Eudeve Morphosyntax: An Overview

David Leedom Shaul

International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 57, No. 1. (Jan., 1991), pp. 70-107.

EUDEVE MORPHOSYNTAX: AN OVERVIEW

DAVID LEEDOM SHAUL

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, FORT WAYNE AND UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1. Introduction. Our knowledge of the extinct Eudeve language comes from two rich colonial sources (Loaysa, n.d. and Pennington 1981). The Loaysa manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; it will be designated P for *P*aris manuscript. Another manuscript in the Buckingham Smith papers in the New York Historical Society was edited for publication by Campbell Pennington; it will be abbreviated as S for *S*mith manuscript. Both sources are daughter versions of a lost original. They are basically the same grammar, although each has portions the other lacks. It is the purpose of this sketch to give a synthesis drawn from each presented in a modern yet easily understood format. It is worth noting that the P has many more illustrative sentences in its vocabulary section than does the S.

The P treats Eudeve grammar by topic. It is paginated rather than foliated; an abbreviation P14 reads therefore as "Paris manuscript, page 14." The P is attributed to Baltasar de Loaysa (1608–1672), although there is evidence of this author's borrowing from previous work on Eudeve: there is a section entitled "*Prosigue el Arte de P[adre] Victoria comen-çando delas Preposiciones*" (P27).

The S will be cited in the edition of Pennington (1981) which is paginated. An abbreviation of S42 thus reads as "Smith manuscript, Pennington edition, page 42." It is arranged topically by *notas* and also incorporates other materials: there is a "*Catechismo Breve de P[ad]r[e] Castaño*," probably Bartolomé Castaño (d. 1672), who was in Sonora from 1638 until 1648 (Pennington 1981:41).

The text from Eudeve is transcribed in the original spelling with hyphens inserted to mark morpheme boundaries. Examples are glossed with a literal translation (abbreviations are in n. 1) and with an English translation. When Spanish is quoted, it is given exactly as it appears in either source. The scope of this paper is synchronic (a description of a single language spoken ca. 1630), attested in materials from two different villages, but not broadly comparative (nothing will be said about other Uto-Aztecan languages). Nor is any position taken on Eudeve phonology; it is

70

preferable to retain the original spelling for philological purposes. It may be briefly noted that the Eudeve orthography is essentially that of Spanish.[1]

Previous published work on Eudeve is scant. Smith (1861) is an abbreviated translation of the S source; because of the critical edition of Pennington (1981), Smith (1861) is only of historical interest. The even briefer account of Pimentel (1874) contains no more original analysis than Smith's treatment. Both Smith and Pimentel are based solely on the S source. Bancroft (1886:700–702) is even sketchier than Smith (1861) and Pimentel (1874), on which he drew for his material. Lionnet (1986) incorporates material from both sources; he ignores the original orthography and presents the data in his own transcription (giving the reader no access to the original phonological data). I have checked his reading of the P source with my own; any differences are noted in footnotes. Lionnet is an interpretation of the entire language, with about half of his monograph devoted to his interpretation of the lexicon. This paper touches on inflectional morphology and gives an analysis of Eudeve syntax that extends far beyond his analysis; where there are differences of a major sort, I have noted them in footnotes.

2. Nouns and noun phrases. Nouns in Eudeve inflect for person of possessor, three primary cases (subjective, objective, possessive), several secondary cases (postpositional), and occasionally for number (singular, plural). Eudeve has true declensions, distinguished primarily by the possessive case marker. See also **4.1** for the treatment of statives (semantically equivalent to adjectives).

The noun phrase in Eudeve is made up of the following elements: an optional determiner, an optional possessor marker, a noun, and an optional postposition. Determiners include demonstratives (example: *veride* 'this'), quantifiers (example: *muy* 'many'), or numerals (example: *sei* 'one'). The possessor markers are treated in **2.2**. Postpositions are discussed in **6** and **2.1**. Examples of noun phrases abound in the sentential data below.

---

[1] Note that 1, 2, and 3 refer to first, second, and third person in the interlinear glossing. The following abbreviations are used: ALI alienable, ANT anterior marker, APL applicative, CAUS causative, COM comitative, COMP comparative, CONJ conjunction, DEM demonstrative, EMPH emphatic, FUT future, HOR hortative, INS instrumental, IPF imperfect, LOC locative, NEG negative, NOM nominalization, OBJ object(ive), OPT optative, P the Paris manuscript, P perfective, PAS passive, pl plural, PLU pluperfect, POS possessive, PRE present, PST preterit, Q question, R reflexive, REL relativization, S the Smith manuscript, sg singular, STA stative, and SUB subject(ive).

2.1. Declension. Declensions (S54f., P4–9) are as follows. Please refer also to table 1. Nouns in the first grouping (possessive case in -*que*) end in a vowel in the subjective case.

	I	II	III
Subjective	-V	-*t*	-*s*, -*r*, -*z*
Objective	-*c*, -∅	-*ta*	-*Ci*
Possessive	-*que*	-*te*	-*Ce*

The nouns ending in -*s*, -*r*, or -*z* in the subjective case (pattern III) added -*i* and -*e* to form the objective and possessive cases. Statives inflected as nouns, verbals in -*dauh*, and gerunds in -*n* belonged to pattern I.

The secondary cases are postpositions added either directly to the stem or to the possessive form. Secondary cases are also distinguished on semantic grounds; they do not mark core grammatical relations (agent, patient, goal). Rather, they create adverbials. (Please refer to table 1.) The main secondary cases are -*tze* 'locative', -*de* 'instrumental', and -*ma* 'comitative'. Following are a number of examples of inflected nouns in sentences.

(1) *sun-ta-ne   buaros-e-ma   bai* (P6)
    corn-OBJ-1sg hare-POS-COM eat (P)

    'I ate corn with jackrabbit'.

(2) *amo-nehri-dauh-de   para   netz nauetzivi* (P67)
    your-speak-PAS-INS priest me   pardon

    'Because of your intervention, the priest pardoned me'.

(3) *bá-te   vinapanai* (P107)
    water-POS on:this:side

    'on this side of the river'

(4) *qui-te   simapine* (P130)
    house-POS next:to

    'next to the house'

(5) *haona dohme dios-i   hindoe-neoque-cauh* (P140)
    all   people God-OBJ servant-demand-PAS

    'Everyone is obliged to serve God'.

2.2. Nouns: possession. The following markers are used to indicate person of possessor in Eudeve.

(6) *no*   'my'
    amo   'thy'
    vére   'her/his/its'
    tamo 'our'

TABLE 1
EUDEVE NOUN PARADIGMS

Pattern I

siibí 'hawk' (S)   *tabu* 'cottontail rabbit' (P)

siibí   *tabu*
siibíc   *tabu*
siibíque   *tabuque*

siibítze   (wanting)
sibíde   *tabude*
sibíquema   *tabuquema*

sovei 'blackish' (S)   *deni* 'good' (P)

sóvei   *deni*
sóvec   *deni*
soveique   *denique*

(wanting)   (wanting)
sóveide   *denide*
sóveiquema   *deniquema*

Pattern II

mavíot 'mountain lion' (S)   *bevvat* 'skin, tree bark' (P)

mavíot   *bevvat*
mavíota   *beuhta*
mavíote   *beuhte*

mavíotze   (wanting)
mavíode   *beuhde*
mavíotema   *beuhtema*

Pattern III

útzvor 'pitahaya cactus' (S)   *buaros* 'jackrabbit' (P)

útzvor   *buaros*
útzvori   *buarosi*
útzvore   *buarose*

útzvortze   (wanting)
útzvorde   *buarosde*
útzvorema   *buarosema*

---

[1] The order of cases (descending) is subjective, objective, possessive, locative, instrumental, and comitative.

[2] The primary cases (subjective, objective, posessive) are separated from the secondary cases (locative, instrumental, comitative) by a space.

    emo   'your'
    mere   'their'

(7) *tamo Queida Dios-i*   *nehri*   *tame deni-hipsi-tude-m* (P67)
    our   lord   God-POS word(s) us   good-heart-CAUS-PRE

    'The word of God softens our hearts'.

(8) *véride*   *pévro-que guagúa* (S183)
    this(SUB) Peter-POS owned:thing

    'This is Peter's'.

(9) *hidéna amo-compés-gua-ri*   *én-co,*
    well   thy-confession-POS-IPF be-CONJ

      eme-náventziuh-tze (S152)
      thee-pardon-FUT

    'If you confess well, God will pardon you'.

Possessive pronouns were made by using *guagúa* as a proform for inanimate and *vúc* as a proform for animates (S, *nota* 19).

(10) *no-vónama* (S, *nota* 18)   'my hat'
    no-guágua (S, *nota* 19)   'my belonging'

(11) *véride cavadu no-vuc* (S, *nota* 19)
    this   horse   my-pet

    'This horse is mine'.

In possessive noun phrases, the possessor (in possessive case) precedes the possessed noun.

(12) *pévro-que*   *qui* (S, *nota* 37)
    Peter-POS house

    'Peter's house'

Note that 'house' is *qui-t*; the suffix *-t* has been deleted.

    The reflexive possessor marker *-sa* 'one's own' ("Los Reciprocos Sui y Suus," P15) may be used with *are* (singular) and *emo* (plural) to index the possessed object with the subject of a clause as owner.

(13) *Pedro are-sa cat-cavva Juan-i*   *tevvi* (P15)
    Peter   his-R   sit-NOM John-OBJ found

    'Peter found John at his [Peter's] house'.

(14) *Pedro Juan-i*   *are cat-cavva tevvi* (P15)
    Peter   John-OBJ his sit-NOM found

    'Peter found John at his [John's] house'.

In (13), the house belongs to Peter; in (14), it belongs to John. The reflexive marker -sa on the possessor pronoun (are) in (13) is coreferential with the subject of the clause.[2]

Certain nouns belong to an alienable class marked by -wa (P -vva, S -gua) when possessor markers are prefixed.

(15) *no-vvasa-vva*   'my field' (P14)

(16) *no-hub-vva*   'my wife' (P14)

(17) *no-chin-vva*   'my cotton' (P15)

(18) *Para-que   vvas-vva* (P15)
     priest-POS field-ALI

     'the priest's field'

Nouns referring to kin normally end in -gua (S, *nota* 3). This -gua disappears with the addition of possessor markers, as in:

(19) *cá-gua*   'grandmother' (S, *nota* 3)
     no-ca   'my grandmother' (S, *nota* 3)

2.3. Nouns: plurality. The S source states that "*los nombres, especialmente de animados racionales, suelen formar su plural duplicando la primera silaba*" [nouns, especially those referring to humans, customarily form their plural by doubling the first syllable] (S, *nota* 15).

(20) Singular   Plural
     dór   *dódor*   'man' (S)
     hóit   *hóhoit*   'woman' (S)
     vátz-gua   *vapátz*   'older brother' (S)
     cótz-gua   *cocótz*   'younger brother' (S)

Some noun plurals are suppletive.

(21) Singular   Plural
     doritzi   *vus*   'boy' (P137)
     hóquis   *hóriquirte*   'girl' (P137)

---

[2] Lionnet (1986:58) notes an additional specifier -ba (also spelled as -va in the original data); this corresponds to pattern VI in table 3. He translates -ba as "*con mas rigor, sin admitir poco más or poco menos*" [with more rigor, without admitting more or less]. He gives the following examples in his regularized orthography: *sei-ba* 'only one', *amét-ba* 'those themselves', and *uhri-ba* 'very near'. He also notes that -ba after a verb means 'still', 'yet', or 'by chance'; this reading corresponds to the -va perfective marker noted in **7.4** in the discussion preceding example (163). See also (120) and (124).

Noun plurals decline like singular nouns. Following is the paradigm for 'women' (P6):

(22) Subjective   *hooquir*
      Objective   *hooquer-i*
      Possessive   *hooquir-e*
      Comitative   *hooquir-e-ma*

Note that the two sources have different words for 'women'. The S source has the regular plural (*hóhoit*) beside the P manuscript's *hoquiz* 'woman' (pl. *hooquir*).

There was a kind of collective which could be added to plural nouns. The collective marker is -*te*. The data in (23) are all from S, *nota* 15.

(23) *dodór-te*   'a group of men'   (Sp. *hombres puros*)
      hohói-te   'a group of women'
      hórqui-te   'a group of girls'

The S source translates -*te* as "solos sin haber de otro sexo" (S, *nota* 15).

2.4. Nouns: derivation. The *nomena agentis* ('the one who', '-er') in Eudeve is the same as the present tense, perfect tense, or the future tense (see **7.5** on nominalization and table 4). The data in (24) are all from S, *nota* 8.

(24) *nemútza-n*   'bewitch, a witch'
      nemútza-ri   'one who was a witch'
      nemútza-tze 'one who will be a witch'

The passive forms of the same tenses are used for deverbal nouns. The data in (25) are from S, *nota* 2.

(25) *no-hiósgua-dauh*   'my writing'
      no-hiósgua-cauh   'my having written'
      no-hiósgua-tzi-dauh 'my yet to be written'

Note that this use of the passive forms is marked by possessor markers. The S source notes another use of the passive form of a verb: the suffix -*gua* may be suffixed to a passive form to produce a noun of place.

(26) *hiósgua-dauh-ca* (S, *nota* 2)
      paint/write-PAS-PLACE:OF
      'the place where writing/painting is done'

There are two instrumentals in Eudeve. One is given as -*siven* in the S source (S, *nota* 4) and as -*sivam* in the P manuscript (P54).

(27) *méte-sivam*   'chopping instrument' (S)
      vader-tziuh-sivam   'instrument of merriment'   (cf. P54: *bade-*
                                'happy')

Another instrumental ended in *-rina*.

(28) *bíha-n*   'dig out' (S, *nota* 5)
  bíhi-rina 'shovel' (S)
  sísa-n   'urinate' (S)
  sísi-rina 'bladder' (S; Sp. *vejiga*)

The suffix *-sura* indicates a place where a particular kind of plant is growing. The data in (29) are from S, *nota* 7.

(29) *huérigo*   'reed'
  huérigo-súra 'reed thicket'
  opó   'ironwood'
  Opo-súra   'Ironwood Place' (a town)

The suffix *-ragua* formed abstract nouns from nouns and statives. The data are from S, *nota* 6.

(30) *váde*   'happy'
  váde-ragua 'happiness'

3. Pronouns. Pronouns in Eudeve may be conveniently grouped as follows: personal pronouns, demonstratives, and indefinites. All of these may serve as proforms for nominals or act as nominal determiners. All show the variation of cases that nouns show. Tactically, the personals and demonstratives pattern the same way; both classes have independent and clitic forms. Indefinites are a class of words that are partly substantive and partly adverbial. Indefinites function as indefinite pronouns in statements and as interrogative pronouns in questions.

3.1. Pronouns: personal and demonstrative. In table 2, the personal and demonstrative pronouns of Eudeve are assembled. The material is quoted from the S source, with additions made from the P manuscript. These latter data are labeled as (P). There are no true third-person pronouns, but demonstratives are used in their place. Note that the subject pronoun usually comes as a clitic after the first constituent of a clause, as in (35), (36), and (45) (but see also 192). The subject pronouns were also added as clitics after tense inflection. The following paradigm is from S:

(31) *hiósgua-m-ne*   'I count'
  hiósgua-n-na   'you count'
  hiósgua-n-ar   's/he counts'
  hiósgua-met-[t]a   'we count'
  hiósgua-met-em   'you count'
  hiósgua-met-am   'they count'

TABLE 2
PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS OF EUDEVE

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive	Postposition	Subject Clitic	
1sg.	nee	netz	no	no-	-ne	
2sg.	nap	eme	amo	amó-	-na	
	veríde, iride	véra, ida (P), vit (P)	vére	veré-	-nar, -ir (P), -ar (P)	'this'
	id, at, ar, ir (P)	ia, acatz (P), icatz (P)	ide, are	aré-, idé-	-ar (P)	'that'
1pl.	tamíde	tame	tamo	tamó-	-ta	
2pl.	emét	emé	emo	emó-	-am, -tem	'these'
	méride	mere	mere	meré-	-mer, -tam, -am (P3)	
	(a)mét	ame, amecat (P), meiat (P), me (P)	ame, mere	amé-, -meré, -emó (P)	-tam, -ar	'those'

¹ Examples are from S; additions from P are marked (P).
² Postposition indicates the clitic form used with postpositions.
³ Note the objective forms in *ts* (spelled -*tz*); cf. Nahuatl *mitz* 'thee', Yaqui *enči* 'thee'.
⁴ In the objective form of 'this', P notes that *ida* is used when referring to inanimates.

In table 3, the reflexive forms of the Eudeve personal and demonstrative pronouns are given. One set is from S, the other four are from P (P17–18). Examples of pronouns in sentences follow.

(32) *no-ne   vvas-ta   mahvva-m*   (P14)
     my-1sg field-OBJ weed-PRE

     'I'm weeding my field'.

(33) *are ir   hub-i   bevvi* (P14)
     his 3sg wife-OBJ beat

     'He beat his wife'.

(34) *cabadu cupi-me   netz hibevi* (P63)
     horse   pole-LOC   me   throw:hard

     'The horse threw me against a pole'.

(35) *no-ne   coco-tziu-cade cuchu-ta   dome-m* (P71)
     my-1sg sick-FUT-INS   fish-OBJ   abstain-PRE

     'I am abstaining from fish because of my illness'.

(36) *amo-na   dome-dauh-de   nanac-amo-tade-m* (P71)
     thy-2sg abstain-PAS-INS   get:well-R-CAUS-PRE

     'You are now well because of your fasting'.

TABLE 3
REFLEXIVE MARKING IN EUDEVE

Pattern I	Pattern II
no-sat	*sene-ne*
amo-sat	*sene-na*
are-sat	*sene-ar*
tamo-sat	*amevvet-[t]a*
emo-sat	*amevvet-em*
emo-sat	*amevvet-mer*

Pattern III	Pattern IV
no-ne-nacpora	*ne-uasu*
amo-nacpora	*nap-uasu*
are-ar-nacpora	*at-uasu*
tamo-ta-nacpora	*tamide-uasu*
emo-em-nacpora	*emet-uasu*
emo-am-nacpora	*amet-uasu*

Pattern V	Pattern VI
ne-tesu	*nó-sa(va)*
nap-tesu	*amó-sa(va)*
at-tesu	*aré-sa(va)*
tamide-tesu	*tamó-sa(va)*
emet-tesu	*emó-sa(va)*
ame-tesu	*amét-va*

[1] The set of reflexive desinences (exemplified in III) are as follows: *ne-, amo-, ar-, ta-, em-, am-*.
[2] Patterns I, II, III, IV, and V are from P (P17) and are all translated by P as Latin '*solus, sola, solum*'.
[3] Pattern VI is given as reflexives in S.
[4] Pattern II is based on *sene* 'one'.
[5] The following set of reflexive possessor markers is given by P (P13):

no-ne-	'my own'	*tamo-ta-*	'our own'
amo-na	'thy own'	*(e)mo-em-*	'your own'
are-	'his/her own'	*emo-*	'their own'

(37) *veva/vairi muy sun-ta en-co e-co eme-ne*
because much corn-OBJ be-CONJ be-CONJ you-1sg

nauentze-m (P71)
pity-PRE

'Because there is much corn, I am taking pity on you'.

3.2. Indefinites. The indefinite system of Eudeve includes inflected forms and adverbials. The inflected forms correspond to 'who' and 'what'. They are as follows (the forms are taken from S):

(38) Subjective   Objective   Possessive
     hevé   *hevéta*   *hevéte*   'who'
     hat, hit   *hitá*   *hite*   'what'

caíve,	caíveta,	caívete,	'no one'
cahevé	cahevéta	cahevéte	
cahít, cait	caita	[caite]	'nothing'

The P source gives plural forms for 'nothing' and 'no one' as well as distinctive singular forms.

(39) cahebet   'no one' (sg.)
     camhebet   'no one' (pl.)
     cahmit, hamatzamhit   'nothing' (pl.)

The plural forms utilize the nonsingular maker -m.

Other indefinites, which do not inflect and are adverbial in reference, are as follows:

(40) hai (S)   'how'
     hai eco, haierivo (S)   'why'
     héqui (S)   'when'
     hequis (S)   'how many times'
     hequian (P)   'how many parts'
     hequisva (S)   'few times'
     hequicanauh (P)   'in how many places'
     hequicata (P)   'to some'
     haitirteri (P)   'what sort'

The last indefinite (haitirteri) has the following case markers: -c for objective, -que for possessive, -que-ma for comitative (P21).

4.1. Statives: inflection. Statives are those roots referring to qualities rather than events or entities. They may be used as adjectives to modify nouns or as predicates. When used as adjectives, they are declined. Additionally, P notes that statives may form a plural with the collective in -te or by reduplication. The following declensions are all from P. The order of cases is subjective, objective, possessive, comitative.

(41) Singular   Plural
     sutei   sutei-te   'white'
     sutei   sutei-te
     sute-que   sute-te-que
     sute-que-ma   sute-te-que-ma

(42) Singular   Plural
     vamai   vamai-te   'dark'
     vamai   vamai-te
     vamai-que   vamai-te-que
     vamai-que-ma   vamai-te-que-ma

(43) Singular   Plural

deni	*dedeni*	'good'
deni	*dedeni*	
deni-que	*dedeni-que*	
deni-que-ma	*dedeni-que-ma*	

(44) Singular   Plural

tebei	*tetbei*	'long'
tebe[*i*]	*tetbei*	
tebe-que	*tetbei-que*	
tebe-que-ma	*tetbei-que-ma*	

Note that statives do not differ in the subjective and objective cases.

When used as predicates, statives are used with -*tade* 'appear', -*teri* 'the quality of a thing' (S, *nota* 9; glossed with Latin *bilis*), or -*vitzire* 'esteem'.

(45) *ca-na   nanac-amo-tade-m*   (P99)
     NEG-2sg   happy-R-appear-PRE

     'You don't seem to be happy'.

(46) *S.a Ma. tamo de   avona hipsen-te   vepevait*
     St. M.   our   mother all   people-POS above

       deni-vitzire-m   (P156)
       good-esteem-PRE

     'St. Mary is more admirable (Sp. *hermosa)* than all humanity'.

(47) *agona surava   soviteri-vitzire-met*   (P160)
     all   COMP   beautiful-esteem-PRE

     'All are beautiful'.

(48) *Diabro suragua duraua-teri*   (P68)
     devil   COMP   adominable-STA
     'The Devil is abominable'.

(49) *amo busavva-t*[*ze*] *vveva hitau-teri*   (P68)
     thy   face-LOC   very   ugly-be

     'Your face is ugly'.

Note that -*teri* does not take tense–aspect marking, as do the other stative predicators.

4.2. Statives: stance verbs. Verbs of position—stance verbs—are important in Uto-Aztecan languages. The following are gathered from the vocabulary in S:

(50) *chuquí*   'be'
     catzí (pl. *hoi*)   'sit, live, reside'
     éni   'be'

TABLE 4
EUDEVE VERB INFLECTION

	Active	Passive
Present (PRE)	-n	-dauh
	-me(-met)	-dagua
Imperfect (IPF)	-mru (-ru)	-dauhru
	-meru (-metru)	-dauaru (-davat-ru)
Preterit (PST)	-ri ~ -rit	-cauh
	-rim ~ -rit	-cagua (-cavat)
Pluperfect (PLU)	-riru	-cauhru
	-rimru	-caguaru (-cavat-ru)
Future (FUT)	-tze	-tzidauh
	-tzet	-tzidagua (-tzidavat)

¹ Data from S (*nota* 20 and following) and P (P31) are combined in this table. Where forms differ, the form given by P is in ( ). These forms are used with subject clitics.

² The singular form is given first. In the active forms, plural is marked by *-me*, while in the passive the plural marker is *-va* or *-wa*. The plural form is given below the singular form.

³ The present marker *-n* may appear as *-m* in either manuscript.

> *mani*   'be'
> *voón* (pl. *medágua*,   'lying down'
>   *medávme*)
> *vehri* (pl. *habí*)   'standing up'

The following are glosses for Spanish *estar*: *éni*, *chuqui*, and *catzí*; there are no glosses for Spanish *ser* (this is translated by an equational predicate; see 5.7). The following verbs are used only with inanimate as subjects: *chuquí* and *mani*. The following are used with either animate or inanimate as subjects: *catzi*, *éni*, and *vehri*. It should also be noted that the proverb *éni* may be transitive as well as intransitive; see the discussion just after (138) below.

5.1. Verbs: inflection. Eudeve verb inflection distinguishes five tenses (present, imperfect, preterit, pluperfect, future), two voices (active, passive), and number of subject (singular, plural). Please refer to table 4.³ Verbal inflectional categories are marked by a means of suffixes, as seen

³ The tense–aspect suffixes are made up of several elements, which are readily transparent. The following morphs make up tense–aspect markers: *-n ~ -m* nonpast (active), *-ri* past (active), *-da-* nonpast (passive), *-ca-* past (passive), *-hu(ah)* passive voice, *-t* plural (present, future), *-m-* plural (imperfect, preterit, pluperfect), *-ru* time anterior to reference point, and *-tze* future-irrealis. Compare with Lionnet (1986:36–39). The elements *-ru* and *-ri* are undoubtedly related. The enclitic *-va*, an anterior marker, could also indicate tense relations; see n. 2 and examples (120) and (124). The change of *-u* to *-i* is also present in verb stems; see 5.3.

below in (51) and (52). Some verbs stems mark number of subject (with intransitive stems) and number of object (with transitive stems) by suppletion (see **5.2**). The marking of tense–aspect may be complicated by a distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect marked on verb stems (see **5.3**).

Both sources use *hiósgua-n* (S; P gives *hiosva-*) 'paint, write, or mark' for examples of the single tense–aspect paradigm. Compare the two paradigms for the present tense (in both active and passive forms). Note that subject marking is by clitic (as in the examples here) or by independent pronoun.

(51) *hiosva-m-ne*   'I paint' (P31)
      hiosva-m-na   'you paint'
      hiosva-m-ar   's/he paints'
      hiosva-met-ta   'we paint'
      hiosva-met-em   'you paint'
      hiosva-met-am/mer 'they paint'

      nee hiósgua-n   'I paint' (S62)
      nap hiósgua-n   'you paint'
      id/at hiósgua-n   's/he paints'
      tamide hiósgua-me   'we paint'
      emét hiósgua-me   'you paint'
      amét hiósgua-me   'they paint'

Now compare the use of independent pronouns vs. subject clitics in the passive voice. The passive marker *-davat* (P) is equivalent to the *-dagu* of the S source.

(52) *hiosua-dauh-ne*   'I am painted' (P31)
      hiosua-dauh-na   'you are painted'
      hiosua-dauh-ar/ir   's/he is painted'
      hiosua-davat-ta   'we are painted'
      hiosua-davat-em   'you are painted'
      hiosua-davat-am/mer 'they are painted'

      nee hiósgua-dauh   'I am painted' (S62)
      nap hiósgua-dauh   (etc.)
      id/at hiósgua-dauh
      tamide hiósgua-dagua
      emét hiósgua-dagua
      amét hiósgua-dagua

Either tactic (pronoun or subject clitic) may be used. In either case, there is a single ending for person–number categories (1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl) for each tense–aspect in each voice. These suffixes are given in table 4.

5.2. Verbs: plural stems. Eudeve has several pairs of verb stems that are suppletive for plural subject (intransitive stems) or plural object (transitive stems). The data below are from S (*nota* 33, except for the last four times, which are from the S vocabulary).

(53) Singular   Plural

vaqué-n	*múu-me*	'enter'
voó-n	*medágua-me*	'lie down'
voo-n	*vóo-me*	'run'
betémucu-n	*betecóo-me*	'drown'
catzí	*hoi*	'sit/be'
múqui	*coi*	'die'
méa-n	*códa-n*	'kill'
húeri	*habi*	'be standing'

(54) *havona hipsemet tamo vvacore habi* (P26)
     all   people   us   around stand (PL)

    'All the Indians are standing around us'.

The data in (53) may be compared with the suppletive pairs in (50).

5.3. Verbs: aspect and tense. In Eudeve there is a basic aspectual distinction between imperfective and perfective. A verb stem is imperfective and to it are added the tense suffixes given in table 4. Note that there is a perfect tense marker added to the imperfective stem (forming the preterit); the difference between the preterit tense (added to the imperfective stem) and the perfective aspect may be borne out by usage in the extant texts; see (57), (58), and (151). Note also the use of the anterior marker -*va* in (120) and (124); see n. 2.

A few verbs add the future endings to a special future stem rather than to the imperfective. The future stem (when it occurs) is formed by changing the final vowel or by reduplication. A normal verb like *bique-n* 'sing' has no special future stem (*bique-tze* 'will sing'). Some verbs change the last vowel of the stem to -*e*: compare *báa-n* 'eat' with *bé-tze* 'will eat' and *toda-m* 'leave' with *tode-tze* 'will leave'. Some stems reduplicate to form a future stem (*néhre-m* 'speak', *nenér-tze* 'will speak'). The preceding data are from the S source.

Perfective aspect was also primarily marked by changing the final stem vowel to -*i*. The data are from S.

(55) Imperfective   Perfective

hibáa-n	*hibái*	'eat'
váco-n	*vácoi*	'go'
vaqué-n	*vaquí*	'enter'
cotzó-n	*cotzi*	'sleep'

> *nemáca-n*   *nemácui*   'give'
> *sebé-n*   *sebí*   'freeze'   (intr.)

Note the possible equivalent semantics with the perfective stem and the preterit tense marker *-ri*, as in (56) where the perfective stem of the verb *vano-m* 'bathe' is *vanómi* (S238) yet the preterit tense form (*vanom-ri*) is used instead of the perfective stem (*vanómi*, S238). Compare also (57) and (58), where the same event is reported with a perfective stem in (57) and a preterit verb in (58); see also (151). Both sources use the imperfective stem as the citation form, which is followed by the perfective stem (usually predictable) and then by the future tense form (usually predictable, but see above).

(56) *vatziuet guei   meru-co   auona tamo vas-ta*
     river   much flow-CONJ all   our   field-OBJ
       vanom-ri (P153)
       bathe-PST

     'The river, having risen much, flooded all our fields'.

(57) *no-bocá   huetzi* (S99)
     my-pregnancy   fall(P)

     'My pregnancy miscarried'.

(58) *no-bocá   mea-ri* (S99)
     my-pregnancy   kill-PST

     'I aborted my pregnancy',

The tense system is reduced when there is complementation (see **7.4**). The reduced set of suffixes, in (59) below, is added to the imperfective stem. The complement verb takes the larger system of suffixes in table 4 added to the imperfective stem. The reduced set of tense markers is from P (P43–44).

(59) Present   *-tade, -de* (sg.)
               -temet (pl.)
     Preterit *-de* (both sg. and pl.)
     Future   *-tze* (sg. and pl.)

Examples of tense marking with verbs and complement verbs follow:

(60) *hiosua-de-ne   era-m* (P44)
     paint-PST-1sg want-PRE

     'I want to have painted'.

(61) *hiosua-de-ne   era-met* (P44)
     paint-PST-1pl want-PRE

     'We want to have painted'.

(62) *hiosua-tze-ta   daa-met*   (P45)
     paint-FUT-1pl go-PRE

     'We are going to paint'.

(63) *hiosua-tze-ne   daa-m-ru*   (P45)
     paint-FUT-1sg go-PRE-1PF

     'I was going to go paint'.

(64) *eme hiosua-tze-da-do   duqui*   (P45)
     thee paint-FUT-go-CONJ rain   (P)

     'It rained when you went to paint'.

(65) *eme-ne   hatacor-ta-ca   naquem . . .*   (P151)
     thee-1sg boat-make-CONJ want

     'I want you to make a boat . . . '

In (65), conjunction is the syntactic device used where complementation
might be expected. The possibility exists that some complement verbs
required conjunction instead of complementation, in particular contexts
or all the time.

5.4. Verbs: optative, subjunctive and imperative. An optative mood
(translated by Spanish *ojala*) is made by adding subject clitic to *cá* 'not'
(S66, P34), *uenec* 'more than' (P34), or *venesma* 'more than' (S66).

(66) *venésma-ne hiósgua-m*   (S66)
     OPT-1sg   write-PRE

     'Oh, if I had only written!'

An equivalent to the Spanish subjunctive mood was the cooccurrence
of *-tze* 'future' with *-ru* 'imperfect' (S66, P34–35). The following tense–
aspects obtained:

(67)   Active   Passive
     Future   *-tzeru*   *-tzi-dauh-ru*
     Preterit   *-riuh* (P34)

The subjunctive was often introduced by *hidena* 'if' (P34).

(68) *nee hiosgua-tze-ru*   (S66)
     1sg write-FUT-IMP

     'if I had written'

     nap hiósgua-tze-ru   (S66)
     'if you had written'

     tamíde hiósgua-tze-ru   (S66)
     'if we had written'

(69) *nee hiósgua-tzi-dauh-ru* (S66)
    1sg write-FUT-PAS-IMP

    'if I had written'

(70) *hidena ne hiosua-do obide-tzi-dauh* (P34)
    if   1sg write-CONJ pay-FUT-PAS

    'If I paint well, I will be paid'.

(71) *hiosua-riu-do caque ne euue hassi* (P35)
    paint-PAS-CONJ sill:not 1sg LOC arrive (P)

    'Before it was to be painted, I arrived there'.

Imperatives and hortatives were variously created in Eudeve; there was an inflected imperative and a periphrastic one. The inflected imperative was zero in the singular and *-vu* in the plural: *hiósgua* (sg. imperative), *hiósgua-vu* (pl.; S65).

(72) *har-ta trigo hipur-bu* (P91)
    winnowed-OJB wheat keep/conserve-IMP

    'Keep the winnowed wheat'.

The P source (P43) distinguishes a perfective imperative (singular in *-ve*, plural in *-vebu*): *hiosua-ve, hiosua-vebu*.

The periphrastic imperative consists of several constructions. In one, subject clitics are added to the clause introducer *asma* with future tense on the verb.

(73) *asma-ne hiósgua-tze* (S65)
    a:ver-1sg write-FUT

    'Let's see if I will write'.

In another construction, the adverb *venesma* 'more than' was used with two variations, one for singular and one for plural.

(74a) *venesm-na hiósgua-m* (S65)
    more:than-2sg write-PRE

    'If only you would write'. (?; Sp. *mas que tú escribs*)

(74b) *venesma-tze-em hiósgua-me* (S65)
    more:than-FUT-2pl write-PRE

    (cf. 74a; Sp. *más que vosotros escribáis*)

It was also possible to realize an imperative by means of complementation.

(75) *nee eme hiósgua-ca naqué-m* (S65)
    1sg thee write-CONJ want-PRE

    'I want for you to write'.

The P source distinguishes a supplicative imperative.

(76a) *ematz-uenec*   *capis-ua*   *hiosua-m*   (P33)
       2pl-more:than no:matter-EMPH write-PRE

       'I pray you, write'.   (Sp. *pintado te ruego*)

(76b) *ematz-uenec*   *capis-ua*   *hiosua-met* (P33)
       2pl-more:than no:matter-EMPH write-PRE

       'I pray you, write'.   (Sp. *pintado os ruego*)

Hortatives were formed with the particle *as*.

(77)   *as*   *ne* *hiosua-tze*   (P33)
       HOR 1sg write-FUT

       'Let me write'.

Negative imperatives are structured with the negative marker *ca* and the reflexive form *ir*, as in (78a).

(78a) *ca*   *ir* *tamo* *uen*   *nehere-m*   (P16)
       NEG *R* us   like/as speak-PRE

       'Don't talk like us'.

(78b) *nap* *ca*   *istudá-dauh*   (S74)
       2sg   NEG   lie-PAS

       'You are not to lie'.

The second alternative for a negative command uses the passive voice, as in (78b).

5.5. Verbs: voice. In addition to the passive conjugation (see table 4), there are a number of suffixes that add arguments to or subtract arguments from verbs. First of all, in a few verbs, there is a different final vowel to signal the difference between intransitive and transitive (S71, *nota* 31). The final vowel of the transitive member of such a pair ends in *-a* (*sebá-n* 'freeze something', *séri* 'froze it', *sebá-tze* 'will freeze it') and the intransitive ends in *-e* (*sebé-n* 'it freezes', *sebí* 'it froze', *sé-tze* 'it will freeze') or *-u* (*busa-n* 'waken someone', *búsh-ri*, *busá-tze*; *busú-n* 'wake up', *busí*, *bús-tze*). This vowel alternation was probably a lexical property (witness the shift of stress and contraction) restricted to a few verbs.

There was a suffixed intransitivizer, *-daan* (*-dái*, *-détze*; S71, *nota* 30), derived from the verb 'go' (as an independent word: *dáan*, *dái*, *détze*; S176). Compare *zicóna-n* 'wear out clothing' (*zicóna-ri*, *zicóna-tze*) with *zicóc-daan* 'wear out (intr.)' (*zicóc-dai*, *zicóc-detze*). The meaning of 'go to do' (the literal meaning of the construction) may persist (see **7.4** on complementation).

Another important intransitivizer is the transformative -*tuun* 'turn into' (-*tui*, -*tutze*; S70, *nota* 27). This may be added to verbs or nouns. Compare the following: *nasórtaan* 'spoil it', *nasór-tuun* 'it spoils'; *tevát* 'earth', *téuh-tuun* 'reduce to earth'.

(79) *dios   noguát   tamóde   betzeguai   dóhme-tui*   (S70)
     God   son   us   for   human-became

     'God's son became human for us'.

The applicative -*den* (-*deri*, -*detze*; S69, *nota* 23) adds an argument (usually a benefactive) to a verb. Compare the transitive verb *panávan* 'work (at) something' with *panávi-den* 'do something for someone else' and the intransitive verb *mucún* 'die' with *muqui-den* 'die on one'.

(80) *no   nótzi   múqui-deri*   (S69)
     ny   son   die-APL

     'My son died on me'. (Sp. *mi hijo se me murió*)

The causative -*tuden* (-*túderi*, -*tude-tze*; S68, *nota* 22) made intransitive verbs into transitive verbs; compare *zinávan* 'be angry' (*zináuhri*, *zina-vatze*) with *zinava-tuden* 'anger someone' (*zinava-tuderi*, *zináva-tude-tze*).

(81) *diabro   eme   varúh-tuden*   (S68–69)
     devil   thee   sin-CAUS

     'The Devil makes you sin'.

(82) *tamo   Queida   God-POS   nehri   tame   deni-hipsi-tude-m*   (P67)
     our   lord   God-POS   word   us   good-heart-CAUS-PRE

     'The word of our Lord God softens our hearts'.

Causative and applicative derivations of verbs occur more in the S vocabulary than in derivatives in -*tuun* or -*daan*.

5.6. Verbs: 'die' verbs. In Eudeve, there is a series of verbs that refer to mental states or physical sensations that end in a member of the suppletive pair 'to die'. The following verbs compound with either *mucún* 'die' (singular subject; *múqui*, *múctze*) or *cóome* 'die' (plural subject; *coí*, *cótze*). The data in (83) are from S, *nota* 40.

(83) *uru-mucún*   'die of heat' (pl. *urú-coome*)
     hisúm-mucún   'die of hunger' (pl. *hisúm-cóome*)
     varát-mucún   'die of thirst' (pl. *vará-cóome*)
     cúme-mucún   'die of envy' (pl. *cúme-cóome*)

Note, however, that -*tzem* 'consider as/esteem' (preterit -*tzivi*, future -*tziuhtze*) may be used to form stative predicates with these same forms. The data are all from S, *nota* 35.

(84) *urú-tzem*   'be hot'
    hisúm-tzem   'be hungry'
    varác-tzem   'be thirsty'
    utét-tzem   'be cold'

5.7. Verbs: equational and possessive predicates. Equational predicates (equivalent to predicate nouns in English) are realized in two ways in Eudeve. If the relationship is one of identity, the two nominals are juxtaposed, with tense being applied to the second.

(85) *pévro-que   qui   no   quí-ru*   (S, *nota* 37)
    P.-POS   house my   house-IMP

'Peter's house was mine (formerly)'.

(86) *tamo   nehri   muicamo nehri*   (P72)
    our   language   many   word(s)

'Our language has [lit. is of] many words'.

A second type of equational predicate is one of existence (essive); this situation calls for the use of stance verbs (see **4.2**).

(87) *anát   dosa   habi*   (S73)
    LOC   grass be/lie

'There is grass there'.

Possessive predicates ('have X') are made by nominalization (with *-cade* cooccurring with possessor marking; see **7.5**) or by complementation (with *-co* or *-eco* with a demoted subject in objective case; see **7.4**).

(88*a*) *eme-ne   suba-m   eme deni-hipsi-cade*   (P67)
      thee-1sg like-PRE   thee good-heart-NOM

'I like you because you have a good heart'.

(88*b*) *eme-ne   suba-m   amo deni-[h]ipsi-co-eco*   (P67)
      thee-1sg like-PRE   thy   good-heart-CONJ being

(Same gloss.)

(89) *vairi-ne   ute-tzem   queta no   qui-cade*   (P46)
    much-1sg   cold-like none   my   house-NOM

'I am very cold because I have no house'.

(90) *vairi-na   hibee-m   amo sutei en-cade*   (P46)
    much-2sg   lazy-PRE   thy   white be-NOM

'You are lazy because of your being white'.

The construction in (90) shows that the nominalization construction was used to associate one entity with another entity, including possessive relationships, among other things.

Note that an equational predicate may also be used to code possessive relationships.

(91) *véride pévro-que guagúa* (S183)
     this   P.-POS   owned:thing

     'This belongs to Peter'.

In (91), a possessive noun phrase is used as an equational predicate.

6. Postpositions. The P source notes that "*las preposiciones de esta lengua siempre se posponene imediamente despues del nombre ò pronombre y nunca parece se anteponen*" [the prepositions of this language always are positioned immediately after the noun or pronoun and appear never to be placed before]. S notes that the adpositions "*mejor se llaman posposiciones*" [are better called postpositions] (S, *nota* 43).

Some postpositions are added directly to a noun or pronoun.

(92) *cavi teptu* (P64)
     hill   underneath

     'underneath the hill'

(93) *amo-teptu* (P64)
     thy-underneath

     'underneath you'

(94) *guanáva betárh-tze* (S183)
     past   year-LOC

     'in the year past'

(95) *guanáva mé-tze* (S183)
     past   month-LOC

     'in the past month'

(96) *guanáva semaná-tze* (S183)
     past   week-LOC

     'in the past week'

(97) *vairi-ne   muy   sun-te   copa-tze   en-dauh-de   eme*
     because-1sg much corn-POS a:lot-LOC be-PAS-PST thee

       nauentze-m (P72)
       pity-PRE

     'Because there was an abundance of corn, I am taking pity on
       you'.

(98) *no nener-tze   nucpine* (P100)
     my words-LOC end

     'at the end of my speech' (Sp. *al fin de mi palabra*)

When a postposition is added to a pronominal base, the possessive form is used (see table 2). With some nouns, the possessive case is required.

(99) *Pédro-que betzéguvai* (S, *nota* 43)
P.-POS   for(benefactive)
'for Peter'

(100) *at   capitan hebe-te   uene humave-m* (P28)
that captain who-POS to   make:war-PRE
'Against whom is the captain making war?'

(101) *no-uene* (P22)
my-toward
'toward me'

(102) *heve-te   uene   na   tzari* (P22)
who-POS toward 2sg spend:night(P)
'With whom did you spend the night?'

(103) *heco   ne   amo uetze hita   chutz-ri* (P77)
when 1sg thee LOC something implicate-PST
'When have I blamed something on you?'

Some postposition constructions could function as predicates.

(104) *Pedro   are   vvas-ne* (P29)
P.   R   field-to
'Peter went to his field'.

There are several elements which the P source treats as postpositions which are actually reflexive markers (see table 3). The most common of these is *-sa*, which emphasizes the subject of the clause.

(105) *Juan-sa   vit   eni* (P29)
J.-R   this do(P)
'John did this'.

The suffix (enclitic?) *-sa* also cross-referenced a clause constituent with the subject of the clause. This may be seen by comparing (13) and (14).

7.1. Syntax: the simple clause. The word order for transitive clauses is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). In the SOV order the subject is marked with a nominal (noun, noun phrase, pronoun), as in (106a). When subject clitics are used (see table 2), the subject clitic is put after the first clause constituent, as in (106b). Subject clitics may also appear after the verb, as in (51) and (52) above. Adverbials usually follow the subject and precede the object, as in (107) and (108).

(106a) *mavirot mura no-buqu-i   are soc-de   chicotzo-ri* (P91)
   cougar mule my-pet-OBJ R   nails-INS lacerate-PST

   'The cougar tore my mule to pieces with his claws'.

(106b) *para-que   na mam-ta   huhub-tze* (P154)
   priest-POS 2sg hands-OBJ kiss-FUT

   'You will kiss the priest's hands'.

(107) *meride pisat   vairi hipsem-ta   nenare-met* (P65)
   these wasps(s) very people-OBJ follow-PRE

   'These wasps are pursuing the people'.

(108) *P.o sesva   etzi-[h]u-i   vaco-m* (P63)
   P.   always secret-wife-OBJ go-PRE

   'Peter is always screwing around'.

(109) *nee dios-i   netz náventzem-ta naqué-m* (S147)
   1sg God-OBJ me   pity-OBJ   want-PRE

   'I love God, who pities me'.

In (109), the SOV principle is followed with an embedded relative clause
modifying the object; both the main and relative clauses have (S)OV
order.

7.2. Syntax: operations on the simple clause. Imperatives have been
treated in a previous section (see **5.4**).

Negation is accomplished by the negative particle *ca*, which may be
used lexically, as in (110), or syntactically. The data are from S, *nota* 13.

(110) *nucvatéri*   'mortal'
   ca-nucvatéri   'eternal'
   huvi   'married'
   ca-huvi   'single'

Syntactically, *ca* may negate nominals, adverbs, or predicates.

(111) *ca-hebet   netz vin-tuderi* (P64)
   NEG-someone me   acquainted-CAUS(PST)

   'No one taught me'.

(112) *ca-ne   iguat hori-rau-eco   naque-m* (P65)
   NEG-1sg here live(pl)-REL-being want-PRE

   'I don't want them to live here'.

(113) *ca   ar netz expuvide-tze* (P70)
   NEG 3sg me   open-FUT

   'S/he won't open (for) me'.

(114) *are tacáh-tze   ca-héco   tatacori én-dauh* (S111)
　　　 R   body-LOC NEG-when sin(s)   do-PAS

　　　 'S/he never committed sins in her/his body'.

(115) *nee ca   avaterá-n* (S119)
　　　 1sg NEG know-PRE

　　　 'I don't know' (cf. S161: *aguatéran* 'saber')

In information questions, the indefinite–interrogative pronoun invariably is initial. The subject, whether a full form (a noun, for example) or a clitic, follows the indefinite.

(116) *heve-de   para   eme   bevvi* (P19)
　　　 who-INS priest thee beat(P)

　　　 'Because of whom did the priest beat you?'

(117) *hait   ir   nehere-m* (P19)
　　　 what s/he speak-PRE

　　　 'What did s/he say?'

(118) *hite-ma   na   uacas-i   bai* (P19)
　　　 what-COM 2sg cow-OBJ eat(P)

　　　 'With what did you eat beef?'

(119) *hacaúh na   daa-n* (S168)
　　　 where   2sg go-PRE

　　　 'Where are you going?'

In yes/no questions, the interrogative particle *ha(i)* is placed at the beginning of a sentence.

(120) *hai-na eni amo bahis-me-ua   era-m* (P93)
　　　 Q-2sg be   thy   hang-die-ANT want-PRE

　　　 'Why do you want to hang?'

(121) *ha ir   Dios-e   no   veva   Dios* (P60)
　　　 Q DEM God-POS son verily God

　　　 'Is God's son truly divine?'

(122) *ha-na bera   numu-ta   hipsen-ta-ba   tegui* (P138)
　　　 Q-2sg this(OBJ) wounded-OBJ living-OBJ-ANT find(P)

　　　 'Did you find some wounded who were still alive?'

(123) *ha ir   ca-eco   auait eue   has-tze* (P61)
　　　 Q 3sg NEG-being here   there arrive-FUT

　　　 'Will he never arrive here (from) there?'

(124) *ha vit   mer queta deni emet hait   mer*
　　　 Q dem their none good 2pl   something them

> *en-tzi-davat* (P62)
> do-FUT-NOM

'What will you do (to) them for their misdeeds?'

(125) *hai hoda-co   Teurim are teopa,   are hoicagua vait   todo*
     Q   do-CONJ Pimas R   church R   village   from ?

     cagvi-ta   nasortvi-m (P98)
     hill(s)-OBJ abandon-PRE

'Have the Pimas risen up (in revolt)?' (Sp. *Se han alzado los Pimas?*)

The formation of questions in Eudeve does not disturb the ubiquitous SOV word order.

7.3. Syntax: conjunction. Conjunction is possible in Eudeve by means of conjunctive suffixes to verbs or with independent words. The following examples illustrate the former possibility. There are two imperfectives/ simulfactives (*-tzido, -do* 'while/as') and two perfectives/sequentials (*-ruco, -co* 'having verbed'). These may pattern for switch-reference (*-tzido* and *-ruco* for same-subject, *-do* and *-co* for different-subject).

(126) *hiosua-ruco-ne   euue dai* (P39)
     paint-CONJ-1sg LOC go(P)

'Having painted, I went there'.

(127) *netz hiosua-co   Juan hasi* (P39)
     me   paint-CONJ   J.   arrive(P)

'After I painted, John came'.

(128) *eme hiosua-tzido p[ar]a eme ovica-m* (P40)
     thee paint-CONJ priest   thee call-CONJ

'While you are painting, the priest calls'.

(129) *eme no qui-t[a]   hiosua-do   hassi   para* (P40)
     thee my house-OBJ paint-CONJ arrive(P) priest

'While you were painting my house, the priest arrived'.

(130) *tamo-ta obí   vitza-co   vverauhva podode-met* (P96)
     our-1pl enemy see-CONJ far:off   be:disturbed-PRE

'Upon seeing our enemy, we became disturbed'.

(131) *eme-ne   hatacorta-co   naque-m   vatziveta ca   hacu*
     thee-1sg make:raft-CONJ want-PRE because   NEG where

     vasiva-teri-do   e-co (P151)
     ford-able-CONJ be-CONJ

'I want you to make a raft, because nowhere is (the river) fordable'.

(132) *hita   em[e] para   neher-do   com*
      something 2pl   priest speak-CONJ LOC

      chuchu-met   (P152)
      listen-PRE

      'What were you listening to while the priest was speaking?'

(133) *viquitz tahouo-ta vitza-co   vairi erauhtze-met* (P63)
      ᴸbirds   hawk-OBJ see-CONJ   a:lot scare-PRE

      'The birds, having seen the hawk, were frightened'.

(134) *hiosua-ri-do-na   para   hassi* (P40)
      paint-PST-CONJ-2sg priest arrive(P)

      'While you were painting, the priest arrived'.

(135) *hiosua-riuh-co-ne   cotzi-tze* (P40)
      paint-PAS-CONJ-1sg sleep-FUT

      'After it will have been painted by me, I will sleep'.

(136) *Capitan tamo hoca-ne   has-co   auona hipsem-ta*
      captain our   village-LOC arrive-CONJ all   people-OBJ

      erauhtzi-tude-m (P63)
      scared-CAUS-PRE

      'The captain arrived at our village and frightened all the people.'

(137) *sesua-na   tempetzi   uaco-m e-co   sebor amo*
      always-2sg open-mouthed go-PRE be-CONJ flies   thy

      ten-tze   muhu-met (70)
      mouth-LOC situate-PRE

      'Because you go around with your mouth agape, there are always
      flies in it.'

(138) *hidéna-ne eme pápava-co   ovide-tze* (S152)
      if-1sg   thee work-CONJ pay-FUT

      'If you work (well), I will pay you'.

In (130), (133), and the first clause of (131), -co is used with the same
subject; the reasons for this are not presently known, although -co may be
used with complementation, as in the first clause of (131). In (138), the
higher subject (realized by a clitic) is inserted into the lower clause (the
subject of which is in objective case).

   The proverb *en(i)* is often used with these conjunctive elements. This
proverb may be used to form the protasis of a conditional sentence (see 9).
It may have the force of 'since' or 'because' (see 37, 90, and 125). It may
have an essive sense (see 146). It may mark the lower clause of such
predicates as 'want' (see 112 and 168). The proverb *en(i)* is usually

intransitive ('be') but may be transitive in resolution ('do') (see 105, 114, 144, 145, 175, and 216). It may also be used in possessive predicates (see 88*b*). Note that the form *en-co* was often shortened to *e-co*.

There is also an equivalent to the conjunctives that is translated 'already' (Spanish *ya*). All the data in (139) are from S159.

(139) *hiósgua-n-tade*   's/he is already writing'
      hiósgua-ri-de   's/he already wrote'
      hiósgua-tze-tade   's/he will already have written'

A postpositional construction may be used instead of a conjunction for 'and', as in:

(140) *oset   na   de-tze   Pablo   vait*   (P30)
       LOC   2sg   go-FUT   P.   more

       'You will go there, and also Paul'.

The form *vait* 'more/with' is used in the sense of 'and also'.

There are a number of adverbs and other words that are used as conjunctive elements semantically. Often these are used with the conjunctives discussed above.

(141) *nap eue-de-tze   sespora amo De*   (P30)
       2sg LOC-go-FUT   perhaps thy   mother

       'You or your mother will go there'.

(142) *nee, avi   nap*   (S, *nota* 47)
       1sg and 2sg

       'you and me/I'

(143) *nee, nap vai*   S, *nota* 47)
       1sg 2sg more

       'I and you'

(144) *hidéna-ne en-do/co   nanacera-tz[e]*   (S, *nota* 48)
       if-1sg   be-CONJ content-FUT

       'If I do/did it, I would be content'.

(145) *hidéna netz én-do/co,   nap nanacerá-tze*   (S, *nota* 48)
       if   me do-CONJ   2sg content-FUT

       'If I do it (well), you will be content'.

(146) *nap cáque   has-do   nee vinu   ivide*
       2sg still:no arrive-CONJ 1sg already here

       éni-tude-[m]   (S, *nota* 51)
       be-CAUS

       'While you were arriving, I was already here'.

(147) *perilón cáque   étzi-dauh   dúqui*   (S, *nota* 51)
wheat   still:not plant-PAS rain(P)

'As the wheat was not yet planted, it rained'.

(148) *caque-na   da-do,   netz ovide-tze*   (S, *nota* 51)
still:not-2sg go-CONJ me   pay-FUT

'Before you go, you will pay me'.

(149) *varúh-ru-co   vecár   dios-e-vené   are*
sin-IPF-CONJ back/then God-POS-to R

　　virana-ri   (S, *nota* 52)
　　convert-PST

'Having sinned, I converted to God'.

(150) *heco-na   netz eve   teuhdóni, nee*
when-2sg me   LOC visit(P)   1sg

　　cumandóni-ru   (S, *nota* 53)
　　go:for:wood-PST

'When you came to see me, I had gone for wood'.

(151) *heco múc-ru-co   xto., are dórem-cade múqui* (S, *nota* 53)
when die-IPF-CONJ C.   R   man-ness   die

'When Jesus died, he died in his human capacity'.

(152) *vaiti-ne   hisum-tze-m   no ca   sun-vecade* (P46)
much-1sg hungry-STA-PRE my NEG corn-own

'I am hungry because I have no corn'.

(153) *queta-ne amo-uene hassi,   eme queta qui-co*
none-1sg thy-to   arrive(P) thee none hour-CONJ

　　e-co   (P46)
　　be-CONJ

'I didn't come to your house, because you have no house'.

(154) *nee ca   panáva-n, naneva-n   cocó-tze-m*   (S, *nota* 50)
1sg NEG work-PRE because-PRE sick-STA-PRE

'I'm not working because I'm sick'.

(155) *nee zinava-n,   nanéva-ri   nap hibee-n*   (S, *nota* 50)
1sg anger-PRE because-PST 2sg lazy-PRE

'You angered me because you are lazy'.

(156) *nap netz-oúiqui, aréde-ne hási*   (S, *nota* 50)
2sg me-call(P)   so-1sg   arrive(P)

'I came because you called me'.

Note the use of *queta* 'not any' as a conjunctive element, requiring that the second predicate be marked with *-co* if *queta* is used twice, as in (153). The attachment of tense markers to *nanéva* 'because' is to be noted in (154) and (155). Note also the use of the preterit tense in conjunction with the perfective aspect in (151).

7.4. Syntax: complementation. The andative ('go to/for') in Eudeve may have aspectual meaning. The P source notes that the suffixal andative (*-donon*) means "*ir a executar la acción por poco tiempo*" [go to do the action for a while] (P45).

(157)   *amú-dono* 'go to marry' (S. *nota* 28)
    bau-dónon 'go to get water' (S, *nota* 28)

(158)   *hiosua-tze-ta   daa-met*   (P45)
    paint-FUT-1pl   go-PRE
    'We will be going to paint'.

(159)   *hiosua-tze-ne   daa-mru*   (P45)
    paint-FUT-1sg   go-IPF
    'I will have gone to paint'.

(160a)   *hiosua-dono-m-ne*   (P45)
    paint-go-PRE-1sg
    'I am going to paint'.

(160b)   *hiosua-dono-mru-ne*   (P45)
    paint-go-1PF-1sg
    'I went to paint'.

(161)   *hiosua-don-tze-ne*   (P45)
    paint-go-FUT-1sg
    'I will be going to paint'.

(162)   *dios   noguát   tamóde/tamo   betzeguai   dóhme-tui* (S, *nota* 27)
    God   son   us   for   human-CAUS(P)
    'God's son became human for us'.

There are two 'want/desire' verbs: *eram* (with same subjects) and *neoquem* (with different subjects or same subjects; the P source spells it as *naquem*). The suffix *-va* is used instead of *-tze* as the future marker on the main verb when *eram* is used as the complement verb (P37), although this suffix is not used in the S source's paradigm of *eram* in (163) (see 165 and 166). Note that *eram* can also mean 'think' or 'think of doing'. The S source gives the following paradigm for *eram*:

(163) Present   *eram*
    Imperfect   *eramru*

Preterit	*ehri*
Pluperfect	*ehiru*
Future	*erátze*
Subjunctive	*erátzeru*

Note that *neoquem* is used with a future stem (where a specialized one exists; see **5.3**).

(164) *meride tamo hoica-ua   tamo-ma hoi-va*
       these   our   rancheria-LOC us-COM   live-FUT

    era-met (P65)
    want-PRE

'They want to live in our village'.

(165) *hiosua-va-ne   era-m* (P36)
       paint-FUT-1sg want-PRE

'I will want to paint'.

(166) *hiosua-va-ne   era-dauh* (P36)
       paint-FUT-1sg want-PAS

'I want to be painted'.

(167) *amo-ne pai   mu[c]-co   naque-m   vvevva*
       thy-1sg maternal:grandmother die-CONJ want-PRE very

    dochisuari eco (P71)
    old   being

'I wish your maternal grandmother would die because she is too old'.

(168a) *eme-ne   hiosua-co   naque-m* (P37)
       thee-1sg paint-CONJ want-PRE

'I want for you to paint'.

(168b) *eme-ne   hiosua-riuh-co   naque-m* (P37)
       thee-1sg paint-PAS-CONJ want-PRE

'I want for you to be painted'.

(169) *netz hiosua-n-ta   era-dauh* (P37)
       me   paint-PRE-OBJ think:about-PAS

'He's thinking about painting me'.

(170) *nee no hiósgua-ri-co   naqué-m* (S67)
       1sg my write-PST-CONJ want-PRE

'I want my being written'.

(171) *nee nerta-neóque-m* (S, *nota* 41)
       1sg pray-want-PRE

'I want to pray'.

(172) *nee ovit neóque-m* (S, *nota* 41)
    1sg call want-PRE

    'I want to summon'. (The *-t* in *ovit-* should be *-c*; cf. *ovica-n* 'to call'.)

The verb *neoque-m* 'want/state' can be used to give indirect commands, but *-tam* 'order' is more frequent in the examples.

(173) *Pedro qui-ten-ta   eme expuvide-tam* (P70)
    P.   house-mouth-OBJ thee open-order

    'Peter wants you to open the door'.

(174) *eme-ne hiosua-tane-m* (P38)
    thee-1sg paint-order-PRE

    'I order you to paint'.

(175) *eme-ne ida e[n]-n[e]oquei* (P39)
    thee-1sg dem do-order(P)

    'I told you to do this'.

The notion of 'esteem' is closely related in Eudeve to 'consider as' (consider *esteem* and *estimate* in English). Recall that this verb is also used with statives as a stative marker. In the reading of 'consider as', *-tzem* is used with different subjects. With the same subject, *-tadem* is used. The lower subject will appear in objective case.

(176) *sute-que   uene ne no-tade-m* (P46)
    white-POS to   1sg my-consider-PRE

    'I esteem myself as if I were white'.

(177) *hibai-que ven-ne no-tade-m* (P46)
    eaten-POS as:if-1sg my-consider-PRE

    'I consider (myself) to have eaten'.

(178) *eme-ne cabadu ecori tade-co   bicha-m* (P53)
    thee-1sg horse lke   consider-CONJ see-PRE

    'To me you look like a horse'.

(179) *ca-ne   suragua   eme deni-tzem* (P69)
    NEG-1sg comparison thee good-consider

    'I don't take you for being very good'.

(180) *ha-na dios-i   déni-tzem* (S, *nota* 26)
    Q-2sg God-OBJ good-consider

    'Do you esteem God?'

(181) *nee eme náven-tzem* (S, *nota* 26)
    1sg thee poor-consider

    'I consider you to be poor'.

(182) *nee eme diosári-tzem*   (S, *nota* 26)
      1sg thee happy-consider
      'I consider you to be happy'.

(183) *nee deosári   no tade-m*   (S, *nota* 39)
      1sg fortunate my appear-PRE
      'I consider myself to be lucky'.   (Sp. *yo me hallo dichoso*)

(184) *tamide naven tamo tade-n*   (S, *nota* 39)
      we   poor   our   appear-PRE
      'We consider ourselves to be poor'.

The effect of complementation may be realized by nominalization (see section immediately below) or juxtaposition.

(185) *nee aguátera-n dominco-tze   amo missa ca*
      1sg know-PRE Sunday-LOC thy   mass NEG

      vitzá-cauh   (S, *nota* 49)
      see-PAS
      'I know that you didn't see mass on Sunday'.

(186) *nee eme vitzá-n,   nap hibe*   (S, *nota* 49)
      1sg thee see-PRE 2sg skinny/weak
      'I see that you are skinny/weak'. (Sp. *flaco*)

(187) *nee aguátera-n netz zéqui*   (S161)
      1sg know-PRE me   touch(P)
      'I know that they have touched me'. (Sp. *yo siento que me han tocado*)

(188) *eme-ne hosua-n-ta   e[n-co]   avva-m*   (P38)
      thee-1sg paint-PRE-OBJ be-CONJ say-PRE
      'I say that you are painting'.

In (185), the thing that is known is 'thy not seeing mass'. In (188), the thing that is said is 'you are painting'. Simple juxtaposition is used in (186) and (187), with no formal device marking the complementation.

7.5. Syntax: nominalization. Tensed verbs may be nominalized by merely adding case suffixes: "*los mismos verbos son participios en falta de mudarse. Asi hiósguan es escribo y también el que escribe*" [verbs are participles without any change (of form). Thus, *hiósguan* is 'he writes' or 'he who writes'] (S, *nota* 42). Case suffixes were added after the tense markers. The order of cases in (189) is subjective, objective, possessive. The forms in (189) are based largely on the participial declension given in the P source. The objective forms have been supplied with the possessive forms as models, and on the statements of the P source concerning the

case marking of participles (P42). The preterit and pluperfect forms belong to the declension with *-c* or *-∅* in the objective and *-que* in the possessive. The present, imperfect, and future forms have *-ta* in the objective and *-te* in the possessive. The suffix *-tzenta* is attested in (214).

(189) Present   *-n, -[nta], -nte*
          Imperfect   *-ru, -[ntaru], -nteru*
          Preterit   *-ri, -[ri(c)], -[rique]*
          Pluperfect   *-riru, -[riru(c)], -riqueru*
          Future   *-tze, -tzenta, -tzente*

Here is the declension given by the S source, using the verb *hiósguan* 'paint/write'. All the data in (190) are from S, *nota* 42.

(190) Present   *hiósgua-n, hiósgua-nte*
          Imperfect   *hiósgua-mru, hiósgua-mteru*
          Preterit   *hiósgua-ri, [hiósgua-rique]*
          Pluperfect   *hiósgua-riru, hiósgua-riqueru*
          Future   *hiósgua-tze, hiósgua-ntzente*

Note that the present, imperfect, and future in the paradigm all retain the present tense marker (*-m, -n*).

The P source also gives a series of passive participles (P42). The order of cases is subjective, objective, possessive. The objective forms have been supplied by analogy with the possessive forms.

(191) Present   *-dauh, -[dauhta], -dauhte*
          Imperfect   *-dauhru, -[dauhtaru], -dauhteru*
          Preterit   *-cauh, [-cauhta], -cauhte*, or *-vate*
          Pluperfect   *-cauhru, -[cauhtaru], -cauhteru*
          Future   *-tzidauh, -tzidauhta, -tzidauhte*

The objective form *-tzidauhta* is the only objective case suffix listed in the paradigm of the P source (P42) or S source.

Examples of nominalizations follow.

(192) *beuh-ta   ne   nanac   buarina-[n]-ta   aguam*   (P65)
          skin-OBJ   1sg   well   tanned-PRE-OBJ   want

          'I want a well-tanned hide'.

(193) *hiosua-dauh   catzi-ne*   (P39)
          paint-PAS   sit-1sg

          'I am being painted'.

(194) *teguic-tze   catzi*   (P160)
          sky-LOC   sit

          'he who is in heaven'

(195) *nee dios-i   netz náventzem-ta naqué-m* (S147)
      1sg God-OBJ me   pity-OBJ   want-PRE
      'I love God, who pities me'.

The P source (P41) also distinguishes a system of verbals as distinct from participles. The cases given are subjective and possessive, in that order.

(196)   Active
      Present   *-da, -date*
      Imperfect   *-daru, darute*
      Preterit   *-ca(ru), -cate*
      Pluperfect   *-caru, cateru*
      Future   *-tzida, -tzidate*

                      Passive
      Present   *-riuhda, -riuhdate*
      Imperfect   *-riuhdaru, -riuhdateru*
      Preterit   *-riuhca, -riuhcate*
      Pluperfect   *-riuhcaru, -riuhcateru*
      Future   *-riuhtziu[h]da, -riuhtziu[h]date*

(197) *no hiosgua-tzi-da-ru* (P41)
      my paint-FUT-NOM-PLU
      'that which I already will have painted'

(198) *no hiosi-va-da* (P42)
      my paint-INS-NOM
      'that with which I am painting'

(199) *no hiosua-tzi-va-da* (P42)
      my paint-FUT-INS-NOM
      'that with which I will paint'

There are a number of other nominalizing suffixes that appear in the Eudeve data: *-cade* and *-dade*, *-sivem*, and various suffixes in *-gua* (*-gua*, *-ragua*, *-raven*, *-dagua*, *-cagua*). The first group has the basic aspectual distinction imperfective (*-dade*) vs. perfective (*-cade*).

(200) *nee no cócotzih-dade ca   panáva-n* (S77)
      1sg my sick-NOM   NEG work-PRE
      'Because of my illness, I am not working'.

(201) *heco muc-ru-co   xto., are dórem-cade   múqui are*
      when die-PLU-CONJ C.   R   human-NOM die(P) R
         diósem-cade ca   múqui (S78)
         God-NOM   NEG die(P)

'When Christ died, he died because of his humanness, not because of his divinity'.

(202) *agona   mer   cut   metzequiuh-cade   sisibhi-dauh*   (P75)
      all   DEM   wood   cut:with:knife-NOM   plane/brush-PAS

'All the wood cut with the ax must be planed'.

(203) *hiosua-riuh-davva   hasi-de*   (P39)
      paint-PAS-NOM   arrive(P)-CONJ

'being already time to paint'

(204) *hiosua-tzi-do-ne   cotzi-va   era-m*   (P40)
      paint-FUT-CONJ-1sg   sleep-FUT   want-PRE

'Having to paint, I want to sleep'.

(205) *hiosua-riuh-tziu-do   cotzi-va-ne   era-m*   (P40)
      paint-PAS-FUT-CONJ   sleep-FUT-1sg   want-PRE

'While it is being painted, I will want to sleep'.

(206) *sesva   amo batz   are ca-dena-en-ca   no-uetze*
      always   the   older:brother   R   NEG-good-do-NOM   my-to

      chutz-ri   (P137)
      attribute-PST

'Your older brother always blames all of his misdeeds on me'.

In (207), (210), and (211), the suffix *-gua* indicates 'place for'. (210) and (211) show that the 'place for' sense also distinguishes the basic aspectual distinction imperfect (*-dagua*) vs. perfective (*-cagua*). (212) gives an example of the instrumental nominalizer *-sivem* (*-sivemte*, possessive case). (208) and (209) illustrate deverbal agentives.

(207) *hiósgua-dauh-gua*   (S51)
      paint-PAS-NOM

'the place for painting'

(208) *teguic-tze   hoi-ravem*   (P160)
      sky-LOC   live(pl)-NOM

'the inhabitants of heaven'

(209) *teguic-tze   hoi-ragua*   (P160)
      sky-LOC   live(pl)-NOM

'one who lives in heaven'

(210) *no   catzi-dagua*   (S132)
      my   sleep-NOM

'my sleeping place'

(211) *no-catzí-cagua*   (S132)
      my-sleep-NOM

      'the place where I slept'

(212) *no   hiosua-sivem*   (P42)
      my   paint-INS

      'my instrument for painting'

In (210) and (211), the verb is most likely *cotzi* 'sleep' rather than *catzi* 'sit/live'.

One of the uses of verbals is to create relative clauses. Relative clauses in Eudeve directly follow the noun they modify, though a subject clitic, as in (216), may be inserted into second position. The relative clauses in the examples below are underscored.

(213) *cabadu no eme mac-tzi-da*,   *Franco netz*
      horse my thee give-FUT-NOM F.   me

      temadi (P18)
      ask:for(P)

      'Francis asked me for the horse *which you gave me*'.

(214) *hipsem-ta   no   vvas-vva   mavva-tzem-ta   ovvic* (P18)
      people-OBJ my field-ALI weed-NOM-OBJ call

      'Call the Indians *who are to weed my field*'.

(215) *havvona-ne hibes-de   tamo Queida Dios-i   netz*
      all-1sg   heart-INS our   lord   God-OBJ me

      nauemchem-ta suba-tze (P18)
      pity-OBJ   love-FUT

      'I will love our lord God, *who has pity on me*, with all my heart'.

(216) *Dios-na   havvona hita   eni   suba-tze* (P18)
      God-2sg   all   things do(P) love-FUT

      'You will love God, *who made all things*'.

In (213), the lower subject is marked with possessive case rather than with objective case (as with complementation). In (214) and (215), the relative clause is headless, in that there is no subject or subject copy in the lower clause.

It was possible for a relative clause to be headed (i.e., for the lower clause to have an overt subject within the clause).

(217) *tamo   Queida   Dios   havvona   hita   dideca-m   <u>at</u>   <u>tame</u>*
     our   lord   G.   all   things know-PRE DEM us

     <u>*eni*</u> (P18)
     make(P)

   'Our lord God knows everything *that we do*'.

In (217), the lower subject is marked with objective case.

REFERENCES

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. 1886. The Pima, Opata, and Ceri languages. The Native Races, vol. 3, Myths and Languages, pp. 694–705. San Francisco: The History Co.

LIONNET, ANDRES. 1986. El Eudeve: Un Idioma Extincto de Sonora. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

LOAYSA, BALTHSAR DE. n.d. Arte de la Lengua Hegue, Compuesto Por el P.re Balthasar de Loaysa. Ms., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

PENNINGTON, CAMPBELL W., ed. 1981. Arte y Vocabulario De La Lengua Dohema, Heve o Eudeva: Anonimo, vol. 17. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

PIMENTEL, FRANCISCO. 1874. El Eudeve, Heve, ó Dohema: Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativode las Lenguas Indígenas de México. México: Isidoro Epstein.

SMITH, BUCKINGHAM, ed. and trans. 1861. Notice of the Heve, The Language Spoken by the Eudeve, A People of the Dóhme. New York: Cramoisy Press. [Reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1970.]