



Seminario de complejidad sintáctica

Cuerpo académico:
“Estudios lingüístico-tipológicos y
etnoculturales en lenguas indígenas y minoritarias”

Maestría en Lingüística
División de Humanidades y Bellas Artes
Departamento de Letras y Lingüística



In cānin ixhua in tlācatlātōlli
‘El lugar donde florece la palabra del hombre.’

UNIVERSIDAD DE SONORA

17 y 18 de noviembre de 2011
Sala de Usos Múltiples (SUM), Departamento de Letras y Lingüística

PROGRAMA

“Seminario de complejidad sintáctica 2011”

PROGRAMA

Sala de Usos Múltiples
Departamento de Letras y Lingüística
2°. Piso, Edificio 3Q

Jueves 17 de noviembre

9:00-9:55 *The evolution of pronominal agreement in Ute and maybe elsewhere*

T. Givón

University of Oregon and White Cloud Ranch, Ignacio,
Colorado

10:00-10:25 RECESO

10:30-10:55 *Pronouns in the Cupan Languages*

Jane H. Hill

The University of Arizona

11:00-11:25 *Las relaciones pronominales en cláusula complejas del maya yucateco*

Fidencio Briceño Chel

Sección de Lingüística, Centro INAH, Yucatán

11:30-11:55 RECESO

12:00-12:25 *Acerca del origen y de la evolución de los pronombres personales en lengua yaqui*

Albert Álvarez González

Universidad de Sonora

- 12:30-12:55 *Variaciones en la posición de los enclíticos pronominales en purépecha*
Claudine Chamoreau
CNRS-SEDYL
- 13:00-13:25 *Serrano Pronominals and Anaphora*
Kenneth C. Hill
The University of Arizona
- 13:30-16:00 COMIDA
- 16:00-16:55 *Measuring Language Typicality*
Bernard Comrie
MPI-EVA and UCSB
- 17:00-17:25 RECESO
- 17:30-17:55 *Oraciones reducidas en el mixe de Ayutla*
Rodrigo Romero Méndez
Seminario de Lenguas Indígenas. Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
- 18:00-18:25 *Causatividad perifrástica en lacandón*
Israel Martínez Corripio
Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas de la UNAM
- 18:30-18:55 *Control relations and the typology of clause union*
Lilián Guerrero
IIFL-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
- 20:00 CENA
Jardines del Hotel La Finca

Viernes 18 de noviembre

- 9:00-9:45 *Person-Marking in the Cariban Family: Generalizations, Constructions, and Diachrony*
Spike Gildea
University of Oregon
- 9:50-10:25 RECESO
- 10:30-10:55 *Algunos cambios morfosintácticos en el sistema pronominal del náhuatl. El paso de una lengua yutonahua norteña a una lengua de Mesoamérica sureña*
Valentín Peralta Ramírez
Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia
- 11:00-11:25 *Sistemas pronominales en pima bajo: formas, funciones y sus patrones de gramaticalización*
Zarina Estrada Fernández
Maestría en Lingüística, Universidad de Sonora
- 11:30-11:55 RECESO
- 12:00-12:25 *Serialización en tselal en una perspectiva comparativa*
Gilles Polian
CIESAS
- 12:30-12:55 *Predicación compleja en Q'anjob'al (Maya): los ditransitivos*
Eladio Mateo Toledo
CIESAS-Sureste
- 13:00-16:00 COMIDA

- 16:00-16:25 *Cláusulas de complemento en español*
Sergio Bogard Sierra
El Colegio de México
- 16:30-16:55 *Completivas en el triqui de San Juan Copala*
Gerardo López Cruz
Universidad de Sonora
- 17:00-17:25 RECESO
- 17:30-17:55 *Análisis preliminar del sistema pronominal en ópata*
Moisés David Ramírez Mendivil
Universidad de Sonora
- 18:00-18:25 *Cláusulas de complemento en el Teenek de Mantet-
zulel S.L.P*
José Coronado Hernández
El Colegio de México
- 20:00 CENA, Jardines del Departamento de Letras y
Lingüística

RESÚMENES

The evolution of pronominal agreement in Ute and maybe elsewhere

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Earlier work (Moravcsik 1974; Givon 1976) suggested that a “topicality hierarchy” governed the distribution of pronominal agreement on the verb, most specifically the hierarchy of SUBJ > OBJ agreement. This generalization was backed up with data from Indo-European, Semitic & Bantu languages. But this makes many Uto-Aztecan languages (Cupeño, Pima-Bajo, Nahuatl & others) seem exceptional, in that their pronominal agreement abide by the hierarchy ABS > ERG, and thus in transitive clauses by OBJ > SUBJ. In this paper I will describe the situation in Ute, where the evolution of pronominal agreement on the verb is in a relatively early stage. Most anaphoric pronouns in Ute are zero-anaphores. The use of clitic pronouns is optional, and they may be suffixed either to the verb or to the first word in the clause (so-called “second-position clitics”). By studying the synchronic distribution of independent pronouns, zero-anaphores and clitic pronouns, a more comprehensive view of the evolution of pronominal agreement may be obtained. The seeming Uto-Aztecan typological “exception” may involve the convergence of three factors: non-rigid word-order, zero anaphora and “second-position clitics”.

Pronouns in the Cupan Languages

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Three of the Cupan languages, Desert Cahuilla, Cupeño of Kupa, and Rincon Luiseño, are very closely related. Thus it is surprising to find that their systems of pronominal reference, while expressed through transparently cognate formal elements, are syntactically quite distinct from one another. Desert Cahuilla exhibits obligatory pronominal agreement in the form of verbal prefixes for subjects and objects. Kupa Cupeño exhibit obligatory pronominal agreement for subjects in all persons and for P1 and P2 objects in past tense verbs, and obligatory pronominal agreement in the form of second-position clitics when the verb is non-past. In Rincon Luiseño, pronominal agreement is optional.

The paper will outline the syntax and morphology of pronouns in the three languages, with attention to the non-pronominal switch-reference systems that appear in complex sentences in these languages. The distribution of pronominal reference in Luiseño, the only Cupan language with optional pronominal marking, will be investigated through a statistical analysis of texts following the analysis of Southern Ute in Givon (2011). Less detailed attention will be given to the distribution of lexical pronouns (as opposed to the obligatory pronominal prefixes) in Desert Cahuilla and Kupa Cupeño.

The diverse systems of pronominal marking in the Cupan languages demonstrate that pronominal syntax under certain conditions can be highly dynamic and unstable, and provide an interesting test for the theory of the evolution of pronominal agreement as outlined in Givon (2011 (etc.)). Accounts of the evolution of these systems proposed in Jacobs (1975) and Haugen (2007) will also be considered. The question of why the evolution of pronominal agreement in Takic seems to proceed as second position clitic > verb prefix, as opposed to second position clitic > verb suffix, suggested by the Southern Ute data, will be examined.

An additional question will also be raised, that of the role of genre in the evolution of syntax. The Luiseño data include examples of texts from diverse genres. All of Givon's statistical analyses rely on text in a single genre, narrative. The distribution of pronominal reference in narrative in Luiseño is very similar to that found by Givon in Southern Ute. However, much higher frequencies of lexical pronouns and of the optional second-position clitics are found in other genres such as admonitory discourse and in conversations embedded in narratives. This raises the question of whether we should give narrative special privilege in seeking the sources for the origins of syntax in discourse.

References

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- Haugen, Jason. 2007. *Morphology at the Interface: Reduplication and Noun Incorporation in Uto-Aztecan*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Jacobs, Roderick. 1975. *Syntactic Change: A Cupan (Uto-Aztecan) Case Study*. University of California Publications in Linguistics Volume 79.

Las relaciones pronominales en cláusulas complejas del maya yucateco

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En este trabajo se presentará un acercamiento a la evolución de los pronominales en maya yucateco, particularmente nos interesa mostrar las relaciones establecidas en oraciones complejas para determinar qué tipo de pronominales se usan de acuerdo a los distintos papeles temáticos; en primera instancia es importante mostrar la manera

en la que funciona la marcación pronominal debido a que se trata de una lengua con ergatividad escindida (Dixon 1994), para luego determinar los distintos papeles temáticos en oraciones de dos argumentos y finalmente mostrar el funcionamiento de esta lengua en oraciones complejas.

En este sentido, se hará una revisión diacrónica de los casos arriba señalados para mostrar y explicar el comportamiento pronominal de la lengua maya de nuestros días; asimismo se mostrará que la evolución no ha sido generalizada en toda la Península de Yucatán por lo que estas relaciones pronominales sirven justamente para determinar zonas de diferenciación intralingüística que muestran variación regional que sirve también como identificación de los hablantes (Briceño 2002).

Bibliografía

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- Dixon, R. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Acerca del origen y de la evolución de los pronombres personales en lengua yaqui

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Este trabajo busca analizar los usos y las evoluciones de los pronombres personales en lengua yaqui, lengua indígena del noroeste de México, perteneciente a la familia yutoazteca, desde una perspectiva que enfatice la interacción y complementariedad entre los procesos evolutivos internos y los procesos externos (Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005).

Después de proporcionar algunos datos generales sobre la comunidad y la lengua yaqui, presentaremos, en un primer punto, los paradigmas y usos actuales correspondientes a los pronombres personales que la lengua yaqui posee para las funciones de sujeto, objeto directo y objeto indirecto, tanto en sus formas independientes como dependientes, así como los pronombres reflexivos y los posesivos.

En un segundo punto, se adoptará un enfoque diacrónico con el fin de comprender los procesos puestos en juego en la evolución de este sistema pronominal de la lengua yaqui. Se intentará así determinar el proceso evolutivo de los pronombres personales del yaqui, tomando en consideración los datos presentes en una obra colonial que describe un estado antiguo de esta lengua (el *Arte de la lengua cahita* publicado por Buelna en 1890 pero escrito por un misionario jesuita en la primera mitad del siglo XVII). Esta comparación diacrónica nos permitirá evidenciar principalmente tres cambios: i) una reestructuración del paradigma con procesos de diferenciación que afectan las categorías de número (2da persona singular vs. 2da persona plural) y de caso (acusativo vs. dativo) así como de reducción de formas nominativas, ii) el cambio de posición en las combinaciones de las formas reducidas de nominativo y acusativo, y iii) la generalización del uso de una forma reflexiva y su gramaticalización como marcador anticausativo.

En un tercer y último punto, argumentaremos a favor del origen locativo de los pronombres independientes del yaqui y buscaremos explicar los cambios observados a partir de un enfoque plural de la evolución lingüística. Trataremos así de dar cuenta de la evolución de los pronombres personales de la lengua yaqui desde una perspectiva integradora que considere tanto mecanismos de cambios internos como la analogía y la gramaticalización (Heine et Kuteva 2002 2007, entre otros) como mecanismos ligados a la influencia del contacto lingüístico (Thomason 2001, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006).

Variaciones en la posición de los enclíticos pronominales en purépecha

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El objetivo de esta ponencia es estudiar el funcionamiento de los enclíticos pronominales en purépecha describiendo en detalle las variaciones de posición que actualmente presentan.

El purépecha posee varios tipos de enclíticos: enclíticos pronominales, como *kxi* en (1) y no pronominales, ya sea discursivos, como *chka* en (2), ya sea adverbiales, como *thu* en (3). Generalmente, como en las cláusulas en (1) y (2), los enclíticos pronominales y los enclíticos discursivos ocurren después del primer constituyente de una cláusula (enclíticos de segunda posición). Por su parte, los enclíticos adverbiales, como en la cláusula en (3), muestran un orden más flexible, se ubican cerca del elemento marcado por la categoría adverbial expresada por el enclítico.

(1) ka=**kxi** ikya-pa-rini wanto-nts-kwarhe-pa-ntha-ni
y=1PL enojarse-CENTRIF-PART.PA platicar-IT-MED-CENTRIF-CENTRIF-INF
xa-rha-x-p-ka
estar-FT-AOR-PAST-ASS1/2
‘[...] y enojándonos, estábamos discutiendo.’ (IH10: 128)

(2) no=**chka=ni** xwina-x-ka ugo-ni jupi-ka-ni juchi
NEG=bien=1 permitir-AOR-ASS1/2 Hugo-OBJ tomar-FT-INF POS1
kawayu-ni
caballo-OBJ
‘No le permito a Hugo tomar mi caballo.’ (JR10: 2)

(3) ajta jiniani ire-ka-s-ti, chari tata jingoni=**thu**
hasta allá vivir-FT-AOR-ASS3 POS2PL padre COM=también
‘Vive hasta allá, con tu padre también.’ (AR1: 10)

Existen cadenas de enclíticos que muestran un orden rígido, a la izquierda el no pronominal y a la derecha de éste el pronominal, como en (2).

Ahora bien, los enclíticos pronominales –tradicionalmente de segunda posición– llegan a ocurrir en diferentes posiciones ausentes en los materiales documentados sobre esta lengua en el s. XVI:

- i. pospuesto al núcleo de la cláusula, como en (4);
- ii. después del núcleo de la cláusula y con presencia de un nombre independiente;
- iii. después del núcleo y en segunda posición (repetición);
- iv. después de una unidad que se ubica justo antes del núcleo;

(4) *ka yontki anapu ire-kwari-p-ti=ksi* Chao
 y antes origen vivir-REF-AOR.PAST-ASS3=3PL Chao
 ‘y desde antes, viven en Chao.’ (TM1 : 16)

A nivel diacrónico, esta atracción hacia el núcleo (Dixon 2004, Haig 2008) empezó en el siglo XVI con el cambio de orden en la cadena de enclíticos de segunda posición, permitiendo al enclítico pronominal aparecer al último y así extraerse de esta posición. Ahora bien, a nivel sincrónico, esta atracción se observa especialmente en contextos discursivos de cláusulas independientes que muestran una fuerte continuidad referencial (Givón 1976, 2001). Al contrario, en las cláusulas subordinadas, el enclítico pronominal está atraído por el subordinante, respetando la segunda posición. En algunos contextos, puede aparecer repetido después del núcleo.

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Serrano Pronominals and Anaphora

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The pattern in Serrano of pronominals and anaphora in narrative supports most of the observations of Givón's (2011) observations regarding Ute. Where a difference exists, it has to do with the appearance of clitic pronouns: In Ute these are reported as optional (p. 170) while they are obligatory in Serrano. Parts of two texts are analyzed to show the Serrano pattern.

Serrano pronounominals appear in four paradigmatic sets (1) independent pronouns (n̄yʔ 'I', amaʔ he/she/it, ām 'they', etc.), (2) possessive prefixes (ny-ki 'my house', a-ki 'his/her/its house', p̄y-ki 'their house', etc.), (3) object prefixes on adverbial elements (n̄y-jkaʔ 'to me', py-jykaʔ 'to him/her/it', p̄my-kaʔ 'to them', etc.), and (4) clitic pronouns, which specify subject and object (n 'I', 0 'he/she/it', m 'they'; ny 'I-them', vy 'he/she/it-them', my 'they-them'; vyn 'he/she/it-me', myn 'they-me', vyny 'he/she/it-me-them', etc.). Serrano verbs have no pronominal inflection.

The closely related language Kitanemuk shows a remarkable difference from Serrano. Its verbs are obligatorily inflected for subject, with a prefix (ni-mi 'I go/went.', ʔa-yu 'He sings/sang.' – Anderton 1988: 97). Since the elements used in Kitanemuk for subject prefixing are from the same pronominal set as the possessive prefixes, this may, diachronically, somehow be related to the inflection of the nominalizations that often occur in Serrano as the equivalent of infinitive verbs.

- (1) Nȳʔ-nuīʔwyn ny-pāikçi.
I-I(-it) want my-to.drink-obj
'I want to drink.'
- (2) Uīʔwynai-m pȳ-pāikçi.
want-they(-it) their-to.drink-obj
'They want to drink.'
- (3) Qai kʷynyvy uīʔwyn pȳ-mikçi haiŋkʷaʔ ɪŋkʷaʔ.
not quot-3p.sg-them want their-to.drink-obj anywhere
(= "to.where to.here")
'He didn't want them to go anywhere.'

References

- Anderton, Alice Jeanne. 1988. The Language of the Kitanemuks of California. University of California, Los Angeles dissertation.
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Measuring Language Typicality

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While clearly distinct from complexity, the notion of “typicality” nonetheless can interact with complexity in interesting ways. For instance, questions of the type “Are typical structures more or less likely to be complex?” are legitimate and of interest whichever way the answer falls, whether in some particular instance or in general.

Together with a computer scientist I have been developing an initial measure of the overall typicality of a language, using the data provided by the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS). The methodology developed proceeds as follows. First, it is only applied

to languages for which WALS provides values for at least 100 features (to avoid characterizing a whole language in terms of a very small number of features, which might lead to accidental imbalances). Second, for each language or each feature the percentage of the languages in the WALS sample having that feature value is obtained, this serving as a measure of the typicality of the language for that particular feature. Finally, the average of all features for that language is calculated, this serving as measure of the language's overall typicality. Problems with the methodology and possible refinements, not yet implemented, will be discussed.

The current version of the database covers 115 languages. Some results are perhaps expected, for instance that languages with high typicality values are not necessarily typologically similar to one another (e.g. they may be largely head-final or largely head-initial), others less so. I would have expected most languages to cluster towards the most typical end of the scale, but in fact the distribution is close to a normal (Gaussian) distribution, i.e. it is, perhaps paradoxically, not typical for a language to be typical.

Some striking areal patterns emerge. Indo-European languages and languages of Europe tend to be low on the scale, the highest language of Europe being Basque at position 28, the highest Indo-European language Hindi at position 35, the highest Indo-European language of Europe Russian at position 74, the highest Indo-European language of Western Europe Spanish at position 81. (English, French, and German are respectively at positions 94, 112, and 114.) The four languages of “interior Amazonia”, i.e. far from the Caribbean, Andes, Atlantic, or Chaco, are uniformly low in typicality: Pirahã at position 107, Hixkaryana at 109, Paumarí at 111, and Wari' at 115.

Oraciones reducidas en el mixe de Ayutla

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El mixe de Ayutla tiene varios tipos de oraciones subordinadas y de oraciones cosubordinadas o codependientes (Olson 1981, Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2001, Givón 2001, Van Valin 2005, Guerrero 2006, entre otros). Los tipos de oraciones subordinadas presentan distinto grado de incrustación y dependencia (cf. Cristóforo 2003) y, en mayor o menor medida, la oración subordinada puede tener modificadores oracionales, además de que los objetos de un verbo transitivo o ditransitivo puede aparecer explícitamente por medio de una frase nominal. Así por ejemplo, en (1) *ojts* marca tiempo pasado y *Kas* ‘Carlos’, es el objeto directo de verbo subordinado. En algunos los casos de cosubordinación para oraciones completivas, aunque existe mayor integración oracional y no es posible tener operadores temporales o modales que modifiquen el verbo no finito, éste sí puede tener todos sus argumentos expandidos por medio de una frase nominal.

1. N-näjäw-ë-yp=ëjts ku ojts Päät
1A-saber-INCH-INDEP;TR=1SG Cmplz Pret Pedro
t-kox-y Kas
3A-pegar-DEP Carlos
‘Yo sé que Pedro le pegó a Carlos.’

Hay otros tipos oracionales en los cuales el verbo no matriz no puede tomar una frase nominal como argumento. Llamaré a estos casos *oraciones mínimas*. En esta comunicación me centraré en dos tipos de oraciones completivas: las oraciones completivas no finitas y las oraciones codependientes mínimas.

En las oraciones subordinadas no finitas, la forma no finita del verbo se define justamente porque no toma marcadores personales, como se muestra en (2). Además, en las oraciones completivas no finitas no puede haber una FN de objeto directo; en todo caso, el

objeto nocional debe ir incorporado al verbo. Esto no es siempre el caso para una oración no finita en mixe, pues en las oraciones que expresan fase, distintas a las completivas, sí puede haber una FN objeto.

2. Sara kaaky-jëy-p y-u'unk t-kax-y
Sara tortilla -comprar-INDEP 3POS-hijo 3A-mandar-DEP
'Sara mandó a su hijo a comprar tortilla' (Cntr)

De igual forma, en algunas oraciones cosubordinadas mínimas, el verbo no puede tener una FN objeto: éste debe apacer incorporado.

3. M-akxäj-jë'kx-p x-jënmay-y
2s-chayote-comer-INDEP 2A-pensar-DEP
'Piensas comer chayote'.

Como se verá en la ponencia, no todos los tipos de oraciones reducidas son idénticos, pues el verbo dependiente en las oraciones subordinadas no finitas no pueden ser negadas, en cambio el verbo no matriz en las oraciones cosubordinadas reducidas sí puede ser negado. Con base en esto, cabe preguntarse por qué algunas oraciones subordinadas y cosubordinadas no pueden tomar una FN como objeto y si esto las agrupa como un subtipo oracional en la gramática del mixe de Ayutla.

Causatividad perifrástica en lacandón

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En el lacandón del sur, existen al menos cuatro tipos de estructuras causativas perifrásticas. Cada una de estas formas implica una cláusula principal que hace referencia al causante y una cláusula subor-

dinada que necesariamente está asociada al causado. En general, la causatividad perifrástica del lacandón requiere que en la cláusula subordinada la raíz verbal en cuestión aparezca en forma intransitiva imperfectiva, por lo que el causado se marca con el sistema pronominal ergativo. Esto ocurre cuando en la cláusula principal aparece la raíz *bet* ‘hacer’ (1a), *ts’ah* ‘dar’ (1b) o *ch’ah* ‘soltar’ (1c).

- 1a. k-in-bin in-beet-eh- \emptyset u-näk-taar
 HAB-A1S-ir A1S-hacer-SUBTRA-B3S A3S-parar-INCINT
 ‘voy a hacer que se pare’
- b. t-in-ts’ah- \emptyset - \emptyset u-hook’-ar
 PERF:TRS-A1S-dar-COMTRA-B3S A3S-salir-INCINT
 ‘lo hice salir’
- c. peero mix k-in-ch’a-ik- \emptyset u-ween-an
 pero NEG HAB-A1S-soltar-INCTRA-B3S A3S-dormir-INCINT
 ‘pero no dejo que duerma’

Por otro lado, existen casos de causatividad perifrástica en los que la raíz *ts’ah* ‘dar’ requiere del sufijo causativo *-r-* y como cláusula subordinada aparece un pronombre posesivo asociado al causado y ligado a la raíz nominal *paach* ‘espalda’. Finalmente, es necesario que aparezca una raíz verbal en su forma intransitiva imperfectiva, la cual hace referencia a un evento que el causado se ve forzado a realizar. Así pues, la ausencia de alguno de estos elementos traerá diferentes significados.

- 2a. k-u-ts’a(h)-r-(i)k- \emptyset in=paach in-beyah
 HAB-A3S-dar-CAUS-INCTRA-B3S P1=espalda A1S-trabajo
 ‘me obliga a trabajar’
- b.¿ k-u-ts’a(h)-r-(i)k- \emptyset in=paach
 HAB-A3S-dar-CAUS-INCTRA-B3S P1=espalda
 Posible lectura: ‘me obliga’

- c. k-u-ts'ah-(i)k-ø in-beyaj
 HAB-A3S-dar-INCINT-B3S P1-trabajo
 'me hace trabajar (pero no me obliga)'

En este trabajo presentaré un análisis acerca de la causativad perifrástica en el lacandón del sur, tomando en cuenta la complejidad sintáctica que opera en cada caso y, de esta forma, establecer diferencias de significado entre cada una de las estructuras.

Control relations and the typology of clause union

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Two types of adverbial purposive constructions (PC) are investigated: purpose clauses as in (1), and rationale clauses as in (2). The study of these constructions has been mainly developed for English, within a framework of formal syntax. This study seeks to extend the study of PCs to other languages within a functional and typological perspective.

- (1) a. She_i bought a puppy_j [____i to take care of ____j]
 b. She_i bought a puppy_j for me_k [____k to take care of ____j]
 c. *She_i bought a puppy_j in order [____i to take care of ____j]
- (2) a. She_i bought a puppy_j (in order) [____j to take care of it_j]
 b. She_i bought a puppy_j (in order) for me_j [____j to take care of it_j]

Traditionally, it has been argued that a purpose clause (1) is a VP-internal adjunct containing a gap bound to the matrix object, while a rationale clause is a VP-external adjunct lacking a gap bounded to the matrix object (Faraci 1974; Jones 1991). Another formal difference is that the former is incompatible with *in order* (1c).

Within Role and Reference Grammar, Cutrer (1993) and Van Valin (2009) also claimed that in English there is an obligatory missing argument in linked unit inside a purpose clause, but not in a rationale clause, and this absent element must be associated with a post-core argument (e.g. the theme), given the fact that the actor may but not need to be identical in purpose (1a') as well as rationale (1b') clauses.

These approaches leave some questions open. For instance, how common is the distinction between rationale and purpose clauses outside English? How convenient is it to differentiate the two clauses configurationally? What extra evidence do we have to distinguish purpose from rationale clauses outside the need of a null, empty slot for the post-nuclear argument?

Based on typological sample, I will suggest that, outside English, there is no essential differences between purpose and rationale clauses and both can be treated as one and the same construction. The proposal will be that PCs are a type of semantic control construction in which one core argument in the matrix unit controls the referential identity of a linked core argument, i.e. the controller-controllee relations involve the actor, the undergoer or a third core argument. The lexical manifestation of the controllee is subject to language-specific restrictions, i.e., it can be covert (e.g. the gap in (1)) or overt (e.g. the pronoun in (2)) as long as there is a referential dependency between two core arguments. Indeed, the controller-controllee patterns found in PCs are usually the same that those found in complement constructions taking actor and undergoer control verbs.

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**Person-Marking in the Cariban Family:
Generalizations, Constructions, and Diachrony**

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In the Cariban family, there is a series of personal prefixes/pronominal clitics that appears in various functions in different languages: marking the possessors of nouns, objects of postpositions, and a range of syntactic functions on verbs (absolute, accusative, ergative, and, marginally, nominative) and auxiliaries (absolute and nominative). Since in all these functions, the forms are virtually identical and can alternate with free NPs, seeking to maximize synchronic generalization would lead us to posit a single series of prefixes/clitics. But a formally unified analysis is difficult to reconcile with this extreme diversity in the coding of grammatical roles, which would lead us to posit multiple sets of nearly identical prefixes. We resolve this synchronic analytical question by utilizing the notion of CONSTRUCTION, which calls attention to the importance of the constructional context in interpreting the semantics of polysemous grammatical morphemes and which, in fact, denies the possibility of defining the full semantic value of a morpheme without accounting for the contribution in which the morpheme occurs. Taking the perspective of Construction Grammar, we can clarify that the semantic value of the set of prefixes/clitics is merely the person distinction, such that the value of the grammatical roles is not inherent in these

morphemes, but rather comes from the construction in which the morphemes occur. This, then, makes it natural to take a diachronic perspective, in which we can see that this series of prefixes/clitics had a unified origin, but over time, individual constructions containing these prefixes were reanalyzed as main clauses, each one bringing the prefixes into new main clause grammatical roles. In the end, diachronic syntax allows us to understand both the unity and the diversity of this series of person-markers.

Algunos cambios morfosintácticos en el sistema pronominal del náhuatl. El paso de una lengua yutonahua norteña a una lengua de Mesoamérica sureña.

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El objetivo principal de este trabajo será el describir ciertos cambios morfosintácticos que se presentan en el sistema pronominal de sujeto, objeto (primario y secundario) y posesivo de algunas variantes del náhuatl moderno, incluyendo también el náhuatl clásico. Estos cambios serán considerados aquí como parte de los procesos de cambio por contacto lingüístico con lenguas de familias lingüísticas distintas a la familia yuto-nahua, y como un segundo punto a considerar será el hecho de que el náhuatl, como lengua general, es una lengua altamente diversificada, distribuida en varios estados de la república mexicana y en El Salvador, en Centroamérica. Esta diversificación debe ser entendida a la luz de su historia como la lengua de un grupo migrante, y que su migración se realizó en diversos periodos de tiempo y espacio, por tanto, tuvo y ha tenido contacto con lenguas del área cultural de Mesoamérica. Así que, teniendo en cuenta la migración y el contacto con otras lenguas podemos plantear un cambio fundamental en el orden de los constituyentes de sujeto y objeto a nivel sintáctico (SOV como lengua yuto-nahua) a un orden morfológico con marcación en el núcleo (s-o-V), donde los argu-

mentos, tanto a nivel de frase como en los pronombres y los pronominales presentan cambios diversos y divergencias como producto de su historia y de su migración.

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Sistemas pronominales en pima bajo: formas, funciones y sus patrones de gramaticalización

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Con base en Bhat (2004:1), la categoría gramatical del pronombre hace referencia a diversos tipos de palabras entre los que se encuentran, los pronombres personales, los demostrativos, los interrogativos, indefinidos, relativos, correlativos, etc., varios de los cuales se encuentran históricamente relacionados, es decir, unos derivan de otros. Givón (2001, cap. 9), por su parte, considera a los pronombres, parte del dominio funcional de la coherencia referencial; ésta, a su vez, se manifiesta gramaticalmente a través de la clase de palabras de los pronombres y de la concordancia (*grammar of pronouns and grammatical agreement*, p. 399).

Otros autores, entre ellos Siwierska (2004), Wiesemann (1986), y recientemente Kibrik (2011) han abordado el estudio y análisis de este amplio sector gramatical desde perspectivas en las que se enfatizan los aspectos sintáctico-semánticos, y pragmático-referenciales. Todos en general, coinciden, en la importancia que guarda esta categoría para la expresión o identificación de los participantes en el discurso, es decir, el reconocimiento de la identidad o referencia de la entidad que está haciendo algo en el estado de cosas que se comunica. El surgimiento histórico y la evolución diacrónica de toda esta gama de elementos gramaticales encuentran sus causas precisamente en su función referencial y la búsqueda de la claridad o eficiencia comunicativa de ella.

En este trabajo se analiza el sistema pronominal del pima bajo, lengua tepimana de la familia yutoazteca, la cual actualmente cuenta con sólo dos distinciones a nivel de funciones gramaticales, sujeto vs. no sujeto, véanse las formas sujeto y no sujeto en (1), (2) y (3).

- (1) *aan* *ab* *ki-tam* *tuki-hag*.
1SG.SUJ DIR casa-LOC salir-FUT
'Yo saldré de la casa.'

- (2) *aap in-kaiti.*
 2SG.SUJ 1SG.NSUJ-Oír.PRS
 ‘Tú me escuchas.’
- (3) *in-ton sasni.*
 1SG.NSUJ-pierna quebrar.PFV
 ‘Mi pierna (se) quebró.’

En este trabajo se da cuenta del inventario de formas pronominales del pima bajo y de los procesos de gramaticalización que han dado origen a recursos referenciales menores –de tercera persona, en (4), de cópula presentativa, en (5), de pronombres posesivos enfáticos, en (6) y como marcador de voz media, en (7). Estos pronominales son el resultado de dos fuerzas lingüísticas, la referencia, dígame necesidad semántico-discursiva, y la propiamente gramatical, es decir, de las relaciones gramaticales, sujeto y objeto, principalmente.

- (4) *(h)ig a’as-im.*
 3SG.SUJ reír-CONT
 ‘Él está riendo.’
- (5) a. *aan igi.*
 1SG.SUJ PRST
 ‘Yo soy.’
- b. *irig kanasta-ga-r igi?*
 INTER canasta-AL-POS PRST
- (6) a. *ig vitid mo’ovid ningar.*
 DET.SUJ nueva camisa mía
 ‘Esta camisa nueva es mía.’
- (7) *pueert a-kuupa.*
 puerta MED-cerrar.PFV
 ‘La puerta se cerró.’

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Serialización en tseltal en una perspectiva comparativa

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Las lenguas africanas, asiáticas y amazónicas son famosas por usar masivamente construcciones verbales seriales, en las que dos o más verbos se asocian sin marca de subordinación o coordinación en una misma cláusula para describir lo que los hablantes conceptualizan como un solo evento (Aikhenvald y Dixon, 2006). En cambio, las lenguas mayas y mesoamericanas en general no son consideradas muy serializantes, aun si estudios recientes han revelado construcciones de este tipo en lenguas mixe-zoqueas (Zavala, 2006) y mayas (Curiel, pa., Francisco Pascual, pa.).

En este estudio, muestro la existencia en tseltal (maya occidental) de una construcción serial productiva especializada en la codificación del propósito, ilustrada en (1):

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------|
| | V1 | V2 |
| (1) | <i>Ya=la s-mil-on</i> | <i>s-ti'-on=ix.</i> |
| | INC=REP A3-matar-B1 | A3-comer-B1=ya |
| | 'Dice que ya me va a matar para comerme.' | |

Esta construcción puede entenderse como la fusión de un verbo principal (V1) y de una cláusula de propósito, reducida a V2, integrados en una misma cláusula y mostrando los rasgos típicos de la serialización: ausencia de marca de subordinación, mismo valor de tiempo-aspecto y de polaridad, etc., aun si V1 mantiene ciertos privilegios morfosintácticos que lo identifican todavía como núcleo de la construcción.

Reducciones similares de una cláusula de propósito existen en grados diferentes en varias ramas de la familia maya: se han identificado al menos en lenguas tseltanas-cholanas, yucatecanas y q'anjob'alanas. En las lenguas en las que mejor se ha descrito, aparece que esta construcción es frecuente pero que ha experimentado procesos de gramaticalización y especialización para ciertas funciones gramaticales, con la consiguiente restricción de verbos que en ella pueden participar. En cambio, el tseltal resalta por la gran flexibilidad que presenta su construcción serial de propósito, que no se restringe a paradigmas cerrados de verbos y permite la combinación de transitivos e intransitivos.

Además, voy a mostrar que esta construcción serial está afectando estructuralmente a construcciones funcionalmente cercanas, como la construcción causativa y la construcción de auxiliares de movimiento, también vinculadas a la expresión de un propósito. Esto muestra la gran vitalidad de este fenómeno de serialización en tseltal.

Abreviaturas

A: prefijo de Juego A (ergativo); B: sufijo de Juego B (absolutivo); INC: incompletivo; REP: reportativo.

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**Predicación compleja en Q'anjob'al
(Maya): los ditransitivos**

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Recientemente se ha reportado que q'anjob'al tiene varios predicados complejos del tipo verbo-verbo que codifican significados causativos, resultativos, manipulativos, etc. Este estudio presenta un análisis de la construcción verbo-verbo en (1) donde *tx'ox* 'mostrar' es el V1 y *il* 'ver' es el V2 dando como resultado un significado ditransitivo 'mostrar algo a alguien'.

- (1) Q-on-a-tx'ox y-*il* xal ix
 POT-A1P-E2S-mostrar E3S-ver CL mujer
 'Nos vas a mostrar a la señora.'

Sus propiedades son: V1 se flexiona con aspecto y persona ergativa (E) y absoluta (A) y V2 sólo se flexiona con ergativa (no tiene marca absoluta a pesar de ser transitivo). El V2 contrasta con un complemento no finito (CNF), como el de (2). Específicamente, el CNF tiene flexión ergativa y absoluta, pero el V2 solo tiene flexión ergativa; y el V2 no toma la marca de dependencia *-on* que aparece en el CNF. Por lo tanto (1) no es una cláusula compleja.

- (2) Y-ojtaq-Ø ix Malin [hach y-il-on-i]
E3S-saber-A3S CL Mali A2S E3S-ver-MD-FF
'Malin sabe cuidarte.'

Entonces, ¿Cuál es el estatus del marcador ergativo en V2 y cuál es el estatus de V2 en la cláusula? Propongo que la cláusula en (1) es un predicado complejo; una cláusula simple con dos elementos predicativos que contribuyen a la estructura argumental y eventiva (Aikhenvald 2006, Butt 1997).

En cuanto a la sintaxis monoclausal muestro que V2 no está subordinado, hay un valor de TAM y polaridad (sobre V1), sólo hay un juego de argumentos para toda la cláusula (un sujeto y objeto en el V1 y un recipiente en el V2). Hipotetizo que la semántica básica de (1) es "Y muestra X para que Z vea X" con una 'relación ditransitiva' (RD) entre los verbos. Los verbos entran en la RD y esto alimenta la fusión argumental: el agente del V1 (Y) queda intacto, el argumento compartido (X) se fusiona, y el agente del V2 (Z), además de ser agente, recibe una interpretación de recipiente/beneficiario. Los argumentos se realizan en la sintaxis monoclausal como sigue. Y (agente del V1) y X (argumento fusionado) llegan a ser el sujeto y objeto, respectivamente, en V1. Como un verbo transitivo solo puede tener dos argumentos directos, el argumento Z (agente del V2 y recipiente) se realiza como ergativo en el V2. Entonces, la flexión en el V2 es una estrategia para realizar un tercer argumento en la cláusula simple.

En relación a la estructura eventiva, muestro que los verbos en (1) forman un evento y no dos eventos independientes (Smith 1991, Aikhenvald 2006).

Esta propuesta recibe apoyo de otras construcciones verbo-verbo como el resultativo en (3), que al igual que (1), forma una cláusula simple con un predicado complejo. Sin embargo, (3) difiere de (1) en que los verbos aparecen contiguos. Entonces, propongo que el V2 en (1) no está contiguo al V1 porque marca un tercer argumento, pero los verbos en (3) están contiguos porque los argumentos se fusionan.

- (3) Max-ach s-maq' q'aj heb'
COM-A2S E3s-pegar quebrarse ellos
'Ellos te fracturaron (pegándote).'

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Abreviaturas: A=absolutivo, COM=completivo, CL=clasificador nominal, MD=marca de dependencia, E=ergativo, POT=potencial, P=plural, FF=fin frase, S=singular, 1, 2, 3 =personas gramaticales.

Cláusulas de complemento en español

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En los años transcurridos en el siglo actual, uno de los temas que ha motivado un gran interés en la investigación lingüística de corte funcional tipológico es la que concierne a la complementación clausal y a las estrategias de complementación que, en defecto de aquella, pueden tener las lenguas del mundo.

Un medio de entrada al tema nos lo ofrece Dixon (2006:1) cuando comenta que en muchas lenguas hay verbos que formalizan uno de sus argumentos nucleares como cláusula en vez de cómo frase nominal; se trata de verbos como *ver, oír, saber, creer, decir y querer*. Y agrega que una cláusula de complemento presenta, como propie-

dades básicas, por un lado, la estructura interna de una cláusula, y por otro, que funciona como argumento nuclear de una cláusula estructuralmente más elevada (p. 4). Además, y en relación con los verbos, señala que mientras la clase de verbos que realiza uno de sus argumentos como cláusula está fuertemente restringida, la clase verbal de la cláusula complementaria no presenta restricción (p.5).

En este contexto hay que mencionar que el español es una lengua que tiene cláusulas de complemento, las cuales presentan dos estructuras en aparente distribución complementaria: introducidas por conjunción, típicamente *que*, y el verbo con flexión finita, o bien, sin nexos introductorios y el verbo con flexión no finita. Al lado de esto aparece como más interesante el hecho de que las cláusulas de complemento formalizan un argumento de cuatro tipos de verbos, a saber, de cláusulas con verbo transitivo (1), con verbo intransitivo presentativo (2), con verbo de régimen prepositivo (3) y con verbo copulativo (4), además, y en contra de la opinión de Dixon (p. 11), de realizar un argumento de sustantivo (5). Véanse los siguientes ejemplos:

1. Los estudiantes *dijeron* **que viajarían al congreso**
2. A mi hermana *le gusta* **que le pongan atención / tomar café**
3. Juan *insistió en* **que la situación era extraña / correr la carrera**
4. Su respuesta *fue* **que no aceptaba el trato = no aceptar el trato**
5. Supe *la noticia de* **que descubrieron el complot**

El objeto de esta presentación es hacer un breve recorrido por cada una de las cinco estructuras presentadas, puesto que, si bien no son desconocidas de la gramática del español, parece conveniente insertar su análisis en el ámbito tipológico de la complementación clausal.

Referencia

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Cláusulas completivas en triqui de San Juan Copala

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En triqui de San Juan Copala se presenta una variedad de estrategias de integración sintáctica en construcciones en las que los complementos verbales son de naturaleza clausular. Véanse a este respecto los ejemplos (1)-(4).

- (1) chuvee³ qui'yaj² cunaj⁴ María a³²
perro COMP-hacer COMP-correr María DECL
“El perro hizo correr a María”
- (2) guun che'e¹ nii³ ca'ne' nii³ xri' ne'ej a³²
COMP -empezar 3IMP POT-cortar 3IMP cordón.de bebé DECL
“Empezaron a cortar el cordón umbilical del bebé”
- (3) uun³ ra⁴ unj¹nayaa¹ so'¹ libro nihanj⁵ a³²
CONT.querer 1SG POT.leer 2SG libro este DECL
“Quiero que leas este libro”
- (4) ca'anj³² so'³ taj³² no'³ a³²
COMP-ir 3SGM CONT.decir 3SGF DECL
“Ella dice que él se fue”

La variación en las formas de unión de cláusulas en estas construcciones incluye tanto aspectos de orden de palabras y rasgos de nominalización de la cláusula dependiente, como la incidencia de elementos subordinantes de diferente tipo y marcación de caso con restricciones de aparición argumental en la cláusula dependiente. El propósito de este trabajo es ofrecer una descripción general del fenómeno así como algunas hipótesis iniciales que den cuenta de esta variación con base en parámetros de integración eventiva en estas construcciones complejas (Givón 2001) que interactúan signi-

ficativamente con aspectos del perfil tipológico de los verbos en esta lengua.

Análisis preliminar del sistema pronominal en ópata

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El objetivo de este trabajo es presentar un panorama general del sistema pronominal en ópata. El *Arte de la lengua tegüima, vulgarmente llamada ópata* (1702) de Natal Lombardo y la *Doctrina christiana y platicas doctrinales traducidas en lengua opata* (1765) de Manuel de Aguirre son las dos obras que proporcionan la información para este trabajo. El primer documento provee la explicación gramatical necesaria para entender el funcionamiento de los pronombres en esa lengua. Los textos en ópata que contiene el segundo documento permiten el análisis de los pronombres en el discurso. De acuerdo con el *Arte* de Lombardo la lengua ópata tiene la mayoría de los tipos de pronombres reconocidas en la literatura (Bhat 2004) para las lenguas del mundo: pronombres personales, demostrativos, interrogativos, indefinidos, etc. El pronombre relativo no se encuentra en esta lengua. Es sustituido por una forma nominalizada que involucra al sufijo nominalizador *-came*. Con respecto a la posición de los pronombres personales en la oración se pueden identificar, principalmente, pronombres de segunda posición (después del primer elemento de la oración), pronombres que aparecen justo antes del verbo y pronombres que ocurren después del verbo. En este último caso, la forma del pronombre cambia: *ne* [1SG.ACU/DAT] ‘a mi/para mi’ que ocurre antes del verbo y *netze* [1SG.ACU/DAT] ‘a mi/para mi’ que se utiliza después del verbo.

Ahora bien, con respecto a la coreferencialidad he identificado el pronombre anafórico *are* (probablemente es el acusativo o dativo de un pronombre enfático del tipo *yo mismo, él mismo*) que puede

presentarse en su forma degradada *re* tal como se aprecia en la respuesta a la pregunta ¿de quién es este perro? que se muestran en el ejemplo (1).

(1) **Pregunta**

Havete vu-cu ve chitta?
INTERG animal/esclavo-POS DEM perro
¿De quién es este perro?

Respuesta

No vo i re vu-cu
1SG.GEN hermano menor 3SG.NOM ANAF animal/esclavo-POS
'(El perro) es de mi hermano menor (lit. mi hermano menor
él/este lo es su animal)'

En la lengua ópata también se encuentran pronombres que hacen la distinción visible/no visible como *merequi/mecu* [3PL.AC/DAT] para referirse a personas que están presentes (visibles) en oposición a *mere* [3PL.AC/DAT] utilizado para personas ausentes (no visibles).

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Cláusulas de complemento en el Teenek de Mantetzulel S.L.P

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De acuerdo a Thompson *et al.* (2007) en las lenguas del mundo se pueden distinguir tres tipos de cláusulas subordinadas: i) los complementos oracionales que funcionan como frases nominales, ii) las cláusulas relativas que funcionan como modificadores de nombres y iii) las cláusulas adverbiales que modifican las frases verbales o la cláusula entera.

En este trabajo se hace la descripción de los complementos oracionales del Teenek, de acuerdo a su estructura morfosintáctica (Aissen, 2006, Noonan, 2007) y semántica. Por complementación (Noonan, 2007) se quiere decir que es la situación sintáctica que relaciona a una predicación o una oración nocional con un argumento de un predicado. Para propósitos de este trabajo, una predicación puede ser vista como un argumento de un predicado si funciona como sujeto u objeto de este predicado. Cabe agregar que no todas las oraciones incrustadas pueden ser consideradas como complementos ya que no son argumentos de un verbo; es el caso de las cláusulas relativas, cláusulas de modo o propósito y las cláusulas temporales (Noonan, 2007).

Dentro de una lengua los complementos pueden venir en una variedad de formas, sin embargo, en Teenek aún no se ha descrito esta variedad por lo que en este trabajo se hace una aproximación. Antes de presentar una descripción es necesario recuperar algunos aspectos básicos de la lengua, como por ejemplo: el sistema pronominal o la estructura básica de la oración. Estos aspectos ya han sido estudiados con anterioridad por Edmonson (1988), Neri Velázquez (2008), Larsen (1955), Tapia Zenteno (1727), Ochoa (1984), Constable (1989), Grosser (1987), McQuown (1990), Robertson (1993), Maldonado (1994) y Zavala (1994, 2002).

Es importante resaltar que en teenek no hay estudios previos sobre cláusulas de complemento. Por lo tanto, en este trabajo presen-

to los distintos tipos de cláusulas de complemento encontrados a partir de la elicitación de complementos con diferentes clases de verbos matrices, de acuerdo a Noonan (2007) y Aissen (2006). Para clasificar y distinguir los diferentes tipos de cláusulas de complemento se ha recurrido a ciertas propiedades formales que los distinguen, por ejemplo: la transitividad, los complementantes que introducen el complemento como *abal* o *ma* ^, las marcas de subordinación transitiva (*ki*) o intransitiva (*ti*), la marca de subjuntivo (*ka*), y la falta de la FN de sujeto del complemento, cuando es correferente con el sujeto o el objeto matriz. Así como también las relaciones morfosintácticas de las cláusulas de complemento.

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Ute Reference Grammar

T. Givón

Chapter 7: Noun Phrases-I: Referential Coherence

7.1. Introduction

As noted earlier (ch. 3), nouns serve as the head of **noun phrases**, which in turn code the participants of states/event–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. **Clausal 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 already count as 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 various large modifiers in ch. 8, below. 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 the most extensive discussion of this topic is yet to come (ch. ...).

The verbal clause, where most of the grammar machinery is lodged, is seldom used in isolation. Rather, adult discourse (‘communication’) typically exhibits **multi-clausal coherence**. That is, the various sub-elements that create coherence in discourse tend to continue across multiple adjacent clauses. Thus, a discourse such as (3a) below, where cross-clausal coherence is wholly absent, is rather atypical, not to say bizarre. While the coherent (3b) is clearly more in tune with the 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-act
- f. actions/events
- g. perspective ('narrative voice')

These are the elements that tend to persist across multiple adjacent clauses. That is, across **clause chains**.

The clause chain is the minimal unit of thematic coherence in discourse. Thus, (3a) above is an incoherent chain, while (3b) is a coherent one. At chain boundaries—the chain-initial or chain-final position—the continuity of the sub-elements of coherence (5) tends to be minimal. In contrast, at chain-medial positions thematic continuity tends to be maximal. 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 typically has weak anaphoric continuity but strong cataphoric connections, introducing new participants, locations, times, 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 maximal 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 just one, albeit the most conspicuous one. We have noted earlier (ch. 6) the role played by the tense-aspect-modality system in maintaining temporal (4c), aspectual (4d) and modal (4e) coherence. In this chapter we are adding the next strand. But discourse coherence as a whole involves all strand. A more extensive overview of the multiple grammatical sub-systems that partake in the coding of discourse coherence will be given later on (ch. ...).

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 it's specific identity is **accessible**. The reasons that entitle the speaker to make such assumptions about the hearer's mind are, most commonly:

- (6)a. **The referent is unique and known universally within a specified domain:**
'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 previous mention (d) and general lexical 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 indeed 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 reasonable. 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 newly-introduced reference is identifiable to the hearer, on whatever ground, the referent is therefore 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. Part of this ambiguity is rooted in the fact that in traditional oral narratives, our main textual source, many of the 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. 'uwas 'ini-kway... Sinawav_i 'ura-pu-ga...
 he/S WH-MOD Sinawav be-REM
 ‘There was once what’s-his-name... Sinawav...
- b. Sinawav_i págha-kwa-puga, 'úu-pa-puga... 'úu-pa-puga,
 S. go-go-REM there-g-REM
 Sinawav_i...
 Sinawav took off, he went that-a-way...

- c. 'i-vaa-ni p̄ni-kw̄a-khu-'uru, kar̄-p̄ga **kuch̄u**,
 here-at-like look-go-SUB-it/O sit-REM **buffalo/S**,
 kuch̄u 'u,
 buffalo/S the/S
 and right there as he was looking, **a buffalo** was sitting,
 Buffalo,
- d. máy-na-av kuch̄u, 'u-vwaa kar̄-p̄ga, **qoyoquchi**-
 say-REL-OWN buffalo/S there-at sit-REM **hole/O**-inside
 naagha kar̄-p̄ga...
 sit-REM
 the one they call Buffalo, sitting there, sitting inside **a hole**
 a hole...'

In (6a), 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 (6c) 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 (6d) 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**. In Ute discourse, non-referring nominals are most commonly found in non-subject positions, and tend to be thematically unimportant ('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-puga
then-be **goat-NOM/O** kill-ASP-REM
'...then (s/he) butchered **a goat**...'

b. **Non-referring object:**

ta-távay **sivaatu**-paqha-na-puga
RED-day **goat**-kill-HAB-REM
'...he used to kill **a goat** every day...'

c. **Referring-indefinite instrument:**

kh-'ura **wii-chi**-m tásavi 'uru
then-be **knife-NOM/O-INSTR** rope/O the/O
chika-vi'na-puga
cut-REM
'... then he cut the rope with **a knife**...'

d. **Non-referring instrument:**

kh-'ura tásavi 'uru **wii**-cika-vi'na-puga
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 in this fashion 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:**

wíchkús-'ura pə'əqwa-tə 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:**

wíchkus-’ura **pə’əqwa**-narua-vaani
tomorrow-be **book**-buy-FUT
‘.../tomorrow (s/he) will do some **book**-buying...’ (> no particular book in mind yet).

c. **Referring object:**³

pə’əqwa-tʰ (’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 pə’əqwa-tʰ narua-na
NEG-s/he book-NOM/O buy-ANT/NEG
‘...(s/he) didn’t but **any** book...’

e. **Non-referring incorporated object:**

kachu-’u pə’əqwa-narua-na
NEG-s/he book-buy-ANT/NEG
‘...(s/he) didn’t do any book-buying...’

It is uncommon to find non-referring nominals as clausal **subjects** in Ute, where referents are typically important/topical, individuated, and have already been introduced 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 validity is not easy to ascertain.⁴ Thus consider:

(10) a. **With the universal quantifier:**

manu-ni kava-yu whchu-ku yu’u-gwa-qha-tʰ-mʉ
all-S 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-tʰ-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-tʰ
 horse/S **the/S** four-O leg-have-NOM

‘The horse has four legs’

(i) > the species ‘horse’ (referring)

(ii) > that particular horse (generic)

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.

(12) **Demonstratives forms:**

| | near-speaker | | away-visible | | away-invisible | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|--------|----------------|---------|
| | subject | object | subject | object | subject | object |
| inanimate: | 'í-cha | 'i-cha-y | má-rʰ | ma-rʰ | 'ú-ru | 'u-ru |
| animate-SG: | 'í-na | 'i-na-y | máa | máa-y | 'ú-wa | 'u-wa-y |
| animate-PL: | 'í-mʰ | 'i-mʰ | má-mʰ | ma-mʰ | 'ʰ-mʰ | 'u-mʰ |

The use of these forms as **pre-nominal modifiers**, pointing to referents in the shared speech situation, may be seen in:

- (13) a. **Subject:** 'íchạ t̩p̩y̩ch̩ị t̩vas̩ị-k̩yạ-t̩ụ
 this/S rock/S dry-ANT-NOM
 'this rock is dry'
- b. **Object:** icha-y t̩p̩y̩ch̩ị p̩nik̩yạ
 this/O rock/O see/IMM
 '(s/he) sees this rock'
- c. **Subject:** máa na'achich̩ị wúuka-y
 that/S girl/S pretty
 'that (vis.) girl is working'
- d. **Object:** máa-y na'achich̩ị p̩nik̩yạ
 that/O girl/O see/IMM
 '(s/he) sees that (vis.) girl'
- e. **Subject:** 'úm̩ m̩ám̩ach̩ị-u wúuka-q̩ha-p̩ga
 those/S women/S-PL work-PL-REM
 'those (invis.) women worked'
- f. **Object:** 'um̩ m̩ám̩ach̩ị-u p̩nik̩ya-p̩ga
 those/O women/S-PL see-REM
 '(s/he) saw those (invis.) women'

In natural discourse, the distal pre-nominal demonstratives are often used almost like **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 following passage of a traditional narrative:⁵

- (14) a. kh-'ura 'uwas̩ y̩p̩p̩uch̩ị 'ura-p̩ga.
 then-be he/S porcupine/S be-REM
 'there was once a porcupine.
- b. kh-'ura tuachi-u-gwa-p̩ga, wáay-kunani.
 then-be child-PL-have-REM two-O
 Well, he had children, two of them.

- c. kh-'ura tuachi-u-av supay-kwa-puga.
 then-be child-PL-OWN leave-go-REM
 But then he deserted his children.
- d. “ 'i-vaa-sap-'uru múnĭ pagha'ni-nu” máy-puga,
 here-at-MOD-it/O you/S wander-IMP say-REM
 “You-two just wander around here” he told them.
- e. nú' 'ay-ku tana-khwa-vaa-chĭ” máy-puga-'uru.
 I say-SUB hunt-go-IRR-NOM say-REM-it/O
 while I go hunting” he told them.
- f. 'ú-'uni-chĭ-'ura 'ura-vaachĭ 'ú yuupuchi..
 RED-do-NOM-be be-BKGR that/S porcupine/S
 he always does it, **that porcupine...**'

This use of stressed pre-nominal demonstrative is limited to the distal ones, and is most likely 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 thus used as **definite articles** that can modify both subject and non-subject nouns. As noted earlier, this use is not yet 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 | 'uru | 'uru |
| animate-SG | 'u | 'uway |
| animate-PL | 'umɰ | 'umɰ |

As a simplified examples of their use, consider:

- (16) a. kh-'ura 'áapachi 'u tu-kuavi 'uru tu-ka-pu-ga
 then-be boy/SUBJ **the/S** meat/OBJ **the/O** eat-REM
 'then the boy ate the meat'
- b. xh-'ura kani-naagha-tukhwa 'uru yuga-puga
 then-be house-in-to **the/O** enter-REM
 'then (s/he) entered into the house'
- c. 'tuachi 'uway tukuavi 'uru magha-puga
 child/O the/O meat/O the/O feed-REM
 '(s/he) fed the meat to the child'
- d. tuka'napu 'uru yaqh-kya
 table/S **the/S** break-ANT
 'the table broke'
- e. máamachi-u 'umu táata'wachi-u 'umu pu-nikya-qha-puga
 women-/PL **the/S** 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 devices that 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. 'uwas-kway 'ini-kway 'ura-puga, Sinawavi 'u,
 he-MOD WH/S-MOD be-REM **Sinawav/S the/S**
 Sinawavi 'ura-puga...
 Sinawav/S be-REM
 'There was once this one what's-his-name, **the Sinawav**, it
 was Sinawav...'

- b. kh-'ura **wáa-mamachi-u 'umɥ** 'ura-pɥga, 'inii-u-sapa
 then-be **two-woman-PL the/S** be-REM WH-PL-mod
 'ura-pɥga-vaachi.
 BE-rem-BKGR
 '...so then there were **the two women**, whoever they were.
- 'úmɥ-'ura 'úu-pa-amɥ paghay'wa-pu-ga-vaachi...
 they-be there-DIR-they walk-REM-BKGR
 they were walking that-a-way...'

7.4.3. Demonstrative as pronouns

Stressed demonstrative 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 shown in (15)/(16) above are diachronically derived from the non-proximate demonstrative set in table (9). Thus, the pronominal use of the demonstratives, as in (18) below, is presumably the precursors of their use as independent pronoun.

- (18) a. 'ícha-'ara tu-pu-ychi 'ura-'ay
this/S-be rock be-IMM
 'this one (prox., inan.) is a rock'
- b. **marɥ** ka-'asti'í-wa
 that/O NEG-want-NEG
 'I don't want that one (vis. inan.)'
- c. 'úmɥ-'ura ka-'ay-wa-tɥ-muɥ
those/S-be NEG-good-NOM-PL
 'those ones (invis., an.) are no good'

7.5. Personal pronouns

7.5.1. Independent/stressed personal pronouns: Discontinuity and contrast

As noted above, the personal pronouns in Ute are historically derived from the set of demonstratives pronouns (12), 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) below are recapitulated from ch. 3.

(19) Independent subject pronouns

| person | singular | dual | plural |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|--|
| 1 st | nú' 'I' | támí 'we (incl. you)' | táwí 'we (incl. you)' númú 'we (excl. you)' |
| 2 nd | 'ú-mú 'you' | | múni 'you-pl.' |
| 3 rd -vis. | máa-sú 's/he' | | má-mú 'they' |
| 3 rd -invis | 'uwa-sú 's/he' | | 'u-mú-sú 'they' |

(20) Independent non-subject pronouns

| person | singular | dual | plural |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1 st | nuna-y 'me/'my' | tami 'us/our (incl. you)' | tawi 'us/our (incl. you)' númu-y 'us/our (excl. you)' |
| 2 nd | 'umu-y 'you/'your' | | muni 'you/your-pl.' |
| 3 rd -vis. obj: | máa-y 'him/her/his' | | ma-mu- 'them' |
| poss: | máa-y-a-sú 'his/her' | | mamu-a-sú 'their' |
| 3 rd -invis. obj: | 'uwa-y 'him/her' | | 'u-mú(-a-sú) 'them' |
| poss: | 'u-wa-y-a-sú 'his/her' | | 'u-mú--a-sú |

Independent pronouns are used, universally, in context 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:**
 John 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 mark the referent as an **important topic**. Consider the first the various story-initial introductions in:

- (22) a. **Story-initial:**
 wítas 'ura -na-pʰga-vaachi-'uru...⁹
 long.ago be-HAB-REM-BKGR-that
 'It was long ago...
- 'úmʰ-'uru** pa'avi-u núuchi-u 'ura-qa-paachi-'uru...
they-be insect-PL person-PL be-PL-BKGR-that
the insects were humans...'

- b. **'uwas** 'ni-kway... Sinawav 'ura-puga... ¹⁰
he WH-MOD Sinawav be-REM
 'There was once what's-his-name... **Sinawav...**'
- c. **'uwas-'ura** 'ura-puga-vaachi, núu-maroghoma-puga-tu...¹¹
he-be be-rem-BKGR people-create-REM-NOM
 'There was long ago Him , **The Creator...**'
- d. **'uwas** 'ura-puga sinawavi.. **'umü** chaquura-y-u
he be-REM Sinawav/S **them/O** crane-O-PL
'umü-kway... ¹²
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 participant in the middle of the discourse, as in:¹³

- (23) a. ... 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru tu-tugaa-puga-vaachi **'uwas**,
 there-at-it-that RED-bet-REM-BKGR **he**
 '...So then at one time he kept betting,
- b. kava-nana-chigya-pu tu-tugaa-pu-ga.
 horse-RECIP-race-NOM RED-bet-REM
 he kept betting on horse races.
- c. **mámü...**'umü wü-wüsiaa-gha-tü-mü,
they those/O RED-feather-have-NOM-PL/O
 'umü-vwaa-n 'ay-püganbn **'uwas...**
 them-at-LOC say-REM **he**
 So he told the feathered ones (birds)...'

Another common usage of the independent pronoun—this time by itself—can be seen in (22a) and (22c). There is continuity of reference between the preceding text, where Sinawav has already been introduced, and (22b). However, (22b) begins a **new para-**

graph, so Sinawav, though he is a continuous 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, rather, 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 the zero anaphora and the pronoun. When two important referents have been already introduced into the previous discourse, for as long as the same referent continues, typically across a clause-chain, zero-anaphora reference is most commonly used. When reference shift to the other participant, most commonly the independent pronoun is used—all by itself. Thus consider:¹⁴

- (25) a. ...’ú-vway-aqh-’ura-’uru nana-chigya-qha-puga,
 there-at-it-be-that RECIP-race-PL-REM
 ‘...So then they raced,
- b. nanəs puku-vwa-n-av... ’uwas ságharū-mə
 each/S horse/O-at-on-OWN **he** white-AN/O
 puku-gwa-tū ’ura-puga...
 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 accomplished by the independent pronoun ‘*uwas* ‘s/he’.

The next set of examples involves episodes with two previously-introduced important participants. The description 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** (‘inverse’) device.¹⁵

(26) a. ...’áa-gha máy-kya-pūgay-ku, ’ú-vwaa
gentle-PART say-PL-REM-SUB there-at
pāgha’ni-pūga ’**uwas**...
walk.about-REM **he**
‘..as they were whispering (among themselves, **he** paced
around there...’

b. ... puku-’u. nū-nukwī-na-pūga, na-rukwa
horse-his RED-run-HAB-REM REFL-under
qhaa-qharu-na-pūga,
RED-run-HAB-REM
‘...his horse... it kept running, running with his head bent
down,

“má-y-kya-’u!” má-y-pūga ’**uwas**...
say-ANT-3s say-REM **he**
“I’ve told you about him!” **he** said...’

c. ...pa’a-ka-’átu-tu-su’a-pū-a.
complete-NEG-well-feel-REM-NEG
‘... and he (the other guy) felt real bad (about it).

’ú-vway-aqh-unuv-’ura-’uru ’**uwas** chaghacivī
there-at-it-???-be -that/O **he** close
tūga-gha-tū ’ura-pūga-vaachi...
come -PART-NOM be-REM-BKGR
And sure enough, he (Sinawav) used to race only short
distances...’

- d. ...túu-vñi-vøø-puga-ni 'uwasu-ga.
 ...dark-look-go.about-REM-like he-EMPH
 'umus máy-kya-pugay-'u...¹⁶
they say-PL-REM-3s
 '...he kept looking about him with wild eyes. **So** they told him...'
- e. ...'u-vwaa-tukhwa pøø-puga 'umusu-ga.¹⁷
 there-at-to go/PL-REM they-EMPH
 '...and they were coming that way.
- 'úu-pa-su 'uwasu-ga ka-sari-vaani-kwa-pu-a
 there-DIR **he-EMPH** NEG-delay-IRR-go-REM-NEG
 So right there **he**, without delay,
- kukwapi 'uru ma-mágu'na-ta-qha-na-av
 firewood/O the/O RED-gather-PASS-ANT-REL-OWN
 na'a-ti-puga...
 fire-CAUS-REM
 lighted up the firewood that had been gathered (by him)...
- f. ...“kani-ma naguch'a-y, 'iyuruy-aa-n!”
 house-LOC burn-IMM kinswoman-POSS-my
 'áy-kya-puga 'umusu-ga.¹⁸
 say-PL-REM they-EMPH
 '...“your house is burning, my kinswoman!” they told him.
- “ma-mani-ta-sapa-'ara máru” máy-puga 'uwas...
 RED-do.like-PASS-MOD-be that/S say-REM **he**
 “That one always does it this way” he said...'
- g. ...tuguy-whqa-vøø-na-puga-'ura.¹⁹
 hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be
 '... he (Sinawav) was walking about hungry searching (for food).

'ú-vwa-aqh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tu-'ura '**ni-kway** 'ura-puga...
 there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be **WH-MOD** be-REM
 mukwapi aay-puga,
 spider/O find-REM
 so then right there there was **what's-his-name**... he found
 a spider,

pacha'ay-kyay-ku. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura '**uwas** maguni-puga,
 stick-ANT-SUB there-at-it-be **he** pounce-REM
 tuka-vaa-chi-'u.
 eat-IRR-NOM-3s
 who had been stuck there. So the he pounced, aiming to
 eat it.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura '**uwas-'uru** 'áy-puga...
 there-at-it-be **he-that** say-REM
 so then he (the spider) told him...'

What emerges from these examples is a strong interaction between the use of independent pronoun 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 chain-medial, the pronoun marking the returning subject/topic is **post-verbal**. When switch-reference is 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 of the subject/topic in Ute marks **referential discontinuity**—when it involves **important** topics.²¹

7.7. Clitic anaphoric pronouns and zero anaphora

7.7.1. Preliminaries

The use of clitic/anaphoric pronoun in Ute is optional. Such pronouns, short and unstressed, can refer to either the subject, the object, or the possessors ('genitive'). What is more, they are suffixed

not only to the verb, but may appear as suffixes on any first word in the clause ('second position clitics'). These suffixal forms, transparently reduced versions of the set of independent pronouns,²² may be seen in (27) below.

(27) **Clitic pronouns**

| person | singular | dual | plural |
|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 st | -nᵘ 'I/me/my' | -rámi 'we/us/our (incl. you)' | -ráwi 'we/us/our (incl. you)' |
| 2 nd | -mᵘ 'you/your' | -númᵘ 'we/us/our (excl. you)' | -amᵘ 'you/your' |
| 3 rd -vis.AN | -`a 's/he/her/him/his' | -amᵘ 'they/them/their' ²³ | |
| 3 rd -invis.AN | -`u 's/he/her/him/his' | -amᵘ 'they/them/their' | |
| 3 rd -INAN | -aqh 'it/its' | -aqh 'they/them/their' | |
| | -ukh 'it/its' | -ukh 'they/them/their' ²⁴ | |

As noted earlier above, the most common chain-medial continuing-reference marking is **zero anaphora**, and this is certainly true in Ute, where the use of zero-anaphora to mark continuing subjects and objects is much more common than the use of anaphoric/clitic pronouns. Three vexing questions remain less-than-fully resolved about the use of clitic/ anaphoric pronouns in Ute:

- (a) What controls the choice between pronoun and zero anaphora, given that both mark highly-continuous topics?
- (b) What controls the choice between marking the subject, the object, or both, when the verb is transitive and thus takes both a subject and an object?
- (c) Under what condition, if at all, can clitic pronouns appear when the subject or object noun also appear in the clause; i.e., 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 rather subtle. To some extent, studying statistical distribution of the relevant forms in live text may help resolve some issues. But the optional use of grammatical devices often depends on cognitive factors and thematic choices that are not fully amenable to statistical manipulation.

7.7.2. Zero anaphora: The default case of marking topic 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. One may find it, typically, in story-initial context, where for a while the first-introduced participant dominates the discourse. Thus consider:²⁵

- (28) a. yoghovachi 'u, [0]pagha'ni-na-puga-'ura,
 Coyote/S the/S walk.about-HAB-REM-be
 'That Coyote, **he** kept wandering about,
- b. kach [0]'ini-a-sapa paqha-na-pu-a, [0]'əə-'ay-kwa-pu-ga,
 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-sapa [0]paqha-na-pu-a,
 NEG-WH-O-MOD kill-HAB-REM-NEG
 [0]tuguy-whqa-vərə-na-puga-'ura.
 hungry-search-walk-HAB-REM-be
he hadn't killed anything (for a long time), **he** was walking
 about searching hungry.
- d. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ú-vwaa-tu-'ura 'ni-kway 'ura-puga...
 there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be WH-MOD be-REM
 Then, right there, there was what's-his-name...
- e. mukwapi [0]maay-puga, [0]pacha'ay-kyay-ku.
 spider/O find-REM stick-ANT-SUB
he found a spider, as **it** was stuck (there).
- f. 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura '**u**was magəni-pu-ga, [0]tuka-vaa-chi-'**u**.
 there-at-it-be **HE** 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-pəga:
 there-at-it-be **he-that/O** say-REM
 so then **HE** (Spider) said:

h. “‘**ú**m_u-’ura núnay ‘an_u-pa’a-tugwa-n pəni-kya-vaani?”
 you/S-be me WH-long-go-LOC full-ANT-FUT
 “How long would I keep you full?”

i. [0] ‘ay-pəgay-’**u**, “nú-nugway t_uv_uch_i
 say-REM-3s I/S-TOP very
 mí-p_u-v_u-ch_i ’ura’ay”
 small-DIM-DIM-NOM be-IMM
he told **him**, “and I am such a tiny little thing”

j. [0] ‘áy-pəgay-’**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 of that device 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* is in principle 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 ambiguous clitic on the transitive verb must refer to the object”.

Note, however, that principle (29) may be on occasion superfluous. Thus, the clause where the clitic pronoun appears first (28f) is a **purpose clause**, whose equi-subject is obligatorily–syntactically–marked as zero. The only referential reading of the clitic pronoun in that clause must thus 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 to be the active participant in (28h, i, j).

Continued marking with the default zero anaphora seems called for, thus also 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.

7.7.3. 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 is found 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-puga, ’úmʉ chaqura-u, ’uwa-vaa-chʉ...
 step-MASS-REM those/S crane-PL him-at-DIR
 ‘...they landed, those cranes, just next to him...

’uwas-’ura: “’agha-ni-uchaa?” ’áy-puga-**amʉ**...
 he-be WH-do-INCEP tell-REM-**them**
 so he asked **them**: “What are you fixing to do?”...’

- b. ... kh-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-puga,
 then-be-that do-ASP-REM
 '...so he went along (with them),

whsiaavi ma-magha-puay-agay-'u, nani súu-kus...
 feather/O RED-give-REM-ASP- 3s each/S one/O
 and they each gave **him** one feather...'

- c. ...kh-'ura "toghoy-nugwa maru
 then-be good-IMM-TOP that/O
 whisiaavi tu-tuvu-cha'a-nu" máy-puga.
 feather/O RED-pluck-catch-IMP say-REM
 '...then: "It would be better if we pluck his feathers off" said
 (one of them).

kh-'ura kwá-kwávi-gha-amu tu-tuvu-ca'a-pu-gay-ku
 then-be RED-lie/PL-PAR-**they** RED-pluck-catch-REM-**it**
 'uməs...
 they
 So then while they were all asleep (someone) plucked it
 (feathers)...

- d. ..."nú-aa muni ka-ta'wa-puari'i-nu-wa-tu?"
 I-Q your NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM
 máy-puga núgway,
 say-REM TOP
 '..."can't I be your helper please?" he pleaded,

chaqura-y-u 'umə yagha-khwa-miya-ku-amu...
 crane-GEN-PL they/GEN cry-go-go/PL-SUB-**they**
 as the cranes kept going about crying...'

- e. ...resti-kya-khay-ku-'ura,
 rest-PL-ANT-SUB-be
 '...whenever they stopped to rest,

sə'i-mi qova-mi-amu tugwa-amu, yu-a-vaa-tu-**amu**
 pee-HAB face-LOC-them go-them plain-at-DIR-**they**
 tavi-navichi-ku-'uru...
 step-MASS-SUB-that
 he would pee in front of them toward-them, whenever they
 landed in open country...'

- f. ...kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas pu-pui-gyay-kyā-'uru, tapu'ni-puga.
 then-be-that he RED-sleep-PAR-ANT-that wake.up-REM
 '...so then finally after having slept on and on, he woke up.

'umu-aa-tu ya-yagha-puga 'ava-amu yaasi-u-ku...
 them-GEN-NOM RED-cry-REM far-they fly-INCEP-SUB
 One of them kept honking as they were flying away...'

- g. ...'u-vway-aqh pa'a-'uwa-voθo-puga,
 there-at-it complete-jump-go-REM
 '...so he started/kept jumping up and down,

su-supay-kyā-puay-aghay-'u...
 RED-leave-PL/ANT-REM-CONCL-**him**
 they had left him behind...'

- h. ...'umus-'ura 'i-vaa-chu nooghwa-tu
 they-be here-at-DIR pregnant/O
 pa-paqha-khwa-puga,
 RED-kill-go-REM
 '...and indeed they killed a pregnant one right there,

'uwa-nukwa-'uru 'ura-puga-miya-'u,
 she-TOP-that be-REM-go-**she**
 and indeed it was **that one**,

ku-noθo-poθo-pu-**amu**-, 'u nuu-ruachi...
 mouth-carry-go-NOM-**they** t hat human-child/S
 they mouth-carried (her), that child (from the woman)...'

i. ...máy-puay-aghay-'u, nana-qhay-ku-'u.
 say-REM-CONC-3s grow-ANT-SUB-**she**
 ‘... (“Go back to your kin”) he told her, when **she**’d grown up.

'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-puga, 'ú mamachi 'u...
 she-be return-go-REM that/S woman/S the/S
 so then she went back, that (young) woman...’

j. ...kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'umə kwá-navichi-tə-mə-'uru
 then-be he-that those/O run-MASS-NOM-PL/O
 ‘...so then he (raced) those fast runners

'umə nana-chigya-puga-amu...
 those/O RECIP-race-REM-them
 he raced **them**...’

k. ...“...’uru tuka-miya-ku” máy-pagha-puga-**amu**.
 that/O eat-go/PL-SUB say-go-REM-**them**
 ‘... “...when you keep eating that” he kept telling **them**.

'umus kh-'ura wacha-rupə'na-qha-mi,
 they then-be calf.muscle-cramp-PL-HAB
 They kept having calf-muscle cramps,

'áagha-kwá-qhwa-pu-ga-**amu**-’ura 'uwas...
 WH-win-go-REM-**them**-be he
 that’s how he beat **them**...’

l. ...’uni-kya-puga 'umus 'uru, ya’ay-kwa-qhay-ku-'u...
 do-PL-REM they that/O die-ASP-ANT-SUB-**he**
 ‘... so they did that, after he died...’

m....’uwas súwiini púa-'u máy-vaachi:
 he one/S kin-his say-BKGR
 ‘...So one of his kinsmen said:

“kachu-’a pini-vuni-kya-paa-’waa-ni máy-kya-na-**ukh** ’uwas”
 NEG-**he** back-look-PL-IRR-NEG-FUT say-ANT-REL-**it** he
 máy-puga...
 say-REM
 ‘don’t look back! (that’s) what he told us’ he said...’

n. ...kh-’ura ’umus-’uru ’uni-kya-puga, púupa máy-pu-na-’**u**...
 then-be they-that do-PL-REM manner say-NOM-REL-**he**
 ‘...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 pronoun is, technically, a **genitive** pronoun. In nominalized clauses in nominative languages, 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, however meager, conforms to principle (29). That is, the **continuous subject** tends to claim zero anaphora. And further, the **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 yáa’wa-ru-’**u**...²⁸
 bag-O carry-HAB-**he**
 ‘...**he** (always) carries a bag...’

b. ... ’umu-’ura wáa-mamachi-u ’áy-puay-aghay-’**u**...²⁹
 them/O-be two-women/O-PL say-REM-CONC-**he**
 ‘...**he** told the two women...’

c. ...ma-machugwa-puga-s-’u-’ura...³⁰
 RED-squeeze-REM-CONJ-he-be
 ‘...**he** squeezed it tight together...’

d. ...kani-gyay-ku-**am**u-’ura...³¹
 house-have-SUB-**they**-be
 ‘...when/where **they** had a house...’

Clearly, the absolutive distribution of clitic pronouns is a near-absolute tendency in Ute.

Another question raised by examples (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 current sample. Of the **4** cases in the sample, **3** represent subject agreement, **1** object agreement. We will return to this issue directly below (sec. 7.7.4.).

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

(32) a. ...“ ’i-vaa-**n**umu ’ani-ki perə-khwa-y,
 here-at-**we** do-IMM walk-go-IMM
 nagukwi-kya-ta-miya-agma” máy-kya-puga...
 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-puga” “kach-**in** ’ásti-wa máay
 one/S say-REM NEG-**I** want-NEG him/GEN
 ’uni-’a-vaa-ku...”...
 do-ASP-IRR-SUB
 ‘...so one of them said: “**I** don’t want that he do (this)...”...’

c. ...“ ’uru-’ura núnay ya’ay-kwa-qhay-ku-**n**,
 that-be I/GEN die-ASP-ANT-SUB-**I**
 ‘...“so after **I** die,

'uru kukwapi-paa-tugwa-n wunay-kya-n" máy-puga-'ura...
 that/O firewood./O-DIR-go-on throw-PL/IMP- **me**
 please throw **me** on that pile of firewood"...'

- d. "...máy-kya-**nu**-s 'ura-sap. 'uvus..."
 say-ANT-I-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, as **genitive**. While the form of the demonstrative subject *máy* '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 presumably 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 same word. The **6** examples in (33) below are all double-pronoun forms found in our 8-story sample.³³

- (33) a. ...sa'a-khwa-puay-**agha-amu**,³⁴
 boil-go-REM-CONC-**them**
 '...he boiled them,

kh-'ura 'uway Sinawavi-**aqh-amu** magha-puga-amu
 then-be that/O Sinawav/O-**it-them** feed-REM-them
 then he fed them to Sinawav...'

- b. doctor 'ura-puga-vaachi-'u-'uru...³⁵
 doctor be-REM-BKGR-he-that
 '...he was a doctor...'

maay-pugay-'u-amu, doctor-i 'uway...
 find-REM-him-they doctor-O him
 they finally found him, the doctor...'

- c. ...'umu-gaa-ni pu-puni-vaa-tu-'u-amu 'ura-puga-s...³⁶
 they-TOP-like RED-look-IRR-NOM-him-they be-REG-CONJ
 '...and they themselves were going to come and check on
 him regularly...'

- d. ...“'agha-ni-aqh-amu-kwa 'uni-kya-y 'umusuga?”...³⁷
 WH-do-it-they-MOD do-PL-IMM they-TOP
 '...how could they possibly do it?...'

- e. 'agha-ni-aaqh-amu kh-'ura muni maru-s
 WH-do-it-you then-be you/GEN that/O-CONJ
 'uni-kya-ku?...³⁸
 do-PL-SUB
 '...how is it possible when you do it?...'

- f. ...“...naravva-n-ukh-'uru” may-puga...³⁹
 habit-my-it-that say-REM
 '...“...it is a habit of mine” he said...'

Of these examples, (33a) is clearly aberrant, since the two pronoun both refer to the object. once at 'it', followed by 'them'. Examples (33b,c,d,e) are genuine. In all four, further, the object pronoun precede 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.

7.7.4. Pronominal agreement

As we have seen from the admittedly restricted sample in (30) above, clitic pronoun 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 'umu- kwá-navichĩ-tũ-mũ-'uru,
 then-be he- that those/O run-MASS-NOM-PL/O
 '...so then he (raced) those fast runners,

'**umũ** nana-chigya-pu-ga-**amũ**...
those/O RECIP-race-REM-**them**
 he raced **them**...'

- b. ...'umũs-'ura 'i-vaa-chũ nóoghwa-tũ
 they-be here-at-DIR pregnant/O
 pa-páqha-khwa-pũga,
 RED-kill-go-REM
 '...and indeed they killed a pregnant one right there,

'**uwa-nukwa**-'uru 'ura-pũga-miya-'**u**...
she-TOP-that be-REM-go-**she**
 and indeed it was **that one**...'

- c. ... "nó-aa mũni ka-ta'wa-pũari'i-nũ-wa-tũ?"
 I-Q your NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM
 máy-pũga núgway,
 say-REM TOP
 '...“can't I be your helper please?” he pleaded,

chaqura-y-u 'umũ yagha-qha-miya-ku-**amũ**...
crane-GEN-PL the/GEN cry-PL-go/PL-SUB-**they**
 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 topicalizing **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 case-role unambiguous clitic pronouns were counted. The results are given in table (35) below.

(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 pronoun 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 pronoun without agreement

in our sample. The frequency distribution of optional pronominal agreement in our 8-story sample was thus **40/208 = 19.2%**.

7.7.5. 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-puga-amu**...
 he-be WH-do-INCEP **say-REM**-them
 ‘...“what are you fixing to do?” he **asked** them...’

b. **LOC-adverb:** ...'i-vaa-namu 'ani-ki pəɾə-kwa-y
 here-at-we do-IMM go/PL-go-IMM
 nagukwi-kya-ta-miya-gha...
 fight-PL-PASS-go-PART
 ‘...**here** we are flocking (because) there'll be
 fighting...’

c. **LOC-nominal:** ...yua-vaa-tu-amu tavi-navichi-ku-'uru...
 plain-at-DIR-they step-MASS-SUB-that
 ‘...when they would land **in the open country**...’

d. **Negative word:**...kach-in 'asti-wa máay
 ‘...NEG-I want-NEG that.one/GEN
 'uni-'a-vaa-ku...
 do/be-ASP-IRR-SUB
 ‘...I **don't** want him to be (here with us)...’

e. **Time-ADV:**... 'umu-aa-tu ya-yagha-puga 'ara-amu
 them-GEN-NOM/S RED-cry-REM **far**-they
 yáasi-ku...
 fly/PL-SUB
 ‘...one of them kept honking when they flew **far-**
 ther away...’

- f. **Interjection:** ...“ʔvʋs-’u chika-ghwa”...
end-him fetch-go/IMP
 ‘...**alright**, go fetch him...’
- g. **Pronoun:** ...’umʋs-’u...pi-vía-amʋ máy-vaachi...
they-she RED-mother-their say-BKGR
 ‘...**they**... their mother said...’
- h. **Conjunction:** ...“...”’áy-pʋga ’uwas **’ú-vway-aqh-**’u...
 say-REM he **there-at-it**-he
 ‘...“...” he said **then**...’
- i. **Object noun:** kh-’ura **sinawavi**-khu ’uru
 then-be **Sinawav/O**-it that/O
 magha-pʋay-aghay-’u...⁴²
 feed-REM-CONC-him
 ‘...then he fed it **to Sinawav**...’
- j. **Subject pronoun:**...’uwas-ukh ’úu-pa ’uni-pʋga...⁴³
he-it there-DIR do-REM
 ‘...so **he** did just that...’
- k. **Manner ADV:** ...má-ra-tʋ-aa-ni-amʋ
that-be/like-NOM-O-do-they
 ’uni-pʋga-sʋ...⁴⁴
 do-REM-CONJ
 ‘...so they did **exactly that way**...’
- l. **WH-word:**...’ipʋ-m-su-aa-khu ’ inay tʋaani-vaa-tʋ-sʋ
WH-INSTR-CONJ-Q-it this/O skin-IRR-NOM-CONJ
 ’inay?...
 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?

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 ration of zero-anaphora vs. anaphoric clitic pronouns in a Ute text. Zero anaphora is counted only in clauses where the referent is marked

by neither a noun nor an independent pronoun. Clitic pronouns are counted regardless of whether they stand alone or constitute pronominal agreement. We count 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 further below (sec. 7.9).

7.8. 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 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 pronoun, 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, considering 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 mu-ni-'ura agha-paa pəɾə-qwa-gha 'ani-ki?
 here-LOC you/PL/S-be WH-DIR walk/PL-go-PART do-IMM
 LOC S LOC PART-ADV V
 '...Where are y'all going flocking through here?...'

- b. mʉni-'ura núnay kach 'u-vwaa-tʉ nógghwa-y-'ura
 you/S-be me/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 mamachi 'u
 she-be return-go-REM that/S woman/S the/S
 S V S
 '...so she returned home, that woman...'
- f. ma-vaa-tugwa-sʉ-ni mawisi-vaani mama-'ayh-pʉchi
 there-at-go-CONJ-like appear-FUT woman-child-DIM/S
 LOC V S
 '...a young woman will appear right there...'
- g. 'umʉs-nukwa-'ura-'uru suwa-kwáa-khwa-pʉay-aghay-'u
 they-TOP-be-that almost-win-go-REM-CONC-him
 S V
 'uwayas sinawavi
 him Sinawav/O
 O
 '...they almost beat Sinawav (in the race)...'
- h. 'uni-kya-pʉga 'um ʉs 'uru
 do-PL-REM they/S 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 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.
- c. Then, if the gap of absence is relatively small (ca. 2-3clauses 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 **noun phrase**, with, possibly various modifiers, depending on other discourse considerations.

Principles (40) single out three universal type of grammatical devices that are used to code important referents/topics 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 large 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. wíıtus 'ura-puga, **sinawavi** 'ura-puga, **sinawavi**
 past be-REM **Sinawav/S** be-REM **Sinawav/S**
 'u 'ura-qa,
 the/S be-ANT
 'It was long time ago, there was Sinaway, there was that Sinaway,
- b. póo-pa paghay-kwa-puga.
 road-DIR walk-go-REM
 he was going down the road.
- c. kh-'ura **púuch'achi** 'ura-puga-sų,
 then-be **mouse/S** 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** povi'wi-kwa-mi,
tail-POSS-his/him pull-go-HAB
 he used to pull his tail,
- f. manu-khu-tu mani-miya-sų,
 all-OBJ-NOM-OBJ do.like-HAB-CONJ
 he would do that all the time,
- g. qa-qháaru-mi kh-'ura 'uni-gya.
 RED-run-HAB then-be do-PART
 then he would run away doing that.
- h. 'uwas-'ura ka-puka-manay-pəre-'a-tų
he-be NEG-very-move-go-HAVE/NEG-NOM
 'ura-puga-vaachi,
 be-REM-BKGR
 Now HE (Sinawav) was never very fast-moving,

- i. ka-túusapa- mani-'wa-na-p̄ua-vaachi...
 NEG-hurry- do.like-NEG-HAB-REM/NEG-BKGR
 he could never move like that in a hurry [gesture]...
- j. ka-'qomo-'na-p̄ua-vaachi.
 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 (SV), twice. It continues in the next clause (41b) as **zero** subject. In (41c) the second main participant (Mouse) is introduced, again as a **pre-posed** subject (SV), 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). In clause (41h), a mid-paragraph switch-reference, back to Sinawav, is affected by the **independent pronoun** 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-khwā-'ura 'uwas t̄v̄uchi na'ay'a-p̄ga,
 follow-go-be **he** very angry-REM
 '...then finally he (Sinawav) got real angry,
- b. na'ay'a-k̄-'u 'uni-p̄ga-vaachi.
 angry-BEN-him do-REM-BKGR
 he got angry at him (Mouse) for what he was doing.
- c. 'ú-vway-aqh na'ay'a-qhay-ku...
 there-at-it angry-ANT-SUB
 So when he got angry...

- d. *sicha'wa-puga-vaachi-'u kh-'ura qha-qháaru-puga,*
 trick-REM-BKGR-him then-be RED-run-REM
 (because) (Mouse) had tricked him and then ran away,
- e. *páaqhachi-naagha yuga-khwa-puga.*
 hole/O-in enter-go-REM
 and (he) entered into a hole.
- f. *páaqhachi-naagha yuga-khwa-pugay-ku 'uwas,*
 hole/O-in enter-go-REM-SUB **he**
 So when he entered into a hole,
- g. *'uuuu... 'iya-kwa-pu-ga tí páaqhachi-naagha.*
 "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 referent-topic 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) 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-púgaa**-[ni]:
he-be say-REM-like
 So then he (Sinawav) thought:
- b. “**'ipá-sapá**-**'uru** **'ura-gupú** **pa**'a-toghwa-tú
 WH-MOD-it be-SUBJUN complete-right-NOM/S
 “What would possibly be so long
- c. kh-**'ura** **nú**' **'u**-ma **'uni**-**kú** **chúkur**'a-gupú...
 then-be I/S there-LOC do-SUB poke-SUBJUN
 so that I may poke it in there...
- d. piyoghwa-khwá **'uway** pana-khwá?"
 pull-go **him** back-go
 and pull him back out of there?"
- e. manu-khú -tú-aa-sú **'uni**-púga,
 all-O-NOM-O-CONJ do-REM
 So he tried all kinds of things,
- f. **'ivichi** **kúu-púga**, **cúkur**'a-púga, **'úu**-pa-tú **tí**
 stick/O take-REM poke-REM there-DIR-DIR high
 he took a stick and poked it, high up there,
- g. kachu-**'u** **sapigya**-páa.
 NEG-he can-REM/NEG
 But he couldn't (get him).
- h. **púuch'****achi** **'u** **kiya**-**ká**-**kwa**-púgay-**'u**
mouse/S **the**/S laugh-BEN-go-REM-him
'i-na-khwá-paa **tí**,
 here-LOC-go-at high
 That mouse just laughed at him high up there,
- i. **'ini**-**'a**-púgay-**'u**-kway:
 do-ASP-REM-him-MOD
 he just did it (teased him) like that:

- k. “**avatu-mu**” **sicha’wa-qa-’u**.
big-AN tease-ANT-him
“You are big” he teased him
- l. **’uwas-’uru** **’ay-na-puga náaaaa...**
he-that/O say-HAB-REM náaaaa
he used to call him that náaaaa...
- m. “**avatu wa’a-qa-tu**” **máy-na-pugay-’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-ku**,
he-be that-be-EMPH
He (Sinawav) was indeed like that,
- o. **’áy-na-puga-vaachi**, **’íi-pa-kwa-su-’ura...**
say-HAB-REM-BKGR here-DIR-go-CONJ-be
he (Mouse) used to call him that, it was like this [gesture]...
- p. **’uru** **’ura-qa...** **’uru** **’uni-aa-gha-y** **wíitus-’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-puga-vaachi** **’urusu-ga**.
complete-straight-REM-BKGR that-TOP
it was so long, that thing.
- r. **’íi-pa** **kh-’ura** **’uwas** **wachu-vorø-na-puga-vaachi**
her-LOC then-be **he** put-go-HAB-REM-BKGR
’avatu-kwa-na-va’agha.
shoulder/O-go-LOC-over
so that he used to carry it over his shoulder.
- s. **’ú-ra-ku-’u** **sicha’a-na-puga-vaachi-’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 a **pre-posed** independent pronoun. In (43-l) the usage seems to be superfluous, given that Mouse continues topical referent, and may be due to a thematic break. But in (43n), (43p) and (43r) the **pre-posed** independent pronoun is again used to mark switch-reference. Finally, the **post-posed** independent pronoun (VS) 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 referent tends to appear in a **chain-final**, or paragraph-final, or episode-final clause.

All the examples of VO order found in paragraphs (41), (42) and (43) above indeed 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

7.9. 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) **Synchronic coherence:**

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, of course, 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 but rather 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 for topic switching. The vast majority of the clitic pronoun display an absolute 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 terminal boundary of the thematic unit. Most clitic pronouns 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 begs for a diachronic interpretation of the data, so that one may wish to ask the second, obvious question:

(46) Is the synchronic distribution of the optional variations noted above diachronically coherent?

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 functional ‘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 an ‘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, and thus appear early in the clause. When they become de-stressed and then 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.

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 important topic 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:

Language that currently display obligatory pronominal agreement have, in the past, been languages with flexible word-order and second-position pronominal clitics.

Endnotes

- ¹ See Givón (2001, ch. 18).
- ² “Sinawav the copycat”, told by Harry Richards. All citations of Ute narratives in this chapters are taken from Givón (ed. 1985).
- 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 (1979, ch. 3, or 2001, vol. I, ch. 8).
- ⁴ In a traditional, small-scale intimate society where knowledge is time-stable and is universally known to all competent adult members, generic-subject propositions are not all that useful.
- ⁵ “Porcupine, Sinawav and buffalo cow”, told by Mollie B. Cloud .
- 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.
- ⁷ “How Sinawav got his yellow eyes”, told by Mollie B. Cloud.
- 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.
- ¹² “Sinawav and the seven stars”, told by Mollie B. Cloud.
- ¹³ “Sinawav racing the birds and betting”, told by Julius Cloud.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- 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.
- ²⁰ Clausal conjunctions and their interaction with other elements of thematic coherence Are discussed in a later chapter (ch.).

- 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 distressed independent pronouns. (Givón 1976).
- ²³ The form -'a is rarely used, and is probably on its way out.
- ²⁴ The form -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.
- ²⁵ "Hungry coyote races skunk for the prairie dogs", told by Mollie C. Cloud.
- ²⁶ "Sinawav and the Seven Stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.
- ²⁷ See discussion in Givón (2001, vol. II, ch. 11).
- 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.
- 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).
- ³⁴ "Sinawav the copycat", told by 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.
- ⁴⁰ Listed in Fn. 29, above.
- ⁴¹ "Sinawav and the seven sisters", told by Mollie C. Cloud.
- 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.
- ⁴⁶ "Sinawav and the seven stars", told by Mollie B. Cloud.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- 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.

⁵⁰ See Givón (1983a,b).

⁵¹ See Givón (1976, ed.1983).

⁵² See DuBois (1987).

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