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ADVANCEMENTS TO DIRECT OBJECT IN SOUTHEASTERN TEPEHUAN

Thomas L. Willett

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0. Introduction

This paper seeks to justify a bistratal analysis for certain clauses in Southeastern Tepehuan (SET).¹ In intransitive clauses (where the subject is the only nominal), or in transitive clauses where a direct object is also present, the account of subject and object agreement is straight forward. But in transitive clauses where a notional indirect object or benefactee is present as well, these are advanced to the status of direct object; they replace the initial direct object and determine object agreement on the verb. In section 1 I give the pertinent facts about term marking and show that verbs agree with their final direct objects. In section 2 I give evidence for the 3-2, benefactee-2, and comitative-2 advancements. Then in section 3 I argue that this analysis is preferable to either of two monostratal analyses that could be proposed to describe these facts.

1. Term Marking

There is no case marking on nouns in SET, nor does the order of the nouns in any way indicate termhood.² Only two affixes are used to denote person and number of the terms of a clause. An enclitic occurring on the first major constituent of the clause is determined by the final subject, and the verb prefix closest to the stem is determined by the final direct object. The major constituents of clauses in their most common order are: a conjunction (coordinating or subordinating the following clause to the one immediately preceding it); the verb word (consisting of a stem and affixes denoting tense, aspect, and mode); nouns (optionally identifying the initial and/or final terms or obliques); and adverbs (optionally modifying the verb as to time, location, and manner).

1.1 Subject Agreement

The morphological subject designation in SET is a set of agreement clitics that occur with all types of verbs (i.e., stative or dynamic,

transitive or intransitive). The specific morphemes form a simple paradigm of three persons and two numbers, as shown in Figure 1.

	SG	PL
1	-ñ	-ch
2	-p	-pim
3	-∅	-m

Figure 1. Subject Enclitics

Sentences (1) - (4) exemplify the fact that this subject clitic is always suffixed to the first constituent of the clause. In (1), the leading interjection acts in the place of a conjunction for this sentence spoken in isolation. Sentence (2) is excerpted from a procedural text, and (3) shows the subject occurring after the first morpheme of a question word. Only in (4) is the verb word first in the clause, in which case the subject occurs as a suffix to it.³

- (1) e-co-ñ-ich va-jí
 INTJC-CONN-1sS-PERF CMPL-go+PERF

Well, I'll be going now.

- (2) guio-ch jup-tu-moicda-' jumai-'oidya'
 and-1pS also-DUR-plow-FUT other-year

Then we plow (the field) again the next year.

- (3) pá-p-ja'c va-jim-da-t
 where-2sS-DIR CMPL-go-CONT-PAST

Where were you going?

- (4) mi'-chu-'a'ga-'am gu-chichio'ñ
 there-DUR-talk-3pS ART-men

The men are talking there.

Independent pronouns are not common; when they occur, their presence signals emphasis. Thus the contrast between sentences (5a) and

(5b) is one of normal vs. emphatic usage.

(5a) jir-chi-chio'ñ-'ich

COP-RDP-man-1pS

We are men.

(5b) jirchichio'ñ'ich 'áchi'

PRON

We are men!

In the past perfective tense (the most common past tense) the subject clitic is followed by a form of the perfective clitic which agrees in person and number with the final subject. These forms are listed in Figure 2; sentence (1) showed one example, and (6) shows another.

	SG	PL
1	-ich	-ich
2	-ich	-it
3	-t	-it

Figure 2. Perfective Clitics

(6) jotm~~i~~da'-pim-it va-magó

rapidly-2pS-PERF CMPL-tire=out+PERF

You (PL) got tired out rather quickly!

Notice that in sentence (6) the adverb occurs before the verb. This "fronting" of adverbs to highlight their contrastive purpose is common; when they precede the verb, the subject (and the perfective) clitic attaches to them.⁴

1.2 Object Agreement

Object agreement in SET is marked by the innermost verbal prefix. The full paradigm of these prefixes is given in Figure 3, where the letters in parentheses are always deleted when they are preceded by another prefix.⁵

	SG	PL
1	(ji)ñ-	(ji)ch-
2	(ju)m-	jam-
3	∅-	ja-

Figure 3. Object Prefixes

In simple transitive clauses, the nominal determining object agreement is the direct object. This is illustrated in examples (7) - (9).

- (7) ya'p ca-xi-ñ-ñíra-'
 here-2sS TEMP-IMPER-1sDO-wait-FUT
Wait here for me a minute.
- (8) ðicó-ñ-ich ja-tí gu-cacvay
 barely-1sS-PERF 3pDO-find+PERF ART-horses
 na-ñ-ich goc-tanohl ja-gágui-má-c
 that-1sS-PERF two-day 3pDO-look=for-DEVEL-RLZD
I finally found the horses that I'd been looking for for two days.
- (9) jum-jugui-a'-iñ-dyo-ji
 2sDO-eat-FUT-1sS-RSP-EMPH
Why, I plan to eat you up!

But in transitive clauses where a notional indirect object or benefactee is present (often in addition to the notional direct object), it is always this nominal that determines object agreement. This is illustrated in examples (10) and (11) for an indirect object and a benefactee respectively.

- (10) goc-ap jifñ-ga'h1-idya-'
 two-2sS 1sDO-sell-APPLIC-FUT ART-goats
Please sell two goats to me.
- (11) goc-ap jifñ-xava'ñ-xi-dya-'
 two-2sS 1sDO-buy-BEN-APPLIC-FUT ART-goats
Please buy two goats for me.

There are at least three ways to account for the facts that are evident in these sentences. The first is to state a verb agreement rule somewhat as in (12):

- (12) The verb agrees with
- a. the indirect object or benefactee, if there is one;
 - b. otherwise with the direct object.

Notice that this is not a generalization since it involves two disjoint statements, and as such is not to be preferred if a verb agreement rule involving a generalization can be stated. Such a generalization is possible if one posits the grammatical relations "prime object" and "secondary object" (Tuggy 1979) instead of direct object, indirect object, and benefactee. That is, for SET one could establish a scale of ranking the objects semantically possible in a clause, putting indirect object or benefactee highest on this scale, with direct object ranked below them. Then a generalization like (13) could be made, with the understanding that the relation of prime object is always assigned to the nominal highest on the scale that is notionally present in the clause.

- (13) The verb agrees with the prime object.

One difficulty with this approach is that it introduces into the theoretical framework (here relational grammar) an additional concept that is not recognized as necessary in other language descriptions.

If we posit 3-2 and Ben-2 advancements, however, we could state the rule for verb agreement in SET as in (14):

- (14) The verb agrees with the final direct object.

This approach has in its favor the fact that 3-2 and Ben-2 are advancements with theoretical precedence, so that using them in SET does not require that any new notions be added to the existing framework of relational grammar. Also, by using them, a simple generalization for verb agreement can be given. It is for these reasons that I choose (14) over (12) or (13) as the most appropriate verb agreement rule for SET.

1.3 Reflexives

In clauses in which the subject and direct object relations are borne by the same nominal, a reflexive prefix occurs on the verb instead of an object prefix. For example, in sentences (15a) and (16a) the transitive verb *guiv̄ hit* is shown with distinct subject and direct object, while in the (b) correlate of each a single nominal bears both relations.⁶

- (15a) va-m-gu~~v̄~~-ñ-i ch
 CMPL-2sDO-hit-1sS-PERF

I hit you (once).

- (15b) va-ñ-guĩ-ñ-ich
 CMPL-RFLX-hit-1sS-PERF
I hit myself (once).
- (16a) va-ϕ-guĩ-'-ϕ mo'-ram
 CMPL-3sDO-hit-RDP-3sS head-on
He hit him (repeatedly) on the head.
- (16b) va-m-guĩ-'-ϕ mo'-ram
 CMPL-RFLX-hit-RDP-3sS head-on
He hit himself (repeatedly) on the head.

As (15b) and (16b) illustrate, the object agreement prefix is chosen from the reflexive set (shown in Figure 4) if the nominal determining object agreement also determines agreement in the subject clitic; that is, the same nominal heads both a final 1-arc and a final 2-arc.

	SG	PL
1	(ji)ñ-	(ji)ch-
2		(ju)m-
3		

Figure 4. Reflexive Prefixes

In transitive clauses where the initial indirect object or benefactee is the same nominal as the subject, a reflexive prefix occurs, as in (17), which is consistent with the analysis positing 3-2 and Ben-2 advancement.

- (17) jai'-ϕ va-tĩ-m-tĩi'-dya-'
 others-3sS CMPL-DUR-RFLX-put=on-APPLIC-FUT
 (gu-jajannuhl)
 (ART-clothes)
He'll put on some other clothes. / He'll change his clothes.

Here we see that the final 2 (the notional 3) determines object agreement as expected, since a prefix is chosen from the reflexive set (Figure 4) instead of the regular set of object agreement prefixes (Figure 3).

2. Evidence for Advancements

In this section I present several facts about SET, all of which are explained by an analysis that posits advancements to direct objects. In section 3 I show that these facts cannot all be explained by either of the two alternative monostratal analyses introduced in the last section.

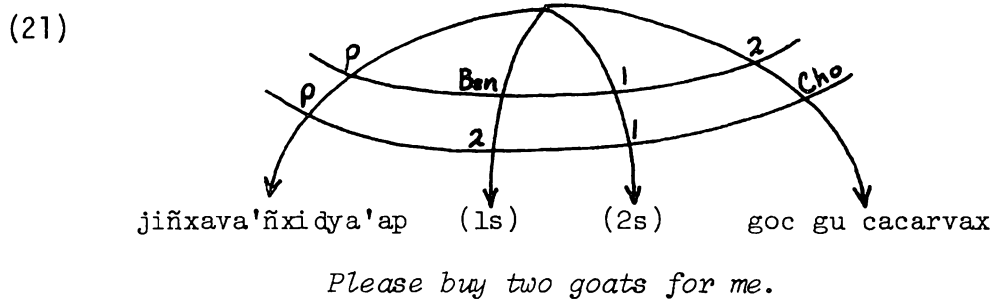
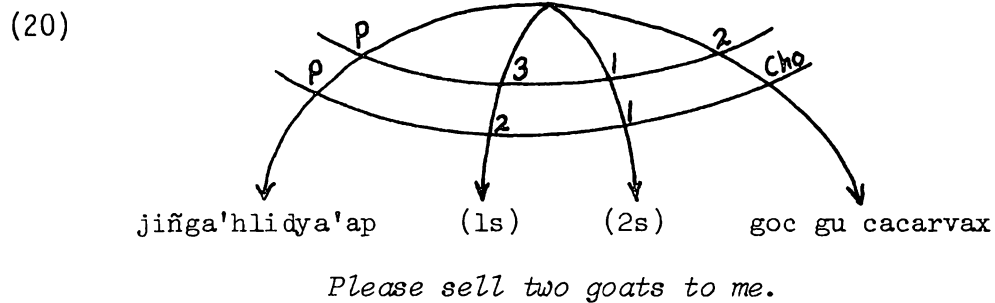
2.1 Verb Agreement

Compare sentences (10) and (11) to the following corresponding sentences that do not involve an indirect object or benefactee.

- (18) *goc-añ* *ja-ga'ra-'* *gu-cacarvax*
 two-1sS 3pDO-sell-FUT ART-goats
 I will sell two goats.

- (19) *goc-añ* *ja-sava'da-'* *gu-cacarvax*
 two-1sS 3pDO-buy-FUT ART-goats
 I will buy two goats.

Notice that in (18) and (19) the (initial and final) direct objects are the terms that determine verb agreement, while in (10) and (11) it is the notional indirect object or benefactee that does so. Since we have established that it is only final direct objects that determine such verb agreement, this means that in (10) the initial 3 must be final 2, while in (11) it is the initial benefactee that is final 2. So the advancements 3-2 and Ben-2 must occur in these clauses in order to account for these facts. This change in grammatical relations in sentences (10) and (11) is diagrammed in (20) and (21) respectively.



These changes in grammatical relations occur in all clauses with notional 3's or benefactees; that is, these advancements are obligatory.

Another reason to say that 3-2 and Ben-2 are the explanation for sentences like (10) and (11) is parallel to that just given. In any clause which contains both a notional 2 and a notional 3 or benefactee, the nominal which is the 2 does not determine object agreement in the verb. Under the classical advancement analysis, this is explained by the fact that the initial 2 is a chomeur in the final stratum. Thus, for example, in (22a) the notional 2 determines object agreement, but in (22b) it does not. The stratal diagram for (22b) is given in (22c).

- (22a) tu- \emptyset -s \acute{o} ma-'-ap gu-cutun
 DUR-3sD \emptyset -sew-FUT-2sS ART-blouse
You will sew a blouse.

- (22b) tu- \ddot{n} -som-dya-'-ap gu-cutun
 DUR-1sD \emptyset -sew-APPLIC-FUT-2sS ART-blouse
You will sew a blouse for me.

- (22c)
-
- tu \ddot{n} somdya'ap (1s) (2s) gu cutun
You will sew a blouse for me.

2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication (or sometimes suppletion) of some verb stems in agreement with the plurality of the initial absolutive is a third type of evidence for an advancement analysis for SET, because it shows that the final 2 is not an initial 2 in these cases. The stem of certain intransitive verbs reduplicates if the initial 1 (which is also the final 1) is plural. For example, in (23a) no reduplication occurs because the initial absolutive (the subject) is singular. In (23b), however, the subject is plural and reduplication results.

- (23a) va-cos- \emptyset gu-'ahlí
 CMPL-sleep-3sS ART-child
The child is sleeping.

- (23b) va-có-cos-'am gu-'a'ahl
 CMPL-RDP-sleep-3pS ART-children

The children are sleeping.

In transitive verbs, it is the initial direct object that governs reduplication. Thus, in the following pair of sentences, the verb stem is only reduplicated in (24b), where the (initial and final) direct object is plural, regardless of the fact that the subject is plural in (24a) and singular in (24b).

- (24a) ma'n-am tu-vacuan gu-jannuhl
 one-3pS DUR-wash ART-cloth

They are washing (out) a (piece of) cloth.

- (24b) tu-vopcon-'ap gu-ja-jannuhl
 DUR-wash+RDP-2sS ART-RDP-cloth

You are washing clothes.

Now consider the case of a transitive clause that has a plural initial 2 and a singular initial benefactee. If the advancement hypothesis is correct, we would expect that in such a clause the verb would reduplicate for plurality of the initial 2, as before, even though that nominal is not also final 2. That this is the case is seen in (25), where reduplication is triggered by the plural nominal *clothes* even though object agreement is determined by *me*.

- (25) tu-ñ-vopcoñ-i'ñ-'ap gu-ja-jannuhl
 DUR-1sDO-wash+RDP-APPLIC-2sS ART-RDP-cloth

You are washing clothes for me.

Similarly, when the initial 2 is singular and the final 2 is plural, it is predicted under this analysis that reduplication will not occur. This is seen to be true in sentence (26a). That this same verb does reduplicate (here it suppletes) for a plural initial absolutive is seen in both (26b) and (26c).

- (26a) xiv-añ jam-bi-idy-ica-' gu-tacáruí'
 now-1sS 2pDO-go=to-APPLIC-TRNSF-FUT ART-chicken

I'll bring the chicken to you (PL) right now.

(26b) xiv-añ ja-'ui'-ca-' gu-tatcarui'
 now-1sS 3pD0-go=to+PL-TRNSF-FUT ART-chickens
I'll take the chickens away right now.

(26c) xiv-añ jum-'ui'-dy-ica-' gu-tatcarui'
 now-1sS 2sD0-go=to+PL-APPLIC-TRNSF-FUT ART-chickens
I'll bring the chickens to you (SG) right now.

2.3 Comitatives

One other oblique relation is also sometimes involved in an advancement to 2, as seen in the following sentences.

(27a) tu-'a'ga-'-iñ gu-m-'a'mi'-javim
 DUR-talk-FUT-1sS ART-PSR-friends-with
I'll talk with your friends (about it).

(27b) tu-ja-'a'gu-itya-'-iñ gu-m-'a'mi'
 DUR-3sD0-talk-APPLIC-FUT-1sS ART-PSR-friends
I'll talk with/to(?) your friends (about it).

In (27a) the nominal *friends*, flagged by -javim, is both initial and final comitative, while in (27b) this same nominal is an initial comitative (or perhaps an initial 3) and final 2. This suggests that comitative-2 advancement must also be recognized in SET. Further data reveal, however, that it is not as common as the advancements already seen and that it apparently is obligatory for some verbs but not for others. From (27a) and (27b) we see that Com-2 is not required with the verb *talk*, but from (28a) and (28b) we see that it is required with the verb 'oiri/'oipo *be (in a locale, not stationary)*.⁷

(28a) ya'-ca-'oipo-'-ich
 here-TEMP-be+PL-FUT-1pS
We will remain here.

(28b) ja-'oi-dya-'-ich gu-m-'a'mi'
 3pD0-be-APPLIC-FUT-1pS ART-PSR-friends
We will accompany your friends.

The nominal determining object agreement in (28b) is an initial comitative, so that the advancement in this case is obligatory. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that sentences like (29a) and (29b) in which the comitative has not advanced are ungrammatical.

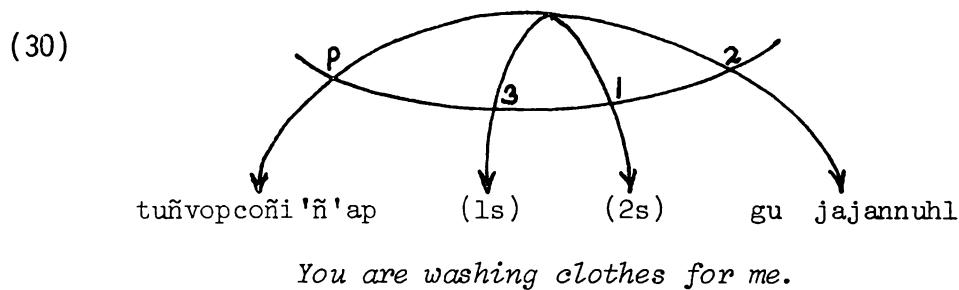
(29a) * 'oipo-'-ich gu-m-'a'mi'-'javim

(29b) * 'oi-dya-'-ich gu-m-'a'mi'-'javim

3. Alternative Analyses

We now return to the three possible analyses suggested in section 1.2. It has been shown that the bistratal analysis, which posits obligatory 3-2 and Ben-2 advancements and Com-2 advancement under certain conditions, adequately accounts for all the data presented. Specifically, it accounts for the verb agreement facts and the reduplication facts.

The two alternative monostratal analyses, however, fail to account adequately for one or more of these facts about SET clauses. First, consider the analysis which requires the disjunctive verb agreement rule (12). Such an analysis proposes a diagram like (30) for sentence (25).



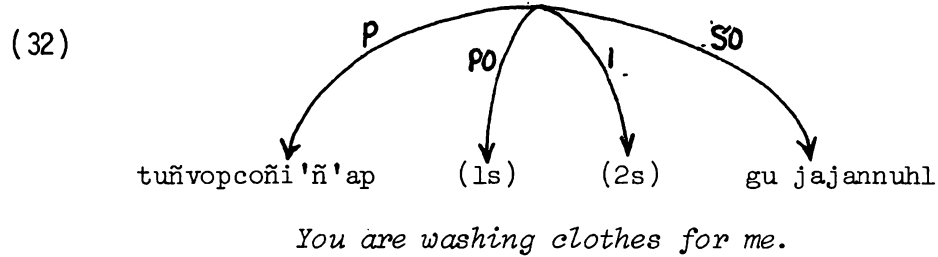
Since there is a 3 in the clause, object agreement is determined by the 3 and not the 2. Likewise the reflexive prefixes occur in such clauses if the 1-and 3-arcs are headed by the same nominal.

This analysis is able to account for the verb stem reduplication facts, since the generalization can be stated in terms of the absolutive, just as in the bistratal analysis. But in the case of the sometimes optional Com-2 advancement it would again run into trouble attempting to state the generalization for verb agreement. A third disjoint statement would have to be added to (12), as shown in (31).

- (31) The verb agrees with
- a. a comitative (sometimes optionally) if there is one;
 - b. otherwise with a benefactee or indirect object, if there is one;
 - c. otherwise, with the direct object.

Thus we see how the first monostratal analysis does not do well in explaining the facts of SET syntax presented here.

The second possible monostratal analysis would not rely on the traditional notions of 2, 3, benefactee, etc. but would propose a diagram like (32) for sentence (25), where "P0"



stands for the prime object, and "S0" stands for the secondary object posited by this analysis. The generalization for verb agreement given in (13) is adequate for most of the sentences discussed above. But a difficulty is encountered when this analysis attempts to account for the Com-2 advancement sentences. Since the 3-2 and Ben-2 advancements are obligatory, their effect can be accounted for by assigning the relation of primary object to notional 3's and benefactees. But this is not possible with the Com-2 advancement, since it is obligatory with some verbs but not with others; thus no generalization about assigning P0 can be made that can account for both cases. That is, if the notional comitative were to be added to the ranking scale for objects so as to be equal in "liability" with notional 3's and benefactees to assignment of the P0 relation, then the Com-2 advancement facts would only be explained for those verbs with which it is obligatory.

This situation raises several questions about the nature of the mechanism by which the grammatical relation prime object is assigned. How can the correct assignment of P0 be made in all cases of the occurrence of the notional comitative? Will it assign the P0 relation to some Com-2 cases and not to others? How will it decide to which nominals to assign P0 and to which not? Or will the notional comitative be liable to either P0 or S0 depending on some "constraints" on certain verbs? If so, what would these constraints have to be? Or will an optional Com-P0 advancement or Com-2 advancement be necessary? If so, what effect will that have on the rest of the proposed model? Clearly these are serious objections to applying this type of approach to such a language as SET.

There is an additional problem for this analysis if it is adopted for SET. The nominal governing reduplication is the prime object in some clauses and in some clauses it is not. By abandoning the notion of direct object, the notion of absolutive cannot be used in this analysis. An account such as in (33) is necessary.

- (33) The verb stem reduplicates (or suppletes) for plurality of the
- a. secondary object, if there is one;
 - b. otherwise, primary object, if there is one;
 - c. otherwise, the subject.

Here again we see that this monostratal analysis cannot generalize about agreement facts which pose no problem to a bistratal analysis.⁹

We have seen then that an analysis based on the universals provided by the relational grammar framework, accounts for all the data involving advancements in SET. This is only possible because more than one stratum is allowed in the analysis, and the rules are allowed to refer to various levels. Object agreement in SET refers to the final level, but stem reduplication refers to the initial level. Since a monostratal analysis can refer to only one syntactic level, the generalization accounting for these facts cannot be stated.

FOOTNOTES

¹Southeastern Tepehuan is a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the state of Durango, Mexico by approximately 8,000 to 10,000 speakers. Field work was done in the town of Santa María Ocotán, Mezquital, Durango, from June, 1975 to June, 1980 under the direction of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am indebted to Donald Frantz for his guidance in the analysis of advancements in Southeastern Tepehuan, and to Stephen Marlett for his many helpful suggestions during the drafting of this paper.

The bistratal analysis I propose here is based on the theory of relational grammar. See Perlmutter 1980 for an overview of this current approach to syntax.

²See T. Willett 1981, Chapter 5.

³The following phonological segments are distinguished for citing forms in this paper: voiced stops b d dy(dž) g, voiceless stops p t ch(tš) c(k) '(?), spirants v s x(š) j(h), nasals m n ñ, liquids r hl(ɣlʲ), semi-vowel y, and vowels a e ě (ə) i o u ĩ (high central unrounded). Accent falls on the first syllable of a stem unless the second syllable is stronger; i.e., unless it is closed or contains a diphthong or long vowel. Long vowels are marked with acute accent only in open syllables. Spanish orthographical conventions have been consistently followed; also written are the syllable-final allophones of the voiced stops, which are pre-glottalized and nasally released at the same point of articulation. A major phonological process palatalizes alveolar consonants contiguous with /i/ or another palatal.

The following abbreviations are used in morpheme glosses: APPLIC 'applicative suffix', ART 'article', BEN 'benefactive suffix', CONN 'connector particle', CONT 'continuous action suffix', CMPL 'completive prefix', DEVEL 'developmental suffix', DIR 'direction', DO 'direct object', DUR 'durative prefix', EMPH 'emphatic suffix', FUT 'future tense', IMPER 'imperative prefix', INTJC 'interjection', PAST 'simple past tense', PERF 'past perfective tense', PL 'plural', PRON 'pronoun', PSR 'possessor', RDP 'reduplication', RFLX 'reflexive prefix', RLZD 'realized past', RSP 'response suffix', S 'subject', SG 'singular', TEMP 'temporal prefix', TRNSF 'transfer suffix', 1s 'first person singular', 1p 'first person plural', 2s 'second person plural', etc.

⁴Also, as seen in (4) and (5) and examples following, a vowel (and sometimes a glottal stop) will precede the subject clitic when the last letter of the constituent before it is a consonant. In all cases these additional segments are phonologically predictable (E. Willett 1981).

⁵This paradigm also serves for the possessor noun prefixes as well.

⁶Reduplication of the verb stem in (12) indicates repetitive action.

⁷On this verb the final syllable of the stem is /rɪ/ when the subject is singular and /pɔ/ when it is plural. When the applicative suffix is added, however (apparently registering an advancement to 2), this first syllable is lost.

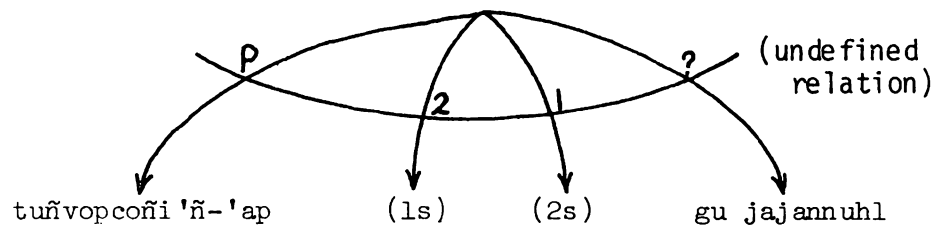
⁸The following sentence, however, which essentially consists of adding the locative and temporal prefixes to the verb in (29a), is not ungrammatical, but it has a different meaning than that intended for (28b):

ya'-ca-'oipo-'-ich	gu-m-'a'mi'-'javɪm
here-TEMP-be-FUT-1pS	ART-PSR-friends-with

We will remain here with your friends.

Also, it has no corresponding form showing Com-2 advancement.

⁹This argument would also show why another type of monostratal analysis, not considered here, would fail to account for these reduplication facts as well. This analysis is one that would propose a diagram like the following for sentence (25).



You are washing clothes for me.

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