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ABSTRACT

The clause in Southeastern Tepehuan consists of a predicate, its associated arguments, and other modifying elements. This paper seeks to show the various types of semantic and surface clauses and the relation between them. The semantic clause consists of various semantic components, both nuclear and peripheral, semantic prosodies, and certain presupposed information. What these elements are for Southeastern Tepehuan and what is the resulting division of the semantic universe is shown in section 1. Section 2 details the constituent relation to these semantic components. Then the mappings between the various semantic and surface clause types are defined in section 3. (VWL)

CLAUSE TYPES IN SOUTHEASTERN TEPEHUAN

Thomas L. Willett

0. Introduction

The clause in Southeastern Tepehuan[1] (hereafter SE Tepehuan) consists of a predicate, its associated arguments, and other modifying elements. This paper seeks to show the various types of semantic and surface clauses and the relation between them.

The semantic clause consists of various semantic components, both nuclear and peripheral, semantic prosodies, and certain presupposed information. What these elements are for SE Tepehuan and what is the resulting division of the semantic universe is shown in section 1. Section 2 details the constituent surface structure and neutral and "marked" orders of these constituents in relation to these semantic components. Then the mappings between the various semantic and surface clause types is defined in section 3.

1. Semantic Structures

The semantic clause is seen as the minimum unit of predication composed of an action or a state plus any associated role fillers (Thomas 1975:114). Thus the speaker chooses the type of predication he wishes to express and the number and type of roles that pertain to that predication according to his particular subdivision of the semantic universe. By looking at the subsets of roles that can occur with the various types of predications we can get a view of the basis of this language specific subdivision.

The semantic components of the clause in SE Tepehuan specify the basic elements of the locution and can be grouped into two types, nuclear and peripheral. The nuclear components are the predication, its central roles (i.e., its subject and objects), and its oblique roles (e.g., instrument,

location, etc.). The peripheral elements are the modifying aspects of time and manner, and the temporal connectors that relate the clause to others in the discourse.

Semantic prosodies, or illocutionary factors, are also seen to operate on the clause level. These include voice (i.e., active or passive), mode (i.e., declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory), and polarity (i.e., positive or negative). Certain contextually, culturally, or universally known presuppositions also have semantic influence on the form of the clause in SE Tepehuan.

1.1 Nuclear Types

All possible semantic predications in SE Tepehuan can be divided into two classes: (1) those that describe a process or an action, here called dynamic; and (2) those that describe a state, here called static. The roles that can accompany these predications can also be divided into two classes: (1) central, and (2) oblique.

The three types of central roles are: (1) those that designate the underlying subject of the predication, an agent for dynamic predications and a statant for static predications; (2) those that designate the underlying direct object, a patient for dynamic predications and a predicant for static predications; and (3) those that designate the underlying indirect object or beneficiary, which applies only to dynamic predications, since no second object is inherently possible with static predications.

The oblique roles are of two kinds: (1) those that designate the underlying goal, source, or direction for dynamic predications and the location of the state for static predications, both called location; and (2) those that designate an accessory or instrument for dynamic predications, here called associate. As with beneficiary, there is a semantic constraint against the occurrence of an associate with a static predication. There is, however, no constraint that limits the number of obliques that can be in a clause. That is, the universally possible semantic combinations are apparently also possible in SE Tepehuan, such as two locations (e.g., a direction and goal or source), or two associates (e.g., an instrument and an accessory), or one or more of each.

Figure I

Semantic Clause Types

DYNAMIC	AGEN/STAT	PAT/PRED	BEN	(LOC)	(ASSOC)
Bitransitive	x	x	x	x	x
Transitive	x	x		x	x
Intransitive	x			x	x
Receptive		x		x	x
Eventive				x	x
STATIC					
Stative	x	x		x	
Descriptive	x			x	
Attributive		x		x	
Circumstantial				x	

This classification of predications and possible roles allows us to describe the set of contrastive semantic clause types for SE Tepehuan as a matrix with these two sets as parameters (Hale 1973). The result, as seen in Figure 1, is nine distinct types, each differing from the others in the unique set of predication and central roles associated with it. That is, given the semantic constraints on the co-occurrence of central roles with each predication class, the resulting semantic clause types are the nine logical possible combinations of predication plus central roles that can occur with it. Further, as Figure 1 also shows, there is no restriction as to the predications with which oblique roles can occur. This means that with each clause type, the semantic use of possible oblique roles is optional. The speaker may use them or not with any given predication, depending on the content he wishes to express.

Examples (1)-(18) illustrate these clause types. For the purpose of illustration, two examples of each type are given, the first of each pair including an oblique role, while the second does not involve any oblique role in its semantic structure. The bitransitive clause type has a dynamic predication plus an agent, a patient, and beneficiary as roles. Example (1) involves these three roles plus a location, whereas example (2) has only the three central roles associated with the predication.

(1) **mu[redacted]u-ni-ñ jum-maqui-a' gu-carvax**[2]
there:REM-SPEC-1s 2s-give-FUT ART-goat
'I will give you the goat there'

(2) **ba-i'-xi-ñ-bɨi'ñ gu-ñ-vona[redacted]**
twd-SPEC-IMPER-1s-bring/take ART-PSR-hat
'(You sg) bring me my hat!'

Other bitransitive predications include **sava'da** 'buy', **ga'ra** 'sell', **taiñvui** 'lend', and **tɨtda** 'tell'. Apparently all predications used in this clause type are action-verb types (i.e., not processes).

The transitive type has a dynamic predication plus an agent and a patient, but not a beneficiary, as roles. Predications of this type include process verb types such as **mátɨ** 'learn', and action verb types such as **tɨgui** 'find' and **tɨcca**

'ask'. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate transitive clauses. The intransitive type has a dynamic predication plus an agent, but not a patient or a beneficiary, as role, as examples (5) and (6) illustrate.

(3) **va-tu-jugui-a'ich gu-junva' joidyam quis-quɨ'n**
CMPL-DUR-eat-FUT-1p ART-corn ADV cheese-ACCES
'We will then happily eat the corn with cheese'

(4) **guë' cua'-iñ gu-'on**
ADV eat-1s ART-salt
'I eat a lot of salt'

(5) **ya'-ñ'pɨx-ja'p 'oirɨ**
here-1s-DIM-RNG be(walking)
'I'm just here' (equivalent to Spanish: aquí, no más)

(6) **va-jí-Ø gu-ma'ncam**
CMPL-go:PERF-3s ART-person
'The person has left/already went'

Other intransitive predications include process verb types such as **suhlgui** 'return(pl)' and **guɨ'hli** 'grow', and action verb types such as **juana** 'work' and **cósɨ** 'sleep'.

The receptive clause type has only a patient as central role, along with a dynamic predication. Clauses of this type are chiefly process verb types for predications. Examples like (7) are few; most receptive clauses are like example (8) since few process predications include oblique roles. The eventive type has no underlying central roles, and includes both process and ambient predications, as illustrated in examples (9) and (10).

(7) **va-jú gu-cu'a' ya'-va'c-chɨr**
CMPL-run+out:PERF ART-firewood here-house-in
'The firewood here in the house has run out'

(8) **cham ca-'u'uac dyi-jóxia'**
NEG TEMP-become+clean ART-dish
'This dish will no longer get clean'

(9) **ya'-ma-jɨpdya**
here-PNCT-get+cold
'It's gotten cold here'

(10) **va-jur-ji-a**
CMPL-get+late-DCL-PLR
'It's late, isn't it?'

Other receptive predications include **jágui** 'decompose', **'omñi** 'break (non)agentive)', and **sarñi** 'tear (nonagentive)'; other eventive predications include **xiahli** 'dawn' and **dúdu** 'rain'.

There are only four clause types that have a static predication, since a static bitransitive is not possible. The stative type, illustrated by examples

(11) and (12), has both a statant and a predicant as central roles, while the descriptive type has only statants, as seen in examples (13) and (14).

(11) **ma'n via'-iñ gu'gat bai'-quícham**
one have-1s ART-bow up+there-home
'I have a bow at home'

(12) **cham tu-sa'ua-'iñ**
NEG DUR-blanket-1s
'I don't own a blanket'

(13) **mi'-ñi vɨt gu-'u'uan**
there-SPEC are(lying) ART-papers
'The books are over there'

(14) **jágui-x gu-cu'a'**
decompose-RSLT ART-firewood
'The firewood is burned up'

Other stative predications include **tɨ'ñcho** 'remember' and **'aixi** 'fit into', but apparently not too many others. Other descriptive predicates include those indicating physical position or location such as **dá** 'be (sitting sg)' and **quio** 'reside (sg)', plus predications describing the end result of a process.

The attributive clause type has only a predicant for a central role, and includes most of the adjectival predications as copula-adjective constructions. Since these tend to be more general in nature, they seldom if ever occur with a locative, necessarily restricting attributive clauses with obliques to existence verb types. The circumstantial type has no central roles, and differs from the eventive type only in the class of predication it has, the latter describing ambient actions or processes, and the former describing ambient states. Examples (15) and (16) are attributive clauses, and (17) and (18) are circumstantial.

(15) **mi'-jai'ch-dyo gu-carum**
there-exist-RSP ART-bananas
'There are surely bananas there'

(16) **jix-'abar gu-'uví**
COP-beautiful ART-woman
'The woman is beautiful'

(17) **joidyam jix-juc ya'-va'c-chɨr**
ADV COP-warm here-house-in
'It's nice and warm here in the house'

(18) **jix-chatoiñ xiv**
COP-hot ADV
'It's hot out today'

1.2 Other Semantic Elements

Besides the nucleus of the semantic clause (i.e., its predication and roles), there are other semantic components that bear a modifying relation to the nucleus, as well as specific semantic prosodies and presuppositions that combine with the nucleus to make up a complete minimal semantic unit of predication. That each of these elements is a significant part of the semantic clause is seen in the fact that the presence or absence of any one of them causes corresponding changes in the surface expression of the clause (section 2).

The peripheral semantic components are those that bear an overt adverbial relation to the predication, and those that bear a referential relation to it. Adverbs generally establish the time setting of the predication, as in example (18), or make more specific the manner in which the predication is completed, as in examples (3) and (17). The reference elements generally specify the temporal or logical connection between the clause and other clauses around it in the discourse, as in example (19) and the second clause of (20).

(19) vɨpɨ'-ñich tɨ gu-jipopótamos
before-1s:PERF found ART-hippos
'First I saw the hippos'

(20) jix-vor-'iñ na-x-chatoiñ
COP-sweaty-1s that-COP-hot
'I'm sweaty since it's hot out'

The semantic prosodies are illocutional in nature, rather than locutional as are the semantic components. They include prominence, both general and specific (i.e., focus and topicalization); voice, or whether the clause is active or passive; mode, or whether it is declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory, or subjunctive; and polarity, or whether the clause is negated or not. Apparently each of these types of illocution is a disjoint set of mutually exclusive prosodies, so that no more than one from each set can be operating on a clause at any time, except that topicalization occurs in most clauses. For example, a clause could include an emphasized component, be in passive voice, be a question, and be negated all at the same time. Examples of the various combinations are given in section 2.

2. Surface Structures

The surface clause is seen as that part of an utterance that contains a predicate and any identified participants (Thomas 1975:114). Thus when the speaker seeks to express in a surface clause the semantic predication he has chosen, its expression is subject to the limitations of the constituent structure of the surface clause. The relation of the constituents of the surface clause to the semantic components can be seen by examining the surface expressions of each component and the way in which the constituent structure is altered by the operation of the various semantic prosodies.

2.1 Constituent Structure

The major constituents of the clause in SE Tepehuan are the verb word, noun phrases, postpositional phrases, adverbs, and reference particles. The verb word is the nuclear element of the clause, and as such is its only obligatory element. The verb word consists of a stem and multiple affixes chiefly of tense, aspect, and mode (Willett 1978). It expresses the predicate, specifies the person and number of the animate participants, and often also includes the locative oblique argument and occasionally an adverbial modifier. Examples (21)-(25) all illustrate clauses whose only element is the verb word.

(21) **jí-ø**
go:PERF-3s
'He/she/it went'

(22) **cósi-t-'ap-a**
sleep-PST-2s-PLR
'Were you asleep?'

(23) **jum-'oidya-'iñ-cugui**
2s-accompany-1s-AFF
'Sure, I'll go with you!'

(24) **mi'-quio-'iñ-jigüi'**
there-live(sg)-1s-AFF
'That's where I live, all right!'

(25) **pu-i'm-titda-ñich-ji-a**
thus-SPEC-2s-told-1s-EXCL-PLR
'That's what I told you, isn't it?'

The noun phrases identify the participants when they are third person, and consist of an article, either definite or indefinite, followed by the noun with optional modifiers.[4] These are subject to the tendency for deletion of a repeated participant (section 2.7) and the apparent semantic constraint that limits the use of modifiers, probably because of a preference to express them as copula verbs instead. Example (26) shows a transitive clause where the speaker indicates the definiteness (because of its proximity) of the subject by the use of the definite article **dyi-** on that nominal, while still indicating generality of the object with the general article **gu-**.

(26) **xiv-am ya-'i'ya-' gu-cocas dyi-ja'tcam**
now-3s here-drink-FUT ART-cokes ART-people
'These people are now going to drink cokes here'

All participants in a clause are normally specified for person and number by the subject and object particles. These particles are not separate constituents, except when occurring as "free" pronouns under topicalization (section 2.4). The subject particle occurs as a phonological suffix to the first constituent of the clause, although it is not grammatically related to this constituent. The object particle occurs as a verb prefix, the one closest to the verb stem.[5] Clauses with the subject particle as suffix were illustrated in examples (1), (3)-(6), (11)-(12), etc. Examples (2) and (25) showed object

prefixes on the verb.

When the participants in the clause are first or second person, however, they are identified only by these subject and/or object particles, not by noun phrases. Since the third person singular form of both the subject and the object particles is phonologically null, this means that only in the case of a third person plural animate subject or object will there be a co-occurrence of the corresponding particle with a noun phrase. Example (26) showed this co-occurrence for a subject, and example (27) shows it for an object.

(27) **ja-nɨi'ñ-'iñ gu-ja'tcam**
3p-see-1s ART-people
'I see the people'

The <u>prepositional phrase</u> expresses the oblique role(s) of the clause by postposing particles to a noun, often without the noun phrase article[6] (for associate), or to a general location word (for locatives). Associate postpositions are: **-quɨ'n** 'with' for instrument of inanimate accessory, and **vɨncam** 'mixed with (sg/pl)' also for inanimate accessory, depending on the number of the object. Examples (28) and (29) illustrate two of these.

(28) **mi'-tɨtvia-Ø gu-'a-ahl-javɨm**
there-play-3s ART-children-PP
'He's playing there with the children'

(29) **ba-sɨxi-dya'-ich totcom'-quɨ'n gu-tur**
twd-poke-FUT+CONT-1p pole-INSTR ART-bull
'We (go along) poking the bull with a stick'

General location particles occur alone or before a noun (as prefix) to form a general location word, to which may be suffixed one of the following locative postpositions: **-cam** 'place of origin', **-ja'p** 'general area, and **-ja'c** 'general direction', **-dɨr** 'from', **-tɨr** 'in, among', and **-ta'm** 'on'. General location particles, which may themselves be made specific by the specifier suffix -ni, include: **ya'** 'proximate', **mi'** 'distant, low', **bai'** 'distant, high', **mumu** 'remote, low', and **bamɨ** 'remote, high'. Examples of locational phrases were seen in (1), (5), (7), (11), (13), and (17), and are further seen in (30) and (31).

(30) **'añ mi'-ñi-ja'c va-jí**
I there-SPEC-gen+direc CMPL-go
'I'm now going over there'

(31) **guguc-'am joidai-cha'm gu-'u'ji'**
stand(pl)-3p rock-on ART-birds
'The birds are standing on a rock'

The <u>adverbs</u> modify the predicate by supplying additional information as to the time and manner of the predication. They are generally (i.e., with the exception of verb tense and aspect affixes) separate phonological words that function syntactically independent of the verb word. Some common adverbs (underlined) are illustrated in examples (32)-(36).

(32) jotmɨda' ba-jim ma'n gu-'aptuvus gatuc-dɨr
fast twd-go one ART-bus after-from
'A bus is coming up fast behind us'

The reference particles are the conjunctions and interjections that normally introduce a clause and tie it into the system of the discourse. A common utterance introducer is illustrated in example (37), the first clause of a long folk tale.

(37) dyo 'añ ma'n jix-mat gu-sapoc
INTRO I one COP-know ART-story
'Well, I know a story'

2.2 Clause Types

If we disregard the peripheral clause elements and focus on the nuclear elements—the predicate and its participants—, we find that there are six contrastive surface clause types in SE Tepehuan, differing from one another along two parameters: (1) transitivity and (2) uniqueness of the participants. That is, four types are the four grammatical possibilities of a verb occuring or not with various participants, all of which are distinct from each other. The other two types are special types of transitive and intransitive clauses where the participants are not distinct.

Figure 2

Surface Clause Types

	VERB	SUBJECT	OBJECTS	
Bitransitive	V_1	S_1	O_1	O_2
Transitive	V_1	S_1	O_1	
Intransitive	V_1	S_1		
Ambient	V_1			
Reflexive	V_1	S_1	$O_1 = S_1$	
General	V_1	S_{gen}		

As can be seen from Figure 2, the bitransitive clause consists of a verb plus a subject and two objects, all distinct, where the participants are identified as noun phrases or subject/object particles. Similarly the transitive clause consists of a verb plus subject and one object, both distinct, the object being either direct or indirect, depending on the semantic nature of the predicate. Also, the intransitive clause consists of a verb plus a subject, but no objects, while the ambient clause has only a verb and no identified participants. Examples of each of these types of surface clauses have already been seen in section 1.1. Suffice it to point out here that the basic semantic

distinction of dynamic versus static predication is seen in the form of the verb word and is thus not reflected in the surface clause types. In the discussion here, only the dynamic labels are used for the surface types, but they include both dynamic and static semantic types of predications.

The reflexive clause is seen as a separate surface type for two reasons. First, the reflexive is by definition the clause where the subject and the object are the same participant. Thus it does not fit into any of the above patterns as evidenced by the separate set of object prefixes for reflexive or reciprocal clauses.[7] Also, the verb morphology is different from the other clause types in that only a very restricted set of verb stems (like "see" and "hit" and some idiomatic usages of other verbs) can have a reflexive or reciprocal form, and because the general clause type is similar in form to this clause type. Examples (38)-(40) illustrate one normal usage and two idiomatic usages of this form.

(38) **jum-'o'-iñ-'am guio na-m jum-co'n-tu'**
RCP-wrestle-3p and that-3p RCP-fight-EXTNT
'They are going along wrestling and fighting with each other.'

(39) ya'-ch **va-ch-chɨgui-a'** ja'**xñi**
here-1p CMPL-RCP-find-FUT later
'Here we'll see each other later (or: We'll see you later)'

(40) **tu-ñ-mamtuxi'ñ-'iñ** gu-'o'**dam-quɨ'n**
DUR-RFLX-teach-1s ART-Indian-INSTR
'I'm studying (teaching myself) Tepehuan (talk)'

The general clause is also a separate type because its verb word form indicates a general, non-specific subject. That is, the verb word in the general clause always has the form: **tu-m-V**, where **tu-** is the durative prefix, **(ju)m-** is the reflexive prefix, and **V** stands for a plural form of a verb stem. That the subject in this construction is indeed general is seen in the use of each of these syntactic markings. The durative prefix indicates a continued or habitual action, and the reflexive prefix used is the same as plural. Further, the verb stem is in its plural (which is usually reduplicated) form, indicating plurality of the participant bearing the absolutive relation to the predicate; and no subject particle is used in this construction anywhere in the clause. This clause type translates with a non-specific subject such as "one", "people", or "they" in the general sense, or with a dummy subject such as "there", as illustrated in examples (41) and (42).

(41) **mi'-tɨ-m-nɨ'**
there-DUR-RFLX-dance
'They are dancing there/There is a dance there'

(42) **na-pai' tu-m-cocsɨ**
that-where DUR-RFLX-sleep(pl)
'where they/one/people sleep'

2.3 Neutral Orders

A neutral constituent word order for the SE Tepehuan clause can be stated in terms of the three major groups of constituents that operate as distinct units in the clause. Stated as a formula, the neutral order would be: Reference Particles — Focus — Nucleus — Modifiers. That is, in the clearest "unmarked" cases where no semantic prosody that has the effect of changing the constituent order appears to be operating, the clause is ordered as stated in this formula. As seen in section 2.4, the chief order-changing prosody is prominence, which results in one or more of the elements of the nucleus itself being "fronted" to that position, ahead of the other nuclear elements.

No nuclear or modifier element, however, can take linear precedence over the reference particles. That is, since these particles are the conjunctions and clause introducers that relate the clause to other clauses around it in the discourse, they necessarily occur first in the surface clause. The only exception to this is when they serve as a "pivot" for sentence topicalization (section 2.4). That these reference particles are in fact valid constituents of the clause is seen in the fact that they are preferentially inflected for subject over the verb, just as are modifiers that occur before the nucleus when in focus.

As to the relative order of the constituents that form the nucleus (i.e., the verb word and noun phrases), it appears indisputable that SE Tepehuan is a verb-initial language. All evidence from natural text indicates that the only reason that any nominal can occur before the verb is for some type of prominence, and this is limited to only one nominal per clause. This observation is in keeping with the comparative evidence in the Uto-Aztecan language family (Langacker 1977:24).

The relative order among the noun phrases, however, is not so easily discernable, and in fact may not be fixed at all, at least for objects. Several factors influence this conclusion. First, in normal discourse many of the semantic subjects and objects of clauses are not identified as surface noun phrases due to contextual factors or to their representation as a subject or object particle. That is, normally it is only when the subject and/or object of a clause is different from that/those of the preceding clause that it/they will be specified in a noun phrase, and this only for third person, since first and second person animate subjects and objects are only identified as suffixes of earlier constituents (section 2.1).

Another factor that obscures the relative order of noun phrases is the effect of clause topicalization (section 2.4), since although everything else seems to indicate the correctness of this notion, clear evidence is scant due to the scarcity of transitive clauses in natural text. Further, elicited material indicates that order alone is not a sufficient indicator of what relation a nominal bears to the clause, for even when used in context, a clause like (43) is really ambiguous, evoking the inevitable question: "Who spoke?"

(43) **jup-tɨtda gu-juan gu-pegro**
also-said John Peter
'Peter said to John/John said to Peter'

In actual fact, very few ambiguities of this type ever arise because in most cases the inherent semantic nature of the predication gives the best clue as to the relations the nominals bear. Also, although SE Tepehuan has no overt case markings, the identity of the subject or object can be hinted at by several other means. For instance, if a same subject is deleted in a clause, the remaining nominal, if any, must obviously be one of the objects, usually the only one. Co-occurrence of the nominal with an animate person/number subject or object particle in the case of third person plural is also often a significant indicator. Also, some verbs reduplicate for pluralization of the nominal bearing the absolutive relation to the predicate. And a type of "passive" construction that unspecifies the subject can be used in the case of third person nominals, leaving the object as the only identified nominal in the clause (section 2.6).

Despite these facts, the weight of statistical frequency and the topicalization hypothesis suggest the need to posit a subject-final basic word order. The reasons for this are given in section 2.4. This still leaves ambiguous whether the direct or indirect object occurs first. Apparently this is a moot question, since a clause with three third person singular nominals specified as noun phrases following the verb has yet to be discovered in natural speech.

2.4 Prominence

Two types of prominence appear to be operating on the clause level, and another on the sentence level. All have the effect of changing the basic word order as defined in section 2.3. Those operating on the clause level are topicalization and focus.

Topicalization on the clause level is indicated by placing the nominal that is the topic in the last noun phrase position in the clause. This would suggest that unless otherwise specified, the subject is also the topic, since it usually occurs as the last noun phrase. This appears a plausible hypothesis for the third person situation, as shown in the following examples:

(44) **mummu na-pai' ja-via' gu-patronis gu-navat**
there that-where 3p-have ART-patrons ART-mestizo
'There where the mestizo has patrons'

(45) **na-t-va' ya'-punér-u gu-dios gu-vacua**
that-PST-then here-put-PST ART-God ART-gourd
'Then God placed a gourd here'

Example (44) shows a semantic clause functioning as a relative clause to describe where two men went looking for work in a narrative discourse. That "mestizo" is subject is indisputable, since the object prefix ja- agrees in number with the suspected object "patrons". Whether or not it is also the topic could only be decided after a more thorough analysis of the text. That is to say, topicalization of a nominal in the clause may not be obligatory. In example (45), however, topicalization is the only way to account for the deliberate placement of the object last in the clause. This example occurs near

the beginning of a folk tale about the creation of the human race. In the clauses preceding it, God has been the implied, although unspecified, subject. In this clause the narrator not only chooses to specify the agent but also the patient, and the latter, as new information, and important to the development of the narrative, is topicalized here at its first occurrence.

Apparently topicalization also applies to first and second person subject particles as well. Whenever they are the topic of the clause they occur in the focus position as a "free" pronoun which, although appearing to be phonologically predictable,[8] reflects a distinctly marked occurrence. Since no corresponding topicalization of objects occurs, this may be further evidence that topicalization is optional.[9]

Besides topicalization, another apparent clause-level prominence feature is that of focus, where an element from the modifier unit is fronted to the focus position before the nucleus but after the reference particles, apparently for the purpose of emphasis. That is, adverbs and prepositional phrases tend to occur clause final when not in focus, but often they occur before the verb. In each of these pre-verb occurrences it appears that the element is being emphasized more than it would normally be.

The explanation for this is apparently two-fold. First, more often than not adverbs and locative or accessories have deictic functions in the clause, and for this purpose they are often more prominent. A closely related reason would be that their inclusion often means that the speaker is choosing to highlight some aspect of his predication by their use, since their semantic occurrence is optional. Adverbs and accessories are not frequent, so their occurrence in a clause usually signals a semantic distinction of some kind. Locatives, although much more frequent, are normally indicated in a shortened form as a verb prefix when not in focus. Examples (34)-(36) showed adverbs in their "unmarked" position clause final, while examples (35)-(34) showed adverbs used to focus on a particular aspect of the predication. Example (46) is the affirmative answer to the question of whether someone is in his house at present. Here the locative, as old information, is not in focus. But the negative response to the same question, that of example (47), being a contraexpectancy, highlights the reason for his absence by detailing where he went.

(46) mi'-dyá-dyo
there-be(sitting)-RSP
'Yes, he's there/He is sitting there, all right'

Another device that affects clause constituent order is topicalization on the sentence level (and perhaps even the paragraph or discourse level as well). This is clearly distinct from clause topicalization because the noun phrase is not only fronted, but it occurs clause initial (i.e., not in the focus position, but before the reference particles). Further, if these particles do not include a subordinating conjunction, one is nearly always "inserted" to subordinate, in effect, the rest of the clause or clauses to this topic. For these reasons it apparently operates independently of the clause topic system.[10]

2.5 Subordination

Two main types of subordination seem to exist in SE Tepehuan sentences apart from the special use of subordination in sentence topicalization. That is, whenever a semantic clause is expressed as an embedded clause on the surface, it will appear as either relative clause or as complement clause(s). Other types of subordination common in other languages can be categorized as one of these general types in SE Tepehuan.

Relative clauses are introduced by a relative pronoun and always bear linear precedence to the clause, while the head of the relative clause bears linear precedence to the relative pronoun. Relative pronouns are the declarative counterparts of the content question words preceded by the subordinate clause introducer **na**: **najaroi'** 'who', **natu'** 'what', **napai'** 'where', and **napai'dyuc** 'when'. If no relative pronoun occurs, the **na** 'that' alone takes on its function, as in example (48).

(48) **dyi 'uví va-x-guɨ'vi-m gu-gagox na-Ø mi'-ca-x-ñá gu-coi'**
this woman CMPL-COP-hit-DESID ART-dog that-3s
there-TEMP-COP-like+to+eat ART-food
'This woman wants to hit the dog that is taking some food there'

Demonstratives are also used in relative clauses: **güi'** 'the one, those', **mi'** 'there', or **jano'** 'that time'. These can serve two functions: (1) as appositive introducers, when they occur between the head and the relative pronoun, as in example (49); and (2) as heads of otherwise "headless" relatives, as in example (50).

(49) **mi'ñi vɨt gu-'u'uan güi' na 'o'dam-quɨ'n mi-tu-'ua'n-ix**
there-SPEC are(lying) ART-papers those that Indian-INSTR
there-write-RSLT
'There are the books, those that are written in Tepehuan'

(50) **gatuc-dɨr ba-jim güi' na más jir-güe'-cam que 'añ**
later-from twd-go he that more COP-big-origin than I
'After me comes he (or:the one) that is greater than I'

The complement construction is used in SE Tepehuan both to express the embedded clause in a sentence with a complex predicate, but also to express what in other languages is a nominalized, participial, or infinitive form. Any complement clause is introduced by the simple subordinate clause introducer **na**, as in examples (51) - (53).

(51) **machia na tu-quis-ta'**
requested that DUR-cheese-make
'He asked him to make cheese'

(52) **dyi 'uví na-r soi'-chu'm más mui' mi'-puner-u gu-túumñ**
this woman that-COP humble-appearing more much there-
put-PST ART-money
'This woman, being poor, has put in much more money'

(53) **jix-quł' gu-súdai' na-ch tu-'i'-ya'**
COP-good ART-water that-1p DUR-drink-FUT
'The water is good to drink'

Example (51) is a simple complement clause, functioning as object of the verb "request"; example (52), as example (20), shows a participial usage; and example (53) shows the use of an infinitive, where the unspecified subject is inflected for first person (singular or plural, depending on the generality or scope intended by the speaker).

2.6 Illocution

The illocutionary force of the clause in SE Tepehuan is the expression of the other semantic prosodies that operate on the clause besides prominence. They may be grouped into three mutually exclusive sets of syntactic markings (i.e., voice, mode, and polarity) corresponding to the same type of semantic choices available to the speaker.

Voice can be either active or passive. Clearly the "unmarked case" is active voice, from which a special type of passive voice form shows distinct markedness. This is a device to "unspecify" the subject of a clause when either it is unknown or purposely omitted by the speaker. This syntactic choice is common in narrative text dialogue to help keep the identity of the person speaking in a given clause unambiguous. The device consists of deleting the subject noun phrase and marking the verb with the subject suffix corresponding to third person plural. Thus since the hearer knows both participants of the dialogue from the context, the one identified by the noun phrase that remains must necessarily be the object. For example, to make perfectly clear in such a context that Peter spoke to John, instead of using a clause like (43), the speaker would use one like example (54).

(54) **jup-tłtda-'am gu-juan**
also-said-3p ART-John
'Peter said to John (literally: They said to John)'

Mode can be one of five types in SE Tepehuan: declarative, interrogative, exclamatory, imperative, or subjunctive. The declarative mode is clearly the "unmarked" case, although anything uttered in response to a question invariably has the suffix -dyo 'response particle' on the verb, as seen in example (46), and other declaratives sometimes use affirmative suffixes of varying degrees, as seen in examples (23) and (24). Interrogatives can be content-oriented, in which case they have a question word clause initial, as in example (55); or they can be polar, requiring only a yes or no answer, as in example (56).

(55) **tu'-p jaxvua**
what-2s doing
'What are you doing?'

(56) **tu-juan-'ap-a**
DUR-work-2s-PLR
'Are you working?'

Other question words are: **jarô** 'who', **pá** 'where', **paduc** 'when', **jax** 'how', and **jaxva'** 'why (literally: how then)'. Apparently the polar-interrogative suffix **-a** can co-occur with the affirmative suffix **-ji**, as in example (10), to form an exclamation.

Exclamation can also be signaled by a clause initial interjection, as in example (57), where a comma indicates a short pause. Imperatives can be strong or polite in form. When the imperative is strong, both a directional prefix and the imperative prefix **xi-** are used, as in example (58). If it is polite, either of these prefixes, but not both is used, as in example (59). The subjunctive mode, marked by the verb suffix **-gɨt** in coordination with the future tense, is used for a conjecture, and usually occurs in both clauses of a conditional sentence, as in example (60).

(57) **'ûju, guíhlim jix-dya'ra'**
INJCT, very COP-costly
'Wow, that's very expensive!'

(58) **bai'-xi-ju'**
twd-IMPER-eat
'You eat it!'

(59) **xi-ju'**
IMPER-eat
'Please, eat some/Take one, won't you?'

(60) **mu-jimi-a'-iñ-gɨt-ji no'-ñ 'a'nda-'-gɨt**
away-go-FUT-1s-SBJNCT-AFF COND-1s want-FUT-SBJNCT
'I might go/would have gone, if I feel like it/had felt like it'

Polarity simply indicates whether the clause predicate is being negated or not. Negation is marked by the presence of the morpheme **cham** 'negative' before the verb word, as in example (61). When an adverb comes after **cham** before the verb word, the scope of **cham** is apparently limited to the scope of the adverb, as in (62).

(61) **jax-cu-pich-va' cham ba-jí tacav**
how-CONN-2s-then NEG twd-go:PERF yesterday
'Why didn't you come yesterday?'

(62) **cham 'ov jup-va' gu-tatmu'n gu-gagox**
NEG quickly come+out ART-teeth ART-dog
'The dog's teeth didn't come out right away'

2.7 Reference

Relating the various components of the clause to each other and to those of other clauses is accomplished in SE Tepeheuan by both deletions and specifications of various clause elements. Relations within the clause include deletion, especially of noun phrases, for presupposed or encyclopedic

information. For instance, the most common way to offer guests tortillas and beans is to ask if they like beans, as in example (63), since it is culturally known that no one serves beans without tortillas. Thus the post-positional phrase "with tortillas" does not occur on the surface form of (63).

(63) **jix-ñá-'ap gu-bav**
COP-like+to+eat-2s ART-beans
'Would you like some beans to eat?'

More generally, those obliques, adverbs, participant referents, aspects, etc., that are either presupposed or not being brought into focus by the speaker are usually deleted. Similarly for the external relation of repeated participant, mentioned earlier.

Conversely, some items normally not included must be specifically mentioned by the speaker in order to show their clausal or super-clausal relation to other items. For instance, within normal discourse, those noun phrases that are specified represent either new or contrastive information from the preceding clause, or in strings of clauses with the same subject, serve as an occasional reminder of the topic being discussed. The same is true of reference particles and adverbs, which often serve to link clauses in temporal sequence or in logical sequence. Within the clause, too, redundant information such as person and number specifications of the participants has already been seen. Sometimes the "copy" of a locative (i.e., its occurrence as both a postpositional phrase and a verb prefix) also marks cross-reference of location, as in example (64). And a relative clause like that in example (65) can give a cross-reference to time.

(64) **jɨ'c-ap ya-juruñdya-' ya'**
how+many-2s here-remain-FUT here
'How long are you going to stay here?'

(65) **jano' na-pai'dyuc jum-'ai-ya' dyi'-pui'**
that+time that-when RFLX-arrive-FUT this-thus
'In that day when these things come to pass'

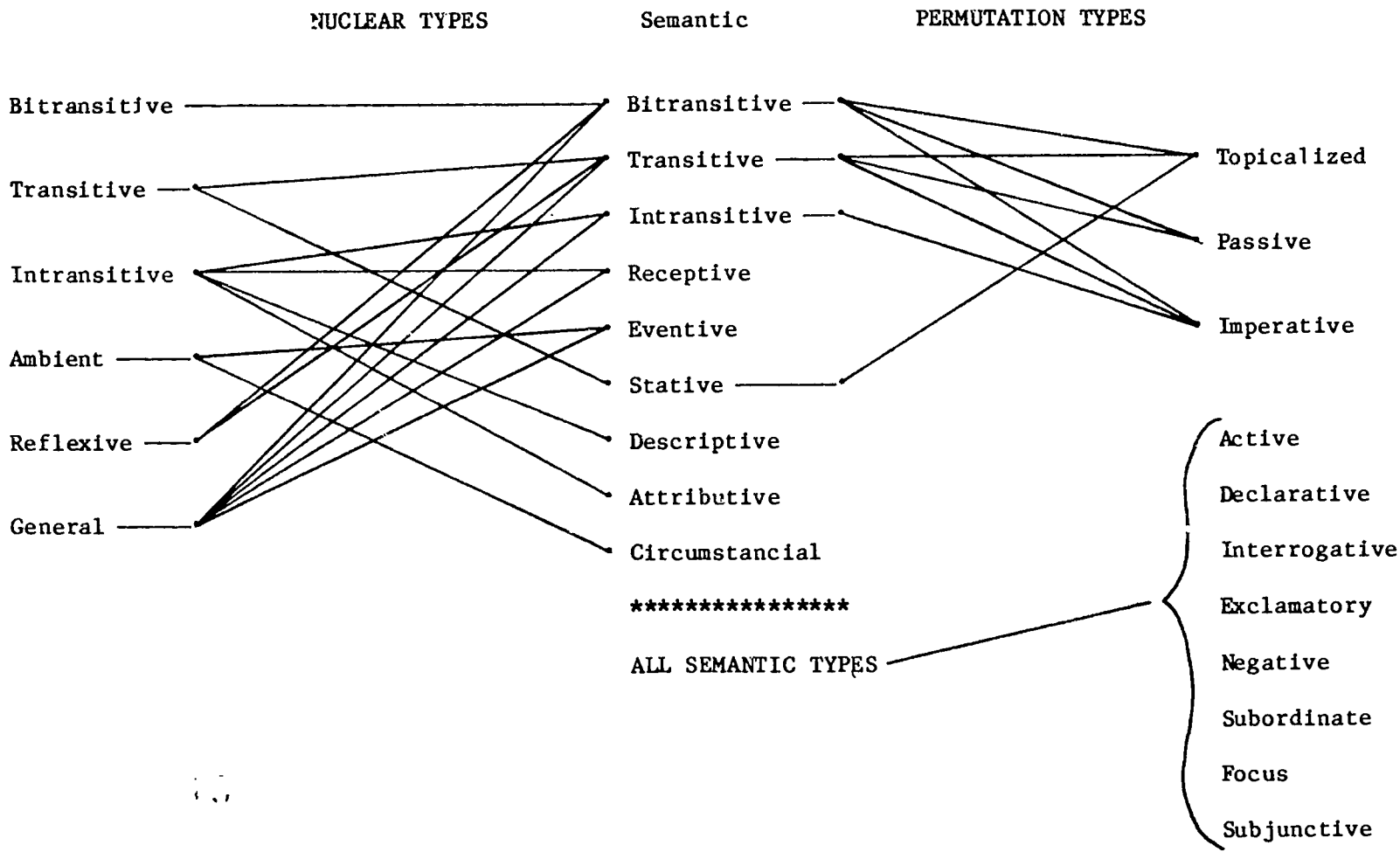
3. Semantic and surface correlation

It has been already amply illustrated that a semantic clause can be manifested as a surface clause, either independent or subordinate, or as a simple sentence (i.e., where the clause is spoken with sentence intonation and may manifest sentential prosodies such as topicalization). It remains to define more explicitly the mapping between the set of semantic clause types and the possible sets of surface clause types, and to give examples of distinctive manifestations of semantic clauses not yet seen.

3.1 Nuclear Types Mapping

Figure 3

A Mapping of Semantic to Surface Clause Types



As can be seen from Figure 3, the nine contrastive semantic clause types map onto the six nuclear surface types in a manner apparent from the inherent qualities of each. Viewing each surface type as to which semantic types it may manifest, we see that the bitransitive uniquely expresses the semantic bitransitive clause. This relationship is obvious since in both the semantic and surface bitransitive clauses, three participants are specified. Thus, for example, in the context of a polar question, example (66) is a surface bitransitive clause with the direct object not specified as a noun phrase, since it is the same as in the question.

(66) jiñ-má-Ø-dyo
1s-gave-3s-RSP
'Yes, he gave it to me'

The surface transitive clause can express either a semantic transitive clause or a semantic stative clause, since both of these involve two arguments. For example, (11) illustrated a typical stative clause in its surface form. Intransitive surface clauses are the expressions of intransitive, receptive, descriptive, or attributive semantic clauses, as already seen in examples (5), (7), (13), and (15) respectively. That the nominals in (7) and (15) are indeed the surface subjects of their clauses is seen by a comparison with example (67), where the underlying experiencer is syntactically the subject due to subject suffix "agreement". Logically, too, the ambient surface clause expresses the semantic clauses without subject or object, as seen above in examples (10) and (18).

(67) jai'-mit va-mongo
others-3p:PERF CMPL-get+tired:PERF(pl)
'Others became worn out'

The reflexive surface clause type serves to express the reflexive or reciprocal relationship for transitive dynamic predications only, since it is only in these clauses that both an agent and a patient are required and thus have the possibility to be the same participant. Apparently the reflexive expression is not limited to a restrictive set of verbs, either semantically or syntactically. Examples of reciprocal and reflexive clauses were seen in examples (38)-(40).

The general surface type serves to express any dynamic predication whose subject is non-specific. It is apparently not restricted to any particular set of verbs, but can be used with any dynamic verb stem. Examples (41) and (42) were both intransitive examples, while (68) and (69) show the general subject form for a transitive and an eventive predication respectively.

(68) va-ti-m-tfmo-a gu-'orta'm ya-ja'p
CMPL-DUR-RFLX-finish-PLR ART-harvesting here-gen+area
'Is the harvesting all done around here?'

(69) tu-m-duc-dyo [illegible]
DUR-RFLX-rain-RSP there:REM
'It has been raining there, all right'

3.2 Permutation Types Mapping

As can also be seen from Figure 3, the mapping of the nine semantic clause types onto the eleven permutational types of surface clauses can be divided into two sections, a restricted mapping onto three surface types, and a total mapping onto the other eight. Each of the permutational types corresponds to a significant semantic choice among the semantic prosodies discussed in sections 1.2 and 2.6.

The topicalized set of surface clauses included only those with the possibility that something other than the agent could be the topic. This is necessarily restricted then to the two transitive semantic types only. The imperative set of surface clauses can express any semantic clause with a dynamic predication and an underlying subject, since only where a subject is present can he be given an order to do something.

The mapping onto the passive clause discussed in section 2.6 is similar. That is, it is also limited to dynamic predications, but as seen earlier, the passive can only be the expression of clauses that have both agent and patient semantically, for otherwise there would be no need to disambiguate them. The remainder of the syntactic types can be used with any class of semantic predicate, corresponding to their universal semantic character. For example, the circumstantial predicate "it's hot" can be active and declarative, as in example (18) above, interrogative as in example (70), exclamatory as in (71), negative as in (72), subordinate as in (20) above, and have an element in focus as in (73), an obvious answer to (70).

(70) **jax jix-cha-toiñ xiv**
how+much COP-DUR-hot now
'How hot is it out today?'

(71) **nagu'-x-cha-toiñ-jigüi'**
because-COP-RDP-hot-EXCL
'Because it's hot out, that's why!'

(72) **niji'x-cu-cham ta-toiñ xiv**
never-CONN-NEG RDP-hot now
'It's not hot out today at all'

(73) **guíhlim jix-cha-toiñ-dyo**
very COP-RDP-hot-RSP
'It's very hot out, all right'

FOOTNOTES

[1]Southeastern Tepehuan is a Uto-Aztecan language of the Tepiman family (Bascom 1965) spoken by 5000 to 8000 inhabitants of the region southeast of the city of Durango, principally in the Ejido of Santa María Ocotán, Mezquital, Durango. Fieldwork was done in the cultural and governmental center of the dialect, the village of Santa María Ocotán, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, from June, 1975 to June, 1979. This paper was written for a course taught at the University of North Dakota by David Thomas during the summer of 1979. I am indebted to him for the theoretical framework and many helpful suggestions.

[2]The phonological segments cited in this paper are written in the practical orthography: voiced stops **b d dy** [dž] **g**, voiceless stops **p t ch** [tš] **c** [k] **'** [ʔ], spirants **v s x** [š] **j** [h], nasals **m n ñ**, liquids **r l hl** [l^y], semi-vowel **y**, and vowels **a e i o u ɨ** (high central unrounded) **ë** (mid central unrounded). In conformance with Spanish orthography, [k] is written as **c** before **a, o, u** and as **qu** before **i, e, ɨ, ë**. Similarly [g] is written as **g** before **a, o, u** and as **gu** before **i, e, ɨ, ë**. Where [gu] occurs before **i, e, ɨ**, or **ë** it is written as **gü**. Accent falls on the first closed syllable of a stem unless the second syllable is stronger (i.e., closed or containing a dipthong or long vowel). In citing examples, long vowels are marked with acute accent in open syllables to avoid ambiguity in accent placement. Also represented separately are the syllable-final allophones of the voiced stops, which are preglottalized and nasally released. That is, **b** ~ **'m**, **d** ~ **'n**, **dy** ~ **'ñ**, and **g** ~ **'ng**. A major phonological process palatalizes alveolar consonants contiguous with /i/ or another palatal consonant.

[3]Abbreviations used for glossing morphemes are listed below. See Willett 1978 for explanation of their range of meaning:

ACCES	accessory	NEG	negative
ADV	adverb	PERF	perfective
AFF	affirmative	PL	plural
ART	article	PLR	polar
CMPL	completive	PNCT	punctiliar
CONT	continuous	PSD	possessed
COP	copula	PSR	possessor
DCL	declarative	PST	past
DESID	desirative	RDP	reduplication
DIM	diminuative	REM	remote
DUR	durative	RNG	range
EXTNT	extent	RSLT	resultative
EXCL	exclamatory	RSP	responsive
FUT	future	SBJNCT	subjunctive
IMPER	imperative	SPEC	specifier
INCEP	inceptive	TEMP	temporal
INSTR	instrument	TWD	toward

[4]Further analysis of noun phrases in SE Tepehuan is still in progress, but a few initial observations will help the interpretation of examples cited in this paper. First, quantifiers usually occur before the article (sometimes preceded

by another article), and occasionally even before the verb word. Second, noun modifier markers are essentially nominalized copula verbs, formed by placing the article immediately before the copula. Also, a noun never occurs without an article, but modifiers sometimes do, especially quantifiers.

[5]It has yet to be determined how two objects are marked for their function (i.e., direct or indirect) in a clause, since only one can be specified in the object prefix. Suffixes such as **-idy** 'applicative(?)' and **-xi** 'bitransitive (?)' may be used by the speaker for this purpose.

[6]Although this is the normal construction, sometimes a postposition occurs in a "free" form before a noun with an article between it and the noun. This too needs further study.

[7]The regular transitive verb object prefixes are: **jiñ-** '1s', **jum-** '2s', **Ø** '3s', **jich-** '1p', **jam-** '2p', and **ja-** '3p'. In this reflexive clause the reflexive/reciprocal counterparts are the same for singular and first person plural, but second and third person plural are both **jum-**.

[8]See Elizabeth Willett, Southeastern Tepehuan Phonology ms.

[9]The very infrequent occurrence of free pronouns clause final co-occurring with the regular subject or object particle as apparently emphasizing either the subject or the object is as yet unanalyzed.

[10]A fuller treatment of inter-clausal relations is given in Thomas Willett, Sentence Components in Southeastern Tepehuan (this volume).

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