



1981

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Recommended Citation

Willett, Elizabeth R. (1981) "Noun phrase components in Southeastern Tepehuan," *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*: Vol. 25 , Article 3.

DOI: 10.31356/silwp.vol25.03

Available at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers/vol25/iss1/3>

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NOUN PHRASE COMPONENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN TEPEHUAN

Elizabeth R. Willett

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0. Introduction

My purpose in this study is to explore ways in which speakers of Southeastern Tepehuan talk about persons, places and things, the semantic notions generally associated with nouns. Although in English we are accustomed to expressing such ideas as quantity, quality, orientation, or possession of an item with a noun phrase, we cannot assume that in other languages semantic categories will always correspond to the expected syntactic categories as we know them in English. For instance, in Southeastern Tepehuan adjectival ideas are always expressed as predicates. On the other hand, some surface dependent clauses which at first appraisal seemed to be descriptive relative clauses embedded in a noun phrase, might not be part of the noun phrase at all, but independent predicates, subordinate only in discourse perspective.

Not only is the correspondence between semantic and syntactic categories skewed (from an English speaker's point of view), but so also are the classes within one type of semantic category. We discover that within the set of adjectival ideas some seem to be viewed as being somehow noun-ish and occur syntactically as

predicate nouns. In the Tepehuan mind, moreover, the complete set of nouns is separated into subsets of countable and non-countable nouns in a very different way from English. For instance, in Tepehuan one cannot pluralize or de-pluralize the word for flower; it is inherently a group in Tepehuan perception. Additionally, things or relations fall into two sets as to how they are marked for possession, depending upon whether or not they are held in a status relation. Some items may never occur in the language without possession; others may never show direct possession because of semantic class constraints.

The bulk of this paper is devoted to components that fit semantically in a noun phrase although they may occur in a variety of surface grammatical forms. I do not attempt to describe finally all of the syntactic constituents that can occur within the noun phrase, or in what order and in what combinations, or with what embeddings they occur. My purpose has been merely to explain how an item is portrayed in Southeastern Tepehuan with respect to quantity, quality, orientation, or possession.

Classifications used in this paper are taken from the outline "Noun Phrase Components" by David Thomas. Most examples studied and cited are from native-authored texts, the oral versions of which were first recorded on cassette, then transcribed and translated into Spanish by native speakers.

1. Kinds of semantic noun phrases

The most frequently encountered type of noun phrase in Tepehuan, represented by about ninety percent of all noun phrases in a text frequency count, is the semantically simple noun phrase. This refers to or describes only one entity using only one noun:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1a. gu nacsɨr | <i>the scorpion</i> |
| b. gu cúp'n | <i>his hair</i> |
| c. gu nancagua' | <i>the earrings</i> |
| d. Susba'ntam | <i>Frog Town</i> |
| e. güi' nam tunúca'n | <i>they that guard</i> |
| f. jɨ'c goc siman | <i>about two weeks</i> |
| g. gu cutúna'n gux chuc | <i>her black blouse</i> |

A few noun phrases encountered in texts are compound in the sense that they are talking about two or more entities with a noun for each one, the entire list playing a unified role in the syntax:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 2a. gu jun guio gu bav, imay, chílac | <i>corn, beans, and green squash</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

is the object of a sentence;

2b. gu quio' guio gu curat *the other bird and the woodpecker*
is a subject.

In a third type of semantic noun phrase two nouns in apposition are employed in the description of a single item:

3a. jir dyi' gu 'uví na bai'vajimjia,
it-is this the woman that up-there-already-is-coming
It is this woman that is coming,
gu joñga'n gu ja'nñi'ñ ...
the wife-his the relative-his
his relative's wife,...

b. guch nan María Santísima *our mother, Very Holy Mary.*

A sequence of two nouns is used to express a certain type in a class of things or people:

4a. quii'ñcam co'	<i>rattlesnake</i>
b. mamra'n 'u'uv	<i>female children</i>
c. quihlí tacáruí'	<i>male chicken (rooster)</i>
d. 'ahlí 'o'dam	<i>Indian child</i>
e. 'ahlí chio'ñ	<i>male child</i>
f. 'on co'cohl	<i>chile salt</i>
g. chiñvo	<i>mouth hair (beard or moustache)</i>
h. bi'ñvac	<i>clay house</i>

The last two examples differ from the others in that they have only one accent center, rather than two. This may be evidence that they are truer compound nouns, or merely be a result of the fact that the original nouns were shorter, and thus could be so reduced.

2. Quantifiers

2.1 Specific numbers

The numbers one through five, and ten, are native Tepehuan words in common use by all speakers:

- 5a. ma'n *one*
 b. goc *two*
 c. vaic *three*
 d. mácov *four*
 e. jixchamam *five*
 f. mambix *ten*
6. goc p̄ic jatutquichu'
 two count them-carry-on-back-animate
She is carrying two (children) on her back.
7. gu jun jixchamam
 the corn five
five (kernels) of corn
8. mácov tumñix
 four monies-is
Indian measure of money equal to half a peso Mexican money
9. gu chichio'ñ j̄ic mambix jamit'ay, guio gu 'u'uv
 the men count ten they-arrived and the women
Ten men arrived, and also ten women, which makes twenty.

The numbers six through nine are derived by some speakers from the numbers one through four respectively by the use of the prefix xiuv-. Spanish forms are used for all other numerals, although less than twenty-five years ago, a twenty-base number system was described.

Specific numbers, except for five, occur without article or affix. I do not know why jixchamam *five* occurs with the stative predicate prefix jix-. This prefix occurs on most semantic adjectives. The number five is prominent in the Tepehuan folklore and religious system; for instance, the xiotahl is a five-day religious fast observed three times a year. Man and his dog were given five kernels of corn at the creation of the world. In a folktale, the participants generally travel for five days. Larger numbers used are often multiples of ten.

2.2 Specific numbers used figuratively

Specific numbers may be used figuratively, that is, unspecifically. A person asking for one tortilla really means he wants a couple or a very few tortillas. If he asks for two tortillas, he wants a few more than a very little, but still not very many. This figurative use of one and two is used for other things besides tortillas, such as firewood or corn or beans. It probably is true for any mass noun.

If individual nouns are treated differently from mass and aggregate nouns in respect to pluralization (section 2.4), then we should not be surprised that they are counted in different ways. Our perspective as English speakers is not the same in this area as SET speakers. They use specific numbers to mean correspondingly small or large unspecific amounts for what they regard as inherently grouped items.

A somewhat baffling use of specific numbers unspecifically is the response of women when asked how many children they have (literally, how many they are childing). Their answer is usually something like

10. vaic, mácov *three, four.*

The interpretation of this can hardly be that the speaker first claimed to have three children and then suddenly remembered that she actually had four. It is unlikely to mean that three are living and one dead, since the verb is in the present tense. Either the number of children is usually not counted, or else it is an unspecific use of numbers for something an English speaker would be very specific about. Frequently a woman will answer *mui'* *many*, indicating more than five children.

2.3 General numbers

General number words are often heard alone as incomplete sentences in answer to questions.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 11a. | vix | <i>all,</i> | vix tanohl | <i>all day</i> |
| b. | mui' | <i>many,</i> | mui' tanohl | <i>many days</i> |
| c. | navap | <i>every,</i> | navap tanohl | <i>each day, every day</i> |
| d. | tac | <i>half,</i> | ma'n 'oidya' damam tac | <i>one year
and a half</i> |
| e. | day, daipui' | <i>only</i> | | |
| f. | daipuma'n | <i>only one</i> | | |
| g. | -pix ~ pic | <i>just, exactly</i> | | |

h.	ma'npix	<i>just one</i>
i.	ji'xni	<i>this much</i>
j.	ji'xni guë'guër	<i>this big</i>
k.	palip, palip'ahl	<i>a little</i>
l.	más que	<i>more than (Spanish loan)</i>
m.	palippup va'a'	<i>not quite</i>
n.	su'nguim, sudai'	<i>full</i>
o.	'ampix	<i>enough</i>
p.	ji'cchi	<i>a few</i>
q.	sia	<i>even</i>
r.	sia jaguë'guër	<i>even the big ones</i>
s.	chamjaroi'	<i>no one</i>
t.	chamtu'	<i>nothing</i>

When these quantifiers occur in a sentence, they occur clause-initially when in focus, clause or phrase finally otherwise. When in initial focus position, they may be separated by the verb from the noun they modify.

12. Ma'n pix jixmaxca' nañ vuiñor via'ca'
 one just it is possible that-I with have
 gu 'uví.
 the woman
It is right for me to have only one woman for myself.
13. Gu tuqui'ñ gu vapó ji'xni guë'guer nam
 the ball the wool this big that-they
 quë'n mai'yasa'.
 with-which were-throwing.
the ball of wool this big that they were throwing...

14. Cavuimuc nat xia'mit mutití
 morning that-was dawned there-found
 palíppix mija'p dará gu cupa'n.
 little-just right-there sat the hair-his.

When morning had dawned they found (nothing left of him except) just a little of his hair.

15. Mi' pudá vix tanohl.
 there just-sat all day.
There he just sat all day.

16. Palíp'ahl jupdú gu quis
 little-bit was-made the cheese
Only a little bit of cheese was made.

Most discourses end with the statement

17. Ja'pni daipui'.
 like-this only
That's all.

2.4 Pluralization

Nouns and adjectives must agree in number. The plural stem is formed by reduplicating the first syllable. Plural stems fall into two unpredictable groups according to whether the reduplicated syllable is long, CVV, or short, CV. The first group includes stems that pluralize with a long vowel in the first syllable, regardless of whether the first vowel of the root is long or short. The second group includes stems that pluralize by reduplicating only the first vowel, regardless of whether the first syllable of the root contains a single vowel, a geminate sequence, or a diphthong.

18.

<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>		<u>gloss</u>	<u>vowel lengths of first two syllables</u>
a. cá [̄] m	cá [̄] cá [̄] m	→ cácam	<i>cheek(s)</i>	long-long
b. gá [̄] t	gagá [̄] t		<i>bow(s)</i>	short-long
c. ban	bá [̄] ban		<i>coyote(s)</i>	long-short
d. cos	cocos	→ cacos	<i>nest(s)</i>	short-short
e. guiot̄ir	guioguiot̄ir	→ guio'ntir	<i>plain(s)</i>	long-diphthong
f. guioda'	guiguioda'		<i>dove(s)</i>	short-diphthong
g. maicac	maimaicac	→ maimcac	<i>sweet</i>	long-diphthong
h. moic	momoic	→ mamoi [̄] c	<i>soft</i>	short-diphthong

Adjectives of shape differ from other adjectives and nouns in that they pluralize by reduplicating the first CV(V) with a long vowel and a glottal stop:

19a. tē [̄] v	tē [̄] 'tē [̄] v	<i>long</i>
b. xicó [̄] hlic	xí [̄] 'xcohlic	<i>round</i>
c. cavú [̄] hlic	cá [̄] 'cvuhlic	<i>spherical</i>

Mass and aggregate nouns, as in Papago, do not reduplicate; the same word is used for singular and plural:

20a. bav	<i>bean(s)</i>
b. yóxi'	<i>flower(s)</i>
c. t̄imcahl	<i>tortilla(s)</i>

In reduplicated stems, the first *v* between vowels changes to *p*. This is not limited to the reduplicated pair of syllables, but applies anywhere in the entire stem:

21a. via'ñcai', vipia'ñcai'	<i>lizard(s)</i>
b. vávax, vapávax	<i>pheasant(s)</i>
c. t̄irvin, t̄t̄ropin	<i>rope(s)</i>

Some words have the characteristics of plural forms, that is, they show reduplication or *v* to *p* change; but there is no singular used:

- 22a. 'u'ú *arrow(s)*
 b. jijí'ñ *its intestine(s)*

Although several verbs have suppletive stems when used with plural subjects, only one known noun forms the plural by suppletion:

- 23a. ma'ncam *person*
 b. ja'tcam *people*

Most Spanish loans use Spanish-like pluralization:

24. avion, avionis *plane(s)*

3. Possession

Possession of an item is marked by the affixes

- 25a. jiñ- *my*
 b. jum- *your*
 c. -'n *his/hers/its*
 d. jich- *our*
 e. jam- *your (pl.)*
 f. ja- *their*

Unless a person or animal is directly addressed, it is usually preceded by the article *gu*, which combines phonologically with the possessive prefixes *jiñ-*, *jum-*, and *jich-* to give *guñ-*, *gum-*, and *guch-*.

Semantic relationships following this possessive marking include owner, body part, occupant or user, source or origin, and kin relation. A few examples of these are

- 26a. gu va'qui'ñ *his house*
 b. gu cúpa'n *his hair*
 c. jich'o'ntam *our ceremonial place*
 d. gu qui'i'ncam co' gu víña'n *rattlesnake wine*
 e. gum nan *your mother*

3.1 Kin relation

Kin relation terms are interesting in that they are in many cases suppletive for various possessors, and often reciprocal. For example:

- 27a. guñ nan *my mother*
 gu di'i'n *his mother*
- b. guñ xix *my older sibling*
 gu xiogi'n̄ *his older sibling*
- c. guñ xicu' *my younger sibling*
 gu s̄pdyi'n̄ *his younger sibling*
- d. jiñ jícuhl *my uncle (younger brother of*
 father) or my nephew or niece (child of older
 brother) in direct address
- e. guñ quihlí *my uncle (older brother of*
 father) or my nephew or niece (child of
 younger brother)

3.2 Use of *ga* for status relation

The possession of domestic animals or pets is indicated in the same way as other possession except that, in addition, *-ga* is suffixed to the root. The morpheme *-ga* becomes a glottal stop in word final position by two phonological rules which drop final vowels and convert final *g* to glottal stop; medial vowels drop in the syllable following accent.

- 28a. guñ gagóxi' *my dog*
 gu gagoxga'n *his dog*
- b. guñ casnira' *my sheep*
 gu casnirga'n *his sheep*
- c. guñ toxcohli' *my pig*
 gu toxcohlga'n *his pig*

jiñxoi' *my pet* used alone usually refers to one's dog, but in wider usage may be used to mean *my pet*. It must be used for non-typically possessed animals, as they cannot be possessed linguistically. Anything beyond the usual barnyard animals cannot be possessed, except by the use of the term *pet*.

-tuqui diminutive is used instead of *-ga* on the Spanish loan for cow; note that it is spelled *-tuc* word finally.

29. guñ váctuc *my cow*
 gu váctuqui'n̄ *his cow*

Regarding its use as a diminutive, -tuqui is not limited to animals, but may be optionally suffixed (within the limits of common usage) to anything from nouns denoting human beings to those denoting inanimate objects:

- 30a. jiñ'a'ahlchuc *my children*
 b. guñ 'u'uantuc *my papers*

-ga appears as the last syllable of the words for pet, puppy, father-in-law, and wife, probably showing that they always include the idea of possession:

- 31a. guñ 'o' *my father-in-law*
 gu 'óga'n *his father-in-law (infrequently used)*
 b. guñ soi' *my pet*
 gu soiga'n *his pet*
 c. guñ jóñi' *my wife*
 gu joñga'n *his wife*
 d. gu xíga'n *the puppy*

However, the roots soi *humble*, jóñi *to marry*, and xí *to suckle* appear in other words in the language. Therefore, we can guess that pets, wife, and father-in-law are probably in a class named status relation. Thus the addition of -ga to the root can be generalized. -ga is used along with the possessive affixes to indicate a possessive relationship of status; that is, a status which is alterable. The division between alienable and inalienable possession does not fit the data exactly because items such as houses or clothes, which often change hands among family members or transients, do not use the status relation marker -ga.

- 32a. gu vá'qui'n *his house*
 b. gu cutuna'n *her blouse*

Another example which supports this hypothesis is the use of -ga in a special instance on the word for shaman. It is used by a person who is presently undergoing rituals for healing from his "personal" healer. The suffix -ga is not used at all times on the possessed word for shaman; -tuqui may be used in a different situation.

- 33a. jiñ-macguimi-ga → jiñmacguimi'
 my-healer-status
 the healer who is working for me at the present time

- b. jĩñ-macguĩmi-tuqui → jĩñmacguĩmtuc
 my-healer-diminutive
the healer to whom I go when I need help

34a. /'ona/ salt

- b. gu 'on the salt

- c. Jir-jĩñ-'ona-ga → Jirjĩñ'ona'.

It's-my-salt-status

It's my salt.

- d. Jir-'ona-ga-'n gu Juana. → Jir'onga'n gu Juana.

It's-salt-status-her Juana

It's Juana's salt.

35. 'Ali'ch jap jĩñ maqui-a' gum su'ngui'.

A-little you me give-will your water-status

Please give me a little of your water.

- 36a. gum juna' your corn

- b. gu junga'n his corn

3.3 Other aspects of possession

The possessor may come before or after the possessed item; the one mentioned first is probably in focus.

- 37a. Jir'onga'n gu Juana. *It's Juana's salt.*

- b. Juan jir-cavai-ga-'n

John it's-horse-status-his

It's John's horse.

A combination of two or more possessives may occur, but if all are in the third person singular, they may become ambiguous. In the following examples 3pS means third person singular.

- 38a. gu joñga'n gu dĩ'ĩ'n gu Juan

the wife-3pS POSS the mother-3pS POSS John

John's mother-in-law

- b. guch nan gu dɛ'ɛ'n
 our mother the mother-3pS POSS
the mother of our (sacred) mother
- c. gu joŋga'n gu sɪpdyi'ñ
 the wife-3pS the younger sibling-3pS
his younger brother's wife or his wife's younger brother

If the possessed item is not mentioned, the possessor or possessive pronoun is marked with the suffix *-ga'n*.

- 39a. ¿Jaróga'n? *whose?*
- b. Juanga'n *John's*
- c. 'aŋga'n *mine*
- d. dyiga'n *his*

Possession can be expressed by verbs, with the use of *via'* *have* or by the use of the construction SCOPE +NOUN +PERSON MARKER.

40. ¿Jɛ'c jap via' gu tatoxcohl?
 how many you have the pigs
How many pigs do you have?
41. Ja'ptu'm tu- tón- 'am na vác.
 like SCOPE-leg-they that cow(s)
They have legs like cows.
42. ¿Jɛ'c jap tu- mámar?
 how many you SCOPE- children
How many children do you have?
43. cham- tu- sa'ua- 'iñ
 negative-SCOPE-blanket- I
I don't own a blanket.

4. Quality

In Tepehuan, quality is usually expressed by the stative prefix *jix-* followed by the adjectival root. This is true for all non-inherent qualities, adjectives of evaluation, and animate attributes. *jix-* is replaced by *cham-* for a negation of quality. *xix-* means *it is overly*.

44a.	<i>jixgac</i>	<i>it's dry</i>
b.	<i>jix'icóra'</i>	<i>it's dirty</i>
c.	<i>jixmuca'</i>	<i>it's itchy</i>
d.	<i>jix'abar</i>	<i>it's beautiful</i>
e.	<i>jix'i'ov</i>	<i>it's delicious</i>
f.	<i>jixquí'</i>	<i>it's good</i>
g.	<i>jixbam</i>	<i>he's angry</i>
h.	<i>jixjéqui'</i>	<i>he's happy</i>
i.	<i>jixbai'mtat</i>	<i>he's contented</i>
j.	<i>chambai'</i>	<i>it's not okay</i>
k.	<i>chamquí'</i>	<i>it's not good</i>
l.	<i>chamtu' 'abar</i>	<i>it's not at all beautiful</i>
m.	<i>champíc maicac</i>	<i>it's not very sweet</i>
n.	<i>xixmaicac</i>	<i>it's too sweet</i>
o.	<i>xixxi,jay</i>	<i>it's overly hard</i>

4.1 Use of *jix-* and *jir-*.

Inherent qualities divide into two groups as to whether they are preceded by *jix-* or *jir-*. Adjectives of three-dimensional shape are preceded by *jir-*, whereas all other inherent qualities use the stative prefix *jix-*. It must be understood that this categorization is in the minds of SET speakers and may not be readily observed through an English gloss. Shape adjectives, as mentioned in section 2.4, are also unique in that they pluralize differently from other nouns and adjectives in the language, with long reduplication and an inserted glottal stop.

- 45a. jixmaicac *it's sweet*
 b. jixchuc *it's black*
 c. jixcavoc *it's thick (flat object)*
 d. jixmoic *it's soft*
 e. jixcumáhlic *it's flat (2 dimensional)*
 f. jixcuvúhlic *it's narrow*
- 46a. jirguë' *it's big*
 b. jirsarvac *it's fat, thick (roundish)*
 c. jirtëv *it's long*
 d. jir'ali'ch *it's little*
 e. jircavúhlic *it's spherical*
 f. jir'ardi'ch *it's thin (roundish, 3-
 dimensional)*
 g. jirxicóhlic *it's rounded*
 h. jircumárac *it's wide*

In other contexts, *jix-* is used as the predicate for all stative verbs, whereas *jir-* is used with predicate nouns. This may be an indication that three-dimensional attributes in the minds of SET speakers are more noun-like than verb-like. An example of *jir-* used as an identification predicate is

- 47a. ʒTu' 'u'ux-dya' dyi tɨtnora'?
 what tree-type these cornerposts
What kind of wood are these cornerposts made of?
- b. Jir- ga'duc-dyo
 IDENT - cedar -answer
They're cedar.

Three sentences from the creation story folktale illustrate jir- preceding nouns as a predicate; in the first two cases jir- is elided to -r.

48. Dai-ji gu gagox v^hma'n na-va' mi-jiví
 only-emphasis the dog with thus there-was-left
 nagu' -r soi-ga-'n-jia
 because-IDENT pet-status-his-emphasis

Only the dog was left with him because she was his pet.

49. Natva'gu' bai' -ji-ai-jia, natpai'
 when-then there-begin-arrive-emphasis when
 m^hji-d^hir vus, gu' - r 'uví.
 there-from went-out but IDENT woman

Then when he approached, when it went out from there, it was a woman.

50. Ja'pni pui'va' pu-p jir- ma'ncam gu gagox
 like-this just-thus just-also IDENT-person the dog

Thus just like this the dog also was a person.

4.2 Other means of expressing quality.

Another means of expressing quality, for describing material or a specific type of something, is compounding nouns.

- 51a. 'umu' vonam *straw hat*
 b. bi'ñvac *clay house*

Relative clauses are used to modify or describe nouns and pronouns:

52. guí' na- m tu- núca'n
 3p that-3pP SCOPE- guard
they that guard

53. güi' na mi'- r mayordomo
 3p that there IDENT steward
he that is steward there
54. dyi sapoc na-m cai'ch
 this story that-3pP tell
this story that they tell

Resultant states can be formed by using the stative suffix *-ix*. The quality of wanting to do something, that is, the desiderative, is formed by using the prefix *jix-* and the suffix *-m*.

- 55a. sarnix it's torn
 b. jixcóxim he's sleepy
 c. tubiñohlix it's loaded
 d. tu'u'uañix it's written
 e. jixchuga'rim he's wanting to sell it

The *tu-^hchu-* in the last three examples is the scope prefix, which may be used on verbs to show continuing action, before adjectives to widen their range or distribution, and before nouns with the subject marker to make them into verbs showing possession, as mentioned in section 3.3.

56. tu- juan
 SCOPE- work
He is working.
- 57a. jix- 'abar
it's -beautiful
- b. jix-chu- 'abar
 it's-SCOPE- beautiful
It's all beautiful (e.g. a landscape).
- 58a. jix- chótoi
 it's-P-white
They're white.

b. jix- chu- tótoi
 it's-SCOPE-P-white
They're all white (e.g. in landscape).

59 . jix- chu- xijay
 it's SCOPE hard
It's all so hard.

60 . jix-chu- dya'ra'
 it's SCOPE expensive
Everything is expensive.

An alleged statement contains the term *sap*, quoted, that is second-hand information, or *sac* reputed. An uncertain or questioned item is added by the suffix *-chi*.

61. sapva'p títta gu dǐ'ǐ'n -jia
 it-is-said said the mother-his- emphasis
it is said that his mother said to him...

62. cham jai'ch sap
 negative exist said
There isn't any in existence, they said. (in story)

63. pai' chi sac Altar
 where (I'm uncertain) reputed named Altar
the place where, I'm uncertain, but think it is reputed to be called Altar

64. Tu- juan-da' va' jǐ'c -chi tanohl qui'n.
 SCOPE-work-FUT CONT then number-uncertain day INSTR
He worked, then, for several days.

5. Orientation

Orientation of a noun phrase is clarified through the use of definite or indefinite articles, demonstratives, locationals, order words and time words.

5.1 Articles

The definite article *gu* is not inflected for number or any other parameter; it contracts with particles beginning with *j* and a high vowel such as the possessive pronouns and *jix-*. It should not be confused with *gu'*, which is a conjunction, and contracts with the same particles. The indefinite article is formed by the number one *ma'n* followed by *gu*. The two parts of the indefinite article may be separated by the verb. Use of an article is obligatory, except following the identification predicate *jir-* *it is*, or a locational.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 65a. | <i>gu t̃mcahl</i> | <i>the tortillas</i> |
| | b. <i>gu 'uví</i> | <i>the woman</i> |
| | c. <i>gu nancaguaia'</i> | <i>the earrings</i> |
| 66a. | <i>ma'n gu chio'ñ</i> | <i>a man</i> |
| | b. <i>'añ ma'n ya- via' gu yóxi'</i> | |
| | I one here-have the flower | |
| | <i>I have here a flower.</i> | |
| 67a. | <i>guch soi'cam</i> | <i>Our Humble One (Jesus Christ)</i> |
| | b. <i>guñ xix</i> | <i>my older sibling</i> |
| | c. <i>gux 'abar gu 'uví</i> | <i>the beautiful woman</i> |

5.2 Demonstratives and locationals

Choice of demonstratives and locationals depends on whether or not the noun is in sight and how distant it is from the speaker; they may be made more specific by the addition of *-ni*. Locationals also express whether the object mentioned is up or down from the speaker's feet. The locationals are prefixed to the name of the place, which may be a person to whom one is going.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 68a. | <i>ya'(ni)</i> | <i>here in sight</i> |
| | b. <i>mi'(ñi)</i> | <i>there in sight down</i> |
| | c. <i>mu, mummu(ni)</i> | <i>there out of sight down</i> |
| | d. <i>ba, bammu(ni)</i> | <i>out of sight up</i> |
| | e. <i>bai' (ñi)</i> | <i>in sight up</i> |
| | f. <i>gamm̃j̃j̃</i> | <i>way over there past level</i> |

- g. gámaja'c *farther level*
 h. -ja'c, ja'p *in the direction of indefinite, definite*
 i. güi'(ñi) *that, him, her, it (out of sight)*
 j. dyi'(ñi) *this, him, her, it (in sight)*
 k. dyi' dyi *this very*
 l. -där *from*

Some examples of locationals taken from texts are

69. ya' dyi 'oiñga'n
 here this world
70. ya' dyi'-dyi Juc-tär
 here specif-this pine-among
 here in this very Pine Grove (Town)
71. mi-chiop
 down there-church
 down there at the church
72. mummu- quia'mi-'ni
 down-over-there-home-his
 down there over at his home
73. mu- ja'c- Norte
 down-there-towards-the North country
 from down there in the direction of the United States
74. mummu gu pahl vuiñor
 down-there the priest in the presence of
 down there with the priest
75. gammǝjǝ va -r 'ǝrvandǝr -ja'c
 way-over-there already- is inside-of-indef. direction
 Way over there it was already inside of...

5.3 Location

Location is also expressed by post-positions, as in native place names, with the suffixes *-tam* *place of*, *-ta'm* *on* (in either the sense of location or time), and *-tir* *inside*. Note that the initial *t* of these suffixes is palatalized after *i*.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| 77a. | Susba'ntam | <i>Frog Town, place of frogs</i> |
| b. | Továtam | <i>Turkey Town, place of turkeys</i> |
| c. | nîi'cartam | <i>dancing place</i> |
| d. | voicha'm | <i>on the trail</i> |
| e. | taichîr | <i>in the fire</i> |
| f. | Juctîr | <i>Pine Grove, in the pines</i> |
| g. | 'atoxcarta'm | <i>on the bench</i> |

5.4 Order

Limited order may be expressed by the terms

- | | | |
|------|-------|--------------|
| 78a. | vîpî' | <i>first</i> |
| b. | gatuc | <i>last</i> |

which, together with the suffix *-cam*, meaning *one who*, form the words

- | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------------|
| 79a. | gu vîpî'cam | <i>the first one</i> |
| b. | gu gatuccam | <i>the last one</i> |

5.5 Time

Time words may be used as nouns or adverbs; the presence of an article signals a noun; an optional number word and lack of article show it is being used as an adverb.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 80a. | gu tuca' | <i>the night</i> |
| b. | vîx tuca' | <i>all night</i> |
| c. | tuca' | <i>last night</i> |
| d. | gu tanohl | <i>the sunlight</i> |
| e. | goc tanohl | <i>two days</i> |
| f. | jî'echi tanohlquî'n | <i>for (using) a few days</i> |
| g. | jurnîc | <i>sunset</i> |

- h. cavuimuc *morning, tomorrow*
 i. navap masa'n *every month*

6. Correspondences between semantic and syntactic forms
 Surface noun phrase forms found in texts may be simple, modified, with deleted head, appositive, a clause, a subordinate clause, or weakened or pronominalized. Every quality appears as a surface predicate.

6.1 The forms of surface noun phrases

Simple noun phrases contain only the noun and an article.

- 81a. gu 'uví *the woman*
 b. ma'n gu chio'ñ *a man*

Some examples of modified forms are

82. gu -x- 'abar gu 'uví
 the it-is-beautiful the woman
 the beautiful woman
83. gu jichova' gu -x- vɛ' 'atcam
 the poison the-it-is-red spider
 the red spider poison
84. jix- 'i'ov gu vacax quɛ'n na-ch tu- jugui-a',
 it-is-delicious the meat INSTR that-we SCOPE-eat FUT
 jix- baicam jidyolxim ja'á-ta'm
 it-is-well-done cooked pot-on
 The meat is delicious for us to eat, well done, cooked in a pot.

Examples of noun phrases with deleted head are

85. gux 'abar *the beautiful (one)*
 86. gu jai'va', mui'dyɛt *the rest, many*
 87. Gu guë'guër chamtu' ja-cua', day gu 'i'lich.
 the P-big nothing them-eat only the P-little
 He doesn't eat the big, only the little.

The appositive form is found also.

- 88a. gu ja'tcam gu mui'
 the people the many
many people
- b. gu mui' gu ja'tcam
 the many the people
many people
89. sapva'gu' jir-dyi' gu 'uví na bai'vajimjia,
 they-say-that it's-this the woman that is-coming
 gu joŋga'n gu ja'nñi'ñ
 the wife-his the relative-his
*They say that it is this woman that is coming, his
 relative's wife...*

The clause form is very common.

90. jix'abar gu 'uví *The woman is beautiful.*
91. nagu'sap vartiyájia *because, they say, she was already
 a (marriageable) girl*
92. jirma'ncam gu gagox *The dog was a person.*
93. gu'r 'uví *for it was a woman*

Subordinate clauses begin with the particle na.

94. güi' na pui'tt̃' misturabon *it that is so named wildcat*
95. güi' nam tunúca'n *they that guard*

Weakened or pronominalized forms occur:

- 96a. jumay *another*
- b. güi' *it, he, they*
- c. ma'n *one*

6.2 Relative clauses functioning as predicates

Some surface relative clauses, that is, subordinate clauses that modify nouns, may, in reality be independent semantic predicates. The grammatical constructions which feature these clauses beginning with *na*, which is normally a subordinate clause introducer, are probably topicalizing and showing by the use of *na* that the clauses it introduces are not grammatically subordinate, but are of subordinate importance to the main topic of the paragraph or discourse. This is evident in the last two examples which stand alone as first sentences at the beginning of two discourses; if interpreted as subordinate clauses, there are no main clauses. In this case, where the "subordinate" clauses begin a discourse, they could be interpreted as being the background information for the discourse; what follows is the important or new information. Thus in the examples below, although the subordinate clause introducers are present in the Tepehuan, they are probably not meant to be grammatical clause subordinators. The sentences would be more correctly read in English by leaving out *that*.

97. Gu zebras na-ñich Jupja-tá, nam jix-pipiñchu',
 the zebras that-I them-found that-they are spotted
 jixxusrihlma'-'am; ja'ptu'm tututcu'am na
 are-striped-they like SCOPE-bodies-they that
 gu mamchus.
 the mules

The zebras I found are spotted; they are striped; they have bodies like mules.

98. Guio gu alipantis nam vúpuhl jatóton'am,
 and the elephants that-they tied them-feet-they
 taim 'óto'n'am.
 try-they move-around-they

And the elephants have tied-up feet; they try hard to move themselves around.

99. Ah, dyo guñ núchix na javia' gu vac.
 Well answer my brother-in-law that them-has the cows
 Well, I'll tell you: my brother-in-law has cows.

100. gu tobav na jacua' gu pippihl.
the chicken hawk that them-eats the chicks
The chicken hawk eats chicks.

FOOTNOTES

¹Southeastern Tepehuan is a Uto-Aztecan language of the Tepiman sub-family (Bascom 1965) spoken by 5,000 to 8,000 inhabitants of the region southeast of the city of Durango, Mexico, principally in the Ejido of Santa María, municipio of Mezquital, Durango. There is now thought to be a distinct, but yet unstudied Southwestern Tepehuan language located in the region southwest of the city of Durango in the municipio of Pueblo Nuevo. Field work was done in the cultural and governmental center of the language group, the village of Santa María Ocotan, Durango, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Linguistic data were gathered over a period of four years from June 1975 to June 1979 by Thomas and Elizabeth Willett. This paper was written for a course in research in topics of linguistics at the University of North Dakota Summer Institute of Linguistics under David Thomas.

²Native texts cited in this paper include the following: "The Devil Used to Eat People" by Reyes Mendía, "How I Went to Work in the North Country " by Zenon Rodriguez Morales, "How the Earth Was Created" by Celestino Torres, "The Marriage of Saint Mary" by Ignacio Mendía, "The Cheese that Didn't Turn Out" by José Trinidad Solís de la Cruz, and "Zoo Animals" by Alberto Flores Soto.

³Because of Spanish orthographical considerations /k/ is written as *c* before *a o u* and *qu* before *i ë ã*. /g/ is written *gu* before *i ë ã* and *g* elsewhere; *gü* is pronounced [gu]. /h/ is written *j* and /ʔ/ is written *'*. Forms are cited in the practical orthography unless otherwise indicated.

⁴In 1957 Brete Hart published a booklet on the number system for the purpose of teaching Indians to read.

⁵The same reduplication rules are used for verbs to show plural subject in intransitive stems, plural object in transitive stems, distributive aspect in the sense of plural location, or iterative aspect in the sense of repeated action.

⁶Long vowels, that is, geminate vowel sequences, are not marked in the orthography as being different from short vowels, except in open syllables or ambiguous monosyllables, where knowledge of their presence is necessary for reading the stress correctly. In these cases they are marked with an acute accent. The first vowel sequence in the first two syllables of a stem is stressed; if there is no vowel sequence, the first syllable is stressed. A phonological rule reduces unstressed long vowels to short vowels.

In the section 2.4, which deals with plurals, I have marked long vowels in every case, even where not marked in the orthography, since knowing which vowels are long vowels is essential to understanding the point of the examples.

⁷Madeleine Mathiot (1964, p. 154), by using frames, divided the nouns of Papago, a closely related language, into classes of quantifiable nouns--mass nouns, aggregate nouns, and individual nouns, as well as two mixed classes of aggregate--individual nouns. Only individual nouns pluralized, that is reduplicated, but all types could be shown to be distributive.

⁸t, d, n, s, r are palatalized to ch, dy, ñ, x, hl next to i or another alveopalatal.

⁹Or as Emmon Bach (1968) suggests, the distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives as we label them is actually an artificial distinction developed through transformations. He concluded (p.121) that there is no distinction between noun, verb, and adjective in the base component; these are results of transformational developments. He claims that noun phrases all contain full sentences in their underlying forms, and that all nouns come from relative clauses based on the predicate nominal constituent.

¹⁰-cam is a nominalizing suffix meaning *one who*.

¹¹-car is a nominalizing suffix meaning *instrument*.

¹²For additional analysis of clauses and sentences see T. Willett's "Clause Types in Southeastern Tepehuan" (1980) and "Sentence Components in Southeastern Tepehuan" (1980).

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