun suffix. The silent noun-suffix vowel then comes back to life, so that the noun appears in its non-subject form. The meaning could then be either plural or dual, as in:

(30)

singular		**plural**	
sari-ch**i̲**	'dog'	sari-chi-u	'dogs'
tua-ch**i̲**	'child'	tua-chi-u	'children'
toghoa-v**i̲**	'rattlesnake'	toghoa-vi-u	'rattlesnakes'
sinaa-v**i̲**	'wolf'	sinaa-vi-u	'wolves'
kava	'horse'	kava-yu	'horses'[8]

b. **The plural suffix -mʉ**

At least one old suffixless noun, *kúchu̲* 'buffalo' can be pluralized with the suffix **-mʉ**, yielding *kuchu-mʉ̲* 'buffalos'. Otherwise, this suffix is used only to pluralize nouns that are derived from verbs with the **-tʉ/-rʉ** suffix (see above). This is the pluralization pattern of subject relative clauses (ch. 12); and when the subject is plural, the verb must also be marked with the **plural subject-agreement** suffix **-ka**.[9] This yields double plural marking of derived nouns. Consider first the derived habitual-performer pattern seen earlier in (15) above:

(31)

singular		**plural**	
wʉ́ʉka-mi-tʉ̲	'worker'	wʉ́ʉka-qha-mi-tʉ̲-mʉ̲	'workers'
work-HAB-NOM		work-PL-HAB-NOM-PL	
pʊ'ʊ-mi-tʉ̲	'writer'	pʊ'ʊ-qwa-mi-tʉ-mʉ	'writers'
write-HAB-NOM		write-PL-HAB	
káa-mi-tʉ̲	'singer'	káa-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲	'singers'
sing-HAB-NOM		sing-PL-HAB-NOM-PL	

8. The noun *kava* 'horse' was probably borrowed first as the plural *kava-yu* (Sp. *caballo*), then the singular back-formed from it. The non-subject form of the noun is *kava-yi*, displaying the old object/genitive suffix (see ch. 5).

9. Ute verbs do not display obligatory pronominal agreement. Rather, the unmodified verb stem is used with singular and dual subjects. When the subject is plural, the verb must take the plural suffix **-ka** or its suppletive equivalent (see sec. 3.2.6.1. below).

The same pluralization pattern is used with nouns derived from the verb 'have', seen earlier in (16) above. Thus consider:

(32)

singular		**plural**	
kani-gya-tʉ̲ house-have-NOM	'home-owner'	kani-gya-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲ house-have-PL-NOM-PL	'home-owners'
piwa-gha-tʉ̲ spouse-have-NOM	'married person'	piwa-gha̲-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲ spouse-have-PL-NOM-PL	'married persons'
puku-gwa-tʉ̲ horse-have-NOM	'horse-owner'	puku-gwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲ horse-have-PL-NOM-PL	'horse-owners'
puwa-gha-tʉ̲ medicine-have-NOM	'medicine-man'	puwa-gha̲-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲ medicine-have-PL-NOM-PL	'medicine-men'

In this pattern, a distinction can be made between plural and dual, the latter taking the nominal plural suffix -**mʉ** without the verbal plural-subject agreement -**ka**. Thus compare:

(33)

dual possessor		**dual habitual actor**	
kani-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two home-owners'	wúʉka-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two workers'
piwa-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two married persons'	pʊ'ʊ-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two writers'
puku-gwa-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two horse-owners'	káa-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two singers'
pua-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two medicine-men'	tʉna-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲	'two hunters'

(c) **First-syllable reduplication**

A small group of human nouns show a pluralization pattern that is probably the oldest, reduplicating the first syllable of the noun stem to yield, when combined with the plural suffix -**u**, the plural form. The suffix -**u** by itself then marks the dual form of the noun, as in:

(34)

singular	**dual**	**plural**
ta'wa-chi̲ 'man'	ta'wa-chi-u 'two men'	táa-ta'wa-chi-u 'men'
mama-chi̲ 'woman'	mama-chi-u 'two women'	máa-ma̲-chi-u 'women'
'áapa-chi̲ 'boy'	'áapachi-u 'two boys'	'áa-'a̲pa-chi-u 'boys'
na'achi-chi̲ 'girl'	na'achi-chi-u 'two girls'	náa-na̲'achi-chi-u 'girls'

3.2.2.3.3 Grammatical ('case') roles

The **grammatical roles** subject and (direct) object in noun phrases will be discussed extensively further below (chs 4,5). At this point one needs to note that Ute nouns come in two basic forms, one for subject (also predicate and citation form), the other for non-subject. The latter includes direct object, indirect (post-positional) object, genitive (possessor), and the form use when the noun is augmented by a suffix. As a general rule, the final vowel of the noun is silent (or whispered) in the subject form, and voiced in the non-subject form, regardless of whether the vowel is the suffix-final

or stem-final one. Some suffixless old nouns take the old object suffix **-i/-y** in their non-subject form (see ch. 5). Thus compare:

(35)	**subject**	**non-subject**	
	mama-chi̲	mama-chi	'woman'
	tʉkua-vi̲	tʉkua-vi	'meat'
	tʉvʉ-pʉ̲	tʉvʉ-pʉ	'earth'
	kuna-vʉ̲	kuna-vʉ	'basket'
	pɵˈɵ-mi-tʉ̲	pɵˈɵ-mi-tʉ	'writer'
	kúchu̲	kuchu	'buffalo'
	káni̲	kani	'house'
	páa	páa-y	'water'
	kava	kava-yi	'horse'

3.2.2.3.4 Possessor suffix pronouns

Nouns (or noun phrases) may take a possessor ('genitive') suffix pronoun, a pattern already noted earlier above for obligatorily-possessed nouns such as kinship terms (6) and body parts (11). But other types of nouns may also be possessed, and thus take a suffixed possessive pronoun, as in:

(36)		
	tua-chi-n	'my child'
	tʉvʉ-pʉ-mʉ̲	'your country'
	wii-chi-n	'my knife'
	puku-n	'my horse'

A few suffixless nouns cannot take a possessive suffix, but when possessed must take the independent possessive pronoun (see ch.7), as in:

(37)		
	nʉ́nay	kani̲ 'my house'
	ˈʉmʉy	nía 'your name'

3.2.2.3.5 Noun compounds

The last morphological feature of nouns to be noted here is that they can be compounded with other nouns to yield noun compounds. The modifying noun in such compounds appears, as in English, before the modified ('head') noun, and must be shorn of its inherent noun suffix. Thus, consider:

(38)	**modifying noun**	**modified noun**	**compound**
	núu-chi̲ 'Ute'	káni̲ 'dwelling'	nʉu-gani̲ 'tipi'
	kúchu̲ 'buffalo'	púku̲ 'domestic animal'	kuchu-puku̲ 'cow'
	kava 'horse'	kumaa-vi̲ 'male'	kava-gumaa-vi̲ 'stallion'
	múusa-chi̲ 'cat'	túku̲ 'cougar'	múusa-tu̲kwi-chi̲ 'bobcat'
	ˈava- 'shade'	káni̲ 'dwelling'	ˈava-ghani̲ 'shade-house'
	mama-chi̲ 'woman'	saghoy-vʉ̲ 'belly'	mama-saghoy-vʉ-chi̲ 'little old lady'

pá 'water'	'áapa-chi̲ 'boy'	pá-'aapachi̲ 'water-baby'
sari-chi̲ 'dog'	púku̲ 'domestic animal'	sarí-vuku-n 'my personal dog'
yua-vʉ̲ 'highland'	qháarʉ-chi̲ 'hen'	yua-qháarʉ-chi̲ 'sage-hen'

3.2.3 Adjectives

The word-class adjective is not as extensive in Ute as it is in English or Spanish, and includes several morphological types that come from different historical or derivational sources, some from nouns, some from verbs. Their morphology is thus heterogenous, reflecting their diverse diachronic or derivational sources. The most prototypical adjectives, however, are clearly derived from nouns (see ch. 19).

3.2.3.1 Semantic characteristics

Ute adjectives tend to code durable, inherent, physical single features of concrete nouns.[10] These features are, most typically, color, size, shape, hardness, surface roughness, smell, or taste. While this is true of most Ute adjectives, exceptional members of the class can be found. And many adjectives are derived from stative verbs by various means, most commonly as subject nominalizations (subject relative clauses). Many qualities coded as adjectives in English are stative verbs in Ute. Thus consider:

(39)

naghami-	'be sick'	sʉ̲piyawi-	'be lazy'
kʉma-c'a-	'be different'	kʉturuuchi-	'be hot'
siya'i-	'be cold'	sʉ̲ti'i-	'be cold'
sʉ̲pʉ-r'a-	'be cold'	'agho-	'be thick'
tumuuta-	'be thick'	cháagha-	'be thin'
na̲sʊtaay-'a-	'be sad'	naay'a-	'be/get angry'
suwaa-	'be happy'	tavasi-	'be dry'
pa̲chaaqho-	'be dry'		

When used as main-clause predicates, the verbal form of these words is employed. When used as noun modifiers, the subject relative-clause form is used.

3.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristic

Ute adjectives fit in two main syntactic slots. First, as the main **predicate** in the clause, with or without the verb 'be', as in:

(40)

'ína̲	kava	sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ̲	('ura-'ay)
this/SU	horse/SU	white-have-NOM-AN/PRED	be-IMM

'This horse is white'

10. See Dixon (1982); Givón (2001, ch. 2).

And second, as a **modifier** of the head noun within the noun phrase. When used as a **restrictive** modifier,[11] the full adjectival word follows the head noun, as in:

(41) 'ú kava sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ qhárʉ-kwa-pʉga
that/SU horse/SU white-have-NOM-AN/SU run-go-REM
'That white horse ran away'

Many adjectives can also appear as **non-restrictive** modifiers before the head noun. In such a pattern, the adjective is shorn of its complex suffixal morphology, and its core stem is **incorporated** into the head-noun stem in a **compound** pattern, as in:

(42) 'ína sá-gava ka-'ay-wa-tʉ-mʉ
this/SU white-horse/SU NEG-good-NEG-NOM-AN
'this white horse is no good'

3.2.3.3 Morphological characteristics

Since Ute adjectives come from multiple diachronic or derivational sources, several morphological classes are noted. The most prototypical class is perhaps that of color adjectives, but it also contains a few non-color terms. This class is patterned after subject nominalization (or subject relative clause) of the old defective verb 'have' -**ga**/-**ka**, followed by the subject nominal suffix -**tʉ**/-**rʉ**. Such adjectives come in three forms: (a) The inanimate form carries the nominal suffix -**rʉ**. (b) The animate-singular form adds the animate/plural suffix -**mʉ**. (c) The animate-plural form adds the verbal plural-subject suffix -**ka** after the verb-stem -**ga**/-**ka** and converts -**rʉ** into -**tʉ**.[12] Thus:

(43)

inanimate	**animate-SG**	**animate-PL**	
sá-gha-rʉ	sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ	sá-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'white'
túu-kwa-rʉ	túu-kwa-rʉ-mʉ	túu-kwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'black'
'aka-gha-rʉ	'aka-gha-rʉ-m	'aka-gha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'red'
saghwa-gha-rʉ	saghwa-gha-rʉ-mʉ	saghwa-gha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'blue/green'
'ʊtʊ-qwa-rʉ	'ʊtʊ-qwa-rʉ-mʉ	'ʊtʊ-qwa-tʉ-mʉ	'brown'
'ʊa-qa-rʉ	'ʊa-qa-rʉ-mʉ	'ʊa-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'yellow'
sí-gya-rʉ	sí-gya-rʉ-mʉ	sí-gya-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'grey'
sʉti-gya-rʉ	sʉti-gya-rʉ-mʉ	sʉti-ga-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'sorrel'
sái-gya-rʉ	sái-gya-rʉ-mʉ	sái-gya-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'roan'
pana-qa-rʉ	pana-qa-rʉ-mʉ	pana-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'shining'

11. For restrictive vs. non-restrictive modifiers in the noun phrase, see chs 8, 12.

12. This is a nice example of the old allophonic relation of [t] and [r].

Historically, the stems of these adjectives must have been nouns that signified the possessed quality. However, these possessed nouns probably did not signify an abstract quality ('whiteness', 'blackness', 'redness', etc.). Rather, they must have been concrete objects that displayed a characteristic color. In at least one case (*pana-* 'shine'), the stem is that of a verb.

While color is the predominant sense of this adjective class, several non-color terms are also found here, as in e.g.:

(44)

inanimate	**animate-SG**	**animate-PL**	
'áa-gha-rʉ	'áa-gha-rʉ-mʉ	'áa-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'new'
cháa-gha-rʉ	cháa-gha-rʉ-mʉ	cháa-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'thin'
túu-gwa-rʉ	túu-gwa-rʉ-mʉ	túu-gwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'aggressive'
sigʉ-ka-rʉ	sigʉ-ka-rʉ-mʉ	sigʉ-kha-qa-tʉ-mʉ	'sour'
payu-gwa-rʉ	payu-gwa-rʉ-mʉ	payu-gwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ	'soft'

As noted above (39), adjective-like modifiers can be derived from stative verbs through the subject nominalization (relative clause) pattern, as in:

(45)

		adjective	
verb	**inanimate**	**animate-SG**	**animate-PL**
'agho- 'be thick'	'agho-tʉ	'agho-tʉ-mʉ	'agho-qwa-tʉ-mʉ
sʉpiyawi- 'be lazy'	––––––––	sʉpiyawi-tʉ	sʉpiyawh-kya-tʉ-mʉ
tavasi- 'be dry'	tavasi-tʉ	tavasi-tʉ-mʉ	tavasi-kya-tʉ-mʉ
sʉti'i- 'be cold'	sʉti'i-tʉ	sʉti'i-tʉ-mʉ	sʉti'i-kya-tʉ-mʉ
naay'a- 'be angry'	––––––––	naay'a-tʉ	naay-'a-qha-tʉ-m
'ava- (???)	'ava-tʉ 'big'	'ava-tʉ-mʉ	'ava-tʉ-mʉ (?)

Other adjectives may be derived from apparent noun stems with the added suffixes through a number of highly idiosyncratic patterns, as in:

(46)

meaning	**inanimate**	**animate-SG/Du**	**animate-PL**
'small'	míi-pʉ-chi	míi-pʉ-chi-u	míi-mh-pʉ-chi-u
'ugly'	'iya-pʉ-ni	'iya-pʉ-u-ni	'iya-pʉ-u-kway-ni
'pretty'	na'a-waa-pʉ-ni	na'a-waa-pʉ-u-ni	na'a-waa-pʉ-u-kway-ni
'beautiful'	na'a-waa-pʉ-chi-ni	na'a-waa-pʉ-chi-u-ni	na'a-waa-pʉ-chi-u-kway-ni

3.2.4 Numerals and ordinals

Since Ute was the language of a hunting-and-gathering small tribal society, it is not surprising that numbers above 10 are not all that significant. As noun

modifiers, numerals – like adjectives – must agree with the grammatical role ('case') of the modified head noun. The subject and object endings found on numerals are unique, but echoes of them are found in a few other word-types. Thus consider:

(47) **Subject form**: súw-ini wichi-chi̱ ya'ay-kya
one-SU bird/SU die-ANT
'one bird died'

Object form: súu-ku-s wichi-chi pʉnikya-qha
one-O bird/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw one bird'

An alternative object form also exists, with the suffix -**nani** added after -**ku**-; that is, *súu-ku-nani*.

The various numerals are morphologically complex, based on the basic stems 1 through 5, with the latter being the old noun stem for 'hand'.

(48)

#	subject	object	comments
1	súu-ini	súu-ku-s	
2	wáy-ini	way-ku	
3	pay-ini	pay-ku	
4	wh̲cuwi-ini	wh̲chuwi̱-ku	
5	ma-nʉgi-ini	ma-nʉgi-ku	ma- 'hand'
6	navay-ini	navay-ku	navay- 'half'
7	navay-kya̲-vay-ini	navay-kya̲-vay-ku	
8	wá-wh̲chuwi-ini	wá-wh̲chuwi̱-ku	'two four'
9	suwa-rogho-ma̲-súw-iini	suwa-rogho-ma̲-súwi̱-ku	'almost complete other hand'
10	togho-ma̲-súwi-ini	togho-ma̲-súwi̱-ku	'complete other hand'

Two **ordinals** can be formed with the stems 'precede' and 'follow', as in, respectively:

(49) namu-mama-chi̱ 'the first woman' pina-mama-chi̱ 'the second woman'

Other ordinals can be derived from the object form of the numerals, as in:

(50)

#	subject	object
2nd	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ
3rd	páy-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ
4th	wh̲chuwi̱-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wh̲chuwi̱-ku-paa-tʉ
5th	ma-nʉgi-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	ma-nʉgi-ku-paa-tʉ

3.2.5 Quantifiers

The quantifier 'many' is constructed from the stem of 'big', *ˈava-*, with subject/object and animate/inanimate distinctions, and suffixes suggesting a verbal relative-clause origin:[13]

(51)

	subject	**object**
inanimate:	ˈava-ˈna-tʉ	ˈava-ˈna-tʉ
animate:	ˈava-ˈna-tʉ-mʉ	ˈava-ˈna-tʉ-mʉ

The mass quantifier 'much' is derived from the same source:

(52) ˈava-ˈna-tʉ páa 'lots of water' ˈava-ˈna-tʉ kʉmuy 'lots of corn'

The quantifier 'few' is constructed as the negative of 'many' (51):

(53)

	subject	**object**
inanimate:	ka-ˈava-ˈna-wa-tʉ	ka-ˈava-ˈna-wa-tʉ
animate:	ka-ˈava-ˈna-wa-tʉ-mʉ	ka-ˈava-ˈna-wa-tʉ-mʉ

The mass quantifier 'little', 'not much' is likewise a negative version of 'much' (52):

(54) ka-ˈava-ˈna-tʉ páa 'little water' ka-ˈava-ˈna-tʉ kʉmuy 'little corn'

The quantifier 'all' is based on the stem *manu-*,[14] with subject/object and animate/inanimate distinctions that use some of the numeral suffixes seen in (48):

(55)

	subject	**object**
inanimate:	manu-khu-tʉ-s	manu-khu-tʉ
animate:	manu-ni	manu-khu-tʉ-aa

The quantifier 'some' displays the animate/inanimate and subject/object distinctions, and is constructed on the verbal stem náagha-, as in:

(56)

	subject	**object**
inanimate:	náagha-tʉ	náagha-tʉ
animate:	náagha-tʉ-mʉ	náagha-tʉ-mʉ

---

13. The suffix *-ʻna* is probably a syncopated version of *naˈa-*, which is found as suffix in many old verbal derivations and was probably a verb.

14. The stem *manu-* may be related to the numeral five, *ma-nʉgi-*, meaning literally 'the whole hand'.

The quantifier 'both' is constructed on the root *nawa-*, with distinct subject and object forms:

(57) nawa-s 'both' (subj.) nawa-ku-s 'both' (obj.)

Finally, the quantifier 'other' is constructed on the stem of the numeral 'one' *súu-*, with distinctions of subject/object, animacy and plurality:

(58)		**subject**	**object**
	inanimate:	súu-va-tʉ-ni	súu-va-tʉ̲-áa-ni
	animate-SG:	súw-iini	súu-ku-a-ni
	animate-PL:	súu-va-tʉ-mʉ-ni	súu-va-tʉ-mʉ-áa-ni

3.2.6 Verbs

Verbs constitute the very core of clauses, and thus define the semantic type of the event/state, the semantic roles of the participants, and the syntactic frame of the clause. Semantically, verbs contrast with nouns and adjectives in that they typically code **changes** rather than stasis. Both the semantics and syntax of simple verbal clauses will be described in great detail in a subsequent chapter (ch. 4). Likewise, the functions and detailed behavior of the various verbal morphemes are described in many subsequent chapters. In this chapter, we will give only a brief characterization of the most common morphemes – mostly suffixes – that cluster around the Ute verb and make it such a distinct word-class. We will proceed from the most internal (verb-adjacent) position outward.

3.2.6.1 Plural subject agreement

For most verbs, the suffix **-ka** follows the stem when the subject is plural (but not dual). This suffix is not a pronoun, but an invariant morpheme with several phonetically-conditioned variants, as in:

(59)	**SG-subject**		**PL-subject**	
	káa-y	'(s/he) is singing'	káa-**qa**-y	'(they) are singing'
	ˈivi-y	'(s/he) is drinking'	ˈivi-**kya**-y	'(they) are drinking'
	tʉsu-i	'(s/he) is grinding'	tʉsu-**kwa**-y	'(they) are grinding'
	pɵˈɵ-y	'(s/he) is writing'	pɵˈɵ-**qwa**-y	'(they) are writing'
	karʉ̲-i	'(s/he) is sitting'	karʉ-**ka**-y	'they are sitting'

For a small group of intransitive verbs, mostly of location and motion, different (suppletive) verb stems are used for plural subjects:

(60)

SG-subject	**PL-subject**
'avi-y '(s/he) is lying (down)'	kwavi-y '(they) are lying (down)'
paghay-**'**wa-y '(s/he) is walking'	pərə̲-i '(they) are walking'
pagha-**'**ni-y '(s/he) is walking about'	miya-**'**ni '(they) are walking about'
wʉnʉ̲-i '(s/he) is standing'	yu**'**wi-y '(they) are standing'
karʉ̲-i '(s/he) is sitting'	yugwi-y '(they) are sitting'
yʉchi-y '(s/he) is flying'	yáasi-y '(they) are flocking'
pʉi-y '(s/he) is sleeping'	kwáy-i '(they) are sleeping'
páy-kwa̲-**'**a-y '(s/he) is coming (back)'	pana-kwa-**'**a-y 'they are coming (back)'

3.2.6.2 Causative

The use of the causative suffix -**ti** will be described in a subsequent chapter (ch. 9). As a quick example of its position in the verbal word, consider:

(61) a. **Simple**: karʉ-ka-y '(they) are sitting'
sit-PL-IMM

b. **Causative**: **'**uway karʉ-ka-**ti**-y '(they) are making him/her sit'
3S/O sit-PL-**CAUS**-IMM

3.2.6.3 Benefactive

The use of the benefactive suffix -**kʉ** will be described in more detail in the next chapter (ch. 4). As a quick illustration of its position in the verbal word, consider:

(62) a. **Simple**: kʉmʉy tʉsu-kwa-y '(they) are grinding corn'
corn/O grind-PL-IMM

b. **Benefactive**: **'**uway kʉmʉy tʉsu-kwa-**kʉ**-y
3S/O corn/O grind-PL-**BEN**-IMM
'they are grinding corn for him/her'

3.2.6.4 Passive

The use of the passive suffix -**ta** will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter (ch. 10). As a quick illustration of its position in the verbal word, consider:

(63) a. **Active**: kʉmʉy tʉsu-kwa-y '(they) are grinding corn'
corn/O grind-PL-IMM

b. **Passive**: kʉmuy tʉsu-kwa̲-**ta**-y 'someone (PL) is grinding corn'
corn/O grind-PL-**PASS**-IMM 'corn is being ground'

3.2.6.5 Tense-aspect-modality

The tense-aspect-modality (T-A-M) system of Ute and its attendant morphology will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter (ch. 6). A few examples here will illustrate the position of some of the most common suffixes in the verbal word:

(64) a. **Immediate**: káa-ka-ta-**y** 'some people (PL) are singing'
sing-PL-PASS-**IMM**

b. **Future**: káa-ta-**vaa-ni** 'someone (SG) will sing'
sing-PASS-**IRR-FUT**

c. **Anterior**: káa-kh**a̲**-ta-**qha** 'some people (PL) sang'
sing-PL-PASS-**ANT**

d. **Remote:** káa-ta-**pɯga** 'someone (SG) sang' (long ago)
sing-PASS-**REM**

e. **Habitual**: káa-kha-ta-**miya̲** 'some people (PL) sing'
sing-PL-PASS-**HAB**

3.2.6.6 Negation

Negation in Ute will be described in a subsequent chapter (ch. 6) in conjunction with the various tense-aspects. Ute uses **double negation**, with both a prefix and a suffix. The negative suffix -**wa** (or -**'wa**) must appear on the verb. The negative prefix **ka**- may either appear on the verb or, in its fuller form **kách**-, as an independent stress-bearing word earlier on in the clause. As an illustration of the position of the negative affixes in the verbal word, in the future tense-aspect, consider:

(65) a. **Affirmative**: **'**apagh**a̲**-ta-vaa-ni
talk-PASS-IRR-FUT
'someone will talk'

b. **Negative**: **ka-'**apagh**a̲**-ta-vaa-**'wa**-ni
NEG-talk-PASS-IRR-**NEG**-FUT
'someone will not talk', 'no one will talk'

3.2.6.7 Suffix pronouns

The use of suffix pronouns will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter (ch. 7). Pronominal agreement on the verb is not obligatory in Ute. Suffix subject or object pronouns may appear either on the verb or on another word in the clause, usually a word that precedes the verb.[15] As an illustration of the placement of suffix pronouns on the verb, consider:

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15. So-called 'second position clitics'.

(66) a. **Subject**: kh-'ura mama'-chi 'u pʉnikya-pʉgay-**'u**
then-be woman/SU the/SU see-REM-**3s**
'then the woman saw **him/her**'

b. **Object**: kh-'ura mama'-chi 'uway pʉnikya-pʉgay-**'u**
then-be woman/O the/O see-REM-**3s**
'then **s/he** saw the woman'

Since the suffix pronoun is not marked for grammatical case-role, the case marking on the subject (66a) and object (66b) noun helps disambiguate the pronoun.

3.2.6.8 First-syllable stem reduplication

There are three major prefixal positions on the Ute verb, the first being the negative prefix, above. The second involves reduplication of the first syllable of the verb-stem for the purpose of imparting a **distributive** aspectual meaning (see ch. 6). That is, roughly, signifying that the act occurs at various places or times. This is, in a sense, verb pluralization, analogous to the reduplicative noun-pluralization pattern (34). As a quick illustration, consider:

(67)

	simple	**reduplicated**
a.	káa-pʉga sing-REM '(s/he) sang'	ka̲-qháa-pʉga RED-sing-REM '(s/he) sang on and off or here and there'
b.	sarichi pʉnikya-pʉga dog/O see-REM '(s/he) saw a dog'	sarichi pʉ̲-pʉ́nh̲kya-pʉga dog/O RED-see-REM '(s/he) saw dogs here and there or now and then'
	táa-pʉgay-'u kick-REM-3s '(s/he) kicked him (once)'	ta̲-táa-pʉgay-'u RED-kick-REM-3s '(s/he) kicked him repeatedly'

When the reduplicated syllable begins with a voiceless or weak consonant, the prefix vowel is often devoiced. The result is that for many younger speakers, verb reduplication seems to involve stress-shift to the first syllable of the word, as in (67b).

3.2.6.9 Incorporated stems

The left-most prefixal position on the Ute verbal word allows for the incorporation of nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverb stems. This is a highly productive grammatical process whose meaning depends on both semantic and grammatical considerations, some of which will be treated in more detail in subsequent Chapters (chs 4, 8, 10, 19). At this juncture, we will only illustrate this pattern with a few examples.

(68)		**simple**	**incorporated**
	a.	**Object (noun)**: núu-chi 'apagha-rʉ Ute/O speak-HAB '(s/he) speaks Ute'	**núu**-'apagha-rʉ **Ute**-speak-HAB '(s/he) is a Ute-speaker'
	b.	**Instrument (noun)**: wii-chi-m tʉka-y-aqh knife/O-INS eat-IMM-3S '(s/he) eats it with a knife'	**wií**-tʉka-y-akh **knife**-eat-IMM-it '(s/he) is knife-eating it'
	c.	**Adverb (noun)**: mama-chi-pani paghay'wa-y woman/O-like walk-IMM '(he) is walking like a woman'	**mama**-paghay-'wa-y **woman**-walk-IMM '(he) woman-walks'
	d.	**Adverb (verb)**: sakʉ-ga paghay'wa-y limp-PAR walk-IMM '(s/he) is limping and walking'	**sakʉ**-paghay'wa-y **limp**-walk-IMM '(s/he) limp-walks'
	e.	**Adverb (adjective)**: 'apagha-y speak-IMM '(s/he) is talking'	**pia**-'apagha-y **sweet**-talk-IMM '(s/he) is sweet-talking'
	f.	**Adverb**: pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u see-REM-3S '(s/he) saw him/her'	**suwa**-pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u **almost**-see-REM-3S '(s/he) almost saw him/her'

3.2.7 Adverbs

Ute adverbs are an extremely heterogenous lexical category, both semantically and syntactically, much as they are in most languages. What is more, they straddle the line between lexicon and grammar. The discussion of various types of adverbs, their structure and use is thus dispersed throughout several chapters of this book (chs 4, 17). At this juncture, we will survey briefly some of the more common types.

3.2.7.1 Time adverbs

Some of the more common Ute time adverbs are:

(69) 'áa-vʉ 'now', 'áa-ravay 'today', wíi-chkʉs 'tomorrow', kʉ́aw 'yesterday', pina-wíi-chkʉs 'day after tomorrow', namú-kʉ́aw 'day before yesterday', tʉ-táavay 'every day', tʉ́sapʉ 'always', sáavaru 'Saturday', tumiikukh 'Sunday', mʉa-tagho-chi 'month', tɵmɵ-mʉa-tagho-chi 'December' ('winter month'), tɵmɵ-tʉ 'year', namu-tɵmɵ-tʉ 'last year', pina-tɵmɵ-tʉ 'next year', tava-mawisi-tʉ 'sunrise', tava-yáakwi-tʉ 'sunset', togho-tavay 'noon'

Many grammatically complex temporal adverbs function like conjunctions (see ch. 18), as in:

(70)

pina-khwa̲	'later on'	(lit. 'follow-go')
pina-khwa̲-'ura	'so later on'	(lit. 'follow-go-be')
'ʉ́-vway-akh-'ura	'so then'	(lit. 'there-at-it-be')
togho-sapa̲-'ura	'consequently', 'because of that'	
'úni-guni	'all of a sudden'	
náagha̲-tʉ-pʉ̲	'seldom'	
náagha̲-tʉ-paa-tʉ̲	'very rarely'	
náagha̲-tʉ-pʉ-ravay	'some day'	
náagha̲-tʉ-pʉ-vwaa-tʉ	'some time'	

3.2.7.2 Manner adverbs

The pre-verbal incorporation of various stems that function as manner adverbs has already been noted in (68) above. Some other manner adverbs are:

(71) 'átʉ- 'well', suwa 'almost', 'ava-'na̲-tʉ 'much', tʉvʉchi̲ 'very', míichi̲ 'a bit', pʉ́ka- 'hard', 'ʉ́ʉ- 'true(ly)', 'úu- improperly', navasʉ̲ 'just', tʉ́ʉravasi̲ 'in vain'

3.2.7.3 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs express the certainty, truth or probability of a state/event. Separate-word adverbs are only one way of coding epistemic notions.[16] Some such adverbs are:

(72)

náagha̲	'maybe'
náagha̲-sʉ-ni	'maybe later'

3.2.8 Demonstratives, articles and pronouns

Both definite articles and third-person pronouns in Ute, as in many other languages, are derived historically from demonstrative (deictic) expressions. A description of this entire domain will be given in a subsequent chapter (ch. 7).

3.2.8.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Ute, as in most other languages, can be used either as noun modifiers in the noun phrase or as pronouns. Ute demonstratives are marked for three **positions** vis-a-vis the speaker: near, away-visible, and away-invisible. They are also marked for **animacy** and **number**: inanimate, animate-SG, animate-PL. And they are

16. Much of the coding of epistemic modalities is done by tense-aspect-modal verb affixes (see ch. 6). Epistemic main verbs are also used to code the epistemic modality of their complement clauses (see chs 4, 9).

marked, lastly, for **grammatical role**: Subject vs. object. The three deictic-position prefixes are:

(73) near speaker 'i-
away-visible ma-
away-invisible: 'u-

The full forms of the various demonstratives are given in table (74) below.

(74)

	near-speaker		**away-visible**		**away-invisible**	
	subject	**object**	**subject**	**object**	**subject**	**object**
inanimate:	'í-cha	'i-cha-y	má-rʉ	ma-rʉ	'ú-ru	'u-ru
animate-SG:	'í-na	'i-na-y	máa	máa-y	'ú-wa	'u-wa-y
animate-PL:	'í-mʉ	'i-mʉ	má-mʉ	ma-mʉ	'ʉ-mʉ	'u-mʉ

The use of these words as demonstrative pronouns may be seen in (75a) below, and as demonstrative modifiers preceding the head noun in (75b):

(75) a. **Pronoun**: 'ína wichichi 'ura-'ay
this/SU bird/PRED be-IMM
'This (one) is a bird'

b. **Modifier**: 'uwa-y wichichi pʉnikya-pʉga
that-O bird/O see-REM
'(s/he) saw that bird'

3.2.8.2 Definite articles

The grammar of definiteness and reference will be described in considerable detail in a subsequent chapter (ch. 7). The distal-invisible demonstratives can be used as definite articles. In such capacity, they follow the noun and lose their stress. Thus consider:[17]

(76) kh-'ura 'áapachi 'u tʉkuavi 'uru tʉka-pʉga
then-be boy/SU the/SU meat/O the/O eat-REM
'then the boy ate the meat'

3.2.8.3 Personal pronouns

a. Independent pronouns

The personal pronoun system of Ute pertains only to animate beings. The third-person forms are, transparently, based on the demonstrative pronoun series, observing the

17. And, it can be argued, they may then be considered noun suffixes.

position distinction of far-visible vs. far-invisible. The first-person forms are marked for a three-way **number** distinction: singular, dual, plural. In the non-singular first persons, an **inclusive-exclusive** distinction is also observed. Finally, all pronouns display the subject vs. non-subject **grammatical role** distinction. The table for subject pronouns is given in (77) below, and for non-subject pronouns in (78).

(77) **Independent subject pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	nʉ́' 'I'	támi̲ 'we (incl. you)'	táwi̲ 'we (incl. you)'
		nʉ́mʉ̲ 'we (excl. you)'	
2nd	'ʉ́mʉ̲ 'you'	mʉ́ni̲ 'you-pl.'	
3rd-vis.	máa-s 's/he'	má-mʉ̲ 'they'	
3rd-invis.	'uwa-sʉ̲ 's/he'	'u-mʉ-sʉ̲ 'they'	

(78) **Independent non-subject pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	nʉ́na-y 'me'	tami 'us/our (incl. you)'	tawi 'us/our (incl. you)'
		nʉ́mʉ-y 'us (excl. you)'	
2nd	'ʉmʉ-y 'you'	mʉni 'you-pl.'	
3rd-vis.	máa-y 'him/her'	ma-mʉ 'them'	
	máa-y-a-s 'his/hers'	ma-mʉ-a-s 'their'	
3rd-invis.	'uwa-y 'him/her'	'u-mʉ 'them'	
	'uwa-y-a-s 'his/hers'	'umʉ-a-s 'their'	

b. **Suffix (clitic) pronouns**

As noted earlier above, suffix pronouns are optional in Ute, and may appear either on the verb or on other words preceding it. The forms are invariant with respect to grammatical role (subject-object-genitive). The table of the various forms is given in (79) below. The third-person pronouns still reflect the demonstrative (deictic) system, albeit with some modifications.

(79) **Clitic pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	-nʉ̲ 'I/me/my'	-rami̲ 'we/us/our (incl.you)'	
			-ráwi̲ 'we/us/our (incl. you)'
		-nʉmʉ̲ 'we/us/our (excl. you)'	
2nd	-mʉ̲ 'you/your'	-amʉ̲ 'you/your'	
3rd-vis.-AN	-'a 's/he/her/him/his'	-amʉ̲ 'they/them/their'	
3rd-invis.AN	-'u 's/he/her/him/his'	-amʉ̲ 'they/them/their'	
3rd-INAN	-aqh 'it/its'	-aqh 'they/them/their'	
	(-ukh 'it/its'	-ukh 'they/them/their')	

3.2.9 Interjections

Interjections are not a distinct word-type but rather a grab-bag of words that come from multiple sources and serve diverse functions. A more extensive list of Ute interjections is given in a subsequent chapter (ch. 20). Some of the more common ones are:

(80) **affirmation or negation**: 'ʉʉ ‘yes’ (I agree)
'áy ‘yes’ (I heard you)
'ú-vway ‘okay’ (lit. ‘then’)
kách ‘no’

standard greeting: máy-kh̲ ‘hi’, ‘hello’,
máchaa ‘hi’
'ipʉ 'ini-kh̲? ‘what are you doing?’
'agha-'ara-mʉ̲? ‘how are you?’

standard responses: toghoy-aqh ‘it’s good’, ‘thank you’
toghoyi-nʉ̲ ‘I’m fine’
kachi-nʉ̲ ‘nothing in particular’
navas pagha-'ni ‘I’m just moving about’
tʉvʉ-ch'ay ‘very well’
tʉvʉ-chi̲ toghoy-aqh ‘very well’
tʉ́ʉ-'ay ‘fine’, ‘good’
tʉ́ʉ-'ayi-nʉ̲ ‘I’m well’

taking leave: 'ʉvúsa-gha ‘goodbye’ (lit.: ‘finished’)
pághạ̲-nu̲kwi-chaa-nʉ̲ ‘I’m taking off’

other set pieces: toghoy nʉ́-gway 'okay by me’
'ʉ́- ‘oh’
'ʉ́ʉʉʉ! ‘wow!’
nava-s 'áy-kʉ ‘you’re just saying (it)’
'uru-vwaa-yi-s ‘we all know about that…’
'uwa-vaa-yi-s ‘we all know about him/her…’

CHAPTER 4

Simple clauses

Verb types, participant roles, and grammatical relations

4.1 Syntactic description

4.1.1 Theme, variations and clause-types

The verbal clause is the basic unit of information processing in human language. The procedure used here to describe the grammar of simple clauses harkens back to a well known theme-and-variations approach.[1] The **simple clause** – main, declarative, affirmative, active – serves as the reference point, or **theme**, vis-a-vis which all other clause-types can be described as **variations**. Broadly speaking, the communicative function of simple clauses is to convey the bulk of new information in discourse. The communicative function of all other clause-types departs, in one way or another, from this basic function. And it is a noteworthy feature of human communication that simple clauses are the most frequent clause-type in natural discourse.[2]

As an informal illustration of the theme-and-variation approach to syntactic description, consider the set of English clauses in (1) below. The surviving portions of the theme (1a) are boldfaced whenever they appears in complex clauses.

(1) a. **Simple ('theme')**: Marla left John

Complex ('variations'):

b. **Relative clause**: The man **Marla left** was John
c. **Verb complement**: **Marla** wanted to **leave John**
d. **Verb complement**: Betty told **Marla** to **leave John**
e. **Adverbial clause**: When **Marla left John** he was devastated

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1. This approach is implicit in Chomsky's Aspects (1965), where the theme clause-type is called 'deep structure' and the variations 'transformed surface structures'. The idea that the same 'deep structure' can undergo multiple syntactic transformation was originally due to Harris (1956). Chomsky (1992) has later repudiated the theoretical validity clause-types (constructions).

2. See statistical evidence and discussion in Givón (1995, ch. 2).

f. **Nominalized clause**: **Marla's leaving John** surprised everybody
g. **Imperative**: **Leave John!**
h. **Interrogative (y/n)**: Did **Marla leave John?**
i. **Interrogative (WH)**: Who did **Marla leave?**
j. **Negative**: **Marla** didn't **leave John**
k. **Passive**: **John** was **left** by **Marla**

In each complex clause (1b–k), the verb and the participants recur. The variations pertain to the same event, they share the same theme ('deep structure') of the simple clause (1a). Their syntactic form ('surface structure'), however, is 'transformed' as compared to the simple clause.

Describing the various types of simple clauses amounts to describing the various **predicate types** or **verb types** used in the language. This is so because verbs are the semantic core of clauses, defining the type of state, event or action that the clause conveys. Verbs are, in turn, characterized semantically by the obligatory **participant roles** (semantic roles) involved in the state, event or action. Each verb falls into a type that has a characteristic cluster of obligatory participant roles.

In addition to their **semantic roles** in the state/event, participants also assume characteristic **grammatical roles**, or **grammatical relations**, in the clause. While semantic roles define the semantic type of state or event, grammatical roles define the structural type of the clause; that is, its **morpho-syntax**. The grammar of simple clauses is thus a matching of two frames, one semantic, the other syntactic:

- **Semantic**: The frame of participant roles (state/event types)
- **Syntactic**: The frame of grammatical roles (clause types)

The fact that the syntactic structure of simple clauses is described in terms of the grammatical roles assumed by participants is partly a matter of definition. But there is more to it. Simple clauses exhibit the strongest **isomorphism** between their semantics and syntax, as compared to all other clause-types. This isomorphism is expressed, in large part, in terms of the systematic, predictable mapping between the semantic roles of event participants and their grammatical roles in the clause.

The mapping between these two parallel frames of the clause – semantic roles and grammatical relations – lies at the very heart of the grammar of simple clauses. The characteristic cluster of semantic roles of each verb has a preferred mapping into grammatical roles in the simple clause (so-called 'preferred argument structure').

4.1.2 States, events, and actions

The meaning coded by the clause may be referred to by the traditional term of **proposition.** A proposition may signify a **state**, involving no change over time. Such a state may be either temporary (of limited duration), permanent (of relatively long duration), or somewhere in-between.

A proposition may also signify an **event**, i.e. a change from one state to another over time. The change may be fast and **bounded**, i.e. construed as a change from a distinct initial state to a distinct terminal state. Or it may be slow and **unbounded**, i.e. construed as an ongoing **process**. Some events are deliberately initiated by an active **agent**. Such events are called **actions**.

Typical examples of states, events and actions are:

(2)
a. **Temporary state**: She was angry
b. **Permanent state**: She was tall
c. **Bounded event**: The ball dropped
d. **Unbounded event**: The ball was rolling downhill
e. **Bounded action**: She threw the ball
f. **Unbounded action**: She kept rolling the ball

4.1.3 Participant roles

As noted above, clauses are divided into their semantic types according to the type of verb that occupies their core. And verbs are, in turn, divided into semantic types according to their characteristic cluster of participants roles. The array of semantic roles typically associated with each verb thus defines the **semantic frame** of the verb, and of the clause.

The main types of semantic roles assumed by participants in states, events or actions are:

(3) **Main types of semantic roles**:

- **agent** = the participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears responsibility for it (AGT)
- **patient** = the participant, either animate or inanimate, that is in a state or registers the change-of-state during an event (PAT)
- **dative** = a conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not a deliberate initiator (DAT)
- **instrumental** = a participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to perform the action (INS)
- **benefactive** = the participant, typically animate, for whose benefit the action is performed (BEN)
- **locative** = the place, typically concrete and inanimate, where the state is, where the event occurs, or toward which or away from which a participant is moving (LOC)
- **associative** = an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important (ASS)
- **manner** = the manner in which an event occurs or an agent performed the action (MANN)

Some typical examples of the semantic roles defined in (3), boldfaced in the simple clauses below, are:

(4)
a.	**Agent (subject)**:	**Mary** kicked John
b.	**Patient of state (subject)**:	**Mary** is tall
c.	**Patient of state (object)**:	Mary saw **John**
d.	**Patient of change (subject)**:	**John's arm** broke
e.	**Patient of change (object)**:	Mary broke **John's arm**
f.	**Dative (subject)**:	**John** knew Mary
g.	**Dative (object)**:	John scared **Mary**
h.	**Dative (indir. object)**:	John talked **to Mary**
i.	**Instrument**:	She chopped firewood **with an axe**
j.	**Benefactive**:	He fixed the roof **for his mother**
k.	**Locative state**:	She lives **in Philadelphia**
l.	**Locative motion**:	He went **to the store**
m.	**Associative**:	She worked **with her father**
n.	**Manner**:	He left **in a hurry**

4.1.4 Grammatical relations

As noted earlier above, event participants, whatever their semantic role, may also assume some grammatical relation, or case-role, in the clause. Of those, the most common ones are:

(5)
a. subject (SU)
b. direct object (O)
c. indirect object (IO)
d. predicate (PRED)
e. possessor (POS, GEN)

As a brief illustration of the five grammatical relations listed in (5), consider Examples (6a,b,c) below:

(6)
a. Mary gave the book to Marvin
   S O IO
b. She is a teacher
   S PRED
c. John's mother left
   POS

4.1.5 Constituency and hierarchic structure

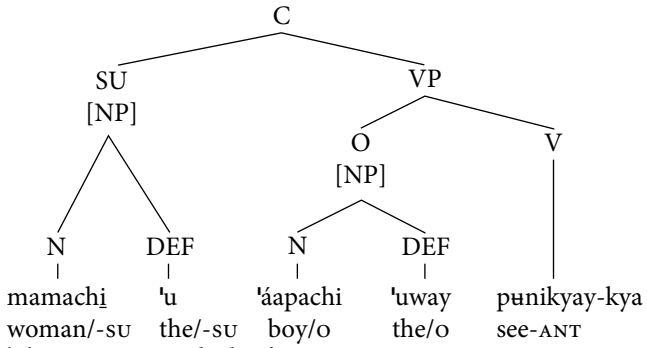
A clause is not just a string of words and morphemes arranged in **linear order**. While the linear order in which words and morphemes appear is an important feature of the grammar, the clause also has a more abstract **hierarchic constituent structure**, the way in which the whole is divided into parts, and those parts into sub-parts. The formal

device used to describe the hierarchic structure of clauses is called **phrase-structure tree diagrams**. While we will attempt to not make excessive use of this device, what it describes is real.[3] As an illustration of this property of the syntax of simple clauses, consider the following simple clause in Ute:

(7) mamachi̱ 'u 'áapachi 'uway pʉnikyay-kya
woman/s the/s boy/o the/o see-ANT
'The woman saw the boy'

In (7) above, the clause is characterized only by its linear order, of the words in the clause and the morphemes in the word. One could now add to this description the hierarchic constituent structure of parts and sub parts of the whole, as in:

(8)



'The woman saw the boy'

The description in (8) can be read from the top down and from left to right as follows:

- The whole clause (C) is made of two parts, in order: subject noun phrase (SU/NP) and verb phrase (VP).
- The subject NP is made of two parts, in order: the noun (N) *mamachi̱* 'woman' and a definite article (DEF) *'u* 'the'.
- The verb phrase (VP) is made of two parts, in order: the object noun phrase (O/NP) and a verb (V) *pʉnikyay-kya* 'saw'.
- The object NP is made of two parts, in order: the noun (N) *'áapachi* 'boy' and the definite article (DEF) *'uway* 'the'.

Phrase-structure tree diagrams are not quite as well-suited for describing other features of the grammar, such as the order of the morphemes within the words (subject

3. The tree-diagram formalism currently used by generative grammarians also covers bound morphology, a practice that obscures the profound formal and functional differences between lexical words and grammatical morphemes. For a discussion of this issue see Givón (2001, ch. 3).

and object endings on the nouns or definite articles; tense-aspect-modal suffixes on verbs) or the functional scope of grammatical morphemes.[4]

4.1.6 Word order

As noted earlier above (ch. 3), Ute has flexible word order, determined not by the grammatical roles of subject and object (as in English), but by subtle discourse-pragmatic considerations. In later chapters, we will deal with the pragmatics of Ute word-order in connected discourse (chs 7, 17, 18). Since the earlier historical word-order of Ute (and Numic) was subject-object-verb (SOV); since this is still the most frequent word-order found in natural discourse; and since when speakers produce clauses in isolation they tend to produce them in the SOV word-order, illustrative examples of out-of-context simple clauses throughout this book will conform to the SOV word-order. In all truth, the isolated clause outside its natural communicative context is a convenient **descriptive fiction**. It is useful at the beginning stages of grammatical analysis and description, but must ultimately be supplemented by data from natural communication.

4.2 Dummy-subject verbs

Verbs in this small but distinct class, the most simple clause-type, depict states or events related to, primarily, natural conditions or weather phenomena. Semantically, these clauses have no distinct agent that causes the event, nor a distinct patient that undergoes change or is in a state. The event or state pertains to the whole **general environment**. Syntactically likewise, these clauses don't have a real grammatical subject or object. This non-distinctness of the participant from the state/event is natural, since the phenomena in question are spatially diffuse, so that in a sense the entire state/event is also the subject/object.

In Ute, as in many other languages, verbs in this class display a 'dummy' grammatical subject – the inanimate pronoun *-aqh* 'it'. As an illustration, consider:

(9) a. **'**uwa-y-**ax**
fall-IMM-**it**
'it's raining'

b. nʉ́a-y-**ax**
wind-IMM-**it**
'it's windy'

c. nʉvwa-y-**ax**
snow-IMM-**it**
'it's snowing'

d. turu**'**ni-y-**ax**
whirlwind-IMM-**it**
'it's whirl-winding'

4. For more details on subject and object morphology and its history, see ch. 5. For tense-aspect morphology, see ch. 6.

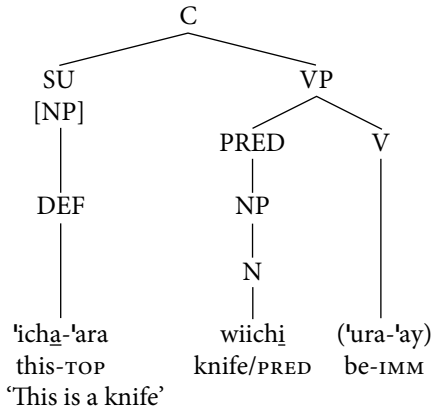
e. kʉturuuci-y-**ax**
hot-IMM-**it**
'it's hot'

f. sʉti'i̲-y-**ax**
cold-IMM-**it**
'it's cold'

4.3 Copular verbs and non-verbal predicates

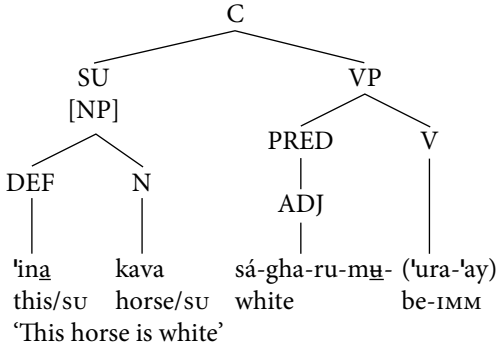
As noted in our earlier discussion of nouns and adjectives (ch. 3), both of these word-types can appear as predicates in **copular clauses**, where the main verb 'be' is optional.[5] Given that **copular verbs** such as 'be' depict states rather than events, the semantic role of their subject is invariably that of **patient-of-state**. In terms of their syntactic structures, copular clauses may be described by tree diagrams such as (10) and (11) below:

(10)



'This is a knife'

(11)



'This horse is white'

5. The conditions governing this option are subtle, but it is safe to say that in the present (IMM) tense-aspect, the verb 'be' is seldom used.

The most common verb 'be', the one invariably used in copular constructions, is *'ura-*. But the old root *-ra-* can partake in other 'be' verbs that have a more limited use, such as *mara-* 'be like' and *'ara-* 'be'.[6] As an example of how the copular verb 'be' is used in natural oral narrative, consider:[7]

(12) wíitʉs **'ura**-pʉga-vaachi̲, tʉvʉchi̲ wíiitʉs.
long.ago **be**-REM-ASP very long.ago
'It was long time ago, very long ago.
'uni-pʉga-tʉ̲-**'ura** sinawavi̲ **'ura**-vaachi̲…
do-REM-NOM-**be** Sinawav **be**-ASP
The one who did it was Sinawav…'

Ute has another copular verb 'be', the defective verb *-ga-*. This verb is in all likelihood the same root as *-ga-* 'have'. Like the verb root *-ra-* above, the defective verb *-ga-* must always incorporate in front of it some nominal element. It appears most typically in old stories, and the incorporated element is invariably a **predicate noun**. As an example from an oral narrative, consider:[8]

(13) wíiitʉs 'ura-pʉga-vaachi̲, tʉvʉchi̲ wíitʉs.
long.ago be-REM-ASP very long.ago
'It was long time ago, very long ago
mámʉ̲-'uru wʉ-wʉsiaa-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲,
they/S-TOP RED-feather-have-NOM-PL
those feathered ones,
mámʉ̲-'uru núuchi-u-**gway**-amʉ̲…
they/S-TOP human-PL-**be**-they
they were human…'

4.4 Simple intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb is, somewhat informally, a verb that does not have a direct object. A more explicit account of transitivity and grammatical relations in Ute will be given in section 4.5. below.[9] Verbs in this class take only one obligatory state/event participant,

6. Historically *-ra-* was probably the verb 'be', and *'u-*, *ma-* and *'a-* deictic particles incorporated into the verb as prefixes. The verb 'do' has a similar history of incorporating the deictic particles, with *'i-ni-* 'do', *ma-ni-* 'do like' and *'u-ni-* 'do'.

7. From the "Ute Creation Story", as told by the late Ralph N. Cloud. All citation of Ute texts are from Givón (ed. 1985).

8. From "The Stealing of the Fire", as told by the late Julius Cloud.

9. A detailed account of the diachrony of Ute subject and object marking is given in ch. 5.

which therefore by default occupies the grammatical role of subject. Semantically, that single participant can be either an agent, a patient or a dative. The verb itself could thus denote an action, an event or a state. Typical examples are:

(14) a. **Protracted event with an agent subject**:

'umʉs-'ura nh̲ka-qa-pʉga
they/SU-be dance-PL-REM
'they were dancing', 'they danced'

b. **Compact action with an agent subject**:

pina-khw̲a-'ura págh̲a-kwa-pʉga
after-then-be go-go-REM
'afterwards (s/he) took off'

c. **Durable state with a patient subject**:

'ín̲a kava paghos'a-y
this/SU horse/SU fat-IMM
'This horse is fat'

d. **Temporary state with a patient subject**:

páa tʉchagha-y
water/SU murky-IMM
'the water is murky'

e. **Compact event with a patient subject**:

kh-'ura 'ivich̲i 'ur̲u qopoqh̲i-pʉga
then-be stick/SU the/SU break-REM
'then the stick broke'

f. **Temporary state with a dative subject**:

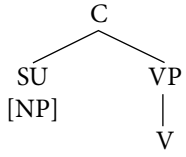
tuachi-n naghami-y
child-my sick-IMM
'my child is sick'

g. **Compact event with a dative subject**:

kh-'ura tapʉ'ni-pʉga
then-be wake.up-REM
'then (s/he) woke up'

In term of hierarchic constituent structure, all these simple intransitive clauses conform to the general configuration of:

(15)

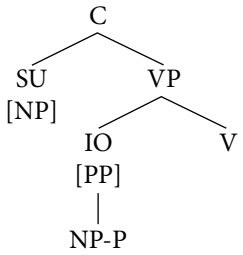


4.5 Intransitive clauses with an indirect object

4.5.1 Syntactic characterization

Syntactically, verbs in this class take an obligatorily subject and indirect object. In Ute, indirect objects are marked by **post-positions,** i.e. suffixes, or their combinations. Simple clauses with intransitive verbs of this type can thus be characterized by the following phrase-structure tree diagram:[10]

(16)



4.5.2 Locative indirect objects

Semantically, the prototypical verbs in this class denote events in which the subject is either stationary at a location, or moves towards or away from a location. The indirect object of these clauses codes the location, and is thus the **locative** (LOC) participant in the state or event. The subject, in turn, is either a patient of state, a patient of change or an agent. As illustrations of Ute verbs that conform to this semantic prototype, consider examples (17) below, where the post-positions are bold-faced. As noted earlier above (ch. 3), the indirect object noun in Ute carries the same non-subject form as the direct object.

(17) **Subject as agent of change**:

a. kh-ˈura mamachi̲ ˈu kani-**naagha-tukhwa̲** yʉga-pʉga
then-be woman/SU the/SU house/O-**in-go** enter-REM
'then the woman went into the house'

b. kani-**vaa-tukhwa** paghayˈwa-y
house/O-**at-go** walk-IMM
'(s/he) is walking toward the house'

---

10. English prepositions appear in the written language as independent words preceding the noun or noun phrase. This practice reflects the conservatism of the English writing system, given that in spoken English prepositions are already cliticized prefixes, bound to the first word in the noun phrase. Almost all Ute post-positions are bound noun suffixes, or suffix combinations.

c. kani-**vaa-tʉ-mana-kway** qhárʉ-pʉga
house/O-**at-DIR-leave-go** run-REM
'(s/he) ran away from the house'

(18) **Subject as patient of state**:

a. kani-**vaa-tʉ** 'uni'ni-(y)
house/O-**at-DIR** do/be-IMM
'(s/he) is at the house'

b. pɵ'ɵqwatʉ tʉka'napʉ-**vwa-na** wacʉ-ka
book/SU table/O-**at-on** found-ANT
'the book is on the table'

(19) **Subject as patient of change**:

pɵ'ɵqwatʉ tʉka'napʉ-**tʉvwa-mi-tukhwa** wí'i-kya
book/SU table/O-**descend-LOC-go** fall-ANT
'the book fell off the table'

The stative verb *'uni-'ni-*, seen in (18a), is actually the verb 'be doing on and on'. It is used only with animate subjects, in the sense of 'hang around', 'hang out at'. Conversely, the stative 'be' verb *wachʉ-ka* in (18b) is an archaic passive form of *wachʉ-* 'put', meaning 'having been put'. It takes only inanimate subjects in the sense of 'be lying there'. Both verbs may on occasion be replaced by *'ura-* 'be', which can be used with both animate and inanimate subjects.

4.5.3 Locative post-positions

As can be seen from the examples in (17), (18), (19), Ute locative post-positions can be complex. They have been assembled together gradually over time from various components, yielding many types of locative meanings. The history of how the more complex post-positions were assembled over time will be discussed in some detail further below (ch. 5).

Probably the oldest and simplest locative post-positions are *-va*, 'at' and *-pa* 'in the direction of'. Their use with the three deictic particles is seen in:

(20) 'i-vaa(-tʉ) 'here' 'íi-pa 'over here'
ma-vaa(-tʉ) 'there' (vis.) máa-pa 'over there' (vis.)
'u-vwaa(-tʉ) 'there' (invis.) 'úu-pa 'way over there' (invis.)

If one could hazard a guess, given the likely old allophonic variation [v]/[b] (see ch. 2), the locative *-va* and *-pa* were once the same morpheme, indeed the same old verb. The meaning of *-va* is currently more bleached, that of general location. The meaning of *-pa* is more specified, that of directional motion. As we shall see further below (ch. 5), there are residual examples of the use of *-pa* as a main verb.

In addition to *-va* and *-pa,* some other, perhaps older, monosyllabic locative particles are also used – albeit in unpredictable ways – in complex post-positions. The most common ones are *-na*, *-mi* and *-ma*. Examples of those may be seen in:

(21) a. tʉkaˈnapʉ-tʉvwa-**mi**-tukhwa ‘down off the table’
table/O-descend-**LOC**-go

b. tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-**na** ‘upon the earth’
earth/O-at-**on**

c. kani ma-**na**-tarukhwa ‘on top of the house there’
house there-**on**-ascend

d. kaní ˈu-**ma**-tukhwa ‘one top of the house up there’
house/O there-**LOC**-go

e. ka-ˈi-ya-**na**-wa-tʉ ‘not here’
NEG-here-??-LOC-**NEG**-NOM

The unpredictability of use of these old post-positions is due their advanced diachronic age, during which they have become increasingly limited to particular verbal contexts or fixed idiomatic expressions, as in (21e). The latter strongly hints at the verbal origin of *-na*.[11]

Some complex post-positions are **positional**, i.e. denoting the subject’s specific position vis-a-vis the locative object, as in:

(22) a. kani **qovaa-va** ‘in front of the house’
house/POSS **face-at**

b. kani-**vina-kway** ‘behind the house’
house/O-**follow-go**

c. kani-**vaa-na** ‘on top of the house’
house/O-**at-on**

d. kani **ˈu-na-tarukhwa** ‘on top of the house there (invis.)’
house/O **there-on-ascend**

e. kani-**chukwa** ‘under the house’
house/O-**descend**

f. kani **ˈi-rukwa** ‘under the house here’
house/O **here-descend**

g. kani-**naagha** ‘inside the house’
house/O-**enter**

h. kani-**tʉʉra-va** ‘outside the house’
house/O-**outside-at**

11. Its position before the negative suffix *-wa* is typical of Ute negation (see ch. 6).

i. kani **tʉragwaa-va** 'in the middle of the house'
house/POS **center-LOC**

j. kani **tugu-tukhwa** 'to the top of the house'
house/POS **sky-go**

The forms used in (22d) and (22f) are quite common, with the locative post-position not suffixed directly to the locative object noun, but to one of the three deictic prefixes seen in (20) above. This appears to be a wide open option that can be exercised whenever the speaker wishes to add specific deictic information. Of the positional locative expressions above, three – (22a,h,i,j) – are most likely derived from nouns. The rest are more likely derived from verbs.[12]

4.5.4 Dynamic locative post-positions

Verbs of motion to or from a location take indirect objects whose post-positions incorporate some directional marking, most commonly derived from motion verbs. The simple **allative** – motion towards a location – is marked by one of two such verb-derived suffixes, *-tukhwa* or *-chukhwa*. The first is used when the location is inanimate, the second when it is animate. Thus compare:

(23) a. kani-vaa-**tukhwa** chawi-pʉga
house/O-at-**go** approach-REM
'(s/he) approached the house'

b. mamachi-vaa-**chukhwa** cawi-pʉga
woman/O-at-**go/AN** approach-IMM
'(s/he) approached woman'

Both of these dynamic post-positions can be still found as main verbs, albeit morphologically defective. When used as main verbs, they require some incorporated pre-verbal element, as in:

(24) a. **'**u-vwaa-**tugwa**-pʉga
there-at-**go**-REM
'…(s/he) went that-a-way…'

b. **'**uwa-vaa-**chugwa**-pʉga
3S/O-at-**go**-REM
'…(and s/he) went to him/her…'

An **allative** meaning – motion toward a location- can also be marked by the dynamic post-position *-chawi*, derived from the verb *chawi-* 'come to', 'approach'.

---

12. See further details in ch. 5. Since the object and possessive (genitive) forms of the noun are most commonly identical, no overt difference in the case of the locative noun is seen.

Thus in (25a) this verb appears as a post-position, while in (25b) it is part of the main verb cluster:

(25) a. **'**u-vwa-**chawi** mʉrʉkáchi kani-vaa-**chawi**
there-at-**come** white.man/POS house/O-at-**come**
'…(let's) go over there to the white-man's house…'

b. **'**u-vwaa-**chawi**-kwa-paa-ni
there-at-**come**-go-IRR-FUT
'…(I am) going to go down there…'

Allative post-positions may be used in various complex combinations with other locative markers that add further spatial detail to the motion, as in:

(26) a. kaní-**naagha**-tukhwa yʉga-pʉga
house/O-**enter**-go enter-REM
'(s/he) entered the house'

b. kani **'**u-na-kwa-**pa'agha** tarugwa-y
house/O there-on-go-**ascend** climb-IMM
'(s/he) is climbing up (on) the house'

The **ablative** sense, of moving away from a location, follows a different pattern, combining the verbal stem *mana-* 'leave' with the old motion verb *-kwa-* 'go'. The two directional particles *-tʉ-* (for inanimate locations) and *-chʉ-* (for animate locations) add an extra dimension to the ablative motion, as in:[13]

(27) a. kani-vaa-**tʉ**-**mana**-**kway** paghay-**'**way
house/O-at-**DIR**-**leave**-**go** walk-IMM
'(s/he) is walking (away) from the house'

b. mamachi-vaa-**chʉ**-**mana**-**kway** paghay-**'**way
woman/O-at-**DIR/AN**-**leave**-**go** walk-IMM
'(s/he) is walking (away) from the woman'

But the ablative sense of *mana-* can also be obtained in simpler combinations, as in:

(28) táa-**mana**-**khwa**-**'**uru**'** **'**ʊa-khwa-pʉga, tʉkuavi
knee-**come**-**go**-that/O pull.out-ASP-REM meat/O
'…he pulled meat out of his knee…'

13. There is a strong possibility that *-tʉ* and *-chʉ* are historically bleached derivatives from the two allative motion verbs *tugwa-* and *chugwa-*, respectively (see (23), (24), above).

And *mana-* can still be used as a main verb, as in:

(29) **mana**-kwa-paa-chi-ukh!
leave-go-IRR-NOM-it
'…get away (from there)!…'

A directional sense of downward motion can be obtained by various combinations involving four verbs of descent, *tʉvwa-*, *yáakwi-*, *rúkwa-* or *pawi-*, as in:

(30) a. págha-kwa-pʉga, **tʉvwa**-tukhwa páa-pa
walk-go-REM **descend**-go water-DIR
'…(and s/he) went down to the water…'

b. tʉiyʉ-**yaakwi** magha-pʉay-aghay-'u
deer/O-**descend** feed-REM-ASP-3S
'…and he fed (it) into the deer's mouth…'

c. pʉ'i-av tu-túpʉna-pʉga, 'u-ma-tugwa-aqh
eye-OWN RED-throw-REM there-on-go-it
'…(and he) kept throwing his eyes way up there

'u-**rukwa** núkwi-pʉga
there-**descend** stick.head-REM
and then stuck his head down there…'

d. páa-**rukwa**-nu ta-yáakwi-kwa-vaa
water/OB-**descend**-1S paw-push.down-go-IRR
'…you're going to push me under-water with your paw…'

e. 'uwa-**rukwa**-rukhwa kwica-kwa-pʉay-agha
3S/O-**descend**-go defecate-go-REM-ASP
'…(and he) defecated under him…'

f. 'uru páa-**vawi**-tukhwa cha-chaa'mi-pʉga
that/O water/O-**descend**-go RED-throw-REM
'…(and he) threw it down in the water…'

A sense of upward motion can be obtained from the verb *tarugwa-* 'ascend'. In (31a) below this verb is used as a post-position, and in (31b) as the main verb:

(31) a. 'agha-pa-'ura ma-na-**tarukhwa?** máa-pa tʉna-khwa!
WH-DIR-be there-on-**ascend** there-DIR ascend-go/IMPER
'…how can one climb up there? Climb that-a-way!…'

b. 'ʉvʉs, 'uwas-'ura **tarukhwa**-pʉga
end 3S/SU-be **ascend**-REM
'…so finally he climbed up there…'

4.5.5 Non-locative indirect objects

While locative indirect objects are the semantic prototype, as well as the diachronic template, for intransitive verbs in this general class, a number of verbs that deviate from the locative norm still belong to this syntactic class, as defined in (16) above. The locative origin of the post-positions used in such cases is fairly transparent. Thus consider:

(32) a. ta'wachi-**'agha-va** náay-'ay
man/O-**middle-at** angry-IMM
'(s/he) is angry at the man'

b. tʉnapi-**paa-tʉ** wáygya-y
hunt/NOM/O-**DIR-DIR** talk/PL-IMM
'(they) are talking about the hunt'

c. **'**áapachi-**vaa-chʉ** nʉka'nh̲-kya
boy/O-**at-DIR** listen-ANT
'(s/he) listened to the boy'

d. mamachi-**vaa-chʉ-mana-kway** nʉka-qha
woman/O-**at-DIR-leave-go** hear-ANT
'(s/he) heard from the woman'

Some verbs in this class are inherently **reciprocal**, meaning that the subject and indirect object act upon each other. The indirect object in such cases is marked with the associative post-position *-wa* 'with', as in:

(33) a. kava-gumaavi̲ kava-viapi-**wa** náagha̲-qa
horse-male/SU horse-female/O-**with** mate-ANT
'the stallion mated with the mare'

b. mamachi̲ ta'wachi-**wa** mana'aa-qa
woman/SU man/O-**with** quarrel-ANT
'the woman quarreled with the man'

c. núuchi-u kʉmachi-u-**wa** nana-pa̲qha-qa-pʉga
Ute-PL Comanche-PL-**with** RECIP-kill-PL-REM
'The Utes fought with the Comanches'

In (33c) above, the verb *paqha-* 'kill' is augmented with the reciprocal prefix *nana-*, to yield the inherently reciprocal sense of 'fight (each other)'.[14]

Finally, a few verbs in this class take an **instrumental** indirect object, as in:

14. For further discussion of reciprocal clauses and the reciprocal prefix, see ch. 10.

(34) a. papʉ'nį ta'a-**m** kugwi-kya
bucket/SU milk/O-**with** fill-ANT
'the bucket filled with milk'

b. mamachį moghoy'a-**m** nagha-qha
woman/SU blanket/O-**with** cover-ANT
'the woman covered herself with a blanket'[15]

4.6 Transitive verbs

4.6.1 Transitivity

Simple clauses, and thus verbs, are either transitive or intransitive. **Transitivity** is a complex phenomenon with both semantic and syntactic components. It goes to the heart of the grammar of simple clauses, and its syntactic dimensions reverberate across many other areas of the grammar.

Semantically, the prototype **transitive event** is defined by the roles taken by its two obligatory participants, agent and patient, as well as by the semantic properties of the verb:

(35) **Semantic prototype of transitive event**:

a. **Agentivity**: The agent is an active performer and deliberate initiator of the event.
b. **Affectedness**: The patient is a concrete, physically affected participant.
c. **Perfectivity**: The verb codes an event that is bounded, compact and fast-changing.

These three semantic features can be, at least in principle, matters of degree, giving rise to many shades and gradations.

Syntactically, the prototype **transitive clause** is defined by the matching of the two main event participants, agent and patient, with the two grammatical roles, subject and direct object, respectively:

(36) **Syntactic prototype of transitive clause**:

a. The agent is the **grammatical subject** of the simple transitive clause.
b. The patient is the **grammatical direct object** of the simple transitive clause.

---

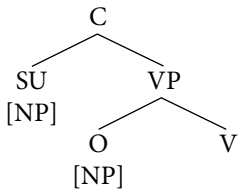
15. This verb, meaning 'cover oneself', may have been derived historically through the reflexive pattern (see ch. 10).

In terms of its grammatical relations, Ute is a **nominative** language; that is, a language in which the subject displays the same morphological marking regardless of whether the clause is transitive or intransitive, and regardless of whether the semantic role of the subject is agent, patient or dative. With the exception of dummy-subject verbs (sec. 4.2 above), all verb types and thus all simple clauses in Ute have a subject. The subject is thus effectively removed from the syntactic definition of transitive clauses in Ute, leaving only the direct object:

(37) **Syntactic definition of the Ute transitive clause**:
A transitive clause in Ute must have a direct object.

Ute transitive verbs thus conform to the general phrase-structure frame:

(38)



As noted earlier (ch. 3), two morphological properties characterize the subject in Ute:

- the silent final vowel
- plural agreement on the verb

Likewise, the direct object is characterized morphologically by taking the non-subject form of the noun without any post-position. In addition, the subject and object share one morphological property we have already noted (ch. 3), one that distinguishes them from other clausal participants:

- only the subject and direct object control ('correspond to') the optional suffix pronoun, leastwise when it is suffixed to the verb.

Other grammatical properties of the subject and direct-object in Ute pertain to the government (control) of complex syntactic constructions, and will be discussed at appropriate chapters further below.

4.6.2 Simple transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are perhaps the largest group of verbs in the lexicon. The ones that abide by the general prototype conditions (35) and (36) are verbs like 'break', 'bend',

'twist', 'cut', 'chop', etc., with an inanimate object (39a,b) or an animate object that is inactive (39c,d):

(39) a. **'**ivichi qopoqh-ti-kya-**'u**
stick/O break-CAUS-ANT-**3S/AN**
'(s/he) broke the stick'

b. tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qa-**aqh**
meat/O cut-ANT-**it**
'(s/he) cut the meat'

c. **'**áa-ruachi **'**uway nóʊ**'**wa-y
new-child/O the/O carry-IMM
'(s/he) is carrying the baby'

d. **'**uwas-**'**ura núuchi-u **'**umʉ maroghoma-pʉga
he/SU-be person-PL the/O create-REM
'(s/he) created the people'

In (39a) the optional suffix pronoun corresponds to the subject 's/he'. In (39b) it corresponds to the direct object 'meat' ('it').

The object could be also animate, registering a variety of effects, as in (39c,d) above, as well as in:

(40) a. kh-**'**ura mamachi̲ **'**u **'**aa-ruachi tua-pʉga
then-be woman/SU the/SU new-child/O give.birth-REM
'then the woman gave birth to a child'

b. **'**áapachi̲ sarichi táa-qa
boy/SU dog/O kick-ANT
'the boy kicked the dog'

c. tʉiyʉ paqha-pʉga
deer/O kill-REM
'(s/he) killed a deer'

Some transitive verbs are irregular in that they cannot take a free standing – independent word – object. Rather, their object must incorporate into the verb, as in:

(41) a. **kani**-chʉi-kya
house/O-build-ANT
'(s/he) built a house'

b. **piwa**-gya-pʉga
spouse/O-have-REM
'(s/he) had a spouse, was married'

Lastly, many simple transitive verbs do not conform to the prototypes (25), (26), so that their subject may not be an agent, but rather a dative or patient; and their object, whether animate or not, does not register physical change. Common examples are:

(42) a. na'achichi 'uway pʉnikyay-kya
girl/O the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the girl'

b. nʉ́arʉ nʉka-pʉga
wind/O hear-REM
'(s/he) heard the wind'

c. múa-av sumay-kya
father/OWN remember-ANT
'(s/he) remembered his/her father'

d. 'uru tʉvʉpʉ pu̲chuchugwa-pʉga
that/O country/O know-REM
'(s/he) knew that country'

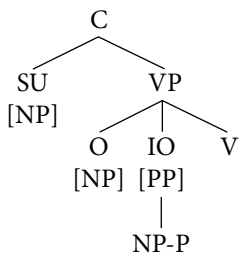
e. tʉkapi 'asti'i-y
food/O want-IMM
'(s/he) wants food'

f. 'ícha̲ kán̲i 'avatʉ yʉʉruwa-gha-tʉ
this/SU house/SU big/O door-have-NOM
'this house has a big door'

4.7 Bi-transitive verbs

Bi-transitive verbs have two obligatory objects, one a direct, the other indirect. The latter is usually marked with a post-position. These verbs thus tend to conform to the general syntactic frame:

(43)



We will describe several sub-types of this general class.

4.7.1 Verbs with a locative indirect object

Verbs in this group take a subject agent, a direct-object patient whose location is being changed, and a locative indirect object, marked with a post-position, that is the source or goal of the motion. Typical examples are:

(44) a. pɵ'ɵqwatʉ tʉka'napʉ-**vwa-na** wachʉ-ka
book/O table/O-**at-on** put-ANT
'(s/he) put the/a book on the table'

b. tʉpʉychi tʉvʉpʉ-**vwaa-tʉ** kʉʉ-ka
rock/O ground/O-**at-DIR** rock/O take.off-ANT
'(s/he) picked a/the rock off the ground'

c. tʉka'napʉ kani-**vaa-tʉ-mana-kway** nɵɵ'wa-pʉga
table/O house/O-**at-DIR-leave-go** carry-REM
'(s/he) carried the table from the house'

d. tʉka'napʉ kani-**vaa-tukhwa** nɵɵ'wa-pʉga
table/O house/O-**at-go** carry-REM
'(s/he) carried the table to the house'

The verbs 'put (on)' (44a) and 'take (off)' (44b) are inherently directional. The verb 'carry' (44c,d) is directionally neutral, requiring further directional specification.

The order of direct and indirect object in Ute is flexible, so that in the appropriate discourse context, (44a) above may be rendered as:

(45) tʉka'napʉ-**vwa-na** pɵ'ɵqwatʉ wachʉ-ka
table/O-**at-on** book/O put-ANT
'on the table (s/he) put the/a book'

In cases where the locative indirect object can be either inanimate or animate, an alternation between the directional post-positions *-tʉ* and *-chʉ*, if present, is observed, as in:

(46) a. **Inanimate location**:

pɵ'ɵqwatʉ kani-**vaa-tʉ** níi-kya
book/O house/O-**at-DIR** send-ANT
'(s/he) sent the book to the house'

b. **Animate location**:

pɵ'ɵqwatʉ mamachi-**vaa-chʉ** níi-kya
book/O woman/O-**at-DIR/AN** send-ANT
'(s/he) sent the book to the woman'

c. **Animate location**:

mamachi-**vaa-chʉ** pɵ'ɵqwatʉ kʉʉ-ka
woman-**at-DIR/AN** book/O receive/take-ANT
'(s/he) received/took the book from the woman'

4.7.2 Verbs with a dative indirect object

Verbs in this sub-group take what appear to be two direct objects, the first a dative-recipient, the second a non-prototypical patient. Thus consider:[16]

(47) a. 'áapachi 'uway kani 'uru pʉni-ti-kya
boy/O the/O house/O the/O see-CAUS-ANT
'(s/he) showed the boy the house'

b. na'achichi pʉsariniyapi may-kya
girl/O story/O tell-ANT
'(s/he) told the girl a story'

But the verb 'tell' may also take a more abstract second – indirect – object marked with a post-position, as in:

(48) a. mamachi kani-**vaa-tʉ** may-kya
woman/O house/O-**at-DIR** tell-ANT
'(s/he) told the woman about the house'

b. mamachi 'áapachi-**vaa-cʉ** may-kya
woman/O boy/O-**at-DIR/AN** tell-ANT
'(s/he) told the woman about the boy'

The verb 'give' also belongs to this sub-group, but has some special characteristics. Its dative direct object must be re-capitulated as an object pronoun prefixed to the verb. Thus compare:

(49) a. na'achichi 'uway whchachi **'uwa**-rugwa-qa
girl/O the/O basket/O **3S/O**-give-ANT
'(s/he) gave the girl a basket'

b. táata'wachi-u wiichi 'uru **'umʉ**-rugwa-qa
men/O-PL knife/OBJ the/O **3P/O**-give-ANT
'(s/he) gave the men the knife/knives'

c. wiichi **nʉ́**-rugwa-qa
knife/O **1S/O**-give-ANT
'(s/he) gave me a knife'

---

16. In some formal descriptions, the dative object of such verbs is considered to have undergone 'obligatory promotion' to direct object. A similar pattern is found in Ute with optional benefactive objects (see sec. 4.9.1., below).

d. wiichi **'ʉmʉ**-rugwa-qa
knife/O **2s/O**-give-ANT
'(s/he) gave you a knife'

Further, although both objects of 'give' are unmarked by a post-position, one of them, the dative recipient, is still the direct object – because it controls the optional suffix pronoun. Thus, compare:

(50) a. na'achichi 'uway whchachi **'uwa**-rugwa-qa-**'u**
girl/O the/O basket/O **3s/O**-give-ANT-3s/AN
'(s/he) gave her – the girl – a basket'

b. *na'achichi 'uway whchachi **'uwa**-rugwa-qa-**aqh**
girl/O the/O basket/O **3s/O**-give-ANT-**it**
'*(s/he) gave it – the basket – to the girl'

4.7.3 Verbs with an associative indirect object

A few verbs of **exchange** may take the exchange partner as an indirect object, marked with the post-position -**wa** 'with', as in:

(51) ta'wachi mamachi-**wa** whchachi narukhwa-qha-**'u**
man/SU woman/O-**with** basket/O exchange-ANT-**3s**
'the man exchanged baskets **with** the woman'

The Ute post-position *-wa* 'with' is ambiguous, and can also be used as an noun-phrase **conjunction** (see ch. 8). Since the verb 'exchange', is inherently reciprocal, it is not surprising to find a conjoined – thus plural-subject – version of (51), as in:

(52) mamachi ta'wachi-**wa** whchaci narukhwa-**qa**-qha-**amʉ**
women/S man/O-**and** basket/O exchange-**PL**-ANT-**3P**
'the women exchanged baskets (with each other)'

Indeed, the verb *narukhwa-* is probably historically a reciprocal derivative of *-rugwa* 'give', with *na-* being the old reciprocal prefix (currently *nana-*; see ch. 10).

4.7.4 Verbs with the instrumental-locative variation

A few bi-transitive verbs may assume two optional patterns. In the first, the direct object is semantically a location, and the indirect object is marked with the **instrumental** post-position**.** In the second, the two objects switch their grammatical status,

so that the instrumental is now the direct object, and the other participant is the indirect object, marked with a **locative** post-position. As an illustration of this pattern, consider:

(53) a. **Instrumental IO**:

mɔ'ɔ-av mu̲sutu̲̲kwivi-**m** ma'a-qa
arm-OWN medicine-**with** rub-ANT
'she rubbed her arm with medicine'

b. **Locative IO**:

mu̲sutu̲̲kwivi mɔ'ɔ-**'u-vwa-na̲**-av ma'a-qa
medicine/O arm-**there-at-on**-OWN rub-ANT
'she rubbed the medicine on her arm'

4.8 Verbs with verbal complements

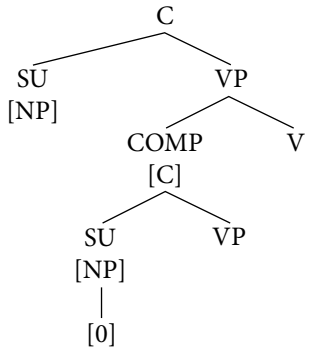
Clauses with verbs that require verbal – thus clausal – complements are, strictly speaking, **complex clauses**. They will be described in considerable detail further below (ch. 9). Nevertheless, the three main types of such verbs are important lexical classes in every human language. At this point we will describe them briefly, leaving the more detailed treatment for the later chapter.

4.8.1 Modal-aspectual verbs

Semantically, verbs in this group convey a cluster of **modal** meanings such as volition, refusal, planning, ability, attempt, success or failure to perform an action. They also include a cluster of **aspectual** meanings such as beginning, ending or continuing the performance of an action. They may be further divided into two semantic sub-groups. **Implicative** verbs, such as 'succeed', 'finish', 'stop', 'continue' or 'start', imply that the event conveyed in the complement clause has occurred. **Non-implicative** verbs, such as 'want', 'be able', 'try' or 'plan', do not imply such occurrence. **Neg-implicative** verbs are also possible, such as 'fail' or 'avoid'; and likewise **NEG-non-implicative** verbs such as 'refuse' or 'decline'.

Syntactically, the verbs in this group are characterized by an **equi-subject** condition, whereby the subject of the complement clause is identical (co-referent) to the subject of the main clause. Most commonly, the co-referent subject is not overtly expressed in the complement clause. In terms of syntactic constituent structure, modal-aspectual verbs thus conform to the phrase-structure pattern:

(54)



The complements of non-implicative verbs in Ute take non-finite, nominalized verbs, marked with the **irrealis** suffix *-vaa*/*-paa* and the nominal suffix *-chi̱*. If the subject is plural, both main and complement verb must take a plural suffix. Thus compare:

(55) a. mamachi̱ tʉkuavi tʉka-**vaa-chi̱** 'ásti'i-y
woman/SU meat/O eat-**IRR-NOM** want-IMM
'the woman wants to eat the meat'

b. máama̱chi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-**paa-chi̱** 'ásti-kya-y
women/SU-PL mean/O eat-PL-**IRR-NOM** want-PL-IMM
'the women want to eat the meat'

Occasionally, the animate plural suffix *-mʉ̱* is added to the complement, underscoring the nominalized nature of the complement. Thus, compare (55b) above with (56):

(56) máama̱chi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-**paa-chi-mʉ̱** 'ásti-kya-y
women/SU-PL mean/O eat-PL-IRR-**NOM-PL** want-PL-IMM
'the women want to eat the meat'

The syntactic form of implicative verbs and their complements is somewhat compressed, with complement and main-verb stems forming a single complex verbal word in which the main verb has become an **aspectual suffix** on the complement verb. If the subject is plural, only one plural suffix is used for the combined verb. Thus compare:

(57) a. mamachi̱ tʉkapi 'ini-**maku**-kwa
woman/SU food/O make-finish-ANT
'the woman finished preparing (the) food'

b. máama̱chi-u tʉkapi 'ini-**maku-kwa̱-qha**
women-PL food/O make-finish-**PL-ANT**
'the women finished preparing (the) food'

The verb 'start' is even more irregular, taking neither tense-aspect suffixes nor the plural suffix. It may be considered a **grammaticalized** inceptive-aspect suffix. Thus compare:

(58) a. mamachi̱ tɨkapi 'ini-**kucha**
woman/SU food/O make-**start**
'the woman starts preparing (the) food'

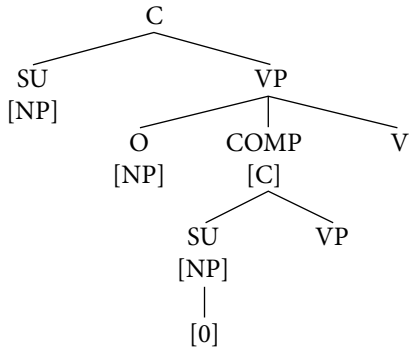
b. máama̱chi-u tɨkapi 'ini-kya-**ucha**
women/SU-PL food/O make-PL-**start**
'the women start preparing (the) food'

4.8.2 Manipulation verbs

Semantically, verbs in this group convey complex events in which the agent of the main verb manipulates another agent to perform the action or activity coded in the complement clause. They may be further divided into two semantic sub-types. **Implicative** verbs such as 'cause' or 'make' imply that the event coded in the complement clause is successfully completed. **Non-implicative** verbs, such as 'tell', 'invite' or 'want' do not imply such successful completion. Negative correspondents of these meanings are also possible, with the NEG-implicative 'prevent' or 'block' and NEG-non-implicative 'warn against' or 'tell not to'.

Syntactically, the verbs in this group are characterized by an **equi-object** constraint, whereby the agent-subject of the complement clause is identical (co-referent) to the **manipulee-object** of the main clause, and is not overtly expressed. In terms of syntactic constituent structure, verbs in this group conform to the phrase-structure pattern (59) below:

(59)



The complements of non-implicative verbs in Ute take a non-finite, nominalized verb form, marked with the irrealis suffix *-vaa* followed by the nominal suffix *-ku*. If the manipulee object is plural, the complement verb must take the plural suffix. Thus compare, with the non-implicative 'tell':

(60) a. mamachi̲ tuachi-av tʉkuavi tʉka-**vaa-ku** may-kya
woman/SU child/O-OWN meat/O eat-**IRR-NOM** tell-ANT
'the woman told her child to eat the meat'

b. mamachi̲ tuachi-u-av tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha-paa-ku** may-kya
woman/SU child/O-PL-OWN meat/O eat-**PL-IRR-NOM** tell-ANT
'the woman told her children to eat the meat'

The implicative verb 'cause' is morphologically irregular, and has become a grammaticalized **causative suffix** on the complement verb. It then takes tense-aspect-modal suffixes, but allows no plural agreement on the complement verbs when the manipulee is plural. Thus compare:

(61) a. mamachi̲ na'achichi sivaatuchi magha-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O goat/O feed-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girl feed the goat'

b. mamachi̲ náana̲'achici-u sivaatuchi magha-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girls/O-PL goat/O feed-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girls feed the goat'

Finally, the verb combination 'do' plus 'cause' may yield the sense of the non-implicative 'show how to'. However, here the finite future suffix is used in the complement, as in:

(62) a. na'achichi̲ tuachi púupa pɵ'ɵ-**vaa-ni** 'uni-ti-kya
girl/SU child/O manner write-**IRR-FUT** do-CAUS-ANT
'the girl showed the child how to write'
'the girl showed the child how s/he should write'

b. na'achichi̲ tuachi-u púupa pɵ'ɵ-qwa-**paa-ni** 'uni-ti-kya
girl/SU child/O-PL manner write-PL-**IRR-FUT** do-CAUS-ANT
'the girl showed the children how to write'
'the girl showed the children how they could write'

4.8.3 Perception-cognition-utterance verbs

Verbs in this important class include perception verbs such as 'see' or 'hear', cognition verbs such as 'know', 'think', 'understand', 'remember' or 'forget', and utterance verbs such as 'say'/'tell'. Most of the verbs in this class also belong to other verb classes, most commonly syntactically transitive ones that take a direct object. In their current capacity, these verbs take a verbal complement clause with no **co-reference** (equi-subject, equi-object) restrictions. However, the structure of the complement clause suggests that it has been historically **nominalized**, i.e. treated as a direct object.

We will discuss the grammar of these complement clauses in more detail later on (chs 8, 9). At this point, one may note that the subject of the main clause appears in

the non-subject (genitive) form, and that the verb is marked by the nominal suffix *-na* and then by the old object suffix *-y*. As an example of this general pattern, compare:

(63) a. **Main clause (finite)**:

mamachi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha
woman/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'the woman ate the meat'

b. **Complement clause (nominalized)**:

'áapachi puchuchugwa-y mamachi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-**na-y**
boy/SU know-IMM woman/**GEN** meat/O eat-ANT-**NOM-O**
'the boy knows that the woman ate the meat'

4.9 Optional participant roles

In addition to obligatory event participants, all languages allow some optional participant in event/state clauses. With one exception, these optional participants in Ute are marked by various post-positions, some of which we have seen earlier above. We will survey the range of optional participants briefly.

4.9.1 Benefactive

The benefactive is the only optional participant marked as direct object, i.e. without a post-position. Rather, the verb carries the benefactive marking, with the suffix *-kʉ*. When a benefactive participant appears in the clause, it assumes the direct-object role. This can be assessed by both word-order and control of the suffix object pronoun.

When the benefactive appears with an intransitive verb, it converts the clause into a transitive one (64b), or a bi-transitive one (64d). Thus compare:

(64) a. **Simple intransitive**: wʉ́ʉka-qha
work-ANT
'(s/he) worked'

b. **Transitivized**: mamachi 'uway wʉ́ʉka-**kʉ**-kha
woman/O the/O work-**BEN**-ANT
'(s/he) worked for the woman'

c. **Motion intransitive**: naruwa-ghani-naagha-tukhwa yʉga-pʉga
buy-house/O-enter-go enter-ANT
'(s/he) entered into the store'

d. **Transitivized**: mamachi naruwa-ghani-naagha-tukhwa yʉga-**kʉ**-pʉga
woman/O buy-house/O-enter-go enter-**BEN**-REM
'(s/he) went into the store for the woman'

When the optional benefactive appears with a transitive verb, the result is a **bi-transitive** clause with two object-marked participants, along the syntactic pattern

of 'give' (sec. 4.7.2. above). In such clauses, word-order is strict, with the benefactive invariably preceding the patient object. What is more, the benefactive preempts the object pronoun role, assuming control of the object pronoun. Thus compare:

(65) a. **Simple transitive**: **'**áa-ruachi-u magha-qa-**amʉ**
new-child/O-PL feed-PANT-**3P**
'(s/he) fed the babies'

b. **With the benefactive**: mamachi **'**aa-ruachi-u magha-**kʉ**-qha-**'u**
woman/O new-child/O-PL feed-**BEN**-ANT-**3S**
'(s/he) fed the babies for her – the woman'

c. *mamachi **'**aa-ruachi-u magha-**kʉ**-qha-**amu̲**
woman/O new-child/O-PL feed-**BEN**-ANT-**3P**
(*'(s/he) fed them – the babies – for the woman')

4.9.2 Associative

We have already noted the existence of obligatory associative participants marked with the post-position *-wa*. But associative participants may also be added optionally to simple clauses, most commonly when the subject is an agent. Thus consider:

(66) a. **Simple intransitive**: múa-**wa**-av wʉ́ʉka-qha
father-**with**-OWN work-ANT
'(s/he) worked with his/her father'

b. **Motion intransitive**: múa-**wa**-av kani-vaa-tukhwa pagay**'**wa̲-qha
father-**with**-OWN house/O-at-go walk-ANT
'(s/he) walked to the house with his/her father'

c. **Simple transitive**: múa-**wa**-av **'**ʉavi **'**ʉa-qa
father-**with**-OWN field/O cultivated-ANT
'(s/he) cultivated the field with his/her father'

4.9.3 Instrumental

Instrumental indirect objects, marked with the post-position *-m*, may also be optionally added to simple clauses, most commonly with agentive action verbs. Again, the verbs in such a clause may be intransitive or transitive. Thus compare:

(67) a. **Simple intransitive**: kʉagi**'**napʉ-**m** **'**ʉ́a-qha
hoe/O-**with** cultivate-ANT
'(s/he) cultivated with a hoe'

b. **Motion intransitive**: kani-naagh-tukhwa̲ kupa**'**napʉ-**m**
house/O-in-go axe-**with**
paqha-yʉga-pʉga
punch-enter-REM
'(s/he) punched into the house with an axe'

c. **Simple transitive**: tʉkuavi wiichi-**m** chikavi'na-qha
meat/o knife/o-with cut-ANT
'(s/he) cut the meat with a knife'

4.9.4 Manner

Adverbs of manner, as noted earlier (ch. 3), come from multiple sources and display variable morphological marking and syntactic behavior. While there is nothing to be added here to the earlier description, one must still note that they are an important class of optional participant in simple clauses.

4.9.5 Optional locatives

Earlier above, we described in considerable detail locative indirect-objects marked by various post-positions. In addition, locative expressions may also appear as optional members of simple clauses. Often, such post-positional phrases are considered **peripheral adverbs**, in the sense that they are not constituents of the verb phrase, but rather of the clause. Such optional locative adverbs convey the general location where a state, event or action takes place, and they impose few restrictions on the type of verb they can appear with. Their use is discussed in some detail later on (ch. 18).

CHAPTER 5

The diachrony of Ute case-marking

5.1 Introduction

A language, thus a grammar, is a product of its history. A **synchronic** description of the way the grammar is now is but a description of the latest stage in the protracted **diachronic** trajectory that brought the grammar to its current state. Most native speakers are blissfully unaware of their grammar's history. They know and use it the way it is now, including both the great many regularities that are taken for granted and the puzzling irregularities, or exceptions, that are learned by rote. For the linguist, however, grammar is a living organism that grows and evolves. And irregularities merely hint at earlier states and the diachronic processes that brought various grammatical constructions to their current state. Today's exceptions are often the surviving relics, or fossils, of yesterday's rules.

In this chapter we focus on the historical development of two major aspects of the Ute case-marking morphology: (i) Marking of the core grammatical roles of subject, direct object and genitive. And (ii) the post-positions that mark indirect objects. Of the two main methods most commonly used in historical reconstruction – the comparative method (CM) and internal reconstruction (IR) – we will rely primarily on the latter. The detailed justification for this preference has been discussed elsewhere.[1]

5.2 Subject, object and genitive

5.2.1 Current state: Recapitulation

As noted earlier (ch. 3, 4), Ute nouns can appear in two basic forms:

- The **nominative** – subject or predicate – form
- The **oblique** – object or genitive – form.

For the vast majority of nouns, including both those that have noun-class suffixes and those that are suffixless, the difference between the two forms appears to be a

1. See Givón (2000).

trivial phonological adjustment: The de-voicing of the final vowel of the noun in the nominative vs. its full voicing in the oblique. Thus compare:

(1)	**nominative**	**oblique**	**gloss**
	mama-chi̱	mama-chi	'woman'
	tʉvʉpʉ̱	tʉvʉ-pʉ	'earth'
	ma-sʉʉ-vʉ̱	ma-sʉʉvʉ	'finger'
	tʉka-pi̱	tʉka-pi	'food'
	toghoa-vi̱	toghoa-vi	'rattlesnake'
	pɵˈɵqwa-tʉ̱	pɵˈɵqwa-tʉ	'book'
	nʉ́a-rʉ̱	nʉ́a-rʉ	'wind'
	kúchu̱	kuchu	'buffalo'
	kání̱	kani	'house'

So far, one may conclude that the nominative vs. oblique contrast in Ute involves the fortuitous exploitation, thus morphologization, of a phonetically-motivated variation, the otherwise wide-spread process of devoicing unstressed word-final vowels. However, one must still answer the question: Why does such de-voicing occur in the subject/predicate but not in the object/genitive positions?

One way of approaching this question is by noting that in all cases where an extra suffix follows the noun, be it the plural or possessive pronoun for subjects, or the post-position for indirect objects, the final vowel remains voiced, the way it is in the direct-object and genitive cases. Thus compare:

(2)		**nominative**		**with suffix**
	Plural:	sari-chi̱ 'dog'	==>	sari-chi-u 'dogs'
	Possessor pronoun:	tua-chi̱ 'child'	==>	tua-chi-n 'my child'
	Post-position:	kání̱ 'house'	==>	kani-vaa-tʉ̱ 'at the house'

Taking a hint from such cases, one may now formulate a tentative diachronic hypothesis:

- "Ute had, at an earlier time, an object and/or genitive suffix, which shielded the word-final vowel from de-voicing by making it non-final, but later disappeared".

But how does one go about substantiating such a hypothesis?

5.2.2 Traces of the oblique suffix *-y/-i*

5.2.2.1 Traces on object or genitive nouns

A small group of suffixless nouns, all clearly old and native and all ending with the vowel /a/ in the nominative form, take the suffix *-y/-i* in the oblique form. For several nouns ending with the vowel /i/, the oblique-form suffix is *-yʉ*. Thus consider:

(4)

nominative form	**oblique form**
tɵcay'a̲ 'prairie-dog'	tɵcay'a-y
páa 'water'	páa-y
kuvúa 'sharp edge'	kuvúa-y
táa 'knee'	táa-y
piwa-'u 'his spouse'	piwa-y-'u
pia-'u 'her mother'	pia-y-'u
'áyh 'turtle'	'aya-y
tʉ́í 'deer'	tʉ́i-yʉ
parí(h) 'elk'	parí-yʉ
pɵni 'skunk'	pɵni-yʉ

Another small group of native nouns whose stem ends with /a/ show a substitution of that final /a/ with /i/ when followed in compounds by either a verb or a noun, as in:

(5)

nominative form	**oblique form**
tavá-chi̲ 'sun'	tav-**í**-'iní-kya-tʉ̲ 'sun-made', 'sunshine' sun-**o**-make-ANT-NOM
'awá-tʉ̲ 'long'	'aw-**í**-tavá-pʉ̲ 'for a long time' long-**o**-day-NOM

A number of Spanish-borrowed nouns whose stem ends with /a/ are suffixless in the nominative but take the suffix *-y*/*-i* in the oblique, as in:

(6)

nominative form	**oblique form**
kava 'horse	kava-yi
páana 'bread'	páana-y
muruuna 'melon'	murúuna-**y**
panaana 'banana'	panaana-y
sa̲tiiya 'watermelon'	sa̲tiiya-y

Several English-borrowed nouns with consonant-final stems in the nominative take the suffix *-i* in the oblique form, as in:[2]

(7) a. …maay-pʉgay-'u doctor-**i** 'uwa-y…
find-REM-him doctor-**o** that-o
'…they found the doctor…'

b. …doctor-bag-**i**-av yáa'wa̲-vachi̲…
doctor-bag-**o**-OWN carry-ASP
'…he was carrying his doctor-bag…'

2. All the example below are taken from oral narratives told by Mollie B. Cloud.

c. …'uru branch-**i**-vaa-tukh…
that/o branch-**o**-LOC-to
'…(he moved) toward the branch…'

d. …'uru Mancos Creek-**i**-vaa…
that/o Mancos Creek-**o**-LOC
'…over there in Mancos Creek…'

It is well known that the morphological and phonological treatment of borrowed nouns often reflects older native patterns.[3]

5.2.2.2 Traces on demonstratives and pronouns

Traces of the same oblique suffix *-y(i)* are also found in the demonstratives series, whenever the stem ends with /a/. Thus consider:

(8)

nominative form	**oblique form**
Proximate:	
'í-cha̲ 'this' (inan.)	'i-cha-**y**
'í-na̲ 'this' (an. sg.)	'i-na-**y**
'í-mʉ̲ 'these' (an. pl.)	'i-mʉ́
Visible:	
má-rʉ̲ 'that' (inan.)	ma-rʉ
máa 'that' (an. sg.)	máa-**y**
má-mʉ̲ 'those' (an. pl.)	ma-mʉ
Invisible:	
'ú-ru̲ 'that' (inan.)	'u-ru
'ú-wa̲ 'that' (an. sg.)	'u-wa-**y**
'ú-mʉ̲	'u-mʉ

More extensive traces of the same suffix are found in the personal pronoun series, as in:

(9)

nominative form	**oblique form**
nʉ́' 'I'	nʉ́na-**y** 'me', 'my'
támi̲ 'we' (du, incl.)	tami 'us', 'our'
táwi̲ 'we' (pl. incl.)	tawi 'us', 'our'
nʉ́mʉ̲ 'we' (excl.)	nʉmʉ-**y** 'us', 'our'
'ʉ́mʉ̲ 'you' (sg.)	'ʉmʉ-**y** 'you', 'your'
mʉ́ni̲ 'you' (pl.)	mʉni 'you', 'your'

3. See Hyman (1970).

máa-s 's/he' (vis.)	máa-**y**-**a**-s 'him', 'his', 'her'
ma-mʉ-s 'they' (vis.)	ma-mʉ-**a**-s
ˈu-wa-s 's/he' (invis.)	ˈu-wa-**y**-**a**-s
ˈu-mʉ-s 'they' (in vis.)	ˈu-mʉ-**a**-s
kʉma-s 'other'	kʉma-**y**-**a**-s

The only phonetic environment in (9) where the suffix *-y* is consistently absent is following the vowel /i/, a rather predictable omission in Ute. The added oblique suffix *-a* will be discussed further below. The pronominal suffix *-s* comes from a different source and does not concern us here.[4] Pronouns, including demonstrative pronouns, are notorious diachronic graveyards where relics of older case-marking morphology survive long after they have been lost in nouns (see e.g. English or German). Such survival is due to the higher usage frequency of pronouns as compared to nouns.[5]

5.2.2.3 Traces in nominalized clauses

Another context were the old object suffix *-y* is used fairly consistently is in several types of subordinate clauses occupying the object position. Ute subordinate clauses are historically non-finite or nominalized, a topic that will be discussed in considerable detail in several subsequent chapters (chs 8,9,10,12,17). Both object **relative clauses** and unreduced **verb complements** display two residual nominal/non-finite characteristics:

- the verb is marked by the nominalizing suffix *-na*
- the subject appears in the oblique/genitive case

Thus consider:

(10) a. **Main clause**: mamachi sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-ni
woman/SU goat/O kill-IRR-FUT
'the woman will butcher the goat'

b. **Object** REL**-clause**: sivaatuchi mamch**i** paqha-vaa-**na**…
goat/SU woman/**GEN** kill-IRR-**NOM**
'the goat that the woman will butcher'
(Hist.: 'the goat of the woman's future killing')

c. **V-complement**: puchuchugwa-y mamch**i** sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-**na**-**y**
know-IMM woman/**GEN** goat/O kill-IRR-NOM-O
'(s/he) knows that the woman will butcher the goat'
(Hist.: '(s/he) knows the woman's killing of the goat')

4. The suffix -s is probably originally a clausal conjunction. Its current distribution is rather complex (see ch. 18).

5. See Zipf (1935).

When a noun-phrase with an object REL-clause is itself the object of a main verb, its nominalized verb is marked with the object suffix *-y*, as in:[6]

(11) a. **Indirect-object REL-clause**:

…nʉ' 'ʉmʉy-rugwa-paa-ni 'uru pʉ́-**aa**-m 'uní-vaa-**na**-**y**…
I/SU you/O-give-IRR-FUT that/O REL-**O**-with do-IRR-NOM-**O**
'…I will give you what (you shall) to do it with…'
(Hist.: 'I'll give you that of your doing it with')

b. **Direct-object REL-clause**:

…pʉnikya-pʉga tuachi-u-'u, 'uw**a**y
…see-REM child-PL-3S he/**GEN**

sinawav**i** kacha'na-qha-**na**-**y**…
Sinawav/**GEN** chew-ANT-NOM-**O**

'…(s/he) saw his children, (those) that Sinawav had chewed…'
(Hist.: '(s/he) saw the children of Sinawav's chewing')

c. **Verb complement**:

…púupa-aqh wachʉ-ka-**na**-**y** kachu-ux pʉchuchugwa-wa…
manner-it put-ANT-**NOM**-**O** NEG-it know-NEG
'…nobody knows the way (he) put it together…'
(Hist.: 'nobody knows the way of (his) putting it together')

d. **Clausal subject**:

ta'wach**i** 'uway púupa-aqh wachʉ-ka-**na**-**y** tʉ́ʉ'a-tʉ
man/**GEN** the/**GEN** way-it put-ANT-**NOM**-**O** good-NOM
'the way the man put it together is good'
(Hist.: 'the way of the man's putting it together is good')

The nominalized clauses in (11) above were historically treated as objects of the main verb. The survival of the old object suffix *-y* is again most consistent following the vowel /a/, the way it was with nouns. One doesn't find it following the subject nominalizer *-tʉ*, even when the subject REL-clause is the object of the main verb. Thus, compare (11c) above with (12) below, in which the pronominal head of the subject REL-clause is marked as object:

(12) 'uway wacʉ-ka-**tʉ**-'u kachu-'u pʉchuchugwa-wa
3s/O put-PL-**NOM**-**3s** NEG-3S know-NEG
'nobody knows the one who put it together'
(Lit.: 'him who put it together, nobody knows him')

6. Examples (11a,b,c) below are derived from recorded texts (Givón ed. 1985).

5.2.2.4 The epenthetic suffix *-y*

Epenthetic consonants, inserted between vowels to break vowel clusters, seem at first blush to be phonologically motivated. Quite often, however, a specific epenthetic consonant traces back to lost morphemes or part of a morpheme. The epenthetic /n/ in the English indefinite article *a(n)* is a such a well-known case. As elsewhere, morphophonemic variation is a notorious graveyard of old morphemes.[7]

Ute tense-aspect development is intimately associated with the nominalization of verbal complements of erstwhile main verbs, verbs that grammaticalize into tense-aspect-modality markers. In many complex T-A-M suffixes in Ute, one finds the epenthetic insertion of *-y*, particularly following the vowel /a/. As representative examples taken from recorded texts, consider:

(13) a. …kukwi-kwa-pʉga-**y**-kʉ, 'uwa-rugwa-pʉga-**y**-ku…
fill-go-REM-O-SUB him/O-give-REM-**O**-it
'… when it (the bowl) filled up, (he) gave it to him…'

b. …kh-'ura sinawavi-khʉ 'uru magha-pʉa-**y**-agha-**y**-'u…
then-be Sinawav/O-it that/O feed-REM-**O**-ASP-**O**-3S
'…then he fed it to Sinawav…'

While the insertion of the epenthetic -y in such contexts is not fully predictable, its verb-suffix position strongly suggests that it is historically derived from object marking of nominalized complement clauses.

5.2.3 The oblique suffix *-a*

As was noted in (9) above, the oblique form of many personal pronouns in Ute contains, in addition to the suffix *-y*, also an added suffix *-a*. In this section we will discuss evidence that points to earlier use of the suffix *-a* to mark both the genitive and object grammatical roles. In this respect, this suffix shows the same double distribution as *-y*.

5.2.3.1 The suffix *-a* as a genitive marker

Consider, for example, the **partitive-genitive** construction, as in:

(14) a. 'umʉ-**a**-tʉ
those-**PART**-NOM
'one of them'

b. 'umʉ-**a**-tʉ-mʉ
those-**PART**-NOM-PL
'some of them'

c. máamachi-u-**a**-tʉ
women-PL-PART-NOM
'one of the women'

d. nʉmʉy-**a**-tʉ-mʉ
us-PART-NOM-PL
'some of us'

7. For a discussion of the grammaticalization cycle see Givón (1979b), Dahl (2009).

Next, we have already noted earlier (ch. 3) that many body-parts as well as other **inalienably-possessed** nouns, such as kin terms, display the suffixal vowel *-a* when followed by the possessor pronoun in:

(15) a. kwa̲sí-vi̲ ==> kwa̲sí-**a**-'u
tail-NOM tail-GEN-3s
'tail' 'his/her tail'

b. 'ʊʊ-vi̲ ==> 'ʊʊ-**a**-n
bone-NOM bone-GEN-my
'bone' 'my bone(s)'

c. 'uní-**aa**-'u 'his/her intimate possessions', 'his/her doings'
do-**GEN**-3s

d. mú-**a**-n e. pi-**a**-n f. pʉ́-**a**-'u g. piw-a-mʉ̲
father-**GEN**-my mother-**GEN**-my kin-**GEN**-3s spouse-**GEN**-2s
'my father' 'my mother' 'his/her kin' 'your spouse'

In the four kin terms in (15d,e,f,g), the suffix *-a* has already fused into the noun stem. The following example from a recorded text shows the suffix *-a* used as the genitive marker before the object suffix *-y* following the suffixless noun túku̲ 'cougar':

(16) …kh-'ura 'uwas 'u tuku-**a**-**y** piwa-y
then-be he/SU the/SU cougar/O-**GEN**-**O** spouse-O
chʉka-khwa-u-pʉga pina-khwa̲
lead-go-INCEP-REM follow-go
'…then finally he ran away with cougar's wife…'

The suffix *-a* is also used in the formation of **existential** expression, which is patterned after **alienable possession**, with the location being the grammatical 'possessor' (see ch. 15). Thus compare:

(17) a. **Inalienable possession**:
kani-gya-tʉ̲
house-have-NOM/S
'a home-owner', 's/he has a house'

b. **Existential-locative:**
'i-vaa-tʉ̲ 'ava'na̲-tʉ kani-**aa**-gha-tʉ̲
here-LOC-S many-O house-**GEN**-have-NOM
'here there are many houses', 'this place has many houses'

c. **Alienable possession**:
'ava'na̲-tʉ kani 'uni-**aa**-gha-tʉ̲
many-O house/O do-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) owns many houses'

5.2.3.2 The suffix *-a* as an object marker

Consider the comparative pronouns meaning, roughly, 'one like that' or 'some like that'. When such an expression assumes the object role, it is marked by the suffix *-a*:

(18) **subject role** ('––came') **object role** ('I saw––')

a. 'u-ra-tʉ-ni
that-be-NOM-like
'one like that'

b. 'u-ra-tʉ̲-**aa**-ni
that-be-NOM-O-like
'one like that'

c. 'u-ra-tʉ-mʉ-ni
that-be-NOM-PL-like
'some like that'

d. 'u-ra-tʉ-mʉ-**aa**-ni
that-be-NOM-PL-O-like
'some like that'

e. 'uwa-ra̲-tʉ-ni
him-be-NOM-like
'one like him'

f. 'uwa-ra̲-tʉ̲-**aa**-ni
him-be-NOM-O-like
'one like him'

g. 'uwa-ra̲-tʉ-mʉ-ni
him-be-NOM-PL-like
'some like him'

h. 'uwa-ra̲-tʉ-mʉ-**aa**-ni
him-be-NOM-PL-O-like
'ones like him'

This usage is consonant with the use of *-a* in oblique – object or genitive – personal pronouns.

The following examples are all taken from recorded texts. In all of them, the suffix *-a* is used to mark the object noun:

(19) a. …nʉ́'-ura pʉni-ti-paa-ni-mʉ̲ 'umʉ pʉ́a-u-**aa**-mʉ̲
I/SU-be see-CAUS-IRR-FUT-2s them/O kin-PL-**O**-2s
'…I will indeed show you your kin…'

b. …manu-khʉ̲-tʉ tʉvʉ-pʉ-**aa** 'uní'ni-kya-tʉ-**mʉ**
all-O-NOM/O earth-NOM-**O** live-PL-NOM-PL

'apagha-qa-na-y 'apagha-pʉga
speak-PL-NOM-O speak-REM

'…he spoke the languages that all the peoples on earth spoke…'

c. …márʉ̲-'ura tʉvʉ-pʉ-**aa**-va pʉ́-paa-y-'ura
that/SU-be ground-NOM-**O**-at REL-at-O-be

mama-khwa-nhka-miya̲, kwi̲pa-ti-**aa**-va 'uru…
woman-go-dance-HAB hit-CAUS-**O**-at that/O

'…this is the place where they used to dance the Beardance,
at the baseball park…'

5.2.4 The object suffix *-ku*

A third, possibly older, suffix that has survived in a more restricted set of contexts is the object suffix *-ku*. We have already noted its distribution in numerals and quantifiers (ch. 3), as in:

(20)

subject	**object**
sú-i-s 'one'	sú-**ku**-s
súw-iini 'other'	sú-**ku**(-nani)
wá-ini 'two'	wá-**y**-**ku**(-nani)
pá-ini 'three'	pá-**y**-**ku**(-nani)
manu-ni 'all'	manú-**khu**-tʉ

Several reflexes of *-ku* that may be related to its older role as object marker. Consider first it's use in equi-object verbal complements (see chs 4, 9):

(21) a. **Equi-subject (modality verb):**

'áapa-chi wúʉka-vaa-**chi** 'ásti'i-y
boy-s work-IRR-**COMP** want-IMM
'The boy wants to work'

b. **Equi-object (manipulation verb):**

mama-chi 'áapa-chi wúʉka-vaa-**ku** may-kya
woman-s boy-O work-IRR-**COMP** tell-ANT
'The woman wants the boy to work'

If the complement-marking *-ku* in (21b) is indeed to be traced back to an earlier use as object marker, the connection is distant and indirect. Still, there are some precedents for the subject vs. object case-marking contrast re-grammaticalizing as the contrast between **same reference** (SS) vs. **different referent** (DS), respectively, in either verbal complements or adverbial clauses.[8]

A suffix *-ku* is also used in Ute as the subordination marker of most adverbial clauses, as in (13a) above, reproduced below as:

(22) …kukwi-kwa-pʉga-y-**ku**, 'uwa-rugwa-pʉga-**y**-ku…
fill-go-REM-O-**SUB** him/O-give-REM-**O**-it
'… when it (the bowl) filled up, (he) gave it to him…'

8. Such situations are found in the switch-reference grammar of some Australian languages (Austin, 1980). A similar – if more restricted – case has been reported in Yuman languages (Munro, 1980, 1983). See also further discussion in Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 18). Thornes (2003) shows the suffix *-ku* in No. Paiute as marking both objects and genitives. This suggests a Numic provenance, with the limited distribution in Ute numerals and quantifiers being a relic feature.

A more marginal example is the sporadically-used inanimate suffix pronoun *-ku/ -ukh/-khu* 'it'. Unlike its more frequent counterpart *-aqh*, *-ku* never appears as a subject or genitive pronoun, only as an object pronoun. Thus compare:

(23) a. **Subject**: **'**uwa-y-**aqh** 'it is raining'
fall-IMM-**it**

b. **Object**: pʉnikya-pʉga-**aqh** '(s/he) saw it'
see-REM-**it**

c. **Genitive**: wiichi kuvua-**aqh** 'the knife's tip'
knife/GEN tip-**its**

d. **Subject**: *'uway-**k̲u̲**
fall-IMM-**it**

e. **Object**: pʉnikya-pʉgay-**k̲u̲** '(s/he) saw it'
see-REM-**it**

f. **Genitive**: *wiichi kuvua-**k̲u̲**
knife/GEN tip-**its**

While a diachronic path that could lead from object case-suffix to object pronoun is not clear, the reverse direction is also possible. Still, the distributional restriction on the use of the pronoun *-ku* is reminiscent of the restriction on the use of the object suffix *-ku* – only object, not genitive.

5.2.5 Interim summary

Of the three putative older oblique suffixes in Ute, the one with the widest distribution is *-y*, appearing on nouns, pronouns and nominalized verbs, and as both object and genitive marker. The distribution of the suffix *-a* is more restricted, but it still appears as both object and genitive marker. And when *-a* and *-y* appear together, the order is invariably *-a-y*; that is, *-a* closer to the stem. In contrast, the suffix *-ku* appears in extremely restricted contexts, marking only the object, never the genitive; and it does not combine with the other two. These facts suggest, on purely theoretical grounds, two diachronic hypotheses:

(24) a. Of the three suffixes, *-ku* is the oldest, *-a* younger, *-y* youngest.
b. The two younger suffixes, *-a* and *-y*, share a common diachronic mechanism.

We will return to these hypotheses directly below.

5.2.6 Object and genitive: The hidden footprints of nominalization

5.2.6.1 Preliminaries

The most plausible way in which either the subject or object case-marking can overlap with the genitive is through **nominalization**, whether of a whole clause or of a

verb phrase. Nominalization as a process may be defined as the structural adjustment made to a verbal clause, or to a verb phrase, when it is placed in a prototypically nominal grammatical position, such as the subject or object of a clause. This adjustment is a shift from the prototype finite verbal clause structure towards the prototype noun-phrase structure. The main components of this structural adjustment may be summarized as follows:[9]

(25) **Adjustment from the prototype finite verbal clause to noun phrase**:

a. The verb becomes a head noun.
b. The verb acquires *nominal* morphology.
c. The verb loses tense-aspect-modal marking.
d. The verb loses pronominal marking.
e. The subject and/or object assume genitive/possessor case-marking.
f. Determiners may be added.
g. Adverbs are turned into adjectives

A simple example from English illustrates the general pattern emerging out of (25), contrasting the finite clause in (26a) below with its nominalized versions in (26b) or (26c):

(26) a. **Finite verbal clause**:
She **knew** mathematics extensively.

b. **Non-finite nominalized clause**:
[**Her** extensive **knowledge of** mathematics] surprised me.

c. **Non-finite nominalized verb phrase**:
[the **knowledge of** mathematics] was required.

Languages diverge immensely in how much of an adjustment is required when a verbal clause is placed in a typical nominal position. Ute, much like the rest of No. Uto-Aztecan languages, falls on the extreme nominalizing end of the continuum, where every subordinate clause is, at least historically, nominalized. Of the seven structural adjustments listed in (25) above, two will most concern us here in reconstructing the history of Ute case-marking – the appearance of noun suffixes on the nominalized verb (25b), and the genitive marking of subjects or objects in the nominalized clause (25e).

Of the many contexts where clauses or verb phrases are nominalized in Ute, we will discuss here only three: Equi-subject verbal complements, full-clause verbal complements, and sentential subjects. As illustrations consider:

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9. For details see Givón (2001, ch. 11; 2009, ch. 4). Further discussion of Ute nominalizations can be found in Chapters 8, 9, 12 and 17 below.

(27) a. **Main clause**:

ta'wachi 'u sivaatuchi paqha-qha
man/SU the/SU goat/O kill-ANT
'the man killed the goat'

b. **Equi-subject V-complement**:

ta'wachi 'u sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-**chi** 'ásti-kya
man/SU the/SU goat/O kill-IRR-**NOM** want-ANT
'The man wanted to kill the goat'
(Hist.: 'the man wanted [the killing of the goat]')

c. **Full-clause V-complement**:

puchuchugwa-y ta'wach**i** 'uway sivaatuch**i** paqha-qha-**na**-**y**
know-IMM man/**GEN** the/**GEN** goat/O kill-ANT-**NOM**-**O**
'(s/he) knows that the man killed the goat'
(Hist.: '(s/he) knows [the man's killing of the goat]')

d. **Clausal subject**:

ta'wach**i** 'uway sivaatuchi paqha-qha-**na**-**y** 'ura-'ay
man/**GEN** the/**GEN** goat/O kill-ANT-**NOM**-**O** be-IMM
'it is the case that the man killed the goat'
('Hist.: '[the man's killing (of) the goat] is')

These three syntactic contexts are the most common ones through which main verbs become grammaticalized as tense-aspect-modality markers.[10] In the process of such grammaticalization, the nominalized complement (or subject) clause becomes the main clause, and its old nominalized structural features now become the new main-clause features. Of the six main tense-aspect suffixes in Ute, reasonable verbal etymology can be assigned to five:

(28) **Possible verbal etymology of main TAM suffixes**:

	tense/aspect form	**verbal source**
habitual	-mi(ya)	-miya 'walk/go'
anterior	-ka	-ga/-ka 'have'/'be'
irrealis	-va(a)	-va/-pa 'go'
future	-ni	-ni 'do'
remote	-pʉ-ga	-ga 'have'/'be' (-pʉ = NOM)
immediate	-y	???

Given the extreme nominalizing nature of Ute – and No. Uto-Aztecan – syntax, the marking of objects as genitives is a natural consequence of the rise of tense-aspect-modal markers out of verbs in configurations such as (27b,c,d) above. It is indeed just

10. See Heine and Kuteva (2007), Givón (2001, ch. 7; 2009, ch. 4).

as natural as the marking of the subject as genitive in configurations such as (27c,d) above. Since both the *-a* and *-y* suffixes mark both object and genitive role, the most reasonable conclusion is that both must have started as genitive markers, and then spread on to object marking through the same diachronic mechanism – clause or VP nominalization.

5.2.7 The diachrony of Ute object marking: Reconstruction

5.2.7.1 The suffixes *-a* and *-y*

Purely internal evidence in Ute suggests a multi-step diachronic scenario, whereby:

i. The suffix *-a* started as a genitive suffix.
ii. In the process of tense-aspect-modal grammaticalization, and due to the nominalized nature of Ute verbal complements, the suffix *-a* spread over to also mark objects.
iii. The suffix *-y* was introduced later on to replace *-a* as the new genitive marker.
iv. A subsequent tense-aspect-modal grammaticalization cycle is responsible for spreading the suffix *-y* into the object paradigm and replacing *-a* there too.

Comparative evidence supports this relative chronology, suggesting that the suffix *-a* is older and goes back to Proto Ute-Aztecan, while the suffix *-y* is younger and is limited to No. Uto-Aztecan.[11]

5.2.7.2 The demise of the suffix *-y*

The demise of the younger object/genitive suffix *-y* in Ute can be understood as the result of purely phonological processes. First, the de-voicing of unstressed word-final vowels is a natural phonetic process, applying in Ute only to nouns that were not followed by a suffix. This change created the current contrast in Ute between the silent-vowel form of subject/predicate nouns and the rest of the nouns – genitive, object, and indirect object – whose final vowels were shielded by suffixes.

Next, one may note that only two final vowels are found in Ute noun-class suffixes: /i/ in the suffixes *-chi* and *-vi*/*-pi*, and /ʉ/ in the suffixes *-pʉ*/*-vʉ* and *-tʉ*/*-rʉ*. Only suffixless nouns, a small group, exhibit other final vowels – /a/, /u/ and /ʊ/.

One may note, next, that the loss of the suffix *-y* after the final vowel /i/ is a natural, mundane phonetic change. The text-frequency of this mundane phonetic change must

11. Langacker (1977, pp. 82–83). Dakin (1985) has suggests that traces of the suffix *-y* can also be found in Nahuatl, making it potentially as old as *-a*.

have been rather high, due to the high text frequency of animate nouns, which in Ute take mostly the suffixes *-chi* and *-pi*/*-vi*.

The loss of *-y* following the other noun suffixes, those ending with /ʉ/, is observed synchronically in rapid speech of younger Ute speakers. Thus, for example, the 2nd-person-sg. oblique form *'ʉmʉ-y* in the common greeting expression *'ʉmʉ-y-s-a*? 'and how about you?' is often pronounced *'ʉmʉ-s-a*?. Likewise, *tʉpʉy-chi̱* 'rock' is often pronounced *tʉpʉ-chi̱*. Again, the text frequency of animate nouns ending with the suffixes -tʉ/-rʉ is high.

The noun-final vowels /i/ and /ʉ/ thus account, between them, for the overwhelming majority of nouns. The most common phonetic context in which relics of the suffix *-y* survive, following the vowel /a/, are found in suffixless nouns, pronouns and the verbal suffixes of nominalized clauses.

5.2.7.3 The object suffix *-ku*

For the time being, the diachrony of the object suffix *-ku* in Ute can not be easily reconstructed. On the one hand, its size, larger than either *-a* or *-y*, suggests a more recent history. On the other hand, if it ever were a generalized object suffix, its rather restricted current distribution – in numerals and quantifiers, switch-subject complements and adverbial clauses – suggests, if anything, a more remote history. And unlike the two other suffixes, a plausible diachronic scenario that would explain the current distribution of *-ku* is not obvious. However, one finds *-ku* in No. Paiute (Thornes 2003) as an object and genitive marker, suggesting a common Numic ancestry.

5.3 Post-positions and indirect objects

5.3.1 Introduction

As noted earlier (ch. 4), the post-positions that mark indirect objects in Ute are heterogenous, often complex, and clearly hint at repeated cycles of grammaticalization. At the one extreme, one finds locative post-positions whose verbal, or in a few cases nominal, origin is fairly transparent. They are large, their precursor verbs or nouns are still around, and their meanings as post-positions are easily predicted from their meaning as verbs or nouns. At the other extreme, one finds a few small-size post-positions – some locative, one instrumental, one associative – whose etymology is often opaque. In the middle one finds several syllable-size post-positions whose meaning is either locative or easily relatable to locative, and whose etymology is at least plausibly traceable.

5.3.2 Large-size locative post-positions

5.3.2.1 Noun-derived post-positions

The grammaticalization of body-part nouns or other positional nouns as locative adpositions is well documented elsewhere.[12] Such post-positions arise from a noun-phrase configuration in which the locational head noun, already marked with an adposition, becomes a complex locative adposition, while the erstwhile genitive modifier becomes the new head noun. In Ute, there are at least four locative post-positions that arose through this pattern, all derived from still-extant nouns. Thus consider:

(29) a. **'at the face of' ==> 'in front of'**:

kani **qovaa-va** wʉni-(y)
house/GEN **face-LOC** stand-IMM
'(s/he) is standing in front of the house'

b. **'to the sky of' ==> 'on top of'**:

kani **tugu-tukhwa** tarugwa-y
casa/GEN **sky-go** ascend-IMM
'(s/he) is climbing on (top of) the house'

c. **'at the outdoors of' ==> 'out of'**:

kani **tʉ́ʉra-va** 'uni'ni-(y)
house/GEN **outside-LOC** do/be-IMM
'(s/he) is outside the house'

d. **'at the center of' ==> 'in the middle of'**:

kani **tʉragwaa-va** 'uni'ni-(y)
house/GEN **center-LOC** do/be-IMM
'(s/he) is in the middle of the house'

The rise of these post-positions is so recent that there is no phonological evidence that they are cliticized to the preceding noun. That is, their form as post-position is neither phonologically reduced nor de-stressed.

5.3.2.2 Verb-derived post-positions

The bulk of large-size locative post-positions in Ute are grammaticalized verbs, arising in a verb-phrase configuration in which the main verb becomes the new grammaticalized suffix on its erstwhile locative object. This is, again, a well-known pattern.[13] We have already noted these post-positions earlier above (ch. 4). They are listed below together with their verbal sources.

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12. See Heine and Kuteva (2007).

13. See Heine and Kuteva (2007), Givón (2009, ch. 4).

(30) **Verb-derived post-positions**:

post-position	**verbal source**
-chukhwa ‘to’ (an. obj.)	chugwa- ‘go to’, ‘meet’ (an. obj.)
-tukhwa ‘to’ (inan. obj)	tugwa- ‘go to’ (inan. obj.)
-mana ‘from’	mana- ‘leave’
-chawi ‘toward’	chawi- ‘come to’
-naagha ‘in’	naagha- ‘enter’
-tarukhwa ‘on (top)’	tarugwa- ‘climb’
-pa'agha ‘on (top)’	pa'agha- ‘ascend’
-tʉvwa ‘down’	tʉvwa- ‘descend’
-rukwa ‘under’	rukwa- ‘descend’
-yaakwi ‘down into’	yaakwi- ‘descend into’
-pawi ‘down’	pawi- ‘descend’
-pina ‘behind’, ‘after’	pina- ‘follow’
-yukhwi ‘after’	yugwi- ‘sit’ (pl.)

Unlike the de-nominal post-positions in (29), which are invariably followed by the older locative suffixes, the de-verbal post-positions tend to be the last element in complex post-position sequences, attesting to their more recent rise. Thus consider:

(31) a. kani-vaa-**tukhwa** qxáarʉ-pʉga
house/O-at-**go/INAN** run-REM
‘(s/he) ran to the house’

b. mamachi-vaa-**cukhwa** qxáarʉ-pʉga
woman/OB-LOC-**go/AN** run-REM
‘(s/he) ran to the woman’

c. **'**uwa-**rukwa**-**rukhwa** kwica-kwa-pʉa-y-agha
3s-**descend**-**go** defecate-go-REM-O-ASP
‘…(and he) defecated under him…’

d. kani-**vina**-**kway** tugwa-pʉga
house/O-**follow**-**go** go-REM
‘(s/he) went behind the house’

The relatively recent rise of these post-positions is also attested by the fact that if they are followed by other suffixes, the full form of the source verb is preserved, as in the following text-derived examples:

(32) a. **'**áa-vaya-vaa-**chugwa**-mʉ kani-vaghay-kwa-nʉ
new-side-at-**go**-2s house-walk-go-1s
‘…I’ll come and visit you in your new house…’

d. kani-vaa-**chugwa**-av **'**uwas **'**uni-**'**a-vaci
house/OB-LOC-**go**-REFL 3S do-ASP-ASP
‘…he was going to his own house…’

These large de-verbal post-positions can still appear as main verbs, as in the following text-derived examples:

(33) a. …kani 'u-na-kwa-pa'agha̲ **tarugwa**-y…
house/O there-on-go-ascend **ascend**-IMM
'…(s/he) is climbing up on the house…'

b. …'u-vwaa-**tugwa**-pʉga…
there-at-**go/INAN**-REM
'…he went that-a-way…'

c. …"'uwa-**chugwa**-qa-kʉ" máy-pʉga…
3S/O-**go/AN**-PL-EMPH say-REM
'…"let's go to him" (he) said…'

d. …'u-vwaa-chawi̲ mʉrʉkáchi kani-vaa-**chawi̲**…
there-at-come white.man/GEN house/O-LOC-**come**/IMP
'…(let's) go over there to the white-man's house…'

e. …**mana**-kwa-paa-chi-ukh!…
leave-go-IRR-SUBJUN-it
'…get away from there!…'

Lastly, these locative post-positions can go on to assume more abstract functions. Thus, for example, the verb 'sit' is in the process of becoming the temporal post-position 'after', in expressions such as:

(34) a. …wíi-tavachi-**yukhwi̲**…
old-sun/O-**sit**/PL
'…after a long time…'

b. …'ʉvʉs, wíi-tava̲ **karʉ-ga,** págha̲-kwa-pʉga…
end old-sun **sit-PAR** walk-go-REM
'…finally, after a long time (of being there, he) left…'
(lit.: '…finally, sitting (there) for a long time, he left…'

The participial construction in (34b) may be the serial-verb precursor of the more reduced (34a).

5.3.2.3 Older monosyllabic de-verbal post-positions

A small group of monosyllabic locative post-positions can be still traced to verbs. Consider first two etymologically-relate post-positions, the semantically bleached *-va* 'at' and the semantically richer *-pa* 'in the direction of'. The suffix *-pa* may appear by itself, as in:

(35) a. **ˈúu-pa** tʉna-kwa
there-DIR arrive-go/IMPER
'…come that-a-way!…'

b. máa-**pa** págha-kwa-pʉga
there-**go** walk-go-REM
'…(s/he) went that-a-way (vis.; with gesture)…'

c. págha-kwa-pʉga, tʉvwa-tukhwa páa-**pa**
walk-go-REM descend-go water-DIR
'…(and he) took off, down to the water…'

d. **ˈíi-pa**-a kuchu-mʉ pagha-y?
here-DIR-Q buffalo-PL walk-IMM
'…have the buffalo passed this way?…'

Further, one can still find *-pa* used as the main verb, as in the nominalized plural forms in (35a,b), or the finite form in (35c):

(36) a. …**ˈi-vaa-chi-mʉ**, tava-mawisi-**paa**-tʉ-mʉ
here-at-NOM-PL sun-appear-DIR-NOM-PL

máa-pa-tʉ tʉvʉpʉ-aghaa-tʉ-mʉ…
there-DIR-DIR country-have-NOM-PL

'…the ones from here, from where the sun rises, (and) those that have the country right there…'

b. …**ˈúʉ** núuchi-u-ˈura **ˈíi-pa**-tʉ-mʉ…
true Ute-PL-be here-DIR-NOM-PL
'…the true Utes from right around here…'

c. …**ˈúu-pa**-pʉga…
there-**go**-REM
'…(he) took off that-a-way…'

The suffix *-va*, when used as 'at', commonly requires augmentation with the suffix *-tʉ* (see further below), as in:

(37) kani-**vaa**-tʉ 'at the house'
ˈu-vwa-tʉ 'there' (invis.)
ma-**vaa**-tʉ 'there' (vis.)
ˈiv-aa-tʉ 'here'

On rare occasions, one may find *-va* without such augmentation, as in:

(38) …yúaa-**va** nagukwi-ta-pʉga…
open.county-LOC fight-PASS-REM
'…they were fighting (each other) in the open country…'

This suffix appears frequently as the semantically-empty first element in combinations with other – semantically richer and diachronically younger – post-positions, as in:

(39) a. kani-**vaa**-tukhwa ‘(moving) to the house
house/O-**at**-go

b. mamachi-**vaa**-chukhwa ‘(moving) toward woman’
woman/O-**at**-go

c. kani-**vaa**-tʉ-mana-kway ‘from the house’
house/O-**at**-DIR-leave-go/O

d. **'**u-vwa-**cawi** mʉrʉkáchi kani-vaa-**cawi**
there-at-**come** white.man/GEN house/OB-LOC-**come**
‘…(let’s) over there to the white-man’s house…’

As noted earlier (ch. 3), the Ute consonant /v/ was probably an intra-vocalic variant of /p/. This and other considerations point out to an etymological connection between the two suffixes *-va* and *-pa*. It is thus of interest to note that *-pa*, the semantically richer post-position, can still be found as the main verb, albeit a morphologically defective one, as in (35c) above.

The post-position *-kwa* is easily traced to an older motion verb ‘go’, which in Ute has grammaticalized in multiple capacities. Most commonly, it supplements other post-positions, endowing them with a sense of directional motion (allative), as in:

(40) a. táa-mana-**khwa**-**'**uru **'**ʊa-khwa-pʉga, tʉkuavi
knee-come-**go**-**it**/OBJ pull.out-go-REM meat/O
‘…(he) pulled meat out of (from) his knee…’

b. kani-vaa-tʉ-mana-**kway** paghay**'**wa-y
house/O-DIR-leave-**go/o** walk-IMM
‘(s/he) is walking from the house’

The verbal origin of *-kwa* is fairly transparent, and one can still find it as the last element in a main-verb complex, perhaps already grammaticalized as an aspectual or directional marker, as in:

(41) a. **'**áa-vaya-vaa-chugwa-mʉ kani-vaghay-**kwa**-nʉ
new-side-at-go-2S house-walk-**go**-1S
‘…I’ll come and visit you in your new house…’

b. **'**u-vwaa-cawi-**kwa**-paa-ni
there-at-come-**go**-IRR-FUT
‘…(I’m) going to go there…’

c. …mana-**kwa**-paa-chi-ukh!…
leave-**go**-IRR-SUBJUN-it
‘…get away from it!…’

d. táa-mana-**khwa**-'uru 'ɵa-**khwa**-pʉga, tʉkuavi
knee-leave-**go**-it/O pull.out-**go**-REM meat/O
'…he pulled meat out of his knee…'

e. páa-rukwa-n ta-yáakwa-**kwa**-vaa
water/O-descend-1S paw-push.down-**go**-IRR
'…you're going to push me under-water with your paw…'

f. …págha-**kwa**-pʉga, tʉvwa-tukhwa páa-pa…
go-**go**-REM descend-go water-DIR
'…(and he) took off down to the water…'

The two directional post-positions *-tʉ* and *-chʉ* 'in the direction of' have no clear verbal source. There are some tantalizing hints, however, that they may be bleached derivatives of the two motion verbs *-tugwa* and *-chugwa*, respectively. As noted earlier above, both of the latter verbs have grammaticalized more recently as the allative post-positions 'to'. However, as such they still retain the sense of actual physical motion. The directional suffixes *-tʉ* and *-chʉ*, on the other hand, impart a more abstract sense of direction. Thus consider:

(42) a. mamaci-vaa-**chʉ** pɵ'ɵqwatʉ kʉʉ-ka
woman/O-at-DIR book/O take-ANT
'(s/he) took a book from the woman'

b. 'áapaci-vaa-**chʉ** nʉka'ni-kya
boy/O-at-**DIR/AN** listen-ANT
'(s/he) listened to the boy'

c. ta'wachi kani-vaa-**tʉ** máy-kya
man/O house/O-LOC-**DIR** tell-ANT
'(s/he) told the man about the house'

d. kani-vaa-**tʉ** pʉnini-kya
house/O-at-**DIR** look-ANT
'(s/he) looked toward the house'

e. ta'wachi-vaa-**cʉ** 'apagha-qa
man/O-LOC-**DIR/AN** talk-ANT
'(s/he) talked to the man'

f. 'u-vwaa-**tʉ** 'uni'ni-(y)
there-at-**DIR** be/move-IMM
'(s/he) is way over there'

g. …'u-vwaa-**tʉ** chichi'ni-pʉga…
there-at-**DIR** peek-REM
'…(and he) peeked that way…'

A verbal etymology for these two post-positions is also suggested, lastly, by the fact that they show the same contrast as the two clearly de-verbal post-positions *-tugwa*

and *-chugwa*, of inanimate vs. animate location, respectively. Their comparatively bleached state, both phonologically and semantically, suggests that they may be older derivatives of the two allative motion verbs.

5.3.2.4 The oldest locative post-positions *-na, -mi and -ma*

Three mono-syllabic post-positions, *-na, -mi*, and *-ma*, have no discernible verbal etymology. They can only be used in various combinations with other post-positions, and such combinations are not altogether predictable. Among them, *-na* is commonly associated with the stative locative sense of 'on' or 'above', as in:

(43) a. …'i-vaa-**na**-'uru tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-**na**-amʉ-'uru…
here-at-**on**-TOP earth/O-at-**on**-3P-it/O
'…they (were) up here above the earth…'

b. …'i-**na**-kwa-pa'aghą tarukhwa-pʉga…
here-**up**-go-ascend ascend-REM
'…(s/he) went down from up here…'

c. …'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-**na** pagha'ni-pʉga-vaci-mʉ…
this/O earth/O-at-**over** wander-REM-ASP-PL
'…they were wandering all over this earth…'

d. …'agha-pa-'ura ma-**na**-tarukhwa? máa-pa tʉna-khwa!…
Q-DIR-be there-**on**-ascend there-DIR ascend-go/IMPER
'…how can one climb up there? Climb that-a-way!…'

There is some evidence, found in high-frequency fixed expressions, that *-na* may have been a verb meaning 'be there'. Thus, in (44b) below it takes the normal verbal double negation:

(44) a. 'i-ya-**na**
here-???-**be.at**
'(it/s/he) is here'

b. ka-'i-ya-**na**-wa-tʉ
NEG-there-???-**be.at**-NEG-NOM
'(it/s/he) is not here'

The post-position *-ma* often appears with the stative locative sense of 'on' or 'above', as in:

(45) a. pʉ'i-av tu-túpʉna-pʉga, 'u-**ma**-tugwa-aqh
eye-REFL RED-throw-REM there-**on**-go-it
'u-rukwą núkwį-pʉga
there-descend stick.head-REM
'…(and he) kept throwing his eyes way up there and then stuck his head under there…'

Lastly, the post-position *-mi* is rare and semantically unpredictable, but one finds it in combination with other post-positions, as in:

(46) a. tʉkaˈnapʉ-tʉvwa-**mi**-tukhwa ‘down off the table’
table/o-descend-**LOC**-go

b. ˈi-**mi**-tukhwa ‘(moving) this way’
here-**LOC**-go

5.4 Discussion

Both in the marking of the core case-roles object and genitive and in the marking of indirect objects by post-positions, the Ute synchronic data reveal the footprints of repeated waves of grammaticalization and re-grammaticalization. It is not surprising that the diachrony of Ute case-marking morphology can be internally reconstructed from irregularities and relic forms found in the synchronic data. The fact that comparative Uto-Aztecan data tend to confirm the scenarios generated by purely-internal reconstruction is of course comforting.[14]

The grammaticalization of case-marking morphology in Ute is strongly constrained by the language’s syntactic typology, in particular its strong historical SOV word-order and its extreme propensity for nominalizing all subordinate clauses. Thus, in the repeated waves of grammaticalization of main verbs into post-positions, the OV order in verb phrases and the nominalized nature of verbal complements are key predictive constraints on the way de-verbal suffixes in Ute pile one on top of the other to yield complex case-markers.

One important reason why internal reconstruction is such a useful method harkens back to its strong dependence on syntactic-typological universals, thus a theory of diachronic change and grammaticalization. In the main, the morphemes we assume to be older are phonologically smaller and semantically more bleached. They tend to cliticize closer to the stem, and are distributionally less predictable. Often, they may be found only in **syntactic relic zones**. For case-markers, such relic zones – or **diachronic graveyards** – tend to be pronominal rather than nominal, and nominalized (non-finite, subordinate) rather than finite main clauses. Though this tendency is not absolute.[15] The most important lesson to be drawn from this chapter, I suppose, is that puzzling synchronic facts are less puzzling when viewed through diachronic lenses.[16]

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14. See again discussion in Givón (2000).

15. For some important exceptions to this, see Gildea (1998).

16. See Givón (1971, 1979b, as well as ch. 6 below).

CHAPTER 6

Tense, aspect, modality and negation

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Perspective

This chapter deals with one the most complex sub-systems of grammar, the marking of **tense**, **aspect**, **modality** and **negation** (T-A-M-N). As noted earlier (ch. 3), these four categories tend to be coded as verbal morphology. This is of course not an accident, since these functions pertain, in one way or another, to states or events that are coded by the verb. What is more, three of these functions (tense, aspect, modality) are closely intertwined, so that the same morpheme may have some tense, some aspect and some modal value.

There are several reasons why T-A-M-N systems are complex. First diachronically, such systems are assembled piecemeal over time and often display several generations of grammatical development, interspersing the affixes in a way that does not always make synchronic sense. Second, the functional scope of T-A-M-N morphology ranges from narrow verb semantics (*Aktion Art*), to clause-level semantics, to wider discourse-level pragmatics. Third, the four main functions of T-A-M-N have complex interactions among them. And fourth, T-A-M-N systems have strong interactions with other domains of grammar, such as speech-acts (ch. 14), nominalizations (chs 8), subordination (chs 9, 12, 17) and cross-clausal connectivity (ch. 18). We will begin by introducing the basic notions that underlie tense-aspect-modality systems,[1] using illustrative examples from English.

6.1.2 Tense

The category **tense** involves the relation between the time when the event/state occurs and some other reference time, most commonly the **time of speech**.

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1. What is given here are the bare rudimentaries of this complex domain. For a more extensive discussion of the semantic and pragmatic underpinning of T-A-M-N systems see Givón (2001, chs 6, 8). Negation is sufficiently transparent so as to dispense with introduction here.

(1) **Major tense divisions**:

a. **Past**: The event/state *precede* the time of speech.
Example: He **broke** the glass.
He **was** lost.

b. **Future**: The event/state *follows* the time of speech.
Example: He **will break** the glass.
He **will be** a soldier.

c. **Present**: The event/state occurs *at* the time of speech.
Example: He **is breaking** the glass.

d. **Habitual**: The event/state occurs *always* or *repeatedly*, with its time *unspecified*.
Example: He (always) **breaks** glasses.
He **used to break** glasses. (past-habitual)
He **is** a soldier.

6.1.3 Aspect

Aspect involves four subtle perspective distinctions on how events/states are viewed or described.

- **Perfectivity**: Whether the event is described as temporally compact and terminated (2a), or diffuse and ongoing (2b,c,d,e):

(2) a. **Past-perfective**: She **ate** an orange.
b. **Past-progressive**: She **was eating** and orange.
c. **Past-habitual**: She **used to eat** oranges.
d. **Present-progressive**: She **is eating** an orange.
e. **Habitual**: She (always) **eats** oranges.

- **Sequentiality**: Whether the event is related in the sequence in which it occurred (3a) or out of sequence (3b):

(3) a. **In sequence**: He **saw** her across the street and stopped.
b. **Out of sequence**: He stopped. He **had seen** her across the street.

- **Lingering relevance**: Whether the event is relevant at the time it occurred (4a,b) or at some later time (4c,d):

(4) a. **Past-perfective**: She **ate** it.
b. **Present-progressive**: She **is eating** it.
c. **Past-perfect**: She **had already eaten** it.
d. **Present-perfect**: She **has already eaten** it.

- **Immediacy**: Whether the event is viewed as remote (5a) or immediate/vivid (5b,):

(5) a. **Remote**:

…So I **gave** him his instructions, I **told** him to go ahead and do it. And he **said** he **would**. Y'know, I really **trusted** the guy, I **had** known him for a long time. Plus, he **was** taking notes all along. So I **figured**, oh, what the heck…

b. **Vivid**:

…So I **give** him his instructions, and I **tell** him I **say** go ahead and do it. And he **says** he **will**. Hey, I really **trust** the guy, I'**ve** known him for a long time. Plus he'**s** taking notes and all. So I **figure**, oh, what the heck…

6.1.4 Modality

Modality is a perspective that speakers have about a proposition, a **modal envelope** that does not affect the basic event structure ('who did what to whom when, where and how'). There are two related dimensions to modality, the first more general, the second a narrower sub-domain of the first. The more general dimension of modality is **epistemic**, involving truth, probability, certainty, belief or doubt. Along this dimension, propositions are divided into those that depict real states/events – **realis** – vs. those that depict unreal ones – **irrealis**. It is important to note that the sense of 'real' here is neither that of logical nor of scientific truth. Rather, 'real' hinges on how speakers set up a **universe of discourse** within which propositions are intended to be true or not true and entities are intended to be real or unreal.

As a simple illustration, consider the expressions in (6) below. In the realis assertions (6a,b), the speaker intends the event ('catch a fish') to be real, and consequently the indefinite object ('fish') to have real **reference**. The irrealis expressions (6c–o), whether assertions (6c–m), commands (6n) or questions (6-o), do not refer to a real event, but at best to a potential, hypothetical, possible event; and the object of that event is not intended as real or referring.

(6) **Realis**:

a.	**Past**:	She caught a fish.
b.	**Present**:	She is catching a fish.

Irrealis:

c.	**Future**:	She will catch a fish.
d.	**Habitual**:	She always catches fish.
e.	**Conditional**:	If she catches a fish, (then she'll fry it).
f.	**Intentional**:	She wanted to catch a fish.
g.	**Ability**:	She can catch a fish.

h. **Failure**: She failed to catch a fish.
i. **Manipulation**: They told her to catch a fish.
j. **Weak belief**: I think she caught a fish.
k. **Uncertainty**: Maybe she caught a fish.
l. **Preference**: Hopefully she caught a fish.
m. **Denial**: She didn't catch a fish.
n. **Command**: Go catch a fish!
o. **Question**: Did she catch a fish?

An important lesson implicit in examples (6) concerns the distribution of modality in grammar. Relatively little of the grammar of modality is associated with the tense-aspect-modality system itself (6a,b,c,d). The bulk is associated with other domains of grammar, such as adverbial clauses (6e), verb complements (6f–j), adverbs (6k,l), negation (6m), manipulative speech-acts (6n) or yes/no questions (6-o).

The second sub-domain of modality, a restricted sub-set of irrealis, is that of **deontic** modes. It involves notions such as wish or intent (6f), ability (6g), manipulation (6i,n) or preference (6-l). All these sub-domains share the general irrealis properties on non-truth of the proposition and non-reference of objects within it, but each adds some other **intensional** coloration to the modal mix.

As one can see, deontic modality, much like epistemic modality, is spread over many domains of the grammar. Our discussion here of modality in Ute will be confined mostly to irrealis marking in the verbal morphology. The discussion of negation will be integrated with that of each specific tense-aspect.

6.2 The immediate aspect

a. **Form**

The basic form of the immediate suffix is either *-y* or *-i* or zero, depending on the last vowel of the verb stem. Following the vowel /a/ the suffix is *-y*, and likewise in most cases of following the vowel /ɵ/o/. Thus consider:

(7) wú**ʉ**ka-**y** '(s/he) is working'
wú**ʉ**ka-qha-**y** '(they) are working'
t**ʉ**ka-**y** '(s/he) is eating'
t**ʉ**ka-qha-**y** '(they) are eating'
pɵ'ɵ-**y** '(s/he) is writing'
pɵ'ɵ-kwa-**y** '(they) are writing'

In some cases, the vowel /ɵ/ is elided before the immediate suffix, which then become *-i*, as in:

(8) pɵr(ɵ)-**i** '(they) are walking'
pɵrɵ-kwa '(they) walked'

Similar stem-final vowel elision occurs with most verbs ending with /ʉ/, as in:

(9) wachʉ-**i** ‘(s/he) is putting’
wachʉ-ka-**y** ‘(they) are putting’
karʉ-**i** ‘(s/he) is sitting’
karʉ-pʉga ‘(s/he) sat’
wʉnʉ-**i** ‘(s/he) is standing’
wʉnʉ-pʉga ‘(s/he) stood’

When the verb stem ends with /i/, the suffix is assimilated to it, as in:

(10) ˈivi-(**i**) ‘(s/he) is drinking’
ˈivi-kya-**y** ‘(they) are drinking’
yugwi(-**i**) ‘(they) are sitting’
yugwi-kya ‘(they) sat’
yuˈwi(-**i**) ‘(they) are standing’
yuˈwi-kya ‘(they) stood’

The same pattern is observed following verb suffixes ending with /i/, as in:

(11) pʉni-ˈni(-**i**) ‘(s/he) is looking’
pʉni-kya-niˈi(-**i**) ‘(they) are looking’
nʉka-ˈni(-**i**) ‘(s/he) is listening’
nʉka-qa-niˈi(-**i**) ‘(they) are listening’

When the verb stem ends with /u/, the suffix form is -**i**, as in:

(12) tʉsu-**i** ‘(s/he) is grinding’
tʉsu-kwa-**y** ‘(they) are grinding’

With some verbs, the immediate suffix appears as zero for no apparent phonological reason, though perhaps for historical ones. Thus, for example, the verb *pʉni-kya-* ‘see’ is derived from the old stem *pʉni-* ‘see’ plus the anterior suffix *-ka* (see further below). Likewise, the verb *wachʉ-ka* ‘be there’ (inan. subject) is derived from *wachʉ-* ‘put’, again with the anterior/passive suffix *-ka*. Since the anterior aspect does not combine with the immediate, the history of these verbs renders them suffixless in the immediate aspect:

(13) pʉni-kya ‘(s/he) sees’
pʉni-kyay-kya ‘(they) see’[2]
wachʉ-ka ‘it is (there)’
wachʉ-kạ-qha ‘it was (there)’

2. The epenthetic /y/ inserted between the plural marker *-kya-* and the anterior marker *-kya* here may be either a reflex of the old object suffix *-y* (see Chapter 5) or of the immediate suffix. And these two potential sources may be related (see below).

With some verbs, the old derivational suffixes *-ʻa* or *-ʻwa* merges with the immediate suffix *-y*, as in:

(14) ʻura-ʻa-y '(s/he/it) is'
ʻura-qa-y '(they) are'
ʻura-qa '(s/he/it) was'
paghay-ʻwa-y '(s/he) is walking'
paghay-kya '(s/he) walked'

It is fairly clear that most of the variation in the form of the immediate suffix is phonologically conditioned, with a basic form perhaps *-i* subject to transparent rules of gliding (/i/ > /y/ after most vowels), elision of some vowels before /i/, or shortening /i-i/ sequences. But diachrony has played enough havoc in this system so that it cannot be understood in purely synchronic terms.

Finally, some verbs take the suffix *-ki*/*-kh* as the immediate aspect marker, only in the singular, losing it in the plural as well as in other aspects. Thus consider:

(15) máy-kh '(s/he) is saying'
máy-kya-y '(they) are saying'
máy-kya '(s/he) said'
máy-pʉga '(s/he) said (long ago)'

b. **Function**

The immediate aspect in Ute covers three distinct aspectual functions in English:

- present progressive
- present perfect
- vivid past

Examples of the **present-progressive** function of the immediate aspect, the most common use in discourse, have been given above. As an example of the **present perfect** use, consider:

(16) a. wíitʉs wʉ́ʉka-y-in
past work-IMM-1s
'I've already worked'

b. wíitʉs pʉnikya-aqh
past see/IMM-it
'(s/he) has already seen it'

One must note, however, that the present-perfect use of the immediate suffix may also be performed by the anterior suffix *-ka-*. As an example from an oral text,

consider (17) below, where the use of the anterior in 'I have eaten' is recapitulated with the use of the immediate aspect in 'I have done':[3]

(17) …'uwas kh-'ura 'áy-kɨ: "tʉka-**qhay**-in nú-kʉ 'uni-'wa-**y**"…
3s/s then-be say-IMM eat-**ANT**-1s 1s/s-EMPH do-???-**IMM**
'…so then he said: "I've already eaten, I have (done)…'

The third use, of vivid past, is less common. It is found in short stretches of narrative told in the remote-past mode, whenever the narrator wants to highlight a passage by describing it *as if* it is happening right there in front of our eyes. As an example of such use, consider the following two narrative passages:[4]

(18) a. …'úniguni ya'ay-kwa-pʉ-u-**pʉga**.
surprise die-go-NOM-start-**REM**
'…and – lo! – she died.

'úvway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'umʉ kuchu-u súuva-tʉ-mʉ
then-it-TOP-that/O 3s/SU buffalo-PL other-NOM-PL/SU
in the mean time those other buffalos

yagha-kwa-**y** miya-gha miya-tʉ tʉgay[-kya]-**pʉga**…
cry-go-**IMM** go/PL-GER go-DIR become-[PL]-**REM**
are going around crying, wandering, they scattered far…'

b. …kh-'ura 'ú pawichɨ 'u
then-be that/SU beaver/SU the/SU

kani-vaghay-kwa-**pʉga**-s 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa;
house/O-walk-go-**REM**-CONJ 3s/O-at-go

'…so then Beaver walked over to visit him;

'i-vaa-ni-kway karʉ-**yi**-s pawichi-gya-**y**…'
here-at-like-MOD sit-**IMM**-CONJ beaver-be-**IMM**
and here he **is sitting** acting like he **is being** Beaver!…'

There is nothing objective about the speaker's decision to switch in the midst of a narrative about past events from the remote-past to the immediate aspect. It is a subjective decision done for effect.

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3. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

4. (15a) is from "Porcupine, Buffalo-Cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985). (15b) is from "Sinawav the Copycat", told be Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

c. **Negation**

As noted earlier (ch. 3), Ute practices a pattern of double negation, with the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-wa* bracketing the verb. The suffix is obligatory. The prefix may be made into a stress-bearing independent word and then carry suffixes.[5] The negation pattern for the immediate aspect is probably the simplest, with the negative suffix replacing the immediate suffix *-y*. Thus, with an intransitive verb:

(19) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wú̱u̱ka-y '(s/he) is working'
work-IMM

b. **Affirmative-PL**: wú̱u̱ka-qha-y '(they) are working'
work-PL-IMM

c. **Negative-I-SG**: **ka**-wú̱u̱ka-**wa** '(s/he) is not working'
NEG-work-**NEG**

d. **Negative-I-PL**: **ka**-wú̱u̱ka-qa-**wa** '(they) are not working'
NEG-work-PL-**NEG**

e. **Negative-II-SG**: **kachu**-'u wú̱u̱ka-**wa** 's/he isn't working'
NEG-3S work-**NEG**

f. **Negative-II-PL**: **kach**-amu̱ wú̱u̱ka-qha-**wa** 'they aren't working'
NEG-3P work-PL-**NEG**

And with a transitive verb:

(20) a. **Affirmative-SG**: sivaatuchi paqha-y '(s/he) is butchering the goat'
goat/O kill-IMM

b. **Affirmative-PL**: sivaatuchi paqha-qa-y '(they) are butchering the goat'
goat/O kill-PL-IMM

c. **Negative-I-SG**: sivaatuchi **ka**-paqha-**wa** '(s/he) isn't butchering the goat'
goat/O **NEG**-kill-**NEG**

d. **Negative-I-PL**: sivaatuchi **ka**-paqha-qa-**wa** '(they) aren't butchering the goat'
goat/O **NEG**-kill-PL-**NEG**

e. **Negative-II-SG**: **kach**-u'u paqha-**wa** '(s/he) isn't butchering it'
NEG-3S kill-**NEG**

f. **Negative-II-PL**: **kach**-u'u paqha-qa-**wa** '(they) aren't butchering it'
NEG-3S kill-PL-**NEG**

d. **Diachrony**

There are not many residual relics in the use of the -y suffix to firmly establish its diachronic origin. If its finite pattern originated from a subordinate clause, it must have

5. Subject and object clitic pronouns as well as other suffixes may be attached to the negative stem *kach-*, following a pattern sometimes referred to as 'second-position clitics'. For more details on this as well as on Ute pronouns, see ch. 7.

been an **equi-subject** clause (see chs 4, 5), since the subject in this finite construction is marked as nominative. The form of the suffix *-y*/*-i* is identical to the old object suffix (ch. 5), and this may suggest that ultimate source may have been a nominalized verbal complement. But whatever evidence may have existed to support this has long been obliterated.

6.3 The anterior aspect

a. **Form**

The basic form of the anterior suffix is *-ka*, with the phonologically conditioned variants *-qa*, *-qha*, *-kya*, *-qwa* and *-kwa* (see ch. 2 as well as (21) below).

b. **Function**

There are three main uses of the anterior aspect, the first as a **past tense** in everyday conversation about events that precede the time of speech but are not viewed as too remote, as in:

(21)

káa-**qha**	'(s/he) sang'
káa-qha-**qa**	'(they) sang'
ˈivi-**kya**	'(s/he) drank'
ˈivi-kya-**qha**	'(they) drank'
pɵˈɵ-**qwa**	'(s/he) wrote'
pɵˈɵ-qwa-**qha**	'(they) wrote'
karʉ-**qa**	'(s/he) sat'
yugwi-**kya**	'(they) sat'
tʉsu-kwa	'(s/he) ground (it)'
tʉsu-kwa-**qha**	'(they) ground (it)'

The second function is that of **present perfect**, as in, for example:[6]

(22) …ˈuwa x-ˈura ˈáy-kh: "tʉka-**qha**-yin nʉ́-kʉ…"…
3s/s then-be say-IMM eat-ANT-1s 1s/s-EMPH
'…but he said: "I've already eaten…"…'

The third function, that of the **past-perfect** (pluperfect), is also rare but can be still found in stories told in the remote-past mode (see below). The anterior here codes out-of-sequence events, those that happened earlier than the preceding clause(s) but

6. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

are told later. Most commonly, one finds this usage in **relative clauses** referring to events that occurred earlier, as in:[7]

(23) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura naguch'a-y-kṳ, sǝni-gani-gyay-**kya**-na-'u…
then-it-be burn-IMM-it cedar-house-have-ANT-REL-3S
'…then it burned down, the cedar house that he **had** had…'

b. …sinawavị-'uru kuchu-gwa-y… 'uni-**kya**-na-av,
sinawav/SU-it buffalo-be-IMM… do-ANT-REL-OWN
'…so Sinawav, being like Buffalo… what he had done,

'uru navutigi-**kya**-na-av…
it/O imitate-ANT-REL-OWN
what he **had** imitated…'

c. …pina-xwạ 'úu-gwa-pʉga-s 'uwas, tʉiyʉ
follow-go arrow-have-REM-CONJ 3S/SU deer/GEN

púupa 'ura-**qa**-nạ…
manner be-ANT-REL
'…so later on he had an arrow, the way deer **had** had…'

d. …tuachi-u-'u, 'uway sinawavi kacha'na-**qha**-nạ…
child-PL-3S 3S/GEN sinawav/GEN chew-ANT-REL
'…his children, those that Sinawav **had** chewed up…'

One may also find this past-perfect use in **adverbial clauses**, as in:[8]

(24) a. …'uway tʉiyʉ 'ura-pʉgay-kṳ, navutigi-**kyay**-kṳ-'ura 'uwas…
3S/GEN deer/GEN be-REM-SUB, imitate-ANT-SUB-be 3S/SU
'…when he was like Deer, when he **had** imitated (him)…'

b. …'úrṳ-'ura payu-kwa-**qhay**-kṳ, pawici-gani-av chʉʉ-pʉga-s…
it-be return-go-ANT-SUB beaver/GEN-house-OWN build-REM-CONJ
'…then after he **had** returned home, he built himself his own beaver house…'

And one finds the same usage in **complements** of cognition-utterance verbs, as in:

(25) a. puchuchugwa-pʉga mamachi 'uway tʉka-**qha**-na-y
know-REM woman/GEN the/GEN eat-ANT-REL-O
'(s/he) knew that the woman **had** already eaten'

b. puchuchugwa-y mamachi 'uway tʉka-**qha**-na-y
know-IMM woman/GEN the/GEN eat-ANT-REL-O
'(s/he) knows that the woman **has** already eaten'

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

c. **Negation**

The negation of the anterior aspect involves the negative prefix *ka-*, or the full negative word *kach-*. However, instead of the negative suffix *-wa* one finds the suppletive NEG-anterior suffix *-na*. Thus consider:

(26) a. **Affirmative-SG**: páa-y 'ivi-kya '(s/he) drank the water'
water-O drink-ANT

b. **Affirmative-PL**: páa-y 'ivi-kya-qha '(they) drank the water'
water-O drink-PL-ANT

c. **Negative-I-SG**: páa-y **ka**-'ivi-**na** '(s/he) didn't drink the water'
water-O NEG-drink-**ANT/NEG**

d. **Negative-I-PL**: páa-y **ka**-'ivi-kya-**na** '(they) didn't drink the water'
water-O **NEG**-drink-PL-**ANT/NEG**

e. **Negative-II-SG**: **kach**-aqh páa-y 'ivi-**na** '(s/he) didn't drink the water'
NEG-it water-O drink-**ANT/NEG**

f. **Negative-II-PL**: **kach**-aqh páa-y 'ivi-kya-**na**
NEG-it water-O drink-PL-**ANT/NEG**
'(they) didn't drink the water'

d. **Diachrony**

The more likely source of the anterior suffix *-ka* is the old irregular verb 'have' *-ga*, which in a restricted context also means 'be'. In either of these meanings, this verb must take an incorporated nominal object, as in:

(27) a. **Have**: 'u-vwaa-tʉ kani-**gya**-pʉga
there-at-DIR house-**have**-REM
'(s/he) had a house over there'

b. **Be**: '…'i-vaa-ni-kway karʉ-yi-s pawichi-**gya**-y…'[9]
here-at-like-MOD sit-IMM-CONJ beaver-**be**-IMM
'…and here is sitting being/acting like he is Beaver…'

Some support for 'have' as the source of the anterior aspect comes from the fact that the epenthetic suffix *-y*, most likely the old object suffix, may still follow some verbs marked with the anterior suffix, as in, for example:[10]

(28) …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura naguch'a-y-kʉ, sǝni-gani-gya-**y**-**kya**-na-'u…
there-at-it-be burn-IMM-it cedar-house-have-**EP-ANT**-REL-3S
'…then it burned down, the cedar house that he **had** had…'

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9. *Ibid.*

10. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Grove (Givón ed. 1985).

And the verb 'have' is widely used elsewhere as the source of the perfective and/or perfect aspect.[11]

6.4 The remote past

a. **Form**

The basic form of the **remote-past** suffix is *-pʉga*, as seen in numerous examples above, though occasionally one finds it as *-pʉa*, or even *-pʉ*.

b. **Function**

The designation of 'remote-past' is not, strictly speaking, a time-division designation, but rather carries a subjective sense of remoteness, of looking at events as if they happened long ago and bear no strong relevance to the present. We have already noted this in the preceding discussion of the immediate aspect, used to describe past events when they are viewed as if occurring in front of one's eyes (sec. 6.2., above). In traditional Ute stories, the vast majority of events are rendered in the remote-past aspect, with other aspects interspersed at relevant junctures. One may say that events that constitute the **backbone** of the narrative are rendered in this aspect. The remote-past aspect in Ute is thus a typical **perfective** aspect, relating events in the order in which they occurred. Traditional Ute stories are typically set up with tight chains of the remote-past aspect, as in:[12]

(29) kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas yʉʉpʉchi̱ 'ura-**pʉga**, kh-'ura tuachi-u-gwa-**pʉga**,
then-be-that 3s/SU porcupine/SU be-**REM** then-be child-PL-have-REM
wáy-kunani; kh-'ura tuachi-u-av sʉpay-kwa-**pʉga**;
two-O then-be child-PL-OWN desert-ASP-REM
'There was once Porcupine, and she had children, two of them;
then once she deserted her children;
"'i-vaa-sapa̱-'uru mʉ́ni̱ pagha-'ni-nʉ" may-**pʉga**,
here-at-MOD-that 2P/S walk-INT-IMP say-REM
"You just keep walking about here" she told them,
"nʉ' 'áy-ku̱ tʉna-khwa-vaa-chi̱" máy-**pʉga**-'uru…
I/SU say-SUB hunt-go-IRR-NOM say-**REM**-that/O
"while I will go hunting around" she said that…'

11. See Heine and Kuteva (2007).

12. "Sinawav, Porcupine and Buffalo-Cow", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

c. **Negation**

The negation pattern of the remote-past aspect involves the same negative prefixal pattern as seen above, plus a suppletive negative suffix. Thus consider:

(30) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wúʉka-pʉga ‘(s/he) worked’
work-REM

b. **Affirmative-PL**: wúʉka-qha-pʉga ‘(they) worked’
work-PL-REM

c. **Negative-I-SG**: **ka**-wúʉka-pʉ-**a** ‘(s/he) didn’t work’
NEG-work-REM-**NEG**

d. **Negative-I-PL**: **ka**-wúʉka-qha-pʉ-**a** ‘(they) didn’t work’
NEG-work-PL-REM-**NEG**

e. **Negative-II-SG**: **kachu**-ˈu wúʉka-**pʉa** ‘s/he didn’t work’
NEG-3S work-**REM/NEG**

f. **Negative-II-PL**: **kach**-amʉ wúʉka-qha-**pʉa** ‘they didn’t work’
NEG-3P work-PL-**REM/NEG**

d. **Diachrony**

The diachronic source of the remote-past marker *-pʉga* is revealed in its suppletive negative suffix *-pʉ-a*. The suffix *-pʉ-ga* arose from a nominalized verbal complement, marked by the nominal suffix *-pʉ*, followed by the main verb *-ga* ‘have’. This verbs takes the suppletive negative form *-ˈa*, as in:

(31) a. **Affirmative**: piwa-**gha**-tʉ ‘(s/he) is married’
spouse-**have**-NOM

b. **Negative-I**: **ka**-piwa-ˈ**a** -tʉ ‘(s/he) is not married’
NEG-spouse-**have/NEG**-NOM

c. **Negative-II**: **kach**-uˈu piwa-ˈ**a** -tʉ ‘s/he is not married’
NEG-3S spouse-**have/NEG**-NOM

The intra-vocalic loss of the glottal stop is common in Ute, in environments where no ambiguity would arise. And the grammaticalization of ‘have’ as *perfective* > *perfect* > *past* is widely attested elsewhere.[13]

13. See Heine & Kuteva (2007). And as suggested above, the Ute anterior/perfect suffix *-ka* is also most likely derived from *-ga* ‘have’.

6.5 Imperfective remote-past

a. **Form**

The imperfective remote-past is marked with the suffix *-na* added before the remote-past suffix *-pʉga*, as in:

(32) a. **Remote-past**: káa-pʉga ‘(s/he) sang’
sing-REM

b. **Imperfective remote-past**: káa-**na**-pʉga
sing-**HAB**-REM
(i) **Habitual**: ‘(s/he) used to sing’
(ii) **Progressive**: ‘(s/he) was singing’

b. **Function**:

The imperfective remote-past can render either a habitual (32b-i) or a progressive (32b-ii) meaning to the remote-past. The **habitual** use can be seen in the passage:[14]

(33) …wáy-ku-kway tuachi-gya-s, púupa-ˈuru ˈura-pʉ(ga),
two-O-MOD child-ha ve-CONJ manner-it/O be-REM
‘…he also had two children, the way it was,
ˈuway tʉiyʉ ˈura-pʉga-kʉ, navutigi-kway-kʉ-ˈura ˈuwas;
3s/GEN deer/GEN be-REM-SUB imitate-ANT-SUB-be 3s/SU
when he was (like) Deer, when he had imitated Deer;
navutigi-**na**-pʉga ˈuwas, sinawavi…
imitate-**HAB**-REM 3s/SU Sinawav/SU
he used to imitate (others), Sinawav did…’

The **progressive** use can be seen in the following passage:[15]

(34) …kh-ˈura paˈa-qovichˈa-kwa-qha-pʉga, ˈichatwa-ˈu,
then-be complete-break-ASP-PASS-REM organ-3s
manu-khʉ ˈʊʊ-gwapʉ-ˈu;
all-O bone-DEFUN-3s
‘…so now he was all broken up, his organs, all his defunct bones;
ˈu-vwaa-na-ˈura ˈavi-**na**-pʉga kiyaa-ˈawi-tava-pʉ;
there-at-on-be lie-**HAB**-REM certain-long-day-NOM
so he was lying there for quite a long time;
kh-ˈura wáa-mamachi-u ˈura-pʉga…
then-be two-woman-PL be-REM
then those two women came along…’

14. “Sinawav the Copycat”, told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

15. “How Sinawav got his yellow eyes”, told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

c. **Negation**
The negative forms of the *-na-pʉga* combination follow the patter of negation for the remote-past *-pʉga*, above.

d. **Diachrony**
No compelling evidence exists for the diachronic source of the suffix *-na*, short of the general assumption that it must have been a **stative-locative** verb. As seen earlier (ch. 5), the locative post-position *-na* shows some evidence of having descended from such a verb.

6.6 The finite habitual aspect

a. **Form**
There are two forms that code a timeless habitual aspect in Ute. The first is based on the verb-stem *miya-* 'walk about', 'go'.[16] Thus consider:

(35) tú́sapa̲ wú́ʉka-**mi** '(s/he) always works'
always work-HAB

tú́sapa̲ wú́ʉka-qha-**mi** '(they) always works'
always work-PL-HAB

b. **Function**
The habitual suffix tends to mark actions or states that take place habitually or repeatedly. This use may be seen in the following narrative passage:[17]

(36) …kh-ˈura "sinawavi̲" may-kya-na-pʉga-vachi̲-ˈura,
then-be Sinawav say-PL-HAB-REM-BKGR-be
'…they used to call him Sinawav then,

súu-ku-s sinawav kh-ˈura… navutigi-**mi** súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni ˈini-kya-na̲,
one-O-CONJ Sinawav then-be imitate-**HAB** other-NOM-PL-O-like do-PL-REL
that one Sinawav then… he **imitates** what others do,

ˈúu-pa-aqh ˈuni-**mi**-ˈu…
there-DIR-it do-**HAB**-3S
he does it that way…'

16. In some context, *miya-* is the suppletive plural stem of *pagha(y)-* 'walk', as in *pagha-ˈni* '(s/he) is walking about' vs. *miya-ˈni* '(they) are walking about'.

17. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves (Givón ed. 1985).

We note elsewhere (chs 3, 19) that the subject-nominal derivation of this aspect yields names for habitual or professional performers, as in:

(37) pɵ'ɵ-**mi**-tʉ̲ 'writer'
write-**HAB**-NOM
káa-qha-**mi**-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'singers'
sing-PL-**HAB**-NOM-PL

c. **Negation**

The negation pattern for this habitual aspect is regular, as in:

(38) a. **Affirmative-SG**: 'ava'nat̲ʉ 'ivi-mi '(s/he) drinks a lot'
much/O drink-HAB
b. **Affirmative-PL**: 'ava'nat̲ʉ 'ivi-kya-mi '(they) drink a lot'
much/O drink-PL-HAB
c. **Negative-I-SG**: **ka**-'ivi-mi-**wa** '(s/he) doesn't drink'
NEG-drink-HAB-**NEG**
d. **Negative-I-PL**: **ka**-'ivi-kya-mi-**wa** '(they) don't drink'
NEG-drink-PL-HAB-**NEG**

d. **Diachrony**

The verbal source of the suffix *-mi*, the verb *miya-* 'walk about', 'go', is sufficiently transparent, given that one may still find it in text as the full form of the habitual aspect, especially when followed by another suffix. In a closely related dialect, So. Paiute, the full form is more commonly used.[18]

6.7 The nominal habitual aspect

A construction with the subject-nominalizing suffix *-tʉ*/*-rʉ* can also be used to render a habitual sense of an inherent quality. The negative pattern here is that of adjectival-nominal constructions. Thus compare:

(39) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wúʉka-**rʉ̲** '(s/he) works', '(s/he) is a worker'
work-**NOM**
b. **Affirmative-PL**: wúʉka-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲ '(they) work', '(they) are workers'
work-PL-NOM-PL
c. **Negative-I-SG**: **ka**-wúʉka-**wa**-tʉ̲ '(s/he) doesn't work',
NEG-work-**NEG**-NOM '(s/he) is not a worker'
d. **Negative-I-PL**: **ka**-wúʉka-qha-**wa**-tʉ-mʉ̲ '(they) don't work',
NEG-work-PL-**NEG**-NOM-PL '(they) are not workers'

18. Pam Bunte (i.p.c.).

The difference in meaning between the two habitual aspects, finite and nominal, may be underscored by the following contrast, in a context that allows only the finite habitual form but not the nominal one:

(40) **Context**: 'uway pʉnikyay-kʉ… 'whenever (I) see him…
3s/O see-SUB
Finite-HAB: …tʉ́sapʉ wʉ́ʉka-**mi**. …he always works/is working'
always work-**HAB**
Nominal-HAB: *…tʉ́sapʉ wʉ́ʉka-rʉ *…he is always a worker'
always work-**NOM**

6.8 The distributive aspect

a. **Form**

As noted earlier above (sec. 6.1.), habitual action is a sub-type of the imperfective aspect. Ute has one more pattern whose meaning comes close to that of habitual action, but whose grammatical source is strikingly different – **first-syllable reduplication** of the verb stem. Thus compare:

(41) a. tʉpʉychi ma-vaa-tʉ wachʉ-ka
rock/O there-at-DIR put-ANT
'(s/he) put a rock right over there (vis.)'

b. tʉpʉychi 'u-vwaa-tʉ **wa**-wáchʉ-ka
rock/O there-at-DIR **RED**-put-ANT
'(s/he) put rocks **repeatedly all over that area** (invis.)'

c. sarichi 'uway ta'a-qa
dog/O 3s/O kick-ANT
'(s/he) kicked the dog'

d. sarichi 'uway **ta**-ta'a-qha
dog/O 3s/O RED-kick-ANT
'(s/he) kicked the dog **repeatedly**'

e. 'u-vwaa-tʉ kava-yu pʉnikya-qha
there-at-DIR horse-PL see-ANT
'over there (invis.) (s/he) saw some horses'

f. 'u-vwaa-tʉ kavay-u **pʉ**-pʉnhkya-qha
there-at-DIR horse-PL **RED**-see-ANT
'(s/he) **kept** seeing horses over there', '(s/he) saw horses **all over** there'

As noted earlier (ch. 3), the reduplicated first syllable is often de-voiced and whispered, and being most commonly unstressed it tends to disappear altogether in rapid

speech of younger speakers. The reduplication contrast then becomes a **stress-shift** contrast, as in:

(42)	**simple**	**reduplicated**	**verb gloss**
	pʉníkya-qha	pʉ́nhkya-qha	'saw'
	wachʉ́-ka	wáchʉ-ka	'put'
	ta'á-qha	tá'a-qha	'kicked'
	nʉká-qha	nʉ́ka-qha	'heard'
	nukwí-kya	núkwh-kya	'ran'

b. **Function**
As the examples in (41) above suggest, the functional import of first-syllable reduplication in Ute is to render a sense of either action **repeater in time** or **distributed in space** (thus perforce also in time).

c. **Negation**
First syllable reduplication does not affect the negation pattern of the verb, which remains the same as that of the un-reduplicated verb.

6.9 Future and irrealis

With the basic irrealis suffix *-va(a)/-pa(a)*, a number of patterns can be formed by combining *-va* with other suffixes. We will survey many of these patterns below. The discussion of several other uses of the irrealis suffix *-va/-pa* will be deferred till we deal with verbal complements (ch. 9), non-declarative speech acts (ch. 14), and adverbial clauses (ch. 17).

6.9.1 Simple future

a. **Form and negation**
The simple future tense is formed by combining the irrealis suffix *-va(a)/-pa(a)* with the suffix *-ni*. Thus consider:

(43) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-ni** '(s/he) will work'
work-**IRR-FUT**

b. **Affirmative-PL**: wʉ́ʉka-qha-**paa-ni** '(they) will work'
work-PL-**IRR-FUT**

c. **Negative-SG**: ka-wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-**'wa-**ni** '(s/he) will not work'
NEG-work-**IRR**-NEG-**FUT**

d. **Negative-PL**: ka-wʉ́ʉka-qha-**paa-**'wa-**ni** '(they) will not work'
NEG-work-PL-**IRR**-NEG-**FUT**

As noted earlier (ch. 2), the suffix *-va/-pa* may assume the forms -væ/-pæ after the vowels /i/ or /ɵ/, and *-vwa* after the vowel /u/. Thus compare:

(44)

wú**ʉ**ka-**vaa**-ni	‘(s/he) will work’
kar**ʉ**-**vaa**-ni	‘(s/he) will sit’
yugwi-**vææ**-ni	‘(they) will sit’
ˈivi-**vææ**-ni	‘(s/he) will drink’
ˈivi-kya-**vaa**-ni	‘(they) will drink’
pɵ**ˈ**ɵ-**vææ**-ni	‘(s/he) will write’
pɵ**ˈ**ɵ-kwa-**vaa**-ni	‘(they) will write’
t**ʉ**su-**vwaa**-ni	‘(s/he) will grind’
t**ʉ**su-kwa-**vaa**-ni	‘(they) will grind’

b. **Function**

The future-time sense of the suffixal combination *-vaa-ni* is straight forward and unproblematic, referring to yet unrealized states/event that follow the time of speech.

c. **Diachrony**

As noted earlier (ch. 5), the locative post-positions *-va*/*-pa* most likely arose from one of the verbs ‘go’. Given the phonology of the future suffix – the *-va*/*-pa* alternation, the near-universal grammaticalization of ‘go’ as irrealis and future marker, and the position of the negative suffix *-wa* following *-vaa* (the typical post-verbal position), the verbal source of the Ute irrealis suffix *-va*/*-pa* is fairly transparent. The future suffix *-ni* represents a later diachronic development, and may or may not be related to the defective verb *-ni* ‘do’, or to the perhaps-related post-position *-ni* ‘like’.

6.9.2 Present subjunctive

a. **Form and negation**

The subjunctive form combines the irrealis suffix *-va*/*-pa* with the noun suffix *-pʉ*. This construction is thus the product of clausal nominalization, a fact that is further underscored by the subject’s genitive case. As illustrations, consider:

(45)

a. **Affirmative-SG**: mamachi **ˈ**uway t**ʉ**ka-**vaa**-**pʉ̲**
woman/GEN 3S/GEN eat-**IRR**-**NOM**
‘the woman **might/should/is supposed to** eat’

b. **Affirmative-PL**: máam**a̲**chi-u **ˈ**um**ʉ** t**ʉ**ka-qha-**paa**-**pʉ̲**
women-PL 3P/GEN eat-PL-**IRR**-**NOM**
‘the women **might/should/are supposed to** eat’

c. **Negative-SG**: mamachi **ˈ**uway ka-t**ʉ**ka-**vaa**-**ˈ**wa-**pʉ̲**
woman/GEN 3S/GEN NEG-eat-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**
‘the woman might not/should not/is not supposed to eat’

d. **Negative-PL**: máam**a̲**chi-u **ˈ**um**ʉ** ka-t**ʉ**ka-qha-**paa**-**ˈ**wa-**pʉ**
women-PL 3P/GEN NEG-eat-PL-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**
‘the women might not/should not/are not supposed to eat’

b. **Function**

The subjunctive form is also used in several types of subordinate clauses, to be discussed later on (chs 14, 17). As an independent clause in (45), it imparts a wide range of modal meanings, both of **lower certainty** (epistemic) and of **weaker manipulation** (deontic).[19] The range of meanings associated with the Ute subjunctive are covered, roughly, by the subjunctive form in Spanish, as well as by various English modal operators, such as:

(46) a. **Epistemic**: may, maybe, might, could, should, must, likely, supposedly
b. **Deontic**: should, must, have to, need to, had better, supposed to

The subjunctive thus contrasts with the simple future in a predictable way:

(47) a. **Future**: 'ích-'ára yʉvʉpʉ́ máy-kya-**paa-ni**
this-be pine call-PL-**IRR-FUT**
'…They **will** call this one "pine"…'

b. **Subjunctive**: 'ích-'ára yʉvʉpʉ́ máy-kya-**paa-pʉ́**
this-be pine call-PL-**IRR-NOM**
'…they **might/should** call this one "pine"…'[20]

6.9.3 Habitual subjunctive

a. **Form and negation**

The habitual subjunctive combines the irrealis suffix *-va*/*-pa* with the habitual suffix *-mi*, as in:

(48) a. **Affirmative-SG**: tʉ́sapa tʉka-**vaa-mi**
always eat-**IRR-HAB**
'(s/he) may/might/must/should always eat'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: tʉ́sapa tʉka-qha-**paa-mi**
always eat-PL-**IRR-HAB**
'(they) may/might/must/should always eat'

c. **Negative-SG**: ka-tʉka-**vaa-mi**-'wa
NEG-eat-**IRR-HAB**-NEG
'(s/he) might not/shouldn't eat'

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19. For the subjunctive mood and its place within the irrealis modal range, see Givón (2001, vol. 1, ch. 6).

20. "How the trees and bushes got their names", told by Bertha B. Groves (Givón ed. 1985).

d. **Negative-PL**: ka-tʉka-qha-**paa-mi-**ˈwa
NEH-eat-PL-**IRR-HAB**-NEG
'(s/he) might not/shouldn't eat'

b. **Function**
The range of modal meanings covered by the habitual subjunctive mode are similar to those covered by the present subjunctive, above. The difference lies in the fact that the present subjunctive refers to here-and-now, while the habitual subjunctive to always.

6.9.4 Future-in-past

a. **Form and negation**
The future-in-past mode combines the remote-past suffix *-pʉga* with the future suffix sequence *-vaa-ni*, as in:

(49) a. **Affirmative-SG**: tʉka-pʉga-**vaa-ni**
eat-REM-IRR-FUT
'(s/he) was about to eat'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: tʉka-qha-pʉga-**vaa-ni**
eat-PL-REM-**IRR-FUT**
'(they) were about to eat'

c. **Negative-SG**: ka-tʉka-pʉ-a-**vaa-ni**
NEG-eat-REM-NEG-**IRR-FUT**
'(s/he) wasn't going to eat'

d. **Negative-PL**: ka-tʉka-qha-pʉ-a-**vaa-ni**
NEG-eat-PL-REM-NEG-**IRR-FUT**
'(they) were not going to eat'

b. **Function**
The future-in-past covers a range of modal meanings, mostly with the epistemic sense of 'not-yet-happened', but also with a weak deontic sense of 'intending to' or 'be fixing to'. There is no implication that the event in question either did or didn't occur subsequently.

6.9.5 The intentional mode

We have noted earlier (ch. 4) that the compound suffix *-va(a)-chi*, combining the irrealis marker *-va(a)* with the nominal suffix *-chi*, is used to mark equi-subject verbal complements of verbs such as 'want'. This form may also be used in independent clauses

to endow the event/state with various irrealis modal senses, some epistemic, some deontic. Thus, consider the **intent** or **imminent-action** use, as in:

(50) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wú**u**ka-**vaa-chi**-n
work-**IRR-NOM**-1S
'I intend to work', 'I am about to work'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: wú**u**ka-qha-**paa-chi**-am**u**
work-PL-**IRR-NOM**-3P
'they intend to work', 'they're about to work'

c. **Negative-SG**: ka-wú**u**ka-**vaa**-'wa-**chi**-n
work-IRR-NOM-1S
'I don't intend to work', 'I am not about to work'

d. **Negative-PL**: ka-wú**u**ka-qha-**paa**-'wa-**chi**-am**u**
NEG-work-PL-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**-3P
'they don't intend to work', 'they are not about to work'

The location of the negative suffix in (50c,d), following *-vaa-/-paa* rather than *-chi*, underscores the verbal origin of *-vaa/-paa*, as against the nominal origin of *-chi*.

The same (or a close variant) suffixal combination *-va-chi* can also be used to mark epistemic **uncertainty**. The uncertainty may be about the present, as in (51a,b) below, using *-va-chi* with an appropriate epistemic adverb. It may be about the past, combining *-va-chi* with the anterior *-ka (51c,d)*, or about the remote past, combining *-va-chi* with the remote-past *-pu̱ga* (51e,f):

(51) a. náagha káa-**va-chi**-'u
maybe sing-**IRR-NOM**-3S
'maybe s/he is singing'

b. náagha ka-káa-**va**-'wa-**chi**-'u
maybe NEG-sing-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**-3S
'maybe s/he is not singing'

c. náagha tu̱ka-qha-**va-chi**-aqh
maybe eat-ANT-**IRR-NOM**-it
'maybe (s/he) ate it'

d. náagha ka-tu̱ka-na-**va-chi**-aqh
maybe NEG-eat-ANT/NEG-**IRR-NOM**-it
'maybe (s/he) didn't eat it'

e. náagha pu̱nikya-pu̱ga-**va-chi**-amu̱
maybe see-REM-**IRR-NOM**-2S
'maybe (s/he) saw them'

f. náagha ka-pu̱nikya-pu̱a-**va-chi**-amu̱
maybe NEG-see-REM/NEG-**IRR-NOM**-2S
'maybe (s/he) didn't see them'

With a deontic adverb, the suffixal combination *-va(a)-chi* can impart a deontic modal sense of **self-obligation**, as in:

(52) a. tʉvʉchi-sapa-n wúʉka-**vaa-chi**
very-MOD-1S work-**IRR-NOM**
'I really must work'

b. tʉvʉchi-sapa-nʉmʉ wúʉka-qha-**paa-chi**-mʉ
very-MOD-1P work-PL-**IRR-NOM**-PL
'we really must work'

c. tʉvʉchi-sapa-n ka-wúʉka-**vaa**-'wa-**chi**
very-MOD-1S NEG-work-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**
'I really shouldn't work'

d. tʉvʉchi-sapa-nʉmʉ ka-wúʉka-qha-**paa**-'wa-**chi**-mʉ
very-MOD-2P NEG-work-PL-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**-PL
'we really shouldn't work'

6.9.6 The exhortative mode

As noted earlier (ch. 4), equi-object verbal complements in Ute, when the main verb is non-implicative, are marked with the irrealis suffix *-va(a)* followed by the nominal subordinator *-ku*, as in:

(53) mamachi 'uway káa-**vaa-ku** may-kya-'u
woman/O 3S/O sing-**IRR-SUB** tell-ANT-3S
'(s/he) told the woman to sing'

In full analogy with *-va(a)chi* above, and with the appropriate deontic adverb, the suffixal combination *-va(a)-ku* can also mark the verb in an independent clause, imparting it an exhortative sense of other-person obligation, as in:

(54) a. tʉvʉchi-sap-'u 'ichay 'ini-**vaa-ku**
very-MOD-3S this/O do-**IRR-SUB**
's/he really must do this'

b. tʉvʉchi-sap-amʉ 'ichay 'ini-kya-**paa-ku**
very-MOD-3P this/O do-PL-**IRR-SUB**
'they really must do this'

c. tʉvʉchi-sap-'u 'ichay ka-'ini-**vaa**-'wa-**ku**
very-MOD-3S this/O do-**IRR**-NEG-**SUB**
's/he really shouldn't do this'

d. tʉvʉchi-sap-amʉ 'ichay ka-'ini-kya-**vaa**-'wa-**ku**
very-MOD-3P this/O do-PL-IRR-NEG-**SUB**
'they really shouldn't do this'

6.9.7 The strong-obligation mode

Another modal pattern coding strong obligation, pertaining to either first, second or third persons, combines the irrealis suffix *-vaa* with the nominalizing suffix *-na* that also marks complements of cognition-perception-utterance verbs (chs 4, 9) or object relative clauses (ch. 12). As elsewhere with nominalized clauses marked with the suffix *-na*, the subject must appear in the genitive case. Thus consider:

(55) a. wú̱ʉ̱ka-**vaa-na**-n
work-IRR-NOM-1S
'I must work'

b. wú̱ʉ̱ka-**vaa-na**-m
work-IRR-NOM-2S
'you must work'

c. mamachi 'uway wú̱ʉ̱ka-**vaa-nạ**-'u
woman/GEN 3S/GEN work-IRR-NOM-3S
'the woman must work'

d. táa-ta'wachi-u 'umʉ́ ka-wú̱ʉ̱ka-qha-**paa**-'wa-**nạ**-amʉ̱
RED-man-PL 3P/GEN NEG-work-PL-IRR-NEG-NOM-3P
'the men shouldn't work'

Once again, the placement of the negative suffix in (55d) after *-paa* but before *-na* marks the latter as coming from a nominal rather than verbal source.

6.9.8 The other-directed hope-wish mode

Another modal suffix, *-gu(u)-*, combines with the nominal suffix *-pʉ* to mark clauses that express hope or wish about future states/events whose subject is a third person.

(56) a. **Affirmative-SG**: 'áapachi̱ 'u pichʉ-**guu-pʉ̱**
boy/S 3S/S come-MOD-NOM
'(I hope/wish that) the boy would come'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: 'áapachi-u 'umʉ̱ 'uwaay-**guu-pʉ̱**
boy/S 3P/S come/PL-MOD-NOM
'(I hope/wish that) the boys would come'

c. **Negative-SG**: 'áapachi̱ 'u ka-pichʉ-**guu**-'wa-**pʉ̱**
boy/S 3S/S NEG-come-MOD-NEG-NOM
'(I hope/wish that) the boy wouldn't come'

d. **Negative-PL**: 'áapachi-u 'umʉ̱ ka-'uwaay-**guu**-'wa-**pʉ̱**
boy/S 3P/S come/PL-MOD-NEG-NOM
'(I hope/wish that) the boys wouldn't come'

The diachronic source of the modal suffix *-gu* is not clear, but the placement of the negative suffix directly behind it suggests a verbal origin.

6.9.9 The counter-fact hope-wish mode

The suffixal combination *-gu(u)-pʉ* can combine with the remote-past suffix *-pʉga* to yield a **counter-fact** statements of wish or hope about and even that did *not* in fact happen that way. Thus consider:

(57) a. **Affirmative-SG:** **'**áapachi̲ **'**u pichʉ-pʉga-**guu-pʉ̲**
boy/s 3s/s come-REM-**MOD-NOM**
'(I hope/wish that) the boy had come' (> but he didn't)

b. **Affirmative-PL:** **'**áapachi-u **'**um̲ʉ̲ **'**uwaay-pʉga-**guu-pʉ̲**
boy/s 3P/s come/PL-REM-**MOD-NOM**
'(I hope/wish that) the boys had come' (> but they didn't)

c. **Negative-SG:** **'**áapachi̲ **'**u ka-pichʉ-pʉa-**guu**-**'**wa-**pʉ̲**
boy/s 3s/s NEG-come-REM/NEG-**MOD**-NEG-**NOM**
'(I hope/wish that) the boy didn't come' (> but he did)

d. **Negative-PL:** **'**áapachi-u **'**um̲ʉ̲ ka-**'**uwaay-pʉa-**guu**-**'**wa-**pʉ̲**
boy/s 3P/s come/PL-REM/NEG-**MOD**-NEG-**NOM**
'(I hope/wish that) the boys didn't come' (> but they did)

6.9.10 Hypothetical counter-fact modes

Another suffixal combination, of the irrealis suffix *-vaa* with the anterior *-qa* and the subject nominalizer *-tʉ*, marks **hypothetical counter-fact** states/events, i.e. ones that did not in fact occurred but would have, could have or should have. Thus consider:

(58) a. **Affirmative-SG:** **'**uwas-**'**uru wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-qa-tʉ̲**
3s/s-that/O work-**IRR-ANT-NOM**
's/he could/would/should have worked' (> but didn't)

b. **Affirmative-PL:** **'**umʉs-**'**uru wʉ́ʉka-qha-**paa-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲**
3P/s-that/O work-PL-**IRR-ANT-NOM-PL**
'they could/would/should have worked' (> but didn't)

c. **Negative-SG:** **'**uwas-**'**uru ka-wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-na-tʉ̲**
3s/s-that/O NEG-work-**IRR-ANT/NEG-NOM**
's/he could/would/should not have worked' (but did)

d. **Negative-PL:** **'**umʉs-**'**uru ka-wʉ́ʉka-qha-**paa-na-tʉ-mʉ̲**
3P/s-that/O NEG-work-PL-**IRR-ANT/NEG-NOM-PL**
'they could/would/should not have worked' (> but did)

A similar construction substitutes the remote-past suffix *-pʉga* for the anterior *-qa*, yielding a similar hypothetical-conditional statement about the remote past. Thus compare:

(59) a. **Affirmative-SG**: **'**uwas-**'**uru wúʉka-**vaa-pʉga-tʉ**
3S/S-that/O work-**IRR-ANT-NOM**
's/he could/would/should have worked' (> but didn't)

b. **Affirmative-PL**: **'**umʉs-**'**uru wúʉka-qha-**paa-pʉga-tʉ-mʉ**
3P/S-that/O work-PL-**IRR-REM-NOM-PL**
'they could/would/should have worked' (> but didn't)

c. **Negative-SG**: **'**uwas-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-**vaa-pʉa-tʉ**
3S/S-that/O NEG-work-**IRR-REM/NEG-NOM**
's/he could/would/should not have worked' (> but did)

d. **Negative-PL**: **'**umʉs-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-qha-**paa-pʉa-tʉ-mʉ**
3P/S-that/O NEG-work-PL-**IRR-REM/NEG-NOM-PL**
'they could/would/should not have worked' (> but did)

6.10 Discourse-sensitive aspectual markers

Most commonly when linguists talk about tense-aspect-modality, they tend to assume that it pertains to the isolated event/state clauses. This is a convenient simplification, but the communicative use of at least two aspects already discussed above, the remote-past (*-pʉga*) and the anterior (*-ka*), cannot be fully specified without taking into account larger chunks of discourse. Thus, the remote past marker is used to convey **in-sequence backbone information** in narrative. While the anterior marker is used to interject, as lacunae, information about states/events that occurred earlier in the narrative sequence and are thus related **out-of-sequence**.

The two aspects discussed in this section cannot be understood without specifying the wider discourse contexts that motivate their use. The first one, the **digression aspect**, marks clauses that break the linear order of backbone information. Various types of **background** information may be added at that point, as single or multiple clauses. Unlike the anterior, this aspect does not require that the information must pertain to events that had occurred earlier. Any out-of-sequence digression will do. The second, the **closure aspect**, marks the clause that terminates a coherent thematic sequence, typically a paragraph or episode.

The Ute system of using aspectual markers to map out discourse structure may thus be summarized, with certain simplification, as follows:

(60) **Discourse function of Ute aspectuals**

aspect	suffix	function
perfective	*-pʉga*	in-sequence backbone information
anterior	*-ka*	out-of-sequence previously-occurring information
digression	*-(pʉga)-vaa-chi̱*	non-sequential digression, background information
closure	*-pʉay-agha*	theme-final closure

6.10.1 The digression aspect

a. **Form and negation**

The basic form of the digression aspect is the suffixal combination *-va(a)-chi*, joining the irrealis suffix *-va(a)* and the nominal suffix *-chi*. This is the same suffixal combination used to mark equi-subject verbal complements (chs 4, 9), as in:

(61) tʉka-**vaa-chi̱** 'ásti'-i
eat-IRR-NOM want-IMM
'(s/he) wants to eat'

In narrative about the remote past, this suffix may be added to *-pʉga*, yielding the combination:

(62) a. **Affirmative-SG**: káa-pʉga-**vaa-chi̱** '(s/he) was singing'
sing-REM-**IRR-NOM**

b. **Affirmative-PL**: káa-qha-pʉga-**va-chi**-mʉ̱ '(they) were singing'
sing-PL-REM-**IRR-NOM**-PL

c. **Negative-I-SG**: ka-káa-pʉa-**vaa-chi̱** '(s/he) wasn't singing'
NEG-sing-REM/NEG-**IRR-NOM**

d. **Negative-I-PL**: ka-káa-qha-pʉa-**va-chi**-mʉ̱ '(they) were not singing'
NEG-sing-REM/NEG-**IRR-NOM**-PL

b. **Function**

While Ute does not have a progressive aspect marker, information marked by the digression aspect is often stative (imperfective), a natural consequence of being out of sequence of back-bone events. The following example is typical of such usage, where both *-pʉga-vaa-chi̱* and *-vaa-chi̱* by itself are used in the same passage:[21]

21. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

(63) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'umʉs pagha-nu̲kwi-pʉga-amu̲
there-at-it-be 3P/S walk-run-REM-3P
'…so then they took off running,

b. 'úu-pa-pʉga-amu̲
there-go/DIR-REM-3P
they went off that-a-way,

c. pu̲sagha-paghay-kʉ-pʉga-amu̲, mu̲sutkwitʉ…
search-walk-BEN-REM-3P medicine/O
they went about searching for, medicine (for him)…

d. …doctor 'ura-pʉga-**vaa-chi̲**-'u-'uru…
doctor/SU be-REM-**IRR-NOM**-1S-it/O
…it was (for) a doctor (that they were looking)…

e. maay-pʉga-amu̲ doctori 'uway,
find-REM-3P doctor/O 3S/O
they found the doctor,

f. 'uwas kh-'ura 'ini̲-kwa 'ura-**vaa-chi̲**, yʉʉpʉchi̲,
3S/S then-be WH-MOD be-**IRR-NOM** porcupine/SU
it was what's his name, Porcupine,

g. 'ú-'uru 'ura-**vaa-chi̲**,
3S/SU-it be-REM-NOM
it was him,

h. doctor-bagi-av yáa'wa̲-**vaa-chi̲**…
doctor-bag/O-OWN carry-**IRR-NOM**
carrying his doctor bag…'

The in-sequence backbone description is (63a,b,c) is coded by the perfective remote-past suffix *-pʉga*, all with active verbs. A digression in (63d), bracketed on both sides by hesitation pauses, gives background information with a stative verb. The in-sequence backbone action resumes in (63e) with an active verb. Then (63f,g,h) code a longer digression with three stative-verb clauses in a row, all marked by the digression suffix(es) *-vaa-chi̲* by itself.

Given the subtlety of use of the digression aspect, there is bound to be some variation between story tellers, with more nuanced choices. But in the main, the usage is fairly consistent. Thus consider the following, from another speaker:[22]

(64) a. wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga, sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga, sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga kh-'ura…
past be-REM Sinawav/SU be-REM Sinawav/SU be-REM then-be
'It was long ago, there was Sinawav, it was Sinawav then…

22. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves (Givón ed. 1985).

b. mʉi-tʉ-a-s 'ʉmʉ píisiavi-u núuchi-u 'ura-pʉga,
beginning 3s/SU species/SU-PL human-PL be-REM
in the beginning all animals were human,

c. manukhu-tʉ-mʉ-s 'ura-pʉga…
all/O-NOM-PL-CONJ be-REM
all of them were (human)…

d. kh-'ura Sinawavi may-kya-na-pʉga-**vaa-chi**-'ura,
then-be Sinawav/SU say-PL-HAB-REM-**IRR-NOM**-be
well they used to call him Sinawav,

e. súu-ku-s Sinawavi kh-'ura…
one-O-CONJ Sinawav then-be
that one Sinawav…

f. navutigi-**mi** súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni 'uni-kya-na,
imitate-**HAB** other-NOM-PL-O-like do-PL-REL
he used to imitate what others did,

g. 'úu-pa-aqh 'uni-**mi**-'u 'u…
there-go-it do-**HAB**-3s 3s
that's how he used to act…

h. kh-'ura-s kani-vaghay-kwa-**na**-pʉga-**vaa-chi**,
then-be house-walk-go-**HAB**-REM-**IRR-NOM**
well he used to go around visiting people,

i. kani-vaghay-kwa-**na**-pʉga-**vaa-chi** 'uwasʉ-ga;
house-walk-go-**HAB**-REM-**IRR-NOM** that one-EMPH
he used to go around visiting, that one;

j. 'aqa-qonavi kani-gya-pʉga-**vaa-chi**-'ura,
red-flicker/s house-have-REM-**IRR-NOM**-be
well Red Flicker had a house,

k. súu-pa kani-gya-(kha)-**mi**-na-kwa náagha-tʉ-mʉ,
one-DIR house-have-PL-**HAB**-REL-SUB other-NOM-PL/S
together with some others where they used to have a house,

l. 'úu-pa-ni 'aka-qonavi-u kani-gya-pʉ-ga-**vaa-chi**;
there-DIR-like red-flicker-PL house-have-REM-**IRR-NOM**
Red-Flicker had a house that-a-way;

m. chaghachi-vaa-cʉ 'u-vwaa-kwa-pʉga…
near-at-DIR there-at-go-REM
so Sinawav was approaching (him) that way,

n. kh-'ura 'uwas-'ura chaghachi-vaa-chʉ-'u tavi-pʉga…
then-be 3s/s-be near-at-DIR-3s step-REM
so he was stepping near that way…'

The narrative above opens with five backbone clauses (64a,b,c), all marked by the remote-past perfective suffix *-pʉga* – in spite of all five verbs being stative. Next, a long

digression begins in (64d) with a clause marked with *-pʉga-vaa-chi̱*. It continues in (63f,g) with two clauses marked with the simple habitual *-mi*. It continues in (64h,i) with another digression marked by *-pʉga-vaa-chi̱* – but with the added past-habitual marker *-na*. In (64j) the digression is again marked with the standard form *-pʉga-vaa-chi̱*, in (64k) with the simple habitual *-mi*, and in (64l) again with *-pʉga-vaa-chi̱*. Finally in (64m,n) the narrator resumes the backbone in-sequence narrative with the remote-past/perfective- *pʉga*.

c. **Diachrony**

The suffixal combination *-vaa-chi̱,* used to mark the digression aspect in Ute, is transparently the same as the one used ro mark irrealis equi-subject complements (chs 4, 9). as well as several modal constructions, above. The exact pathway of its development is not yet clear.

6.10.2 The closure aspect

a. **Form and negation**

The closure aspect is a combination of two suffixes, the first, -pʉa, is probably a variant of the remote-past suffix *-pʉga*. It is followed by the suffix *-agha-*. Both are often followed by the epenthetic *-y*. Thus consider:

(65) a. **Affirmative-SG**: …kh-ˈura tʉka-**pʉay-aghay**-aqh
then-be eat-**REM-CLO**-it
'…then (s/he) ate it.'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: …kh-ˈura tʉka-qha-**pʉay-aghay**-aqh
then-be eat-PL-**REM-CLO**-it
'…then (they) ate it.'

c. **Negative-II-SG**: …kach-aqh tʉka-**pʉay-aghay**-ˈu
NEG-it eat-**REM-CLO**-3S
'…s/he didn't eat it.'

d. **Negative-II-PL**: …kach-aqh tʉka-qha-**pʉay-aghay**-amʉ̱
NEG-it eat-PL-**REM-CLO**-3P
'…then they took off that-a-way.'

As can be seen in (65), there is no suffix variation between the affirmative and negative in this aspect. This is due to the fact that the remote-past suffix in the affirmative, *-pʉa*, is also the suppletive negative form of the remote past.[23]

23. This may be due to the neutralization of *-pʉ-ˈa* and *-pʉ-a* with the inter-vocalic loss of the glottal stop /ˈ/. See discussion further below.

b. **Function**

The use of the closure aspect can be seen in the following example from an oral narrative text:[24]

(66) a. …pina-kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'u sinawavi̲
later-then-be-it/O 3s/SU- the/SU Sinawav/SU
'uwa-vaa-chawi-chʉ karʉ-pʉga,
3ws/O-at-come-DIR sit-REM
'…So later on Sinawav was sitting in front of him,

b. 'uni-khwa̲-kwa-'uru, pana-ta-khu̲ máy-k̲h kani-'u…
do-ASP-SUB-it/O light.up-PASS-SUB say-IMM house-3s
when he did it, when his house lit up…

c. 'uway 'aqa-qonavi kani̲…
3s/GEN red-flicker/GEN house
Red-Flicker's house…

d. kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chawi-cʉ karʉ-ga-s,
then-be-it/O s/SU-it 3s/O-at-come-DIR sit-PAR-CONJ
then sitting in front of him (Red Flicker),

e. pagha̲-kwa-pʉga-s 'u sinawavi̲;
go-go-REM-CONJ that/SU Sinawav/SU
he was about to leave, Sinawav was,

f. kh-'ura máy-pʉga-s: "'atachi-n, kani-vaghay-kwa-n-'uru"
then-be say-REM-CONJ kinsman-1s house-walk-go-1s-it/O
the he said: "My kinsman, you should come visit me"

g. máy-**pʉay**-**'aghay**-'u 'aqa-qonavi…
say-**REM-CL**-3s red-flicker/O
he told Red-Flicker…

One must note that the speaker's intuition about the closure of a thematic unit is in principle subjective, and that the closure marker may apply at the end of a clause-chain, a paragraph, a longer episode or a whole story. What is more, some story tellers use this marker copiously while others only sparsely or not at all.

c. **Diachrony**

As we noted earlier, remote-past suffix *-pʉga* is probably a composite of the nominal suffix *-pʉ*, marking a nominalized complement clause, plus the main verb *-ga* 'have'/'be'. Of the two suffixes that combine to give the theme-closure marker, *-pʉ-a-y* is most likely analyzable as the same nominal suffix used in the remote-past marker,

24. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

plus the frozen relics of the two old object markers *-a* and *-y* (see ch. 5), now acting as 'epenthetic' segments. The complex suffix *-a-gha-(y)*, in turn, may be related to the alienable-possession form of 'have', *-aa-gha* (see ch. 15), plus again, the 'epenthetic' *-y*.

6.11 Residual cases

There exists a graded continuum, in Ute as in other languages, between regular lexical verbs, grammaticalized tense-aspect-modal markers, and co-lexicalized affixes that have merged with verb stems to form new, complex verb stems. This continuum will be discussed further in ch. 19. There is no doubt that most of the tense-aspect-modal suffixes described above are the diachronic product of erstwhile main verbs that became, in due course, suffixed to the verbs of nominalized complement clauses. The old S-O-V word-order of Ute makes this affixation pattern natural, indeed inevitable. But the synchronic status of some of these suffixes, particularly toward the tail end of the continuum, is not always easy to determine. In this section we will deal with some of the less clear cases.

6.11.1 The inceptive aspect

As noted earlier (ch. 4), non-implicative modality verbs such as 'want' or 'be able' take equi-subject verbal complements marked with the irrealis suffix *-vaa* followed by the nominal suffix *-chi*. In contrast, implicative modality verbs such as 'start' and 'finish' are 'defective' in the sense that they can only appear as suffixes on their complement verb. Thus compare:

(67) a. **Non-implicative-SG**: wúʉka-**vaa-chi̱** 'asti-'i
work-**IRR-NOM** want-IMM
'(s/he) wants to work'

b. **Non-implicative-PL**: wúʉka-qha-**paa-chi̱** 'asti-kya-y
work-PL-**IRR-NOM** want-PL-IMM
'(they) want to work'

c. **Implicative-SG**: wúʉka-**kucha**-pʉga
work-**start**-REM
'(s/he) started to work',
'(s/he) was about to work'

d. **Implicative-PL**: wúʉka-qha-**ucha**-pʉga
work-PL-**start**-REM
'(they) started to work',
'(they) were about to work'

In addition to its cliticization, 'start' in (67c,d) also does not behave like a verb in its pluralization pattern: only its complement verb takes the plural suffix, not 'start' itself. What is more, its stem is reduced to *-ucha-* (67d), and may also be further reduced to *-ku-*, *-u-* or *-cha(a)-* in other contexts. Thus, consider the negation pattern of 'start':

(68) a. **Negative-SG**: ka-wʉ́ʉka-**ku**-pʉa
work-**start**-REM/NEG
'(s/he) didn't started to work',
'(s/he) wasn't about to work'

b. **Negative-PL**: ka-wʉ́ʉka-qha-**ku**-pʉa
work-PL-**start**-REM/NEG
'(they) started to work',
'(they) were not about to work'

Finally, as the double translations in (67c,d) and (68a,b) suggest, 'start' may lose its implicative sense, so that the event in the complement need not have occurred, but may only be impending. All these properties of 'start' taken together suggest that it is far on its way to becoming a grammaticalized **inceptive aspect** marker.

The 'impending' sense of the inceptive aspect may be seen in expressions such as (69) below, given in the immediate aspect:

(69) a. tʉka-**uchaa**-nʉmʉ
eat-start/IMM-1P
'we're about to eat'

b. pagha-nukwi-**chaa**-n
go-run-**start**-1S
'I'm about to leave now',
'I'm leaving now', 'I'm off'

6.11.2 The completive aspect

A reflex of the inceptive verb/suffix *-kucha-* is also used to render a sense of **recent completion**, a construction in which the complement verb is followed first by the nominal suffix *-vi*. Thus consider:

(70) a. **Affirmative-SG**: wʉ́ʉka-vi-**ucha**
work-NOM-**INCEP**
'(s/he) has just come from working'

b. **Affirmative-PL**: wʉ́ʉka-qha-vi-**ucha**
work-PL-NOM-**INCEP**
'(they) have just come from working'

c. **Negative-SG**: ka-wʉ́ʉka-vi-**u**-**'**wa
NEG-work-NOM-**INCEP**-NEG
'(s/he) didn't just come from working'

d. **Negative-PL**: ka-wú**u**ka-qha-vi-**u**-'wa
NEG-work-PL-NOM-**INCEP**-NEG
'(they) didn't just come from working'

The completive use of *-kucha-* is puzzling, since one would expect 'finish' rather than 'start' to give rise to a completive aspect. Since none of these forms were found in spontaneous text, one must defer judgement.

6.11.3 The verbal suffix *-kwa*

The case of the ubiquitous verb *kwa-* 'go'[25] is probably the most striking example of how one verb can span the whole range from independent lexical verb to grammaticalized aspect marker to co-lexicalized part of multi-stem complex verbs. Only seldom does *kwa-* appear by itself as the **main verb**, as in the following text-derived examples:[26]

(71) a. …kachi-s-aqh **kwá**-nʉ, ma-vaa **kwá**-nʉ,
NEG-CONJ-it **go**-IMP, there-at **go**-IMP
pacha'a-guu-pʉ̲ wa'apʉ-ma̲…
stuck-MOD-NOM pinyon-LOC
'…and don't go (throwing it), don't go (throwing it) there, it would get stuck in the pinyon tree…'

b. …'uvwiyaa-rami̲ 'uwa-va-chukhwa̲ **kwá**-vaa…
HORT-2DU 3S/O-at-go **go**-IRR
'…why don't we-two go to her?…'[27]

c. …kh-'ura 'úu-pa-'u **kwáa**-ku̲…
then-be there-DIR-3S **go**-SUB
'…then as he went that-a-way…' (ibid)

d. …wi'i-vaa-chi̲-'u, **kwá**-vaachi̲-'u…
fall-IRR-NOM-3S **go**-BKGR-3S
'…he fell, he was gone…' (ibid.)

As noted earlier (ch. 5), one can find *-kwa* used as part of a **complex post-position**, as in:

(72) a. …'inay-**kwa̲**-paa-chʉ…
this/O-**go**-at-DIR
'…(so he went) toward her…' (ibid.)

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25. Or perhaps its derivative from *kwáa-* 'run', which may have been originally the reduplicative form *kwa̲-kwáa-* of 'go'.

26. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

27. "Porcupine, Buffalo-Cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

b. …'uway yʉʉpuchi 'ina-**khwa**-paagha 'uway-kya-pʉga…
3s/o porcupine/o there-**go**-side hang-ANT-REM
'… he had hung Porcupine on the side there…' (ibid.)

c. '…pʉ́aa-u-vwa-chugwa-**khwa** 'uni-'wa-vaachi…
kin-PL-at-go-**go** do-ASP-BKGR
'…(and) he went to visit his relatives…' (ibid.)

Quite often, the combination of some verb plus *-kwa* yields the sense of '**go-and-do**', as in (ibid.):

(73) a. …'ichay-'uru 'umʉ pa-vaa-puku-u-n magha-**kwa**-nʉ…
this/o-it/o 3p/o RED-water-domestic-PL-1s feed-**go**-IMP
'…go feed this to my pet water-bugs…'

b. …'uwa-rukwa-tukhwa kwicha-**kwa**-pʉay-agha…
3s/o-under-go defecate-**go**-REM-CLO
'…and then he went and defecated under him…'

Often, *-kwa* is added to the verb with a sense of performing the act while in motion, as in: (ibid.)

(74) …pa-paaqha-pʊrʊ-**khwa**-pʉga…
RED-scream-walk.about-**go**-REM
'…he kept running about screaming…'

Often *-kwa* is **co-lexicalized** with another motion verb to yield various motion senses, as in:(ibid)

(75) a. …kh-'ura págha-**kwa**-pʉga 'uwas 'u
then-be walk-**go**-REM 3s/s 3s/s
'…then he took off…' (ibid.)

b. …pʊrʊ-**khwa**-pʉga-'ura toghoy-u-kwa-'u…
walk/PL-**go**-REM-be well-start-ANT-3s
'…so they took off, (when) he had got well…'[28]

c. …kh-'ura pichʉ-**kwa**-pʉga…
then-be come-**go**-REM
'…in the meantime he arrived home…'[29]

d. …máa-pa kwávi! kanʉga-rugwa-**kwa**!…
there-at lie/IMP low-go-**go**/IMP
'…Go lie down there! Go further down!…;' (ibid.)

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28. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie C. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985). The use of the suffix *-kwa* in the second clause here is ambiguous, and could also be the adverbial subordinator *-ku* 'when'. In this context, the two are pronounced the same.

29. "Porcupine, Buffalo-Cow and Sinawav, told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

e. …pʉ́aa-u-vwa-chugwa-**khwa** 'uni-'wa-vaachi̱…
kin-PL-at-go-**go** do-???-BKGR
'…(and) he went to visit his relatives…' (ibid.)

f. …'ay! mana-**kwa**-paa-chi-ukh! mana-**khwa**-paa-chi-ukh!…
hey leave-**go**-IRR-NOM-it leave-**go**-IRR-NOM-it
'…Hey! Move further away! Move further away!…' (ibid.)

g. …toghoy, pigya-guvuaa-va tugwa-**kwa**!…
good very-tip-at go-**go/IMP**
'…Good, go on to the very tip!…' (ibid.)

h. …kh-'ura 'ú pawichi̱ -'u
then-be that beaver-the
kani-vaghay-**kwa**-pʉga-s 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̱…
house-walk-**go**-REM-CONJ 3S/O-at-go
'…so then Beaver walked over to visit him…' (ibid.)

In a few cases, adding *-kwa* to another verb seems to yield a distributive, persistent or habitual aspectual sense, i.e. 'go on and on', as in (ibid.):

(76) a. …páaqha-pərə-**khwa**-pʉga 'uru-s…
cry-walk.about-**go**-REM it/S-CONJ
'…and that thing kept crying…'

b. …pʉsaghay-**kwa**-pʉga…
search-**go**-REM
'…he searched all over there…'

c. …agha-**khwa**-pʉgay-'u…
feed-**go**-REM-3S
'…he kept feeding him…'

d. …sinawav pachʉ-av yogho-**khwa**-tʉ̱…
Sinawav/SU daughter-OWN fornicate-**go**-NOM
'…Sinawav (habitually) makes it with his own daughter…'

In other cases *-kwa* adds an aspectual sense of sudden onset, imminence or inception, as in:[30]

(77) a. …pina-khwa̱ kʉrʉki-**kwa**-pʉay-'u…
follow-go rise-**go**-REM-3S
'…later on he started to get up…'

30. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985). However, this may be the morpheme *-ku-* in its capacity of residue of *-kucha-* 'start'.

b. …kh-'ura-'uru paghay-**kwa**-pʉga…
the-be-it/O walk-**go**-REM
'…then he started to walk about…'[31]

c. …kh-'ura-'uru kwipa-tʉ mani-**kwa**-pʉga…
then-be-it/O hit-DIR do.like-**go**-REM
'…so then she was about to hit the ground like this…' (ibid.)

d. …máa 'iya-na-cháa mana-**kway**!…
that/S here-LOC-start stir-**go**
'…that one right here is beginning to stir!…' (ibid.)

Sometime *-kwa* adds an inchoative sense of 'become' or 'start to be', as in (ibid.):

(78) a. …chichi-mani-**khwa**-pʉga…
hard-do.like-**go**-REM
'…it became real hard…'

b. …'uru-agha-rukhwa 'uni-**kwa**-pʉga…
that/O-have-through do-**go**-REM
'…he went through that place that had that (redberry bushes)…'

c. …tʉgʉy-naru'a-**khwa**-pʉga…
hunger-buy-**go**-REM
'…he became hungry…'

d. …sʉpʉ-'u 'avatʉ tʉ-tʉgay-**khwa**-pʉga…
stomach-3S big RED-become-**go**-REM
'…and his stomach became bigger and bigger…'

Lastly, in quite a few instances it is not easy to determine what *-kwa* adds to the meaning of the compound verb. Thus consider (ibid):

(79) a. …Sinawavi pa'a-paqha-**khwa**-pʉga…
Sinawav/O complete-kill-**go**-REM
'…he did away with Sinawav…'

b. …'uwas-'ura súu-yis piya-**khwa**-pʉga…
3S/S-be one-S remain-**go**-REM
'…only one remained (alive)…'

Since *-kwa* is always adjacent to the verb stem, thus preceding all tense-aspect-modal suffixes, it is clearly more co-lexicalized, or fused, than the verbal suffixes that follow it. But since the verb 'go' tends to grammaticalize in multiple capacities, it is perhaps natural to find aspectual coloring in many of the examples above.

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31. "Porcupine, Buffalo-Cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

6.11.4 Other old co-lexicalized suffixes

The suffixes *-ˈwa*, *-ˈwi*, *-ki* and *-ˈa* appear on occasion as the first element following verb stems that may also appear without them. In the case of *-ki* and *-ˈa*, sometimes they appear only in the immediate aspect. Thus compare:

(80) máy-**kį** ‘(s/he) is saying’
máy-pʉga ‘(s/he) said’
ˈura-ˈ**a**-y ‘(s/he) is’
ˈura-pʉga ‘(s/he) was’

An example of the suffixes *-ˈwi* and *-ˈwa* being used to augment a verb in a way that is not easy to interpret may be seen in (ibid.):

(81) a. …pina-khw**ą**-ˈu ma-mana-ˈ**wi**-pʉga ˈuwas ˈu…
after-go-3s RED-leave-**???**-REM 3s/s 3s/s
‘…after a while is started stir again…’

b. …kh-ˈura ˈuni-ˈw**ą**-pʉga-s…
then-be do-**???**-REM-CONJ
‘…so then he did it again…’

c. …ˈuru-s-ˈura ˈuni-ˈw**ą** -pʉga, pachaˈa-pʉga…
that/O-CONJ-be do-**???**-REM get.stuck-REM
‘…so that’s what he did, it got stuck (there)…’

Clearly, these suffixes straddle the line between grammaticalization and co-lexicalization (see ch. 19).

CHAPTER 7

Noun phrases-I

Referential coherence

7.1 Introduction

As noted earlier (ch. 3), nouns serve as the core (head) of **noun phrases**, which in turn code the participants in states/events – subjects, objects, indirect objects, etc. Noun phrases may be divided into two general classes, roughly according to their size. Large noun phrases include, in addition to their head noun, various word-size, phrase-size or clause-size modifiers, as in:

(1) **Large noun phrases**:

a.	**Adjectives**:	the **big** house
b.	**Numerals**:	**two** houses
c.	**Quantifiers**:	**many** houses
d.	**Possessor nouns**:	the **woman's** house
e.	**Phrasal noun complements**:	the house **on the corner**
f.	**Relative clauses**:	the house **my brother lives in**
g.	**Clause-size noun complements**:	the idea **that she was wrong**
h.	**Nominalized clauses**:	**her extensive** knowledge **of math**

Small noun phrases involve small **determiners,** such as **demonstratives** or **articles**, which are part of the grammatical morphology clustered around the noun. But they also include **noun substitutes** such as various types of **pronouns**, including **anaphoric zero** ('gap'), as in:

(2) **Small noun phrases**:

a.	**Demonstratives**:	**this** house, **that** house,
b.	**Definite articles**:	**the** house
c.	**Indefinite articles**:	**a** house
d.	**Stressed demonstrative pronouns**:	this, that, these, those
e.	**Stressed independent pronouns**:	I, you/your, he/him/his, she/her, it/its, they/them/their
f.	**Unstressed anaphoric pronouns**:	I, you/your, he/him/his, she/her, it/its, they/them/their
g.	**Anaphoric zero**:	She stopped, [**0**] looked around, [**0**] saw him and [**0**] froze.

We will discuss large noun phrases and the use of the various large modifiers seen in (1) above in a subsequent chapter (ch. 8). In this chapter, we will confine ourselves to the grammar and communicative use of small noun phrases.

7.2 Referential coherence in discourse

Referential coherence – how referents (participants) are introduced or re-introduced into the discourse, and how they may be continued or terminated – is a vast topic that intersects with many domains of the grammar. We have already seen one important piece of this earlier above (ch. 6), and further discussion of this topic is yet to come (chs 8, 10, 12, 17, 18).

The verbal clause, where most of the grammar's machinery is lodged, is seldom produced in isolation. Rather, adult discourse – natural communication – typically exhibits **multi-clausal coherence**. That is, the various sub-elements that create coherence in discourse tend to continue across adjacent clause boundaries. Thus, a discourse such as (3a) below, where cross-clausal coherence is wholly absent, is atypical, not to say bizarre. While the coherent (3b) is clearly more in tune with the human communicative norm.

(3) a. **Mono-clausal coherence**:

I saw George yesterday, the sky is blue, a woman is falling off the roof, Maggie's grandmother will die soon, and Arvin is a jerk.

b. **Multi-clausal coherence**:

I saw George yesterday, he said to say 'hi', he's moved to a new house and is living with a new girlfriend, whom I haven't yet met.

The most visible sub-elements of coherence in discourse are:

(4) **Sub-elements of thematic coherence**:

a. referents (participants)
b. spatiality
c. temporality
d. aspectuality
e. modality and speech-acts
f. actions/events
g. perspective (narrative voice)

These are the elements that tend to persist across multiple adjacent clauses; that is, across whole **clause chains**.

The clause chain is the minimal unit of thematic coherence in discourse. Example (3a) above is an incoherent chain, while (3b) is a coherent one. At chain boundaries, that is the chain-initial or chain-final position, the continuity of the sub-elements of coherence (4) tends to be lowest. In contrast, at chain-medial

positions thematic continuity tends to be highest. The structure of clause-chains may be given schematically, as:[1]

(5) **Chain structure (schematic)**:

… #RD, CI, CM, CM, CM, CM,(…), CF#…

RD = re-orientation device
CI = chain-initial clause
CM = chain-medial clause(s)
CF = chain-final clause
# = chain boundary

Thematic continuity may be described from two distinct perspectives:

- **anaphoric**, pointing to the preceding discourse; and
- **cataphoric**, pointing to the succeeding discourse.

The RD element at the beginning of chains is typically an anaphorically-pointing device, or **coherence bridge**. The CI clause has, typically, weak anaphoric links but strong cataphoric ones, introducing new participants, location, time, etc. into the discourse. Once introduced, these new coherence elements tend to persist across the new chain. CM clauses tend to display maximal continuity both anaphorically and cataphorically. While CF clauses tend to have high anaphoric continuity but minimal cataphoric continuity, being thus a mirror image of CI clauses.

Discourse coherence involves multiple strands (4), of which nominal reference (4a) is the most conspicuous one. As noted earlier (ch. 6), the role played by the tense-aspect-modality system in maintaining temporal (4c), aspectual (4d) and modal (4e) coherence is of great importance. In this chapter we are adding the next strand. An overview of the multiple grammatical sub-systems that partake in the coding of discourse coherence will be given later on (ch. 18).

7.3 Indefinite referents: First introduction

7.3.1 Definiteness and access to knowledge

The distinction between **definite** and **indefinite** reference is fundamental to both grammar and discourse. A referent is definite when the speaker assumes that it is **identifiable** to the hearer; that is, that its identity is **accessible** in the hearer's mind. The reasons that entitle speakers to make such assumptions about the mind of hearers are, most commonly:

1. See Givón (2001, ch. 18).

(6) a. **The referent is unique and known to all members of the social unit**: 'the sun', 'God', 'the King', 'the Sheriff', 'Mother'

b. **The referent is uniquely named and known to the hearer**: 'John', 'America', 'San Francisco', 'United Airlines'

c. **The referent is accessible to both speaker & hearer in the shared speech situation**: 'this book, 'that chair', 'those guys'

d. **The referent has been mentioned previously in the current discourse**: 'the book', 'the woman', 'the story'

e. **Combination of a previous mention (d) and general cultural knowledge**: 'she were supposed to go to **school** today, but **the bus** didn't show up'

In (6a), 'the sun' and 'God' are presumably unique in the widest domain. 'The king' is unique in his country, 'the sheriff' in his county, and 'Mother' in her family. The names in (6b) are useful as definite descriptions only if the hearer knows them. The definite expressions in (6c) are useful only if the hearer shares the same speech situation with the speaker. The definite expressions in (6d) are only useful if the speaker's assumption about the hearer's memory of earlier portions of the discourse is warranted. And the use of the definite description 'the bus' in (6e) is only useful if the hearer indeed knows that schools normally have busses for transporting the students.

When the speaker has no reason to assume that a reference is identifiable to the hearer, on whatever ground, the referent is considered **indefinite**.

7.3.2 Indefinite nominals

Indefinite nouns in Ute carry no specific morphological marking, and an unmarked noun could, at least in principle, be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. Put another way, definite nouns need not be marked with a definite determiner. Part of this ambiguity is rooted in the fact that in traditional small-scale society, many of the story's main participants are well known stock characters, and can be treated almost as **names** – which are inherently definite (6b). Thus consider the following story-initial passage:[2]

(7) a. ˈuwas ˈiniˍ-kway… Sinawaviˍ ˈura-pʉga…
he/SU WH-MOD Sinawav/SU be-REM
'There was once what's-his-name… it was Sinawav…

2. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Harry Richards. All citations of Ute narratives are taken from Givón (ed. 1985).

b. Sinawavi págha-kwa-pʉga, 'úu-pa-pʉga… 'úu-pa-pʉga, Sinawavi…
Sinawav/SU go-go-REM there-g-REM there-go-REM Sinawav/SU
Sinawav took off, he went that-a-way…

c. 'i-vaa-ni pʉni-kwa-khu-'uru, karʉ-pʉga **kʉ́chu**, kʉ́chu 'u,
here-at-like look-go-SUB-it/O sit-REM **buffalo/SU**, buffalo/SU the/SU
and right there as he was looking, **a buffalo** was sitting, Buffalo,

d. máy-na-av kʉ́chu, 'u-vwaa karʉ-pʉga,
say-REL-OWN buffalo/SU there-at sit-RE
qoyoquchi-naagha karʉ-pʉga…
hole/O-inside sit-REM
the one they call Buffalo, sitting there, sitting inside **a hole** a hole…'

In (7a), Sinawav, a universally-known character and thus to all intent and purpose a name, is introduced into the discourse for the first time by a formula we will discuss further below. In (7c) a second central participant, 'buffalo', is introduced first as an unmarked indefinite. But then the narrator hedges and re-introduces 'buffalo' as a **definite subject** ('the buffalo') or name ('Buffalo'), this time with the **definite article**. Finally an unimportant inanimate participant, 'hole', is introduced in (7d) as an unmarked **indefinite object**.

7.3.3 Non-referring and generic nominals

Often called non-referring indefinites, non-referring nominals are those that don't refer to a particular entity, but to, at best, a general **type** (or class). In Ute discourse, non-referring nominals are most commonly found in non-subject positions, and tend to be thematically less important (non-topical). Quite often, non-referring nouns appear in the **object-incorporation** construction, in which the object or instrument shed their noun suffix and are incorporated as prefixes into the verbal word. As illustrations, consider:

(8) a. **Referring-indefinite object**:
kh-'ura **sivaatu-chi** paqha-khwa-pʉga
then-be **goat**-NOM/**O** kill-ASP-REM
'…then (s/he) butchered **a goat**…'

b. **Non-referring object**:
ta-távay **sivaatu**-paqha-na-pʉga
RED-day **goat**-kill-HAB-REM
'…he used to kill **a goat** every day…'

c. **Referring-indefinite instrument**:
kh-'ura **wii-chi**-m tʉsavi 'uru chikavi'na-pʉga
then-be **knife**-NOM/O-INSTR rope/O the/O cut-REM
'… then he cut the rope with **a knife**…'

d. **Non-referring instrument**:
kh-'ura tʉsavi 'uru **wii**-chikavi'na-pʉga
then-be rope/O the/O **knife**-cut-REM
'…then he **knife**-cut the rope…'

Direct objects and instruments are the participant types that most consistently become incorporated this way to render a non-referring sense. By 'non-referring' one does not necessarily mean that a specific object or instrument did not in fact exist, but rather that its specific identity was unimportant or irrelevant. Any member of the type will do.

The contrast is sharper when the clause falls under the scope of an irrealis or negative modality. Thus compare:

(9) a. **Referring-indefinite object**:
wíichkʉs-'ura pʊ'ʊqwa-tʉ narua-vaani
tomorrow-be book-NOM/O buy-FUT
'tomorrow (s/he) will buy a book' (> s/he has one in mind)

b. **Non-referring incorporated object**:
wíichkʉs-'ura **pʊ'ʊqwa**-narua-vaani
tomorrow-be **book**-buy-FUT
'tomorrow (s/he) will do some **book**-buying…'
(> no particular book in mind).

c. **Referring object**:[3]
pʊ'ʊqwa-tʉ ('uru) ka-narua-na
book-NOM/O (the/O) NEG-buy-ANT/NEG
'(s/he) didn't buy **the** book'

d. **Non-referring object**:
kachu-'u pʊ'ʊqwa-tʉ narua-na
NEG-3S book-NOM/O buy-ANT/NEG
'(s/he) didn't but **any** book'

e. **Non-referring incorporated object**:
kachu-'u pʊ'ʊqwa-narua-na
NEG-S/he book-buy-ANT/NEG
'(s/he) didn't do **any** book-buying'

It is uncommon in Ute to find non-referring nominals as clausal **subjects**, which are typically important, topical, individuated, and have already been introduced

3. Under the scope of negation, a referring-indefinite interpretation of objects is impermissible. An object is either definite or non-referring. For an extensive discussion, see Givón (1979b, ch. 3, or 2001, vol. I, ch. 8).

before into the discourse. Expressions with **generic** subjects may be constructed, using either the plural marker, the universal quantifier 'all', or the definite article. But their use is not easy to ascertain.[4] Thus consider:

(10) a. **With the universal quantifier**:

manu-ni kava-yu whchu-ku yu'u-gwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ
all-SU horse-PL four-O leg-have-PL-NOM-PL
'**all** horses have four legs'

b. **With the plural marker**:

kava-**yu** whchu-ku yu'u-gwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ
horse-**PL** four-O leg-have-PL-NOM-PL
'Horses have four legs'

c. **With the definite article**:

kava **'u** whchu-ku yu'u-gwa-tʉ
horse/SU **the/SU** four-O leg-have-NOM
'The horse has four legs'

(i) > the species 'horse' (generic)
(ii) > that particular horse (referring)

7.4 Demonstratives and definite articles

7.4.1 Demonstrative modifiers

As noted earlier (ch. 3), the demonstrative (deictic) system of Ute is based on a three-way distinction of **spatial position** vis-a-vis the speaker, a distinction that is coded by three prefixes:

(11) a. near the speaker: **'i-**
b. away-visible: ma-
c. away-invisible: **'u-**

Demonstrative words, in addition to the three-way deixis, are also marked for the case-role contrast of subject vs. non-subject, and then for the three-way distinction between inanimate, animate-singular and animate-plural. The full inventory of Ute demonstratives is then given in (12) below.

4. In a traditional, small-scale, intimate society where knowledge is time-stable and universally shared among all competent adult members, generic-subject propositions are not all that useful.

(12) **Demonstratives forms**:

	near-speaker		away-visible		away-invisible	
	subject	**object**	**subject**	**object**	**subject**	**object**
inanimate:	ˈí-cha	ˈi-cha-y	má-rʉ	ma-rʉ	ˈú-ru	ˈu-ru
animate-SG:	ˈí-na	ˈi-na-y	máa	máa-y	ˈú-wa	ˈu-wa-y
animate-PL:	ˈí-mʉ	ˈi-mʉ	má-mʉ	ma-mʉ	ˈú-mʉ	ˈu-mʉ

The use of these demonstratives as **pre-nominal modifiers**, pointing to referents in the shared speech situation, may be seen in:

(13) a. **Subject**: ˈícha tʉpʉychi tavasi-kya-tʉ
this/SU rock/SU dry-ANT-NOM
'this rock is dry'

b. **Object**: ˈicha-y tʉpʉychi pʉnikya
this/O rock/O see/IMM
'(s/he) sees this rock'

c. **Subject**: máa naˈachichi wʉ́ʉka-y
that/SU girl/SU pretty
'that (vis.) girl is working'

d. **Object**: máa-y naˈachichi pʉnikya
that/O girl/O see/IMM
'(s/he) sees that (vis.) girl'

e. **Subject**: ˈúmʉ máamachi-u wʉ́ʉka-qha-pʉga
those/SU women-PL work-PL-REM
'those (invis.) women worked'

f. **Object**: ˈumʉ máamachi-u pʉnikya-pʉga
those/O women/O-PL see-REM
'(s/he) saw those (invis.) women'

In natural discourse, the distal pre-nominal demonstratives are often used as **definite articles**. This usage is only subtly different from the use of the unstressed post-nominal distal demonstratives as definite articles (see below). To illustrate this, consider the opening passage of a traditional narrative:[5]

(14) a. kh-ˈura ˈuwas yʉʉpʉchi ˈura-pʉga.
then-be 3S/SU porcupine/SU be-REM
'there was once a porcupine.

b. kh-ˈura tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga, wáay-kunani.
then-be child-PL-have-REM two-O
Well, he had children, two of them.

5. "Porcupine, Sinawav and buffalo cow", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

c. kh-ˈura tuachi-u-av supay-kwa̲-pʉga.
then-be child-PL-OWN leave-go-REM
But then he deserted his children.

d. “ˈi-vaa-sap-ˈuru mʉ́ni̲ pagha'ni-nʉ” máy-pʉga,
here-at-MOD-it/O you/SU wander-IMP say-REM
“You-two just wander around here” he told them,

e. “nʉ́' 'ay-ku tʉna-khwa-vaa-chi̲” máy-pʉga-ˈuru.
I say-SU hunt-go-IRR-NOM say-REM-it/O
while I go hunting” he told them.

f. ˈú-ˈu̲ni-chi̲-ˈura ˈura-vaachi̲ **ˈú** **yʉʉpʉchi̲**…
RED-do-NOM-be be-BKGR **that/SU** **porcupine/SU**
he always does it, **that porcupine**…’

This use of stressed pre-nominal demonstratives is limited to the distal ones, and is the diachronic precursor of the unstressed post-nominal definite articles.[6]

7.4.2 Definite articles

Distal demonstratives can be de-stressed and placed after the head noun, and used as **definite articles** that can modify both subject and non-subject nouns. As noted earlier, this use is not obligatory. In terms of word-level phonology, these unstressed morphemes are probably clitics/suffixes on the preceding word, though here we will continue to write them as separate words. The set of distal demonstratives used as articles is:

(15)

category	**subject**	**non-subject**
inanimate	ˈuru̲	ˈuru
animate-SG	ˈu	ˈuway
animate-PL	ˈumʉ̲	ˈumʉ

As a simplified examples of their use, consider:

(16) a. kh-ˈura ˈáapachi̲ **ˈu** tʉkuavi **ˈuru** tʉka-pʉga
then-be boy/SU **the/SU** meat/O **the/O** eat-REM
‘then the boy ate the meat’

b. kh-ˈura kani-naagha̲-tukhwa̲ **ˈuru** yʉga-pʉga
then-be house-in-to **the/O** enter-REM
‘then (s/he) entered into the house’

---

6. The most common source of definite articles are the distal demonstratives. As stressed deictic pointers, they appear in Ute before the noun. Their use in (11f) may be the intermediate stage before they become post-nominal definite articles.

c. tuachi **ˈuway** tʉkuavi **ˈuru** magha-pʉga
child/O **the/O** meat/O **the/O** feed-REM
'(s/he) fed the meat to the child'

d. tʉkaˈnapʉ **ˈuru** yaqh-kya
table/SU **the/SU** break-ANT
'the table broke'

e. máamạchi-u **ˈumʉ** táataˈwachi-u **ˈumʉ** pʉnikya-qha-pʉga
women/-PL **the/SU** men/O-PL **the/O** see-PL-REM
'the women saw the men'

In connected discourse, post-nominal definite articles are used as one of several devises to mark referents that have been introduced previously into the discourse and are now being **re-introduced**. But they can also be used upon first introduction, as in the following two examples:[7]

(17) a. ˈuwas-kway ˈiniˍ-kway ˈura-pʉga, **Sinawaviˍ** **ˈu**,
he/SU-MOD WH/SU-MOD be-REM **Sinawav/SU** **the/SU**

Sinawaviˍ ˈura-pʉga…
Sinawav/SU be-REM

'There was once this one what's-his-name, **the Sinawav**, it was Sinawav…'

b. kh-ˈura **wáa-mamachi-u** **ˈumʉ** ˈura-pʉga,
then-be **two-woman**-PL **the/SU** be-REM

ˈinii-u-sapạ ˈura-pʉga-vaachiˍ.
WH-PL-mod BE-rem-BKGR

'…so then there were **the two women**, whoever they were.

ˈúmʉ-ˈura ˈúu-pa-amʉ paghayˈwạ-pʉga-vaachiˍ…
they-be there-DIR-they walk-REM-BKGR
they were walking that-a-way…'

7.4.3 Demonstratives as pronouns

Stressed demonstratives can also be used **pronouns**, that is, standing for a referent that is assumed to be familiar to the hearer. In the case of demonstrative pronouns, this presumption of familiarity is initially based on the shared current speech situation (6c). What is more, the independent third-person pronouns in Tables (19)/(20) below are diachronically derived from the non-proximate demonstrative set in Table (12). Thus, the pronominal use of the demonstratives, as in (18) below, may be the diachronic precursors of their use as independent personal pronoun.

7. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

(18) a. **ˈícha**-ˈara tʉpʉychi ˈura-ˈay ‘this one (prox., inan.) is a rock’
this/su-be rock/PRED be-IMM

b. **marʉ** ka-ˈásti-wa ‘I don’t want that one (vis. inan.)’
that/O NEG-want-NEG

c. **ˈúmʉ**-ˈura ka-ˈay-wa-tʉ-mʉ ‘those ones (invis., an.) are no good’
those/su-be NEG-good-NOM-PL

7.5 Personal pronouns

As noted above, the personal pronouns in Ute are historically derived from the set of non-proximate demonstrative pronouns in (12) above, with addition of the first- and second-person forms. In third-person pronouns, the **positional** distinction of far-visible vs. far-invisible is still observed. The first person forms are partially marked for a three-way **number** distinction: singular, dual, plural. In the non-singular first persons, an **inclusive-exclusive** distinction is also observed. Finally, all pronouns display the now-familiar **case-role** distinction of subject vs. non-subject. The table for subject pronouns (19) and non-subject pronouns (20) are recapitulated from our earlier discussion (ch. 3).

(19) **Independent subject pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	nʉ́ˈ ‘I’	támi ‘we (incl. you)’	táwi ‘we (incl. you)’
		nʉ́mʉ ‘we (excl. you)’	
2nd	ˈúmʉ ‘you’	mʉ́ni ‘you-pl.’	
3rd-vis.	máa-sʉ ‘s/he’	mámʉ ‘they’	
3rd-invis.	ˈuwa-sʉ ‘s/he’	ˈumʉ-sʉ ‘they’	

(20) **Independent non-subject pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	nʉ́na-y ‘me’/‘my’	tami ‘us/our (incl. you)’	tawi ‘us/our (incl. you)’
		nʉ́mʉ-y ‘us/our (excl. you)’	
2nd	ˈʉmʉ-y ‘you’/‘your’	mʉni ‘you/your-pl.’	
3rd-vis. obj:	máa-y ‘him/her/his’	mamʉ ‘them’	
poss:	máa-y-a-sʉ ‘his/her’	mamʉ-a-sʉ ‘their’	
3rd-invis. obj:	ˈuwa-y ‘him/her’	ˈumʉ (-a-sʉ) ‘them’	
poss:	ˈuwa-y-a-sʉ ‘his/her’	ˈumʉ-a-sʉ	

Independent pronouns are used universally in contexts of **referential discontinuity** or **contrast**. As a brief illustration of this, consider the following English examples. In English, the writing system obscures the difference between stressed-independent

and unstressed-anaphoric-clitic pronouns, a difference that is crystal clear in the spoken language.[8] Thus compare:

(21) a. **Continuity: zero anaphora**:
Johns talked to Bill and then [**0**] left. (> John left)

b. **Continuity: unstressed/anaphoric pronoun**:
John talked to Bill. Then **he** left. (> John left)

c. **Discontinuity: stressed/independent pronoun**:
John talked to Bill. The **HE** left. (> Bill left)

d. **Non-contrast: unstressed/anaphoric pronoun**:
John talked to Bill and Mary. **He** wasn't happy. (> John wasn't happy)

e. **Contrast: stressed/independent pronoun**:
John talked to Bill and Mary. **HE** was unhappy, but **SHE** didn't care.
(> Bill was unhappy; Mary didn't care)

The first context of referential discontinuity where independent pronouns are used in Ute is that of introduction of new participants into the discourse, be it at a story-initial or story-medial position. In either position, the pronoun is most commonly augmented with the suffix *-'ura* 'be' or *-'uru* 'that/it', both marking the referent as **important** or **topical**. Consider first the various story-initial referent introductions in:

(22) a. **Story-initial**:

wíitʉs 'ura -na-pʉga-vaachi-'uru…[9]
long.ago be-HAB-REM-BKGR-that
'It was long ago…

'úmʉ-'uru pa'avi-u núuchi-u 'ura-qa-paachi-'uru…
3P/SU-be insect-PL person-PL be-PL-BKGR-that
the insects were humans…'

b. **'uwas** 'ni-kway… Sinawavi 'ura-pʉga…[10]
3s/SU WH-MOD Sinawav/SU be-REM
'There was once what's-his-name… **Sinawav**…'

c. **'uwas-'ura** 'ura-pʉga-vaachi, núu-maroghoma-pʉga-tʉ…[11]
3s/SU-be be-rem-BKGR people-create-REM-NOM
'There was Him long ago, **The Creator**…'

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8. For a detailed study of this issue, see Givón (2002, ch. 3).

9. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

10. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Harry Richards.

11. "Ute creation story", told by Julius Cloud.

d. **'uwas** 'ura-pʉga sinawavi… **'ʉmʉ** chaquura-y-u **'umʉ-kway**…[12]
3s/SU be-REM Sinawav/s **them/O** crane-O-PL **they/O-MOD**
'There was once **Sinawav**… and **the cranes**, whatever they…'

Independent pronouns, often with the suffixes *-'ura,* or *-'uru,* are also used to introduce new participants in the middle of the discourse, as in:[13]

(23) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'uru tʉ-tʉgaa-pʉga-vaachi **'uwas**,
there-at-it-that RED-bet-REM-BKGR **3s/SU**
'…So then at one time he kept betting,

b. kava-nana-chigya-pʉ tʉ-tʉgaa-pʉga.
horse-RECIP-race-NOM RED-bet-REM
he kept betting on horse races.

c. **mámʉ… 'umʉ** wʉ-wʉsiaa-gha-tʉ-mʉ,
3P/SU **those/O** RED-feather-have-NOM-PL/O
'umʉ-vwaa-n 'ay-pʉga **'uwas**…
them-at-LOC say-REM **3s/SU**
So he told the feathered ones (birds)…'

Another common use of the independent pronoun, this time by itself, can be seen in (22a) and (22c) above. There is continuity of reference between the preceding text, where Sinawav has already been introduced, and (22b). However, (22b) begins **a new paragraph**, so Sinawav, though he is a continuing referent, must be marked with the independent pronoun rather than zero anaphora. Likewise, Sinawav is also marked with the independent pronoun in (22c), this time because a new clause-chain has been opened. Put another way, referent-marking devices are not only sensitive to referential continuity, but also to **thematic continuity**. This is reminiscent of the English usage in (24) below, where zero anaphora cannot be used across a chain boundary, where anaphoric pronouns must be used:

(24) a. Bill ate his breakfast, then [**0**] took off.
b. *Bill ate his breakfast. Then [**0**] took off.
c. Bill ate his breakfast. Then he took off.

The next common use of stressed independent pronouns is reminiscent of their English usage in (21) above. In Ute, the contrast is between zero anaphora and the independent pronoun. When two topical referents have already been introduced into the discourse, for as long as the same referent continues – typically across a clause-chain – zero-anaphora is the most common referential device used. When reference

12. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

13. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

shifts to the other topical participant, most commonly the independent pronoun is used, all by itself. Thus consider:[14]

(25) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru nana-chigya-qha-pʉga,
there-at-it-be-that RECIP-race-PL-REM
'…So then they raced,

b. nanʊs puku-vwa-n-av… **'uwas** ságharʉ-mʉ
each/SU horse/O-at-on-OWN **3s/SU** white-AN/O
puku-gwa-tʉ 'ura-pʉga…
horse/O-have-NOM be-REM
each (riding) his own horse… **he** had a white horse…'

Sinawav had already been introduced in the preceding paragraph, as have the group of birds he challenged to a horse-race. The first topic of the new paragraph in (24a) is that group. The **switch- reference** back to Sinawav is marked by the independent pronoun *'uwas* 's/he'.

The next set of examples involves episodes with two previously-introduced topical participants. The story is now switching back and forth from one to the other, either in mid-chain or when opening a new chain. The independent pronoun is used here as a **switch-reference** device.[15]

(26) a. …'áa-gha máy-kya-pʉgay-kʉ, 'ú-vwaa pagha'ni-pʉga **'uwas…**
gentle-PART say-PL-REM-SUB there-at walk.about-REM **3s/SU**
'…as they were whispering (among themselves), **he** paced around there…'

b. …puku-'u… nʉ-nukwʉ-na-pʉga, na-rukwa qha-qharʉ-na-pʉga,
horse-his RED-run-HAB-REM REFL-under RED-run-HAB-REM
'…his horse… it kept running, running with his head bent down,
"máy-kya-'u!" máy-pʉga **'uwas**…
say-ANT-3s say-REM **he**
"I've told you about him!" **he** said…'

c. …pa'a-ka-'átʉ-tʉsu'a-pʉ-a.
complete-NEG-well-feel-REM-NEG
'…and he (the other guy) felt real bad (about it).
'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru **'uwas** chaghaciv ʉ tʉga-gha-tʉ
there-at-it-???-be-that/O **3s/SU** near come-PART-NOM
And sure enough, **he** (Sinawav) was a short-distances racer
'ura-pʉga-vaachʉ…
be-REM-BKGR
he was…'

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

d. …túu-vʉni-vərə-pʉga-ni 'uwasʉ-ga. **'umʉs** máy-kya-pʉgay-'u…[16]
…dark-look-go.about-REM-like he-EMPH **3P/SU** say-PL-REM-3S
'…he kept looking about him with wild eyes. So **they** told him…'

e. …'u-vwaa-tukhwa pərə-pʉga 'umʉsʉ-ga.[17]
there-at-go go/PL-REM they-EMPH
'…and they were coming that way.

'úu-pa-sʉ **'uwasʉ-ga** ka-sari-vaani-kwa-pʉ-a
there-DIR-CONJ **he-EMPH** NEG-delay-IRR-go-REM-NEG
So right there **he**(,) without delay(,)

kukwapi 'uru ma-mágu'na-ta-qha-na-av na'a-ti-pʉga…
firewood/O the/O RED-gather-PASS-ANT-REL-OWN fire-CAUS-REM
lighted up the firewood that had been gathered (by him)…'

f. …"kani-ma naguch'a-y, 'iyʉpʉy-aa-n!"
house-LOC burn-IMM kinswoman-POSS-1S

'áy-kya-pʉga **'umʉsʉ**-ga.[18]
say-PL-REM **3P/SU**-EMPH

'…"your house is burning, my kinswoman!" **they** told him.

"ma-mani-ta-sapa-'ara márʉ" máy-pʉga **'uwas**…
RED-do.like-PASS-MOD-be that/S say-REM **3S/SU**
"That one always does it this way" he said…'

g. …tʉgʉy-whqa-vərə-na-pʉga-'ura.[19]
hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be
'…he (Sinawav) was walking about hungry searching (for food).

'ú-vwa-aqh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ-'ura **'íni-kway** 'ura-pʉga…
there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be **WH-MOD** be-REM
so then right there there was **what's-his-name**…

mukwapi maay-pʉga, pacha'ay-kyay-ku.
spider/O find-REM stick-ANT-SUB
he found a spider, who had been stuck there.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura **'uwas** magʉni-pʉga, tʉka-vaa-chi-'u.
there-at-it-be **3S/SU** pounce-REM eat-IRR-NOM-3S
So the he pounced, aiming to eat it.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura **'uwas-'uru** 'áy-pʉga…
there-at-it-be **he-that/O** say-REM
so then he (the spider) told him…'

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16. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. "Hungry coyote races skunk for the prairie dogs", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

What emerges from these examples is a strong interaction between the use of independent pronouns for switch-reference, the pragmatically-controlled word-order of Ute (see below), and the use of large chain-initial conjunctions.[20] When switch-reference is done in a chain-medial clause, the pronoun marking the returning subject/topic is **post-verbal.** When switch-reference occurs at a chain-initial position, especially when a higher thematic-boundary is marked by a large conjunction, the returning subject/topic is **pre-verbal**. This conforms to the generalization (see further below) that the pre-verbal position in Ute marks **referential discontinuity**, provided the referent is an **important** topic.[21]

7.6 Clitic anaphoric pronouns and zero anaphora

7.6.1 Preliminaries

The use of clitic anaphoric pronouns in Ute is optional. Such pronouns, short and unstressed, can refer to the subject, the object, or the possessors (genitive). What is more, they can be suffixed not only to the verb, but to any first word in the clause. They are, thus, 'second position clitics'. The set of suffix pronouns, transparently reduced versions of the set of independent pronouns,[22] is given in (27) below.

(27) **Clitic pronouns**

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	-nʉ 'I/me/my'	-ramɨ 'we/us/our (incl. you)'	-rawɨ 'we/us/our (incl. you)'
		-nʉmʉ 'we/us/our (excl. you)'	
2nd	-mʉ 'you/your'	-amʉ 'you/your'	
3rd-vis.AN	-'a 's/he/her/him/his'	-amʉ 'they/them/their'[23]	
3rd-invis.AN	-'u 's/he/her/him/his'	-amʉ 'they/them/their'	
3rd-INAN	-aqh 'it/its'	-aqh 'they/them/their'	
	-ukh 'it/its'	-ukh 'they/them/their'[24]	

20. Clausal conjunctions and their interaction with other elements of thematic coherence are discussed in Chapter 18.

21. In this, Ute follows general tendencies in the pragmatics of word-order flexibility, where important discontinuous topics tend to be pre-posed (Givón 1988, 2001, vol. I, ch. 5).

22. Clitic/affixal anaphoric pronouns are universally derived from de-stressed independent pronouns. (Givón 1976).

23. The clitic pronoun *-'a* ('s/he') is rarely used, and is probably on its way out.

24. The clitic pronoun *-ukh* is much less common than *-aqh*, but is still used. The factor(s) that control the choice between *-aqh* and *-ukh* are not clear.

As noted earlier above, the most common chain-medial continuing-reference device is **zero anaphora**. In Ute, the use of zero-anaphora to mark continuing subjects and objects is much more common than the use of the suffix pronouns. Three vexing questions remain less-than-fully explored about the use of clitic anaphoric pronouns in Ute:

a. What controls the choice between suffix pronouns and zero anaphora, given that both mark highly continuous referents?
b. What controls the choice between marking the subject, the object, or both, when the verb is transitive?
c. Under what condition, if at all, can clitic pronouns appear when the subject or object noun also appear in the clause – as **pronominal agreement**?

It is not clear that we will be able to answer these questions in full, given that discourse-pragmatics choices by speakers are often subtle. To some extent, studying statistical distribution of the relevant forms in live text may help resolve some of these issues. But the optional use of grammatical devices often depends on subconscious cognitive factors and thematic choices that are not fully amenable to statistical manipulation.

7.6.2 Zero anaphora: The default case for referential continuity

When the referential environment is uncluttered, with no referential conflict or competition, zero anaphora over long stretches of narrative is the common norm in Ute discourse. One may find it, typically, in story-initial context, where for a while the first-introduced participant dominates the discourse. As an example, consider:[25]

(28) a. yoghovʉchi̱ ˈu, [**0**] pagha'ni-na-pʉga-'ura,
Coyote/SU the/SU walk.about-HAB-REM-be
'That Coyote, **he** kept wandering about,

b. kach [**0**] ˈini-a-sapa̱ paqha-na-pʉ-a, [**0**] ˈɵɵ-'ay-kwa̱-pʉga,
NEG WH-O-MOD kill-HAB-REM-NEG bone-be-go-REM
he hadn't killed anything (for a long time), **he** became bone-skinny,

c. ka-'ini-aa-sapa̱ [**0**] paqha-na-pʉ-a, [**0**] tʉgʉy-whqa-vɵrɵ-na-pʉga-'ura.
NEG-WH-O-MOD kill-HAB-REM-NEG hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be
he hadn't killed anything (for a long time), **he** was walking about searching hungry.

25. "Hungry coyote races skunk for the prairie dogs", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

d. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ú-vwaa-tʉ-'ura 'inh̲-i̲-kway 'ura-pʉga…
there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be WH-MOD be-REM
Then, right there, there was what's-his-name…

e. mu̲kwapi [**0**] maay-pʉga, [**0**] pacha'ay-kyay-ku̲.
spider/O find-REM stick-ANT-SUB
he found a spider, as **it** was stuck (there).

f. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura **'uwas** magʉni̲-pʉga, [**0**] tʉka-vaa-chi̲-**'u**.
there-at-it-be **3s/SU** pounce-REM eat-IRR-NOM-**3s**
so right away **HE** (Coyote) pounced, intending to eat **it** (spider).

g. 'u-vyay-aqh-'ura **'uwas-'uru** 'áy-pʉga:
there-at-it-be **3s/SU-that** say-REM
so then **HE** (Spider) said:

h. "'úmʉy-'ura nú 'anʉ-pa'a-tugwa-n pʊni-kya-vaani?"
2s/O-be 1s/SU WH-long-go-LOC full-ANT-FUT
"How long would I keep you full?"

i. [**0**] 'ay-pʉgay-**'u**, "nú-nugway tʉvʉchi̲ míi-pʉ-vʉ-chi̲ 'ura-'ay"
say-REM-**3s** I/SU-TOP very small-DIM-DIM-NOM be-IMM
he told **him**, "and I am such a tiny little thing"

j. [**0**] 'áy-pʉgay-**'u**…
say-REM-**3s**
he told **him**…'

From (28a) to (28e), even with the introduction of the second participant, zero anaphora marks the continuing referent. And the ambiguity in (28e) is easily resolved by **situation knowledge**. Once the two participants start interacting, beginning with (27f), clitic pronouns begin to appear. Since both participants are animate-singular, the clitic pronoun *-'u* 's/he' is ambiguous. In (28f) it is perhaps resolved by the following general principle:

(29) "If the subject is zero-marked in the preceding clause and then persists as subject, it will continue to be zero-marked; so that the clitic on the transitive verb must refer to the object".

Note, however, that principle (29) may be on occasion superfluous. Thus, the clause where a clitic pronoun appears first (28f) is a **purpose clause**, whose equi-subject is obligatorily marked as zero. The only referential reading of the clitic pronoun in that clause must therefore be the object – spider, especially given who was intending to eat whom.

The next ambiguous clitic pronouns in (28i) and (28j), both with the verb 'say'/'tell', do not afford us an easy choice of case-role interpretation. If the verb was unambiguously the intransitive 'say', only a subject interpretation of the pronoun ('he' = spider) would have been possible. However, the same verb in Ute also means the transitive 'tell'.

My interpretation of the pronouns here as referring to the object ('him' = Coyote) is based on a reasoning akin to principle (29): Spider has been re-instated as the subject/topic in (28g), with an independent pronoun, and then continues as active participant in (28h,i,j). Continued marking with the default zero anaphora seems called for, thus assigning the clitic pronoun to the object – Coyote. But is this reasoning sound? And can it be supported by cases where the pronoun is *not* ambiguous; that is, when the subject and object differ in number, or animacy, or person? Or when the verb is intransitive? We will explore such cases in the next section.

7.6.3 Subject vs. object clitics: In search of a general principle

In this section we will examine only examples of the use of clitic pronouns where the case-role is clear and unambiguous. This can be done when either singular-plural, animate-inanimate, or transitivity information disambiguate the reference of the pronoun. A few instances of 1st and 2nd person pronouns – all from quoted speech – are also examined. The examples below are all taken from one long, complex story.[26]

(30) a. …tavi-navichi-pʉga, 'úmʉ̲ cha̲qura-u, 'uwa-vaa-chʉ…
step-MASS-REM those/SU crane-PL him-at-DIR
'…they landed, those cranes, just next to him…

'uwas-'ura: "'agha-ni-uchaa?" 'áy-pʉga-**amʉ̲**…
he-be WH-do-INCEP tell-REM-**3P**
so he asked **them**: "What are you fixing to do?"…'

b. …kh-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-pʉga,
then-be-that do-ASP-REM
'…so he went along (with them),

whsiaavi ma-magha-pʉay-agay-'**u**, nani súu-kus…
feather/O RED-give-REM-ASP-**3S** each/SU one/O
and they each gave **him** one feather…'

c. …kh-'ura "togho-y-nugwa marʉ wha̲siaavi
then-be good-IMM-TOP that/O feather/O

tu̲-tuvʉ-cha'a-nʉ" máy-pʉga.
RED-pluck-catch-IMP say-REM
'…then: "It would be better if we pluck his feathers off" said (one of them).

kh-'ura kwa̲-kwávi-gha-**amʉ̲** tu-tuvʉ-cha̲'a-pʉgay-**ku** 'umʉs…
then-be RED-lie/PL-PAR-**3P** RED-pluck-catch-REM-**it** they
So then while **they** were all asleep (someone) plucked it (feathers)…'

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26. "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

d. … "nʉ́-aa mʉni ka-ta'wa-pʉariʲi-nʉ-wa-tʉ?" máy-pʉga núgway,
1s/SU-Q your NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM say-REM TOP
'…"can't I be your helper please?" he pleaded,

chaqura-y-u 'umʉ yagha-khwa-miya-kw-**amʉ**…
crane-GEN-PL they/GEN cry-go-go/PL-SUB-**3P**
as **the cranes** kept going about crying…'

e. …resti-kya-khay-kʉ-'ura, sʉ'i-mi qova-miʲ-amʉ tugwa-amʉ,
rest-PL-ANT-SUB-be pee-HAB face-LOC-them go-them
'…whenever they stopped to rest, he would pee in front of them toward-them,

yʉa-vaa-tʉ-**amʉ** tavi-navichiʲ-kʉ-'uru…
plain-at-DIR-**3P** step-MASS-SUB-that
whenever **they** landed in open country…'

f. …kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas pʉ-pʉ́i-gyay-kya-'uru, tapʉ'niʲ-pʉga.
then-be-that 3s/SU RED-sleep-PAR-ANT-that wake.up-REM
'…so then finally after having slept on and on, he woke up.

'umʉ-aa-tʉ ya-yagha-pʉga 'ava-**amʉ** yáasi-u-kʉ…
them-GEN-NOM RED-cry-REM far-**3P** fly-INCEP-SUB
One of them kept honking as **they** were flying away…'

g. …'ú-vway-aqh pa'a-'uwa-vʊrʊ-pʉga,
there-at-it complete-jump-go-REM
'…so he started/kept jumping up and down,

sʉ-súpay-kya-pʉay-aghay-**'u**…
RED-leave-PL/ANT-REM-CONCL-**3S**
they had left **him** behind…'

h. …'umʉs-'ura 'i-vaa-chʉ nʊʊghwa-tʉ paʲ-páqha-khwaʲ-pʉga,
they-be here-at-DIR pregnant/O RED-kill-go-REM
'…and indeed they killed a pregnant one right there,

'uwa-nukwaʲ-'uru 'ura-pʉga-miya-**'u**,
she-TOP-that be-REM-go-**3S**
and indeed it was **that one**,

kʉ-nʊʊ-pʊrʊ-pʉ-**amʉ**, 'ú núu-ruachiʲ…
mouth-carry-go-NOM-**3P** that/SU human-child/SU
they mouth-carried (her), that child (from the woman)…'

i. …máy-pʉay-aghay-**'u**, nana-qhay-kʉ-**'u**.
say-REM-CONCL-**3S** grow-ANT-SUB-**3S**
'…("Go back to your kin") he told her, when **she**'d grown up.

'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-pʉga, 'ú mamachiʲ 'u…
she-be return-go-REM that/SU woman/SU the/SU
so then she went back, that (young) woman…'

j. …kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'umʉ kwá-navichi̲-tʉ-mʉ-'uru
then-be 3s/SU-that those/O run-MASS-NOM-PL/O
'…so then he (raced) those fast runners

'umʉ nana-chigya-pʉga-**amʉ̲**…
those/O RECIP-race-REM-**3P**
he raced **them**…'

k. …"…'uru tʉka-miya-ku̲" máy-pagha-pʉga-**amʉ̲**.
that/O eat-go/PL-SUB say-go-REM-**3P**
'…"…when you keep eating that" he kept telling **them**.

'umʉs kh-'ura wʉcha-rʉpʉ'na-qha-mi,
they then-be calf.muscle-cramp-PL-HAB
They kept having calf-muscle cramps,

'áagha-kwá-khwa̲-pʉga-**amʉ̲**-'ura 'uwas…
WH-win-go-REM-**3P**-be he
that's how he beat **them**…'

l. …'uni-kya-pʉga 'umʉs 'uru, ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku̲-'**u**…
do-PL-REM they that/O die-ASP-ANT-SUB-**he**
'… so they did that, after he died…'

m. …'uwas súwiini pʉ́a-'u máy-vaachi̲:
he one/SU kin-his say-BKGR
'…So one of his kinsmen said:

"kachʉ-'**a** pini-vʉni-kya-paa-'waa-ni máy-kya-na̲-**ukh**
NEG-**3S** back-look-PL-IRR-NEG-FUT say-ANT-REL-**it**

'uwas" máy-pʉga…
he say-REM

" "don't look back! (that's) what he told us" he said…'

n. …kh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'uni-kya-pʉga, púupa máy-pʉ-na-'**u**…
then-be they-that do-PL-REM manner say-NOM-REL-**3S**
'…so then they did it, just the way he said…'

There are **10** cases of unambiguous **subject** pronouns in the sample. Fully **9** of them appear with **intransitive** verbs, where object interpretation of the clitic pronoun is not an option. The lone exception is the transitive verb 'carry-by-the-mouth' in (30h). This clause is in a way a natural exception, being nominalized, so that its subject pronoun is, technically, a **genitive** pronoun. In nominalized clauses in a nominative language, there is a strong tendency for the subject to out-compete the object for the genitive slot – if there is only one.[27] This lone exception aside, the data so far,

27. See discussion in Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 11).

however meager, conforms to principle (29). That is, the **continuous subject** tends to claim zero anaphora. And the continuous **absolutive** argument – be it object of transitive or subject of intransitive – tends to have a stronger claim to the optional clitic pronoun.

To further investigate this seeming absolutive tendency, 8 consecutive stories in our collection were counted for unambiguous *agent*-referring pronouns in transitive clauses. The four examples in (31) below are the only ones found in this large sample:

(31) a. …bag-i yáaˈwa-rʉ̲-**ˈu**…[28]
bag-O carry-HAB-**3S**
'…**he** (always) carries a bag…'

b. …**ˈumʉ**-ˈura wáa-mamachi-u **ˈáy**-pʉay-aghay-**ˈu**…[29]
them/O-be two-women/O-PL say-REM-CONCL-**3S**
'…**he** told the two women…'

c. …ma-machugwa-pʉga-s-**ˈu**-ˈura…[30]
RED-squeeze-REM-CONJ-**3S**-be
'…**he** squeezed it tight together…'

d. …kani-gyay-kʉ̲-**amʉ̲**-ˈura…[31]
house-have-SUB-**3P**-be
'…when/where **they** had a house…'

Clearly, the absolutive distribution of clitic pronouns is a near-categorial tendency in Ute.

Another question raised by example (30) concerns the distribution of **pronominal agreement** in the data. That is, cases where the pronoun co-exists with its co-referent noun (or stressed independent pronoun) in the same clause. There are only four such cases in our larger 8-story sample. Of these **4** cases, **3** represent subject agreement, **1** object agreement. We will return to this issue in sec. 7.6.4., below.

Let us now examine the examples where the unambiguous reference of clitic pronoun is due to the fact that they refer to 1st or 2nd persons (speaker/hearer) inside quoted-speech. Consider:[32]

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28. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes"; told by Mollie B. Cloud.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

32. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

(32) a. …“ 'i-vaa-**nʉmʉ** 'ani-ki pərə-khwa-y,
here-at-**1P** do-IMM walk-go-IMM

nagukwi-kya-ta-miya-agha” máy-kya-pʉga…
fight-PL-PASS-go-have say-PL-REM

‘…here **we** are flocking about, there’s going to be a war” they said…’

b. …súwiini 'áy-pʉga" “kach-**in** 'ásti-wa máay 'uni-'a-vaa-ku…”…
one/SU say-REM NEG-**1S** want-NEG 3S/GEN do-ASP-IRR-SUB
‘…so one of them said: “**I** don’t want that he do (this)…”…’

c. …“'uru-'ura nʉnay ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku-**n**,
that-be 1S/GEN die-ASP-ANT-SUB-**1S**
‘…“so after **I** die,

'uru kukwapi-paa-tugwa-n wʉnay-kya-**n**” máy-pʉga-'ura…
that/O firewood./O-DIR-go-on throw-PL/IMP-**1S**
please throw **me** on that pile of firewood”…’

d. “…máy-kya-**nʉ**-s 'ura-sap. 'ʉvʉs…”
say-ANT-**1S**-CONJ be-MOD end
‘…I’ve spoken, this is it. Finished…’

Of the **4** examples where the pronoun refers to the subject, **3** involve intransitive verbs. Only **1** (31b) involves a transitive verb. However, that verb, ‘want’, takes a non-finite, nominalized complement clause whose subject is, technically, a **genitive**. While the form of the demonstrative subject *máay* ‘that one’ is ambiguous, and could also be the object form, it is not clear that the verb ‘want’ in that clause has a nominal object. To all intent and purpose, then, it behaves syntactically like an intransitive verb. The absolutive distribution of clitic pronouns seems to hold here as well.

Lastly, the only object pronoun (‘me’) in these examples, in (32c), is a continuing referent preceded by its co-referent (‘I’) as subject of the preceding clause. Such referential continuity is consonant with our principle (29).

One must note that while most clitic pronouns appear alone, some isolated cases suggest the co-presence of the subject and object pronouns in a transitive clause, cliticized to the same word. The six examples in (33) below are all the double-pronoun forms found in our 8-story sample.[33]

33. The 8-story sample comprises of: “Sinawav and the seven stars” (Mollie B. Cloud); “Sinawav names the trees and bushes” (Bertha B. Groves); “Sinawav the copycat” (Harry Richards); “Sinawav the copycat” (Mollie B. Cloud); “How Sinawav got his yellow eyes” (Mollie B. Cloud); “Porcupine, buffalo-cow and Sinawav” (Mollie B. Cloud); “Sinawav racing the birds and betting” (Julius Cloud); “Sinawav burning his own house” (Bertha B. Groves).

(33) a. …sa'a-khwa̲-pʉay-agha-amʉ̲,[34]
boil-go-REM-CONCL-3P
'…he boiled them,

kh-'ura 'uway Sinawavi-**aqh-amʉ̲** magha-pʉga-amʉ̲
then-be that/O Sinawav/O-**it-3P** feed-REM-them
then he fed **it/them** to Sinawav…'

b. doctor 'ura-pʉga-vaachi̲-'u-'uru…[35]
doctor/SU be-REM-BKGR-he-that
'…he was a doctor…

maay-pʉgay-**'u-amʉ̲**, doctor-i 'uway…
find-REM-**3S-3P** doctor-O him
they finally found **him**, the doctor…'

c. …'umʉ-gaa-ni pʉ-pʉni-vaa-tʉ̲-**'u-amʉ̲** 'ura-pʉga-s…[36]
3P-TOP-like RED-look-IRR-NOM-**3S-3P** be-REG-CONJ
'…and **they** themselves were going to come and check on **him** regularly…'

d. …"'agha-ni-**aqh-amʉ̲**-kwa 'uni-kya-y 'umʉsʉ-ga?"…[37]
WH-do-**it-3P**-MOD do-PL-IMM they-TOP
'…how could **they** possibly do **it**?…'

e. 'agha-ni-**aqh-amʉ̲** kh-'ura mʉni marʉ-s 'uni-kya-ku̲?..[38]
WH-do-**it-2P** then-be you/GEN that/O-CONJ do-PL-SUB
'…how is it possible when **you** do **it**?"…'

f. …"…narʉvʉ-**n-ukh**-'uru" máy-pʉga…[39]
habit-**1S-it**-that say-REM
'…"…**it** is a habit of **mine**" he said…'

Of these Examples, (33a) is clearly aberrant, since the two pronouns both refer to the object, once as 'it', then as 'them'. Examples (33b,c,d,e) are genuine. In all four, the object pronoun precedes the subject pronoun. Finally, Example (33f) is dubious, since it involves the possessive pronoun 'my' followed by the implied subject 'it'. One may conclude that double clitic pronouns are indeed an option in Ute, but an exceedingly rare one.

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34. "Sinawav the copycat", told be Mollie B. Cloud.

35. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

36. Ibid.

37. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

38. Ibid.

39. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Harry Richards.

7.6.4 Pronominal agreement

As we have seen from the admittedly restricted sample in (30) above, clitic pronouns can on occasion co-occur in the same clause with their co-referent noun or independent pronoun. How frequent is this optional **pronominal agreement** in Ute, and is its text distribution predictable? In the single story that contributed the data in (30), only three examples of pronominal agreement were identified. They are re-produced in (34) below:

(34) a. …kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'umʉ kwá-navichi̲-tʉ-mʉ-'uru,
then-be 3s/SU-that 3s/O run-MASS-NOM-PL/O
'…so then he (raced) those fast runners,

'umʉ nana-chigya-pʉga-**amʉ̲**…
3P/O RECIP-race-REM-**3P**
he raced **them**…'

b. …'umʉs-'ura 'i-vaa-chʉ nóʊghwa-tʉ pa̲-páqha-khwa̲-pʉga,
they-be here-at-DIR pregnant/O RED-kill-go-REM
'…and indeed they killed a pregnant one right there,

'uwa-nukwa̲-'uru **'ura**-pʉga-miya-**'u**…
3S-TOP-that be-REM-go-**3S**
and indeed it was **that one**…'

c. … "nó-aa mʉni ka-ta'wa-pʉari̲'i-nʉ-wa-tʉ̲?" máy-pʉga núgway,
I/SU-Q your NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM say-REM TOP
'…"can't I be your helper please?" he pleaded,

cha̲qura-y-u **'umʉ** yagha-qha-miya-ku-**amʉ̲**…
crane-GEN-PL **the/GEN** cry-PL-go/PL-SUB-**3P**
as **the cranes** kept going about crying…'

Two facts stand out in this minuscule sample:

- the pronouns on the verb in two out of the three cases agree with highly topical **independent pronouns**.
- pronominal agreement has the same **absolutive** distribution – subject of intransitive or object of transitive – as seen with clitic pronouns in general.

To probe the validity of these two suggestive distributions, the count was extended to the same 8-story sample from our collection.[40] Only clitic pronouns whose case-role was unambiguous were counted. The results are given in Table (35) below.

40. See fn. 29, above.

(35) **Text distribution of pronominal agreement (only** 3rd **person)**

controller	**Preceding NP**	**Following NP**	**Preceding PRO**	**Following PRO**	**total**
S (intr.)	1	9	9	2	21
O (tr.)	2	10	1	5	18
A (tr)	/	/	/	1	1
total:	3	19	10	8	40

There are several striking facts about this distribution. First, it recapitulates the overwhelming **absolutive** distribution of clitic pronouns in Ute. Only **1** instance of pronominal agreement with the agent-of-transitive was found

Second, the interaction of pronominal agreement with word-order is of some interest. Object-controlled pronominal agreement tends, at the level of 15/18, to involve **post-posed** NPs or independent pronouns. For intransitive subject pronouns, however, the situation is more complex. If the controller is an NP, **9/10** times it is **post-posed**. But if it is an independent pronoun, **9/11** times is **pre-posed**.

Finally, the frequency of optional pronominal agreement in the total use of clitic pronouns in our 8-story sample is also of some interest. There were **168** cases of clitic pronouns without agreement in our sample. The frequency distribution of optional pronominal agreement in our 8-story sample was thus **40/208 = 19.2%.**

7.6.5 Cliticization locus: Second-position clitics?

Another option in the use of clitic pronouns in Ute involves the type of word they suffix themselves to. To illustrate the great variety of host words available to the clitic pronouns, consider the following examples, the first eight (36a–h) from one story:[41]

(36) a. **Verb**: …'uwas-'ura: "'agha-ni-uchaa?" **'ay-pʉga**-amʉ̲…
he-be WH-do-INCEP **say**-REM-them
'…"what are you fixing to do?" he **asked** them…'

b. **LOC-adverb**: …**'i-vaa**-nʉmʉ̲ 'ani-kɨ̲ pərə-kwa-y
here-at-we do-IMM go/PL-go-IMM
nagukwɨ̲-kya-ta-miya-gha…
fight-PL-PASS-go-PART
'…**here** we are flocking (because) there'll be fighting…'

c. **LOC-nominal**: …**yua-vaa-tʉ̲**-amʉ̲ tavi-navichɨ̲-kʉ̲-'uru…
plain-at-DIR-they step-MASS-SUB-that
'…when they would land **in the open country**…'

41. "Sinawav and the seven sisters", told by Mollie C. Cloud.

d. **Negative word**: …**kach**-in 'ásti-wa máay 'uni-'a-vaa-ku…
'…NEG-I want-NEG that.one/GEN do/be-??-IRR-SUB
'…I **don't** want him to be (here with us)…'

e. **Adverb**: …'umʉ-aa-tʉ̲ ya-yagha-pʉga **'ara**-amʉ̲ yáasi̲-ku̲…
them-GEN-NOM/SU RED-cry-REM **far**-they fly/PL-SUB
'…one of them kept honking when they flew **farther away**…'

f. **Interjection**: …"**'ʉvʉs**-'u chika-ghwa"…
end-him fetch-go/IMP
'…**alright**, go fetch him…

g. **Pronoun**: …**'umʉs**-'u…pi-vía-amʉ máy-vaachi̲…
3P-she RED-mother-their say-BKGR
'…**they**… their mother said…'

h. **Conjunction**: …"…."'áy-pʉga 'uwas **'ú-vway-aqh**-'u…
say-REM he **there-at-it**-he
'…"…" he said **then**…'

i. **Object noun**: kh-'ura **sinawavi**-khu 'uru magha-pʉay-aghay-'u…[42]
then-be **Sinawav/O**-it that/O feed-REM-CONCL-him
'…then he fed it **to Sinawav**…'

j. **Subject pronoun**: …**'uwas**-ukh 'úu-pa 'uni-pʉga…[43]
3S/SU-it there-DIR DO-REM
'…so **he** did just that…'

k. **Manner ADV**: …**má-ra-tʉ̲-aa-ni**-amʉ̲ 'uni-pʉga-sʉ̲…[44]
that-be/like-NOM-O-do-they DO-REM-CONJ
'…so they did **exactly that way**…'

l. **WH-word**: …**'ipʉ-m-sʉ-aa**-khu̲ 'inay tʉaani-vaa-tʉ-sʉ̲ 'inay?…
WH-INSTR-CONJ-Q-it this/O skin-IRR-NOM-CONJ this/O
'…**what** shall I skin this one with?…'[45]

Two questions are of interest about the distribution host-words of clitic pronouns:

- What is the ratio of verb-attached pronouns?
- What is the ratio of first-word-attached ('second position') clitics?

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42. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

43. Ibid.

44. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie C. Cloud.

45. "Porcupine, buffalo cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

The resolution of both questions is important for our understanding of the diachrony of cliticization and the rise of pronominal agreement. In search of an answer, the frequency distribution of all clitic pronouns in our 8-story sample was again counted. The results are given in Table (37) below.

(37) **Host-word distribution of clitic pronouns (incl.** 1st **&** 2nd **person)**

	host position in the clause		
host word	**first**	**other**	**total**
verb	90 (45.4%)	108	198 (73%)
non-verb	59 (81.9%)	13	72
total:	149	123	270

The text distributions given in Table (37) may be summarized as follows:

- Verbs constitute **73%** of pronoun-hosting words.
- Non-verbal host words appear **81.9%** of the time at the clause-initial position (2nd position clitics).
- Verbal host words appear **45.4%** of the time at the clause-initial position (2nd position clitics).

The implications of these distributions to the diachronic rise of grammatical agreement will be discussed further below.

The last question that needs to be answered is what is the ratio of zero-anaphora vs. anaphoric clitic pronouns in a Ute text. Zero anaphora was counted only in clauses where the referent is marked by neither a noun nor an independent pronoun. Clitic pronouns were counted regardless of whether they stand alone or constitute pronominal agreement. We counted here only the first of our 8-story sample.[46] The results are given in Table (38) below.

(38) **Zero anaphora vs. anaphoric clitic pronouns**

zero anaphora	**clitic pronouns**	**total**
114 **(70.7%)**	48 **(29.3%)**	162

The implications of this distribution will be discussed in sec. 7.9. below

7.7 Flexible word-order and referential coherence

In spite of the obvious OV-related features of Ute morpho-syntax, Ute currently displays flexible word-order, sensitive primarily to discourse-pragmatic factors. Much like

46. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

the use of clitic pronouns, the pragmatics of word-order flexibility in Ute is complex, subtle, and defies easy generative statements. What is more, the use of word-order options in Ute interacts intensively with the use of both independent and clitic pronouns, as well as with the choice of chain-initial re-orientation devices (RDs). For this reason, I think, this chapter is the proper place to discuss word-order. Much like our discussion of clitic pronouns, we can only hope to make a dent at the problem, without claiming to be privy, as of yet, to ultimate predictive statements.

As an illustration of word-order flexibility in spoken Ute narrative, consider the following examples, all clauses that fall under a single intonation contour; that is, clauses that do not involve left- or right-dislocation.[47]

(39) a. 'iya-na mʉnɨ-'ura agha-paa pərə-qwa-gha 'ani-kɨ?
here-LOC 2P/SU-be WH-DIR walk/PL-go-PART do-IMM
LOC S LOC PART-ADV V
'…Where are y'all going flocking through here?…'

b. mʉnɨ-'ura nʉ́nay kach 'u-vwaa-tʉ nóoghwa-y-'ura
you/SU-be 1S/O NEG there-at-DIR carry-IMM-be
S O LOC V
'…Won't you please carry me there?…'

c. 'umʉ-aa-tʉ ya-yagha-pʉga 'a-vaa-amʉ
one-PART-NOM/S RED-cry-REM there-at-they
S V LOC
'…one of them kept crying there…'

d. 'uru máy-pʉga 'umʉs
that/O say-REM they/S
O V S
'they said it'

e. 'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-pʉga 'u mamachɨ 'u
3s/SU-be return-go-REM 3s/SU woman/SU the/SU
S V S
'…so she returned home, that woman…'

f. ma-vaa-tugwa-sʉ-ni mawisɨ-vaani mama-'ayh-pʉchɨ
there-at-go-CONJ-like appear-FUT woman-child-DIM/SUB
LOC V S
'…a young woman will appear right there…'

47. Ibid.

g. 'umʉs-nukwa̲-'ura-'uru suwa-kwáa-khwa̲-pʉay-aghay-'u 'uwayas sinawavi
3P/SU-TOP-be-that almost-win-go-REM-CONCL-him 3s/O Sinawav/O
S V O
'…they almost beat Sinawav (in the race)…'

h. 'uni-kya-pʉga 'umʉs 'uru
do-PL-REM 3P/SU that/O
V S O
'…so they did that…'

The first general pragmatic principle of word-order flexibility in Ute is in fact a universal principle that is attested in all languages regardless of word-order flexibility and rigid word-order type:[48]

(40) **Pre-posing a discontinuous topical referent:**

a. If an important referent/topic is continuous, i.e. was active in the preceding clause (1-clause anaphoric gap), it will be marked by **zero anaphora** or **anaphoric pronoun**.
b. If the topical referent is introduced into the discourse for the first time, or is re-instated after a large gap of absence (3-clauses or more anaphoric gap), it will be marked as a full noun and **pre-posed** to the beginning of the clause.
c. But if the gap of absence is relatively small (ca. 2–3 clauses anaphoric gap), so that **chain-medial switch-reference** is involved, the re-instated referent is also **pre-posed**, but as an **independent pronoun**.

Principles (40) single out three universal types of grammatical devices that are used to code topical referents in three distinct discourse contexts:

- **Maximal referential continuity**: zero-anaphora or anaphoric pronouns
- **Chain-medial switch reference**: pre-posed independent pronouns or small NPs
- **Chain initial first introduction or re-introduction**: Pre-posed larger NPs

Let us illustrate how Ute word-order conforms to principles (40). Consider first the introductory paragraph of a story, in (41) below, which illustrates the initial introduction of the two main participants.[49]

(41) a. wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga, **sinawavi̲** 'ura-pʉga, **sinawavi̲** **'u** 'ura-qa,
past be-REM **Sinawav/SU** be-REM **Sinawav/SU** **the/SU** be-ANT
'It was long time ago, there was Sinawav, there was that Sinawav,

48. For an extensive discussion and documentation, see Givón (ed. 1983; 1988; 2001, ch. 5).

49. "Sinawav names the trees and bushes", told by Bertha B. Groves.

b. pó**ɵ**-pa paghay-kwa-p**ʉ**ga.
road-DIR walk-go-REM
he was going down the road.

c. kh-'ura **púuch'achi̲** 'ura-p**ʉ**ga-s**ʉ̲**,
then-be **mouse/SU** be-REM-CONJ
and then there was also Mouse,

d. sicha'wa-miya-kway,
trick-HAB-MOD
he used to plays tricks,

e. **kwasi-a-'u** p**ɵ**vi'wi-kwa-mi,
tail-POSS-his/3s pull-go-HAB
he used to pull his tail,

f. manu-kh**u̲**-t**ʉ** mani-miya-s**ʉ̲**,
all-O-NOM/O do.like-HAB-CONJ
he would do that all the time,

g. q**a̲**-qháar**ʉ**-mi kh-'ura 'uni-gya.
RED-run-HAB then-be do-PART
then he would run away doing that.

h. **'uwas-'ura** ka-p**ʉ**ka-manay-p**ɵ**r**ɵ**-'a-t**ʉ̲** 'ura-p**ʉ**ga-vaachi̲,
3s/SU-be NEG-very-move-go-HAVE/NEG-NOM be-REM-BKGR
Now *he* (Sinawav) was never very fast-moving,

i. ka-túsapa mani-'wa-na-p**ʉ**a-vaachi̲…
NEG-hurry do.like-NEG-HAB-REM/NEG-BKGR
he could never move like that in a hurry [gesture]…

j. ka-q**ɵ**m**ɵ**'na-p**ʉ**a-vaachi̲.
NEG-turn-REM/NEG-BKGR
he could never turn (very fast).'

In (41a) the first major participant (Sinawav) is introduced as a **pre-posed** subject NP (SV order), twice. It continues in the next clause (41b) as **zero** subject. In (41c) the second main participant (Mouse) in introduced, again as a **pre-posed** subject NP (SV order), who then continues as **zero** subject over the next four clauses (41d,e,f,g). In the midst of that run (41e), a minor participant, Sinawav's tail, is introduced as a **pre-verbal** object (OV order). In clause (41h), a mid-chain switch-reference back to Sinawav is affected by the pre-posed **independent pronoun** (SV order) with, typically, the topicalizing suffix *-'ura* 'be'; after which Sinawav continues as **zero** subject for two more clauses (41i,j).

Once the two main participants have been introduced and given some background description, the next macro-paragraph launches into the body of the story.

Most of the back-and-forth switch-reference cases in this long paragraph, given in (42) below, are coded by **pre-posed independent pronouns** (same as in (41h) above).

(42) a. pina-khwa̲-ˈura **ˈuwas** tʉvʉchi̲ naˈayˈa̲-pʉga,
follow-go-be **3s/su** very angry-REM
'…then finally he (Sinawav) got real angry,

b. naˈayˈa̲-kʉ-ˈu ˈuni-pʉga-vaachi̲.
angry-BEN-him do-REM-BKGR
he got angry at him (Mouse) for what he was doing.

c. ˈú-vway-aqh naˈayˈa̲-qhay-ku̲…
there-at-it angry-ANT-SUB
So when he got angry…

d. sichaˈwa̲-pʉga-vaachi̲-ˈu kh-ˈura qha̲-qháarʉ̲-pʉga,
trick-REM-BKGR-him then-be RED-run-REM
(because) (Mouse) had tricked him and then ran away,

e. páaqhachi-naagha̲ yʉga-khwa̲-pʉga.
hole/O-in enter-go-REM
and (he) entered into a hole.

f. páaqhachi-naagha̲ yʉga-khwa̲-pʉgay-ku̲ **ˈuwas**,
hole/O-in enter-go-REM-SUB **3s/su**
So when he entered into a hole,

g. ˈʉʉʉʉ… ˈiya-kwa-pʉga tíi páaqhachi-naagha̲.
"eeee"… here-go-REM high hole/O-in
"eeee"… he went high up there into the hole.

There is no topic/subject switch in the first clause of this paragraph (42a). Nonetheless, Sinawav is recapitulated with a **pre-posed independent pronoun**. The reason is that the use of pre-posed pronouns is not sensitive only to referential discontinuity, but also more generally to **thematic discontinuity**. While the two tend to coincide, when thematic discontinuity – in this case a paragraph break – occurs without referential discontinuity, the continuing topical referent is recapitulated anyway.

Another departure from the strict rule occurs in (42b), where switch reference back to Mouse occurs without any marked device. But it occurs in a subordinate 'because' clause, and the speaker relies on knowledge of the story's contents to disambiguate the reference. Finally, in (42f), in spite of the continuing referent (Mouse), a **post-posed** independent subject pronoun (OVS order) is used. While this is not strictly necessary, it conforms with another general tendency found in our oral texts, to be discussed further below.

In the third paragraph of our story, several switch-reference turns occur in rapid succession, most of them well marked by the pre-posed independent pronoun:

(43) a. **'uwas**-'ura 'áy-pʉgaa-[ni]:
3s/su-be say-REM-like
So then he (Sinawav) thought:

b. "'ipʉ-sapa̲-'uru 'ura-gupʉ̲ pa'a-toghwa-tʉ̲
WH-MOD-it be-SUBJUN complete-right-NOM/SU
"What would possibly be so long

c. kh-'ura **nʉ́'** 'u-ma 'uni-ku̲ chʉ̲kur'a-gupʉ̲…
then-be **1s/su** there-LOC do-SUB poke-SUBJUN
so that I may poke it in there…

d. piyoghwa-khwa̲ **'uway** pana-khwa̲?"
pull-go **3s/o** return-go
and pull him back out of there?"

e. manu-khu̲ -tʉ̲-aa-sʉ̲ 'uni-pʉga,
all-O-NOM-O-CONJ do-REM
So he tried all kinds of things,

f. 'ivichi kʉʉ-pʉga, cʉ̲kur'a-pʉga, 'úu-pa-tʉ tíi
stick/O take-REM poke-REM there-DIR-DIR high
he took a stick an poked it, high up there,

g. kachu-'u sa̲pigya-pʉa.
NEG-he can-REM/NEG
But he couldn't (get him).

h. **púuch'achi̲ 'u** kiya-kʉ-kwa-pʉgay-'u 'i-na-khwa-paa tíi,
mouse/su 3s/su laugh-BEN-go-REM-him here-LOC-go-at high
That mouse just laughed at him high up there,

i. 'ini-'a-pʉgay-'u-kway:
do-ASP-REM-him-MOD
he just did it (teased him) like that:

k. "'avatʉ-mʉ̲" sicha'wa̲-qha-'u.
big-AN tease-ANT-him
"You are big" he teased him

l. **'uwas**-'uru 'ay-na-pʉga náaaaa…
3s/su-that say-HAB-REM náaaa
he used to call him that náaaa….

m. "'avatʉ wa'a-qa-tʉ̲" máy-na-pʉgay-'u.
big penis-have-NOM say-HAB-REM-him
"The one with the big penis" he used to call him.

n. **'uwas**-'ura 'ú-ra-kʉ,
3s/su-be that-be-EMPH
He (Sinawav) was indeed like that,

o. 'áy-na-pʉga-vaachi̱, 'íi-pa-kwa-sʉ̱-'ura…
say-HAB-REM-BKGR here-DIR-go-CONJ-be
he (Mouse) used to call him that, it was (long) like this [gesture]…

p. **'uru** 'ura-qa… 'uru 'uni-aa-gha-y wíitʉs-'uru,
that/O be-ANT that/O POSS-O-have-IMM past-it
it was that… that thing he had long ago.

q. pa'a-toghwa-pʉga-vaachi̱ **'urusʉ-ga**.
complete-straight-REM-BKGR **that-TOP**
it was so long, that thing.

r. 'íi-pa kh-'ura **'uwas**
her-LOC then-be **3s/SU**

wachʉ-vʊrʊ-na-pʉga-vaachi̱ 'avatʉ-kwa-na-va'aghą̱.
put-go-HAB-REM-BKGR shoulder/O-go-LOC-over

so that he used to carry it over his shoulder.

s. 'ú-ra-kʉ-'u si̱cha'ą̱-na-pʉga-vaachi̱-'u.
that-be-EMPH-him tease-HAB-REM-BKGR-him
they used to tease him for being like that'.

The first switch-reference occurs in (43a), from Mouse back to Sinawav. The next one, in (43c), is to 'I' within the direct-quoted speech. The next one in (43h) is back to Mouse. All are marked with **pre-posed** independent pronouns. In (43–l) the use of an independent pronoun seems to be superfluous, given that Mouse continues topical referent. But such usage may be due to a thematic break. In (43n), (43p) and (43r) the **pre-posed** independent pronoun is again used to mark switch-reference. Finally, the **post-posed** independent pronoun (VS order) in (43q) is used in the context of referential continuity (see again directly below).

We turn now to trying to understand the communicative context of **post-posed** independent pronouns or larger NPs. What stands out in the use of this word-order, VS or VO, are two features:

(44) **Post-posed independent pronouns or larger NPs**:

a. The referent tends to be highly continuous, most commonly with an anaphoric gap of **one clause** (co-reference in the preceding clause).
b. The discourse context is most commonly the **chain-final**, paragraph-final, or episode-final clause.

All the examples of the VO order found in paragraphs (41), (42) and (43) above conform to both principles (44a,b). What is more, the conditions under

which the VS word-order is used in Ute are reminiscent of the use of R-dislocation in spoken English.[50]

7.8 Final reflections

If one looks at the text distribution of independent pronouns, clitic pronouns and pronominal agreement in Ute oral texts, the first question that leaps to mind is synchronic:

(45) Are all these usage options rule-governed**?** Can one come up with a tight generative statement for the use of Ute pronouns?

The answer is both yes and no, depending on what one means by 'rule-governed'. If by 'rule governed' one means the traditional generative statement, with purely syntactic conditioning of the choice of options, the answer is surely no. If, on the other hand, one means that the choices are non-random, and motivated by communicative or cognitive factors, the answer is probably yes. The text distributions we have seen above are not communicatively random even when the choices seem wide-open and subtle. The vast majority of independent pronouns are indeed used in contexts of **topic switching**. The vast majority of the clitic pronouns display an **absolutive distribution**. The vast majority of zero anaphora distributes in the context of extreme referential **continuity** – one-clause anaphoric gap. The pre-posing of independent pronouns and larger NPs is strongly associated with referential or thematic **discontinuity**. And the post-posing of independent pronouns and larger NPs is strongly associated with both high referential continuity and termination of the thematic unit. Most clitic pronouns are suffixed to the verb. Still, none of these statistical associations are absolute. Exceptions abound, and the choices the speakers make are often too subtle to pin down. And lastly, in the case of three usage options – choice of anaphoric pronouns vs. zero anaphora, of optional pronominal agreement, and of the host-word for clitic pronouns – variation may outstrip clean rule-governedness.

The level of variation one sees in these three areas fairly begs for a diachronic interpretation of the data, so that one may wish to ask the second, obvious question:

(46) Is the distribution of the optional variations noted above diachronically coherent?

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50. See Givón (1983a,b).

The tentative answer is that it is indeed, in the context of the diachronic rise of anaphoric pronouns and pronominal agreement. Earlier work on the subject suggested the following generalizations:[51]

(47) **Anaphoric pronouns and pronominal agreement**:

a. Clitic anaphoric pronouns arise from independent pronouns by de-stressing, phonological attrition and 'de-marking'.
b. The anaphoric distance of zero anaphora and clitic anaphoric pronoun is, most typically, the same – one clause back.
c. Obligatory grammatical agreement arises from optional clitic-anaphoric pronouns, via generalization and 'de-marking', and in interaction with some 'optional' word-order device – left- or right- dislocation.

Our Ute data are fully compatible with generalizations (47a,b) above. What is more, the Ute data can help resolve two questions that previous work had left open:

- Why do anaphoric pronouns cliticize where they do?
- What is the detailed mechanism of their cliticization to the verb?

As it happens, the Ute synchronic situation catches the language in the midst of the change from first-position clitics to verb suffixes, with the majority of pronouns – **73%** – already cliticized as verb suffixes. The key to answering the first question is to remember generalization (47a) above:

- Clitic pronouns arise from independent pronouns, and independent pronouns in Ute most typically a pre-posed; that is, they appear early in the clause. When they become de-stressed and cliticize, the host to their cliticization would be the preceding full-size word in the clause.

The answer to the second question requires keeping in mind generalization (47b) and what we know about zero anaphora:

- Zero anaphora is the most common referent-marking device in natural discourse. Which means that the most common clause-type in language is the one-word clause – the verb by itself, with an anaphoric subject and, to a lesser degree, anaphoric object.[52] The verb is thus likely to be the most frequent first word in the clause, thus the most frequent candidate to host second-position clitics.

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51. See Givón (1976, ed. 1983).

52. See DuBois (1987).

Lastly, one has to account for the possible interaction between second position clitics and flexible word-order. Here again, the synchronic situation of Ute is illumination. The pre-posed position of Ute independent pronouns is not governed by a pronoun-specific pragmatic rule, but rather by the general pragmatic principle (40b) above:

- A discontinuous topical referent is most likely be pre-posed.

One may thus be tempted to go on a limb and make the following typological generalization:

(48) **Diachronic-typological generalization**:
Languages that currently display obligatory pronominal agreement have, in the past, been languages with flexible word-order and second-position pronominal clitics.

CHAPTER 8

Noun phrases-II

Larger noun modifiers

8.1 Orientation

In the preceding chapter we confined ourselves to small, syntactically simple noun phrases (henceforth NPs), ones that contain either the head noun alone, or the head noun with small-size modifiers (demonstratives, articles) that are really grammatical morphemes, or with noun substitutes such as independent pronouns, clitic pronouns or anaphoric zeros. Being compact, small NPs bypass most issues of syntactic complexity. Likewise, word-order within the NP is largely a moot issue with such small nominals, except for the variation between stressed pre-nominal demonstratives and unstressed post-nominal definite articles.

In this chapter we will deal with larger and more complex NPs, those that have one or more word-size modifiers, or even phrase-size or clause-size modifiers. In the main, such larger modifiers are used to further specify the description of referents, i.e. of subjects or objects. Such further specification may be used upon first introduction into the discourse, to endow the new – indefinite – referent with saliency and relevance. Or it may be used upon subsequent re-introduction into the discourse, to differentiate the now-definite referent from other – similar but not-identical – referents; and in general to help the hearer search for the referent in their memory of the current discourse.

When several modifiers are present in the same NP, or when a modifier is itself a large multi-word phrase or clause, the issue of **syntactic complexity** arises, so that one may describe the NP's hierarchic syntactic structure in terms of phrase-structure tree diagrams, of the kind we used earlier to describe the structure of simple clauses (ch. 4). What is more, **word order** – whether rigid or flexible – now becomes an issue.

One type of large NPs we will discuss here arises from **nominalization**. That is, from using clauses or VPs as subjects or objects within other clauses. As noted earlier (ch. 5), nominalization is a pervasive phenomenon in Ute grammar, given that most non-main clauses are, at least historically, nominalized. This topic will recur throughout the book, in our discussion of verb complements (ch. 9), passive

clauses (chs 10, 11), relative clauses (ch. 12), focus constructions (ch. 13) and adverbial clauses (ch. 17).

The types of noun modifiers we will discuss in this chapter include:

(1) **NPs with large modifiers**
   a. adjectives
   b. numerals, ordinals and quantifiers
   c. partitive constructions
   d. possessive ('genitive') modifiers
   e. noun compounding
   f. nominalized clauses

Of these, we have already mentioned the one-word modifier types (1a–e) earlier (ch. 3). Our treatment of them here would be a recapitulation.

One type of large complex NPs, those that contain relative-clauses, involves the use of a whole clause as noun modifier. This topic is substantial enough to merit its own chapter (ch. 12).

One may as well note that the small-size NPs of the type discussed earlier (ch. 7) are the ones most frequently encountered in natural communication. The larger-size, complex NPs discussed in this chapter and in ch. 12, while of considerable interest to the grammarian, are much less frequent in natural discourse.

8.2 Modifying adjectives

8.2.1 Restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification

Adjectives can be used to further specify the kind of referent noun involved in the description. Upon a referent's first introduction into the discourse, as **indefinite**, it may be introduced either as a noun by itself, as in (2a) below, or with a modifying adjective, as in (2b):

(2) a. kavá-yi pʉnikya-pʉga
   horse-O see-REM
   '(s/he) saw a horse'

   b. kavá-yi **sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ** pʉnikya-pʉga
   horse-O **white-have-NOM-AN/O** see-REM
   '(s/he) saw a white horse'

What the modifying adjective contributes to the indefinite description in (2b) is the information that what was seen was not just any kind of a horse, but a horse of a

particular kind, a white one. In other words, the domain of reference is being **restricted** by the modifying adjective.

Upon a referent's re-introduction into the discourse, as **definite**, it is the discourse context that motivates the use of **restrictive** adjectives, contrasting them with either no adjective at all or with a **non-restrictive** adjective. If only one horse has been previously introduced, repeating the adjective in the subsequent definite description may be superfluous, and the noun with a definite article may suffice, as in:

(3) pina-khwa-'ura **kava-yi 'uway** pʉsagha-pʉgay-'u
follow-go-be **horse-O the/O** search-REM-it
'later on (s/he) was looking for **the horse**'

Suppose, however, that two horses of different colors were introduced initially, as in:

(4) wáy-ku kava-yu pʉnikya-pʉga, súwini ságharʉmʉ,
two-O horse-PL see-REM one/SU white/SU
pina-khwa-tʉ-sʉ túukwarʉmʉ.
follow-go-NOM-CONJ black/SU
'(s/he) saw two horses, one white, the other black'

Upon the re-introduction of one of them, the use of a **restrictive** modifying adjectives can now differentiate between the two, so that (5) below would be more appropriate:

(5) pina-khwa-'ura kava-yi **ságharumʉ** 'uway pʉsagha-pʉga
follow-go-be horse-O **white/O** the/O search-REM
'later on (s/he) was looking for the **white** horse' (not for the black one)'

The use of the restrictive adjective in (5) allows us to differentiate between the otherwise-identical horses.

Suppose, however, that one saw initially only one horse, a white one. But the same horse is seen repeatedly, so that its whiteness becomes part of its habitual description. One may now find it useful to mention the color even in the absence of a contrasting horse. In such a context, it is possible in Ute to incorporate the adjective's bare stem into the noun as a prefix, winding up with a **non-restrictive** use, as in:

(6) pina-kh-'ura **sá**-gava-yi 'uway pʉsagha-pʉga
follow-go-be **white**-horse-O the/O search-REM
'so later on (s/he) was looking for the **white horse**'

The non-restrictive use of the adjective does not imply the existence of another, contrasting, referent. Rather, it makes the adjective an integral part of the referent noun itself. It is almost as if the incorporated modifier has become part of a **name**.

In English, the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives is not as well marked as in Ute. Word-order variation is not an option in English, where all adjectives precede the head noun. Intonation is often the only way of distinguishing between the two meanings. Thus, (7a) below is ambiguous, and can be used in both the context that calls for a restrictive modification (7a-ii), or the context that calls for the use of a non-restrictive modifier (7a-i). With contrastive stress placed on the adjective, as in (7b), only a restrictive interpretation is possible.

(7) a. So later on she was looking for the white horse.

(i) She saw only one horse, a white one.
(ii) She saw two horses, of different colors.

b. So later on she was looking for the WHITE horse.

As noted earlier (ch. 3), color adjectives are the most regular, morphologically predictable adjectives in Ute. Other types are less predictable. In principle, though, the same distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive modification can be made with other adjective types. Thus compare:

(8) a. **Restrictive**:

tuachi **míipʉ-chi** **'**uway pʉnikya-qha
child/O **small-NOM/O** the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the **small** child' (as against the big one)

b. **Non-restrictive**:

míipʉ-tuachi **'**uway pʉnikya-qha
small-child/O the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the **small child**' (there was only one)

c. **Restrictive**:

kani **'iyapʉni** **'**uru pʉnikya-qha
house/O **ugly/O** the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the **ugly** house' (as against the beautiful one)

d. **Non-restrictive**:

'iyapʉ-kani **'**uru pʉnikya-qha
ugly-house/O the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the **ugly house**' (there was only one)

8.2.2 Adjectives used as pronouns

In the appropriate discourse context, an adjective can be used by itself as a pronoun, be it anaphoric or indefinite. In an anaphoric context, the sense of such usage tends to be restrictive. Thus, given the context in (4) above, where two horses of different colors were introduced earlier, (5) may be rendered without the head noun (tho with an optional definite article), with the adjective now standing as an **anaphoric pronoun**:

(9) pina-kh-'ura **ságharʉmʉ** 'uway pʉ̲sagha-pʉga
follow-go-be **white/O** the/O search-REM
'later on (s/he) was looking for the **white one**'

An adjectives may be also used as an **indefinite pronoun**, given the appropriate cultural knowledge. Thus, consider the following passage from a traditional narrative:[1]

(10) …"'u-vwa-chaa-n-'ura-'uru **nóoghwa-tʉ**
there-at-INCEP-1S-be-it/O **pregnant-NOM/O**

pa̲-páqha-kʉ-gwatʉ̲" máy-pʉga…
RED-kill-BEN-SUBJUN say-REM

'…"Then would you please kill **a pregnant one** for me?" he said…'

The adjective *nóoghwa-tʉ* 'pregnant' (object form) clearly stands for *mamachi nóoghwa-tʉ* 'pregnant woman'. But given shared cultural knowledge and a well-known traditional story, what else could the missing head noun be?

8.2.3 Morphological note

It is important to remember that all adjectives in Ute display the same subject/non-subject distinction observed in nouns, most commonly by devoicing or voicing the final vowel, respectively. In addition, color adjectives also observe the three-way distinction between inanimate, animate-singular and animate-plural. Restrictive adjectives, like most noun modifiers in Ute, must show **agreement** with their head noun in case-role, animacy and number. Thus compare:

(11) a. **Inanimate**: tʉpʉychi̲ túu-kwa-rʉ̲ 'black rock'
rock/SU black-have-NOM/SU

b. **Animate-SG**: kava túu-kwa-rʉ-mʉ̲ 'black horse'
horse/SU black-have-NOM-AN/SU

1. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud. All Ute traditional narratives cited here are from Givón (ed. 1985).

c. **Animate-PL**: kava-yu túu-kwa̲-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'black horses'
horse-PL black-have-PL-NOM-AN/SU

d. **Subject**: tʉpʉychi̲ túukwarʉ̲ 'uru̲ wi'i-kya 'the black rock fell'
rock/SU black/SU the/SU fall-ANT

e. **Object**: tʉpʉychi túukwarʉ 'uru pʉnikya-qha
rock/O black/O the/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw the black rock'

The presence of the verbal plural suffix *-qha* (base form *-ka*) in (11c) suggests that historically color adjectives are constructed with the verb 'have' (base form *-ga/-ka*).[2]

8.3 Numerals, ordinals and quantifiers

8.3.1 Numerals

Numerals as a word class were already discussed earlier (ch. 3). As noted there, there are special subject and object forms for numerals (and some other quantifiers), with the subject suffix being *-ini* (or *-yi-sʉ̲* for 'one') and the object *-ku* or *-ku-nani* (*-ku-sʉ̲* for 'one').[3] Thus recall:

(12) a. **Subject**: súu-yi-sʉ̲ wichichi̲ ya'ay-kya
one-SU-CONJ bird/SU die-ANT
'one bird died'

b. **Object**: súu-ku-sʉ̲ wichichi pʉnikya-qha
one-O-CONJ bird/OBJ see-ANT
'(s/he) saw one bird'

c. **Subject**: wáy-ini wichichi-u ya'ay-kya
two-SU bird-PL die-ANT
'two birds died'

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2. The animate suffix *-mʉ-* in (11b,c) is also used as the animate-plural suffix for de-verbal nouns derived with the nominal suffix *-tʉ/-rʉ*, as in *káa-mi-tʉ̲* 'singer', *káa-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲* 'singers'; *'apagha-rʉ̲* 'speaker', wáygya-rʉ-mʉ̲ 'speakers'. This constitutes further support for the nominalized-'have' origin of Ute adjectives.

3. The use of the old conjunction suffix *-sʉ* is irregular and unpredictable, appearing mostly as relic in some numeral and quantifier forms, independent pronouns and many other frozen expressions. Some discussion of this suffix may be found in ch. 18.

d. **Object**: wáy-ku(nani) wichichi-u pʉnikya-qha
two-O bird-PL see-ANT
'(s/he) saw two birds'

The subject and object forms of the most common numerals are reproduced in (13) below:

(13)

#	subject	object	comments
1	súu-yis	súu-ku-s	
2	wá(y)-ini	way-ku	
3	pa(y)-ini	pay-ku	
4	wh̲chuwi-ini	wh̲chuwi̲-ku	
5	ma-nʉgi-ini	ma-nʉgi-ku	ma- 'hand'
6	navay-ini	navay-ku	navay- 'half'
7	navay-kya̲-vay-ini	navay-kya̲-vay-ku	
8	wá-wh̲chuwi-ini	wá-wh̲chuwi̲-ku	'two four'
9	suwa-rogho-ma̲-súw-iini	suwa-rogho-ma̲-súwi̲-ku	'almost complete other hand'
10	togho-ma̲-súw-iini	togho-ma̲-súwi̲-ku	'complete other hand'

Numerals as modifiers most typically involve **indefinite** referents, as in (12) above. This may be due to the fact that when modifiers are used with **definite** referents, they most commonly serve to **restrict** the domain of reference, thus to **contrast** the referent, at least implicitly, with other referents of the same kind that still differ by some salient property. The salient distinguishing property most commonly used for this purpose is either adjectival (inherent property) or verbal (temporary state or event). It is thus not an accident that adjectives or relative clauses are the most common restrictive modifiers.

Numerality may be coded in Ute by another syntactic construction, where the numeral root is incorporated into the head noun as a prefix. As we have seen in (6) and (8) above, this pattern is also found in adjectives, where it codes the non-restrictive use of the modifier. This incorporation pattern with numerals is used primarily, perhaps exclusively, with definite referents, even when the referent is introduced for the first time. As an illustration of such use, consider the following two examples. In (14a) below, the referent 'two women' is introduced into the story for the very first time – but still as **definite**, probably due to the fact that the story-teller deems the referent familiar to the hearer from countless tellings. In (14b) the same referent is re-introduced after a considerable absence. Both usages are found at chain-initial junctures.[4]

4. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

(14) a. …kh-'ura **wáa**-mamachi-u 'umʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga,
then-be **two**-woman-PL the/SU be-REM
'ini-u-sapa̲ 'ura-pʉay-vaachi̲…
WH-PL-MOD be-REM-BKGR
'…Well, there were those **two women** there, whoever they may have been…'

b. …'umʉs kh-'ura **wáa**-mamachi-u parʉkhi̲-pʉay-agha-sʉ-ku…
3S/SU then-be **two**-woman-PL wash-REM-CONCL-CONJ-it…
'…So than those two ladies washed it…'

In the story, there are no other women, only this pair. So the incorporated numeral becomes part of their description, like a name. This is a typical **non-restrictive** usage.

Lastly, one may as well note that the pre-nominal position of numeral words is rigidly fixed, so that they can only appear after the noun unless a pause intervenes (R-dislocation). This contrasts with restrictive adjectives and relative clauses, which appear in a post-nominal position. Thus compare:

(15) a. **Adjective**: kava **ságharʉmʉ̲**
horse/SU **white/SU**
'(the) white horse'

b. **REL-clause**: kava **ya'ay-kya-tʉ̲**
horse/**SU** **die-ANT-NOM/SU**
'(the) horse that died'

c. **Numeral**: **páy-ini** kava-yu
three-SU horse-PL
'three horses'

The pre-nominal position of numerals may be due to the fact that they are used primarily as non-restrictive modifiers.

8.3.2 Ordinals

Unlike many modern industrial cultures where a large series of ordinals corresponds to, and is constructed upon, the equally-large set of numerals, Ute has made do traditionally with only two ordinals, based upon the verbal stems 'precede' and 'follow', as in, respectively:

(16) a. **namu**-mamachi̲
precede-woman/SU
'the first woman'

b. **pina**-mamachi̲
follow-woman/SU
'the second woman'

However, some ordinals can be derived, at least in principle, from the object form of the corresponding numeral, as in:

(17)	#	**subject form**	**object form**	
	2nd	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ	'the second'
	3rd	páy-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wáy-ku-paa-tʉ	'the third'
	4th	wh̲chuwi̲-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	wh̲chuwi̲-ku-paa-tʉ	'the fourth'
	5th	ma-nʉgi-ku-paa-tʉ-ni	ma-nʉgi-ku-paa-tʉ	'the fifth'

Such forms are not commonly found in natural text. Presumably, they precede the head noun they modify, like numerals. Presumably, they are used mostly as **restrictive** definite modifiers, clearly implying a contrast. Presumably, they are used primarily with **definite** referents.

8.3.3 Quantifiers

Ute quantifiers are a heterogenous group, each displaying its own morphological pattern. What they have in common is their numeral-like pre-nominal position in the NP. The quantifier 'many' is constructed on the stem of 'big', (*ʻava-*), with subject/object and animate/inanimate distinctions, and suffixes that suggest a verbal relative-clause origin.[5] Thus consider:

(18)			**subject**		**object**	
	a.	**inanimate**:	ʻava-ʻna-tʉ̲	tʉpʉychi̲	ʻava-ʻna̲-tʉ	tʉpʉychi
			many-??-NOM/SU	rock/SU	many-???-NOM/O	rock/O
			'many rocks'		'many rocks'	
	b.	**animate**:	ʻava-ʻna̲-tʉ-mʉ̲	tuachi-u	ʻava-ʻna̲-tʉ-mʉ	tuachi-u
			many-??-NOM-PL/SU	child-PL	many-??-NOM-PL/O	child-PL
			'many children'		'many children'	

The same quantifier can be used for mass nouns with the meaning of 'much' or 'lots of', as in:

(19)	a.	ʻavaʻna̲-tʉ̲	páa	ʻura-pʉga
		much-NOM/SU	water/SU	be-REM
		'there was a lot of water'		
	b.	ʻavaʻna̲-tʉ	tʉkuavi	tʉka-qha
		much-NOM/O	meat/O	eat-ANT
		'(s/he) ate lots of meat'		

5. The suffix *-ʻna-* appears as a second element in many compound verb stems and can `probably be reconstructed to a verb stem *-naʻa-*, albeit with no obvious meaning.

The quantifier 'few' is derived as the negative of 'many' (18), as in:

(20)

		subject	object
a.	**inanimate**:	ka-'ava-'na-wa-tʉ	ka-'ava-'na-wa-tʉ
		NEG-many-??-NEG-NOM/SU	NEG-many-??-NEG-NOM/O
b.	**animate**:	ka-'ava-'na-wa-tʉ-mʉ	ka-'ava-'na-wa-tʉ-mʉ
		NEG-many-??-NEG-NOM-AN/SU	NEG-many-??-NEG-NOM-AN/O

The mass quantifier 'little', 'not much' is likewise derived as the negative version of 'much' (19), as in:

(21)

a.	ka-'ava-'na-tʉ	páa	'little water'
	NEG-many-??-NOM/SU	water/SU	
b.	ka-'ava-'na-tʉ	kʉmʉy	'little corn'
	NEG-many-??-NOM/SU	corn	

The quantifier 'all' is based on the stem *manu-*, with subject/object and animate/inanimate distinctions that use some of the suffixes seen in numerals (17).[6] Thus consider:

(22)

		subject	object
a.	**inanimate**:	manu-khu-tʉ-sʉ tʉpʉychi	manu-khu-tʉ tʉpʉchi
		all-O-NOM-CONJ/SU rock/SU	all-O-NOM/O rock/O
		'all the rocks'	'all the rocks'
b.	**animate**:	manu-ni máamachi-u	manu-khu-tʉ-mʉ máamachi-u
		all-SU women-PL	all-O-NOM-PL/O women-PL
		'all the women'	'all the women'

The quantifier 'some' is constructed on the verbal/modal stem *náagha-*, and displays the animate/inanimate and subject/object distinctions, as in:

(23)

		subject	object
a.	**inanimate**:	náagha-tʉ tʉpʉychi	náagha-tʉ tʉpʉychi
		some-NOM/SU rock/SU	some-NOM/O rock/O
		'some rocks'	'some rocks'
b.	**animate**:	náagha-tʉ-mʉ 'áapachi-u	náagha-tʉ-mʉ 'áapachi-u
		some-NOM-PL/SU boy-PL	some-NOM-PL/O boy-PL
		'some boys'	'some boys'

Lastly, the dual quantifier 'both' is constructed on the root *nawa-* 'half ', 'divide', with distinct subject and object forms:

6. We have already noted (ch. 5) the relic object suffixes *-ku* and *-a*.

(24) **subject** **object**

nawa-sʉ	mamachi-u	nawa-ku-sʉ	mamachi-u
both-CONJ/SU	women-PL	both-O-CONJ	woman-PL
'both women'		'both women'	

8.3.4 Partitive constructions

The partitive construction in Ute is based on an old possessive/genitive construction, often with the suffix *-a*. It may yield quantifier meanings such as 'part of', 'one of' or 'some of'. Example (25) below, taken from a traditional narrative, illustrates its use:[7]

(25) …kh-'ura **'umʉ-tʉ**-sʉ-'uru 'umʉ-'ura
then-be **3P/O-NOM/GEN**-CONJ-that those-be

múupuvwi'aachi-u chichi'ni-pʉga…
maggot-PL scoop.out-REM

'…so then one of them scooped out those maggots…'

The partitive construction is not frequently encountered in natural text, and its form is not always predictable. Most commonly, it is marked with some possessive/genitive morpheme, then the subject nominalizing suffix *-tʉ*, then, if relevant, the animate-plural suffix *-mʉ*. Thus consider:

(26) a. **Inanimate-subject**: tʉka'napʉ-a-tʉ yáqhi-kya
table-GEN-NOM/SU break-ANT
'part of the table broke'

b. **Inanimate-object**: tʉka'napʉ-a-tʉ yáqhi-ti-kya
table-GEN-NOM/O break-CAUS-ANT
'(s/he) broke part of the table'

c. **Inanimate-subject**: 'uru-a-tʉ yáqhi-kya
that-GEN-NOM/SU break-ANT
'some of it broke'

d. **Inanimate-object**: 'uru-a-tʉ yáqhi-ti-kya
that-GEN-NOM/O break-CAUS-ANT
'(s/he) broke some of it'

e. **Animate-PL-subject**: máamachi-u-a-tʉ-mʉ wʉ́ʉka-qha
women-PL-GEN-NOM-PL/SU work-ANT
'some of the women worked'

7. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie C. Cloud.

f. **Animate-PL-object**: máamạchi-u-a-tʉ-mʉ pʉnikya-qha
women-PL-GEN-NOM-PM/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw some of the women'

g. **Animate-PL-subject**: 'umʉ-a-tʉ-mʉ́ẉúka-qha
3P-GEN-NOM-PL/SU work-ANT
'some of them worked'

h. **Animate-PL-object**: 'umʉ-a-tʉ-mʉ pʉnikya-qha
3P-GEN-NOM-PM/O see-ANT
'(s/he) saw some of them'

The modifier 'another' (sg.) or 'some others' (pl.) seem to follow the same morphological pattern. It may be used by itself as a pronoun, whether definite or indefinite, with the now familiar inanimate/animate and subject/object distinctions. Thus consider:

(27)

	subject	**object**
inanimate:	súu-va-tʉ-ni one-LOC-NOM-SU 'another one', 'the other one'	súu-va-tʉ̱-aa-ni one-LOC-NOM-GEN-SU 'another one', 'the other one'
animate-SG:	súw-iini one-SU 'another one', 'the other one'	súu-ku(n)ani one-O 'another one', 'the other one'
animate-PL:	súu-va-tʉ-mʉ-ni one-LOC-NOM-PL-SU '(the) others'	súu-va-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni one-LOC-NOM-PL-GEN-?? '(the) others'

There is an alternative partitive construction, one that can modify only inanimate head nouns, where the genitive suffix *-a* is replaced by *-ma*. Thus consider:

(28)

	base noun	**partitive as subject**	**partitive as object**	**possessed partitive**
a.	tʉkuavi̱ 'meat'	tʉkuavi-ma-tʉ̱ meat-PART-NOM/SU 'part of the meat'	tʉkuavi-ma-tʉ meat-PART-NOM/O 'part of the meat'	tʉkuavi-ma-tʉ̱-'u meant-PART-3S 'part of its flesh'
b.	núuavi̱ 'body'	núua-ma-tʉ̱ body-PART-NOM/SU 'part of the body'	núua-ma-tʉ body-PART-NOM/O 'part of the body'	núua-ma-tʉ-n body-PART-NOM-1S 'part of my body'
c.	páa 'water'	páa-ma-tʉ̱ water-PART-NOM/SU 'part of the water'	páa-ma-tʉ water-PART-NOM/O 'part of the water'	páa-ma-tʉ̱-aqh water-PART-NOM-its 'part of its water'
d.	tʉka'napʉ̱ 'table'	tʉka'napʉ-ma-tʉ̱ table-PART-NOM/SU 'part of the table'	tʉka'napʉ-ma-tʉ table-PART-NOM/O 'part of the table'	tʉka'napʉ-ma-tʉ̱-'u table-PART-NOM-3S 'part of his/her table'

Finally, partitive expressions in this pattern may also be constructed on deictic particles, following an inanimate pattern, as in:

(29)		**subject**	**object**	**gloss**
a.	**near**:	'i-ma-tʉ	'i-ma-tʉ	'part of this one'
b.	**visible**:	ma-ma-tʉ	ma-ma-tʉ	'part of that one' (vis.)
c.	**invisible**:	'u-ma-tʉ	'u-ma-tʉ	'part of that one' (invis.)

8.4 Possessive modifiers

Possessive modifiers, unless they are suffixed pronouns, always precede the noun. The form of the possessive noun is identical to that of the object form. Thus consider:

(30) a. mamachi kani 'the woman's house'
woman/GEN house/SU

b. ta'wachi tʉka'napʉ 'the man's table'
man/GEN table/SU

c. tʉka'napʉ yu'uavi 'the table's leg'
table/GEN leg/SU

Independent possessive pronouns also precede the head nouns, as in:

(31) a. 'uwayas kani 'his/her house'
3S/GEN house/SU

b. nʉmʉy tʉka'napʉ 'our table'
1P/GEN table/SU

c. 'uru-as yu'ua-vi 'its leg'
it-GEN leg/SU

In natural discourse, a possessive construction may be more complex. As an illustration of this, consider:[8]

(32) …**'umʉy** tuachi-u-av kʉra-y-**amʉ** ci-chikʉra-pʉga-sʉ…
3P/GEN child-PL-OWN throat-O-**3P** RED-cut-REM-CONJ
'…their own children, they cut their throat…'

8. From an oral narrative, exact citation unidentified.

8.5 Noun compounds

The pattern of noun compounding in Ute is similar, within bounds, to that of English and German. This pattern developed historically from the modification of head nouns by other nouns, with the modifier marked as the possessor (genitive), as in (32) above. In compounds, the modifier noun loses its inherent noun suffix and become incorporated, as prefix, into the head noun. Thus:

(33)

modifying noun	**modified noun**	**compound**
núu-chi̲ 'Indian'	káni̲ 'dwelling'	núu-gani̲ 'tipi'
kúchu̲ 'buffalo'	púku̲ 'domestic animal'	kuchu-puku̲ 'cow'
kava 'horse'	kumaa-vi̲ 'male'	kava-gumaa-vi̲ 'stallion'
múusa-chi̲ 'cat'	túku̲ 'cougar'	múusa-tu̲kwi-chi̲ 'bobcat'
'ava- 'shade'	káni̲ 'dwelling'	'ava-ghani̲ 'shade-house'
mama-chi̲ 'woman'	saghoy-vʉ̲ 'belly'	mama-saghoy-vʉ-chi̲ 'little old lady'
pá 'water'	'áapa-chi̲ 'boy'	pá-'áapachi̲ 'water-boy'
sari-chi̲ 'dog'	púku̲ 'domestic animal'	sarí-vuku-n 'my personal dog'
yua-vʉ̲ 'highlands'	qháarʉ-chi̲ 'hen'	yua-qhaarʉ-chi̲ 'sage-hen'

This incorporation pattern is not all that different from the one seen above for adjectives and numerals.

8.6 Nominalized clauses as noun phrases

8.6.1 Preliminaries: Finiteness and nominalization

As noted earlier (ch. 5), nominalization is a pervasive fact of Ute grammar, where most non-main clauses are, at least historically, nominalized.[9] In several subsequent chapters, we will deal with nominalized verb complements (ch. 9), passive clauses (ch. 10, 11), relative clauses (ch. 12), focus constructions (ch. 13) and adverbial clauses (ch. 17). At this point, we will give a brief introduction to the topic of clausal nominalization, concentrating on nominalized clauses that occupy the position of the subject or object NP within other clauses. Such **embedding** of clauses into other clauses is a major source of syntactic complexity in human language.[10]

Nominalization may be defined roughly as follows:

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9. For an extensive discussion of clause nominalization, see Givón (2009, chs 4, 5).

10. Ibid.

(34) **Nominalization as a syntactic process**:
"Nominalization is the process via which a finite **verbal clause** – either in its entirety or only as a subject-less **verb phrase** – is converted into a **noun phrase**".

A verbal clause is nominalized most commonly when it occupies a prototypical nominal position – subject, direct object, indirect object or nominal predicate – within another clause. The syntactic structure of NPs that arises through nominalization reflects, in part, the structure of their precursor finite clauses, and in part the **structural adjustments** that come with nominalization.

Within a nominalized NP, the erstwhile verb assumes the syntactic role of **head noun**, while other clausal constituents – subjects, objects, verbal complements or adverbs – assume the roles of various **modifiers**. Nominalization is thus best described as a syntactic adjustment from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype. The major components of such adjustment, at the most elaborate end, are:

(35) **Structural adjustment from the prototype finite verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase**:

a. The verb becomes a head noun.
b. The verb acquires nominal morphology.
c. The verb loses tense-aspect-modal marking.
d. The verb loses pronominal agreement marking.
e. The subject and/or object assume genitive case-marking.
f. Determiners may be added.
g. Adverbs are turned into adjectives.

A simple example will illustrate the pattern emerging out of (35), contrasting the finite clause in (36a) below with its nominalized version in (36b):

(36) a. **Finite verbal clause**:
She **knew** mathematics extensively.

b. **Non-finite nominalized NP**:
Her extensive **knowledge** of mathematics

It is not an accident that finiteness has been treated traditionally as a property of the verb rather than of the clause, since four of its seven salient structural features – (35a,b,c,d) – pertain to the verb. But the rest (35e,f,g) pertain to other constituents of the clause. Finiteness is thus, in principle, an aggregate grammatical property of clauses. Its converse, non-finiteness, is an aggregate grammatical feature of NPs that have been derived from verbal clauses via nominalization.

The traditional approach to finiteness also treats it as a discrete either-or property. But since the finite prototype (or its non-finite converse) is an aggregate of several

features, finiteness is at least in principle a matter of degree. An illustration of this gradation may be shown in the English example in (37) below:

(37) **Scalarity of finiteness**:

least finite

a. Her good **knowledge** of math (helped a lot)
b. Her **knowing** math well (helped)
c. **For** her **to know** math so well (surely helped)
d. She wanted **to know** math well.
e. **Having known** math well since highschool, she…
f. **Knowing** math as well as she did, she…
g. He wished was that she **would know** math better.
h. Had she studied harder, she **would have known** math better.
I. She knew math well.

most finite

8.6.2 Nominalized clauses in Ute

Of the seven universal syntactic adjustments (35) that may be found in nominalized clauses, the three most relevant to Ute are:

- genitive case-marking on the subject
- nominal suffix on the verb
- object case-marking on the entire clause

Thus, compare the finite clause (38a) with its various nominalized counterparts:

(38) a. **Finite clause**:

taˈwachi̲ yoghovʉchi paqha-qa-ˈu
man/SU coyote/O kill-ANT-him
'The man killed the coyote'

b. **Nominalized clause as subject of another clause**:

[taˈwach-**i** yoghovʉchi paqha-qa-**na̲**] ka-ˈay-wa-tʉ̲ ˈura-ˈay
man-**GEN** coyote/O kill-ANT-**NOM/SU** NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-IMM
'That the man killed the coyote is bad'
(Lit.: '[The man's killing (of) the coyote] is bad')

c. **Nominalized clause as object of a perception verb**:

mamachi̲ pʉnikya-pʉga [taˈwach-**i** yoghovʉchi pakha-qha-**na**]-**y**
woman/SU see-REM [man-**GEN** coyote/O kill-ANT-**NOM**]-**O**
'The woman saw that [the man had killed the coyote]'
(Lt.: 'The woman saw [the man's killing (of) the coyote]')

d. **Object REL-clause**:

yoghovʉchi [taˈwach-**i** pakha-pʉga-**na**]…
coyote/SU [man-**GEN** kill-REM-**NOM**]/**S**]
'the coyote [that the man killed]…'
(Lit.: 'The coyote [of the man's killing]…')

e. **Subject REL-clause**:

taˈwachi [yoghovʉchi pakha-qa-**tʉ**]…
man/SU [coyote/O kill-ANT-**NOM**]/**S**
'The man [who killed the coyote]…'
(Lit.: The [coyote-killer] man…)

f. **Complement of modality verb**:

naˈacichi [yoghovʉchi pakha-vaa-**chi**] ˈásti'i-pʉgay-ˈu
girl/SU [coyote/O kill-IRR-**NOM**] want-REM-she
'The girl wanted [to kill the coyote]'
(Lit.: 'The girl wanted [coyote-killing]')

g. **Complement of manipulation verb**:

mamachi naˈacichi [yoghovʉchi pakha-vaa-**ku**] máy-pʉga
woman/SU girl/O [coyote/O kill-IRR-**NOM**] tell-REM
'The woman told the girl [to kill the coyote]'
(Lit.: 'the woman told the girl [coyote-killing])

h. **Adverbial clause**:

taˈwach-**i** yoghovʉchi paqha-qhay-**ku**,…
man-**GEN** coyote/O kill-ANT-**NOM**
'When [the man killed the coyote],…'
(Lit.: '(upon) [the man's killing of the coyote],…)

Of the examples seen above, (38b,c,d,h) have all the trimmings of a fully nominalized clause inserted in a subject or object position inside another clause. There are, of course, some signs that some of the historically-nominalized clauses in Ute have been slowly reverting to finite structure. The most conspicuous one is that many of them already carry finite tense-aspect-modality marking.[11]

8.7 Noun-phrase conjunction

One of the mechanisms that creates larger noun phrases without involving modifiers, thus without involving the asymmetrical head-modifier relation, is **noun-phrase**

11. For a discussion of the re-finitization of Ute nominalized clauses, see Givón (1994).

conjunction. Putting two noun-phrases, often just two nouns, in a conjunction involves a relatively symmetrical configuration, presumably answering to the two logical rules:

(39) **Logic of noun-phrase conjunction**:

a. **Ordering reversibility**:
If 'John and Mary left' is true, then 'Mary and John left' is also true.

b. **Implication of two propositions**:
If 'John and Mary left' is true, then both 'John left' and 'Mary left' are also true.

While rule (39a,b) seems valid in the sphere of abstract logic, natural language shows systematic exceptions to both, exceptions that will not concern us here.[12]

Noun-phrase conjunction in Ute is historically derived from associative noun phrases marked with the suffix *-wa* 'with'. Thus, compare the two constructions, in both of which the suffix follows the second – associative or conjoined – NP:

(40) a. **Subject's associates**:

mamachi̱ **'u** **'**áapachi-**wa** **'**uway ta**'**awachi-**wa** **'**uway wúuka-y
woman/SU the/SU boy/O-**with** the/O man/O-**with** the-/O work-IMM
'the woman **is** working **with** the boy and **with** the man'
(> the woman is working, the boy is working, the man is working)

b. **Conjoined subjects**:

mamachi̱ **'u** **'**áapachi-**wa** **'u** ta**'**awachi-**wa** **'u** wúuka-**qha**-y
woman/SU the/SU boy-**and** the/SU man-**and** the-SU work-**PL**-IMM
'the woman, the boy **and** the man **are** working'
(> the woman is working, the boy is working, the man is working)

The associative expression in (40a) and the NP conjunction in (40b) share much of their logical implications, but not their full meanings. The distinction between them is subtle, a fact that contributed to the diachronic extension from the asymmetric associative structure to the more symmetric conjunction.[13] The grammatical distinction between the two constructions is two-fold: First, the conjoined subject NP in (40b) requires plural agreement on the verb, while the subject of (40a) is singular – 'the woman'. And second, the definite articles marking the conjoined subjects in (40a) are subject-marked, contrasting with the object-marked definite articles for the associative NPs in (40a).[14]

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12. For discussion of the systematic exceptions to these rules of logic, see Givón (2001, ch. 11).

13. For an extensive discussion of the associative source of noun-phrase conjunctions see Heine (2009).

14. The distinction cannot be made on the noun itself, since the presence of a suffix always resurrects the final vowel, resulting in a seeming object form of the noun.

Direct object nouns can also be conjoined, though here it is not clear that one could make a formal distinction between the object's associate and conjoined objects, both of which can control the ambiguous plural suffix pronoun:

(41) mamachi̲ **'**áapachi ta**'**wachi-**wa** pʉnikya-pʉga-**amʉ̲**
woman/SU boy/O man/O-**with/and** see-REM-**3P**
'the woman saw the boy **with** the man'
'the woman saw the boy **and** the man'

There are, I suspect, possible complications when the associate or conjoined subject NPs contain word-size modifiers that can be case marked for the subject or object role. Thus compare the hypothetical examples:

(42) a. **Subject's associates**:
mamachi̲ wáy-**ku** **'**áapachi-u-**wa,** páy-**ku** táata**'**wachi-u-**wa** wúʉka-y
woman/SU two-**O** boy/-PL-**with** three-**O** men-PL-**with** work-IMM
'the woman **is** working **with** two boys and (with) three men'

b. **Conjoined subjects**:
mamachi̲ wáy-**ini** **'**áapachi-u-**wa** páy-**ini**
woman/SU two-**SU** boy/-PL-**and** three-**SU**

táata**'**wachi-u-**wa** wúʉka-**qha**-y
men-PL-**and** work-**PL**-IMM

'the woman, two boys **and** three men **are** working"

At the moment it is not clear whether (42b) is a valid example.

8.8 Diachronic notes

All word-size modifiers in Ute appear to have been constructed on the model of nouns or nominalizations. All can be used as pronouns. In addition to nominal suffixes, their morphology bears witness to old layers of Ute nominal structure, particularly to the old genitive/object suffix *-a*, the old object suffix *-ku*, and a subject-marking suffix *-(i)ni*. The first two suffixes are old relic features that have largely been cleaned out of the synchronic nominal paradigm (ch. 5). The suffix *-(i)ni* may be a restricted innovation in the domain of numerals and quantifiers, whose precise history is yet to be discovered.

Word order – both fixed and variable – in Ute noun phrases is also of some interest. Four modifier types – demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and genitive nouns – reveal a variation between a free, restrictive form and a bound, incorporated

non-restrictive form. In the case of numerals and genitive nouns, the bound (incorporated) form occupies the same pre-nominal position vis-a-vis the head noun as the free-word form, probably the default situation.

In the case of demonstratives and adjectives, the position of the bound form vis-a-vis the head noun is the opposite of that of the free-word form. What is more, the two word-order variants are mirror-images of each other: Free-word demonstratives are pre-nominal modifiers, while their derivative bound definite articles are post-nominal clitics. In contrast, free-word restrictive adjectives are post-nominal, while bound, non-restrictive adjectival stems incorporate as pre-nominal prefixes. While the diachrony of both is yet to be understood, one suspects that pragmatically-sensitive flexible word order was involved in both developments before cliticization.

CHAPTER 9

Verbal complements

9.1 Orientation

Earlier on (ch. 4), we made a preliminary survey of the types of verbs that take verbal (clausal) complements. Such verbs tend to be, either synchronically or historically, **transitive verbs** that also take nominal objects. This is a universal observation,[1] but it is even more striking in a language like Ute, where complement clauses – like all other subordinate clauses – are **nominalized**. In this chapter we will recapitulate some of the earlier discussion, focusing here more explicitly on the structure of the complement clauses themselves.

Clauses that include verbal complements are to some extent complex in all languages, but both their diachrony and typology reveal considerable cross-language variation. Ute belongs to a distinct type, one where verbal complements are assembled historically by analogy with nominal objects. The consequence of such an analogy is nominalization.[2] While the various sub-types of verbal complements are distinct both semantically and syntactically, the general theme of nominalization persists throughout.

9.2 Modal-aspectual verbs

Semantically, this group includes verbs that convey **modal** meanings such as volition, refusal, planning, ability, attempt, avoidance, success or failure to perform the action coded in the complement clause. It also includes verbs that convey **aspectual** meanings such as beginning, ending or continuing to perform the action. The group as a whole may be further divided into three semantic sub-types. **Implicative** verbs, such as 'succeed', 'finish', 'stop', 'continue' or 'start', imply that the event coded in the complement

1. See Dixon (1991), Givón (2001, ch. 3).

2. For an extensive discussion, see Givón (2009, chs 4,5).

clause has indeed occurred. That is, the truth of the main clause implies the truth of the complement clause:

(1) Given the assertion 'She **finished** eating',
if 'She finished' is true, then 'She ate' is also true.

NEG-implicative verbs, such as 'fail', 'avoid', 'refuse' or 'decline', imply that the event coded in the complement clause did *not* occur. That is, the truth of the main clause implies the falsity of the complement clause:

(2) Given the assertion 'She f**ailed** to arrive',
if 'She failed' is true, then 'She arrived' is false.

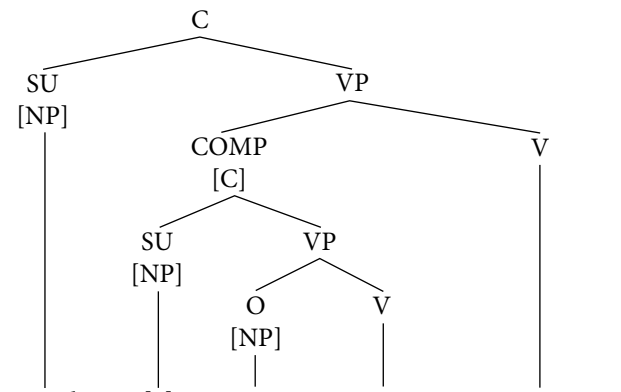
Finally, **Non-implicative** verbs, such as 'want', 'be able', 'try' or 'plan', imply neither occurrence nor non-occurrence of the complement-clause event:

(3) Given the assertion 'She **wanted** to eat', if 'She wanted' is true,
neither 'She ate' nor 'She didn't eat' is implied.

Syntactically, the verbs in this group as a whole are characterized by an **equi-subject** constraint, whereby the subject of the complement clause is co-referent to the subject of the main clause, and therefore is **zero-marked**.

Implicative and non-implicative modal-aspectual verbs in Ute have different syntactic structures. Non-implicative verbs, first, show a separate, nominalized, non-finite complement clause, with the complement verb marked by the irrealis suffix *-vaa* followed by the nominal suffix *-chi̱*, as in:

(4)



'the boy wants to drink water'

When the subject is plural, *both* main and complement verbs must show plural agreement with the suffix *-ka*. In addition, the nominalized complement verb must also take the nominal plural suffix *-mʉ̲*. That is:[3]

(5) 'áa'a̲pachi-u páa-y 'ivi-**kya**-paa-chi-**mʉ̲** 'ásti-kya-y
boys/SU-PL water-O drink-**PL**-IRR-NOM-**PL** want-PL-IMM
'the children want to drink water'

This double pluralization is characteristic of nominalized verbs, as in, e.g. another non-implicative modal verb, 'can', here in its negative form:

(6) a. tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-chi̲ ka-sa̲pigya-wa
meat/O eat-IRR-NOM NEG-can-NEG/IMM
'(s/he) can't eat meat'

b. tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha**-paa-chi-**mʉ̲** ka-sa̲pigya-**qha**-wa
meat/O eat-**PL**-IRR-NOM-**PL** NEG-can-**PL**-NEG/IMM
'(they) can't eat meat'

The syntactic structure of implicative verbs and their complements is strikingly different, showing **co-lexicalization** of the main and complement verbs into a single complex verbal word.[4] In such a word, the main verb has become a grammatical suffix on the complement verb.[5] And when the subject is plural, a single plural suffix is used, following the complex verbal stem. This condensation of the main and complement clause may be called **clause union**, and the combined clause now has fully finite structure, as in:

(7) a. tʉkapi 'ini-**maku**-pʉga
food/O make-**finish**-REM
'(s/he) finished making food'

b. tʉkapi 'ini-**maku**-**kwa̲**-pʉga
food/O make-**finish**-**PL**-REM
'(they) finished making food'

3. This is part of the evidence that the complement clause is nominalized.

4. An old term for such co-lexicalization is 'predicate raising'.

5. See discussion of the inceptive and terminative aspects in ch. 6.

The verb 'start' is even more grammaticalized, rejecting many tense-aspect suffixes as well as the verbal plural suffix, and may thus be considered an 'inceptive' aspectual suffix. The plural suffix now must follow the complement verb-stem. Thus compare:

(8) a. tʉkapi 'ini-**kucha**
food/o make-**start**
'(s/he) is starting to prepare food'

b. tʉkapi 'ini-**kya**-**ucha**
food/o make-**PL**-**start**
'(they) are starting to preparing food'

9.3 Manipulation verbs

9.3.1 Non-implicative manipulation verbs

Semantically, manipulation verbs convey complex events in which the agent of the main verb manipulates another agent to perform the action coded in the complement clause. A co-reference condition holds here too, whereby the object (manipulee) of the main clause is also the subject of the complement clause. Verbs in this class are further divided into the same three semantic sub-groups as modal-aspectual verbs. **Implicative** verbs such as 'cause', 'force' or 'make' imply that the event coded in the complement clause did occur. That is:

(9) Given the assertion 'He made the boy eat',
if 'He made the boy…' is true, then 'The boy ate' is also true.

NEG-implicative verbs, such as 'prevent' or 'block', imply that the event coded in the complement clause did *not* occur. That is:

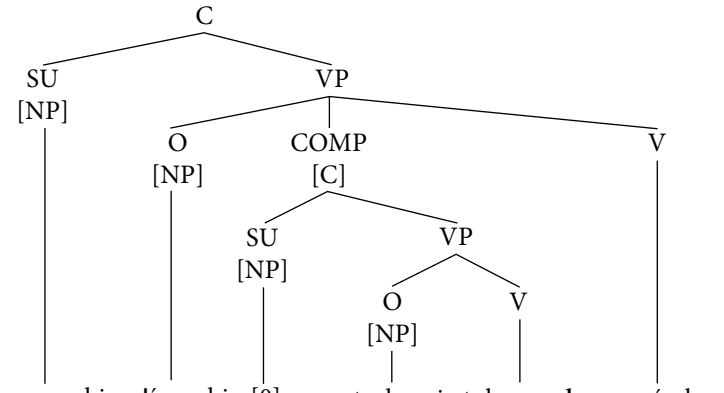
(10) Given the assertion 'She **prevented** the boy from leaving',
if 'She prevented the boy…' is true, then 'The boy left' is false.

Finally, **Non-implicative** verbs, such as 'tell', 'order' or 'want', imply neither the occurrence nor non-occurrence of the event coded in their complement. That is:

(11) Given the assertion 'He **told** the boy to eat', if 'He told the boy…' is true,
neither 'The boy ate' nor 'The boy didn't eat' is implied.

Syntactically, the group as a whole shows the familiar **zero-marking** of the co-referent subject in the complement clause. As in modal-aspectual verbs, further, the syntax of implicative verbs differs markedly from that of non-implicative verbs, and along the same dimension – presence vs. absence of co-lexicalization and clause union, respectively. Let us consider first the complementation structure of non-implicative verbs such as 'tell':

(12)



'the woman told the boy to eat the meat'

As in the case of the complements of non-implicative modal-aspectual verbs, the complement clause is separate and less finite, with the irrealis suffix *-vaa-* marking its verb, followed by the nominal subordinator *-ku*. The latter, however, was not originally a noun suffix,[6] a suggestion supported by the fact that when the manipulee-object is plural, the nominal plural suffix -mʉ is *not* used here:

(13) 'áa'apachi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha**-paa-**ku** may-kya
boys-PL meat/O eat-**PL**-IRR-**NOM** tell-ANT
'(s/he) told the boys to eat the meat'

The non-implicative verb 'want' follows the same syntactic pattern:

(14) a. 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-**vaa-ku** 'ásti-kya
boy/O meat/O eat-**IRR-COMP** want-ANT
'(s/he) wanted the boy to eat the meat'

b. 'áa'apachi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha**-paa-**ku** 'ásti-kya
boys-PL meat/O eat-**PL**-IRR-**COMP** want-ANT
'(s/he) wanted the boys to eat the meat'

While verbal complements, like other subordinate clauses, are not common in spontaneous discourse, one can find them on occasion, especially in direct-quoted material, as in:[7]

(15) …súwiini-'ura 'áy-pʉga: "kachi-n 'ásti-wa máa-y 'uni-'a-**vaa-ku"**…
one-be say-REM NEG-1S want-NEG/IMM that-O do/go-??-**IRR-COMP**
'…then one (of them) **said**: "I don't want that one to do/go (come with us)"…'

---

6. As noted earlier (ch. 5), the suffix *-ku* may have been an older object suffix, in both Ute and Uto-Aztecan, and is thus historically not a noun suffix.

7. "Sinawav and the seven sisters", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

A variant pattern of complements of non-implicative verbs is found with the verb 'do' in combination with the causative suffix *-ti* (see below), a combination that yields the non-implicative sense of 'show how to'. The form of the complement clause here may be considered finite, since the finite future marking is used. Thus consider:

(16) a. **'**áapachi púupa pə**'**ə-**vaa-ni** **'**uni-ti-kya
boy/O manner write-**IRR-FUT** do-CAUS-ANT
'(s/he) showed the child how to write'
'(s/he) showed the child how s/he could write'

b. na**'**achichi̲ **'**áa**'**a̲pachi-u púupa pə**'**ə-qwa-**vaa-ni** **'**uni-ti-kya
girl/S-PL boys-PL manner write-PL-**IRR-FUT** do-CAUS-ANT
'the girl showed the boys how to write'
'the girl showed the boys how they could write'

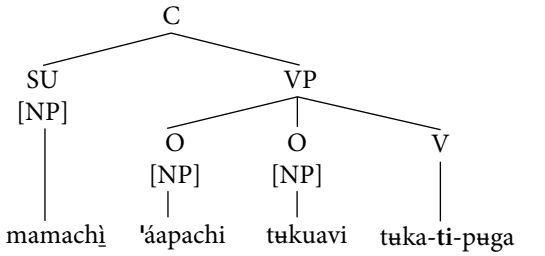
The systematic use of zero anaphora in Ute discourse makes the finite interpretations of (16a,b) entirely plausible.

9.3.2 Implicative verbs and the causative construction

9.3.2.1 Introduction

As in the case of implicative modal-aspectual verbs, implicative manipulation verbs, chiefly 'cause', exhibit **co-lexicalization** of the two verbs into a complex single verb, and thus also full **clause union**. In such a construction, the implicative verb *-ti* 'cause', 'make' becomes a causative suffix on the complement verb. The complex verb is now a transitive verb, and the complex clause is syntactically a single clause, where the object-manipulee is marked as a direct object, has direct-object properties,[8] and appears before other objects, if present. Thus consider:

(17)



'the woman made the boy eat the meat'.

8. Syntactic tests showing the direct-object status of the manipulee-object involve behavior-and-control properties that only reveal themselves through interaction with other complex syntactic constructions, such as e.g. the passive or reflexive (ch. 10).

When the manipulee-object is plural, the complement verb is not marked with the plural suffix *-ka*, another indication that the two verbs have fused. Verb pluralization can only pertain to the subject of the manipulation (main) verb, and the plural suffix follows the causative suffix *-ti*:

(18) a. mamachi 'áa'apachi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-**ti**-pʉga
woman/SU boy-PL meat/O eat-**CAUSE**-REM
'the woman made the boys eat the meat.'

b. *mamachi 'áa'apachi-u tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha**-**ti**-pʉga
woman/SU boy-PL meat/O eat-**PL**-CAUSE-REM

c. máamachi-u 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-**ti**-**kya**-pʉga
women/SU-PL boy/O meat/O eat-**CAUSE**-**PL**-REM
'the women made the boy eat the meat.'

9.3.2.2 Verb classes and case-marking

Causativization with the suffix *-ti* is a productive process in Ute and can apply, at least in principle, to all verb classes. It may also be considered a **lexical derivation** process that creates new verbs with increased transitivity. When applied to an intransitive verb, causativization yields a simple transitive verb, as in:

(19) a. na'achichi wʉ́ʉka-qha
girl/SU work-ANT
'the girl worked'

b. mamachi na'achichi wʉ́ʉka-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O work-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girl work'

An intransitive verb with an indirect object may be converted into a bi-transitive verb with direct and indirect object, as in:

(20) a. na'achichi kani-naagha-tukhwa yʉga-qha
girl/SU house/O-in-to enter-ANT
'the girl entered into the house'

b. mamachi na'achichi kani-naagha-tukhwa yʉga-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O house/O-in-to enter-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girl enter the house'

c. na'achihi 'áapachi-vaa-chʉ 'apagha-qa
girl/SU boy/O-LOC-DIR talk-ANT
'the girl talked about the boy'

d. mamachi na'achichi 'áapachi-vaa-chʉ 'apagha-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O boy-LOC-DIR talk-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girl talk about the boy'

Simple transitive verbs may be converted into bi-transitive verbs with two objects:

(21) a. 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha
boy/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'the boy ate the meat'

b. mamachi 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-**ti**-kya
woman/SU boy/O meat/O eat-**CAUSE**-ANT
'the woman made the boy eat the meat.'

In such causative constructions, the manipulee object of 'cause' is the **direct object**. If both objects are human and thus capable of agent status, only the first one can be interpreted as the manipulee of 'cause'. Thus, neither (22a) nor (22b) below is ambiguous::

(22) a. mamachi 'áapachi na'achichi magha-**ti**-kya
woman/SU boy/O girl/O feed-**CAUSE**-ANT
'the woman made **the boy** feed the girl'

b. mamachi na'achichi 'áapachi magha-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O boy/O feed-**CAUSE**-ANT
'the woman made **the girl** feed the boy'

Complement-taking verbs can also undergo causativization. Thus, for modal-aspectual verbs:

(23) a. 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-chi 'ásti-kya
boy/SU meat/O eat-IRR-NOM want-ANT
'the boy wanted to eat the meat'

b. mamachi 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-chi 'ásti-**ti**-kya
woman/SU boy/O meat/O eat-IRR-NOM want-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman motivated the boy to eat the meat'

c. na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-chi sapigya-y
girl/SU meat/O eat-IRR-NOM can-IMM
'the girl can eat the meat'

d. mamachi na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-chi sapigya-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O meat/O eat-IRR-NOM can-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman enabled the girl to eat the meat'

Non-implicative manipulation verbs can, at least in principle, be causativized, although the ensuing syntactic complexity may render such construction problematic.[9] If the complement verb is intransitive, causativization is more acceptable

9. See discussion of syntactic constraints on causativization directly below.

though probably marginal. But with a transitive complement verb, causativization is unlikely. Thus compare:

(24) a. na'achichi̲ 'áapachi wúʉka-vaa-ku máy-kya
girl/SU boy/O work-IRR-COMP tell-ANT
'the girl told the boy to **work**'

b. ?mamachi̲ na'achichi 'áapachi wúʉka-vaa-ku may-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O boy/O work-IRR-COMP tell-**CAUS**-ANT
'the woman made the girl tell the boy to work'

c. na'achichi̲ 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-ku máy-kya
girl/SU boy/O meat/O eat-IRR-COMP tell-ANT
'the girl told the boy to eat the meat'

d. *mamachi̲ na'achichi 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-vaa-ku may-**ti**-kya
woman/SU girl/O boy/O meat/O eat-IRR-COMP say-**CAUS**-ANT
('the woman made the girl tell the boy to eat the meat')

Such restrictions can be attributed to excess syntactic complexity, where four arguments are piled up in front of the complex verb, two of them human (see Sec. 9.3.2.3. below).

Lastly, clauses with complement-taking perception-cognition-utterance verbs (see below) can also be causativized, yielding **information-transfer** verbs, as in:

(25) a. 'áapachi̲ pu̲chuchugwa-y na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-na-y
boy/SU know-IMM girl/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O
'the boy knows that the girl ate the meat'

b. mamachi̲ 'áapachi pu̲chuchugwa-**ti**-kya na'achichi
woman/SU boy/O know-**CAUS**-ANT girl/GEN

tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-na-y
meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O

'the woman **informed** the boy that the girl hate the meat'

c. 'áapachi̲ pʉnikya-qha na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-na-y
boy/SU see/ANT girl/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O
'the boy saw that the girl ate the meat'

d. mamachi̲ 'áapachi pʉni-**ti**-kya na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-na-y
woman/SU boy/O see-**CAUS**-ANT girl/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O
'the woman **showed** the boy that the girl ate the meat'

What makes the complexity of (24b,d) acceptable is the fact that complements of perception-cognition-utterance verbs most commonly don't precede the verb with the

rest of the nominal arguments, but rather follow. A reversal of this order would make the causative construction problematic:

(26) a. 'áapachi̲ na'achichi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-na-y pu̲chuchugwa-y
boy/SU girl/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O know-IMM
'the boy knew that the girl ate the meat'

b. *mamachi̲ 'áapachi na'achichi tʉkuavi
woman/SU boy/O girl/GEN meat/O
tʉka-qha-na-y pu̲chuchugwa-**ti**-kya
eat-ANT-NOM-O know-**CAUS**-ANT
('the woman informed the boy that the girl had eaten the meat')

9.3.2.3 Syntactic constraints on causativization

As is to be expected, there are upper limits on increased syntactic complexity produced by causativization, with the limit apparently drawn at three participants per verb.[10] Thus, bi-transitive verbs do not readily causativize:

(27) a. na'achichi pʊ'ʊqwatʉ 'uwa-rugwa-qha
girl/O book/O 3s-give-ANT
'(s/he) gave the girl a book'

b. *'áapachi na'achichi pʊ'ʊqwatʉ 'uwa-rugwa-**ti**-kya
boy/O girl/O book/O 3s-give-**CAUS**-ANT
('(s/he) made the boy give the girl a book')

Double causativization is also unacceptable:

(28) a. 'áapachi̲ wʉ́ʉka-qha
boy/SU work-ANT
'the boy worked'

b. 'áapachi wʉ́ʉka-**ti**-kya
boy/O work-**CAUS**-ANT
'(s/he) made the boy work'

c. *mamachi 'áapachi wʉ́ʉka-**ti**-**ti**-kya
woman/O boy/O work-**CAUS**-**CAUS**-ANT
('(s/he) made the woman make the boy work')

And we have already seen above how the causativization of complement-taking verbs may yield unacceptable syntactic complexity, due to too many objects piling in front of the verb in a single clause.

10. For extensive discussion see Shibatani (ed. 1976).

9.3.2.4 Semantic constraints on causativization

As has been shown elsewhere,[11] some causative verbs require a volitional, agentive manipulee, while others may take non-agentive manipulees. As an example, compare the two English verbs 'make' and 'cause':

(29) a. **Agentive manipulee**: Mary made John leave.
b. **Non-agentive manipulee**: *Mary made the rock fall.
c. **Agentive manipulee**: Mary caused John to leave
d. **Non-agentive manipulee**: Mary caused the rock to fall.

In addition, 'make' also requires a deliberate, intending subject/agent, while 'cause' does not. Thus compare:

(30) a. **Deliberate causation**: Mary deliberately made John leave
b. **Accidental causation**: *Mary inadvertently made John leave
c. **Deliberate causation**: ?Mary deliberately caused the rock to fall.
d. **Accidental causation**: Mary accidentally caused cause the rock to fall.

This difference also shows up in the selection of animate vs. inanimate subjects:

(31) a. **Animate**: Mary made John leave.
b. **Inanimate**: *The wind made John leave.
c. **Animate**: ?Mary caused John to leave.
d. **Inanimate**: The wind caused John to leave.

The causative verb *-ti* in Ute appears, by these tests, to be a deliberate causation verb that requires an animate subject-agent. Thus compare:

(32) a. mamachi̲, **'ásti-kya**, ta'wachi wúuka-**ti**-puga
woman/SU **want**-ANT man/O work-CAUS-REM
'the woman, **deliberately**, made the man work'

b. *mamachi̲, **ka-'ásti-na**, ta'wachi wúuka-**ti**-puga
woman/SU NEG-**want**-ANT/NEG man/O work-CAUS-REM
(*'the woman, **unintending**, made the man work')

c. mamachi̲ ta'wachi wíi'i̲-**ti**-puga
woman/SU man/O fall-CAUS-REM
'the woman made the man fall'

d. *núaru̲ ta'wachi wíi'i̲-**ti**-puga
wind/SU man/O fall-CAUS-REM
('*the wind made the man fall')

11. Ibid.

9.4 Perception-cognition-utterance verbs

9.4.1 Indicative complements

Semantically, verbs in this group (henceforth P-C-U verbs) include perception verbs such as 'see', 'hear', or 'feel', cognition verbs such as 'know', 'think', 'believe', 'understand', 'remember' or 'forget', and utterance verbs such as 'say'/'tell' or 'ask'. As noted earlier, most of these verbs also have simple transitive variants that take a nominal direct-object. In their capacity as complement-taking verbs, they take a verbal complement with no co-reference (equi-subject, equi-object) restrictions. The verbs in this group may be divided into two main groups: (a) verb of **high certainty**, such as 'know', 'remember', 'forget', 'regret', 'learn' of 'understand', whose complements are assumed to be true. And (b) verbs of **low certainty**, such as 'think', 'suspect', 'say', 'not-know' or 'not be sure', whose complements fall under irrealis scope of uncertainty.[12]

The morphology of the verbal complements of P-C-U verbs strongly suggests that they were historically **nominalized**, thus treated as direct objects. This is evident first in the genitive case-marking of the subject of the complement clause. It is also evident from the nominal suffix *-na* that marks the complement verb, as well as from the old object suffix *-y* that follows. As an illustration of this general pattern, compare:

(33) a. **Main clause (finite)**:

mamachi̲ tʉ̵kuavi tʉ̵ka-qha
woman/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'the woman ate the meat'

b. **Complement clause (nominalized)**:

pu̲chuchugwa-qha mamachi tʉ̵kuavi tʉ̵ka-qha-**na**-**y**
know-ANT woman/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-NOM-O
'(s/he) knows that the woman **has eaten** the meat'

While historically nominalized, the complements of P-C-U verbs have been undergoing gradual reversion to finite morphology. This **re-finitization**[13] is seen primarily in the re-acquisition of finite tense-aspect-modal marking on the verb. Thus, the complement verb in (33b) above carries the **anterior** aspect, and (34) below carries its negative counterpart:

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12. This division is only rough. For a more comprehensive treatment see Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 12).

13. For discussion of re-finitization of nominalized clauses in Ute see Givón (1994).

(34) pu̲chuchugwa-qha mamachi tʉkuavi ka-tʉka-na-**pʉa-y**
know-ANT woman/**GEN** meat/O NEG-eat-ANT/NEG-**NOM-O**
'(s/he) knew that the woman **didn't eat** the meat'

What is striking in (34) is that the usual nominalizer *-na*, seen in the affirmative complement in (33b), is replaced by another nominal suffix, *-pʉ(a)*, presumably to avoid a double *-na* sequence.

Further morphological irregularity may be seen in the remote aspect, normally *-pʉga* in the affirmative and *-pʉa* in the negative. Its affirmative form in the complement of P-C-U verbs can be seen in (35) below, with the nominal suffix *-pʉ*, with the vowel fully voiced, presumably marking the complement as an object:

(35) pʉnikya-pʉga 'áapachi páana-y tʉka-**pʉ**
see-REM boy/GEN bread-O eat-**NOM/O**
'(s/he) saw (long ago) that the boy **had eaten** the bread'

Futurity in the complement clause is marked with the irrealis suffix *-vaa*, followed by the nominalizer *-na* and the object suffix *-y*:

(36) a. pu̲chuchugwa-y 'áapachi páana-y tʉka-**vaa**-na-y
know-IMM boy/GEN bread-O eat-**IRR**-NOM-O
'(s/he) knows that the boy **will eat** the bread'

b. pu̲chuchugwa-pʉga 'áapachi páana-y tʉka-**vaa**-na-y
know-REM boy/GEN bread-O eat-**IRR**-NOM-O
'(s/he) knew that the boy **would eat** the bread'

c. pu̲chuchugwa-pʉga 'áapachi páana-y ka-tʉka-**vaa**-'wa-na-y
know-REM boy/GEN bread-O NEG-eat-**IRR**-NEG-NOM-O
'(s/he) knew that the boy **wouldn't** eat the bread'

Finally, a sense of the progressive aspect in the complement may be imparted by leaving the verb with no tense-aspect-modal marking:

(37) a. pu̲chuchugwa-y ta'wachi wúʉka-na-y
know-IMM man/GEN work-NOM-O
'(s/he) knows that the man **is** working'

b. pu̲chuchugwa-qha ta'wachi wúʉka-na-y
know-ANT man/GEN work-NOM-O
'(s/he) knew that the man **was** working'

9.4.2 Conditional complements

When the main verb P-C-U is a verb of low certainty, modal-conditional complements may code that uncertain state/event, somewhat akin to English 'if'- or 'whether'-marked complements. Consider first the conditional complement of the verb 'think'

(derived from the verb 'say'). The complement verb is marked by the nominal suffix *-pʉ(a)* followed by the object suffix *-y*:

(38) a. may-kya-ni ta'wachi náagha pichʉ-**pʉa-y**
say-ANT-like man/GEN maybe come-**NOM-O**
'(s/he) thought that maybe the man **would/might** arrive'

b. ka-sʉ́ti'i-na ta'wachi pichʉ-**pʉa-y**
NEG-be.sure-ANT/NEG man/GEN come-**NOM-O**
'(s/he) wasn't sure **if** the man **had** arrived (or not)'

c. ka-máy-na ta'wachi pichʉ-**pʉa-y**
NEG-say-ANT/NEG man/GEN come-**NOM-O**
'(s/he) didn't say **if** the man **had** arrived (or not)'

Uncertainty complements may also be marked with the irrealis suffix *-vaa*, imparting a sense of futurity, as in:

(39) ka-puchuchugwa-wa ta'wachi pichʉ-**vaa**-na-y
NEG-know-NEG/IMM man/GEN come-**IRR**-NOM-O
'(s/he) doesn't know **if** the man **will** arrive'

And other tense-aspects may combine with *-vaa*, often followed by the nominal suffix *-chi*:

(40) a. mamachi ka-puchuchugwa-na ta'wachi pichʉ-kaa-**va-chi**
woman/S NEG-know-ANT/NEG man/GEN come-ANT-**IRR-NOM**
'the woman didn't know **if** the man **had** arrived'

b. ka-sʉti'i-na ta'wachi pichʉ-pʉga-**va-chi**
NEG-be.sure-ANT/NEG man/GEN come-REM-**IRR-NOM**
'(s/he) wasn't sure **if** the man **had** arrived (long before)'

9.4.3 WH-question complements

WH-questions are a distinct speech-act, discussed later on (ch. 14). But since they can appear in complements of P-C-U verbs, some mention of them had better be made here. Many of the structural details noted here will remain rudimentary, since the grammar of WH-questions in Ute is much more complex than in English.

The following brief examples from English will introduce this complement form.

(41) a. **Subject**: She didn't know **who** did it/ **what** happened.
b. **Direct object**: He saw **what** she broke/ **who** she met.
c. **Indirect object**: She forgot **who** she gave the book **to**.
d. **Location**: He didn't remember **where** to go.
e. **Time**: She wonders **when** the movie starts.
f. **Manner**: They told him **how** to do it.
g. **Reason**: He asked **why** she was late.

In subject-WH complements in Ute, the WH-word appears first in the complement clause, augmented by the modal suffix *-sapa̲*, and often also by the inanimate demonstrative suffix *-ʻuru* 'that'. But the verb in the WH-questions complement may appear with or without the nominal suffix *-na* (and the object suffix *-y*), a variation whose conditioning context is still unclear. Thus in the subject WH-complement in (42a) below, the anterior suffix in the complement verb is followed by the aspectual suffix combination *-vaa* (irrealis) and *-chi̲* (nominal). In (41b), the complement verb is followed by the nominal suffix *-na* and the object suffix *-y*, the more common pattern in P-C-U complements:

(42) a. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na **ʻini**-sapa̲-ʻuru tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-**vaa-chi̲**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG **WHO**-MOD-that meat/O eat-ANT-**IRR-NOM**
's/he didn't know **who** was going to eat the meat'

b. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na **ʻini**-sapa̲-ʻuru tʉkuavi tʉka-qha-**na-y**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG **WHO**-MOD-that meat/O eat-ANT-**NOM**
's/he didn't know **who** ate the meat'

A similar variation is found with object WH-complements. When the nominal suffix *-na* is used, the subject of the complement clause must appear in the genitive case, attesting to the nominalized status of the clause. When *-na* is not used, the subject of the complement clause takes the normal nominative form of finite main clauses. Finally, the object WH-question word more commonly appears between the subject and the verb, i.e. in the historical SOV word-order:

(43) a. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na ta'wachi̲ **ʻipʉ**-sapa̲-ʻuru tʉka-**qha**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG man/**SU** **WHAT**-MOD-that eat-**ANT**
's/he didn't know **what** the man ate'

b. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na ta'wachi **ʻipʉ**-sapa̲-ʻuru tʉka-qha-**na-y**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG man/**GEN** **WHAT**-MOD-that eat-ANT-**NOM-O**
's/he didn't know **what** the man ate'

Locative and other indirect object WH-question words seem to follow the nominalized pattern of (43b) above, with the post-positions added to the WH-word:

(44) a. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na ta'wachi **ʻagha-vaa-tugwa**-sapa̲ kwáy-kya-**na-y**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG man/**GEN** **WH-LOC-to-go**-MOD go-ANT-**NOM-O**
's/he didn't know **where-to** the man went'

b. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-na ta'wachi **ʻini-wa**-sapa̲ wúʉka-qha-**na-y**
NEG-3S know-ANT/NEG man/**GEN** **WHO-with**-MOD work-ANT-**NOM-O**
's/he didn't know **who** the man worked **with**'

c. kacha-ʻa pu̲chuchugwa-wa ta'wachi súʉvʉpʉ
NEG-3S know-NEG/IMM man/**GEN** **tree/O**
ʻipʉ-m-sapa̲ chaqho-qwa-**na-y**
WH-with-MOD cut-ANT-**NOM-O**
's/he doesn't know **with what** the man cut down the tree'

It may well be that a non-nominalized complement-clause pattern is also possible here.

9.4.4 Direct-quote complements

As in all language, direct-quote complements of utterance verbs in Ute are fully finite and thus don't differ from main clauses. In the most common pattern, the verb 'say' appears after the quoted speech, as in the three successive direct quotes in (43) below:[14]

(45) …'uwas-'ura: "'agha-ni-ucha?" **'áy-pʉga-amʉ̲**,
3S/SU-be WH-do-INCEP **say-REM-3P**
'…so he: "What are you fixing to do?" **he asked** them,

"'iya-na mʉ́nı̲-'ura 'agha-paa pʊro-qwa-gha 'ani-kı̲?"
here-LOC 2P/SU-be WH-DIR walk/PL-go-PAR do-IMM
"Where are you-here going?"

"'ı̲-vaa-nʉmʉ̲ 'ani-kı̲ pʊro-qwa-y,
here-LOC-1P do-IMM walk/PL-go-IMM
"Here we are flocking together,

nagukwı̲-kya-ta-miya-gha" **máy-kya-pʉga** 'ura-'umʉs cha̲kuura-u…
fight-PL-PASS-go/PL-PAR **say-PL-REM** be-they crane-PL
there's going to be fighting" **they said**, the cranes did.

"mʉnı̲-'ara nʉ́nay kach 'u-vwaa-tʉ nʊ́ʊ'wa-y-'ura…
2P/SU-be 1S/O NEG there-LOC-DIR carry-IMM-be
"Won't you please carry me…

nʉ́-aa mʉ́ni ka-ta'wa-pʉar'i-nʉ-wa-tʉ̲?" **máy-pʉga**…
1S-Q you/GEN NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM **say-REM**
won't you please help me?" **he said**…'

Quite often, however, the verb 'say' appears on both sides of the quoted speech, as in:[15]

(46) …súwiini **'áy-pʉga**: "kachi-n 'ásti-wa máa-y 'uni-'a̲-vaa-ku,
one/SU **say-REM** NEG-1S want-NEG/IMM that-O do/go-ASP-IRR-COMP
'…then one (of them) **said**: "I don't want that one to come with us,

tawi-aa máy-ucha-vaa" **máy-pʉga**…
1P/INCL/O-Q say-INCEP-IRR **say-REM**
people will start talking about us (and get us into trouble)" **he said**…'

14. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

15. Ibid.

9.5 Clausal subjects

9.5.1 Preamble

In many languages, there exist predicates, be they verbs or adjectives, that take an event/state clause as their subject. Quite often, such **clausal subjects** take the form and position of various verbal complements, no doubt because the subject position is typically occupied by highly topical, anaphoric nominals, most commonly zero-anaphora or pronouns. When such re-shuffling takes place, a 'dummy' pronoun, technically referring to the clausal subject, may occupy the subject position. As illustration, consider the following examples from English:

(47) a. [To learn a language late in life] is difficult
b. **It** is difficult [to learn a language late in life]
c. [That she did this] is incredible
d. **It** is incredible [that she did this]
e. [That they didn't know her] surprised me
f. **It** surprised me [that they didn't know her]
g. [That she flunked her exam] is terrible
h. **It** is terrible [that she flunked her exam]

Predicates that take clausal subjects divide semantically into a number of groups:

(48) a. **Preference**: 'good', 'bad', 'terrible', 'nice'
b. **Epistemic evaluation**: 'true', 'false', 'likely', 'unlikely'
c. **Subjective attitude**: 'surprising', 'inevitable', 'predictable'
d. **Ease of performance**: 'easy', 'difficult'

Since many of these predicates don't exist in Ute, and since clausal-subject constructions are rather infrequent in natural discourse in a traditional small society, our discussion here will be confined to two structural types of clausal subjects.

9.5.2 Nominalized verb phrases as subjects

One type of nominalization in Ute applies only to verb phrases (VPs), excluding the subject, which is then interpreted as **generic** or **impersonal**. The marker of this VP nominalization is the verb suffix *-ta*, also used in passive clauses (see ch. 10, below). The nominalized **subjectless clause** may then serve as the subject of some of the verb-types in (48). Such generic nominalizations tend to appear without any tense-aspect-modal marking, i.e. as a non-finite structure. Thus consider:

(49) a. **Finite simple clause**:

'áapachi̱	'u	kwanachi	'uway	paqha-qa
boy/SU	the/SU	eagle/O	the/O	kill-ANT

'the boy killed the eagle

b. **VP with the verb alone**:

paqha-**ta** ka-'ay-wa-tʉ
kill-NOM NEG-good-NEG-NOM
'killing is bad', 'for someone to kill is bad'

c. **VP with an incorporated generic object**:

kwana-paqha-**ta** ka-'ay-wa-tʉ 'ura-'ay
eagle-kill-NOM NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-IMM
'killing eagles (eagle-killing) is bad', 'for someone to kill eagles is bad'

d. **VP with a referring object**:

'ina-y kwanachi paqha-**ta** ka-'ay-wa-tʉ 'ura-qa
this-O eagle/O kill-NOM NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-ANT
'killing this eagle was bad', 'for someone to kill this eagle was bad'

e. **VP with a referring object**:

'icha-y kani-chʉ-**ta** chichigya-rʉ 'ura-qa
this-O house-build-NOM hard-NOM be-ANT
'building this house was difficult'

9.5.3 Full-size clausal subjects

Clauses that depict specific events, with specific subjects and specific tense-aspect-modality, can also serve as clausal subjects, and are nominalized along the pattern seen in full verbal complements of P-C-U verbs (sec. 9.4.1. above). The verb in such nominalized clauses is marked by the nominal suffix *-na*, sometimes followed by the old object suffix *-y*. The subject inside such clauses is marked as genitive. Such clausal subjects can either precede or follow the verb:

(50) a. ta'wach**i** **'**icha-y kani-chʉ-ka-**na-y** tʉ́ʉ-'ay
man/GEN this-O house/O-build-ANT-**NOM-O** good-IMM
'that the man built this house is good'

b. tʉ́ʉ-'ay-**aqh** 'uru ta'wach**i** **'**icha-y kani-chʉ-ka-**na-y**
good-IMM-**it** that/O man/GEN this-O house/O-build-ANT-**NOM-O**
'it is good that the man built this house'

c. 'uway 'átʉ-káa-pʉga-na-y tʉvʉchi-tʉ 'ura-'ay
3S-GEN well-sing-REM-NOM-O truth-NOM be-IMM
'it is true that s/he sang well'

d. tʉvʉchi-tʉ 'ura-'ay-**aqh**-'uru 'uwa-**y** 'átʉ-káa-qha-**na-y**
truth-NOM be-IMM-**it**-that/O s/he-GEN well-sing-ANT-**NOM-O**
'it is true that s/he sang well.

CHAPTER 10

De-Transitive Voice

10.1 Voice and transitivity

10.1.1 Overview

As noted earlier (ch. 4), syntactic description is founded, whether explicitly or implicitly, on the assumption that the benchmark for the entire enterprise is the main- declarative-affirmative-active clause. This is the most common clause type in human communication. It is the **theme** with which we contrast all other clause types as **variations**. In this chapter we will deal with one of these major variations, the contrast between the active-transitive and de-transitive voice.

In our survey of Ute grammar thus far, we have dealt only with various types of **active voice** constructions. But Ute, like all other languages, has an array of **de-transitive voice** constructions, ones that contrast both functionally and structurally with the active transitive clause. The grammar of these constructions is the topic of this chapter.

The functional domain of voice may be described along two dimensions – semantic and pragmatic. The semantic dimension pertains to the **type of event** depicted in the clause, regardless of the communicative context. The pragmatic dimension pertains to the **communicative context** within which the clause is used. In surveying Ute de-transitive constructions, we will divide them into two clusters: Those that contrast with the active voice primarily along the semantic dimension, and those that contrast with it primarily along the pragmatic dimension. This division yields the following two sets of de-transitive constructions:[1]

(1) **De-transitive voice constructions**:
   a. **Primarily semantic**:
      - reflexive
      - reciprocal
      - middle voice

1. For discussion of the semantics, pragmatics and grammar of voice constructions, see Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 13).

b. **Primarily pragmatic**:
- passive
- antipassive
- inverse

10.1.2 Semantic dimensions of voice

The semantic dimensions of voice, that is, the semantic definition of **transitive event**, were described earlier (ch. 4) in terms of the three major components of the transitive clause: agent, patient and verb. We recapitulate this description in (2) below:

(2) **The prototype semantically-transitive event**:
- a. **Agent**: The agent of the prototype transitive event is a volitional, controlling, active initiator of – and thus responsible for – the event, It is the event's *salient cause*.
- b. **Patient**: The patient of prototypical transitive event is a non-volitional, inactive, affected, non-controlling participant. It is the event's *salient effect*.
- c. **Verb**: The verb of the prototypical transitive clause codes an event that is *telic* (compact), *perfective* (bounded), *sequential* (not perfect) and *realis* (not hypothetical). The prototype transitive event is thus fast-paced, completed, real and cognitively salient.

The three de-transitive voice constructions listed in (1a) above depart from the transitive prototype in terms of one or more of its semantic dimensions (2), showing:

- decreased agentivity of the agent/subject (2a)
- decreased affectedness of the patient/object (2b)
- decreased telicity or perfectivity of the verb (2c)

As quick illustrations, consider the three English semantic de-transitive constructions (3b,c,d), all contrasting with the active-transitive (3a):

(3)
- a. **Active-transitive (theme)**: The boy irritated the dog.
- b. **Reflexive**: The boy irritated himself.
- c. **Reciprocal**: The boy and the dog irritated each other.
- d. **Middle-voice**: This dog is irritated/irritable.

Both the reflexive (3b) and the reciprocal (3c) tampers with the distinctness of agent and patient (2a,b), since the subject of these clauses is at the same time both the agent and patient of the event. In addition, the patient of the reflexive (3b) and reciprocal (3c) is human, while the prototypical patient of transitive events is an inanimate object. The middle-voice (3d) depicts not an event but a state, and thus tampers with

the telicity and perfectivity of the verb (2c). It also tampers with the agentivity feature (2a), since no specific agent is implied.

10.1.3 Pragmatic dimensions of voice

The distinction between semantic and pragmatic voice is shown most clearly when the very same semantically-transitive event, involving the very same verb, agent and patient, is rendered in all four pragmatic voice constructions:

(4) a. **Active-transitive**: The boy smashed the glass.
b. **Passive**: The glass was smashed (by the boy).
c. **Antipassive**: The boy did some glass-smashing.
d. **Inverse**: The GLASS the boy smashed last.

Clearly, something other than event semantics must motivate the use of these four voice constructions.

The main dimension that underlies the communicative use of pragmatic voice constructions is the **relative topicality** of the agent vs. non-agent in the event.[2]

(5) **Relative topicality of the agent and patient in the four main pragmatic voice constructions**:

	voice	relative topicality
a.	**active**	AGT > PAT
b.	**inverse**	AGT < PAT
c.	**passive**	AGT << PAT
d.	**antipassive**	AGT >> PAT

The active-transitive voice, the *theme*, is defined pragmatically as the voice construction in which both the agent and the patient are topical, but the agent is more topical than the patient. Relative to this theme, the three pragmatic de-transitive voices (5b,c,d) are defined as follows:

(6) **Functional definition of main de-transitive voices**:
a. **Inverse**: The patient is more topical than the agent, but agent is still topical.
b. **Passive**: The agent is extremely non-topical ('suppressed', 'demoted'), so that some non-agent, most commonly the patient, is by default the main topical participant of the clause.

---

2. Many considerations about the communicative context are involved in the use of pragmatic de-transitive voice constructions. While in one way or another they can all be traced back to topicality of event participants, the connection can be subtle and indirect. For an enlightening discussion of the selection of passive voice in English, see Jespersen (1924).

c. **Antipassive**: The patient is extremely non-topical ('suppressed', 'demoted'), so that the agent is by default the main topical participant the clause.

10.1.4 Syntactic dimensions of voice

The syntactic-typological diversity of voice constructions is immense, and will not be discussed here in much detail.[3] The morpho-syntactic dimensions that are most relevant to describing the de-transitive voice constructions of Ute are:

(7) **Syntactic dimensions of de-transitive voice constructions**:

a. **Grammatical relations**: Which of the main event participants, agent vs. non- agent, is the *grammatical subject* of the de-transitive clause?

b. **Zero coding**: Is one of the two main event participants, agent vs. non-agent, obligatorily *zero-marked* or, alternatively, *replaced* by some morpheme?

c. **Word-order**: Is there a distinct word-order characteristic of the de-transitive clause?

d. **Morphology**: Is there a distinct morphology marking the agent, non-agent or verb in the de-transitive clause?

As a simple illustration of these syntactic dimensions in the grammar of English de-transitive clauses, consider:

(8) a. **Active-transitive**: The boy bit the dog.
b. **Reflexive**: The boy bit **himself**.
c. **Reciprocal**: The boy and the dog bit **each other**.
d. **Middle-voice**: The boy **is** badly bitt-**en**.
e. **Passive**: The dog **was** bitt-**en** (**by** the boy).
f. **Antipassive** The boy bites (a lot).
g. **Inverse**: The dog the boy bit first (, the cat he bit later).

In the English active-transitive clause (8a), the agent is the grammatical subject and word-order is A-V-P (SVO). In the reflexive clause (8b), the agent remains the grammatical subject, and the patient is replaced by the reflexive pronoun 'himself'. In the reciprocal clause (8c), the conjoined agents remain the grammatical subject, and the patient is replaced by the reciprocal pronoun 'each other'. In the middle voice clause (8d), the patient is the grammatical subject, the agent is never mentioned, the word-order is P-V (OV), and the verb is morphologically marked by the auxiliary 'be' and the

3. For discussion see again Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 13).

suffix *-en*. In the passive clause (8e), the patient is the grammatical subject, the word-order of the active is reversed to P-V-A (OVS), the verb is morphologically marked by 'be' and the suffix *-en*, the agent is morphologically marked with the preposition 'by', and is not obligatorily deleted. In the antipassive clause (8f), the agent remains the grammatical subject and the patient can and often is deleted.[4] Finally, in the inverse clause (8g) the word-order is P-A-V (OSV).

10.2 Reflexive clauses

10.2.1 The simple reflexive

10.2.1.1 Reflexives in main clauses

In a reflexive clause, the subject and object, regardless of their semantic roles (agent, patient, dative, etc.), are co-referential. That is, the subject acts upon itself. In terms of Ute morpho-syntax, the subject is mentioned overly, while the object is replaced by the reflexive morpheme *nanɵs* 'self'. Thus compare the active-transitive in (9a) below with its reflexive counterpart (9b). The co-reference relation here is between the subject and direct object, and two word-order variants are possible:

(9) a. **Active-transitive**:

mamachi̲ ta'wachi na'avʉ'i'napʉ-naagha̲ pʉnikya-qha
woman/SU man/O mirror/O-in see-ANT
'The woman saw the man in the mirror'

b. **Reflexive**:

mamachi̲ **nanɵs** na'avʉ'i'napʉ-naagha̲ pʉnikya-qha
man/SU **self** mirror/O-in see-ANT
'The woman saw herself in the mirror'

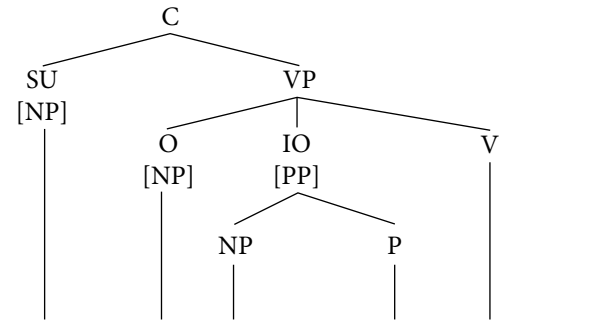
c. **Reflexive**:

mamachi̲ na'avʉ'i'napu-naagha̲ **nanɵs** pʉnikya-qha
man/SU mirror/O-in **self** see-ANT
'The woman saw herself in the mirror'

4. In addition to the patient-deleting antipassive, English has other antipassive constructions, such as plural object ('The boy bites dogs'), non-referring object ('The boy bit someone'), or verb-incorporated object ('The boy did some dog-biting'). In one way or another, they all share the lower topicality of the patient/object. Similar multiplicity is also seen in the English passive and inverse constructions.

In terms of syntactic configuration, one may render (9b) with the phrase-structure tree diagram (10) below:

(10)



'The woman saw herself in the mirror'

Unlike its English counterpart, where the complex reflexive morpheme involves pronouns and thus person and number agreement, the Ute reflexive morpheme is invariant:

(11) a. nʉ́' nanɵs pʉnikya-qha
1S/SU self see-ANT
'I saw **my**self'

b. 'ʉ́mʉ̲ nanɵs pʉnikya-qha
2S/SU self see-ANT
'you saw **your**self'

c. 'uwas nanɵs pʉnikya-qha
3S/SU self see-ANT
's/he saw **her/him**self'

d. nʉ́mʉ̲ nanɵs pʉnikya-qha-qa
1P/SU self see-PL-ANT
'we saw **our**selves'

e. mʉ́ni̲ nanɵs pʉnikya-qha-qa
2S/SU self see-PL-ANT
'you saw **your**selves'

f. 'umʉs nanɵs pʉnikya-qha-qa
3P/SU self see-PL-ANT
'they saw **them**selves'

One may as well note that the reflexive morpheme *nanɵs* also means the adverb 'alone', so that a clause containing this morpheme may be ambiguous, as (12a) below. With added morphology, the reflexive meaning may be highlighted, as in (12b):

(12) a. **Ambiguous**: **nanɵs** pʉnikya-qhay-'u
self see-ANT-3S
's/he saw herself/himself' (reflexive)
's/he saw her/him alone' (non-reflexive)

b. **Less ambiguous**: **nanɵsʉ-ga-yis** pʉnikya-qhay-'u
self-EMPH-only see-ANT-3S
's/he saw herself/himself' (reflexive)'

As in English, reflexive clauses in Ute do not involve only direct but also indirect objects. This generalization is subject to considerations of semantic plausibility. That is, the verb must be of a type that allows the same participant-type – most commonly a human/animate – to be both subject and object of the verb. When the object of the reflexive clause is indirect, the reflexive morpheme is shortened to *na-*.[5] Thus compare:

(13) a. **Locative (active):** mamachi-vaa-chukhwa pɵ'ɵqwatʉ níi-kya
woman/O-LOC-go letter/O send-ANT
'(s/he) sent a letter to the woman'

b. **Reflexive:** **na**-vaa-chukhwa pɵ'ɵqwatʉ níi-kya
self-LOC-go letter/O send-ANT
'(s/he) sent a letter to himself/herself'

c. **Dative (active)**: mamachi-vaa-chʉ nʉka'nį-kya
woman/O-LOG-DIR listen-ANT
'(s/he) listened to the woman'

d. **Reflexive**: **na**-vaa-chʉ nʉka'nį-kya
self-LOG-DIR listen-ANT
'(s/he) listened to herself/himself'

e. **Dative (active)**: mamachi-vaa-chukhwa 'apagha-y
woman/O-LOC-go talk-IMM
'(s/he) is talking to the woman'

f. **Reflexive**: **na**-vaa-chukhwa 'apagha-y
self-LOC-go talk-IMM
'(s/he) is talking to herself/himself'

---

5. The morpheme *na-* or its reduplicate *nana-* are shared by reflexive and reciprocal constructions, which were probably marked the same way earlier on. This morpheme is found as prefixal element in many verbs and adverbs with reciprocal or plural-subject meaning, such as e.g. *náa-'ína-* 'embrace', *na-gha-'a-* 'cover oneself', *na-gho-qo'a-* 'fight', *nana-ma* 'together', *nana-pina-kwa* 'follow each other', *nana-s-chɵwɵ-* 'argue', *na-ni-kį* 'imitate', *na-nis-* 'reciprocally', *na-ni-wa-* 'pair up', *na-ra'a-* 'resemble', *na-rugwa-* 'trade', *na-va-* 'reciprocally', *na-va-ki-* 'bathe oneself', *na-va-rʉgi-* 'wash oneself', *na-vu-ti-gi* 'copy', 'imitate', *navu-ti-* 'resemble', *navu-tʉga-* 'become identical', *na-wa* 'both'. The form *nanɵs* itself may have originated from *na-na-sʉ*, the reduplicate morpheme augmented with the old conjunction *-sʉ*.

g. **Dative (active)**: mamachi-vaa-chʉ ˈapagha-y
woman-LOC-DIR talk-IMM
‘(s/he) is talking about the woman’

h. **Reflexive**: **na**-vaa-chʉ ˈapagha-y
self-LOC-DIR talk-IMM
‘(s/he) is talking about herself/himself’

With some verbs, both a direct and indirect object reflexive variants are possible, as in the case of ‘say’/‘tell’:

(14) a. **Direct object**: kh-ˈura **nanʊs** máy-kya: “….”
then-be **self** tell-ANT
‘so then (s/he) told himself/herself: “…”

b. **Indirect object**: kh-ˈura **na**-vaa-chukhwa máy-kya: “….”
then-be **self**-LOC-go say-ANT
‘so then (s/he) said to himself/herself: “…”

With all indirect objects, a variant form is possible, with the post-position augmented by the suffix *-a* plus the old conjunction *-sʉ*, depending on some subtlety of the discourse context. Thus compare:

(15) a. **na**-vaa-chugwa-**sʉ** máy-kya
self-LOC-go-**CONJ** say-ANT
‘(s/he) said to herself/himself’

b. **na**-vaa-chʉ-**a**-**sʉ** ˈapagha-y
self-LOC-DIR-**??**-**CONJ** talk-IMM
‘(s/he) is talking about herself/himself’

c. **na**-vaa-chʉ-**a**-**sʉ** nʉkaˈni-kya
self-LOC-**??**-**DIR** listen-ANT
‘(s/he) listened to herself/himself’

10.2.1.2 Reflexives in complement clauses

With non-implicative manipulation verbs, the following distribution of the reflexive configuration is possible:

(16) a. **Reflexive or emphasis in main clause**:
mamachi **nanʊs** may-kya sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-ku
woman/SU **self** tell-ANT goat/O kill-IRR-COMP
‘the woman **herself/alone** told someone to kill the goat’ (emphasis in main clause)
‘the woman told **herself** that someone should kill the goat’ (reflexive in main clause)
? ‘the woman told **herself** to kill the goat’ (reflexive in main clause’)

b. **Reflexive in complement**:

mamachi ta'wachi may-kya **nanɵs** paqha-vaa-ku
woman/SU man/O tell-ANT **self** kill-IRR-COMP
'the woman told the man to kill **himself**'

With non-implicative modal-aspectual verbs, the following reflexive configurations are possible:

(17) a. **Reflexive or emphatic in main clause**:

mamachi **nanɵs** 'ásti-kya sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-ni
woman/SU **self** want-ANT goat/O kill-IRR-COMP
'the woman **herself/alone** wanted to kill the goat'
(emphasis in main clause)
*'the woman wanted **herself** to kill the goat' (reflexive in main clause)

b. **Emphatic in main clause**

mamachi **nanɵs** sivaatuchi paqha-vaa-ni 'ásti-kya
woman/SU **self** goat/O kill-IRR-COMP want-ANT
'the woman **herself/alone** wanted to kill the goat'

c. **Reflexive in complement**

mamachi 'ásti-kya **nanɵs** paqha-vaa-ni
woman/SU want-ANT **self** kill-IRR-COMP
'the woman wanted to kill **herself**'

d. **Reflexive in complement**:

mamachi **nanɵs** paqha-vaa-ni 'ásti-kya
woman/SU self kill-IRR-COMP want-ANT
'the woman wanted to kill **herself**'

Consider next the reflexive in the causative construction:

(18) a. **Intransitive complement**:

mamachi 'áapachi paghay'wa-ti-kya
woman/SU boy/O walk-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made the boy walk'

b. **Reflexive**:

mamachi **nanɵs** paghay'wa-ti-kya
woman/SU **self** walk-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made **herself** walk'

c. **Transitive complement**:

ta'wachi mamachi 'áapachi magha-ti-kya
man/SU woman/O boy/O feed-CAUS-ANT
'the man made the woman feed the boy'

d. **Reflexive in main clause**:

ta'wachi̲ **nanɵs** 'áapachi magha-ti-kya
man/SU **self** boy/O feed-CAUS-ANT
'the man made **himself** feed the boy'

e. **Reflexive in complement:**

ta'wachi̲ mamachi **nanɵs** magha-ti-kya
man/SU woman/O **self** feed-CAUS-ANT
'the man made the woman feed herself'

f. **Indirect object complement**:

mamachi̲ ta'wachi 'áapachi-vaa-chʉ 'apaga̲-ti-kya
woman/SU man/O boy/O-LOC-DIR talk-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made the man talk about the boy.

g. **Reflexive in complement**:

mamachi̲ ta'wachi **na**-vaa-chʉ 'apaga̲-ti-kya
woman/SU man/O **self**-LOC-DIR talk-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made the man talk **about himself**.

Consider, lastly, the distribution of the reflexive in complements of C-P-U verbs:

(19) a. **Reflexive in complement**:

pu̲chuchugwa-qha 'áapachi **nanɵs** magha-qha-na-y
know-ANT boy/GEN **self** feed-ANT-NOM-O
'(s/he) knew that the boy fed **himself**'

b. **Reflexive in complement**:

ta'wachi máy-kya 'áapachi **nanɵs** magha-qha-na-y
man/O tell-ANT boy/GEN **self** feed-ANT-NOM-O
'(s/he) told the man that the boy fed **himself**'

c. **Reflexive or emphatic in main clause**:

mamachi̲ **nanɵs** máy-kya ta'wachi 'áapachi magha-qha-na-y
woman/SU **self** tell-ANT by/GEN boy/O feed-ANT-NOM-O
'the woman told **herself** that the man fed the boy'
'the woman **herself** said that the man fed the boy'

10.2.2 The possessive reflexive

The possessive reflexive construction is used when the subject is co-referent not with the object itself, but rather with the **possessor** of the object. Dealing with direct objects first, note the following contrast between non-reflexive possessor in (20a), marked by the normal **possessive pronoun**, and a reflexive possessor in (20b), marked by the possessive-reflexive suffix *-av 'own'*:

(20) a. **Non-co-referent (non-reflexive) possessor**:

…kh-'ura mamachi̲ 'ura-pʉga, tʉgʉy-naru'a-pʉga,
then-be woman/SU be-REM hunger-buy-REM

ta'wachi̲-'ura-'uru tʉkapi-**'u** 'uru tʉka-qha-pʉga…
man/SU-be-it food/O-**3s** the/O eat-ANT-REM

'…there was a woman there, she was hungry, (because) the man had eaten **her** food…'

b. **Co-referent (reflexive) possessor**:

…kh-'ura mamachi̲ 'ura-pʉga, tʉgʉy-naru'a-pʉga,
then-be woman/SU be-REM hunger-buy-REM

ta'wachi̲-'ura-'uru tʉkapi-**av** 'uru tʉka-qha-pʉga…
man/SU-be-it food/O-**own** the/O eat-ANT-REM

'…there was a woman there, she was hungry,
(but) the man had eaten **his own** food…'

When the simple possessive pronoun *-'u* 'his/her' is used (20a), the possessor of the object *cannot* be co-referent with the subject; it *must* be co-referent with some other referent. When the reflexive-possessive marker *-av* 'own' is used (20b), the possessor of the object *must* be co-referent with the subject; it *cannot* be co-referent with anyone else.

As in the case of the simple reflexive, the Ute possessive-reflexive marker *-av* is an invariant morpheme, not a pronoun. Unlike Ute pronouns, it doesn't vary with person, number or animacy. Indeed, the normal possessive pronoun is unacceptable in such constructions except when, for third persons, a proper context can be found (as in (20a) above). Thus compare:

(21) a. nʉ́' tuachi-**av** pʉnikya-qha
1S/SU child-**own** see-ANT
'I saw **my (own)** child'

b. *nʉ́' tuachi-**n** pʉnikya-qha
1S/SU child-**1S** see-ANT

c. 'ʉ́mʉ̲ tuachi-**av** pʉnikya-qha
2S/S child-**own** see-ANT
'you saw **your (own)** child'

d. *'ʉ́mʉ̲ tuachi-**mʉ̲** pʉnikya-qha
2S/SU child-**2S** see-ANT

e. 'uwas tuachi-**'u** pʉnikya-qha
2S/SU child-**his/her** see-ANT
's/he saw **her/his** – someone else's – child' (not her/his own)

f. nʉ́mʉ̲ tuachi-**av** pʉnikya-qha-pʉga
1P/SU child/O-**own** see-PL-ANT
'we saw our (own) child'

g. *nú́mʉ̲ tuachi-**nʉmʉ̲** pʉnikya-qha-qa
1P/SU child/O-**1P** see-PL-ANT

h. mú́nḭ̲ tuachi-**av** pʉnikya-qha-pʉga
2P/SU child/O-**own** see-PL-ANT
'you saw **your (own)** child'

i. *mú́nḭ̲ tuachi-**mʉnḭ̲** pʉnikya-qha-qa
2P/SU child/O-**2P** see-PL-ANT

j. **'**umʉs tuachi-**av** pʉnikya-qha-pʉga
3P/SU child/O-**own** see-PL-ANT
'they saw **their (own)** child'

k. **'**umʉs tuachi-**amʉ̲** pʉnikya-qha-qa
3P/SU child/O-**3P** see-PL-ANT
'they saw their – some other people's – child;' (not their own)

One may as well note that the Ute possessive-reflexive morpheme is not necessarily emphatic, while the corresponding English 'own' is. The latter is, in fact, an optional addition to the normal possessive pronoun. Thus:

(22) a. **Non emphatic**: She fed **her** child and put him to sleep.
b. **Emphatic**: She fed **her own** child, not someone else's.

Much like the simple reflexive, the possessive-reflexive can apply to indirect objects too, as in:

(23) a. **Dative**:
tuachi-vaa-chʉ-**av** nʉka**'**ni
child/O-LOC-DIR-**own** listen/IMM
'(s/he) is listening to **her/his (own)** child'

b. **Locative**:
tʉka**'**napʉ-vwa-n-**av** karʉ̲-i
table/O-LOC-on-**own** sit-IMM
'(s/he) is sitting on **her/his (own)** table'

c. **Comparative**:
tuachi-pani-**av** **'**apagha-rʉ̲
child/O-like-**own** talk-HAB
'(s/he) talks like **her/his (own)** child'

d. **Instrumental**:
wiichi-m-**av**-aqh chikavi**'**na-qha
knife/O-INSTR-**own**-it cut-ANT
'(s/he) cut it with **her/his (own)** knife'

e. **Associative**:
tʉgʉvʉ-u-wa-**av** wú́ʉka-qha
friend/O-PL-with-**own** work-ANT
'(s/he) worked with **her/his (own)** friends'

Interesting problems of **grammatical relations** and **control** emerge when the possessive-reflexive appears in verbal complements. In equi-subject complements of modal-aspectual verbs, English and Ute exhibit the same **local control** of reflexive co-reference. That is, control by the subject of the same clause:

(24) ˈáapachi tʉkapi-**av** ˈuru tʉka-vaa-chi ˈásti-ˈi
boy/SU food/O-**own** the/O eat-IRR-COMP want-IMM
'the boy wants to eat **his (own)** food'

In complements of non-implicative manipulation verbs, English and Ute part company. In English, the control of the reflexive remains local, i.e. by the subject of the complement:

(25) a. **Non-reflexive possession – unrestricted control**:
Mary told Joe to kick **his/her** mother.

b. **Reflexive possession – local control**:
Mary told Joe to kick **his own** mother.
*Mary told Joe to kill **her own** mother.

In Ute, the control situation is reversed:

(26) a. **Non-reflexive possession – local control**:

mamachi taˈwachi máy-kya pia-**ˈu** magha-vaa-ku
woman/SU man/O tell-ANT mother-**3s** feed-IRR-COMP
'the woman told the man to feed **his** mother'
*'the woman told the man to feed **her** mother'

b. **Reflexive possession – main-clause control**:

mamachi taˈwachi máy-kya pia-**av** magha-vaa-ku
woman/SU man/O tell-ANT mother-**own** feed-IRR-COMP
'the woman told the man to feed **her (own)** mother'
*'the woman told the man to feed **his (own)** mother'

In (26b), it is the subject of the *main* clause that controls the possessive-reflexive in the *complement*.

The control situation is the same in complements of the causative construction:

(27) a. **Non-reflexive possession – local control**:

mamachi taˈwachi pia-**ˈu** magha-ti-kya
woman/SU man/O mother-**3s** feed-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made the man feed **his (own)** mother'
*'the woman made the man feed **her (own)** mother'

b. **Reflexive possession – main-clause control**:

mamachi taˈwachi pia-**av** magha-ti-kya
woman/SU man/O mother-**own** feed-CAUS-ANT
'the woman made the man feed **her (own)** mother'
*'the woman made the man feed **his (own)** mother'

Lastly, the control of possessive-reflexives in complements of P-C-U verbs in Ute is non-local. Here Ute again diverges from English, where reflexive-possessives in such constructions are locally controlled:

(28) a. **Non-reflexive possession – unrestricted control**:
She knew that he hated **his/her** mother'

b. **Reflexive possession – local control**:
She knew that he hated **his own** mother
*She knew that he hated **her own** mother.

In Ute, the possessive-reflexive is again controlled by the subject of the *main* clause:

(29) a. **Non-reflexive possession – local control**:

mamachi puchuchugwa-y ta'wachi pia-**'u** magha-qha-na-y
woman/SU know-IMM man/GEN mother-3S feed-ANT-NOM-O
'the woman knows that the man fed **his (own)** mother'
*'the woman knows that the man fed **her** mother'

b. **Reflexive possession – main-clause control**:

mamachi puchuchugwa-y ta'wachi pia-**av** magha-qha-na-y
woman/SU know-IMM man/GEN mother-**own** feed-ANT-NOM-O
'the woman knows that the man fed **her (own)** mother'
*'the woman knows that the man fed **his (own)** mother'

It is not clear how this difference between Ute and English may be accounted for. One way of approaching this is to suggest that in languages with nominalized complements, the integration of main and complement clause is stronger, so that the subject of the main clause carries stronger subject properties.[6] Another possible explanation, admittedly not all that satisfying, is that only subjects that are explicitly marked as **nominative** can control the reflexive possessive. In Ute, subjects of complement of P-C-U verbs are marked as **genitive**.

Another interesting level of complexity may be observed when the object is itself a nominalized object relative clause[7] rather than a complement clause. Such a construction with non-reflexive co-reference is seen in (30a), contrasts with the possessive-reflexive in (30b):

6. This explanation, suggested in Givón (1990), depends on showing, through cross-language typological comparison, that the non-local control seen in Ute is also shared by other extreme-nominalizing languages (Turkic, Bodic, Cariban), and that the strictly-local control seen in English is shared by other more-finite languages.

7. For the grammar of relative clauses, see ch. 12, below.

(30) a. **Non-reflexive**:

ta'wachi̲ **nanɵs** 'uru máy-kya-na-y-**'u** nʉka-qha
man/SU **self** that/O say-ANT-NOM-O-**3s** hear-ANT
'the man **himself** heard what **he/she** (someone else) said'
(lit.: 'the man **himself** heard **his/her** (someone else's) saying')

b. **Reflexive**:

ta'wachi̲ **nanɵs** 'uru máy-kya-na-y-**av** nʉka-qha
man/SU **self** that/O say-ANT-NOM-O-**own** hear-ANT
'the man **himself** heard what **he himself** said'
(lit.: 'the man **himself** heard **his own** saying')

The reflexive meaning of (30b) may also be rendered by affixing the *-av* directly to the simple reflexive marker *nanɵs*, as in:

(31) ta'wachi̲ **nanɵs-av** máy-kya-na-y nʉka-qha
man/s **self-own** say-ANT-NOM-O-**own** hear-ANT
'the man **himself** heard what **he himself** said'
(lit.: 'the man **himself** heard **his own** saying')

A rare text-derived example of this complex construction may be seen in:

(32) …'ʉmʉ̲-'ura maay-vaa-tʉ̲-'u,
you-be see-IRR-NOM-3s
'…now you watch him,

'uway tʉka-vaa-na-**av**-paa-tʉ…
3s/O eat-IRR-NOM-**own**-LOC-DIR

the one that you are going to eat..'
(lit.: the one of **your (own)** eating…')

The only way the use of the reflexive-possessive in (29b), (30) and (31) can be justified is by assuming that the nominalization made the subject the possessor of the nominalized object clause.

10.3 Reciprocal clauses

Semantically, a reciprocal situation is one where two identical states/events occur, whereby the subject of one is the object of the other – and vice versa. The two subject/object participants are thus **reciprocal co-referents**.

Syntactically, a reciprocal construction represents the two states/events as a single clause, where the two reciprocal participants are represented as the **conjoined subjects**

of the clause, and the object is either zero-marked or replaced by some reciprocal marker or pronoun. As an illustration from English, consider:

(33) a. **Active-transitive 'theme'**:
Mary saw John regularly, John saw Mary regularly.

b. **Reciprocal clause with a replaced object**:
Mary **and** John saw **each other** regularly.

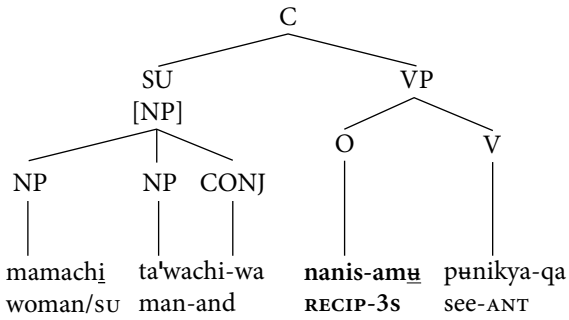
c. **Active-transitive 'theme'**:
Mary quarreled with John, John quarreled with Mary.

d. **Reciprocal clause with zero object**:
Mary and John quarreled [**0**].

Some verbs, such as 'fight', 'quarrel', 'make love' or 'resemble' are inherently reciprocal. In English, those are the verbs that tend to have a zero-marked object in the reciprocal clause, as in (32d) above.

The syntactic structure of a reciprocal clause for a transitive verb such as (33a) may be represented in Ute by a tree-diagram as in (34):[8]

(34)



'the woman and the man saw each other'[8]

In addition to the basic word-order difference between English (SVO) and Ute (SOV), the Ute reciprocal clause also differs from English in that the conjunction morpheme in Ute, *-wa* ('and', with'), is a post-position, suffixed to the second NP in the conjunction.[9] Further, the reciprocal marker is Ute, *nanisʉ*, often carries the plural (or dual) clitic pronoun with it. In (33) above, it is the third-person plural suffix *-amʉ* 'they'. But in the appropriate context it could also be the first or second plural pronoun, and a plural subject NP, as in:

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8. The verb here does not show plural agreement because a dual subject in Ute takes the singular verb form.

9. See discussion of NP conjunction in ch. 8, above.

(35) a. **First-person plural reciprocal**:

nú́mʉ̲-'ura **nanisʉ**-nʉmʉ̲ pʉnikya-qha-qa
1P/SU-be RECIP-1P see-PL-ANT
'We (pl.) saw each other'

b. **Second-person plural reciprocal**:

mú́nı̲-'ura **nanisʉ**-mʉnı̲ pʉnikya-qha-qa
2P-be RECIP-2P see-PL-PL
'Y'all saw each others'

c. **Plural-NP reciprocal**:

táata'wachi-u **nanis**-amʉ̲ pʉnikya-qha-qa
men-PL RECIP-3P see-PL-ANT
'the men saw each other'

As in English, Ute reciprocal clauses may also involve intransitive verbs with an indirect object. As in the simple reflexive, the reciprocal marker *nanis-* is then reduced to *na-*, followed by the post-position, followed by the pronoun:[10]

(36) a. **na**-vaa-chʉ-**amʉ̲** nʉka'nı̲-kya
RECIP-LOC-DIR-**3P** listen-ANT
'(they two) listened **to each other**'

b. **na**-vaa-chugwa-**nʉmʉ̲** wáygya-vaa-ni
RECIP-LOC-go-**1P** talk/PL-IRR-FUT
'we are going to talk **to each other**'

c. **na**-wa-**mʉnı̲** kani-naaghạ̲ yugwi-kya
RECIP-with-2P house-in sit/PL-ANT
'you-all were sitting in the house **with each other**'

The associative reciprocal expression in (36c) has an alternative form that conveys the sense of **joint action** – *na-na-ma* 'together'. The marker is most likely the reduplicate of the reciprocal *na-* plus the old locative suffix *-ma*. Thus compare:

(37) a. mamachı̲ na'achichi-wa **nana**-ma karʉ-ka
woman/SU girl/O-and RECIP-LOC sit-ANT
'the woman and the girl sat together' (> 'sat with each other')

b. **nana**-ma-**amʉ̲** tʉka-qha-qa
RECIP-LOC-**3P** eat-PL-ANT
'they (all) ate together' (> 'ate with each other')

10. The reduction of both the reflexive and reciprocal to na- before post-positions is another suggestion that they probably started out with the same marker na-, a fairly common situation.

c. **nana**-ma-**nʉmʉ̲** pəvər**i̲**kyatʉ pʉni'n**i̲**-kya-qha
RECIP-LOC-**1P** movie/O watch-PL-ANT
'we all watched the movie together' (> 'watched the movie with each other')

d. táata'wachi-u kani-vaa-t**ʉ̲** **nana**-ma-**amʉ̲** 'uni'n**i̲**-kya-pʉga
mem-PL house/O-LOC-NOM REC-LOC-**3P** do/be-PL-REM
'the men were together at the house' (> 'were with each other at the house')

Lastly, with a bi-transitive verb one may get two reciprocal versions, one for direct, the other for the indirect object:

(38) a. **Active-transitive**:
mamachi na'achichi-vaa-chukh**wa** 'áapachi níi-kya
girl/SU girl/O-LOC-go boy/O send-ANT
'the woman sent the boy to the girl'

b. **Direct-object reciprocal**:
mamachi na'achichi-wa **nanis-amʉ** 'áapachi-vaa-chukh**wa** níi-kya
girl/SU girl-and RECIP-**3P** boy-LOC-go send-ANT
'the woman and the girl sent **each other** to the boy'

c. **Indirect-object reciprocal**:
mamachi na'achichi-wa **na**-vaa-chugwa-**amʉ̲** 'áapachi níi-kya
girl/SU girl-and RECIP-LOC-go-**3P** boy/O send-ANT
'the woman and the girl sent the boy **to each other**'

10.4 Middle-voice

At first glance, Ute does not seem to have a middle-voice construction. Rather, it has intransitive lexical verbs that imply no involvement of an agent, contrasting with corresponding active-transitive agentive verbs. In many instances, the transitive member of the pair is a causative derivative of the intransitive, with the suffix *-ti*. Some such examples are:

(39)

intransitive	**transitive**	
qopoqh**i̲**-	qopoqh**i̲**-ti-	'break'
qovəch'a-	qovəch'a-ti-	'break'
yáqh**i̲**-	taqh**i̲**-ti-	'break'
yə'ach'a-	yə'ach'a-ti-	'break'
kucha'ni-	chaqho-vi'na-	'bend'
para'si-	para's**i̲**-ti-	'freeze'
nana-	nana-ti-	'grow'
kuchi-	kuchi-ti-	'heat up'
ya'ay- 'die'	p**a̲**qha-	'kill'
mana'ni-	mana'n**i̲**-ti-	'move'
na'a-	na'a-ti-	'burn'

Further below will survey a variant of the passive construction that seems to have a middle-voice meaning.

10.5 The impersonal passive

10.5.1 Structural dimensions

The Ute passive construction, while infrequent in natural discourse, is of considerable interest to a grammarian. Being a classical example of an impersonal or **non-promotional** passive, it contrasts sharply with the English 'be'-passive. We have already noted in (5)/(6) above the functional-pragmatic dimensions of passive voice. We will thus proceed directly to describing the morpho-syntax of this construction.

Earlier above (7), we listed the more general structural dimensions that distinguish active-transitive from de-transitive clauses. Of that list, reproduced below, three features – (7a,b,d) – are directly applicable to the Ute passive.

(7) **Syntactic dimensions of de-transitive voice constructions**:

a. **Grammatical relations**: Which of the event participants, agent vs. non-agent, is the *grammatical subject* of the de-transitive clause?

b. **Zero coding**: Which of the main event participants, agent vs. non-agent, is either *zero-marked* or *replaced* by some morpheme?

c. **Word-order**: It there a distinct word-order specific to the de-transitive clause?

d. **Morphology**: Is there a distinct morphology to mark of the agent, non-agent or verb in the de-transitive clause?

a. **Agent deletion and passive morphology**

The Ute passive construction is marked by the verb suffix *-ta* preceding whatever tense-aspect-modal markers but following the verb plural suffix. We have noted earlier (ch. 8) how this suffix also marks nominalized VPs, and will return later on (ch. 11) to consider the historical connection between nominalization and passivization.

As is characteristic of non-promotional passives in general, the subject/agent of the corresponding active cannot be mentioned in the Ute passive clause. That is, the construction is **agentless**. Thus consider:

(40) a. **Active-transitive**:
ta'wachi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha
man/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'the man ate the meat'

b. **Passive (anterior)**:

tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-qa
meat/O eat-PASS-ANT
'the meat was eaten'
'someone ate the meat'

c. **Passive (immediate)**:

tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-**'**ay
meat/O eat-PASS-IMM
'the meat is being eaten'
'someone is eating the meat'

d. **Passive (future)**:

tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-vaa-ni
meat/O eat-PASS-IRR-FUT
'the meat will be eaten'
'someone will kill the meat'

e. **Passive (negative)**:

tʉkuavi ka-tʉka-**ta**-vaa-**'**wa-ni
meat/O NEG-eat-PASS-IRR-NEG-FUT
'the meat will not be eaten'
'nobody will eat the meat'[11]

f. **Passive (remote)**:

tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-pʉga
meat/O eat-PASS-REM
'the meat was eaten (long ago)'
'someone ate the meat (long ago)'

b. **Grammatical relations in a non-promotional passive**

In terms of case-marking, the surviving topical argument – e.g. the direct object of the active-transitive (40a) – retains its active-clause case marking in the passive clause. What is more, even though the subject/agent is obligatorily deleted, it retains control over plural agreement on the verb. Thus, compare the singular-agent (40f) with the plural (41) below:

(41) tʉkuavi tʉka-**qha-ta**-pʉga
meat/O eat-PL-PASS-REM
'the meat was eaten (by many)'
'some people ate the meat'

11. The gloss 'somebody will not eat the meat' would be semantically aberrant.

As noted earlier (ch. 7), the optional clitic pronouns in the Ute active-transitive clause can agree, at least in principle, with *either* the subject or with the object. That is, pronominal agreement in the Ute active clause is *not* sensitive to grammatical relations.[12] This option disappears in the passive clause, where clitic pronouns only can agree with the surviving non-agent/object argument, but never with the deleted agent/subject. Thus compare:

(42) a. **Active-transitive: Subject agreement**:
tʉkuavi tʉkaa-qha-**'u**
meat/O kill-ANT-**3S**
'S/he ate the meat'

b. **Active-transitive: Object agreement**:
tʉkuavi tʉkaa-qha-**ukh**
meat/O kill-ANT-**it**
'(s/he) ate the meat'

c. **Passive: Object agreement**:
tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-qa-**ukh**
meat/O eat-**PASS**-ANT-it
'the meat was eaten'

d. **Passive: *Subject agreement**:
*tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-qa-**'u**
meat/O eat-**PASS-3S**

This restriction is compatible with our earlier observation (see (5)/(6) above) about the pragmatics of de-transitive voice: in the active-transitive voice both agent and patient are topical. In the passive, the topicality of the agent is severely downgraded. Ute clitic pronouns, it seems, are sensitive to the relative topicality of the event participants.[13]

So far, it seems that the surviving non-agent topical argument in the passive clause does not acquire subject properties such as case-marking or control of plural agreement on the verb. Let us now turn to another important correlate of grammatical relations, control of co-reference in complex syntactic environments.

For contrast, let us consider first the English 'BE-passive', where the surviving non-agent argument in the passive clause is 'promoted' to subjecthood. Either the active or

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12. We also noted (ch. 7) that in terms of text frequency, the overwhelming tendency is for the clitic pronoun to agree with either the subject of the intransitive of the object of the transitive, i.e. exhibit an *absolutive* pattern. But grammatical relations in Ute show a very strong, indeed classical, nominative-accusative alignment.

13. For a general discussion of pronouns and topicality, see Givón (1976).

the **promotional passive** can be the complement of modal-aspectual verbs in English, verbs that require co-reference between the subject of main and complement clause:[14]

(43) a. **Active complement**: She wanted to see him.
Passive complement: She wanted to be seen (by him).

In Ute, in contrast, the non-promotional passive cannot appear in such equi-subject complements, a strong indication that its surviving non-agent argument is not the grammatical subject of the complement clause:

(44) a. **Active complement**:

ta'wachi pʉnikya-vaa-chi̱ 'ásti-kya
man/O see-IRR-COMP want-ANT
'(s/he) wanted to see the man'

b. **Passive complement**:

*pʉnikya-**ta**-vaa-chi̱ 'ásti-kya
see-**PASS**-IRR-COMP want-ANT
(*'someone wanted to be seen')

The situation appears at first glance to be different in complements of manipulation verbs. Here the controller of the co-reference is not the subject of the main clause but its object. For as long as the co-reference is not placed between that object and the topical non-agent/object of the complement, passive complements are acceptable, as in (45b) below. But co-reference between the agent of the main clause and topical non-agent of a passive complement is unacceptable (45b,c). This is, again, presumably because that topical non-agent argument is not the grammatical subject of the passive clause:

(45) a. **Active complement**:

'áapachi máy-kya na'achichi pʉnikya-vaa-ku
boy/O tell-ANT girl/O see-IRR-COMP
'(s/he) told the boy to see the girl'

b. **Passive complement (no co-reference)**:

'áapachi máy-kya na'achichi pʉnikya-**ta**-vaa-ku
boy/O tell-ANT girl/O see-**PASS**-IRR-COMP
'(s/he) told the boy that the girl should be seen'
'(s/he) told the boy that someone should see the girl'
*'(she) told the boy that the girl should be seen by him'

14. For manipulative speech-acts, see ch. 14.

c. **Passive complement (*co-reference)**:

*'áapachi máy-kya pʉnikya-**ta**-vaa-ku
boy/O tell-ANT see-**PASS**-IRR-COMP
('*(s/he) told the boy to be seen')

The same restriction is also observed in causative constructions. Thus in (46) below, passivization of the main clause is possible (46b), with the topical argument being the manipulee. But passivization of the complement clause is impermissible:

(46) a. **Causative active**:

'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-ti-kya
boy-/O meat/O eat-CAUS-ANT
'(s/he) made the boy eat the meat'

b. **Main-clause passive**:

'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-ti-**ta**-qha-**'u**
boy/O meat/O eat-CAUS-**PASS**-ANT-**3S**
'the boy was forced to eat the meat'
'someone made the boy eat the meat'

c. **Complement-clause passive**:

*tʉkuavi ('áapachi) tʉka-ti-ta-qha-**ukh**
meat/O (boy/O) eat-CAUS-**PASS**-ANT-**it**
*'the meat was forced to be eaten (by the boy)'

In complements of P-C-U verbs, where no co-reference is required, the passive may appear with impunity, as in:

(47) 'áapachi̲ máy-kya na'achichi pʉnikya-**ta**-qa-na-y
boy/S say-ANT girl/GEN see-**PASS**-ANT-NOM-O
'the boy said that the girl had been seen'

Passives are barred from imperative and hortative clauses:

(48) a. **Imperative active**:

('áavʉ-mʉ̲) sivaatuchi pa̲qha-**nʉ**!
(now-2s) goat/O kill-**IMP**
'(now) kill the goat!'

b. ***Imperative-passive**:

*('áavʉ-mʉ̲) sivaatuchi paqha-**ta**-nʉ!
(now-2s) goat/O kill-**PASS**-IMP

c. **Hortative-active**:

'áavʉ-rami̲ sivaatuchi pa̲qha-vaa!
now-1du/INCL goat/O kill-IRR
'now let's (you & I) kill the goat!'

d. ***Hortative passive**:

*'áavʉ-ramị	sivaatuchi	pạqha-**ta**-vaa!
now-1du/INCL	goat/O	kill-PASS-IRR

One way of interpreting these restrictions is by noting that while the addressee of the command (48b) or exhortation (48d) is either overtly expressed or totally predictable from the speech situation, the deleted subject/agent of the passive clause itself cannot be mentioned. Only the non-subject topical argument ('goat') remains. Presumably, no subject argument is then accessible for the co-reference relation, a restriction similar to the one observed in the complements of manipulation verbs (44).[15]

One may as well note one more-complex construction in which the passive may appear. The following example is taken from text:[17]

(49) …'uwa**yasʉ**-ga kukwapi
3s/GEN-EMPH firewood/O

ma-magu'na-**ta**-qha-na-**av** na'a-ti-pʉga…
RED-gather-PASS-ANT-NOM-**own** burn-CAUS-REM

'…he himself then set the fire to the firewood that he had gathered all over…'
(lit.: '…he himself then set fire to the wood of his own all-over gathering…'

The odd thing about (49), from the perspective of the Ute passive, is that the agent of the passive clause, marked as genitive in the nominalized object REL-clause, is overtly mentioned in this construction even though the clause is a passive. In mitigation, one may note that (49) is extremely complex, piling together the passive, the possessive-reflexive and a nominalized object REL-clause. The structural norm for object REL-clauses (ch. 12) is to have a genitive-marked subject. The structural norm of the non-promotional passive is to have a zero subject/agent. In this complex construction, the conflict between these two norms is apparently resolved in favor of the object REL-clause, not the passive.

c. Unrestricted transitivity in passive clauses

So far, we have dealt exclusively with passive versions of semantically transitive clauses. But a strong typological correlate of non-promotional passives is that they place no

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15. An alternative explanation is semantic, observing that the subject of an imperative must have control over his/her action, while the subject of a passive is not a controller. This may be true for the BE-passive of English, but flies in the face of two facts about the Ute passive: (i) The Ute passive applies to all verb types, active or stative (see below); and (ii) the subject/agent of the Ute passive, while suppressed, is still implicitly there, controlling plural verb agreement. The passive clause thus remains semantically active.

16. See ch. 11.

17. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

restrictions on the transitivity of their verb; and therefore, that the topical argument of the passive clause need not be the direct-object of the corresponding active, but may be an indirect object. For comparison, consider the **promotional** BE-passive of English, which applies almost exclusively to transitive verbs, and where only the direct object can become the subject of the passive clause:

(50) a. **Transitive direct object:**
Active: Her mother saw her.
Passive: She was seen (by her mother)

b. **Bi-transitive direct objects**:
Active: His father gave him the money:
Passive-I: The money was given to him (by his father).
Passive-II: He was given money (by his father).

c. **Locative indirect object**:
Active: He walked into the house.
***Passive**: *The house was walked into (by him).
Active: They put a chair on the table.
***Passive**: *The table was put a chair on.

d. **Instrumental indirect object**:
Active: She cut the meat with a knife.
***Passive**: *The knife was cut the meat with (by her).

e. **Associative indirect object**:
Active: She worked with John.
***Passive**: *John was worked with (by her)

f. **Adverbial indirect object**:
Active: They ate the soup in a hurry.
***Passive**: *A hurry was eaten the soup in.

In contrast, any verb-type can undergo non-promotional passivization in Ute, and any surviving first-in-the-clause argument can, by default, be the topic of the passive clause:

(51) a. **Dummy-subject intransitive**:
Active: nʉvʉa-qha-aqh 'it was snowing'
snow-ANT-it
Passive: nʉvʉa-**ta**-qha 'there was some snowing'
snow-**PASS**-ANT

b. **Simple intransitive**:
Active: káa-qha-**'u** '(s/he) sang'
sing-ANT-**3s**
Passive: káa-**ta**-qha 'someone sang'
sing-**PASS**-ANT

c. **Intransitive with indirect object**:

Active:

kani-naagha-tukhwa paghay'wa-qha-**'u** 's/he walked into the house'
house/O-in-go enter-ANT-**3S**

Passive:

kani-naagha-tukhwa paghay'wa-**ta**-qha 'someone walked into the house'
house/O-in-go enter-**PASS**-ANT

d. **Intransitive with instrumental object**:

Active:

'áachi-m tʉi-tʉna-qha-**'u** 's/he deer-hunted with a bow'
bow/O-with deer-hunt-ANT-**3S**

Passive:

'áachi-m tʉi-tʉna-**ta**-qha-**ukh** 'someone deer-hunted with a bow'
bow/O-with deer-hunt-**PASS**-ANT-**it**

e. **Intransitive with associative object**:

Active:

mamachi-wa wʉ́ʉka-qha-qa-**amʉ** 'they worked with the woman'
woman-with work-PL-ANT-**3P**

Passive:

mamachi-wa wʉ́ʉka-qha-**ta**-qa-**'u** 'some people worked with the woman'
woman-with work-PL-**PASS**-ANT-**3S**

f. **Intransitive with manner adverb**:

Active:

tayuchi-gya-y **'**apagha-qa-**'u** 's/he spoke eloquently'
eloquence-have-IMM speak-ANT-**3S**

Passive:

tayuchi-gya-y **'**apagha-**ta**-qa 'someone spoke eloquently'
eloquence-have-IMM speak-**PASS**-ANT

10.5.2 Usage context of the passive in natural text

As noted earlier, the passive clause is rather infrequent in natural discourse. It would nonetheless be of some interest to examine some examples of its use in Ute oral texts, as in:

(52) a. …kách-kway tʉka-qha-**ta**-mi-wa **'**uwa-vaa-chʉ…
NEG-MOD eat-PL-**PASS**-HAB-NEG him-LOC-DIR
'…people usually don't eat (stuff that comes) from him…'[18]

18. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

b. …'umʉ-'ura pa-vaa-vukuchi-u kwichapʉ
them/O-be RED-water-critter-PL feces/O
magha-pʉga, máy-kya-**ta**-sapa…
feed-REM say-PL-**PASS**-MOD
'…he fed feces to those pet water-bugs, (that's what) people say…'[19]

c. …máy-kya-**ta**-miya-na-ukh 'uru, pʉsariniya-qha-qa 'úmʉ…
say-PL-**PASS**-HAB-NOM-it that/O story.tell-PL-ANT 3P/SU
'…that's what people say, they told (me) the story…'[20]

d. …"kwa'a-ti-**ta**-paa-sapa-rawi-'u…"…
beat-CAUS-**PASS**-IRR-MOD-2P-3S
'…"let's cause him to be beaten…"…'[21]

e. …'u-vwaa-tukhwa tʉkwa-[qha]-pʉga,
there-LOC-go descend-PL-REM
'u-vwaa-tukhwa qha-qharʉ-**ta**-na-paa-tugwa-av…
there-LOC-go RED-run-**PASS**-NOM-LOC-go-own
'…so they all went down there, to that place where the race was going to take place…'[22]

f. …"ma-mani-**ta**-sapa-'ara márʉ" máy-pʉga 'uwas…
RED-do.like-**PASS**-MOD-be it/SU say-REM 3S/SU
'…"It i 'it is known that….' s always done this way!" he said…'[23]

10.5.3 The passive as middle-voice

The passive form of several complement-taking verbs can have interesting **middle-voice** senses. Thus consider

(53) a. **Active**:
nʉka-qha 'áapachi tʉna-vɵri-kya-na-y
hear-ANT boy/GEN hunt-go-ANT-NOM-O
'(s/he) heard that the boy went hunting'

b. **Passive**:
nʉka-**ta**-'ay 'áapachi tʉna-vɵri-kya-na-y
heard-**PASS**-IMM boy/GEN hunt-go-ANT-NOM-O
'it **sounds like** the boy went hunting'

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19. "Porcupine, buffalo cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

20. Ibid.

21. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

22. Ibid.

23. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

c. **Active**: pu̲chuchugwa-qha…..
know-ANT
'(s/he) knew that….'

d. **Passive**: pu̲chuchugwa-**ta**-qha…..
know-**PASS**-ANT
'it **is known** that….'

e. **Active**: pʉnikya-qha…
see-ANT
'(s/he) saw that…'

f. **Passive**: pʉnikya-**ta**-qha…
see-**PASS**-ANT
'it was **obvious/apparent** that…'

g. **Active**: máy-kya…
say-ANT
'(s/he) said that…'

h. **Passive**: máy-**ta**-ˈay…
say-**PASS**-IMM
'it **is said** that…'/'they say that…'

i **Active**: sətəˈna-y…
wish-IMM
'(s/he) wishes that…'

i. **Passive**: sətəˈna-**ta**-ˈay…
wish-**PASS**-IMM
'it **is desirable/preferable** that….'

Another, more interesting middle-voice construction is obtained when the passive is combined with the nominal-habitual tense-aspect. The meaning that emerges out of this construction recalls the derived 'V-able' adjectives in English, both affirmative and negative. What is most surprising about the Ute construction is that it seems to be **promotional**, so that the underlying object of the active is coded as the grammatical *subject* of the passive construction. Thus consider:

(54) a. **Active**: taˈwachi̲ tʉkuavi tʉka-rʉ̲
man/SU meat/O eat-NOM
'the man always eats meat'

b. **Promotional**: tʉkuavi̲ ˈúru̲ tʉka-**ta**-rʉ̲
meat/SU the/SU eat-**PASS**-NOM
'the meat is edible'

c. *__Non-promotional__: *tʉkuavi ˈuru tʉka-**ta**-rʉ̲
meat/O the/O eat-**PASS**-NOM

d. **Active**: 'áapachi tɨka'napɨ ka-chikavi'na-'wa-rɨ
boy/SU table/O NEG-break-ANT/NEG
'the boy never breaks a/the table'

e. **Promotional**: tɨka'napɨ ka-chikavi'na-**ta**-'wa-tɨ
table/SU NEG-break-**PASS**-NEG-NOM
'the table is unbreakable'

f. ***Non-promotional**: tɨka'napɨ ka-chikavi'na-**ta**-'wa-tɨ
table/O NEG-break-**PASS**-NEG-NOM

Another observation that drives home the promotional nature of this middle-voice construction is the fact that the underlying object of the active (rather than the deleted agent) controls plural agreement here:

(55) a. **Active**: na'achichi tɨ́sapa kava-yu pɨnikya-rɨ
girl/SU always horse-PL see-NOM-**3S**
'the girl always sees (the) horses'

b. **Promotional**: kava-yu tɨ́sapa pɨnikya-ta-**qha**-rɨ-mɨ
horse-PL always see-PASS-**PL**-NOM-**PL**
'the horses are always visible'

What is even more remarkable about the promotional middle-voice construction in (55b) is the position of the plural marker: It does not directly follow the *verb stem* as is the case in normal passives, where pluralization is controlled by the deleted agent. Rather, it follows the *passive suffix -ta* – as if that suffix was a verb.

A coherent interpretation of the promotional nature of this middle-voice construction in Ute is, probably, that such predicates are **derived lexical adjectives**, whose subject behaves just like the normal nominative subject of intransitive verbs. The odd position of the plural marker may be one piece of evidence in support of the verbal origin of the passive suffix *-ta*.[24]

10.6 The antipassive

Earlier above (5)/(6) we defined the communicative function of the antipassive as a pragmatic voice construction used in context where the topicality of the patient/object is extremely low, as compared to its topicality in the active-transitive. Given this functional definition of antipassive voice, Ute seems to have the two most common antipassive devices: (i) zero-marked object, and (ii) object incorporation into the verb.

24. See discussion in ch. 11, below.

(56) a. **Active-transitive**:
tʉkuavi **'**uru tʉka-pʉgay-**'u**
meat/o the/o eat-REM-**3s**
's/he ate the meat'

b. tʉkuavi **'**uru tʉka-pʉga-**ukh**
meat/o the/o eat-REM-**it**
'(s/he) ate the meat'

c. **Antipassive-i: Zero-marked object**:
'ava**'**na̲ tʉka-na-pʉgay-**'u**
much eat-HAB-REM-**3s**
's/he used to eat a lot'

d. *ʼava**'**na̲ tʉka-na-pʉgay-**ukh**
much eat-HAB-REM-**it**

e. **Antipassive-ii: Incorporated object**:
tʉkua-tʉka-na-pʉgay-**'u**
meat-eat-HAB-REM-**3s**
'(s/he) used to do meat-eating'

f. *tʉkua-tʉka-na-pʉgay-**ukh**
meat-eat-HAB-REM-**it**

As one would expect, the restriction on clitic pronouns (agreement) here is the opposite of the one found in the passive clause: Here it is the non-topical *object* in the antipassive clause that cannot control pronominal agreement. The Ute passive and antipassive, functional converses of each other, are also structural converses of each other:

- in both, the de-topicalized argument cannot appear overtly.
- in both, the de-topicalized argument cannot control pronominal agreement.

10.7 The inverse voice

To my best knowledge, there is no distinct, morphologically-marked inverse-voice construction in Ute. Rather, several constructions may share the functional load of coding events in which the patient is more topical but the agent is still somewhat topical. As noted earlier (ch. 7), word order, perhaps in interaction with the clitic pronouns, may function as an inverse in Ute, and thus sometimes as a chain-medial switch-reference device.[25] As a plausible example, one may perhaps consider the constructed passage

25. For detail on the cross-linguistic typology of inverse voice, see Givón (ed. 1994).

in (57) below. The first clause (57a) exhibits the more common SOV order. The second (57b), functioning as an inverse, exhibits the more rare OVS order and affects switch-reference. After which the newly-topicalized object becomes the subject of the next clause (57c), reverting to the SOV order:

(57) a. …'uwas-'ura wáy-ku tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga,
3S/SU-be two-O child/O-PL-have-REM
'…s/he had two children,

b. kh-'ura **'umʉ**-kway 'uwas supay-pʉga-**amʉ̲**…
then-be **them**/O-EMPH 3S/SU desert-REM-**3P**
then (one day) s/he deserted **them**.

c. 'umʉs-'ura miya'ni-gya na-nan̲a-kwa-pʉga-amʉ̲…
3P/SU-be wander-PAR RED-grow-go-REM-3P
And they then grew up wandering about…'

CHAPTER 11

The diachrony of Ute passives

11.1 Orientation

In the preceding chapter we described the current passive construction of Ute, showing how it possessed a cluster of syntactic properties that characterize **non-promotional** (impersonal) passives. We noted that the most conspicuous of those properties are:

(1) **Syntactic properties of non-promotional passives**:

a. **Grammatical relations**: The non-agent topic of the passive retains its active-clause non-subject properties, such as word-order, case-marking and verbal agreement or syntactic control properties.[1]
b. **Subject/agent deletion**: The active-clause subject/agent is obligatorily deleted from the passive clause.
c. **Transitivity restrictions**: There are no restrictions on the transitivity of verbs that can undergo passivization.

In this chapter we will focus on the diachronic evolution of Ute passives. We will begin by probing the diachrony of the current passive construction, marked with the suffix *-ta*. We will suggest, on both general and Ute-specific grounds, that the morpho-syntactic properties of the current non-promotional passive of Ute are, to a large extent, predictable from those of its diachronic source construction. We will then outline the evidence suggesting that Ute had, at some earlier time, a different type of passive construction, one that may be still detected in both surviving current usage and frozen relic constructions.

That a language can have several coexisting passive constructions is easy to demonstrate. Consider, for example, the plethora of English constructions that answer to the functional profile of the a passive (de-topicalized agent):

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1. For a discussion of the three clusters of cross-linguistically most common subject properties – word-order, morphology and behavior-and-control – see Keenan (1976).

(2) **Coexisting English passives**:

a. **Promotional**:
She **was** fired (by the manager).
She **got** fired (by her boss).

b. **Non-promotional**:
They saw her wandering on the beach at midnight.
You don't see such behavior around here any more.
We expect people to shut up and listen.
One may finds such a book in any decent library.

The overall story we will follow here is *A Tale of Two Passives*.[2]

11.2 The diachrony of the Ute *-ta* passive

We noted in the previous chapter that the direct diachronic source of the Ute *-ta*-marked passive was probably the still-extant **VP nominalization**. Such nominalization may be used in either the derivation of the de-verbal nouns, as in (3a) below, of generic VP nominalizations, as in (3b), or of specific VP nominalizations, as in (3c):

(3) a. **Generic verb nominalizations**:
tʉka-**ta** tʉ́ʉ'a-tʉ̲
eat-**NOM** good-NOM
'eating is good'

b. **Generic VP nominalization**:
tugwa-n tʉkua-tʉka-**ta** tʉ́ʉ'a-tʉ̲
night-LOC meat-eat-**NOM** good-NOM
'eating meat at night is good'

c. **Specific VP nominalization**:
sivaatuchi kani-vaa-tʉ̲ pa̲qha-**ta** ka-'ay-wa-tʉ̲ ('ura-qa)
goat/o house-at-DIR kill-**NOM** NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-ANT
(i) 'killing the goat at the house was not good'
(ii) 'someone's killing (of) the goat at the house was not good'
(iii) 'the goat's being killed at the house was not good'

It is the more specific VP nominalization, as in (3c), that gave rise to an impersonal passive interpretation (3c-iii).

Having the VP nominalization construction (3c) as the diachronic precursor of the Ute impersonal passive predicts all three of its syntactic properties: The VP

2. For the original treatment see Givón (1988a).

nominalization leaves the case-marking of the active-clause object(s) unchanged (1a); it is agentless (1b); and it places no transitivity restriction on the type of verb that can be nominalized (1c). What remains is to discover a plausible etymology for the nominalizing suffix *-ta*.

The first and most obvious source of the nominalized *-ta* is the verb 'be', whose root *-ra* nowadays incorporates some deictic prefix, most commonly *'u-* 'there' (invis.), *ma-* 'there' (vis.) or *'a-* (non-specified). We have discussed this verb earlier on (ch. 4); its use as an emphatic auxiliary can be seen in (3c) above. Such emphatic use is extremely common in Ute discourse, where the main verb is often nominalized and the emphatic auxiliary 'be' carries the finite marking, as in:

(4) a. ka-'ay-wa-tʉ 'ura-'ay
NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-IMM
'it's not good'

b. ka-nʉka-wa-tʉ 'ura-qa
NEG-hear-NEG-NOM be-ANT
'(s/he) didn't hear/understand'

c. tʉsu'a-qa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-qa-pʉga
smart-PL-NOM-PL be-PL-REM
'(they) were smart'

d. puwa-gha-tʉ 'ura-vaa-ni
power-have-NOM be-IRR-FUT
'(s/he) will have medicine power'
'(s/he) will be a medicine person'

A few text-derived examples of this emphatic use of 'be' are:[3]

(5) a. …kách-'ura mámʉ nana-ma wúʉka-qha-wa-**tʉ**-mʉ 'ura-'ay…
NEG-be they RECIP-LOC work-PL-NEG-**NOM**-PL be-IMM
'…and they don't work together…'

b. …ka-nana-mani-kya-wa-**tʉ**-mʉ 'ura-'ay
NEG-RECIP-do-PL-NEG-**NOM**-PL be-IMM
'…(we) don't do it together…'

c. …'umʉs-'ura pʊ'ʊ-miya-**tʉ**-mʉ 'ura-'ay
they-be write-go/PL-**NOM**-PL be-IMM
'…(since) they go to school (nowadays)…'

d. …'úu-pa-ni-aqh 'ura-**tʉ** 'ura-'ay…
that-DIR-like-it be-**NOM** be-IMM
'…that's the way it (really) is…'

3. Ralph N. Cloud, in a speech to the Ute Language Committee, 4-13-77.

There are, further, surviving relics of the use of *-ta/-ra* 'be' without the deictic particle. Thus, consider the following text-derived examples:

(6) a. …'agha-**ra**-pʉga-vaachi…[4]
WH-**be**-REM-BKGR
'…whichever way it was…'

b. …pa'a-togho-tʉ mɵvɵt'ɵ-**ta**-pʉga…[5]
complete-straight-NOM nose-**be**-REM
'…it was a very long nose…'

c. …"'ini-a-**ta**-vaa-pʉ-u-na-'ura" máy-pʉgaa-ni…[6]
WH-O-**be**-IRR-NOM-??-COMP-be say-REM-like
'…"I wonder what it would have been?" he thought…'

d. …'ʉvʉs pa'a-togho-tʉ kwasi-**ta**-pʉga…[7]
end complete-straight-NOM tail-**be**-REM
'…and lo, his tail became very long…'

e. …sinaavi-**ra**-qha-tʉ-mʉ…[8]
wolf-**be**-ANT-NOM-AN
'…he was (like) a wolf…'

There is, however, an alternative hypothesis about the source of the Ute VP nominalizer *-ta*, one that relies on comparative data from related languages. Félix-Armendáriz (2004) reports a promotional passive in Guarijío, marked with the suffix *-tu*. This suffix, most likely an old nominalizer in Guarijío and closely-related languages (Medina-Murillo 2004), is probably a cognate to the Ute subject nominalizer *-tʉ/-rʉ*. Thus consider (Félix-Armendáriz 2004):

(7) a. owéru wicho-ré wakirá
Women wash-PFV clothes
'The women washed the clothes'

b. wicho-ré-**tu** wakirá (owéru-e)
wash-PFV-**PASS** clothes women-INSTR
'The clothes were washed (by the women)'

A similar passive construction is reported in a closely related language, Tarahumara (Valdez-Jara 2004), where the passive suffix is again *-ru*. In Tarahumara,

4. "How bobcat and coyote got their shapes", told by Harry Richards (Givón ed. 1985).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. "Ute creation story", told by Julius Cloud.

the agent is inadmissible in passive clauses, making it more like the non-promotional passive of Ute. That is:

(8) a. mué-ka nechí choná-re
2s-s 1s/o hit-PERF
'You hit me'

b. né-ka choná-**ru**-re
1s-s hit-**PASS**-PERF
'I was hit (*by you)'

My interpretation of the grammatical status of the topic-of-passive in Guarijío and Tarahumara is that these constructions have undergone a later change from non-promotional to promotional passive, a change not yet complete in Tarahumara.[9] Given the nominalizer source of the passive marker *-tu/-ru* in Guarijío and Tarahumara, one may suggest that the Ute nominalizing suffix *-ta* is really a historical composite of the nominalizer *-tʉ* and the old object suffix *-a*. This suggestion is phonologically plausible, but still needs to be backed up by a plausible syntactic mechanism.[10]

11.3 The other passive

As noted earlier (ch. 6), the anterior-perfect marker in Ute is *-ka*, and there are reasonable grounds for suggesting that it arose historically from the verb 'have' *-ga*. There is evidence, however, that the perfect construction with *-ka* also gave rise to a passive construction, but a **promotional** one. The first hint of this possibility may be found in Ute object nominalizations.

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9. See discussion of late-stage diachrony of passive constructions in Givón (2009, ch. 3), as well as of the gradual resurfacing of the agent-of-passive in Chamoreau (2004).

10. The syntactic configuration that would make the nominalized VP an object, thus motivating the use of the object suffix *-a*, may have involved equi-subject modal-aspectual verbs such as 'want', 'start' or 'finish', as in: 'She wanted the cooking of the food' or 'She finished the butchering of the goat'. As noted earlier (ch. 9), the zero-subject complement clause of such constructions, especially in an extreme-nominalizing language such as Ute, began its life as an *object* of the transitive modal-aspectual verb. Nowadays, however, a putative example such as:

*tʉka-ˈini-**ta** ˈuru ˈásti-ˈi
food-make-**NOM** that/O want-IMM
('(s/he) would like the preparing of food')

seems odd, as compared with the standard equi-subject complement construction:

tʉka-ˈini-**vaa-chi** ˈásti-ˈi
food-make-**IRR-NOM** want-IMM
'(s/he) would like to make food'

Subject nominalizations in Ute are marked with the suffix *-tʉ*, which also marks subject relative clauses (see ch. 12):

(9) a. **Main clause**:

mamachi̲ tʉkapi 'ini-kya
woman/SU food/O make-ANT
'the woman prepared the food'

b. **Subject REL-clause**:

mamachi [tʉkapi 'ini-kya-**tʉ̲**]
woman/O [food/O make-ANT-**NOM**]
'the woman who prepared the food'

c. **Subject nominalization**:

tʉka-'ini-mi-**tʉ̲** 'food-maker'
eat-make-HAB-**NOM**

Object nominalizations, in contrast, are often marked by the prototypical inanimate noun suffix *-pʉ*. This pattern is most striking with **cognate object** nominalizations, as in:

(10)	**activity verb**	**object nominal**
a.	kwicha- 'defecate'	> kwicha-pʉ̲ 'feces'
b.	si'i- 'urinate'	> si'i-pʉ̲ 'urine'
c.	'uu- 'fart'	> 'uu-pʉ̲ 'a fart'
d.	nh̲ka- 'dance'	> nh̲ka-pʉ̲ 'a dance'
e.	'ʉa- 'cultivate'	> 'ʉa-pʉ̲ 'field'
f.	kukwa- 'gather wood'	> kukwa-pʉ̲ 'firewood'
g.	naghami- 'be sick'	> naghami-pʉ̲ 'sickness'
h.	sʉri'aa- 'be afraid'	> sʉri'aa-pʉ̲ 'fear'

But the object nominalizer *-pʉ* can also be used with more prototypical transitive verbs, often in combination with the anterior suffix *-ka*, as in:

(11)	**transitive verb**	**object nominal**
a.	chi̲kavi'na- 'cut'	> chi̲kavi'na-qa-pʉ̲ 'a cut piece'
b.	wunʉ'a- 'notch'	> wunʉ'a-qa-pʉ̲ 'a notched piece'
c.	kukwa- 'gather wood'	> kukwa-qa-pʉ̲ 'firewood'
d.	chʉkʉr'a- 'splinter'	> chʉkʉr'a-qa-pʉ̲ 'a splintered piece'

The derivational logic of (11) is fairly transparent – if someone has acted upon an object, the object is therefore 'the having been acted upon'. The use of the suffix *-pʉ* in such nominalizations is but an analogical extension from the most common inanimate noun suffix onto a slot whose most prototypical occupants are

inanimate nouns. But the combination of the anterior-perfect *-ka* and the object nominalizer *-pʉ* already imparts a passive sense.

What is more striking is the next pattern of object nominalization, where the anterior-perfect *-ka* is followed by the *subject* nominalizer *-tʉ*:

(12)		**transitive verb**	**object nominal**
	a.	pʊ'ʊ- 'write'	pʊ'ʊ-kwa-tʉ 'book'
	b.	tʉsu- 'grind'	tʉsu-kwa-tʉ 'flour'
	c.	choqho- 'grind'	tʉkuavi choqho-qwa-tʉ 'ground meat'
	d.	cíir'a- 'fry'	páana chíir'a-qa-tʉ 'fried bread'
	e.	tavasi-ti- 'cause to dry'	tʉkuavi tavasi-ti-kya-tʉ 'dried meat'
	f.	'ini- 'make'	tavi-'ini-kya-tʉ 'sun made', 'sunshine'
	g.	kwiy'a- 'fence'	kwiy'a-qa-tʉ 'a fence'
	h.	whtʊpina- 'bundle'	whtʊpina-qha-tʉ 'medicine bundle'
	i.	tʊ'ma- 'roast'	tʉkuavi tʊ'ma-qha-tʉ 'roasted meat'

Since the suffix *-tʉ* used in this pattern is a subject nominalizer, the *-ka*-marked passive must have been a **promotional** one, where the object of the corresponding active-transitive clause is the *subject* of the passive clause.

Of even greater interest are examples from Ute oral texts where the speaker uses the *-ka-* marked passive in finite main clauses. In the examples below, enough context is included to make the communicative use of the *-ka*-marked passive sufficiently clear. Consider first:[11]

(13) a. …'i-na-kwa-pʉ núuchi 'avi-pʉga, pʉ-pʉi-pʉga.
here-LOC-go-NOM person/S lie-REM RED-sleep-REM
'…and there was a person lying there, fast asleep.

b. 'uwa-'ura 'u-vwa-tugwa-pʉga, pʉni'ni-pʉgay-'u,
he-be there-at-go-REM look-REM-3S
So he went there and looked at him.

c. 'úniguni tóchay'a-u tʊ'ma-**qha-qa**-pʉga…
lo prairie.dog-PL roast-**PL-PASS**-REM
and lo, the prairie dogs had been roasted…'

The plural subject-agreement on the verb in (13c) makes it clear that 'prairie dogs', the object of the transitive verb 'roast', retains subject properties in the passive clause. In other words, the *-ka*-marked passive is promotional.

11. "How bobcat and coyote got their shapes", told by Harry Richards.

Consider next:[12]

(14) a. …'ivichi 'ura-puga, 'icha-ta-ni,
stick/SU be-REM this-be-like
'…they were sticks, like this,

b. chuwaqhi-**kya**-puga, kunavu-naaghą-amu-'ura…
stuff-**PASS**-REM bag-in-3P-be
they were stuffed in there, into a bag…'

Inanimate nouns such as 'sticks' in (14) have no plural form and cannot control plural agreement on the verb. Still, 'sticks' is clearly the *subject* of the *-ka*-marked' passive in (14b).

Consider next:[13]

(15) a. …puni-ti-puay-aghay-'u… mo'o-av 'uru,
see-CAUS-REM-CONCL-3S hand-own the/O
'…and he showed him his hand,

b. pú-ma-'uru tapaqha-**qa**-pua-na-av-'uru…
REL-LOC-that nail-**PASS**-REM-REL-own-that
(i) where he had been nailed (to the cross)…'
(ii) where they nailed him (to the cross)…'
(Lit.: 'of his own being nailed (to the cross')

The presence of the possessive-reflexive suffix makes the impersonal-plural interpretation (15bii) of the *-ka*-marked passive clause much less likely, reinforcing the promotional-passive interpretation, in which the object of 'nail' is the *subject* of the passive clause, and as such triggers the use of the possessive-reflexive.

Consider now, by way of comparison, the virtually identical construction, found in an adjacent passage in the same story, where the *-ta*-marked rather than the *-ka*-marked passive (15b) is used:[14]

(16) …'awatapu-'u pu-paa-tu tona-**ta**-pua-na-av…
ribs-3S REL-LOC-DIR stab-**PASS**-REM-REL-OWN
'…where his ribs had been stabbed…'

A bit further in the same text, the speaker reverts to the use of the *-ka*-marked passive – but with a twist. The deleted agent of the passive in (17c) control plural agreement on the verb, a syntactic pattern identical to the *-ta*-marked passive:[15]

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12. "Ute creation story", told by Julius Cloud.

13. "Origins of the Ute Sundance", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

(17) a. …manu-khu̲-tu̲-aa-s-ˈuru nú' ˈumuy-rugwa-vaa-ni,
all-O-NOM-O-CONJ-that 1S/SU 2S/O-give-IRR-FUT
'…and I will also give you everything,

b. ˈuru pu-a-mu̲ ˈuni-vaa-ni, ˈini-wunu-vaa-na,
that/O REL-O-2S do-IRR-FUT do-stand-IRR-REL
what you will use, when you stand (in the Sundance),

c. ˈini-kya-**qha**-vaa-na̲…
do-PL-**ANT/PASS**-IRR-REL
what will be done (by you-all)…

As noted earlier (ch. 4), the bi-transitive verb *wachu-* 'put' has an intransitive derivative *wachu-ka-*, used as the locative verb ('be at a location') – but only with inanimate subjects. The derivation is transparently a passive one, with 'be at' being a variant of 'having been put at'. Thus consider the subtle variation between the anterior (18a) and the passive (18b) interpretations of *-ka*:

(18) a. **Anterior-transitive**:

pəˈəkwatu tukaˈnapu-vwan wachu-ka
book/O table/O-on put-ANT
'(s/he) put the book on the table'

b. **Passive-intransitive**:

pəˈəkwatu̲ tukaˈnapu-vwan wachu-ka
book/SU table/O-on put-PASS
'the book is on the table'

The following two examples are taken from oral texts:

(19) a. …ˈuru pu̲-púchuchugwa-vaa-ku,[16]
that/O RED-know-IRR-COMP
'…so that they may keep knowing it,

pəˈə-**kway**-ku̲-aqh-ˈuru wachu-**ka**-y…
write-**PASS**-SUB-it-that put-**PASS**-IMM
if it is put in writing…'

b. …ˈu-vwaa-tukhwa̲ ˈi-vaa-aqh-ˈuru wachu-**ka**-y…[17]
there-at-go here-at-it-that/O put-**ANT/PASS**-IMM
'…it was (put) right there…'

16. Ralph N. Cloud, in a speech to the Ute Language Committee, 4-13-77.

17. "Sinawav the copy cat", told by Harry Richards.

11.4 Conclusion

We have noted earlier (ch. 9) how nominalization is a persistent theme in the grammar of Ute, which is an extreme nominalizing language. It is thus not surprising that nominalization figures prominently in the diachronic evolution of both Ute passives. In the case of the older *ka*-marked construction, much of the suggestive evidence for its existence was found in de-verbal lexicon, i.e. in object nominalizations. Such constructions are notorious graveyards of older syntactic patterns.[18] But nominalization figures even more prominently in the diachrony of the *-ta*-marked passive, via connection to either the verb 'be' *-ra* or the old No. Uto-Aztecan nominalizer *-tu/-ru*.

Our Ute data suggest several general themes that have been noted elsewhere. First, that a language may develop several types of passive constructions, often via different diachronic pathways. Second, that these passives may either coexist or emerge one after the other, with one replacing the other. Third, that co-existence at different usage frequency may presage replacement. And fourth, that the syntactic properties of a passive clause is largely predicted from the syntactic properties of its diachronic source construction.

18. See discussion of Athabascan nominalizations in Givón (2000).

CHAPTER 12

Relative clauses

12.1 Orientation

Relative clauses (henceforth REL-clauses) are clause-size noun modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. They are one of the major types of subordinate clauses, and their position in the noun phrase parallels, to some extent, that of verbal complements in the verb phrase (ch. 9).

Functionally, REL-clauses, much like other noun modifiers, partake in the grammar of referential coherence, furnishing anaphoric and cataphoric clues for referent identification (chs 7, 8). As large noun modifiers, REL-clauses share some of the functional properties of adjectives (ch. 8).

Structurally, a REL-clause is a clause missing one nominal argument (participant). The referential identity of the missing argument is easy to recover, since it is co-referent with the head noun modified by the REL-clause. What is not recoverable from the head noun, though, is the **grammatical role** (case-role) of the missing argument. This is so because the head noun is case-marked for its role in the *main* clause within which the REL-clause is lodged. Much of the grammar of REL-clauses revolves around the various provisions that help the hearer recover the grammatical role of that missing argument.

12.2 Functional dimensions

The discussion below will be confined to **restrictive** REL-clauses. As in the case of other devices that code referential coherence (ch. 7), we will divide the discussion according to the definiteness and reference status of the head noun modified by the REL-clause.

12.2.1 Definite head nouns: Anaphoric grounding

As noted earlier (ch. 7), a referent is **definite** when the speaker assumes that its identity is accessible to the hearer, either via general knowledge, or from the shared speech situation, or from memory of earlier portions of the current discourse. Upon encountering a definite noun phrase, the hearer must thus ground the referent to the source of

its identifiability – general knowledge, current speech-situation, or episodic memory of current discourse. A **restrictive** REL-clause is one type of clue that helps the hearer accomplish such **grounding**.

The communicative context in which a restrictive REL-clause is used to modify a definite head noun is somewhat complex. As in the use of simple definite nouns, the speaker assumes that the referent's identity is accessible to the hearer. But the referent's accessibility here is more problematic. Other referents of the same type may interfere. Consider for example:

(1) a. **Discourse context**: …**One woman** was standing near the door. **Another** one was sitting by the window. They were both quiet for a while.
b. **Failed subsequent reference**: Then **she** said…
c. **Failed subsequent reference**: Then **the** woman said…
d. **Successful subsequent reference**: Then **the** woman **standing near the door** said…

Both the anaphoric pronoun 'she' in (1b) or the definite description 'the woman' in (1c) fail to tease apart the two potential referents introduced in (1a). The REL-clause 'standing near the door' in (1d) does the job by tapping into the hearer's memory of the previous discourse (1a), matching the REL-clause 'standing near the door' in (1d) with the main clause 'one woman was standing near the door' (1a).

The other major context where restrictive REL-clauses are used to modify definite head nouns is when a considerable time has elapsed between the previous and current mention of a referent – anywhere from, say, five clauses and up in the current discourse. So that even without competition from a similar referent, the hearer's memory is deemed insufficient and in need of refreshing. Quite often, there is no clause-per-clause matching between the earlier mention in the discourse and the subsequent use of the restrictive REL-clause. Rather, a chain of subtle inferences may connect the antecedent and the current discourse loci. Thus consider:[1]

(2) a. **Discourse context**:
'Arthur Koestler **was arrested** by Francisco Franco's Nationalist forces in the city of Málaga on February 9, 1937. Koestler had come to Spain, in the midst of the Civil War, as a **correspondent for a British paper** called the *News Chronicle*…'
b. **Subsequent use of restrictive REL-clauses (ca. 1/4 p. below)**:
'…The officer **who arrested him**, Captain Luis Bolin, had sworn, based on things **that Koestler had already published**…'

1. Louis Menand, "Road Warrior", *The New Yorker*, December 21/28, 2009.

Neither of the two REL-clauses in (2b) are grounded explicitly in an identical verbal clause in the preceding discourse. Such explicit reference would have been, respectively:

(3) a. An office arrested Koestler.
b. Koestler had already published things.

Rather, the two-clauses in (2b) are grounded much more subtly and implicitly, via a chain of inferences stemming from the previous mentions of, respectively, 'Koestler was arrested' and 'as a correspondent for a British paper'. Neither an anaphoric pronoun ('he', 'those') nor a mere definite description ('the officer', 'the things') would have served as an adequate referent-tracking device in (2b). The two restrictive REL-clauses used there, however implicit their grounding to the preceding discourse, successfully evoke their distant antecedents.

12.2.2 Referring indefinite head nouns: Cataphoric grounding

As noted earlier (ch. 7), referring indefinite (REF-indefinite) NPs code topical referents upon their first introduction into the discourse. Having no antecedent in the current discourse, such referents are assumed by the speaker to be inaccessible to the hearer in his/her episodic memory of the current discourse, or in his/her representation of the current speech situation. Restrictive REL-clauses are one of the devices used to ground such referents upon their first introduction. By **grounding** we mean here supplying a salient initial description that could form the basis for a vivid memory representation, so that the referent may be retrieved efficiently upon subsequent mention. The direction of grounding here is thus **cataphoric** rather than anaphoric.

As an illustration of the use of several restrictive modifiers, including a REL-clause, to supply cataphoric grounding for a newly-introduced referent, consider:[2]

(4) 'In 1968, the Department of Fauna of the Portuguese government hired a **young South African** ecologist **named Ken Tindley** to study conservation in Gorongosa National Park. In establishing the park, the colonial authorities had driven out the African villagers who had lived there for as long as anyone could remember, and they were prepared to displace more people in the name of preserving the wild land. **Tindley** had been asked by his Portuguese employers to identify the full parameters of the Gorongosa ecosystem, with the aim of redrawing the park's boundaries accordingly. **He** picked up **his** official Land Rover in the Mozambican capital, Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), and with **his** wife Lynne, an artist, and **their** infant son set out for Chitengo…'

2. Philip Gourevitch, "The monkey and the fish", *The New Yorker*, December 21/28, 2009.

In (4) above, the pre-nominal restrictive adjectives 'young' an 'South African' combine with the post-nominal restrictive REL-clause 'named Ken Tindley' to endow the REF-indefinite NP 'an ecologist' with **cataphoric saliency**, making the referent – the recurrent topical participant of the entire episode – vivid and meaningful upon the subsequent mention as 'Tindley', 'he', 'his', 'his' and 'their'.

12.2.3 Non-referring head nouns: Irrealis and the problem of strict co-reference

Restrictive REL-clauses can also modify non-referring head nouns, a situation that requires some enrichment of our notion of 'reference'. Put in a nutshell, if both the head noun and the missing co-referent argument inside the REL-clause are non-referring, what exactly is the sense of 'co-reference'?

The problem may be illustrated by the three-way contrast in:

(5) a. **REF-definite head noun**: The man [who married my sister] is a crook.
b. **REF-indefinite head noun**: A man [who had no shirt on] came into the office and…
c. **NON-REF head noun**: Any man [who would marry my sister] must be crazy.
d. **NON-REF head noun**: There's nobody [who would marry my sister].

In both (5a) and (5b), the referring head noun is co-referent with the missing noun evoked by 'who' inside the REL-clause. In both (5c) and (5d) the head noun is non-referring and the event coded by the REL-clause is hypothetical and unreal. If the notion of 'co-reference' is to remain meaningful, it must apply not only to referring *tokens*, but also to non-referring *types*; that is, to hypothetical entities.[3]

12.3 Structural dimensions

As noted earlier above, restrictive REL-clauses are subordinate clauses embedded inside a noun phrase. In such an embedding configuration, the REL-clause is missing one argument, the one that is co-referential with the head noun. This may be described as another case of **zero-marking** under co-reference, much like zero-anaphoric pronouns (ch. 7). In examples such as the English (5), above, the REL-subordinator 'who' may be considered a **relative-pronoun**, since it stands (or 'fills in') for the missing argument.

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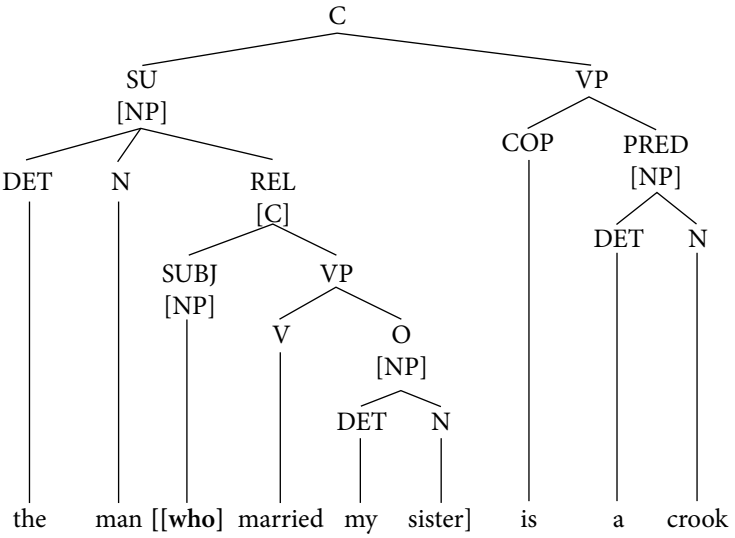
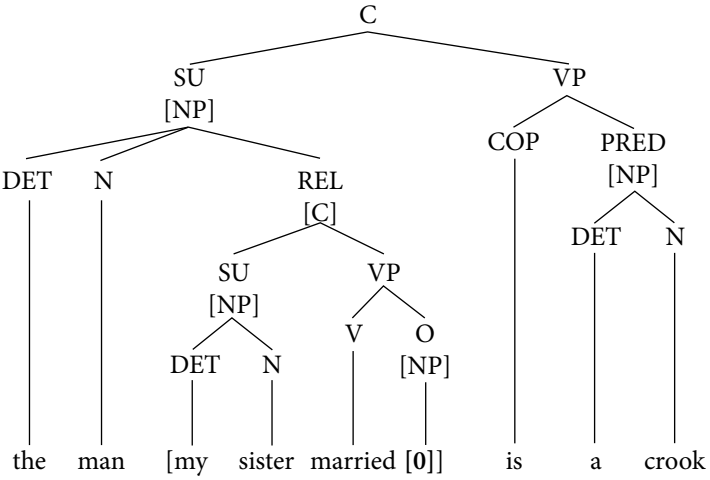
3. This 'problem' is systematic and widespread in all languages. It is also found in the use of anaphoric pronouns, as in, e.g. 'If you see *anybody* there, send *them* away'. The anaphoric pronoun 'they' in such an example refers to no particular person, but to the hypothetical, non-referring 'anybody'.

The missing argument inside the REL-clause can occupy any participant role – subject, direct object, indirect object, adverb, etc. As simple illustrations, consider the two phrase-structure diagrams below, representing embedded REL-clauses where the missing argument is either the subject (6) or the direct-object (7).

(6) **Subject REL-clause**:



(7) **Object REL-clause**:



In the English subject REL-clauses in (6), the missing argument inside the REL-clause is replaced by the REL-pronoun 'who'. In the English object REL-clause in (7), the missing argument inside the REL-clause is just missing, or zero-marked.

The potential diversity of case-role of the missing argument inside the REL-clause is the basis for the syntactic classification of REL-clauses as either subject REL-clauses, object REL-clauses, indirect-object REL-clauses, etc. Such classification may be viewed as the classification of the morpho-syntactic means by which a language may insure the **recoverability** of the case-role of the missing argument.

The last thing to remember is that REL-clauses may be embedded in any noun phrase inside the main clause – its subject, object, indirect object, predicate noun, etc. In other words, any noun in a main clause can be modified by a REL-clause, given the appropriate communicative context. The position of the modified noun inside its own clause does not affect the structural properties of the REL-clause that modifies it. Thus, for example, the embedded subject REL-clause in (8) below remains structurally the same, regardless of the role its head noun occupies in the main-clause:

(8) **Role of the head noun inside the main clause**:

a. **Subject**: The man [who married my sister] is a crook.
b. **Direct-object**: I like the man [who married my sister].
c. **Indirect object**: I gave a book to the man [who married my sister].
d. **Nominal predicate**: This is the man [who married my sister].

12.4 Subject relative clauses

As noted earlier (ch. 8), Ute relative clauses, like all other subordinate clauses, are historically nominalized. Subject REL-clauses in Ute are marked by the nominal suffix *-tʉ/-rʉ* and, when appropriate, by the nominal-plural suffix *-mʉ*. Thus consider:[4]

(9) **Subject REL-clauses**

a. **Singular subject**:

ˈáapachi̲ ˈu [sivaatuchi ˈuway pa̲qha-pʉga-**tʉ̲**]…
boy/SU 3s/SU goat/O 3s/O kill-REM-**NOM**
'the boy who killed the goat…'

b. **Plural subject**:

ˈáaˈa̲pachi-u ˈúm**ʉ̲** [sivaatuchi ˈuway pa̲qha-**qha**-pʉga-tʉ-**mʉ̲**]…
boys-PL 3P/SU goat/O 3s/O kill-**PL**-REM-NOM-**PL**
'the boys who killed the goat…'

4. The structural examples below are given without any main-clause context, i.e. as isolated NPs. Because the head nouns are given in the subject case-role, if the interruption marker […] that suggests a missing main-clause VP is disregarded, most of these examples could be interpreted as main-clause predicates with a nominalized structure, a perfectly good form in Ute.

While historically nominalized, Ute REL-clauses are nonetheless finite, in the sense that they may take finite tense-aspect-modal marking, such as the 'remote' aspect in (9) above or the various tense-aspects in (10) below:[5]

(10) a. **Anterior**:

'áapachi 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway paqha-**qha**-tʉ]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O kill-**ANT**-NOM
'the boy who killed the goat…'

'áa'apachi-u 'úmʉ [sivaatuchi 'uway paqha-qa-**qha**-tʉ-mʉ]…
boys-PL 3P/SU goat/O 3S/O kill-PL-**ANT**-NOM-PL
'the boys who killed the goat…

b. **Nominal-habitual**:

'áapachi 'u [sivaatu-paqha-**rʉ**]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat-kill-**HAB**
'the boy who kills goats…'

'áa'apachi-u 'úmʉ [sivaatu-paqha-qa-**tʉ**-mʉ]…
boys-PL 3P/SU goat-kill-PL-**HAB**-PL
'the boys who kill goats…'

c. **Verbal-habitual**:

'áapachi 'u [sivaatu-paqha-**mi**-tʉ]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat-kill-**HAB**-NOM
'the boy who kills goats…'

'áa'apachi-u 'úmʉ [sivaatu-paqha-qa-**mi**-tʉ-mʉ]…
boys-PL 3P/SU goat-kill-PL-**HAB**-NOM-PL
'the boys who kill goats…'

d. **Future/irrealis**:

'áapachi 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway paqha-**vaa**-tʉ]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O kill-**ANT**-NOM
'the boy who will kill the goat…'

'áa'apachi-u 'úmʉ [sivaatuchi paqha-qa-**vaa**-tʉ-mʉ]…
boys-PL 3P/SU goat/O kill-PL-**IRR**-NOM-PL
'the boys who will kill the goat…'

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5. The immediate suffix *-y* is not used in REL-clauses. The nominal-habitual suffix *-rʉ/-tʉ* may be used, in appropriate contexts, to render the sense of the immediate aspect.

Likewise, the negative forms of the various finite tense-aspects can also appear in REL-clauses, as in:

(11) a. **Remote, negative**:

'áapachi̲ 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway **ka**-pa̲qha-**pʉa**-tʉ̲]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O NEG-kill-REM/NEG-NOM
'the boy who didn't kill the goat…'

b. **Anterior, negative**:

'áapachi̲ 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway **ka**-pa̲qha-**na**-tʉ̲]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O NEG-kill-ANT/NEG-NOM
'the boy who didn't kill the goat…'

c. **Immediate, negative**:

'áapachi̲ 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway **ka**-pa̲qha-**wa**-tʉ̲]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O NEG-kill-NEG-NOM
'the boy who is not killing the goat…'

d. **Verbal-habitual, negative**:

'áapachi̲ 'u [**ka**-sivaatu-pa̲qha-mi-**wa**-tʉ̲]…
boy/SU 3S/SU NEG-goat-kill-IRR-NEG-NOM
'the boy who doesn't kill goats…'

e. **Irrealis/future, negative**:

'áapachi̲ 'u [sivaatuchi 'uway **ka**-pa̲qha-vaa-**'wa**-tʉ̲]…
boy/SU 3S/SU goat/O 3S/O NEG-kill-IRR-NEG-NOM
'the boy who will not kill the goat…'

12.5 Object relative clauses

Object REL-clauses are those whose missing argument occupies the role of direct object inside the REL-clause. In such clauses in Ute, the verb is marked with the nominalizing suffix *-na* and the subject, if overtly expressed, is marked as **genitive**. As in the case of subject REL-clauses, a wide range of finite tense-aspect-modals as well as negation can appear in these historically-nominalized clauses. And the genitive subject, when plural, controls plural verb agreement just as the nominative subject does in the main clause. Thus consider:

(12) **Immediate/habitual aspect**:

a. **SG subject (affirmative)**:

pə'əqwatʉ̲ 'uru̲ [na'achichi **'uway** pə'ə-na̲]…
book/S that/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-NOM
'the book that the girl is writing…'

b. **PL subject (affirmative)**:
pəˈəqwatʉ̲ ˈuru̲ [náana̲ˈachichi-u ˈumʉ pəˈə-qwa-**na̲**]…
book/S that/S girls/GEN-PL 3P/GEN write-PL-**NOM**
'the book that the girls are writing…'

c. **SG subject (negative)**:
pəˈəqwatʉ̲ ˈuru̲ [naˈachichi ˈuway ka-pəˈə-wa-**na̲**]…
book/S that/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN NEG-write-NEG-**NOM**
'the book that the girl isn't writing…'

d. **PL subject (negative)**:
pəˈəqwatʉ̲ ˈuru̲ [náana̲ˈachichi-u ˈumʉ ka-pəˈə-qwa-wa-**na̲**]…
book/S that/S girls/GEN-PL 3P/GEN NEG-write-PL-NEG-**NOM**
'the book that the girls aren't writing…'

One must note that the final vowel of the nominalizing suffix *-na* in (12a,b,c,d) is silent because the noun phrase – head noun plus REL-clause – occupies the *subject* position inside the main clause. If it were to occupy the object position, both head noun and modifying REL-clause will be marked as object. Thus compare:

(13) a. **Subject-marked NP**:
pəˈəqwatʉ̲ ˈuru̲ [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-**na̲**] tʉ́ʉˈa-tʉ̲
book/S the/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-**NOM** good-NOM
'the book the that the girl is writing is good'.

b. **Object-marked NP**:
pəˈəqwatʉ ˈuru [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-**na**]-y pʉnikya-qha-n
book/O the/O girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-**NOM**-O see-ANT-1S
'I saw the book that the girl writes/is writing'.

Other finite tense-aspect-modals can also be used in object REL-clauses, as in:

(14) a. **Anterior**:
pəˈəqwatʉ ˈuru [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-qwa-**na̲**]…
book/S the/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-ANT-**NOM**
'the book that the girl wrote…'

b. **Remote**:
pəˈəqwatʉ ˈuru [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-pʉga-**na̲**]…
book/S the/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-REM-**NOM**
'the book that the girl wrote…'

c. **Habitual**:
pəˈəqwatʉ ˈuru [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-mi-**na̲**]…
book/S the/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-HAB-**NOM**
'the book that the girl wrote…'

d. **Future/irrealis**:
pəˈəqwatʉ ˈuru [naˈachichi ˈuway pəˈə-vwaa-**na̲**]…
book/S the/S girl/GEN 3S/GEN write-IRR-**NOM**
'the book that the girl will write…'

12.6 Indirect-object relative clauses

Indirect-object REL-clauses are marked by the same nominalizer suffix *-na* as direct-object REL-clauses. Their subject is likewise marked as a genitive. In addition, provisions are made for preserving the post-position of the zero-marked referent, by affixing it to the REL-marker *pʉ-*. Two word-order variants are possible in such REL-clauses, placing the post-position bearing marker *pʉ-* either before or after the subject. Thus consider, for an associative indirect object:

(15) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

ta'wachi mamachi-**wa** wúʉka-qha
man/SU woman/O-**with** work-ANT
'the man worked with the woman.'

b. **REL-clause-I**:

mamchi 'u [pʉ-**wa** ta'wachi wúʉka-qha-**na**]…
woman/SU the/SU REL-**with** man/GEN work-ANT-**NOM**
'the woman with whom the man worked…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:

mamchi 'u [ta'wachi pʉ-**wa** wúʉka-qha-**na**]…
woman/SU the/SU man/GEN REL-**with** work-ANT-**NOM**
'the woman with whom the man worked…'

Likewise, for an instrumental indirect object:

(16) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

mamachi tʉkuavi wiichi-**m** chikavi'na-qha
woman/SU meat/O knife/O-**with** cut-ANT
'the woman cut the meat with a knife'

b. **REL-clause-I**:

wiichi 'uru [pʉ-**m** mamachi
knife/SU the/SU REL-**with** woman/GEN
tʉkuavi chikavi'na-qha-na]…
meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'the knife with which the woman cut the meat…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:

wiichi 'uru [mamachi pʉ-**m**
knife/SU the/SU woman/GEN REL-**with**
tʉkuavi chikaviÁna-qha-na]…
meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'the knife with which the woman cut the meat…'

Likewise for the locative indirect object in an intransitive clause:

(17) a. **Corresponding main clause**:
'áapachi kani-**naagha** 'uni'nh-kya
boy/SU house/O-**in** be-ANT
'the boy was in the house'.

b. **REL-clause-I**:
kani 'uru [pʉ-**naagha** 'áapachi 'uni'nh-kya-na]…
house/SU the/SU REL-**in** boy/GEN be-ANT-NOM
'the house in which the boy was…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:
kani 'uru ['áapachi pʉ-**naagha** 'uni'nh-kya-na]…
house/SU the/SU BOY/gen REL-**in** be-ANT-NOM
'the house in which the boy was…'

Or in a bi-transitive clause, as in:

(18) a. **Corresponding main clause**:
na'achichi 'áapachi kani-**vaa-tukhwa** níi-kya
girl/SU boy/O house/O-**LOC-DIR** send-ANT
'the girl sent the boy to the house'.

b. **REL-clause-I**:
kani 'uru [pʉ-**vwaa-tukhwa** na'achichi
house/SU the/SU REL-**LOC-DIR** girl/GEN
'áapachi níi-kya-na]…
boy/O send-ANT-NOM
'the house to which the girl sent the boy…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:
kani 'uru [na'achichi pʉ-**vwaa-tukhwa**
house/SU the/SU girl/GEN REL-**LOC-DIR**
'áapachi níi-kya-na]…
boy/O send-ANT-NOM
'the house to which the girl sent the boy…'

And for a dative indirect objects:

(19) a. **Corresponding main clause**:
ta'wachi mamachi-**vaa-chʉ** 'apagha-qa
man/SU woman/O-**LOC-DIR** talk-ANT
'the man talked to the woman'.

b. **REL-clause-I**:
mamachi 'u [pʉ-**vwaa-chʉ** ta'wachi 'apagha-qa-na]…
woman/SU the/SU REL-**LOC-DIR** man/GEN talk-ANT-NOM
'the woman to whom the man talked…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:

mamachi̲ 'u [ta'wachi pʉ-**vwaa-chʉ** 'apagha̲-qa-na̲]…
woman/SU the/SU man/GEN REL-**LOC-DIR** talk-ANT-NOM
'the woman to whom the man talked…'

As noted earlier (ch. 4), the benefactive role is not marked on the noun but rather on the verb, so that benefactive objects are treated as direct objects. Their REL-clause pattern is also the same as that of direct objects, as in:

(20) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

ta'wachi̲ mamachi tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-**kʉ**-kha
man/SU woman/O meat/O cut-**BEN**-ANT
'the man cut the meat for the woman'.

b. **REL-clause**:

mamachi̲ 'u [ta'wachi tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-**kʉ**-kha-na̲]…
woman/SU the/SU man/GEN meat/O cut-**BEN**-ANT-NOM
'the woman for whom the man cut the meat …'

Manner adverbs may also be the missing argument in the REL-clause. However, just as in English, manner REL-clauses in Ute are 'headless' (see sec. 11.8., below), having no lexical head noun. Rather, the REL-marker itself, when fronted, occupies the position of the head noun. The marker *púupa* 'the way', is used as such **dummy head** in manner REL-clauses, as in:[6]

(21) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

na'achichi̲ 'u 'átʉ káa-qha
girl/SU the/SU well sing-ANT
'the girl sang well'.

b. **REL-clause-I**:

[**púupa** na'achichi 'uway káa-qha-na̲]…
REL girl/GEN the/GEN sing-ANT-NOM
'the way the girl sang…'

c. **REL-clause-II**:

[na'achichi 'uway **púupa** káa-qha-na̲]…
girl/GEN the/GEN **REL** sing-ANT-NOM
'the way the girl sang…'

6. The etymology of *púupa* is not altogether clear. It may be a composite of the REL-marker *pʉ-*, plus the remote deictic suffix *-'u*. The extra suffix *pa-* is used in other manner expressions, such as *'úu-pa-ni* 'like that', *or mamachi-pa-ni* 'like a/the woman'.

Finally, purpose adverbials (see ch. 17) can also be the missing argument in the REL-clause, whose syntactic pattern is then similar to that of the headless manner REL-clauses. The REL-marker used here is *pʉ-* plus the suffix *-may* (the verb 'say') as in:

(22) a. **Corresponding main clause (equi-subject)**:

'áapachi kani-naagha yʉga-qha tʉka-**vaa-chi**
boy/SU house/O-in enter-REM eat-**IRR-SUB**
'the boy entered the house in order to eat'.

b. **Corresponding main clauses (switch subject)**:

'áapachi kani-naagha yʉga-qha mamachi magha-**vaa-ku**-'u
boy/SU house/O-in enter-ANT woman/GEN feed-**IRR-SUB**-3S
'the boy entered the house in order that the woman (may) feed him'.

c. **REL-clause-I**:

[**pʉ-may** 'áapachi kani-naagha yʉga-qha-na]…
REL-say woman/GEN house/O-in enter-ANT-NOM
'(the reason) why the boy entered the house…'

d. **REL-clause-II**:

['áapachi **pʉ-may** kani-naagha yʉga-qha-na]…
boy/GEN **REL-say** house/O-in enter-ANT-NOM
'(the reason) why the boy entered the house…'

12.7 Some text-derived examples

Relative clauses, much like other complex clauses, are infrequent in spoken language. The following are but a few examples culled from Ute traditional narratives.

(23) a. **Subject REL-clause (headless)**:

'uwas-'ura 'ura-pʉga-vaachi, núu-maroghoma-pʉga-**tʉ** 'u
3S/S-be be-REM person-create-REM-**NOM** the/SU
'There was once that one, he who created the people…'[7]

b. **Subject REL-clause (headless)**:

…'uni-pʉga-**tʉ**, 'ú núuchi, Sinawavi
do-REM-**NOM**/S that/SU person/SU Sinawav/GEN

chaqhachi 'ura-'ay…
younger.brother/SU be-IMM

'…the one who did (it), that person, was Sinawav's younger brother…'[8]

7. "Ute Creation Story", told by Julius Cloud.

8. Ibid.

c. **Direct object REL-clause**:

…'umʉ kʉmachi-u manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-aa-s nagukwi-kya-**na**-av…
those/GEN Comanche-PL all-O-NOM-PL-O-CONJ fight-PL-**NOM**-OWN
'…all those Comanches that they fought…'[9]

d. **Direct object REL-clause**:

…'i-vaa-ni 'uru, wachʉ-ka,
here-LOC-like that/O put-ANT/PASS
'…and right there it was,

pavichi-a-'u túu-taay-ghay-kya-**na̲**…
older.brother-GEN-3S black-shirt/O-have/O-ANT-**NOM**
the black coat that his older brother had had…'[10]

e. **Manner REL-clause (headless)**:

…Sinawavi̲ 'u pu̲chuchugwa-pʉgay-'u,
Sinawav/SU the/SU know-REM-3S

púupa 'uru 'uni-'wa̲-kwa-**na**-y…
REL that/O do-ASP-ANT-**NOM**-O

'…now Sinawav knew (about) him, the way he had done it…'[11]

f. **Manner REL-clause (headless)**:

…kh-'ura 'umʉs 'uru 'uni-kya-pʉga, **púupa** máy-pʉ-na̲-'u…
then-be they/SU that/O do-PL-REM **REL** say-REM-**NOM**-3S
'…so then they did that, the way he told them…'[12]

g. **Locative REL-clause (headless)**:

…chaghachivaa-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'uwa-pa qha̲-qháarʉ-pʉga-'uru,
near/O-that/O he-be 3S/O-past RED-run-REM-that/O
'…he passed him (by) a very short margin,

tʉvʉchi̲… **pʉ-paa-tugwa** 'uni-paa-tugwa-na̲ -'uru
very **REL-pass-go** do-DIR-go-NOM-that/O
very (short)… (the distance) by which he passed him…'[13]

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9. "Ute Creation Story", told by Ralph N. Cloud.

10. "Ute Creation Story", told by Julius Cloud.

11. "Ute Creation Story", told by Ralph N. Cloud.

12. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

13. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

h. **Instrument REL-clause (headless):**

…'u-na tarugwa-s chipi-vaa,
there-LOC ascend-CONJ climb-IRR
'…(I) should climb up there,

'ipʉ-**m**-av 'uway-kyay-kya-na-av…
WH/O-**with**-OWN hang-PL-ANT/PASS-REL-OWN
with whatever (they) had hung me up…'[14]

The use of the possessive reflexive construction in object REL-clauses, as in (23h) above, is of considerable interest, since it underscores the nominalized nature of the construction. In (23h), the possessor of the action is the subject of the old, promotional *-ka*-marked anterior/passive (ch. 11). Most commonly, it is the genitive subject within the REL-clause that is treated as the possessor of the action, as in (24a):

(24) a. …'uni-kya-**na-av**, 'uru navutigi-kya-**na-av**…
do-ANT-**NOM-OWN** that/O imitate-ANT-**NOM-OWN**
'…what he did, what he imitated…'[15]
(Lit. '…(that of) his doing, that of his imitating…')

b. …'uwasʉ-ga kukwapi
he/SU-TOP firewood/O

'uru ma-magu'na-**ta**-qha-**na-av** na'a-ti-pʉga…
that/O RED-pile-**PASS-ANT-OWN** burn-CAUS-REM
'…so he burned the firewood that had been piled up (by him)…'[16]

In Example (24b) the REL-clause involves the *-ta*-marked non-promotional passive with unexpressed agent. That unexpressed agent is still treated as the possessor of the action.

12.8 Headless relative clauses

One striking feature of the text-derived examples of REL-clauses in (23), (24) above is that most of them are headless. That is, they either come without a head noun, or their likely head noun does not fall under the same intonation contour with the

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14. "Porcupine, Buffalo Cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud. A curious variation here is the use of the inanimate object WH pronoun *'ipʉ-* 'what' (see ch. 14) as the carrier of the instrumental post-position *-m* 'with'. This is a typical 'headless' REL-clause construction; see further below.

15. "Sinawav the copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

16. "Sinawav burning his own house", told by Bertha B. Groves.

REL-clause, but rather appears in the preceding intonation unit. Lacking an implicit head noun, headless REL-clauses are usually interpreted as modifying a 'filler' head noun, such as 'the thing that', 'the one that', 'that which', 'the place', 'what', 'where', 'how', 'when' or 'why'. Their profusion in the spoken language is not entirely accidental, given that all REL-clauses in Ute language are nominalized, and thus can stand on their own as noun phrases. Let us consider first headless subject REL-clauses:

(25) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

mamachi̲ 'u kani-vaa-tʉ̲ wʉ́ʉka-qha.
woman/SU the/SU house-LOC-DIR work-ANT
'the woman worked at home'

b. **Headed REL-clause**:

mamachi̲ 'u [kani-vaa-tʉ̲ wʉ́ʉka-qha-tʉ̲]…
woman/SU the/SU house-LOC-DIR work-ANT-NOM
'the woman who worked at home…'

c. **Headless REL-clause**:

[kani-vaa-tʉ̲ wʉ́ʉka-qha-tʉ̲]…
house-LOC-DIR work-ANT-NOM
'the one who worked at home…'

Consider next headless direct-object REL-clauses, where quite often one finds a stressed demonstrative pronoun standing for the missing heading:[17]

(26) a. **Corresponding main clause**:

'áapachi̲ 'u tʉkuavi tʉka-pʉga
boy/SU the/SU meat/O eat-REM
'the boy ate the meat'

b. **Headed REL-clause**:

tʉkuavi̲ [(**'uru**) 'áapachi 'uway tʉka-pʉga-na̲]…
meat/SU **that/O** boy/GEN the/GEN eat-IMM
'the meat that the boy ate…'

c. **Headless REL-clause**:

[**'uru** 'áapachi 'uway tʉka-pʉga-na̲]…
that/O boy/GEN the/GEN eat-IMM
'what the boy ate…'

As further examples of the use of the demonstrative in headless object REL-clauses in Ute oral narrative, consider:

17. The use of demonstrative pronouns to mark REL-clauses, both headed and headless, is widespread cross-linguistically (Heine & Kuteva 2007; Givón (2009, ch. 5).

(27) a. …navasʉ pʉni-wʉnʉ-rʉ ['**uru** tʉka-vaa-na-av]…
just look-stand-NOM **that/O** eat-IRR-NOM-OWN
'…he just stands (there) looking at **what** he will eat…'

b. …'ʉ́mʉ-'ara maay-vaa-tʉ-'u, ['**uway** tʉka-vaa-na-av]…
you/SU-be see-IRR-NOM-3S **that/O** eat-IRR-NOM-OWN
'…now you will see him, **the one** you will eat…'

c. …['**uway** nóoghwa-qha-na-y-'u] yáa'wa-nʉ nʉ́-vaa-chukhwa?…
that/O carry-ANT/PASS-NOM-O-3S bring-IMP 1S/O-LOC-go
'…and will you please bring me the one she gave birth to?…'
'…and will you please bring me the one who was born?…'

Indirect object REL-clauses can also be headless, and indeed the REL-marker that carries the post-position can function as a head-like pronoun. Thus consider:

(28) a. **Corresponding main clause**:
mamachi 'u kani-vaa-tukhwa paghay-'way
woman/SU the/SU house-LOC-go walk-IMM
'the woman is walking toward the house'.

b. **Headed REL-clause**:
káni 'úrʉ [**pʉ́-vaa-tukhwa** mamachi
house/SU the/SU **REL-LOC-go** woman/GEN
'uway paghay-Áway-na]…
the/GEN walk-IMM-NOM
'the house towards which woman is walking…'

c. **Headless REL-clause**:
[**pʉ́-vaa-tukhwa** mamachi 'uway paghay-'way-na]…
REL-LOC-go woman/GEN the/GEN walk-IMM-NOM
'the place towards which woman is walking…'

12.9 Non-restrictive relative clauses

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers has been discussed earlier (ch. 8), mostly in connection with modifying adjectives. The REL-clauses discussed so far, both headed and headless, are **restrictive**. That is, if their head noun is referring and definite, they restrict the domain of possible referents that could match the head noun. They do so by using the event/state in the REL-clause, which the speaker assumes (presupposes) the hearer is already familiar with. The tacit assumption is that the hearer can either retrieve the event/state information in the REL-clause from memory of the current discourse, or reconstruct it by inference from various pieces of knowledge available to them.

Non-restrictive REL-clauses in Ute don't differ much structurally from their restrictive counterparts. Superficially, they look like headless REL-clauses. However, their head is present in the directly-preceding intonation unit, before a pause. Non-restrictive REL-clauses are **parenthetical assertions** that exhibit the same co-reference conditions between the missing argument in the REL-clause and some adjacent NP. As parenthetical assertions, restrictive REL-clauses are not presupposed by the speaker to be familiar or accessible to the hearer. Rather, they are asserted as new information, much like main clauses.

As a quick illustration, consider the following examples of English subject REL-clauses:

(29) a. **Restrictive REL-clause**:

The guy [who called me yesterday] is a crook.
(i) **Asserted new information**: The guy is a crook.
(ii) **Presupposed old information**: The guy called me yesterday.

b. **Non-restrictive REL-clause**:

The guy, [who called me yesterday], is a crook.
(i) **Asserted new information**: The guy called me yesterday.
The guy is a crook.
(ii) **Non-REL-clause equivalent**:
The guy – and by the way, he called me yesterday – is a crook.

The same can be shown for object REL-clauses:

(30) a. **Restrictive REL-clause**:

The woman [I met yesterday] has a degree in physics.
(i) **Asserted new information**: The woman has a degree in physics.
(ii) **Presupposed old information**: I met the woman yesterday.

b. **Non-restrictive REL-clause**:

The woman, [whom I met yesterday], has a degree in physics.
(i) **Asserted new information**: The woman has a degree in physics.
I met the woman yesterday.
(ii) **Non-REL-clause equivalent**:
The woman – and by the way, I met her yesterday – has a degree in physics.

One simple test for the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive REL-clauses can be performed using heads with **unique reference**, such as names, personal pronouns, or uniquely-possessed nouns. Only non-restrictive REL-clauses can modify such heads. This is so because if a referent is unique and thus maximally restricted, there is no sense in restricting its domain of interpretation any further; there are no competing referents. Thus consider:

(31) **Non-restrictive**: John, who I've known for a long time, is a teacher.
Restrictive: *John (who) I've know for a long time is a teacher.
Non-restrictive: My mother, who is 98, is a riot.
Restrictive: *My mother who is 98 is a riot.
Non-restrictive: You, who lives in Ignacio, should know Casey.
Restrictive: *You who lives in Ignacio should know Casey.

Somewhat like headless REL-clauses, non-restrictive REL-clauses in Ute are most commonly headed by the stressed demonstrative 'that'.[18] Thus:

(32) a. **Subject non-restrictive REL-clause**:
mamachi, ['**ú** kani-vaa-tu wúuka-tu], tugu**v**u-n 'ura-'ay.
woman/s **that/s** house-LOC-DIR work-NOM friend-1s be-IMM
'the woman, (the one) who works at home, is my friend.

b. **Direct-object non-restrictive REL-clause**:
'áapachi, ['**uway** '**u**mu**y** kúau pu**n**ikya-qha-na],
boy/s **that/o** you/GEN yesterday see-ANT-NOM
tugu**v**u-n 'ura-'ay.
friend-1s be-IMM
'The boy, (the one) whom you met yesterday, is my friend'.

c. **Indirect-object non-restrictive REL-clause**:
'inay mamachi, [**pu-wa** wúuka-qa-na-'u], ka-'ásti-na
this/O woman/O **REL-with** work-ANT-NOM-3S NEG-like-ANT/NEG
'(S/he) didn't like the woman, with whom (s/he) worked'.

Non-restrictive REL-clauses are rare in Ute oral texts. Simple parenthetical main clauses are readily available to perform the same communicative function. One problem is that intonation breaks, so common in spoken language, do not necessarily mean that a REL-clause is non-restrictive. Thus consider the following chunk of oral narrative:[19]

(33) a. …kú-nóo-pəro-**pu**-amu, 'ú núu-ruachi,
mouth-carry-go/PL-**REM**-3P that/s person-child/s
'…they carried (it) a long way in their mouth, that baby,

b. 'ava'na-pa nóo-ghwa-**tu** páyuuvu-naaghą,
much-LOC carry-ANT/PASS-**NOM** cloth-in
(the one) that was carried (wrapped) in a cloth,

---

18. Parenthetical, chained main clauses are often the diachronic source of non-restrictive REL-clauses, and thus indirectly also of restrictive REL-clauses. The morpho-syntax of REL-clauses is often assembled gradually via this diachronic channel (Givón (2009, ch. 5).

19. "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

c. núu-ruachi ˈú, chakura-y ˈuway ˈuni-ˈwa-**pʉ**…
human-child/s the/s crane-GEN 3S/GEN do-ASP-**NOM**
that baby, that the crane brought…'

There are two REL-clauses in (33), both following a putative head noun ('the baby') across an intonation break. The first (33b) is a subject REL-clause that displays the anterior/passive marker *-ka*. The second (33c) is an object REL-clause with a rare variant marking, whereby the nominalizer *-na* is replaced by the nominal suffix *-pʉ*. Interpreting (33c) as an object REL-clause is supported by its genitive-marked subject ('crane'), exactly as it is used in *-na*-marked object REL-clauses. However, while REL-clauses in (33b,c) are indeed separated by a pause from their head noun, they don't carry new information. Rather, the information in them is given in the preceding 3 lines, including (33a). So these two REL-clauses carry *presupposed*, not asserted information, and are functionally restrictive rather than non-restrictive – in spite of being separated from their head noun by a pause.

CHAPTER 13

Contrastive focus and emphasis

13.1 Introduction

The topic of contrastive focus and emphasis groups together a number of constructions that cover a range of communicative contexts. At one end of this range are contexts of **contrary belief** or **counter expectation**. That is, what the speaker asserts either flat-out contradicts what the hearer has previously said, or what the speaker assumes the hearer believes. The contradiction does not involve the entire event/state proposition, since such a broad-scope contradiction would have precipitated the use of a **negative assertion** (see ch. 6). Rather, contrastive-focus constructions have a much narrower focus, contradicting only one element in the event/state – subject, direct object, indirect-object or adverb. The difference between the use of NEG-assertion and contrastive-focus may be illustrated as follows:

(1) **Contrary belief**:

a. **Hearer's belief**:
Joe saw Mary at the bank yesterday.

b. **Speaker's NEG-assertion (broad scope contradiction)**:
He didn't *see her at the bank yesterday*.

c. **Speaker's contrastive-focused assertions (narrow scope contradiction)**:
It's *Marvin* who saw Mary at the bank yesterday. (not Joe)
It's *Lucy* that Joe saw at the bank yesterday. (not Mary)
It's *at the store* that Joe saw Mary yesterday. (not at the bank).
It's *last week* that Joe saw Mary at the bank. (not yesterday).

At the other end of the range are various **emphatic** devices. Such devices, most often morphemes that render the constituent marked by them emphatic, may serve to simply change the topic, or in addition to contrast a new topic with the previous one. They may also serve to emphasize a topic and attract more attention to it, presumably under the assumption that the hearer's attention is currently engaged elsewhere. Or they may simply serve to mark a participant – be it the subject, object, indirect object or adverb – as the most topical, important or relevant in the clause. One may subsume

these various communicative contexts under the general label of **re-focusing**. Such re-focusing most commonly involves the speaker's own prior discourse, as in. e.g.:

(2) **Re-focusing**:

a. **Context**: I gave the dog to Sally.
Re-focusing: Now as for the *cat*, I gave it to Joe.

b. **Context**: To Sally I gave the dog.
Re-focusing: To *Joe* I gave the cat.

c. **Context**: This one is my older sister.
Re-focusing: Now *this* one is my favorite aunt.

As in the contrastive-focus devices (1), emphatic devices in many languages, English included, involve placing prominent intonation – stress – on the focused participant.

13.2 Contrastive focus constructions

13.2.1 Cleft

A cleft-focus construction always incorporates in it a REL-clause. In Ute, these two constructions are not always easy to tell apart. Broadly, a cleft construction exhibits the same presuppositional properties as a restrictive REL-clause. That is, the event/state depicted in it is assumed by the speaker to be familiar (accessible) to the hearer. The speaker is challenging only one small part of the hearer's presumed belief – the element that falls under contrastive focus.

The easiest way to distinguish a cleft construction from a simple REL-clause is by the presence vs. absence of a complete main clause. A noun phrase with a REL-clause modifier does not normally stand by itself, but forms part of some main clause, in which it is the subject, object, etc. In contrast, a cleft construction is a full clause. Thus compare:

(3) a. **Corresponding simple clause**:
mamachi̲ 'u tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qa
woman/SU the/SU meat/O cut-ANT
'The woman cut the meat'.

b. **Subject REL-clause**:
mamachi̲ 'u [tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qa-tʉ̲] piwa-n 'ura-'ay
woman/SU the/SU meat/O cut-ANT-NOM spouse-1s be-IMM
'The woman who cut the meat is my wife'.

c. **Subject cleft**:
mamachi̲ 'u ('ura-'ay) [tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qa-tʉ̲]
woman/SU the/SU (be-IMM) meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'It's *the woman* who cut the meat' (not someone else).

d. **Direct-object REL-clause**:
tʉkuavi̲ 'uru̲ [mamachi 'uway chi̲kavi'na-qa-na̲] tʉ́ʉ'a-tʉ̲
meat/SU the/SU woman/GEN the/GEN cut-ANT-NOM good-NOM
'The meat that the woman cut is good'.

e. **Direct-object cleft**:
tʉkuavi̲ 'uru̲ ('ura-'ay) [mamachi 'uway chi̲kavi'na-qa-na̲].
meat/SU the/SU (be-IMM) woman/GEN the/GEN cut-ANT-NOM.
'It's *the meat* that the woman cut' (not something else).

In indirect-object cleft constructions, the indirect-object REL-clause pattern (ch. 12) is followed, as in:

(4) a. **Corresponding simple clause**:
'áapachi̲ 'u ta'wachi-wa 'apagha̲-qa
boy/SU the/SU man/O-with speak-ANT
'The boy spoke with the man'.

b. **Indirect-object REL-clause**:
ta'wachi̲ 'u [pʉ́-wa 'áapachi 'uway 'apagha̲-qa-na̲]
man/SU the/SU REL-with boy/GEN the/GEN speak-ANT-NOM
tʉgʉvʉ-n 'ura-'ay
friend-1s be-IMM
'The man with whom the boy spoke is my friend'.

c. **Indirect-object cleft**:
ta'wachi̲ 'u ('ura-'ay) [pʉ́-wa 'áapachi 'uway 'apagha̲-qa-na̲]
man/SU the/SU (be-IMM) REL-with boy/GEN the/GN speak-ANT-NOM
'It's *the man* that the boy spoke with' (not someone else).

Unlike in English, the verb 'be' that marks the cleft-focused constituent is optional in Ute. This is one reason why the Ute cleft constructions (3c), (3e) and (4c) are not easy to distinguish from the corresponding REL-clauses.

In the cleft-focus examples so far, the focused element was a referring definite NP. But one can also focus on the type of the referent, that is, on a non-referring NP. In such instances, the emphatic suffix *-kʉ* (see further below) is added to the cleft-focused constituent. Thus compare:

(5) **Type of cleft focus**:

a. **Subject**:
ta'wachi-**kʉ** 'ura-'ay [sivaatuchi paqha-qa-tʉ̲]
man-EMPH be-IMM goat/O kill-ANT-NOM
'It was *a man* who killed the goat' (not a woman or a child).

b. **Direct object**:
sivaatuchi-**kʉ** 'ura-'ay [ta'wachi 'uway paqha-qa-na̲]
goat-EMPH be-IMM man/GEN the/GEN kill-ANT-NOM
'It was *a goat* that the man killed' (not a deer or an elk).

c. **Indirect object**:
kani-**kʉ** 'ura-'ay [pú-naaga mamachi 'uway wúʉka-qha-na]
house-EMPH be-IMM REL-in woman/GEN the/GEN work-ANT-NOM
'It's *a house* that the woman worked in' (not a barn, nor a garden).

13.2.2 Pseudo-cleft

A pseudo-cleft construction need not be contrastive, but may be so if contrastive stress is added on the nominal predicate. Without such stress, pseudo-clefts are used in non-contrastive contexts, often as a discourse-initial (or episode-initial) **presentative** device. Thus, compare the use of cleft vs. pseudo cleft below:

(6) a. **Presentative pseudo-cleft**: What I am going to talk about today is Roman law.
b. **Non-presentative pseudo-cleft**: So what I told them later was the truth.
c. **Cleft**: It's *Roman law* that I'm going to talk about today.

The pseudo-cleft in (6a) is used as a discourse-initial presentative device. The pseudo-cleft in (6b) is used as a discourse-medial continuation device. The cleft in (6c) is missing its directly-preceding context that would have motivated a contrast or counter-expectancy.

The communicative context for discourse-initial pseudo-clefts is still presuppositional, in the sense that the speaker assumes that event/state coded in the REL-clause is familiar to the hearer. Without contrastive stress, however, the speaker does not use the pseudo-cleft construction to challenge the hearer's identification of the nominal predicate.

The REL-clause in pseudo-cleft constructions in Ute is typically headless, as in the English (6a,b) above. It appears at the beginning of the construction as the grammatical subject of the whole clause. As in the cleft construction, the nominal predicate in the pseudo-cleft may be a referring definite NP, as in:

(7) **Pseudo-cleft constructions**:

a. **Subject**:
[('ú) sivaatuchi paqha-qa-tʉ] 'áapachi 'u 'ura-'ay
that/SU goat/O kill-ANT-NOM/SU boy/PRED the/PRED be-IMM
'The one who killed the goat is the boy'.

b. **Object**:
[('uru) mamachi pʉnikya-qa-na] kani 'uru 'ura-'ay
that/O woman/GEN see-ANT-NOM/SU house/PRED the/PRED be-IMM
'What the woman saw was the house'.

c. **Indirect object**:
[('uru) pʉ-m ta'wachi tʉkuavi chikavi'na-qa-na]
that/O REL-with man/GEN meat/O cut-ANT-NOM/SU

wiichi 'uru 'ura-'ay
knife/PRED the/PRED be-IMM
'What the man cut the meat with was the knife'.

A non-referring sense of the nominal predicate in pseudo-cleft clauses may be obtained without the emphatic suffix *-kʉ*, by merely dispensing with a definite article in the nominal predicates in (7) above.

13.3 Emphatic re-focusing morphemes

13.3.1 The suffix *-nukwa*

The suffix *-nukwa* is used in Ute in a subset of **topic-shifting** contexts. As noted earlier (ch. 7), topic shifting may be signaled by the independent pronoun followed by the suffix *-'ura* ('be'), often combined with the suffix *-'uru* ('that', 'it'). All the examples cited below of the use of *-nukwa* in oral discourse come from one story told by one speaker.[1] When this suffix is used, the clause assumes contrastive cleft meaning:

(8) a. …'umʉs-'ura 'i-vaa-chʉ nóo-ghwa-tʉ pa-paqha-kwa-pʉga,
3P/SU-be here-at-DIR carry-have-NOM/O RED-kill-go-REM
'…and they did kill a pregnant one there,
'uwa-**nukwa**-'uru 'ura-pʉga-miya-'u,
3S/O-TOP-that be-REM-go/PL-3S
and it was *to him* indeed,
kʉ́–nóʊ-pʊrʊ-pʉ-amu, 'ú núu-ruachi…
mouth-carry-go/PL-3P that/SU human-child/SU
that they mouth-carried that child…'

b. …kh-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-su-'u supay-kya-pʉga.
then-be-that 3S/O-LOC-go-CONJ-3S leave-PL-REM
'…so they left her to him.
'u-vwaa-su 'uwas pagha'ni-pʉga,
there-at-CONJ 3S/SU walk.about-REM
And he was parading around there,
whsiaa-y-'u tu-tuvʉ-cha'a-qha-pʉa-vaa-y-av,
feather-O-3S RED-pluck-catch-PL-REM-LOC-O-own
the place where they had plucked his feathers off,
'uwa-**nukwa**-'uru nana-ti-pʉ-'u 'ura-'ay…
3S/O-TOP-that grow-CAUS-REM-3S be-IMM
and it was *her* that he then raised…'

1. "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

c. …'umʉ-'ura-'uru nana-chigya-qha-pʉga 'uwas.
3P/O-be-that RECIP-race-ANT-REM 3S/SU
'…he had raced (all of) them.

'umʉs-**nukwa**-'ura-'uru suwa-kwáa-khwa-pʉay-aghay-'u…
3P/TOP-be-that almost-beat-go-REM-CONCL-3S
And it was *they* who almost beat him…'

d. …'áagha-kwáa-khwa-pʉga-amu-'ura.
quiet-beat-go-REM-3P-be
'…so he beat them sneakily.

kh-'ura 'ú-'uwa-**nukwa** 'ura-pʉga, náavi 'u, piwa-ri'i-pʉ-'u…
then-be RED-3S/O-TOP be-REM girl/SU the/SU spouse-make-REM-3S
So then it was *her*, the girl, that he married…'

The re-introduced emphatic topic marked with *-nukwa* may be either the object (7a,b,d) or the subject (7c) of the clause in which it is re-introduced.

13.3.2 The topicalizing suffix *-ga*

The suffix *-ga*, most likely from the old verb 'be',[2] is used to topicalize – or emphasize – a nominal participant, be it subject or object. The following examples are taken from one story told by one speaker:[3]

---

2. The defective old verb *-ga* most commonly means 'have'. But in some contexts it is also used in the sense of 'be'. Thus consider:

Wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga-vaachi, tʉvʉchi wíitʉs,
past be-REM-BKGR very past
'It was long ago, very long time ago,

mámu-'uru wʉ-wʉ́siaa-**gha**-qa-tʉ-mu,
those/SU-that RED-feather-**have**-PL-NOM-PL/SU
those feathered ones,

mámu-'uru núuchi-u-**gway**-amu-'uru…
those-that human-PL-**be**-3P-that
they were humans (in those days)…'

("The stealing of the fire", told by Julius Cloud)

…'i-vaa-ni karʉ-pʉga-su-'u, sinawavi, kuchu-**gwa**-y…
here-at-like sit-REM-CONJ-3S Sinawav/SU buffalo-**be**-IMM
'…And there he was sitting, Sinawav, being buffalo…'

("Sinawav the copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud)

In the first example above, the verb *-ga* is used twice, first in the sense of 'have', then in the sense of 'be'. In both uses, the object/predicate noun is incorporated into the verb.

3. "Sinawav names the trees and bushes", told by Bertha B. Groves.

(9) a. …pina-khwa ˈáy-pʉga… wiichi-av mani-kyarʉ-pʉga:
later-go say-REM knife-OWN do.like-sit-REM
'…So later on he said… sitting and gesturing like this with his knife:

"ka-ˈáy-wa marʉ-sʉ-**ga**, sichaˈwa-qa-miyaa-n…"
NEG-good-NEG this-CONJ-**TOP** tease-PL-HAB-1S
"*This one* is no good, they keep teasing me (about it)…".'

b. …" ˈícha-ˈara kwiyavi máy-kya-paa-pʉ,
this/SU-be oak say-PL-IRR-MOD
'…"This one they'll call 'oak',

ˈicha-sʉ-a ˈú-ra-tʉ–ni. ˈicha-sʉ-a ˈú-ra-tʉ-ni…
this/O-CONJ-?? that-be-NOM-like this/O-CONJ-?? that-be-NOM-like
and this one like that, and this one like that…

ˈuru-sʉ-**ga** ˈúu-pa ˈura-navichi-pʉga,
that-CONJ-**TOP** there-DIR be-PL-REM

na-nána-pʉga ˈuru-sʉ-**ga**…
RED-grow-REM that-CONJ-**TOP**

and *those things* all went that-a-way, and *they* all grew…'

c. …míipʉchi tʉkaa-khwa-pʉga ˈuru-sʉ**ga**.
small become-go-REM that-CONJ-**TOP**
'…So (consequently) *that thing* became small.

ˈu-vwaa-sʉ karʉ-pʉga ˈuwasʉ-**ga** ˈú-vway-aqh…
there-at-CONJ sit-REM 3S/SU-TOP there-at-it
So then *he* sat there…'

d. …ˈú-ˈuni-aqh-ˈura níaa-riˈi-pʉga-aqh.
RED-do-it-be name-make-REM-it
'…So doing that (again and again) he gave them (all) their names.

ˈú-ˈuway ˈuru waˈapi ˈura-pʉga-vaachi marʉ-sʉ-**ga**.
RED-that that/O penis/O be-REM-BKGR that-CONJ-TOP
So it was that penis, *that thing*'.

The use of the suffix *-ga* is optional, and quite often the suffix *-ˈura* or the combination *-ˈura-ˈuru* would suffice to mark an important new or re-introduced topic.

13.3.3 The emphatic suffix *-kʉ/-gʉ*

The emphatic suffix *-kʉ/-gʉ* has a wide distribution in terms of the grammatical elements it can be affixed to. In our texts, it is found primarily on adverbs, but occasionally also on subjects or objects. With a few exceptions, it is found mostly inside

direct-quoted portions of the narrative. This tags it as a face-to-face operator par excellence. Thus consider:

(10) a. …máy-pʉga-amu̲: "ˈi-vaa-**kʉ** núuchi-gyapʉ ˈavi…"…[4]
say-REM-3P here-at-**EMPH** person-DEFUN/SU lie/IMM
'…so they said: "*Right there* there's an injured person lying…'

b. …ˈʉʉ, kanavi̲ ˈura-pʉga.
yes willow/SU be-REM
'…yes, it was a willow.

"ˈáavʉm-**kʉ**, súu-ˈaavu̲ ˈíi-pa pɵri" máy-pʉga,
now-LOC-**EMPH** almost-now here-DIR go/PL/IMM say-REM
"*Right now*, almost now the went through here" he told him,

"ˈu-vwaa-n-ˈura-**kʉ**"…[5]
there-at-LOC-be-**EMPH**
"*right there*"…'

c. …tʉvʉyi̲-khwa-pʉay-aga-amu̲, ˈumʉ pa-vaa-vukuchi-u:
ask-go-REM-CONCL-3S 3S/O RED-water-animal-PL
'…So he asked them, those pet water bugs (of his):

"ˈipʉ-amʉ mʉni magha-ta-ˈay?"
what/O-3P 2P/O feed-PASS-IMM
"What did he feed you?"

"nʉmʉy-aa-**kʉ** kwichapʉ magha-kway!…"… (ibid.)
1P/O-O-**EMPH** feces/O feed-MOD
"He fed *us* shit!…" (they said)…'

d. …kh-ˈura máy-pʉga: "ˈi-vaa-**kʉ** tʉvwa tʉkuavi̲,
then-be say-REM here-at-**EMPH** down meat/SU
'…so then he said: "*Right here* down (there's) meat,

yʉvʉpʉ-m ˈú-ˈu̲way-kya" máy-vaachi̲… (ibid.)
pine-LOC RED-hang-ANT/PASS say-BKGR
hanging up in the pine tree" he said…'

e. …tʉgʉy-naruˈa-khwa-pʉga, píyaa-**kʉ**
hunger-buy-go-REM strong-**EMPH**
tʉgʉy-naruˈa-khwa-pʉga… (ibid.)
hunger-buy-go-REM
'…he was hungry, he was *powerfully* hungry…'

4. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

5. "Porcupine, buffalo cow and Sinawav", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

f. …'áy-pʉga-sʉ̲ 'uwas "ma-vaa-tugwa
say-REM-CONJ 3S/SU there-at-go
nʉ-**kʉ** kwicha-ghwa-mi…"…
I-**EMPH** defecate-go-HAB
'…he said, "*I* always defecate over there…"…' (ibid.)

In a few examples, this suffix is also found on verbs, as in (11) below, where a strong argument is raging about what the speaker did or didn't say:[6]

(11) …'uwas 'áy-pʉga,
3S/SU say-REM
'…he said
"'ipʉ-m-sʉ̲ 'inay 'uru-sʉ̲ 'i-vaa?" máy-kya-ni-**kʉ**!
what-with-CONJ this/O that/O-CONJ here-at say-ANT-like-**EMPH**
"I was *saying*: 'What shall (skin) this one with here?
kach-in-**kʉ** máy-wa!"…
NEG-1S-**EMPH** say-NEG
I didn't say it (the other way)!"…'

The emphatic use of *-kʉ* in (11) is embedded in a highly contrastive context.

6. Ibid.

CHAPTER 14

Non-declarative speech acts

14.1 Introduction

14.1.1 Orientation

As noted earlier (ch. 4), in describing syntactic constructions we single out one privileged clause-type as the benchmark for syntactic description, the *theme* vis-a-vis which all other clause-types are the *variations*. This privileged clause-type is the main, declarative, affirmative, active clause. In several earlier chapters, we have treated three of the four major types of variations on this descriptive theme. In chs 8, 9 and 12 we described various types of subordinate (embedded) clauses, contrasting them with the main clause.[1] In ch. 6 we described negative clauses, contrasting them with the affirmative clause. And in Chapter 10 we described various types of de-transitive clauses, contrasting them with the active-transitive clause. In this chapter we concern ourselves with the fourth major variation on the theme, contrasting **manipulative** and **interrogative** speech-acts with the **declarative** theme.

14.1.2 Speech-acts

The domain of **speech-acts** is central to human communication, having to do with the speaker's communicative intent vis-a-vis the hearer; specifically, whether the state/event clause (proposition) expressed by the speaker is intended to convey information, request information, or solicit action. These three main communicative intents are the most conspicuous speech-act prototypes, those that receive the clearest grammatical coding in most languages:

- declarative – convey information
- interrogative – request information
- manipulative – solicit action

1. One more type of subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses, will be described in ch. 17.

The three speech-act prototypes are characterized in terms of what the speaker either knows or intends or feels entitled to, or what the speaker assumes that the hearer knows or intends or feels entitled to.[2] In order:

(1) **Declarative**:
  a. **Speaker's assumption about knowledge or belief (epistemics)**:
    (i) The speaker knows the information.
    (ii) The hearer doesn't know the information.
    (iii) The information is not redundant, trivial or false.
  b. **Speaker's assumptions about intent or power (deontics)**:
    (i) The speaker is willing to convey the information.
    (ii) The hearer welcomes the information.
    (iii) The speaker is sincere and does not intend to mislead.
    (iv) The speaker is entitled to convey the information.

(2) **Interrogative**:
  a. **Speaker's assumptions about knowledge or belief (epistemics)**:
    (i) The speaker doesn't know the information.
    (ii) The hearer knows the information.
  b. **Speaker's assumptions about intent and power (deontics)**:
    (i) The speaker welcomes the information.
    (ii) The hearer is willing to convey the information.
    (iii) The speaker is entitled to request the information.

(3) **Manipulative**:
  a. **Speaker's assumptions about knowledge or belief (epistemics)**:
    (i) Both speaker and hearer know that the current state of affairs (A) exists.
    (ii) Both speaker and hearer know that a future state of affairs (B) does not exist.
  b. **Speaker's assumptions about intent and power (deontics)**:
    (i) The speaker wants the hearer to change state-of-affairs A to B.
    (ii) The speaker has authority over the hearer.
    (iii) The hearer has power to affect the desired change of A to B.
    (iv) The hearer recognizes the speaker's authority.

The epistemic and deontic assumptions that characterize the three speech-act prototypes are social-behavioral norms or sub-clauses of an implicit **communicative contract**, rather than hard-and-fast rules. They can be – and often are – violated or tampered with, resulting in well-known disruptive consequences, both epistemic

2. The domain of speech-acts is complex and has had a long scholarly tradition, beginning with antiquity. For a summary of the literature on the subject, see Givón (2001, vol. 2, ch. 17).

(informational confusion and/or disrupted communication) and deontic (social confusion and conflict). Further, many of the sub-clauses in (1), (2) and (3) above are a matter of fine shades and gradations. Such shades and gradations yield a graduated meaning space both within and between the speech-act prototypes. While we will not deal here in much detail with the theory of this gradation,[3] the sub-types of the three speech-act prototypes that will be described below are its clear manifestations.[4]

14.2 Manipulative speech-acts

Manipulative speech-acts diverge among themselves most conspicuously along one central dimension – the relative power, authority or social position claimed by the speaker vis-a-vis the hearer. The higher the speaker's position is vis-a-vis the hearer, the more direct or less polite the manipulative speech-act is. We will deal with the manipulative speech-act forms found in Ute beginning with the most direct (impolite) ones, going down the scale of increased politeness and indirectness.

14.2.1 Imperatives

The bare-stem form of the verb serves as the most direct, least polite, imperative speech-act, often with the last stem-vowel silenced. The implied subject-manipulee, always a second person singular/dual or plural (i.e. the hearer), is not expressed by a pronoun. If the subject-manipulee is plural, the subject-agreeing plural form of the verb is used, whether with the plural suffix or the suppletive plural form. As typical examples consider:

(4)

singular	**reduced-singular**	**plural**	**reduced-plural**
tʉka! 'eat!'	tú̱ka̱!	tʉka-qha!	---------
karú̱! 'sit!'	kárʉ̱!	yugwi!	yúkhwi̱!
yʉga! 'enter!'	yú̱kha̱!	waghay!	----------

The same bare-stem form, without vowel reduction, can be used in two less-direct, more polite imperative forms, the first with the emphatic suffix *-nʉ*, as in:

(5)

singular	**plural**
tʉka-nʉ! 'Please eat!'	tʉka-qha-nʉ!
karʉ-nʉ! 'Please sit!'	yugwi-nʉ!
yʉga-nʉ! 'Please enter!'	waghay-nʉ!

3. *Ibid.*

4. We have already dealt with some gradation of the epistemic value of declarative speech-acts, in terms the modality of high-certainty (realis) vs. lower certainty (irrealis); see ch. 6.

The second form employs the 'invitation' particle *táa* at the beginning, with the verb then optionally suffixed with *-nʉ*:

(6)

singular	**plural**
Táa, tʉka-nʉ! 'Go ahead, eat!'	Táa, tʉka-qha-nʉ!
Táa, karʉ-nʉ! 'Go ahead, sit down!'	Táa, yugwi-nʉ!
Táa, yʉga-nʉ! 'Go ahead, enter!'	Táa, waghay-nʉ!

14.2.2 Negative imperative

Two forms of the negative imperative are found, both based on the bare-stem form in (4). They are again graded in terms of degree of politeness or directness. The more direct, less polite form pre-poses the negative work *kachʉ* to the shorter bare-stem imperative, as in:

(7)

singular	**plural**
kachʉ tʉ́ka! 'don't eat!'	kachʉ tʉka-qha!
kachʉ kárʉ! 'don't sit!'	kachʉ yúkhwi!
kachʉ yʉ́kha! 'don't enter!'	kachʉ waghay!

A more polite form involves suffixation of the bare-stem verb, or following the plural suffix, with the modal suffix *-sapa*, as in:

(8)

singular	**plural**
kachʉ tʉka-sapa! 'Don't eat, please!'	kachʉ tʉka-qha-sapa!
kachʉ karʉ-sapa! 'Don't sit, please!'	kachʉ yugwi-sapa!
kachʉ yʉga-sapa! 'Don't enter, please!'	kachʉ waghay-sapa!

An even more polite form involves suffixing the modal particle *-sapa* to the negative word rather than the bare-stem verb:

(9)

singular	**plural**
kachʉ-sapa tʉ́ka! 'Please don't eat!'	kachʉ-sapa tʉka-qha!
kachʉ-sapa kárʉ! 'Please don't sit!'	kachʉ-sapa yúkhwi!
kachʉ-sapa yʉ́kha! 'Please don't enter!'	kachʉ-sapa waghay!

14.2.3 Exhortatives

We have noted earlier (ch. 6) the use of the irrealis suffix *-vaa-/-paa-* in various **subjunctive** forms, primarily in the marking of lower epistemic certainty. The same irrealis suffix may be used to mark more polite or less direct manipulative speech-acts, those of lower deontic force. One of those is the **exhortative** speech-act whereby the speaker invites a second-person manipulee to join them in action. That manipulee is coded by suffixing the appropriate 2nd-person inclusive subject pronoun to the verb or to the first word in the clause. If the manipulee is plural, the appropriate plural-subject form of the verb must be used. Thus consider:

(10) a. **Dual-inclusive**: wú**ʉ**ka-**vaa**-ramị! 'Let's (you and I) work!'
work-**IRR**-2d/INC

b. **Plural-inclusive**: wú**ʉ**ka-qha-**paa**-rawị! 'Let's (you and we) work!'
work-PL-**IRR**-2P/IN

c. **Dual-inclusive**: **'**áav**ʉ**-ramị kar**ʉ**-**vaa**! 'Let's (you and I) sit!'
now-2d/INC sit-**IRR**

d. **Plural-inclusive**: **'**áav**ʉ**-rawị yugwi-**vaa**! 'Let's (you and we) sit!'
now-2P/INC sit/PL-**IRR**

The same irrealis suffix *-vaa*/*-paa* is also used in the indirect manipulation of a third person, with the speaker expressing the **necessity** of that third-person performing the desired action. Thus consider:

(11) a. S**ingular**: wú**ʉ**ka-**vaa**-**'**u! 'Let him/her work!', 'S/he should work!'
work-**IRR**-3s

b. **Plural**: wú**ʉ**ka-qha-**paa**-am**ʉ**! 'Let them work!', 'They should work!'
work-PL-**IRR**-3P

c. S**ingular**: **'**áav**ʉ**-**'**u kani-náagha-tukhwa y**ʉ**ga-**vaa**!
now-3s house/O-in-go enter-**IRR**
'Now let him/her enter the house!'
'S/he should enter the house now!'

d. **Plural**: **'**áav**ʉ**-am**ʉ** kani-náagha-tukhwa waghay-**vaa**!
now-3s house-it-go enter/PL-IRR
'Now let them enter the house!
'They should enter the house now!'

A variant exhortative form employs the stem ***'uvwiya***-, to which the relevant first-person dual or plural pronouns are suffixed, with the irrealis suffix on the verb, as in:

(12) a. **'uvwiya**-ramị máa-vaa-chukhwa kwáy-**vaa**
EXHORT-1/DU/INCL that-at-go go-IRR
'let's you & I go to that (vis.) one…'

b. **'uvwiya**- rawị máa-vaa-chukhwa kwáy-kya-paa
EXHORT-1/PL/INCL that-at-go go-PL-IRR
'let's you & us go to that (vis.) one…'

14.2.4 The obligative mode

To indicate self-obligation (first-person subject), one may combine the irrealis suffix *-vaa*/*-paa* with the subject-nominal suffix *-chi*, the same combination used in the verbal complements of modal-aspectual verbs (ch. 9). Thus consider:

(13) a. S**ingular**: t**ʉ**v**ʉ**chi-sapa-n wú**ʉ**ka-**vaa-chị**
truly-MOD-1s work-**IRR-NOM**
'I should really work'.

b. **Plural**: tʉvʉchi-sapa-nʉmʉ wúʉka-qha-**paa-chi-mʉ**
truly-MOD-1P work-PL-**IRR-NOM-PL**
'We should really work'.

The use of the nominal plural suffix *-mʉ* in (13b) reflects the nominal source of the construction.

An equivalent construction indicating obligation of others (third persons) utilizes the form found in complements of manipulation verbs (ch. 9), this time combining the irrealis suffix *-vaa/-paa* with the switch-subject nominal suffix *-ku*. Thus consider:

(14) a. S**ingular**: tʉvʉchi-sapa-'a wúʉka-**vaa-ku**
truly-MOD-3S work-**IRR-NOM**
'S/he should really work'

b. **Plural**: tʉvʉchi-sapa-amʉ wúʉka-qha-**paa-ku**
truly-MOD-3P work-**PL-IRR-NOM**
'They should really work'

Both obligative constructions (13) and (14) may be considered as diachronic extension of the corresponding verbal complement constructions, where the volitional verb ('want') or the manipulative verb ('I order', 'I want') is elided but still implied.

14.2.5 The strong obligative mode

A similar construction, perhaps with a stronger sense of obligation, combines the irrealis suffix *-vaa/-paa* with the nominalizing suffix *-na*, the same one used in object REL-clauses (ch. 12). Either first, second or third persons may be the subject of this construction. As in object REL-clauses, if the subject is a full noun (NP) or independent pronoun, it must be marked as genitive. Thus consider:

(15) a. 1st **person**: wúʉka-**vaa-na**-n
work-**IRR-NOM**-1S
'I must work'

b. 2nd **person**: wúʉka-**vaa-na**-mʉ
work-IRR-NOM-2S
'You must work'

c. 2nd **person-NEG**: 'ʉmʉy-aqh-'uru ka-'ini-**vaa**-'wa-**nʉ**
2S/GEN-it-that NEG-do-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**
'You must not do it'

d. 3rd **person-SG**: mamachi 'uway wúʉka-**vaa-nʉ**
woman/GEN the/GEN work-**IRR-NOM**
'The woman must work'

e. 3rd **person-PL**: máamʉchi-u 'umʉ wúʉka-qha-**paa-nʉ**
women-PL the/GEN work-PL-**IRR**-NOM
'The women must work'

f. 3rd **person-PL-NEG**: máamą̲chi-u 'umʉ ka-wʉ́ʉka-qha-**paa**-'wa-**ną̲**
women-PL the/GEN work-PL-**IRR**-NEG-**NOM**
'The women must not work'

14.2.6 The subjunctive of hope or wish

Straddling the speech-act continuum somewhere between the manipulative (deontic) and declarative (epistemic) ranges is a **subjunctive** form that implies hope or wish concerning some third person's future action. The speech-act value here is closer to the **indirect manipulation** sense of the exhortative form in (11). A two-suffix combination marks the verb in this form, the subjunctive suffix *-guu-* followed by the nominalized *-pʉ*. In addition, the inanimate distal demonstrative *-'uru* 'that' is suffixed to the first word in the clause. Thus consider:

(16) a. **Singular**: 'uwas-'uru pichʉ-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
3s/s-that/O arrive-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that s/he would arrive'
'Hopefully s/he should arrive'

b. **Plural**: 'umʉs-'uru 'uwaay-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
3P-that/O arrive/PL-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that they would arrive'
'Hopefully they should arrive'

c. **Singular**: 'áavʉ̲-'uru wʉ́ʉka-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
now-that/O work-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that s/he would work now'
'Now hopefully (s/he) should work'

d. **Plural**: 'áavʉ̲-'uru wʉ́ʉka-qha-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
now-that/O work-PL-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that they would work now'
'Now hopefully (they) should work'

e. **Singular**: sivaatuchi-'uru paqha-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
goat/O-that/O kill-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that (s/he) would kill the goat'
'Hopefully (s/he) should kill the goat'

f. **Plural**: sivaatuchi-'uru paqha-qha-**guu**-**pʉ̲**
goat/O-that/O kill-PL-**SUBJUN-NOM**
'I wish/hope that (they) would kill the goat'
'Hopefully (they) should kill the goat'

g. **Singular**: kani-naaghą̲-tukhwą̲ kách-'uru yʉga-**guu**-'wa-**pʉ̲**
house/O-in-go NEG-that/O enter-**SUBJUN**-NEG-**NOM**
'I wish/hope that s/he would not enter the house'
'Hopefully (s/he) should not enter the house'

h. **Plural**: kani-naagha-tukhwa kách-'uru waghay-**guu**-'wa-**pʉ**
house/O-in-go NEG-that/O enter/PL-**SUBJUN**-NEG-**NOM**
'I wish/hope that they would not enter the house'
'Hopefully (they) should not enter the house'

14.2.7 Counter-fact hypothetical subjunctive

The counter-fact or **hypothetical subjunctive** is constructed by adding one of the two past tenses, *anterior* or *remote*, to the subjunctive form described directly above (Sec. 14.2.6.). This combination of realis and irrealis marking is a typical device for rendering counter-fact meaning in many languages.[5] Subjunctive constructions often straddle the speech-act continuum between the deontic (manipulative) and the epistemic (declarative) ranges. Thus:

(17) a. **Singular**: 'uwas-'uru pichʉ-kay-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that come-ANT-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he had come' (but s/he didn't)

b. **Plural**: 'umʉs-'uru 'uwaay-kya-**guu**-**pʉ**
3P/SU-that come/PL-ANT-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that they had come' (but they didn't)

c. NEG-**singular**: 'uwas-'uru sivaatuchi ka-tʉka-nay-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that goat/O NEG-eat-ANT/NEG-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he hadn't eaten the goat' (but s/he did)

d. NEG-**plural**: 'umʉs-'uru sivaatuchi ka-tʉka-qha-nay-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that goat/O NEG-eat-PL-ANT/NEG-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he hadn't eaten the goat' (but s/he did)

And likewise with the remote past:

(18) a. **Singular**: 'uwas-'uru pichʉ-pʉga-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that come-REM-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he had come' (but s/he didn't)

b. **Plural**: 'umʉs-'uru 'uwaay-pʉga-**guu**-**pʉ**
3P/SU-that come/PL-REM-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that they had come' (but they didn't)

c. NEG-**singular**: 'uwas-'uru sivaatuchi ka-tʉka-pʉa-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that goat/O NEG-eat-REM/NEG-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he hadn't eaten the goat' (but s/he did)

d. **Neg-plural**: 'umʉs-'uru sivaatuchi ka-tʉka-qha-pʉa-**guu**-**pʉ**
3S/SU-that goat/O NEG-eat-PL-REM/NEG-**SUBJUN**-**NOM**
'I wish that s/he hadn't eaten the goat' (but s/he did)

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5. For a general discussion of the subjunctive and its place within the irrealis modality, see Givón (2001, vol. 1, ch. 6, sec. 6.4.4).

14.2.8 The counter-fact hypothetical mode

Even closer yet to the epistemic – declarative – end of the speech-act continuum is the counter-fact hypothetical mode, using a combination of the irrealis *-vaa/-paa* suffix, followed by either of the two past markers and the subject nominalize *-tʉ*. Consider, with the anterior suffix:

(19) a. **Singular**: **'**uwas-**'**uru wúʉka-**vaa-qha-tʉ**
3s/SU-that work-IRR-ANT-NOM
'S/he should/could/would/may have worked' (but didn't)

b. **Plural**: **'**umʉs-**'**uru wúʉka-qha-**paa-qha-tʉ-mʉ**
3P/SU-that work-PL-IRR-ANT-NOM-PL
'They should/could/would/may have worked' (but didn't)

c. **NEG-singular**: **'**uwas-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-**vaa-na-tʉ**
3s/SU-that NEG-work-IRR-ANT/NEG-NOM
'S/he should/could/would/may not have worked' (but did)

d. **NEG-plural**: **'**umʉs-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-qha-**paa-na-tʉ-mʉ**
3P/SU-that NEG-work-PL-IRR-ANT/NEG-NOM-PL
'They should/could/would/may have not worked' (but did)

And with the remote-past:

(20) a. **Singular**: **'**uwas-**'**uru wúʉka-**vaa-pʉga-tʉ**
3s/SU-that work-IRR-ANT-NOM
'S/he should/could/would/may have worked' (but didn't)

b. **Plural**: **'**uwas-**'**uru wúʉka-qha-**paa-pʉga-tʉ-mʉ**
3s/SU-that work-PL-IRR-ANT-NOM-PL
'They should/could/would/may have worked' (but didn't)

c. **NEG-singular**: **'**uwas-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-**vaa-pu-a-tʉ**
3s/SU-that NEG-work-IRR-REM/NEG-NOM
'S/he should/could/would/may not have worked' (but did)

d. **NEG-plural**: **'**umʉs-**'**uru ka-wúʉka-qha-**paa-pʉa-tʉ-mʉ**
3P/SU-that NEG-work-PL-IRR-REM/NEG-NOM-PL
'They should/could/would/may not have worked' (but did)

14.3 Interrogatives

Interrogative speech-acts are traditionally divided into two main types:

- yes/no questions
- constituent (WH-) questions

We will discuss them in order.

14.3.1 Yes/no questions

14.3.1.1 Preliminaries

The conventional wisdom about yes/no questions, based on a long logical tradition, has been that the speaker asking the question is neutral with respect to the expected answer – positive or negative. That is:

(21) **Logical tradition about yes/no questions**:
"Given proposition P, tell me, is it true or false?"

As usual, the facts of language use are somewhat more complex, suggesting that speakers do not ask yes/no questions with utterly neutral expectations. Rather, they ask such questions with some initial **epistemic bias** toward either the affirmative or the negative response. What is more, the speaker's varying initial biases can be coded by subtle variations in the grammatical form of the yes/no question. Thus in English one finds at least the following possible variant forms of asking a yes/no question, graded along a continuum of the speaker's epistemic bias toward either the affirmative or negative response:[6]

(22) **Yes-no question continuum**:

strongest bias toward an affirmative response

a. She *did* come, didn't she?
b. She came, didn't she?
c. Didn't she come?
d. Did she come?
e. She *didn't* come, did she?

strongest bias toward a negative response

14.3.1.2 Affirmative yes/no questions

The general form of yes/no questions in Ute involves the attachment of the **interrogative suffix** *-a(a)* to the first word in the interrogative clause. Otherwise, the syntactic difference between the declarative and interrogative clause is minimal (except for intonation). Thus compare:

(23) a. **Declarative**: ˈícha tɨkapi túɨˈa-y
this/SU food/SU good-IMM
'This food is good'

b. **Interrogative**: ˈicha **-áa** tɨkapi túɨˈa-yʔ
this/SU-Q food/SU good-IMM
'Is this food good?'

6. The original observation is due to Bolinger (1978).

c. **Interrogative**: tʉkapi-**áa** tʉ́ʉ'a-y?
food/SU-Q good-IMM
'Is the food good?'

d. **Interrogative**: tʉ́ʉ'a-y-**áa** (tʉkapi)?
good-IMM-Q food/s
'Is it good (the food)?'

The *áa*-marked first word in the clause may also be the direct object, indirect object or adverb. However, given the flexible, pragmatically-controlled word-order of Ute, the selection of the *áa*-marked first word in the clause is not a mere 'stylistic' option. Rather, it indicates the narrowing focus of the yes/no-question. Such questions are seldom neutral with respect to the expected answer. Most often, the rest of the clause is taken for granted by the speaker, and only the Q-marked first word falls under **interrogative focus**. Thus compare:

(24) a. **Declarative**: kʉ́aw-'uru 'áapachi kani-vaa-tʉ pʉ́nikya-qhay-'u
yesterday-that/O boy/O house-at-DIR see-ANT-3S
'yesterday (s/he) saw the boy at the house'

b. Interrogative: kʉ́aw-**áa** 'áapachi pʉnikya-qhay-'u?
yesterday-Q boy/O see-ANT-3S
'Did she see the boy *yesterday*?'
('Was it *yesterday* that she saw the boy?')

c. **Interrogative**: kani-vaa-tʉ-**áa** 'áapachi pʉnikya-qhay-'u?
house-at-DIR-Q boy/O see-ANT-3S
'Did s/he see the boy *at the house*?'
('Was it *at the house* that she saw the boy?')

d. **Interrogative**: 'áapachi-**áa** kʉ́ʉaw pʉnikya-qha?
boy/O-Q yesterday see-ANT
'Did she see *the boy*?'
('Was it *the boy* that s/he saw yesterday?')

In English, with its more rigid word-order, the same narrowing of the interrogative focus may be achieved either through intonation, by placing emphatic stress on the focused word, or by using a cleft-focus structure, as in the parenthetical glosses of (24) above. The logician's bias (21) about the supposed neutral nature of yes/no questions is thus, to quite an extent, a fiction. In actual communication, speakers often have a narrowly focused reason for asking a yes/no question, an uncertainty about only one specific element of the state/event. So while neutral yes/no questions are possible, they are not necessarily the norm in natural communication. And when a yes/no question contain an optional component, such as a time (24b), place (24c) or manner adverb, focusing narrowly on that optional component is near obligatory.

14.3.1.3 Negative yes/no questions

Unlike affirmative yes/no questions, their negative counterparts do not seem to narrow the focus of the interrogative question.

(25) a. **Declarative**: kʉ́aw-'uru mamachi̱ tʉkuavi tʉka-qha
yesterday-that/O woman/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'Yesterday the woman ate (the) meat'

b. NEG-**interrogative**: kʉ́aw-**áa** mamachi̱ tʉ́kuavi ka-tʉka-na?
yesterday-**Q** woman/SU meat/O NEG-eat-ANT/NEG
'Didn't the woman eat (the) meat yesterday?'
(*'Was it *yesterday* that the woman didn't eat (the) meat?'

c. NEG-**interrogative**: mamachi̱-**áa** kʉ́aw tʉ́kuavi ka-tʉka-na?
woman/SU-**Q** yesterday meat/O NEG-eat-ANT/NEG
'Didn't the woman eat (the) meat yesterday?'
(*'Was it *the woman* that ate (the) meat yesterday?'

d. NEG-**interrogative**: tʉkuavi-**áa** mamachi̱ kʉ́aw ka-tʉka-na?
meat/O-**Q** woman/SU yesterday NEG-eat-ANT/NEG
'Didn't the woman eat (the) meat yesterday?'
(?'Was it *(the) meat* that woman didn't eat yesterday?'

To obtain a narrow interrogative focus in negative yes/no questions, an explicit cleft construction must be used, with the appropriated REL-clause structure. Thus compare (25b,c,d) above to (26a,b,c) below, respectively:

(26) a. **Clefted** NEG-**interrogative**:
kach-**áa** kʉ́aw 'ura-wa-tʉ̱ mamachi tʉ́kuavi tʉ́ka-qha-na̱?
NEG-**Q** yesterday be-NEG-NOM woman/GEN meat/O eat-ANT-REL/O
'Wasn't it *yesterday* that the woman ate (the) meat?'

b. NEG-**interrogative**:
kach-**áa** mamachi̱ 'ura-wa-tʉ̱ kʉ́aw tʉ́kuavi tʉka-qha-tʉ̱?
NEG-**Q** woman/SU be-NEG-NOM yesterday meat/O eat-ANT-REL/S
'Wasn't it *the woman* who ate (the) meat yesterday?'

c. NEG-**interrogative**:
kach-**áa** tʉkuavi̱ 'ura-wa-tʉ̱ mamachi kʉ́aw tʉka-qha-na̱?
NEG-**Q** meat/SU be-NEG-NEG woman/GEN yesterday eat-ANT-REL/O
'Wasn't it *the meat* that the woman ate yesterday?'

14.3.1.4 The use of negative yes/no questions as polite requests

As noted earlier, subtle gradations may exist between the three speech-act prototypes of declarative, interrogative and manipulative. Commonly, yes/no questions,

especially negative ones, can be use as indirect, more polite, softer manipulative speech-acts.[7] Thus in English one finds polite usages such as (27) below, where the form is that of a negative yes/no question but the meaning is that of an affirmative, manipulative speech-act:

(27) a. Wouldn't you please come in? (> Please come in)
b. Won't you please sit down? (> Please sit down)
c. Shouldn't we better finish now? (> We should finish now)

This usage is also be found in Ute, as in:

(28) a. nʉ́-**aa** ka-yʉga-kwa-ˈwa-tʉ̲?
1S/SU-**Q** NEG-enter-go-NEG-NOM
'May I please come in?'
b. ˈʉmʉy-**áa** ka-ˈivi-ti-kwa-ˈwa-tʉ̲?
2S/O-**Q** NEG-drink-CAUS-go-NEG-NOM
'May I offer you a drink?'

The following example is taken from an oral narrative:[8]

(29) …mʉ́nı̲-**áa** nʉ́nay kach ˈu-vwaa-tʉ nóʊˈwa̲-ˈway-ˈura?…
2P/SU-**Q** 1S/O NEG there-at-DIR carry-NEG-be
'…Won't you please carry me there?…'

14.3.2 Constituent (WH-) question

14.3.2.1 Preliminaries

Constituent (henceforth WH-) questions are transacted in contexts where the speaker assumes that the hearer agrees that a certain event has occurred (or a state of affairs is the case), and then queries only one component of the event, be it the subject, object, indirect-object, adverb or an optional constituent. In logical terms, WH-questions **presuppose** all portions of the event except the constituent that is in **interrogative focus**. That queried constituent is then expressed as an **interrogative pronoun** (question word).

The interrogative pronouns in Ute encode four contrasts, three semantic and one syntactic. In order:

- animate vs. inanimate
- singular vs. plural (for animates)
- referring vs. non-referring
- subject vs. non-subject

7. For the logic of such usage, see Givón (2001, vol. 2, ch. 17).

8. "Sinawav and the seven sister", told by Mollie B. Cloud (Givón ed. 1985).

The full inventory of Ute interrogative pronouns is given in (30) below

(30) **Interrogative pronouns**

	subject		**non-subject**	
	referring	**non-referring**	**referring**	**non-referring**
AN-SG:	'áa	'íni	'áay	'ini
AN-PL:	'áa-mʉ	'ini-u	'áa-mʉ	'ini-u
INAN:	'agha-rʉ	'ípʉ	'agha-rʉ	'ipʉ

Of the four distinctions observed in interrogative pronouns, the referring-non-referring contrast is most interesting. It is also least common cross-language.

14.3.2.2 Subject WH-questions: Referring vs. non-referring

Referring WH-questions are uttered with the expectation of a response that would identify a definite, or at least specific individual, a **token** referent. We will illustrate this with subject WH-questions, as in:

(31) a. AN-SG: kani-vaa-tʉ **'áa** wúʉka-y?
house-at-DIR **Q/SU** work-IMM
'Who is working at the house?'
'Which one is working at the hose?'

b. AN-PL: kani-vaa-tʉ- **'áa-mʉ** wúʉka-qha-y?
house-at-DIR **Q/SU-PL** work-PL-IMM
'Who-all are working at the house?
'Which ones are working at the house?'

c. INAN: kúaw **'agha-rʉ** qorʉch'ay-kya?
yesterday **Q/SU-INAN** break-ANT
'Which one broke yesterday?

Acceptable responses to (31a,b,c) would be definite or anaphoric NPs such as 'Mary', 'the boys', 'that glass' or 'this one'.

Non-referring WH-questions are uttered with the expectation of a response that would identify only the **type** of the individual, not its specific reference. Thus compare (for subject WH-questions):

(32) a. AN-SG: 'u-vwa-tʉ **'íni** 'uni'ni(-y)?
there- at-DIR **Q/SU** do/be-IMM
'What kind (of a person/animate) is there?'

b. AN-PL: 'u-vwa-tú **'ini-u** 'uni'ni-kya-y?
there- at-DIR **Q/SU-PL** do/be-PL-IMM
'What kind (of persons/animates) are there?'

c. INAN: tʉkaˈnapʉ-vwa-n **ˈípʉ** wachʉka?
table-at-on **Q/SU** be/IMM
'What (kind of a thing) is on the table?'

Acceptable responses to (32a,b,c) in English would be indefinite NPs such as 'a woman', 'horses' or 'a book', respectively. Unacceptable responses would be definite NP's such as 'John', 'the women' or 'that one', respectively.

14.3.2.3 Predicate questions

As elsewhere in the Ute grammar, predicate WH-pronouns use the same form as subject WH-pronouns. In addition, a form of the verb 'be' is suffixed to the WH-pronoun. Referring WH-questions about nominal predicates are, for example:

(33) a. AN-SG: **ˈína** mamachi **ˈáa-**ˈara?
this/SU woman/SU **Q/S**-be
'Who is this woman?'

b. AN-PL: **ˈáa-mʉ-**ˈara táataˈwachi-u **ˈʉmʉ**
Q/S-PL-be men-PL the/SU
ˈu-vwaa-tʉ **ˈuniˈni**-kya-tʉ-mʉ?
there-at-DIR do/be-pl-NOM-PL
'Who are the men who are there?'

c. INAN: **ˈaghа-rʉ-**ˈara **ˈícha**?
Q/S-INAN-be this/s
'Which one is this?'

Possible felicitous answers to (33a,b,c) are definite or anaphoric expressions such as, for example, 'my sister', 'the new workers who came yesterday' or 'María Sánchez', respectively.

Non-referring predicate WH-questions are, for example:

(34) a. AN-SG: **ˈíni-**ˈara **ˈína**?
Q/SU-be this/SU
'What kind (of an animate/human) is this?'

b. AN-PL: **ˈini-u-**ˈara má-mʉ?
Q-PL-be that/vis-PL/SU
'What kind (of animates/humans) are these?'

c. INAN: **ˈípʉ-**ˈara **ˈícha**?
Q/S-be this/SU
'What kind (of a thing) is this?'

Possible felicitous answers to (34a,b,c) are indefinite generic expressions such as, for example, 'a horse', 'children' or 'an axe', respectively. Alternatively, attributive responses

such as 'a big one', 'real mean' or 'very useful' are also possible here. But a more complex WH-question form can be used to elicit, in a more specific way, adjectival predicate responses, as in:

(35) a. AN-SG: **'agha-ra-tʉ-mʉ-'ara** má ta'wachi?
Q-be-NOM-AN/SU-be that/SU man/SU
'What is that (vis.) man like?'

b. AN-PL: **'agha-ra-ka-tʉ-mʉ-'ara** 'í-mʉ máamachi-u?
Q-be-PL-NOM-PL/SU-be these-P/SU women-PL
'What are these women like?'

c. INAN: **'agha-ra-tʉ-'ara** 'úru wiichi?
Q-be-NOM/SU-be that/SU knife/SU
'What is that knife like?'

Possible felicitous responses to (35a,b,c) are, for example, 'courageous', 'beautiful' or 'very sharp', respectively.[9]

14.3.2.4 Object WH-questions and word-order

As noted earlier, word-order in Ute is flexible and pragmatically controlled. In object WH-questions, if the subject is overtly present, there is a strong tendency to place the WH-pronoun directly before the verb. The subject is then either pre-posed or post-posed. Thus, for referring object WH-questions:

(36) a. AN-SG, **pre-posed**: mamachi 'u **'áa-y** pʉnikya-qha?
woman/SU the/SU **Q-O** see-ANT
'Who did the woman see?'
('The woman, who did she see?')

b. AN-SG, **post-posed**: **'áa-y** pʉnikya-qha mamachi 'u?
Q-O see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'Who did the woman see?'
('Who did she see, the woman?'

Such variable word-orders, and the strong tendency to place the WH-pronoun pre-verbally, are characteristic of all non-subject WH-questions. In other examples below, we will not present all possible word-order variant. Thus, for the rest of the object-WH referring questions:

(37) a. AN-PL: **'áa-mʉ** pʉnikya-qha mamachi 'u?
Q-PL/O see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'Who-all did the woman see?'

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9. The use of the verbal plural-subject suffix *-ka* as part of the WH-pronoun complex in (35b), points to a verbal origin of the WH-pronoun (see further below).

b. INAN: **'agha-rʉ** pʉnikya-qha mamachi̱ 'u?
Q-INAN/O see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'Which ones did the woman see?'

And likewise, with non-referring object WH-questions:

(38) a. AN-SG: **'ini** pʉnikya-qha mamachi̱ 'u?
Q/O see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'What kind (of a human/animate) did the woman see?'

b. AN-PL: **'ini-u** pʉnikya-qha mamachi̱ 'u?
Q/O-PL see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'What kind (of humans/animates) did the woman see?'

c. INAN: **'ipʉ** pʉnikya-qha mamachi̱ 'u?
Q/O see-ANT woman/SU the/SU
'What kind (of a thing) did the woman see?'

14.3.2.5 Object-of-possession WH-questions

Possession constructions are discussed in some detail further below (ch. 15). The Ute verb 'have' is morphologically defective, in the sense that it must incorporate either the possessed noun or some 'dummy element' as a prefix. Some simple examples of the **alienable possession** construction are:

(39) a. AN-SG: ta'wachi̱ 'u kava-yi 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲
man/SU the/SU horse-O POSS-have-NOM
'The man has a horse'

b. AN-SG: ta'wachi̱ 'u 'avantʉ-mʉ kava-yu 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲
man/SU the/SU many-AN/O horse-PL/O POSS-have-NOM
'The man has many horses'

c. INAN: ta'wachi̱ 'u 'avantʉ wiichi 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲
man/SU the/SU many/O knife/O POSS-have
'The man has many knives'

In forming WH-questions about the object of possession, the genitive suffix *-a* is added to the WH-pronoun. Thus, for referring object questions:

(40) a. AN-SG: **'áay-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ ta'wachi̱ 'u?
Q/O-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'Who/which one does the man have?'

b. AN-PL: **'áa-mʉ-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ ta'wachi̱ 'u?
Q-PL/O-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'Who-all/which ones does the man have?'

c. AN-SG: **'agha-rʉ-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ ta'wachi̱ 'u?
Q-INAN/O-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'Which one(s) does the man have?'

And for non-referring objects-of-possession:

(41) a. AN-SG: **'ini-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ ta'wachi 'u?
Q/O-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'What kind (of an animate/human) does the man have?'

b. AN-PL: **'ini-u-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ ta'wachi 'u?
Q/O-PL-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'What kind (of animates) does the man have?'

c. AN-SG: **'ipʉ-a** 'uni-aagha-tʉ ta'wachi 'u?
Q/O-GEN POSS-have-NOM man/SU the/SU
'What kind (of a thing) does the man have?'

14.3.2.6 Indirect-object and adverbial WH-questions

The general pattern of forming WH-questions about indirect objects marked by a post-position is with the relevant post-position suffixed to the WH-pronoun. And since indirect-object roles tend to be, typically, either animate/human or inanimate, the full paradigm of possible question types is reduced. We will deal with each object or adverb type separately.

a. Associative objects

Associative objects are typically human/animate and are marked with the post-position *-wa*. Examples of referring WH-question about associative objects are:

(42) a. AN-SG: 'áapachi 'u **'áa-wa** wúʉka-y?
boy/SU the/SU **Q-with** work-IMM
'Who is the boy working with?'

b. AN-PL: 'áapachi 'u **'áa-mʉ-wa** wúʉka-y?
boy/SU the/SU **Q-PL/O-with** work-IMM?
'Who-all is the boy working with?'

And with non-referring WH-question:

(43) a. AN-SG: 'áapachi 'u **'ini-wa** wúʉka-y?
boy/SU the/SU **Q/O-with** work-IMM
'What kind of a person is the boy working with?'

b. AN-PL: 'áapachi 'u **'ini-u-wa** wúʉka-y?
boy/SU the/SU **Q/O-PL-with** work-IMM
'What kind of persons is the boy working with?'

b. Instrumental objects

Instrumental objects are typically inanimate and are marked with the post-position *-m*. Examples of the reduced paradigm of possible WH-questions about instruments are:

(44) a. **Referring**: **'agha-rʉ-m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha?
Q-INAN/O-with meat/O cut-ANT
'Which one did (s/he) cut the meat with?'

b. **Non-referring**: **'ipʉ-m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha?
Q/O-with meat/O cut-ANT
'What did (s/he) cut the meat with?'

c. Locative objects/adverbs

Locations are typically inanimate, so that again the WH-question paradigm is reduced. There are many locative post-positions in Ute, and they all follow the general pattern of suffixation to the WH-pronoun, as above. Typical referring questions are:

(45) a. **'agha-vaa(tʉ̲)** **'ura'-'ay**?
Q/O-at(DIR) be-IMM
'Where-at is it?'

b. **'agha-vaa-n** **'uni'ni**?
Q/O-at-on be/IMM
'Where-on is s/he?'

c. **'agha-vaa-tukhwa̲** paghay-'way?
Q/O-at-go walk-IMM
'Where-to is s/he walking?'

d. **'agha-vaa-tʉ̲-mana-kway** pi̲chʉ-ka?
Q/O-at-DIR-leave-go come-ANT
'Where-from did s/he come?'

e. **'agha-naagha̲** karʉ̲-i?
Q/O-in sit-IMM
'Where-in is s/he sitting?'

f. **'agha-rukwa̲** wachʉka?
Q/O-under be/IMM
'Where-under is it?'

Comparable non-referring locative questions are much less common, but at least in principle they can be formed, as in:[10]

(46) a. **'ipʉ-vaa(tʉ̲)** **'ura'-'ay**?
Q/O-**at(DIR)** be-IMM
'At what kind of a place is (it)?'

b. **'ipʉ-vaa-n** **'uni'ni**?
Q/O-**at-on** be/IMM
'On what kind of a place is (s/he)?'

10. In human communication, the grid of location tends to be presupposed and thus referring.

c. **'ipʉ-vaa-tukhwa** paghay'wa-y?
Q/O-**at-go** walk-IMM
'To what kind of a place is (s/he) walking?'

d. **'ipʉ-vaa-tʉ-mana-kway** pichʉ-ka?
Q/O-**at-DIR-come-go** come-ANT
'From what kind of a place did (s/he) come?'

e. **'ipʉ-naagha** karʉi?
Q/O-**in** sit-IMM
'In what kind of a place is (s/he) sitting?'

f. **'ipʉ-rukwa** wachʉka?
Q/O-**under** be/IMM
'Under what kind of a place/thing is (it)?'

d. Abstract dative objects

The following are examples of abstract-dative WH-questions, first about referring entities:

(47) a. AN-SG: **'áa-vaa-chʉ** **'apagha-y**
Q-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'Who is (s/he) talking about?'

b. AN-PL: **'áa-mʉ-vaa-chʉ** **'apagha-y?**
Q-PL/O-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'Who-all is (s/he) talking abut?'

c. INAN: **'agha-vaa-tʉ** **'apagha-y?**
Q/O-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'Which one is (s/he) talking abut?'

And for questions about non-referring entities:

(48) a. AN-SG: **'ini -vaa-chʉ** **'apagha-y?**
Q/O-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'What kind of (an animate) is (s/he) talking abut?'

b. AN-PL: **'ini-u-vaa-chʉ** **'apagha-y?**
Q/O-PL-at-DIR talk-IMM
'What kind of (animates) is s/he talking abut?'

c. INAN: **'ipʉ -vwaa-tʉ** **'apagha-y?**
Q/O-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'What kind of (a thing) is s/he talking abut?'

e. Human dative objects

The following are examples of human-dative WH-questions, first about referring entities:

(49) a. AN-SG: **'**áay-**vaa-chukhwa** **'**apagha-y?
Q/O-**at-go** talk-IMM
'Who is s/he talking to?'

b. AN-PL: **'**áa-m**ʉ**-**vaa-chukhwa** **'**apagha-y?
Q-**PL**/O-**at-go** talk-IMM
'Who-all is s/he talking to?'

And likewise for questions about non-referring entities:

(50) a. AN-SG: **'**ini-**vaa-chukhwa** **'**apagha-y?
Q/O-**at-to** talk-IMM
'What kind (of an animate) is s/he talking to?'

b. AN-PL: **'**ini-u- **vaa-chukhwa** **'**apagha-y?
Q/O-PL-**at-to** talk-IMM
'What kind of (animates) is s/he talking to'

f. Benefactive objects

As noted earlier (ch. 4), the benefactive object, always human/animate, is marked as direct object, without any post-position. However, the benefactive relation is coded on the verb with the suffix *-kʉ-*. Examples of referring benefactive questions are:

(51) a. AN-SG: t**ʉ**kuavi **'áay** chíir**'**a-**kʉ**-kha?
meat/O **Q/O** fry-**BEN**-ANT
'Who did (s/he) fry the meat for?'

b. AN-SG: t**ʉ**kuavi **'áa-mʉ** chíir**'**a-**kʉ**-kha?
meat/O Q-PL/O fry-**BEN**-ANT
'Who-all did (s/he) fry the meat for?'

And for non-referring questions about benefactive objects:

(52) a. AN-SG: t**ʉ**kuavi **'ini** chíir**'**a-**kʉ**-kha?
meat/O Q/O fry-**BEN**-ANT
'What kind (of a person) did (s/he) fry the meat for?'

b. AN-SG: t**ʉ**kuavi **'ini-u** chíir**'**a-**kʉ**-kha?
meat/O **Q/O-PL** fry-**BEN**-ANT
'What kind (of persons) did (s/he) fry the meat for?'

g. Comparative manner objects

Comparative objects in Ute are marked with the post-position *-pani* or *-ni* 'like'. In WH-questions, that post-position is suffixed to the WH-pronoun. For referring questions first:

(53) a. AN-SG: **'**aa-**pani** **'**apagha-r**ʉ**?
Q-**like** talk-HAB
'Who does (s/he) talk like?'

b. AN-PL: 'aa-mʉ **-pani** 'apagha-rʉ̲?
Q-PL/O-**like** talk-HAB
'Who-all does s/he talk like?'

c. INAN: 'ícha̲-'ara **'agha-pani** 'ura-'ay?
this/SU-be Q/O-**like** be-IMM
'Which (thing) is this one like?'

And for non-referring questions:

(54) a. AN-SG: 'ini-**pani** 'apagha-rʉ̲?
Q/O-**like** talk-HAB
'What kind (of a person) does s/he talk like?'

b. AN-PL: 'ini-u-**pani** 'apagha-rʉ̲?
Q/O-PL/O-**like** talk-HAB
'What kind (of persons) does s/he talk like?'

c. INAN: 'ícha̲-'ara 'ipʉ-**pani** 'ura-'ay?
this/SU-be Q/O-**like** be-IMM
'What kind (of a thing) is this one like?'

h. Manner questions

As noted earlier (ch. 4), manner is by definition an inanimate, non-referring case-role. What is more, the form of manner adverbs in Ute is quite variable, including adverbial words and pre-verbal incorporated stems. Two forms of manner WH-questions can be used. In the first one, the suffix *-ni* 'like' marks a referring, inanimate-object WH-pronoun, as in:

(55) mamachi̲ 'u **'agha-ni** káa-qha?
woman/SU the/SU **Q/O-like** sing-ANT
'The woman, how did she sing?'

The second form is irregular, and is specific to the verb 'be', whose bare stem *-ra* is suffixed to the WH-pronoun:

(56) a. 'áapachi̲ 'u **'agha**-ra̲-'ay?
boy/SU the/SU Q-be-IMM
'How is the boy?'

b. mʉ́ni̲-'ara **'agha**-ra̲-qa-y?
2P/SU-be **Q**-be-PL-IMM
'How are you-all?'

i. Time

Temporal WH-questions pertain to various aspects of time, such as exact point ('when'), duration ('how long') or frequency ('how often'), etc. The basic temporal

WH-pronoun is *'anə-*, which is combined with various other markers to produce various temporal questions. Typical examples are:

(57) a. **Point**: mamachi̲ 'u **'anə**-khwa pichʉ-qa?
woman/SU the/SU **when**-go arrive-ANT
'When did the woman arrive?'

b. **Duration**: **'anə**-pa'a-toghwa-ni wʉ́ʉka-qha?
when-complete-long-like work-ANT
'For how long did (s/he) work?'

c. **Frequency**: **'anə**-chaa-ni 'i-vaa wʉ́ʉka-mi?
when-??-like here-at work-HAB
'How often does (s/he) work here?'

j. Cause, reason or motivation

Questions about the 'why' or 'what for' of states or events strive to elucidate the cause or reason why states are the way they are, or why events have occurred. They may be divided into two types:

- questions about **external causes**, be they directly environmental or mediated by reasoning or cognition; and
- questions about **internal causes**, such as intent or purpose.

In Ute, both question types are syntactically complex, with the WH-element incorporating the root of the old verb 'do' *-ni* and displaying some verbal characteristics. In questions about external causes, several tense-aspect-modal markers may be added to the WH-pronoun following *-ni*. Thus consider:

(58) a. **Anterior**: 'agha-**nh̲-kya** 'ini-kya-aqh?
Q-**do**-ANT do-ANT-it
'Why did (s/he) do it?'

b. **Remote**: 'agha-**nh̲-pʉga** 'ini-pʉga-aqh?
Q-**do**-REM do-REM-it
'Why did (s/he) do it?'

c. **Irrealis**: 'agha-**ni-vaa-ni** 'ini-vaa-ni-aqh?
Q-**do**-IRR-FUT do-IRR-FUT-it
'Why would/should (s/he) do it?'

d. **Imperfective**: 'agha-**ni-gya** 'ini-gya-aqh?
Q-**do**-PAR do-PAR-it
'Why is (s/he) doing it?'
'Why does s/e do it?'

Tense-aspect-modal agreement between the WH-element and the main verb is probably preferred, but at the moment it is not clear how strictly it is governed. However, the WH-element also reflects its verbal origin by obligatory plural subject

agreement. Thus compare (58a,b,c) above with their plural counterparts (59a,b,c), respectively:

(59) a. **Anterior**: **'agha-nh̲-kya-qha** **'ini-kya**-qha-aqh?
Q-do-PL-ANT do-**PL**-ANT-it
'Why did they do it?'

b. **Remote**: **'agha-nh̲-kya-pʉga** **'ini-kya**-pʉga-aqh?
Q-do-PL-REM do-**PL**-REM-it
'Why did they do it?'

c. **Irrealis**: **'agha-nh̲-kya-paa-ni** **'ini-kya**-paa-ni-aqh?
Q-do-PL-IRR-FUT do-**PL**-IRR-FUT-it
'Why would/should they do it?'

In questions about **internal causes**, i.e. actor's motivation, the suffixal combination of the irrealis *-vaa* and the nominalizer *-chi* is used, a combination already familiar from non-implicative verb complements (ch. 9) as well as various subjunctive forms (earlier above; ch. 6). The tense-aspect modal range allowed in the main verb is more expanded in this construction:

(60) a. **Anterior**: **'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲** **'ini-kya-aqh?**
Q-do-IRR-NOM that/O do-ANT-it
'Why did s/he do it?'

b. **Remote**: **'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲** **'ini-pʉga-aqh?**
Q-do-IRR-NOM do-ANT-it
'Why did s/he do it?'

c. **Irrealis**: **'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲** **'ini-vaa-ni-aqh?**
Q-do-IRR-NOM do-IRR-FUT-it
'Why would/should/will s/he do it?'

d. **Immediate**: **'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲** **'ini-kh̲?**
Q-do-IRR-NOM do-IMM
'Why is s/he doing it?'

e. **Habitual**: **'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲** **'ini-mi-aqh?**
Q-do-IRR-NOM do-HAB-it
'Why does s/he do that?'

The verbal provenance of *-ni* is again highlighted by the fact that it must agree with the plurality of the subject, this time along the double-agreement pattern of nominalized verbs. Thus contrast (60a,b,c) above with their plural counterparts in (61a,b,c), respectively:

(61) a. **Anterior**: **'agha-nh̲-kya**-paa-chi-**mʉ̲** **'ini-kya**-qha-aqh?
Q-do-**PL**-IRR-NOM-**PL** do-**PL**-ANT-it
'Why did they do it?'

b. **Remote**: 'agha-nh̲-**kya**-paa-chi-**mʉ̲** 'ini-**kya**-pʉga-aqh?
Q-do-**PL**-REM-**PL** do-**PL**-ANT-it
'Why did they do it?'

c. **Irrealis**: 'agha-nh̲-**kya**-paa-chi-**mʉ̲** 'ini-**kya**-paa-ni-aqh?
Q-do-**PL**-IRR-NOM-**PL** do-**PL**-IRR-FUT-it
'Why would/should/will they do it?'

14.3.2.7 Possessor WH-questions

Questions concerning the possessor – usually human/animate – are formed with the referring genitive WH-pronoun **'áa-y** 'whose', preceding the possessed noun. Thus consider:

(62) a. **Predicate, SG-possessor**: 'ína 'áa-y kava 'ura-'ay?
this/s **Q-GEN** horse be-IMM
'Whose horse is this one?

b. **Predicate, PL-possessors**: 'ína 'áa-y-mʉ kava 'ura-'ay
this/s **Q-GEN-PL** horse be-IMM
'Whose-all horse is this one?'

c. **Subject, SG-possessor**: 'áa-y kava ya'ay-kya?
Q-GEN horse die-ANT
'Whose horse died?'

d. **Subject, PL-possessor**: 'áa-y-mʉ kava ya'ay-kya?
Q-GEN-PL horse die-ANT
'Whose-all horse died?'

e. **Object, SG-possessor**: mamachi 'aa-y kava-yi pʉnikya-qha?
woman/s **Q-GEN** horse-O see-ANT
'Whose horse did the woman see?'

f. **Object, PL-possessor**: mamachi 'aa-y-mʉ kava-yi pʉnikya-qha?
woman/s Q-GEN-**PL** horse-O see-ANT
'Whose-all horse did the woman see?'

14.3.2.8 Quantity WH-questions

In WH-questions about **quantity**, the same WH-pronoun *'anɵ-* is used as in temporal questions, augmented by various other suffixes in specific contexts. Thus, in questions about the quantity of countable subjects or objects, the augmentation is with the numeral suffixes *-wi-ini* (subject) and *-wi-kunani* (object). Consider:

(63) a. **Count, SUBJ**: **'anɵ-wi-ini** táata'wachi-u 'uway-kya?
QU-NUM-SU men-PL come/PL-ANT
'How many men came?'

b. **Count, OBJ**: **'anɵ-wi̱-kunani** táata'wachi-u pʉnikya-qha?
QU-NUM-O men-PL see-ANT
'How many men did (s/he) see?'

In questions about mass nouns, the augmentation is with the numeral suffixes *-pa-ini* for subjects and *-kwa-kuni* for objects:[11]

(64) a. **Mass, SUBJ**: **'anɵ-paini** panaqarʉ̱ máyẖ-kya
QU-SU money/SU lost-ANT
'How much money got lost?'

b. **Mass, OBJ**: **'anɵ-khwa̱-kuni** panaqarʉ **'uni-aagha-tʉ̱?**
QU-MASS-O money/O POSS-have-NOM
'How much money does she have?'

In questions about the quantity of indirect (post-positional) objects, the post-position remains attached to the quantified noun, and the WH-pronouns is the same as for objects:[12]

(65) a. **Count, IO**: **'anɵ-wi-kuni** táata'wachi-**u-vwaa-chʉ** **'apagha-y?**
QU-NUM-O men-PL-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'How many men is (s/he) talking about?'

b. **Mass, IO**: **'anɵ-khwa-kuni** panaqarʉ-**vaa-tʉ** **'apagha-y?**
QU-MASS-O money/O-**at-DIR** talk-IMM
'How much money is (s/he) talking about?'

Questions about the **extent** of adjectival predicates fall into two groups: unrestricted vs. restricted. Unrestricted questions probe the entire scale of the potential answer, say from 'very good' to 'good' to 'not so good' to 'bad' to 'very bad'. The positive end of the scale is used to form such questions, as in English, and a negative question form cannot be used. The WH-pronoun for this question type is the same one used for mass-subject quantity questions in (64a) above. Thus consider:

(66) a. **'**ícha̱ kánı̱, **'anɵ-paini** tʉ́ʉ**'**a-tʉ̱ **'**ura-**'**ay?
this/SU house/SU **Q-SU** good-NOM be-IMM
'This house, how good is it?'

b. **'**ina̱ mamachı̱, **'anɵ-paini** pa**'**a-tʉ-mʉ̱ **'**ura-**'**ay?
this/SU woman/SU **Q-SU** tall-NOM-AN be-IMM
'This woman, how tall is she?'

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11. The compound suffix *-pa-ini* looks identical to the numeral 'three' (subj. form), perhaps standing for 'many', as in 'how-many?'. The source of the suffix *-kwa* (phonemically perhaps *-ka*) is not transparent.

12. WH-pronouns in this construction do not behave like the REL-pronoun *pʉ*, which in indirect-object REL-clauses carries the post-position.

The form of such unrestricted questions cannot be used to elicit the negative pole of the adjectival range, so that the negative counterpart of this form is unacceptable:

(67) *ˈícha kání, **ˈanɵ-paini** ka-ˈay-wa-tʉ ˈura-ˈay?
this/s house/s **Q-SU** NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-IMM
('This house, how bad is it?')

The second type of extent questions are **restricted**, and are asked to probe either the negative or positive pole of the adjectival range. The **referring** inanimate WH-pronoun *ˈagha-* is used as the basis for the WH-pronoun here, augmented with the numeral subject suffix *-ini*. Thus compare:

(68) a. **Positive pole**: ˈícha káni, **ˈagha-ini** tʉ́ʉˈa-tʉ ˈura-ˈay?
this/SU house/SU **Q-SU** good-NOM be-IMM
'This house, how really good is it?

b. **Negative pole**: ˈícha káni, **ˈagha-ini** ka-ˈay-wa-tʉ ˈura-ˈay?
this/s house/s **Q-SU** NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-IMM
'This house, how really bad is it?

Felicitous answers to the restricted positive-pole question (68a) could be 'very good' or 'good', but not '*bad' or '*very bad'. Felicitous answers to the restricted negative-pole question (68b) could be 'bad' or 'very bad', but not '*good' or '*very good'. These details highlight the observation, made earlier above, that speech-acts are transacted in highly specific discourse contexts, contexts that are characterized in terms of the speaker's expectations about the hearer's mental states of intent or belief. Restricted extent questions are used when an extreme pole of the adjectival range has already been settled on in the discourse context.[13]

Similar extent questions as those that concern predicate adjectives can also be asked about stative verbs, given that many Ute stative verbs are coded as adjectives in English. The very same WH-pronouns are used here, and the questions are again divided into two types. Unrestricted questions again cover the entire range, and restricted ones only the extreme poles:

(69) a. **Unrestricted**: ˈícha páa, **ˈané-paini** kʉturuuchi-aqh?
this/SU water/SU **Q-SU** hot-it
'This water, how hot is it?'

b. **Restricted-positive**: **ˈícha** páa, **ˈagha-ini** kʉturuuchi-aqh?
this/SU water/SU **Q/SU** hot/IMM-it
'This water, how really hot is it?'

13. The general topic of the polarity of adjectives and the markedness balance between the positive and negative pole, see Givón (2001, vol. I, ch. 8, sec. 8.2.3).

c. **Restricted-negative**: **'ícha** páa, **'agha-ini** sʉpʉr'a-y-aqh?
this/SU water/SU **Q-SU** cold-IMM-it
'This water, how really cold is it?'

A felicitous answer to the unrestricted question (69a) would be either 'hot', 'very hot', 'cold' or 'very cold'. A felicitous answer to the restricted-positive (69b) could only be 'hot' or 'very hot, but not '*cold' or '*very cold'. And a felicitous answer to the restricted-negative (69c) could only be 'cold' or 'very cold', but not '*hot' or '*very hot'.

Lastly, the same two WH-pronouns can also be used, to query the extent of **manner adverb**. Thus, compare:

(70) a. **Unrestricted**: **'anɵ-paini** púka-wúʉka-qha?
Q-SU hard-work-ANT
'How hard did (s/he) work?'

b. **Restricted-positive**: **'aga-ini** púka-wúʉka-qha?
Q-SU hard-work-ANT
'How really hard did (s/he) work?'

A felicitous answer to the unrestricted question (70a) could be either 'very hard' or 'not hard'. Felicitous answers to the restricted question (70b) could only be 'hard' or 'very hard', but not '*not hard' or '*not very hard'.

14.3.3 Cleft and pseudo-cleft WH-questions

We have already noted above one case where the WH-pronoun is itself a verbal construction, clustered around the old verbal root *-ni* 'do'. In addition, more explicit complex verbal constructions may be used in Ute, as in most other languages, to express WH-questions. The functional correlates of this option are not yet clear. In some languages, cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions are the diachronic pathway through which WH-questions were assembled.[14]

Consider first **cleft-WH-questions**, which span the full range of queries about the various case-roles. The version of the verb 'be' used in this construction is the old compound stem *'a-ra-*, suffixed directly to the WH-pronoun. As expected in cleft constructions (see ch. 13), the main predication in complex WH-questions is grammatically a REL-clause. Thus compare:

(71) a. **SUBJ-ref**: **'áa-'ara** káa-qha-tʉ?
Q/SU-be sing-ANT-NOM
'Who was it who sang?

14. See Givón (1979b) for the role of the cleft construction and its associated verb 'be' in the diachronic rise of Bantu WH-pronouns. The common fronting of WH-pronouns may perhaps be ascribed to a precursor cleft construction.

b. **SUBJ-non-ref**: **'íni-'ara** káa-qha-tʉ̲?
Q/SU-be sing-ANT-NOM
'What kind of a person was it who sang?'

c. **OBJ-ref**: **'áay-'ara** mamachi **'uway** pʉnikya-qha-na̲?
Q/O-be woman/GEN that/GEN see-ANT-NOM
'Who was it that the woman saw?'

d. **OBJ-non-ref**: **'ini-'ara** mamachi **'uway** pʉkikya-qha-na̲?
Q/O-be woman/GEN that/GEN see-ANT-NOM
'What kind (of an animate/person) was it that the woman saw?

With post-positional objects, the post-position in this cleft-WH pattern is suffixed to the relative marker *pʉ*, as in standard REL-clauses (see ch. 12). Thus consider:

(72) a. **Instrument-ref**: **'agha-rʉ-'ara** pʉ-**m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha-na̲?
Q-NOM/O-be REL-**with** meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'Which one was it that (s/he) cut the meat with?'

b. **Instrument-non-ref**: **'ipʉ-'ara** pʉ-**m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha-na̲?
Q/O-be REL-**with** meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'What was it that (s/he) cut the meat with?'

c. **Associative-ref**: **'áay-'ara** pʉ-**wa** wʉ́ʉka-qha-na̲?
Q/O-be REL-**with** work-ANT-NOM
'Who was it that (s/he) worked with?'

d. **Associative-non-ref**: **'ini-'ara** pʉ-**wa** wʉ́ʉka-qha-na̲?
Q/O-be REL-**with** work-ANT-NOM
'What kind (of a person) was it that (s/he) worked with?'

e. **Locative-ref**: **'agha-rʉ-'ara** pʉ-**naagha̲-tukhwa̲** mamachi yʉga-y?
Q-NOM/O-be REL-**in-go** woman/GEN enter-IMM
'Which place is it that the woman is going into?'

f. **Locative-non-ref**: **'ini-'ara** **pʉ-naagha̲-tukhwa̲** mamachi yʉga-y?
Q/O-be REL-**in-go** woman/GEN enter-IMM
'What kind (of a place) is it that the woman is going into?'

A similar pattern is that of **pseudo-cleft** (see ch. 13), where the REL-clause is fronted and the WH-pronoun is post-posed. Thus compare:

(73) a. **Instrument-ref**: pʉ-**m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha-na̲, **'agha-rʉ-'ara**?
REL-**with** meat/O cut-ANT-NOM **Q-NOM/O-be**
'What (s/he) cut the meat with, which thing is it?'

b. **Instrument-non-ref**: pʉ-**m** tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha-na̲, **'ipʉ-'ara**?
REL-**with** meat/O cut-ANT-NOM **Q/O-be**
'What (s/he) cut the meat with, what kind (of a thing) was it?

c. **Associative-ref**: pʉ-**wa** wʉ́ʉka-qha-na̲, **'áay-'ara**
REL-**with** work-ANT-NOM **Q/O-be**
'The person (s/he) worked with, who is s/he?

d. **Associative-non-ref**: pʉ-**wa** wʉ́ʉka-qha-na̲, **'ini-'ara**?
REL-**with** work-ANT-NOM **Q/O**-be
'The one (s/he) worked with, what kind of a person is s/he?'

e. **Locative-ref**: pʉ-**naagha̲-tukhwa̲** mamachi yʉga-y, **'agha-rʉ-'ara**
REL-**in-go** woman/GEN enter-IMM **Q-NOM/O-be**
'The place the woman is going into, where is it?'

f. **Locative-non-ref**: pʉ-naagha̲-tukhwa̲ mamachi yʉga-y, **'ini-'ara**?
REL-in-go woman/GEN enter-IMM **Q/O-be**
'Where the woman is going into, what kind (of a place) is it?'

14.3.4 WH-questions and modal uncertainty

The non-referring WH-question pattern may be further amplified with the modal particle *-kwa(y)* to express lower certainty about the queried constituent. The syntactic pattern used here is that of cleft-WH questions, as seen above. Thus compare the simple WH-question pattern in (74a,c,e,g) below with the cleft-modal patterns in (74b,d,f,h), respectively:

(74) a. **Predicate**: 'ína̲, **'íni̲** 'ara-'ay?
this/SU **Q/SU** be-IMM
'This one, what kind (of an animate) is s/he?'

b. **Uncertain**: 'ína̲, **'íni̲-kwa̲** 'ara-'ay?
this/SU **Q/SU-MOD** be-IMM
'Whatever (animate) could this possibly be?'

c. **Subject**: **'íni̲** wʉ́ʉka-qha?
Q/SU work-ANT
'What kind of (a person) worked?'

d. **Uncertain**: **'íni̲-kwa̲** 'ara-'ay, 'ú wʉ́ʉka-qha-tʉ̲?
Q/SU-MOD be-IMM that/SU work-ANT-NOM
'Whatever kind of (a person) was it who worked?'

e. **Object**: ta'wachi̲ 'u, **'ipʉ** pʉnikya-qha?
man/SU the/SU **Q/O** see-ANT
'The man, what did he see?'

f. **Uncertain**: **'ipʉ-wh̲-kway** 'ara-'ay 'uru ta'wachi pʉnikya-qha-na̲?
Q/O-??-MOD/O be-IMM that/O man/GEN see-ANT-NOM
'Whatever could it have been that the man saw?'

g. **Post-positional**: ta'wachi̲ tʉkuavi 'ipʉ-m chi̲kavi'na-qha?
man/SU meat/O Q/O-with cut-ANT
'The man, what did he cut the meat with?'

h. **Uncertain**: **'ipʉ-kway** 'ara-'ay pʉ-m ta'wachi
Q/O-MOD be-IMM REL-with man/GEN
tʉkuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha-na̲?
meat/O cut-ANT-NOM
'Whatever could it have been that the man cut the meat with?'

14.3.5 A variant WH-question pattern

There exists, lastly, a variant WH-question pattern in Ute, in which the WH-pronoun forms a phrase with a noun or pronoun to yield more explicit identification questions. For referring WH-questions, the sense imparted by this construction is that of selecting an individual out of a set. Thus consider:

(75) a. **Subject-Pro**: **'áa-'u** sivaatuchi pa̲qha-ukhw̲-kwa?
Q/SU-3S/SU goat/O kill-go-ANT
'Which one killed the goat?'

b. **Subject-NP**: 'áa-ta'wachi̲ sivaatuchi pa̲qha-khwa̲-kwa?
Q/SU-man/SU goat/O kill-go-ANT
'Which man killed the goat?'

c. **Object-Pro-AN**: **'áay 'uway** pa̲qha-khwa̲-kwa?
Q/O 3S/O kill-go-ANT?
'Which one did (s/he) kill?'

d. **Object-NP-AN**: **'áay sivaatuchi** pa̲qha-khwa̲-kwa?
Q/O goat/O kill-go-ANT?
'Which goat did (s/he) kill?'

e. **Object-pro-INAN**: **'agha-rʉ 'uru** pʉnikya-qha?
Q-INAN/O it/O see-ANT
'Which one (inan.) did (s/he) see?

f. **Object-pro-INAN**: **'agha-rʉ** sʉʉ́vʉpʉ pʉnikya-qha?
Q-INAN/O tree/O see-ANT
'Which tree did (s/he) see?

g. **Ind.-OBJ-pro-INAN**: **'agha-rʉ 'uru-m** tu-kuavi chi̲kavi'na-qha?
Q-INAN/O it/O-with meat/O cut-ANT
'With which one did (s/he) cut the meat?'

h. **Ind.-OBJ-pro-INAN:** **'agha-rʉ** **wiichi-m** tʉkuavi chi̱kavi'na-qha?
Q-INAN/O **knife/O-with** meat/O cut-ANT
'With which knife did (s/he) cut the meat?'

A similar pattern is used to for non-referring selection questions:

(76) a. **Subject-Pro:** **'ini-'u** sivaatuchi pa̱qha-khwa̱-kwa?
Q/S-3S/SU goat/O kill-go-ANT
'What kind (of an animate) killed the goat?'

b. **Subject-NP:** 'ini ta'wachi̱ sivaatuchi pa̱qha-khwa̱-kwa?
Q/S-man/SU goat/O kill-go-ANT
'What kind of a man killed the goat?'

c. **Object-Pro-AN:** **'ini** **'uway** pa̱qha-khwa̱-kwa?
Q/O **3S/O** kill-go-ANT?
'What kind (of an animate) did (s/he) kill?'

d. **Object-NP-AN:** **'ini** **sivaatuchi** pa̱qha-khwa̱-kwa?
Q/O **goat/O** kill-go-ANT?
'What kind of a goat did (s/he) kill?'

e. **Object-pro-INAN:** **'ipʉ** **'uru** pʉnikya-qha?
Q/O **it/O** see-ANT
'What kind (of an inanimate) did (s/he) see?

f. **Object-pro-INAN:** **'ipʉ** sʉ́ʉvʉpʉ pʉnikya-qha?
Q/O tree/O see-ANT
'What kind of a tree did (s/he) see?

g. **Ind.-Obj-/pro-INAN:** **'ipʉ** **'uru-m** tʉkuavi chi̱kavi'na-qha?
Q/O **it/O-with** meat/O cut-ANT
'What kind (of a thing) did (s/he) cut the meat with?'

h. **Ind.-Obj-pro-INAN:** **'ipʉ** **wiichi-m** tʉkuavi chi̱kavi'na-qha?
Q/O **knife/O-with** meat/O cut-ANT
'What kind of a knife did (s/he) cut the meat with?'

The exact context within which this alternative pattern of WH-questions is used is for the moment not clear, given that the data was obtained from direct elicitation and has not been corroborated by data from oral texts.

CHAPTER 15

Possession

15.1 Orientation

We have dealt earlier (ch. 8) with possessive modifiers inside the noun phrase, including possessive pronouns. In this chapter we survey clause-size constructions whose predicate (VP) expresses possession. Possession clauses in Ute merit some interest for two reasons. First, while superficially structured like transitive clauses with the possessed NP as direct object, their main verb 'have' has some unusual morpho-syntactic characteristics. And second, because of the fundamental semantic distinction between **inalienable** ('inherent') and **alienable** ('incidental') possession. In Ute, this distinction turns out to have important morpho-lexical and syntactic consequences.

The semantic distinction between inalienable and alienable possession has to do with the fundamental whole-part structure of physical beings, both animate and inanimate. In most languages, the whole is considered the possessor of the part. What is more, the part does not exist independent of the whole, but rather is inherently or **inalienably possessed**.

Inalienable possession is best shown with the body parts of animate beings, external (head, eyes, ears, hands, arms, legs, feet, etc.) as well as internal (heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, veins, etc.). But it is commonly extended, at the very least, to kinship terms (father, mother, son, daughter, uncle, cousin, etc.) and mental properties (knowledge, wisdom, spiritual power, etc.). In Ute, inalienable possession can be also extended to special personal tools one carries on one's body (knife, bow, pipe), unique personal property (house, field), or cherished domestic animals (horse, dog, cat).

Other possessions, mostly external multiple items such as fields, houses, trees, livestock, clothes or multiple tools, are not inherently possessed. A person's association with them tends to be neither permanent nor intimate, but rather temporary and contingent on circumstances. Such items are **alienable possessions**, although under some conditions they can be re-framed as inalienable. Items that can go either way depending on the circumstances are of course of great interest, since their variation sheds light on the underlying logic of the inalienable-alienable distinction.

15.2 Inalienable possession

In inalienable-possession clauses in Ute, the main verb *-ga-* 'have' incorporates the possessed object noun at a prefixal position. Sometimes the possessed noun loses its inherent noun suffix, but in many cases it doesn't. Any pre-nominal modifier of the possessed noun, if present, must appear as an independent word, and then carries direct object marking, as in (1b,c) below. Thus, with a kinship term as the possessed object:

(1) a. tuachi-gya-pʉga
child-have-REM
'(s/he) had a child', '(they-2) had a child'

b. 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga
many-AN/O child-PL-have-REM
'(s/he) had many children', '(they-2) had many children'

c. 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-gwa̲-qha-pʉga
many-AN/O child-PL-have-PL-REM
'(they-all) had many children'

d. piwa-gha-tʉ̲
spouse-have-NOM
'(s/he is) a married person', '(s/he) has a spouse'

e. piwa-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲
spouse-have-NOM-PL
'(they-2) are married', '(they-2) are a married couple'

f. pi-viwa-gha̲-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲
RED-spouse-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all) are married', '(they) are all married people'

Likewise, with body parts:

(2) a. súu-kus pʉ'i-gya-pʉga
one-O eye-have-REM
'(s/he) had (only) one eye'

b. ka-'ay-wa-tʉ mugua-gha-tʉ̲
NEG-good-NEG-NOM/O heart-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a bad heart'

c. 'ú kava way-ku kwa̲sia-gha-pʉga
that/SU horse/SU two-O tail-have-NOM
'that horse had two tails'

Likewise with inherent mental qualities:

(3) a. tʉsua-gha-tʉ̲
smarts-have-NOM
'(s/he) has smarts', 'a smart person'

b. tʉsua-gha-tʉ-mʉ
smarts-have-NOM-PL
'(they-2) are smart', 'a smart couple'

c. tʉsua-ghą-qa-tʉ-mʉ
smarts-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all) have smarts', 'smart people'

d. puwa-gha-tʉ
power-have-NOM
'(s/he) has medicine power', 'a Medicine Man/Woman'

e. puwa-gha-tʉ-mʉ
power-have-NOM-PL
'(they-2) have medicine power', '(two) Medicine Persons'

f. puwa-ghą-qa-tʉ-mʉ
power-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all) have medicine power', 'Medicine Persons' (pl.)

As noted earlier above (sec. 15.1.), a non-inherently possessed object when it is unique and cherished, can become personalized to the point where it may be expressed as an inalienable possession. Thus, one may find:

(4) a. 'u-vwaa-tʉ kani-gya-pʉga
there-at-DIR house-have-REM
'(s/he) had his/her home there', '(s/he) was a home-owner'

b. ka-ghani-gya-qha-tʉ-mʉ
RED-house-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all are) home-owners'

c. súu-kus wiichi-gya-pʉga
one-O knife-have-REM
'(s/he) had one knife'

d. tʉ́ʉ'atʉ 'ʉapʉ-ga-tʉ
good/O field-have-NOM
(s/he) has a good field'

e. puku-gwa-tʉ
horse-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a personal horse', '(s/he) is a horse owner'

f. sari-vuku-gwa-tʉ
dog-domestic-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a pet dog', '(s/he) is a dog owner'

All these possessed nouns can still be expressed as alienable possessions when they are not intimate, unique, or cherished possessions (see sec. 15.4. below).

When the possessor is plural, the situation is a bit murky. While in principle the verb *-ga-* can be pluralized with the verb suffix *-ka-*, the use of the **reduplication plural**

form of the possessed noun, as in (1f) and (4b) above, may be a likely alternative. In such cases, the pluralization of the verb may be dispensed with, so that the respective forms (5a,b) below are more likely:

(5) a. pi-viwa-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲
RED-spouse-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all) are married', '(they-all are) married persons'

b. ka-ghani-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲
RED-house-have-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all are) home-owners'

A final note concerns the marking of tense-aspect in inalienable possession clauses. As noted above, the verb *-ga-* 'have' can, at least in principle, take tense-aspect-modal marking. However, inalienable possession most commonly involves inherent, long-lasting relations between possessor and possessed. One's kin are kin for life, as are one's body parts. For this reason, the nominal-habitual aspect is much more common in this construction, given the cultural prevalence of derived nouns such as 'medicine-man', 'home-owner', 'horse-man' etc. Quite often, the tense-aspect – as well as the verb-plural marker – are not marked on the nominalized possession word, but rather on the optional finite auxiliary 'be'. As illustrations, consider:

(6) a. súu-kus pʉ'i-gya-tʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga
one-O eye-have-NOM be-REM
'(s/he) had one eye (only)'

b. wáy-ku tuachi-u-gwa-tʉ̲ 'ura-qa
two-O child-PL-have-NOM be-ANT
'(s/he) had two children'

c. kani-gya-tʉ̲ 'ura-vaa-ni
house-have-NOM be-IRR-FUT
'(s/he) will be a home owner'

d. ka-ghani-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-qa-y
RED-house-have-PL-NOM-PL be-PL-IMM
'(they-all) are home-owners'

e. pi-viwa-gha-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-qa-y
spouse-have-NOM be-PL-IMM
'(they-all) are married people'

15.3 Negative inalienable possession

The negative possession verb *-'a-* 'not have', 'lack', is used in the same inalienable-possession construction as the corresponding affirmative, above. With the nominal-habitual form, this construction this is unproblematic. Thus consider:

(7) a. ka-tuachi-ˈa-tʉ̲
NEG-child-have/NEG-NOM
‘(s/he is) childless’, ‘(s/he) has no children’

b. ka-pʉˈi-ˈa-tʉ-mʉ̲
NEG-eye-have/NEG-NOM-PL
‘(they-2) are blind’, ‘(they-2) have no eyes’

c. ka-kani-ˈa-tʉ̲
NEG-house-have/NEG-NOM
‘(s/he) is homeless’, ‘(s/he) has no house’

d. ka-piwa-ˈa-tʉ-mʉ̲
NEG-spouse-have/NEG-NOM-PL
‘(they-2) are not married’, ‘(they-2) have no spouse’

When tense-aspect-modal marking is added directly to the negative possession verb *-ˈa-*, the danger of triple negation rears its ugly head, either with suppletive negative forms of the tense-aspect or with the regular negative suffix *-wa*. The presumed forms below are examples of this:

(8) a. **ʔka**-tuachi-**ˈa-pʉa**
NEG-child-have/**NEG**-REM/**NEG**
(‘(s/he) was childless’)

b. **ʔka**-piwa-**ˈa -na**
NEG-spouse- have/**NEG**-ant/**neg**
(‘(s/he) was unmarried’)

c. **ʔka**-ghani-**ˈa**-vaa-**ˈwaa**-ni
NEG-house-have/**NEG**-IRR-**NEG**-FUT
(‘(s/he) will not have a home’)

Such complexity may be bypassed by again loading tense-aspect-modal marking on the finite auxiliary ‘be’, as in:

(9) a. **ka**-tuachi-**ˈa**-tʉ̲ ˈura-pʉga
NEG-child-**have**/NEG-NOM be-REM
‘(s/he) was childless’

b. **ka**-piwa-**ˈa**-tʉ̲ ˈura-qa
NEG-spouse- **have**/NEG-NOM be-ANT
‘(s/he) was unmarried’

c. **ka**-kani-**ˈa**-tʉ̲ ˈura-vaa-ni
NEG-house-**have**/NEG-NOM be-IRR-FUT
(‘(s/he) will not have a home’

d. **ka**-tuachi-**ˈa**-tʉ̲ ˈura-ˈay
NEG-child-**have**/NEG-NOM be-IMM
‘(s/he) is childless’

A somewhat similar problem arises with pluralization of the negative-possession verb *-'a-*. Presumed forms as in (10) below may be constructed, with the plural suffix *-ka-* following the negative verb, but they are most likely unusable:

(10) a. ?ka-tuachi-u-'wa-**qha**-tʉ-mʉ
NEG-child-PL-have/NEG-PL-NOM-PL
'(they-all) don't have children'

b. ?kach-aamʉ ka-ghani-'a-**qha**-tʉ-mʉ
NEG-3P RED-house-have/NEG-**PL**-NOM-PL
'(they-all) are homeless'

c. ?ka-pi-viwa-'a-**qha**-tʉ-mʉ
NEG-REED-spouse-have/NEG-**PL**-NOM-PL
'(they-all) are unmarried'

d. ?ka-pʉ-vʉra-'a-**qha**-tʉ-mʉ
NEG-RED-arm-have/NEG-**PL**-NOM-PL
'(they-all) are armless'

Again, loading the plural marker on the finite auxiliary 'be' is more likely, as in:

(11) a. ka-tuachi-u-'wa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-**qa**-pʉga
NEG-child-PL-have/NEG-NOM-PL be-**PL**-REM
'(they-all) didn't have children'

b. kach-aamʉ ka-ghani-'a-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-**qa**-qha
NEG-3P RED-house-have/NEG-NOM-PL be-**PL**-ANT
'(they-all) were homeless'

c. ka-pi-viwa-'a-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-**qha**-paa-ni
NEG-spouse-have/NEG-NOM-PL be-**PL**-IRR-FUT
'(they-all) will be unmarried'

d. ka-pʉ-vʉra-'a-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-**qa**-y
NEG-RED-arm-have/NEG-NOM-PL be-**PL**-IMM
'(they-all) are armless'

15.4 Alienable possession

As noted earlier above, objects are alienably possessed when their relation to the possessor is temporary, non-inherent, or a matter of circumstances rather than durable essence. The construction used here, while still based on the verb *-ga-* 'have', is more complex. First, the verb *-ga-* 'have' is augmented with the prefixal element *-aa-*, most likely the old genitive suffix (see ch. 5). Second, the object noun is not incorporated into the verb, but rather is a separate word marked as direct object. Finally, the stem

'uni-, 'possession',[1] is incorporated into the verb at a prefixal position, right where an incorporated inalienably-possessed noun would have been. Consider first possessed objects that, for reasons of cultural norms, cannot be inalienably possessed:

(12) a. **Alienable**:

('ava'ntʉ) panaqarʉ **'uni-aa-gha**-tʉ̲
much/O money/O **POSS-GEN-have**-NOM
'(s/he) has (lots of) money'

b. **Inalienable**:

*('ava'ntʉ) panaqarʉ-**ga**-tʉ̲
much/O money-**have**-NOM

c. **Alienable**:

('ava'ntʉ) kukwapi **'uni-aa-gha**-tʉ̲
much/O firewood/O **POSS-GEN-have**-NOM
'(s/he) has (lots of) firewood'

d. **Inalienable**:

*('ava'ntʉ) kukwapi-**gya**-tʉ̲
much/O firewood-**have**-NOM

e. **Alienable**:

('ava'ntʉ-mʉ) kanyeeruchi-u **'uni-aa-gha**-tʉ̲
many-AN/O sheep-PL POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) has (lots of) sheep'

f. **Inalienable**:

*('ava'ntʉ-mʉ) kanyeeruchi-gya-tʉ̲
many-AN/O sheep-PL-have-NOM

Of more interest are objects that can be possessed either inalienably or alienably, depending on subtle contextual considerations. Thus, contrast:

(13)		**inalienable**	**alienable**
	a.	kani-gya-tʉ̲ house-have-NOM '(s/he) is a home-owner'	'ava'a̲ntʉ kani 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲ many/O house/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM '(s/he) owns many houses'
	b.	chúuchi-gya-tʉ̲ pipe-have-NOM '(s/he) has a (personal) pipe'	'ava'a̲ntʉ chúuchi 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲ many/O pipe/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM '(s/he) has many pipes'

1. This incorporated stem is historically, most likely, a reflex of the verb 'do' *'u-ni-*, which incorporates the deictic *'u-* 'there' (invis.).

c. tú͟ʉ'atʉ 'ʉapʉ-ga-tʉ̲ 'ava'a̲ntʉ 'ʉapʉ 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲
good/O field-have-NOM many/O field/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a good field' '(s/he) owns many fields'

d. puku-gwa-tʉ kava-yi 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲
horse-have-NOM horse-O POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a (personal) horse' '(s/he) owns a horse'

e. sari-vuku-gwa-tʉ̲ sarichi 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲
dog-domestic-have-NOM dog/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) has a personal dog' '(s/he) owns a dog'

The inalienably-possessed house in (13a) is the owner's unique permanent home; the alienably-possessed houses are pieces of property to be bought and sold. The inalienably-possessed pipe in (13b) is the owner's personal ceremonial pipe, bearing special spiritual value; the alienably-possessed pipes can be bought and sold or given away. The inalienably-possessed field in (13c) is the owner's personal, long-held, cherished field; the alienably-possessed fields are property to be bought and sold. The inalienably-possessed horse in (13d), coded as *puku(-n)* '(my) domestic animal', is the owner's long-term personal horse; the alienably-possessed horse, coded as *kava* 'horse', is incidental property. Finally, the inalienably-possessed dog in (13e), coded as *sari-vuku(-n)* '(my) pet dog', is the owner's personal resident dog, a friend; whereas the alienably-possessed dog, coded as *sarichi̲* 'dog', is an incidental animal, invested with little personal value.

15.5 Negative alienable possession

The pattern of negative alienable possession is a bit more predictable, based on the negative-possession verb *-'a-* 'not have', 'lack'. The pluralization pattern is again problematic, and speakers are often reluctant to pluralizing the verb *-ga-* 'have' itself. Rather, they prefer either the nominal-plural form by itself, or pluralizing the auxiliary verb 'be'. Thus compare:

(14) a. **Affirmative, SG**:

'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ̲
much/ó money/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(s/he) has lots of money'

b. **Negative, SG**:

Ka-'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-'**aa**-tʉ̲
much/ó money/O POSS-**have**/NEG-NOM
'(s/he) doesn't have much money'

c. **Affirmative, PL**:
'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ-mu̱
much/ó money/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM
'(they) have lots of money'

d. **Negative, PL**:
ka-'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-'**aa**-tʉ-mu̱
NEG-much/ó money/O POSS-**have/NEG**-NOM-PL
'(they) don't have much money'

e. **Affirmative, alternative PL**:
'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-aa-gha-tʉ-mu̱ 'ura-qa-pʉga
much/O money/O POSS-GEN-have-NOM be-PL-REM
'(they) had lots of money'

f. **Negative, alternative PL**:
ka-'ava'ntʉ panaqarʉ 'uni-'**aa**-tʉ-mu̱ 'ura-qa-pʉga
NEG-much/O money/O POSS-GEN-**have/NEG**-NOM be-PL-REM
'(they) didn't have lots of money'

Lastly, all the negative patterns noted above can be rendered with the prefixal *ka(ch)-* placed elsewhere in the clause, as is the general case in Ute negation (ch. 6).

15.6 Existential clauses

In many languages, expressions of possession form the basis for existential-presentative clauses. Such clauses are used to introduce new (indefinite) important participants into the discourse.[2] As we have seen earlier (ch. 7; see also ch. 18), this communicative function in Ute discourse is most commonly performed by clauses with the verb 'be'. Nonetheless, existential-presentative clauses with the verb 'have' do exist in Ute, and are used occasionally to introduce indefinite nouns. The particular form of the verb 'have' used in these constructions is midway between the stripped-down form of the verb *-ga-* used for inalienable possession, and the augmented form *'uni-aa-gha-* used for alienable possession. That is, the form *-aa-gha-* is used, requiring incorporation of the possessed noun as prefix. Thus, compare the three possession constructions:

(15) a. **Inalienable possession**:
'uwas-'ura 'u-vwa-tʉ kani-**gya**-pʉga
s/he/SU-be there-at-DIR house-**have**-REM
's/he had a house there'

2. See Givón (2001, vol. 2, ch. 16, sec. 16.3.2.).

b. **Alienable possession**:

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwa-tʉ 'ava'ntʉ kani **'uni-aa-gha**-pʉga
s/he-SU-be there-at-DIR many/O house/O POSS-GEN-**have**-REM
's/he owned many houses there'

c. **Existential**:

'u-vwa-tʉ kani-**aa-gha**-tʉ̲
there-at-DIR house-**GEN-have**-NOM
'there's a house over there'

d. **Existential**:

ú-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ tʉka'napʉ-**aa-gha**-pʉga
there-in many/O table-**GEN-have**-REM
'there were many tables in there'

e. **Existential**:

kani-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-**aa-gha**-tʉ̲
house/O-in many-AN/O child-PL-**GEN-have**-NOM
'In the house there are many children'

The verb forms in the existential clauses (16c,d,e) cannot be pluralized. This suggests that their grammatical subject is, at least historically, the *location*. Thus, contrast (15e) above with the ungrammatical (16a,b) below:

(16) a. *kani-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-aa-gha-tʉ-**mʉ̲**
house-in many-AN/O child-GEN-have-NOM-**PL**

b. *kani-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-aa-gha-tʉ̲ **'ura-qa**-tʉ̲
house-in many-AN/O child-GEN-have-NOM be-**PL**-NOM

Lastly, we noted earlier (ch. 7) that suffix (clitic) pronouns in Ute can refer to either the subject or the object of the clause. Existential expressions with a plural possessed object, such as (15e), may thus be rendered either with the inanimate pronoun 'it' that refers, at least historically, to the location, or with the animate-plural pronoun 'they' referring to the plural possessed object. Thus compare:

(17) a. **Pronoun agreeing with location (subject)**:

kani-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-aa-gha-y-**aqh**
house/O-in many-AN/O child-PL-GEN-have-IMM-**it**
'In the house there are many children' (now)

a. **Pronoun agreeing with object**:

kani-naaghạ̲ 'ava'ntʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-aa-gha-y-**amʉ̲**
house/O-in many-AN/O child-PL-GEN-have-IMM-**them**
'In the house there are many children' (now)

15.7 Negative existential clauses

The status of negative existential clauses is somewhat murky. In some fixed expressions, the negative-possessive verb *-ʼa-* 'not have' is used, as in:

(18) a. ʼí-naaghą ka-ʼipʉ-**ʼa**-tʉ (ʼura-ʼay)
here-in NEG-WH-**have/NEG**-NOM be-IMM
'there's *nothing* in here'

b. ʼu-vwaa-tʉ ka-núu-**ʼwa** -tʉ̨ (ʼura-ʼay)
there-at-DIR NEG-person-**have/NEG**-NOM be-IMM
'there's *nobody* there'

Other, more truncated, negative forms may also be found. Thus contrast the affirmative and negative existential clauses in:

(19) a. **Affirmative**:
ʼú-naaghą ʼavaʼntʉ páa-aa-gha-y
there-in much/O water-GEN-have-IMM
'there's a lot of water in there'

b. **Negative**:
kach-aqh páa ʼú-naaghą
NEG-it water there-in
'there's no water in there'

c. **Negative**:
kach-aqh ʼipʉ-kway ʼú-naagha-**wa**[3]
NEG-it WH-MOD there-in-**NEG**
'there's nothing (whatever) in there'

The status of hypothetical fuller forms, coined by analogy, is not clear. Thus compare the affirmatives (15c,d) above with the presumed negatives (20a,b) below, respectively:

(20) a. ʔʼu-vwa-tʉ ka-kani-ʼ**aa**-tʉ̨
there-at-DIR house-**have/NEG**-REM
'there's no house(s) over there'

b. ʔʼú-naaghą ka-ʼavaʼntʉ tʉkaʼnapʉ-ʼ**aa**-tʉ̨ ʼura-pʉga
here-in NEG-many/O table-**have/NEG**-NOM be-REM
'there were not many tables in there'

---

3. The attachment of the negative suffix *-wa* to the post-position *-naaghą* is probably a historical relic of its verbal origin. Such usage is akin to the fixed expression *ka-ʼiya-na-wa-tʉ* '(it/s/he is) not here' (see ch. 5).

CHAPTER 16

Comparative constructions

16.1 Introduction

Comparative clauses are used to compare a property, quality or quantity of some referent – the **subject of comparison** – with the same property, quality or quantity of another referent. That second referent then serves as the **standard of comparison**. And the property, quality or quantity is, in turn, the **substance of comparison**. As simple illustrations, consider:

(1) a. Marla is taller than bill.
b. Bill runs faster than Marvin.
c. Marvin loves Susan more than Mary.
d. Fewer deer survived this winter.
e. Marty has more marbles than Joe.

In all the comparative clauses in (1), the subject-of-comparison is the grammatical subject and the standard-of-comparison is a prepositional phrase marked with the preposition 'than'.[1] In (1a), the substance-of-comparison is the adjectival quality 'be tall'. In (1b), it is the combined adverb-cum-verb property 'run fast'. In (1c), it is the combined verb-cum-object property 'love Susan'. In (1d), it is the quantity of the subject '(few) deer'. And in (1e) it is the quantity of the object, '(many) marbles'.

In Ute, much like in English, the subject of comparison is cast as the grammatical subject of the comparative clause, and the standard of comparison as its post-positional object. Since comparative clauses are rare in Ute discourse, most of the examples below are based on direct elicitation. Comparative clauses are classified according to their substance of comparison.

16.2 Comparison of adjectival quality

The standard of comparison in comparative clauses involving adjectival quality is marked by a complex post-position that combines three suffixes: *-ga(a)-* 'have',

1. In (1d) '(fewer) than usual' or '(fewer) than at other times' is implied.

-va(a)- 'at' and *-ni* 'like'. This complex post-position is not suffixed to the standard-of-comparison noun itself, but to a demonstrative stem that follows the noun. Consider first examples with an inanimate standard of comparison:[2]

(2) a. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ 'icha-y karʉ'napʉ 'i-gyaa-vaa-ni 'avatú 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU this/-O chair/O this-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'This table is bigger than this chair'.

b. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ marʉ karʉ'napʉ ma-ghaa-vaa-ni 'avatú 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU that/O chair/O that-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'this table is bigger than that (vis.) chair'.

c. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ marʉ karʉ'napʉ 'u-gwaa-vaa-ni 'avatú 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU that/O chair/O that-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'this table is bigger than that (invis.) chair'.

If the standard of comparison is not a noun but a demonstrative pronoun, that pronoun carries the post-position, as in:

(3) a. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ 'icha- ghaa-vaa-ni 'avatʉ 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU this/O-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'this table is bigger than this one'.

b. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ marʉ- gaa-vaa-ni 'avatʉ 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU that/O-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'this table is bigger than that (vis.) one'.

c. **'ichą tʉka'napʉ 'uru-gwaa-vaa-ni 'avatʉ 'ura-'ay**
this/SU table/SU that/O-**have-at-like** big be-IMM
'this table is bigger than that (invis.) one'.

For an animate standard of comparison, the full object demonstrative pronoun is used, with the singular-plural distinction now becoming possible. The plural forms now reveal the etymology of the post-position *-ga(a)-* as 'have', since the first suffix *-ga(a)* must carry the plural-subject verbal suffix *-ka*. The post-position *-va(a)* 'at' in the plural form is *-pa(a)*, a variant found in many plural verbal paradigms (see ch. 6). Thus:[3]

(4)

deictic grade	**animate-singular**	**animate-plural**
proximate:	'ina-ghaa-vaa-ni	'imʉ-gwaa-qha-paa-ni
distal-vis.:	máa-ghaa-vaa-ni	mamʉ-gwaa-qha-paa-ni
distal-invis.:	'uwa-ghaa-vaa-ni	'umʉ-gwaa-qha-paa-ni

2. For some speakers, a variant of the complex post-position may be used, with the singular (animate or inanimate) *-gaa-vaa-sʉ-ni* and the animate-plural *-gaa-qha-paa-sʉ-ni*. See discussion of the plural form of 'have' further below.

3. The pluralization pattern here, with the verbal plural suffix *-ka-*, tags *-ga-* as unmistakably a verb ('have').

With full-noun standard of comparison, first singulars:

(5) a. **'ína** mamach**i** **'ina-y** mamachi **'ina-ghaa-vaa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU this-O woman/O this/O-**have-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than this woman'.

b. **'ína** mamach**i** máa-y mamachi máa-**ghaa-vaa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU that-O woman/O that/O-**have-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than that (vis.) woman'.

c. **'ína** mamach**i** **'uwa-y** mamachi **'uwa-ghaa-vaa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU that-O woman/O that/O-**have-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than that (invis.) woman'.

And with plural full-noun standard of comparison:

(6) a. **'ína** mamach**i** **'imʉ** máam**a**chi-u **'imʉ- gwaa-qha-paa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU this-O women-PL these/O-**have-PL-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than these (vis.) women'

b. **'ína** mamach**i** mamʉ máam**a**chi-u mamʉ-**gwaa-qha-paa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU that-O woman-PL those/O-**have-PL-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than those (vis.) women'.

c. **'ína** mamach**i** **'umʉ** máam**a**chi-u **'umʉ-gwaa-qha-paa-ni**
this/SU woman/SU that-O woman/O those/O-**have-PL-at-like**
na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than those (invis.) women'.

When the standard of comparison is a demonstrative pronoun, the comparable examples would be, for the singular:

(7) a. **'ína** mamach**i** **'ina-ghaa-vaa-ni** na'apʉni **'ura-'ay**
this/SU woman/SU this/O-**have-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than this one'.

b. 'ína mamachi máa- **ghaa-vaa-ni** na'apʉni 'ura-'ay
this/SU woman/SU that/O-**have-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than that (vis.) one'.

c. 'ína mamachi 'uwa-**ghaa-vaa-ni** na'apʉni 'ura-'ay
this/SU woman/SU that/O-**have-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than that (invis.) one'.

And for the plural:

(8) a. 'ína mamachi 'imʉ-**gwaa-qha-paa-ni** na'apʉni 'ura-'ay
this/SU woman/SU these/O-**have-PL-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than these (vis.) ones'.

b. 'ína mamachi mamʉ-**gwaa-qha-paa-ni** na'apʉni 'ura-'ay
this/SU woman/SU those/O-**have-PL-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than those (vis.) ones'.

c. 'ína mamachi 'umʉ-**gwaa-qha-paa-ni** na'apʉni 'ura-'ay
this/SU woman/SU those/O-**have-PL-at-like** pretty be-IMM
'This woman is prettier than those (invis.) ones'.

Finally, when the standard of comparison is the first or second person pronoun, the following post-positional forms are used:

(9)

person	**singular**	**dual**	**plural**
1st	nʉ-gaa-vaa-ni	tami-gyaa-vaani (excl.)	tawi-gyaa-qha-paa-ni (incl.) nʉmʉy-gyaa-qha-paa-ni (excl.)
2nd	'ʉmʉy-gyaa-vaa-ni		mʉni-gyaa-qha-paa-ni

16.3 Comparison of manner or extent of verbs

As noted earlier (ch. 4), many intransitive verbs in Ute are stative, indicating inherent or temporary qualities or states, ones that in English are often coded by adjectives. The extent of this quality or state may itself be the substance-of-comparison. As an illustration, consider:

(10) 'ína 'áapachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** sʉpiyawi
this/SU boy/SU that-**have-at-like** lazy/IMM
'this boy is *more lazy* than that (vis.) one'

The precise interpretation of the extent of the substance of comparison in such verbs depends on the meaning of the verb. Thus, with the active verb 'work' or 'run' by itself, the likely interpretation is 'work more', as in (11a) below, or 'run more' in (11c).

The interpretation can be made more specific by adding a manner adverb, as in (11b,d). But just like the verb itself, the exact interpretation of the manner adverb, such as for example *pʉ́ka-* 'intensively', often depends on the meaning of the verb, as is evident from comparing (11b) with (11d) below:

(11) a. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** wʉ́ʉka-mi
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** work-HAB
'this woman works *more* than that (vis.) one'

b. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** pʉ́ka-wʉ́ʉka-mi
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** intense-work-HAB
'this woman works *harder* than that (vis.) one'

c. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** kwáa-mi
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** run-HAB
'this woman runs *more* than that (vis.) one'

d. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** pʉ́ka-kwáa-mi
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** intense-run-HAB
'this woman runs *faster* than that (vis.) one'

Similar extent comparisons may be made with active transitive verbs. However, without a manner adverb, the interpretation here can suggest the *quantity of the object* (see below) rather than the intensity of the action. Thus compare

(12) a. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** paqhachi **'ʊra-mi**
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** hole/O dig-HAB
'this woman digs holes *more* than that (vis.) one'
'this woman digs *more holes* than that one'

b. **'ína** mamachi máa-**ghaa-va-ni** paqhachi pʉ́ka-**'ʊra-mi**
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** hole/O intense-dig-HAB
'this woman digs holes *harder* than that (vis.) one'

16.4 Comparison of quantity of objects

Comparison of quantity may pertain to the object of transitive verbs, as in:

(13) a. **'ina** ta**'**wachi **'**uwa-**ghaa-va-ni** **'**avantʉ-mʉ yoghovʉchi-u paqha-qa
this/SU man/SU that-**have-at-like** many-AN/O coyote-PL kill-ANT
'this man killed *more coyotes* than that one'

b. **'ina** mamachi **'**uwa-**ghaa-va-ni** **'**avantʉ kukwapʉ kʉʉ-ka
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** much/O firewood/O gather-ANT
'this woman gathered *more firewood* than that one'

The comparison of quantity may also pertain to objects of possession, as in:

(14) a. **'ína ta'wachi 'uwa-ghaa-va-ni 'avantu-mu tuachi-u-gwa-tu**
this/SU man/SU that-**have-at-like** many-AN/O child-PL-have-NOM
'this man has *more children* than that one'

b. **'ína mamachi 'uwa-ghaa-va-ni 'avantu**
this/SU woman/SU that-**have-at-like** much/O
panaqharu 'uni-aa-gha-tu
money/O POSS-have-NOM
'this woman has *more money* than that one'

c. **'i-vaa-tu 'ú-gwaa-vaa-ni 'avantu kani-aa-gha-tu**
here-at-DIR/SU there-**have-at-like** many house-POSS-have-NOM
'this place has *more houses* than that (invis.) one over there'

16.5 Comparison of quantity of subjects

The quantity of subjects, whether of transitive or intransitive clauses, can also be compared, as in:

(15) a. **'avantu-mu táata'wachi-u máama̲chi-u**
many-AN/SU men-PL women-PL
'umu-gwaa-va-ni kiya-qha̲-qa
those/O-**have-at-like** play-PL-ANT
'*more men* played than women'

b. **táata'wachi-u wúuka-qha̲-qa-tu-mu̲ 'umu kiya-qha̲-qa-tu-mu**
men-PL work-PL-ANT-NOM/SU those/O play-PL-ANT-NOM-PL/O
'umu-gwaa-qha-paa-ni 'avantu-mu̲ 'ura-qha̲-qa
them/O-**have-PL-at-like** many-AN/O be-PL-ANT
'*more men* worked than played'
(lit': 'the men who worked were more than the ones who played')

The naturalness of these comparative expressions is not clear.

16.6 Downward comparison (less)

16.6.1 Adjectives

So far, in all our comparative clauses the subject-of-comparison compared positively vis-a-vis the object. But as in English, comparison in Ute may also involve situations where

the subject-of-comparison compares negatively with the standard-of-comparison. With paired adjectives first, such a comparison may require using the negative member of the adjective pair, as in:

(16) 'ícha tʉka'napʉ marʉ-**gaa-va-ni** míipʉchì 'ura-'ay
this/SU table/SU that/O-**have-at-like** small be-IMM
'this table is smaller than that (vis.) one'

A variant of such negative comparison may be obtained by using the negative form of a positive adjective. In some cases, this comparative construction is somewhat irregular, applying the negative markers to the standard-of-comparison object, as in:

(17) 'ícha tʉka'napʉ **ka**-marʉ-**pa-'a-ni** 'avatʉ 'ura-'ay
this/SU table/SU **NEG**-that/O-**at-have/NEG-like** big be-IMM
'this table is smaller than that (vis.) one'

This construction employs the suppletive negative form *-'a* 'not have', which then follows – rather than precedes – the locative suffix *-va/-pa* 'at'.[4]

In other cases, the negative adjective is available only in a negative form, as in:

(18) a. **Positive comparison**:
'ícha káni marʉ-**ghaa-va-ni** túʉ'at-tʉ 'ura-'ay
this/SU house/SU that/O-**have-at-like** good-NOM be-IMM
'this house is better than that (vis.) one'

b. **Negative comparison**:
'ícha káni marʉ-**ghaa-va-ni** **ka**-'ay-**wa**-tʉ 'ura-'ay
this/SU house/SU that/O-**have-at-like** **NEG**-good-**NEG**-NOM be-IMM
'this house is worse than that one'.

For adjectives that are not paired, the meaning of positive vs. negative comparisons are adjusted to a plausible interpretation, as in the color adjective 'red' below:

(19) a. **Positive comparison**:
'icha tʉpʉychi marʉ-**ghaa-va-ni** túukwarʉ 'ura-'ay
this/SU rock/SU that/O-**have-at-like** red be-IMM
'This rock is *more red* than that one'

b. **Negative comparison**:
'icha tʉpʉychi marʉ-**ghaa-va-ni** túukwarʉ **ka**-'ura-**wa**-tʉ
this/SU rock/SU that/O-**have-at-like** red **NEG**-be-**NEG**-NOM
'This rock is *not as red* as that (vis.) one'
'This rock is *less red* than that one'

4. As noted in ch. 5, the locative preposition *-va/-pa* is of verbal origin. The placement of the negative suffix after it may reflect that old verbal status, but this variation may also be due to other factors.

16.6.2 Verbs and adverbs

In negative comparison of verbs and adverbs, the same irregular standard-of-comparison form is used as in (17) above, but with an added negative suffix on the verb, thus **triple negation**. Consider first a comparison with the verb alone (20a), then with an added adverb of manner (20b):

(20) a. **ˈína** **ˈáapachi** **ka**-máa-**pa**-**ˈa**-**ni** wúʉka-mi-**ˈwa**
this/SU boy/SU NEG-that-**at**-**have/NEG** work-HAB-NEG
'This boy doesn't work as much as that (vis.) one'
'This boy *works less* than that one'

b. **ˈína** **ˈáapachi** **ka**-máa-**pa**-**ˈa**-**ni** púka-wúʉka-mi-**ˈwa**
this/SU boy/SU NEG-that-**at**-**have/NEG** intense-work-HAB-NEG
'This boy *doesn't work as hard* as that (vis.) one'
'This boy *works less hard* than that (vis.) one'

16.6.3 Number or quantity of objects

The same complex negation pattern as in (20) above is also used in negative comparison of quantity and number. Thus consider:

(21) a. **ˈína** taˈwachi **ka**-ˈuwa-**pa**-**ˈa**-**ni**
this/SU man/SU NEG-that-**at**-**have/NEG**-**like**
ˈavantʉ sivaatuchi-u qoˈay-pʉa
many/O goat-PL kill/PL-REM/NEG
'this man killed *fewer goats* than that (invis.) one'

b. **ˈína** mamachi **ka**-ˈuwa-**pa**-**ˈa**-**ni**
this/SU woman/SU NEG-that-**at**-**have/NEG**-**like**
ˈavantʉ panaqharʉ **ˈ**uni-**ˈaa**-tʉ
much/O money/O do-**have/NEG**-NOM
'this woman has *less money* than that (invis.) one'

c. **ˈína** mamachi **ka**-ˈuwa-**pa**-**ˈa**-**ni**
this/SU woman/SU NEG-that-**at**-**have/NEG**-**like**
ˈavantʉ-mʉ tuachi-u-**ˈwa**-tʉ
much-AN/O child-PL-**have/NEG**-NOM
'this woman has *fewer children* than that (invis.) one'

16.7 Superlatives

In superlative constructions, the standard-of-comparison is all the members of the class designated by the subject-of-comparison. Thus, for positive superlatives:

(22) a. **Adjectival quality**:

'úru tʉka'napʉ manu-khu-tʉ tʉka'napʉ-aa-sʉ **'u-gwaa-vaa-ni**
that/SU table/SU all-O-NOM/O table-O-CONJ there/O-**have-at-like**

'avatʉ **'**ura-**'**ay
big be-IMM

'That table is the *biggest* of all tables'

b. **Verbs and manner adverbs**:

'ína mamachi manu-khu-tʉ-mʉ-aa-s
this/SU woman/SU all-O-NOM-AN-O-CONJ

'umʉ-**gwaa-qha-paa-ni** púka-wʉka-mi
them/O-**have-PL-at-like** intense-work-HAB

'this woman *works hardest* than all (other women)'.

Finally, a negative superlative is also possible, with the same triple negation pattern seen in (20) above. That is:

(23) a. **Adjectival quality:**

'úru tʉka'napʉ manu-ku-tʉ tʉka'napʉ-aa-s
that/SU table/SU all-O-NOM/O table-O-CONJ

ka-'u-**paa-'a**-ni **'**avatʉ **'**ura-**wa**-tʉ
NEG-there-**at-have/NEG**-like big be-**NEG**-NOM

'That table is the *smallest* of all tables'

b. **Verbs and manner adverbs**:

'ína mamachi manu-khu-tʉ-mʉ-aa-s
this/SU woman/SU all-O-NOM-AN-O-CONJ

ka-**'**umʉ-**paa-'a**-ni púka-wʉʉka-**waa**-mi
NEG them/O-**at-have/NEG**-like intens-work-**NEG**-HAB

'this woman works *least hard* than all (other women)'.

CHAPTER 17

Adverbial clauses

17.1 Preliminaries

Adverbial clauses can be viewed from two different perspectives, one more narrow or local, the other broader or global. From the narrower perspective, we describe the various types of adverbial clauses according to their **semantic link** to an adjacent main clause. As a simple illustration, consider the following English examples:

(1) **Semantic links between adverbial and main clause**:

		ADV clause	main clause
a.	**Temporal**:	**When** she didn't answer,	he hung up.
b.	**Conditional**:	**If** he doesn't show up,	we'll leave.
c.	**Concessive**:	**Although** they are poor,	they are happy.
d.	**Cause**:	**Because** she shot him,	he is crippled for life.
e.	**Reason**:	**Because** I didn't do it,	they fired me.
f.	**Purpose**:	**In order to** do it right,	you must pay attention.
g.	**Substitution**:	**Instead of** leaving,	she stayed.
h.	**Additive**:	**On top of** doing the floor,	he had to wash the windows.

In English, the nature of the semantic link to the adjacent main clause is often marked overtly by various adverbial subordinators, boldfaced in (1) above. In Ute, the grammatical signals that mark the nature of the link are more subtle and diffuse, and are often distributed across both clauses. Some of those devices may involve reduced finiteness of the adverbial clause, as in (1f,g,h) above.[1]

From the broader perspective, we note that adverbial clauses perform an important communicative function, helping establish discourse coherence at the chain, paragraph or episode level. This becomes clear when we compare the two possible orders adverbial clauses can take, either preceding or following an adjacent main clause:

(2) a. **Pre-posed**: **To** lighten the ship's load, they threw the cargo overboard.
b. **Post-posed**: They threw the cargo overboard **to** lighten the ship's load.

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1. For a discussion of finiteness and the various grammatical phenomena associated with it, see ch. 8.

The communicative choice between these two alternative orders depends on the wider discourse context. In (2a), the pre-posed ADV-clause projects backwards, anaphorically, to some location in the preceding discourse, referring to an earlier discussion of the ship and its load. Often, pre-posed ADV-clauses also signal the opening of a new chain or paragraph. In the post-posed ADV-clause in (2b) this is not the case. The coherence links of the ADV-clause here are much more local. The communicative use of ADV-clauses in establishing discourse coherence will be discussed later on (ch.18).[2]

17.2 Temporal adverbial clauses

The local link between a temporal ADV-clause and its adjacent main clause involves the temporal relation between the two events/states. In English, this relation can be specified by various adverbial subordinators, as in, e.g.:

(3) **Temporal relation between ADV and main clauses**:

a.	**Precedence**:	**Before** she came, he left
b.	**Subsequence**:	**After** she came, he left
c.	**Simultaneity**:	**While** she was working, he left
d.	**Point coincidence**:	**As** she was coming, he saw her
e.	**Terminal boundary**:	**Till** she left, he worked steady
f.	**Initial boundary**:	**From the minute** she came, he ignored her

But the less specified temporal subordinator 'when' can also be used in English for all these specific temporal links. Such a less-marked coding strategy succeeds because the semantic specificity of the temporal relation can be inferred from other features of the two clauses, such as the specific events/states involved and the tense-aspect-modality marking of both clauses. Thus consider:

(4)

a.	**Precedence**:	**When** she came, he **had** already left
b.	**Subsequence**:	**When** he got up, she did **too**
c.	**Simultaneity**:	**When** she lived there, everybody **was** real friendly
d.	**Point coincidence**:	**When** he opened the door, she shot him
e.	**Terminal boundary**:	**When** you're **done**, tell me
f.	**Initial boundary**:	**When** you **start**, just **keep** going

Temporal ADV-clauses in Ute are much less marked than their English counterparts, so that the exact interpretation of the temporal link depends heavily on the

2. For an extensive discussion of the communicative use of adverbial clauses in discourse, see Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 18).

specifics of the two events/states and their tense-aspect-modal marking. The general adverbial subordinator in Ute is the suffix *-ku*, with the possible phonetic variant *-kw*, *-khw* and *-ukhw*.[3] As is the case with other subordinate clauses,[4] adverbial clauses in Ute are historically the product of **nominalization**. This is clear from the fact that the subject of ADV-clauses is marked as genitive, i.e. 'possessor of the action'. Thus, compare the main clause (5a) with the ADV-clause (5b) below:[5]

(5) a. …'ú pavichi páay-pʉga-amʉ, 'umʉ tuachi-u-av,
that/SU beaver/SU call-REM-3P 3P/O child-PL-OWN
'… so Beaver called them, his children,

b. 'uway sinawavi **pʉ-pa** chugwa-**khay**-**kw**…
that/GEN Sinawav/GEN **REL-LOC** come.to-ANT-SUB
when Sinawav **had** come over…'[6]

The exact temporal relation between the main clause (5a) and the ADV-clause (5b), that of **subsequence** ('after'), is inferred from the fact that the ADV-clause is marked by the perfect/anterior aspect (*-ka*), tagging the event in the ADV-clause (Sinawav's coming) as having occurred prior to the event in the main clause (Beaver calling her children).

With no further aspectual marking on the ADV-clause, and with the ADV-clause preceding the main clause, the temporal relation of subsequence is the *default* interpretation:

(6) ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**pʉga**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**REM**
'when (= after) the man came in, the woman took off'

By itself, the subordinator *-ku* is temporally and aspectually neutral.

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3. The subordinator may also appear as *-gu-* when it is followed by the conjunctive suffix *-s(ʉ)*. Whether this is a phonological variant or another morpheme altogether is not clear. A voicing variation is plausible, but *-gu* is also a less-finite verb suffix in several subjunctive constructions (ch. 15).

4. See discussion in chs 8, 9, 12, above.

5. From "Sinawav the Copy Cat", told by Mollie B. Cloud. All cited Ute text are from Givón (ed. 1985).

6. Example (5), taken from a recorded oral text, is a rare grammatical blend, with the ADV-clause marked with both the ADV-subordinator *-ku* and the prepositional (locative) REL-clause marker *pʉ-*(*paa*) (see ch. 12).

The temporal relation between the two clauses may be further specified with other tense-aspect-modal markers. In (7) below, the irrealis (*-vaa/-paa*) marker imparts a sense of futurity or imminence:

(7) ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-vaa-**kw**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**y**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-IRR-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM-**IMM**
'when the man was **about to** come in, the woman took off'

The tense-aspect-modal specification may also appear in the main clause, as in the use of the habitual (*-mi(ya)*) marker below:

(8) a. ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**mi**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM-**HAB**
'when (-ever) the man comes in, the woman (always) takes off'

b. ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-vaa-**kw**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**mi**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-IRR-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM-**HAB**
'when (-ever) the man is about to comes in, the woman (always) takes off'

With future-irrealis marking in the main clause, the subsequence relation is transferred to the future. Thus Consider:

(9) a. ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**vaa-ni**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-IRR-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM-**IRR-FUT**
'when (-ever) the man **will** come in, the woman **will** (then) leave'

b. ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-vaa-**kw**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**vaa-ni**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-IRR-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM-**IRR-FUT**
'when (-ever) the man is **about to** come in, the woman **will** (then) leave'

A sense of **simultaneity** (temporal overlap) of the two events/states can be obtained when one of them is a compact (telic) event and the other a protracted state. Consider first a telic ADV-clause combined with a stative main clause, in the four main tenses:

(10) a. **Remote**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u togho-wʉ́ʉka-**pʉga**-s
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU right-work-**REM**-CONJ
'when the man came in, the woman was in the middle of working'

b. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u togho-wʉ́ʉka-**y**-is
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU right-work-**IMM**-CONJ
'when the man came/comes in, the woman was/is in the middle of working'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u togho-wʉ́ʉka-**miya**-s
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU right-work-**HAB**-CONJ
'whenever the man comes in, the woman is always in the middle of working'

d. **Future**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi 'u
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU

togho-wúʉka-**vaa-tʉ**-s
right-work-**IRR-NOM**-CONJ

'when the man will come in, the woman will be in the middle of working'

A sense of simultaneity can also be imparted with a stative ADV-clause and a telic main clause. Thus compare:

(11) a. **Remote**:

ta'wachi 'uway togho-wúʉka-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**pʉga**
man/GEN the/GEN right-work-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**REM**
'When the man was (still) working, the woman took off'

b. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi 'uway togho-wúʉka-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**y**
man/GEN the/GEN right-work-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**IMM**
'While the man was/is (still) working, the woman took/takes off'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi 'uway togho-wúʉka-**ukh**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**mi**
man/GEN the/GEN right-work-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**HAB**
'Whenever the man is (still) working, the woman (always) takes off'

d. **Future**:

ta'wachi 'uway togho-wúʉka-**ukh**, mamachi 'u
man/GEN the/GEN right-work-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU

págha-kwa-**vaa-ni**
go-go-**IRR-FUT**

'While the man is (still) working, the woman will take off'

As noted earlier above (5), marking the ADV clause with the anterior aspect mandates a **sequential** interpretation of the two events. This can be shown in all major tenses. Thus consider:

(12) a. **Remote**:

ta'wachi 'uway wúʉka-**qhay-kw**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**pʉga**
man/GEN the/GEN work-**ANT-SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**REM**
'When the man **was done** working, the woman took off'

b. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi 'uway wúʉka-**qhay-khw**, mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**y**
man/GEN the/GEN work-**ANT-SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**IMM**
'When the man **was done** working, the woman took off'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi 'uway wʉ́ʉka-**khay**-k̲w̲, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kwa-**mi**
man/GEN the/GEN work-**ANT-SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**HAB**
'Whenever the man **is done** working, the woman (always) takes off'

d. **Future**:

ta'wachi 'uway wʉ́ʉka-**qhay**-kw̲, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kwa-**vaa-ni**
man/GEN the/GEN work-**ANT-SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**IRR-FUT**
'When the man **is done** working, the woman will take off'

The anterior marker can also appear in the main clause, with the effect that now the main-clause event is interpreted as preceding the ADV-clause event. Thus compare:

(13) a. **Remote**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kway-**kya-pʉga**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**ANT-REM**
'when the man came in, the woman **had already** taken off'

b. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kway-**kya**-y
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**ANT-IMM**
'when the man came in, the woman **had already** taken off'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kway-**kya-mi**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**ANT-HAB**
'whenever the man comes in, the woman **has already** taken off'

d. **Future**:

ta'wachi 'uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi̲ 'u págha̲-kwy-**kya-vaa-ni**
man/GEN the/GEN enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU go-go-**ANT-IRR-FUT**
'when (after) the man will come in, the woman will have taken off'

With the anterior aspect in the main clause, the negative marker *kach-is* 'not yet' may be added to the ADV-clause, precipitating a negative interpretation as in:

(14) ta'wachi 'uway kachis-'u yʉga-**ukh**, mamachi̲ 'u
man/GEN the/GEN NEG-3s enter-**SUB** woman/SU the/SU

págha̲-kway-**kya-pʉga**
go-go-**ANT-REM**

'when the man **hadn't yet** come in, the woman **had already** taken off'

Lastly, the same general semantic effect of temporal dependency between the two clauses can also be achieved without the use of the adverbial subordinator *-ku*, merely

by interpreting the specific events/states tense-aspect marking in the two adjacent main clauses, as in:[7]

(15) a. …**'anɵ** **'**ú-naaghą̲ tugwa-khwą̲-**kwa**-**'**u,
just there-in come.to-go-ANT-3S
'…**no sooner** had he entered there,
'uwas-**'**uru tuwa-khwą̲-**paachi**-**'**u-kʉ…
3S/SU-it lock-go-BKGR-3S-EMPH
(that) he (Rabbit) locked him in…'

Examples such as (15) underscore the fact that the sense of 'subordinate clause' in Ute, at least as applied to ADV-clauses, is somewhat hazy. This is evident from the occasional use of the frozen old **conjunction** *-s(ʉ)* in either the main or the adverbial clause. Thus consider:

(16) a. **Conjunction marker in the main clause**:
ta**'**wachi **'**uway yʉga-**ukh**, mamachį̲ **'**u togho-wú́ʉka-pʉga-sʉ̲
man/GEN the/GEN enter-SUB woman/SU the/SU right-work-REM-CONJ
'**when** the man entered the house, the woman was still working'
'the man entered the house **and** the woman was still working'

b. **Conjunction marker in the ADV clause**:
ta**'**wachi **'**uway togho-wú́ʉka-**gu**-sʉ̲, mamachį̲ **'**u
man/GEN the/GEN right-work-SUB-CONJ woman/SU the/SU
págha̲-kwa-pʉga
go-go-REM
'**while** the man was still working, the woman took off'
'the man was still working **and** the woman took off'

The marking of Ute ADV-clauses as 'subordinate', it seems, has been assembled piecemeal over time, from a combination of multiple elements:

- clause nominalization, with the nominalizing suffix becoming a subordinator
- zero-anaphoric subject in the ADV-clause
- the interplay of the tense-aspect-modal marking in both clauses
- the semantics of both events/states
- the use of the old conjunction on either clauses

7. "Hungry Coyote, Rabbit and the White-Man's Chicken", told by Mollie B. Cloud. The aspectual marking of the verb in the first clause, with the anterior *-kwa*, is phonetically very similar to the adverbial subordinator *-kw*, so that the interpretation – main vs. subordinate clause – remains ambiguous.

17.3 Relative order of main vs. adverbial clause

As noted earlier, both orders, ADV-main (pre-posed) and main-ADV (post-posed), are possible in Ute, with the choice conditioned by discourse-pragmatic considerations. It would thus be of some interest to see what the distribution of the two orders is in our recorded oral texts. Of the total of 62 ADV clauses found in the 8 stories counted,[8] 38 (61%) were pre-posed and 24 (39%) were post-posed. Typically, pre-posed ADV-clauses are used in chain-initial or paragraph-initial positions, acting as a **coherence bridge** to the preceding (anaphoric) discourse. A typical example is:[9]

(17) a. …'uwas 'ú-vwaa-s pʉ-pʉi-pʉga.
he/SU there-at-CONJ RED-sleep-REM
'…and he was sleeping away there.

b. kh-'ura-'uru 'uwayas pʉ-pʉi-**gyay**-**kw**-'uru, tapʉ'ni-pʉga.
then-be-it he/GEN RED-sleep-**ANT**-**SUB**-it wake.up-REM
So then **after** he **had** slept (through it all), he woke up.

c. 'umʉ-aa-tʉ̲ ya-yagha-pʉga 'avaa-amʉ̲ yáasi-**u**-**kw̲**.
3P/GEN-PAR-NOM/SU RED-cry-REM far-3P fly/PL-**INCEP**-**SUB**
One of them kept crying **as** they all started flocking away.

d. 'ú-vwaa-s pa'a-'uwa-vərə-pʉga, su-supaay-kya-pʉay-agay-'u.
there-at-CONJ complete-jump-go-REM RED-leave-ANT-REM-CONCL-3S
So he started jumping up and down, they have all deserted him.

e. 'uwayas pa'a-'uwa-vərə-**khw̲**-'uru, 'áy-pʉga: "….."…
3S/GEN complete-jump-go-**SUB**-it say-REM
So **as** he was jumping up and down, he said: "….."…

The first ADV-clause, in a paragraph-initial position (17b), is pre-posed and links the new paragraph to the last event of the preceding paragraph (17a) ('and he was sleeping away there'). The second ADV-clause, in (17c), is post-posed, and the event in it ('they all started flocking away') is mentioned for the first time, thus with no anaphoric links. The third ADV-clause, in (17e), is again pre-posed. And again, it projects backward (anaphorically) to an event mentioned in the preceding line (17d) ('so he started jumping up and down').

With the exception of participial clauses, discussed further below, all the ADV clauses found in our 8-story sample were temporal. Three of them, however, could be possibly interpreted as conditional ('if') clauses. They appear clustered in one passage

8. Stories #2 through #9 in our collection (Givón ed. 1985).

9. "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

of one story, given in (18b,d,f) below, and their main clauses are cast in the irrealis mode (*-va(a)*):[10]

(18) a. …"**'**aghaa-va karʉ-**'**wa-vaa-ni?" máy-pʉgay-**'**u, "…tạchi-va-n-aa?"
WH-LOC sit-ASP-IRR-FUT say-REM-3s head-at-on-Q
'…"where are you going to sit?" she asked him, "on my head maybe?"

b. muguchii-kwaa-**ku**-m, wi**'**i-vichi-gwa-**vaa**" máy-pʉga-s **'**uwas
shake-head-go-**SUB**-2s fall-descend-go-**IRR**" say-REM-CONJ 3s/SU
"But then **if/when** you shake your head, I **will** fall down" he said.

c. "nʉ́-v**'**wan-aa toghoy?" máy-pʉga-s **'**uwas.
1s-on-Q good/IMM say-REM-CONJ 3s/SU
"How about on top of me, alright?" she asked.

d. "pagha-nukwi-**kyay-ku**-m-**'**uru, wi**'**i-vichi-gwa-**vaa**" máy-pʉga-s.
go-run-**ANT-SUB**-2s-that fall-descend-go-**IRR** say-REM-CONJ
"But then **if/when** you **have** started running, I **will** fall down" he said.

e. …"kwasi-ma-n-aa toghoy?" máy-pʉga.
tail/O-LOC-1s-Q good/IMM say-REM
…"How about on my tail, alright?" she said.

f. "Kach, kwasi-wʉnay-**kyay-ku**-m-**'**uru, wi**'**i-vichi-gwa-**vaa**"
NEG tail-throw-**ANT-SUB**-2s-it fall-descend-go-**IRR**
máy-pʉga-s **'**uwas…
say-REM-CONJ 3s/SU
"No, then **if/when** you **have** shaken your tail, I **will** fall down" he said…'

Lastly, an alternative nominal prefix, *-chi*, is used very rarely as an adverbial subordinator instead of *-ku*. In our 8-story samples, only three instances of this usage were found, out of the total of 62 ADV clauses. They are:

(19) a. …**'**uru kwayaa-tukhwạ chipi-u-**chị**,
that/O out-go climb-INCEP-**NOM**
káatʉ tʘʘvagha-**vaa**-tụ…
river.rock/O rumble-**IRR**-NOM
'…**when** I start climbing out of there, I **will** make rock-rumble noise…'[11]

b. …"matachị máy-kya-paa-pụ" máy-vaa-chị-**'**uru,
tick say-PL-IRR-NOM say-IRR-NOM-it
'…"They will call you 'tick' " he said,
'u-vwaa-tʉ ta-ta**'**ạ-u-**chị**…
there-at-DIR RED-kick-INCEP-**NOM**
as he started kicking (the bushes)…'[12]

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10. "Porcupine, Sinawav and Buffalo Cow", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

c. …pina-khwa-sapa̲-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuwa-vaa-yukhwi̲ tʉrʉsi-**chi**-mʉ̲,
next-go-MOD-be-it 3s/O-at-sit stop-**NOM**-AN
'…finally **when** (the other rider) stopped
qha̲-qháarʉ-mʉi-kwa-y kʉma-khwa̲-tukhwa̲…
RED-run-lead-go-IMM other-go-go
(his horse) surged ahead the other way…'[13]

The use of the *-chi* suffix with the animate suffix *-mʉ* in (19c) further underscore the nominalized nature of these ADV-clauses.

17.4 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional ADV-clauses are divided into two main types:

- irrealis conditionals
- counter-fact conditionals

We will consider them in order.

17.4.1 Irrealis conditionals

Irrealis conditional clauses fall under the scope of the irrealis modality. Much like irrealis clauses elsewhere, they have no firm truth value. Rather, their truth value depends on the truth value of their adjacent main clause. But that adjacent main clause is, most typically, under some irrealis scope itself, and thus has no truth value either.

Typically, irrealis conditional clauses involve some futurity in their main clause, as in English:

(20) **Variety of irrealis marking in the main clause**:
a. **Future**: **If** she comes, you **will** see her.
b. **Modal**: **If** you finish on time, you **can** have this.
c. **Command**: **If** you see him, **(please)** tell him that…
d. **Request**: **If** she comes, I **would like** to know about it.
e. **Uncertainty**: **If** she said she'd come, then **I think** she's serious.

As already seen in (18) above, irrealis marking in Ute main clauses can direct the interpretation of the attached ADV-clause towards a conditional (rather than temporal) interpretation. Thus consider:

13. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

(21) a. **Future**:

ta'wachi 'uway kani ta'chi'a-ti-**khw**,
man/GEN the/GEN house/O destroy-CAUS-**SUB**
'**if** the man destroys the house,

mamachi 'u supay-**vaa-ni**-'u
woman/SU the/SU leave-**IRR-FUT**-3S
the woman **will** leave him'

b. **Modal**:

ta'wachi 'uway kani tachi'a-ti-**khw**,
man/GEN the/GEN house-O destroy-CAUS-**SUB**
'**if** the man destroy the house,

mamachi 'u kachu-'u supay-**vaa-chi** **sapigya**-wa-tɨ
woman/SU the/SU NEG-3S leave-**IRR-NOM** **can**-NEG-NOM
then the woman **can't** leave him'

c. **Command**:

tavuchi 'uway pɨnikya-**ukhw**, kachu-'u paqha!
rabbit/O the/O see-**SUB** NEG-3S kill/**IMPER**
'**If/when** (you) see the rabbit, **don't** kill it!'

d. **Request**:

Tavuchi 'uway pɨnikya-**ukhw**, kachu-'u paqha-**gu-pɨ**!
rabbit/O the/O see-**SUB** NEG-3S kill-**MOD-NOM**
'**If/when** (you) see the rabbit, **would** you **please** not kill it?'

e. **Uncertainly**:

'uway ka-pɨnikya-wa-**ukhw**, naagha ka-'iya-na-'wa-**gu-pɨ**
3S/O NEG-see-NEG-**SUB** maybe NEG-there-be-NEG-MOD-NOM
'**If** (you) don't see him/her, then **maybe** s/he is not there.'

The specific event coded in the ADV-clause also exerts considerable influence on the possible conditional interpretation of *-ku*-marked ADV-clauses. Thus, in (21a,b) above the event 'destroy the house' is counter-normative and improbable, making a conditional ('if') interpretation of the ADV-clause more likely. Likewise, in (21e) a negative event ('not seeing') is less likely to be temporally anchored with 'when', so that the conditional ('if') interpretation of the ADV-clause is more likely.

17.4.2 Counter-fact ('hypothetical') conditionals

Unlike irrealis conditional clauses, whose truth value is pending, counter-fact conditional clauses fall under the firmer scope of non-fact. That is, they are taken not

to be true. The associated main clause *could* (or would, or should) have been true – if the ADV-clause proposition *were* true. But since the ADV-clause proposition is in fact false, the main-clause proposition is also false. As illustrations, consider:

(22) a. **If** she **were** smart, she **would have** done it.
(> but she wasn't smart, so she didn't do it)

b. **If** I had only met her then, my life **would have** been different.
(> but I didn't meet her then, so my life is as it is)

One may as well note that the counter-fact modality is not found only in conditional ADV-clauses, but may also appear in main clauses or verbal complements, as in:

(23) a. **Main clause**:

You **should have** told me he was here.
(> but you didn't)

b. **Main clause**:

I **would have** loved to see him.
(> but I didn't)

c. **Complement clause**:

She **knew** that it **could have** been her.
(> but it wasn't her)

d. **Complement clause**:

I wish you **were** here.
(> but you are not)

In marking counter-fact conditional clauses in Ute, the perfect/anterior suffix *-ka* (or its suppletive negative *-na*) is added before the subordinator *-ku*. The associated – equally counter-fact – main clause then combines the irrealis suffix *-vaa/-paa* with the perfect marker *-ka*, often with the added subject nominalizer *-tʉ*. The adverb *náaghą-sʉ-ni* ('maybe') may be optionally added to the ADV-clause. Thus consider:

(24) a. **Affirmative-affirmative**:

(náaghą-sʉ-ni) ta'wachi 'uway kani-tukwa pichʉ-**khay-kw**,
maybe-CONJ-like man/GEN the/GEN house/O-go come-**ANT-SUB**
'(maybe) if the man **had** come to the house,

mamachi 'u magha-**vaa-qa**-tʉ-'u
woman/SU the/SU feed-**IRR-ANT**-NOM-3S
the woman **would have** fed him'.

b. **Negative-negative**:

(náaghą-sʉ-ni) ta'wachi 'uway ka-pichʉ-**nay-kw**,
maybe-CONJ-like man/GEN the/GEN NEG-come-**ANT/NEG-SUB**
'(maybe) if the man **had not** come,

mamachi̲ 'u ka-paqha-**vaa-na**-tʉ̲-'u
woman/SU the/SU NEG-kill-**IRR-ANT/NEG**-NOM-3S
the woman **would not have** killed him.'

c. **Affirmative-negative**:

(náagha̲-sʉ-ni) ta'wachi 'uway kani-tukhwa̲ pichʉ-**khay-kw̲**,
maybe-CONJ-like man/GEN the/GEN house/O-go come-**ANT-SUB**
'(maybe) if the man **had** come to the house,

mamachi̲ 'u ka-magha-**vaa-na**-tʉ̲-'u
woman/SU the/SU feed-**IRR-ANT**-NOM-3S
the woman **would not have** fed him.'

d. **Negative-affirmative**:

(náagha̲-sʉ-ni) ta'wachi 'uway ka-pichʉ-**nay-kw̲**,
maybe-CONJ-like man/GEN the/GEN NEG-come-**ANT/NEG-SUB**
'(maybe) if the man **had not** come,

mamachi̲ 'u paqha-**vaa-qa**-tʉ̲-'u
woman/SU the/SU kill-**IRR-ANT**-NOM-3S
the woman **would have** killed him.'

17.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses involve **contrast** or **counter-expectancy**, in terms of what the speaker expects the hearer to know or find surprising. In two-clause combinations, the ADV-clause supplies *grounds* for why the hearer should find the information in the main clause not-surprising. The main clause then gives the unexpected, surprising information itself.

English has a number of alternative ADV subordinators to mark concessive ADV-clauses, as in:

(25) a. **Although** he liked her, he stayed away.
b. **In spite of** liking him, she spoke harshly.
c. **In spite of the fact that** she disliked him, she was civil.
d. **Even though** she disapproved, she went along.
e. **No matter** what she did, he forgave her.
f. **Never mind** all the horrible thing he did, she still loved him.

In Ute, concessive clauses are marked by the ADV subordinator *-ku* followed by the modal suffix *-sapa̲*. Preceding the ADV subordinator is either the perfect/anterior

(realis) marker, or some irrealis marker. Four combinations of realis and irrealis in the two clauses can thus be obtained:

(26) a. **Realis in both clauses**:
ta'wachi 'uway tʉka-**khay-kw-sapa**,
man/GEN 3S/GEN eat-**ANT-SUB-MOD**
'**even though** the man had eaten,
mamachi 'u magha-vaa-chi-'u 'ásti-**pʉga**
woman/SU the/SU feed-IRR-NOM-3S want-**REM**
the woman (still) wanted to feed him'

b. **Irrealis in both clauses**:
ta'wachi 'uway tʉka-**vaa-kw-sapa**,
man/GEN 3S/GEN eat-**IRR-SUB-MOD**
'**even though** the man is supposed to eat,
mamachi 'u ka-magha-**vaa**-'wa-**ni**-'u
woman/SU the/SU NEG-feed-**IRR**-NEG-**FUT**-3S
the woman (still) will not feed him'

c. **Realis plus irrealis**:
ta'wachi 'uway tʉka-**khay-kw-sapa**,
man/GEN 3S/GEN eat-**ANT-SUB-MOD**
'**even though** the man has already eaten,
mamachi 'u magha-**vaa-ni**-'u
woman/SU the/SU feed-**IRR-FUT**-3S
the woman will (still) feed him'

d. **Irrealis plus realis**:
ta'wachi 'uway tʉka-vaa-chi 'ásti-**vaa-kw-sapa**,
man/GEN 3S/GEN eat-**IRR**-NOM want-**IRR-SUB-MOD**
'**even though** the man will/would want to eat,
mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**pʉga**
woman/SU the/SU go-go-**REM**
the woman (still) left'

17.6 Cause or reason clauses

Cause adverbial clauses depict an event considered the cause of the main-clause event/state. Reason adverbial clauses depict an event/state considered the reason why the agent of the main-clause chose to act as s/he did. In many languages, the two types are structurally indistinguishable. Semantically, a cause is considered an *external* reason, outside the control of the causee, while a reason involves the motivation of the causee. As a brief illustration, consider:

(27) a. **External agentive event as cause**:
Because he bumped me, I dropped the glass.

b. **External non-agentive state as cause**:
Because it was freezing, the pipes broke.

c. **External non-agentive event as cause**:
Because the temperature dropped, the pipes froze.

d. **Agentive event as reason**:
Because she showed up there, I decided to leave.

e. **Non-agentive state as reason**:
Because she was cold, she put her coat on.

f. **Non-agentive event as reason**:
Because her leg started hurting, she stopped running.

The cause or reason coded in the ADV-clause may have occurred in the past, in which case it is marked in Ute with the perfect/anterior suffix *-ka* preceding the subordinator *-ku*. The main-clause event may then take any tense-aspect, as well as the optional adverb *togho-sapa-'ura* 'for that reason':

(28) a. **Main clause in the remote past**:

ta'wachi 'uway muraachi-máy-**kyay-ku**,
man/GEN the/GEN drunk-say-**ANT-SUB**
'**Because** the man was drunk,

(togho-sapa-'ura) mamachi 'u págha-kwa-puga
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU go-go-REM
(for that reason) the woman left'.

b. **Main clause in the immediate (present)**:

ta'wachi 'uway kani-naagha yuga-**khay-ku**,
man/GEN the/GEN house/O-in enter-**ANT-SUB**
'**Because** the man has entered the house,

(togho-sapa-'ura) mamachi 'u págha-kwa-y
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU go-go-**IMM**
(for that reason) the woman is leaving'.

c. **Main clause in the future**:

ta'wachi 'uway muraachi-máy-**kyay-ku**,
man/GEN the/GEN drunk-say-**ANT-SUB**
'**Because** the man has been drunk,

(togho-sapa-'ura) mamachi 'u págha-kwa-**vaa-ni**
right-MOD-be woman/s the/SU go-go-**IRR-FUT**
(for that reason) the woman will leave'.

d. **Main clause in the habitual past**:

ta'wachi 'uway muraachi̲-máy-**kyay-ku̲**,
man/GEN the/GEN drunk-say-**ANT-SUB**
'**Because** the man had been drunk,

(togho-sapa̲-'ura) mamachi̲ 'u supay-kwa-**na-pʉgay**-'u
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU leave-go-**HAB-REM**-3S
(for that reason) the woman used to leave'.

The ADV-clause may also take the unmarked habitual or immediate (present) tense-aspect, with the main-clause then taking a number of tense markings:

(29) a. **Main clause event in the habitual**:

ta'wachi 'uway ka-wʉ́ʉka-wa-tʉ̲ 'ura-**khw̲**,
man/GEN the/GEN NEG-work-NEG-NOM be-**SUB**
'Because the man doesn't work,

(togho-sapa̲-'ura) mamachi̲ 'u pʉ́ka-wʉ́ʉka-**mi**
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU hard-work-**HAB**
(for that reason) the woman **works** hard'

b. **Main clause event in the immediate (present)**:

ta'wachi 'uway ka-wʉ́ʉka-wa-tʉ̲ **'ura-khw̲**,
man/GEN the/GEN NEG-work-NEG-NOM be-**SUB**
'Because the man doesn't work/isn't working,

(togho-sapa̲-'ura) mamachi̲ 'u pʉ́ka-wʉ́ʉka-**y**
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU hard-work-**IMM**
(for that reason) the woman **is working** hard'

c. **Main clause event in the future**:

ta'wachi 'uway ka-wʉ́ʉka-wa-tʉ̲ 'ura-**ukhw̲**,
man/GEN the/GEN NEG-work-NEG-NOM be-**SUB**
'Because the man doesn't work/isn't working,

(togho-sapa̲-'ura) mamachi̲ 'u pʉ́ka-wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-ni**
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU hard-work-**IRR-FUT**
(for that reason) the woman **will work** hard'

Finally, the ADV-clause may take irrealis marking, in which case the main clause is most naturally marked as future:

(30) ta'wachi 'uway ka-wʉ́ʉka-**vaa**-'wa-**khw̲**,
man/GEN the/GEN NEG-work-**IRR**-NEG-**SUB**
'Because the man will not work,

(togho-sapa̲-'ura) mamachi̲ 'u pʉ́ka-wʉ́ʉka-**vaa-ni**
right-MOD-be woman/SU the/SU hard-work-**IRR-FUT**
(for that reason) the woman will work hard'

There is nothing in the structure of these ADV-clauses that marks them specifically as cause or reason clauses. It is the combination of tense-aspect-modality in the two clauses, the specifics of the events, and the adverb in the main clause, that lead one to a cause-and-effect interpretation.

17.7 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses code the purpose for which the action in the main clause is undertaken. They are most commonly paired with agentive main clauses. While in principle a purpose clause may appear before its paired main clause, and thus serve as an anaphoric coherence bridge, most purpose clauses in Ute follow their main clause.

In terms of their temporal modality, purpose clauses are future-oriented vis-a-vis their main clause. In Ute they are marked with the irrealis suffix *-vaa/-paa,* followed by one of two subordinating nominal suffixes: *-chi* or *-ku*. This choice of suffix recapitulates the situation seen with the two classes of zero-subject verbal complements, respectively:[14]

- **equi-subject co-reference**: **She** wanted to eat a banana
- **switch-subject co-reference**: She told **him** to eat a banana

We will discuss the two classes of purpose clauses in order

17.7.1 Equi-subject purpose clauses

In equi-subject purpose clauses, the subject of the ADV-clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause, with the co-reference relation indicated by the nominal suffix *-chi* following the irrealis marker. Thus consider:

(31) a. **Singular**:

kani-vaghay-kwa-**pʉga** tʉka-**vaa-chi̲**
house/O-walk-go-REM eat-IRR-NOM
'(s/he) went visiting **in order to** eat'

b. **Plural**:

kani-vərə-khwa-**pʉga** tʉka-qha-**paa-chi̲**-mʉ̲
house/O-walk/PL-go-REM eat-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
'(they) went visiting **in order to** eat'

14. See ch. 9.

The form of the purpose clause remains the same regardless of the tense-aspect of the main clause. Thus compare:

(32) a. **Singular**:

kani-vaghay-kwa-**vaa-ni** tʉka-**vaa-chi̱**
house/O-walk-go-IRR-FUT eat-IRR-NOM
'(s/he) will go visiting **in order to** eat meat'

b. **Plural**:

kani-vərə-khwa-qha-**paa-ni** tʉka-qha-**paa-chi̱**-mʉ̱
house/O-walk/PL-go-PL-IRR-FUT eat-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
'(they) will go visiting **in order to** eat'

c. **Singular**:

kani-vaghay-kwa-**y** tʉka-**vaa-chi̱**
house/O-walk-go-IMM meat/Oeat-IRR-NOM
'(s/he) is going visiting **in order to** eat'

d. **Plural**:

kani-vərə-khwa-**y** tʉka-qha-**paa-chi̱**-mʉ̱
house/O-walk/PL-go-IMM eat-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
'(they) are going visiting **(in order) to** eat'

17.7.2 Switch-subject purpose clauses

In switch-subject purpose clauses, the subject of the ADV-clause is not co-referent with the subject of the main clause, and this switch-reference is indicated by the nominal suffix *-ku* following the irrealis marker. This is the same suffix used in the ADV-clauses described above. Thus consider:

(33) a. **Singular**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**pʉga** mamachi **'**uway magha-**vaa-ku**-**'**u
the/s house/O-at-go-REM woman/GEN the/GEN feed-IRR-SUB-3S
'(s/he) went to the house so that the woman would feed him/her'

b. **Plural**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**pʉga** máama̱chi-u **'**umʉ magha-qha-**paa-ku**-**'**u
house/O-at-go-REM women-PL the/GEN feed-PL-IRR-SUB-3S
'(s/he) went to the house so that the women would feed him/her'

c. **Singular**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**vaa-ni** mamachi **'**uway magha-**vaa-ku**-**'**u
house/O-at-go-IRR-FUT woman/GEN the/GEN feed-IRR-SUB-3S
'(s/he) will go to the house so that the woman will feed him/her'

d. **Plural**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**vaa-ni** máama̲chi-u **'umʉ** magha-qha-**paa-ku**-**'u**
house/O-at-go-**IRR-FUT** women-PL the/GEN feed-PL-**IRR-SUB**-3S
'(s/he) will go to the house so that the women will feed him/her'

e. **Singular**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**y** mamachi **'uway** magha-**vaa-ku**-**'u**
house/O-at-go-**IMM** woman/GEN the/GEN feed-**IRR-SUB**-3S
'(s/he) is going to the house so that the woman will feed him/her'

f. **Plural**:

kani-vaa-tugwa-**y** máama̲chi-u **'umʉ** magha-qha-**paa-ku**-**'u**
house/O-at-go-**IMM** women-PL the/GEN feed-PL-**IRR-SUB**-3S
'(s/he) is going to the house so that the woman will feed him/her'

17.8 Participial clauses

Participial adverbial clauses are typically less finite than main clauses in two ways:[15]

- They carry minimal tense-aspect-modal marking; and thus – much like purpose clauses – depend for their temporal interpretation on the tense-aspect-modality of the main clause.
- They are subjectless and thus, much like purpose clauses again, depend for their subject identification on co-reference with the subject or, more rarely, the object of the main clause. In both features, participial clauses thus resemble zero-subject verbal complements (see ch. 9). Typically, the event in the ADV-clause is either simultaneous or anterior to that of the main clause. Thus consider the following illustrative examples from English:

(34) a. **Simultaneous (progressive)**:

She came home *running all the way*.
She will read the memo *(while) eating breakfast*.
Plopping herself on the couch, she starts reading the paper.

b. **Anterior (perfective)**:

She came home *having run all the way*.
She will read the memo *having finished breakfast*.
Having plopped herself on the couch, she starts reading the paper.

15. For discussion of finiteness, see ch. 8.

In Ute, participial ADV-clauses are marked by either of two suffixes, one the already-familiar *-ku*, the other *-ga*. Each suffix may appear by itself, marking a simultaneous interpretation (34a). Or it may appear with the perfect/anterior suffix *-ka*, marking an anterior interpretation (34b). We will discuss the two types in order.

17.8.1 *-Ku*-marked participial clauses

As in the case of purpose clauses, one may divide *-ku*-marked participial clauses into those with equi-subject and those with equi-object co-reference. However, the same suffix is used in both. The equi-subject use is somewhat unexpected, since in general *-ku* does not mark equi-subject subordinate clauses (see above as well as ch. 9).

-Ku-marked participial clauses without further aspectual marking codes simultaneity of the ADV-clause event/state with the event/state of the main clause. Consider first the **equi-subject** use of *-ku*-marked participial clauses:

(35) a. **Past**:

ta'wachi̲, wúʉka-**uk̲w̲**, mamachi pʉnikya-**pʉga**
man/SU work-**SUB** woman/O see-**REM**
'*the man, working*, saw the woman'

b. **Future**:

ta'wachi̲, wúʉka-**uk̲w̲**, mamachi pʉnikya-**vaa-ni**
man/SU work-**SUB** woman/O see-**IRR-FUT**
'*the man, working*, will see the woman'

c. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi̲, wúʉka-**uk̲w̲**, mamachi pʉnikya(-**y**)
man/SU work-**SUB** woman/O see-**IMM**
'*the man, working*, sees the woman'

When the main-clause subject is plural, the participial clause must reflect that:

(36) táata'wachi-u, wúʉka-qha-**uk̲w̲**, mamachi pʉnikya-qha-**paa-ni**
man-PL work-PL-**SUB** woman/O see-PL-**IRR-FUT**
'*the men, working*, will see the woman'

Consider next the **equi-object** use of *-ku*-marked participial clauses:

(37) a. **Past**:

ta'wachi̲ mamachi wúʉka-**uk̲w̲** pʉnikya-**qha**
man/SU woman/O work-**SUB** see-**ANT**
'the man saw *the woman working*'

b. **Future**:

ta'wachi mamachi wúʉka-**ukw** pʉnikya-**vaa-ni**
man/SU woman/O work-**SUB** see-**IRR-FUT**
'the man will see *the woman working*'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi (tʉsapa) mamachi wúʉka-**ukw** pʉnikya-**mi**
man/S always woman/O work-**SUB** see-**HAB**
'the man (always) sees the woman working'

With a plural object, the participial clause must again show plural-subject marking:

(38) ta'wachi máamachi-u wúʉka-qha-**ukw** pʉnikya-**vaa-ni**
man/SU women-PL work-PL-**SUB** see-**IRR-FUT**
'the man will see *the women working*'

When the perfect/anterior suffix *-ka* is added before the subordinator *-ku*, sometimes amplified with the auxiliary verb 'finish', the sense of **perfect-participle** is obtained, marking the event in the ADV-clause as *preceding* that of the main clause. Thus, for the equi-subject configuration:

(39) a. **Past**:

ta'wachi, wúʉka-maku-**kwaa-ukw**, mamachi pʉnikya-**pʉga**
man/SU work-finish-**ANT-SUB** woman/O see-**REM**
'the man, **having** finished working, saw the woman'

b. **Future**:

ta'wachi, wúʉka-**qha-ukw**, mamachi pʉnikya-**vaa-ni**
man/SU work-**ANT-SUB** woman/O see-**IRR-FUT**
'the man, after **having** worked, will see the woman'

c. **Immediate**:

ta'wachi, wúʉka-**qha-ukw**, mamachi pʉnikya(-**y**)
man/SU work-**ANT-SUB** woman/O see-**IMM**
'the man, **after** working, sees the woman'

And with a plural subjects:

(40) táata'waci-u, wúʉka-qha-**qa-ukw**, mamachi pʉnikya-qha-**paa-ni**
men-PL work-PL-**ANT-SUB** woman/O see-PL-**IRR-FUT**
'the men, **after** working, will see the woman'

And with the equi-object use of such participial clauses:

(41) a. **Past**:

ta'wachi mamachi wúʉka-**maku-kwa-ukw** pʉnikya-**qha**
man/SU woman/O work-**finish-ANT-SUB** see-**ANT**
'the man saw the woman ***after** she **had** worked*'

b. **Future**:

ta'wachi mamachi wúʉka-**qha**-**ukw** pʉnikya-**vaa**-**ni**
man/SU woman/O work-**ANT**-**SUB** see-**IRR**-**FUT**
'the man will see the woman ***after*** *she will* ***have*** *worked*'

c. **Habitual**:

ta'wachi (tʉsapa) mamachi wúʉka-**qha**-**ukw** pʉnikya-**mi**
man/SU always woman/O work-**ANT**-**SUB** see-**HAB**
'the man (always) sees the woman ***after*** *she* ***has*** *worked*'

And with a plural object:

(42) ta'wachi máamachi-u wúʉka-qha-**qa**-**ukw** pʉnikya-**vaa**-**ni**
man/SU women-PL work-PL-**ANT**-**SUB** see-**IRR**-**FUT**
'the man will see the women **after** they will **have** worked'

Consider next the ordering of the participial clause vis-a-vis the main clause. Three main orders are in principle possible, and they sometime interact with intonation or pauses. With simultaneous (progressive) equi-subject participial clauses, one may see:

(43) a. **Pre-posed**:

wúʉka-**ukhw**, ta'wachi mamachi pʉnikya-pʉga
work-**SUB** man/SU woman/O see-REM
'While *(**he** was) working*, the man saw the woman'

b. **Post-subject**:

ta'wachi (,) wúʉka-**ukhw** (,) mamachi pʉnikya-pʉga
man/SU work-**SUB** woman/O see-REM
'The man, *while (**he** was) working*, saw the woman'

c. **Post-posed**:

ta'wachi mamachi pʉnikya-pʉga (,) wúʉka-**ukhw**
man/SU woman/O see-REM work-**SUB**
'the man saw the woman *while (**he**/**she** was) working*'

While the pre-posed (43a) and post-subject (43b) orders allow only an equi-subject interpretation, the post-posed order in (43c) is ambiguous between the equi-subject and equi-object interpretation.

A post-object order without a pause, as in (44a) below, yields an unambiguous equi-object interpretation. With a pause, as in (44b), the interpretation is ambiguous:

(44) a. **Post-object, no pause**:

ta'wachi mamachi wúʉka-**ukhw** pʉnikya-pʉga
man/SU woman/O work-**SUB** see-REM
'the man saw the woman *while **she** was working*'

b. **Post-object, with pause**:
ta'wachi mamachi, wúuka-**ukhw**, punikya-puga
man/SU woman/O work-**SUB** see-REM
'the man saw the woman *while* ***he/she*** *was working*'

One may note that all the above examples of *-ku*-marked participial clauses were obtained from direct elicitation, rather than from text. Their status is thus not altogether clear, especially the status of the equi-subject examples. It remains possible that these are not really participial clauses, but rather temporal ADV-clauses with zero-anaphora subjects, something the English glosses of (43) and (44) allude to. Many *-ku*-marked ADV-clauses in our oral texts indeed display zero-anaphoric subjects or objects. Consider, for example:[16]

(45) a. …kukwi-kyay-**kw**, 'uwa-rugwa-pugay-ku…
fill-ANT-SUB 3S/O-give-REM-it
'…**after** [it] filled up, [he] gave it to him…'
'…[it] **having** filled up, [he] gave it to him…'

b. …wíi-tavachi-**khw** karu-ga-su, pághą-kwa-puga…
old-sun-**SUB** sit-PAR-CONJ go-go-REM
'…[he] passed a long time sitting there, then [he] took off…'
'…[he] **passing** a long time sitting there, [he] then took off…'

In both the switch-subject (45a) and equi-subject (45b) participial clauses above, the subject is zero-marked, making a participial interpretation of the ADV-clause easy to sustain.

17.8.2 *-Ga*-marked participial clauses

The use of *-ga*-marked participial clauses is more restricted in its grammatical properties. First, only equi-subject co-reference is allowed. Second, marking with the perfect/anterior suffix is not allowed, making these participial clauses less finite. Third, in consequence, the temporal interpretation of *-ga*-marked clauses is always simultaneous (progressive). And lastly, *-ga*-marked participial clauses are well attested in Ute oral texts. In the 8-story sample counted,[17] 17 instances of this construction were found, from the speech of three speakers.

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16. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

17. Stories #2 through #9 in Givón (ed. 1985). The entire sample is given in the Appendix, below.

There is clear evidence that the participial suffix *-ga* is derived from the verb 'have'/'be'. First, at least in elicited examples it still shows the expected plural-subject agreement of verbs. Thus consider:

(46) a. **Singular**:

wʉ́ʉka-pʉgay-ˈu káa-**gha**
work-REM-3S sing-**PAR**
's/he worked singing'

b. **Plural**:

wʉ́ʉka-qha-pʉga-amʉ̲ káa-qha-**gha̲**-**qha**
work-REM sing-**REM**-3P sing-PL-**PAR**-**PL**
'they worked singing'

Second, the negative counterpart of the *-ga* participial suffix is the same as the suppletive negative of 'have' – *ˈ(w)a*. Indeed, with a perfective adverb, the negative form can acquire the sense of the anterior/perfect participle. Thus compare:

(47) a. **Negative-progressive**:

ka-tʉka-**ˈwa**-y wʉ́ʉka-pʉga
NEG-eat-**have/NEG**-IMM work-REM
'not singing (s/he) worked'

b. **Negative-perfect**:

kachis tʉka-**ˈwa**-y, wʉ́ʉka-pʉga
NEG-yet eat-**have/NEG**-IMM work-REM
'Having not yet sung, (s/he) worked'

Third, the participial suffix *-ga* shows the same morpho-phonemic variants as the verb 'have':

(48) a. wʉni-**gya** wʉ́ʉka-pʉga
stand-**PAR** work-REM
'standing (s/he) worked'

b. káa-**gha** wʉ́ʉka-vaa-ni
sing-**PAR** work-IRR-FUT
'singing (s/he) will work'

c. pɵˈɵ-**ghwa** tʉka-y
write-**PAR** eat-IMM
'writing (s/he) is eating'

d. karʉ-**ga** tʉka-mi
sit-**PAR** eat-HAB
'sitting (s/he) eats'

Examples (48) above also illustrate the non-finite nature of this participle clause, whose temporal value is read off the main clause.

The negative perfect-participle sense (47b) can be rendered differently with the added modal suffix *-sapa*. Thus compare:

(49) a. mamachi ka-káa-**'way-sapa** wúuka-y
woman/SU NEG-sing-**PAR/NEG-MOD** work-IMM
'the woman, **without** having sung, is working'

b. máamachi-u ka-káa-qha-**'way-sapa** wúuka-qha-y
women-PL NEG-sing-PL-**PAR/NEG-MOD** work-PL-IMM
'the women, **without** having sung, are working'

Finally, with the proper combination of verbs, the modal suffix *-sapa* can also render a **concessive** (contrastive) interpretation, as in:

(50) a. wúuka-**gha-sapa**, taghapuchi **'**ura-**'**ay
work-**PAR-MOD** poor /PRED be-IMM
'**In spite of** working, (s/he) is poor'

b. púka-wúuka-puga naghami-**gya-sapa**
hard-work-REM sick-**PAR-MOD**
'(s/he) worked hard **in spite of** being sick'

The freedom of ordering the *ga*-participial clause vis-a-vis its main clause is considerable. For a realistic view of such ordering freedom, let us consider some text-derived examples. Consider first the use of a participial clause as a paragraph- or chain-initial devise, i.e. as a **coherence bridge**. In (51) below, the tail end of the preceding paragraph ends with a negative-participial clause(51b), one that follows its main clause and has no anaphoric projections to the preceding discourse:[18]

(51) a. …karu-ka-puga **'**uwa-vaa-chawi-tukhwa,
sit-ANT-REM 3s/O-at-come-go
'…(Sinawav) had been sitting there facing him (Buffalo),

b. ka-pa**'**a-togho-**'aa**-pu.
NEG-comp-right-**PAR/NEG**-NOM
(**doing** it) for not too long.

c. kh-**'**ura **'**uwas-**'**uru karu-**ga**-su-**'**uru, sinawavi **'**áy-puga…
then-be 3s/s-it sit-**PAR**-CONJ-it Sinawav/SU say-REM
so then **while** sitting there, Sinawav said…'

The second participial clause (51c) precedes its main clause and projects back to clause (51a) ('Sinawav had been sitting there') in the preceding paragraph.

18. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

A pause-less combination of the two clauses, in either order, tends to have the same local, non-anaphoric coherence. It probably also has the diachronic potential for yielding co-lexicalized V-V combinations. Thus consider:[19]

(52) a. …mʉni̲-'ura 'agha-paa pərə-khwa-**gha** 'ani-kh̲?…
2P/SU-be WH-DIR move/PL-go-**PAR** do-IMM
'…where are you-all **going**-doing?…'

b. …'i-vaa-nʉmʉ̲ 'ani-kh̲ pərə-kwa-y
here-at-1P/SU do-PL(IMM) move/PL-go-IMM
nagukwi̲-kya-ta miya-**gha**…
fight-PL-PASS go/PL-**PAR**
'…here we are doing going (for) fighting-**going**…'

In two instances, with two different speakers, the participial clause seems to impart a perfect/anterior reading rather than the expected simultaneous/progressive one. Thus consider:

(53) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura págha̲-kwa-pʉga karʉ-**ga**-sʉ̲…[20]
there-at-it-be go-go-REM sit-**PAR**-CONJ
'…so then he took off **after** sitting (there)…'

b. …kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chawi̲-chʉ
then-be-it he/SU-that 3S/O-at-come-DIR
karʉ-**ga**-sʉ̲, págha̲-kwa-pʉga-sʉ̲…
sit-**PAR**-CONJ go-go-REM-CONJ
'…so then he (Sinawav) **after** sitting across from him (he) took off…'[21]

Finally, given the advanced age of our story-tellers, one would expect to find an occasional dangling participial in our sample. But only one such example out of the total 17 was found in our 8 texts, and it involves disfluency rather than an outright grammatical violation:[22]

(54) …sinawavi̲-'uru 'uwas 'ura-'ay… sinawavi̲… 'apagha-**gha** 'uwas…
Sinawav/SU that/O 3S/SU be-IMM Sinawav/SU speak-PAR 3S/SU
'…it was Sinawav… Sinawav… he **speaking**…'

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19. "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

20. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Harry Richards.

21. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

22. "Sinawav racing the Hummingbirds", told by Julius Cloud.

17.9 Diachronic notes

17.9.1 The adverbial subordinator *-ku*

As noted in our earlier discussion of verbal complements (ch. 9), the suffix *-ku* contrasts with its counterpart *-chi* in marking switch-subject vs. equi-subject complements, respectively. We have also seen (ch. 5) that *-ku* may have been an older object suffix. The case-marking provenance of *-ku* is still evident from the fact that *-ku*-marked ADV-clauses are historically nominalized and still display two clear nominal features:

- lack of finite tense-aspect-modal marking (except for perfect/anterior and irrealis)
- genitive marking of the subject

The use of *-ku* in nominalized ADV-clauses may thus be viewed as a *relaxation* of the original *switch-subject* condition of verbal complements to a *no-equi-subject* condition. Adverbial clauses in Ute may be thus viewed as *partially liberated* from their tighter dependency status as main-verb-controlled complements clauses. The diachrony of *-ku* may thus be summarized as:

(55) a. nominal object-marker >
b. switch-subject nominalized V-complement marker >
c. non-equi-subject nominalized ADV-clause marker

But why should only switch-subject complements – rather than all complements – be case-marked as objects? It is of interest to note that case-marking of participial clauses as either equi-subject or equi-object has been described in other languages.[23] The following example from Latin illustrates this pattern, where zero-subject participial clauses are treated as noun modifiers within the NP – and then case-marked as either equi-subject or switch-subject, in agreement with head noun:[24]

(56) a. **Equi-subject (ss) participial**:

ab oppid-o duct-**a**
from town-ABL lead/PAST/PART-**NOM**
'Having been brought from the town,

femin-**a** prope templ-um habita-ba-t
woman-**NOM** near temple-ACC live-IMPF-3S
the woman lived near the temple'

23. Jiwarli (Western Australia; Austin 1992); Pima and Papago (Ute-Aztecan, Scancarelli 1989).

24. Cited from Thompson and Longacre (1985).

b. **Switch-subject (DS) participial clause**:

Caesar, accept-**is** litter-**is**,
Caesar-NOM receive/PAST/PART-ABL letter-ABL
'**Caesar**, **the letter** having been received,

nunti-um misi-t
messenger-ACC send/PERF-3S
sent a messenger'

Ute nominalized switch-subject complement clauses, *-ku*-marked as objects, may have thus been the diachronic source of *-ku*-marked adverbial clauses. And the use of *-ku*-marked participial clauses could have been a logical intermediate stage. Once used as participial ADV-clauses, the relaxation of the strict switch-subject condition and strict zero-subject conditions in ADV-clauses may have then followed. The proposed diachronic sequence (55) may now be revised to:

(57) a. nominal object-marker >
b. switch-subject V-complement clause marker >
c. switch-subject participial-clause marker >
d. non-equi-subject ADV clause marker

17.9.2 The participial subordinator *-ga*

As noted above, the verbal origin of *-ga* as a grammaticalized offshoot of 'have/be' is fairly well supported. As the defective verb 'have', it must incorporate its object at a pre-verbal position, in line with the general object-incorporation pattern of Ute (chs 10, 15). This establishes *-ga* as noun derivational suffix (ch. 19), as in:

(58)

source noun		**target noun**
kan<u>i</u> 'house'	>	kani-gya-t<u>ʉ</u> 'home-owner'
piwa-n 'my spouse'	>	piwa-gha-t<u>ʉ</u> 'married person'
puwa-v<u>ʉ</u> 'medicine'	>	puwa-gha-t<u>ʉ</u> 'medicine-man'
púk<u>u</u> 'personal horse'	>	puku-gwa-t<u>ʉ</u> 'horse-man'

However, *-ga* is also the most likely diachronic source of the grammaticalized perfect-anterior verbal suffix *-ka*. What is more, there is a hybrid construction where *-ga* in its alternative sense of 'be' can receive a participial interpretation, given the appropriate discourse context. Thus consider:

(59) a. …'i-vaa-ni karʉ-pʉga-s<u>ʉ</u>-'u, sinawav<u>i</u>, kuchu-**gwa**-y…[25]
here-at-like sit-REM-CONJ-3S Sinawav/SU buffalo-**be**-IMM
'…and there he was sitting, Sinawav, **being** Buffalo…'

25. "Sinawav the Copycat", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

b. …kh-'ura 'uwas 'uu-pa 'uwa-vaa-chi̲… 'ú
then-be 3s/SU there-DIR fall-IRR-NOM 3s/SU
sinawavi̲… núuchi-**gya**…[26]
Sinawav/SU person-**be**
'…so then he was groping through there… that Sinawav… **being** (like) a human…'

c. …mámʉ̲-'uru núuchi-u-**gwa**-y-amʉ̲-'uru,
3s/SU-it person-PL-**be**-IMM-3P-it
miya-vərə-na-pʉga-vaachi̲…[27]
go/PL-go/PL-HAB-REM-BCKG
'…they **being** humans, they used to migrate around…'

If one were to accommodate the multiple incarnations of *-ga* 'have/be' into a coherent diachronic scenario, the following sequence may emerge, with intermediate stages (60b) and (60d) perhaps conspiring to drive the last stage (60e):

(60) a. Verbal origin as 'have/be' *-ga* >
b. Nominal suffix 'have' *-ga* >
c. Nominal-participial suffix *-ga* 'be' >
d. Verbal participial suffix *-ga*

For the moment, scenario (60) is rather tentative; and it may well be that **verb serialization**, i.e. multi-verb sequences that together code a single if complex event, may have played a role in the development of *-ga* as a participial marker.[28]

Appendix: The use of *-ga*-marked participial clauses in oral texts

a. …mʉnı̲-'ura 'agha-paa pərə-khwa-**gha** 'ani-kı̲?… [#3]
2P/SU-be WH-DIR move/PL-go-**PAR** do-IMM
'…where are you-all **going** doing?…'

b. …'i-vaa-nʉmʉ̲ 'ani-kı̲ pərə-kwa-y nagukwı̲-kya-ta miya-**gha**… [#3]
here-at-1P do-PL(IMM) move/PL-go-IMM fight-PL-PASS go/PL-**PAR**
'…here we do going (for) there's fighting (and we) are **going**…'

c. …kh-'ura kwavi-'aa-**gha**-amʉ̲ tu-tuvʉ-cha'a-pʉgay-ku… [#3]
then-be lie/PL-ASP-**PAR**-3S RED-pluck-grab-REM-it
'…then **while** (they all) were asleep, they plucked them (feathers) (off him)…'

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26. "How Sinawav got his yellow eyes", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

27. "The stealing of the fire", told by Julius Cloud.

28. See Givón (2009, ch. 4).

d. …“tʉvʉ-sigi-pʉ” máy-pagha-pʉga 'uwas picʉ-'wa-**gha**… [#3]
earth-crumble-NOM say-walk-REM 3S/S come-ASP-**PAR**
‘…“Crumbling-Earth” he kept calling **while** he was approaching…’

e. …'ú-vway-aqh-'ura págha-kwa-pʉga karʉ-**ga**-sʉ… [#5] H.R.
there-at-it-be go-go-REM sit-**PAR**-CONJ
‘…so then he took off (**after**) sitting (there)…’

f. …pina-khwa-s 'uwas 'ú kúchu 'u karʉ-**gaa**-sʉ-'uru: [#5]
later-go-CONJ 3S/SU that/SU buffalo/SU the/SU sit-**PAR**-CONJ-it
‘…so then later on Buffalo **while** sitting:

“'agha-ni-vaa-chi-'u-kway 'áy-vʉ?” máy-pʉgaa-ni karʉ-**ga**…'
WH-do-IRR-NOM-3S-MOD say-NOM say-REM-like sit-**PAR**
“Why is he really saying (that)?” he thought **while** sitting (there)…’

g. …wíi-tava karʉ-**ga**-sʉ, manay-'ni-kwa-pʉga-sʉ karʉ-**ga**-sʉ 'uwas… [#5]
old-sun sit-**PAR**-CONJ stir-INT-go-REM-CONJ sit-**PAR**-CONJ 3S/S
‘…sitting for a long time, he began stirring **while** sitting…’

h. …“Wooof” máy-pʉga mani-**gya**… [#5]
“…” say-REM do.like-**PAR**
‘…“Woof!” he said while doing like that’

i. …“'agha-ni-vaa-chi-'u 'áy-vʉ?” máy-pʉgaa-ni karʉ-**ga**… [#5]
WH-do-IRR-NOM-3S say-NOM say-REM-like sit-**PAR**
‘…“Why is he saying (that)?” he thought **while** sitting (there)…’

j. …karʉ-ka-pʉga 'uwa-vaa-chawi-tukhwa, ka-pa'a-togho-'**aa**-pʉ. [#6]
sit-ANT-REM 3S/O-at-come-go NEG-comp-right-**GER/NEG**-NOM
‘…(Sinawav) had been sitting there facing him (Buffalo), (**doing it**) not for too long.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru karʉ-**ga**-sʉ-'uru sinawav*i* 'áy-pʉga…
then-be 3S/SU-it sit-**PAR**-CONJ-it Sinawav/SU say-REM
So then **while** sitting there Sinawav said…’

k. …'uwas, navu-tigi-**gya** 'apagha-pʉga… [#6]
3S/SU imitate-**PAR** speak-REM
‘…so he, imitating (Buffalo) spoke…’

l. …kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chawi-chʉ
then-be-it he/SU-it 3S/O-at-come-DIR

karʉ-**ga**-sʉ, págha-kwa-pʉga-sʉ…
sit-**PAR**-CONJ go-go-REM-CONJ

‘…so then he (Sinawav) **(after) sitting** across from (Buffalo) he took off…’ [#6]

m. …páay-chi-sʉ tugwa-ri-kwa-khwa-pʉga, 'avi-**gya**-'uru… [#7]
three-NOM-CONJ night-make-go-ASP-REM lie-**PAR**-it
‘…he spent three nights (there), **lying** around…’

n. …ˈumʉs-ˈura ˈu-vwaa-sʉ miya-ˈni-**gya** na-nán̲a-kwa-vaa-chi-mʉ̲…
3P/S-be there-at-CONJ wander/PL-INT-**PAR** RED-grow-go-IRR-NOM-PL
'…and they wandering around there grew up…' [#8] MC

o. …manʊʊʊ-vaa-tʉ̲-aa-sʉ̲ tʉvʉyi-pagha-pʉga paghay-ˈwa̲-**gha**… [#8]
all-at-NOM-PART-CONJ ask-go-REM walk-ASP-**PAR**
'…he kept asking everybody all over **while** going about…'

p. …ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈunuv ˈuwas mani-vʊrʊ-pʉga, yaˈay-**gya**… [#8]
there-at-it-TOP 3S/SU do.like-go-REM die-**PAR**
'…and all the while (she) kept doing like this (wandering), **while** dying…'

q. …ˈʉ-vway-aqh-ˈunuv-ˈuru ˈúmʉ̲ kuchu-u súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ [#8]
there-at-it-TOP-it 3P/SU buffalo-PL other-NOM-PL/SU
'…meanwhile the other buffalos

yagha-kwa-y miya-gha miya-tʉ tʉgay-pʉga
cry-PL-IMM go/PL-PAR go/PL-DIR become-REM
kept bawling **while** going off (and) getting farther away…'

r. …"ˈagha-ni-gya ˈuru mani-kį̲?" máy-**gya**-ˈuru [#8]
WH-DO-PAR that/O do.like-IMM say-**PAR**-it
'…"Why are you doing this?" Porcupine protesting…'

s. …sinawavį̲-ˈuru ˈuwas ˈura-ˈay…sinawavį̲… ˈapagha-**gha** ˈuwas… [#9]
Sinawav/SU-it 3S/SU be-IMM Sinawav/SU speak-**PAR** 3S/SU
'…it was Sinawav… Sinawav… speaking…'

CHAPTER 18

Clause chaining and discourse coherence

18.1 Introduction

Grammar is a complex device for producing coherent communication. As noted earlier (ch. 7), the hallmark of human communication is its **multi-propositional coherence**. That is, that its thematic units span over a number of adjacent event/state clauses, yielding coherent clause-chains, paragraphs or episodes. Much of the use of grammatical devices in Ute to establish discourse coherence has already been described in various earlier chapters, most conspicuously:

- referential coherence and the grammar of nominal topics (chs 7, 8, 10, 12, 13)
- referential coherence and flexible word-order (ch. 7, 8)
- action/event coherence and the grammar of tense-aspect-modality (ch. 6)
- higher-level thematic coherence in chains, paragraphs and episodes (chs 7, 17)

The discussion in this chapter will amplify and consolidate themes already raised earlier.

As noted earlier (ch. 7), discourse coherence is a composite phenomenon, a tapestry whose more obvious strands, be they coded by grammar or lexicon, are:

(1) **Sub-elements of thematic coherence**:
   a. referents (topics, participants)
   b. spatiality
   c. temporality
   d. aspectuality
   e. modality and speech-act
   f. actions/events
   g. perspective (narrator's voice)

In coherent discourse, these multiple strands tend to persist across several adjacent clauses. That is, across the clause-chain.

The **clause-chain** is the minimal unit of thematic coherence in discourse. At chain boundaries, between the final clause of one chain and the initial clause of the next, the continuity of the sub-elements of coherence (1) is often disrupted. At chain-medial

positions, on the other hand, thematic continuity tends to be maximal. The schematic structure of clause-chains may be given as:

(2) **Chain structure (schematic)**:
… #RD, CI, CM, CM, CM, CM,(…), CF#…
RD = re-orientation device
CI = chain-initial clause
CM = chain-medial clause(s)
CF = chain-final clause
# = chain boundary

Thematic continuity may be described from two distinct perspectives:

- **anaphoric**, pointing to the preceding discourse; and
- **cataphoric**, pointing to the succeeding discourse.

The RD element at the beginning of chains is typically an anaphoric device; that is, a **coherence bridge** pointing backwards. The CI clause typically has weak anaphoric continuity but strong cataphoric connections, since it introduces new participants, locations, times, etc. into the discourse. Once introduced, these new coherence elements tend to persist across the new chain or even further. CM clauses tend to display maximal continuity both anaphorically and cataphorically. And CF clauses tend to have maximal anaphoric continuity but minimal cataphoric continuity, being thus the mirror image of CI clauses.

One must note, lastly, that the thematic structure of discourse is typically hierarchic, so that clauses combine into chains, chains into paragraphs, paragraphs into macro-paragraphs, those into episode, etc. Thematic boundaries in discourse are thus hierarchic too, from the most local inter-clause transition to the increasingly more global inter-chain, inter-paragraph, or inter-episode transitions, etc.

18.2 Chain-medial contexts: Maximal continuity, minimal marking

Once a new clause-chain has been opened, with some re-orientation device(s) (RD) and the introduction of a new or returning topic in the chain-initial clause (CI), the maximal continuity of topical referent, tense-aspect-modality, and tight sequential action results in reduced grammatical marking of chain-medial clauses. This is most evident in:

- zero-marked referents
- zero clause-initial connecting conjunctions
- zero or continuity of the tense-aspect modal marking.[1]

1. Unlike other languages that have either special narrative tense or zero tense-marking, action continuity in Ute is marked by continuity of the same T-A-M marker. See Ch. 6 above, as well as general discussion in Givón (2001, vol. I, ch. 7)

As an example of such a discourse context, consider the opening paragraph (3a–e) of a traditional Ute narrative:[2]

(3) a. yoghovʉchi̲ 'u, [**0**] pagha'ni-na-pʉga-'ura,
Coyote/SU the/SU walk.about-HAB-REM-be
'Coyote, **he** was wandering about,

b. kach [**0**] 'ini-a-sapa̲ paqha-na-pʉa,
NEG WH-O-MOD kill-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG
he hadn't killed anything (for a long time),

c. [**0**] 'ʊʊ-'ay-kwa̲-pʉga,
bone-be-go-REM
he became bone-skinny,

d. ka-'ini-aa-sapa̲ [**0**] paqha-na-pʉa,
NEG-WH-O-MOD kill-ANT/NEG-REM/NEG
he hadn't killed anything (for a long time),

e. [**0**] tʉgʉy-whqa-vʊrʊ-na-pʉga-'ura.
hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be
he was walking about hungry searching.

f. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ú-vwaa-tʉ-'ura 'íni̲-kway 'ura-pʉga…
there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be WH/SU-MOD be-REM
Then, right there, there was what's-his-name…

g. mu̲kwapi [**0**] maay-pʉga,
spider/O find-REM
he found a spider,

h. [**0**] pacha'ay-kyay-ku̲.
stick-ANT-SUB
as **it** was stuck (there).

i. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura **'uwas** magʉni̲-pʉga, [**0**] tʉka-vaa-chi̲-'**u**.
there-at-it-be **3s/SU** pounce-REM eat-IRR-NOM-**3s**
so right away **HE** (Coyote) pounced, aiming to eat **it** (Spider).

j. 'ʉvyay-aqh-'ura **'uwas-'uru** 'áy-pʉga…
there-at-it-be **3s/SU-that/O** say-REM
so then **HE** (Spider) said:…'

A brand new topical referent ('coyote') is introduced in (3a) by a typical chain-initial re-orientation device, fronting (L-dislocation) of the full noun. It then remains zero-marked throughout the rest of the chain (3b,c,d,e). A new referent ('spider') is introduced (3f), opening the next short chain. This second topic is not, however, fully established as clausal object till the next clause (3g), where 'coyote' is still continuing as

2. "Hungry coyote races skunk for the prairie dogs", told by Mollie C. Cloud. All Ute texts cited here are from Givón (ed. 1985).

the zero-marked subject/topic. When the next chain opens (3i), the subject/topic shifts back to 'coyote', now marked by a typical **switch-reference** device, the independent pronoun. The opening of the new chain is also marked with a time adverbial, a typical re-orientation device. A similar switch-reference occurs in (3j), where the subject/topic shifts back to 'spider', again marked by the independent pronoun.

The second indication of the reduced marking of chain-medial clauses is the lack of overt **connectives** – conjunctions, adverbials – in the chain-medial clauses, i.e. (3b,c,d,e) and (3g,h). This contrasts with the time adverbials that mark the chain-initial clauses (3f), (3i), (3j).

Finally, once the chain-initial clause is marked – as in (3a), (3f) or (3i) – with the perfective remote-past (*-puga*), the rest of the clauses in the chain retain the same tense-aspect marking, again indicating maximal continuity.

18.3 Chain-initial contexts: Minimal continuity, maximal marking

We have already seen several instances above – (3f), (3i), (3j) – where in chain-initial contexts, when referential, action or thematic continuity is disrupted, an **inter-clausal connective**, such as a conjunction or adverbial phrase, is used as a re-orientation device (coherence bridge). In the same vein, a discontinuous – new or re-introduced – topical referent must be marked more explicitly, either as a full NP (if new) or independent pronoun (if re-introduced). Two parallel hierarchies of degree-of-marking are thus observed, from smallest to largest. It can be seen first in the marking of nominal referents (chs 7, 8, 12):

(4) **most continuous/accessible**
zero anaphor
clitic/unstressed pronoun
independent/stressed pronoun
noun with a grammatical operators (articles, demonstratives)
noun with a lexical modifier (adjective, numeral, noun)
noun with a clausal modifier (REL-clause, N-complement)
least continuous accessible

A similar hierarchy is seen in inter-clausal connectives, from the zero to smaller conjunction to larger adverbial phrases to larger adverbial clauses. Typical Ute inter-clausal connectors are:

(5) **most continuous**
a. zero ('and')
b. kh-'ura ('then')

c. pina-khwa (‘so later’)
d. pina-khwa-ˈura (‘so then later’)
e. pina-khwa-ˈura-ˈuru (‘well so then later’)
f. ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura (‘so right there/then’)
g. ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru (‘well so right there/then’)
h. ˈʉvway-aqh-unuv-ˈura-ˈuru (‘so well right then and there’)
i. ADV-clauses

least continuous

The zero connector (5a) is typically used in chain-medial contexts of maximal thematic continuity. The shorter conjunction/adverbial connectors (5b,c,d) are typically used as inter-chains connectors, marking the chain-initial clause. The larger adverbials (5e,f,g,h.) are typically used as inter-paragraph connectors, marking the paragraph-initial clause. And adverbial clauses (5i) are used as inter-paragraph or inter-episode connectors; that is, at paragraph-initial or episode-initial positions.

In (3) above we have already seen examples of chain-medial zero connectives and chain-initial short conjunction/adverbial connectives. As an example of the multiple use of the shortest connective, *kh-ˈura*, in a context somewhere between chain-medial and chain initial, consider:[3]

(6) a …**kh-ˈura** ˈuwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga,
then-be 3s/O-at-go-REM
‘…**So then** he (Sinawav) went to him (Buffalo),

b. ˈiya-ma-sapa ˈuwa-va karʉ-khwa-pʉga,
fear-LOC-MOD 3s/O-at sit-go-REM
and fearfully seated himself by him.

c. **kh-ˈura** ˈuwas ˈu, kúchu ˈu, kʉʉ-pʉga…
then-be 3s/SU the/SU buffalo/SU the/s pull-REM
ˈivichi kuvua-rīˈi-kya-tʉ,
stick/O sharp-CAUS-ANT-NOM/O
Then he, Buffalo, pulled… a sharpened stick,

d. **kh-ˈura** mʊvʊtˈʊpʉ-a-av cī-chikura-pʉga…
then-be nose/O-GEN-OWN RED-cut-REM
then/and started cutting his own nose…’

3. “Sinawav the Copycat”, told by Mollie B. Cloud.

As examples of the use of longer paragraph-initial or episode-initial connectives, consider first (7) below, where a long adverbial phrase opens a paragraph in (7a), then a shorter one opens the next chain in (7b):[4]

(7) a. …**'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru** qha-qhárʉ-pʉga.
there-at-it-be-that/O RED-run-REM
'…**Well so then and there** he (the boy) ran away (in fear).

b. **kh-'ura-'uru** **'**ivichi **'**áy-pʉga: "súu!"…'
then-be-that/O stick/SU say-REM "…."
but then (before that) the stick said: "Hey!"…'

In (8) below, lastly, a medium-size connective is coupled with a pre-posed ADV-clause in (8a) to open the paragraph:[5]

(8) a. …**'uru-kh-'ura-'uru** ya'ay-kwa-qhay-**kw**-'uru,
that/O-then-be-that/O die-go-ANT-**SUB**-it/0
'…**Well so then** when he (Sinawav) was dying,

b. **'**uwas-'uru tawa-tunii-kya-pʉgay-'u…
3s/SU-it/O tooth-drill-ANT-REM-3s
he (the boy) pulled out (one of) his teeth…

18.4 Flexible word-order and discourse coherence

We have noted earlier (ch. 7) that Ute has pragmatically-controlled (flexible) word-order. In this section we will tie this feature more explicitly to the hierarchic structure of discourse, primarily at the chains and paragraph levels. Recall first the pragmatic principles that control the **pre-posing** of important new or returning topics:

(9) **Pre-posing a discontinuous important topic**:
a. If an important referent/topic is continuous, i.e. was active in the preceding clause (1-clause anaphoric gap), it will be marked by **zero anaphora** or anaphoric pronoun.
b. If the important referent/topic that is introduced into the discourse for the first time, or is re-instated after a gap of absence (2-clauses or more anaphoric gap), it is placed at a **pre-posed** position in the clause.

4. "Sinawav and the Seven Sisters", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

5. Ibid.

c. Then, if the gap of absence is relatively small (ca. 2–3 clauses anaphoric gap), so that one deals here with chain-medial switch-reference, the re-instated referent is most likely to be marked as an **independent pronoun**.

d. If, on the other hand, the gap of absence is larger (4-clauses or more anaphoric gap), or if the referent is introduced for the first time, then the new referent is more likely to be marked as a full **noun phrase**, with, possibly various modifiers, depending on other discourse considerations.

Principles (9) single out three universal types of grammatical devices that are used to code important referents/topics in three distinct discourse contexts:

- **Chain-medial referential continuity**: zero-anaphora or anaphoric pronouns
- **Chain-medial switch reference**: pre-posed independent pronouns or small NPs
- **Chain initial first introduction or re-introduction**: Pre-posed large NPs

Consider now the introductory paragraph of a story, (10) below, with the initial introduction of various topical participants in the pre-posed (SV, OV)) word-order.[6]

(10) a. wíitʉs **'**ura-pʉga, **sinawavi̲** **'**ura-pʉga, **sinawavi̲** **'u**
past be-REM **Sinawav/SU** be-REM **Sinawav/SU** **the/SU**
'ura-qa,
be-ANT
'It was long time ago, there was Sinawav, there was that Sinawav,

b. pó͡ʊ-pa paghay-kwa-pʉga.
road-DIR walk-go-REM
he was going down the road.

c. kh-**'**ura **púuch'achi̲** **'**ura-pʉga-sʉ̲,
then-be **mouse/SU** be-REM-CONJ
and then there was also MOUSE,

d. sicha**'**wa-miya-kway,
trick-HAB-MOD
he used to plays tricks,

e. **kwasi-a-'u** pʊvi**'**wi-kwa-mi,
tail-POSS-3S pull-go-HAB
he used to pull his tail,

f. manu-khu̲-tʉ mani-miya-sʉ̲,
all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ do.like-HAB-CONJ
he would do that all the time,

6. "How Sinawav named the trees and bushes", told by Bertha B. Groves.

g. qa̲-qháarʉ-mi kh-'ura 'uni-gya.
RED-run-HAB then-be do-PART
then he would run away doing that.

h. **'uwas-'ura** ka-pʉka-manay-pɵrɵ-'a-tʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga-vaachi̲,
3s/SU-be NEG-very-move-go-HAVE/NEG-NOM be-REM-BKGR
Now HE (Sinawav) was never very fast-moving,

i. ka-túusapa-mani-'wa-na-pʉa-vaachi̲…
NEG-hurry-do.like-NEG-HAB-REM/NEG-BKGR
he could never move like that in a hurry [gesture]…

j. ka-'qomɵ'na-pʉa-vaachi̲.
NEG-turn-REM/NEG-BKGR
he could never turn (very fast).'

In the third paragraph of the same story, several switch-reference turns occur in rapid succession, again using the pre-posed (SV, OV) word order:[7]

(11) a. **'uwas**-'ura 'áy-pʉgaa-ni:
3ssU-be say-REM-like
So then **he** (Sinawav) thought:

b. "'ipʉ-sapa̲-'uru 'ura-gʉpʉ̲ pa'a-toghwa-tʉ̲
WH-MOD-it be-SUBJUN-NOM long-right-NOM/S
"What would possibly be so long

c. kh-'ura **nʉ́'** 'u-ma 'uni-ku̲ chʉ̲kur'a-gupʉ̲…
then-be **1s/SU** there-LOC do-SUB poke-SUBJUN
so that **I** may poke it in there…

d. piyoghwa-khwa̲ **'uway** pana-khwa̲?"
pull-go **3**s/O back-go
and pull **him** back out of there?"

e. manu-khu̲ -tʉ̲-aa-sʉ̲ 'uni-pʉga,
all-O-NOM-O-CONJ do-REM
So he tried all kinds of things,

f. **'ivichi** kʉʉ-pʉga, cʉ̲kur'a-pʉga, 'úupa-tʉ tíi
stick/O take-REM poke-REM there-DIR-DIR high
he took **a stick** an poked it, high up there,

g. kachu-'u sa̲pigya-pʉa.
NEG-he can-REM/NEG
But he couldn't (get him).

7. Ibid.

h. **púuch'achi̲ 'u** kiya-kʉ-kwa-pʉgay-'u **'i**-na-khwa-paa tíi,
mouse/SU the/SU laugh-BEN-go-REM-3S here-LOC-go-at high
That mouse just laughed at him high up there,

i. 'ini-'a-pʉgay-'u-kway:
do-ASP-REM-him-MOD
he just did it (teased him) like that:

j. "'avatʉ-mʉ̲" sicha'wa̲-qha-'u.
big-AN tease-ANT-him
"You are big" he teased him

k. **'uwas**-'uru 'ay-na-pʉga náaaaa…
3S/SU-that/O say-HAB-REM náaaa
he used to call him that náaaa….

l. "'avatʉ wa'a-qa-tʉ̲" máy-na-pʉgay-'u.
big penis-have-NOM say-HAB-REM-him
"The one with the big penis" he used to call him.

m. **'uwas**-'ura 'ú-ra-kʉ,
3S/SU-be that-be-EMPH
He (Sinawav) was indeed like that,

n. 'áy-na-pʉga-vaachi̲, 'íi-pa-kwa-sʉ̲-'ura…
say-HAB-REM-BKGR here-DIR-go-CONJ-be
he (Mouse) used to call him that, it was like this [gesture]…

o. **'uru** 'ura-qa… 'uru 'uni-aa-gha-y wíitʉs-'uru,
that/O be-ANT that/O POSS-O-have-IMM past-it
it was that… that thing he had long ago.

p. pa'a-toghwa-pʉga-vaachi̲ **'urusʉ-ga**.
complete-straight-REM-BKGR **that/SU-TOP**
it was so long, that thing.

q. 'íi-pa kh-'ura **'uwas**
her-LOC then-be **3S/SU**
wachʉ-vʊrʊ-na-pʉga-vaachi̲ 'avatʉ-kwa-na-va'agha̲.
put-go-HAB-REM-BKGR shoulder/O-go-LOC-over
so that **he** used to carry it over his shoulder…'

Finally, **post-posed** independent pronouns or larger NPs (VS or VO orders) are used under two combined discourse-pragmatic conditions, both involving relatively high referential continuity:

(12) **Post-posed independent pronouns or larger NPs**:

a. The referent tends to be highly continuous, most commonly with an anaphoric gap of **one clause** (co-reference in the preceding clause).

b. The referent tends to appear in a **chain-final**, or paragraph-final, or episode-final clause.

The short chain in (11o–p) above furnish such an example, recapitulated as (13) below. The topical referent is introduced first at chain initial in the SV (pre-posed) order, then re-capitulated at chain-final in the VS (post-posed) order:

(13) a. …**'uru** 'ura-qa… 'uru 'uni-aa-gha-y wíitʉs-'uru,
that/O be-ANT that/O POSS-O-have-IMM past-it
'…**it** was that… that thing he had long ago.

b. pa'a-toghwa-pʉga-vachi̲ **'urusʉ-ga**…
complete-straight-REM-BKGR **that/SU-TOP**
it was so long, **that thing**…'

Likewise in the following example, with the post-posed (VS) independent pronoun used to close the chain/paragraph:[8]

(14) a. …'ú-vway-aqh-'uru tʉ-tʉgaa-pʉga-vachi̲ **'uwas**,
there-at-it-that RED-bet-REM-BKGR **3S/SU**
'…So then at one time he kept betting,

b. kava-nana-chigya-pʉ̲ tʉ-tʉgaa-pʉga.
horse-RECIP-race-NOM RED-bet-REM
he kept betting on horse races.

c. **mámʉ̲…** **'umʉ** wʉ-wʉsiaa-gha-tʉ-mʉ, 'umʉ-vwaa-n
3P/SU **3P/O** RED-feather-have-NOM-PL/O 3P/O-at-LOC
'ay-pʉga **'uwas**…
say-REM **3S/SU**
So he told the feathered ones (birds)…'

Likewise, consider both the VS (15b) and VO (15c) examples below, in a paragraph-final position:[9]

(15) a. …"'uru-kh-'ura pini-vʉni-kyay-kʉ̲
that/O-then-be back-look-ANT-SUB
'…"Whoever looks back

b. 'ʊavʉ-ti-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay" may-kya-pʉga-'ura **'umʉs**,
salt-CAUS-go-IRR-NOM be-IMM say-PL-REM-be **3P/SU**
will turn into salt" **they** said,

8. "Sinawav racing the birds and betting", told by Julius Cloud.

9. "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.

c. may-kya-pʉgay-'u **'uway 'áapachi**…
say-PL-REM-3S **that/O boy/O**
they told **that boy**…'

And again, the VO order (16d) in a paragraph-final position:[10]

(16) a. …'urukh-'ura-'uru ya'ay-kwa-qhay-kw̲-'uru,
it/O-then-be-it/O die-go-ANT-SUB-it/0
'…so then when he (Sinawav) was dying,

b. 'uwas-'uru tawa-tunii-kya-pʉgay-'u…
3S/S-it/O tooth-drill-ANT-REM-3S
he (the boy) pulled out (one of) his teeth…

c. pa'a-manuni pachʉ-ʉ-'u,
complete-all/SU daughter-PL-3S
and all his (Sinawav's) daughters too,

d. 'íi-pa tawa-y-'u, **múa-y-av**
here-DIR tooth-O-3S **father-GEN-OWN**
right there (they pulled) his teeth, **of their own father's**…'

And lastly the VS order (17b) in a paragraph-final position:[11]

(17) a. …'ivichi̲ 'uru̲ 'avi-gya máy-pʉga,
stick/SU the/SU lie-PAR say-REM
'… the stick, lying there, said (that),

b. qháaru̲-kw̲-'u **'uway 'áapachi**…
run-SUB-3S **that/GEN boy/GEN**
when **that boy** ran…'

18.5 Notes on the diachrony of inter-clausal connectives

The most frequent inter-clausal connection in natural text, in Ute as elsewhere, is the zero-marked chain-medial transition. The least frequent is the largest–ADV-clauses that tend to provide the anaphoric connectivity of new paragraphs. Of particular interest are the intermediate group of connectors, anaphoric chain-initial operators such as conjunctions or adverbial phrases, that are assembled from multiple, often disparate, components. In this section we will briefly survey the diachrony of Ute conjunctions and short adverbial phrases, as well as the vestigial remains of one older conjunction.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

18.5.1 The compositional assembly of inter-clausal connectives

Consider again the inventory of marked cross-clausal connectives:

(18) a. kh-'ura
b. kh-'ura-'uru
c. pina-khwa-sʉ̲
d. pina-kh<u>wa</u>-'ura
e. pina-kh<u>wa</u>-'ura-'uru
f. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
g. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru
h. 'u-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru

Without exception these operators are suffixed with *'ura* 'be' or *'uru* 'that' or a combination of both. As we have seen earlier (also ch. 7), these two suffixes are used, almost interchangeably, as **discontinuous topic** markers, with either independent pronouns or larger NPs. But they are also used as emphatic/contrastive suffixes. My suspicion is that the use of both to mark discontinuous topics comes from a common syntactic source—the use of the verb 'be' in emphatic/contrastive **cleft** or **pseudo-cleft** constructions (ch. 13), as in:

(19) a. **Subject cleft**: mamach<u>i</u> **'ura**-'ay sarichi magha-pʉga-tʉ̲
woman/SU **be**-IMM dog/O feed-REM-REL
'**It's** the WOMAN who fed the dog'

b. **Object cleft**: sarich<u>i</u> **'ura**-'ay 'uway mamachi magha-qha-n<u>a</u>
dog **be**-IMM that/O woman/GEN feed-ANT-REL
'**It's** the DOG that the woman fed'

c. **Subject emphasis**: **'úr<u>u</u>-'ura** qopoqh<u>i</u>-kya-tʉ̲
that/SU-be break-ANT-REL
'**THAT's** the one that broke'

c. **Object emphasis**: **'úr<u>u</u>-'ura-'uru** pʉnikya-qha-n<u>a</u>
that/SU-be-that/O see-ANT-REL
'**THAT's** what she saw'

The great ubiquity of the suffixes *-'ura* and *-'uru* in Ute discourse, and the wide variety of host words to which they cliticize, is indeed striking, suggesting early stages of grammaticalization. As illustrations, consider the following paragraph-size passages from a single story:[12]

(20) a. …'uwas-**'ura** chaqhachi-'u nanʊs piya-'wa-pʉga,
3s/SU-**be** y.brother-3s alone remain-ASP-REM
'…So his younger brother remained (there) alone,

12. "Origins of the Ute Beardance", told by Mollie B. Cloud

b. **'**ú-vway-aqh-**'ura-'uru**-'u **'**áy-kya-pʉga, kwáy-**'uru**:
there-at-it-**be-that/o**-3s say-ANT-REM there-**that/**o
earlier on (t was that) he (his brother) had told him (pointing) that-a-way:

c. "**'uru-'ura** nʉ́nay… kʉma-wa-n págha-kway-kw,
that/o-be 1s/GEN other-with-1s go-go-SUB
"When I take off with that other one (She-Bear),

d. **'**ʉ́mʉ payʉ-kwa-nʉ-sapa, **'**ichay-**'ura** yáa**'**wa-nʉ,
2s/SU return-go-IMP-MOD this/o-**be** carry"
you go back home, and carry these with you",

e. **'**áy-pʉga kh-**'ura**, kachi-sʉ-**'uru** **'**uwa-vaa-chugwa-**'**wa-y.
say-REM then-**be** NEG-CONJ-**that/o** 3s/o-at-go-NEG-IMM
he told him then, before he had gone to meet her.

f. "kh-**'ura** **'**umʉ́ pʉ́a-ʉ-av máy-nʉ….
then-**be** 3p/o kin-PL-OWN tell-IMP
Then you tell our kinsmen…'

(21) a. …máy-kya-ta-vaa-tʉ-mʉ-**'uru** **'**ʉmʉy",
tell-PL-PASS-IRR-NOM-2s-**that/o** 2s/o
'…they may tell you (this)"

b. máy-pʉga-sʉ-ukh-**'ura**, chaqhachi-a-**'**u **'**uway.
tell-REM-CONJ-it-**be** y.brother-GEN-3s the/o
he told him, (told) his younger brother.

c. "**'**ichay-amʉ-**'ura** pʉni-ti-nʉ, **'**ichay nʉ́nay táa-y"
this/o-3p-**be** see-CAUS-IMP this/o 1s/GEN shirt-o
"Show them this, this shirt of mine"

d. **'**áy-pʉga-sʉ kh-**'ura** **'**uwas,
say-REM-CONJ then-**be** 3s/SU
he told him,

e. "**'**iya-na-khu-sʉ táa-**'**u" máy-nʉ́-amʉ**'** máy-pʉga-**'ura**…
here-LOC-it-CONJ shirt-3s tell-IMP-3p say-REM-**be**
"Tell them: "Here is his shirt"" he said…'

(22) a. …**'**ú-vwa-aqh-**'ura** págha-kwa-pʉga máy-gya-sʉ-**'**u.
there-at-it-**be** go-go-REM say-PAR-CONJ-3s
'…And then he took off saying (that).

b. kh-**'ura-'uru** **'**ú-**'**uni-pʉga-**'ura-'uru**,
then-**be-that/o** RED-do-REM-**be-that/o**
So then the (two of them) did that,

c. púupa chugwa-khwa-na-**'**u kwiyaghatʉ mamachi,
manner go-go-REL-3s bear/GEN woman/GEN
the way she went to him, She-Bear (did),

d. ˈíina-vərə-pʉgay-ˈu, kh-**ˈura**
hug-go-REM-3s then-**be**
ˈuni-gya-sʉ-mʉ̲-**ˈuru**, pághạ̲-kwa-pʉga…
go-PAR-CONJ-PL-**that**/O go-go-REM
she went and put her arms around him, then so doing, they took off…'

(23) a. …ˈuwas ˈu ˈú-gway-**ˈura-ˈuru** ˈumʉ-vaa-chukhwạ̲ ˈapaghạ̲-pʉga:
3s/SU the/SU 3s-TOP-**be-that**/O 3P/O-at-go speak-REM
'…So then (it was) he himself who spoke to them:

b. "mʉni-gʉ-sʉ̲ ka-nhka-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ **ˈura-ˈay**,
2P-TOP-CONJ NEG-dance/PL-NEG-NOM-PL **be-IMM**
máy-kya-kʉ máa"
say-ANT-EMPH that/SU
"You do not dance together (now), she had said, that one"

c. máy-pʉga-**ˈura** ˈuwas ˈuway kwiyaghatʉ
say-REM-**be** 3s/SU 3s/O bear/O
he said (about) the She-Bear.

d. "**ˈuru**-y-aa-sʉ̲-**ˈuru** mʉ́nị̲ tama-nạ̲-**ˈuru**
that/o-O-GEN-CONJ-**that** 2P/SU spring-LOC-**that/o**
"Therefore next spring

e. paˈa-toghwa mʉa-toghochi-mạ̲-**ˈuru**,
long-straight moon-LOC-**that/o**
in the (month of the) long moon,

f. ˈú-vway-aqh-**ˈura** mʉnị̲ nhka-vaa-ni…
there-at-it-**be** 2P/SU dance/PL-IRR-FUT
that's when you will dance"…'

Two main lines of gradual assembly of Ute conjunctions/adverbials can be perhaps suggested. The first one is based on the verbal compound *pina-kwa-* 'follow-go', as in (18c,d,e). The verb-derived expression *pina-khwa-sʉ̲* 'later on', 'afterwards, 'lastly' is still used. The shortest conjunctions *kh-ˈura* 'then' (18a) and kh-ˈura-ˈuru 'so then' (18b) are probably a contraction of *pina-kwạ̲-ˈura* (18d) and *pina-khwạ̲-ˈura-ˈuru* (18e), respectively.

The second line of gradual assembly of longer adverbial phrases is constructed around the emphatic locative demonstrative *ˈú-vwa(y)* 'there-at', yielding (18f,g,h). In both cases, *-ˈura* and *-ˈuru* figure prominently as the last elements added to the compound expressions, both most likely coming from the de-marked emphatic/contrastive cleft constructions.

18.5.2 The old conjunctive suffix *-sʉ*

In the preceding section, we have seen how various inter-clausal connectives are in the midst of being assembled into conventionalized grammatical operators. In this

section we note briefly the last gasp of an older conjunction in Ute, the vestigial, frozen suffix *-sʉ*. The distribution of this suffix in Ute discourse is often baffling and unpredictable. One finds it first as a frozen obligatory part of some independent subject and possessor pronouns, as well the numeral 'one':

(24)

máa-sʉ	's/he' (vis)	máa-y-a-sʉ	'his/hers'
'uwa-sʉ	's/he' (invis.)	'uwa-y-a-sʉ	'his/hers'
'umʉ-sʉ	'they'	'umʉ-a-sʉ	'theirs'
súuyi-sʉ	'one' (subj.)	súʉkʉ-sʉ	'one' (obj.)

One also finds it as an obligatory component of emphatic pronouns (ch. 13), as in:

(25)

'ʉmʉ-sʉ-ga	'you'	nʉ-gʉ-sʉ	'I'
2S-CONJ-EMPH		1S-EMPH-CONJ	
máa-sʉ-ga	s/he' (vis.)	máa-sʉ-gu-sʉ	's/he' (vis.)
3S-CONJ-EMPH		3S-CONJ-EMPH-CONJ	
'uwa-sʉ-ga	's/he' (invis.)	'uwa-sʉ-gu-sʉ	's/he' (invis.)
3S-CONJ-EMPH		3S-CONJ-EMPH-CONJ	
'umʉ-sʉ-ga	'they'	'umʉ-sʉ-gu-sʉ	'they'
3P-CONJ-EMPH		3P-CONJ-EMPH-CONJ	
'uru-sʉ-ga	'it/that/they'	'uru-sʉ-gu-sʉ	'it/that/they'
3S-CONJ-EMPH		3S-CONJ-EMPH-CONJ	

One also finds it as an obligatory component of various fixed response questions, such as:

(26)

a.	'ʉmʉy-sʉ-aa 2S-CONJ-Q	'And how about you?'
b.	'uwa-sʉ-aa? 3S-CONJ-Q	'And how about him/her?'
c.	'uru-sʉ-aa? 3S-CONJ-Q	'And how about it?'
d.	ta'wachi-sʉ-aa? man-CONJ-Q	'And how about the man?'
e.	piwa-m-sʉ-aa? spouse-2S-CONJ-Q	'And how about your spouse?'

And one also finds it as obligatory component in other fixed expressions, such as:

(27)

'uwa-va-yi-sʉ 3S-LOC-O-CONJ	'Now, about that one (person)…'
'uru-vwa-yi-sʉ 3S-LOC-O-CONJ	'Now, about that one (thing)…'
kachi-sʉ NEG-CONJ	'not yet'

wíi-tʉ-sʉ̲ ‘long time ago’
old-NOM-CONJ
nava-sʉ̲ ‘just’, ‘for the heck of it’
REFL-CONJ

More revealing perhaps of the old function(s) of *-sʉ* as and old conjunction are its various optional uses in discourse, as in:[13]

(28) a. …'ichay 'iya-nʉ-sʉ̲ máy-vaa-sʉ-ni mama-khwa-nhka-pi̲…
this/O here-1S-**CONJ** tell-IRR-**CONJ**-FUT woman-go-dance/PL-NOM
‘…I’m going to tell you now (about) the Beardance…’

b. …'íni̲ 'ara-'ay? pʉni-kyarʉ-vaa-nʉ-sʉ̲…
WH be-IMM see-sit-IRR-IMP-CONJ
‘…what is it? Let’s sit and watch…’

c. …“…'ʉ́mʉ̲ pichʉ-nʉ-aa-sʉ̲” máy-pʉay-aghay-'u-sʉ̲ 'uway-a-sʉ̲-…
2S/SU return-IMM??-**CONJ** tell-REM-CONCL-3S-**CONJ** 3S/O-O-**CONJ**
‘…“…you come back here” he told him…’

d. …máy-pʉga-sʉ̲-uk-'ura, chaqhachi-a-'u 'uway…
tell-REM-**CONJ**-it-be y.brother-GEN-3S 3S/O
‘…he told it (to him), (to) his younger brother…’

e. …'ivichi-m 'uru 'uni-kya-paa-sʉ-ni, wʉnʉ-khwa-qha-tʉ…
stick/O-with the/O do-PL-IRR-**CONJ**-FUT stand-go-ANT-NOM/O
‘…you will do it with the sticks, the upright ones…’

f. …“'úrʉ̲'ʉ” máy-pʉga-sʉ̲-'u, káa-pʉga-sʉ̲-ukh-'ura 'uwas…
that/SU-EMPH say-REM-**CONJ**-3S sing-REM-**CONJ**-it-be 3S/SU
‘…“that one” he said, and he sang it (again)…

g. …máy-kya-nʉ-sʉ̲-'ura-sapa̲, púupa-aqh 'ichay…
say-ANT-1S-**CONJ**-be-MOD manner-it this/O
‘…I have said (it), the way (they did) this one…’

The optional, variable use of *-sʉ* is not an indication of the early stages of grammaticalization, but rather of late stage, when the older usage – whatever was not frozen in fixed expressions – is on its way out. Among the elders who contributed to our text collection, the examples cited above come from a speaker who uses this old, almost-lost conjunction at a much higher frequency. Others used it primarily in frozen forms, where it has become an obligatory part of fixed expressions.

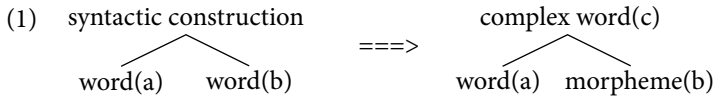
13. Ibid. See also various occurrences in (20), (21), (22), (23) above.

CHAPTER 19

Lexical derivation patterns

19.1 Introduction

The domain of **lexical derivation** and its attendant **derivational morphology** straddle the fence between grammar and lexicon. First, historically, derivational morphology is the progeny of two-word **syntactic constructions**. Due to the grammaticalization of one of the words, the erstwhile construction becomes a complex single word; so that one may now describe the outcome of the diachronic process of grammaticalization as a synchronic process lexical derivation, via which word-(a) is operated upon by morpheme-(b), itself the former word-(b), to yield the complex word-(c):



Since the diachronic change from syntactic construction to complex word is gradual, it is not always easy to tell apart a derivational from a grammatical/inflectional morpheme. Thus, many of the lexical derivation processes surveyed in this chapter have been already described in earlier chapters as grammatical constructions. The difference between the two is often a matter of **productivity**. Grammatical processes are more productive, predictable and rule governed. Lexical derivations are less productive, less predictable and less rule-governed. But productivity, predictability and rule-governedness are a matter of degree.

In describing a lexical derivation, of whatever productivity, one must specify three main elements:

- the source/input word (1a)
- the product/output word (1c)
- the derivational morpheme (1b)

The first two (1a, 1c) need to be characterized both syntactically and semantically. The third (1b) needs to be characterized morphologically. As a quick illustration from English, consider the derivation of the words 'childhood', 'womanhood', 'brotherhood', 'sisterhood', 'widowhood'. The source word (1a) is a concrete human noun,

respectively, 'child', 'woman', 'brother', 'sister', 'widow'. The product word (1c) is an abstract noun indicating either the 'quality', 'time' or 'mass' of the source noun (1a). And the derivational morpheme (1b) is the suffix *-hood*, historically the Germanic noun *heituz* 'quality'. Typically, the derived noun has expanded its range of meanings from the original 'quality'.

19.2 Noun-producing derivations

19.2.1 Noun-to-noun derivations

In noun-to-noun derivations, the source word (input) and the product word (output) are both nouns, albeit of different semantic types. We will survey the various noun-to-noun derivation patterns in Ute in order.

19.2.1.1 The diminutive derivations with *-pʉ/-vʉ*

The input noun in this derivation is, most commonly, an animate noun with the suffix *-chi*. The output meaning is the same noun but of smaller size. And the derivational suffix, either *-pʉ* or *-vʉ*, is inserted between the noun stem and the animate suffix *-chi*. Thus consider:

(2)

	input noun	output noun
a.	mama-chi̱ 'woman'	mama-**pʉ**-chi̱ 'little woman'
b.	**'**áapa-chi̱ 'boy'	**'**áapa-**vʉ**-chi̱ 'little boy'
c.	núu-chi̱ 'person'	núu-**pʉ**-chi̱ 'dwarf', 'midget'
d.	sari-chi̱ 'dog'	sari-**vʉ**-chi̱ 'a (skinny) stray dog'
e.	múusa-chi̱ 'cat'	múusa-**vʉ**-chi̱ 'a (skinny) stray cat'
f.	nana-chi̱ 'older man'	nana-**pʉ**-chi̱ 'little old man'
g.	–––––––––	mama-saghoy-**vʉ**-chi̱ 'little old woman'
h.	kúchu̱ 'buffalo'	kuchu-**pʉ**-chi̱ 'little buffalo'
i.	kava 'horse'	kava-**pʉ**-chi̱ 'little horse'

Items (2d,e) above illustrate how the derived word may over time change its meaning. Item (2g) illustrates how the source word may either change meaning, become obsolete, or may have never existed.[1] Thus the putative source noun *mama-saghoy-chi̱* (lit. 'woman-belly') does not exist with the meaning 'old woman'. Finally, if the input noun is suffixless (2h,i), the two-suffix combination *-pʉ/vʉ-chi* is added

1. Once a derivational pattern exists, with many exemplars, it is possible to coin the output word directly by analogy, without an attested input word.

by analogy. All these variants illustrate the unpredictable, less-than-productive nature of the derivation.

19.2.1.2 The diminutive derivation with *-chi*

The input to this derivation must be a concrete noun, either animate or inanimate. The output is a diminutive version of the input noun. The derivational suffix *-chi* follows the original suffix of the input noun. Thus consider:

(3)		**input**	**output**
	a.	wii-chi̲ 'knife'	wii-chi-**chi** 'little knife'
	b.	sari-chi̲ 'dog'	sari-chi-**chi** 'little dog'
	c.	múusa-chi̲ 'cat'	múusa-chi-**chi** 'little cat'
	d.	tʉka'na-pʉ̲ 'table'	tʉka'na-pʉ-**chi** 'little table'
	e.	nana-pʉ̲ 'old man'	nana-pʉ-**chi** 'little old man'
	f.	----------	kwáa-chi-**chi** 'car'
	g.	----------	na'a-chi-**chi** 'little girl'

Examples (3d,e) illustrate the possibility of overlap between the *-chi* and *-pʉ/-vʉ* diminutive derivations. Examples (3f,g) illustrate derivation by analogy, as well as the semantic unpredictability of the derived word. *Kwáa-chi-chi̲* 'car' is probably derived from the verb *kwáa-* 'run', with the possible derived meaning 'little running thing'. But the putative input noun **kwáa-chi̲* 'running thing' is not currently attested. Likewise, the putative input noun **na'a-chi̲* 'girl' is not attested.

19.2.1.3 The diminutive derivation with *-taa/-raa*

The noun *tua-chi̲* 'child' (or *-rua-chi̲* in a word-medial position) can be used, in the reduced form *-taa-chi̲/-raa-chi̲*, as a diminutive derivational suffix, applying to both animate and inanimate input nouns. Thus consider:

(4)		**input**	**output**
	a.	kava 'horse'	kava-**raa-chi** 'colt'
	b.	núu-chi̲ 'person'	núu-**raa-chi** 'dwarf', 'small person'
	c.	wii-chi̲ 'knife'	wii-**taa-chi** 'little knife'
	d.	tʉka'na-pʉ̲ 'table'	tʉka'na-pʉ-**raa-chi** 'little table'
	e.	sari-chi̲ 'dog'	sari-**taa-chi** 'little dog', 'puppy'
	f.	núu-chi̲ 'person'	núu-**rua-chi** 'baby', 'Ute baby', 'Indian baby'

Example (4f) above underscores the still-transparent historical origin of this derivation from noun compounds, with the original meaning 'human child'. And the whole derivation illustrates the semantic drift of the original noun, from 'child' to 'small'.

19.2.1.4 The 'old' 'defunct' 'departed' derivation with *-ga-pʉ*

The input noun for this derivation must be concrete but may be either animate or inanimate. When it is inanimate, the derivation adds the meaning 'old', 'useless', 'defunct'. When it is animate, the derivation adds the meaning 'dead', 'deceased', 'corpse'. The derived noun is marked by the suffixal combination *-ga* ('have'/'be') and *-pʉ*. Thus consider:

(5)		**input**	**output**
	a.	káni̱ 'house'	kani-**gya-pʉ̱** 'deserted old house', 'a ruin'
	b.	tʉka'napʉ̱ 'table'	tʉka'na-pʉ-**ga-pʉ̱** 'useless old table'
	c.	'ivi-kutu-pʉ̱ 'stump'	'ivi-kutu-pʉ-**ga-pʉ̱** 'old stump'
	d.	'ʊʊ-vi̱ 'bone'	'ʊʊ-vi-gya-pʉ̱ 'dry old bone'
	e.	ka̱suuna 'pants'	kasuuna-gha-pʉ̱ 'torn old pants'
	f.	sari-chi̱ 'dog'	sari-chi-gya-pʉ̱ 'dead dog'
	g.	ku̱chu-puku̱ 'cow'	ku̱chu-puku-gwa-pʉ̱ 'dead cow'
	h.	núu-chi̱ 'person'	núu-chi-gya-pʉ̱ 'deceased person'

The history of the suffixal combination *-ga-pʉ* is not clear, but the existence of one item *kani-pʉ̱* 'deserted house' may suggest a gradual process by which *-ga* 'have'/'be' may have been added later to the inanimate object suffix *-pʉ*.

19.2.1.5 The possessor derivation with *-ga* 'have'

The various possession constructions with *-ga-* have been described earlier (ch. 15). We noted there that the old verb *-ga-* ('have', 'be') is morphologically defective, in the sense that it must incorporate the object of possession as a prefix. However, 'have' can still carry various tense-aspects, as in (inherent possession):

(6) a. kani-gya-pʉga '(s/he) had a house'
house-have-REM

b. puku-gwa-y '(s/he) has a horse'
horse-have-IMM

c. piwa-gha-vaa-ni '(s/he) will have a spouse'
spouse-have-IRR-FUT

When the finite tense-aspect suffix is replaced by the subject nominalizer *-tʉ*, one gets effectively a derivational rule, whereby the input is the possessed noun – animate, inanimate or abstract, the output is the possessor noun, and the derived noun is marked by the suffixal combination *-ga-tʉ*. Consider first the **inherent possession** pattern (6):

(7)	**input possessed noun**	**output possessor noun**
a.	tua-chi̲ 'child'	tua-chi-gya-tʉ̲ 'parent'
b.	piwa-n 'my spouse'	piwa-gha-tʉ̲ 'married person'
c.	púku̲ 'personal horse'	puku-gwa-tʉ̲ 'person with personal horse'
d.	tawa-pi̲ 'tooth'	wá-tawa-gha-tʉ̲ 'a two-toothed person'
e.	yu'u-vi̲ 'leg'	súukus yu'u-gwa-tʉ̲ 'a one-legged person'
f.	kwasi-vi̲ 'tail'	kwasi-gya-tʉ̲ 'tailed creature', 'the Devil'
f.	yʉu-vʉ̲ 'fat'	yʉu-gwa-tʉ̲ 'a fat person'
g.	puwa-vʉ̲ 'medicine power'	puwa-gha-tʉ̲ 'medicine man/woman'
h.	yʉnʉ-pʉ̲ 'bald spot'	yʉnʉ-ga-tʉ̲ 'person with bald spot'
i.	sʉʉ-vʉ̲ 'power'	sʉʉ-ga-tʉ̲ 'powerful person'
j.	'ʉnʉ-pʉ̲ 'madness'	'ʉnʉ-pʉ-ga-tʉ̲ 'mad person'
k.	káni̲ 'house'	kani-gya-tʉ̲ 'homeowner'
l.	wii-chi̲ 'knife'	wii-chi-gya-tʉ̲ 'person with knife'
m.	pana-pʉ'i-vʉ̲ 'glasses'	pana-pʉ'i-gya-tʉ̲ 'person wearing glasses'
n.	'atʉ pʉ'i-vi̲ 'good eye(s)'	'atʉ pʉ'i-gya-tʉ̲ 'person with good eyes'

The possessor derivational pattern is highly productive, being fairly close to its grammatical point of origin. Consequently, it gives rise to many words, and new ones can be innovated with reasonable impunity. Whether the possessed noun is incorporated with or without its inherent suffix is a matter of considerable variation. Thus, inalienable body parts, kinship terms and mental faculties tend to be incorporated without a suffix, as in (7b,d,e,fg,h,i,m,n). But this tendency is not absolute.

The inherent **negative-possession** pattern parallels the one in (7), except that *-ga-* 'have' is replaced by its negative counterpart *-'a-* 'lack', and the negative verbal prefix *ka-* must precede the derived noun. Thus compare:

(8)	**input possessed noun**	**output non-possessor noun**
a.	tua-chi̲ 'child'	ka-tua-chi-'a-tʉ̲ 'childless person'
b.	piwa-n 'my spouse'	ka-piwa-'a-tʉ̲ 'unmarried person'
c.	púku̲ 'personal horse'	ka-puku-'a-tʉ̲ 'horseless person'
d.	tawa-pi̲ 'tooth'	ka-tawa-'a-tʉ̲ 'toothless person'
e.	yu'u-vi̲ 'leg'	ka-yu'u-'a-tʉ̲ 'legless person'
f.	kwasi-vi̲ 'tail'	ka-kwasi-'a-tʉ̲ 'tail-less creature'
g.	puwa-vʉ̲ 'medicine power'	ka-puwa-'a-tʉ̲ 'person lacking medicine power'
h.	sʉʉ-vʉ̲ 'power'	ka-sʉʉ-'a-tʉ̲ 'powerless person'
i.	káni̲ 'house'	ka-kani-'a-tʉ̲ 'homeless person'
j.	pʉ'i-vi̲ 'eye(s)'	ka-pʉ'i-'a-tʉ̲ 'eyeless, 'blind person'
k.	póʊ 'road', 'path'	ka-póʊ-'wa-tʉ̲ 'roadless person'
l.	núu-chi̲ 'person'	ka-núu-'wa-tʉ̲ 'depopulated place'

As noted earlier (ch. 15), Ute also has another possession construction, **alienable possession**, used with objects that are not inherently possessed. Some such objects

may take both patterns, as in (9a,b,c) below; while others can only be alienably possessed, as in (9d):

(9)	**inherent possession**	**alienable possession**
a.	kani-gya-tʉ̲ 'homeowner'	kani 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ 'landlord'
b.	puku-gwa-tʉ̲ 'has a personal horse'	kava 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ 'owner of horses'
c.	wii-chi-gya-tʉ̲ 'has a personal knife'	wii-chi 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ 'owner of knives'
d.	panaqha-rʉ̲ 'money'	panaqha-rʉ 'uni-aagha-tʉ̲ 'rich person'

Here one can see even more clearly the interplay between a grammatical construction and a derivational pattern, especially since the possessed object noun is not incorporated into the verb 'have'. Instead, the irregular stem *'uni-aa-* 'property' is incorporated.[2]

A negative version of alienable possession is also possible, but again it straddles the line between lexical derivation and grammatical construction. Thus compare:

(10)	**input**	**output**
a.	panaqa-rʉ̲ 'money'	ka-panaqa-rʉ 'uni-'a-tʉ̲ 'moneyless person'
b.	káni̲ 'house'	ka-kani 'uni-'a-tʉ̲ 'person with no houses'
c.	púkʉ̲ 'horse'	ka-puku 'uni-'a-tʉ̲ 'person with no horses'

The last possession construction that has word-derivation potential is the **existential** form, where the possessor is a location (see again ch. 15). The form of the verb 'have' here incorporates the prefix *-aa-*.[3] Thus, compare the inherent-possession derivation (7) with its existential-possession counterpart:

(11)	**inherent possession**	**existential possession**
a.	kani-gya-tʉ̲ 'homeowner'	kani-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with houses'
b.	píischi-u-gwa-tʉ̲ 'parent'	píischi-u-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with children'
c.	puku-gwa-tʉ̲ 'horse owner'	kava-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with horses'
d.	puwa-gha-tʉ̲ 'medicine man'	puwa-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with medicine power'
e.	póʊ-gwa-tʉ̲ 'person with path'	póʊ-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with path(s)'
f.	pʊ'a-gha-tʉ̲ 'person with lice'	pʊ'a-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place full of lice'
g.	[núu-chi̲ 'person']	núu-aagha-tʉ̲ 'populated place'
h.	[wa'a-pʉ̲ 'cedar']	wa'a-pʉ-aagha-tʉ̲ 'place with cedars'
i.	póʊ-ghwa-tʉ̲ 'person with a path'	póʊ-aagha-tʉ̲ 'a place with roads'

2. *'u-ni-* is one of the forms of 'do', and *-aa-* is an old genitive suffixes (see ch. 5).

3. It may be a reflex of the genitive suffix *-a-* (ch. 5). It may also be the incorporated non-specific deictic particle *'a-*, also found incorporated into the verb 'be' (*'a-ra-*) and 'do' (*'a-ni-*).

Again, the boundary between word derivation and grammatical construction here is blurred.

19.2.1.6 Noun compounding

Probably the most productive venue for deriving new nouns from existing nouns in Ute, as in English, is **noun compounding**, a syntactic pattern noted earlier (chs 3, 8). The modifier noun-stem is incorporated as prefix into the head noun, with the head noun retaining the classificatory control of the compound's meaning.[4] Otherwise, this derivation pattern is restricted only by semantic and pragmatic plausibility. That is, the derived compound noun must make sense, given the established meanings of the two (or more) contributing input nouns. As illustrations, consider:

(12)		**input nouns**	**output compound**
	a.	núu-chi̲ 'Ute', káni̲ 'house'	núu-gani̲ 'tipi'
	b.	'ava-n 'my shadow', káni̲ 'house'	'ava-ghani̲ 'shed', 'shade-house'
	c.	kava 'horse', kwi'aqa-tʉ̲ 'fence'	kava-kwi'aqa-tʉ̲ 'corral'
	d.	kúchu̲ 'buffalo', púku̲ 'domestic'	kuchu-puku̲ 'cow'
	e.	tʉi-yʉ̲ 'deer', kumaa-vi̲ 'male'	tʉi-gumaa-vi̲ 'buck'
	f.	tʉka-pi̲ 'food', kuna-vʉ̲ 'bag'	tuka-guna-vʉ̲ 'lunch-bag'
	g.	tavʉ-chi̲, 'rabbit', tʉka-pi̲ 'food',	tavʉchi-tʉka-pi̲ 'rabbit food', 'salad'

19.2.2 Verb-to-noun derivations (nominalizations)

We have noted earlier (chs 8,19,12,17) that Ute has many **syntactic nominalization** patterns. Many of those patterns can be recruited to derive new lexical nouns from verbs. In this section we survey some of the major patterns.

19.2.2.1 The subject/agent nominalization with *-mi-tʉ*

As noted earlier (ch. 6), the grammaticalized verb *miya-* 'go', most commonly in the shortened suffixal form *-mi*, is used to mark the habitual tense-aspect. When combined with the subject nominal (or subject REL-clause) suffix *-tʉ*, the combination is used to derive a noun designating the **habitual performer** of the action. In principle, any verb can be the input to this derivation. However, this highly productive derivation is constrained by pragmatic considerations – the kind of habitual activities that are considered culturally significant. Both a singular and a plural form can be derived,

4. A mail-man is a type of man, not a type of mail. But a man-hole is a type of hole, not a type of man. Sugar-cane is a type of cane, not a type of sugar. But cane-sugar is a type of sugar, not of cane.

with the latter displaying both the verbal (*-ka*) and the nominal (*-mʉ*) plural suffixes. As illustrations, consider:

(13)		input verb	output noun (singular)	output noun (plural)
	a.	wúʉka- 'work'	wúʉka-mi-tʉ̲ 'worker'	wúʉka-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'workers'
	b.	pʊ'ʊ- 'write'	pʊ'ʊ-mi-tʉ̲ 'writer'	pʊ'ʊ-qhwa-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'writers'
	c.	pʊ'ʊ-ti- 'teach'	pʊ'ʊ-ti-mi-tʉ̲ 'teacher'	pʊ'ʊ-ti-kya-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'teachers'
	d.	káa- 'sing'	káa-mi-tʉ̲ 'singer'	káa-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'singers'
	e.	'ʉa- 'cultivate'	'ʉa-mi-tʉ̲ 'farmer'	'ʉa-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'farmers'
	f.	tʉna- 'hunt'	tʉna-mi-tʉ̲ 'hunter'	tʉna-qha-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'hunters'

As noted earlier (chs 3, 10), a stereotypical non-referring object can incorporate into the verb at a prefixal position, yielding an **antipassive** construction. Such incorporation can be used to drive a host of new lexical verbs, and those in turn can be nominalized with the *-mi-tʉ* suffixal combination to yield many habitual-performer nouns. The incorporation of object or instrument nouns (as well as verbs and adverbs) into existing verbs is a highly productive verb-derivation pattern in itself. A few examples of how such complex verbs serve as the input for the habitual-performer nominalization may be seen in:

(14)		input complex verb	output noun
	a.	yoghovʉ-tʉna-vʊrʊ- 'hunt coyote' coyote-hunt-go-	yoghovʉ-tʉna-vʊrʊ-mi-tʉ̲ 'coyote-hunter'
	b.	tʉvʉ-'ʊra- 'dig earth' earth-dig-	tʉvʉ-'ʊra-mi-tʉ̲ 'earth digger'
	c.	kʉmʉy-'ʉa- 'plant corn' corn-plant-	kʉmʉy-'ʉa-mi-tʉ̲ 'corn planter'
	d.	sakʉ-paghay- 'walk limping' limp-walk-	sakʉ-pagha-mi-tʉ̲ 'a limping person'
	e.	wii-tʉna-vʊrʊ- 'hunt with knife' knife-hunt-go-	wii-tʉna-vʊrʊ-mi-tʉ̲ 'knife hunter'

19.2.2.2 The old subject/agent nominalization with *-chi*

While the current subject nominalizing suffix *-tʉ* is the productive patterns, one may as well note that there is evidence that the animate noun suffix *-chi* was once used in the same capacity. Thus consider:

(15)		input verb (or object-verb)	output subject/agent noun
	a.	tugwa- 'night', yagha- 'cry'	tugwa-yagha-chi̲ 'night crier' (bird sp.)
	b.	tapi̲ 'heel', cha̲'a- 'grab'	tapi-cha̲'a-chi̲ 'policeman', 'sheriff'
	c.	kwáa- 'run'	kwáa-chi-chi̲ 'car' (dim.)
	d.	qha̲-qháarʉ- 'run'	qha̲-qháarʉ-chi̲ 'chicken'
	e.	yʉchi- 'fly'	yʉchi-chi-chi̲ 'airplane' (dim.)

19.2.2.3 The old object nominalization with *-pʉ*

There is some evidence that the most common inanimate noun suffix *-pʉ/-vʉ* was once used to nominalize objects, including cognate objects. This usage parallels the use of the animate suffix *-chi*, above, to nominalize subjects/agents. Thus consider the following old nouns:

(16)		**input verb**	**output object noun**
	a.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉka-pʉ 'food'
	b.	'ʉ́a- 'cultivate'	'ʉa-pʉ 'field', 'garden'
	c.	kwi'a- 'fence'	kwi'a-pʉ 'fence'
	d.	wh̲cha- 'wrap around'	wh̲cha-pʉ 'strap', binding'
	e.	'ivi- 'drink'	'ivi-pʉ 'drink'
	f.	kwicha- 'defecate'	kwicha-pʉ 'feces'
	g.	'uu- 'fart'	'uu-pʉ 'fart'
	h.	si'i- 'urinate'	si'i-pʉ 'urine'
	i.	nh̲ka- 'dance'	nh̲ka-pʉ 'dance'

19.2.2.4 The object nominalization with *-ka-pʉ*

The object nominalization pattern in (16) above is probably the oldest one. An intermediate pattern combines the suffix *-pʉ* with the perfect/anterior suffix *-ka*. The most natural way of explaining this pattern is by noting (see ch. 11) that the current perfect/anterior suffix *-ka* was used earlier to mark a **promotional passive** construction. The combination of *-ka-pʉ* is thus, technically, not directly an object nominalization, but rather a **subject-of-passive** nominalization. While not a productive pattern now, one finds surviving examples of this derivation, coined from highly transitive verbs:

(17)		**input verb**	**output object noun**
	a.	chi̲ka-vi'na- 'cut'	chi̲ka-vi'na-**qa-pʉ** 'a cut piece'
	b.	wunʉ'a- 'notch'	wunʉ'a̲-**qa-pʉ** 'a notched piece'
	c.	ku̲kwa- 'gather firewood'	ku̲kwa-q**ha-pʉ** 'gathered firewood'
	d.	chʉkʉra- 'splinter'	chʉkʉra-**qa-pʉ** 'a splinter', 'a fragment'
	e.	chapagha'na- 'cut up'	chapagha'na-**qa-pʉ** 'something cut up'

19.2.2.5 The object nominalization with *-ka-tʉ*

The most productive, and likely the most recent, pattern of object nominalization builds upon the *-ka-pʉ* nominalizing pattern above (17), but substitutes the current subject nominal suffix *-tʉ-pʉ*. Examples of this pattern are:

(18)		**input verb**	**output object noun**
	a.	pʊ'ʊ- 'notch', 'write'	pʊ'ʊ-qwa-tʉ 'book'
	b.	tʉsu- 'grind'	tʉsu-kwa-tʉ 'flour'
	c.	kwi'a- 'fence'	kwi'a-qa-tʉ 'fence'
	d.	'ini- 'make'	'ini-kya-tʉ 'manufactured item', 'made item'
	e.	chíira̲- 'fry'	chíira̲-qa-tʉ 'a fried item'
	f.	tavasi̲-ti- 'cause to dry'	tavasi̲-ti-kya-tʉ 'a dried item'

Many derived nouns coined through this pattern incorporate the object or source material. In others, the object noun is still a free word, so that the nominalization as a whole is still syntactically a noun phrase, with the nominalized verb functioning as a REL-clause modifier. Thus compare:

(19) a. tavi-'ini-kya-tʉ̲ 'sun made', 'sunshine'
sun/O-make-PASS-NOM

b. pana-'ini-kya-tʉ̲ 'made of metal'
bright-make-PASS-NOM

c. kʉmʉy tʉsu'a-qa-tʉ̲ 'ground corn'
corn/SU grind-PASS-NOM

d. páana chíira̲-qa-tʉ̲ 'fried bread'
bread/SU fry-PASS-NOM

e. tʉkuavi̲ tavasi̲-ti-kya-tʉ̲ 'dried meat'
meat/SU dry-CAUS-PASS-NOM

f. 'aghochi̲ kuwi-ti-kya-tʉ̲ 'filled-up dish'
dish/SU fill-CAUS-PASS-NOM

Examples (19c,d,e,f) can be considered syntactic subject REL-clauses – rather than lexical derivations, while the more condensed (19a,b) represent lexical derivations. The pattern as a whole thus underscores the gradual transition from syntax to lexicon.

19.2.2.6 The instrument nominalization with *-'na-pʉ*

This highly productive nominalization pattern derives instrument nouns from verbs of activity that are habitually carried out with a stereotypical instrument. The compound derivational suffix involves the inanimate noun suffix *-pʉ*, preceded by the suffix *-'na*. On purely phonological ground, *-'na* can be reconstructed as *-na'a*. On general ground, one may conjecture that this formative may have been an old **serial verb**.[5]

The input to this derivation is an active verb, and the output the instrument noun. As typical examples, consider:

(20)		**input verb**	**output instrument noun**
	a.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉka-**'na-pʉ̲** 'table'
	b.	karʉ- 'sit'	karʉ-**'a-pʉ̲** 'chair', 'stool'
	c.	'avi- 'lie down'	'avi-**'na-pʉ̲** 'bed', 'couch'
	d.	pʊ'ʊ- 'write'	pʊ'ʊ-**'na-pʉ̲** 'pen', 'pencil'

5. The root *na'a-* is found in *na'a-* 'burn', *na'a-waa-pʉ-ni* 'beautiful', *na'a-chi-chi̲* 'young girl', none of which is semantically suggestive.

e. 'ʉa- 'trap' 'ʉa-'**na-pʉ** 'trap'
f. 'ɵra- 'dig' 'ɵra-'**na-pʉ** 'shovel', 'pick'
g. 'ivi- 'drink' 'ivi-'**na-pʉ** 'glass', 'cup'

As in other nominalizations (see (19) above), the input verb may also incorporate a stereotypic object, as in:

(21) a. tʉvʉ-'ɵra-'na-pʉ 'back-hoe', 'bulldozer'
earth-dig-INST-NOM
b. kava-gharʉ-'na-pʉ 'saddle'
horse-sit-INST-NOM
c. yoghovʉ-'ʉa-'na-pʉ 'coyote trap'
coyote-trap-INST-NOM

19.2.2.7 The action nominalization with *-pʉ/-vʉ*

Action nominalizations take an input verb and derive an abstract output noun with meanings such as 'the action/activity of', 'the fact of doing', or 'the act of doing'. One of the least productive action-nominalization patterns employs the inanimate noun suffix *-pʉ/-vʉ*. But a number of abstract nouns with no currently attested source verbs probably belong in this pattern as well. Thus consider:

(22)

	input verb	output noun
a.	naghami- 'be sick'	naghami-pʉ 'sickness'
b.	sʉri'aa- 'be afraid'	sʉri'aa-pʉ 'fear'
c.	wavʉa- 'have sore throat'	wavʉa-vʉ 'flu', 'sore throat'
d.	----------	puwa-vʉ 'medicine power'
e.	----------	'ʉnʉ-pʉ 'madness'
f.	----------	tagu-pʉ 'Sundance medicine'

19.2.2.8 The action nominalization with *-pi*

Of similar low productivity is the derivation pattern with the noun suffix *-pi/-vi*. This nominalization pattern may also yield an input object or cognate-object noun. Thus consider:[6]

(23)

	input verb	output noun
a.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉka-pi 'eating', 'food'
b.	'apagha- 'speak'	'apagha-pi 'speech', 'talk', 'language'
c.	sumua- 'forget'	sumua-pi 'forgetting', 'something forgotten'

6. One may as well note that because of the silent final vowels, younger speakers often switch the *-pi-/vi* and *-pʉ/-vʉ* suffixes, especially in lower frequency abstract nouns, ones that have a lower probability of being used in the object position, where final vowels are voiced.

19.2.2.9 The action nominalization with *-ta*

This highly productive action nominalization uses the suffix *-ta*, also used in the impersonal-passive construction (ch. 10). Just about any verb type can undergo this **infinitive** nominalization. Thus consider:

(24)		**input verb**	**output noun**
	a.	naghami- 'be sick'	naghami-ta 'being sick'
	b.	wúʉka- 'work'	wúʉka-ta 'working'
	c.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉka-ta 'eating'
	d.	paqha- 'kill'	paqha-ta 'killing'
	e.	puchuchugwa- 'know'	puchuchugwa-ta 'knowing'
	f.	máy- 'say'	máy-ta 'saying'

Indeed, *-ta*-marked nominalizations are as much of a syntactic construction as a derivational pattern, since the entire verb-phrase, or the whole clause, can be nominalized with *-ta*:

(25) a. kuchu-paqha-**ta**
buffalo-kill-NOM
'killing buffalos', 'buffalo-killing'

b. 'áachi-m kuchu-tʉna-**ta**
bow-with buffalo-hunt-NOM
'hunting buffalo with a bow'

c. kuchu-m 'umʉ paqha-**ta** ka-'ay-wa-tʉ 'ura-qa
buffalo-PL the/O kill-NOM NEG-good-NEG-NOM be-ANT
'the killing of the buffalo was bad'

d. 'uwayas sumua-**ta** mamachi tʉkapi ka-'ini-pʉa-na
3S/GEN forget-NOM woman/GEN food/O NEG-make-REM/NEG-NOM
'his forgetting that the woman didn't prepare food…'

e. ka-puchuchugwa-pʉa tuachi naghami-**ta**
NEG-know-REM/NEG child/GEN be.sick-NOM
'(s/he) didn't know (about) the child's being sick'

The productive, syntactic nature of the *-ta*-marked nominalization is also revealed in the fact that it could also apply to nouns and adjectives, yielding the sense of 'the quality of being…'. Thus consider:

(26)		**input noun/adjective**	**output quality noun**
	a.	núu-chi 'person', 'Ute', 'Indian'	núu-chi-ta 'being a person/Ute/Indian'
	b.	mama-chi 'woman'	mama-chi-ta 'being a woman'
	c.	tua-chi 'child'	tua-chi-ta 'being a child'
	d.	ta'wa-chi 'man'	ta'wa-chi-ta 'being a man'

e.	chichi-gya-rʉ 'hard', 'difficult'	chichi-gya-ta 'hardness', 'difficulty'
f.	'ava-tʉ 'big'	'ava-tʉ-ta 'bigness', 'being big'
g.	túu-kwa-rʉ 'black'	túu-kwa-ta 'blackness', 'being black'
h.	sá-gha-rʉ 'white'	sá-gha-ta 'whiteness', 'being white'

Likewise, nouns or adjectives derived with *-ga* 'have' can be nominalized through this patten. However, in such cases *-ta* must be preceded by the suffix *-ku-*,[7] Thus compare:

(27)

	input noun	**output quality noun**
a.	yʉu-gwa-tʉ 'fat' fat-have-NOM	yʉu-gwa-**ku-ta** 'girth', 'being fat'
b.	kani-gya-tʉ 'home owner' house-have-NOM	kani-gya-**ku-ta** 'having a home'
c.	puku-gwa-tʉ 'horse owner' horse-have-NOM	puku-gwa-**ku-ta** 'having a horse'
d.	puwa-gha-tʉ 'Medicine man' medicine-have-NOM	puwa-gha-**ku-ta** 'being a Medicine man'
e.	'iya-pʉ-ni 'ugly' ugly-NOM-like	'iya-pʉ-**ku-ta**-ni 'ugliness', 'being ugly'
f.	pa'a-tʉ 'tall' tall-NOM	pa'a-**ku-ta** 'tallness', 'being tall'

19.3 Verb-producing derivations

The majority of derivational process that create new verbs also take verbs as their input. As in noun-creating derivations, verb-producing derivations span the range between less productive – historically older – patterns and more productive ones that may be still considered syntactic constructions.

19.3.1 Verb-to-verb derivations

These are derivations that typically take an existing lexical verbs as input and produce another – semantically different – verb as output. Some of the derivations change the aspectuality of the verb. Others change its transitivity or agentivity. We will survey them in order.

7. The diachronic source of the augment *-ku* is not clear.

19.3.1.1 The intensive derivation with *-ʻni*

This is a non-productive derivation via which a less active/agentive verb may acquire a more active/agentive sense. Some examples are:

(28)		input verb	output 'intensive' verb
	a.	nʉka- 'hear'	nʉka-ˈni- 'listen' (sg.) nʉka-qha-niˈi- (pl.)
	b.	pʉni-kya- 'see'	pʉni-ˈni- 'look' (sg.) pʉni-kya-niˈi- (pl.)
	c.	paghay-ˈway- 'walk'	pagha-ˈni- 'walk all over' (sg.) paghay-kya-niˈi- (pl.)
	d.	sumay- 'think'	sumay-ˈni- 'think hard' (sg.) sumay-kya-niˈi- (pl.)
	e.	pʊˈʊ- 'write'	pʊˈʊ-ˈni- 'write hard' (sg.) pʊˈʊ-qhwa-niˈi- (pl.)
	f.	nh̲ka- 'dance' (pl.)	nhka-ˈni- 'dance intensively' (pl.)

General phonological considerations as well as the change of suffix form in the plural – from *-ʻni* to *-niˈi* – make it likely that the older suffix form was *-niˈi*. General semantic considerations would suggest that it is derived historically from a verb. One old verb root, *-ni-* – as in *ʻu-ni-*, *ʻi-ni-*, *ma-ni-* – has the requisite sense of 'do'/'make' to qualify it for being a likely lexical source of the grammaticalized suffix.[8]

19.3.1.2 The distributive derivation

As noted earlier (ch. 6), the **reduplication** of the first syllable of verbs is an old mechanism of **pluralization** in Ute, endowing the derived verb with an aspectual sense of 'doing repeatedly' or 'doing at multiple places'. This derivation is not fully productive, and the sense of the output verb is not always predictable. Given the old and currently non-productive use of first-syllable reduplication for the pluralization of nouns (see ch. 2), first-syllable reduplication of verbs is no doubt an old aspectual pattern. Some examples are:

(29)		input verb	output reduplicate verb
	a.	tapi- 'step'	ta̲-tápi- 'take several steps'
	b.	tavi- 'throw'	ta̲-távi- 'pelt', 'bombard'
	c.	taˈa- 'kick once'	ta̲-táˈa- 'kick repeatedly'

8. In some language families (Bantu, Semitic), the causative derivation also yield an 'intensive' derivation of a similar semantic effect as in Ute. Causative morphemes are often derived from the verb 'make'.

d.	kwipa- 'hit'	kwi̲-kwípa- 'hit repeatedly'
e.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉ̲-tʉ́ka- 'eat repeatedly'
f.	pʉni-'ni- 'look at'	pʉ-pʉ́'ni̲- 'check on (repeatedly)'
g.	'ʉni- 'do'	'ú-'u̲ni- 'mess around with (sexually)'
h.	tʉgaa- 'measure', 'copy'	tʉ̲-tʉ́gaa- 'multiply', 'increase', 'become many'
i.	páasagha- 'cross over'	pa̲-páasagha- 'cross over repeatedly'
j.	paasa-'ini- 'become dirty'	pa̲-páasa-'ini- 'become dirty again and again'

For many younger speakers, the unstressed reduplicated syllable is almost entirely silent, so that the difference between the simple and reduplicate verb form is now expressed by a **stress shift** – from second to first syllable of the verb stem.

19.3.1.3 The causative derivation with *-ti-*

The **causative** suffix *-ti* may be derived historically from a verb meaning 'push'. We have already discussed the syntactic pattern of the causative construction that uses this suffix earlier (ch. 9). As a highly productive derivational pattern, this suffix can be applied to stative, active-intransitive and mono-transitive verbs to derive a transitive (or bi-transitive) verb in which the animate subject/agent of the input verb becomes the direct-object **causee** of the output verb. Thus consider:

(30)

	input verb	**output causative verb**
a.	naghami- 'be sick'	naghami-ti- 'cause someone to be sick'
b.	wʉ́ʉka- 'work'	wʉ́ʉka-ti- 'make someone work'
c.	karʉ- 'sit'	karʉ-ti- 'make someone sit'
d.	pʉni-kya- 'see'	pʉni-ti- 'make someone see', 'show'
e.	magha- 'feed'	magha-ti- 'make someone feed'
f.	'ásti'i- 'want'	'ásti'i̲-ti- 'motivate'

19.3.1.4 The inchoative derivation with *-wi-*

This non-productive and semantically unpredictable **aspectual** derivation pattern takes a stative-intransitive verb as input and converts it into a process verb, with no change in syntactic transitivity. Some examples are:

(31)

	input stative verb	**output process verb**
a.	tʉga- 'be approaching'	tʉga-wi- 'be slowly approaching'
b.	ya'a- 'die'	ya'a-wi- 'be about to die'
c.	wi'i- 'drop', 'be falling'	wi'i-wi- 'get off from'
d.	wʉnʉ- 'be standing'	wʉnʉ-wi- 'stand up'
e.	'avi- 'be lying'	'avi-wi- 'lie down'
f.	karʉ- 'be sitting'	karʉ-wi- 'sit down'
g.	manay- 'be stirring'	manay-wi- 'squirm', 'wiggle', 'stir'

19.3.2 Noun/adjective-to-verb derivations

19.3.2.1 The causative derivation with *-may-*

This non-productive derivation takes as its input an adjective or a stative verb and converts it into a transitive verb. Via this derivation, the subject of the input verb – characteristically inanimate or non-agentive – becomes the direct object of the output verb. The suffix *-may-* may derive historically from the verb *máy-* 'say'. Some examples are:

(32)		**input adjective or verb**	**output transitive verb**
	a.	'avatʉ 'big'	'avatʉ-may- 'enlarge'
	b.	míi-pʉ-chʉ 'small'	míi-pʉ-may- 'make small(er)'
	c.	túʉ-'átʉ 'good'	'átʉ-may- 'improve'
	d.	'aka-gha-rʉ 'red'	'aka-may- 'make red'
	e.	pa'atʉ 'tall'	pa'atʉ-may- 'make tall'
	f.	sʉpiyawi- 'be lazy'	sʉpiyawi-may- 'make lazy'
	g.	kʉma-ca'a- 'be different'	kʉma-ca'a-may- 'change'

19.3.2.2 The causative derivation with *-ri-*

This non-productive derivation takes as its input a predicate noun and converts it into a transitive verb whose object is the subject of the input predicate noun. Occasionally the input word could also be an adjective or an intransitive verb. The suffix *-ri-* may be historically related to the causative suffix *-ti-*, above. Some examples are:

(33)		**input noun**	**output transitive verb**
	a.	kuvu'a 'sharp point'	kuvu'a-ri- 'sharpen'
	b.	kúwaa 'sharp edge'	kúwaa-ri- 'sharpen'
	c.	páa 'water'	páa-ri- 'irrigate'
	d.	sugwa-pʉ 'braid'	sugwa-ri- 'braid'
	e.	nía-n 'my name'	nía-ri- 'name', 'call'
	f.	wiya-vʉ 'mud'	wiya-ri- 'make muddy'
	g.	saghwa-gha-rʉ 'blue/green'	saghwa-ri- 'make blue/green'[9]
	h.	whcha- 'swirl'	whcha-ri- 'cause to swirl'

19.3.2.3 The inchoative derivation with *-ri-*

This non-productive derivation takes nouns or adjectives as input and converts them into process verbs. The suffix *-ri-* may be related to the causative suffixes **-ti/-ri**, above. Some extant examples are:

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9. Ute color adjectives are nominalized constructions of the verb *-ga/-ka* 'have', incorporating the color term as a prefix and taking the subject nominalizing suffix *-tʉ/-rʉ* (see ch. 3).

(34)

input noun/adjective	**output process verb**
tugwa-na-tʉ̲ 'night'	tugwa-ri- 'become night'
tama-na-tʉ̲ 'spring'	tama-ri- 'become spring'
túu-kwa-rʉ̲ 'black'	túu-ri- 'become black'
'aka-gha-rʉ̲ 'red'	'aka-ri- 'become red'

19.3.2.4 The inchoative derivation with *-'ini-/-mani-*

The verbs *'i-ni-* 'make' and *ma-ni-* 'do like this' can be used as inchoative derivational suffixes, taking nouns or adjectives as input and yielding process-intransitive verbs as output. This derivation pattern is not productive. Some examples are:

(35)

	input noun/adjective	**output process verb**
a.	paa-pʉ̲ 'blood'	páa-'ini- 'become bloody'
b.	kʉma-s 'different'	kʉma-mani- 'change', 'become different'
c.	túu-kwa-rʉ̲ 'black'	túu-'ini- 'become black'
d.	'aka-gha-rʉ̲ 'red'	'aka-'ini- 'become red'

19.3.3 Incorporation as verbal derivation

As noted earlier (chs 3, 4, 8, 10), the incorporation of noun, verb, adjective or adverb stems into the verb at a prefixal position is a major syntactic process in Ute, as it is in other Numic languages. It is also a major productive venue by which new verbs can be coined from existing verbs, often on the fly during communication. There are few if any syntactic constraints on such derivation, so that in principle any verb type can undergo such incorporation or **compounding** – provided the output verb makes semantic and pragmatic sense. The noun incorporation pattern is more or less **absolutive** – intransitive verbs are likely to incorporate subject nouns, and transitive verbs are likely to incorporate object nouns. Instrument nouns can be incorporated by both intransitive and transitive verbs.

Over the history of the language, many of the verbs created by incorporation are now lexicalized, so that their complex derivational structure is not always transparent. In principle, any Ute verb stem longer than two syllables may be historically complex. The examples given in (36) below represent cases where the derivation is sufficiently obvious. Many similar examples have been already given in the discussion of nominalization, above, where the input verb may already be complex due to such incorporation.

(36)

a.	tʉna-vərə-	'go hunting'
	hunt-go-	
b.	sakʉ-paghay-	'walk limping'
	limp-walk'	
c.	'avu-kwa-	'run sideways'
	prance-go-	

d. mama-paghay- ‘walk like a woman’
woman-walk-

e. súu-qhárʉ-kwa- ‘run straight forward’
straight-run-go-

f. kʉma-khwa-tugwa- ‘go in different directions’
other-go-go

g. togho-kwa- ‘run straight’
straight-go-

h. qhárʉ-mʉi-kwa- ‘run into the lead’
run-lead-go-

i. pina-wʉnʉ- ‘stand last’
follow-stand-

j. kanʉga-rugwa-kwa- ‘go lower’
low-go-go-

k. púka-rʉga- ‘persist’
hard-come-

l. púka-wúʉka- ‘work hard’
hard-work-

m. 'átʉ-may- ‘say (it) well’
good-say-

n. mʉrʉka-mani- ‘do (it) the Whiteman’s way’
white.man-do-

o. núu-mani- ‘do (it) the Ute/Indian way’
Ute-do-

p. tapi-cha̲'a-chi̲ ‘policeman’, ‘sheriff’
heel-grab-NOM

q. kani-chʉa- ‘build a house’
house-build-

r. yoghovʉ-tʉna-vərə- ‘go coyote-hunting’
coyote-hunt-go-

s. tʉkua-rʉgʉy-naru'a- ‘become hungry for meat’
meat-hungry-buy-

19.4 Adjective-producing derivations

19.4.1 Preliminaries

As noted earlier (ch. 3), adjectives are a heterogenous word class in Ute, arising from multiple historical or derivational sources. Perhaps the most prototypical adjectives

are color terms, essentially nominalization of the verb *-ga-* 'have' incorporating the adjectival stem – historically probably a noun – as prefix, as in:

(37)		**inanimate-SG**	**animate-SG**	**animate-PL**
	a.	'aka-gha-rʉ 'red' red-have-NOM	'aka-gha-rʉ-mʉ red-have-NOM-AN	'aka-qha-qa-tʉ-mʉ red-have-PL-NOM-AN
	b.	túu-kwa-rʉ 'black' black-have-NOM	túu-kwa-rʉ-mʉ black-have-NOM-AN	túu-kwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ black-have-PL-NOM-AN

However, color adjectives are a closed class whose pattern is not used nowadays to derive new adjectives.

At the other end of the productivity continuum one may consider the syntactic process of **subject relative clause** formation, with the suffix *-tʉ/-rʉ*. Many stative senses that are lexical adjectives in English are stative-intransitive verbs in Ute. By nominalizing them with *-tʉ/-rʉ*, one obtains a close equivalent of English adjectives.[10] Thus consider:

(38)		**REL-clause derivative**			
		verb	**inanimate**	**animate-SG**	**animate-PL**
	a.	'aqho- 'be thick'	'aqho-tʉ	'aqho-tʉ-mʉ	'aqho-kwa-tʉ-mʉ
	b.	pa'a- 'be tall'	pa'a-tʉ	pa'a-tʉ-mʉ	pa'a-qha-tʉ-mʉ
	c.	paa- 'be smooth'	paa-tʉ	paa-tʉ-mʉ	paa-qha-tʉ-mʉ

We will discuss below several patterns that can be considered synchronic derivations, albeit not always productive.

19.4.2 The potential derivation with *-ta-rʉ*

The potential derivation is a productive syntactic construction with a derivation potential, employing the **impersonal passive** suffix *-ta* (ch. 10), followed by the nominal/adjectival/habitual suffix -rʉ (see ch. 6). The logic of recruiting this construction for lexical derivation can be suggested by the following examples:

(39) a. **Active-transitive**: 'áapachi tʉkuavi tʉka-qha
boy/SU meat/O eat-ANT
'the boy ate the meat'

b. **Passive**: tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta**-qha
meat/O eat-**PASS**-ANT
'the meat was eaten'

10. In Ute as in many other languages, adjectives as a lexical class follow many of the morphological characteristics of nouns.

c. **Habitual passive**: tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta-rʉ**
meat/O eat-PASS-HAB
'the meat is eaten'

d. **Potential**: tʉkuavi tʉka-**ta-rʉ** ('ura-'ay)
meat/SU eat-PASS-HAB be-IMM
'the meat is edible'

With the patient still carrying the object case, example (39c) remains a passive construction with the habitual/nominal aspect. The potential construction in (39d) is not a passive anymore, since the patient is now marked as the subject of the clause.

An obvious syntactic constraint on this derivation is that it can apply only to transitive verbs, whose patient object becomes the subject of the derived adjective. Typical examples of such derivation are:

(40)	**input transitive verb**	**output derived adjective**
a.	tʉka- 'eat'	tʉka-ta-rʉ 'edible'
b.	'ivi- 'drink'	'ivi-ta-rʉ 'drinkable'
c.	pʉni-kya- 'see'	pʉni-ta-rʉ 'visible'
d.	nʉka- 'hear'	nʉka-ta-rʉ 'audible'
d.	máy- 'say'	máy-ta-rʉ 'pronounceable'
e.	chika-vi'na- 'break'	chika-vi'na-ta-rʉ 'breakable'
f.	sumay- 'think'	sumay-ta-rʉ 'thinkable'

However, the derivation may also apply to some intransitive verbs, where in some cases a **cognate object** may be the subject of the derived adjective. Thus consider:

(41)	**input intransitive verb**	**output derived adjective**
a.	wʉ́ʉka- 'work'	wʉ́ʉka-ta-rʉ 'workable', 'work that can be done'
b.	nhka- 'dance'	nhka-ta-rʉ 'danceable', 'a dance that can be danced'
c.	yʉga- 'enter'	yʉga-ta-rʉ 'enterable', 'a place that can be entered'
d.	káa- 'sing'	káa-ta-rʉ 'singable', 'a song that can be sung'
e.	sʉpiyawi- 'be lazy'	sʉpiyawi-ta-rʉ 'one can become lazy that way'
f.	kuturuuchi- 'be hot'	kuturuuchi-ta-rʉ 'it can become real hot there'

The productivity of this derivation with intransitive verbs is rather low.

19.4.3 The derivation with *-ni*

As noted earlier (ch. 3), the post-position *-ni* 'like', following a nominal suffix, marks a number of adjectives. At least historically, this may have been a derivational process for coining adjectives from nouns. While not productive any more, this pattern is still attested in paired examples such as:

(42)

	input noun	output adjective
a.	tʉaa-pʉ̲ 'pitiable person'	tʉaa-pʉ-ni 'pitiable'
b.	sʉnʉ-pʉ̲ 'trash'	sʉnʉ-pʉ-ni 'trashy'
c.	tʉvʉ-pʉ̲ 'earth'	tʉvʉ-pʉ-ni 'earth-like'
d.	páasʉna-pʉ̲ 'dirt'	páasʉna-pʉ-ni 'dirty'
e.	tʉpʉy-chi̲ 'rock'	tʉpʉy-chi-ni 'rocky', 'rock-like'
f.	kwicha-pʉ̲ 'feces'	kwicha-pʉ-ni 'shitty'
g.	maa-vʉ̲ 'vegetation'	maa-vʉ-ni 'plant-like'
h.	na'awaa-pʉ̲ 'beautiful thing'	na'awaa-pʉ-ni 'beautiful'
i.	'iyaa-pʉ̲ 'ugliness'	'iya-pʉ-ni 'ugly'
j.	'ʉnʉ-pʉ̲ 'madness'	'ʉnʉ-pʉ-ni 'mad', 'crazy'
k.	sʉri'aa-pʉ̲ 'fear'	sʉri'aa-pʉ-ni 'scary'

19.5 Adverb producing derivation

Adverbs, in Ute as in many other languages, are the most heterogenous word-class, more a matter of syntax than lexicon. Adverbial words are coined by various means and don't reveal consistent derivational patterns. As noted earlier (chs 3, 4), the bulk of Ute manner adverbs arise through the incorporation of noun, verb or adjective stems as prefixes into existing verbs (see (36) above).

CHAPTER 20

Interjections

Interjections are not, strictly speaking, part of the grammar. Rather, they are high-frequency expressions, many of them old, short and condensed. Others, however, are longer and still analyzable into their component parts, and thus presumably of more recent vintage. This diachronic cline, from long composite expressions to short holistic ones, is typical of interjections. Over time, they become conventionalized and lose their erstwhile complex meaning, and structure. This is how 'God be with ye' became 'goodbye', then 'g'bye', then 'bye'.

The following expressions are used to greet a person upon initiating a conversation:

(1) **First greeting**:

máy-kh	'hello', 'hi'. The most neutral opening gambit. Historically probably the immediate-aspect form of the verb *máy-* 'say'; to which further specifications may be added.
máy-kh tʉgʉvʉ-n	'hello, my friend'
máykh 'uwas	'hello, buddy'. Used only between men. *'uwas* is lit. the pronoun 'he/she' (invis.)
máy-kh 'atachi-n	'hello my kinsman'
máy-kh púa-n	'hello my kinsman/kinswoman'
máy-kh 'áachi-n	'hello my uncle', 'hello my kinsman'
má-chaa	'hi', 'hello', 'howdy'. Alternative short form, less common, informal. Probably a form of the verb *máy-* 'say' with the aspectual *-(ku)-cha-*.

The conventional response to the first greeting is fairly neutral:

(2) **Response to first greeting**:

toghoy-aqh	'good', 'thank you', 'thanks'. Lit. 'it is good'.
tʉvʉchi toghoy-aqh	'very good'
túu-'ay	'good'
túu-'ay-in	'I'm well'
tʉvʉchi-'ay	'very good', 'fine', 'super'; from *tʉvʉchi* 'very'.
'ʉmʉy-s-aa	'and (how about) you?'. Reciprocation of a first greeting; can be added after the first response.

After the conventionalized response, a more specific inquiry may follow:

(3) **Second gambit: Inquiry**:

'ipʉ 'ini-kh̲	'how are you doing?', 'how's it going?'; lit. 'what are you doing?'
'agha-'ara-yʉ-mʉ̲	'how are you?'
'agha-'ara-y-'u?	'how is s/he?'
'agha-'ara-y-amʉ̲	'how are they?'

The most common response to this inquiry is non-committal:

(4) **More specific response to inquiry**:

kachi-n	'nothing'; lit. 'not me'; the most common neutral response.
kachi-n, navas pagha'ni	'nothing, I'm just walking about'
navas 'uni-'ni	'I'm just hanging out (here)'

To initiate a departure, the equivalent of 'goodbye', the following expressions may be used by the departing person:

(5) **Initiating departure**:

'ʉvʉsa-gha	'okay', 'done'; lit. 'ending', 'finished'
págha̲-nh̲kwi-chaa-n	'I'm off', 'I'm taking off'
toghoy(-aqh)	'okay', 'good', 'fine';

The person remaining in place may respond with:

(6) **Acknowledging departure**:

'ʉvʉsa-gha	'ending'
toghoy-aqh	'it's good'
tʉvʉchi̲-'ay	'fine'

The following are other common interjections:

(7) **Short interjections and comments**:

kách	'no'
'ʉʉ	'yes' (I agree with you)
'áy	'yes' (you've got my attention)
'ú-vway	'yes', 'so?' (I agree with the plan for action); 'okay, then?'; lit. 'at that' (invis.)
toghoy nʉ́-gway	'fine by me'
'ʉ́	'oh'
'ʉ́ʉʉ	'wow!' 'heee!', 'hey!'
tʉvʉchi-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay	'it's the truth'
navas 'áy-kh̲	'you're just talking', 'you don't really mean it'.
'iyahtis 'áy-kh̲	'you're fabricating!'; told jokingly (not an accusation)

ˈuru-vway-is	'now about that', 'I don't know about that' (inan.); an oblique way of expressing disapproval or doubt.
ˈuwa-vay-is	'now about that one', 'I don't know about him/her' (an., invis.); an oblique way of expressing disapproval or doubt.
ˈumʉ-vway-is	'I don't know about them' (an., invis., pl.); an oblique way of expressing disapproval or doubt.
ˈʉmʉy-vway-is	'I don't know about you' (sg.) (ditto)
mʉni-vay-is	'I don't know about you' (pl.) (ditto)
marʉ ka-núu-aa-ˈa–tʉ	'this one has no life/spirit/soul'; a negative comment on speech, song, music or dance performed.

The following are common short commands:

(8) **Common commands**:

ˈáa-ra, (ˈáa-ra)	'slow down', 'easy'. Based on *ˈáa-* 'soft', 'new'
kachi-s	'not yet'
páyu-ki	'come here' (sg.)
panaa-qay	'come here' (pl.)
ˈi-mi-tugwa	'go on', 'go away' (sg.)
ˈi-mi-tugwa-qa-y	'go on', 'go away' (pl.)

Finally, the following are common formulaic endings of a story or speech:

(9) **End-of-story or end-of-speech formulas**:

ˈʉvʉs	'finished'
ˈʉvʉs-ˈura	'that's the end'
ˈʉvʉs, toghoy-ukh	'finished, that's it'; lit. 'finished, it is good'.
ˈʉvʉs, máy-kya-nʉ-s ˈáy-kh	'finished, I have spoken'.

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Index